THE
DICTIONARY
Hiſtorical and Critical
OF
Mr PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Carefully collated with the ſeveral Editions of the Original; in which many Paſſages are reſtored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Tranſlation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

Mr DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

M — R.



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M.

MACCIUS (SEBASTIAN), a learned Humaniſt, flouriſhed in Italy at the beginning of the XVIIth century. I ſpeak of him with reſpect only to thoſe things which Moreri has forgotten. Maccius was a very laborious man, and compoſed verſes with a wonderful facility; whereof he publiſhed a great number. He applied himſelf ſo much to writing, that he made a great cavity in his two fingers, with which he uſed to hold his pen (a). He loſt a ſon, who was but eighteen years old, and was already a Doctor (b). It is not true that his two daughters were Nuns [A]. His definition of hiſtory, contains a contradiction [B].

(a) Tam multa ſcribendo opera dedit, ut in dextræ manus pollice atque indice ea parte callum contraxerit, ex aſſidua illius tractatione, duo potiſſimi alte impreſſi conſpiciantur. *Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. I. pag.* 278.

(b) *Taken from* Nicius Erythræus, *ibid.*

[A] *It is not true, that his two daughters were nuns.*] To ſhew what credit is to be given to Mr Moreri, I will compare his tranſlation with the Latin he tranſlates. *Maccio*, ſays he, *had two daughters who were nuns, and wrote Latin letters.* He grounds himſelf upon theſe words of Nicius Erythræus (1): 'Ex duabus fœminis ejus, quæ monaſticam amplexa eſt diſciplinam, epiſtolæ aliquot Latinæ leguntur (2). - - - - *He left two daughters, of which one was a nun, and wrote Latin letters.*' Can any one truſt to a man, who ſo ſtrangely miſtakes things that can ſo eaſily be related with exactneſs?

(1) *Ael not Erythræus, as Moreri ſays.*

(2) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. I, *pag.* 278.

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MACCOVIUS, a Proteſtant Divine, ſee MAKOWSKI.

MACEDO (FRANCIS), (a) one of the moſt fertile writers of the XVIIth century, was born at Coimbra in 1596, and became a Jeſuit in 1610. He taught Rhetoric ſeveral years, Philoſophy one year, and Chronology a pretty while. He made profeſſion of the fourth vow in the year 1630 (b), nevertheleſs, he quitted the Jeſuits order, and entered into that of the Franciſcans, in the year ——. He nevertheleſs continued to labour for the glory of St Ignatius [A]. He hotly eſpouſed the intereſt of the duke of Braganza, promoted to the crown of Portugal, and publiſhed ſeveral books for the juſtice of that cauſe [B]. He accompanied that prince's ambaſſadors into France and England.

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(1) *See the* Giornale di Letterati, *of the 29th of December,* 1669, *pag.* 135.

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would have ſubdued a great empire, if he had had to do with the Perſians. Theſe are but excuſes, and poor comforts. That rapidity wherewith Alexander improved the opportunity, and took his advantages, would have given him a harveſt of triumphs, where many other kings can do nothing. It was to him it might be ſaid after his firſt victories, *I expect you in two years upon the banks of Euphrates.* I will not pretend to give the abridgment of his life, for beſides that other Dictionaries are prolix enough upon this ſubject, there is nothing more known to all ſorts of readers, than the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great. It ſeems moreover, that it would be a ſuperfluous labour to give his character [C]. It is ſufficiently known, and no body is ignorant, that it was equally compoſed of great virtues and great vices. There was nothing moderate in his perſon, but his ſtature; all the reſt, whether good or bad, was in extreams. His ambition proceeded even to madneſs [D]. He looked upon it as a crime that any one ſhould doubt of the ſucceſs of his deſigns [E]. On one hand he was impious enough to deſire to be thought a God [F]; and on the other, he was ſuperſtitious even to a womaniſh

ciplined troops than thoſe of Alexander, would have done Darius little harm? So that all did not depend upon opportunities. See our remarks upon Julius Cæſar (3).

(3) *That is, the remarks* [A], [B], *and* [C], *of his article.*

[C] *It would be a ſuperfluous labour to give his character.*] Let us refer to a book that every body may eaſily conſult, and is very much inquired after. See, I ſay, Mr de Saint Evremond, in the judgment upon one of Mr Racine's tragedies, called, *Alexander the Great*, in the firſt tome of his works, and in his compariſon of Cæſar and Alexander in the ſame tome. See alſo the ſecond tome at the ninety ſeventh page of the Holland edition, 1693.

[D] *His ambition proceeded even to madneſs.*] His father was not miſtaken in believing Macedonia too little for his ſon (4). He ſaid this, when Alexander, being about ſixteen years of age, had broken one of the moſt terrible horſes in the world (5). How was Macedonia likely to ſuffice him, when the whole earth did not ſeem a kingdom large enough for him? He wept when he heard the Philoſopher Anaxarchus ſay, there were infinite worlds (6); his tears proceeded from his deſpair of conquering them all, ſeeing he had not yet conquered one. Juvenal expreſſes this ambition after a very lively manner; he repreſents Alexander ſweating in ſo ſtrait a lodging, as a kingdom no bigger than the earth:

(4) Plutarch. *in Alexandro, pag.* 667.

(5) *The horſe Bucephalus.*

(6) Plutarch. de Tranquillitate Animi, *pag.* 466.

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis:
Æſtuat infelix anguſto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clauſus ſcopulis parvaque Seripho (7).

(7) Juven. Sat. X, *Verſ.* 168.

One world ſuffic'd not Alexander's mind:
Coop'd up he ſeem'd, in earth and ſtas confin'd,
And, ſtruggling, ſtretch'd his reſtleſs limbs about
The narrow globe, to find a paſſage out.

DRYDEN.

The world was to Alexander, what a little iſland was to malefactors confined in it. If they were ſtraitened in their walks, Alexander for his part looked upon the poſſeſſion of the whole earth, as the miſery of being reduced to a little corner. A Spaniſh author goes higher than Juvenal; he calls Alexander's heart an archheart, in a corner of which the world ſate ſo eaſy, that there was room for ſix more (8). But does it not ſeem, that ſo vaſt a heart confined it's higheſt happineſs within very narrow bounds, when it propoſed only to be praiſed by the Athenians? It is ſaid that the extraordinary pains he took to paſs the Hydaſpes, forced him to cry out, *O Athenians, could you believe, what dangers I expoſe my ſelf to, to be praiſed by you* (9)? Is not this, ſay ſome, to be at the ſame time inſatiable, and yet contented with the leaſt thing in the world? Is it not a madneſs to expoſe one's ſelf to ſo much pain and trouble for the ſake of a harangue?

(8) *Archicreaçon, pues caes en un rincon del todo eſte mundo bolgadamente, dexando lugar para otros ſeis.* Lorenzo Gracian.

(9) Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρᾶτε γε πιστεύσαιτε ἂν ἡλίκους ὑπομένω κινδύνους ἕνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐδοξίας; *Quis credat, Athenienſes, quanta pericula noſtri præconii cauſa ubeam?* Plut. *in* Alexand. *pag.* 698, E.

- - - - I demens, & ſævas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias (10).

(10) Juven. Sat. X, *Verſ.* 166.

Go, climb the rugged alps, ambitious fool,
To pleaſe the boys, and be a theme at ſchool.

Idem.

Say what you pleaſe, upon the contradictions of the heart of man, upon it's follies and extravagancies; nevertheleſs I ſhall believe that the end Alexander propoſed to himſelf was very conſiſtent with the vaſt and immenſe extent of his ambition. He had a deſire to live to all future ages, to the moſt remote poſterity, and he hoped not this from one or more conquered worlds, but from books. He was not miſtaken, for if Greece had not furniſhed him with good pens, he had been for a long time as little talked of, as thoſe that commanded in Macedonia, before the birth of Amphitryon. He concerned himſelf ſo much with what ſhould be ſaid of him after his death, that he wiſhed he might return into the world for ſo long time, as was neceſſary to know how much his Hiſtorians were read (11). By this inſatiable deſire of praiſe, he did more juſtice to the valour of his enemies, than to that of his captains, for what he took from the latter, and gave to the former, returned to himſelf with intereſt. *Simplicius famam æſtimabat in hoſte quam in cive; quippe à ſuis credebat magnitudinem ſuam deſtrui poſſe, eamdem clariorem fore quo majores fuiſſent quos ipſe viciſſet* (12).

(11) Lucianus, quomodo conſcribenda ſit Hiſtoria, *Oper. Tom. I, pag.* 694. *Edit. Salmur.*

(12) Quint. Curtius, *Libr. VIII, ſub fin.*

[E] *He looked upon it as a crime that any one ſhould doubt of the ſucceſs of his deſigns.*] They that by his order had killed Parmenio, came not to give him an account of that important ſervice without ſome reaſon to be uneaſy; for they were followed by the deputies of the province which they had governed, who had orders to accuſe them of many crimes. They particularized the pillages of theſe governors, the ſacrileges they had committed, and their attempts upon the honour of the ladies (13). Alexander having examined this accuſation, declared, that the deputies had forgotten the greateſt crime of all; which was, that the accuſed believed, he would never return from his expedition to the Indies; for if they had believed it, ſaid he, they would not have dared to commit theſe violences. *Rex, cognita cauſſa, pronunciavit ab accuſatoribus unum & id maximum crimen eſſe præteritum, deſperationem ſalutis ſuæ, nunquam enim talia auſuros, qui ipſum ex India ſoſpitem aut optaſſent reverti aut credidiſſent reverſurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit,* DC. *autem militum qui ſævitiæ eorum miniſtri fuerant, interfici juſſit* (14).

(13) *Quum contra profana ſpoliaſſent, ne ſacris quidem abſtinuerant: virgineſque & principes ſerminarum ſtupra perpeſſæ, corporum ludibria dederant.* Idem, *Libr. X. Cap. I.*

(14) *Idem, ibid.*

[F] *He was impious enough to deſire to be thought a god.*] A refined policy obliged him to make it believed that he was the ſon of Jupiter, and to admit the honours of adoration. He had experienced that this brought the Barbarians to ſubmiſſion; and indeed, who had ventured to take up arms againſt a conqueror who was looked upon to be a god? It was therefore his intereſt, the world ſhould have this advantageous opinion of him; and he dexterouſly encouraged it. He was more reſerved hereupon towards the Greeks than the Barbarians (15); becauſe the Greeks were wiſer, and leſs oppoſite to his deſigns; he one day publickly confeſſed, that his affairs required, that he ſhould be thought a god, and that he wiſhed the Indians would take him for one. ‘ Illud pene dignum riſu ‘ fuit, quod Hermolaus poſtulabat à me ut averſarer ‘ Jovem cujus oraculo adgnoſcor. An etiam quid Dii ‘ reſpondeant, in mea poteſtate eſt? Obtulit nomen ‘ filii mihi: recipere ipſis rebus quas agimus haud alie- ‘ num fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum eſſe me ‘ credant. Fama enim bella conſtant, & ſæpe ‘ etiam, quod falſo creditum eſt, veri vicem obtinuit ‘ (16). - - - - - - *Hermolaus ridiculouſly demanded of* ‘ *me to treat Jupiter with ſcorn, whoſe oracle had ac-* ‘ *knowledged me. Are even the anſwers of the gods in* ‘ *my power? He offered me the name of ſon; the ſtate* ‘ *of my affairs required me to accept of it. I wiſh the* ‘ *Indians*

(15) Τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφερόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐξεθείαζεν. *Apud Græcos vero divinitatem uſurpabat modice & parcius.* Plut. *in ejus* Vita, *p.* 681, *A.*

(16) Quint. Curtius, *Lib. VIII, Cap. VIII.* *Conſult* Freinſhemius's Commentary on this place.

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womaniſh weakneſs [G]. Whatever praiſe he deſerved on ſome occaſions with reſpect to continence [H], his life was far from being regular, on this head [I]. His intemperance

'*Indians likewiſe would believe me to be a god. For* '*wars are ſupported by fame, and often what is falſly* '*believed carries with it the force of truth.*' I could eaſily perſuade my ſelf, that by often ſaying this to others, and hearing his flatterers upon this topic, he came ſometimes to believe that he was a god, or to doubt whether he was not. For there are hardly any thoughts ſo vain, but extraordinary proſperity and power, with the addreſſes of an unlimited flattery, will be able to infuſe (17), but I do not believe that this opinion or doubt could ever take root in his ſoul. He ſaid that two things hindered him from believing that he was immortal, ſleep, and the enjoyment of women. Ἔλεγεν δὲ μάλιστα συνιέναι θνητὸς ὢν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνουσιάζειν· ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγγινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ φύσει καὶ τὸ πόνων καὶ τὸ ἡδόμενον. *Dicebat mortalem ſe eſſe intelligere ſe potiſſimum ex ſomno & concubitu, quod ab eadem imbecillitate naturam inceſſat laſſitudo & voluptas* (18). He reaſoned well, tho' not very conſiſtently with the principles of the Heathen theology, which is full of Jupiter's amours, and his good fortune with the female ſex: but as the two things that ſerved him for a proof againſt his being a god, frequently recurred, I do not ſee, how the belief of his pretended Divine nature could take root in his ſoul: I ſhall produce many things upon this ſubject in the remarks of the article OLYMPIAS.

[G] *He was ſuperſtitious even to a womaniſh weakneſs* (19).] This never appeared ſo much as in the year of his death; which could not be attributed to the decline of his age, and the malignant influences of grey hairs, ſince he was not thirty three years old when he died. This notable increaſe of ſuperſtition proceeded from ſome events, which he was made to think ſo much the more unlucky preſages, becauſe he had gone to Babylon againſt the advice that was given him by Nearchus in the name of ſome Chaldean ſoothſayers not to go. This repetition of ill omens ſtruck him in ſuch a manner, that he diſtruſted both the gods and men. He believed the divine protection did forſake him, and that his friends grew treacherous. This diffidence ſo diſquieted his mind, that the leaſt extraordinary thing, that happened to him ſeemed to him a prodigy; his houſe was always full of prieſts and ſoothſayers; he ſpent all his time in ſacrifices, expiations, and auguries. Let us hear Plutarch, who relates not the thing without adding a reflexion upon it. Ὁ δ' ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐνέδωκεν τότε πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παραχώδης γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν ὕτως τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ ἀτόπων ὃ μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ δυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόντων μεσὸν ἦν τὸ βασίλειον. ὕτως ἄρα δεινὸν μὲν ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ καταφρόνησις αὐτῶν· δεινὴ δὲ αὖθις ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δίκην ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον, καὶ ἀναπλῆρον ἀβελτηρίας καὶ φόβῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενον. Alexander igitur poſtquam ſemel religione obſtrictus eſt tumultuante & trepidante animo præditus, nulla res inſolita & aliena tam oblata exigua eſt quam non verteret in prodigium & oſtentum, ſed ſacrificantium, expiantium, & vaticinantium erat regia referta. Adeo res eſt horrenda incredulitas & contemptio deorum, horrenda item ſuperſtitio, quæ aquæ modo vergit ad demiſſa, impleteque abſurdis opinionibus & metu mortales, ut tunc Alexandrum (20). - - - *Such force and confidence on one hand, has incredulity and the impious contempt of the gods, when once it takes root in mens heart; and on the other hand, ſuperſtition, flowing always, like water, downwards, into ſouls debaſed and dejected with fear, as it then filled Alexander with madneſs, when once terror had ſeized him.* I muſt obſerve, that the advices of the Chaldeans, imparted by Nearchus, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Alexander, that he durſt not enter Babylon, till the Greek Philoſophers, knowing the grounds of his ſcruples, went to viſit him, and by the force of their arguments made him ſenſible of the vanity of the art of Divination: he then made his entrance into Babylon (21). The ill auguries which his head was full of, effaced the impreſſions theſe Philoſophers had made upon him. He returned to the great eſteem he had conceived for the ſcience of the Chaldeans; he deteſted the Philoſophers, that had perſuaded him to enter into the city, and he was angry with all thoſe, that attempted to undeceive him (22). See ſeveral things concerning Alexander's ſuperſtition in the remarks of the article ARISTANDER, his ſoothſayer. I have given them there for fear of making this article too long; I have uſed a like method with reſpect to many other facts, and ſhall ſtill uſe it as occaſion requires.

[H] *Whatever praiſe he deſerved . . . . . with reſpect to continence.*] In the firſt heat of his youth he appeared ſo indifferent with reſpect to women, that his mother feared that this might go too far, and that it proceeded from impotence; for which reaſon, by the conſent of her huſband, ſhe gave Alexander a moſt beautiful courteſan of Theſſaly for a bed-fellow, in order to melt the ice, and kindle love in this young man. Callixena (this was the fair Theſſalian's name) endeavoured ſeveral times to make him careſs her, and obtained nothing (23). If this ſtory be true, we muſt believe that nature, which in all other things had been very diligent for this prince, was ſluggiſh, and roſe ſomewhat late in this affair. It is ſaid (24), that he carried his virginity into Aſia, and that Memnon's widow (25) was the firſt woman that he enjoyed; and that he had nothing to do with any other till he married: Parmenio was even forced to provoke him to careſs her, as capable as ſhe was of enamouring a man. If this be true, they who ſpeak of Alexander's complaiſance to Apelles are miſtaken. They ſay, that having ordered Apelles to draw the handſomeſt and beſt beloved of his concubines naked (26), and perceiving that Apelles had fallen in love with her, he made a preſent of her to him. This ſtory and that of Plutarch are inconſiſtent; for he did not enjoy Memnon's widow, till he made himſelf maſter of Damaſcus; and it was at Epheſus that he knew Apelles, a long time before the taking it. Theſe two ſtories might be reconciled, if we ſuppoſe Alexander had not enjoyed his concubine, when he gave her to the Painter, or that he ordered her picture to be drawn after the taking of Damaſcus. But the firſt of theſe two ſuppoſitions is againſt the hiſtory in queſtion; for Pliny (27) who relates it, not only obſerves that this miſtreſs was very handſome (28), and the moſt beloved of all Alexander's concubines, but he further ſays, that this prince reſigned his bed and his affection to the Painter. Ælian, who relates the ſame ſtory, notes this circumſtance, that the aforeſaid concubine was of Lariſſa in Theſſaly, and the firſt woman that had given Alexander the ſenſe of venereal pleaſure (29). The ſecond ſuppoſition has no ſhadow of probability; would he have ſent to Epheſus, a woman of ſo great beauty, and whom he ſo tenderly loved, would he have ſent her ſo far, I ſay, to have her painted naked? And if he had ſent for Apelles, ſhould we not ſee that circumſtance in the authors, that have preſerved the memory of this fine preſent? Beſides this ſecond ſuppoſition does not remove the inconſiſtence between Ælian and Plutarch. Hitherto then, this laſt author has hardly proved the continence of his heroe; but what he ſays next, has a greater force. The mother, the wife, and the daughters of Darius, were Alexander's priſoners; the wife was a perfect beauty, and her daughters were like her; the young prince, who had them in his power, not only paid them all the honours that were due to them, but alſo took the utmoſt care of their reputation. They were kept as in a cloiſter, out of the ſight of the world, and out of the reach of every immodeſt object, Ὥσπερ ἐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίων. ἀλλ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἁγίοις φυλαττομένας παρθενῶσιν, ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἀόρατον ἑτέροις δίαιταν. *Quaſi non in hoſtium caſtris, verum in ſacris & ſanctis Veſtæ templis ſervatæ, in abdito extra aliorum oculos agerent* (30). His viſits, his looks, his diſcourſes, gave no occaſion for reproach; and with reſpect to the other Perſian ladies, who were alſo priſoners, and whoſe beauty and ſhape were very charming, he contented himſelf to ſay, by way of raillery, when he ſaw them, that the Perſian women make the eyes ſore, and he paſſed by them as by handſome ſtatues (31). He was angry in good-earneſt more than once with thoſe, who, to make their court

(17) - - - nihil eſt quod credere de ſe Non poſſit, cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas. *Nor is it any wonder that a man can be ſaid to ſpeak of himſelf, But with belief and pity is entertain'd, When to his face the worthleſs wretch is prais'd, When ev'n the court-ſervice to a god has rais'd.* Mr DUKE. Juven. Sat. IV. *Verſ.* 70.

(18) Plutarch. in Alexand. *pag.* 670. B. *See alſo de* Divinit. Alexand. & Amici, *pag.* 63. F.

(19) *See the article* ARISTANDER, *remark* [A].

(20) Plutarch. in Alex. *p.* 706.

(21) Diodor. Sicul. Lib. XVII, *pag.* m. 549.

(22) *Idem, ibid. pag.* 431.

(23) Theophraſtus, *referente* Hieronymo, *in* Epiſtolis, *apud* Athenæum, *Libr. X, Cap. X, pag.* 435.

(24) Plutarch. *in* Alex. *p.* 676.

(25) *She was called* Barſenes. *See the article* MEMNON.

(26) *Ælian calls her* Pancaſte, *and Pliny* Campaſpe.

(27) Se vidit, nec torum tantum ſuum, ſed etiam affectum donavit artifici. *Plin. Libr. XXXV, Cap. X.*

(28) *According to* Pliny, *the picture of Venus coming out of the waves, was drawn by* Campaſpe's.

(29) Ταύτῃ καὶ πρώτῃ φασὶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὠμιλήσαι. *Cum qua primum Alexander rem habuiſſe dicitur.* Ælian. diver. Hiſtor. *Libr. XII, Cap. XXXIV.*

(30) Plut. *in* Alexand. *p.* 676.

(31) *Id. ib.*

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rance in wine was prodigious [K]. The cruelty he exercised upon the inhabitants of Tyre is

to him, would send him handsome boys (32); and he said in a letter, that he had neither seen Darius's wife, nor thought of seeing her, and even that he would not suffer discourses to be made to him about this queen's beauty; Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ' ὅτι ἑωρακως ἂν εὑρεθείην τὴν Δαρείκ γυναίκα ἢ βεβκλευμένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔτε τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον. *Ego enim non solum non vidisse inveniar Darii uxorem aut videre cogitasse, verum nec verba facientes de ejus decore sustinuisse audire* (33). It is easy to reconcile Plutarch with Q. Curtius: this latter Historian says (34), that Alexander never saw Darius's wife but once, and that by accident because she was with her mother-in-law, whom he visited the day they were taken. Upon this account Alexander might boast not to have seen, that is, not to have visited Darius's wife. This is certainly one of the finest passages of his life, as to morality (35), and I do not wonder that Darius admired it; Darius I say, who was in such alarms for his wife's honour. Consider the vicissitudes of his passions upon the news that his wife was dead. First he suspected, that the messenger came to tell him, that her honour had been violated, and he looked upon this as the greatest of all afflictions. Afterwards, understanding his wife was dead, he believed she was killed for resisting the unchaste desires of the victor. That thought inspired him with much grief and rage: he afterwards understood, that Alexander had been extreamly afflicted for this death, and lamented it as much as Darius himself. This was a cruel attack; his grief and rage were abated, but he fell again into a dismal disturbance, imagining that Alexander bewailed the loss of her favours, that had been granted him. At last he was assured of the contrary, and prayed to the gods, that if they would not restore him, they would give his kingdom to so virtuous a conqueror. 'Ludibria 'meorum nunciaturus es mihi, &, ut credo, ipsis quo- 'que, omni graviora supplicio . . . . . Nec dubi- 'tavit Darius quin interfecta esset, quia nequisset con- 'tumeliam pati. . . . . Ob hæc ipsa amantis ani- 'mus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est; 'desiderium captivæ profecto à consuetudine stupri 'ortum esse conjectans. . . . . Dii patrii primum 'mihi stibilite regnum: deinde si de me jam transa- 'ctum est, precor ne quis Asiæ rex sit quàm iste tam 'justus hostis, tam misericors victor (36). - - - - - - 'You come, I suppose, to inform me of the insults offered 'to my family, more grievous to them than the heaviest 'punishment . . . . . Nor did Darius doubt but that she 'was put to death, because she would not suffer violation 'of . . . . . These considerations threw his fond heart in- 'to trouble and suspicion; conjecturing that Alexander's 'concern for the loss of his captive, arose from their guilty 'commerce . . . . . Ye gods, whom we adore, first re- 'establish my kingdom; next, if all is over with me, I beg 'that he alone may be king of Asia, who is so just an 'enemy, so compassionate a conqueror.'

[I] *His life was far from being regular on this head.*] One irregularity, was his marrying three or four wives without being a widower (37), and causing his concubine Pancaste to be drawn naked. The pleasures of touch did not content his passion, he would moreover feast his eyes with the nakedness of his mistress in her picture; an evident sign that he fed them likewise with the original nakedness: he fell therefore into an excess, and such a one as the god Mars, Venus's gallant, did not know, if we judge of it by Lucretius's words (38). This vitious pleasure of the eyes would be more easily pardoned to those, who when they can have no other, *Pascon gli avidi sguardi*. But this lewdness of Alexander, as criminal as it was, is nothing in comparison to what he did after his great prosperities. I do not speak of the concubines he would have in the same number as Darius, that is as many as there are days in the year; for the Historian (39) who relates that these concubines presented themselves every evening to the king, that he might chuse one to spend the night with, declares that Alexander seldom made this choice: it is certain that the eastern princes, and particularly Solomon in imitation of them, who valued themselves upon keeping so many women, did not lie with them all, they dealt with them almost like the present Sultans, they drew great numbers of them together to have the better choice of some, the others served only to shew their magnificence, like so many useless moveables in opulent houses which are never employed, and perhaps are not so much as known (40). The kings who value themselves upon having the finest stables, ride but a few of their horses; the greatest part are suffered to live and die without trying them. Some please themselves with having magnificent libraries, and never touch a book. It would therefore not be a certain proof of Alexanders's incontinence, to alledge the great number of his concubines, tho' it is certain, that this train, and the equipage belonging to them, justly offended his antient subjects (41), and it is a blot upon his memory; but here are more formal testimonies against his reputation. He had abundance of prostitutes to sit at his table, and he accepted Bagoas, who had been Darius's minion (42). 'Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens 'inter quæ Bagoas erat specie singulari spado, atque 'in ipso flore pueritiæ, cui & Darius fuerat adsuetus, '& mox Alexander adsuevit (43). - - - - *Nabarzanes, 'upon promise of safety, met him, with great presents, 'among which was Bagoas, an eunuch of singular 'beauty, and in the flower of his youth, who had been 'Darius's minion, and was afterwards Alexander's.*' His debaucheries cannot be represented in more express terms than in these of Athenæus: Φιλόπαις δὲ ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς. Δικαίαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας Βαγώου τὸ εὐνοῦχον ἅτως αὐτὸν φησὶν ἡρασθαι, ὡς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς θεάτρε ὅλε καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλάσαντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνησάντων μετὰ κρότε ἂν ἀπεσθήσας πάλιν ἀνακλάσας ἐφίλησεν. Alexander Rex ad insaniam amore puerorum exarsit. Dicæarchus libro de sacrificio quod ad Ilium peractum est, eunuchum Bagoam adeo ipsum deperiisse scribit, ut resupinus in conspectu theatri totius eum suaviaretur, acclamante verò cum plausu spectatorum turba, & tanquam ad iteranda oscula invitante, paruisse, atque rursum inflexa cervice basia congeminasse (44). - - - - *Alexander was fired with the love of boys even to madness. Dicæarchus, in his book of the Sacrifice which was performed at Troy, writes, that he was so in love with the eunuch Bagoas, that, throwing himself back, he would kiss him in sight of the whole theatre; and, when the spectators, by their acclamations and applauses, seemed to invite him to repeat his kisses, he obeyed, and, turning his head, redoubled them.*

[K] *His intemperence in wine was prodigious.*] He would be drunk, and when in that condition was guilty of a thousand diforders. Wine was the cause of his killing Clytus, who had saved his life; and burning Persepolis, one of the finest cities of the East (45). The courtezan Thais, who was equally practised in bacchical and venereal debauchery (46), put him upon that horrid exploit, which circumstance renders the action more infamous. They who wrote the journal of his life (47), observed, that he slept out his debauch sometimes for two days and two nights. If a few glasses would have intoxicated him, he had been the less to be condemned for falling sometimes into that fault, but he swallowed twenty cups of a prodigious bigness, before they made him drunk. Thus he died of drinking too much; it was the bed of honour he expired in. He undertook to drink a health to the greatest drinker of his age (48), and to empty a vessel of vast capacity (49). As soon as he had drank it off, he fainted away, and was seized with the distemper of which he died (50). Plutarch confutes this: he says (51), that Alexander had not emptied Hercules's cup, nor did he immediately feel a great pain in his back, as if he had been wounded with a lance; these are, says he, inventions designed for the embellishment of a mournful and tragical scene. Ταῦτα τινὲς ᾠοντο δεῖν γράφειν, ὥσπερ δράματος μεγάλε τραγικὸν ἔξοδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλασάντες. *Hæc putaverant quidam scribenda quasi magnæ fabulæ tragicum exodium & lamentabile fingentes* (52). But he confesses this prince did nothing but drink that day that his distemper seized him; which is confession enough for this general proposition, that Alexander killed himself with drinking. Who would believe, that so venturous a warriour should receive his mortal wound at table? Let us here Seneca hereupon: 'Alexandrum 'tot itenera, tot prælia, tot hyemes per quas, victa 'temporum, locorumque difficultate, transierat, tot 'flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimise- 'rant, intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculeanus ac 'fatalis scyphus perdidit (53). - - - - *Alexander, after*

(32) *Id. ib.*

(33) *Ibid. pag. 677, B.*

(34) Semel omnino eam viderat quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darii matrem videret, eximiamque pulchritudinem formæ ejus non libidinis habuerat incitamentum, sed gloriæ. Q. Curtius, *Libr. IV, Cap. X.*

(35) *It is thus* Diodorus Siculus, *Libr. XVII, judges of it.*

(36) Quintus Curtius, *Libr. IV, Cap. XI.*

(37) *I speak of them in the article ROXANA.*

(38) Pascit amore avidos in te Dea visus. *He feeds his wanton eyes with gazing on thy charms.* Lucret. lib. I, ver. 37.

(39) Diod. Siculus, *lib. XVII.* Q. Curtius, *lib. VI, Cap. VI.* *Says they were in number 360.*

(40) Exilis domus est ubi non & multa superfunt, Et dominum fallunt, & prosunt furibus. *That house betrays it's master's poverty, Where no superfluous furniture abounds, For slaves to steal, unheeded by his eye.* Horat. Epist. VI. *lib. I, ver. 45.*

(41) Pellices 360. totidem quot Darii fuerant, regiam implebant; quas spadonum greges, & ipsi muliebria pati adsueti, sequebantur. Hæc luxu & peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, averfabantur. - - - - - *Three hundred and sixty harlots, the same number as belonged to Darius, filled the palace: these were followed by a troop of eunuchs, who were Catamites likewise. Philip's veterans, a nation unbroke to voluptuousness, were disgusted at the contagious spreading of this luxury, and these foreign manners.* Quint. Curtius, *lib. VI, Cap. VI, num. 8.*

(42) *Id. Libr. V, Cap. VI, & Libr. VI, Cap. II.*

(43) *Id. Libr. VI, Cap. V.*

(44) Athen. *Libr. XIII, p. 603.*

(45) Q. Curt. *Libr. VIII, Cap. I.*

(46) *Id. Libr. V, Cap. VII.*

(47) Eumenes Cardianus, & Diodorus Erythræus, *apud* Athenæum, *Libr. X, Cap. IX, p. 434.*

(48) *This was a Macedonian named Proteas.*

(49) Quod duos congios capiebat. - - - - *Which held two gallons.* Q. Curtius, *Libr. V, Cap. VII.*

(50) *Id. ibid.*

(51) Plut. *in* Alexand. *p. 706. See the remark [D] of the article HERCULES.*

(52) *Plut. ibid.*

(53) Seneca. Epist. LXXXIII.

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embaſſadors to him [P]. Livy contradicts himſelf, in ſpeaking of this prince [Q]. One of our moſt excellent Poets ſeems to contradict himſelf on the ſame ſubject [R]. We ſhall examine in another place (c) whether it be probable, that the queen of the Amazons took a long journey, to lye with this king; and that the ſea of Pamphylia deſerted it's banks, to facilitate the march of the Macedonian army (d). If to rally his troops he uſed a horn, the ſound whereof was heard two hundred *Stadia*, ſome of his Hiſtorians that remain would have ſpoken of it, and we need not ſeek for this in a manuſcript of the Vatican (e). I do not reckon in the number of Fables, what is related of the contempt he had for a man who gave him proofs of an extraordinary ſkill [S].

(b) *In the article* PHALESTRIS.

(d) *In the article* PHASELIS.

(e) *Father Kircher*, in Arte magna Locis & Umbræ. *Lib.* ii, *Part.* i, *Cap.* vii, *ſays, that this manuſcript*

treats de Secretis Ariſtotelis ad Alexandrum. *See the* Memoirs of Arts and Sciences of Mr Denis, *ſecond of May*, 1672, *pag.* 111, 112.

the narrative Joſephus has left of it (75) may be fabulous in ſome points; but let who will ſay, it is ſo in all: the ſilence of heathen writers, who have ſaid ſo many other things leſs conſiderable concerning this prince, and that happened in countries as obſcure at leaſt as Judæa, may be a ſtrong argument with others, but not with me.

(c) Joſeph. Antiquit. *Lib.* xi, *Cap.* viii.

[P] *Some ſay that the Romans ſent embaſſadors to him.*] It is doubted of, though affirmed by Clitarchus; becauſe this Clitarchus is not accounted a faithful writer (76). He was in Alexander's train, and thereby might be well informed of things; but this ſignifies nothing, when a man delights in telling lies. A modern author (77) relates, that this Roman embaſſy is reckoned fabulous; becauſe neither the Roman hiſtorians, nor Ptolemy, nor Ariſtobulus, have mentioned it. *Romanos Alexandrum M. Legatione veneratos eſſe contra* Memnonem, *cap. xxiv.* Plinium *lib. iii, cap. v, negant cum* Arriano *lib. viii, quod de ea re ſileant non ſolum ſcriptores Romani omnes, ſed* & Ptolomæus & Ariſtobulus *hiſtorici, uterque Alexandri Socius, alter etiam Dux* & *poſtea Rex Ægypti.* I do not find, in the twenty fourth chapter of the extracts that Photius gives of Memnon, that Alexander received any embaſſy from Rome: nor does Pliny mention it; but only ſays, that Clitarchus has ſpoken of it.

(76) Clitarchi probatur ingenium fides inſectatur. - - - - *Clitarchus is allowed to be an ingenious, but not a faithful, author.* Quintil. Lib. x, Cap. i.

(77) Joan. Eiſenhart, de Fide Hiſtorica, *p.* 150. ex Ruperto in Hiſtor. univ. Obſ. ad Synopſin min. Beſold, *Cap. xviii, pag.* 678.

[Q] *Livy contradicts himſelf in ſpeaking of this prince.*] He carefully examines, what might have happened, if Alexander, after having conquered Aſia, had brought the war into Italy, and he ſays, that the Romans had choſen Papyrius Curſor to oppoſe him in this caſe to that conqueror. 'Haud dubie illa ætate, qua nulla 'virtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus erat vir quo magis 'innixa res Romana ſtaret: quin eum parem DESTINARANT animis magno Alexandro ducem, ſi arma, 'Aſia perdomita, in Europam vertiſſet (78). - - - - '*In that age, than which none produced greater men, 'there was no one, on whom the Roman commonwealth 'could ſo ſecurely depend: nay, they had determined he 'ſhould lead their forces againſt Alexander the Great, 'if, after the conqueſt of Aſia, he had turned his arms 'againſt Europe.*' This Hiſtorian's digreſſion is not very long; and yet about the middle of it he declares, that he does not believe that the fame of Alexander reached ſo far as Rome. He ſays this, to anſwer an objection (79). The Greeks, jealous of the glory of the Romans, who had ſubdued them, jealous I ſay of that glory, ſo far as to become flatterers of the Parthians, in order to obſcure it, ſaid, that Alexander, by the meer majeſty of his name, and by the bare luſtre of his glory, would have brought down the courage of the Romans. Livy anſwers, this danger was little to be feared by people that had not ſo much as heard of that prince: why then had they appointed Papyrius Curſor to command their armies, in caſe Alexander, flushed with his Aſian conqueſts, ſhould bring the war into Italy; Livy cannot be excuſed; his heedleſſneſs, his want of attention, in a word, his contradiction, is palpable.

(78) T. Livius, *Lib.* ix, *Cap.* xvii.

(79) Id vero peculiam erat quod leviſſimi ex Græcis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriæ ſervent, dictare ſolent, ne mediocrem quidem Alexandri, QUEM NE FAMA QUIDEM ILLIS NOTUM ARBITROR FUISSE, ſuſtinere non potuerit populus Romanus. *Livius, Lib.* ix, *Cap.* xvii.

[R] *One of our moſt excellent Poets ſeems to contradict himſelf on the ſame ſubject.*] I have not at preſent the obſervations of Des-Marets of the French academy, publiſhed againſt Boileau's ſatires about the year 1674, but I have a confuſed notion that he ſeverely criticiſed this fine and ingenious invective (80):

Quoi donc, à vôtre avis, fut-ce un fou qu'Alexandre?
Qui? cet écervelé qui mit l'Aſie en cendre?
Ce fougueux l'Angeli qui de ſang alteré
Maître du monde entier s'y trouvoit trop ſerré?
L'enragé qu'il étoit, né Roy d'une Province,
Qu'il pouvoit gouverner en bon & ſage Prince,
S'en alla follement & penſant être Dieu
Courir comme un Bandit qui n'a ni feu ni lieu,
Et trâînant avec ſoi les horreurs de la guerre
De ſa vaſte folie emplir toute la terre.
Heureux! ſi de ſon tems pour cent bonnes raiſons
La Macedoine eût eu de Petites Maiſons;
Et qu'un ſage Tuteur l'eût en cette demeure,
Par avis de Parens, enfermé de bonne heure.

(80) *It is in the eighth ſatire.*

Then, Alexander was a fool, you think . . . .
What! He, that hair-brain'd, raſh, ambitious, madman,
Who laid in aſhes Aſia's fertile plains,
And thought the world too little for his ſway?
Lord of an ample province born, whoſe crown
He might have worn, a monarch wiſe and good,
Yet ran, a public robber, up and down,
With idle boaſts of his Divinity:
And, with war's horrors in his bloody train,
Fill'd the wide earth with his extenſive folly.
Happy! for many good and weighty reaſons,
Had Macedon been ſtored with mad-houſes,
And a wiſe tutor, by advice of parents,
Confin'd the frantic youth, and lock'd him up betimes.

The critic, if I remember right, grounds himſelf, amongſt other things, upon Mr Boileau's praiſing Alexander in another place, and comparing him to Lewis XIV. It was not Des-Marets's fault, if his cenſure was not turned into a criminal accuſation, capable of caſting the accuſed out of his prince's favour. The public was ſo prejudiced in favour of Mr Boileau, and ſo thankful for being diverted by the reading of his ſatires, at many people's coſt, that no notice was taken of Des-Marets's reflexions. Tho' they had been never ſo ſolid and convincing, they would have been deſpiſed; the ſeaſon was not favourable for them: which an author ought to obſerve no leſs than a Gardener. To this may be applied what I cite (81).

[S] *The contempt he had for a man . . . . . of extraordinary ſkill.*] We read this particular in ſeveral moderns. Obſerve how Mr de la Mothe le Vayer applies it, in his inſtruction of the Dauphin (82): *There are arts of ſo little conſideration, and that conſiſt in ſuch uſeleſs ſubtilties, that princes may very well be ignorant of them; nor ought they ſo much as to eſteem or reward thoſe that have placed their ſtudies in them, except with recompences as inſignificant as their works. A man preſented himſelf to Alexander *, ſo dexterous at throwing a chich-pea through the eye of a needle, as to caſt a great many of them, one after another, at a good diſtance without miſſing. Alexander rewarded his induſtry, by commanding a buſhel of chich-peas to be given him. This example ſuffices to preſcribe the rule which ought to be practiſed by all ſovereigns on the like occaſions.* The book and chapter of Quintilian are well cited; but the words are very ill tranſlated. Let us ſee them in the original. 'Ματαιοτεχνία quoque eſt 'quædam, id eſt ſupervacua artes imitatio, quæ nihil 'ſane nec boni nec mali habeat, ſed vanum laborem: 'qualis illius fuit qui grana ciceris ex ſpatio diſtante miſſa in acum continuò & ſine fruſtratione inſerebat, quem cum ſpectaſſet Alexander, donaſſe dicitur ejuſdem leguminis modio. Quod quidem præmium fuit illo opere digniſſimum. - - - - *There is an 'unneceſſary imitation of art, which is neither good 'nor bad, but attended with labour to no purpoſe: 'ſuch as was his, who ſtuck grains of vetches on a 'needle's point, ſtanding at a diſtance, and repeated the 'experiment ſeveral times, without miſſing: which A'lexander, being ſpectator of, is ſaid to have preſented 'him with a buſhel of that grain.*' This man's art did not conſiſt, as Mr de la Mothe le Vayer, affirms,

(81) Parcendum eſt maximè caritati hominum, ne temere in eos dicas qui diligunter. - - - *But, in particular, ſpare whatever renders a man dear, leſt you raſhly ſpeak againſt thoſe, who are beloved.* Cicero, de Orat. *Lib.* ii, *Cap.* lviii.

(82) La Mothe le Vayer, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 226. Edit. in 12mo. 1681.

* Quintil. *Lib.* ii, Inſtit. *Cap.* xx.

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in *casting a chich-pea through the eye of a needle*, standing *at a good distance*. This was not much more practicable than what was proposed by our lord Jesus Christ as a thing impossible (83). But his artifice was this; he put a chich-pea into his mouth, and by blowing threw it towards a needle at a good distance, and fixed it upon the point of this needle. Naudé, without using Quintilian's words, has happily expressed the thing (84), and not mistaken it as the author I have cited. I do not remember ever to have have read, that Alexander was blamed for slighting this pea-blower. Plato would not have judged more rationally on this piece of dexterity than Alexander; for he was the only person, that did not admire one Anniceris who was so good a coachman, that he could drive his chariot an hundred rounds, without deviating the least in the world from the same track (85). Plato judged, that a person who took so much pains to perfect himself in so useless an art, was not capable of great things.

(83) Εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστι κάμηλον (*or rather* κάμιλον) διὰ τρυπήματος βαφίδος διελθεῖν, ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. *It is easier for a camel* (or rather *a cable*) *to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of GOD.* Matth. ch. xix, ver. xxiv.

Πλάτων, τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτῦ σπουδὴν διέβαλεν, εἰπὼν· ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, τὸν εἰς μικρὰ ὕτω καὶ ἀδ'ενὸς ἄξια τοσαύτην φροντίδα καταστιθέμενον, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων τινῶν σπουδάσαι. πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀποτεθεῖσαν ἀνάγκη ὀλιγωρεῖν τῶν ὄντων θαυμάζεσθαι δικαίων. Plato nimiam ejus industriam reprehendit, inquiens, fieri non posse, ut qui rebus tam nullius pretii operam navaret adeò diligentem, possit magnis & præclaris negotiis ullis vacare. Quum enim omnis cogitatio in ista conferatur, necessum esse, ut ea negligat, quæ revera sunt admiratione digna (86). - - - - *Plato blamed his too great industry, saying, that a man, who applies himself so diligently to a thing of no worth, can have no leisure for great and noble employs. For his whole thoughts being bent that way, he must of necessity neglect those things, which are really praise-worthy.*

(86) Ælian. Var. Hist. *lib. ii, cap. xxvii.*

(84) Alexander Magnus hominem solo oris halitu cicera minutissima ex magno intervallo in acum certissime infigentem, cicerum modio, donari voluit, quo se ille nugator in tam ludicræ artis fatuitate diutius exerceret. - - - - *Alexander the Great, seeing a man stick small vetches on a needle's point, by force of his breath alone, and standing at a great distance, presented him with a bushel of vetches, that the trifler might exercise himself the longer in the folly of his childish art.* Naudæus in Syntagmate de studio liberali.

(85) Lucian. *in* Encom. Demosth. *pag. m. 929, 930, Tom. ii.*

(*a*) In nulla vel certe mediocri Latinarum literarum cognitione. *Jovius, Elog. cap. lxxxvii, p. 205.*

MACHIAVEL (NICOLAS), a native of Florence, was a man of great wit, and an excellent pen: he knew but little Latin (*a*); but he was in the service of a learned man, who having pointed out to him many fine places of the antient authors, enabled him to insert them in his books [*A*]. He made a comedy upon the model of the antient Greeks [*B*], which was very much applauded, insomuch that Leo X. would entertain the city

[*A*] *He was in the service of a learned man, who having pointed out to him many fine places of the antient authors, enabled him to insert them in his books.*] It was Marcellus Virgilius; as we learn from Paul Jovius, who had it from Machiavel. 'Constat eum, 'ficuti ipse nobis fatebatur, à Marcello Virgilio, cu- 'jus & notarius, & assecla publici muneris fuit, Græ- 'cæ atque Latinæ linguæ flores accepisse, quos scrip- 'tis suis insereret (1). - - - - *It is well known, as he 'himself confessed, that he had received the flowers 'of the Greek and Latin tongues, in order to be inserted 'in his works, from Marcellus Virgilius, whose Notary 'and Assistant in public business he was.*'

(1) Paul Jovius, Elog. *cap. lxxxvii, p. m. 206.*

[*B*] *He wrote a comedy upon the model of the ancient Greeks.*] He ridiculed in it several Florentines, who durst not express their resentment. 'Comiter æstimemus 'Etruscos sales, ad exemplar Comœdiæ veteris Ari- 'stophanis, in Nicia præsertim Comœdia; in qua 'adeò jucunde vel in tristibus risum excitavit, ut il- 'li ipsi ex persona scitè expressa, in scena inducti 'cives, quanquam præaltè commorderentur, totam 'inustæ notæ injuriam civili lenitate pertulerint: 'actamque Florentiæ, ex ea miri lepôris fama Leo 'Pontifex, instaurato ludo, ut Urbi ea voluptas com- 'municaretur, cum toto scenæ cultu, ipsisque histrio- 'nibus Romam acciverit (2). - - - - *Let us form a good 'natured judgment of the Tuscan wit, on the model of the 'comedy of Aristophanes, particularly the Nicias, in 'which, even on a melancholy subject he so pleasantly 'excited mirth, that those very persons, whom he lashed 'under theatrical characters, bore the injury without 'resentment; and having been acted at Florence, Pope Leo 'upon the fame of it's great wit, ordered it to be perform- 'ed at Rome, with all it's decorations, and by the same 'actors, that that city might enjoy the pleasure of it.*' This passage of Paul Jovius informs us, that the Pope, hearing what great success this play had on the stage of Florence, gave orders that it should be acted at Rome by the same actors, and with the same scenes. I know not from whence Mr Varillas had so many other particulars, which he did not read in Paul Jovius. Here is his narrative (3): 'One 'day as Machiavel mimicked the gestures and irregular 'motions of some of the Florentines, the cardinal told 'him, they would appear much more ridiculous on the 'stage, in a comedy made in imitation of the come- 'dies of Aristophanes. There needed no more to put 'Machiavel upon writing his Sanitia (4), in which 'the persons he designed to ridicule were so lively 'described, that they durst not shew their resentment 'tho' they were present at it's first acting, for fear of 'increasing the public laughter, by discovering them- 'selves. The cardinal de Medicis was so charmed 'with it, that after he was Pope, he caused the scenes, 'the habits, and the actors themselves, to be brought 'to Rome, to divert his court with it.' Mr Varillas not only relates things which Paul Jovius has not said; but he supposes, against the narrative of this author, that this play was acted at the theatre of Florence before Leo X was Pope. Mr de Balzac observes, that Machiavel's Clitia is a copy of Plautus's Casina, and he justly blames this Florentine for following his original, even in things where matters of religion were ridiculed. 'Scriba quem nôsti Florentinus .... à 'Latinâ bonâ Hetruscam fecit meo judicio non ma- 'lam. Clitia siquidem illius, eadem est quæ Plauti 'Casina; ex quâ nonnulla interpres fidissimus penè 'ad verbum redidit, quædam correxit cum arte, 'multa felicissimè imitatus est, aliqua verò aut im- 'prudenter aut perversè; velut illa Olympionis vil- 'lici ad Stalionem herum:

(2) Id. ibid. *pag. 205.*

(3) *Varillas Anecdotes of Florence, pag. 248.*

(4) *Paul Jovius calls this comedy* Nicia. *This piece is not inserted in Machiavel's works. Only two comedies are found there, the first is intituled* Mandragola, *and the second* Clitia.

Inimica est tua uxor mihi, inimicus filius,
Inimici familiares. STAL. *Quid id refert tua?*
Unus tibi hic dum propitius sit Jupiter,
Tu istos minutos cave Deos floccifeceris.
OLYMP. *Nugæ sunt istæ magnæ, quasi tu nescias,*
Repentè ut emoriantur humani Joves.
Sed tandem si tu Jupiter sis emortuus,
Cùm ad Deos minores redierit regnum tuum,
Quis mihi subveniet, tergo, aut capiti, aut cruribus?

'Quæ sic Thuscus effinxit Scena sexta Actus tertii, ubi 'Pyrrhus hunc cum Nicomacho sermonem habet.

NIC. *Ch'importa à te? Stà ben con Christo, & fatti besse dè' Santi* (5).
PIR. *Si, ma se voi morissi, e Santi mi tratterebbeno assai male.*
NIC. *Non dubitare, io ti farò tal parte, che i Santi ti potranno dar poca briga,* &c.

(5) *Compare above, citat.* (39) *of the article* D'ASSOUCI.

'Hæc quod ad elegantiam, multò inferiora sunt Plau- 'tinis; indigna verò homine Christiano, qui sanctiores 'Musas colit, & in ludicris quoque meminisse debet 'severitatis (6). - - - - - *The Florentine scribe, whom 'you know, has turned a good Latin play into one not 'bad in the Tuscan language; for his Clitia is the same 'with Plautus's Casina; some parts of which he has tran- 'slated word for word, some artfully corrected, and ma- 'ny most happily imitated; tho' some passages either im- 'prudently or perversely; as that of the bailiff Olympio 'to his master Stalionon.* Your wife hates me, your 'son hates me, and all your acquaintance hate me. 'STAL. What is that to you? Whilil Jupiter is your 'friend, never mind those minute deities. OLYMP. 'They are indeed not worth my regard, provided 'these human Jupiters die soon; but if you, Mr Ju- 'piter,

(6) Balzacius, Epist. Select. *p. m. 202, 203.*

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city of Rome with it. He was Secretary, and afterwards Hiſtoriographer to the republic of Florence. The Medicis procured him this laſt employment with a good ſalary, as a ſatisfaction for his having been put to the rack (*b*). This was done upon the ſuſpicion of his being an accomplice in the conſpiracies of the Soderini, againſt the houſe of Medicis. He had the ſtrength to bear the torments, and confeſs nothing (*c*). The praiſes he gave Brutus and Caſſius in his diſcourſes and books, made him vehemently ſuſpected to be the principal director of a plot that was diſcovered (*d*) [C]. Nevertheleſs, there was no proſecution againſt him. But from that time he lived in poverty, ridiculing every thing, and having no religion (*e*). A medicine he had taken, by way of prevention,

(*b*) Jovius, ubi ſupra, *p.* 206.

(*c*) *Varillas, Anecdotes of Florence, pag.* 247.

(*d*) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) *See the remark* [D].

' piter, ſhould die, and your kingdom come to the ' minor gods, what will become of my back, and ' ſhoulders, and ſhins? *Which the Tuſcan Poet has thus ' turned in the ſixth ſcene of the third act, where Pyrrhus holds this dialogue with Nicomachus.* NIC. ' What is it to you? keep in favour with CHRIST, ' and laugh at the ſaints. PYR. Yes; but if you ' die, and the ſaints uſe me very ill. NIC. Fear not; ' I will put you in ſuch a condition, that the ſaints ' ſhall be able to give you very little trouble. *This ' is much inferior in elegance to the paſſage of Plautus; ' but unworthy of a Chriſtian, whoſe muſe ought to be ' more holy, and, even in ludicrous ſubjects, remember ſo- ' verity.*'

I ſhall here occaſionally tell you what I promiſed (7). Leo X forgetting the dignity of his character, was preſent one day publickly at a comedy. It was at the requeſt of cardinal Bibienna, who was a good Italian Poet, and writ a play in honour of the ducheſs of Mantua. ' Poëtices & Hetruſcæ linguæ ſtudioſus, comœdias multo ſale, multiſque facetiis refertas componebat: ingenuos juvenes ad hiſtrionicam hortabatur, & ſcenas in Vaticano ſpatioſis in conclavibus inſtituebat. Propterea quum ſorte Calandrum comœdiam à mollibus argutiſque leporibus perjucundam ' in gratiam Iſabellæ Mantuani principis uxoris per ' nobiles comœdos agere ſtatuiſſet, precibus impetravit, ut ipſe pontifex è conſpicuo loco deſpectaret (8). ' - - - - *Being a Poet, and maſter of the Tuſcan language, he wrote comedies full of wit and pleaſantry: ' he exhorted young perſons of diſtinction to turn actors, ' and got plays performed in the ſpatious apartments of the ' Vatican. Wherefore, having reſolved to exhibit, by ' actors of quality, the comedy of Calander, written ' with genteel and ſharp wit, in honour of Iſabella ducheſs of Mantua, he prevailed on the Pope to be ſpectator of it from a conſpicuous place.*' I could eaſily believe, tho' the Hiſtorian doth not ſay it, that Leo X was preſent at the acting of the Pœnulus. It is a piece of Plautus which was acted in the court of the Capitol with all kind of pomp in the year 1513. ' Eodem quoque anno Julianus Medices Leonis frater ab ' Senatu populoque Romano civitate donatus eſt: in ' cujus gratiam, in area Capitolii temporarium theatrum extructum eſt omni picturarum varietate mirificè cultum. Egere in Scena Plauti Pœnulum decore ' mirabili, & priſca quidem elegantia Romanæ juventutis lepidiſſimi quique, variaque extra ordinem poëmata recitata, florentibus non aliàs ſæcundiore ſæculo poëtarum ingeniis (9). - - - - - *The ſame year likewiſe Julian Medicis, brother of Leo, was made ' free by the ſenate and people of Rome; in honour of ' whom an extemporaneous theatre was erected in the ' ſquare of the Capitol, wonderfully adorned with a ' variety of pictures. The Pœnulus of Plautus was acted ' by the moſt ſprightly of the Roman youth, with ſurpriſing decency and ancient elegance, and ſeveral pieces of ' poetry repeated beſides; no age having produced better ' Poets.*' Famian Strada relates, that this Pope not only aſſiſted at the conferences of the Poets, but that he alſo approved their inſtituting public diſputes at which he was preſent (10). It is true he placed himſelf in a box where he could not be ſeen by the aſſembly. ' In Aula omnium ordinum frequentia, & Pontificiis potiſſimum aſſeclis referta, nullo exedrarum, locique diſcrimine confidunt. Nam Leo Pontifex ratus inferius eſſe majeſtate Principis, ſi ſe in conſpectum concioni daret; in Aulæ receſſu, loculamento ſe ſuo ſublatus in ſpeculam inſeruerat (11). - - - - *They ſit down, without regard to precedency, in the hall, crowded with all ranks, and particularly the Pope's attendants. For Pope Leo, thinking it beneath the majeſty of a prince, to be preſent ' at the aſſembly, viewed it at a diſtance from his apart- ' ment.*' There is no doubt but the fiction which Strada relates, was founded upon ſome known matter of fact.

(*a*) *In the article* LEO X, *at the end of the remark* [F].

(8) Paul. Jovius, in vita Leonis X, *pag.* m. 189.

(9) Idem, Hiſtor. *lib.* xl, *ſub fin. See him alſo in* Vita Leonis X, *lib.* iii, *pag.* m. 145.

(10) Strada Proluſion. Academ. *lib.* ii, *Proluſ.* v, *pag.* m. 334. *See alſo pag.* 359, *where he ſays*, Fuit id Leoni perjucundum qui experta haberet illorum ingenia, & ſolitus eſſet interdum ſeveritatem imperii atque acres generis humani curas exhilaratis hilce voluptatibus temperare.

(11) *Id. ib. Prolu.* vi, *p.* 363.

[C] *He was ſuſpected to be director of a plot that was diſcovered.*] It coſt a Poet and a life-guard-man their lives, if we believe Paul Jovius. ' Quum ' dicendo ſcribendoque Brutos & Caſſios laudaret ' ejus conjurationis architectus fuiſſe putaretur, in qua ' Ajacetus Poëta, & Alamanus ex ipſa turma prætoria leviſſimus eques, concepti ſceleris capite pœnas dederunt. - - - - *Having, in converſation and writing, praiſed ſuch men as Brutus and Caſſius, he was ' thought to be the principal contriver of that conſpiracy, in ' which Ajacetus the Poet, and Alamanus of the Prætorian ' guard, loſt their heads.*' Theſe people had a deſign to kill cardinal Julian de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope Clement VII. He that Paul Jovius calls Ajacetus, is called by others James Diacettin, or *Jacobo da Diacetto*, or *Jacobus Jacettus*. ' He often ' frequented the houſes and gardens of Ruſcellay: ' Scholars, citizens, and ſtrangers, were welcome ' there, and, amongſt others, Zanobi Buondelmonte, ' and Lewis Alamanni, and they commonly diſcourſed before Coſimin Ruſcellay . . . an impotent man, ' who was carried as in a cradle; and amongſt theſe was Nicholas Machiavel, who ſhewed them his ' works and dedicated his Diſcourſes, a work of a new ' invention, to Coſimin. Theſe men of learning and ' Philoſophy entered upon a project of killing the ' cardinal, not for any ill will, but to reſtore, as ' they ſaid, the republic to it's liberty. Diacettin confeſſed it before the judges, and he and the meſſenger ' were condemned and executed. Machiavel was ' much ſuſpected: Alamanni happened to be in the ' country and eſcaped into the duchy of Urbino: Buondelmonte was forced by his wife to leave his houſe, ' and to get out of the city, and ſo eſcaped to Carfagnana, where the Poet Lewis Arioſto, who was go- ' vernor for the duke of Ferrara, ſaved him (12). Mr Varillas (13) ſuppoſes that Leo X was alive at the time of this conſpiracy; he is miſtaken in this, as much as in the interval he puts between Machiavel's promotion to the employment of Hiſtoriographer, and the exaltation of this Pope (14). But Paul Jovius's faults are much greater. He ſuppoſes, that the chief quality and diſtinguiſhing character of his Ajacetus was the being a Poet; which is not true (15): He ſhould have ſaid this of his Alamannus, inſtead of making him one of the light-horſe-guard; and he ought not to have put him in the number of the beheaded. Aloiſio Alamanni, a very ingenious man, and a great Poet, was an accomplice in this conſpiracy, but he was not puniſhed for it: he eſcaped beyond the Alps, and was very well received by Francis I. He publiſhed ſeveral poems in this prince's praiſe, and on many other ſubjects, and he flouriſhed in France in the year 1540, as Poccianti has obſerved (16), and in the year 1544, as we have ſeen above (17). There is a chapter (18) concerning him in Boccalini's *Ragguagli*. He is there blamed for the exceſſive praiſes he had given the French in an oration, and it is added, that he was quickly diſguſted with this nation, becauſe the French gave him too plainly to underſtand, that they deſpiſed him. Here is a paſſage of James Gohory: " Finally, he wrote pret- ' ty little tracts, namely the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtra- ' cani (who, as I hear, has a relation, a very worthy ' gentleman now in this city) ſent by him to Luigi ' Alemanni, who wrote a book of Agriculture, and ' tranſlated the romance of Giron the courteous, by ' the great Francis's command very elegantly into Italian verſe; and he left two ſons in the court of ' France, one the preſent biſhop of Macon, a man of ' very good learning, the other ſteward of the king's ' houſhold, very expert in arms (19).'

(12) *Peter de Boiſſat's Genealogical Hiſtory of the houſe of Medicis, p.* 241, 242.

(13) *Anecdotes of Florence, p.* 249.

(14) *Ibid. pag.* 248.

(15) *See the article* JACCETIUS.

(16) Floruit in maximo pretio in Gallia tranſalpina, 1540. Michael Poccantius, in Catalogo Scriptorum Florentinorum, *pag.* 7. *Edit. Florent.* 1589.

(17) *Citat.* (26) *of the article* FRANCIS I.

(18) *It is the nineteenth of the ſecond century.*

(19) *James Gohery, in Machiavel's Life before his French tranſlation of the* Prince, *and the diſcourſes upon Livy, printed at Paris in* 1571.

[D] *A*

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tion, occaſioned his death in 1530 [D]. Some ſay that they were obliged to uſe the public authority, to force him to receive the ſacraments (f). Others ſay that he died uttering blaſphemies (g). That of all his books, which has been moſt cenſured (b), is a treatiſe of politics, intituled, *The Prince* [E]. Several authors have confuted it. Poſſevin, who

(f) *See Varillas ubi ſupra, pag.* 249.

(g) Blaſphemans evomuit impro-bum Spiritum. *Th. Raynaudus, de malis & bonis libris, num. xlvi, pag.* 28.

(b) *Th. Raynaudus, ubi ſupra, has given a liſt of ſeveral authors who have refuted Machiavel.*

[D] *A medicine he had taken by way of prevention, occaſioned his death in* 1530.] See the words of Paul Jovius (20). ‘ Fato functus eſt quum accepto temere ‘ pharmaco, quo ſe adverſus morbos præmuniret, ‘ VITÆ SUÆ JOCABUNDUS ILLUSISSET, paulo ‘ antequam Florentia Cæſarianis ſubacta armis, Medi-‘ ceos veteres dominos recipere cogeretur (21). - - - - ‘ *He died, having raſhly taken a medicine to prevent* ‘ *diſtempers, and* JESTING UPON HIS OWN LIFE, ‘ *a little before Florence, conquered by the Imperial* ‘ *arms, was obliged to receive their old maſters of the* ‘ *family of Medicis.*’ He had ſaid a little before, *Fuit exinde ſemper inops, uti irriſor & Atheos.* He ſuppoſes then that the Medicis forſook him, as ſoon as they ſuſpected him to be in Diacettin's plot; but he is miſtaken. Clement VII was not yet Pope; and we find, that Machiavel, dedicating his eight books of the Hiſtory of Florence to Clement VII, confeſſes he ſubſiſted by the bounties of this Pope. ‘ Io vengo allegro in ‘ campo ſperando che come io ſono dalla humanita ‘ di V. B. honorato e NUTRITO, coſi ſarò delle ar-‘ mate legioni del ſuo ſanctiſſimo giudicio ajutato e ‘ difeſo. - - - - - *I come with alacrity into the field,* ‘ *hoping, that as I am obliged to your holineſs for my* ‘ *ſupport, ſo your judgment will aſſiſt and defend me in* ‘ *the armed legions.*’ This circumſtance of time manifeſts a notable falſhood of Varillas. He ſays (22), ‘ That Machiavel wrote the eight books which we ‘ have of the hiſtory of his country in ſo florid and ‘ correct a ſtile, that it is blamed for being too much ‘ ſo. And it is principally in this, that Boccacio's ‘ eaſineſs and ſweet liberty is preferred before Ma-‘ chiavel's ſtile. His narration is ſometimes ill-natured ‘ and ſatirical; and Mark Muſurus ſo clearly con-‘ victed him of it that he durſt not reply.’ Muſurus died in Pope Leo the tenth's time; he could not therefore criticiſe a work of Machiavel, that came not out till Clement VII. Mr Varillas ſtrangely perverts and falſifies theſe words of Paul Jovius (23). ‘ Pedeſtrem ‘ patrii ſermonis facultatem à Boccacii conditoris ve-‘ tuſtate diffluentem novis & plane Atticis vinculis ‘ aſtrinxerat, ſic ut ille caſtigatior, ſed non purior aut ‘ gravior otioſis ingeniis exiſtimetur. - - - - *He confined* ‘ *with new and perfectly Attic chains, the old rambling* ‘ *proſe of Boccace, it's founder; yet ſo, as that the latter* ‘ *is eſteemed by the men of leiſure the more correct, but* ‘ *not the more pure or more weighty.*’ According to Paul Jovius, Boccacio's ſtile is more correct than that of Machiavel, but it is not purer or graver. However, when I ſay that Machiavel died in the year 1530. I accommodate myſelf to Paul Jovius's expreſſions; without knowing, whether it will be better to follow him or Poccianti, who places his death in the year 1526 (24). The Feuillant, Peter de St Romuald, puts it on the fifth of December 1530. See the ſecond tome (25) of his Chronological Journal. This doth not agree with Paul Jovius. See above, citation (20).

(20) Jovius, Elog. *pag.* 206.

(21) *Florence was ſurrendered the ninth of Auguſt* 1530.

(22) *Varillas, Anecdotes of Florence. pag.* 248.

(23) Jovius, Elog. *p.* 206.

(24) Poccianti, *ubi ſupra, p.* 137.

(25) *Pag. m.* 592.

[E] *A treatiſe of Politics, intituled,* The Prince.] This author's maxims are very pernicious; the world is ſo perſuaded of it, that Machiaveliſm, and the art of reigning tyrannically, are terms of the ſame import. This work of Machiavel was tranſlated into French by Mr Amelot de la Houſſaye. The author of the News from the Republic of Letters (26), ſpeaking of the third edition of this tranſlation, makes the following remark. The preface ‘ is full of reflexions which are ‘ very judicious; we there read amongſt other ‘ things this thought of Mr de Wicquefort; *Machia-*‘ *vel ſays almoſt every where what princes do, and not* ‘ *what they ought to do* (27). It is ſtrange there are ſo ‘ many people, who believe, that Machiavel teaches ‘ princes dangerous politics; for on the contrary princes ‘ have taught Machiavel what he has written. It is ‘ the ſtudy of the world, and the obſervation of the ‘ tranſactions in it, and not a fanciful cloſet meditation, ‘ that have been Machiavel's maſters. Let his books ‘ be burned, anſwered, tranſlated, and commented, it ‘ will be all one with reſpect to government. By an ‘ unhappy and fatal neceſſity, Politics ſet themſelves ‘ above Morality; they do not confeſs it, but yet they ‘ do as Achilles, *Jura negat ſibi nata.* A great Phi-‘ loſopher of this age can not bear they ſhould ſay, ‘ that it was neceſſary man ſhould ſin: I believe, how-‘ ever, that he owns, with reſpect to princes, that ſin ‘ is now become a neceſſary thing, although that does ‘ not make them excuſable; for beſides that there are ‘ few who content themſelves with what is neceſſary, ‘ they would not be under this wretched condition, ‘ if they were all good men.’ To this may be added the ſaying of an ancient Poet, that by the bare exerciſe of royalty, the moſt innocent would learn to be guilty, without any tutor: *Ut nemo doceat fraudis & ſcelerum vias, regnum docebit* (28). - - - - - *Though no one were to teach the ways of fraud and wickedneſs, a kingdom will teach them.* Every body has heard that maxim, *qui neſcit diſſimulare neſcit regnare*, and he who denies the truth of it, muſt be very ignorant of affairs of ſtate. Boccalini cunningly gives us to underſtand, that the reign of ſome Popes taught Machiavel the politics of his Prince. Obſerve the apology he lends this writer. ‘ Io in tanto non intendo difendere gli ſcritti ‘ miei, che pubblicamente gli accuſo, e condanno per ‘ empi, per pieni di crudeli, & eſecrandi documenti ‘ da governare gli ſtati. Di modo, che ſe quella, che ‘ ho publicata alla Stampa, è dottrina inventata di mio ‘ capo, e ſono Precetti nuovi, dimando, che pur' hora ‘ contro di me irremiſſibilmente, ſi eſeguiſca la ſenten-‘ za, che a i Giudici e piaciuto darmi contro: ma ſe ‘ gli Scritti miei altro non contengono, che quei Pre-‘ cetti Politici, e quelle regole di Stato, che ho cavate ‘ dalle attioni di alcuni Principi, che ſe voſtra Maeſtà ‘ mi darà licenza nominarò in queſto luogo, de quali ‘ è pena la vita dir male, qual giuſtitia, qual ragione ‘ vuole, ch'eſſi, che hanno inventata l'arrabbiata, è di-‘ ſperata Politica ſcritta da me, ſieno tenuti ſacroſanti, ‘ io che ſolo l'ho publicata, un ribaldo, un atheiſta? ‘ Che certo non sò vedere, per qual cagione ſtia bene ‘ adorar l'originale di una coſa come ſanta, & abbruc-‘ ciare la copia di eſſa come eſecrabile: è come io tanto ‘ debba eſſer perſeguitato, quando la lettione delle ‘ Hiſtorie, non ſolo permeſſa, ma tanto commendata ‘ da ogn'uno notoriamente hà vertù di convertire in ‘ tanti Machiavelli quelli, che vi attendono con l'occhiale ‘ Politico (29).’ Obſerve theſe laſt words; Boccalini pretends, that ſince the reading of Hiſtory is both permitted and recommended, the reading of Machiavel is unjuſtly condemned. The meaning of which is, that the ſame maxims are found in Hiſtory, as in this author's Prince. There we ſee them put in practice, they are only here adviſed. It is perhaps upon this foundation, that men of ſenſe judge, that it were to be wiſhed no hiſtories were written (30). This does not excuſe Machiavel: he advances maxims which he does not blame; but a good Hiſtorian, who relates the practice of theſe maxims, condemns it. This makes a great difference between this Florentine's book and Hiſtory; and yet it is certain, that, by accident, the reading of Hiſtory is very apt to produce the ſame effect, as the reading of Machiavel. There are ingenious people, who have made his apology (31), ſaying, that all thoſe, who have attacked him, ſhow their ignorance in matters of policy (32). ‘ Quicunque ſane hactenus ‘ MACHIAVELLUM ſibi ſumpſere confutandum, ſi ‘ verum licet profiteri, ſuam civilis philoſophiæ ἀπαι-‘ δευσίαν nimis apertè prodiderunt. Ita voco cum ‘ Ariſtotele, ſummo dicendi magiſtro, imperitiam τοῦ ‘ τρόπου τῆς ἐπιςήμης, five naturæ & indolis politicæ ‘ ſcientiæ ignorantiam (33). Enim verò omnes penè ‘ videas differere, quaſi non aliæ ſint Reſpublicæ, quam ‘ quæ primo ac per ſeſe, imò unicè, ſalutem populi ‘ ſpectant, aut verò affectant plenam exactamque hu-‘ manæ vitæ felicitatem; eoque & politico magiſtro

(26) *News from the Republic of Letters, January,* 1687. *p.* 99.

(27) *The Chancellor* Bacon, de augment. Scientiar. *lib. vii, cap. ii, pag. m.* 397, *had ſaid the ſame.* Eſt quod gratias agamus Machiavello & hujuſmodi Scriptoribus qui aperte & indiſſimulanter proferunt quid homines facere ſolent non quid debeant.

(28) Seneca in Thyeſte, *Act ii, ver.* 313. *He had ſaid ver.* 217. Sanctitas, pietas, fides, privata bona ſunt: qua juvat, Reges cant. - - - - - *Sanctity, piety, fidelity, are private goods: let kings go where they pleaſe.*

(29) Boccalin, Ragguagli di Parnaſſo, centuria I, *cap. lxxxix.*

(30) *See* Machiavel, de Arte Hiſtorica.

(31) Pro Machiavello inter alios Apologiam ſcripſit Gaſp. Sciopp. in libello Pædiæ Politicæ, & Diſſertatione adverſus Paganinum Gaudentium. *Boſius de comparanda prud. Civil. num. xciii, apud Magirum Eponymol. pag.* 552.

(32) Conringius *in Præfat. ſuæ libri de Principe editionis, apud Magirum, pag.* 554.

(33) *Refer to this, theſe words of the Sieur Naudé, chap. i, of* Coups d'Etat (*State politics.*) To ſpeak of politics, as they are handled and practiſed at this day, without ſaying any thing of theſe ſtate-politics, is properly to be ignorant of the diſcipline and method which Ariſtotle teaches, in his Analytics, to ſpeak of all things pertinently, and according to the principles and demonſtrations proper and eſſential to them: *Eſt enim pædiæ inſcientia neſcire quorum oporteat quærere demonſtrationem, quorum vero non oporteat:* as he ſays in his Metaphyſics.

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is inexcuſable [L]. Notwithſtanding all thoſe vices, he was after his death honoured as a god, and even in the times of the Roman emperors there were ſome families that choſe him for their tutelar deity [M]. Flattery had no hand in this, as it had when in his life-time divine honours were paid him: it was a true ſuperſtitious worſhip. He died at Babylon about the thirty third year of his age. Some ſay he was poiſoned, but more deny it (a). His conqueſts were indeed broke into many pieces after his death, but theſe pieces were large ones, and for a long time rendered the Greek nation famous and potent in Aſia. He had not much time to perform them in; for he paſſed the Helleſpont, the ſecond year of the CXIth Olympiad, and he died the firſt year of the CXIVth. He was born the firſt year of the CVIth, and he began his reign the firſt year of the CXIth (b). He had one particular good fortune, which is, that it cannot be ſaid to eclipſe

(a) *See* Plutarch, *in* Alex *ſub fin. pag.* 707: *and above remark* [K].

(b) *According to* Seth. Calviſius, *who makes the year of Alexander's death co-incident with the* 430*th year of Rome, and the* 323*d before* JESUS CHRIST.

' *ſo many expeditions, ſo many battles, ſo many winters,* ' *during which, ſurmounting the difficulties of place and* ' *time, he had paſſed ſo many rivers, deſcending from un-* ' *known countries, and ſo many ſeas, in all which he* ' *had come off with ſafety, was at laſt killed by intem-* ' *perate drinking, and that fatal Herculean cup.*' Diodorus Siculus (54) relates, that Alexander having already drank too much, would drink off Hercules's cup, which he had no ſooner done, but he was ſeized with a cruel pain, as if he had received a great blow. Thus you ſee the only poiſon that killed him, and which made the Aſtrologers get the advantage which the Philoſophers had made them loſe (55). For as for actual poiſon, it was not mentioned till ſixteen years after Alexander's death, and probably thoſe who were the informers, deſigned only to cauſe Olympias to put a great many people to death, as ſhe did. Ariſtotle was not charged with being concerned in it, but upon the word of one Agnothemis, who, as they ſaid, had heard Antigonus ſay, that Ariſtotle diſcovered the poiſon to Antipater, that he was to uſe (56). Let us not forget, that Alexander cauſed Calanus's funeral to be pompouſly celebrated (57). There was a funeral oration, tournaments, ſolemn games, and every thing: but conſidering the Indian's inclination for wine, he bethought himſelf of ſetting up a combat of drunkenneſs (58); there were three prizes for the conquerors; the firſt was worth a talent. Of thoſe that entered the liſt, there were thirty five that died upon the ſpot, and ſix that followed them quickly after. The conqueror named Promachus drank four *Congii* (59), and lived but three days after his victory (60).

(54) *Libr. XVII, ſub fin.*

(55) *See what has been cited from Diodorus Siculus, in the remark* [G].

(56) Plut. *in Alexand. p.* 707.

(57) *An Indian Philoſopher, who burned himſelf with great ceremony.*

(58) Ἀπρατοποτίας ἀγὼνα, *more potatus certamen.* Clarei Mitylenæus in Hiſtoriis de Alexandro, *apud* Athenæum, *Libr. X, pag.* 437.

(59) *Ibid.*

(60) Plut. *in Alexand. pag.* 703.

[L] *The cruelty he excerciſed upon the inhabitants of Tyre, is inexcuſable.*] Alexander's fortune, that hitherto had run with the rapidity of a torrent, found before this place a ſtrong reſiſtance, which checked it's courſe ſeveral months (61). This prince underſtood but too well, the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch an interruption; he loſt his main point, if he gave room to believe, that he could be ſtopped. Finding therefore a thouſand ſubjects of diſcontent, both in raiſing the ſiege and continuing it, he reſolved to make new efforts againſt this city. ' Hic rex fatigatus ſtatuerat ſoluta ' obſidione Ægyptum petere, quippe quum Aſiam in- ' genti celeritate percurriſſet circa muros unius urbis ' hærebat, tot maximarum rerum opportunitate di- ' miſſa. Cæterum tam diſcedere invitum quam mo- ' rari pudebat. Fama quoque qua plura quam armis ' everterat ratus leviorem fore, ſi Tyrum quaſi teſtem ' ſe poſſe vinci reliquiſſet. Igitur ne quid inexpertum ' omitteret, &c (62). - - - - - - *Here the king, being* ' *wearied out, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and march in-* ' *to Egypt; the rapidity, with which he had over-run* ' *Aſia, being checked by the walls of a ſingle town, by* ' *which he loſt the opportunity of ſo many great actions.* ' *Yet he was as much aſhamed to depart, as to ſtay: be-* ' *ſides he conſidered, it would leſſen his fame, which had* ' *contributed more to his victories than his arms, if he* ' *left Tyre as a proof that he might be conquered. There-* ' *fore, to leave nothing unattempted,* &c.' His new efforts ſucceeded, he ſtormed the place, but diſhonoured the victory by his cruelty. He commanded the houſes to be fired, and all to be put to the ſword, that had not retired to the temples; and he crucified two thouſand inhabitants, who had not ſo much eſcaped the fury of the ſoldiers, as their wearineſs of killing. *Triſte deinde ſpectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis: duo millia in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris ſpatium pependerunt* (63). There is no prince in theſe days, but would be degraded from all his glory in a thouſand volumes, ſhould he do the twentieth part of what Alexander did.

(61) *Apply to this the words.* Hæc ſive invidia Deum, ſive fato, expeditionis procontenti imperii cursus paruimper . . . . ſupprimitur. - - - - *Here, either through the envy of the gods, or fate, the rapid progreſs of the empire was ſtayed for a while.* Florus, *Libr. I, Cap. XIII.*

(62) Q. Curt. *Libr. IV. Cap. V.*

(63) *Ib. ib.*

[M] *Some families . . . . . choſe him for their tutelar deity.*] I would not venture to affirm that his doublet, which they boaſted to have at Rome, was reckoned a pledge of ſome celeſtial benediction; and we muſt not reckon much upon Caligula's wearing it on a ſolemn day. Caligula was no ſuperſtitious man, and if he had been a Chriſtian, I do not think he would have had much faith for the ſcapulary. Not that I pretend to deny, that great villains have had childiſh ſuperſtitions. But be it how it will, I can ſay nothing of Caligula's opinion, with reſpect to that relic of Alexander, ſince Dion ſays nothing of it (64). Caracalla had a great affection for Alexander: this emperor made uſe of arms and goblets, and ſoldiers like thoſe of this conqueror; he perſecuted the Peripatetics, and would burn all the books of their maſter, becauſe of the report that was ſpread, that he was an accomplice in the poiſoning of Alexander. He teſtified by a hundred other things his veneration for him, but I ſhall take care not to imitate a learned critic (65), who makes uſe of theſe facts to prove, that a religious worſhip was paid to Alexander. What he cites from Trebellius Pollio, and Lampridius, has quite another force. The firſt of theſe two Hiſtorians tells us it was believed, that Alexander's effigies engraven in gold or ſilver, brought good luck to the perſon that wore it. The other Hiſtorian tells us, that there was in the city of Arcena a temple conſecrated to Alexander the Great. ' Alexandri ' nomen accepit *(Alexander Severus)* quod in templo ' dicato apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro magno natus ' eſſet, quum caſu illuc die feſto Alexandri pater cum ' uxore patriæ ſolennitatis implendæ cauſa veniſſet. Cui ' rei argumentum eſt quod eadem die natalem habet ' hic Mammeæ Alexander, qua ille Magnus exceſſit è ' vita (66). - - - - - *Severus took the name of Alexander,* ' *becauſe he was born in a temple dedicated to Alexander* ' *the Great in the city of Arcena, the father of Alexander* ' *coming thither by chance, with his wife, to celebrate* ' *ſome feſtival. In confirmation of this, it is obſervable* ' *that this Alexander, the ſon of Mammæa, was born* ' *the ſame day, on which Alexander the Great died.*' This paſſage ſhews that the inhabitants of Arcena kept Alexander's feſtival every year the day that he died. Which is the ſame that is done at preſent with reſpect to ſeveral ſaints, whoſe feſtival falls on the day of their death. As for Trebellius Pollio's paſſage, I will recite it at large, in favour of thoſe, who ſhall read this Dictionary, without having many other books, or who do not care to ſtir from their place to conſult this author. They who do not care to know what he has ſaid may paſs over the following lines. ' Videtur mihi non prætermittendum de Macriano- ' rum familia, quæ hodieque floret, id dicere quod ' ſpeciale ſemper habuerunt. Alexandrum Magnum ' Macedonem viri in annulis & argento, mulieres in ' reticulis & dextrocheriis, & in annulis, & in omni ' ornamentorum genere, exſculptum ſemper habuerunt: ' eo uſque ut tunicæ & limbi & penulæ matronales ' in familia ejus hodieque ſint, quæ Alexandri effigiem ' de liciis variantibus, monſtrent. Vidimus proxime ' Cornelium Macrum in eadem familia virum, quum ' cœnam in templo Herculis daret, pateram electrinam, ' quæ in medio vultum Alexandri haberet, & in cir- ' cuitu omnem hiſtoriam contineret ſignis brevibus & ' minutulis, pontifici propinare, quam quidem circum- ' ferri ad omnes tanti illius viri cupidiſſimos juſſit. ' Quod id circo poſui, quia dicuntur juvari in omni ' actu ſuo, qui Alexandrum expreſſum vel auro ge- ' ſtitant vel argento (67). - - - - - *I think I ought not* ' *to paſs by a circumſtance peculiar to the family of the* ' *Macriani, which ſtill flouriſhes. The men have al-* ' *ways carried about them the effigies of Alexander the* ' *Great*

(64) *Libr. LIX.*

(65) Barthius in Statium, *Tom. I. pag.* 404.

(66) Lampridius, *in* Alexandro Severo, *pag. m.* 889, *Tom. I.*

(67) Trebellius Pollio, in 30. Tyrann. *pag.* 295, *Tom. II.*

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eclipſe the luſtre of his glory, that treachery had any great ſhare in his triumphs [*N*]. There is no need to ſay that Philip his father deſcended from Hercules, and Olympias his mother from Achilles, and thus his extraction was as glorious, as it could have been, if he had had the liberty of chuſing it in Hiſtory. We ſhall not ſpeak here of his wives and children, referring this to the article ROXANA. According to the nature of this Dictionary, I ſhould obſerve all the errors that people have committed concerning this conqueror, yet I ſhall note only ſome of them. The Jews pretend, that he determined ſeveral diſputes they had with their neighbours [*O*]. Some ſay, that the Romans ſent embaſſadors

' *Great of Macedon, engraven on their rings and mo-*
' *ney, and the women on their head-dreſſes, bracelets,*
' *rings, and all other ornaments: inſomuch that there*
' *are gowns and petticoats now in the family interwoven*
' *with the figure of Alexander. I my ſelf ſaw Corne-*
' *lius Macer, of the ſame family upon his giving an en-*
' *tertainment in the temple of Hercules, drink to the*
' *prieſt in an amber cup, which had Alexander's head*
' *in the middle, and contained his whole hiſtory in ſmall*
' *characters round the brim, which he ordered to be car-*
' *ried round to all the admirers of ſo great a man. I*
' *mention this, becauſe they, who carry about them the*
' *effigies of Alexander in gold or ſilver, are ſaid to be*
' *aſſiſted in all their undertakings.*' I do not alledge the prayers Juſtin ſpeaks of; they are no proof of a fixed worſhip and invocation. The Macedonians were then in the utmoſt conſternation, they imitated drowning people, who catch at every thing they meet with. In ſuch caſes people canonize thoſe who have neither temples nor feſtivals. If you would however know, what Juſtin has ſaid, you may ſatisfy your ſelf without riſing from your place. ' Hæc cum nunciata per
' omnem Macedoniam eſſent, portæ urbium claudun-
' tur, luctu omnia replentur, nunc orbitatem amiſſo-
' rum filiorum dolebant, nunc excidia urbium metue-
' bant, nunc Alexandri Philippique Regum ſuorum
' nomina ſicuti Numina in auxilium vocabant. Sub
' illis ſe non ſolum tutos, verum etiam victores orbis
' terrarum extitiſſe, ut tuerentur patriam ſuam quam
' gloria rerum geſtarum cœlo proximam reddidiſſent,
' ac opem afflictis ferrent quos furor & temeritas Pto-
' lemæi Regis perdidiſſet, orabant (68). - - - - *When*
' *the news of theſe things was ſpread all over Macedon,*
' *the gates of the cities were ſhut up, nothing was ſeen*
' *but tears and lamentations; one while they lamented*
' *their loſt ſons, then they feared the deſtruction of their*
' *cities, next they invoked the names of their kings, Ale-*
' *xander and Philip, as gods to their aſſiſtance. Under*
' *them they had not only been ſafe, but conquerors of the*
' *world; they entreated them to protect their country,*
' *which they had rendered ſo famous by their glorious ex-*
' *ploits, and aſſiſt their afflicted country-men, whom the*
' *rage and raſhneſs of Ptolemy endeavoured to ruin.*'

(68) Juſtinus, *Libr. XXIV, Cap. V.*

[*N*] *It cannot be ſaid, that treachery had any great ſhare in his triumphs.*] Read Pauſanias, where he ſhews what prejudice was ſeveral times done to the liberty of the Greeks by the practices of thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be bribed; you will there find that Philip king of Macedonia held thoſe correſpondences to aggrandize himſelf, but that Alexander, his ſon, had the good fortune to fortify and augment his power without theſe means. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου βασιλείαν τὸ Ἀμύντα, Λακεδαίμονα πόλεων μόνην οὐ προδοθεῖσαν τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησιν εὕροις τίς ἂν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὑπὸ προδοσίας μᾶλλον, ἢ ὑπὸ νόσου πρότερον τῆς λοιμώδους ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Φιλίππου πάρεσχεν ἡ εὐτυχία, μικρὰ ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου προσδεηθῆναι. Philippo vero Amyntæ filio ad Græciæ imperium adſpirante unam invenias proditionis immunem Spartam: ceteras Græcorum urbes non magis peſtilentia ſuperiorum temporum, quam proditiones deleverunt. Alexandri felicitas effecit, ut nullum magnopere inſigne proditionis exemplum, quo res ejus adjutæ fuerint, poſſit commemorari (69). - - - - *But when Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, aſpired to the empire of Greece, Sparta alone was not betrayed; as for the other cities of Greece, they were deſtroyed no leſs by treachery, than the peſtilence which had ſpread among them. It was Alexander's happineſs, that no ſignal inſtance of treachery, in the ſucceſs of his undertakings, can be recollected.* This oppoſition betwixt the character of the father and the ſon, has been very well deſcribed by the Hiſtorian Juſtin. ' Nulla apud eum (*Philippum*)
' turpis ratio vincendi, ... Amicitias utilitate, non
' fide colebat. Gratiam fingere in odio, in gratia
' offenſam ſimulare, inſtruere inter concordantes odia,
' apud utrumque gratiam quærere, ſolennis illi con-
' ſuetudo. . . . . Huic Alexander filius ſucceſſit, &
' virtute & vitiis patre major. Vincendi ratio utrique
' diverſa. Hic aparte, ille artibus bella tractabat.
' Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palam fuſis,
' Prudentior ille conſilio, hic animo magnificentior
' (70). - - - - *He* (Philip) *took no baſe methods of con-*
' *quering . . . . he cultivated friendſhips, not on a point*
' *of honour, but of intereſt . . . . It was common with*
' *him to pretend kindneſs where he hated; and to take of-*
' *fence, where he had a kindneſs; to ſet at variance thoſe*
' *who were in agreement, and inſinuate himſelf into the good*
' *liking of both . . . . To him ſucceeded his ſon Alexander,*
' *greater than his father both in his virtues and his vices.*
' *They took different methods of conquering. The ſon carried*
' *on his wars openly, the father by ſtratagems. The latter*
' *took a pleaſure in deceiving his enemies, the former in*
' *routing them. The father conducted his deſigns with*
' *the greateſt prudence, the ſon with the greateſt cou-*
' *rage, and magnanimity.*' There is hardly any occaſion where fortune has better ſhewed the prodigality of her favours to Alexander than this; for after all, men are naturally inclined to leſſen the glory of a conqueror, or rather entirely to efface it, when they know that he has corrupted the generals of his enemies, and the governors of places he deſigned to beſiege.

(69) Pauſan. *Libr. VII, Cap. X, p. 546. Lipſ. Edit. 1696.*

(70) Juſtinus, *Libr. IX, Cap. VIII, pag. m. 207.*

[*O*] *The Jews pretend that he determined ſeveral diſputes they had with their neighbours.*] They ſuppoſe that three ſorts of people applied to Alexander, to requeſt the reſtitution of the goods, which the Jews unjuſtly detained from them. The Canaanites, who eſcaped from Joſhua came to complain of the uſurpations of the Jews: the Egyptians came to demand the houſhold goods, which the Jews borrowed of them on leaving Egypt; the Arabians or the deſcendants of Iſhmael, and of the ſons of Keturah, came to demand their part of the ſucceſſion of Abraham. The Rabbi Gibea Ben-Peſiſa (71) pleaded for the Jews; the plaintiffs cited ſome paſſages of Scripture, and the Rabbi anſwering them in the like manner from Scripture, they knew not what to ſay and retired with ſhame. Never cauſe was more eaſily gained. I do not underſtand the anſwer Gibea made the Egyptians; one would think that he uſed this principle, that the Jews had laboured ſo much for the Egyptians, that what they borrowed, equalled not the leaſt ſalary of a labourer. Tertullian has ſaid ſomewhere (72) that the Jews pretend there were ſome conference betwixt the Egyptian envoys and theirs, and that the Egyptians renounced their jewels, when they heard the pretenſions, which the Jews founded on their great labours in Egypt. He ſeems on account of this reaſon to approve their keeping the jewels that had been lent them; but it is certain, that this would be introducing the bad morality of the modern Caſuiſts, to ground one's ſelf on ſuch a right: how could one by this principle blame a ſervant who robs his maſter, as far as the value of his wages? It is even true, that this ſervant's cauſe would be better than that of the Iſraelites, ſince they carried away the goods of thoſe, for whom they had not laboured; their labour was for the prince, and they paid themſelves with the goods of the ſubject. It is as if at preſent, the Proteſtants, whom the perſecution has robbed of their eſtate in France, ſhould indemnify themſelves upon their Catholic fellow-citizens, when they retire into foreign countries. There is no juſtifying the Iſraelites therefore, but by the expreſs command of God, who, being abſolute maſter of all things, can transfer the property of one perſon to another, as he pleaſes. I need not ſay, that theſe ſuits brought againſt the Jews before Alexander, are chimeras; it ſuffices to obſerve, that this ſtory is told otherwiſe in the Bereſchith Rabba (73) than in the Gemara Babylonica (74). I am far from reckoning in the number of fables, Alexander's march to Jeruſalem;

(71) *He was alſo called* Gibea Ben Koſan: *He was a famous Lawyer, as* Abraham Zacuth *ſays in* Sepher Juchaſin, *folio* 13, *apud* Autorem Poiygamiæ triumph. *p.* 287.

(72) Adverſus Marcionem, *Tom. II, Cap. XX, apud eumdem.*

(73) *Paraſch. LXI, folio* 68, *col.* 21, *apud Autorem* Polygam. triumph. *pag.* 283.

(74) Ad Titul. Sanhedr. *Cap. XI, folio* 91, *apud eumdem Autorem, p.* 287.

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who had not read it, was nevertheleſs the cauſe of it's being condemned by the Inquiſition [*F*]. Machiavel publiſhed ſeven books of the Military art, which made him paſs

'de ſolis illis agendum eſſe: hinc ſanè omnem doctri-
'nam, quæ non eſt de Rebuſpublicis, quas illi unicè
'cognoſcendas hominibus arbitrantur, damnare ſolent,
'& extra limites politicæ methodi abjicere. - - - - - -
'*Whoever hitherto have undertaken to confute Machiavel,*
'*if I may ſpeak the truth, have too plainly diſcovered*
'*their ignorance of Politics. You will find them almoſt*
'*all diſputing, as if there were no other republics, than*
'*ſuch as principally, if not ſolely, regard the good of the*
'*people, or aim at a full and exact happineſs of human*
'*life; and therefore that a Politician ought ſolely to con-*
'*fine himſelf to them: hence they condemn all doctrine, as*
'*without the limits of Politics, which does not regard*
'*ſuch republics, as they think ought alone to be inquired*
'*into by men.*' You will find ſeveral reflexions of this nature, in the preface which the learned Conringius has prefixed to Machiavel's *Prince*. Obſerve, that our Florentine is accuſed of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of Ariſtotle: his political maxims therefore have for a long time been in books. It is the ſame Conringius who charges him with this: 'Nicolaus Ma-
'chiavellus cymbalum illud Politicarum artium nullum
'ferè dominatùs arcanum conſilium Principem ſuum
'potuit docere, quod non dudum ante ad tyrannidem
'& dominatum conſervandum facere Ariſtoteli ſit libro
'V *(Politicorum)* obſervatum. Quin ſua omnia vaſer-
'rimus hic nequitiæ doctor diſſimulato plagio ex Ariſto-
'tele fortaſſe tranſcripſit: eo tamen diſcrimine, quod
'hic impiè ac impudenter omni Principi commendet,
'quæ non niſi Dominis ac Tyrannis convenire longè
'rectius ac prudentius ſcripſerat antè Ariſtoteles (34).
'- - - *Nicolas Machiavel, that cymbal of the arts of*
'*Politics, could teach his prince no ſecret ſpring of govern-*
'*ment, which Ariſtotle had not long ago obſerved, for*
'*the preſervation of power, in the fifth book of his Politics.*
'*Nay, perhaps this cunning doctor of iniquity tranſcribed*
'*his whole doctrine from Ariſtotle, without confeſſing the*
'*theft; yet with this difference, that Machiavel impiouſly*
'*and impudently recommends to all princes, that, which,*
'*according to Ariſtotle, is applicable only to tyrants.*'
Gentillet (35) accuſes him of being Bartolus's plagiary. I wonder they do not ſay, that he has ſtole his maxims from the angelic doctor, the great St Thomas Aquinas. See in Naudé's *State-Politics* (36) a long paſſage of Thomas Aquinas's commentary upon the fifth book of Ariſtotle's Politics. Mr Amelot (37) proves, that Machiavel was but the diſciple or interpreter of Tacitus, and he makes uſe of the ſame obſervation as Conringius. 'Of all thoſe, ſays he (38), that cenſure Ma-
'chiavel, you will find that ſome confeſs, they never
'read him; and the others who have read him, have
'never underſtood him; as appears by their taking ſe-
'veral paſſages in a literal ſenſe, which the Politicians
'know how to interpret otherwiſe. So that, to tell the
'truth, he is cenſured only becauſe he is ill under-
'ſtood; and he is ill underſtood by many, who are
'capable of underſtanding him better, only becauſe
'they read him with prejudice: whereas, if they read
'him as judges, that is, holding the balance even be-
'tween him and his adverſaries, they would ſee, that
'his maxims are for the moſt part abſolutely neceſſa-
'ry to princes, who, as the great Coſmo de Medicis
'ſaid, cannot always govern their ſtates with their
'heads in their hand *.' He had been ſaying (39),
'That it is no wonder, that Machiavel is cenſured by
'ſo many people; ſince there are ſo few that under-
'ſtand the *Reaſons of State*, and conſequently ſo few
'qualified to be competent judges of his precepts
'and maxims. And I will ſay by the way, That
'there are abundance of miniſters and princes, that
'ſtudy them, and even practiſe them in every point,
'who had condemned and deteſted them, before they
'came to the miniſtry, or the throne. So true it is
'that a man muſt be a prince, or at leaſt a miniſter,
'to know, I ſay not the uſefulneſs, but the abſolute
'neceſſity of theſe maxims.' This is applying to Machiavel, what another had ſaid of Tacitus; 'They
'who accuſe him of holding impious maxims, and
'oppoſite to morality, muſt pardon me, if I tell them,
'That never Politician handled ſtate-maxims more rea-
'ſonably than he; and that the moſt ſcrupulous who
'have blamed them, whilſt they were private perſons,
'have ſtudied and practiſed them, when they were
'called to the management of public affairs (40).'
Mr Amelot having cited thoſe words of Mr de Chanvalon, immediately confirms them by an example:
'Germany, ſays he (41), has very lately ſeen a notable
'example of this in the laſt biſhop of Vienna, who,
'when he was only Father Emeric, *in puris naturali-*
'bus, inveighed, in all his ſermons, againſt the maxims
'of Policy, ſo far as to believe there was no ſalvation
'for thoſe who practiſed them; but who was no
'ſooner introduced into the emperor's court, and
'drawn into the miniſtry, but he changed his opinion
'as his fortune, and he himſelf practiſed (but more
'artfully) whatever he condemned before in his pre-
'deceſſors, the princes of Averſberg and Lobkowitz,
'whoſe diſgrace he had procured, and in count
'Auguſtin of Walſtein, his competitor, for the
'biſhopric of Vienna, and the cardinalſhip **.'

We muſt ſay ſomething of the book written by Innocent Gentillet, againſt that of Machiavel: It is called, in the edition I uſe (42), *Diſcourſes upon the Means of Well-governing and Maintaining a Kingdom, or Principality, in Peace, divided into three books: concerning the Council, Religion, and Policy, that a Prince ought to uſe. Againſt Nicolas Machiavel, a Florentine.* It is dedicated to the duke of Alençon, brother to king Henry III. There is neither the name of the author nor the Printer to it, nor the place where it was printed, but only the date 1576. This book is commonly cited, as if intituled *Anti-Machiavel.* This citation is ſhorter than that of the true title, and that was the occaſion of giving it the name of *Anti-Machiavel.* Conſult Mr Baillet (43).

I am perſuaded, that what I am going to quote from the Sieur de la Popeliniere, relates to Gentillet's treatiſe. He blames the tolerating this Florentine's books, filled with pernicious maxims; and then he adds (44): 'Now ſince Chriſtian magiſtrates connived
'at ſuch prejudicial writings, a genteel wit aroſe in
'France, to confute the errors and impieties which he
'thought too open, and ſo much countenanced by the
'generality. But with ſo poor a ſucceſs, that by
'grounding himſelf only on authorities, and impro-
'per examples (which both ſides may uſe, and which
'the Florentine calls *ridiculous*), and ſhewing himſelf
'unprovided of ſolid reaſons, which are the true arms,
'wherewith he challenges all the world to a combat;
'the poor author could obtain no other recompence
'for ſo much labour in defending the ſtate, the reli-
'gion, and duty of all together, but reproaches and
'menaces, inſtead of honours, and other worthy ſalaries,
'that ſuch a well-meant and laborious work deſerved.'
If we judged of the merit of a book, by the multitude of editions and tranſlations, that of Gentillet might pretend to a high degree of glory; for it has been tranſlated into divers languages, and printed ſeveral times. The edition of Leyden 1609 ſays, that it had been augmented above one half. The epiſtle dedicatory has been retrenched in that edition.

If we had the work entire, a part of which was publiſhed in the year 1622, perhaps we ſhould have the beſt book that has been written on Machiavel's Prince. This part, full of chaſms, is intituled, *A Fragment of the Examination of Machiavel's Prince; in which is diſcourſed of the Confidents, Miniſters, and Privy-Counſellors of a Prince, as alſo of the Fortune of his Favourites.* It is in 12mo, and contains 339 pages. I have quoted ſomething out of it, in the article of the chancellor de l'Hoſpital. There is a new Latin edition of Machiavel's Prince publiſhed at Amſterdam, in 8vo, 1699. *Interprete Caſparo Langenbert Philoſopho, qui ſua ei Commentaria adjecit:* He who gives this new tranſlation, *undertook it only, becauſe that, which we had before, ſeemed to him to be imperfect* (45).

[*F*] *Poſſevin, who had not read it, was . . . . the cauſe of it's being condemned by the Inquiſition.*] It was very late, when this tribunal thought of condemning that book. Machiavel's Prince was publiſhed about the year 1515, and dedicated to Laurence de Medicis, nephew to Leo X. It did not prejudice the author with this Pope, who nevertheleſs was the firſt who threatened thoſe with excommunication, that read a prohibited book. *Nec tamen à Papa iſthoc vel liber ullo fuit ſiniſtro verbo notatus (quamvis Leo omnium pri-*

(34) Conringius Introduct. in Polit. Ariſtotelis, cap. iii, p. 583, apud Thomaſium de Plagio literario, pag. 223, 224.

(35) In Præfat. lib. iii. Commentarior. adverſus Machiavellum.

(36) In chap. i, pag. m. 16.

(37) In his notes upon Machiavel's Prince.

(38) Amelot de la Houſſaye, preface to Machiavel's Prince.

* Che gli Stati non ſi tenevano con Pater-noſtri. Machiavel, Hiſtor. vii.

(39) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory.

(40) *Monſieur* de Harlai Chanvalon's *preface to the tranſlation of* Tacitus.

(41) *In his* Critical Diſcourſe *before* Tacitus's Morals, *printed in* 1686. *He put it afterwards before his French tranſlation of the ſix firſt books of* Tacitus's Annals.

** *In a German prince's manuſcript account of the court of Vienna.*

(42) *It is in* 8vo.

(43) *In the ſecond tome of the* Anti, *p.* 129, *&* *ſeq.*

(44) La Popeliniere, Hiſt. of Hiſtories, *book* viii, *pag.* 405, 406.

(45) Journal des Sçavans, 15th of March, 1700. *p.* 211. *Dutch edition.*

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pass with the duke of Urbino for a man very capable of drawing up an army in Battalia; but he was so wise, that he never would venture to try his theory, no, not so much as upon one squadron [G]. They lately published a new French translation of the greatest part of his works [H]. His novel of Belphegor, a very ingenious piece, was published by

mus intenderit vim librorum prohibitoriam, vetitis legi dissidentium scriptis omnibus sub excommunicationis pœna, quod hactenus curebat exemplo) vel auctor pristino gratiæ loco motus (46). Which I observe, to shew, that the toleration of this book of Machiavel, ought not to be attributed to any general remissness of Leo's pontificate, with respect to bad books. The Pope was so far from discontinuing the expressions of his friendship to the author, that he employed him in writing a book that required secrecy. He ordered him to write a treatise concerning the reformation of the republic of Florence. *Valuit in tantum apud Leonem, ut hujus jussu arcanam dissertationem concinnaverit* de Reformatione Resp. Florentinæ, *quam manuscriptam in bibliotheca Gaddiana superesse testatur Jacobus Gaddus* (47). - - - - *Which manuscript, James Gaddus says, is extant in the Gaddian library.* Hadrian VI, successor to Leo X, did not censure Machiavel's book. Clement VII, successor to Hadrian VI, did more; for he not only allowed of Machiavel's dedicating his History of Florence to him, but also granted a privilege (48) to Antony Bladus to print this author's works at Rome. The successors of Clement VII, to Clement VIII, exclusively, permitted the sale of Machiavel's Prince, in all Italy, whereof there were frequent editions and translations. It was however known, that this book did not please some doctors; for a book of Ambrose Catharinus (49), printed at Rome in 1552, has a chapter against the Discourses and the Prince of Machiavel. At last, under the pontificate of Clement VIII, the writings of this Florentine were condemned, after the loud complaints made at Rome, by the Jesuit Possevin, and a priest of the Oratory called Thomas Bozius: tho' it is certain, that this Jesuit had never read Machiavel's Prince; for if you look into the judgment he has published on four writers, La Nouë, Bodin, Du Plessis Mornai, and Machiavel (50), you will find that he supposes the Prince, written by the fourth, to be divided into three books; which is evidently false. He charges Machiavel with such things as are not in the Prince. Conringius conjectures very well, that the occasion of these mistakes, was, because Possevin never knew this work, but by the reading of Gentillet. ' In ea (Dissertatione *Possevini*) verò ita disseritur, ' quasi à *Machiavello* tres *de Principe* libri compositi ' sint: hinc statim initio, ubi de *Machiavello* agit, ' aliquot ejus sententiis enumeratis, & *hæc quidem*, ' inquit ille, *sceleratum illud Satanæ organum prioribus* ' *duobus libris, quibus* de Principe *agit, insipienti mun-* ' *do obtrusit.* Non multò post cum diceret: *redeo ad* ' *easdem labes* Machiavelli, *ut cognita pestis magis ca-* ' *veatur.* In margine libri notat *librum tertium:* quasi ' libro tertio *Machiavellus* doceat, belli justitiam in ' ea, quam sibi quisque putat esse necessitatem, collo- ' cari. At verò certò est certius, non nisi unicum, & ' quidem exiguum libellum *de Principe Machiavello* ' auctore esse conscriptum, & nusquam terrarum tres ' in partes illum fuisse sectum, nec in hoc libello re- ' periri ea, quæ inter alia criminatur Possevinus, re- ' ligionem Ethnicam Christianæ Præferendam, aut Do- ' ctores Christianæ Religionis nihili faciendos: ut nec ' quicquam hoc libro (quod itidem Possevinus conque- ' ritur) inclementius dicitur in Romanam Ecclesiam, ' sed potiùs illud cap. xi. ipsum principatum Ponti- ' ficium non humanis consiliis atque artibus, sed quâ- ' dam inusitatâ vi, & quidem solius Dei favore, sal- ' vum esse; quod vix quisquam Zelotici gregis af- ' firmaverit. Nec tamen longè petenda aut hariolan- ' da venit causa crassi illius Possleviniani erroris modò ' quis inspexerit volumen illud, quod *Anti-Machiavel-* ' *li* titulo ἀνονύμως oppositi, hinc inde ex variis li- ' bris *Machiavellicis* excerptis sententiis Innocentius ' Gentilletus. Hoc enim tres in libros est distinctum ' & in ejus duobus prioribus reprehensa sunt illa, quæ ' duobus prioribus *de principe* libris haberi Possevi- ' nus ridicule affirmat: in tertio etiam illorum libro- ' rum animadvertitur in ea, quæ ex tertio libro de ' Principe frustra repetit MACHIAVELLUS (51). ' Ut liquidò appareat, ex illo volumine *Anti-Machi-* ' *avellico*, non autem ex MACHIAVELLO ipso ' Possevinum sua accepisse, *&c.* (52). - - - - - *Pos-* ' *sevin's Dissertation would persuade us, that Machiavel* ' *composed three books* of the Prince: *hence at the very* ' *beginning, where he treats of MACHIAVEL, ha-* ' *ving enumerated some of his opinions, he says* these ' principles which that wicked instrument of satan ob- ' truded on an ignorant world in the two first books ' of his Prince. *A little after, having said*; I return ' to the same blemishes of Machiavel, that when ' we know the infection, we may avoid it; *in the* ' *margin he refers to* book the third; *as though MA-* ' *CHIAVEL teaches in the third book, that the justice* ' *of war consists in what each man thinks to be the ne-* ' *cessity of it. Yet it is certain to a demonstration, that* ' *MACHIAVEL wrote but one book, and that a* ' *small one* de Principe, *and that it does not contain* ' *what Possevin, among other things, ascribes to it*; ' *namely, that Paganism is better than Christianity, and* ' *that the doctors of the Christian Religion are not to* ' *be regarded: there being nothing said in this book (as* ' *Possevin complains there is) that bears hard against* ' *the Romish church*; *on the contrary, it is said, ch.* ' *xi. that the Papal power subsists, not by human coun-* ' *sels and arts, but by some uncommon influence, and* ' *the sole favour of GOD*; *which scarce one of the* ' *zealot-tribe will affirm. Nor need we look far to dis-* ' *cover the foundation of this egregious error of Possevin*; ' *we need only look into the volume, which Innocent Gen-* ' *tillet published, without prefixing his name, under the* ' *title of the* Anti-Machiavel, *consisting of various sen-* ' *tences picked out of Machiavel's works. For this work* ' *is divided into three books, in the two first of which* ' *the author censures those things, which Possevin ridi-* ' *culously affirms to be contained in the two first books* De ' Principe: *the third book likewise animadverts upon* ' *those things, which Possevin in vain ascribes to the* ' *third book* de Principe. *So that it is plain, that Pos-* ' *sevin took his work from the* Anti-Machiavel, *not from* ' *MACHIAVEL himself.*' Here is the remark of Conringius. ' Et vero illud Possevini facinus luculente ' ostendit, non deesse etiam eximiæ dignitatis atque ' existimationis viros, qui scripto publico ne inspectum ' quidem MACHIAVELLI Principem sævo calculo ab- ' jecerint (53). - - - - *This behaviour of Possevin shews* ' *clearly, that men of rank and credit, have wrote* ' *against Machiavel's Prince, without having ever seen it.*'

[G] *He was so wise, that he never would venture to try his theory, no not so much as upon one squadron of horse.*] He that knows the war only by reading, ought to keep to the theory; for if he should attempt to practise it upon one regiment, he would expose himself to the laughter of the meanest soldier. Machiavel is to be commended, for refusing to comply with the desire of the duke of Urbino (54). Perhaps we should have been ignorant of this particular, if Cardan had not mentioned it. ' Machiavel- ' lum seculi superioris Doctorem qui tot & tanta ' de militari Romanorum disciplina disertissimè ' scripserat, ne unam quidem cohortem, quan- ' tumvis eum id ut tentaret, Urbini Princeps hor- ' taretur, instruere ausum esse Cardanus testatur (55). ' *Cardan useforms us, that Machiavel, a doctor of the* ' *last age, who wrote so much, and so well, on the* ' *military discipline of the Romans, would not venture* ' *to exercise a single regiment, tho' the duke of Urbino* ' *pressed him to attempt it.*'

[H] *They have lately published a new French translation of the greatest part of his works.*] Henry Desbordes, a French Bookseller at Amsterdam, printed it in six volumes in 12mo. The first came out in the year 1691, and contains the two first books of the discourses upon Livy. The third book of these discourses made the second tome, and was published in the year 1692. The Art of War was printed in the year 1693. The History of Florence was printed in two volumes in 1694. And the Prince, and some other tracts, in 1696. This last book was translated a new tho' Mr Amelot de la Houssaie had published it in French a few years before, because it was believed, the public would be glad to have all the works of Machiavel from the same hand. They deserved

(46) Conringius, Præfat. Principis Machiav. apud Magirum, ubi supra, *p.* 548.

(47) Conring. *ibid.*

(48) *Dated the 23d of August, 1531. It was before Machiavel's works.*

(49) De libris à Christiano detestandis, & ex Christianismo penitus removendis.

(50) *He wrote it by the order of Innocent IX, and published it at Rome, in the year* 1592. *He inserted part of it in his* Biblioth. Selecta. Conring. *in the same* Magirus, *ibid.*

(51) *It seems it should be* Possevinus, *and not* Machiavellus.

(52) Conringius, ibid. apud eumdem, *pag.* 549.

(53) Conring. apud Magirum, *ibid. pag.* 550.

(54) *He was son of Peter de Medicis, and nephew to Leo X.*

(55) Cardan. *lib.* iii, de Utilit. ex adverf. capienda, *citante* Besoldo de Arte Jureq; Belli, cap. i, pag. 3, 4, apud Thomasium, Præfat. xxi, pag. 118.

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by Mr le Fevre of Saumur, in the year 1664 (*i*). There is in the continuation of the *Menagiana* (*k*), a very curious particular, about the artifice that Machiavel uſed, in writing the life of Caſtrucio Caſtracani. This life was tranſlated into French, by Monſieur Guillet. They pretend, That it was written with a great deal of inſincerity [*I*]. And the ſame judgment is made of his hiſtory of Florence (*l*) [*K*]. You will find ſome ſtories below concerning his impiety [*L*]. Some authors ſay (*m*) he ſerved Cæſar Borgia as his favourite-counſellor (*n*); and perhaps he was employed for him in France, when he had at Nants that converſation with the cardinal of Rouen, which he mentions in the third chapter of his *Prince*.

Thoſe who ſay, that in that work he deſigned to repreſent Charles V, are groſsly miſtaken [*M*]. It has been ſaid, that it was the book which Catherine de Medicis made her peculiar ſtudy, and that ſhe put it into the hands of her children [*N*]. They who

(*i*) *See the Journal des Sçavans, of the twelfth of January*, 1665.

(*k*) *Pag.* 96. *of the Dutch edition.*

(*l*) Jovius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 205.

(*m*) Boſius, de Compar. Prud. Civ. *num.* 42.

(*n*) Conring. Præfat. Principis Machiavelli.

(56) Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *July* 1691, *pag.* 483.

(57) It is Mr Teard, a French Refugee and Phyſician at the Hague. He is of Blois, of the family of Mr Teard, minister of Blois, who is often mentioned in the ſynods of France, at the time of the Saumurian diſputes about Univerſal Grace.

(58) *See Mr de Beauval*, 1691, *pag.* 483, *and the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, *Tom.* xx, *pag.* 328. *Mr* Beughem, Bibliographiæ Conſp. ii, pag. 191, *is miſtaken when he ſays, the tranſlation mentioned in* Bibloth. Univerſ. *ibid. is Mr Amelot's.*

(59) *William Cappel, eldeſt ſon of the king's advocate and Phyſician, tranſlated Machiavel's* Prince, *printed in* 1553, La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. *pag.* 144.

(60) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Prince, and that of the Diſcourſes on Livy, tranſlated by Gohory.

(61) Sagredo, Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Ottoman Empire. *This book was printed at Venice in* 1673.

(62) Voſſius, de Arte Hiſtorica, cap. 2, pag. 56.

(63) Jovius, Elog. cap. cxii, pag. m. 283.

(64) In the remark [*D*].

(65) Cumpo excentrici ad alterum terminum motorum pervenisse, ſperamus adventurum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, nam hoc loco circa creationem mundi fuit. - - - - - *When the center of excentricity comes about to a water-mill: now we expect the coming of our Lord* JESUS CHRIST; *for it was in this ſituation about the creation of the world.*

to be tranſlated anew into our language, becauſe the old verſion was grown obſolete. I have ſeen a Paris edition of it later than the year 1630, but it was a new edition, for in it are found ſome French verſes written by Des Eſſars the tranſlator of Amadis. Mr de Beauval (56) has told us the name of him (57), who made the new verſion of Machiavel, and who has prefixed to the firſt volume a preface which deſerves to be read (58); it is an apology for Machiavel, and it treats the Inquiſition as it deſerves. The verſion wherein are the verſes of Des Eſſars, is doubtleſs James Gohory's. It contains the treatiſe of the Prince, and the Diſcouſes upon Livy, and was printed at Paris in 1571, in 8vo. This was a ſecond edition, reviſed very carefully, and much better than the former. The author did not put his name to the firſt, but he put it to the ſecond to prevent his tranſlation of the Diſcourſes upon Livy from being ſtolen from him by one (59) of the other two tranſlators of the Prince (60). It is ſaid, that Machiavel's Prince was tranſlated into the Turkiſh tongue, and read by Sultan Amurath the fourth, in that language (61).

[*I*] *They pretend that the Life of Caſtrucio Caſtracani was written with a great deal of inſincerity.*] Voſſius ſays this in a few words: 'Machiavellus, *ſays he* (62), plane multa comminiſcitur in vita Caſtrucii: nempe quia is hoſtis fuiſſet Reipublicæ Florentinæ. - - - - *Machiavel forges many things in the Life of Caſtrucio; and the reaſon is plain; he was an enemy of the Republic of Florence.*' Paul Jovius highly complains of this fraud of Machiavel, in his elogium of Nicolas Tegrimus, a Lawyer and Hiſtorian of Lucca, who deſcribed very exactly the actions of Caſtracani. 'Sed Machiavellus Florentinus Hiſtoricus, 'patrii veteris odii memor, petulanti malignitate, non 'interiturum memorabilis Ducis famam fabulis involvit, quum vitam acerrimi hoſtis Etruſco ſermone 'ſcribere orſus, tam impudenti, quàm aſtuto illudendi 'genere, ſacroſanctam rerum geſtarum fidem corruperit (63). - - - *But Machiavel, the Florentine Hiſtorian, full of his country-reſentment, invidiouſly wraps up the character of a famous general in fables, and, undertaking to write the Life of an inveterate enemy in the Tuſcan language, corrupts the reality of his actions by impudently, as well as artfully, impoſing upon his reader.*'

[*K*] *The ſame judgment is made of his Hiſtory of Florence.*] I have already mentioned this work (64); and I add, that Jerom Turlerus, a German Civilian, printed the firſt book of it, in 1564. He had tranſlated it into Latin: and as Machiavel, in the firſt part of that work, explains the revolutions of the Roman empire, by the irruptions of the barbarous nations, the tranſlator takes an occaſion to write an epiſtle dedicatory, ſtuffed with aſtrological and numerical myſteries, which made the Mahometan religion to ceaſe at the end of an hundred years, and determined the time of the end of the world (65). Lazarus Zetznerus, a Bookſeller of Straſburg, ſeeing that the Latin verſion of the firſt book ſold well, and was often reprinted, cauſed the reſt to be tranſlated into the ſame language, and publiſhed the whole hiſtory, with the Life of Caſtracani. The edition that I uſe is printed in 1610 in 8vo.

'That hiſtory of Florence, (ſays James Gohory) was 'written in ſuch perfection, that the deceaſed Milles 'Perrot, Maſter of the Accounts, my near kinſman '(the moſt learned perſon of his time in this kingdom in divers languages and ſciences) having made 'ſome notes on it in the margin more carefully with 'his own hand, than on his Livy and C. Tacitus, told 'me, that it was ſo fitted to the humour of our times, 'that he eſteemed the reading of it more profitable, 'than of the great antient Hiſtorians, ſo different 'from our preſent manners, faſhions, and cuſtoms (66).'

[*L*] *Some ſtories concerning his impiety.*] If I ſhould relate all thoſe which are told about it, I ſhould have a large field. Here follows one of thoſe ſtories: 'One 'comes to that deteſtable point of honour, as Machiavel did when he drew near the time of his death; 'for he had this viſion a little before he gave up 'the ghoſt; he ſaw a parcel of poor people like beggars, tattered, half-ſtarved, deformed, who ſtood 'confuſedly, and were but few in number: and it was 'told him, that thoſe belonged to paradiſe, of 'whom it was written, *Bleſſed are the poor, for theirs 'is the kingdom of heaven.* When theſe retired, there 'appeared an innumerable company of perſons full 'of gravity and majeſty; they looked like a ſenate, 'where ſtate-affairs and very ſerious matters were, 'treated of: He ſaw there Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, 'Tacitus, and others of the ſame condition: He asked who theſe venerable gentlemen were? and he 'was told, that they were the damned, and the ſouls 'reprobated by Heaven; for, *the wiſdom of the world 'is enmity with GOD.* This viſion being ended, he 'was asked, which of theſe companies he would be 'of? He anſwered, that he would rather be in hell 'with theſe great wits, to conſult with them 'about ſtate-affairs, than be with this vermin of ſcoundrels that had been ſhewn him. And preſently he 'died, and went to ſee how the ſtate-affairs went 'in the other world (67).' Spizelius relates the ſame ſtory in ſubſtance (68). There are ſome who tell this ſtory another way: They pretend that Machiavel ſaid, in one of his works, that he had rather be ſent to hell after his death, than go to paradiſe; for, added he, I ſhall find none in paradiſe but beggars and poor Monks and Hermits, and Apoſtles; but in hell I ſhall live with Popes and Cardinals, and with kings and princes. Francis Hotman (69), affirms, that this may be read in the Commentaries of Wolfius, upon the *Quæſtiones Tuſculanæ* of Cicero, and he is very ſorry, that, notwithſtanding theſe blaſphemies, and ſeveral others, an impreſſion of Machiavel's works, tranſlated by a profeſſor called Stupanus, ſhould be allowed at Baſil. He obſerves, that Perna, who had been ſeveral times impriſoned by order of the magiſtrates, for having printed divers impious and execrable books, was printing this tranſlation. Hotman relates this, and ſome other curious things, in a letter dated December 25, 1580.

[*M*] *Thoſe who ſay that in his prince, he deſigned to repreſent Charles V, are groſsly miſtaken.*] I wonder that James Gohory has publiſhed this. 'Machiavel, *ſays he* '(70), wrote that book of the Prince . . . in which he 'deſcribes particularly all the qualities neceſſary to a lord 'who aſpires to monarchy, and ſecretly repreſents 'Charles V then reigning, as he declares in one paſſage of 'it.' How came he to be ignorant, that this book was written before it was known whether Charles V ſhould acquire a great reputation? Had he not read in the twenty firſt chapter, that Ferdinand king of Arragon was alive when Machiavel wrote this book? had he not read in another place (71), that the author ſpeaks of the emperor Maximilian, as of a prince then alive? Did he not know that that emperor died in January, 1519, three years after Ferdinand, and then his grandſon Charles V was not full nineteen years old?

[*N*] *It has been ſaid that Catherine de Medicis made it her peculiar ſtudy, and put it into the hands of her children.*] The author of the *Alarm againſt Maſſacres*, obſerves (72), that Charles IX had been very ill educated,

(66) Gohory, Epiſt. Dedicat. of the Diſcouſes upon Livy.

(67) Binet, of the Salvation of Origen, p. 359, &c.

(68) Spizelius in Scrutinio Atheiſmi Hiſtorico Ætiologico. pag. m. 132. *He cites* Jac. Marchant in Hort. Paſtor. *Tract. i, Loc. vi, Propoſ. ii.*

(69) Franciſc. Hotomannus, Epiſt. xcix, 123. 139.

(70) Gohory, in the Life of Machiavel, prefixed to his tranſlation of the treatiſe of a Prince.

(71) In chap. xxiii.

(72) Alarm againſt maſſacres, pag. 53.

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who make this obſervation, join to it many words of reproach both upon this queen and our Nicolas Machiavel. There are very few authors who ſpeak of him without curſing his memory (o). Some excuſe him, and undertake to defend him (p); and there are alſo ſome who look upon him as a writer very zealous for the public good [O], and think, that he repreſented the artifices of policy, for no other end but to inſpire men with horror againſt tyrants, and to excite the people to maintain their liberty. If any queſtion ſhould be made, what was his true motive; it ought at leaſt to be acknowledged, that he ſhewed himſelf, in his conduct, inſpired with a republican ſpirit [P]. Father Lucchefini

(o) *See Claſen, in chap. ix, of his treatiſe* de Religione politica, *p.* 162, *edit.* 1682.

(p) *See the remark* [D] *and* [E].

cated, and that he was kept in ignorance of theſe precepts in ſcripture *, that *a king, who is ſet over the people of God, ought not to lift up his heart above his brethren, but ſhould punctually obſerve the law of the Lord, and read and meditate on it all the days of his life* . . (73). ‘ On the contrary, the queen cauſed her children to ‘ be inſtructed in thoſe precepts that were more pro- ‘ per for a tyrant than a virtuous king, and to be ‘ taught not only the fooliſh fancies of Perceforeſt, ‘ but chiefly to ſtudy the maxims of this atheiſt Ma- ‘ chiavel, whoſe deſign was rather to teach a prince ‘ how to make himſelf feared than beloved, and to ‘ reign in grandeur, rather than to reign well. And ‘ indeed this book may very well be called the goſpel ‘ of the queen-mother; for tho' ſhe covers herſelf with ‘ the religion commonly received, yet it appears by ‘ her actions, that ſhe cares for it no further than ‘ is neceſſary for her own defence. And ſo her chief ‘ counſellor Morviliers has always this fine and Chri- ‘ ſtian book in his hand, to read a leſſon out of it to ‘ his miſtreſs, and never abandoned it, no more than ‘ Alexander did his Homer. In ſhort, it is probable ‘ that this tyrannical Inſtitution was taken in part ‘ from thence; and that from thence the queen drew ‘ her principal artifices to perſuade the king, that, ‘ notwithſtanding all the promiſes of peace and friend- ‘ ſhip, and alſo the ties of conſanguinity, he might ‘ take a furious revenge of all thoſe whom he eſteemed ‘ his enemies, by laying hold of any ſlight ſuſpicion, ‘ (if that may be called ſuſpicion, which is a calum- ‘ ny forged at pleaſure) for a ſufficient proof.' Davila relates, that Corbinelli often read the Prince, and the Diſcourſes of Machiavel, to the duke of Anjou, who was afterwards king Henry III (74).

* Deut. xvii, 19, 20.

(73) Alarm, pag. 54.

(74) See, above, citat. (2) of the article CORBINELLI.

[O] *Some look upon him as a writer very zealous for the public good.*] This ſavours a little of a paradox; and therefore we muſt ſet down, a little at length, the very words of a famous Civilian, who judged ſo advantageouſly of Machiavel's deſign: to which I ſhall prefix a kind of preface, borrowed from another learned man; that ſo at once I may produce two conſiderable witneſſes, Albericus Gentilis, and Chriſtopher-Adam Rupert. ‘ Ego vero non poſſum hic præterire, qui ‘ cane pejus & angue odiſſe ſoleo conceptas de auc- ‘ toribus opiniones, accuratiſſimi Icti ac digniſſimi cen- ‘ ſoris judicium, *lib. iii, de Legationib. cap. ix*, ubi le- ‘ gatum ſuum ex Philoſophia inſtruens. Nec verò, ‘ *inquit*, in negotio iſto verebor omnium præſtantiſſi- ‘ mum dicere, & ad imitandum proponere Machiavel- ‘ lum, ejuſque plane aureas in Livium obſervationes. ‘ Quod namque hominem indoctiſſimum eſſe volunt & ‘ ſceleſtiſſimum, id nihil ad me, qui prudentiam ejus ‘ ſingularem laudo, nec impietatem ac improbitatem, ‘ ſi qua eſt, tueor. Quanquam ſi librum editum ad- ‘ verſus illum conſidero, ſi Machiavelli conditionem ‘ reſpicio, ſi propoſitum ſcribendi ſuum rectè cenſeo, ſi ‘ etiam meliori interpretatione volo dicta ipſius adju- ‘ vare, non equidem video cur & iis criminibus mor- ‘ tui hominis fama liberari non poſſit. Qui in illum ‘ ſcripſit *(intelligit Innocentium Gentilletum Ictum Del- ‘ phinenſem)* illum nec intellexit, nec non in multis ‘ calumniatus eſt, & talis omninò eſt qualis, qui miſe- ‘ ratione digniſſimus ſit. Machiavellus Democratiæ ‘ laudator & aſſertor acerrimus: natus, educatus, ho- ‘ noratus in eo Reip. ſtatu; Tyranndis ſummè inimi- ‘ cus. Itaque Tyranno non favet; ſui propoſiti non ‘ eſt Tyrannum inſtruere, ſed arcanis ejus palàm factis ‘ ipſum miſeris populis nudum & conſpicuum exhibere. ‘ An enim tales, quales ipſe deſcribit principes, fuiſſe ‘ plurimos ignoramus? Eccur iſtiuſmodi principibus ‘ moleſtum eſt, vivere hominis operâ, & in luce ha- ‘ beri. Hoc fuit viri omnium præſtantiſſimi conſilium ‘ ut ſub ſpecie principalis eruditionis populos rudiret. ‘ Hæc Albericus Gentilis (75). - - - *Tho' I have a mortal ‘ averſion to conceived opinions concerning authors, I cannot ‘ omit here the judgment of a moſt accurate Civilian and ‘ worthy Critic, in the third book*, de Legationibus, ‘ *chap. ix, where, inſtructing his embaſſador from Phi- ‘ loſophy, he ſays; I will venture to prefer Machiavel ‘ to all others in a matter of this kind, and to propoſe ‘ him, and his truly golden obſervations on Livy, to your ‘ imitation. As to his being called an unlearned and a ‘ wicked man, that is nothing to me, who commend his ‘ extraordinary prudence, nor can diſcover that impiety ‘ and diſhoneſty in him. Though, if I conſider the book ‘ publiſhed againſt him, if I reflect on Machiavel's con- ‘ dition, if I rightly judge of the deſign of his writings, ‘ and if I would help out his meaning by a better inter- ‘ pretation, in truth I cannot ſee why the deceaſed au- ‘ thor's fame may not be clear'd from theſe accuſations. ‘ He who wrote againſt him* (he means Innocent Gentillet, a Civilian of Dauphiné) *did not underſtand him, ‘ and beſides ſlanders him in many things, and is a very ‘ wretched ſcribbler. Machiavel is a ſtrenuous defender ‘ of Democracy: he was born, educated, and reſpected, ‘ under that form of government, and was a great enemy ‘ to tyranny. Hence it is, that he does not favour a ty- ‘ rant: it is not his deſign to inſtruct a tyrant, but to de- ‘ tect his ſecret attempts, and expoſe him naked and con- ‘ ſpicuous to the poor people. Do we not know, there have ‘ been many princes ſuch as he deſcribes? Why are ſuch ‘ princes angry at being immortalized by his means? This ‘ excellent author's deſign was, under the ſhew of inſtruct- ‘ ing the prince, to inform the people. - - - - Thus far Al- ‘ bericus Gentilis.*' Let us lengthen out the paſſage a little; for Rupert ſeems to me to have ſuppreſſed one part of it, which deſerves to be known: it is as follows: ‘ Et eam ſpeciem prætexuit, ut ſpes eſſet cur ‘ ferretur ab his qui rerum gubernacula tenent, quaſi ‘ ipſorum educator, ac pædagogus. Cæterùm hæc diſ- ‘ ceptatio ulterius haud ducitur. Si favere ſcriptoribus ‘ volumus, multa & in hoc vitia emendabimus: aut ‘ illa ſaltem feremus in eo, quæ in Platone ferimus, ‘ & Ariſtotele, aliiſque, qui non diſſimilia commiſere ‘ peccata. Feremus autem, quia meliora deterioribus ‘ longe plurima & is habet (76). - - - - *And he put on ‘ that diſguiſe, in hopes to be tolerated by thoſe at the ‘ helm, as their tutor and ſchoolmaſter. But this diſ- ‘ quiſition is carried no farther. If we will favour ‘ writers, we ſhall correct many things even in this au- ‘ thor; or at leaſt we ſhall bear with thoſe things in him, ‘ which we allow of in Plato, Ariſtotle, and others, ‘ who have been guilty of the like faults. But we will ‘ bear with them, becauſe there are many more good, ‘ than bad things even in him.*' There are two things to be conſidered in this laſt part of the paſſage of Albericus Gentilis. He affirms, I. that Machiavel took this method of inſtructing the people, that princes might permit his book to be ſold; which they would not have done, if they had conſidered him not as their own pedagogue, but as a lover of the liberty of the people. II. That we ought to excuſe in Machiavel, what we excuſe in Plato and Ariſtotle. Obſerve, that Leonclavius was very far from agreeing with Albericus Gentilis. See the epiſtle dedicatory (77) which he prefixed to the Education of Princes, written by Bellifarius Aquaviva.

(75) Chriſtoph. Adamus Rupertus, Differt. ad Valer. Maxim. *lib. i, cap. ii, iii, pag.* 50.

(76) Alberic. Gentilis de Legationibus, lib. iii, cap. ix.

[P] *He ſhewed himſelf, in his conduct, inſpired with a republican ſpirit.*] Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie ſhall be my commentator here. ‘ I muſt ſay, that Machia- ‘ vel, who paſſed every where for a teacher of tyran- ‘ ny, deteſted it more than any man of his time; as ‘ may eaſily appear by the tenth chapter of the firſt ‘ book of his Diſcourſes, in which he expreſſes him- ‘ ſelf very ſtrongly againſt tyrants. And Nardi †, ‘ his cotemporary, ſays, he made panegyrics upon ‘ liberty, and upon cardinal Julius de Medicis, who, ‘ after the death of Leo X, pretended, he would re- ‘ ſtore it to his own country; and that he was ſuſ- ‘ pected to be an accomplice in the conſpiracy of Ja- ‘ copo da Diacetto, Zanobi Buondelmonti, Luigi Ala- ‘ manus, and Coſimo Rucellai, againſt this cardinal, ‘ on

(77) Keckerman cites what is contained in it to the diſadvantage of Machiavel. See Mr Crenius, *Metbod. Stud.* Part. ii, p. 194.

† Hiſt. Flor. *lib. iii.*

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(f) See the Journal of Leipsic, 1693, pag. 352. which has given us an abstract of it.

Luccheſini an Italian Jeſuit, a conſultor to the Congregation of Rites, is one of the laſt authors who wrote againſt him. See his *Saggio della Sciocchezza di Nicolo Macchiavelli*, printed at Rome in 1697 (q). The author of the Appendix to the treatiſe *de Literatorum Infelicitate*, has placed Machiavel in his catalogue (r), and is not in the wrong, for this Florentine was perſecuted with ill fortune as well as others [Q].

(r) See Cornel. Tollius in Appendice ad Pierium Valerianum, pag. 20, 21.

‡ Ibid.

'on account of the cloſe correſpondence he had 'with them, and other libertines. (So the partizans 'of the Medicis ‡ called thoſe, who would maintain 'the liberty of Florence) And probably this ſuſpi- 'cion deprived him of a reward for his Hiſtory of 'Florence, though he had writ it by the command of 'the ſame cardinal, as he obſerves at the very begin- 'ning of his epiſtle dedicatory (78).'

(s) *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, in his preface to the tranſlation of the Prince, towards the end.

[Q] *He was perſecuted with ill fortune, as well as others.*] If I ſet down a longer paſſage of James Gohory, than my text ſeems to require, it is to obſerve in him a very groſs miſtake. 'Therefore he was neither 'greatly ſupported, nor enriched, by the princes and 'lords of his time, ſuch as Pope Clement VII, to 'whom he dedicated his Hiſtory of Florence; nor 'by the noble Laurence de Medicis, to whom he 'ſent his book of the Prince, who reſtored the 'golden age of learning in Italy, being the patron 'and defender of all learned men, ſuch as Marſilius 'Ficinus, who dedicated to him his tranſlations and 'commentaries upon Plato, Angelus Politianus, Hie- 'ronymus Donatus, and ſeveral others, whoſe epiſtles 'may be ſeen in the collection, intituled, *Epiſtolæ 'Virorum Illuſtrium*. Machiavel complains of it to 'him, imploring tacitly his aſſiſtance, in the dedica- 'tion of his Prince, in theſe terms: 'Et ſe voſtra 'magnificenza d'all'apice della ſua altezza, qualche 'volta volgera gli occhi in queſti luoghi baſſi, cog- 'noſcera quanto indignamente io ſopporti una grande '& continoua malignità di fortuna (79). - - - *And if your 'magnificence will caſt your eyes down from the ſummit of 'your exalted ſtation to my humble rank, you will be 'ſenſible how little I deſerve the great and continual 'malice of fortune.*' The groſs error of Gohory is this, that he believed Laurence de Medicis, the patron of Politian, &c. was the ſame Laurence to whom Machiavel dedicated his Prince; whereas this laſt Laurence was the grand-ſon of the other.

(79) Gohory, in the Life of Machiavel.

MACON, a city of France upon the Saone, in the duchy of Burgundy. Cæſar mentions it (a), and calls it Matiſco. The tables of Peutinger, and the Itinerary of Æthicus, mention it alſo; but Strabo and Ptolemy ſay nothing of it. About five hundred years ago, by an ordinary tranſpoſition of letters, Matiſco was changed into Maſtico, from whence came the name Maſcon, which is now pronounced Mâcon (b). This city was treated cruelly, during the diſorders, which the wars about religion produced in France, in the XVIth century. The reformed ſet up a church there in 1560 (c), and they multiplied there ſo faſt, that they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the city (d), when the maſſacre at Vaſſi obliged them to conſult their own ſafety. It was about the beginning of May, 1562, that they made themſelves maſters of it, without much violence, or effuſion of blood. Three days after, they heard, that the images were broken down in the city of Lyons; and it was impoſſible for the miniſters and elders of the city to hinder the common people of Macon from doing the like; and from that time the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was ſuppreſſed there. Tavanes made ſeveral attempts to retake this city, but without ſucceſs: at laſt, by the help of ſecret intelligence, he ſurprized it, Auguſt 19, 1562 (e). He made himſelf maſter of it, after ſome hot ſkirmiſhes with the inhabitants in the ſtreets. All ſorts of plunderings and cruelties were committed [A], and then happened the *Leaps* of Macons [B] which I promiſed

(a) De Bel. Gal. *lib. viii. fin.*

(b) Hadr. Valeſius, Notit. Gall. pag. 322, 323.

(c) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. iii.* pag. 214.

(d) Id. *lib. xv*, pag. 407.

(e) Ibid. *p.* 422.

[A] *All ſorts of plunderings and cruelties were committed.*] After the houſes of the Reformed had been 'ſo well gutted, that there ſeemed to be nothing left 'in them, Madam de Tavanes knew ſo well how to 'diſcover hidden treaſures in her cunning way, that, 'for her part of the ſpoil, ſhe had about 180 trunks 'full of moveables; beſides the yarn ſtuffs, all ſorts of 'linen, as bed-clothes, table-cloths, and napkins, 'wherewith Macon was reputed to be better furniſhed 'than any other city in France. As to the ranſoms, 'rings, utenſils, and other precious things, the value 'is not known; but only ſo far, that thoſe, who had 'the management of ſuch affairs, ſaid to their friends, 'that Tavanes got there as much as would have pur- 'chaſed 10000 livres a year (1).' After this it is not to be wondered, that the great lords fomented the diviſions, and increaſed, as much as they could, the flames of perſecution: it was a revenue to them, and a very gainful exaction.

(1) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. xv*, *pag.* 429.

[B] *Leaps of Macon.*] I ſhall uſe the very words of the Hiſtorian, quoted in the preceding remark. '(2) The exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was pre- 'ſently reſtored there, and the prieſts and monks re- 'turned to their former ſtate, together with the bro- 'thel houſes (3). To compleat the misfortunes, 'St Poinct (4) (a man of a ſanguinary and cruel tem- 'whoſe mother had declared in open court, to clear 'her conſcience, that he was the ſon of a prieſt, whom 'ſhe named) was left by Tavanes, governor of the 'city; who, for his paſtime, after he had feaſted the 'ladies, was uſed to aſk whether the farce, which 'was from that time called *The Farce of St Poinct*, 'was ready to be acted. This was, as it were, the 'watch-word, upon which his people were wont to 'bring out of priſon one or two priſoners, and ſome- 'times more, whom they carried to the bridge of the 'Saone; and he being there with the ladies, after he 'had aſked them ſome pretty and pleaſant queſtions, 'he cauſed them to be thrown down headlong, 'and drowned in the river. It was alſo an uſual 'thing to give falſe alarms, and upon that pretence 'to drown or ſhoot ſome priſoner, or any other, 'whom he could catch, of the Reformed religion, 'charging them with a deſign to betray the city.' He was killed by one Achon, with whom he quarrelled, as he was returning *from his houſe near the city, whither he had carried about* 20000 *crowns of plunder.* It was a little after the pacification of the month of March, 1563. D'Aubigné (5) admirably deſcribes the barbarity of the man, under the picture of a ſchool, wherein, during the laſt ſervice at table, while the fruit and ſweat-meats are eating, the young men and maids were taught to ſee the Huguenots put to death without pity. He ſays elſewhere (6), *That St Pont plaid the buffoon at the execution of his cruelties, and that, at the concluſion of his feaſts, he entertained the ladies with the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome perſons leap from the bridge into the water.* The conduct of this governor was much more cruel than that of Lucius Flaminius, who gave order, during the time of dinner, that a criminal ſhould be put to death in his preſence, to pleaſe the object of his infamous amours, who had never ſeen any perſon killed (7). But, on the other ſide, the conduct of theſe ladies of Macon, was much more to be blamed than that of the veſtals, whom a Chriſtian Poet has ſo much cenſured for the pleaſure they took in ſeeing the Gladiators killed.

(2) *He had ſaid*, *pag.* 424, That the whores of the prieſts, who had been driven away before, returned, the ſame day it was taken, and ſerved thoſe cruel men to ſhew them the houſes of the Reformed, and chiefly of thoſe, who had driven them away.

(3) Ibid.

(4) D'Aubigné calls him St Pont.

(5) D'Aubig. Hiſt. *Tom. i. pag.* 216.

(6) Pag. 202.

(7) Plutarch. in Flamin. *p.* 379.

- - - - - - - - - - - - conſurgit ad ictus :
Et quoties victor ferrum jugulo inſerit, illa,
Delicias, ait eſſe ſuas, pectuſque jacentis
Virgo modeſta jubet converſo pollice rumpi (8).

(8) Prudentius, lib. II, in Symmach. ver. 1095.

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miſed elſewhere (*f*) to ſpeak of in this place. I will now perform my promiſe; and at the ſame time it will appear, why I mention theſe terrible barbarities in divers places of this work [*C*]. The memory of theſe *Leaps* have been rendered more immortal than thoſe

(*f*) In the remark [*C*], of the article BEAUMONT.

Nor turns the modeſt virgin from the ſight,
But, with ſtrange cruelty, enjoys the ſight,
And when at length ſhe ſees the proſtrate foe,
By ſignals bids the victor ſtrike the blow.

I doubt not but St Poinct alledged, in his excuſe, the leaps of the ſoldiers of Montbriſon by Des Adrets (9); as the latter pleaded in his excuſe the cruelties that were exerciſed at Orange. And thus you ſee how one bad example draws on another, almoſt without end: *abyſſus abyſſum invocat*. Wherefore they are moſt to blame, who ſet the example: and in juſtice they ſhould be puniſhed for all the crimes which follow theirs. D'Aubigné had not well conſulted the dates, when he ſays (10), that the baron Des Adret, being offended with the ſacking of Orange, and the throwing men headlong at Macon, marched to Pierrelate, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns, and at laſt came to Montbriſon. For it appears by Theodore Beza (11), that Pierrelate, and other towns, had been ſubdued by Des Adrets before the twenty ſixth of June, and that the ſoldiers of Montbriſon leaped the ſixteenth of July (12), and that Macon was taken by Tavanes the nineteenth of Auguſt (13).

(9) See the article BEAUMONT, remark [*E*].

(10) Tom. i. pag. 204.

(11) Lib. *xii*, *pag.* 265, 266.

(12) Pag. 224.

(13) Pag. 422.

[*C*] *It will appear why I mention theſe terrible barbarities in divers parts of this work.*] For the honour of the French name, and of the Chriſtian name, it were to be wiſhed, that the memory of theſe inhuman procedings had been utterly aboliſhed, and that all the books, which mention them, had been thrown into the fire. Thoſe who ſeem to find fault with hiſtories, becauſe, ſay they (14), they ſerve only to teach the readers all ſorts of crimes, have in ſome reſpects much reaſon to ſay ſo, with regard to the hiſtory of the religious wars: for it ſeems extreamly proper to nouriſh in the minds of men an irreconcilable hatred; and it aſtoniſhes me to ſee, that the French, of different religions, have lived, ſince the edicts, in ſo much brotherly love, though they had continually in their hands the hiſtories of our civil-wars, wherein they meet with nothing but ſacking of towns, profanation of holy things, maſſacres, overturning of altars, aſſaſſinations, perjuries, and outrageous actions. This good correſpondence had been leſs worthy of admiration, if all private perſons had been ignorant of the ſtories, which each party objects to the other. May it not therefore be ſaid to me, that I ſeem to have a deſign to revive the paſſions of men, and to add fewel to the fire of hatred, by ſpreading every where in my work the cruelleſt actions, that the hiſtory of the XVIth century mentions: an abominable century (15), and, in compariſon of which, the preſent generation might paſs for the golden age, as much a ſtranger as it is to true virtue. It is fit I ſhould clear up this difficulty. I ſay then, that I am ſo far from having any deſign to excite in the breaſts of my readers theſe ſtorms of wrath, that I ſhould willingly conſent, that this ſort of events might never be remembered, provided that by this means every one would learn better things, and do his duty better, without indulging his paſſions: but as theſe things are diſperſed in a great number of books, I would not lay myſelf under a reſtraint, in hopes the affectation of ſaying nothing of them in this might do any good; and I thought myſelf at liberty to make uſe of whatever lay in my way, and to follow the connexion there may be between ſubjects. But I ought not to forget, that, as every thing has two handles, ſo it were to be wiſhed, for very good reaſons, that the memory of theſe terrible barbarities were carefully preſerved: three ſorts of perſons ought to view them every day, and conſider them well. Thoſe, who govern, ſhould employ a page every morning, to ſay to them; *Diſturb no perſon for his opinions in religion, and extend not the power of the ſword over conſcience. See what Charles IX, and his ſucceſſor, got by it: It is a miracle that the French monarchy was not deſtroyed by their zeal for the Catholic religion. Such miracles do not happen every day; depend not upon them. They would not ſuffer the edict of January to continue; and after more than thirty years deſolation, and a torrent of blood, and many thouſand perjuries and conflagrations, they were obliged to grant one more favourable.* Thoſe, who conduct eccleſiaſtical affairs, are the ſecond ſort of people, who ought to remember well the XVIth century. When they hear any one ſpeak of Toleration, they fancy they hear a moſt frightful and monſtrous opinion; and, to intereſt the ſecular power on the ſide of their paſſions, they cry, that this is to deprive the magiſtrates of the beſt flower of their crown, if they are not allowed at leaſt to impriſon and baniſh Heretics. But if they would duly conſider what is to be feared from a religious war, they would be more moderate. *You will not*, may one ſay to them, *allow this ſect to pray to* GOD *in it's own way, nor preach it's opinions; but take heed, if you come to an open war, leaſt, inſtead of ſpeaking or writing againſt your opinions, they overturn your temples, and endanger your own perſons. What have you gained, in France and Holland, by adviſing perſecution? Truſt not to your great numbers. Your ſovereigns have neighbours, and conſequently your ſectaries will not want protectors, and aſſiſtants, tho' they were Turks.* In fine, let theſe turbulent Divines, who take ſo much pleaſure in innovations, continually have in view the religious wars of the XVIth century. The Reformers were the innocent cauſe of them; for, according to their principles, there was no medium. They muſt either ſuffer the Papiſts to be damned eternally, or convert them to Proteſtantiſm. But that people, who are perſuaded, that an error does not damn at all, ſhould have no regard to poſſeſſion, and had rather diſturb the public peace, than ſuppreſs their own private opinions, is a thing that cannot be too much deteſted. Let them conſider the conſequences of their novelties, and then, if they can, embark in them without an abſolute neceſſity, they muſt have the ſoul of a tyger, and a more brazen heart, than he who firſt ventured his life in a ſhip.

(14) *See* Maſcardi's Diſcourſe upon Hiſtory.

(15) *Conſer quæ ſupra*, at the end of the remark [*F*] of the article LOGNAC.

Illi robur & æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commiſit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus
Nec triſtis Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti.
. . . . . .
Quem mortis timuit gradum,
Qui rectis oculis monſtra natantia,
Quid vidit mare turbidum, &
Infamis ſcopulos Acroceraunia (16)?

(16) Horat. Od. III, lib. I, ver. 9.

Sure he, who firſt the paſſage try'd,
In harden'd oak his heart did hide,
And ribs of iron arm'd his ſide.
Or his at leaſt, in hollow wood,
Who tempted firſt the briny flood:
Nor fear'd the winds contending roar,
Nor billows beating on the ſhore,
Nor hyades portending rain,
Nor all the tyrants of the main.
What form of death cou'd him affright,
Who unconcern'd, with ſteadfaſt ſight,
Cou'd view the ſurges mounting ſteep,
And monſters rolling in the deep;
Cou'd thro' the ranks of ruin go,
With ſtorms above, and rocks below!

There is no probability, that any party ſhould ariſe among the Proteſtants, to reform their religion after the ſame manner as they reformed the Romiſh church; *i. e.* as a religion we muſt neceſſarily forſake except we will be damned: and ſo the diſorders, that might be feared from any innovating party, would be leſs terrible than thoſe of the laſt century; the animoſities would be leſs violent, than at that time; eſpecially ſince none of the parties could deſtroy any ſenſible object of ſuperſtition in the other; there would be no topical deities, nor tutelar ſaints, to be broken, or coined into money; no reliques to be

WHO thoſe are, that ought carefully to conſider the miſchiefs, which are produced by civil-wars, on account of religion.

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those of the isle of Caprea [D].

(17) It is probable, that the French and Spanish arts would not have shed so much Protestant blood, if they had not been engaged by the over throwing of their altars, images, relques, &c.

thrown away, no pixes or altars to be overturned (17). There might therefore be some differences between Protestant and Protestant, without fearing all the outrages, that appeared in the quarrels between Protestant and Catholic; but still the mischief would be fatal enough, to deserve our endeavours to prevent it, by representing to those, who are too much addicted to disputes, the horrible confusions they have produced, and that the most fatal non-toleration does not proceed from princes, who use the sword against sectaries, but from those private doctors, who, without a very urgent necessity, rise up against errors protected by prejudice and custom, and who obstinately oppose them, at the same time they see all actually in flames.

[D] *The leaps of Macon have been more immortalized, than those of the isle of Caprea.*] And yet a famous Historian has inserted them in his work; and the place was shown as one of the curiosities of the isle. 'Carnificinæ ejus *(Tiberii)* ostenditur locus Capreis, 'unde damnatos post longa & exquisita tormenta 'præcipitari coram se in mare jubebat, excipiente clas- 'siariorum manu & contis atque remis elidente cada- 'vera, ne cui relidui spiritus quidquam inesset (18) - - - *In Caprea they shew the place, where Tiberius 'exercised his cruelties; when, after long and exquisite 'tortures, he ordered the condemned to be thrown head- 'long into the sea, a body of mariners receiving them in 'their falls, and dashing to pieces their bodies with poles 'and oars, to prevent their escaping alive.*' But, in short, I do not believe, that the Antients are to be compared with the Moderns, in transferring the same things from one book to another, and so the *leaps* of Macon are to be read in more places, and have more monuments for pledges of their immortality, than those of the Emperor Tiberius. It was not for the credit of those, who made use of such a punishment in the XVIth century, that they followed the steps of such a tyrant. Some, perhaps, in reading this, may remember the remarks of the article LEUCAS.

(18) Suetonius in Tiberio. c. *lxiij.*

MACRIN (SALMON), one of the best Latin Poets of the XVIth century, was of Loudun. What Thuanus has said of him, and Mr Teissier in his Additions, is in every body's hands, since the edition of Utrecht: thither then I refer my reader, and shall only take notice of one thing, very singular, but a little doubtful, which Mr Varillas had learned of Mr Bouillaud [A]. It is said, that Macrin was not the family-name of our Poet [B].

[A] *I shall mention a thing, very singular, but a little doubtful, which Mr Varillas had learned of Mr Bouillaud.*] 'His (1) great friend of Loudun, who 'had changed his name from Mitron to Macrin, 'valet de chambre to the king, a Latin Poet, and 'great imitator of Catullus, as well as he, was no 'less unhappy. He was accused before the king of 'being of the new religion, and the king threatened 'to hang him, if he was convicted of it. It is 'not certain whether he was guilty or no; but 'this may be said, that almost all the finest wits 'inclined at that time to Calvinism. His majesty's 'menace did so terrify Macrin, that he going out 'of the Louvre, and seeing, at a distance, a crane, 'a machine which Wine-coopers make use of to 'let down hogsheads of wine into cellars, he took it 'for a gibbet, and so went mad, and drowned him- 'self in the next pond he met with (2).' The authority of Mr Bouillaud, a native of Loudun as well as Macrin, a man of an extraordinary memory, and the best acquainted with the history of learned men, gives a great weight to this story; especially if we suppose, that Mr Varillas writ down immediately what he had heard from him. On the other side, when I consider that Sammarthanus, a native of Loudun, and nearer to that time than Mr Bouillaud, affirms, that Salmon Macrin died of old age at Loudun, whither he retired a long while before (3); it is not easy to believe the account of Varillas; for who can believe, that so tragical an accident should remain unknown to all the authors, who have writ of Macrin, such as Sammarthanus, his countryman, who searched for memoirs in all parts; and Thuanus (4), who was no less curious in his enquiries, &c. Let us therefore place this among those things which demand a further enquiry, since the best authors are not only silent about it, but also give us a narrative inconsistent with it.

(1) That is, Marot's.

(2) Varillas, Hist. of Heresy, Tom. V, B. 21. pag. m. 503, 51. He puts in the margin, I had these particulars from the learned Mr Bouillaud.

(3) Vitæ cælibis parter & aulicæ præcipiis, uxorem duxit, civem Eam .... mortemque suis & amicorum versibus .... commendavit, susceptis ex ea utriusque sexus liberis .... domi suæ sexie plane confectus occidisset. .. Being weary both of a single and a married life, he married a woman of his own country .... and after he duely celebrated her by his own and her friends verses; .... having had by her children of both sexes .... he died at his own house in a good old age. Sammarth. in Elog. lib. 1, p. m. 21, 22.

(4) Thuan. lib. xix, sub fin. ad ann. 1557.

[B] *Macrin was not the family-name of our Poet* (§ *a*).] We have already seen, that, according to Mr Varillas, *he changed his name Mitron into Macrin*; but, according to Mr Baillet (5), he was called John Salmon, *and on account of his leanness was often called in jest Macrinus by king Francis I*; so that *seeing that his name John did not please his wife, he laid it aside, and ever after called himself Salmonius Macrinus.*

(5) Judgments on the Poets, Tom. iii, num. 1293, pag. 258.

This is found in the Bibliotheque of Vau-privas. and after such a manner as more plainly denotes the reason why our Macrin, having regard to his wife, changed his name: *John Salmon, leaving off his proper name, which happened to be troublesome to him on account of his wife, took for a proper name, Salmon*, &c (6).

(6) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 754.

[(§ *a*) The French name of this Poet was *Maigret.* From *Macrinus*, as he is called in his Latin Poems, was formed that of *Macrin*, which he retained. See Fauchet, book IV, ch. XIV, of his *Antiquities.* REM CRIT.]

MACRO (NAEVIUS SERTORIUS) acquired a great authority under the reign of Tiberius. He was one of the chief instruments of the ruin of Sejanus, and succeeded him in the office of captain of the guards (*a*). He surpassed him in contrivance, and chiefly when he designed to destroy an enemy [A]. He refused the honours, which were decreed

(*a*) Dio, *lib. lviii*, m. 718.

[A] *He surpassed Sejanus in contrivance, and especially when he designed to destroy an enemy.*] The hatred of Macro was very terrible: Mamercus Scaurus had a sad experience of it. He was a man of a bad life, but illustrious for his birth, and a great Orator. Macro attacked him, upon pretence, that he had written some verses in a Tragedy, which might relate to the conduct of Tiberius. Others accused him of magic and adultery. He prevented his condemnation by killing himself, and was encouraged to do it by his wife, who also killed herself. Read these words of Tacitus. *Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate & orandis caussis, vitâ fædatus, nihil hunc amicitia Sejani, sed labefecit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem artes occultiùs exercebat: detuleratque argumentum Tragœdiæ à Scauro scriptæ, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur. Verùm ab Servilio & Cornelio accusatoribus, adulterium Liviæ, magorum sacra objectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Æmiliis, damnationem anteit; hortante Sextiâ uxore: quæ incitamentum mortis, & particeps fuit* (1). Dion furnishes us with some circumstances, which give a light to what concerns the Tragedy, at which the Emperor was offended. The title of it was *Atreus*, and it contained the words of Euripides, which advised a subject to bear with the folly of his king (2). Tiberius imagined, that this Tragedy was intended against him, and that on account of the murders he had committed, he was pointed at under the name of Atreus. I shall make an Ajax of the author, said he. The threatning was put in execution; but, instead of using this pretence, he accused Scaurus of having lain with Livilla (3).

(1) Tacit. Annal. *lib. vi, cap. xxix*, ad ann. 787.

(2) Ἵνα τὴν τοῦ πράττοντος ἀβουλίαν φέρηι. Ut stultitiam imperantis ferret. *Dio, lib. lviii, pag. m.* 730.

(3) Ex Dion. ib.

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creed him by the ſenate, after the death of Sejanus (b), and I believe, policy had a greater ſhare in that refuſal, than modeſty. He took upon him an odious commiſſion, in the proceſſes, which the informers brought againſt the people; for he preſided, when they were put to the torture, in order to diſcover thoſe, that were guilty, and to procure witneſſes. After this, the proofs, which he had collected this way, were ſent to the ſenate, and the accuſations of the informers; ſo that the aſſembly had nothing left but the care of pronouncing the ſentence (c). It happened ſometimes, that none of the accuſed were acquitted; nay, ſome were even condemned, without knowing, either by the letters of Tiberius, or the certificates of Macro, in relation to the depoſitions of the tortured, wherein conſiſted their crime; and no other rule was obſerved, but what ſeemed to be agreeable to the deſires of the emperor, and of his captain of the guards (d). Every body may ſee, that Macro, by ſuch a conduct, ſtood in need of the life of the emperor Tiberius; for he had reaſon to fear the worſt from a change of government. This he was very ſenſible of; and hence it came to paſs, that, as ſoon as he reflected upon the age and infirmities of the emperor, he laboured all he could to gain the good graces of him, who was to ſucceed to the empire. He made his court to Caligula; and the better to inſinuate himſelf into his favour, he made uſe of the wheedling arts of his wife Ennia [B]. He managed the matter ſo, that the young prince fell in love with her, and

(b) Id. ib. p. 722.

(c) Id. ib. p. 727.

(d) Id. ib. p. 730.

Let us add another example of the power of Macro's hatred: He bore an ill-will to Lucius Arruntius, and ſeeing him involved in a proceſs for a ſtate-crime, he laid hold of the opportunity; he preſided at the examination of the witneſſes, and at the torture of the ſlaves (4), and ſhewed ſo plainly, that the effects of his hatred could not be avoided, that the accuſed put himſelf to death, without waiting for the deciſion of the cauſe. Let us ſee what he anſwered to thoſe, who adviſed him to diſpute the ground. I have lived, ſaid he to them, long enough, and I can promiſe myſelf no advantage from a longer life: the times will be more unhappy under the ſucceſſor of Tiberius; for every thing that is bad is to be feared from Caligula, governed by Macro. Tacitus deſcribes this more largely and nobly; let us therefore produce his words: they let us into the character of him who is the ſubject of this article. 'Arruntius cunctationem & moras ſuadentibus amicis: 'Non eadem omnibus decora, reſpondit, ſibi ſatis 'ætatis: neque aliud pœnitendum, quàm quòd inter 'ludibria & pericula anxiam ſenectam toleraviſſet, diu 'Sejano, nunc Macroni, ſemper alicui potentium 'inviſus; non culpâ, ſed ut flagitiorum impatiens. 'Sanè paucos & ſupremos Principis dies poſſe vitari; 'quemadmodum evaſurum imminentis juventam? An 'cùm Tiberius poſt tantam rerum experientiam, vi 'dominationis convulſus & mutatis ſit: C. Cæſarem 'vix finitâ pueritiâ, ignarum omnium, aut peſſimis in- 'nutritum, meliora capeſſiturum, Macrone duce? qui 'ut deterior ad opprimendum Sejanum delectus, plura 'per ſcelera Remp. conflictaviſſet. Proſpectare jam ſe 'acrius ſervitium, eoque fugere ſimul acta & inſtan- 'tia, Hæc vatis in modum dictitans, venas reſol- 'vit (5) - - - His friends adviſing delay, Arruntius anſwered, That all things did not equally become all perſons: that he had lived long enough: that he had nothing to repent of, but having expoſed his old age to ſcorn and danger, hated a long time by Sejanus, now by Macro, and always by ſome great man or other, not thro' his own fault, but becauſe he cenſured their vices: that the few remaining days of the Emperor's life might be avoided: but how to eſcape the youth of his ſucceſſor? Since Tiberius, after ſo much experience, was unſettled, and quite altered by power; was it likely, Caius Cæſar, ſcarce out of his childhood, and not at all, or very badly, educated, would take better meaſures, eſpecially under the government of Macro? who being choſen, for his ſuperior bad qualities, to effect the ruin of Sejanus, had adminiſtred affairs much more wickedly: that he foreſaw an harder ſervitude, and therefore fled both from paſt and approaching evils. 'With theſe prophetic words, he opened his veins.' Note, that Arruntius, and two others (6), were accuſed as accomplices of the conſpiracy of Albucilla, a woman, who was no leſs infamous for her debaucheries (7), than were the heroines of Buſſi about forty years ago (8). I believe the accuſation was founded upon this, That theſe three Romans were known to be the galants of Albucilla (9); from whence it was probably concluded, that they muſt know of the conſpiracy, ſince they kept company with her in a way of galantry. Generally ſpeaking, this way of reaſoning is very good: and if there are ſcarce any women to be found, in proceſſes for ſtate-crimes, who uſe not ſuch galantries, there are likewiſe few to be found, who do not communicate their plot to their galants. The reaſon of the connexion of theſe things may eaſily be gueſſed at, and ſo, without much pains, it will appear, why the women, who reſemble Hippolita of Arragon, baroneſs of Alby (10), are thoſe who engage moſt frequently in conſpiracies. We muſt not forget, that Albucilla would have killed herſelf, but ſhe had not ſtrength enough to give herſelf a mortal wound. 'Albucilla irrito ictu à ſemet 'vulnerata, juſſu Senatus in carcerem fertur (11) - - - 'Albucilla, having miſſed giving herſelf a mortal wound, 'is, by order of the ſenate, carried to priſon.' Tacitus, who informs us, that the ſenate cuſed her to be carried to priſon, does not tell us what became of her. He obſerves, that it was ſuppoſed, that almoſt all the proofs, which were ſent againſt the three perſons accuſed, were forged by Macro, who was known to be the declared enemy of Arruntius. Sed teſtium interrogationi, tormentis ſervorum Macronem præſedisſe, commentarii ad ſenatum miſſi ferebant: nullæque in eos Imperatoris litteræ, ſuſpicionem dabant, invalido ac fortaſſe ignaro, ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium (12). It is probable, that Macro behaved himſelf very unjuſtly in this affair; but he could not, even by the exact obſervation of judicial proceedings, avoid the ſuſpicion of having oppreſſed the innocent; for when a prince, or his favourites, or miniſters, are hated by the people, it is ſcarce ever believed, that thoſe whom they puniſh are guilty. This was ſeen in France under the miniſtry of cardinal Richelieu (13).

[B] He made uſe of the wheedling arts of his wife Ennia.] This is the opinion of Tacitus. 'Supremi 'Tiberio Conſules, Cn. Acerronius, C. Pontius ma- 'giſtratum occepere, nimiâ jam potentiâ Macronis: 'qui gratiam C. Cæſaris nunquam ſibi neglectam, 'acriùs in dies fovebat, impuleratque poſt mortem 'Claudiæ, quam nuptam ei retuli, uxorem ſuam En- 'niam immittendo, amore juvenem inlicere, pactoque 'matrominii vincire, nihil abnuentem dum domina- 'tionis aſpiceretur (14). - - - The laſt conſuls under 'Tiberius, Cn. Acerronius and Caius Pontius, entered 'upon their office, the power of Macro being now too 'great: who every day courted more earneſtly the favour 'of Caius Cæſar, which he had never neglected: and, 'after the death of Claudia, whom he had married, as 'I have related, Macro, by means of his wife Ennia, 'had drawn the young prince into love, and bound him 'by a marriage contract, he readily complying with 'every thing, whilſt he aimed at the empire.' But Suetonius relates the matter differently: he would have it, that Caligula made his courtſhip to Macro's wife, and that he engaged her, by a promiſe of marriage, to procure him the good offices of her huſband. 'Quam (ſpem ſucceſſionis) quo magis confirmaret, 'amiſſa Junia ex partu, Enniam Næviam (15) Ma- 'cronis uxorem, qui tum prætorianis cohortibus præ- 'erat, ſollicitavit ad ſtuprum, pollicitus & matri- 'monium ſuum, ſi potitus Imperio fuiſſet: deque 'ea re & jurejurando & chirographo cavit. Per hanc

(4) Tacit. lib. vi, cap. xlvii.

(5) Id. ib. cap. xlviii. ad ann. 790.

(6) Cn. Domitius & Vibius Marſus.

(7) Multorum amoribus famoſa Albucilla. Tacit. ibid. lib. vi, cap. xlvii.

(8) I write this in the year 1700.

(9) Connectebantur ut conſcii & adulteri ejus. Tacit. id. ib.

(10) See in the collection of divers curious pieces to ſerve for Hiſtory, the conſpiracy of this lady againſt the city of Barcelona, in favour of the Catholic king, in the years 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648, pag. 43, &c. of the Holland edition, 1664.

(11) Tacit. ibid. cap. xlviii.

(12) Id. ib. cap. 47.

(13) See, above, the remark [F] of the article LEWIS XIII.

(14) Tacit. ubi ſupra. cap. 45. ad an. 790.

(15) We muſt read, as Colaubon very well conjectured, Naevii Macronis.

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and ſhe aſſured him of the empire, provided he promiſed to marry her. Tiberius was not ignorant of the plot, and diſcovered his mind ſufficiently about it, by a reproach he made to Macro [C]; and indeed he intended to overturn the whole project, but found himſelf engaged in ſo many difficulties, that he was forced to leave it to take its chance (e). The Phyſician Charicles having told Macro, that Tiberius would not live above two days, he haſtened to get all things ready to ſerve the intereſt of Caligula (f). During theſe tranſactions, a report was ſpread abroad that the emperor was dead, and immediately Caligula marched to take poſſeſſion of the empire. He was ſurrounded by many courtiers, who came in crowds to congratulate him. But on a ſudden news came, that Tiberius was recovered from the ſwooning fit, which was taken for his death. This news ſtruck the courtiers of Caligula with a conſternation; ſo that ſome of them fled one way, and ſome another, and all of them diſſembled as well as they could. As for him, he looked upon himſelf as a dead man, and waited in profound ſilence for his laſt hour: But Macro was ſo far from being frighted at it, that he ordered Tiberius to be ſtifled, and all his attendants to withdraw from him (g). Yet neither he, nor his wife, enjoyed any long time the favour they had promiſed themſelves under the new emperor, who was ſo much obliged to them, but were both forced to make-away with themſelves [D]. The huſband had obtained a very good government (b); but he could not ſoften

(e) See the remark [C].

(f) Tacit. Annal. *lib. vi, cap. 1.*

(g) Ex Tacito, *ibid.*

(b) That of Egypt. See Dion, *lib. lix, p.* 743.

(16) Sueton. in Calig. *cap. iii.*

'hanc inſinuatus Macroni, veneno Tiberium aggreſſus eſt (16). - - - *To confirm which hope (of the ſucceſſion) Junia being dead in child-birth, he addreſſed* 'Ennia, *wife of Macro, captain of the Prætorian* 'guard, *promiſing to marry her, if he came to the em-* 'pire: *to which he obliged himſelf both by oath and* 'contract. *By her means getting into the confidence of* 'Macro, *he attempted to poiſon Tiberius.*' Dion chuſes rather to follow the narrative of Tacitus than that of Suetonius; for he ſays, that Caligula was enticed by the huſband himſelf to make love to his wife (17). Take which ſide you pleaſe, you will meet every where with probability: neither will it deſtroy probability, to ſay, that Macro, being more ambitious than jealous, perſuaded his wife to lay ſnares for Caligula, and to refuſe him nothing, which might be proper to captivate a young debauched prince. If Macro did this, he acted a part, which is very common among courtiers, and generally among thoſe, who have a mind to make their fortune. One of their maxims is that which Tireſias gave Ulyſſes:

(17) Ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἔννιας θηκαλίσας προσήγετο. Eum in amorem uxoris ſuæ Enniæ Thraſyllo pellexerat. Dio, *lib. lviii, in fine.*

Scortator erit, cave te roget.
Ultro Penelopen facilis potiori trade (18).

(18) Horat. Sat. V, lib. II, ver. 75.

Stay not till aſk'd; but, of thy own accord,
At all good-natur'd huſbands ought to do,
Conduct thy wife to her adulterer's bed.

In our days, they would not ſeem to ſleep, but would go into another chamber, if they ſaw their Mecenas diſpoſed to careſs their wives.

- - - - - - doctus ſpectare lacunar,
Doctus & ad calicem vigilanti ſtertere naſo (19).

(19) Juven. Sat. 3, ver. 36.

Who his taught eyes up to the cieling throws,
And ſleeps all over but his wakeful noſe.
DRYDEN.

This would be more decent, than what Galba did, who *having invited Mecenas*, the favourite of *Auguſtus*, *to ſupper, and perceiving he began to ogle, and caſt amorous glances at his wife, gently reclined his head upon a cuſhion, and pretended to fall aſleep* (20). Suppoſe, on the other ſide, that Caligula diſtruſting the intentions of Tiberius, and being not yet ſure to ſucceed that Emperor, endeavoured to debauch the wife of Macro, and imagined, that, if he could engage her in his intereſt, by a ſecret promiſe of marriage, ſhe would oblige her huſband to ſerve him; is it not a ſuppoſition very probable? The like conduct has been obſerved a thouſand times. Laſtly, ſuppoſe that Ennia, being perſuaded, that Caligula would ſucceed Tiberius, endeavoured to gain his love without the knowledge of her huſband, and ſpared for nothing, which might cheriſh the hopes of being one day an empreſs; ſtill we find a great probability. Nevertheleſs, I believe that the narrative of Tacitus is preferable to that of Suetonius, in ſpight of Philo, who affirms (21), that Macro was ignorant of the gallantries of his wife.

(20) Plut. in Antonio, pag. 729, 760.

(21) See the remark [D].

[C] *Tiberius . . . . . diſcovered his mind ſufficiently about it, by a reproach he made to Macro.*] You forſake the ſetting ſun, ſaid he to him, and ſhow reſpect to the riſing-ſun (22). This is the way of the world, and it is one of the greateſt troubles that attends the old age of princes. I will not deſcribe the particular meaſures, which Tiberius intended to take, when he knew the intrigues of Macro; it is ſufficient to relate the words of Tacitus. 'Gnarum hoc Principi; eoque 'dubitavit de tradenda Republica primum inter ne- 'potes. . . . . Mox incertus animi, feſſo corpore, con- 'ſilium, cui impar erat, fato permiſit: jactis tamen 'vocibus per quas intelligeretur providus futurorum: 'Namque Macroni non abdita ambage, *Occidentem ab* 'eo deſeri, *Orientem ſpectari* exprobravit, &c. (23) - - - - *The emperor diſcovered this: which made him* 'deliberate *to which of his grandſons he ſhould leave* 'the ſucceſſion *to the empire. . . . . At length, doubtful in* 'mind, *and tired in body, he left, what he could not* 'himſelf *determine, to the deciſion of Fate: though he* 'threw *out expreſſions, which ſhewed he conſidered fu-* 'turity. *For he reproached Macro in the following man-* 'ner, *which diſcovered his meaning: that* he forſook 'the ſetting, and looked to the riſing-ſun.'

(22) Dio, *lib. lviii, in fine.*

(23) Tacitus, ubi ſupra, *cap.* 46.

[D] *They were both forced to make away with themſelves.*] Dion Caſſius, relating thoſe things which were blamed in Caligula, does not forget the ingratitude of the emperor with reſpect to Macro and Ennia; which was ſo great that he reduced them to the hard neceſſity of killing themſelves. He neither remembred the love that Ennia had for him, nor the ſervices Macro had done him; which were of ſo great importance, that by them he was advanced to the throne without a colleague. And not content to take away his life, he defamed him, and made uſe of ſuch an accuſation, as reflected diſgrace chiefly upon his own perſon; for he declared, that Macro had ſerved him as a procurer: Καὶ ἐς αἰσχύνην ἧς αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖστον μετεῖχε, κατέσηπε. προαγωγείας γὰρ ἐγκλημα αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήγαγε (24). *Et ea infamia oneravit, cujus ipſe maxima in parte futurus eſſet, objecto nimirum eo crimine quod ſtuprorum conciliatores fuiſſent* (25). This is in the fifty ninth book of Dion Caſſius: and take notice, that this Hiſtorian has obſerved, that it is much more cruel to force people to make away with themſelves, than to deliver them up to the executioner. This obſervation he makes againſt Tiberius, who, to conceal his being the death of the accuſed, obliged them by ſufficiently powerful motives (26) to prevent their condemnation, by putting themſelves to death. Προκαλυμένου διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ Τιβερίῳ αὐτοκτόνους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς σφᾶς ἀποκτείνειν δόκῃ. ὥσπερ ὃ πολλῷ δεινότερον ὂν αὐτοχειρία τινὰ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, τῷ τῶν δημίῳ αὐτὸν παραδῶναι. *Alliciente per hæc Tiberio homines ad conſciſcendam ſibi ipſis mortem ne ipſe eos neceſſe videretur: quaſi vero non longe gravius ſit adigere aliquem ad manus ſibi ipſi inferendas, quam ſpiculatori eum tradere* (27). Suetonius alſo mentions the violent death of Macro and Ennia among the great crimes of this emperor. *Et in primis ipſam Macronem, ipſam Enniam adjutores Imperii, quibus . . . . . pro meritorum gratia cruenta mors perſoluta eſt* (28). If we knew nothing of Macro, but by the picture which a Jewiſh author has given of him, he would be more pitied; for one would take him for a very honeſt man, and none of thoſe

(24) Dio, *lib. lix, pag.* 743.

(25) Thus Xylander and Leonclavius have tranſlated it; but it had been better tranſlated, *Objecto nimirum ei* (Macroni) *præter alia eo crimine, quod ſtuprorum conciliator fuiſſet.*

(26) Thoſe who were condemned died moſt cruel deaths, and all their goods were confiſcated; but the goods of thoſe, who killed themſelves, before the end of their trials, were very ſeldom confiſcated. *See Dio, ubi ſupra.*

(27) Dio, *lib. lviii, pag.* 723.

(28) Sueton. in Calig. *cap. xxxvi.*

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their hands, in the month of Auguſt, 1571, Magius became their ſlave, and was cruelly treated by them. His comfort, in this ſad condition, was, the remembrance of thoſe things he had formerly learned; and, as he had a great memory, he thought it was not impoſſible for him, though deſtitute of all ſorts of books, to compoſe ſome full of citations. In this work he employed the greateſt part of the night [B], being obliged to labour in the day-time as the vileſt ſlave. He conjured the embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of France, to endeavour his liberty: But whether it was, that they laid not his intereſt much to heart, or that their good intentions were fruſtrated by the barbarity of the Turks [C], it is certain, that Magius was ſo far from recovering his liberty, that he was ſtrangled in priſon, the twenty ſeventh of March 1572, or 1573 [D], as appears by the Journal of Arnold Manlius, Phyſician to the embaſſador of the Emperor. I give a catalogue of the books, which he publiſhed, before he went into Cyprus [E].

expreſs to this purpoſe, that Mr Teiſſier (2), who cites him, ought not, methinks, to leave his reader in ſuch uncertainty as he does by theſe words: *Jerom Maggi was born at Anglaria in the duchy of Milan, or at Anghiari in Tuſcany according to ſome.* One of the two paſſages, alledged by Mr Trichet du Freſne, is taken out of book i. chap. ii. *de muniendis civitatibus*; and the other out of book iv. ch. 9. of the Miſcellanies. He cites alſo the teſtimony of Gratiani, which he found in the third book *de Bello Cyprio*, p. 181. He might have cited the place of the Miſcellanies, where Magius calls Tuſcany, *noſtram Heturiam*. It is in the firſt book, chap. 20.

(2) Addition to the *Elogies*, taken from Thuanus, *Tom. i, pag.* 381.

[B] *He ſpent a good part of the night in writing books.*] He wrote, in priſon, a Treatiſe of Bells (3), *de Tintinnabulis*; and another of the Wooden-horſe, *de Equuleo*. What made him chuſe theſe ſubjects, was, partly, that he obſerved the Turks made no uſe of bells; and partly, that, in meditating on the different kinds of torments, to which his condition was expoſed, he remembred that no body had yet well explained the *Equuleus*. He dedicated the firſt of theſe two treatiſes to Charles Rym, a native of Ghent, embaſſador of the emperor at Conſtantinople; and the other to the embaſſador of France in the ſame place. Jungerman, in his notes upon the treatiſe *de Equuleo*, thinks, that this embaſſador of France was Francis de Noailles, biſhop of Acs. Mr Trichet du Freſne is of the ſame opinion. See his Elogium on Magius, at the beginning of the treatiſe *de Equuleo*, of the Amſterdam edition. Theſe two treatiſes of Magius were not printed till many years after his death. His manuſcript *de Tintinnabulis* was given by Philibert Rym, to the Jeſuits, who permitted it to be printed with the notes of Francis Swertius, at Hanaw, in the year 1608 (4). The next year, there was printed, with the notes of Jungerman, in the ſame place, the treatiſe *de Equuleo*, the manuſcript of which was left with Arnold Manlius by Magius himſelf (5). They were reprinted at Amſterdam, in the years 1664, and 1689.

(3) I have more reaſon to give the firſt place to this, than the Journal des Sçavans of Jan. 4, 1666, has to give it to the treatiſe *de Equuleo*.

(4) *Swert. in Elogio Magii.*

(5) *Epiſt Segheti ad Jungerm. & Jungermannus Not. in Tractat. de Equuleo.*

[C] *Whether it was, that the embaſſadors, of the Emperor and France, laid not his intereſt much to heart, or that their good intentions were fruſtrated by the barbarity of the Turks.*] I believe theſe two embaſſadors to be wronged, when ſome affirm, they had no regard to the prayers of Magius; and I cannot underſtand how Mr Trichet du Freſne can accuſe them of being deaf in this reſpect (6), ſince, immediately after, he cites the Journal of Manlius the Phyſician, from whom we learn, that the cauſe of Magius's ruin, was, that, by an imprudent oſtentation, he was brought to the embaſſador's lodging, and that he was unſeaſonably ſet at liberty. *Imprudenti ambitione in noſtram Carvaſaram ductus . . . . Conſtantinopoli intempeſtivè liberatus, ſtrangulari à Mahomete Baſſa in carcere juſſus.* After theſe words, there is no room to doubt, but that the price of his ranſom was agreed upon; but that which ſpoiled all, probably, was this: Mahomet Baſſa underſtood, that Magius had been with the emperor's embaſſador: he thought he made too much haſte: he remembered the miſchief occaſioned by this able Engineer; and this was to him a ſufficient motive for giving order, that he ſhould be ſtrangled the next night. Mr Gallois (7), is yet more poſitive in the matter, in an extract of the treatiſe of Bells. 'the embaſſadors (ſays he) treated of his ranſom; 'but while they thought to procure him liberty, 'they only promoted his death: for a baſſa, who 'had not forgot the miſchiefs, which Magius had 'done to the Turks at the ſiege of Famagoſta, having learned, that he was carried to the houſe of the 'emperor's embaſſador, ſent to retake him, and 'cauſed him to be ſtrangled the ſame night in priſon.'

(6) Fuit ea fati inclementia & atrocitas, ut Legati (dictu pudendum) ejus precibus ſurdi fuerint, barbarique immiſſo in collum laqueo eum in carcere ſtrangulaverint. - - - - *Such was the inclemency and hardneſs of his fate, that the embaſſadors (I am aſhamed to ſay it) were deaf to his prayers, and the barbarous Turks ſtrangled him in priſon.*

(7) *Journal des Sçavans, of Jan.* 4. 1666.

Thuanus was not ſufficiently informed about this matter: he had heard, that Magius wrote ſomething in priſon; but, I. he knew not what it was, and Moreri ſhould not make him ſay, that it was a treatiſe *de Culeo* (8), and another *de Tintinnabulis*. II. He knew not, that Magius had dedicated one of theſe two books to the emperor's embaſſador, and the other to the embaſſador of France, and had begged of them to uſe their endeavours for his liberty. III. He knew not, that they had uſed their endeavours for that end. IV. He was ignorant, that he who cauſed Magius to be ſtrangled, was not his maſter; the author of that cruelty being Mahomet Baſſa; whereas the maſter of Magius was only the captain of a ſhip (9). V. He knew not the reaſon, why this illuſtrious priſoner was put to death, ſince he thought it was done out of covetouſneſs: 'Quaſi bos, *ſays he* (10), vetulus ab 'ingrato aratro faſtiditus, ab immani hero ſumptibus 'parcente ſtrangulatus eſt. - - - - *Like an old ox, hated 'by the ungrateful plow, who is killed by his barbarous 'maſter, to ſave expences.*' IV In fine, he ought not to have ſaid, that Magius was carried into Aſia, (which many others have affirmed after him (11); for he was carryed to Conſtantinople, and remained there all the time of his ſlavery. From all this I may boldly conclude, that Moreri's Dictionary ſtood in great need of correction in this article, which was tranſcribed from the words of Thuanus.

(8) *A new miſtake; for he ſhould have ſaid* Equuleo, *and not* Culeo.

(9) *Trichet du Freſne, ubi ſupra.*

(10) *Hiſt. lib. xlix, ad an.* 1571.

(11) *Swert. in Elog. Konig. Biblioth. pag.* 494.

[D] *He was ſtrangled the twenty ſeventh of March, 1572, or* 1573.] The reaſon of my deſcribing the year of his death with ſuch uncertainty, is, becauſe on one ſide, Manlius wrote in his Journal, *That Magius was killed in priſon on* thurſday-night, March 27, 1572 (12); and on the other, he had written in the firſt page of the book *de Equuleo*, that Magius, having left him this book, was ſtrangled, a few days after, by that wicked wretch Mahomet Baſſa, at Conſtantinople, in 1573 (13). If Manlius were now alive, it would be incumbent on him to remove the ambiguity of this date. Jungerman thought he had light enough to incline him to believe, that the tragical end of poor Magius happened in 1573. Mr Teiſſier's Printer has put May 27, for March 27.

(12) 1572. 27 *Martii, noctè dici Jovis necatur in carcere Hieronymus Magius.*

(13) *Hunc librum mihi reliquit D. Hieronymus Magius, paucis poſt diebus ab impio Mahomete Baſſa ſtrangulatus. Conſt.* 1573, Ex Segheti, *Epiſt. ad Jungerm.*

[E] *I give a catalogue of the books, he had publiſhed before he went into Cyprus.*] Magius had printed, *De Mundi exitio per exuſtionem libri quinque, Baſileæ*, 1562. fol. *Vitæ illuſtrium virorum, auctore Æmilio Probo, cum Commentariis, Baſileæ*, fol. Lambinus was accuſed of having borrowed many things from thoſe commentaries, without naming Magius (14). *Commentaria, in quatuor Inſtitutionum civilium libros, Lugduni*, in 8vo. *Miſcellanea* (15), *ſive variæ Lectiones, Venetiis, apud Jordanum Zilettum*, 1564, in 8vo. He publiſhed alſo ſome books in Italian, as he ſays expreſsly in the epiſtle dedicatory before the book *de Tintinnabulis*; and yet one (16) of thoſe, who has given us his *Elogium*, ſets down only one Italian book, among thoſe which have been publiſhed, the impreſſion whereof, he ſays, was *Ann.* 1584. The title of it is, *della Fortificatione delle Citta*. Magius wrote ſeveral other books, which never appeared. Swertius (17) has given us a catalogue of them: and yet ſome of them are mentioned by Simler, as if they had been publiſhed, and particularly that, which was intituled Μισοπωγισία, *Odium Pædiconum*, a title far enough different from that, which ſome think, that John de la Caſa prefixed to one of his poems.

(14) *Swert. ubi ſupra.*

(15) *They are divided into four books. Gruterus has inſerted them in the* 2*d vol. of his* Theſaurus Criticus. *The Epitome of the Bibliotheque of Geſner*, 1583, *improperly diſtinguiſhes the* Miſcellanea *from the* Variæ lectiones.

(16) *Trichet du Freſne.*

(17) *Ubi ſupra.*

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MAGNI (VALERIAN) a Capuchin of Milan, became famous in the XVIIth century. He applied himſelf not only to controverſy [A], but alſo to phyſical experiments. It is ſaid, that he attributed to himſelf the invention of thoſe of Torricellius [B]; and that he was convicted of being a Plagiary. He wrote vehemently againſt Ariſtotle (a). But I know of nothing that made him ſo well known, as the uſe that was made of one of his thoughts in the *Provincial Letters* [C]. He had great quarrels with the Jeſuits [D], and thereby loſt his liberty. He was one of thoſe, who converted prince Erneſt, landgrave of Heſſe (b). I think he has ſtretched his character too far in calling himſelf Apoſtolical Miſſionary to the north countries.

(a) *See the remark* [B].

(b) *He diſputed for that end, at Rheinfield, with Haberkorn, a Lutheran profeſſor of Divinity at Gieſſen, in the year* 1651.

He

[A] *He applied himſelf . . . . to controverſy.*] His *Judicium de Acatholicorum regula credendi*, publiſhed in the year 1628, expoſed him to a long diſpute, becauſe he was obliged to reply to ſeveral writings of the Proteſtants. I give an account of it elſewhere (1).

(1) At the end of the diſſertation upon Junius Brutus, at the end of this Dictionary.

[B] *It is pretended that he attributed to himſelf the invention . . . . of Torricellius.*] Mr Baillet informs us of this matter: Father Valerian Magni . . . . did not 'think of making the experiment of Torricellius, 'till after he had publiſhed at Warſaw his treatiſe of 'the *Atheiſm of Ariſtotle*, which he had dedicated * 'to Father Merſennus; and the edition of this book 'was not only poſterior to the impreſſion of that of 'Mr Paſcal, but alſo to the death of Torricellius. 'Altho' the father Capuchin did nothing but repeat 'the experiment of Torricellius, without adding any 'thing new to it; yet he aſcribed it to himſelf, in 'the Narrative he cauſed to be printed the next year, 'as if he had been the inventer of it, without ac'knowledging, that it had been made in Italy, and 'France, before him. This writing of Father Vale'rian ſurprized thoſe, who were ſkilled in ſuch things: 'they diſcovered his uſurpation, and his pretenſion was 'preſently refuted by Roberval, who alledged the 'printed piece of Mr Paſcal as an undoubted proof a'gainſt him. He plainly proved, that Magni had 'made his experiment, from the account, he had ſeen 'of it, in the writing Mr Paſcal cauſed to be ſent into 'Poland, and other parts of Europe: and the Latin 'letter, which he wrote to him about it, being deliver'ed to him by means of Mr des Noyers, ſecretary of the 'orders of the queen of Poland, this good father made 'no anſwer to it, but, by his ſilence, deſiſted from 'his uſurpation (2).' I have a book of this Capuchin, printed at Warſaw 1648. It is a collection of philoſophical treatiſes, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, *de Peripatu*; *de Logica*; *de per ſe Notis*; *de Syllogiſmo Demonſtrativo*; *Experimenta de Incorruptibilitate Aquæ*; *de Vitro Mirabiliter fracto*. There is added to it a letter of a Jeſuit, proving, Experimenta vulgata non vacuum probare, ſed plenum & antiperiſtaſim ſtabilire. *That the common experiments do not prove a vacuum, but confirm a Plenum and Antiperiſtaſis.* He publiſhed, at Venice, 1639. *Ocularis demonſtratio loci ſine locato, corporis ſucceſſive moti in vacuo, & luminis nulli corpori inhærentis*; and, at Rome 1642, *de luce mentium & ejus imagine.*

* The date of the Epiſt. Dedicat. is Nov. 19, 1647.

(2) Baillet, in the Life of Des Cartes, Tom. ii, pag. 329, ed ann. 1647.

[C] *The uſe that was made of one of his thoughts, in the Provincial Letters.*] This thought is a certain method of ſilencing ſlanderers and calumniators, who have recourſe to general terms. 'Does it not ſeem impoſ'ſible ſays Mr Paſcal (3), to confute a ſlander ſo in'determinate? Nevertheleſs, an ingenious man has 'found out the ſecret of it. He is a Capuchin, called 'F. Valerian, of the houſe of the counts de Magnis. 'You may learn, by this little ſtory, how he anſwer'ed your calumnies. He had happily ſucceeded in 'the converſion of the landgrave of D'Armſtadt. But 'your fathers, as if they had been troubled to ſee a 'ſovereign prince converted without calling in their 'aid, preſently wrote a book againſt him, (for you 'perſecute honeſt men every-where) wherein, falſify'ing one of his paſſages, they impute to him an He'retical doctrine. They alſo diſperſed a letter againſt 'him, in which they ſaid to him; *O! what things 'we have to diſcover*, (without telling what) *which will 'give you great uneaſineſs! For unleſs you take care of 'this matter, we ſhall be obliged to acquaint the Pope 'and cardinals with it.* . . . . What ſhall I do, *anſwered 'he* (4), againſt theſe general and indeterminate re'proaches? How ſhall I convict them of theſe ſlan'ders which they do not explain? The only way is 'this, to declare openly and publickly to all thoſe, 'who threaten me, that they are infamous impoſtors, 'and impudent liars, unleſs they diſcover theſe crimes 'to all the world. Appear therefore, you my accuſers, 'and publiſh theſe things upon the houſe-tops, which 'you have falſly whiſpered in the ear, with great 'aſſurance.' The author of the Provincial Letters (5) obſerves, that the Jeſuits, having anſwered nothing to this challenge, did nevertheleſs, ſome years after, *attack Father Valerian after the ſame manner, upon another ſubject.* He defended himſelf again in the ſame way (6). 'There are few people, *ſays he* (7), who 'are capable of oppoſing ſo powerful a tyranny; 'which yet I have done. I have put a ſtop to 'their impudence, and ſhall put a ſtop to it again 'by the ſame means. I declare therefore, that 'they have lied moſt impudently, MENTIRIS IMPUDENTISSIME. If the things, which they object 'againſt me, are true, let them prove them, or elſe 'let them paſs for men convicted of an impudent lie. 'Their proceeding hereupon will diſcover who is in 'the right. In the mean time, I deſire all the world 'to obſerve, that this kind of men, who will not en'dure the leaſt reproach, which they can refute, ap'pear very patient under thoſe, they cannot defend, 'and diſguiſe their want of power with the cloak of 'a falſe virtue. Wherefore, I have boldly attacked 'them, and endeavoured to bring them to ſhame; 'that even the moſt inſenſible may perceive, that, if 'they hold their peace, their patience is not the ef'fect of their meekneſs, but of the trouble of their 'conſcience.' Mr Paſchal has no ſooner related this method of Father Valerian, but he makes uſe of it in behalf of the Janſeniſts. 'This father, *ſays he* (8), 'hath found the ſecret of ſtopping your mouths; and 'thus we muſt do, every time you accuſe people with'out proof. We need only anſwer to every one of 'you, as the father Capuchin did, *Mentiris Impuden'tiſſime.*' He renewed the imitation a fortnight after: 'You muſt ſpeak out, my fathers, you muſt name 'him, or elſe you muſt be looked on as ſhameful 'liars, unworthy of any credit. After this manner, 'the good Father Valerian has taught us, *to put ſuch 'impoſtors to the torture*, and ſtop their mouths. Your 'ſilence in this caſe, will be a full and entire convi'ction of this diabolical calumny. The blindeſt of 'your friends will be forced to confeſs, *that it will 'not be the effect of your virtue, but of your inability* (9).' Since that time, Mr Arnaud has more than once made uſe of this thought of the Capuchin; and at laſt it has paſſed into ſome books of the Proteſtants. It appeared in the Chimerical Cabal (10), and has not produced a better effect, than in the book of it's firſt inventor: for the accuſer of this Cabal did not anſwer the challenge, but continued obſtinately ſilent. However it be, the name of Father Valerian was every where famous, upon the account of this invention.

(3) Paſcal's 15th Provincial Letter, pag. m. 252.

(4) In a book printed at Prague, in 1655, p. 112.

(5) Paſcal, *ibid.* pag. 253.

(6) I think it was in his book *de Homine infami perſonato ſub titulis M. Focoſi Severi medii.* Dannhawer cites ſome paſſages out of it, in his *Vale Triumphali, pag.* 8, 9, 136, 188.

(7) Paſcal, *ibid.* pag. 254.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Idem, Paſcal, *Letter xvi*; pag. 279.

(10) Printed at Rotterdam, 1691, pag. 357, 358, of the 2d edition.

[D] *He had great quarrels with the Jeſuits.*] What I have quoted out of the Provincial Letters, will not ſuffer us to doubt of it; but we do not find, that this father reaped any advantage by this ſecret, he had found out, of ſilencing his ſlanderers; for though he diſcovered their inability to prove their accuſations, yet he was caſt into priſon. It was (ſay ſome) becauſe he granted to the Proteſtants, that the primacy, and infallibility of the Pope are not founded upon ſcripture, but only upon tradition (11). *In æſtu diſputationis eò ſe abripi paſſus homo eſt, ut ſua vineta graviter cædens, quod res eſt, ſcriberet*, Primatum & Infallibilitatem Romani Pontificis ex Scripturis probari non poſſe, ſed ſola traditione conſtare. *Quod majeſtati Pontificiæ violatæ nefas interpretati Jeſuitæ* λεγόμενοι, *effecerunt, ut Valerianus in vincula raptus, ex iiſdem cauſam dicere coactus fuerit* (12). His quarrels with the Jeſuits did not always turn upon heterodox opinions; pecuniary matters were alſo intermixed with them.

(11) See the paſſage of his book *de Homine infami perſonato*, quoted by Dannhawerus, in *Vale Triumphali, pag.* 288.

(12) *Heidggerus Hiſtoria Papatus, pag.* 319. Note, that by a paſſage in *Memorabilia Eccleſiaſtica, lib. vi, cap. xii, ad ann.* 1651. I find Mr Heidegger has not rightly related this fact.

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He was of a noble, illuſtrious, and numerous family in the Milaneſe, and was born about the year 1587 (c). " When he took upon him the habit of a Capuchin, he " aſſumed the name of Valerian. He was a long time maſter of the Novices, and " was often guardian of the houſes of his order. He profeſſed alſo Philoſophy and " Theology; and, becauſe he had great experience in controverſy, Pope Urban VIII, " who had much eſteem and conſideration for him, made him apoſtolical miſſionary " of all Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, and declared him head of the " miſſions to the north. It was believed, that he was no leſs ſkilled in Politics than " Theology, which induced the princes of Europe to ſend him on ſeveral embaſſies. " By theſe advances, he came very near to the honour of a cardinal's cap [E]. But his " generous contempt of the pomps of this world made him contented with the fatigues " of the miſſion, " which were very great and dangerous (d). *He ſuffered alſo much from the Peripatetics, who looked upon him as an enemy to their Ariſtotle. He was thrown into a frightful priſon, under ſome pretence of a new enterprize; but came out of it to his honour, by the aſſiſtance of the emperor Ferdinand* III. *Towards the later end of his life, he retired to Saltzburg, where he died (e) at the age of ſeventy five years, ſixty of which he had lived in the order of the* Capuchins. *The hiſtory of his death is found in a little book printed in* 1662, *in* 12°, *under this title*; Relatio veridica de pio obitu R. P. Valeriani (f). I ſhall give ſome account of an anſwer he made to a book of Comenius [F].

(c) *Baillet, in Tom. I, of his Anti, pag.* 257, 59.

(d) *Id. ib. pag.* 259.

(e) *In the year* 1661.

(f) *Baillet, ib. pag.* 260.

This Capuchin complains very much of the ſnares that were laid for a widow, his kinſwoman, to the prejudice of a fatherleſs child. ' Eſt quoddam genus hominum grave, *ſays he* (13), & intolerabile Orbi ' Chriſtiano, viduis vero piis ſpecialiter exitiale. . . . ' Neminem nomino, ſed do in argumentum veritatis, ' ſi nemo omnium ſit, qui non intelligat quos deſigno: ' ſi nemo eorum ſit, qui me poſtulet reum detractionis ' apud Judicem competentem. Huic genti, eorumque ' mancipiis imputo, quæ ſub nomine meæ chariſſimæ ' cognatæ fiunt. Hos enim nec poſtulante, Vir omni ' exceptione major, ex meo ſcripto monuit, fruſtra ' tamen, de omnibus, quæ iniquiſſimè perpetrantur, ' velut ex ſententia viduæ, in quam pravis artibus co- ' nantur devolvere jura hæredis minorennis, futuri ' hæredes ipſius viduæ, in præmium quòd eam irre- ' tierint iis artibus. . . . . *There is a certain race of* ' *men, intolerable to the Chriſtian world, but eſpecially* ' *fatal to pious widows. . . . . I name no body,* ' *but appeal for the truth of my aſſertion, if every one* ' *underſtands who I mean; if none of them accuſes me* ' *of detraction before a competent judge. To this ſet of* ' *people, and their followers, I impute what is done un-* ' *der the name of my deareſt kinſwoman. An unex-* ' *ceptionable perſon adviſed theſe men out of my letters,* ' *but in vain, concerning all their iniquitous proceedings,* ' *as it were by virtue of the widow's will, upon whom* ' *by wicked arts, they endeavour to ſettle the rights of* ' *the young heir, being themſelves the widow's heirs, as* ' *a reward for enſnaring her by thoſe arts.*'

(13) In Comment. de Homine infami Perſonato, apud Dannhaw, ubi ſupra. *pag.* 136.

[E] *He came very near the honour of a cardinal's cap.*] I ſhall cite the words of a German writer, who relates, I. That this Capuchin made an oration at Rome, in the congregation *de propaganda fide*, to prove, by ſtrong reaſons, that the ſociety of certain women and maids, who took the name of *Jeſuiteſſes*, ought to be aboliſhed. It was aboliſhed by the bull of Urban VIII, publiſhed in the month of May, 1631. II. That the Jeſuits hindered him from being promoted to the dignity of a cardinal; though Uladiſlaus, king of Poland, had written in his behalf, upon this ſubject, to Pope Urban VIII. *Ille (Kortholtus ait) coram ſacra Congregatione de propaganda fide, graviſſimam & nervoſis rationum momentis inſtructam orationem Romæ habuit, qua movit & pervicit, ut nova, & ad morum virtutumque confuſionem Viennæ ac Pragæ propagata Jeſuitiſſarum Societas, Pontificia autoritate diſſolveretur, & everteretur. Sed eidem deinceps Lojolitæ, ne Cardinalitiam dignitatem impetraret, obicem poſuere. Quæ Uladiſlao, Poloniæ Regi, de Valeriano ſteterit ſententia, teſtatum fecit vel una Epiſtola ad Urbanum VIII perſcripta, qua prædictus Rex Valeriano Cardinalatûs dignitatem acquirere contendit; ac præter difficultatem acquiſita fuiſſet, niſi jam tum Societas, quam vocant, JESU, invidia & odio adverſus Monachum flagrans, impetrandæ dignitati obſtitiſſet; veluti nominatus autor, Chriſtianus Kortholtus, D. & Prof. Kilonienſis refert, in Valeriano Confeſſore, lit. a. 4. 5* (14). Note, that Mr Kortholt, quoted in theſe Latin words, was one of the authors, who wrote againſt Father Valerian; an infinite number of others have done the ſame, particularly Dannhawerus, profeſſor of Divinity at Straſburg. See his treatiſe *de Gorgia Leontino in Valeriano magno redivivo.*

(14) Andreas Carolus, Memorabil. Eccleſ. Sæculi XVII. *lib. iv, cap. ix, pag.* 766.

[F] *I ſhall give ſome account of an anſwer he made to a book of Comenius.*] This book, as I have elſewhere ſaid (15), is intituled *Abſurditatum Echo*, and appeared under the falſe name of Huldricus Newfeldius. Valerian Magni intituled his anſwer, *Echo Abſurditatum Ulrici de Newfeld blæſa, demonſtrante Valeriano Magno Capucino*, and he publiſhed it at Cracow, in 1646, in 12mo.

(15) Citat (16) and (17) of the article COMENIUS.

MAHOMET, the founder of a religion, which ſoon had, and has ſtill a vaſt extent [A], was born at Mecca in Arabia, in the VIth century. The year of his birth [B], and the condition of his family [C], are not agreed upon; but no one denies, that

(3) Freherus, in Chronologia ad Jus Græco-Romanum Leunclavii.

(4) Pfeiffer, ubi infra, citat. (28). *pag.* 267.

(5) Erpenius, Orat. II, de Ling. Arabica. *pag.* 42. apud Hotting. Hiſtor. Oriental. *pag.* 145.

(6) Schindlerus Lexico, apud Hoornbeek, Summa Controverſ. *pag. m.* 76.

(7) Vide Genebr. Chronolog.

(8) Joh. Andreas, in confuſione ſectæ Muhammedicæ, apud Hotting. *ibid.*

[A] *His religion ſoon had, and ſtill has, a vaſt extent.*] We muſt not believe thoſe who ſay, that it poſſeſſes one half of the world or more (1); it is ſufficient to ſay, ' That, if we divide the known countries ' of the earth into thirty equal parts, five of them are ' Chriſtian, ſix Mahometan, and nineteen Pagan (2).' Thus the Mahometan religion is of much larger extent than the Chriſtian; for it exceeds it by one thirtieth part of the known world, which is a very conſiderable part.

(1) Poſtel. in Præfat. Grammat. Arabicæ. Ludovicus Regius de Viciſſitud. Rerum. *lib. viii*, in fine, cited by Brerewood in his *Enquiries into the diverſity of Languages, chap. xiv. pag.* 203.

(2) Brerewood, *ibid.*

[B] *The year of his birth is not agreed upon.*] He was born, according to ſome, in 560 (3), or in 577 (4); according to others in 580 (5), or 593 (6), or in 600 (7), or in 620 (8): but the moſt probable opinion is, that he was born in 571, or 572. This is the opinion of Elmacin: thus you ſee, that, though we adhere to one author only, there is no avoiding a diverſity of opinions. Elmacin, if we believe Hottinger (9), places the birth of Mahomet in 571; but, if we believe Reiſkius, he places it in 572. ' Cum na- ' tivitas Muhammedis inter Arabes & Chriſtianos ' hiſtoricos valde ſit controverſa, ex omnibus ſe El- ' macinum ſequi profitetur Reiſkius, tanquam antiquum ' in hiſtoria Saracenica ſcriptorem, & ex ſæculo poſt ' N. C. ſeptimo ſuperſtitem. Emergit vero ſic annus ' nativitatis poſt N. C. 572, dieſque 22. menſi Niſan, ' h. e. Aprilis. - - - - - *The time of Mahomet's birth* ' *being controverted by the Arabian and Chriſtian Hiſto-* ' *rians, Reiſkius profeſſes to follow Elmacin, as being an* ' *ancient writer in the Saracen hiſtory, and who lived* ' *in the VIIth century. Thus the year of his birth falls* ' *in the year of Chriſt* 572, *and the day is the twenty* ' *ſecond of the month Niſan, i. e. April.*' Thus the Journaliſts of Leipſic (10) expreſs themſelves, in the extract of the *Chronicon Saracenicum & Turcicum Wolfgangi Drechſleri*, printed the firſt time in 1550, and in the laſt place at Leipſic, in 1689. Is it not a ſhame, that

(9) Hiſtor. Orientat. *p.* 145.

(10) Acta Eruditor. Lipſ. 1689, *pag.* 377.

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that Abdalla, his father, and Emina, his mother were poor. Abdalla died two months before the birth of Mahomet (*a*), Emina followed him six years after; and Abdolmutleb, the father of Abdalla, died two years after her; so that this infant must have been educated by Abutaleb his uncle. Abutaleb, and his wife, were well satisfied with the behaviour of their nephew (*b*), but, not having sufficient means to marry him, they thought fit to place him in the service of a woman, who traded into Syria. This woman, called Chadigha, fell in love with Mahomet, driver of her camels, and married him [*D*]. He was then twenty five years old. He had by this woman three sons, who died very young, and four daughters, which were well married (*c*). Being subject to the falling-sickness, and having a mind to conceal this infirmity from his wife, he made her believe, that he fell into these convulsions upon sight of the angel Gabriel, which he was not able to bear, who came to reveal to him many things, in the name of God, concerning religion [*E*]. Chadigha, being either deceived, or feigning to be so, went about, and told from house to house, that her husband was a prophet, and by that means endeavoured to procure him followers (*d*). His servant, and some others, whom he suborned, laboured in the same design, and that with so much success, that the magistrates of Mecca feared an insurrection; and therefore, to prevent the disorders, which the rise of a new sect usually produces, they resolved to rid themselves of Mahomet. He was apprized of it, and fled. The time of this flight is the Epocha of the Mahometans [*F*], from whence they reckon the years of the Hegira. He retired to Medina,

(*a*) *Elmacin. apud Hotting. Hist. Orient. lib. ii, cap. i, pag.* 205.

(*b*) *Abunazarus, pag.* 161, *apud Hotting. ibid.*

(*c*) *Id. apud eund. dem Hotting. ib. pag.* 210.

(*d*) *See the remark* [*E*].

that so little notice should be taken of the year, wherein a false prophet was born, who made so great a noise during his life, and is become the idol of so many nations after his death.

[*C*] . . . *nor the condition of his family.*] An infinite number of authors have written, that this false prophet was of mean extraction; and that his father was a Pagan, and his mother a Jewess. *Mahometis Arabis vitum qui descripserunt multi fuerunt, qui etsi non uno modo illius res tradunt, in eo tamen conveniunt omnes quod eum è plebeio vilique genere ortum, pauperibus parentibus, patre Ethnico, matre Judæa affirmant* (11). Mr Moreri has followed this opinion, which does not agree with the Arabian authors: they do not pretend, that Mahomet's father was rich; but they maintain, that he was of great extraction, and that the tribe of the Coreischites, to which he belonged, excelled in rank and dignity all the other tribes of the Arabians (12). Ibn Calican, an Arabian author, says expressly, that Emina was of that tribe; and it is very probable, since the Arabians to this day continue exactly to observe the custom of marrying with the women of their own tribe (13).

(11) Ludovicus Cœrnensis in Archontol. Cosmogr. apud Hottinger, ubi supra, pag. 136.

(12) Hottinger, ubi supra, pag. 137.

(13) Ib. p. 136.

[*D*] *Chadigha fell in love with Mahomet . . . . and married him.*] Some say, that he made use of enchantments, to make this woman fall in love with him; but others pretend, that his youth (14) and natural vigour, which were very surprising, as we shall shew hereafter, were sufficient for that end. Mr Chevreau says one thing, which none of the rest affirm, *viz.* That this woman was married, when Mahomet was a domestic servant to her. 'He was sold to, or 'entrusted with, Abdimonephi, the richest Merchant 'of the Ismaelites, to whom he did very great ser'vices; and whose wife Chadigha fell in love with 'him; the factor perhaps having some qualities, which 'the master wanted. If we believe some authors, he 'was thick set, of moderate stature, had a large head, 'a dark visage, a lively colour, a modest look, a 'noble air, a nimble and active body, a civil address, 'an insinuating conversation, a fine and pliant wit: 'was eloquent and strong, and commonly despised the 'dangers, which others fear (15).' Here follows a passage, which testifies, that he made use of charms. 'Tum verò animi æquè ac corporis dotibus . . . . 'ornatus, Chadigam heram suam in sui primum convertit amorem (præstigiis illud factum scribit Zonaras *, habitum eum pro mago testantur Richardus 'in Confusione Alcorani, & non paucæ Alcorani 'Azoaræ) cujus potitus matrimonio †, & cum eâ divitiis amplissimis ‡, ingentia moliri cœpit, & amplarum regionum Imperium tantùm non deglutire (16). - - - - *Being adorned with the gifts both of mind and body, he first inclined his mistress Chadiga to love him (Zonaras says, it was by magical arts; Richardus, in his overthrow of the Alcoran, and not a few Azoaræ of the Alcoran, testifis, that he was esteemed a Magician) to whom being married, and attaining by her to great riches, he began to form great designs, and aimed at usurping large kingdoms.*'

(14) Compare what has been said of Aphobius, in the remark [*I*] of his article.

(15) Chevreau's History of the World, book 9, ch. 1, pag. 10, of the 3d tome, of the Dutch edition, 1687.

* *Tom. iii, pag.* 127, *b.*

† *Zonaras, lib. de Cohort. pag.* 54, *ad ann.* 21. *Heracl.*

‡ *Eutrop. comtin. rerum R. lib. xviii, pag.* 255.

(16) Samuel Schultetus in Ecclesia Mahumetana, *p.* 13, 14. This is a thesis maintained at Strasburg in 1660, under Dannhauerus.

[*E*] *He made his wife believe, that he fell into these convulsions . . . . by reason of the angel Gabriel, who came to reveal to him . . . . things concerning religion.*] He was forty years old, when he began to set up for a Prophet, and he would have his wife to be his first proselyte. 'Uxori suæ primum ‡ adjutus Monachi 'illius Byzantini opera, suas persuasit revelationes, 'Gabrielem Angelum à DEO missum secum colloqui 'fingens, & de diversis ad religionem spectantibus re'bus monere ac instruere, cujus aspectum quod ferre 'nequiret, se oborta ex metu vertigine, collabi, & 'humi procumbere; hâc autem ratione comitialem 'morbum quo vexabatur, callide excusabat **. Illa 'verò Chadiga circum cursitare, maritum suum ceu 'Prophetam deprædicare, in eundemque errorem alias 'gentiles suas pertrahere, pari †† etiam munere fun'gente servo Zeido, aliisque ‡‡, quos auro corruperat 'Muhammed (17). - - - - *By the help of that Constantinopolitan Monk, he began with persuading his wife into a belief of his revelations, pretending that the angel Gabriel was sent from GOD to converse with him, and instruct him in several things concerning religion; whose appearance not being able to bear, and fear making him giddy, he fell upon the ground: by which pretence he artfully concealed the falling-sickness, to which he was subject. As for Chadiga, she ran up and down, told every body that her husband was a Prophet, and drew others of her country-women into the same error; his servant Zeid, and others, whom Mahomet had corrupted with gold, carrying on the same cheat.*' If he began with seducing his wife, he did it not with a view of using the common artifice of almost all innovators, who affect to have women among their devotees, and to employ their intrigues and zeal, to promote the success of their undertaking. Mahomet, as we shall see hereafter (18), slighted this stratagem. He had wives and concubines in a very great number; but it was for a natural use, for the cure of his incontinence; in a word, for venereal pleasure, and not for the propagation of his faith. He did not gain the affection of his wives; for it is said, they were the persons, who took away his life (19). He was unfaithful to them, and beat them; and he even made a law, which permitted husbands to beat their wives, when it was necessary; he alledged that edict, when he had beaten one of his own, and saw, that the others murmured at it; and, for fear this reason should not satisfy them, he joined to it a pleasant sophism, a ridiculous distinction. I have not, said he, beaten her, as she is my spouse, but as she is a cursed old woman. *Licentiam verberandarum uxorum, ex proprio dabat exemplo, nam quum aliquando durius excepisset mulierum suarum aliquam, & cæteræ indignarentur, ipse tum legis patrocinio usus fuit tum tali distinctione: quod illam verberasset, non quatenus uxor ejus, sed quod execranda esset vetula* (20).

‡ *Zonaras, Tom. iii, in Heraclio, pag. m.* 127. *b. Cedren. p.* 347.

** *Cedren. anno* 21. *Heracl. pag. m.* 347. *It. Anastasius Bibliothecarius & alii ap. Baron. ad ann.* 630. *num.* 20

†† *Cedr. cap. i, Eutrop. comtin. rerum Rom. lib. xviii, pag.* 255.

‡‡ *Elmac. Hist. Sar. lib. i, cap. i, apud Hotting. lib. i, pag.* 257.

(17) *Schultet. ubi supra, pag.* 14.

(18) In the remark [*Q*].

(19) Mahumedes . . . . dolo suarum uxorum periit anno Heraclii 22. Christi 632. *Joannes Cluverus, Historiæ totius mundi Epitome, in Heraclio, pag. m.* 346. *He cites Paulus Diac. lib. xviii, Eldroph.*

(20) Hoornb. Summa Controvers. *pag.* 162.

[*F*] *the time of this flight is the Epocha of the Mahometans.*] They call it *Hegira*; which word signifies *flight*; but, that the epocha might bear an honourable name, they affected to use this word in a peculiar sense; I mean, for an act of religion, which makes

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Medina, accompanied by a few people; but was afterwards joined by ſeveral of his diſciples. It was not long before he diſcovered his deſign of planting his religion by arms. He gave his great ſtandard to his uncle Hamza, and ſent him on a party, with thirty men (*e*): this firſt attempt had no ſucceſs; but the ſecond was very fortunate; for he attacked, with 319 men, a caravan of about 1000 Koreiſchites, and beat them. The booty was conſiderable, and he loſt but fourteen men, who have been honourably placed in the Mahometan Martyrology [*G*]. After ſeveral conſiderable battels, he made himſelf maſter of Mecca, in the eighth year of the Hegira (*f*). He died three years after at Medina, at ſixty three years of age, according to ſome hiſtorians (*g*). It is not eaſy to know the true detail of his actions; for if the writers of his own ſect have invented a thouſand fables in honour of him, it is no ways probable, that his adverſaries made any ſcruple of publiſhing lies againſt him. It is very remarkable, that he himſelf ſays, that he wrought no miracles, and yet his followers attribute many to him [*H*]. They

(e) Hotting. *ubi ſupra. pag.* 269. *ex Elmacino.*

(f) *Idem, pag.* 271.

(g) *Ib. id. pag.* 273. *ex Elmacino & Patricide.*

makes a man quit his country, to avoid the violence of thoſe who perſecuted people for their faith (21). The Koreiſchites looked upon Mahomet as a ſeditious perſon, and an impious wretch, who fled to avoid the juſt puniſhment that was prepared, for him. He, on the contrary, and his companions in baniſhment pretended, that they were holy pilgrims, who fled for the cauſe of religion, and of the true GOD. Mahomet had ſet up for a prophet, a long time before he abandoned his country, and had ſpent many days in a cave to prepare his prophecies. 'Quod 'autem ſeditionem hinc metuerent Mecchani, præve-'niendum his cenſuere motibus novis Muhammedem-'que ſeditionis, ſub religionis prætexu motæ, accuſa-'tum, convictum & condemnatum è medio tollere 'conſtituerant, niſi Muhammed de periculo admoni-'tus ſolum ac civitatem vertiſſet, quod anno ætatis 'ipſius quinquageſimo quarto contigit, cum jam 15 'per annos Pſeudoprophetiam in ſpeluncâ Garhera '(uti Numa cum Egeria) prope Meccham, in quâ 'multos ad crepuſculum uſque delituerat ſoles ‡‡, par-'tim conflaſſet, partim in vulgus ſparſiſſet (22). - - - - '*The magiſtrates of Mecca, fearing this might occaſion a* '*ſedition, thought it proper to put a ſtop to theſe commo-*'*tions, and had determined to get rid of Mahomet, by* '*convicting, and condemning him, of raiſing ſedition un-*'*der the pretence of religion; but Mahomet, apprized of* '*the danger, fled his country; which happened in the fifty* '*fourth year of his age, after having, for fifteen years,* '*partly hatched his falſe-prophecy in the cave Garhera,* '*near Mecca (in like manner as Numa with Egeria)* '*and partly ſpread it among the vulgar.*' This flight 'happened on the ſixteenth of July 622 (23).

(21) Hotting. *ubi ſupra, pag.* 261.

‡‡ Joh. Andreæ, *lib. i, pag.* 15.

(22) Schultet. *ubi ſupra.*

(23) Hotting. *ubi ſupra, pag.* 262.

[*G*] *He loſt fourteen men, who have been placed in the Mahometan Martyrology.*] Theſe are a pleaſant ſort of Martyrs, who are killed as they were robbing a rich caravan, and practiſing the trade of a robber and a Banditto. Elmacin ſays that Mahomet made this incurſion, only to rob the caravan. 'Audiverat autem 'Abuſophianum filium Harethi in Syriam cum mag-'na caravana Koreiſchitarum OPIBUS onuſta conten-'dere. EGRESSUS EST IGITUR EAS DIREP-'TUM. . . . . Vicerunt Muſlimini occidentes in-'fidelium 70 totidemque capientes. Ex Muſliminis 'vero tanquam Martyres occubuerunt 14 (24). - - - - '*He had heard, that Abuſophianus, the ſon of Hareth,* '*was going into Syria, with a large caravan of Ko-*'*reiſchites, loaden with riches.* He went out therefore 'with a deſign to plunder it. . . . . '*The muſſlemen got* '*the better, killing ſeventy of the infidels, and taking* '*as many priſoners. Only fourteen of the muſſlemen* '*died as it were martyrs.*' The Arabian authors have very much extolled this fight; the Alcoran itſelf makes mention of it more than once (25) as an affair, wherein GOD and his Angels wonderfully protected the good cauſe.

(24) Elmacin. *pag.* 5. apud Hotting. *p.* 269.

(25) *See* Hotting. *ibid. pag.* 269, 270.

[*H*] *He ſays himſelf, that he wrought no miracles, and yet his followers attribute many to him.*] Grotius makes uſe of this confeſſion, to refute Mahometaniſm, after having obſerved, that Mahomet does not deny the miracles of JESUS CHRIST. 'Jeſus viſum cœcis, clau-'dis greſſum, ægrotis ſanitatem dedit, imo fatente 'Mahumete, etiam vitam mortuis. Mahumetes * ſe 'miſſum ait non cum miraculis, ſed cum armis. Se-'cuti tamen ſunt, qui ei & miracula attribuerent, at 'qualia? Nempe quæ aut arte humana facilè poſſunt 'effecta reddi, ut de columba ad aurem advolante: 'aut quorum nulli ſunt teſtes, ut de camelo noctu ei 'locuto: aut quæ ſua abſurditate refelluntur †, ut de 'magna Lunæ parte in manicam ipſius delapſa, & 'ab ipſo remiſſa ad reddendam ſideri rotunditatem '(26). - - - - '*Jeſus, by the confeſſion of Mahomet him-*'*ſelf, gave ſight to the blind, feet to the lame, health* '*to the ſick, and even life to the dead. Mahomet ſays,* '*he was ſent, not with miracles, but with arms. Yet* '*ſome, in after times, aſcribed miracles, to him: but* '*of what ſort? Either ſuch as could eaſily be effected* '*by human art, as that of a pigeon flying to his ear;* '*or ſuch, as there are no witneſſes of, as that of a* '*camel which ſpoke to him by night; or ſuch, as are* '*refuted by their own abſurdity, as that of a great* '*part of the moon dropping into his ſleeve, and ſent back* '*again by him, in order to reſtore to that planet it's ro-*'*tundity.*' I wonder, Mr Simon forgot this fine miracle, mentioned by Grotius, *viz.* that a part of the moon fell into Mahomet's ſleeve, which he ſent back again into heaven, leſt that planet ſhould loſe it's roundneſs. The words of Mr Simon are theſe (27). '*The Mamometans attribute ſome miracles to their* '*legiſlator. They affirm, that he made water come* '*out of his fingers, and that, by pointing at the* '*moon with his finger, he clave it aſunder. They* '*ſay alſo, that the ſtones, trees, and beaſts, owned him* '*for a true prophet of GOD, and ſaluted him in theſe* '*words: You are the true embaſſador of GOD.* They 'affirm moreover, that Mahomet went one night from 'Mecca to Jeruſalem, from whence he aſcended in-'to Heaven; that he ſaw Paradiſe, and Hell; that he 'converſed with GOD, tho' this is reſerved for the 'bleſſed after their death; and laſtly that he deſcend-'ed from Heaven the ſame night, and was in Mecca 'before day.' But we muſt not leave this ſubject, before we ſet down the remark of a learned German: he ſays. that ſome Chriſtians, prompted by a falſe zeal againſt Mahomet, accuſe him of boaſting of certain miracles, which the Arabian writers never attributed to him. 'There are ſome Arabian authors, 'who attribute miracles to Mahomet; but others de-'ny them. For inſtance, the former ſay, *That the* '*moon drawing near to Mahomet, he clave it aſunder.* 'Mr Pfeiffer obſerves, after Beidavi, that Mahomet 'never ſaid this, but only that, before the laſt day, 'that prodigy will be ſeen in heaven. They make 'him ſay, that, at the taking of the city of Chaibar, 'a Jewiſh women having preſented him with a poiſoned 'lamb, the lamb, tho' quite roaſted, warned him 'not to eat it. But Abulfeda, relating the ſtory, 'ſays only, that Mahomet, having taſted a bit of it, 'and perceiving that it was poiſoned, and ſpitting it 'out upon the ground, ſaid, this lamb tells me, that 'it is poiſoned; meaning, I find that it is poiſoned. 'In effect, he confeſſes often in the Alcoran, that 'he could not work miracles. Wherefore I conſider 'as a fable, what ſome tell us of a pigeon, that 'came to eat in his ear, and of a bull, that would 'eat nothing but what he gave him with his own 'hand. Mr Pfeiffer ‡ acknowledges, that theſe ſtories 'are the effects of the diſtempered zeal of ſome 'Chriſtians againſt this impoſtor (28).

(26) Grotius de veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ, *lib. vi, p. m.* 202. *He cites Azoara,* 5, 13.

(27) *Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the belief of the Eaſtern Nations, chap. xv, pag.* 167.

Might we not repreſent to Mr Pfeiffer, that the Chriſtians have uſed the Mahometans in this reſpect as the reformed have uſed the Catholics. For there are in ſome legendary writers, many miracles, which are not mentioned by grave authors of the Romiſh communion, and which they even laugh at. Does it follow therefore, that the Proteſtant writers are calumniators, or tranſported with too much zeal, becauſe they object to Catholics ſuch kind of miracles? And why may we not ſay, that the Chriſtians, who have ridiculed the Mahometans for ſuch miracles, as are not now

‡ Pag. 272, 273.

(28) Auguſtus Pfeiffer, in vol. VII, of the Bibliotheque Univerſelle, *pag.* 257. The book, an extract whereof is to be found in that volume, is intituled, *Theologiæ . . . . Judaicæ atque Muhammedicæ principia ſubſecta & fructus pejimi lenies.*

* Azoara, 3, 14, 17, 30, 71.

† Azoara 64. Vide latius hanc fabulam ex capite Ceramur, apud Cantacuzenum Oratione in Mahumetem. *num.* 23.

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They pretend, that even his birth was attended with circumſtances ſo miraculous, that they cannot be ſufficiently admired [I]. There are ſome who imagine, that he might believe what he ſaid [K], and who diſapprove, what is given out by others, That he drew

to be found in Arabian authors, had read them in ſome obſcure writers, who took the liberty to tell them, in honour of that falſe prophet, as the legendary writers have done in honour of the ſaints. If all that Mr Chevreau is going to tell us is not to be found in grave authors, perhaps it may be found in writers of a mean ſtamp, who reſemble thoſe who publiſh pamphlets, which the hawkers ſell about the ſtreets. Let us hear what Mr Chevreau ſays (29). 'When 'the Koreiſchites of Mecca deſired him (30), to work 'a miracle, that they might know who he was, *he* 'divided the moon into two pieces, between which they 'perceived a mountain. Having called two trees, 'they joined together to come to him, and parted again 'as they went back, by virtue of his command. In all 'places where he went, the trees and ſtones ſaluted him 'with great reſpect and ſaid, peace be upon you, the A-'poſtle of GOD. He made fountains ſpring forth from be-'tween his two fingers, which in the greateſt drought 'furniſhed water to all his ſoldiers, and to all the beaſts 'of burden in his army, which was numerous. With a 'kid, and four little meaſures of barley, he ſatisfied the 'hunger of eighty men; he fed a great many more with 'a few loaves, and at another time all his troops with 'a few dates, which a young maid brought him in her 'hand. The trunk of a palm-tree, before which he was 'wont to pray unto GOD, had ſo great a love for him 'that in his abſence it was heard to cry louder than a 'camel, and it ceaſed crying the moment he came near 'it. . . . . If we ſhould reckon up all his miracles, 'they would amount to a thouſand, according to ſome 'and to three thouſand, according to others.'

I will not deny, but, in ſome reſpects, the zeal of our diſputants is unjuſt; for if they make uſe of the extravagances of a Mahometan legendary, to make Mahomet himſelf odious or to ridicule him, they violate the equity, which is due to all the world, to wicked, as well as good men. We muſt not impute to any body what they never did, and conſequently we muſt not argue againſt Mahomet from theſe idle fancies, which ſome of his followers have fabled of him, if he himſelf never publiſhed them. We have ſufficient matter againſt him, tho' we charge him only with his own faults, and do not make him anſwerable for the follies, which the indiſcreet and romantic zeal of ſome of his diſciples has prompted them to write.

[I] *They pretend, that his birth was attended with circumſtances ſo miraculous, that they cannot be ſufficiently admired.*] 'If we believe ſome Arabians, there were 'miracles, that preceded or accompanied the birth of 'Mahomet, which aſtoniſhed the whole world. *E-'mina, without any uneaſineſs, carried this new prophet 'in her womb: ſhe brought him forth without pain; and 'he fell, when he came into the world, with his face 'againſt the ground, to do honour to GOD. When he 'raiſed his head up again, he cryed out,* that there 'was only one GOD, who had choſen him for his 'embaſſador. *He was born circumciſed, as the greateſt 'part of the Jews believe of Adam, Moſes, Joſeph, and 'David; and then the devils were all driven out 'of heaven. His nurſe Halima, or the debonair lady, 'who had no milk in her breaſts, found it in them, 'when ſhe offered herſelf to this new-born infant. Four 'voices were heard at the four corners of the Caabah, 'and publiſhed theſe wonders. The fire of the Perſians, 'which had always burnt, was extinguiſhed. A bar-'ren palm-tree put forth leaves, and bore fruit. Mid-'wives, of an extraordinary beauty, were found preſent, 'without being ſent for: and there were even birds, 'which had for their bills precious-ſtones, whoſe ſplendor 'ſtrook from the eaſt to the weſt* (31).' There is nothing more ridiculous, than what they make the guardian-angels of Mahomet do. They tranſported him to the top of a mountain; they ripped open his belly, and then waſhed his entrails ſo well, that they made them whiter than ſnow; they opened his breaſt, and took out of his heart the black kernel, or drop, which is the diabolical ſeed, that torments all other men: and all this they did to him, without putting him to any pain; and, having thus waſhed and cleanſed his entrails, he returned of himſelf to his houſe. Note, that he was then but four years old (32).

[K] *Some imagine, that he might believe what he ſaid.*] They reaſon after this manner: all Chriſtians are agreed, that the devil is the true author of Mahometiſm, and that he only made uſe of Mahomet as an inſtrument to eſtabliſh in the world a falſe religion. We muſt therefore ſay, that Mahomet was delivered up to the devil, by the providence of GOD; and that the power, GOD gave the devil over this wretch, was much leſs limited, than that he had over Job; for GOD did not permit the devil to pervert the ſoul of Job, as he permitted him to make uſe of the ſoul of Mahomet to deceive mankind. The devil having ſo great a power over him, by the confeſſion of all Chriſtians, as to inſtigate him to ſpread his new opinions; could he not perſuade him, that GOD had eſtabliſhed him a prophet? he could inſpire him with that vaſt deſign, of planting a new religion; he could make him willing to undergo a thouſand troubles, in order to deceive the world: and could he not ſeduce him? What reaſon can any one have, to admit the one, and deny the other? is it more difficult to move the will to great deſigns, in ſpite of all the light of reaſon, that oppoſes them, than to deceive the underſtanding, by a falſe perſuaſion, or to incline the will to embrace a falſe light, ſo as to acquieſce in it as a true revelation? I muſt confeſs, that one of theſe things does not appear to me more difficult than the other: But if the devil could ſeduce Mahomet, is it not very probable, that he did effectually ſeduce him? This man would be the fitter to execute the devil's deſigns, if he were ſo perſuaded, than if he were not. This cannot be denied me; for all things being otherwiſe equal, it is plain, that a man, who believes he does well, will always be more active and in earneſt, than he who believes he does ill. We muſt therefore ſay, that the devil, managing very dexterouſly the execution of his projects, did not forget the wheel, that was moſt neceſſary to his engine, and which would beſt increaſe the motion of it: that is to ſay, he ſeduced this falſe prophet. If he could, he would; and if he would, he did it; and we have already proved, that he could do it. Moreover, ſay theſe gentlemen, the Alcoran is the work of a fanatic: every thing in it favours of diſorder and confuſion; it is a chaos of diſjointed thoughts.

- - - - rudis indigeſtaque moles:
Nec quicquam niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eôdem
Non bene junctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum (33).

An indigeſted maſs, an unform'd world,
And ill-join'd ſeeds of things in wild confuſion hurl'd.

A deceiver would have ranged his doctrines better; a Comedian would have been more polite. And let none ſay, that the devil would never have perſuaded him to oppoſe idolatry, nor to recommend ſo much the love of the true GOD, and of virtue; for this proves too much; ſince from thence we might conclude, that Mahomet was not his inſtrument. Beſides this, we may anſwer, I. that it was ſufficient for him to oppoſe a falſe religion to Chriſtianity, tho' it tended to the ruin of Paganiſm. II. That it is not poſſible to make any one believe, that a religion comes from GOD, if it does not teach good moral doctrines (34). It would be to no purpoſe to alledge, that this falſe prophet boaſted of converſing with the angel Gabriel: for ſince the ſcripture tells us, that the *devil tranſforms himſelf into an angel of light*; cannot we ſay, that he preſented himſelf to Mahomet under that name, and in the figure of the angel Gabriel? But Mahomet would make people believe, that this angel came and whiſpered in his ear, in the ſhape of a pigeon; tho' it was a real pigeon, which Mahomet taught to come and peck at his ear. We ſhall preſently ſee (35), that this is a fable, of which the Arabians make no mention. The famous Giſbert Voëtius does not at all doubt but that Mahomet was an enthuſiaſt, and poſſeſſed with a devil: Theſe are his words; which will ſhew, that there have been others of the ſame opinion. 'Non video cur hoc negan-'dum

(29) Chevreau's Hiſtory of the World, Tom. iii, Book v, pag. 2.

(30) *i. e.* Mahomet.

(31) Chevreau, ubi ſup. pag. 7. *See alſo* Hottinger, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 149, & ſeq. & Hoornbeek, Summa Controverſ. p. 77, 78.

(32) Hoornbeek, ubi ſup. pag. 78. He cites Joannes Andreas, in Confut. Sectæ Mahumed, cap. 1, & Alkoranum Germanicum, cap. 19.

(33) Ovid. Metamorph. lib. I. ver. 7.

(34) *See* Miſcellaneous Thoughts upon Comets, *num.* 190.

(35) In the remark [U].

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drew after him so many followers, only by accommodating his morals to the corruption of mens hearts [*L*], and by promising them a sensual paradise [*M*]. Without doubt, the principal

' dum sit [*epilepsiæ, & maniacis deliriis aut enthusiasmis diabolicis Mahammedi adfuisse energema*], si vitam & actiones ejus intueamur. Et exertè de illo probat *Johannes Andreas Maurus in Confusione sectæ Mahometicæ*, cap. 1. eum à Meccanis civibus pro fatuo & obsesso, & à propriâ uxore pro Phrenetico & à Satanæ tentationibus deluso fuisse habitum. *Idem ibid. & Philippus Guadagnolo in apologiâ contra Achmedum Alabadin*, c. 10. sect. 1. ex libris Saracenicis *Agar & Assisa* probant eum ex vita eremitica, & nimio jejunio factum fuisse insomnem & furiosum, & in spelunca commorantem audiisse voces & sermones, loquentem autem neminem vidisse. Ita cum furiosis & dæmoniacis Enthusiastis, ac prophetis Monasterienſibus quos patrum nostrorum ætas vidit, in eo comparari posse (36). - - - *I do not see, why this is to be denied*, (that Mahomet was an enthusiast, and possessed) *if we look into his life and actions. John Andreas Maurus, in his* Confusio Sectæ Mahometicæ, *ch.* 1. *proves concerning him, that the citizens of Mecca took him for an enthusiast and demoniac, and his own wife for one mad, and deluded by the temptations of the devil. The same author, in the same book, as also Philip Guadagnolo, in his* Apology against Achmed Alabadin, *ch.* 10. §. 1, *prove, out of the Saracen books* Agar *and* Assisa, *that solitude, and too much fasting, had made him mad, and that, during his stay in the cave, he had heard voices, but seen no body speaking. Thus he may be compared to the mad and demoniacal enthusiasts, and monkish prophets, of former ages.*'

(36) Voët. Disputat. *Tom. i, pag.* 1057, 1058.

How specious soever these reasons may appear, I chuse rather to concur with the common opinion, That *Mahomet* was an impostor: for, besides what I shall say elsewhere (37) his insinuating behaviour, and dexterous address, in procuring friends, do plainly shew, that he made use of religion only as an expedient to aggrandize himself. ' Facetus moribus, voce suavi, visitandi & excipiendi vices talionis lege suis reddens, pauperes munerans, magnates honorans, conversans cum junioribus, petentem à se, aliquid repulsa nunquam abigens, aut sermone facili non excipiens (38) - - - *He was of a pleasant disposition, a sweet voice, receiving, and paying visits regularly, bestowing gifts on the poor, honouring the great, conversing with young men, never sending away a petitioner repulsed, but always receiving him courteously.*' Had a true fanatic ever such a character? Did he ever understand his business so well? Tho' a man should, for some time, fancy that God has sent an angel to reveal to him the true religion, yet, might not he perceive the delusion, when he found, that he could not confirm his mission by any miracle? Now this was the case of Mahomet: the Koreischites offered to embrace his new religion, provided he wrought miracles; but he never had the boldness to promise them any: He cunningly evaded their proposal, sometimes telling them, that miracles were not necessary, and sometimes by referring them to the excellency of the Alcoran (39). Was not this sufficient to convince him, that he was not extraordinarily called by God to found a new religion? See remark [*N*], at the end.

(37) In the remarks [*T*], and [*NN*].

(38) Elmacin. apud Hotting. Hist. Oriental. *pag.* 241.

(39) *See* Hotting. *ubi supra, p.* 302, *&* 303.

[*L*] - - - *and who disapprove what is pretended, that he drew after him so many followers, only by accommodating his morals to the corruption of mens hearts.*] And as to this point, I doubt not, but the persons, mentioned in the preceding remark, have better grounds than they had, as to the pretended sincerity of Mahomet. I do not see, that this false prophet has derogated from the morality of the Gospel (40); on the contrary, I find, that as to ceremonies, he has considerably increased the yoke of Christians. He ordains circumcision, which is a thing very harsh to adult persons: he requires them to abstain from certain meats, which is a slavery that does not well agree with worldly men: he forbids the use of wine, which is a precept indeed, that is not so very harsh to the Asiatic people, as to the northern nations, and which would certainly have made Willibrod and Boniface miscarry in their design: but yet it is convenient in all countries, where wine grows; and we know, by antient and modern History, that this liquor does not displease the eastern people. Besides, Mahomet imposed fastings and washings, which are very troublesome, and such a frequent use of prayers, as is tedious and uneasy. He enjoins also pilgrimages: and, in a word, you need only consider the forty aphorisms of his morals (41), and there you will find every thing the most opposite to the corruption of man's heart; the precept of patience in adversity, of not speaking evil of our neighbours, of being charitable, of renouncing vanity, of doing no injury to any man, and lastly, that, which is the epitome of the law and the prophets (42), *Do to your neighbour, what you would that he should do unto you* (43).

(40) *See* Hotting. Histor. Oriental. *p.* 247, *& seq.*

(41) You will find them in Hotting. *ibid. pag.* 248, *& seq.*

(42) Saint Matthew's Gospel, chap. vii, ver. 12.

(43) Si tandem feceris alii quicquid gratum esset, si tibi fieret. *Hotting. ibid. pag.* 250.

It is therefore an illusion, to pretend, that the only reason why the law of Mahomet was propagated so readily, and spread so wide, was, because it eased men of the yoke of good works, and troublesome observances, and tolerated a corruption of manners. If I mistake not, the only things, wherein it opened the gap, which the Gospel had shut, are marriage, and revenge; for it permits Polygamy, and to return evil for evil: but the Jews and Pagans gained scarce any thing by this, for they were already in possession of a custom, which did not give them much trouble in this respect. Hottinger (44) has given us a long catalogue of the moral aphorisms, or apophthegms, of the Mahometans. We may say, without flattering this religion, that the most excellent precepts, that can be given to man, for the practice of virtue, and avoiding of vice, are contained in these aphorisms. Hottinger makes no scruple to exalt this morality above that of many monks. ' Ipsi judicent ' adversarii ex illis que ex Arabum nunc monumentis ' afferemus. Nonne majus sæpe & virtutum studium ' & vitiorum odium præ se ferant Muhammedani, ' quam Pontificiorum plerique religiosi (45). - - - *Let the adversaries themselves judge from what we shall now produce out of the Arabian monuments. Do not the Mahometans often seem to practise virtue, and shun vice, better than most Popish monks.*' Mr Simon has spoken no less advantageously of the Mahometan religion, with respect to morality: ' It consists, ' says he (46), in doing good, and avoiding evil; ' and therefore they examine carefully virtues and ' vices, and their Casuists are no less subtile in these ' points, than ours.' After he has mentioned some of their principles concerning the necessity of faith, and trust in God, and humility, and repentance, &c. he adds (47), ' I pass over in silence the rest of their ' morals, because what has been said is sufficient to ' shew what they are; and I can assure you, ' that they are not so loose as some Casuists in ' our age. I shall only add, that they have many ' good precepts about the duties of private persons to ' their neighbours, wherein they also prescribe rules ' of civility. They have also written of the behaviour ' that is due to a prince; and one of their maxims is, ' That it is never lawful to kill him, nor even speak ' evil of him, under pretence that he is a tyrant.'

(44) Hotting. *ubi supra, pag.* 315, *& seq.*

(45) Id. p. 314.

(46) Critical History of the Levant, *p.* 173.

(47) Ibid. *pag.* 175, 176.

[*M*] . . . *and by promising them a sensual paradise.*] It must be granted, that this promise might be a bait to allure the Pagans, who had only confused notions of the happiness of another life; but I know not whether it was calculated to entice the Jews; neither do I think that it could have any influence upon Christians: and yet how many Christians have been drawn into apostacy by this false prophet? Understand what he says of the pleasures of his paradise in a literal sense, *That each person there shall have the strength of* 100 *men, to enjoy full satisfaction with women, as well as to drink, and eat* (48). Yet this would not balance the idea, the Scripture has given us of the happiness of another life; for it speaks of it (49) as a state which surpasses all that *eyes have seen, or ears heard, or hath entered into the heart of man to conceive.* So that, if we believe the Scripture, the happiness of paradise is something that surpasses imagination, and has no bounds set to it. Endeavour to have a fixed idea of it; you can never compass it, but your hopes still carry you higher, and launch out farther beyond all bounds. Mahomet did not allow you this liberty, but confined you within certain bounds; he multiplied a hundred times the pleasures you have already tried, and there he left you: but what is a hundred times, in comparison of a number which is infinite?

(48) Chevreau, *ubi supra. pag.* 14. See the remarks [*Q*], and [*II*].

(49) 1 Cor. chap. ii, ver. 9.

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principal cauſe of the great progreſs he made, was the method he took to force thoſe, by arms, to ſubmit to his religion [N], who would not embrace it readily. This preſerves to the chriſtian religion one of the proofs of its Divinity [O], *viz.* that which is

But ſome may ſay, the Scripture ſpeaks only of pleaſure in general; and if it makes uſe of corporeal images, as when it promiſes, *that we ſhall be ſatisfied with the plenteouſneſs of the houſe of* GOD, *and that we ſhall drink of the rivers of his pleaſures* (50), you are preſently warned, that theſe are metaphors, under which ſpiritual pleaſures are veiled: but this does not affect worldly minds like ſenſible pleaſures. I anſwer, That ſouls, which are moſt immerſed in matter, will always prefer the paradiſe of the Goſpel before that of Mahomet, provided they give an hiſtorical faith to the deſcription of the beatific viſion, tho' they ſhould give the ſame faith to the Alcoran (51). I ſhall explain my meaning by this ſuppoſition: let us repreſent to ourſelves two preachers, the one a Chriſtian, and the other a Mahometan, preaching before Pagans; each of them endeavouring to allure them to his party, by laying open the joys of paradiſe. The Mahometan promiſes feaſts, and fine women; and, the better to move his auditors, he tells them, that in the other world the pleaſures of ſenſe will be a hundred times more delicious than in this. The Chriſtian declares, That the pleaſures of paradiſe will neither conſiſt in eating, nor drinking, nor in the conjunction of the two ſexes, but that they ſhall be ſo lively, that no man's imagination is able to reach them; and that all that can be conceived, by multiplying the pleaſures of this world a hundred times, a thouſand times, a hundred thouſand times, &c. is nothing in compariſon of the happineſs, which GOD imparts to the ſoul, by it's *ſeeing him face to face*, &c. Is it not certain, that the moſt unchaſte and luxurious hearers would rather follow the Chriſtian preacher, than the other, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe, that they gave as much credit to the promiſes of the Mahometan, as to thoſe of the Chriſtian? They would doubtleſs do the ſame thing, which a ſoldier would do, who knows the offers of two captains, each of which would inliſt him: for tho' he was perſuaded, that they were both of them ſincere, and would give all that they promiſed, he would certainly liſt himſelf with him that offered moſt. So likewiſe theſe Pagans would prefer the paradiſe of the Goſpel before that of Mahomet, tho' they ſhould be ſuaded, that both of theſe preachers would make good to their diſciples the reward they had promiſed (52). For it muſt not be imagined, that a voluptuous man loves ſenſual pleaſures, merely becauſe they flow from that ſource; he would equally love them, if they came from any other: make him feel more pleaſure by ſucking in the air of a cave, than by eating the moſt dainty meat; he will quit, with all his heart, the beſt meals, to go into the cave (53). Make him feel more pleaſure in examining a Geometrical problem, than in enjoying a fine woman, he will readily quit the fine woman for this problem; and conſequently it would be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a Mahometan ſhould draw after him all the hearers that are lovers of pleaſure: for ſince they love ſenſual pleaſures, only becauſe they can find no better, it is plain they would renounce them with eaſe, to enjoy a greater happineſs. What care I, would they ſay, if the paradiſe of Chriſtians does not furniſh me with the pleaſures of good eating, the enjoyment of fine women, &c. ſince it provides me with other pleaſures, that infinitely exceed all the ſenſible pleaſures of this world. I think therefore, we muſt not imagine, that the hopes, which Mahomet has given, of the happineſs of another life, was what allured to his ſect the Chriſtians that engaged in it. We may almoſt ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to the Jews; for it appears by ſeveral pſalms of David, that they had a wonderful idea of the happineſs of another life. The Pagans were more likely to be enticed, becauſe their religion left them in *thick darkneſs*, as to the particulars of the joys of paradiſe: but is it enough to tell people, that, after this life, they ſhall enjoy ſenſual pleaſures with much more ſatisfaction than in this world? And who are you, might they ſay, that promiſe us this? Who told you ſo? Or how do you know it? We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, in the firſt place, that Mahomet, antecedently to his promiſes of paradiſe, ſet up for a great prophet; and that, before they were allured by theſe pleaſures, they were perſuaded of his miſſion from heaven, for planting the true faith. And ſo the great progreſs, this ſect made, is not owing to the promiſes of a ſenſual paradiſe: for thoſe, who did not believe him ſent from GOD, paid no regard to his promiſes; and thoſe who believed him a true prophet, would nevertheleſs have followed him, tho' he had promiſed them only a ſpiritual happineſs in the other world. Let us not give any occaſion to the Libertines to retort this objection upon the Goſpel, as tho' it had never been ſo effectual to convert the Pagans, but upon the account of promiſing a paradiſe, or an happineſs, which infinitely ſurpaſſes all the pleaſures that can be imagined. And particularly let us abſtain from raillery upon the gold and precious ſtones, and ſuch like other ornaments of Mahomet's paradiſe; for you will find ſuch things, and all the kind of precious ſtones that the moſt famous jeweller has in his ſhop, in the deſcription, which the Revelation (54) gives us of paradiſe. And let no man tell me, that a carnal and brutiſh ſoul will ſooner believe pleaſures that are groſs, than thoſe that are ſpiritual; for if any thing appears incredible to ſuch an one, it is chiefly the reſurrection; wherefore, if Mahomet could perſuade him to believe the reſurrection, a Chriſtian might have convinced him of the ſpiritual joys of another world. See the margin (55).

(50) Pſalm xxxvi. ver. 9. *See* Gaſſendus, Ethice, *lib.* i, *cap.* ii, *pag.* m. 679, *who, keeping cloſe to the Hebrew, renders the paſſage thus:* Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ, & de torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos.

(51) Take notice of the following marginal note.

[N] *He made proſelytes by force of arms.*] We need not ſearch elſewhere for the cauſe of his progreſs; for this was the ſole and entire cauſe of it. I do not deny, but the diviſions of the Greek church, whoſe ſects were unhappily multiplied, the bad ſtate of the oriental empire, and the corruption of manners, were a favourable conjuncture for the deſigns of this impoſtor. But after all, what reſiſtance can be made to conquering arms, forcing ſubſcriptions? Aſk the dragoons of France, who made uſe of this method in 1685; they will tell you, that they will undertake to make the world ſign the whole Alcoran, provided they have time to enforce that maxim, *Compelle intrare, compel them to come in.* It is very probable, that, if Mahomet had foreſeen, he ſhould have had ſuch good troops at his command, he would not have taken ſo much pains to have forged new revelations, and to have put on an air of devotion in his writings, and to tack together ſeveral pieces of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity. Without engaging in this troubleſome buſineſs, he might have been ſure of planting his religion, where-ever his arms were victorious: and if any thing were capable of perſuading me, that there was a good deal of Fanaticiſm in the caſe, I ſhould encline to believe it, from the infinite number of things in the Alcoran, which appear no wiſe neceſſary, but in caſe he had no mind to uſe force. Now there are many things in that book, which are poſterior to the firſt ſucceſs of Mahomet's arms.

(52) This is to be underſtood without regard to the doctrine of Grace, according to which, we muſt ſay, that it is by the gift of God, and the ſtrour of the holy ſpirit, that a man chuſes the true church. We ſpeak here upon a ſuppoſition, wherein we conſider only the motives of intereſt or ſelf-love, which would determine men to the choice of a religion.

(53) Trahit ſua quemque voluptas. *Virgil. Ecleg.* ii, ver. 65.

(54) In ch. xxi.

(55) I deny not but Mahomet propoſed a ſtrong allurement to the Saracens, by allowing them Polygamy; for they were very much inclined to the venereal act. *Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem utrque ſolvitur ſexus.* Amm. Marcellin. lib. xiv, cap. iv, p. m. 24.

[O] *This preſerves to the Chriſtian religion one of the proofs of it's Divinity.*] The Goſpel, preached by obſcure perſons, deſtitute of learning and eloquence, and of all human ſupports, and cruelly perſecuted, yet in a little time prevailed over the whole world. This is matter of fact, which no one can deny, and which plainly proves, it was the work of GOD. But this proof will be of no force, after it can be made appear, that a falſe church ſpread as far by the like means; and it is certain, that this argument would be ſpoiled, if it could be proved, that the Mahometan religion owed not the ſuddenneſs of it's great progreſs to the violence of it's arms. Since therefore there are two things equally clear in the monuments of hiſtory; one of which is, that the Chriſtan religion was eſtabliſhed without the uſe of the ſecular arm; the other, that the Mahometan religion was eſtabliſhed by the way of conqueſt: no reaſonable objection can be made againſt our proof, upon pretence, that this infamous impoſtor ſuddenly overſpread an infinite number of provinces with his falſe doctrines. It is well for us, that we have the three firſt centuries of Chriſtianity ſecure from this parallel; otherwiſe it would be folly in us, to object to the Mahometans the violence they uſed for the propaga-

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is drawn from its ſpeedy propagation over the whole world; but we loſe the proof, which is taken from its large extent [P]. We muſt not wonder, that this falſe-prophet never

tion of the Alcoran: they would quickly put us to ſilence, for they need only cite to us theſe words of Mr Jurieu (56): *Can any one deny, that Paganiſm was deſtroyed by the authority of the Roman Emperors? We may venture to affirm, that Paganiſm would be ſtill in being, and that three-fourths of Europe would ſtill be Pagan, if Conſtantine, and his ſucceſſors had not employed their authority to aboliſh that religion . . .* (57). *The Chriſtian Emperors have extirpated Paganiſm, by pulling down it's temples, deſtroying it's images, forbidding the worſhip of it's falſe gods; by appointing preachers of the Goſpel, in the place of falſe prophets and teachers, by ſuppreſſing their books, and ſpreading ſound doctrine.* See the 8th Letter of the Picture of Socinianiſm, at page 501, where the ſame author affirms, *That doubtleſs, had it not been for the authority of the Emperors, the temples of Jupiter and Mars would ſtill be kept up, and the falſe gods of the heathens would have a great number of adorers.*

We muſt freely declare the truth: the kings of France have planted Chriſtianity in the country of the Friſons and Saxons by Mahometan ways; and the ſame force was made uſe of to plant it in the north. This appears horrible to moderate men, when they read it in the book of Mr Ornhialms (58). The ſame ways were made uſe of againſt the ſects, that durſt condemn the Pope, and will be uſed in the Indies, whenever it can be done (59). And from all this conduct it plainly appears, that we can no longer reproach Mahomet for having propagated his religion by force, I mean, by denying Toleration to any other. For he might argue thus *ad hominem:* If force be wrong in it's own nature, it can never be lawfully made uſe of: But you have made uſe of it from the IVth century unto this preſent time; and yet you pretend, you have done nothing in all this, but what is very commendable. You muſt therefore confeſs, that this way is not wrong in it's own nature; and conſequently, I might lawfully make uſe it in the firſt years of my vocation; For it would be abſurd to pretend, that a thing, which was very criminal in the firſt century, ſhould become juſt in the fourth; or that a thing, which was juſt in the fourth, ſhould not be ſo in the firſt. This might have been pretended, if GOD had made new laws in the IVth century; but do you not found the juſtice of your conduct, ſince Conſtantine till this preſent time, upon theſe words of the Goſpel, *compel them to come in* (60), and upon the duty of ſovereigns? You ſhould therefore have uſed force, if you could have done it, from the very day after the Aſcenſion. Bellarmin, and many other writers of the Romiſh party, would grant him this; for they ſay (61), 'That if the Chriſtians 'did not depoſe Nero and Dioclefian, it was becauſe 'they had not ſufficient temporal force to do it, but 'that of right they might have done it, being no 'ways obliged to endure a king over them, who is 'not a Chriſtian, if he endeavours to pervert them 'from the faith (62).' They were therefore obliged to ſet up a ſovereign over them, who ſhould eſtabliſh the Goſpel, and extirpate Paganiſm, by the means of authority. Mr Jurieu does not differ much from the opinion of Bellarmin; for he tells us, that the greateſt part of the Chriſtians were patient, only *through their weakneſs, and want of power* (63). And, though he does not blame their conduct, in not taking arms againſt their princes, yet he thinks they had a right to do it; and if they had done it, they could not have been blamed. Doubtleſs he believes, that, if they had had power, they might have placed upon the throne a Conſtantine, or a Theodoſius, from the time of Nero. Obſerve, I pray you, that he does not relate the manner of aboliſhing Paganiſm, meerly as a matter of fact, but as a thing that was juſt; for he compares it with the conduct of the Proteſtants, and with that, which the Catholic princes will obſerve in a little time, as he pretends, to ruin the church of Rome. The three examples he gives, of the way, in which authority may be lawfully employed, are, that of the kings of Iſrael, that of the Chriſtian emperors, and that of the Reformed princes (64): 'Theſe laſt, *ſays 'he* (65), have aboliſhed Popery in their ſtates, by 'removing it's profeſſors, by appointing teachers of 'ſound doctrine and pure morals, by burning the 'images, by burying the relics in the earth, by forbidding all idolatrous worſhip. In this, they were ſo far from doing any thing againſt the law of GOD, 'that they exactly obſerved his commands: for it is 'his will, *that the kings of the earth ſhould ſtrip the beaſt, and break her image.* Never did any Proteſtant, to this day, blame this conduct, and never 'will any judicious man apprehend the thing otherwiſe. Things have always been thus, and, if it 'pleaſe GOD, will always be ſo, in ſpight of our libertines and inconſiderate men.' Conſult the 284th page of his book, and you will find there theſe memorable words: 'For the little profit, which you 'might draw from thence now (66), the church would 'ſuffer great loſs, and perhaps you would be obliged 'to retract in a few years, and doubtleſs you would 'do it. For if the kings of France, and Spain, 'ſhould uſe their authority, to drive Popery out of 'their dominions, as the kings of England, and 'Sweden have done, you would be ſo far from blaming 'them, that you would think it very well done. But 'you may be aſſured, that this is to come to paſs; 'for the holy Spirit ſays, *That the kings of the earth, 'who have given their power to the beaſt, ſhall take 'it from her, and that they ſhall make her deſolate, 'and eat her fleſh.* The ſame authority of the weſtern 'kings, who erected the empire of Popery, ſhall deſtroy it. And this will be perfectly agreeable to 'the deſign of GOD, and to his will; wherefore we 'ſhall find nothing in it to gainſay. And therefore, 'that you may be uniform in your judgment, follow 'the truth, which never changes; and do not govern your opinions according to intereſts, which are 'changing every day.' You ſee therefore, that he lays it down as an immutable principle, which will hold in all times, That it is lawful to make uſe of authority for the propagation of the faith. If therefore he enters into diſpute with the Mahometans, he muſt renounce thoſe arguments, which have been always uſed againſt them from the manner of propagating their religion: for it was not, ſays he (67), by putting 'a ſword to the throat of Chriſtians, to make 'them abjure Chriſtianity, and embrace Mahometaniſm; 'but by the poverty, meanneſs, miſery, and ignorance, 'to which they reduced Chriſtians;' which are ways much leſs harſh, and more gentle, than thoſe which, he ſays, may be very juſtly made uſe of to extirpate Popery. See the remark [AA], at the end.

[P] . . . . *but we loſe the proof, which is taken from it's large extent.*] I cannot leave this ſubject, till I have made one obſervation of ſome importance. The fathers have uſed an argument, which is improperly alledged againſt the reformers of the XVIth century. The extent of the Goſpel furniſhed the fathers with an argument againſt the Jews, and the ſects, which were bred in the boſom of Chriſtianity; becauſe this plainly ſhewed the completion of the prophecies of Scripture, which foretold, that the knowledge and ſervice of the true GOD, under the Meſſias, ſhould not be confined, as before to one little corner of Paleſtine, but that all nations ſhould become the people of GOD (68). This reaſoning confounded the Jews and Heretics, and continued in full force till the time of Mahomet. Since that time we muſt forſake it; for, conſidering only the extent, the religion of this falſe Prophet might claim to itſelf the antient prophecies, as well as the Chriſtian. We cannot therefore ſufficiently wonder, when we find the Bellarmines, and ſuch famous writers of controverſy, affirm in general, that extent is a mark of the true church, and pretend, by this method, to gain their cauſe againſt the Proteſtants. Nay, they are even ſo imprudent, as to put proſperity among the marks of the true church. 'Elmacini Hiſtoria Saracenica luculentiſſime quos brevi 'tempore Muhammedica peſtis habuerit progreſſus, 'quos contra Chriſtianos ſucceſſus. Adeo ut mirari 'lubeat quid animi fuerit Bellarmino, cum ad ejuſmodi lapſus eſt nugas (69). - - - - *Elmacin's Saracen 'Hiſtory very clearly deſcribes the ſpeedy progreſs of Ma- 'hometiſm, and it's ſucceſs againſt the Chriſtians; ſo 'that I cannot but wonder, how Bellarmin ſtumbled 'upon ſo trifling and inconcluſive an argument.*' It was eaſy

(56) *Jurieu's Rights of two Sovereigns, pag.* 280. *He ſays, pag.* 297, 298, That Popery will never be aboliſhed but by the authority of the princes, that eſtabliſhed it, and that Paganiſm would be ſtill kept up, and reign under the cover of the doctrine of Toleration.

(57) Ib. p. 289.

(58) *Intituled,* Hiſtoriæ Succorum Gothorumque Eccleſiaſticæ lib. iv. *See the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for the month of November, 1690, *pag.* 109, &c.

(59) See, in the remark [AA], the words of the Jeſuit Frois.

(60) *See upon all this, the* Philoſophical Commentary upon *Compel them to come in.* Part i, chap. vii.

(61) Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. *lib. v, cap. vii, § quod ſi,* cited by Daillé, Reply to Adam, *Part. ii, chap. xxi, pag.* 125.

(62) Bellarm. *ib. § probatur hujus,* cited by Daillé, *ibid.*

(63) The ninth Paſtoral Letter, of the year 1688. pag. 202, Edit. in 12mo.

(64) The Rights of two Sovereigns, *pag.* 289.

(65) Ibid.

(66) That is to ſay, from the court of France being perſuaded, that it muſt tolerate falſe religions.

(67) The ninth Paſtoral Letter, of the year 1688, *p.* 196.

(68) See Father Thomaſin, Of the Unity of the Church, *Tom. ii.*

(69) Hotting. ubi ſupra, pag. 339.

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never had recourse to the artifice used by all the heads of parties, in the case of heresies and sects (*b*): He was not supported by the intrigues of women (*i*); nor did at all engage the fair

(*b*) *Confer quæ supra, remark* [D] *of the article* GREGORY I. (*i*) *Except, if you will, the good offices which Chadigha did him, at the beginning, as I have noted above.*

easy to foresee, that, as to these two marks, they would be answered, that the Mahometan may more justly pass for the true church, than the Christian. The religion of Mahomet is unquestionably of much larger extent than the Christian; it's victories, it's conquests, it's triumphs, are incomparably more illustrious, than any thing the Christians can boast of, in this kind of prosperity. The exploits of the Mahometans are without doubt the most glorious things that History affords. What can we find more wonderful than the empire of the Saracens, which extended from the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Indies? Has it fallen? See the Turks on one side, and the Tartars on the other, who preserve the grandeur and renown of Mahomet. Find, if you can, among the conquering Christian princes, any that can be put in the balance with the Saladines, the Gingis-Chams, the Tamerlanes, the Amuraths, the Bajazets, the Mahomets II, the Solymans. Did not the Saracens confine Christianity within the bounds of the Pyrenean mountains? Did they not commit an hundred outrages in Italy, and proceed as far as the heart of France (70)? Did not the Turks extend their conquests to the confines of Germany, and the gulf of Venice? The leagues, the croisades, of Christian princes, those grand expeditions, which drained the Latin church of men and money, can they not be compared to a sea, whose waves flow from the west to the east, to be broken, when they encounter the Mahometan forces, like one that splits against a steep rock? At last the Christians have been forced to yield to Mahomet's star, and instead of following him into Asia, they reckon it a great happiness, when they are able to maintain a running fight in the center of Europe. See, below (71), the eternal monuments, which Christianity has erected to the superiority of the fortune of the Mahometans. We may apply to the Mahometans and Christians, what Sallust has observed of the Athenians and Romans. 'Athenienſium res gestæ, 'ſicut ego existimo, satis amplæ, magnificæque fuere, 'verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama ferun-'tur: sed, quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum in-'genia, per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro 'maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere, vir-'tus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere ex-'tollere præclara ingenia. At populo R. nunquam 'ea copia fuit; quia prudentiſſimus quiſque negotio-'ſus maxime erat. Ingenium nemo ſine corpore exer-'cebat. Optimus quiſque facere, quam dicere; ſua 'ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipſe aliorum nar-'rare, mallebat (72). - - - *The actions of the Athenians* 'were, *I think, great and magnificent enough, tho' not* 'ſo *great as they are reported to have been: but, as* 'they *abounded with excellent writers, hence the actions* 'of *the Athenians are celebrated as the moſt glorious all* 'over *the world. Thus the merit of thoſe, who per-* 'formed *them, is thought to have been as great, as the* 'words *of the Hiſtorian repreſent it to be. The Romans* 'never *had this advantage, becauſe the moſt ſenſible* 'perſons *among them were taken up with buſineſs; and* 'no *one exerciſed his mind without his body. They pre-* 'ferred *actions to words, and choſe rather that their* 'goods *deeds ſhould be praiſed by others, than that them-* 'ſelves *ſhould relate thoſe of others.*' The Mahometans, being more addicted to war than ſtudy, have not written hiſtories equal to their actions; but the Chriſtians having many great wits, have wrote hiſtories which excel all that they have done. But notwithſtanding this want of Hiſtorians, theſe Infidels can tell us, that Heaven has at all times given teſtimony to the holineſs of their religion, by the victories they have obtained (73). The Chriſtians ought not to uſe that ſophiſm, and imitate them improperly, as a father of the oratory did (74). His book is ſcandalous, and of pernicious conſequence; for it is founded upon this falſe ſuppoſition, that the true church is that, which God has moſt enriched with temporal bleſſings. If we were to determine religious diſputes by this rule, Chriſtianity would quickly loſe the cauſe: But prudence will not permit, that they ſhould be decided in that manner; they muſt be fortified by confeſſions of faith, and no regard muſt be had either to extent, or the greater number of victories. I know not whether we may venture to be tried by our morals; but if the Infidels ſhould agree to allow the preference to wit, learning, and military virtue, we muſt take them at their word; for they would infallibly loſe the cauſe at this time; ſince they are much inferior to the Chriſtians in theſe three things. A fine advantage indeed, that we know better, than they, the art of killing, of bombarding, and deſtroying mankind (75)! Obſerve, I pray you, that the Mahometan religion had formerly a large ſhare in that temporal glory, which conſiſts in cultivating ſciences; for they flouriſhed under the empire of the Saracens with great luſtre (76); who then had fine Wits, good Poets, great Philoſophers, famous Aſtronomers, and renowned Phyſicians; to ſay nothing of ſeveral califs, who acquired a very great reputation by their moral qualities, and thoſe peaceable virtues, which are no leſs valuable than the military virtues. There is therefore no kind of temporal proſperity, wherewith that ſect has not been favoured in a very diſtinguiſhing manner.

I have ſaid, That it would not be very ſafe to leave it to be tried by our morals, whether the Chriſtian be the true religion. This requires ſome explanation. I do not pretend, that Chriſtians are more irregular, as to their morals, than the Infidels; but I dare not affirm that they are leſs. The relations of travellers do not agree in this; for ſome of them very much commend the probity, charity, and devotion, of the Turks. and repreſent the Turkiſh women as patterns of modeſty. There are alſo ſome, who ſpeak very ill of the morals of that nation. Hottinger quotes an author, who admires the virtue of the Turkiſh women, and oppoſes it to the behaviour of the Chriſtian. 'Certe 'mihi magna admiratio oritur quando honeſtatem 'quam vidi in fœmineo ſexu inter Turcos conſidero, '& impudiciſſimos, improbos & damnatos mores fœ-'minarum inter Chriſtianos conſpicio (77). - - - *I* 'cannot *help being greatly ſurprized, when I conſider the* 'modeſt *behaviour of the women in Turkey, and the im-* 'pudent *and ſcandalous conduct of the Chriſtian women.*' The Turkiſh women never ſhew their face, go abroad but little, and account it a diſgrace to ride on horſeback. The diſcourſe, which a huſband holds with his wife, in his own houſe, is ſo modeſt, that nothing of ſenſuality is to be obſerved in it, no more than in her countenance. *Etiam in domibus propriis viri cum uxore nunquam in actibus & motibus vel collocutione minimum indicium laſciviæ vel inhoneſtatis deprehendi poteſt* (78). Sir John Chardin informs us, that, in Perſia, they marry without ſeeing one another; 'and that a man does 'not not ſee his wife, till he has conſummated the 'marriage, which he many times does not till ſome 'days after he has brought her home; for the woman 'ſhuns him, and hides herſelf among the women, 'being unwilling to let her huſband do it. Theſe 'things happen often among perſons of quality; be-'cauſe, in their opinion, it favours of leudneſs in a 'woman to grant the man ſo ſoon the laſt favour. 'The maids of the blood-royal more eſpecially behave 'thus, and ſome months paſs before they can be 'brought to ſubmit (79).' He ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of the Georgians, who make profeſſion of Chriſtianity; for after he has ſaid that the men of that country have all the faults imaginable; he adds, 'The women 'are no leſs vicious, nor leſs wicked; they are eaſily 'overcome by the men, and have certainly a larger 'ſhare, than they, in this torment of impurity, which 'overflows all their country (80).' The author, quoted by Hottinger, no leſs extols the morals of the Turks above thoſe of the Chriſtians, than the behaviour of the Turkiſh women above that of the Chriſtian women (81). Other relations accuſe the Turks of extream leudneſs, and do not forget the multitude of their concubines, which they buy in the market, and whom they ſearch, and feel all over their bodies, before they agree upon the price (82), juſt as the Butchers do, when they buy beaſts. 'Vere ut Pius II. (*lib. i,* 'Epiſt. *cxxxi,* & Boſkhierus ex eodem *Philip. X,* 'pag. 362.) de Turcis ſcripſerit, *eſſe populum lam-* 'bentem, *fellatorem Leſbiatorem, fœminarum omnium* 'concubitum

(70) See the article ABDERAME.

(71) See the following article, remark [D].

(72) Sallust. in Bell. Catilin. pag. m. 14.

(73) See the following article, remark [D].

(74) Thomas Burnet, *de ruinis Germaniæ.*

(75) See the *Thoughts upon Comets*, num. 141.

(76) See the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Hottinger.

(77) Septem-Caſtrenſis, *cap. xii.* apud Hotting. Hiſt. Oriental. *pag.* 311. Septem-Caſtrenſis, is a Monk, who was a long time priſoner among the Turks.

(78) Id. ib.

(79) *News from the Republic of Letters*, October 1686. *p.* 1139. in the extract of the voyages of Sir John Chardin.

(80) Ibid. *pag.* 1129.

(81) Septem-Caſtrenſis de Turcarum moribus, *cap. viii, pag.* 38. apud Hotting. *ibid. pag.* 304.

(82) Compare the citation from Suetonius, in citation (64) of the article FULVIA.

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fair ſex in his intereſts (2). He believed, that the valour of his troops would be ſufficient

‘ *concubitum guſtantem & delibantem*, addimus & verè ‘ fornicatorium, utpote, qui non tantum Virginis vio- ‘ lant (ſcribente Bartholomæo Georgieviz) *(cap. vi, ‘ & vii.)* etiam ante ora patrum, ſed etiam maſculos ‘ captivos, indomitæ libidinis hi homines ſibi ſub- ‘ ſternunt *(Boſkhier. pag.* 61, & 89.*)* In foro vena- ‘ les, nudoſque exponunt viros fœminaſque, videndos ‘ & coram omnibus contrectandos, etiam quà pudor ‘ naturæ debetur, nudos currere, ſaltare jubent, quò ‘ vitia, ſexus, ætas, corruptio vel integritas appa- ‘ reant (83). - - - - - *It is true, what Pius II (and ‘ Boſkhierus) has written concerning the Turks, that they ‘ are* a people addicted to ſodomitical practices, and ‘ that they lie with every woman they meet: *to which ‘ may be added, that they not only deflower virgins (as ‘ Bartholomew Georgieviz writes), even in the ſight of ‘ their fathers, but theſe men of ourageous luſt abuſe the ‘ male captives they take. They expoſe to ſale in the ‘ markets men and women naked, to be ſeen and handled ‘ publickly, even where nature requires modeſty: beſides, ‘ they command them to run naked, and leap, to ſhew ‘ their faults, their ſex, their age, their perfections and ‘ defects.*’ Thus a Pope accuſes the Turks of many leud actions: but what the Catholic writers have writ- ten of the court of Rome, and what may be writ- ten of many Chriſtian nations, is no better; inſomuch that one may affirm in general, that Chriſtians and Infidels cannot juſtly reproach each other; and, if there be any difference between them, as to their bad morals, that the difference of the climate is rather the cauſe of it, than the diverſity of religion.

(83) Cornelius Uythagius, in Anti-chriſto Ma- homete, *p.* 276.

[2] *He did not engage the fair ſex in his intereſts.*] The permiſſion he granted to men to have many wives, and to whip them, when they were not obedient (84), and to divorce them upon any diſlike (85), was a law very prejudicial to the female ſex. He took care to deny women the liberty of having many men, neither would he allow them to quit their huſbands, though troubleſome, without their conſent (86). He ordained, that a woman divorced ſhould marry again but twice; and that, if ſhe was divorced from the third huſband, and the firſt would not take her again, ſhe ſhould never marry all her life-time (87). He was ſo far from permitting them to ſhow their breaſts, or even their neck, that he would not ſuffer their feet to be ſeen, but only by their huſband. *Mulieres itaque bonæ ſe curent, ne lunaticum aſpiciant, ſuoque peplo tegentes col- lum & pectus, omnemque ſuam pulchritudinem, niſi quan- tum apparere neceſſitas coget, celent omnibus, ſpeciemque pe- dum etiam eundo, niſi maritis ſuis* (88). But it is true, that in this, he only retained the cuſtom obſerved in Arabia; for we learn from Tertullian, that the women of that country did thus cover their faces, ſo that they could make uſe of but one eye. ‘ Judicabunt vos ‘ Arabiæ fœminæ Ethnicæ, quæ non caput, ſed faciem ‘ quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato con- ‘ tente ſint dimidiam frui lucem quàm totam faciem ‘ proſtituere (89). - - - - - *The Pagan women of Arabia ‘ ſhall judge you; for they cover, not their head only, ‘ but their whole face, in ſuch a manner, that, with ‘ one eye only at liberty, they chuſe rather to enjoy but ‘ half the light, than expoſe their whole face to view.*’ I believe it is a miſtake (90) to ſay, that Mahomet permitted men to marry as many women as they would; for he does ſo moderate and limit his permiſſion, that it plainly appears he had no mind they ſhould marry above four, and that he allowed them ſo many provided they thought themſelves capable of keeping them peaceable. *Quotcunque placuerit, duas ſcilicet, aut tres vel quatuor uxores ducite, niſi timueritis eas pacificare poſſe* (91). But it is no miſtake to affirm, that he ſet no bounds to the number of their concu- bines. And indeed the Turks may have as many as they are capable of maintaining. Is not the condi- tion of the four wives deplorable, under a law which gives the huſband power to divert what is their due to as many handſome ſlaves as he can buy. Doth not this diverſion of the matrimonial ſtock reduce them to the greateſt want, and to an extreme indigence. Let no one tell me of the proviſion the law has made for them, by appointing the four wives to lie once every week with their huſband. ‘ So that if any one has not enjoyed this privilege ‘ for a whole week ſhe has a right to demand it on ‘ thurſday night in the following week, and ſhe may ‘ proſecute her huſband, in the courts of juſtice, in ‘ caſe of a refuſal (92).’ For notwithſtanding this privilege, the law is very harſh, a law, I ſay, which reduces that to a ſmall proportion, which would ſcarce ſuffice, if it were entire, and which may ſo eaſily be broke through. A fine ſatisfaction indeed for the party offended; to obtain one ſingle night in return for a week loſt, beſides the trouble of citing him before the judges, and engaging in a proſecution ſo nice, and ſo contra- ry to modeſty. And what pleaſure can any one take in a matter of this nature, when it is obtained only by the execution of a ſentence from the magiſtrate? This ought not to be a work that is commanded, *nihil hæc ad edictum Prætoris:* when it is done only by way of duty, *perfunctoriè, & dicis cauſa*, there can be no great ſatisfaction in it. We muſt therefore confeſs, that Mahomet did not uſe the ſex well.

(84) Quæ ſi forte præcepta non obſervaverint, à vobis correctæ & caſtigatæ, in domibus lectiſve detentæ verbe- rentur, uſque quo veſtris nutibus & præceptis pareant. *Alcor. Surat.* 9.

(85) Quando il- læ non amplius tibi placent, com- mutare eas licet. *Ib. Surat.* 8.

(86) Mulier ad fugam ſe præpa- rans invito mari- to recuperetur ab eo. *Ib. Surat.* 3.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Ibid. Surat. 34.

(89) Tertul. *de Virginibus velan- dis.*

(90) See Ricaut's *State of the Otto- man Empire, lib. ii, chap. xxi,* and the notes of Beſnier.

(91) Alcor. Su- rat. 3.

(92) Ricaut. *ib. pag.* 457.

But, here follow more ſtrange things: for he did not only make women miſerable in this world, but deprived them of the joys of paradiſe. He did not only exclude them from that place, but he turned that joy into an occaſion of ſorrow to them: for it is pre- tended, he taught, that the pleaſures of marriage, which men ſhall enjoy after this life, ſhall be furniſhed them by Virgins of a raviſhing beauty, which God has created in heaven, and which are deſtined for them from eternity: and as to women, that they ſhall not enter into paradiſe, nor approach nearer to it, than is neceſſary to diſcover, a-croſs the paliſades, what ſhall be done there. Thus their eyes ſhall be witneſſes of the happineſs of men, and of the pleaſure they ſhall take with theſe celeſtial maids. What can be ima- gined more grievous? Is not this to be ingenious in mortifying our neighbour: Lucretius tells us, that it is pleaſant to ſee a ſhipwreck, which we are not in fear of.

Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra, magnum alterius ſpectare laborem.
Non quia vexari quemquam eſt jucunda voluptas;
Sed quibus ipſe malis careas, quia cernere ſuave eſt (93).

(93) Lucret. lib. II, init.

'Tis pleaſant, when the ſeas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's danger, ſafe at land,
Not that it gives us joy his pains to ſee,
But to behold thoſe ills, from which our ſelves are free (94).

(94) See *Sentimens de Cleanthe, pag. m.* 36.

It is quite the reverſe, in Mahomet's ſyſtem, for the wo- men; the ſight of a happineſs, of which they are depriv- ed muſt needs afflict them, and it will be ſo much the more grievous to them, as well becauſe it will diſco- ver the pleaſures, which another enjoys, as becauſe they will ſee the happineſs, which they themſelves want; for the torment of jealouſy proceeds not ſo much from the want of a thing, as from knowing that others enjoy it. I have heard many people ſay, and I think I have even read it, that the damned ſhall have a very exact idea of the happineſs of paradiſe, that ſo the knowledge of the great joys, which they have miſſed, may augment their deſpair, and that the devil ſhall make uſe of this artifice, to render them more miſerable. Here we may apply theſe verſes of Perſius,

Magne pater Divûm, ſævos punire Tyrannos
Haud aliâ ratione velis, cùm dira libido
Moverit ingenium, ferventi tincta veneno:
Virtutem videant, intabeſcantque relictâ (95).

(95) Perſius, Sat. III, ver. 36.

Great father of the gods, when, for our crimes,
Thou ſend'ſt ſome heavy judgment on the times;
Some tyrant king, the terror of his age,
The type and true vicegerent of thy rage;
Thus puniſh him: ſet virtue in his ſight,
With all her charms adorn'd with all her graces bright:
But ſet her diſtant, make him pale to ſee
His gains outweigh'd by loſt felicity!

DRYDEN.

This is to underſtand very well the way of heightning the pains of the miſerable: and therefore we may ſay

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sufficient to his purpose. Perhaps he feared the Persian women [R], because he intended to establish a Code full of severity towards the women. Nevertheless, he had a most violent desire to enjoy them, and some very notable things are related of his vigour in this respect [S]. His lewdness was doubtless the cause why he permitted Polygamy under some

say in a word, that Mahomet could not have discovered his cruelty more maliciously; for he would have women see, at a distance, that which can only create unprofitable temptations, and insupportable grief.

But, to represent the matter as it really is, I must acquaint you, that the learned Mahometans do not say, that the women are excluded from paradise (96); yet I thought I might relate what I had read in many authors. I shall cite one of them. 'Hasce mu-

(96) See the article HALIBEG, remark [C].

'lieres statuunt non humanas atque ex hominibus genitas, sed ab æterno in hunc finem à Deo creatas, '& cœlestes esse; suas enim quas hic habuerunt Mu-'hammedani mulieres statuunt exsortes fore Paradisi, 'atque extra eum foris constitutas, per cancellos e-'minus virorum gaudia, & cum aliis sc. uxoribus 'congressus conspecturas. Longe plures ibi credunt 'fore mulieres, quam viros, singulisque viris plures vel 'pauciores pro merito addendas, quibus non ad pro-'lem, sed unice ad lubitum & satietatem voluptatis 'usuri sint; quin & vires iis submINistrandas majores 'eum in finem, ut sæpius coire possint, easque eun-'dem in finem fore mundas à menstruis (97). - - - - -

(97) Hoornbeek, Summa Controver. pag. 175.

'*They pretend, that these women are not human, or born* '*of men, but that they are of celestial race, and created* '*from eternity for this purpose: for the Mahometans* '*say, that the wives, which they had in this world,* '*will not be admitted into paradise, but, being* '*placed without, will see at a distance, thro' the pali-*'*sades, the pleasures their husbands take in the embraces* '*of other wives. They believe, there will be many* '*more women there than men; and that each man will* '*have more or fewer in proportion to his merit; whom* '*they will enjoy, not for the propagation of the species,* '*but only for pleasure, and to satisfy their lust; and* '*that their strength will be greater, for the sake of more* '*frequent coition, and that the women for that end will* '*be free from disorders.*' This author quotes no body and had just before cited some passages of the Alcoran, which teach us only that the ladies of paradise shall have very sparkling eyes, of the bigness of an egg, and that they shall be so modest, that they shall never look upon any man but their own husbands (98). It is not therefore in the Alcoran, that we find what this author relates concerning these women; *viz.* that they shall be more numerous than men, that every man may have two or three, or more, proportionably to his merit; that they shall be given only for pleasure, and not for bearing of children; that they shall always be in a condition to satisfy their husbands, being never subject to the menstrual flux, as the Physicians call it; that they shall be so beautiful and bright, that one of them would be sufficient to illuminate the whole earth in the night-time, that if they were to spit into the sea, they would quite take away it's saltness. *Tanta istarum puellarum deprædicatur pulchritudo & gratia, ut si istarum modo una aliquando noctu in terrâ appareret, totam eam facile esset collustratura; vel si in mare forte dispueret, totam ejus salsedinem extingueret, inque mel dulcissimum commutaret* (99). I have met with part of these things in a letter of Clenard; but this is only the opinion of a private person, and so this cannot be justly charged upon the whole body of Mahometism. 'Audi quæso, *they are the words of Clenard,* quod 'hic mihi narravit præceptor dum legeremus locum 'Alcorani de Paradiso, ubi sic scriptum est, *& eo ux-*'*ores habituri sunt mundas. Mundas* inquit, *id est,* '*liberas à menstruis, scilicet ut quovis tempore liceat* 'coire. Quid inquam, an in paradiso celebrabuntur 'nuptialia? *Quid ni? Attamen non est futura proles,* 'inquit. *Nam voluptatis causa illic erunt uxores* '*non propagandis liberis, quin & singulis viris complu-*'*res illic futuræ sunt uxores, pro meritorum ratione.* '*Deusque huic plus, illi minus virium largiturus est,* '*ut vel paucis vel multis reddat debitum* (100). - - - '*Hear, I pray you, what my tutor told me, whilst we* '*were reading the part of the Alcoran, relating to Pa-*'*radise, where it is written*; and there they will have 'wives that are clean. Clean, *said he,* that is free 'from the menses, for the sake of coition at any 'time. *What, said I, will they marry in Paradise?* 'Why not? But no off-spring will follow it; *said* '*he.* For wives there will be intended for pleasure, 'not for propagation; and every man will have ma-'ny wives, in proportion to his merit. And God 'will give this man more, and that less, strength, 'for the satisfying of more or fewer women.' Let us make the same remark as to what I am going to say. We ought not to impute it to Mahomet, as Peter Belonius does. They are fables, or false glosses, of some visionary or burlesquing doctors. 'After 'the Turks have eaten and drunk their fill in this 'Paradise, then the pages, being adorned with gold 'and precious stones, and rings upon their arms, hands, 'legs and ears, shall come to the Turks, each of them 'holding a handsome dish in his hand, with a great 'citron or lemon in it, which the Turks shall take, 'to smell to; and, on a sudden, when each Turk 'shall put it to his nose, there shall come forth a 'beautiful virgin, well accoutred and adorned, who 'shall embrace the Turk, as the Turk shall do her; 'and thus they shall remain fifty years in mutual em-'braces, without stirring, or parting from each other 'taking all sorts of pleasure, that a man can enjoy 'with a woman. And after fifty years, God will 'say unto them, (oh my servants) since you have 'had great feasting in my Paradise, I will now show 'you my face. Then he shall take away the veil from 'his face; but the Turks shall be struck to the ground 'by the brightness that shall proceed from it; and 'God shall say unto them: arise, you my servants, 'and enjoy my glory? for you shall never die, nor 'be sad, or displeased any more. And lifting up their 'heads, they shall see God face to face; and then 'every one, taking his virgin again, shall lead her 'into a chamber in the palace, where he shall find 'meat and drink; and having feasted, and taken his 'pleasure with his virgin, he shall pass away his time 'merrily, without any fear of death. This is what 'Mahomet has related of his Paradise, with several 'other such like fooleries; which makes us think, 'that the original of the Turkish seraglio's is de-'rived from what Mahomet says of the pages and vir-'gins of Paradise: for he says, that the chast virgins 'were thus created by God in Paradise, and are 'well guarded, and shut up within walls. And Ma-'homet says, that if one of them should go forth 'out of the seraglio of Paradise at midnight, she would 'enlighten the whole world like the sun, and if one 'of them should spit into the sea, the water of it 'would become as sweet as honey (101).

(98) Fruentur feminis quibus orbi clarissimi gratulabitur ova, quæ non ad alios eam maritos ferre queant. *Sura.* 48. Decori virgines decentissimas cum oculis immensis ædificandis nisquam nisi tantum ad maritos suos deflendis. *Sura.* 62.

(99) Hoornbeek, ubi supra.

(100) Clenard, Epistol. lib. i, pag. 42.

(101) Peter Belonius, ubi infra, book iii, ch. ix, pag. 392.

[R] *He feared the Persian women.*] A modern author (102), without quoting any body, informs me, that this seducer confessed, 'that the sole apprehen-'sion of the women of Persia was the cause that he 'did not go into that country, since they were so 'full of charms, that the angels themselves might 'fall in love with, and be overcome by them.' Probably he feared, lest they should regulate his pen, and his pretended revelations, and make him publish laws too effeminate (103), which would have very much decried him; for he was very sensible, that his unchast actions gave great scandal. See the margin (104).

(102) La Mothe le Vayer, *Letter cxiv, Tom. xii, pag.* 11, 12.

(103) That is, too favourable to the female sex, as it is said of some laws of Justinian, whose wife had very great credit.

(104) These words are to be found in Brantome, *Dames Galantes, Tom. i, pag.* 304. The Moors have an antient and common proverb, that their prophet Mahomet would never go to Seiras, lest, if he should see one of the beautiful women there, his soul should not enter into Paradise after his death.

[S] *Some very notable things are related of his vigour in respect to women.*] Authors do not agree as to the number of his wives; but it is pretty generally agreed, that he had several at a time, and that he performed his conjugal duty with great vigour (105). 'You may 'see in Abul-faragius, that he had, according to some, 'to the number of seventeen wives, besides mistresses 'which he kept . . . . (106) It will not be very dif-'ficult to believe him (107) a saint in their way, when 'you know, that he married but fourteen wives; and 'that this great devotion was little more than three 'degrees below that of Mahomet, who had seventeen 'wives, besides mistresses, who were overjoyed to con-'tribute to the diversion of their great Prophet. It 'is true, that Ali was less vigorous than his father-'in-law, who boasted, that he performed marriage-'duties every night, and that he had received, by 'special privilege, the strength of forty men, on that 'occasion.' Let us see Mr Bespier's note upon what Sir Paul Ricaut has said (108), that Mahomet had nine wives,

(105) Chevreau's History of the World, *lib. v, pag. m.* 14.

(106) Ibid. *pag.* 19.

(107) That is, *Ali.*

(108) The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, *Tom. ii, p.* 456.

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some reſtraints, and concubinage without any bounds (*k*). He durſt not be the only perſon, who ſhould enjoy that privilege, though, as to Inceſt, he had the boldneſs to forbid it to his followers, and to allow it to himſelf by a ſpecial privilege [*T*]. Mr Moreri relates

(*k*) *See the remark* [*Q*].

wives, and Ali fourteen. 'John Andreas, in the ſame 'page, at the beginning of chap. vii, of the confu- 'ſion of the ſect of Mahomet, ſays, that Mahomet 'had nine wives at once, beſides ſlaves; and in the ſame 'place he ſays, that he had eleven wives, and proves 'it by a book, which he calls *Aſſameil*, which is, ſays 'he, the book of the good cuſtoms of Mahomet (109).' The words, which John Andreas cites out of this book, ſignify, that Mahomet was a man of ſo great vigour, that in an hour's time he could know his eleven wives. *Robur ejus, ſuper eum pax, tantum erat ut viſitaret (circumiret) uxores ſuas unius horæ ſpatio, licèt undecim forent.* Baudier (110) has given Mahomet fifteen wives, beſides ſlaves. Elmacin ſpeaks only of three wives of Mahomet; but he omits the firſt, who was dead before he married the other three. 'I believe, there is no 'certainty, ſays Beſpier, as to the number of Maho- 'met's wives, and much leſs as to Ali's, of whom I 'have not read to this day, that he married any other 'wife beſides the only daughter of Mahomet, called 'Fatima (111).' Mr Pfeiffer relates, that this falſe Prophet *took ſeventeen wives according to ſome, and twenty one according to others* (112). This would not be very ſtrange; but what Belon relates, and I have already mentioned, is extraordinary. 'It is written 'in an Arabian book, *ſays he* (113), intituled, The 'Good Cuſtoms of Mahomet, which praiſes his vir- 'tues and his bodily ſtrength, that he boaſted of lying 'with eleven women, one after another, in one and 'the ſame hour (114).' Many here will call to mind Brother Fredon of Rabelais (115). I know not what to think of the tale, that Mahomet had to do with his aſs. 'Turcarum Legiſlator Mahumetes aſellam 'qua vehebatur ex indomito libidinis ardore com- 'preſſit (116). - - - *Mahomet, the legiſlator of the Turks, through an immoderate luſt, lay with a ſhe-aſs, which he rode on.*'

(109) Beſpier's Curious Remarks, Tom. ii, pag. 681.

(110) Of the religion of the Turks, book i, ch. ii, apud Beſpier, *ibid. pag.* 682.

(111) Beſpier, *ib.*

(112) Pfeiffer, *in Theologiæ Mohammedicæ principiis ſubleſtis*, in the Bibliotheque Univerſelle. *Tom. vii, pag.* 257.

(113) Belon's Obſervations of many Rarities; *book iii, ch. x, pag. m.* 404, and not in ch. ix, as la Mothe le Vayer cites him, *Letter xc, pag.* 272, of *Tom. xi.*

(114) See the remark [*II*].

(115) By the oath you have taken, how many times do you commonly do it in a day? *Fr.* Six. *Pan.* and how oft by night? *Fr.* 10. Says brother John, this whore-maſter counts it ſhameful to exceed ſixteen times. *Rabelais lib. v, cap. xxviii.*

(116) Balthaſar Bonifacius, Hiſt. Ludicra lib. ii, cap. vii, pag. 39. He cites *Bonfinius deciſ.* (probably he means *decad.*) *i, lib. viii.*

[*T*] *He durſt not be the only perſon, who ſhould enjoy that privilege; though as to inceſt, he had the boldneſs . . . . to allow it to himſelf by a ſpecial privilege.*] To colour his incontinence, which moved him to marry ſeveral wives, he forged a revelation from God, that this was allowed. He muſt therefore inſert this article in his Alcoran; but becauſe his ſervant-maids pleaſed him, and he lay with them, therefore he ſtood in need of a new revelation in favour of adultery; and ſo it was neceſſary he ſhould make a diſtinct article of the concubinage of huſbands. He had but two wives, when Marina, his ſervant-maid, a very pretty laſs, pleaſed him ſo well, that he lay with her, before ſhe came to a marriageable age. His wives ſurpriſed him in the very fact, and were tranſported with rage againſt him. He ſwore to them, that he would never return to her any more if they would keep it ſecret; but, becauſe he broke his oath, they made a great noiſe, and went away from his houſe. To remove this great ſcandal, he feigned a voice from heaven, which informed him that it was lawful for him to have to do with his ſervant-maids. Thus this impoſtor begun with committing a crime, and finiſhed with converting it into a general law. This does not at all ſavour of Fanaticiſm. A good touch-ſtone to diſcover whether thoſe who boaſt of inſpiration, either to give out new prophecies, or to explain the old, ſuch as the Apocalypſe, act ſincerely, is, to examine whether their doctrine changes proportionably as the times change, and as their own peculiar intereſt becomes different from what it was before (117). *Id quoque notandum* (I make uſe of the authority of a famous Divine (118), *leges iſtas in ſuorum facinorum patrocinium excogitatas ab ipſo ſemper fuiſſe poſt commiſſa illa, non ante; ut ita manifeſtiſſimè ſequeatur, iſta in criminum ſuorum excuſationem vel defenſionem ab eo commenta dolo peſſimo fuiſſe.* (119) *Tale iſtud quod de Muhammede narrant, eum cum puellâ formoſâ, ſed infra ætatem, Marinâ in adulterio deprehenſum fuiſſe, à conjugibus ſuis Aaſâ & Chadighâ juramento adactum promiſiſſe, modo tacerent, ab iſthac puellâ poſthac abſtenturum; verum quod non ſervarit: quare illæ eum deſeruerint, & ad patrias reverſæ ſint ædes. Quem tumultum ut ſedaret iterum, more ſolito, divinum commentus hoc reſponſum fuit, quod eſt capi* de prohibitione, *quo datur viris cum ancillis congrediendi poteſtas (ancilla quippe Muhammedis erat etiam illa Marina), quandò & quouſque libuerit, nequidquam recidmantibus & æmulantibus uxoribus. Sed jam ante hanc confictam legem id facinus commiſerat, & fidem de non committendo interpoſuerat, perjurus adulter & ſtuprator* (120). With an impudence, that cannot be ſufficiently admired, he forged, that God forbid inceſt to other men, but allowed it him by a peculiar grace. 'Aliis ſe- 'vere ipſe interdicit, cap. *de mulieribus*, ne quaſcunque '& conſanguineas ducant; *ne commiſceamini cum mu- 'lieribus, quæ cognitæ fuerunt à Patribus veſtris, quo- 'niam turpe eſt & malum, & iniquum: prohibitæ ſunt 'vobis matres veſtræ, & filiæ veſtræ, & amitæ veſtræ, '& patrueles veſtræ, & filiæ fratris veſtri, & filiæ ſo- 'roris veſtræ, &c.* Sibi vero licentiam tribuit quaſi ex 'oraculo divino, quam libet potiundi, cap. *de hæreſibus*, 'vel ſectis. *O Propheta, nos certe concedimus tibi*, in- 'quit ei Deus, *poteſtatem in uxores tuas omnes quibus de- 'deriſ mercedes ſuas, & quaſcunque acceperit manus tua, '& filias patrui tui, & filias amitæ tuæ, & filias fratris 'matris tuæ, & filias materteræ tuæ, quæ peregrinatæ 'ſunt tecum, & quamcunque mulierem credentem, quæ ſe 'tibi Prophetæ proſtituere voluerit, idque tibi ſpeciatim, '& ſingulariter conceditur; non verò aliis quibuſcunque.* Dignum certe Prophetâ privilegium! Et poſt: *copu- 'lare cum quacunque ex illis tibi libuerit, & tecum 'fac inhabitare quamcunque voluerit; & non erit tibi 'crimini, vel ad hanc accedere, vel ab illa recedere. 'Hoc autem parum eſt: verum etiam gratum habeant 'ipſæ quicquid tibi libuerit, & non contriſtentur, & 'complaceant ſibi de quacunque re quam illis dederis.* Propudium hominis! ſibi primas in promiſcuâ & tur- piſſimâ libidine explendâ concedens partes (121). '- - - *He forbids others, under ſevere penalties, in his chapter* of women, *to marry within the degrees of conſanguinity:* mix not with women, which have been 'known by your fathers, becauſe it is baſe, evil, and 'unjuſt: your mothers, your daughters, your aunts, 'and couſins, are forbidden you, &c. *But he in- 'dulges himſelf in the enjoyment of any one, as it were by 'authority from heaven, in his chapter* of hereſies or 'ſects. O Prophet, *ſays God, to him*, we give thee 'power over all thy wives, to whom thou ſhalt pay 'their hire, and whomſoever thou ſhalt take unto 'thee, whether they be the daughters of thy uncle, 'or the daughters of thy aunt, or the daughters of 'thy mother's brother, or the daughters of thy 'mother-in-law, which have journied with thee, and 'every woman, that is a believer, and is willing to 'proſtitute herſelf to thee a prophet: and this privi- 'lege is granted to thee in a ſpecial and peculiar 'manner; but not to other men. *A privilege wor- 'thy the prophet! And after:* you may lie with what 'woman you pleaſe, and make whom you pleaſe co- 'habit with you; and it ſhall be no crime in you, 'to approach this woman, or depart from that; and 'let them not lay it to heart, but be contented with 'what you ſhall give them. *Incontinent, ſhameleſs, 'wretch! to indulge himſelf principally in ſatisfying a 'promiſcuous and moſt ſcandalous luſt!*' He durſt not always ſtretch his prerogative, for he ſaid, he was forbid, for the future, to take away his neighbour's wife. He was contented to tell the world, that God approved what was paſt, provided he did not relapſe into it again. For the better underſtanding of this, we muſt know, that Mahomet had already married nine wives, and then eſpouſed a tenth, which he took from his ſervant. They murmured at it. The ſervant exclaimed againſt the injury. The falſe prophet, to put a ſtop to the ſcandal, made a ſhew of deſiring to reſtore what he had taken; but, becauſe he had not really a mind to it, he quickly found out a way to diſpenſe with it. He feigned, that God had cenſured this reſolution, and had ordered him to keep his tenth wife, without paying any deference to human ſcandal, to the prejudice of a celeſtial approbation. 'Illam *(uxorem ſervi ſui Zaidis)* conſtupratam 'mox quaſi ex divino iterum oraculo deſponſavit in 'uxorem, quamvis novem aliis ſtipatus. Quare ut, 'tum aliis hoc indignantibus factum, tum ſervo Zaidi 'ſatisfaceret, introducit in Alkorano, capite citato, 'Deum ſe reprehendentem, quod cogitaſſet uxorem

(117) See the remark [*NN*].

(118) Hoornbeck, ubi ſupra, pag. 117.

(119) Id. ib. pag. 118.

(120) The author refers us to John Andreas, *Confuſ. Muham. cap. vii*, to Philip Guadagnol, *contra Abmedum Perſam, cap. v, ſect. iii, & cap. x, ſect. ii, & iii*, and to Vincentius Lirinenſis, *Specul. Hiſtor. lib. xxiv.* He ſhould have ſaid *Vincentius Bellovacenſis.*

(121) Hoornbeck, ubi ſupra, pag. 116.

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relates a ſtory, to which he forgot to add an eſſential circumſtance, which is, concerning the man that was ſmothered with ſtones in a dry well [*U*]. One of the moſt impertinent lyes, that have been publiſhed concerning Mahomet, is, that he was a cardinal [*X*]. There are ſome Doctors, even in the communion of the Proteſtants, who have taken him for Anti-chriſt [*Y*]. I cannot believe, that his dead body was eaten by dogs

'Zaido reddere, ob offenſam, quam hinc nempe homines capiebant: *Et cum diceres illi, cui Deus beneficia contulit, & tu quoque contuliſti: accipe tibi uxorem tuam, & time Deum, & abſcondebas in corde tuo quod Deus operebatur, & timebas homines, & Deus dignior eſt ut timeas eum. Cum ergo Zaidus illam cognoverit, ſeu deſtraverit eam, nos copulavimus eam tibi, ne ſit fidelibus peccatum in uxoribus deſideriorum eorum, cum cognoverint eas, & imperium Dei completum eſt: non eſt imputandum ad culpam prophetæ illud, quod Deus illi ſpeciatim permiſit* (122). - - *Having debauched the wife of his man Zaid, he afterwards married her, pretending a divine command, tho' he had already nine wives. Wherefore, to ſatisfy others, who murmured at the action, as well as his ſervant Zaid, he introduces* God, *in the ſame chapter of the Alcoran, reproving him for intending to reſtore to Zaid his wife, becauſe of the ſcandal it gave the world.* And when you ſay to him, on whom God hath beſtowed favours, you have alſo beſtowed them: take unto you your wife, and fear God; and you hid in your heart what God wrought, and you had reſpect unto men, and God is more worthy to be reſpected. Since therefore Zaid has known, or deflowered her, we have joined her unto you, leſt the faithful ſhould ſin in the wives of their deſires, when they ſhall know them, and the will of God is fulfilled: what God has eſpecially granted to the prophet, is not to be imputed to him as a crime.' He was very ſenſible, this would alarm all huſbands againſt him; and therefore, to ſatisfy every body, he publiſhed, that, for the future, by the order of God, he would let huſbands enjoy their own wives, tho' he ſhould fall in love with them (123).

(122) M. Ib. pag. 117.

(123) Not for the future, O Muſſulmans, ut ſuperiùs notatum eſt, edicimus vobis, etiamſi eorum pulchritudo excæcatus fuerit. *Apud eundem, ib.*

[*U*] *A man . . . was ſmothered with ſtones in a dry well.*] This ſtory is found at the end of a long paſſage of the *Coups d'Etat*, which I ſhall now cite, and which contains ſeveral things concerning our falſe prophet (124). 'Finding himſelf very ſubject to the 'Falling-ſickneſs, he made his friends believe, that 'the moſt violent paroxyſms of his Epilepſy were ſo 'many ecſtaſies, and ſigns of the ſpirit of God, that 'deſcended on him: he perſuaded them alſo, that a 'white pigeon, which came to pick grains of corn 'in his ear, was the angel Gabriel, who came to 'declare to him, in the name of the ſame God, 'what he was to do. After this, *he made uſe of the 'monk Sergius, to compoſe an Alcoran, which he feigned 'to be dictated to him by the very mouth of* God. '*Laſtly, he ſent for a famous Aſtrologer, to diſpoſe the 'people*, by his predictions, to the change of affairs, that was to happen, and the new law, that 'a great prophet was to eſtabliſh, the more eaſily to 'receive his, when he came to publiſh it. But perceiving once, that his ſecretary, Abdala Ben-Salon, 'againſt whom he had a groundleſs pique, began to 'diſcover, and publiſh ſuch impoſtures, he cut his 'throat one night in his own houſe, and ſet fire to 'the four corners of it, with a deſign to perſuade 'the people, next morning, that this happened by a 'fire from heaven, to chaſtiſe the ſaid ſecretary, 'who had attempted to change and corrupt ſome 'paſſages of the Alcoran. Nevertheleſs, this contrivance was not thought ſufficient to his purpoſe, 'he wanted ſtill one to perfect the myſtery; which 'he did, by perſuading one of his faithfulleſt domeſtics, to deſcend to the bottom of a pit, which was 'near a great high-way, and to cry aloud, when he 'ſhould paſs by in company of the great multitude 'which commonly followed him, *Mahomet is the 'well-beloved of God! Mahomet is the well-beloved 'of God!* And this being done in the manner he 'had propoſed, he preſently thanked the Divine 'Goodneſs for a teſtimony ſo remarkable, and 'prayed all the people, that followed him, inſtantly to fill up the pit, and build over it a little 'moſque, in memory of ſuch a miracle; by which 'means this poor domeſtic was preſently killed, and 'buried under a ſhower of ſtones; and ſo there was 'no poſſible way left of diſcovering the falſhood of 'this miracle, *Excepit ſed terra ſonum, calamique lo-'quaces* (125).' Naudé forgot to tell us, how the public was informed, that Mahomet had ſuborned this man. Why had he not the wit to ſuppoſe, that this wretch had revealed the whole ſecret to his wife, who did not fail to tell her neighbours, and paſſengers, after ſhe was made acquainted with the tragical end of her huſband. The Latin words, which Naudé cites, are only an ingenious application of a circumſtance of the fable of Midas; but it no ways clears this matter, nay rather it inſinuates, that he was not able to find out how this contrivance came to be diſcovered. As to the pigeon, mentioned by Naudé, I muſt inform you, that Dr Pocock, having read the ſtory in the 6th book of Grotius, *de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ* (126), deſired Grotius to acquaint him from whence he had taken that particular, which is not be found in any Arabian author. He anſwered, that he had related it only upon the credit of the Chriſtian authors. *Grotius nonnulla recenſens columbæ ad Mohammedis aurem advolare ſolitæ meminit; cujus cum nullam apud eos mentionem repererim, ac clariſ. virum ea de re conſulerem, ſe in hoc narrando non Mohammediſtarum, ſed noſtrorum hominum fide nixum, dixit, ac præcipuè Scaligeri, in cujus ad Manilium notis idem narratur* (127). See the remark [*DD*].

(124) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, cap. iii, pag. m. 32.

(125) The Hiſtory of this man, who was ſmothered with ſtones in a well, is to be found in another book of Naudé, *viz.* in the *Apology of the Great Men accuſed of Magic*, *pag.* 232, 233.

(126) Pag. m. 202.

(127) Edw. Pocockius, Not. in Specim. Hiſtor. Arabum, *pag.* 186, 187.

[*X*] *It has been ſaid, that he was a cardinal.*] 'Benevenuto of Imola has ſaid it expreſsly, in his 'commentaries upon Dante (128).' Which is no leſs abſurd than what was ſaid by him, who wrote the gloſs upon the canon-law, that Mahomet was the head of the Nicolaitans. *Gloſſatorem autem Corporis Canonici qui Nicolaum Mahometum fuiſſe dicit æque abſurdum eſſe notat ac Benevenutum Imolenſem, qui Mahometum Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalem fuiſſe aſſerit* (129).

(128) Naudé, Dial. de Maſcurat. pag. 45.

[*Y*] *Some doctors have taken him for Antichriſt.*] See a diſſertation, intituled, *Anti-Chriſtus Mahometes, ubi non ſolum per S. Scripturam, ac Reformatorum teſtimonia, verum etiam per omnes alios probandi modos & genera, plenè, fusè, invictè, ſolidèque demonſtratur MAHOMETEM eſſe Unum illum verum, Magnum, de quo in ſacris fit mentio, Anti-Chriſtum.* It was printed (130) in the year 1666. Cornelius Uythagius, a doctor of Divinity, who is the author of it, and diſcovers a great zeal againſt Popery, affirms, in his preface, that he only unfolds and confirms the opinion of ſome reformers. 'Sunt, ſemperque fuerunt, *ſays he*, qui Mahometem 'pro Anti-Chriſto illo magno agnoverunt, & per Babylonem civitatem illam magnam Apoc. cap. xvii. 'nobis deſcriptam, Conſtantinopolim, Romam Novam intellexerunt, inter quos ſunt, antiquiſſimus 'Theologorum Arethas Cæſareæ Cappadociæ Epiſcopus: Angelus Græcus, qui Conſtantinopli vixit: 'Cœlius Secundus Curio: Wenceſlaus Budowez Cæſaris conciliarius, qui aliquandiù Conſtantinopli degit: Boſkhierus; & inter noſtros Reformatus magnus ille Melanthon, Bucerus, Muſculus, Zanchius: '& ſi qui cum recentiores, tum antiqui cum illis. '- - - *There are, and ever have been, thoſe, who have 'acknowledged Mahomet to be the Anti-Chriſt, and by 'Babylon, that great city deſcribed to us in the Revelation, 'ch.* 17, *have underſtood Conſtantinople, the New Rome: 'among whom are, the moſt antient of Divines Arethas 'biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, Angelus Græcus, who 'lived at Conſtantinople; Cœlius Secundus Curio, Wenceſlaus Budowez, counſellor of the Emperor, who 'lived ſome time at Conſtantinople; Boſkhierus; and 'among our reformed the great Melanchthon, Bucer, 'Muſculus, Zanchius; and other Divines, both antient 'and modern.*' The biſhop of Meaux names other writers, who are of that opinion: his words are theſe: 'If every thing muſt be referred to the end of the 'world, and to the time of Antichriſt, would ſo many 'learned men of the laſt age, as Annius Viterbienſis, 'John Hantenius of Mechlen, and our doctors Jodocus 'Clitoveus, Genebrard, and Feuardentius, who praiſes and follows thoſe grave authors, have been permitted to diſcover the beaſt and Antichriſt in Ma-'homet, and Enoch and Elias to be the two witneſſes of St John (131)?'

(129) Thomas Ittigius, *de Hæreſiarchis ævi Apoſtolici, apud Acta Erudit. Lipſ.* ann. 1690, *pag.* 307, 308.

(130) *At* Amſterdam, apud Joannem Raveſteynium, in 12mo.

(131) Biſhop of Meaux, Preface upon the Apocalypſe, *num. xiii*, *pag. m.* 32, 33.

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dogs [Z], as ſeveral have affirmed; and Father Loüis Maracci had juſt occaſion to obſerve, That the Chriſtians throw out ſome reproaches againſt the ſect of Mahomet, which proceed from ſo great an ignorance of matters of fact, that the infidels laugh at them, and grow more obſtinate in their infidelity (*l*). There has been publiſhed a Teſtament, under the name of Mahomet [*AA*], which has very much the air of a forgery:

(*l*) Eſſe etiam in illis dicit qui ex rerum Turcicarum ignorantia in medium proferant quæ riſum potius Mahumetanis excitent, ac in errore eos obſtinatiores reddant. *Lud. Maraccius à congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, in prodromo ad refutationem Alcorani, apud Acta Erudit. Lipſ.* 1692, *pag.* 329.

[Z] *I cannot believe that his dead body was eaten by dogs.*] Camerarius has inſerted this ſtory in his Hiſtorical Meditations (132). He quotes his author. *Mahomet had foretold to his diſciples, that he ſhould depart out of this world in the tenth year of his reign, but that on the third day he ſhould riſe again. Whereupon, one of his diſciples, having amind to try whether he ſpoke truth, poiſoned his drink; and he having drunk it off, and finding himſelf near his end, ſaid to thoſe that were about him,* By water ye ſhall receive remiſſion of ſins; *and then on a ſudden he died. His diſciples guarded the body, expecting the iſſue of his prediction; but it ſtunk ſo, that they could not endure the ſmell of it, and ſo they went away, and returning after ten days, they found it had been eaten by dogs. I was willing to tranſcribe this ſtory from the Spaniſh chronicle, written by John Vaſæus, who ſays, that he had it from an author called Lucas Tudenſis: becauſe I do not remember that I had read it elſewhere.* I find in Vaſæus, that he relates this under the year 628, and cites Lucas Tudenſis, with ſome limitation; *hæc fere Lucas Tudenſis*, ſays he. Baronius has inſerted in his annals (133) a fragment of the apology of Eulogius, an author of the VIIIth century. There are in this fragment many little tales, and, among the reſt, that which I have juſt now related; but it is there, with a circumſtance that deſerves to be known; which is, that Mahomet had aſſured his diſciples, that the angel Gabriel would come to raiſe him on the third day. They continued about the body all that time, and then they retired, imagining that their preſence frighted the angels; but, when no body guarded the body, the dogs came and eat it, and left but very little of it, which was buried by the diſciples of this impoſtor; and, in revenge for this affront, they put to death every year a great number of dogs. Baronius refers us to ſeveral volumes, that have been written concerning the life of Mahomet; and he confeſſes, that he the more eaſily refrained from making uſe of them, becauſe he found many lies in them. *Abſtinuimus libentius quod multa fabuloſa in eis poſita invenerimus* (134). A Lutheran author (135), whom I have cited twice or thrice, and who relates this ſtory, without believing it, has named ſeveral authors, who make mention of it. Take notice of his citations. † ‘ Cadaver aliquot ‘ diebus manſiſſe inſepultum, quod tertio die ſe re- ‘ ſurrecturum dixiſſet, poſteà verò à canibus arroſum ‘ ſcribunt Eulogius & Vincentius ‡. Sed cum parcum ‘ ſemper fuiſſe Muhammedem in jactandis miraculis, ‘ & ferro, non prodigioſâ virtute ſuam propagandam ‘ eſſe ſcripſerit ſectam, hanc narrationem ſuis potiùs ‘ relinquimus autoribus. - - - *Eulogius and Vincentius ‘ write, that the dead body lay ſome days unburied, be- ‘ cauſe he had ſaid he would riſe again the third day, ‘ but that afterwards he was torn by dogs. But, as ‘ Mahomet ſeldom boaſted of miracles, and declared that ‘ his ſect was to be propagated by force, not by ſigns and ‘ wonders, we chuſe to leave this ſtory with it's au- ‘ thors.*’ Father Maracci was not ſo incredulous; for he did not reject thoſe, who ſaid, that the diſciples of Mahomet, on account of the difference among them about the primacy, ſo neglected his body, that the dogs tore it in pieces. He builds upon this, that there are ſome relations, which ſay, that the ſepulchre of this falſe prophet contains but a ſmall portion of his body. *Exiguam corporis portionem in illo inveniri, colligit Auctor noſter non abſimile vero eſſe, quod graves ſcriptores prodiderunt, quum poſt mortem Mahumeti de imperio proceres certarent, cadaver ejus, nemine in tumultu cuſtodiente, à canibus dilaceratum fuiſſe* (136).

[*AA*] *There has been publiſhed a Teſtament under the name of Mahomet.*] There was printed at Paris, in Latin and Arabic, in 1630, a book intituled, *Teſtamentum & Pactiones initæ inter Muhammedum & Chriſtianæ fidei cultores.* Father Pacific Scaliger, a Capuchin, had brought the M. S. of it from the Eaſt. Gabriel Sionita is the author of the Latin tranſlation. John Fabricius publiſhed this Teſtament in Latin at Roſtock, in 1638. Mr Hinkelman, Miniſter of Hamburgh, publiſhed it in Latin and Arabic, in 1690 (137). The critics are of different opinions as to the queſtion, Whether this be a genuine piece? Grotius believes it to be a forgery. ‘ Edidit Ga- ‘ briel Sionita, *ſays he* (138), his dictus teſtamentum ‘ Muhammedis τῦ ψευδοπροφήτȣ, aut indultum ‘ potius ejus in gratiam Chriſtianorum, haud dubie ‘ à Chriſtianis ſuppoſitum, ut ſub obtentu tanti nomi- ‘ nis Muſulmanis æquioribus uterentur. Ille tamen ‘ genuinum eſſe affirmat, & perſuadet iis qui naſum ‘ non habent. - - - - *Gabriel Sionita, in theſe days, ‘ publiſhed a Teſtament of Mahomet the falſe prophet, or ‘ rather an indulgence of his in favour of the Chriſtians, ‘ forged, no doubt, by the Chriſtians, to obtain better ‘ treatment from the Muſſulmen, under the ſhelter of ‘ ſo great a name. Yet he affirms it to be genuine, ‘ and impoſes upon the unſkillful.*’ Voëtius (139), Hoornbeek (140), Beſpier (141), and many other miniſters, embrace this opinion. Hottinger (142), who had not ſeen the Arabic, durſt not determine the queſtion. Salmaſius affirms, that it is a genuine piece. ‘ Vidi ‘ nuper teſtamentum Muhammedis. De veritate ejus ‘ nullus dubito. Sed nollem ita reddidiſſet interpres; ‘ nihil enim minus quam teſtamentum. Fœdus eſt ‘ & pactio qua ſecuritatem Chriſtianis dedit, cujus & ‘ mentionem facere videtur Almachinus in vita Mu- ‘ hammedis: ubi narrat ex hiſtoriis Chriſtianorum, ‘ addictum fuiſſe Chriſtianis illum Impoſtorem & be- ‘ nevolum; & cum ad ipſum quidam Chriſtiani venif- ‘ ſent petentes ſecuritatem, impoſuiſſe eis tributum, ‘ atque in fidem eos ſuſcepiſſe (143). - - - *I lately ‘ ſaw Mahomet's Teſtament: I have no doubt of it's be- ‘ ing genuine. But I wiſh the tranſlator had not given ‘ it that name; for it is nothing like a Teſtament. It ‘ is a league and covenant, by which he made the Chri- ‘ ſtians ſecure; of which Elmacin, in the Life of Ma- ‘ homet, ſeems to make mention; where he relates out of ‘ the Chriſtian hiſtories, that that impoſtor favoured the ‘ Chriſtians, and, when ſome Chriſtians came to him, ‘ deſiring ſafe-guards, impoſed a tax on them, and entered ‘ into covenant with them.*’ Mr Hinkelman (144), is of the ſame opinion with Salmaſius; and ſo was alſo Sir Paul Ricaut; for, endeavouring to prove, that Mahomet uſed craft at the beginning, by making a falſe ſhew of a ſincere intention, to live peaceably with the Chriſtians, he ſays (145), That this falſe prophet ‘ made a treaty with them, the original whereof ‘ was found in the monaſtery of Mount Carmel:’ and then he adds theſe words (146); ‘ It is ſaid, that ‘ this original (147) was carried from that place into ‘ France, and put in the king's library. Since it is ‘ antient and curious, I think it will not be impro- ‘ per here to give you the interpretation of it.’ Having related the tenor of it, he goes on after this manner (148): ‘ Altho' the Turks deny, that this treaty ‘ is Mahomet's, yet there are very good authors, who ‘ believe it to be genuine, and that it was made at ‘ the time ſet down at the end of it, *viz.* when the ‘ empire of Mahomet was yet very weak, and in it's ‘ infancy; for at that time he was at war with the ‘ Arabians, and feared leſt the Chriſtians ſhould de- ‘ clare againſt him: wherefore, to prevent his being ‘ attacked by two enemies at once, he made this ‘ treaty with them in the monaſtery of the monks of ‘ Mount Carmel (149), from whence theſe auſtere ‘ friars derive their name.’ That which is certain, is, that at the time (150), when it is ſuppoſed, that Mahomet made this agreement with the Chriſtians, it was good policy in him not to provoke them. There is a paſſage in the Alcoran, which promiſes Infidels liberty of conſcience: Sir Paul Ricaut cites it (151). He might have cited a paſſage of Elmacin, which informs us, that Mahomet treated very

(132) Tom. i, book iii, chap. i.

(133) Ad. ann. 630. num. ix, & ſeq.

(134) Ibid. num. xii.

(135) Samuel Schultetus, in Eccleſ. Mahumed. pag. 17.

† Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. *lib. ii, cap. iv, p.* 273.

‡ Apud Baron. ann. 630, num. ix. lib. xxiii, cap. xlvii, apud Magd. Cent vii. ver. 5, fo. m. 364. Confer. Acta Mahometis Francofurti cum iconibus Edita ann. 1597. pag. 261.

(136) Ludov. Maraccius in Prodromo ad Refutat. Alcorani apud Acta Erudit. Lipſ. 1692, pag. 331.

(137) See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, Octob. 1690, pag. 80.

(138) Grotius, Epiſt. ad Gallos, pag. 329. apud Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. *lib. ii, cap. ii, p.* 237.

(139) Voëtius, Diſput. Theol. Tom. ii, p. 668.

(140) Hoornbeek, ubi ſupra, pag. 88.

(141) Beſpier's Remarks upon Ricaut, Tom. ii, pag. 623.

(142) Hotting, ubi ſupra.

(143) Salmaſ. *Epiſt. xx, lib. i, pag.* 44.

(144) See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *ubi ſupra.*

(145) Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, *lib. ii, cap. ii, pag.* 307.

(146) Ib. p. 308.

(147) He did not know, that this book was publiſhed at Paris, in 1630, and at Roſtoch in 1638.

(148) Ibid. pag. 316, 317.

(149) Beſpier makes here this remark. This is not at all probable; nay the treaty is ſigned at Medina, as the piece ſays, and therefore could not be made in the monaſtery of mount Carmel, which is more than 200 leagues diſtant from Medina.

(150) *Viz.* In the fourth year of the Hegira.

(151) Ib. p. 307. See the *Thoughts upon Comets*, num. 244.

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gery: It is a treaty of mutual toleration, which, they say, was concluded between him and the Christians. Proofs of the forgery may be drawn from the piece itself [*BB*]. But however this be, it is certain, that, at the beginning, he had more humanity for them, than for the Jews; which is something strange; for, appearing with the splendor of a conqueror, he was the more likely to get himself followed by the Jewish nation, as the Messias,

very civilly a troop of Christians, who came to desire of him a safe-guard (152); for, upon this occasion, he dispatched such orders, as assured them of his protection. Sir Paul Ricaut therefore had good reason to say, that Mahomet, at the beginning, offered peace to the Christians: but his reasons are not so strong, by which he pretends to prove, that they appeared formidable to this false prophet. 'The Christians, *says* 'he (153), recommended themselves by their zeal, their 'devotion, and the practice of all sorts of virtues. All 'this concurred with the purity of their doctrine, and 'a holy and firm union in the profession of the faith: 'and because the emperors were then Christians, 'Christianity was not maintained only by patience, 'sufferings, and hope, as it had been in the first ages, 'but was also supported by the arms and protection 'of the emperors.' This is contrary to the general opinion. It is generally agreed, that the divisions among the Christians, their vices, and those of the Imperial court (154), did extreamly facilitate the progress of Mahometism.

I cannot proceed to another thing, till I have made a reflexion upon this. The Mahometans, according to the principles of their faith, are obliged to employ violence, to destroy other religions, and yet they tolerate them now, and have done so for many ages. The Christians have no order, but to preach, and instruct; and yet, time out of mind, they destroy, with fire and sword, those who are not of their religion. 'When you meet with Infidels, says Mahomet (155), 'kill them, cut off their heads, or take them prisoners, and put them in chains, till they have paid 'their ransom, or you find it convenient to set them 'at liberty. Be not afraid to persecute them, till they 'have laid down their arms, and submitted to you.' Nevertheless, it is true, that the Saracens quickly left off the ways of violence; and that the Greek churches, as well the orthodox as the schismatical, have continued to this day under the yoke of Mahomet. They have their Patriachs, their Metropolitans, their Synods, their Discipline, their Monks. I know very well, that they suffer much under such a master; but, after all, they have more reason to complain of the covetousness and extortions of the Turks, than of their sword. The Saracens were still more gentle, than the Turks (156). See the proofs of it given by Mr Jurieu (157); which are taken out of Elmacin, and Eutychius. It may be affirmed for a certain truth, That if the western princes had been lords of Asia, instead of the Saracens and Turks, there would be now no remnant of the Greek church, and they would not have tolerated Mahometism, as these Infidels have tolerated Christianity. Let us hear Mr Jurieu himself (158). 'It may be truly said, that there is no 'comparison between the cruelty of the Saracens against 'the Christians, and that of Popery again the True 'Believers. In the wars against the Vaudois, or in the 'massacres alone on St Bartholomew's day, there was 'more blood spilt upon account of religion, than was 'spilt by the Saracens in all their prosecutions of the 'Christians. It is expedient to cure men of this pre'judice, that Mahometism is a cruel sect, which was 'propagated, by putting men to their choice, of death, 'or the abjuration of Christianity. This is in no wise 'true; and the conduct of the Saracens was an evan'gelical meekness, in comparison of that of Popery, 'which exceeded the cruelty of the Cannibals. It is 'not therefore the cruelty of the Mahometans, which 'has destroyed Christianity in the East and South, 'but their avarice. They made the Christians pay 'dear for their liberty of conscience; they imposed 'upon them heavy taxes; they made them often re'deem their churches, which they sometimes sold to 'the Jews, and then the Christians must redeem them 'again: poverty destroys wit, and debases courage. 'But, above all, Mahometism has destroyed Christia'nity by ignorance.' He repeats the same thing, in fewer words, in one of his Pastoral Letters (159), supposing always, that Christianity was destroyed under the empire of the Mahometans. But he is mistaken, and would have said otherwise, had he better consulted the Historians: but that is not the point. Let us proceed, and observe, that he tells us plainly, that the Saracens and Turks treated the Christian church with more moderation, than the Christians shewed either to the Pagans, or to one another: for he observes, that the Christian emperors ruined Paganism, by demolishing it's temples, destroying it's images, and forbidding the worship of it's false-gods; and that the Reformed princes abolished Popery, by burning the images, burying the relics in the ground, and forbidding all idolatrous worship (160). It is is plain, that princes, who prohibit on a sudden a religion, use more violence, than princes, who permit the public exercise of it, and only keep it under, as the Turks do by the Christians.

The conclusion, which I would draw from all this, is, that men are little governed by their principles. The Turks, we see, tolerate all sorts of religions, tho' the Alcoran enjoins them to persecute the Infidels: and the Christians, we see, do nothing but persecute, tho' the Gospel forbids them to do it. They would make fine work in the Indies, and in China, if ever the secular power there should favour them: assure yourself they would apply the maxims of Mr Jurieu. They have already done it in some places. Read what follows, and you will find, that arguments not being sufficient to convert the Infidels, the viceroy of Goa was desired to assist the Gospel, by decrees of confiscation, *&c.* 'Cum necessarium esset, ut præter autho'ritatem Ecclesiæ potestas Principum Virorum ad co'piosam hanc frugem accederet, quæ obstacula omnia 'amoliretur, Deus Dominus noster Pro-rege tanquam 'instrumento in multis usus est. Itaque ubi Brach'manni rationibus se destitui viderant, ad defensionem 'satis esse putabant, ut quoquo modo de cassibus effu'gerent, quod se more Majorum vivere profiterentur. 'Sed cum pro innata animi pertinacia neque unquam se 'victos agnoscerent, neque rationibus quantumlibet 'efficacibus crederent; pro-rex in compendium misso 'negotio malo huic nodo malum cuneum opponit, le'gem promulgat, ut intra quadragesimum diem à de'creti promulgatione Brachmanes cum suis omnibus, 'qui Christiani fieri nollent, suppellectili omni, quæ'que in ratis & censis haberent, intra id tempus distra'ctis, in exilium abirent; qui non parerent, jacturam 'ejus facturos, & ad triremes abreptum iri comina'tus est (161). - - - - *It being necessary, that, besides* 'the authority of the church, the power of the great 'should concur in producing this plentiful fruit, our Lord 'God has in many things made use of the vice-roy as his 'instrument. Therefore where the Brachmans found they 'wanted arguments, they thought it sufficient for their 'defence, any how to escape the nets, professing to live 'after the manner of their ancestors. But when, through 'their innate obstinacy of mind, they would neither ac'knowledge themselves vanquished, nor submit to argu'ments however strong; the vice-roy, to cut the matter 'short, published a law, that those Brachmans, with 'their whole families, who should refuse to turn Chri'stians within forty days after the publication of the 'decree, should forfeit their goods and estates, and go 'into banishment, and threatning the disobedisnt with 'being sent to the gallies.' See in the margin (162).

[*BB*] *Proofs of the forgery may be drawn from the piece itself.*] Consider a little the words of Dean Prideaux: 'Grotius rejects this capitulation as a forgery, and not 'without reason. For this piece is dated in the fourth 'year of the hegira, at a time when Mahomet was not 'in a condition to speak in such a manner, as he is 'made to speak in that writing; his power at that 'time being not so formidable, as to move any per'sons to pray him to grant them his protection; since 'he had been defeated a little before at the battle of 'Ohud, where he was so cruelly beaten, that at the 'time when this capitulation is dated, *viz.* on the 'fourth month of this year, he had not perfectly reco'vered his loss, and found himself much lower, than 'ever he had been, from the time he took the sword 'in hand, for *the propagation of his imposture.* Besides 'this, there is another particular, which most plainly discovers

(152) Securitatem petituri . . . securitatis instrumentum scripsit. *See Hotting. ubi supra, pag. 236. Georg. Elmacin. Hist. Saracen. pag.* 21.

(153) Pag. 305.

(154) See Hotting. ubi supra, pag. 239.

A COMPARISON between the Toleration of the Mahometans, and that of the Christians.

(155) In the ninth chapter of the Alcoran. See Ricaut, *lib. 2, cap. ii, pag.* 318.

(156) See Ricaut, *ibid. & cap. iii.*

(157) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformation, *Tom. ii, pag.* 55. *& seq. Edit. in 4to.* See also the Thoughts upon Comets, *p.* 738.

(158) Jurieu, *ib.*

(159) The ninth of the year 1688, pag. 196. I have cited his words above, remark [O], citation (65).

(160) See what I have cited before out of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*, remark [O], citation (65).

(161) Ludovicus Frois, in Epistola ad Fratres in Europa degentes scripta Goæ primo die Decembris, 1560. apud Dannhawerum in Vale Triumphali, *pag.* 104.

(162) The barbarities, which the Spaniards exercised in America, are horrible.

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Meſſias, whom they expected [*CC*]. The Mahometans have a very great veneration for him [*DD*], as it appears by ſeveral inſtances: they make very devout pilgrimages

' diſcovers the forgery of this piece; for, according to ' it, Moawias, the ſon of Abu-Sophian, was then ſecre- ' tary to Mahomet, and drew up this writing; and ' yet it is certain, that Moawias, with his father Abu- ' Sophian, did then bear arms againſt the impoſtor; and ' it was not till the time of the taking Mecca, which ' four years after, that they joined him, and em- ' braced his impoſture, to ſave their lives (163).'

(163) Prideaux, in the Life of Mahomet, *pag. m.* 158, 159.

[*CC*] *He was likely to have been followed, as the Meſſias whom the Jews expected.*] There are ſome authors who ſay, that Mahomet, for ſome time, pretended to be the Meſſias, and that he applied to himſelf the oracles of the Old Teſtament, which had been accompliſhed in JESUS CHRIST (164). By this artifice, he drew a great many Jews after him: the bad condition of that nation in Arabia diſpoſed them ſo much the more to be ſeduced. It is ſaid, that they did not break with him, till he fled from Mecca; and there are hardly any good reaſons given of this rupture: for, to tell us, as ſome do, that they were diſguſted with him, becauſe they ſaw him eat of a camel, is to put us off with fables. Neither can I underſtand, that they at any time took him for the Meſſias; ſince, on the one hand, the Scripture ſays expreſsly, that the Meſſias, was to ſpring from the family of David; and, on the other hand, it was notorious, that Mahomet was not deſcended from that family, but was of a Pagan race. However, let us cite the authors, that have ſaid what I have related. ' Et quidem primis temporibus ' Muhammed ſe ipſum apud Chadigam uxorem, ' Arabes, Judæoſque venditabat pro Meſſia, quem Ju- ' dæi expectarent, ut eſt apud Enuſtinum in Geneal. ' Mahom. pag. 10. Abbas Urſpergenſis in Chronico, ' pag. m. 150. *Hic erat Pſeudo-Propheta, ſed apud illos ' magnus æſtimabatur, ita ut etiam in principio adventus ' ejus æſtimarent hunc eſſe illum, qui ab eis expectatur ' Chriſtus* (165) . . . . . Secuti hunc ſunt complures ' Judæi, qui Muhammedum illico pro vero agnovere ' Meſſia. Theophanes aliique iſtius temporis ſcriptores ' ſcribunt, Judæos adhæſiſſe Muhammedo *uſque ad ' cædem illius*; μεχρι τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτȣ̃. Pro ' σφαγῆς rectius legi σφυγῆς uſque *ad fugam illius*, ' monet vir literarum Græcarum peritiſſimus Iſaacus ' Voſſius in allegatis ſibyllinis oraculis, pag. 24. aſſe- ' rens Theophanem alioſque pravam ſecutos fuiſſe ' lectionem. Itidem tradunt receſſiſſe Judæos à Mu- ' hammedo, cum eum cameli carnibus veſcentem con- ' ſpexiſſent. Alias alii afferunt ſeparationis cauſas (166). ' - - - - - *And indeed at firſt Mahomet pretended, to his ' wife Chadigha, the Arabians, and the Jews, that ' he was the Meſſias, whom the Jews expected; ' as we find in Enuſtinus*, Geneal. Mahom. pag. 10. ' *The abbot of Urſperg*, Chronic. pag. m. 150, *ſays*, ' This man was a falſe prophet, but was eſteemed a ' great man by them, inſomuch that at his firſt ap- ' pearance, they took him for the CHRIST, whom they ' expected. . . . . *He was followed by ſeveral Jews, ' who preſently acknowledged Mahomet for the true Meſ- ' ſias. Theophanes, and other writers of that time, in- ' form us, that the Jews adhered to Mahomet till he ' fled to Mecca. . . . . The ſame authors tell us, that ' the Jews abandoned Mahomet, having ſeen him ' feed upon Camel's fleſh. Others aſſign other cauſes of ' their ſeparation.*' It is certain the Jews did not follow Mahomet to his death, for he perſecuted them outrageouſly both with his ſword and pen; he deteſts them in many places of his Alcoran; and the war he waged againſt them, was very bloody, and fatal to them (167). The Turks, in this, do wonderfully follow the genius of their prophet; for they have a greater averſion to the Jews, than to any people in the world, and they will not permit a Jew, who turns Mahometan to be buried in their burying-places (168). But what ſome ſay, that they will not ſuffer a Jew, who deſires to embrace Mahometiſm, to come over immediately to the profeſſion of their faith, but that he muſt firſt turn Chriſtian, before he becomes a Mahometan, is falſe (169).

(164) Pleraque Veteris Inſtrumenti loca ad Meſſiam pertinentia impleverit, uti olim jam obſervatum Petro Cluniacenſi apud Iſaacum Voſſium in ſcripto de Sibyllinis Oraculis, *pag.* 25. *Joh. à Lent. de Judæorum, Pſeudo-Meſſiis, pag.* 28, 29.

(165) Ib. p. 29.

(166) Ib. p. 30.

(167) See Hotting. ubi ſupra, p. 214, *&c.* Joh. à Lent, ubi ſupra, pag. 30. ex Elmacino, pag. 6.

(168) Ricaut, ubi ſupra, *lib. ii, cap. iii, pag.* 325.

(169) Idem, ibid.

[*DD*] *The Mahometans have a very great veneration for Mahomet.*] I might ſet down a great many circumſtances to this purpoſe; but I ſhall mention only a few. The Grand-Seignior (170) ſends every year into Arabia, *Five hundred chequins, an Alcoran covered with gold, carried upon a camel, and as much black ſtuff, as will ſerve the moſque of Mecca for a tent. When this new cover is put on, that of the preceding year is taken away, and the pilgrims preſently cut it in pieces, and every one carries off what he can of it, ſome more, ſome leſs. They keep this rag in their houſes, as a relic, and as a token of their pilgrimage. . . . . When the camel, which carries the Alcoran returns, he is adorned with flowers, and other ornaments; and after he has made this holy journey, he is exempt, for the reſt of his life, from any other labour, or ſervice* (171). The Turks (172) have a great veneration for a camel; *and they reckon it one of the greateſt ſins to lay too much burden upon him, and to make him labour more than a horſe. The reaſon of this is, becauſe this beaſt is very common in the holy places of Arabia, and it has the honour to carry the Alcoran, when they go a pilgrimage to Mecca. I have obſerved, that thoſe, who take care of this animal, take the froth, which comes out of his mouth, after he has drank in a trough, and rub it upon their beards with great devotion, as if it were a balſam of great value, and, while they do it, they repeat often, in a religious tone,* Hadgi Baba! Hadgi Baba! *O Father Pilgrim! O Father Pilgrim!* Here follows a paſſage from La Mothe le Vayer (173): ' Wherever the falſe religion of Mahomet prevails, ' thoſe of his line, which are called Cherifs *, are held ' in ſo great veneration, that they alone dare wear a ' green turbant (174), and they are even unexception- ' able in courts of judicature. And it is no wonder ' the Turks, and other Muſſulmen, ſhould reſpect the ' poſterity of this impoſtor; ſince they ſo far eſteem ' the horſes that come from the mare he rode upon, ' that none dare beat them, or uſe them ill, as we ' learn from the relation of the Sieur de Breves.' Many pilgrims, after having ſeen the ſepulchre of Mahomet, put out their eyes, as if all the reſt of the world were unworthy to be ſeen, after they have ſeen ſuch an object. I have read this in Brantome: the reader will not be diſpleaſed to know upon what occaſion he mentions it. ' The day being come, *ſays he* (175), ' that the embaſſadors of Poland (176), waited upon ' the queen of Navarre, ſhe appeared to them ſo beau- ' tiful, ſo magnificently adorned, and richly dreſſed, ' with ſo great majeſty and grace, that they were all ' confounded with the ſight of ſo great a beauty; and, ' among others, there was one Laſki, one of the chief ' of the embaſſy, whom I ſaw, at his withdrawing, ' ſo dazzled with the ſplendor of this beauty, that he ' ſaid, *I will ſee nothing after it: I could willingly do, ' as ſome Turkiſh pilgrims, when they come from Mecca, ' where the ſepulchre of their prophet Mahomet is, who ' are ſo glad, ſo tranſported, and raviſhed with the ſight ' of ſo fine and ſo ſtately a moſque, that they will never ſee ' any thing after it; and therefore they burn out their ' eyes with hot braſs plates, which deſtroy their ' ſight, ſaying, that, after this, there is nothing finer to ' be ſeen, and they will never ſee any thing more:* So ' ſaid this Polander of the admirable beauty of this ' princeſs.' Since the authority of Brantome may not be ſufficient, I ſhall cite two Maronites, who tell us (177): ' Hinc factum eſt ut multi hujus loci deſide- ' rio patriam conſanguineoſque reliquerint: plerique ' etiam tali inſania dementiaque capti fuerint, ut ſibi ' ſponte oculos eruerint, ne ſcilicet quicquam munda- ' num, ut inquiunt, viderent: reliquum vitæ curricu- ' lum ibi peregerint. - - - - *Hence it was, that many ' left their country and kindred for the ſake of this place; ' many alſo were ſo infatuated, that they pulled out their ' own eyes, that they might not, as they ſaid, behold any ' wordly object; and ſpent the reſt of their life there.*' This puts me in mind of a thought of Mr Ogier. In compoſing a funeral oration upon Philip IV, king of Spain (178), he employed *all the knowledge, that he had acquired by the exerciſe and ſtudy of many years, in the art of Rhetoric, and then reſolved, that after this work, he would never concern himſelf with eloquence, but follow the example of a lord in the Low-Countries, who, after he had entertained Charles V in one of his houſes, blew it up with gun-powder the next day, as judging that no man was worthy to be received into it after that incomparable prince* (179). I have not yet related all the honours that are paid to beaſts, out of reſpect to Mahomet. There are in the territory of Mecca an infinite number of pigeons: for becauſe they are thought to be the offſpring of that which came to the falſe prophet's ear, therefore it is accounted a great crime, not only

(170) Ricaut, ib. *lib. ii, cap. xxiii. pag. m.* 482.

(171) I have read, in the relation of the entry of Clement VIII into Ferrara, that the horſe, or mule, which ſerved for ſuch ceremonies was never put to work afterwards.

(172) Id. ib. *cap. xxvi.*

(173) La Mothe le Vayer, *Tom. viii, pag.* 364.

* Leo Africanus.

(174) *Spon, Voyage, Tom. ii, pag.* 16, *affirms*, That thoſe, who are born, when their mother was making a pilgrimage to Mecca, have the ſame privilege, of wearing the Green Turbant.

(175) Lives of Illuſtrious Ladies, in the diſcourſe of queen Margaret, *pag.* 205.

(176) Thoſe, who offered the crown to the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX.

(177) Gabriel Sionita, & Joha Heſronita, ubi infra, *pag.* 26.

(178) Journal des Sçavans, *Febr.* 22, 1666. *p. m.* 160, 161.

(179) Compare with this the paſſage of Terence, quoted in citation (11) of the article DIAGORAS, the wreſtler, and that of Pliny, quoted in citation (67), of the article HERCULES.

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grimages to the place of his nativity, and to that where his tomb is. It is not true, that this tomb hangs in the air [*EE*], as several writers, who transcribe one from another,

only to kill them, but even to take them, or put them to flight. *Summa columbarum copia invenitur, quæ quia sunt de genere atque stirpe ejus, quæ ad Mohammedis aures (ut Mosleman nuncupatur) accedebat, eo pollent privilegio atque authoritate, ut non solum eas occidere, sed aut capere aut fugare nefas esse existiment* (180). I have transcribed this passage, to shew, that there are famous writers, who affirm, that the Mussulmen mention this pigeon, which came to Mahomet's ear, of which the Arabic authors have said nothing, if we believe Dr Pocock (181). We must not forget the camel, which *carried Mahomet from Mecca, as far as Medina, to the door of the house of Jul, a famous Turkish captain, whom this Prophet had a mind to visit, without knowing the house, where this valiant man lived* (182). The Mahometans pretend, that this camel will rise again, and enjoy the happiness of Paradise (183). What shall we say of Mahomet's shirt? It is kept at Cairo in Egypt *and carried in procession, on certain days with great ceremony* (184).

But it is false, that the Mussulmen ever testified their veneration for Mahomet, by erecting statues to him; and therefore, what we read in the history of the *Holy War*, published by Father Mabillon, is an untruth (185). The author there speaks of a *statue* of Mahomet, *found in a mosque, which he calls the temple of Solomon.* He says (186), 'That Tancred 'found it seated on a very high throne, and that it 'was so heavy, that *six of the strongest men could 'hardly carry it, and that there must be ten at least to 'raise it up.* Tancred made a very pathetical harangue to this statue, and finding it to be Mahomet's, cries out, *It is this wicked Mahomet, who 'was the first Antichrist. If the Antichrist, that is to 'come, were now here with this, truly, I would quickly 'have crushed him under my feet.* Those who know 'any thing of the Mahometan sentiments, know very 'well, that they do not keep any images, neither 'in their mosques, nor in their houses.' It is a question, whether the Mussulmen invoke this false prophet, and believe that he is in Heaven: many ascribe such a belief to them (187). 'But there are none 'of their solemn prayers, which they do not directly 'address to GOD, to whom they pray even for Mahomet; and they maintain, that all souls, that of 'the prophet, as well as others, remain, till the 'day of judgment, in the tombs, where their bodies 'are buried . . . . (188). The soul of Mahomet is 'also shut up in his sepulchre; for he refused to go 'to Heaven, when GOD offered to receive him there, 'because he would not be without his faithful. This 'soul shall conduct, at the last day, all the Mahometan souls to heavenly glory. . . . . That you may 'see they pray to GOD for Mahomet, here follows 'the conclusion of one of their prayers: *O my* GOD, '*be propitious to Mahomet, and to the Mahometan people, as thou wast propitious to Abraham and his people, 'because they praise and glorify thee.*' If there be no better proofs, that Mahomet is not invoked by his followers, I would not deny but that he is; for I have mentioned (189) a form of prayer, which shews, that they invoke GOD for the same saints whom they invoke. As to their veneration for the Alcoran, see what Mr Pfeiffer says in the seventh volume of the *Bibliotheque* (190). They are so strongly attached to Mahometism, that scarce any can be converted from it to the Christian religion (191), and without doubt, there are many more Christians, that turn Mahometans, than Mahometans, who embrace the Gospel. The Pagans are more easy to be converted (192). The distinction, which Richardus the monk uses, appears to me to be vain; he says, That a Mahometan would more easily turn Christian at the point of death, than when he is in good health; and that a Christian would by no means embrace Mahometism at the hour of death; that therefore both of them are agreed, That the Mahometan religion is more convenient for living, and the Christian more safe for dying. *Christianus quidem nunquam in morte fieret Saracenus, sed in vita; Saracenus autem patius in morte fit Christianus, quam in vita: uterque igitur horum potius eligit Christianus mori, quam Saracenus* (193). This distinction is an advantage, of which the Roman-catholics and the Reformed equally boast. See the remark [*E*] of the article ABULPHARAGIUS.

But the truth is, excepting a few persons, every body wishes to die in that religion, in which he was educated. If any one quits it for some temporal advantage, that advantage is of no use to him, when he comes to die, and therefore he wishes to die in his first communion. A Mahometan is in the same case with others, if he abjures his faith for worldly considerations: for ignorance does the same thing in the heart of these Infidels, that knowledge does in the heart of an orthodox honest man; I mean, it makes them adhere invincibly to their opinions. But I must observe, by the way, that the Mahometan religion is not so destitute of apologists as is commonly believed: there are some Arabians, who have written in favour of the Alcoran, and against the Bible, with a skill sufficient to foment prejudices. Hottinger speaks of an author (194), who has laid open the apparent contradictions of the Bible, and pretends to prove the mission of Mahomet even from that book. We should be very simple, to think that a Turk, who examines this, finds it as groundless, as we do. He perceives no force in the objections against the Alcoran, but he sees much strength in the objections against the Christians: so great is the power of prejudice!

[*EE*] *It is not true, that his tomb hangs in the air.*] An infinite number of persons say, and believe, that Mahomet's tomb, being of iron, under a vault of load-stones, hangs in the air, and that this passes for a great miracle in the opinion of his followers: but it is a fable, which they laugh at, when they know, that the Christians relate it as a certain matter of fact (195). And if they had used any such trick, it is no more than what a king of Egypt formerly attempted to do; who had a design to procure the same advantage to the statue of his wife; but his own death, and that of the Architect, hindered him from putting it in execution. 'Magnete lapide 'Dinochares architectus Alexandriæ Arsinoës tem-'plum concamerare inchoaverat, ut in eo simulacrum 'ejus è ferro pendere in aëre videretur. Interceßit 'mors & ipsius & Ptolemæi, qui id sorori suæ jusserat 'fieri (196). - - - - *Dinochares the Architect, had begun to roof the temple of Arsinoe, at Alexandria, with 'load-stone, that her image made of iron might seem to 'hang there in the air. But the design was interrupted 'by his own death, and that of Ptolemy, who had or-'dered it to be done in honour of his sister.*' But if we believe Ausonius, this design was executed; for he speaks of it as of a thing that did actually exist; but because the Poets do not so narrowly consider things, let us rather believe what Pliny says.

Conditor hic forsan fuerit Ptolemaïdos aulæ
Dinochares: quadro cui in fastigia cono
Surgit, & ipsa suas consumit Pyramis umbras,
Jussus ob incesti qui quondam fœdus amoris
Arsinoen Pharii suspendit in aëre templi.
Spirat enim tecti testudine vera Magnetis,
Afflictamque trahit ferrato crine puellam (197).

He was, perhaps, Dinochares, by whose skill
The sumptuous court of Ptolemaïs rose;
To whom a pyramid erected stands,
And shoots aloft it's conic form in air:
Who, to immortalize a monarch's incest,
Suspended high in air, by wonderous art,
Arsinoe's statue, in the Pharian temple.
The force magnetic, acting from above,
Attracts the dam'sel by her iron hair.

St Augustin did not at all doubt, but that by human skill and industry such a thing had been produced. He does not name the place (198), but says only, that in a certain temple there was to be seen a statue hanging in the air, equally distant from the pavement and the roof, because the load-stone, which draws it upwards, and that which draws it downwards, have the same virtue. *Quamobrem si tot & tanta tamque mirifica,* says he, *quæ μεχανήματα appellant, Dei creatura utentibus humanis artibus fiunt, ut ea qui nesciunt, opinentur esse divina, unde factum est, ut in quodam templo lapidibus Magnetibus in solo & in camera proportione magnitudinis*

(182) Gabriel Sionita, & Joannes Hesronita, in Tractatu de nonnullis Orientalium urbibus, *cap. xxi, pag.* 21.

(181) *See, above, remark* [*U*].

(182) Chevreau, *ubi supra, p.* 14.

(183) Id. *ibi.*

(184) *See* la Mothe le Vayer, *Lettre xxvi, Tom. xii, pag.* 33. *He cites the Voyage of le Gouz.*

(185) *In the second Tome of the* Museum Italicum.

(186) *Cap. cxxxv. See the* Bibliotheque Universelle, *Tom. vii, pag.* 177.

(187) Bibliotheque Universelle, *Tom. x, pag.* 98, *in an abstract of a book published by Dr Barrow, intituled,* An Abridgment of the Faith and Religion of the Turks.

(188) Ib. *pag.* 100.

(189) *In the article* FATIMA, *remark* [*D*].

(190) Pag. 264.

(191) Experientia hactenus docuit, & quotidie etiam-num nostrates docet, in Indiæ Orientalis Moribus, regno Tumatano, &c. ab Ethnicismo plures posse converti, à Muhammetismo fere nullos aut paucissimos. *Gisb. Voet. Disp. Tom.* . *pag.* 668.

(192) *See the words of Voetius, which I have just now cited.*

(193) Richardus, *Confut. Legis Saracen. cap.* x, *apud* Eberhardum, *ubi supra, pag.* 218.

(194) *He is called,* Ahmed Abulabbas, Ben Edris, Sanhaghius, Melkita. *See Hotting. ubi supra, pag.* 337

(195) Unde igitur nobis *Mohammedes* ciftæ ferreæ inclusus & magnetum vi in aëre pendulus? Hæc cum Mohammedistis recitantur, risu explodantur, ut nostrorum in ipsorum rebus inscitiæ argumentum. *Pocockius, Specimen. Histor. Arabum, pag.* 180.

(196) Plin. *lib. xxxiv, cap. xiv, in fin. pag. m.* 150.

(197) Ausonius, *Edyllio X, de Mosella, ver.* 311.

(198) *Father Hardouin,* in Plin. ubi supra, *ought not to have affirmed, that St Augustin said this of a statue, which was in the temple of Serapis.*

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ther, have affirmed; neither is it very certain, that any Architect is capable of such a contrivance [*FF*]. There are several predictions extant, which have threatened Mahometism a long

magnitudinis positis, simulachrum ferreum aëris illius medio inter utrumque lapidem, ignorantibus quid sursum esset ac deorsum, quasi numinis potestate penderet . . . . . Quanto magis Deus potens est facere, &c (199)? He observes, that the people, who did not know the cause of this effect, attributed it to the power of GOD. It is probable that the temple, which St Augustin does not name, was that of Serapis at Alexandria; for Ruffinus gives us the following account of the cheats, which were discovered in that temple, when the Christians were masters of it: 'Erat aliud fraudis genus 'hujusmodi, natura lapidis magnetis hujus virtutis 'esse perhibetur, ut ad se rapiat & attrahat ferrum. 'Signum solis ad hoc ipsum ex ferro subtilissima manu 'artificis fuerat fabricatum, ut lapis, cujus naturam 'ferrum ad se trahere diximus, desuper, in laquearibus fixus cum temperate sub ipso radio ad libram 'fuisset positum simulacrum, & vi naturali ad se raperet ferrum, assurrexisse populo simulacrum, & in 'aëre pendere videretur (200). - - - - *There was 'another cheat of this kind: the load-stone is said to 'attract iron. An image of the sun was curiously wrought 'in iron, for this purpose, that the stone, whose nature, 'as we observed, it is to attract iron, being fixed in the 'roof, might draw the iron towards it, and so the 'image might seem to the people to rise up, and hang in 'the air.*' Prosper relates the same thing with a circumstance, which Ruffinus does not mention: he says, that a good servant of GOD, having learned by inspiration wherein the artifice consisted, took away the load-stone from the roof, and immediately the statue fell, and was broken in a thousand pieces. 'Apud Alexandriam in templo Serapidis hoc argu'mentum dæmonis fuit, quadriga ferrea nulla basi 'fussulta, nullis uncis infixis parietibus colligata, in 'aëre pendens cunctis stuporem ac velut divinum subsidium oculis mortalium exhibebat, quum tamen 'lapis magnes, qui ferrum sibimet attributum suspendit, eo loco cameræ affixus totam illam machinam 'sustentabat. Itaque cum quidam Dei servus inspiratus id intellexisset, magnetem lapidem è camera 'subtraxit, statimque omne illud ostentum cadens confractum comminutumque ostendit divinum non esse, 'quod mortalis homo firmaverit (201). - - - - *At 'Alexandria, in the temple of Serapis, the devil made 'use of this argument: an iron chariot, supported by no 'pedestal, nor fixed to the wall by any hooks, hung in 'the air, exhibiting to the spectators a miraculous and 'astonishing appearance; whereas a load-stone, which 'attracts iron, being fixed in that part of the roof, supported the whole machine. But a certain servant of 'GOD, discovering it by inspiration, privately took 'away the load-stone; and immediately the whole prodigy 'falling down, and being broken to pieces, shewed that 'it was not divine, but the contrivance of a meer 'man.*' If we may believe Cassiodorus (202), there was in the temple of Diana a Cupid of iron thus suspended. The anonymous author of the Annals of Triers, cites a letter of Galba Victor, written to the sophist Licinius, wherein this Galba acquaints him, That he saw at Triers a statue of Mercury, made of iron, and very heavy, which continued hanging between heaven and earth, by reason of the equal forces which drew it upward and downward (203). There was a piece of a load-stone in the floor, and another in the roof, and this statue was placed just in the middle above and below these two pieces of load-stone. I can scarce believe these things, both on account of the considerable distance, which, they say, was between the statues of iron, and the stones, which attracted them; and, on account of the insuperable difficulties, they must meet with, to balance so exactly the attractions (204). I should rather believe what was said of a statue of Mars, which joined itself to a Venus of load-stone:

. . . . . ferrea Martis
Forma nitet, Venerem magnetica gemma figurat (205).
. . . . . .
. . . . . Cytherea maritum
Sponte rapit, cœlique toros imitata priores,
Pectora lasciva flatu Mavortia nectit,
Et tantum suspendit onus, galeæque lacertos
Implicat, & vivis totum complexibus ambit.
Ille lacessitus longo spiraminis actu
Arcanis trahitur gemmâ de conjuge nodis (206).

The god of war in burnish'd iron stone;
A magnet put the form of Venus on.
. . . . . .
The Cyprian goddess, by magnetic laws,
Her consort of obsequious metal draws.
The mimic statues counterfeit embrace,
And twine, and kiss, like those of heav'nly race.

But this at least is very certain, that the sepulchre of Mahomet ought not to be reckoned amongst these wonders. This false prophet was buried at Medina, where he died. Some authors say, that he was laid in the tomb of Aaisca (207), one of his wives, who loved him best, whom the Mussulmen call *the mother of the believers*, or, *the mother of the faithful*, one who understood the languages, and studied history with great application (208). This tomb is an urn of stone, placed in a chapel, which no one can enter, because it is compassed about with bars of iron. The pilgrims of Mecca go thither with extream devotion, and kiss these bars religiously. This is what you will find in a little book *de nonnullis Orientalium Urbibus*, written by Gabriel Sionita and John Hesronita, and placed at the end of the *Geographia Nubiensis*, of which they published a Latin translation at Paris in 1619. See also the dissertation of Samuel Andreas, *de Sepulchro Muhammedis*. We shall see, in the following remark, what Mr Bernier says of this false story of the suspension of the tomb.

I cannot leave this subject, without relating a very ridiculous story, which I have read in the Travels of Monconys. 'The Oia of the embassador said, that 'there was a stone at Mecca, hanging in the air, 'since Mahomet stept upon it to mount the *Bouraque*, 'which, according to the Alcoran, is an animal less 'than a mule, and larger than an ass, that GOD had 'sent to carry him up to Heaven. When the stone 'saw him going up, it followed him; but he perceiving it, caused it to stop, and it continued in that 'place of the air, where it then was. Others say, 'that some women, big with child, having since passed 'under it, did miscarry, out of fear it should fall upon 'them, and that some stones are put under it to support it; but that they are of no use, and that without them it would nevertheless continue suspended in 'the air (209).'

[*FF*] *It is not very certain, that any Architect is capable of such a contrivance.*] I can cite, upon this head, an authority, which is not to be despised, and that is the opinion of one of the best disciples of the famous Gassendus, which he makes in these words (210): 'I shall say nothing of the pretended suspension of the 'iron sepulchre of Mahomet at Mecca, between load'stones of equal force, and disposed, as it were, in a 'kind of vault; which has been formerly said of the 'iron horse of Bellerophon; for it is a thing that exceeds all human skill, either that several loadstones 'should be of the same force, or applied in such a manner, that the iron in the middle shall not feel more 'virtue on one side than on the other; or that the iron 'should in all it's parts be of that shape, thickness, and 'temperature, which is necessary, that it may be equally 'attracted throughout: and yet it is evident, that the 'least difference, whether in the loadstone or the iron, 'or in the situation of them, would make the force 'of one prevail above that of the other. I might add, 'as having been more than a month at Gidda upon 'the Red-Sea, a small day's journey from Mecca, that 'Mahomet's sepulchre was never at Mecca, but that 'it is at Medina, which is about six or seven days 'journey from thence, and in those parts they never 'heard any thing of this vault of loadstones, or of 'this suspension.' Mr Vallemont maintains the possibility of the suspension of a tomb of iron. Let us see

(199) Augustin. *de Civit. Dei, lib. xxi, cap. vi.*

(200) Ruffin. *lib. ii, Histor. Eccles. cap. xxiii, apud Coquæum, Notis in August. de Civ. Dei, ubi supra, pag. m. 961.*

(201) Prosper, *de Prædict. Part. iii, cap. xxxviii, apud eundem Coquæum, ibid.*

(202) Cassiodor. *Var. lib. i, Ep. xlv. p. m. 45.*

(203) *See Ausonius*, Variorum *published by Tollius, pag. 403.*

(204) *See Gassendus*, Oper. Tom. ii, pag. 334, who mentions the horse of Bellerophon, of which they told the same story, as of the sepulchre of Mahomet; but he rejects it all.

(205) Claudian. *de Magnete, ver. 25.*

(206) Id. ib. ver. 31.

(207) Gabr. Sionita, & Jo. Esronita, *ubi infra, pag. 25. See the remark* [00], *where we criticise this place.*

(208) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Esronita, *de Nonnullis Orient. Urbibus, pag. 23.*

(209) *The travels of Monconys, Part i, in 4to, pag. 464, 465, ad ann.* 1648.

(210) *Bernier's Abridgment of the Philosophy of Gassendus, Tom. v, p. 322, 323.*

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a long while [GG]: and it is said, That Mahomet, being asked, how long his religion

(211) *Vallemont's Description of the Loadstone, found at Chartres, pag.* 167.

see his proofs (211): 'Father Cabeus says, that 'he placed one day two loadstones above one another, and distant about four fingers, then taking a 'needle by the middle with his two fingers, he gently 'carried it between the loadstones, endeavouring to 'find out the middle, where the needle not being more 'attracted by the one loadstone than by the other, 'should remain suspended in the air without being supported by any thing. It requires some time, and a 'great deal of skill, to find out exactly this point, 'and to place the needle there without falling, which 'will happen by the least agitation of the air. At 'last, Cabeus was successful in this experiment: the 'needle remained in the air, between the two loadstones, without touching any thing; and this pleasing spectacle continued as long as one might repeat 'four long verses: but upon his rising to call some 'of his friends, the motion of the air broke, as we 'may say this innocent charm. Wherefore this philosopher does not scruple to assert, that by this 'means an iron coffin may be suspended in the middle 'of the air, in a chamber, whose walls are inlaid 'with loadstones. *Testor me id feciſſe. Potuiſſet etiam 'arca ferrea fieri, & in cubiculo Magnete lapide pa'rietato ita diſponi in medio aëre, ut penderet.* Cabeus 'lib. iv, cap. xviii, pag. 334, & 335. This Jesuit 'says this, upon occasion of what is so often said, 'that the followers of the impious Mahomet have 'placed his body in a coffin of iron, which is suspend'ed in the air by loadstones: but he does not at all 'doubt, but that it is a fable, as indeed it is.' Mr Vallemont relates afterwards the last words of the passage of Mr Bernier, which has been quoted above; and he blames him for affirming, that it is a thing that surpasses all humane skill. 'Reason, continues he (212), 'might evidently prove the contrary; and the expe'riment of Father Cabeus decides the matter against 'Mr Bernier.' I will venture to say, that this experiment decides it rather in his favour; for it requires *much patience and skill*, and produces nothing that is lasting, and yet it is only about a small needle. By this you may judge of the difficulties, that must be overcome, to suspend an iron coffin between two loadstones. Dr Prideaux is of the same opinion with Mr Vallemont; for after he has said, that the body of Mahomet was buried at Medina (213), and remains there *to this day*, without an *iron coffin*, and *without any loadstones*, he adds these words: 'I do not pretend to 'deny the possibility of the thing; I know, that Di'nocrates *, a famous Architect, built formerly of 'loadstones the dome of the temple of Arsinoe at 'Alexandria; and by this means, the image of the 'princess, made wholly of iron, was suspended in the 'middle of her temple, without any thing to support 'it: But nothing like it was ever attempted in favour 'of Mahomet's dead body.' See above (214) what concerns the statue of Arsinoe.

(212) Id. ib. pag. 170.

(213) *Prideaux, in the Life of Mahomet, pag.* 134.

* Plin. lib. xxxiv, cap. xiv.

(214) *Citation* (196).

[GG] *There are several predictions extant, which have threatened Mahometism a long while.*] Bibliander (215) affirms, that there is a famous prophecy among the Mahometans, which strikes a great terror both into men and women, and which says, That the empire shall be destroyed by the sword of the Christians. The prophecy is expressed in the following words, which are translated out of Persian into Latin by Georgievitz (216). 'Imperator noster veniet, Gentilium Regnum capiet, 'rubrum malum capiet, subjugabit septem usque ad 'annos; Ethnicorum gladius si non resurrexerit, duo'decim usque ad annos in eos dominabitur, domum 'ædificabit, vineam plantabit, hortos sepe muniet, 'filium & filiam habebit: duodecim post annos Chri'stianorum gladius insurget, qui & Turcam retrorsùm 'profligabit. - - - - *Our emperor shall come, shall take the kingdom of the Gentiles, shall take the red apple, shall subdue it even unto seven years; if the sword of the Gentiles shall not rise again, he shall reign over them twelve years, shall build a house, shall plant a vineyard, shall enclose gardens with a hedge, shall have a son and a daughter: after twelve years the sword of the Christians shall rise up, which shall beat back the Turk.* Sanſovin (217) published a book in 1570, wherein he affirms, That there is a prediction, That the laws of Mahomet shall last no longer than a thousand years, and that the empire of the Turks shall fall under the fifteenth sultan (218). He adds, That Leo the Philosopher, emperor of Constantinople, has said, in one of his books, 'That a light-haired family, with its 'competitors, shall put all Mahometism to flight, and 'shall seize him, who is possessed of the seven moun'tains': *Familia flava cum competitoribus totum Iſmaelem in fugam conjiciet, ſeptemque colles poſſidentem cum ejus poſſeſſionibus capiet.* The same emperor makes mention of a column, which was at Constantinople, whose inscriptions the patriarch of the place explained, and said, that they signified, That the Venetians and Muscovites shall take the city of Constantinople; and, after some disputes, they shall chuse, with one consent, and crown a Christian emperor (219). This light-haired family, so fatal to the Mussulmen, puts me in mind of a passage of Dr Spon, which I shall set down. 'Of all the Christian princes, there is none, whom 'the Turk fears so much as the great Czar of 'Moscovy. . . . . And I have heard some Greeks say, 'and, among the rest, the Sieur Manno-Mannea, a 'merchant of the city of Arta, a man of wit and 'learning for that country, that there was a pro'phecy among them, which imported, That the em'pire of the Turks was to be destroyed by a nation '*Chryſogenos*, that is, light-haired; which cannot be 'attributed to any but the Muscovites, who are almost 'all light-haired (220).' There is mention made of this, in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets* (221), on occasion of I know not what tradition, which is current, That the Fates have promised the French the glory of destroying the Turks (222). See the remark [F] of the article MARESTS (JOHN DES). The prophecy of the Abyssines mentions only a Christian king, who shall be born in the north. Mentionem facit (Duret. Hist. des Langues, fol. 575, cujusdam Prophetiæ, quam magni æstimant Abyssini; '*quòd nempè, aliquando Mecha, Medina, aliæque 'fælicis Arabiæ urbes, deſtruentur, Mahometique & 'ejus ſimmyſtarum cineres diſſipabuntur; hæcque omnia 'facturus ſit Rex aliquis Chriſtianus, in regionibus ſep'tentrionalibus natus; qui pariter Ægyptum & Palæſti'nam ſit occupaturus* (223). - - - - - *Duret, in his history 'of Languages, fol.* 575, *mentions a certain prophecy, 'which the Abyſſins greatly eſteem; namely*, That Mecca, 'Medina, and the other cities of Arabia Felix, shall 'hereafter be destroyed, and the ashes of Mahomet, 'and his priests be dissipated; and that some Chri'stian prince, born in the northern regions, shall per'form all this, who shall also seize on Egypt and 'Palestine'. It is pretended, that a book was written in Arabic concerning this prophecy, before the taking of Damieta, and that this book was found by the Christians (224). Wallichius (225) relates, That the Turks find in their annals, That the reign of Mahomet shall continue until the arrival of the light-haired boys; *donec veniant* figlivoli biondi, *i. e. flavi & albi filii, vel filii ex Septentrione flavis & albis capillis.* Some think, that this denotes the Swedes; but Antony Torquato, a famous Astrologer, applies it to the king of Hungary (226). I shall say nothing of the prophecy, which was current in the time of the empress Theodora, That the destruction of the Saracens should be the work of the Macedonians; which was the cause, why the emperor Monomachus raised some troops in Macedonia, and sent them into the Levant (227). The event did not confirm this prophecy, nor the commentary upon the predictions of the emperor Severus, and upon those of the emperor Leo, printed at Francfort, with figures, in 1597. This commentary promised, That the Ottoman empire should be destroyed under the sultan Mahomet III (228). The commentary of Philip Nicolai upon the Apocalypse was not more successful; this Lutheran minister had foretold by virtue of some words of St John, That the Turkish empire should fall in 1670 (229). Wolfius has inserted, in his *Lectiones Memorabiles* (230), a piece which is intituled, *Diſcurſus de futura & ſperata victoria contra Turcam, è ſacris prophetiis, aliiſque vaticiniis, prodigiis, & prognoſticis depromptus, ac nuviter in lucem datus per Joannem Baptiſtam Nazarum Brixienſem.* It was printed in 1570. The author examines several prophetical passages of Scripture; and he finds, by the manner in which he applies them, and by calculating the numeral letters, that they signify the ruin of the Turks, and by that means an universal peace in the year 1572, or 1575. The other oracles, which he consults,

(215) De Ratione communi omnium linguarum, apud Beſoldum conſider. lepis & fœdus Saracenorum, pag. 47.

(216) Apud Beſoldum, pag. 47.

(217) *See Wolfius, Lect. Memorab. Tom. ii, pag.* 803.

(218) *Selim II, who reigned at that time.*

(219) Wolfius, *ibid.*

(220) *Spon's Travels, Tom. i, pag.* 270, *of the Holland edition.*

(221) Pag. 783.

(222) *See ſeveral authorities as to this matter, in the* Thoughts upon Comets, *pag.* 781.

(223) Beſoldus, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 48.

(224) *See Hotting.* in Theſauro Philologico.

(225) In Vita Mahometis, *pag.* 158. apud Schulteturn, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 22.

(226) Apud Leunclavium, *in ſuo Epiſt. fol.* 844, citante Schulteto, *ibid. See the article* TORQUATO (ANTONY).

(227) Cedrenus, *pag.* 9515, apud Schultet. *ibid.*

(228) Schultet. *ibid.*

(229) Schultet. *pag.* 21.

(230) *Tom. ii, p.* 884, & *ſeq.*

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gion would continue? ſhewed his fingers extended; which, as is thought, ſignified, That it would laſt a thouſand years, and ſo would have an end in 1639 (*m*). I do not enquire, whether the calculation is exact, neither do I concern my ſelf to refute ſuch things: but I ought to ſay, in behalf of Chriſtian authors, That the followers of this impoſtor,

(*m*) *See* Andreas Carolus, *at pag.* 953, *of the* Memorabilia Eccleſ. ſeculi XVII.

conſults, are certain prophetic authors, the ſigns that have appeared in Heaven, and the conſtellations; from all theſe he concludes, that the Turkiſh empire, and all Mahometiſm, draws near its final period; that they cannot eſcape; and that the Golden Age is juſt at hand, which ſhall eſtabliſh an univerſal peace upon earth. Beſoldus is admirable (231), he mentions both this treatiſe of Nazarus, and another (232), which was written in 1480, and printed at Paris about the year 1520. In it the Chriſtians were promiſed an hundred noble triumphs, which have proved meer chimera's; and yet he avers, that the final period of Mahometiſm draws near, which he founds upon this obſervation, That the Sciences do not now flouriſh there as they have done formerly. *Hæcque omnia, licet vana & fanatica multis videantur, ac etiam ratione temporis vel loci falli poſſint; certum tamen multi habent, adpropinquare quoque Saracenicæ legis ruinam. Nam ſanè jam diù eſt, quod diſciplina & eruditio ab eadem receſſit* (233). The Sieur Konig informs us, that Mr Baſire, chaplain to Charles I, king of England, declared, as he paſſed by Leipſic, when he was going to London, after the reſtauration of Charles II, that, according to the Apocalypſe, there would quickly be a war againſt the Turks: that we were now in the time of the ſixth vial: That the Turks would be very ſucceſsful in this war, and that they would attack the city of Rome; and that, after this victory, their empire would decline, and fall away; and that the wiſe men of that nation were of that opinion (234). There was a book printed at Paris in 1686, in which are inſerted many prophecies of things fatal to the oriental nations (235), which were given out by the abbot Joachim, by St Nerſes patriarch of the Armenians, by St Catalius biſhop of Trent (236), by St Angelus a carmelite, and by Berobius (237) of Patras. The author, pretending, that theſe oracles concern the moſt Chriſtian king, and exhort him to make war with the Ottomans. I ſhall not here repeat what I have ſaid in another place (238), to which the reader may have recourſe: I ſhall only ſay, that, among ſo many prophets, who have all pronounced *wo, wo,* againſt the Mohometan empire, there are ſome who have promiſed it great bleſſings. The Aſtronomers of Toledo publiſhed, in the XIIIth century, a prediction, that, within ſeven years, there ſhould ariſe diſputes among the Saracens, and that they would abandon their religion, and embrace the Goſpel. A Divine of Franeker (239) repreſented to Comenius, the falſhood of that oracle, by citing to him a Theſis, wherein Samuel Mareſius had ſaid, That it would be eaſy to prove by Scripture, that the Turks and Tartars ſhall not be converted, but that they ſhall join with the remains of Anti-chriſt, and endeavour to deſtroy Chriſtianity: that God, by his miracles, ſhall hinder them, and that they ſhall all be intirely ruined, at the ſecond coming of JESUS CHRIST. Mareſius was not to oppoſe the account of the Millennaries; they pretend, that the Turks ſhall be converted. Let us relate what concerns the Aſtronomers of Toledo. ‘ Ac ‘ prout eventu caruit illa Aſtronomorum Toletanorum ‘ prædictio ante 400 annos edita, quæ ex Wendovero ‘ refertur in *Additamentis Matthæi Pariſienſis, ex edit. Londinenſi anni* 1632. & juxta quam intra ſeptennium ‘ ab edito illo Oraculo oritura erat *dubietas inter Saracenos,* & erant reliqui *Mahumerias ſuas,* & futuri ‘ *unum cum Chriſtianis*; ita non debemus nos facile ‘ lactare novâ ſpe converſionis Turcarum, quæ nuſquam ‘ in Dei Verbo promiſſa eſt (240). ---- *And, as that* ‘ *prediction of the Aſtronomers of Toledo has not been fulfilled, which was publiſhed four hundred years ago, as* ‘ *cited from Wendover, in the ſupplement of Matthew* ‘ *Paris, edit. Lond.* 1632, *and, according to which,* ‘ *within ſeven years after the publication to that pro-* ‘ *phecy, there were to ariſe among the Saracens doubts* ‘ *concerning their religion, and they were to quit their* ‘ *Mahometiſm, and become one with the Chriſtians; ſo* ‘ *we ought not to deceive our ſelves with a new hope of* ‘ *converting the Turks, which is no where promiſed in* ‘ *the word of* GOD’. There are alſo ſome, who foretel, That the Turks ſhall make great conqueſts; that they ſhall make inrodes as far as Flanders and Picardy. Read what I am going to tranſcribe. I have put in the margin the quotations of the author, without altering any thing in them. ‘ Quam (*ſenectutem imperii Turcici*) etiamſi nondum agnoſcant plurimi ‘ Gogiticam priùs expectantes irruptionem, vel militiæ ‘ Turcicæ Coloniam uſque † deductionem, tùm Picardiæ, Flandriæ & Brabantiæ ‡, imò omnium ‘ omninò regionum ‡ per Turcas, præceſſuras incurſiones; nos tamen de Turcicâ ſenectute præſenti non ‘ *vaticinia* tantùm, ſed *alia* etiam *indicia* reddunt certiſſimos (241). ---- *Though many do not acknowledge* ‘ *this decline of the Turkiſh empire, expecting firſt an* ‘ *irruption, or rather leading of the Turkiſh forces as far* ‘ *as Cologn, and their over-running Picardy, Flanders,* ‘ *Brabant, and almoſt all countries; yet not only pro-* ‘ *phecies, but manifeſt tokens, confirm me in the opinion* ‘ *of the preſent decay of the Turkiſh power.*’ You will find a ſupplement to all this in the remark [*B*] of the article TORQUATO (ANTONY).

If we ſhould aſcribe all theſe prophetical threatnings to one cauſe only, we ſhould be miſtaken. The deſire ſome have to comfort themſelves with the hopes of the deſtruction of a furious perſecutor, makes them eaſily find this deſtruction in the predictions of Scripture, or in ſome other things. Thus, there are ſome who foretel through credulity and illuſion. The deſire of comforting people, and diſſipating their fears, obliges ſome to ſuppoſe, that the Scripture, prodigies, and many other prognoſtics, promiſe the approaching ruin of the power, which they fear. Thus there are ſome, who foretel things out of policy. Thoſe, who do it in order to render their troops more courageous, are prophets of the ſame kind. There are ſome, who prophecy, in order to ſtir up ſedition in an enemy's country; for inſtance, to encourage the Greeks, who acknowledge the Grand-Seignor for their prince, to take arms againſt their maſter. Theſe belong to another claſs, and may be called prophets of ſedition. You may place in what claſs you pleaſe, I care not which, the Pagans mentioned by St Auguſtin, who vented a prophecy, according to which Chriſtianity was to be deſtroyed, after it had laſted 365 years. ‘ Excogitaverunt neſcio quos verſus Græcos, ‘ tanquam conſulenti cuidam divino oraculo effuſos, ‘ ubi Chriſtum quidem ab hujus tanquam ſacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem: Petrum autem maleficia ‘ feciſſe ſubjungunt, ut coleretur Chriſti nomen per ‘ 365 annos: deinde completo memorato numero annorum, ſine mora ſumeret finem (242). ----- *They* ‘ *invented I know not what Greek verſes, in the manner* ‘ *of an oracle, or prophecy, in which they clear* CHRIST ‘ *from this crime of ſacrilege as it were: but they ſub-* ‘ *join, that Peter procured by wicked arts, that the name* ‘ *of* CHRIST *ſhould be worſhiped* 365 *years; which* ‘ *term of years being completed, it was immediately to* ‘ *have an end.*’ St Auguſtin found, that, reckoning theſe 365 years from the reſurrection of JESUS CHRIST, they expired a year before Paganiſm received as it were its mortal blow, by the deſtruction of its temples. ‘ Sequenti anno, conſule Manlio Theodoro, quando jam ſecundùm illud oraculum dæmonum aut figmentum hominum, nulla eſſe debuit ‘ religio Chriſtiana, quid per alias terrarum partes ‘ forſitan factum ſit, non fuit neceſſe perquirere. Interim quod ſcimus, in civitate notiſſima & eminentiſſima Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius & Jovius ‘ comites Imperatoris Honorii, quarto decimo calendas ‘ Aprilis Falſorum Deorum templa everterunt, & ſimulachra fregerunt (243). ---- *In the following year,* ‘ *Manlius Theodorus being conſul, when, according to* ‘ *that oracle of devils, or forgery of men, the Chriſtian* ‘ *religion was to be no more, what perhaps was done in* ‘ *other parts of the world, it was not neceſſary to enquire.* ‘ *In Carthage, the moſt famous city of Afric, we are* ‘ *aſſured, that Gaudentius and Jovius, under the em-* ‘ *peror Honorius, overthrew the temples of the falſe* ‘ *gods, and broke down the images.*’ St Auguſtin obſerves, that ſeveral Pagans were converted, by the reflexions they made upon the falſhood of this oracle. As to the motives of thoſe, who publiſhed it, ſee what I quote out of Baronius. ‘ Tanta gloria ejus (Chriſti) Eccleſia

† *Methodus apud Wolf. Rer. Memor. Tom. ii, ann.* 1571.

‡ *Claromontamus, apud. Wolf. lib. i.*

‡ *Secundùm Prophetiam Hebræam à Bemebo Patarenſi Epiſcopo in Latinum tranſlatam.* Note, that in Wolfius, pag. m. 886, this author is called *Bemechobus.*

(231) *Ubi ſupra, pag.* 48.

(232) De futuris Chriſtianorum triumphis in Saracenos. *The author is called* Magiſter Joannes Viterbienſis.

(233) Beſoldus, *ubi ſupra.*

(234) Konig, *Bibliotb. Vet. & Nov. pag.* 90. *ex Epiſtola Lipſiæ ſcripta die,* 24 *Aug.* 1661.

(235) *See the Journal of Leipſic for the month of February,* 1688, *pag.* 81. *in the abſtract of the* Theatre de la Turquie, par le Sieur Michel le Fevre.

(236) S. Catalii Epiſcopi Tridentini, Act. Lipſ. *ibid. He ſhould have ſaid,* S. Cataldi Epiſcopi Tarentini.

(237) *I believe it is the ſame with Bemechobus, in one of the following citations.*

(238) *In the article* HERLICIUS, *remark* [*F*].

(239) Nicolaus Arnoldus, in Diſcurſ. Theolog. contra Comenium, *printed at Franeker, in* 1660.

(240) Mareſius, Diſp. iii, Th. 28, apud Arnoldum, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 91, 92.

(241) Schultetus, *ubi ſupra, p.* 21.

THE origin of the prophetical threatenings againſt the Turks.

(242) Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, cap. liii. *See the biſhop of Meaux's Explication of the Apocalypſe, cap. xix, pag.* 231, *of the Dutch edition.*

(243) Item, Auguſt. *ibid. cap. liv.*

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impoſtor, have publiſhed the moſt ridiculous fables about him; for they are the perſons, who inform us, that rice and roſes ſprung out of his ſweat [*HH*]; and that the angel Gabriel taught him the compoſition of a ragoo, which gave him great vigour for the enjoyment of women [*II*]. For the reſt, the religion of this falſe teacher was ſubject

(244) Baronius, ad ann. 313, num. xvii, pag. m. 130.

' Eccleſia auctа . . . . accidit ut Gentiles, qui viderent ' Eccleſiam Chriſtianam tanta gloria auctam, adeoque ' immenſa claritudine illuſtratam, invidia tabeſcentes, ' quo ſolatio aliquo lenirent de Chriſtianorum gaudio ' & incrementis conceptum mœrorem & amicorum acer- ' bitatem, novum oraculum confinxerunt, atque ore ' omnium diffamarunt Græcis quibuſdam verſibus præ- ' cinentes Chriſtianam religionem 365 annis duratu- ' ram, quorum 313 jam prope elapſi eſſent (244). --- ' *The glory of* CHRIST's *church being ſo greatly in-* ' *creaſed, it happened that the Gentiles, who were wit-* ' *neſſes of the flouriſhing ſtate of the Chriſtian church, to* ' *comfort themſelves in ſome meaſure for its proſperity,* ' *which they beheld with grief and envy, forged a new* ' *prophecy, ſpreading it abroad in certain Greek verſes,* ' *which foretold, that the Chriſtian religion ſhould con-* ' *tinue* 365 *years, of which* 313 *were then almoſt* ' *elapſed.*'

Some of thoſe, who have promiſed great conqueſts to the Turks, have been gradually determined to it by the hatred they conceived againſt the houſe of Auſtria; whether it be that that hatred rendered them really fanatics, or that they only pretended to viſions. But others have only followed the ſyſtem, which they had made upon the prophecies of the Apocalyſe, Gog and Magog, &c. Two things were lately told me: I. That a famous miniſter in Amſterdam had preached, during the ſiege of Vienna in 1683, That the Turks would take that city; which prediction he grounded upon ſome paſſages of Scripture. II. That the raiſing of this ſiege did ſo affect him with grief, that he died of it: not that he wiſhed, as Drabicius did, that the Turks ſhould make great progreſs in Germany; but he was vexed to be miſtaken. However, we may conclude, That thoſe, who attempt to reveal future things concerning the Great Turk, have miſtaken the times; for when they threatned him with ruin, he triumphed; when they promiſed him conqueſts, he loſt battles and provinces, as he has done ſince the year 1683 (245). But we may obſerve, that, even in the time of Drabicius, there were ſome people in Holland, who promiſed, that the Turk ſhould be deſtroyed. There were two pieces of a very different nature publiſhed at Leyden in 1664. The title of the firſt was, *de Tartarorum irruptione ſuccincta Diſſertatio* (246); the other, *Paræneſis ad Chriſtianos, ſuggerens conſilium ad eos liberandos, & opprimendos Turcas.* In the firſt, Holland is threatned with irruptions of the Tartars, unleſs it furniſhed great ſums of money for levying the troops, that were neceſſary to the war againſt the Turks. In the other, the conqueſt of the Turkiſh empire is promiſed, provided great levies were made of men and money; and the manner of dividing this conqueſt is deſcribed.

(245) *See the article* KOPTE-BUS, *remarks* [*A*] *and* [*G*].

(246) *The Dutch verſion is in the oppoſite page.*

[*HH*] *That rice and roſes ſprung out of his ſweat.*] Here are the words of two learned Maronites (247). *Ineptè Mohamedis ſequaces confabulantur, ortam eſſe* (orizam) *ex ipſius Mohamedis ſudore antequam mundo ſe manifeſtaret, mundum infeſtaret penè dixerim, cùm thronum Dei circuibat in paradiſo: Deus enim converſus reſpexit eum, Mohamedes præ pudore ſudavit, tergenſque digito ſudorem, ſex extra paradiſum guttas miſit, ex quarum una roſa, ex altera oriza productæ ſunt, ex reliquis quatuor, quatuor Mohamedis ſocii nati ſunt.* This ſurpaſſes the abſurdeſt viſions of legendary Chriſtians. Mahomet, ſay they, walked round the throne of GOD in paradiſe, before he ſhewed himſelf to men. GOD turned towards him, and looked upon him: Mahomet was ſo aſhamed, that he ſweat; and having wiped off the ſweat with his fingers, he let fall ſix drops out of paradiſe, one of which produced a roſe, and another a grain of rice; from the other four drops ſprung the four companions of Mahomet. ' What think you, ' Sir, of the idle fancy of the Arabians, (theſe are ' the words of Balzac) who took the roſe away from ' the goddeſs Venus, to give it to the prophet Maho- ' met; and who maintain, (as Buſbequius ſays in his ' relations), That the firſt roſes did ſpring out of the ' ſweat of this great prophet? Do you not admire ' their Chronology, that will not allow there were ' any roſes in the world, before the reign of Hera- ' clius?' (248)

(247) Gabriel Sionita, & Jo. Hefronita, de Nemmalis Oriental. Urbibus, *pag.* 5.

[*II*] [*The angel Gabriel taught him the compoſition of a ragoo, which gave him great vigour for the enjoyment of women.*] He boaſted, That he had learned from the angel Gabriel, that the virtue of this ragoo (249) was to fortify the reins. Having eat once of it, by the order of the angel, he had ſufficient ſtrength to fight againſt forty men: Upon another occaſion, he had to do with women forty times, without being fatigued (250). *Mohamedes . . . . . affirmabat . . . . . hoc pulmentum à Gabriele Angelo ſe ediſtum fuiſſe, & utilitatem ejus, eodem Angelo teſte, in eo conſiſtere, ut renes corroboret. Quandoque Angeli juſſu Mohamedes ex eo edens una nocte pugnavit adverſus quadraginta viros, aliaſque quadragies indefatigatus rem cum fœminis habuit. Sanè hæc, annum delirantium fabellas aut alicujus Moſlemanicæ ſectæ oſoris calumnias eſſe opinaremur, niſi præfatum authorem* (251) *juris peritiſſimum eumdemque obſequentiſſimum Mohamedis ſectatorem ea omnia diſertè Arabico ſtylo, capite de quorundam ciborum delectu & utilitate, videremus referentem.* We have here a grave author among the Mahometans, who relates theſe infamous things of his Prophet; and therefore we muſt not ſuſpect, that the Chriſtians or Jews have invented theſe tales, on purpoſe to blacken this impoſtor; and ſo, though we do not read in the Alcoran, that the pleaſures of the conjunction between the two ſexes, ſhall laſt each time ſixty entire years, we for all that may believe, that this is a Mahometan tradition. But that every one may the better judge of this, we muſt produce a paſſage, which informs us, that Dr Pocock, ſo well verſed in Mahometan authors, ſays nothing of this tradition. Here is a note of Beſpier upon what Sir Paul Ricaut ſays (252), that the falſe prophet promiſed a Paradiſe, wherein there ſhould be fine women, the enjoyment of whom would give *exceſſive pleaſures, ... and which would laſt ſixty entire years without diſcontinuance.* ' (253) The Alcoran no where ' ſpeaks of the duration of theſe pleaſures. Baudier ' makes no ſcruple to extend it to *fifty years, pag.* 661 ' of his Hiſtory of the Religion of the Turks. This ' is what he has taken out of Vigenere, *pag.* 208, ' of his Illuſtrations upon Chalcondylas, and what ' both of them have taken out of John Andreas, *pag.* ' 72, where he ſays the ſame thing. I do not com- ' plain, that they have tranſcribed him in an infinite ' number of places, as they have done chiefly as to ' the pleaſures of Paradiſe, concerning which they ' have taken, almoſt word for word, four or five pages: ' but I blame them, becauſe neither of them names ' him in the places, which they have tranſcribed. For ' the reſt, I do not know whether the Zuna ſpeaks ' of theſe *fifty years*, as John Andreas affirms; but ' Pocock, who was very exact in deſcribing all that ' the Mahometans ſay of the pleaſures of Paradiſe, ſays ' nothing either of the *fifty years* of John Andreas, ' Baudier, and Vigenere, or of the *ſixty years* of our ' author: he only ſays, that theſe Infidels affirm, there ' ſhall be a hundred different degrees of pleaſure in ' Paradiſe, the leaſt of which ſhall be ſo great, that ' to the end the faithful may reliſh it without being ' over-whelmed, GOD ſhall give to each of them the ' ſtrength of a hundred men. *Kowat miat ragiol.*'

(248) Balzac, Entret. v, cap. ii, pag. m. 87. *Compare the remark* [*DD*], *of the article* JUNO.

(249) *Here follows the compoſition of it,* Solent (*Arabes*) frequenter nutriri pulmento quodam Heriſe dicto, quod ex tritico prius decocto conficiunt, poſt ſoli exſiccandum exponitur, tum in urna contunditur, donec emundetur, poſtremò pingui carne ſimul coquitur, donec carо conſumatur, quod ſane palato non eſt ingratum. - - - - *The Arabians are wont to feed upon a certain pottage called Heriſe, which they make of boiled wheat; it is afterwards laid out to dry in the ſun; then it is beat in a mortar, till it is cleanſed; laſtly, it is boiled up with fat fleſh, till the fleſh be conſumed; which certainly is not diſagreeable to the palate.* Gabriel Sionita, & Jo. Eſronita, *ubi ſupra.*

(250) Gabriel Sion. & Jo. Eſron. *ibid.*

(251) *That is, If I be not miſtaken,* Mohamedes Ben. Caſem, *of whom they cite, pag.* 2. Hortus rerum deleſtabilium.

(252) Ricaut, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 322.

(253) Beſpier's *Curious Remarks, pag.* 625.

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ject to the same inconvenience, which was observed at the birth of Christianity, and the beginning of Luther's reformation; for, as soon as he had prophesied, there arose several false prophets [*KK*], and his followers were quickly divided. I am less astonished at his boldness, with respect to the promise of the Paraclet, than at that of some Arabian authors, who boast of having read copies of the Gospel, that contained some things concerning Mahomet, which they pretend the Christians have blotted out [*LL*]. I know not,

'*scientiâ præditorum, multo magis prophetarum*) *imprimis* '*vero sensum illum qui juxta Aristotelem opprobrio nobis* '*est, ac turpitudinem rei Venereæ; idcoque hoc indicio* '*detexit* DEUS *omnes falso de affiatu prophetico glo-* '*riabundos, ut ita patefieret veritas eam indagantibus, &* '*ne in errorem inducantur* (254). - - - - *Let me here cite* '*the words of Maimonides*, in Moreh lib. ii, cap. xl, '*where he teaches how to distinguish false prophets, as* '*follows*. Now the way to distinguish such an one, 'is, to observe his personal excellence, and to inquire 'into his life and conversation: but the principal mark 'of distinction is, if he has renounced and despises 'corporeal pleasures (for this is the first advance of 'learned men, and much more of prophets) and espe-'cially that sense, which, according to Aristotle, is a 'reproach to us, together with the filth of venereal 'matters: therefore by this mark GOD has detected 'all who have falsely pretended to inspiration, that 'the enquirers after truth may not be led into er-'ror.' It cannot be said, that no body was deceived in this case, and that those who adhered to Mahomet, did it only through self-love, knowing his impostures. This is an assertion that cannot be maintained. The greatest part of his disciples rejected the news of his death, as a falshood, which was inconsistent with his heavenly mission; and, to undeceive them, it was necessary to prove to them by the Alcoran, that he was to die (255). They were therefore seduced by his words. Now when we are once prepossessed with an opinion, that a certain man is a prophet, or a great servant of GOD, we are apt to believe rather, that the crimes which he commits, are no crimes, than to think that he commits any crime. This is the effect of the foolish prejudices of many narrow souls. Did not Seneca himself say, that it would be more easy to prove drunkenness to be a commendable thing, than that Cato committed a sin in being drunk (256)? In like manner the followers of Mahomet said in their hearts, it is better to believe, that leudness is not a vice, since our great prophet is subject to it, than to believe, that, since he is subject to it, he is not a great prophet. We see every day some instances of the same prejudices. If a man has once acquired the reputation of a great zealot for orthodox opinions, and signalized himself in disputes against Heresy, most people are so prejudiced in his favour, that you cannot bring them to confess, that he has done amiss, in doing those things, which they would condemn, if any other should do them. St Paul says only, that the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband (257); but, if he had spoke according to the humour of these people, he should have said, that all that belongs to an orthodox man, and all that he does, is sanctified by him.

(254) Edwardus Pocockius, Notis in Specimen. Historiæ Arabum, *pag.* 181.

(255) *See Pocock. ibid. pag.* 178, 180.

THE strange effects of prejudice.

(256) Catoni ebrietas objecta est: at facilius efficiet quisquis objecerit, hoc crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem. *Seneca de Tranquillitate Animi, cap. xv. pag. m.* 674.

(257) 1 *Cor. ch. vii, ver.* 14.

[*KK*] *There arose many other false prophets.*] I remember the exordium of a sermon of Mr Daillé, which turned upon this thought, that as soon as GOD sends men to declare the truth, the devil raises up false teachers, to broach Heresies. He raised, in the times of the apostles, Cerinthus, Ebion, &c. and at the time of the reformation, John of Leyden, David George, Servetus, and Socinus. The design of the devil is to cross the progress of the truth; for it was natural to believe, that the Jews and Pagans would despise the Gospel, when they should see a variety of sects among those that preach it. So likewise it was probable, that the Catholics would despise and insult the Reformation, when they should see Luther, Zuinglius, Muncer, and Calvin, take different ways, and maintain disputes against several party-leaders, who, after their example, would forsake the Romish communion. Two objections naturally occur: I. If these people were inspired by GOD, they would be unanimous. II. Supposing that we must forsake the ancient doctrine, which party must we chuse among so many new sects? It is better for us to continue where we are, than to discuss, whether one of them is true, and which it is. The event did not confirm these conjectures in their full extent; for, though it cannot be denied, that the multitude of false teachers, who arose in the first century, and formed so many parties in the bosom of the infant church, did a great deal of mischief to the good cause; yet it must be confessed, that it did not all the mischief the devil might hope for. Scepticism gained but little; I have already given the reasons of it (258). This observation may be applied to the times of Luther and Calvin. These two great Reformers did not make all the progress they might have done, had they been united in the same sentiments, and if all those, who opposed the Romish church, had spoken the same language. Their divisions were a prejudice, which kept many persons in the Romish communion; nevertheless the Protestant religion increased in a short time, and gained a durable footing. However, every one may be sensible, that the devil pursues very well his own interest, if he crosses the progress of a new orthodoxy, as Mr Daillé supposes; but it is not easy to conceive, that, having raised up Mahomet, to plant a false religion, he should oppose against him the same obstacles, he did against the apostles of Jesus Christ. How came it then to pass, that false prophets, the emissaries of Satan, attempted to destroy Mahometism at it's first appearance? Whence was it, that Mahomet had his rivals, who boasted of heavenly inspiration as well as he (259)? How happened it, that Museilema, his disciple, abandoned him, to form a separate sect (260)? How came it, that an Aswad, a Taliha, an Almotenabbi, set up for prophets, and drew after them as many followers as they could (261)? It is not easy to account for these phænomena, unless we suppose, that there is as great a division among the bad angels, as among men, or that men, without the instigation of the devil, will attempt to found sects. The heads of the parties, that I have named, called Mahomet a false prophet. But there arose others, after his death, who, without calling in question his authority, pretended to excel one another in the understanding of the Alcoran. The two great sects, which arose at first, of Ali and Omar, still continue. Was not the permission of this prejudicial to Mahometism? Was this the interest of the devil?

(258) *In the article LUTHER, remark* [*CC*].

(259) *See Hottinger.* Hist. Orientat. *lib. ii, cap. iii, p.* 258.

(260) Id. ib.

(261) Ib. p. 259.

How great soever this difficulty may appear, several answers may be made to it. It may be said, that the devil is not much concerned, if a false prophet be crossed by other false prophets, and if each of those impostors debauches the followers of his rivals: the devil can lose nothing by that means; for it is equal to him, whether they follow Mahomet, or Museilema, or Almotenabbi. The fights, the wars, the confusions of all sorts, which these divisions produce, are a more diverting spectacle to the enemy of mankind, than the calm and successful progress of but one false sect. Besides, it flatters the pride of an ambitious spirit, to shew, that he can settle Mahometism in spight of a hundred obstacles. Might he not hope, that, if this sect did wonderfully increase, notwithstanding it was opposed in it's infancy by other sects, this would be looked upon as a character of it's divinity, and he should thereby mimic GOD, who never displayed his power, in protecting the Gospel more sensibly, than by preventing the bad effects of the Heresies and Schisms of the first century.

[*LL*] *Some Arabian authors . . . . boast of having read copies of the Gospel, that contained some things concerning Mahomet, which they pretend the Christians have blotted out.*] The most incredulous men stagger, when they see grave authors affirm certain things with a great pomp of circumstances, as having seen them with their own eyes. It is therefore necessary to make it appear, by some notable examples, that such affirmations are sometimes deceitful. What greater example can we alledge, than that, which I am going to mention; wherein we see, that a Mahometan affirms, that a Christian shewed him a copy of the Gospel, in which there are many things clearly and expressly said concerning Mahomet, and that there is but one more copy in the world like this. 'Inter nomina seu titulos 'blasphemi impostoris Paracletum numerant, teste Al 'Jannabio: quin & aliàs in loco non uno, antè Evan-

'gelia

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not, whether we may believe what ſome ſay, that Mahomet declared, that only a third part of the Alcoran was true [*MM*].

He who would ſee a Chronological account of the actions and adventures of this falſe prophet ſupported by very good citations, and a fine detail of circumſtances, need only read Dr. Prideaux's book (*n*). It has been tranſlated out of Engliſh into French (*o*), ſince the firſt edition of this Dictionary. In it, among other things, there are many proofs, that Mahomet was an impoſtor, and that he made *his impoſture ſubſervient to his luſt* (*p*). One of theſe proofs is taken from hence, that the variations of his prophetic ſpirit were ſuited to the change of his private intereſt [*NN*]. What is related of his amours, is very ſtrange. He was jealous to the higheſt degree, and yet he bore with patience the galantries of that wife, which was the deareſt to him [*OO*]. He could never

(n) *Intituled*, The Life of Mahomet.

(o) *The French tranſlation was publiſhed at Amſterdam in* 1698.

(p) *Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, pag.* m. 155.

' gelia à Chriſtianis corrupta expreſſam ejus factam ' mentionem ſibi facile perſuadent, idque ab ipſis Chri- ' ſtianis edocti, ut refert Author modo laudatus; Mo- ' hammodem ſcil. Al Selencium, neſcio quem, à Sa- ' cerdote quodam magni inter Chriſtianos nominis didi- ' ciſſe nullibi extare Evangelii exemplar incorruptum, ' quàm apud ſe unum; ac Pariſiis alterum, atque è ' ſuo multa coram ipſis legiſſe, in quibus multa & per- ' ſpicua de Mohammede narrarentur (262). - - - - -

(262) Pocockius, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 185, 186.

' *Among the names of this blaſphemous impoſtor, they* ' *reckon the* Comforter, *upon the authority of Al Jan-* ' *nabius: beſides which, they eaſily perſuade themſelves,* ' *that, before the Goſpels were corrupted by the Chriſtians,* ' *expreſs mention was made of him; and that upon the* ' *teſtimony of the Chriſtians themſelves, as the above-cited* ' *author relates; to wit, that one Mohammed Al Selen-* ' *cius had learned from a prieſt of great reputation among* ' *the Chriſtians, that there were but two uncorrupted* ' *copies of the Goſpel, the one in his own poſſeſſion, the other* ' *at Paris; and that he had read to them many things* ' *out of his copy, which were evidently ſpoken of Ma-* ' *homet.*'

[*MM*] *Some ſay, that Mahomet declared, that only a third part of the Alcoran was true.*] Father Joſeph de Santa Maria, a bare footed Carmelite, apoſtolical miſſionary in the kingdom of Malabar, affirms (263), that the inhabitants of Maſcati pretend to be the moſt faithful obſervers of Mahomet's law, and that Mahomet declared, that of 12000 words, that are in the Alcoran, only 4000 are true. When they are confuted in any point, and know not how to defend themſelves, they place it in the number of the 8000 falſities. This is a very convenient way to come off in a diſpute.

(263) *In the book intitled*, Prima Speditione all' Indie Orientali, *printed at Rome. The Journal of Italy, March* 31, 1668, *makes mention of it.*

[*NN*] *The variations of his prophetic ſpirit were ſuited to the change of his private intereſt.*] We ſhall keep to the words of Dr Prideaux (264). ' Almoſt ' all his Alcoran was framed * after this manner, ' to anſwer ſome private deſign he had, according as ' occaſion required. If he had any new thing to ſet ' on foot; or ſome objection againſt himſelf, or his ' religion, to anſwer; ſome difficulty to reſolve; or ' ſome diſcontent among the people to pacify; ſome ' ſcandal to remove, or ſomething elſe to be done for ' carrying on his deſigns, he had commonly recourſe ' to the angel Gabriel for ſome new revelation; and ' preſently he inſerted in the Alcoran ſome addition, ' proper to anſwer the ends he then propoſed to him- ' ſelf. So that the whole almoſt was compoſed upon ' occaſions of this nature, to produce in his own party ' the effect which he propoſed to himſelf. And all his ' commentators plainly enough confeſs it, by ſhewing ' exactly the reaſons, for which each chapter had ' been ſent them from heaven. But this was the ' cauſe of the many contradictions, that are to be ' found in this book. For as this impoſtor's affairs ' and deſigns varied, he was obliged to vary his pre- ' tended revelations; which is ſo well known among ' thoſe of his ſect, that they all confeſs this to be ' true; upon which account, when theſe contradi- ' ctions are ſuch, that they cannot be reconciled, they ' revoke one of the contradictory places. And they ' reckon in the whole Alcoran ** more than one ' hundred and fifty verſes thus revoked, which is the ' beſt expedient they can take for ſaving the contra- ' dictions and inconſiſtencies that are in it. But herein ' they diſcover very much the levity and inconſtancy ' of him, who was the author of it.' This proof of impoſture is of great force: I have mentioned it already (265); but here I ought to add, that it would be too far extended, if it ſhould be made uſe of without exception againſt all the expounders of the Apocalypſe, who change their hypotheſes as the general affairs take a different turn (266). It may ſometimes happen, that there is nothing but Fanaticiſm in the inconſtancy of thoſe men, and that not being ſenſible of the diſorder of their brain, they are no leſs ſincere, when they vary, than when they do not. Let us therefore make uſe of a diſtinction, and ſay only, that thoſe, who change their Apocalyptic ſyſtem, according to the news in the Gazette, and always agreeably to the general deſign of their writings, publiſh falſities, either without knowing it, or knowingly. Their conduct is very often an impoſture, but not always.

(264) Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet, pag.* 155.

* Richardi Confutatis, *cap.* xii.

** Johannes Andreas, Guadagnol. Tract. ii, cap. vii, fect. iii.

(265) *In the remark* [T].

[*OO*] *He was jealous to the higheſt degree, and yet he bore with patience the galantries of that wife, which was deareſt to him.*] ' As he became a brutiſh ſlave ' to the love of women, ſo he was extreamly jealous ' of thoſe he had married. Thus to diſſuade them ' from what he feared †, he threatened them once ' with a ſeverer chaſtiſement, than is given to other ' women, not only in this world, but in that which ' is to come, ſuppoſing that they ſhould be unfaithful ' to him. And when ſome of his followers frequented ' his houſe too much, and converſed there with ſome ' of his wives, he was ſo incenſed at it, that, to ' prevent it for the future, he declared, as in the ' name of God, thoſe verſes in the Alcoran ‡, ' wherein he tells them, that they ought not to enter ' into the houſe of the prophet without leave, and ' that if they were invited to dine at his houſe, they ' ought to go away immediately after dinner, with- ' out entering into any converſation with his wives; ' and that, altho' the prophet was aſhamed to bid ' them go, yet God was not aſhamed to tell them ' the truth. And, in the ſame chapter, he forbids ' his wives to ſpeak to any man, unleſs their face ' was covered with a veil. Laſtly, he carried his ' jealouſy even beyond the grave; for, not being ' able to endure, that any ſhould have to do with his ' wives, tho' after his death ‡; he ſeverely forbad ' all his followers to come near them, as long they ' lived. So that, tho' all other women, when they ' were divorced, or became widows, had the liberty ' to marry again, yet all his wives were excluded ' from this privilege. Upon which account, all thoſe, ' whom he left behind him at his death ‡‡, remained ' always widows, tho' ſome of them were very young, ' as particularly Ayeſha, who was not then full twenty ' years old, and who lived forty eight years after, ' which was looked upon, in that hot country, as a ' very ſevere reſtraint (267).'

† *Alcoran, cap.* xxxiii.

‡ *Alcoran, cap.* xxxiii.

‡‡ *Johannes Andreas, cap.* vii.

You ſee, in theſe words of Dr Prideaux, that the ſame wife, whom we called above Aaiſca (268), is here called Ayeſha. The two authors, whom I have cited in that place, do not well expreſs themſelves; they ſay, that Mahomet was buried in the tomb of Aaiſca; but, ſince ſhe ſurvived him, it had been better to ſay, that he was buried in the chamber of this wife. Thus Dr Prideaux expreſſes himſelf (269). He tells us (270), that Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker, *was ſhe of all his wives, whom Mahomet loved moſt tenderly . . . .; and tho' ſhe was a woman* †† *that loved galantry, and was always buſied in ſome intrigue, yet Mahomet could never reſolve to put her away. He wrote therefore the twenty fourth chapter of the Alcoran, to declare her innocent, and at the ſame time to juſtify himſelf for keeping her. Therefore he declares there to his Muſſulmen, in the name of* God, *that all thoſe reports, that were ſpread to the diſadvantage of Ayeſha, were impoſtures, and black calumnies; forbids them to ſpeak any more of them, and threatens, at the ſame time, with terrible puniſhments, both in this life and the other, thoſe who ſhould dare to defame good women. Mahomet having married her young* ††, *took care to inſtruct her in all the*

(267) Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet, pag.* 153, *&c.*

(268) *In the remark* [EE], *citation* (207).

(269) Prideaux, *pag.* 134.

(270) Id. ib. *pag.* 139.

†† Diſputatio Chriſtiani, *cap.* vi, Commentat. in Alcoran. *cap.* xxiv.

†† *Appendix ad Geograph. Nubienſ. cap.* viii.

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never reſolve to put her away; and he brought in the great machines of his revelations, to put a ſtop to the ſcandalous reports concerning her, and the offence his tenderneſs for a wife of bad fame gave the people. His followers thought at laſt, that ſhe was virtuous; for they received as oracles the interpretation ſhe put upon the words of their law [*PP*]. Some Chriſtian authors have publiſhed a very ridiculous tale concerning the credulity

the ſciences that were uſually taught in Arabia, and chiefly in the elegance and politeneſs of language, and the knowledge of their antiquities: ſhe profited extreamly by her huſband's care, and became very polite and learned *. *She hated Ali furiouſly, becauſe he diſcovered her incontinence and immoralities to Mahomet.* Here follows another proof of the tenderneſs wherewith ſhe was beloved by her huſband. *Sewda was ſhe of all Mahomet's wives* †, *whom he loved leaſt; he had even reſolved to put her away; but he was diverted from it by her earneſtly begging of him, that ſhe might ſtill continue to enjoy the name of Mahomet's wife, and promiſed him, that ſhe would require nothing more; that when her turn ſhould come to lie with him, ſhe would reſign it to Ayeſha. The love he had for Ayeſha made him willingly conſent to this bargain, and ſo Sewda continued in his houſe during her life, upon the conditions propoſed* (271).

Some perhaps may think, that I ſpeak improperly, when I affirm, that Mahomet bore with patience the galantries of that wife, whom he loved moſt tenderly; for one may imagine, that he believed her very innocent; and in that caſe we muſt not conſider him as a huſband tender and jealous, and at the ſame time inſenſible to her conjugal unfaithfulneſs. Where will then be the ſingularity of that character I have ſpoken of? I anſwer, that there is no probability that he doubted of the galantries of Ayeſha. He was informed of them by the relation of Ali his ſon-in-law; and he continued to have as great a friendſhip for, and confidence in him, as he had before; and doubtleſs he would not have treated him after this manner, if he had taken him for a ſlanderer in a matter of ſo nice a nature as this was. Let us therefore believe, that he was convinced of the truth of the report; and alſo conſider, that if the amorous intrigues of his wife had not been real, ſuch tales and calumnies had never been forged of her, as obliged the falſe prophet to have recourſe to the authority of heaven, to put a ſtop to them. His followers, being once perſuaded that he ſpoke to them in the name of GOD, had a reſpect not only for his perſon, but alſo for his wives and children. They were therefore incapable of forging ſuch a bitter calumny againſt Ayeſha; but, being well acquainted with the real diſorders of her conduct, they murmured, and complained of them, as an intolerable ſcandal, which diſhonoured the man of GOD. And we muſt obſerve, that jealouſy is not always uniform in it's cauſes and effects; it deviates from it's own rules, and from the common road, oftener than is thought. There are ſome perſons, that would be jealous, if they were leſs amorous: the higheſt degree of tenderneſs produces in their heart a confidence, which a leſſer degree would not produce. There are ſome jealous perſons, who ceaſe to love, when they think themſelves betrayed. There are others, whom even a known unfaithfulneſs does not cure (272). Mahomet might very well be of this laſt ſort, with reſpect to his deareſt wife. We muſt remember that he always loved her; and this is chiefly what is to be conſidered; for if his only care had been to avoid the ridicule, to which he might have been expoſed by a divorce, we muſt aſcribe to him only a political patience, which is common enough in mankind. The number of thoſe, who prefer living with an hated object, to the noiſe of a rupture, is not inconſiderable.

[*PP*] *His followers received as oracles the interpretation ſhe put upon their law.*] Her credit, after the death of this falſe prophet, was great enough to hinder Ali from becoming Caliph. She hated him for the reaſon given in the preceding remark. Her hatred laſted long; for altho' *Ali* (273) *had a right to the vacant throne, being ſon-in-law to the impoſtor, he was three ſeveral times ſucceſſively excluded. The throne was vacant the fourth time, and Ali at laſt came to it; but Ayeſha appeared in arms againſt him; and tho' ſhe ſucceed not this way, yet ſhe deſtroyed him, by ſtirring up and fomenting that revolt, which at length ruined Ali and his family* †. *Ayeſha ſurvived Mahomet full forty eight years, and enjoyed a great reputation in his ſect, who called her the propheteſs, and the mother of the faithful. She was the living oracle of his ſect, who conſulted her in all difficult points of the law, to learn of her what was the ſenſe of the law-giver. Whatever her anſwers were, they* ‡ *were received as oracles, and have always ſince paſſed among them for authentic traditions. All the traditions, which compoſe the Sunnah, according to them, came from Ayeſha, or from ſome one of the ten companions of Mahomet; ſo they call thoſe ten men who firſt joined that ſeducer. But the teſtimony of Ayeſha renders a tradition very authentic. Abdorrahman Ebn Auf holds the ſecond rank.* Note, that Mahomet (274) did not entruſt her with the *ſtrong-box* of his apoſtleſhip, but Haphſa, the daughter of Omar. This is a little ſtrange; for this daughter of Omar held but the ſecond ‡ rank in the heart of her huſband Mahomet. *In this box were all the originals of his pretended revelations, which ſerved for materials to compoſe the Alcoran. After this book was finiſhed, Abubcker* ** *gave the original of it to Haphſa, to be kept in the ſame box. Which may ſerve to diſcover the error of John Andreas, who pretends* †† *that it was Ayeſha who kept it. For this being ſo conſiderable a truſt among the Mahometans, what probability is there, that if Ayeſha had been once put in poſſeſſion of it by the impoſtor himſelf, Abubeker ſhould have endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs her of it, eſpecially ſhe being his own daughter. But Haphſa was much older than Ayeſha, and for that reaſon probably was preferred before her, to have the charge of that precious depoſite* (275).

There is ſome reaſon to wonder, that the Mahometan religion ſhould be ſo little advantageous to the female ſex (276), ſince it was founded by a man ſo exceſſively laſcivious, and ſince his laws were depoſited in the hands of one woman, and another could give what interpretation of them ſhe pleaſed. We have ſeen, that Ayeſha was looked upon as a propheteſs, and as an oracle, and ſhe was a true ſhe-Pope among the Mahometans. Mr Herbelot ſays (277), *That ſhe had among them a very great authority, even in matters of doctrine and religion, and that they often had recourſe to her, to learn ſome tradition of Mahomet, and that ſhe undertook to condemn the Caliph Othman for impiety.* She might then have ſettled matters upon a foot very favourable to her ſex. How then came it to paſs, that ſhe did not do it? Was ſhe of the humour of certain women, who are the firſt and moſt zealous in defaming their own ſex? May ſhe not be conſidered as a proof of what is ſometimes ſaid, That the authority of men is never greater, than when a woman is ſeated on the throne; and that the authority of women is never greater, than when the ſceptre is in the hands of a man? I cannot determine the point: let ſpeculative men exerciſe their wit as much as they pleaſe upon this queſtion. But conſider, I pray you, the influence of the fair ſex upon the foundation of Muſulmaniſm, and how the paſſions of a woman quickly ſpread in it the ſeeds of diſcord. Trace Ali's ſchiſm, and you will find the leudneſs of Ayeſha, whom he accuſed, to be the ſource of it. This woman never forgave him: ſhe hindered him three times ſucceſſively from arriving at the dignity of Caliph; and, after he had obtained it, ſhe made a league againſt him (278), and put herſelf at the head of 30000 men. She loſt the battle, and was taken, and ſent back to Medina, where ſhe died, and was buried near Mahomet: but the league, ſhe had made, to revenge the death of Othman, died not with her. Ali was at laſt killed, upon this pretence, and from thence aroſe a great ſchiſm, which ſtill continues.

I cannot conclude without obſerving a ſmall want of exactneſs in the *Bibliotheque Orientale* of Mr Herbelot. He ſays in the article Aiſchah, that this widow of Mahomet *undertook to condemn Othman for impiety.* But in another place (279), he relates, that being conſulted by the faction, who brought complaints againſt this Caliph, ſhe made anſwer, That he ought to be admitted to penance; and that ſhe *maintained it afterwards to Ali.* I do not object this as a contradiction,

* *Diſput. Chriſtiani, cap. vi, Elmacin. lib. i, cap. iv, Abul-Faraghius, Abul-Feda, &c.*

† *Gentius in notis ad Muſladin. Sadum. p. 568.*

(271) Prideaux, *ibid. pag.* 143.

(272) *Every one remembers the ſong, which begins with this complaint of a lover.* Une infidélité cruelle n'efface point les traits d'une infidele, &c. *Tho' ſhe be cruel, ſtill ſhe's fair, &c.*

(273) Prideaux, *ibid. pag.* 140.

† *For ſhe died in the 58d year of the Hegira.* Elmacin. *lib. i, cap. vii.*

‡ *Johannes Andreas, cap. iii.*

(274) Prideaux, *pag.* 142.

‡ *Joh. Andreas, cap. vii.*

** *Abul-Feda. Hottingeri Bibl. Orient. cap. ii. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. pag.* 362.

†† *Joh. Andreas, de Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. ii.*

(275) Prideaux, *ibid.*

(276) *See the remark* [Q].

(277) Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. *at the word* Aiſchah, *pag.* 80.

(278) Herbelot, *ubi ſupra; and at the word* Ali, *pag.* 89, 90.

Mr HERBELOT *criticiſed.*

(279) *In the article* OTHMAN, *pag.* 696.

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credulity of the Mahometans as to miracles [QQ]. Mr. Simon is blamed for certain things he has publiſhed, which tend to extenuate the infamy of Mahometiſm (q). See the laſt chapter of his Critical Hiſtory of the belief and cuſtoms of the nations of the Levant. But if what he ſays is true at the bottom; he deſerves to be commended; for we muſt not foment the hatred of evil, by making it appear more black and hateful than it really is.

(q) *See the difficulties propoſed to Mr Steyaert, part vi, from pag. 303, to pag. 316.*

diction, but as an imperfect account. We muſt believe, I. That this woman judged the cauſe of Othman, and condemned him for impiety. II. That ſhe pronounced, that they ought to be ſatisfied with his penance. Mr Herbelot ſhould have united theſe two facts in the article of Aiſchah, and in the article of Othman, and not have ſeparated the one from the other, by placing the firſt in one place without the ſecond, and the ſecond in another place without the firſt. This advice is of great importance to all writers of Dictionaries; for they find it very difficult to avoid this fault. I am afraid I have been guilty of it more than once.

(280) Intitled, Prognoſticon Antichriſti.

[QQ] *A very ridiculous tale concerning the credulity of the Mahometans as to miracles.*] A Benedictin of the Low-Countries publiſhed a book (280) in Latin and Flemiſh, at Deventer, in 1524; in which he relates a great many idle tales, among the reſt this which follows. A Genoeſe had ſo great a curioſity to ſee what the Moors or Saracens practiſed in their moſques, that he entered it by ſtealth, tho' he knew very well the cuſtom of putting all Chriſtians to death who enter there, or forcing them to abjure Chriſtianity. He was encompaſſed with ſo great a croud, that he could not get out, when an accident happened to him, which required him to go out immediately, being very much preſſed by a natural neceſſity; he could not get the better of it, and in a little time ſaw himſelf in danger of death, the bad ſmell he ſpread around him having diſcovered the miſchance. He freed himſelf from this danger, by giving them to underſtand, that he had been for a long time coſtive, and that now being come to recommend himſelf to Mahomet, he found immediate eaſe. Whereupon they took his breeches, and hung them up in the moſque, crying out, a miracle! a miracle! The words of this monk are theſe: *Cum ibi eſſet in medio maximæ multitudinis, & non poſſet exire, neceſſitaſque ei veniſſet ſuperfluum pondus corporis deponendi, ſtercoriza vit in femoralibus. Cum autem fœtor eſſet in illa Moſchæa, omnes circumſpiciebant qui hujus fœtoris cauſa fuiſſet. Invenerunteque ipſum Januenſem, quem volentes occidere, ille, qui forte linguam eorum ſciebat, eis dixit, vel per interpretem mendacium hoc ſignificavit, ſcilicet, Quod cum ipſe non poſſet per longum tempus habere beneficium ventris, intravit templum, ut Mahumeto ſe commendaret, & ſtatim habuit beneficium ventris. Hoc autem audientes & credentes illi homines beſtiales, acceperunt femoralia illa ſtercore infecta, & ſuſpenderunt in Moſchæa, clamantes, miraculum! miraculum* (281)! Thus one half of the world laughs at the other; for doubtleſs the Mahometans are not ignorant of the ridiculous ſtories, that are told of the monks; and if it were true, that they know nothing of them, yet it might reaſonably be believed, that they ſpread lies and impertinent fables againſt the Chriſtian ſects. If they knew this ſtory of the Flemiſh Benedictin, they would ſay, perhaps, theſe honeſt forgers of miracles frame very groſs ones for us; not but that they know how to invent much finer; but thoſe they keep for themſelves; they drink off the wine, and ſend us the dregs.

(281) Prognoſticon Antichriſti, *pag.* 38. apud Revium, in Hiſtoria Daventrienſi, *pag.* 228, 229.

MAHOMET II, the eleventh ſultan of the Turks, born at Adrianople the twenty fourth of March, 1430, was one of the greateſt men that is mentioned in hiſtory, if we conſider only the qualifications neceſſary for a conqueror; for as to thoſe of a good man, we muſt not look for them in his life. It is not true that his mother was a Chriſtian (a). He very well deſerved, the title of GREAT, which he ambitiouſly aſpired to, and which the Turks do not fail to give him [A]; for 'he ſignalized his 'reign by the conqueſt of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred conſiderable 'towns. But the progreſs he made was not the effect of a ſudden revolution, or of 'blind fortune, which led him on from victory to victory, without the aſſiſtance of 'prudent conduct. The blood, which he ſhed upon great occaſions, proves, that the 'advantages he gained were diſputed with him. He raiſed ſome ſieges, made haſty 'retreats, and loſt ſome battles; but thoſe diſgraces, which blunt the edge of common 'ſpirits, encouraged his, or rather inſtructed him how to behave himſelf for the future, 'and his judgment helped him to repair, by patience, what he had loſt by impetuoſity. 'He was indefatigable beyond imagination; for more than once he began a campaign 'glorioufly in *Europe*, and finiſhed it ſtill more glorioufly in *Aſia* (b).' It was his good fortune to be born in an age, in which the valour of his enemies infinitely contributed to raiſe the glory of his triumphs [B]. We need not have recourſe to the Turks, in order to form

(a) *See the remark* [F].

(b) *Guillet, Hiſtory of Mahomet II, pag. 1. He cites Phrantzes, lib. i, cap. xxxiii.* Barlet. de Expug. Scodr. *lib. i.* Bapt. Egnat. de Orig. Turc. Phil. Lonicer. *lib. i.*

[A] *He very well deſerved the title of* GREAT . . ., *which the Turks do not fail to give him.*] They confeſs 'That all the conqueſts of his ſucceſſors had his 'for their foundation and pattern, and that it was 'eaſy for them to follow the way he had opened unto 'them, after he had removed all impediments. And 'therefore, when they ſpeak of him, they commonly 'ſuppreſs his name of Mahomet, altho' in their lan'guage it has the glorious ſignification of *praiſed*, or 'loved *, and they diſtinguiſh him from the other 'Sultans, by the magnificent titles of *Boiuc* and *Aboulfetch*, whereof one ſignifies *great*, and the other the 'father of victory. It is objected to him, that during 'his life, he was ambitious of the firſt of theſe titles; 'but did he not take pains enough to deſerve it? The 'Chriſtians themſelves have not denied it to him, 'and it is agreed on all hands, that he was the 'firſt of the Ottoman emperors, to whom our 'weſtern nations gave the title of Grand-Seignior, 'or Great Turk, which poſterity has continued to 'his ſucceſſors (1).'

* Anton. Gorfrea in Nomenclat. Vocabul. Barbar.

(1) Guillet, Hiſtory of Mahomet II, lib. i, pag. 1.

[B] *The valour of his enemies . . . contributed to raiſe the glory of his triumphs*]. This is a happineſs, which the great Alexander wanted; for he found only weak enemies in Aſia, though they were innumerable. It ſeems therefore, that he was not the favourite of Fortune to the ſame degree as Mahomet was, who had almoſt always brave nations to contend with, and overcome, which diſtinguiſhes him from all other great conquerors, very much to his advantage. Let us prove this by the words of a modern author, who has given us a fine Hiſtory of this Sultan. 'It cannot be 'ſaid, that he had to do with obſcure enemies, and 'nations that were not war-like, ſince among the il'luſtrious captains, who checked his ſucceſſes, are 'reckoned Huniades, and Matthias Corvinus, with 'the forces of Hungary; Scanderbeg, with thoſe of 'the fierce Albanians; the Valachian Uladus, as in'trepid as they, although in truth not ſo honeſt a 'man; the emperors of Greece, and Trebiſonde, the 'kings of Perſia, of Naples, and Boſnia; the princes 'of Greece, of Servia, of Sinope, and Caramania; 'the republics of Venice and Genoa, the knights of 'Rhodes, and the armies of the Cruſade, that is, the 'choiceſt ſoldiers of our weſtern nations. There was 'not one of ſo many enemies, whom he did not meet 'deſignedly

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form a juſt Idea of his merits. The Chriſtians have raiſed monuments to him [C], which exalt his victories above what the Ottoman annals do, and above all that the Turks could invent to immortalize the grandeur of his actions. It is therefore very ſtrange, that, in Chriſtendom, there ſhould be ſome eminent writers, who maintain, that proſperity is a ſign of a good cauſe [D], and that none but virtuous princes have a ſhare in the favours of

' deſignedly, with extraordinary bravery, and who did ' not at laſt yield to his valour, or his conduct. Chri- ' ſtians, or Mahometans, they were alike the aim of ' his ambition; and the intereſt of his religion was ' never admitted among the maxims of his policy. ' Among ſo many Sultans, not one of them to this ' day, but he only, durſt ſend regular troops into Ita- ' ly, where they gained a pitched battle, and took a ' ſtrong town, not by a ſudden aſſault, as pirates do, ' but by the regular attacks of a formal ſiege (2).

(2) Guillet, *ibid.* pag. 6, 7.

[C] *The Chriſtians have raiſed monuments to him.*] The ſame Hiſtorian has furniſhed us with the proof of this. ' I do not think it any fault to revive the ' memory of this conqueror; for, beſides that it is ' impoſſible his name ſhould periſh †, there never was ' any infidel prince, who left among us the like mo- ' numents. The Catholic church ‡ takes care to put ' us in mind of him every day of the year, by a re- ' markable and perpetual ſignal; for the ringing of ' the bell every day for prayers, at noon, was en- ' joined by one of our Popes, only to advertiſe the ' people to recommend to God the faithful that fought ' againſt this Sultan ‡. For one battle that he loſt, ' we do ſtill, every year, return thanks to heaven, ' by ſolemnizing the feſtival of the transfiguration of ' our Saviour, which was inſtituted in memory of ' this victory. But, what deſerves our conſideration ' no leſs, he alone gave occaſion to the calling of a ' general council, and to the project of ſeveral others. ' His ** armies alone forced the Chriſtians to oppoſe ' againſt him thoſe of a Cruſade, which was plainly ' diſtinguiſhed from all other holy wars, becauſe a ' Pope marched with it in perſon, accompanied by ' the college of cardinals. Laſtly, he alone obliged ' the weſtern emperors to inſtitute the order †† of ' the knights of Auſtria, who, under this great name, ' taken from the houſe of their founder, and under ' the protection of St George, engaged themſelves by ' ſolemn vows to put a ſtop to his aſtoniſhing pro- ' greſs. An ‡‡ archbiſhop, a cardinal, and even a ' Pope publiſhed, during his Life, his victories in their ' writings, to raiſe up enemies againſt him in favour ' of our altars (3).' The confeſſion, our Hiſtorians make, bears no leſs a teſtimony to his glory, than the preparations, which the Pope made to retire to Avignon, in caſe Italy was attacked by Mahomet in perſon. Achmet, who commanded in Otranto, went from thence, to wait upon his maſter, ' and confer ' with him about the progreſs of his arms in Italy, ' whither alſo he promiſed to carry him. The threats ' he uſed at his embarking, threw the Italians into ' a terrible conſternation, and made them fear a cam- ' paign, ſo much the more fatal, becauſe the Ottoman ' garriſon continued every day to make excurſions, and ' gained new advantages; ſo that Otranto was filled ' with Chriſtian ſlaves and booty. Italy has ſuffered ' greater miſchiefs; but it never was put into ſuch ' frights, and it ſeemed as if the people there were al- ' ready condemned, to wear the turban. It is cer- ' tain, that the ſovereign pontif ‡‡ Sixtus IV, fancy- ' ing that Rome was already involved in the frightful ' deſtiny of Conſtantinople, deſigned to have truſted it ' to the protection of the apoſtles, and thought of no- ' thing but equipping his gallies, to ſail to Provence, ' and to tranſlate a ſecond time the holy ſee to Avig- ' non. The Hiſtorians of that time have written, that ' there was no hopes of ſafety for Italy; becauſe in ' effect there was not one place ſtrong enough to hold ' out againſt a hundred thouſand Mahometans, en- ' couraged, as it was ſuppoſed, by the preſence of the ' Sultan. Among all the teſtimonies of that conſter- ' nation, I ſhall only relate that of Sabellicus, who ' was of that country, and lived at that time *. *There ' is no doubt but Italy had been ruined, had not the Pro- ' vidence of* God *put a ſtop to ſo horrible a miſchief by ' the death of Mahomet* (4).' I ſhall preſently (5) cite a paſſage of Platina which may be added to the preceding.

† *Platina, Vit. Caliſt. Girolamo.*

‡ *Briani. lib. xvii.*

‡ *Pandect. Leunclav. cap. cxxxiii. Turco-Græc. pag.* 62. *Petav. Ration. Temp. pars i, lib. ix. Briani. lib. xvii.*

** *P. Juſtinian. lib. viii, Platina Vit. di Pio II.*

†† *Laxius, lib. iii, rerum Vien- nenſium.*

‡‡ *Leon. Chienſ. Arch. Mityl. Iſid. Ruthen. Card. SS. Pet. & Mart. Pius II.*

(3) Guillet, ib. *pag.* 4, 5.

‡‡ *Cuſpinian. in Vit. Mahomet.*

* *Sabellic. Enn- nead. x, lib. vii.*

(4) Guillet, *ib. lib. vii, pag.* 374, 375, *ad ann.* 1480.

(5) *In the remark* [E].

Here is another monument, raiſed by the Chriſtians to the glory of this Turkiſh prince. The exceſſive joy, they teſtified at his death, was equivalent to the fineſt panegyrics of Greece. Let us again hear Mr Guillet. *The news of the death of Mahomet was received in Chriſtendom with the greateſt tranſports of joy that ever were ſeen. At Rhodes, where the news was brought ſooner than to other places, they made ſolemn rejoicings; but they were not equal to thoſe of Rome. Pope Sixtus cauſed all the churches to be opened, and forbad all artificers to work at their trades; he appointed feſtivals, which laſted three days, with public prayers and general proceſſions; he commanded, that, during this time, the whole artillery of the caſtle of St Angelo ſhould be continually diſcharged; and, which is moſt remarkable, he put a ſtop to the preparations for his voyage to Avignon, whither he intended to fly, as to a place of refuge from the Ottoman arms* (6). The Hiſtorian, being ſenſible, that ſo many demonſtrations of joy might be prejudicial to the Chriſtian name, becauſe they are not agreeable to that noble greatneſs of ſoul, which ancient Rome affected, endeavours to elude or refute this objection by a pious remark. *It muſt be confeſſed*, ſays he (7), *that the Chriſtian religion has put a great difference between the manners of the ancient Romans and of the modern, and that it hath done it with ſuch juſtice as cannot be too much admired. For ancient Rome, being prepoſſeſſed with it's proud maxims, and a policy, wherein pride had a larger ſhare than generoſity, would ſhew no ſigns of joy at the death of it's enemies, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected ſhe was ſhamefully afraid of their power. Thus Cæſar affected to lament the death of Pompey; and Pagan Hiſtory is full of inſtances of ſuch like oſtentation. But, in the age of Mahomet, the deſtruction of ſacred altars, and the profanation of our moſt holy myſteries, juſtly required an exceeding great joy for the death of this famous, ſacrilegious robber, as a pious acknowledgement, that Rome was indebted to Heaven for the welfare of Chriſtianity.* I have already ſaid (8), that the Chriſtians gave this terrible enemy the ſirname of Grand-Seignior.

(6) Guillet, ibid. pag. 384.

(7) Ibid.

(8) *In the remark* [A].

[D] *Some eminent Chriſtian writers maintain that proſperity is a ſign of a good cauſe.*] I have already ſhewn the impertinence of theſe writers in the article of MAHOMET the falſe prophet (9). I have ſhewn, that, with regard to triumphs, the ſtar of Mahometiſm has prevailed over the ſtar of Chriſtianity, and that, if we were to judge of the goodneſs of theſe religions by the glory of temporal ſucceſs, the Mahometan would appear to be the better of the two. The Mahometans are ſo certain of this, that they alledge no ſtronger proof of the goodneſs of their cauſe, than the glorious ſucceſſes, wherewith God has favoured it. See what a Monk, who continued long in Turkey, has taught us, as to the motives, which retain theſe infidels in their religion. ' Secundum motivum eſt ' victoria eorum continua contra Chriſtianos: quod a- ' liquos multum movet. Unde victores ſe nominant, ' & gloriantur quaſi victores totius mundi. Orant ' etiam pro victoribus ſpecialiter in omnibus congrega- ' tionibus ſuis, præſertim in continuis poſt comeſtio- ' nem gratiarum actionibus. Superbiunt inſuper, & ' Chriſtianos fœminas deſpiciendo nominant, & ſe vi- ' ros eorum. Et ut ad hoc magis ac magis inciten- ' tur, anteceſſorum victorias deſcribunt, decantant, ' laudant ac præconizant (10). - - - *The ſecond motive* ' *is their continual victory over the Chriſtians; which* ' *is of great weight with ſome. From whence they ſtyle* ' *themſelves the conquerors, and boaſt as if they had* ' *conquered the whole world. For they put up prayers in* ' *particular for the conquerors in all their congregations,* ' *and eſpecially in their grace after meat. They pride* ' *themſelves moreover, and call the Chriſtians women,* ' *out of contempt, and themſelves men. And to incite* ' *themſelves ſtill the more to this, they deſcribe, ſing,* ' *extol, and cry up, the victories of their anceſtors.*' Let us add another witneſs. ' The happy ſucceſs of ' the arms of theſe infidels is another argument, which ' they make uſe of, to maintain the truth of their ' religion. For, ſince they believe, that God is the ' author of all good events, they conclude, that the ' more they have ſucceeded in their wars, the more ' God makes it appear, that he approves their zeal and

(9) *Remark* [P].

(10) Septem-Ca- ſtrenſis de mori- bus Turcarum, cap. xi, pag. 40. apud Hottinger. Hiſtor. Oriental. pag. 338.

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of fortune (c). It is to no purpoſe to alledge, that, if the Chriſtian princes had not been divided, they would have beaten the Mahometans [E]. Some have written, that this Sultan

(c) *See what Bonfius has written againſt Machiavel.*

' and religion. This perſuaſion makes the Turks ' hate and deteſt the Jews above all other people ' in the world. They call them a people abandoned ' by GOD, becauſe they have no fixed habitation up- ' on earth, and no prince of their own nation to pro- ' tect and defend them (11).'

P. J. Bruys, *Hiſtorical Account of the Ottoman Empire*, book ii, chap. iii, pag. m. 334.

The Monk, whom I juſt now cited, tells us a particular that deſerves our attention; which is, that the Turks look upon themſelves as men, and the Chriſtians as women. How does this agree with our Hiſtories, which inform us, that the Turks never conquered the Chriſtians without being ten or twelve to one, and without loſing twenty times as many men as the Chriſtians did? If this were true, would they ſay, that the Chriſtians are women? I know not what to ſay, upon this ſubject; but I am perſuaded on the one ſide, that our weſtern Chriſtians have always been as good ſoldiers at leaſt as the Ottomans; and, on the other ſide, that our Hiſtories are full of fables, as to the number of the ſoldiers ſlain, and of the ſoldiers that fought: they increaſe it prodigiouſly on the ſide of the Infidels, and leſſen it as much on the other ſide. They do what we have ſeen done by the Gazetteers of each party in theſe laſt campaigns, at the two ſieges of Namur (12). By turns the Gazettes of the beſieged ſpoke of ſeveral imaginary aſſaults, wherein the enemy loſt an infinite number of men; By turns they ſo increaſed their loſſes in real aſſaults, that he, who ſhould add together the ſlain, the wounded, the deſerters, and the ſick, mentioned in theſe relations, would not find one man left in the army of the beſiegers, who could hear the beſieged beat a parley. However things are changed for the better; the Turks have ſhewn, both in Hungary and Greece, ſince the year 1683, that they are but poor ſoldiers, and are not able to reſiſt the Chriſtian troops inferior to them in number. If they had always been ſo unſucceſsful, they would never have taken proſperity for the mark of a true religion. They have met with great loſſes in Europe, and our news-writers pretend, that they have had fatal loſſes in Aſia; for how often have we read in the Gazettes, that Mecca (13), Grand Cairo, and the neighbouring provinces, have been ſacked, and that there was a great conſternation at Conſtantinople, upon occaſion of theſe irruptions and inſurrections (14). They were political frauds, deſigned to perſuade the people, that all the imperial troops would quickly be upon the Rhine. Two or three ſmall conſequences, very eaſy to be drawn, lead the reader preſently thither.

(12) *The firſt in 1692, the ſecond in 1695.*

(13) *Note, that Mecca does not belong to the Turks, as the Gazettes ſuppoſed.*

(14) *Compare the words of Juvenal, Sat. VI, ver. 402.*

Quidam ſacit iſte Neptunum, Inpopulos, magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri Diluvio, nutare urbes, ſubſidere terras. *Wrecks, floods, and fires, whatever ſhe can meet, She ſpreads, and in the ſame of every ſheet.*

How men ſport with different principles about proſperity and adverſity.

One would think the Turks, after theſe diſgraces, ſhould doubt whether their religion be good, and yet they do not: they are no more capable than other men of arguing conſequentially, and of following their own principles. They do as the orthodox would do; for they attribute their misfortunes, not to any fault in their religion, but to the little care they take to practiſe it. Give me leave to ſay one word about the inconſtancy of mens reaſonings with reſpect to adverſity and proſperity. Their maxims upon this ſubject are quite oppoſite: for you will be told, that they, who will live godly, muſt ſuffer perſecution (15), and that godlineſs has the promiſe of this life, and of that which is to come (16). You will be told, that GOD ſuffers the wicked to proſper in this life, and that, if we obſerve it narrowly, we ſhall find the maxim of Livy true, that thoſe, who fear GOD, ſucceed in their deſigns, and that fortune is an enemy to the ungodly (17). This is not all: as to the general theſis, it is agreed that we ſhould not judge of things by the event, and that thoſe, who do ſo, deſerve to be unhappy.

(15) 2 Tim. iii, 12.

(16) 1 Tim. iv, 8.

(17) Iaveniet is omnia proſpera eventiſſe ſequentibus Deos, adverſa ſequentibus, T. Livius, *lib.* v.

(18) Ovid. Epiſt. Phyll. ad Demophoont.

- - - - - careat ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat (18).

May he ſtill want ſucceſs in all his deeds,
Who thinks no action good, but what ſucceeds.

But let us repreſent to ourſelves two great oppoſite parties, one of which has formed an important enterprize: if it ſucceeds, they do not fail to infer from thence, that it is juſt; they maintain, that this good ſucceſs is a mark of GOD's approbation; the other party, on the contrary, maintains, that we muſt keep to the general theſis, and to the *careat ſucceſſibus opto*, &c. and that GOD, for the puniſhment of men, very often permits the wicked to ſucceed in their pernicious deſigns. But if the party, who gives ſuch leſſons of morality, ſoon after forms an enterprize of conſequence, and ſees it ſucceſsful, you ſhall no more hear them ſpeak of the general theſis; but they ſay in their turn, that good ſucceſs is a mark of the juſtice of that affair, and that it is plain, GOD has approved it, ſince he has ſo viſibly accompanied it with his holy benediction. Then the other party will not be aſhamed to ſay, that we muſt not judge of things by the event, *careat ſucceſſibus opto*, &c. and to vent a hundred fine common places. Is any thing more convenient than this? Is not this to be furniſhed with principles, as we are with cloaths, theſe for ſummer, and thoſe for winter (19)?

[E] *It is to no purpoſe to alledge, that, if the Chriſtian princes had not been divided, they would have beaten the Mahometans.*] An infinite number of books are full of complaints, that the Chriſtian princes, by devouring one another, have loſt Conſtantinople, the iſle of Rhodes, Hungary, &c. which they might eaſily have prevented, if they had united their forces againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendom. We have reaſon to believe this, and to complain of a diſagreement, which has proved ſo beneficial to the Turks. But it would be very ridiculous, if this remark ſhould be made uſe of, to ſhew, that the falſe church has not been more favoured with temporal proſperities than the true one; for this diſagreement of the Chriſtian princes is, in itſelf, a great unhappineſs: and, ſuppoſe the Infidels had not taken advantage of it, it had nevertheleſs been a great affliction to Chriſtendom. Obſerve well, that, in the queſtion, whether Chriſtianity has had a larger ſhare of proſperity, than the falſe religions, we are not to enquire, whether the Sultans obtained victories by the valour of their troops, or by the weakneſs of their enemies; but whether they conquered kingdoms, and gained battles over the Chriſtians. Whether they did ſo by good fortune, or by bravery, it is ſtill a temporal proſperity: and ſo we get nothing by leſſening the glory of their triumphs, under pretence of their taking advantage of the diviſions of the Chriſtians: this rather affords a new proof of the ill ſucceſs of the Chriſtians. Let us therefore eſteem it as a monument erected by the Chriſtians to the good fortune and glory of the Turks, that ſo many harangues have been publiſhed, exhorting Chriſtian princes to unite their forces againſt the Infidels. There was a time, when our profeſſors of eloquence would not have been thought worthy of their penſions, unleſs they had made an harangue of this nature, and thoſe harangues were not ſallies of wit, or ſchool-boys exerciſes, like the declamations, that were made at Rome upon Annibal (20) and Sylla (21); but they were ſerious and grave diſcourſes, deſigned to perſuade princes to enter into a ſtrict league, and undertake a famous expedition. Jerome Reuſnerus has collected ſeveral volumes of theſe harangues. Neither did princes alone ſtand in need of an exhortation to concord; there was another kind of diviſion, which did no ſmall miſchief to Chriſtianity. The eccleſiaſtics depended upon the laity, and theſe hoped the eccleſiaſtics would furniſh the expences of the war. Platina has very naturally deſcribed the ill effects, which followed from that reciprocal expectation. ' Mahome- ' tus Arabs, *ſays he* (22), magnum in Chriſtiano po- ' pulo excitavit incendium: & ita magnum, ut verear ' ne ejus ſecta noſtra potiſſimum ætate reliquias Chri- ' ſtiani nominis penitus extinguat: adeo tepeſcimus, ' & animo ac corpore languidi interitum noſtrum ex- ' pectantes concidimus. Invaleſcit ejus ſecta nunc ' multo magis quam antea. Nam tota Aſia & Africa, ' magnaque pars Europæ Mahometanus principibus ' ſubjecta eſt. Inſtant nunc Thurci terra ac mari: ' ut nos tanquam cuniculos, ex his Europæ latebris ' eruant. Sedemus otioſi: alter alterum expectantes, ' quaſi hoc malum univerſæ reipublicæ Chriſtianæ non ' immineat. Expectant ſacerdotes ut à ſæcularibus hoc ' tantum bellum & tam neceſſarium ſumatur. Expectant ' item ſæculares ut Preſbyteri tuendæ religionis cauſa pe- ' cunias in ſumptus bellicos polliceantur & ſubminiſtrent, ' ne in pejores uſus effundant, quemadmodum facere ple- ' rique conſuevere, pecunias eleemoſynis & ſanguine mar- ' rum comparatas, in aurea & argentea vaſa & pergran- ' dia

(19) *Apply here what St Hilary ſays, lib. ii. ad Conſtant. againſt the annuas atque menſtruas de Deo fides, which were rather fides temporum quam Evangeliorum. See alſo the Advice to the Refugees, pag. 85. and the end of the remark [G] of the article ARIUS.*

(20) I demens & lævas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias.
Juven. Sat. X. ver. 166.
Go, climb the rugged Alps, ambitious fool,
To pleaſe the boys, and be a theme, at ſchool.
DRYDEN.

(21) Et nos ergo manum ferulæ ſubduximus, & nos
Conſilium dedimus Syllæ privatus ut altum
Dormiret . . . . .
Idem, Sat. I, ver. 13.
Provok'd by theſe incorrigible fools,
I left declaiming in pedantic ſchools;
Where, with men-boys, I ſtrove to get renown,
Adviſing Sylla to a private gown.
Idem.

(22) Platina, in Bonifacio V.

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Sultan was an Atheiſt [F]. This may be true; at leaſt it is certain, that he made war, to ſatisfy his ambition, and not to aggrandize Mahometiſm. He preferred his own intereſt to that of the religion he profeſſed, and hence it came to paſs, that he granted a toleration

'dia quidem fundentes: parum de futuro ſolliciti: 'Dei quem tantum utilitatis gratia colunt, & homi-'num contemptores. - - - - *Mahomet the Arabian blew* 'up a great flame among the Chriſtians; ſo great a one, 'that I fear, leſt, in this our age, eſpecially, his ſect 'ſhould quite extinguiſh the remains of the Chriſtian 'name: we are ſo luke-warm, and ſit down in an in-'dolent expectation of our ruin. His ſect prevails at 'preſent more than ever: for all Aſia and Africa, and 'a great part of Europe, is ſubject to Mahometan princes. 'The Turks now preſs us by ſea and land, to drive us 'out of Europe, like rabbets out of their burrows. We 'ſit ſtill, each expecting the other to ſtir, as if this evil 'did not hang over the whole Chriſtian world. The 'clergy expect the laity ſhould undertake this ſo great and 'neceſſary war. The laity in their turns expect the 'clergy ſhould engage to ſupply money to carry on the war, 'and not ſquander away, as moſt of them do, the money 'raiſed by charities and the blood of martyrs, in the pur-'chaſe of large gold and ſilver veſſels, regardleſs of the 'future, and in contempt of GOD, whom they worſhip 'only for gain, as well as of men.'

Bellarmin therefore is very juſtly laughed at for placing proſperity among the marks of the true church. 'Quas ultimo ponit loco notas *Bellarminus IX & X* 'infelicem exitum Eccleſiam oppugnantium, felicitatem 'vero Eccleſiam defendentium, nomen notarum adeo non 'merentur, ut mirum ſit non cogitaſſe Cardinalem fu-'rioſis hac ratione Muhammedanis contra nos ſuppe-'ditari arma (23). - - - - - *The ninth and tenth marks,* 'which Bellarmin places laſt, to wit, The ill ſucceſs 'of thoſe, who oppoſe the church, and the good for-'tune of thoſe who defend it, *are ſo far from deſerving* 'the name of marks, that it is ſurpriſing the cardinal 'was not aware, that this was to furniſh the furious 'Mahometans with arms.' It belongs to the Mahometans to teach ſuch a doctrine, as Hottinger makes it appear, who, beſides ſhews, that the name of Catholic, antiquity, long and uninterrupted duration, large extent, ſucceſſion of biſhops, miracles, auſterity of manners, teſtimony of adverſaries, and ſuch other marks, whereby Bellarmin pretends to diſcern the true church, are the ſame, which the followers of Mahomet alledge to the advantage of their religion.

(23) Hotting. Hiſtor. Orient. pag. 338.

[F] *Some have written, that this Sultan was an Atheiſt.*] Paul Jovius makes the following remark upon this occaſion (24): 'Natus erat ex Deſpoti Ser-'viæ filia, quæ puerum Chriſtianis præceptis & mo-'ribus imbuerat, quorum mox oblitus adoleſcendo, 'ita ad Mahometis ſacra ſe contulit, ut neque hos, 'neque illos ritus teneret, & in arcano prorſus Atheos 'haberetur; utpote qui unum tantum bonæ fortunæ 'numen coleret, quod præclarè conciliari vivida effi-'cacique animi virtute prædicabat. Itaque nulli ad-'dictus religioni, cunctorum hominum accuratas de 'Diis, tanquam humana nihil curantibus, cogitationes 'irridebat; eo animi decreto, ut nullum unquam jus 'amicitiæ aut fœderis, niſi ex commodo, exceptaque 'ad proferendum imperium occaſione, colendum at-'que ſervandum arbitraretur. - - - - *He was born of a* 'daughter of the governor of Servia, who had inſtructed 'him during his childhood in the Chriſtian precepts and 'manners; which forgetting as he grew up, he embraced 'the Mahometan religion, but in ſuch a manner as not 'to ſtick to any particular rites, and was thought to be 'an Atheiſt in his heart; for he worſhipped only the 'deity of fortune, which he pretended might clearly be 'reconciled with a lively and efficacious virtue of the 'mind. Being therefore attached to no religion, he laughed 'at all mens notions about the gods, as not concerning 'themſelves with human affairs; and reſolved to obſerve 'no faith or compact farther than it ſerved to pro-'mote the ends of his ambition.' There are two obſervations to be made upon this paſſage: I. Paul Jovius is miſtaken when he affirms that the mother of Mahomet was a Chriſtian (25). 'Neither the name, 'nor the quality of his mother, are known, though 'all the weſtern Hiſtorians, being prepoſſeſſed with a 'common error, have deſcribed her to us under names 'differently forged, ſometimes of Meliſſa, and Irene; 'ſometimes of Mary the daughter of the Deſpotes of 'Servia, and called Deſpœne, a title of honour 'which the Greeks gave to the eaſtern Chriſtian 'princeſſes. But though this Deſpœne was married to 'Sultan Amurat, yet ſhe was no more than ſtep-mother 'to Mahomet, and never had any children, as is plainly 'proved by the embaſſy of the Hiſtorian Phranza †, 'who was ſent to ſollicit her to marry the emperor 'Conſtantine, when ſhe was the widow of Amurat. 'The Turks, and the reſt of the Greeks are agreed 'in this (26). . . . . There is a great probability, that 'Deſpœne Mary, who, by a peculiar privilege, 'lived there (27) in the exerciſe of the Chriſtian reli-'gion, took ſome care of him; for ſhe taught him 'the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelical Salutation, not 'as a leſſon of piety, which Amurat, being jealous 'of his worſhip, would have rigorouſly condemned, 'but as a meer amuſement to a child, whoſe curioſity 'already inclined him to all things.' My ſecond reflexion is, that Paul Jovius groſsly contradicts himſelf; for if Mahomet II acknowledged and ſerved the deity of fortune, and if he believed, that he could gain her favour by application, and by virtue of his courage, he was not at all an Atheiſt, and did not wholly reject Providence. It is plain, that this fortune, whom he ſerved, could not appear to his mind, but under the idea of a Being, which diſpoſes of events, and favours certain perſons. This cannot be attributed to a blind Being, which is moved by a natural force. But this Being muſt direct it's power according to it's deſires, muſt know what men do, and diſtinguiſh them one from another. Every one may ſee, that the Atheiſt's ſyſtem is inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of ſuch a Being (28). Father Maimbourg, who here tranſcribes Paul Jovius, has fallen into the ſame contradiction. *There never was,* ſays he (29), *a greater Atheiſt than this prince, who adored only his own good fortune, which he acknowledged as the only Deity, to which he was always ready to ſacrifice all things; who laughed at all religions; at the Chriſtian, in which he was inſtructed from his infancy by the Sultaneſs, his mother-in-law, daughter of the Deſpotes of Servia; and at the religion of Mahomet, whom he ſtiled the ring-leader of the banditti among his confidents; and at all thoſe, who believed there was any other Providence but that, which every one ought to have for himſelf. From hence it came to paſs, that his intereſt, grandeur, and pleaſure, were the only rule of his actions, and that he neither kept faith, nor word, nor oath, nor treaty, but only ſo far as he found it convenient, or uſeful, for attaining one of theſe three ends, which he aimed at in every thing that he undertook.*

(24) Jovius, in Elog. virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium, *lib. iii, pag. m.* 262.

(25) Guillet, *ubi ſupra, lib. i, pag.* 10.

† Phranz. lib. iii, cap. ii. Chalcond. lib. vii, Turco-Græc. pag. 22. Annal. Sultan. cap. xciii. xcvi.

(26) Guillet, ib. pag. 11.

† Turco-Græc. pag. 194. Informat. di Paolo Giovio, pag. 75. Annal. Sultan. cap. xcix.

(27) *That is, in the Seraglio.*

(28) *See the article* CÆSAR, *remark* [H].

(29) *Maimbourg, Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks,* lib. vi, *pag.* 291. *of the Dutch edition. He cites Ducas, cap. xxxiii.*

A REFLEXION on the common opinion, that there are fortunate perſons.

It is a very common opinion, that ſome perſons are fortunate; and others unfortunate; and we can hardly refrain from believing it, when we conſider public events. There are ſome admirals, who are almoſt always croſſed by contrary winds, in the moſt important deſigns. There are others, for whom a fair wind ſeems to riſe, every time they have any great deſigns to execute. This good and bad fortune does not appear ſo manifeſtly in land-armies; but it cannot be denied that rain or fair weather, and many other accidents, which do not at all depend upon our wiſdom, oftener croſs or hinder the deſigns of certain generals, than they do thoſe of others. It may be obſerved likewiſe, that there are ſome generals, who are never ſeconded with what they call lucky hits, but when they fight againſt captains, who are accounted unlucky. If we were to trace the adventures of private perſons, we ſhould find proportionably as many marks of theſe lucky or unlucky hits. No Atheiſt, no Epicurean, can admit of this diſtinction of good and bad fortune: it is inconſiſtent with their ſyſtem. Will they alledge the influences of the ſtars? This is fit only to be ſaid in a ſonnet: for the ſtars can do nothing, in this caſe, unleſs they are directed by an intelligent principle; and this is what they do not admit. They will ſay, that he is an unlucky man, who purchaſes two hundred lottery tickets out of three thouſand, and draws no prize at all; and that he is a lucky man, who buys only three tickets out of a hundred thouſand, and draws the higheſt prize: but they will maintain, that this is done without the direction of any intelligent Being, and is a neceſſary conſequence

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toleration to the Greek church, and alſo ſhewed great civility to the patriarch of Conſtantinople [G]. There is no probability, that he made the vow which is attributed to him [H]. It is ſaid, that to let his ſoldiers ſee, that pleaſure was not capable to effeminate

ſequence of the mixture of the tickets. In effect, if there were no Providence, ſomebody muſt neceſſarily have the greateſt prize, and one perſon rather than a hundred others: but they cannot maintain, according to their ſyſtem, that certain men ſhall always have the great prizes, who buy only a few tickets, and that thoſe, who buy a great number, ſhall never draw any prize; for this would plainly evince the direction of ſome genius, that is either a friend, or an enemy. And thus it appears, why they cannot admit the diſtinction, properly ſpeaking of fortunate and unfortunate perſons (30). In a word, to return to Mahomet, if he acknowledged the deity of fortune, he was neither an Atheiſt, nor an Epicurean.

(30) See upon all this the remarks of the article TIMOLEON.

[G] *He granted a toleration to the Greek church, and ſhewed great civility to the patriarch of Conſtantinople.*] I perſuade myſelf, that my readers will be glad to find here a ſhort account of a matter ſo curious as this. I ſhall make uſe of the words of Father Maimbourg, who, having deſcribed the taking of Conſtantinople, and Mahomet's triumphal entry into that city, continues thus: '(31) After this, as he was very 'dextrous, being unwilling to loſe the Chriſtians, who 'were the chief ſtrength, and afforded the greateſt 'revenue of his new empire, he applied himſelf, by a 'maſter-piece of Policy, to gain their good will, by 'ſhewing them, that he would treat them very favourably, like a good maſter, and allow them the 'free exerciſe of their religion. For, underſtanding †, 'that the patriarchical ſee was vacant by the voluntary 'reſignation of Gregory Protoſyncellus, who had retired to Rome, he reſolved to fill it up: and that he 'might immediately act as emperor, he ordered that 'it ſhould be done after the ſame manner, as was 'practiſed under the laſt princes. . . . He cauſed ſome 'biſhops to aſſemble, who were then near Conſtantinople, with the few eccleſiaſtics, who remained there, 'and the chief citizens; and theſe choſe, according to 'his order, the famous ſenator ‡ George Scholarius, 'the ſame who had declared ſo ſtrongly for the Catholic faith at the council of Florence, and whom 'Mahomet, who loved able men, had ſpared, when 'he put to death ſo many perſons of quality, knowing that he was the moſt learned man, and the moſt 'eloquent of all the Greeks. He was then choſen under the name of Gennadius; and the Sultan would 'have the ſame ceremonies obſerved on this occaſion, 'which the emperors of Conſtantinople had uſed at 'the inſtalling of the patriarchs, after this manner '. . . . . (32). Immediately after Gennadius had been 'choſen, he was conducted, by his order, with great 'pomp to the palace, where he received him with all 'ſorts of honours, and teſtimonies of good-will, 'making him even eat at his table, and holding long 'conferences with him, as if he had been one of 'his moſt intimate confidents. After which, having 'carried him into the great hall, the ceremony was 'performed of giving the paſtoral ſtaff into his hand, 'in the preſence of the Turks and Chriſtians, who 'flocked thither to ſee ſo ſurprizing a ſight; where 'the Sultan of the Turks, the mortal enemy of Chriſtendom, was ſeen to give the inveſtiture of the patriarchate of Conſtantinople, by the croſier. He did 'more than all this; for, tho' the new patriarch did 'all that he could to hinder him, alledging the example of other emperors, who had never carried 'goodneſs and civility ſo far; yet he would conduct 'him to the gate of the palace, and there he deſired 'him to mount on the fineſt horſe of his ſtables, 'richly harneſſed with white ſattin, embroidered with 'gold, and ordered all his viſiers and baſhaws to accompany him, as they did, marching in good order 'on foot, ſome before, and ſome behind him, in a 'long and magnificent train, a-croſs the ‡ whole city, 'as far as the famous church of the Twelve Apoſtles, 'which he had aſſigned to be his patriarchal church, 'inſtead of St Sophia, of which he had made a great 'moſque. He went alſo to viſit him ſome days after 'in the new patriarchal palace of the church of 'Our Lady, which he had obtained of the Sultan 'inſtead of that of the Twelve Apoſtles; and there 'he deſired him to explain to him the chief points of 'the Chriſtian religion: which that great man did 'with ſo much judgment, ſtrength, and clearneſs, and 'ſo much with the approbation of the Sultan, that he 'deſired to have that expoſition in writing, which is 'to be ſeen to this day in Greek, Latin, and Arabic 'half Turkiſh. Thus that able prince, by this counterfeited ſweetneſs at the beginning of his empire, 'endeavoured to oblige the Chriſtian Greeks to bear 'the yoke more patiently, which they were not to 'find ſo hard, as they have ſince found it to this 'day.' Conſult Mr Guillet (33), who relates all this largely and exactly, and mentions ſeveral other things, which were done by Mahomet in favour of the Greeks. The abſtract of which is ſeen in the following remark.

(31) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, pag. 358, &c.

† Phranza, lib. iii, cap. ix.

‡ Phranza, lib. et. Leo Allat. de perp. conſenſ. lib. iii, cap. v, vi.

(32) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 361, 362.

‡ Turco-Grac. lib. ii. Panmachiæ.

(33) Ubi ſupra, *lib. iii, pag.* 259, &c.

[H] *There is no probability, that he made the vow, which is attributed to him.*] The Supplement to the 'Annals of Baronius (34) in 1469, affirms, that Ma-'homet, tranſported with zeal for his religion, made 'the following ſolemn vow againſt ours. *I ſwear and 'proteſt by a vow, which I make to the only GOD, 'creator of all things, that I will neither taſte the 'ſweetneſs of ſleep, nor of good chear, that I will renounce even the deſires of pleaſure, and ſenſual delights, 'and that I will not turn my face from the eaſt to the 'weſt, till I have trampled under my horſe's feet all the 'gods, which the adorers of CHRIST ſhall make of 'wood, braſs, and gold, and all the paintings: in a 'word, till I have purged the whole face of the earth 'from their impieties, from the eaſt to the weſt, that I 'may cauſe the praiſes of the true GOD, and of Ma-'homet, his prophet, to be eternally ſounded forth every 'where.* The Greek Hiſtorians of that time, who 'could write with certainty about the affairs of their 'own country, and who did not ſpare this Sultan in 'any thing, ſay nothing of this vow. Is it poſſible, 'that the Latin Hiſtorians, without citing any authority, ſhould make Mahomet ſo zealous for his religion, who maintain, that he profeſſed none? Will 'they ſay, that this prince plaid the hypocrite, to 'flatter his ſubjects with a falſe appearance of piety, 'who was always ſo fierce, and ſo well perſuaded of 'his mighty power, that he never uſed any caution, 'nor was ever known to be reduced to ſuch a condeſcention by any ſedition of the army, or people, 'nor by any formality in the ceremonies of his law? 'It had been eaſy for him to have begun the performance of this vow in Turkey, where his ſacrilegious country-men would have been very well pleaſed 'to have ſeconded this falſe zeal. It is evident, that, 'contrary to the deſign of this pretended Policy, he 'would have made himſelf ridiculous there, by doing 'every day before their eyes the contrary to what he 'had promiſed: for we have deſcribed his care to reſtore the patriarchal dignity, to hold a kind of familiar converſation with the patriarchs Gennadius and 'Maximus, to authorize, from time to time, the exerciſe of their religion by letters-patents, or by the 'orders of his Cadies, and to people Conſtantinople 'with Chriſtian families, which he drew out of every 'city of Greece, as faſt as by his arms he conquered 'them. We need only conſider the preſent ſtate of 'Greece, where his ſucceſſors have permitted the exerciſe of Chriſtianity, according to the liberty he 'gave them, when they were firſt conquered. In the 'moſt famous monaſteries in that country, there are to 'be ſeen, to this day, the ſafe conducts and titles of 'exemption, which he generouſly granted to their 'prieſts. He did not forbid the Greeks the veneration of uncarved images, which is ſtill continued to 'them againſt the expreſs words of this vow; and he 'granted the ſame toleration for carved images, which 'were reverenced by the Genoeſe of the Romiſh 'church, ſettled at Galata, and by the Albanians of 'the ſame principle, who had been ſubject to Scanderbeg. The Latin Hiſtorians have alſo written, 'that, as often as Mahomet met a Chriſtian, he * be-'lieved himſelf defiled with a ſpiritual taint, and ran 'preſently to the waſhings of the Alcoran, and cleanſed 'his eyes and his mouth: but if this had been ſo, he 'muſt have uſed a great many purifications of this 'kind, when at the head of his army, he met fifty 'or ſixty thouſand Chriſtians (35).'

(34) That is, Spondanus, in the continuation of the Annals. He cites Letter cclxxx, of the cardinal of Pavia, and ſays, that a certain perſon having carried a copy of that vow to Raguſa, it was tranſlated into Italian, and ſent to the Venetians, who communicated it to the Pope. Probably this piece was forged, either by ſome idle man, or ſome politician, to excite the weſtern princes to a war.

* Iſidor. Rhuten.

(35) Guillet, ubi ſupra, *lib. vi, pag.* 164, &c.

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minate his warlike virtue, he cut off the head of a miſtreſs, with whom he was deſperately in love [*I*]. This ſtory, methinks, is a little apocryphal. Moſt of the Chriſtian hiſtorians, in ſpeaking of him, have ſacrificed their candor to their paſſion and reſentment [*K*]. He died on the third of May, 1481, in a town of Bithynia, *as he entered into the fifty ſecond year of his age* (*d*). *He was the firſt of the Sultans, who prepared for himſelf a particular monument* (*e*). I think he was alſo the firſt Sultan who loved the arts and ſciences [*L*]. His epitaph deſerves to be conſidered [*M*]. I ſhall have ſome faults to object to Mr Moreri [*N*], and will not paſs by the inconſiderateneſs of F. Maimbourg, who

(*d*) Guillet, ib. book vii, pag. 378, 379.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 381.

[*I*] *He cut off the head of a miſtreſs, with whom he was deſperately in love.*] She was called Irene, and was but ſeventeen years old (36). *A Baſhaw had made her a ſlave at the taking of Conſtantinople, and given her to the Sultan* (37). You may find in Mr Guillet the circumſtances of this adventure; but ſince he obſerves (38) that all thoſe, who mention it, tranſcribe it from Bandelli (39), an Italian monk, *who ſeems to deſerve no credit, by the faults he has committed, contrary to the order of time, and to the names and ranks of the perſons he introduces there*; I give no great credit to it. Mr Scuderi, who made ſo many harangues under the names of illuſtrious ladies, made ſome political diſcourſes under the names of kings. One of theſe diſcourſes is a pretended anſwer of our Sultan to the complaints of his army, on the ſame day that he beheaded this fine woman.

(36) Guillet, ib. *lib. iii, pag.* 293, *ad ann.* 1455.

(37) Id. ib.

(38) Ib. *p.* 299.

(39) This is BANDEL (MATTHEW), of whom I have made an article.

[*K*] *Moſt of the Chriſtian Hiſtorians . . . have ſacrificed their candor to their paſſion.*] Mr Guillet, having obſerved, that the weſtern nations gave this Sultan the title of Grand-Seignior, or Great Turk, adds immediately (40); 'It is true, that this favourable teſtimony of our people was contradicted by the greateſt part of the weſtern Hiſtorians of his time; for there was no reproach, nor outrageous term, wherewith they did not, by their pen, blacken this prince. Indeed their zeal for the Chriſtian religion is to be commended, when, as occaſion offered, they were tranſported with indignation againſt the impieties of Mahomet; but then they ought alſo, as occaſion ſerved, to have publiſhed what commendable qualities he had. This is the juſt moderation, which was obſerved by Philip de Comines, and Chalcondylas, and in the letter of Pope Pius II, who, ſpeaking of this prince during his life, laid aſide vulgar prejudices, and obſerved ſuch wiſe reſerves, as we ought always to have for crowned heads. For, in ſhort, in all times, an unſeemly cuſtom has baniſhed that moderation, which ought to be uſed among writers of a different religion, and of different parties, and hath put them upon invective and bitterneſs; as if juſtice and reaſon ſtood in need of ſuch mean and ſhameful helps. And indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that if, among all the reproaches publiſhed at that time againſt Mahomet, you except a few, which were indeed warranted by modeſty and piety, the reſt appear to be diſguiſed praiſe, and the vain threatenings of thoſe, whom he made to tremble.' This author gives us here a good picture of many people, who have appeared in all ages and all nations.

(40) Guillet, ubi ſupra, *lib. i, pag.* 9.

(41) Id. ib. *pag.* 15.

[*L*] *I think he was the firſt Sultan, who loved the arts and ſciences.*] He often read the hiſtory of Auguſtus, and of the other Cæſars, and with ſtill greater pleaſure that of Alexander, of Conſtantine, and Theodoſius; *becauſe all three reigned in the countries under his dominion* (41). . . . . *The love he had for hiſtory made him at length eſteem the Hiſtorians, of which he gave them ſome marks. . . . . He paſſionately loved Painting and Muſic, and applied himſelf to Carving and Agriculture* . . . . (42). *He was ſo fond of foreign languages, that, contrary to the genius of his nation, he ſpake not only the Arabic, in which the Ottoman laws, and the religion of Mahomet the law-giver are written, but alſo the Perſian, the Greek, and the French, that is the Italian corrupted; thus facilitating to himſelf a communication with thoſe people, whom he threatened with his arms. But chiefly he excelled in Aſtrology; and, to encourage his own troops, and terrify his enemies, he gave out, that the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies promiſed him the empire of the world* (43). To know how well he was ſkilled in Painting, we need only read in Mr Guillet, what Vaſari relates of Gentile Belino, a famous Venetian Painter, who was for ſome time at Mahomet's court, and returned from thence loaded with preſents (44). He brought home the picture of that emperor, and ſo it was not difficult for Hiſtorians to deſcribe to us his aſpect, and yet they repreſent him very differently. F. Maimbourg has a little abuſed F. Bouhours upon this ſubject. See the *Critique Générale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme* (45). I ſhall end this remark with theſe words of Paul Jovius (46): 'Cæterum Mahomet qui impietatis apud ſuos, apud noſtros verò perfidiæ, & inhumanæ crudelitatis notam ſubiit, hanc ſaltem confeſſione omnium certam laudem à Barbaris repudiatam, non inſulſe tuliſſe exiſtimatur, quòd ei literarum, & præcellentium artium decus cordi fuerit; quando cunctas clariſſimarum gentium Hiſtorias, ſibi verti in Turcicam linguam juberet; ut inde hauſtis militiæ præceptis, actionum ſuarum diſciplinam, exemplorum varietate confirmaret, & præclaros artifices pictoreſque præſertim inſigni liberalitate complecteretur. Nam & commentaria rerum ab ipſo geſtarum à Liberto ejus Vicentino (47) conſcripta legimus; veraque ejus imagine ſumus potiti, quam Gentilis Bellinus, è Venetiis Byzantium evocatus pinxerat; quum ibi regiam multis tabulis rerum novarum ad oblectationem jucundiſſimam referſiſſet. - - - - *But Mahomet, whom thoſe of his own religion accuſed of impiety, but the Chriſtians of treachery and inhuman cruelty, muſt, by the confeſſion of all parties, receive this praiſe, that he had at heart the encouragement of learning and uſeful ſciences; having ordered the hiſtories of the moſt famous nations to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh language, that, by military precepts drawn from thence, he might confirm his own actions by a variety of examples: he was likewiſe very liberal to artificers that excelled in their way, and eſpecially to Painters. For there are extant Commentaries of his actions, written by his freed-man, a Vicentine; and we have an authentic picture of him, done by Gentilis Bellinus, who was ſent for from Venice to Conſtantinople, where he adorned the palace with many beautiful and excellent paintings.*'

(42) Id. ib. *pag.* 16.

(43) Ibid. pag. 17. See upon all this Father Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks, *lib. vi, p.* 289, who cites Phranz. *lib. i, cap. xxxiii. Leuncl. lib. xv.*

(44) Ibid. *lib. iv, pag.* 505, *&c.* See alſo Florent le Comte, in *Tom. i*, of the Cabinet of Singularities, *pag.* 29, 30, of the Paris Edit. 1699; and the *Journ. de Trevoux, May* 1702, *pag.* 122, French edition.

(45) Letter xxx, *pag.* 333, 334, of the third edition.

(46) Paul. Jovius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 265.

(47) He is doubtleſs the ANGIOLELLO, of whom I have made an article.

[*M*] *His epitaph deſerves to be conſidered.*] 'His body was carried into the moſque, founded by himſelf, where his turbant and his ſcymitar are to be ſeen to this day: but the ſingularity of his epitaph is this, that it ſays nothing of his great actions, and ſeems to value them but little, in compariſon of his laſt thoughts, which are only expreſſed in it as the greateſt elogium, and moſt faithful picture of his courage. The inſcription conſiſted only of nine or ten Turkiſh words, which may be expounded by theſe; *I intended to conquer Rhodes, and proud Italy* (48).' This very plainly informs us, I. That Mahomet's epitaph did not mention any of the deſigns he had executed, but only the deſigns he had intended to have executed. II. That theſe future actions were ſet down in the Turkiſh language. This is very different from the account of Madam Scuderi. *As ambition was the predominant paſſion of Mahomet, ſo it followed him to his death, and he ordered this inſcription to be put on his monument in the Latin tongue, after a long narrative of all his victories in the Turkiſh tongue.* HE INTENDED TO HAVE RUINED RHODES, AND PROUD ITALY (49). Spandiginus agrees (50) with this account, except that he does not ſay, the laſt words were in Latin. I find it probable enough, that Selim I, to go beyond this epitah, cauſed one to be made, in which he ſaid, that he ſtill made war after his death (51).

(48) Guillet, ubi ſupra, *lib. vii, pag.* 381.

(49) Scuderi, Illuſtre Baſſa, *Tom. i, pag.* 320, 321.

(50) Apud Spondanum, ad ann. 1481, num. ii.

(51) Here follows the ſubſtance of the epitaph, recited by du Verdier in his Hiſtory of the Turks; *I am the great Selim, who conquered the earth, who ſeek for fights ſtill after my death. Fortune did always bend under my efforts: my body is in this tomb, but my ſpirit is at war.*

[*N*] *I ſhall have ſome faults to object to Mr Moreri.*] I. It is not true, that Mahomet ſubdued Carinthia and Stiria. His troops only made excurſions, and ravaged the country there, after the victory of Liſoncio, which they gained over the Venetians in 1476 (52). II. It is falſe that he made his own epitaph in Latin. III. And that he died at Nicomedia: for he died in a *town of Bithynia, known to the antients by the name of Aſtacus, between Conſtantinople and Nicomedia, which are diſtant from each other a day's journey*

(52) See Paul Jovius, ubi ſupra, pag. 265, & Guillet, lib. vii, pag. 290, 291.

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who attributes to the Schism of the Greeks the miſchiefs they ſuffered under this Turkiſh prince [O].

Landinus, a knight of Rhodes, has collected divers letters, which this Sultan had written in Syriac, in Greek, and in Turkiſh, and tranſlated them into *Latin*. This tranſlation has been publiſhed. I ſhall ſpeak of it below [P]; but it is not known, where the originals may be found (*f*). I ſhall take notice likewiſe of a letter, which Pope Pius II wrote to the ſame Sultan. It has employed the pens of the controverſial writers [Q]. It may not only ſtand a ſuperficial examination, but alſo dazzle the eyes of

(*f*) *See* Huet. de Interpret. pag. m. 183.

ney (53). This town is called by ſome Teggiur Tzair, and by others Geiviſe. IV. He lived not fifty three years, but a little more than fifty one years. V. One cannot ſufficiently wonder, that Mr Moreri ſhould ſay, that *Mahomet did not want courage*. It is thus we uſually to ſpeak of a man ſuſpected of cowardice, when we endeavour to vindicate him. It is thus we ſpeak of a very peaceable prince, who never gave any public proofs of his valour, but made it appear in private, that he neither feared death nor dangers: but it is abſurd to expreſs one's ſelf after this manner, ſpeaking of a thunder-bolt of war, and of ſuch a conqueror as our Mahomet was, who, to uſe the words of an Hiſtorian, whom Moreri ſhould have known (54), *had by nature a body extreamly ſtrong, that could endure all the fatigues of war, which he made his continual buſineſs during his whole life; had a very fiery temper, was vehement, bold, enterprizing, and inſatiable of glory, and had a heart even greater than his birth and fortune, together with an undaunted courage*. VI. Mr Moreri expreſſes himſelf very ill a little after, when he affirms, that, *to ſpeak ingenuouſly, one cannot bear of Mahomet's debaucheries without contempt:* and preſently after he ſays, *that this infamous wretch would have forced the princeſs of Walachia*. Is it not with horror, and not with contempt, that we hear of ſuch a leudneſs? VII. *Mahomet did not cut off the head of a woman, with his own hands, becauſe ſhe appeared to him too beautiful:* it was becauſe his ſoldiers murmured to ſee him loſe his reputation, and the fair opportunities of action, in the arms of a woman: Beſides, the fact is not certain (55). VIII. It is falſe, that this Sultan, *after the taking of Conſtantinople, vented his rage againſt the dead body of the emperor Conſtantine*. The chancellor (56) of that emperor, who was at Conſtantinople, and *wrote nothing but what he ſaw himſelf* (57) ſays the contrary: 'He aſſures us, that the Sultan, having cauſed ſtrict 'ſearch to be made every where, to find out the 'truth of what was yet doubtful, *viz.* whether he 'was alive or dead, his body was at laſt found among 'the bodies of ſeveral Turks and Chriſtians, heaped 'one upon another; doubtleſs in the ſame place, 'where this brave prince had been killed, with thoſe 'valiant men who periſhed with him, after they had 'deſtroyed a great number of the enemy; for in 'the gates there were none but the bodies of Chriſti-'ans, either ſtifled in the croud, or killed, while they 'were endeavouring to get out. He adds, that the 'body, tho' all diſfigured, was known by the 'purple buſkins enriched with eagles embroidered 'in gold, which the emperors only wore; and that 'Mahomet, being deſirous to do honour to the virtue 'and courage of ſo great a prince, commanded all 'the funeral honours to be paid to him, that were 'due to the emperors (58).'

[O] *Father Maimbourg inconſiderately attributes to the ſchiſm of the Greeks the miſchiefs they ſuffered under this Turkiſh prince.*] He perpetually repeats (59), that the taking of Conſtantinople, and the ruin of their empire, were the juſt puniſhment of their obſtinacy, in refuſing the ſubmiſſion they owed to the ſee of Rome. He was little the better for the cenſures he received for writing in the ſame dogmatical manner, in the hiſtory of the Iconoclaſts. It was then proved to him that this doctrine was ſeditious. He had ſaid (60) *that God took away the weſtern empire from the Greeks, as a puniſhment of the revolt they had ſo often renewed againſt the church*; which a critic thus cenſured (61). *God alone knows the cauſe of the change of empires and kingdoms; and it is, at leaſt, a raſh thing, to attribute it to the impiety, or the hereſies, of the princes or ſubjects of thoſe empires. Do you think*, continued he, *that it is allowable for any one to ſay of a king, or emperor, that is heretical, or of a prince, in whoſe dominions there are heretics, when we ſee them deprived of their dominions, that they have loſt them upon the account of the hereſies that aroſe in them. This approaches too near*, replied Euchariſtus, *to that deteſtable doctrine, condemned for hereſy in the council of Conſtance* *. *For if it may be ſaid of a prince, that he loſt his ſovereign power, and was deprived by* GOD *for his crimes, for his hereſy, or for the hereſy that prevailed in his dominions, is not this to ſay, that theſe crimes deſerve the deprivation of a prince?* This doctrine is not only ſeditious, but alſo an imitation of the complaints that were made by the Pagans againſt the Chriſtian church (62), on occaſion of the great ravages the Goths made in Rome, in all Italy, and elſewhere. The city of Rome was as ill treated by Charles the Vth, in 1527, as Conſtantinople was, when the Turks took it. Would not Father Maimbourg take it ill, if the Greeks ſhould tell him, that Rome was then laid waſte, becauſe ſhe was ſo ambitious as to require that the Greek church ſhould pay her obedience? What would he anſwer to this? that Rome was in the right, and that it was not ſo with the Greeks? But would not this be what is called *Petitio principii?* Men ought not thus to ſearch into the counſels of Providence. All parties ſtand in need of this leſſon; they often attribute the calamities of a contrary party to the qualities of it's doctrine, which is to forget the declarations of (63) JESUS CHRIST (64). Father Maimbourg would not have been much more unreaſonable, if he had adopted the ſtory related by Chalcondylas. That Hiſtorian pretends, that the Romans, being deſcended from Æneas, and being ſtill concerned in the ruin of Troy, ſaid, that the Greeks had ſuffered ſo much miſchief at the taking of Conſtantinople, as a puniſhment of the outrages they had formerly committed in the kingdom of Priamus. *Facetus eſt Chalcondylas dum ait Romanos ſeu Latinos conſtanter aſſeverare, hanc cladem contigiſſe Græcis in ultionem eorum quæ olim feciſſent barbaris in deſtructione Ilii; quod videlicet dicantur Romani à Trojanis deſcendiſſe* (65). According to this fine chimera, we ſhould not leave the numbers as they ſtand in the decalogue. We ſhould believe, that GOD *viſits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children*, not unto the fourth, but unto the thouſandth generation, and ſo preſcription ſhould never take place; *Delicta majorum immeritus lues Romane* (66). France would have reaſon to fear, leſt, two thouſand years hence, an irruption of Barbarians ſhould revenge on her the injuries, which the Romans and Greeks received from Brennus.

[P] *The tranſlation of his letters was publiſhed; I ſhall ſpeak of it below.*] It was printed at Lyons in 4to in 1520, and ſince at Baſil, with the Epiſtles of Symmachus, by Frobenius (67). It was afterwards inſerted in a collection of letters, which John Oporinus publiſhed at Baſil in 1554, in 12mo (68). This collection was compiled by Gilbert Couſin, and intituled, *Farrago Epiſtolarum Laconicarum & Selectarum*. The tranſlation of Landin, in 8vo, was reprinted at Marpurg, in 1604, and again at Leipſic, in 12mo, in 1690, by the care of Simon Gœbelius Romhildenſis Francus (69). Melchior Junius, Profeſſor of Eloquence at Straſburg, publiſhed at Montbeliard, in 1595, a collection of letters, which contains three of thoſe, written to Scanderbeg by Mahomet II. The compiler took them out of a book of Marinus Barletius *de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi*. There are added to them three anſwers, that were returned to the Sultan. The Turkiſh ferocity does not at all appear in theſe three letters of Mahomet; they are written in very civil terms, and are ſuch as might become the moſt debonaire Chriſtian princes to write.

[Q] *A letter which Pope Pius II wrote to the ſame Sultan . . . . has employed the controverſial writers.*] Mr du Pleſſis Mornai was the aggreſſor in theſe words (70). *The ambition of Pius II cannot be better known than by his Epiſtle* 396, *wherein he offers and promiſes*

(53) Guillet, lib. vi, pag. 377.

(54) Maimbourg's Schiſm of the Greeks, *lib. vi, pag.* 369. He cites Leuncl. *hiſt ro.* Lonic. Hiſt. Turc. *lib. i.* Cuſpin. in Mahom.

(55) See the remark [I].

(56) He was called Phranzes.

(57) Maimbourg, Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks, *lib. vi, pag.* 347.

(58) Id. ib. pag. 358, he cites Phranzes, *lib. iii, cap. xviii.*

(59) In the Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the Greeks, *lib. vi.*

(60) See the Dialogues of Eudoxus and Euchariſtus, *pag.* 95, of the Holland edition.

(61) Ib. *pag.* 96.

* Seſſ. xv. quilibet tyrannus, *&c.*

(62) See Oroſius in his preface, and St Auguſtin, de Civit. Dei, in Præfat. & alibi paſſim.

(63) St Luke's Goſpel, ch. xiii.

(64) *Confer quæ ſupra*, citat. (21) of the article CAUSSIN.

(65) Spondanus, ad ann. 1453. *num. xvii, pag.* m. 30.

(66) Horace, Od. IV, lib. III.

(67) Epit. Bibl. Geſneri, *p.* 533.

(68) Ib. *p.* 560.

(69) *See* Crenii, Animadverſ. Part. ii, pag. 26.

(70) Du Pleſſis, *Miſtery of Iniquity, pag.* 541.

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of thoſe, who read it without the ſpirit of Criticiſm, and repreſent this Pope to them under an advantageous idea, and worthy of praiſe. Nay, even thoſe, who examine it ſtrictly, and conſider Pius II only under the notion of a ſovereign prince of one part of Italy, may judge his letter to be prudential; but, when it is weighed in the balance of the ſanctuary, and when we conſider, that he, who wrote it, calls himſelf the Vicar of JESUS

promiſes the Grecian empire to Mahumed king of the Turks, provided he would turn Chriſtian, and ſuccour the church, that is, his own party, and aſſiſt him to rend Chriſtendom in pieces, as he did by continual wars, giving him to underſtand, that it was in his gift, and that thus his predeceſſors had granted the empire of Germany to Charlemagne. Coëffeteau filled all the ſails of his eloquence, or rather of his anger, in anſwering this paſſage of Du Pleſſis. 'Is it poſſible, 'ſays he (71), that hereſy ſhould ſo far extinguiſh all 'ingenuity, as to make us condemn what is moſt 'commendable in the actions of thoſe we have a mind 'to defame? There can be nothing ſo learned and 'eloquent, nothing ſo ſolid and nervous, nothing ſo 'humble and Chriſtian, nothing ſo pious and reli-'gious, as this epiſtle; and yet Du Pleſſis alledges 'it, as a ſignal mark of the inſolence of it's author. 'Does then any ſpark of modeſty, any ſenſe of ju-'ſtice, remain with him? Here are the words, from 'which he would infer the ambition of Pius. *If 'you deſire*, ſays this Pope to Mahomet, *to enlarge your 'empire among the Chriſtians, and render your name 'glorious, you need neither gold nor ſilver, nor armies, 'nor ſhips, to do it. One little thing may render you 'the greateſt, the moſt powerful, the moſt famous, of 'all men that live this day. You will aſk what it 'is? It is not difficult to find it, and you need not 'ſearch far for it; it is to be met with in all parts 'of the world; it is only a little water, to baptize 'you, that you may embrace the Chriſtian religion, and 'believe the Goſpel. If you do this, no prince in the 'world will exceed you in glory, or equal you in power. 'We will call you the emperor of the Greeks, and of the 'Eaſt; and what you now poſſeſs by violence and in-'juſtice, you ſhall then poſſeſs by right and equity. All 'Chriſtians will honour you, and make you arbri-'trator of their differences*, &c. And again, *If you 'were baptized, and would go with us into the 'houſe of the Lord, the people would no longer dread your 'empire, nor would we aſſiſt them againſt you; but ra-'ther we would implore your aid againſt thoſe, who 'ſometimes uſurp what belongs to the Roman church, 'and lift up their horns againſt their mother. And as 'our predeceſſors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo, called in 'to their aſſiſtance Pepin and Charlemagne, againſt 'Aſtulphus and Deſiderius, kings of the Lombards, and, 'after they had by them been delivered from the oppreſſion 'of tyrants, transferred to their deliverers the empire of 'the Greeks; ſo we would make uſe of your aſſiſtance, 'and we would not be ungrateful for the benefit we 'ſhould receive.* Can a reader, who conſiders theſe 'things without paſſion, diſcover any appearance of 'ambition in this epiſtle? was it not rather his zeal, 'that made him write thus, to influence the pride and 'courage of this Barbarian? And does he promiſe 'Mahomet any thing, but what all Chriſtendom would 'have conſented to, if this Barbarian had been willing 'to embrace theſe conditions, which Pius propoſed to 'him?' This language is very fit to prejudice thoſe againſt Du Pleſſis, who are unacquainted with books of controverſy; I mean, ſo far as to diſcuſs matters, and confront the ſeveral pieces, that the anſwers and replies may the better be compared together. This is almoſt the only way to be well aſſured, that thoſe, who give themſelves the greateſt airs of triumph, and make the moſt tragical exclamations, are generally reduced to ſome troubleſome ſtreights, and under a neceſſity of ſupplying by figures of Rhetoric, what they want of reaſon. Thoſe, who are verſed in this kind of reading, which I have deſcribed, and, beſides, are tenderly concerned for the glory and memory of du Pleſſis Mornai, will have no reaſon to fear, when they read all the words of his adverſary; but if they be novices, and ſuch as cannot very readily lay hold of this prejudice againſt Coëffeteau, *viz.* that he being a Dominican, does not manage controverſy fairly, they will be much afraid, that Du Pleſſis was miſtaken, and will think that he is utterly confounded; and therefore they will be impatient to inform themſelves, whether he, or any other, has anſwered Coëffeteau.

(71) *Coëffet. Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, pag.* 1197.

Whatever their uneaſineſs may be, they can no longer doubt of the victory of their champion, when they examine the reply of Rivet. And this ought to warn us to obey the precept, *audi & alteram partem; hear alſo the other party*, and that it is not ſufficient to examine what John ſays, and what Peter anſwers, but we muſt alſo inform our ſelves what is anſwered to Peter.

Rivet, anſwering for Du Pleſſis, confeſſes, that the long letter of Pius II to Mahomet contains *very good things againſt the belief of the Turks, in confirmation of the Chriſtian faith*; but, adds he (72), 'beſides that 'it appears to be a very uſeleſs deſign, that of con-'verting this prince by an epiſtle, which was no ways 'probable, there is a diabolical malice in it. For, in-'ſtead of ſhewing that the poor Chriſtian Greeks un-'der the empire of this Barbarian, raiſed the compaſ-'ſion of the Chriſtians in theſe parts, and exhorting 'him to treat them civilly, he ſeems to have written 'this epiſtle on purpoſe to blacken them as *falſe Chri-'ſtians*, and to diſcover, that their loſs does not affect 'the Latins. Our Hiſtory adds, as a mark of ambi-'tion, that he propoſes to Mahomet, provided he 'would be baptized, the peaceable empire of all he 'had uſurped, and promiſes him, that *all will make 'him judge of their debates, and that the whole world 'will appeal to his deciſion* (you may judge whether the 'princes, who had been a long time Chriſtians, were 'not mightily obliged to him); *that many of themſelves 'would ſubmit to him, and to his ſentence*, &c. He 'adds, *that the charity of the Romiſh church will not 'only be towards him what it is to other kings, but ſo 'much greater, as he is higher than they.* Obſerve this 'ſtroke. *In fine, he repreſents to him, that the Romiſh 'church would implore his aid againſt the undutiful 'children that roſe up againſt their mother.* And in 'fine, having boaſted, that the Popes had transferred 'the empire of the Greeks to the French, he pro-'miſes, that, in conſideration of his ſervices done to 'the church, he would do the like by him, in return 'for his benefits. There is wanting a long commen-'tary on this diſcourſe. In a few words, this way 'of converting men by promiſing them the empire of 'the world is not apoſtolical. II. It is a ridiculous 'thing to promiſe a foreign and potent prince, what 'he is already poſſeſſed of. III. It is contrary to 'charity, which is no reſpecter of perſons, to be 'greater toward thoſe who are more highly advanced. 'IV. It is againſt the ſame charity, to diſcover to an 'infidel the miſeries of Chriſtendom, and to deſire his 'converſion, on purpoſe to make uſe of him againſt 'princes already Chriſtians. V. It is vanity, ambi-'tion, and preſumption, to boaſt, that the empire of 'Charlemagne is a reward from the Pope, and to pre-'tend, that he could reward, after the ſame manner, 'him to whom he ſpeaks: let the reader judge, whe-'ther this diſcourſe becomes him, who ſays he is ſeat-'ed in the chair of St Peter: Is this a diſcourſe *hum-'ble, chriſtian, modeſt, and pious?* Would theſe *con-'ditions and promiſes have been approved by all Chri-'ſtendom?*' I know not whether Coëffeteau, or any o-ther Catholic, has anſwered this book of Rivet; and if I had in my hands the ſecond piece of the antagoniſts of Du Pleſſis, I would here ſet it down at length that nothing might be wanting, and that my readers might give ſentence, having a full knowledge of the cauſe, upon the charge alledged againſt Pius II. It ſeems not poſſible to reply any thing very material to the remarks of Rivet; but, on the contrary, it ſeems very poſſible to make them more unanſwerable; for what can be more horrible, and ſhameful to the Chriſtian religion, than to ſee Mahomet II, one of the greateſt criminals that ever lived, a man, who had ſhed ſo much blood, and robbed ſo many perſons of their eſtates by a continual train of cruelties and injuſtices, become lawful poſſeſſor of all his uſurpations, provided he would be baptized? What becomes of that inviolable law of Chriſtian morality, that the firſt ſtep of repentance that expiates a robbery, is the reſtitution of the ill-gotten goods? What would one ſay,

(72) *Rivet's Remarks upon the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, Part ii, pag.* 617.

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JESUS CHRIST, and consequently the protector of the morality of the Gospel, he cannot be excused. Since therefore this question has different faces, none ought to blame me for relating a little at large the words of the advocates, who plead this cause. My commentary ought to be considered, among other respects, under the notion of that volume, in which Historiographers insert all the pieces for their justification, which they mention in the course of the narrative. Let this be said once for all. Some persons believe, that the letter of Pius II was not written with the design of being sent to Mahomet [*R*].

if a Jew, guilty of a fraudulent bankruptcy for three millions, should obtain, by the meer ceremony of baptism, without being obliged to make any restitution, a full absolution of his crimes, and a right to possess those three millions? Would not the Infidels have very good reason to defame Christianity as the pest of equity and natural morality? And yet this procedure with respect to the bankrupt would be only a peccadillo, in comparison of the offers, which Pius II made to Mahomet, to make him lawful possessor of his conquests, by means of a few drops of water sprinkled upon his face. What would the apostles say at the sight of such a dispensation, and such an use of the keys? Is this agreeable to what St Paul says (73), or even to what Ovid an Heathen Poet says,

(73) *For we are not as many, who corrupt the word of God.* 2 Cor. ii. 17.

(74) Ovid. Fast. lib. II, ver. 27.

O nimium faciles qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua (74).

Fools! to believe, that water, duly spilt,
Can wash away the crimson stains of guilt.

(75) Guillet, Hist. of Mahomet II, *Tom. I, pag. 361, & seq. ad ann.* 1461.

† Francisco Sansovino, *fol.* 134.

[*R*] *Some persons believe, that the letter of Pius II was not written with the design of being sent to Mahomet.*] I shall add nothing to the words which I borrow from a Catholic writer (75). 'Here we must 'add a word about the long letter, which † Francisco Sansovino has published, under the name of 'Pope Pius (76) to Sultan Mahomet. For it appears 'by it, that this Pope wrote it at a time, when the 'conquest of Sinope and Trebizonde made the Latin 'princes fear the like effort from the Ottoman arms. 'It shews at large the advantages of the Christian 'religion above the Mahometan, and pretends to in'vite the Sultan to baptism by great examples, repre'senting to him, how glorious it was for Constantine 'the great, to have been the first of the Roman em'perors, who became a Christian, and to Clovis 'to have been also the first of the French kings, who 'embraced the Gospel, and that it would be no less 'honourable for him to be the first of the Ottoman 'monarchs, who embraced our faith. There are ma'ny, who, reflecting upon the unaccessible and morose 'humour of Mahomet, do not think it probable, that 'a letter, on so nice a subject, was ever delivered to 'him, or that any durst wait for an answer to it. 'They add, that at least it would have found the 'Sultan very little inclined to the proposal, and that, 'unless by a miracle, his conversion could not be 'the effect of the remonstrances of a letter. Thus 'when the Italians would express the little hopes there 'is of success in any matter, they say pleasantly in 'their language, *La penna non toglie il filo alla spada:* 'That *the pen does not blunt the edge of the sword.* It 'is probable therefore, that it was published among 'the western nations, after the taking of Trebizon'de, as a manifesto, to justify the arms of the Cru'sade, and to awake the ardor of the warriors in 'Christendom, after they had seen, that the Pope had 'endeavoured in vain to divert the arms of the Sultan 'in the peaceable way of remonstrances.'

(76) He seems to be ignorant, that this letter is found in the editions of Pius II, his letters.

MAHOMET GALADIN, emperor of Mogul, was famous for his good qualities, and chiefly for his great application to hear the petitions and complaints of his subjects. He gave them audience twice a day; and, that persons of a mean condition, who commonly could not, or durst not, approach his tribunal, might have an opportunity to declare their grievances, he caused a bell to be set near him, to which a rope was tied that went into the street, and, whenever the bell was rung, he either went out, or ordered him, who had pulled the rope, to be brought in (*a*). He died in the year 1605, and none could ever know of what sect he was (*b*). He had thoughts of becoming a Christian; but the Mahometan priests dissuaded him from it by two reasons [*A*].

(*a*) Don Clement Tosi, *a Benedictin of the congregation of St Sylvester, in the first volume of his* Gentilesimo confutato.

(*b*) Mori nel 1605, senza saperfi di qual Setta egli fosse stato. *Giornale de Letterati, June* 27, 1669, *pag.* 83, in the abstract of *Gentilesimo confutato.*

[*A*] *The Mahometan priests dissuaded him from becoming a Christian by two reasons.*] By one reason applied to the mind, and another to the heart. They told him, that the Christian religion proposed to him mysteries to be believed, which he could not at all comprehend, and that it would oblige him to marry but one wife. It is very probable, that the second reason weighed more with him than the first; for those who have been educated in the doctrine of Polygamy, and have put it in practice, have a frightful idea of the Christian doctrine in this point; and, although the Great Mogul might be told, that this evangelical doctrine did not much incommode many Christian princes, because almost all of them dispensed with it, not indeed by marrying many wives, but by keeping mistresses, he might still think it hard: for in short there is a great difference between practising things agreeable to religion, and not being able to practise them without violating the laws of religion. *Poco vi manco che non accettasse la nostra religione, e ne fu ritirato da i Mulasi Sacerdoti Mahomettani dal non poter capir i misteri della fede col, lume naturale, e l'obligo di contentarsi d'una sola moglie* (1). Lyserus, the grand apologist for Polygamy, does not forget to observe, that the law of marrying but one wife retards the conversion of the infidels (2).

(1) Giornale de Letterati, June 27, 1669, pag. 83, *in the abstract of* Gentilesimo confutato, *by* Don Clement Tosi.

(2) *See* Polygamia triumphatrix, *pag.* 92.

MAYERNE (THEODORUS TURQUET SIEUR DE) one of the most famous Physicians of his time, was born near Geneva (*a*) in 1572, or thereabouts (*b*). He took, at Montpelier in 1596, his degree of Bachelor of Physic, and his degree of Doctor in the same faculty, Febr. 20. 1597. He went from thence to Paris some time after, and applied himself very much to the practice of Chymistry; which was a study greatly decried at that time, and very odious to the Physicians of Paris. Upon which account they railed most vehemently against Mayerne and du Chesne (*c*), and endeavoured to make them pass for sworn enemies to Physic. This appears from a book, that was printed in 1603, against these two Physicians. Mayerne refuted it in another book, which was refuted in it's turn [*A*]. This was not all; for the faculty of Physic attacked

(*a*) In a country house, called Mayerne, in the territory of the Republic of Geneva. *Browne, in Præfat. Operum Mayerni.*

(*b*) *See in the remark* [*C*], *the true day of his birth.*

(*c*) *See the remark* [*A*], *citation* (8).

[*A*] *Mayerne refuted it in another book, which was refuted in it's turn.*] Guy Patin mentions this dispute, but like one, that took pleasure in censuring, and who was an enemy to innovating Physicians. 'The 'Sieur

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attacked him by a decree prohibiting him to practise; but, notwithstanding this, Mayerne was sent for to court, and was made Physician in ordinary to Henry the Great. After the death of this prince, he retired to England, and there raised a very great fortune. He obtained the friendship of several illustrious persons there, and so far gained the favour of the learned king James, that he was not only his First Physician, but also in some measure his favourite. He was loaded with honours (*d*), and his fortune still increased under king Charles I. He was unanimously admitted Doctor of Physic in both universities of the kingdom. His reputation and practice were extraordinary, and he acquired a great estate. He had two sons and one daughter, who was married to the marquis de Ruvigni (*e*). He died at the age of eighty two years. I take this from the preface to his works, printed at London in 1700 [*B*]. We shall give in the remarks a more particular and exact account [*C*]. I must not forget, that our Mayerne met

(*d*) *See in the remark* [*B*], *the inscription under his print.*

(*e*) *It is a mistake. See the remark* [*C*].

(1) Patin, Letter viii, pag. 35, of Tom. i. It is dated Nov. 16, 1645.

(2) See the end of this remark.

(3) This book was seized, confiscated, and prohibited. See the *French Mercury*, *Tom. ii*, ad ann. 1611. pag. m. 184.

(4) Patin, ubi supra, *pag.* 36.

(5) Id. ib. pag. 37.

(6) Ib. pag. 39.

(7) In the body of this article, citation (*c*).

(8) Patin, Letter xxxi, *pag.* 142, *Tom. i.*

'Sieur de Mayerne Turquet, *says he* (1), Physician to 'the king of England, is, as I have been informed, 'a native of Geneva, the son of one, who wrote the 'History of Spain (2), which is now printed in two 'volumes in folio. His father wrote also a book in- 'tituled, the *Aristodemocratic Monarchy* (3), which 'was contradicted by Lewis d'Orleans, (who wrote 'the commentaries on Tacitus) in his *Human Plant*, 'printed at Lyons and at Paris. Turquet wrote an 'answer to Lewis d'Orleans, in 1617. He resided 'at Geneva, or near it, and was of the religion of 'that country .... (4). I believe that his son is a 'Physician of Montpellier. He came to Paris in 1602, 'and, as he affected to be a great Chymist, he had a 'quarrel with some of ours; whereupon a decree was 'made, that none should consult with him; yet he 'had some friends of our profession, who visited the 'sick with him. From this quarrel there proceeded 'an apology for the said Theodore Mayerne, of which 'he was no more the author than you or I. Two 'doctors of our society wrote it, Seguin, our antient, 'who always favoured the quacks, and his brother- 'in-law Acakia .... (5). This Mayerne is still 'in England to this day, very old and almost grown 'a child again. It is said, that he has quitted the 'king's party, and gone over to the parliament's side. 'I saw one of his children in this city, who studied 'Physic, and is since dead in England. It is said, that 'he is very harsh to his children, he is so covetous, 'and that he suffers them to starve. He is a great 'Chymist, very rich, and knows the way of procur- 'ing to himself a great number of Jacobusses, by a 'consult of five or six pages. He is, among other 'things, baron of Aubonne, a fine lordship in the 'country of Vaux, near Geneva, of which a certain 'bishop of Nevers, called Paul Spifame, was lord in '1560 .... (6). This apology of Mayerne did 'not want an answer. Riolanus, the father, answer- 'ed it, by a book very elegant and learned, accord- 'ing to his usual manner.'

Dr Brown, as I have already said (7), observes, that Mayerne had a companion of his fortune, in the persecution he suffered from the Physicians of Paris. He calls his associate *Quercetanus*, whose French name was du Chesne. Patin says nothing of it; but he speaks very satirically of this Quercetanus. *In the same year* 1609, says he (8), *died a wicked rogue and quack, who killed many during his life, and even after his death, by the unhappy writings he left behind him, under his own name, which he had caused to be composed by other Physicians and Chymists, here and there. I mean Josephus Quercetanus, who went, at Paris, by the name of la Violette. He was a great drunkard, and a very ignoramus; who knew nothing of Latin, and, being by his first employment no more than a wandering Surgeon of the country of Armagnac, a poor, cursed, and unhappy country, passed at Paris, and particularly at court, for a great Physician, because he had learned something of Chymistry in Germany.* I must observe, that the general history of Spain, written by Louis de Mayerne Turquet of Lyons, was first printed in the year 1587, and, after that, by Abel l'Angelier, in the year 1608, at Paris, and, after that, again by Samuel Thiboust, in 1635. The second edition comprehends thirty books, and comes down as far as the year 1582. The third edition has six books added to it, and comes down to the end of the XVIth century.

[*B*] *I take this from the preface to his works, printed at London*, in 1700.] They are a pretty large folio, divided into two books; the first contains, *Consilia, Epistolas, & Observationes*; and the second, *Pharmacopœam variasque Medicamentorum formulas*. There is prefixed to the book the picture of Dr Mayerne, such as he was at the age of eighty two years. It is the most agreeable physiognomy in the world (9); he has a lively, serene, and majestic air, and a venerable beard. Underneath the picture we read; 'Theo. Tur- 'quet de Mayerne Eques Auratus, Patriâ Gallus, Re- 'ligione Reformatus, Dignitate Baro, Professione alter 'Hippocrates, ac trium Regum (exemplo rarissimo) 'Archiater: eruditione incomparablis: experientia 'nulli secundus: & quod ex his omnibus resultat, fama 'late vagante perillustris. - - - *Theodore Turquet Mayerne,* 'Baronet, *by birth a Frenchman, by religion a Protestant,* 'by dignity a Baron, *by profession another Hippocrates, and* '(which is very uncommon) *chief Physician to three kings:* 'of incomparable learning; *second to none in experience;* 'and, *which is the consequence, known far and near.*' The English Physician (10), who had the care of this edition, affirms, that he had never yet seen any work of Mayerne, which was truly his. 'Quicquid hactenus 'sub Mayernii Nomine Orbem invisit, tam crebris fœ- 'datur interpolationibus, utpote quod partim ex suis, par- 'tim ex aliorum Chartis in Bibliotheca sua repertis im- 'perite consuitur, ut nemo hariolari possit, quid author 'sibi velit, ejusque scopum assequi valeat, cum Casus à 'Remediis pessimo Consilio ubique abscindantur.... 'Nihil hactenus sub ejus nomine comparuit, quod ip- 'sius revera esse dici possit (11). - - - - - *Whatever has* 'yet been published under Mayerne's name, *is corrupted* 'with such frequent interpolations, *as being unskilfully* 'patched up, *partly out of his own papers, and partly* 'those of others, *found in his library, that no one can* 'guess at the author's meaning, *or find out what he aims* 'at; *the cases being injudiciously separated from the re-* 'medies.... *Nothing has yet appeared under his name,* 'which can truly be affirmed to be his.' He gives us the reasons, which hindred the publishing the chirurgical works of this Physician. You may find in *Lindenius renovatus* (12) the titles of some writings of this author; but do not imagine that Theodorus Mayernus Turquetus, and Theodorus Turquetus de Mayerne, who are there mentioned as two different writers (13), are two different persons. No mention could be made there of the *Praxeos Mayernianæ in morbis internis præcipuè grævioribus & chronicis syntagma*; for that book was not printed till 1690 (14). The Journalists of Leipsic (15) have given us an abstract of it.

(9) See the Journal of Leipsic, 1691, *pag.* 57.

(10) Josephus Browne utriusque Facultatis Doctor.

(11) Id. in Præfat.

(12) At page 997, of the edition of Nuremberg, 1686.

(13) There is the like error in the Bibliotheque of Konig. See page 522, and 822.

[*C*] *We shall give .... a more particular and exact account.*] I shall give it such as I received it from Mr Minutoli (16) who was pleased at my request to inform himself exactly of all the circumstances.

(14) At London in 8vo. Dr Charleton wrote a preface to it.

'Sir Theodore de Mayerne, baron of Aubonne, 'Counsellor and chief Physician to their Britannic ma- 'jesties James I, and Charles I, was the son of Lewis 'de Mayerne, famous for the General History of 'Spain, which he composed, and for his Aristodemo- 'cratic Monarchy, dedicated to the States-General, 'and of Louisa, the daughter of Antony le Masson (17), 'treasurer of war to the kings Francis I, and Hen- 'ry II, in Piedmont. The family is originally of that 'country, having flourished a long time in the town of 'Quiers. And as to the name, or nick-name of Tur- 'quet, it came from a woman of their family, who, 'being well made, and of a pretty large size, was 'thought to resemble a fine Turkish woman; which 'made people commonly give the surname of Turquetti 'to all her children. Lewis de Mayerne retired to 'Geneva about the end of the year 1572, having had 'two houses demolished at Lyons upon the account 'of religion. On the twenty eighth of September, '1573, Theodore Mayerne was born to him, having

(15) At page 57, & *seq.* of the year 1691.

(16) Whom I have mentioned, above, citat. (5) of the article BALZAC (JOHN LEWIS), and remark [*I*] of the article LUCRETIUS (TITUS, &c.)

(17) Mentioned, above, remark [*G*] of the article FERRET.

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met with ſome envious perſons, who endeavoured to blacken him upon occaſion of the death of the prince of Wales, in the year 1612. But his honour was perfectly ſecured by authentic acts; I mean by the certificates, which king James, the lords of the council, and the officers and gentlemen of the deceaſed prince of Wales, gave him in the beſt form that could be wiſhed. They may be found, together with a relation of the *diſeaſe, death, and opening of the body* of that prince, in the work I have mentioned (*f*).

(*f*) *Pag.* 103, *& ſeq. of the* Opera Medica Theod. Turquet. Mayerni, *Edit.* 1700. *Lond.*

'for his god-father Theodore Beza. He was inſtructed, 'in his own country, in claſſical learning, and from 'thence ſent to Heidelberg, where he continued ſome 'years. After which, being deſigned for Phyſic, he 'went to Montpelier, where he took his degree of 'Bachelor, and afterwards of Doctor. From thence 'he went to Paris, where, applying himſelf to pra'ctice, he read lectures of Anatomy to young Sur'geons, and of Pharmacy to Apothecaries; and his 'preſcriptions gained him eſteem; ſo that he was 'known to Mr Ribbit Sieur de la Riviere, firſt Phy'ſician to king Henry IV, who recommended him ſo 'well to his majeſty, that he gave him the place of one 'of his Phyſicians in ordinary; and, in the year 1600, 'he appointed him to attend the duke of Rohan, in the 'journies he made for the affairs of France to the 'courts of the princes of Germany and Italy. Being 'returned, he was much eſteemed in the diſcharge of 'his office, and was in favour with the king, who 'promiſed him great things, if he would change his 'religion, ſetting, for that end, cardinal du Perron, 'and other eccleſiaſtics, to perſuade him to it. Nay, 'notwithſtanding his refuſal, the king iſſued out a 'warrant appointing him his firſt Phyſician, but the 'Jeſuits, who knew it, got it revoked by queen Mary 'de Medicis; a circumſtance and favour, which 'Dr Mayerne knew nothing of at that time; but, af'terwards, in England, in the year 1642, he learned 'it from the mouth of Cæſar duke of Vendoſme, a 'natural ſon of France. In 1607, he took care of 'an Engliſh lord, who was ſick, and who, being cured, 'carried him into England, where he had a private 'audience of king James. And, even after the death 'of Henry IV, he continued to be Phyſician in ordi'nary to Lewis XIII, till 1616, when he ſold this 'place to a French Phyſician. In 1611, the king of 'England by his embaſſador, invited him, to be firſt 'Phyſician to himſelf, and to his wife queen Anne, 'and gave him a patent, ſealed under the great ſeal of 'England, where he ſerved the whole royal family 'with great honour and approbation to his death; as 'he did alſo the greateſt part of the nobility, and 'people. He made an exact collection of his medi'cinal advices. He compoſed a very curious Phar'macopœa of Medicines, Galenical as well as Spa'gyrical; but he never printed any thing, except an 'Apology againſt the Faculty of Phyſic at Paris, 'which had attacked him. There was a Phyſician 'called Brouent, who ſent to Dr Beverovicius an ac'count of the bladder of Iſaac Caſaubon, written by 'the ſaid Mayerne, for which he expreſſed a reſent'ment. He had two wives, the firſt of whom was 'Margaret de Boetſlaer of the houſe of Aſperen, by 'whom he had two ſons, who died during his life. 'And the ſecond was Iſabel, the daughter of Albert 'Joachimy, famous for his embaſſies for the States-'General in Muſcovy, and Sweden, and for above 'twenty four years in England, by whom he had two 'ſons, who died before him, and three daughters, 'two of whom died while he was alive. He died the 'fifteenth of March, 1655, at Chelſey, near London, 'leaving one only daughter, who brought a great 'eſtate by her marriage to the Marquis de Montpouil'lan, grandſon to the marſhal duke de la Force; but 'ſhe died at the Hague, in 1661, in labour, or at 'leaſt during her lying-in.'

Note, That Dr Mayerne had a niece, who was married to an Engliſh lord of great merit. She was called Louiſa de Frotté, and by her marriage was named lady Windſor. She was a perſon of a great deal of wit, and much reading, and for many years was an ornament to the city of Geneva: ſhe died there about the end of the year 1691. See her Elogium in the *Italia regnante* of Mr Leti (18). See alſo the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned (19).

(18) Part iv, pag. 64, *& ſeq.*

(19) Month of March 1692, *pag.* 336.

MAIGNAN (EMANUEL) one of the greateſt Philoſophers of the XVIIth century, was a Minim Frier, a native of Toulouſe. He quitted the opinions of the ſchools, and oppoſed them very ſolidly. He was neither Carteſian, nor Gaſſendiſt, but agreed with the heads of theſe two ſects, in rejecting accidents, qualities, and ſubſtantial forms, and cultivating experimental Philoſophy. He was very well verſed in the Mathematics, and had joined to all theſe ſciences ſo great a ſkill in Divinity, that he was capable of teaching it even at Rome itſelf (*a*). He was engaged in ſeveral diſputes with the Peripatetics, and was ſo much the more able to make head againſt them, as he followed in a great meaſure the method of the Scholaſtics in his writings. The manner, in which he explains the retaining of accidents, without a ſubject, in the myſtery of the Euchariſt, is more happy than that of Des Cartes [*A*]. I have read in ſome of the journaliſts,

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *The manner, in which he explains the retaining of accidents without a ſubject, is more happy, than that of Des Cartes.*] Mr Rohault pretended the contrary; but it was becauſe he did not ſee the great difficulty conſequent upon that explication he takes for the beſt. Let us ſee how he relates that of F. Maignan. 'There is 'nothing ſo eaſy as to explain the manner how the ac'cidents of bread and wine ſubſiſt without the bread 'and wine; for, in a word, we need ſay no more, 'than that the bread and wine being taken away, 'GOD continues ſtill to make the ſame impreſſions 'upon our ſenſes, as they did, before they were 'changed. After this manner this myſtery is explained 'by a famous Divine of the order of the Minims, cal'led Father Maignan (1).' But Mr Rohault blames this hypotheſis, becauſe it admits two miracles, where but one is wanting. *Although it be true,* ſays he (2), *that GOD can produce in our ſenſes the impreſſions of bread and wine, after they have been changed by Tranſubſtantiation, yet there is no neceſſity, after this, to have recourſe to a new miracle, as this good father ſeems to do: becauſe it follows from the very eſſence of the myſtery (which is, that the bread is really changed into the body of JESUS CHRIST) that we muſt continue to perceive all the ſame appearances, as we perceived before,* i. e. *that the accidents of bread and wine muſt ſubſiſt.* This Carteſian pretends (3), that the body of JESUS CHRIST does in ſuch a manner take up the place of the bread, that the ſame ſpaces exactly, which ſerved for a place to the bread, are thoſe, wherein the body of JESUS CHRIST is diſpoſed, leaving to the matter, which filled the pores of the bread, the ſame ſpaces which it filled before. From whence it follows, that the parts of the body of JESUS CHRIST aſſume the figure, ſituation, and, in general, all the other modes of bread, and conſequently that they are bread: for, according to Mr Rohault, the eſſence of bread, or the form, which diſtinguiſhes it from all other bodies, is nothing but a particular concurrence of modifications: and therefore there muſt needs be bread whereſoever this concurrence is; and ſo, it being found in the body of JESUS CHRIST, at the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, this body is nothing elſe but bread: from whence it follows, that this great myſtery conſiſts in deſtroying a bit of bread, and replacing another bit of bread in the room of that, which was annihilated.

(1) Rohault, Entretiens ſur la Philoſophie, *pag.* 42.

(2) Id. ib. *p.* 55.

(3) Id. ib. *pag.* 53, 57, *&c.*

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journaliſts, that ſomebody is writing his Life. If I had read it, I would very willingly make a long article of this learned Minim. I ſhall ſay a word of his writings [*B*]. He is ſometimes miſtaken for another Philoſopher, called Magnen [*C*]. This article was already in the preſs, when I diſcovered that Father Maignan was miſplaced (*b*) in the ſupplement to Moreri's dictionary.

(*b*) Under the word *Magnan*.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary, I have ſeen a piece (*c*), whoſe title is, *De vita, moribus, & ſcriptis R. Patris Emanuelis Maignani Toloſatis, Ordinis Minimorum, Philoſophi atque Mathematici præſtantiſſimi Elogium.* It was compoſed by Father Saguens (*d*), and printed at Toulouſe in 1697. I ſhall extract from it a good ſupplement. Emanuel Maignan, born the ſeventeenth of July 1601, was of an antient and noble family [*D*]. He gave hopes from his cradle of his future inclination to letters and ſciences; for nothing would ſooner ſtop his crying, than to put a book in his hand. He would turn over the leaves, and look upon the characters with much pleaſure, and it was perceived, after he had paſſed the age of five years, that he diſpiſed the little pleaſures of children, and that he gave wonderful attention to prayers, and catechetical inſtructions. Upon this account they took care betimes to place him under the direction of a domeſtic tutor. He went through his claſſical learning in the college of the Jeſuits, and performed with great diligence all the duties of a good ſcholar, both with reſpect to the literary exerciſes, and thoſe of religion. He diſcovered in all his conduct ſo much modeſty and ſincerity, that he was afraid of being infected by lewd converſation; and from thence it was, that by degrees he withdrew himſelf from the company of his ſchool-fellows, and that he choſe rather to leave off the diverſions proper to his age, than to expoſe his innocence to any danger (*e*). His hours of recreation were ſpent in walking in the convent of the Minims, where he met with an old man, who diſcourſed to him about ſalvation. Theſe diſcourſes were the ſeeds of a religious life, to which he dedicated himſelf ſome time after; and to this he was ſtrongly inclined by a diſgrace, which happened to him when he was ſtudying Rhetoric: he had compoſed a poem, to diſpute the prize of eloquence, and he believed, that they unjuſtly dealt with him, in adjudging the victory to another. The reflexions he made, during his vexation, confirmed him ſo much in the thought of quitting the world, that he deſired the habit of a Minim. It was not long denied him; and having acquitted himſelf well during his noviciate, he was admitted to make his vows at eighteen years of age, that is in 1619. He went through a courſe of Philoſophy under a maſter very much attached to the doctrine of Ariſtotle, and he loſt no opportunity of diſputing againſt every thing that was ſuſpected of Heterodoxy in the Phyſics of that antient Philoſopher. This was taken for a good omen by his profeſſor, who quickly after was aſtoniſhed to find, that his ſcholar underſtood very well the Mathematics

(*c*) Of fifty one pages in 4to.

(*d*) A Minim, native of Toulouſe, who was a diſciple of Father Maignan, and taught the Philoſophy of his maſter at Toulouſe, at Bourdeaux, and at Rome, for a long time. He publiſhed, in 1700, a book of 286 pages in 12mo, intituled, *Accidentia profligata, ſpecies inſtauratæ, ſive de ſpeciebus panis ac vini poſt conſecrationem Euchariſticam duntaxat manentibus, Opus Philoſophico-Theologicum*, in which he maintains very ſtrenuouſly Father Maignan's opinion about the ſacramental ſpecies.

(*e*) Ad omnes vitæ ſuæ actus, & uſus advocabat honeſtum ac modeſtum illum pudorem, qui abhorret ab omni inquinamento laſcivientis colloquii. Quare cœpit paulatim declinare à ſocîis, præeligens omni joco abſtinere, quam facere vel leviſſimum verecundiæ ſuæ periculum. *Saguens, in Elogio Em. Maignani, p.* 5.

This is abſurd, and altogether remote from the doctrine of Popery. It is true, that, in this ſuppoſition, there needs no miracle to explain how the appearances of bread ſubſiſt with reſpect to all our ſenſes. This is a natural conſequence from the ſituation of the body of our Lord in the place of the bread deſtroyed: but this advantage, proceeding only from an hypotheſis, which includes ſuch abſurdities, as are inconſiſtent with the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, cannot make the Carteſian explication equal to that of Father Maignan, although it requires a particular miracle for the continuation of the appearances of the bread and wine in the Euchariſt.

[*B*] *I ſhall ſay a word of his writings.*] He printed at Toulouſe a courſe of Philoſophy in four volumes, in 8vo, in the year 1652. He publiſhed it again in folio (4) in 1673, with many additions, and dedicated it to the preſident d'Onoville, who is ſo much commended in the voyage of Mr Bachaumont and Mr la Chapelle. He added to it, among other things, a critical diſcourſe on the vortices of Mr Des Cartes, and a diſſertation on the ſpeaking-trumpet, invented by Sir Samuel Moreland. There is alſo a book of his relating to Divinity, intituled *Philoſophia Entis ſacri*, and a *Perſpectiva horaria*, printed at Rome in 1648, in folio, &c. Mr Baillet ſpeaks of this laſt book as follows. 'Mr Carcavi acquainted Mr Des Cartes, that 'there was at Rome a Minim, called Father Maignan, who was more intelligent and profound than 'Father Merſenne, who had given him hopes of 'making ſome objections againſt his principles. This 'Father . . . . was called Emanuel, and was born at 'Toulouſe. But he then dwelt at Rome, where he 'taught Divinity in the convent of the Trinity of 'mount Pincio, otherwiſe called of the French Mi'nims. A year before † he had publiſhed in Latin 'a curious work, divided in four books, concerning 'clocks and ſun-dials, and about the ſame time he 'wrote to Father Merſenne, being then alive ‡, that, 'by his Phyſical principles, he had proved Geome'trically the ſame proportion of refractions with that 'of Des Cartes. But he did not believe, that the 'principles, he had laid down for the motion of a 'luminous body, which ſwells and falls, were true, or 'that, ſuppoſing theſe principles, it was poſſible, that 'refractions ſhould be made, as it is certain they are. 'It was upon this ſubject Father Maignan had a great 'deſire to put ſome objections to Mr Des Cartes, as 'probably he acquainted Mr Carcavi a year after(5).' Let us not forget the *Diſſertatio Theologica de Uſu licito Pecuniæ*, publiſhed by our Minim in 1673, in 12mo. It was cenſured by ſome biſhops.

(4) Printed at Lyons by John Gregory.

† In 1648, in fol. at Rome. *Perſpectiva Horaria, &c.*

‡ Letter M.S. of Maignan to Merſenne, of July 17, 1648, pag. 512, of the firſt volume of M.S. Letters to Merſenne, *Variorum*.

(5) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 379, 380, *ad ann.* 1649.

[*C*] *He is ſometimes confounded with another Philoſopher called Magnen.*] Some (I uſe the words of Mr Baillet) (6) have confounded Emanuel Maignan with John Chryſoſtom Magnen, Profeſſor of Pavia, who publiſhed, in 1648, *Democritus Reviviſcens*, which made the Dutch believe, that he was a Carteſian Philoſopher. Mr Baillet cites Revii Statera, p. 243. This John Chryſoſtom Magnen, was of Luxeuil, in Franche Comté, and profeſſed Phyſic at Pavia. Beſides the *Democritus Reviviſcens*, printed at Leyden, in 1648, in 12mo, and whoſe epiſtle dedicatory is dated April 30, 1646, I have ſeen a treatiſe of his *de Manna* (7), printed at the Hague, in 1658, in 12mo, and whoſe epiſtle dedicatory is dated April 5, 1648. Theſe Dutch editions are not the firſt.

(6) Ibid.

(7) It is printed with that *of Tobacco*, by the ſame author.

[*D*] *He was of an antient and noble family.*] His father was counſellor to the king, referendary and dean of the chancery of Toulouſe, and reckoned among his anceſtors the barons of Maignan, who made a great figure in Armagnac. He married the daughter of Emanuel Alvarez, Royal Profeſſor of Phyſic in the univerſity of Toulouſe. Such was the father and mother of the Minim, we are ſpeaking of; and here follow the words of his Elogiſt. 'Pater ei fuit Pe'trus Maignanus Conſiliarius Regius, Referendarius '& Decanus in Cancellaria Toloſana, vir æquitatem 'ſervans, & conſpicuus ſplendidiſſimi generis antiquâ 'nobilitate indubitatâ. Siquidem ut omnes novimus, 'Maignani Toloſates iſti ſtirpem ſuam trahunt ex il'lis, quos Eluza urbs nunc obſcura, ſed antiquitate 'celeberrima

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Mathematics, though no one had read lectures to him in that ſcience [*E*]. In this he was his own maſter. He was quite another man in his courſe of Divinity, than in that of Philoſophy; for, whereas in this he was very incredulous, and ſubmitted every thing to a ſevere examination, and to the moſt ſubtile diſcuſſions of diſpute, in that he ſubmitted humbly to Theological doctrines (*f*): but, as to the peripatetical reaſons, which were employed to illuſtrate and prove them, he did not think himſelf obliged to admit them without examination, and, if he found them not ſolid, he rejected them, and made no ſcruple to prefer the aſſiſtance of Plato to that of Ariſtotle. The proofs he gave of his parts during the ſix years that he ſate upon the benches, occaſioned his being looked upon as a fit perſon to mount the chair, *&c.* to do the office of a profeſſor; and he acquitted himſelf in that employment ſo ſubtilly, and ſo ſolidly, that his reputation flew over the Pyrenees and the Alps: whereupon the general of the Minims ſent for him to Rome, in 1636, to take upon him the like profeſſion. His great knowledge in mathematical inventions, and phyſical experiments, became quickly famous, and chiefly by a conteſt, which aroſe between him and Father Kircher, which was decided after ſuch a manner, that the glory of the invention, the ſubject of the diſpute, was not denied our Minim [*F*]. His book *De Perſpectiva Horaria*, printed at Rome in 1648, at the expence

(*f*) Submiſiſſimam è contra iſtis (*exercitationibus Theologicis*) fidem offert; refugitque ut à leviuſcula dubitatione, ſic ab omni curioſa indagine, ex quo audiit ſcrutatorem Majeſtatis oppreſſum iri à gloria. *Id. ib. pag.* 10.

'celeberrima ad Geliſam amnem ſita in Comitatu 'Arminiaco Barones ſuos ſtrenuos, opulentos, mag-'nificos per multas non interruptarum generationum 'ſucceſſiones reverenter, ac peramanter complexa eſt. 'Matrem habuit Gaudioſam de Alvarez charam fili-'am celeberrimi illius Medici Emanuelis de Alvarez 'quem Toloſa urbs Literarum omnium amantiſſima 'precibus ac pollicitationibus multis ex Luſitania ad-'vocavit perfuncturum munere Regii Profeſſoris. Hic 'originem ſuam ducebat ex antiquiſſima Familia Al-'vareziorum de Buhendya in regno Luſitaniæ & fuit 'parens luſtricus Maignani noſtri, qui ex illo nomen 'Emanuelis obtinuit (8). - - - *His father was Peter* (8) Saguens, in Elogio Emanuelis Maignani, *p.* 3.
'*Maignan, the king's counſellor, referendary and dean of* '*the chancery of Toulouſe, a man of probity, and conſpi-*'*cuous for the antient and undoubted nobility of his* '*family. For, as we all know, the Maignans of Tou-*'*louſe are deſcended from the valiant, wealthy, and* '*magnificent barons, who, for many ſucceſſive and unin-*'*terrupted generations, were the ornament of the city* '*Eluza, now an obſcure town, but antiently very famous,* '*ſituated on the river Geliſa, in the county of Armagnac.* '*His mother was Gaudioſa de Alvarez, the beloved* '*daughter of that famous Phyſician Emanuel de Alvarez,* '*whom the city of Toulouſe, fond of all kind of learning,* '*ſent for out of Portugal, by many entreaties and promi-*'*ſes, to diſcharge the office of Royal Profeſſor. This* '*Phyſician was deſcended from the very antient family* '*of the Alvarez of Buhendya in the kingdom of Portugal,* '*and was god-father of our Maignan, who from him* '*had the name of Emanuel.*'

[*E*] *He was very well acquainted with Mathematics, tho' no one had read lectures to him in that ſcience.*] This is a ſecond inſtance of what we ſhall ſhew hereafter in the article of Mr PASCAL? and Father Saguens does not fail to confirm the one by the other. Let us ſee the particulars of it: Such things are chiefly to be collected together, and inſerted in ſuch books as this Dictionary. 'Multo celſiorem de illo 'opinionem accepit *(Magiſter Ruffatius)* (9) quum 'occaſione data ſchematis Mathematici, quo ipſe ad 'explanationem reconditioris cujuſdam Phyſici myſte-'rii lucem afferebat, intellexit eum eſſe Geometram; 'ſtupuitque, & curioſè requiſivit cauſam, ac metho-'dum comparatæ, & eò uſque occultatæ eruditionis. 'Verùm ut reſponſuri juvenis modeſtiæ parcam, di-'cam ipſe ego paulò liberius, quod multo poſt ad 'ſuadenda rerum Mathematicarum ſtudia enarrabat ſibi 'obtigiſſe, ut intra horas unius anni liberas, ſeu reci-'ſas à tempore ad cætera Chori, & Scholæ miniſteria 'uſitato, tot Theoremata, ac Problemata Geometrica 'per ſe ipſum adinveniret, ut deinceps non plura de-'prehenderit contineri totis ſex prioribus libris Eu-'clideorum Elementorum. An non diceres illum 'talem fuiſſe, qui niſi extitiſſent Elementa Euclidis 'edidiſſet. Simile quid refertur de clariſſimo viro Paſ-'calio inter Geometras hujus ſæculi celeberrimos an-'numerando: ita ut videatur utrique Deus præſtan-'tiſſimæ illius diſciplinæ anticipationem copioſiſſimam 'contuliſſe. Tum *neque mirum eſt* inquiebat Maigna-'nus, *quod leves iſtos Mathematici tyrocinii conatus ultra* '*promoverim: an neſcitis Crucem Matheſeos meæ Ma-*'*giſtram habui?* Cum enim fruſtratus omni inſtru-'mentorum figuris exarandis inſervientium apparatu, 'nec normam haberet, nec circinum: circini quidem 'vice, duobus tignulis ligneis ex parte una liberè 'affixis infixerat ex altera duas acus ſutorias. At pro 'normâ, aut quod opportunum nihil occurreret, aut 'potius quod mallet ſua ſchemata omnia appoſito 'Crucis ſigno communiri, ut à pleriſque more Catho-'lico illud appingitur ſummis capitibus paginarum, 'cruce lignea utebatur (10). - - - - *Ruffatius, his* (10) Id. ib. pag. 8, 9.
'*maſter, conceived a much higher opinion of him, when,* '*on occaſion of a mathematical figure, which he pro-*'*duced in order to explain a difficult point in natural* '*Philoſophy, he found him out to be a Geometrician,* '*and was ſurprized at it, and was curious to enquire* '*how he came by a knowledge, he had hitherto concealed.* '*But, to ſpare the young man's modeſty, I will reply* '*for him, that, in one year's vacant hours, or thoſe* '*which were not employed in the ſchool, or the choir,* '*he found out by himſelf as many geometrical theorems* '*and problems, as are contained in the ſix firſt books of* '*Euclid. May we not ſay, that, if Euclid's Elements* '*were not extant, this man would have publiſhed them.* '*The like is related of the famous Paſcal, one of the moſt* '*celebrated Geometricians of this age: inſomuch that* 'GOD *ſeems to have beſtowed on them both an ample* '*anticipation of that moſt excellent ſcience. Then* it is 'no wonder, *ſaid Maignan,* that I carried farther 'thoſe ſmall beginnings of mathematical apprenticeſhip: 'know you not, that the croſs was my mathematical 'maſter? *For being in want of the whole apparatus of* '*inſtruments for delineating figures, and having neither* '*rule, nor compaſs; inſtead of a compaſs, he made uſe* '*of two Taylor's needles, fixed in two wooden ſticks,* '*joined together looſely at one end. But inſtead of a* '*rule, either becauſe he could find nothing that would* '*ſerve the purpoſe, or becauſe he would have all his* '*figures guarded by the ſign of the croſs, he made uſe of* '*a wooden croſs, in the manner it is painted by many* '*Catholics at the head of each page.*'

[*F*] *A conteſt, which aroſe between him and Father Kircher . . . ., the glory of the invention was not denied our Minim.*] Father Saguens mentions only two books of a wonderful invention, and vaſt labour, written in the monaſtery of the order at Rome, by Emanuel Maignan. One was a book of Optics, and the other of Catoptrics. The firſt was a perſpective, the deſcription of which is to be found in the *Thaumaturgus Opticus* of the Minim Niceron (11). The other was a repreſentation of the heavens, with all the Aſtronomical circles, *catoptrica anacamptica, complectiturque integram cæli faciem ſuis omnibus ad res Aſtronomicas ſpectantibus circulis interſtinctam* (12). Father Kircher had no ſooner looked upon it, but he ſaid to a German gentleman, who accompanied him, What are you aſtoniſhed at? Is not this the figure of my book? *Quid ſtupes, an non hæc eſt figura mei libri?* A Minim, who heard this, and underſtood, that Father Kircher attributed to himſelf the whole glory of the invention, anſwered very bluntly, *on the contrary, this is the book of your figure*; imo hic eſt liber tuæ Figuræ, and related the thing quickly after to Father Maignan, who, being an humble man, ſaid no more, than that he was not conſcious of any theft, unleſs it were ſuppoſed that his hands had ſtolen the work from his mind (13). The matter had gone no further, if the friends on both ſides, had not thought it worthy of a further enquiry, as it

(9) *It is the name of the Minim, under whom Father Maignan went thro' a courſe of Philoſophy.*

(11) Ib. pag. 15.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Nullius hac in re, *inquit*, furti mihi ſum conſcius, niſi fortè manus meas, opus quod elaboraverunt, menti ſubripuiſſe quis finxerit. *Id. ib. pag.* 16.

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pence of cardinal Spada, was very much eſteemed. No body had yet undertaken ſuch a work (*g*). It contains a method of making Teleſcopes of his own invention, which he explains at large, and does not imitate thoſe, who conceal, as a myſtery, the inventions of their art, and die with their ſecret. He was not troubled with that diſeaſe; for if he met with any artificers, who had a mind to make dioptrical, or other inſtruments, according to his diſcoveries and method, he very readily communicated to them what he knew of that matter. He did not return from Rome to Toulouſe till 1650, and then he was received in his own country with univerſal joy. He was created provincial the ſame year, though he earneſtly deſired, that he might not be diverted from his ſtudies by the cares of any office. He publiſhed his courſe of Philoſophy, in 1652, by which work he may at leaſt expect to be called the reſtorer of it. And if, becauſe he explained Phyſics by the four elements, the glory of that invention ſhould be denied him, and given to Empedocles (*b*); yet it cannot be denied but he did, as to this hypotheſis, what Gaſſendus did as to that of the Atomiſts. The office of provincial being expired at the end of three years, our Minim had more leiſure to go on with his philoſophical Divinity; but a long ſickneſs, and ſome journies about the affairs of his order, retarded the execution of this deſign. We ſhall ſee in the remarks at what time the two tomes of that work appeared [*G*]. If the author had been ambitious, he might have found

(*g*) Opus vere eximium & ad illa uſque tempora intentatum. *Id. ib. pag.* 17.

(*b*) *Father Saguens, pag.* 25, *ſays, that Plato, and not Empedocles, was author of the* Elementary Philoſophy, *and cites for this the Timæus of Euſebius*, de Præparat. Evang. lib. xv.

concerned the glory of a German, or of a French Mathematician; for the principal praiſe is always due to the inventor. Father Maignan had like to have loſt the cauſe, when a Jeſuit ingenuouſly declared, that he had ſeen a like work in France, made by Father Maignan. Thus the learned men of Rome left the glory of the invention to each of the contending parties. This is only an abridgment of what you may ſee at large in the Latin of Father Saguens (14).

(14) Id. ib.

'Totaque res ibi ſubſtitiſſet, niſi viſa fuiſſet commu-
'nibus amicis digna diligentiori examine; quodque
'ducebant vertendum ad gloriam non mediocrem aut
'Germani, aut Galli Mathematici. Omninò enim
'in quovis artium, & doctrinarum genere primum
'fuiſſe ita glorioſum eſt; ut id poſteritas omnis, quia
'imitari non poteſt, invidia dignum putet. Primus labor
'plerumque ſibi aut totum honorem vindicat; aut ſe-
'cundo non niſi magna ex parte imminutum relin-
'quit: vel quod difficultatem penè omnem, quam in
'rebus inveniendis maximam eſſe conſtat, exhauriat:
'vel quod non parùm emolliat: vel denique quod
'præſtantioris cujuſdam ingenii aciem, judiciique de-
'monſtret. Ecce itaque inter Doctos certatur, &
'ambigitur uter è duobus eximiæ illius primæ ex-
'cogitationis Catoptrico-Gnomonicæ laudem ſit re-
'laturus, graviſſimoque tandem judicio declinabant
'ad partes Kircheri, qui prior typis nuper eam com-
'miſerat: niſi in teſtem acerrimum compellatus oc-
'curriſſet alius R. P. ejuſdem Societatis Mathemati-
'cus, qui feliciter Romam acceſſerat, & ingenuè
'enarrabat vidiſſe ſe multos ante annos in Gallia, &
'in conventu quidem hujus Aquitanicæ Provinciæ
'noſtræ Albaterrenſi tale quoddam opus Catoptricum
'à P. Maignano elaboratum. Res ita erat; & Maig-
'nanus quidem, me audiente, non ſemel retulit cogi-
'tationem illam horographicam ſibi adhuc juniori
'ſubito immoderatoque impetu occurriſſe tantaque
'voluptate mentem occupaſſe, quâ nullam majorem
'in vita ſenſiſſet. Hinc eruditorum Romanorùm co-
'hors ſuam utrique palmam contulit, protulitque
'paria eſſe in gignendis fortunatiſſimi ingenii Viris
'Germaniæ Galliæque imperia. - - - - *The whole*
'*matter would have reſted there, had not the friends on*
'*both ſides thought it worthy a more careful examina-*
'*tion, and that it would conduce not a little to the repu-*
'*tation either of the German, or the French Mathema-*
'*tician. For in every kind of art or ſcience, ſuch is*
'*the glory of being the firſt inventor, that all poſterity*
'*envies what it cannot imitate. The firſt labour claims*
'*the chiefeſt, if not the ſole honour, or at leaſt leaves it*
'*greatly diminiſhed to the ſecond: either becauſe it ex-*
'*hauſts almoſt all the difficulty, which is certainly the*
'*greateſt in the invention of things; or becauſe it ſoft-*
'*ens it not a little; or becauſe it is a proof of ſuperior*
'*abilities and judgment. It was therefore a conteſt*
'*among the learned, which of the two ſhould carry off*
'*the credit of that moſt excellent catoptrico-gnomonical*
'*diſcovery; and it would at length have been deter-*
'*mined in favour of Kircher, who firſt ſent it to the*
'*preſs, had not another reverend Father of the ſame ſo-*
'*ciety, and a Mathematician, who luckily came to*
'*Rome, ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had ſeen many years*
'*before, in France, at the aſſembly of this our province*
'*of Aquitain, a catoptrical work of this nature, done*
'*by Father Maignan. And ſo it was. And Maignan*
'*often ſaid, in my hearing, that, in his younger days,*
'*that horographic invention had occurred to him, by a*
'*ſudden and impetuous ſtart of fancy, and had given*
'*him the greateſt pleaſure he had ever felt. Hence*
'*the learned men of Rome gave each his due praiſe, and*
'*concluded, that Germany and France produced equally*
'*happy geniuſes.*' It is not impoſſible, but the ſame thing may be invented by two perſons, tho' the one is not aſſiſted by the other.

[*G*] *We ſhall ſee . . . . at what time the two tomes of his Philoſophical Divinity appeared.*] The firſt was printed in 1662, and the ſecond in 1672. There had been a leſs ſpace of time between the publication of theſe two volumes, if the author had not been obliged to anſwer ſome writings that were publiſhed againſt him. The firſt antagoniſt he anſwered was a Jeſuit (15) of the college of Toulouſe, who, in his book *de Cycloide*, had pretended, that Father Maignan was miſtaken in ſeveral points concerning the ſtructure and gravity of bodies, the acceleration of motion, and the equality of the angles of incidence and reflexion, *&c.* The Minim maintained, that there was a paralogiſm in the demonſtration of the Jeſuit, and this occaſioned a long diſpute, the reſult of which contributed very much to confirm this aphoriſm of geometrical phyſics, that an excellent Naturaliſt, moderately verſed in Geometry, is better able to maintain Phyſics, than an excellent Geometrician, who has but little ſkill in Phyſics. 'Plus proderit, inquit Maignanus, in rebus
'Phyſicis peritiſſimus Phyſicus mediocriter in Geome-
'tricis verſatus, quàm peritiſſimus Geometra parum
'Phyſicus. *Then he adds*, At ſi utroque genere excel-
'lat, nihil prorſus optabilius eſſe poteſt (16). - - *But if*
'*he excels in both, nothing can be more deſirable.*' This anſwer of Father Maignan was printed as an Appendix, and was followed by a ſecond Appendix, wherein he confuted the replies of the Jeſuit, and in which he intermixed very good obſervations concerning the ſucceſſive propagation of light, the ſcintillation of the fixed ſtars, and the glaſs-drops of Holland. The third Appendix is an anſwer to a Diſſertation, which Mr Ducaſſe publiſhed againſt the reaſon, which Father Maignan had given, why the Dutch glaſs-drops break in a thouſand pieces, after the little end is broken off (17). This experiment was made in the convent of the Minims, in 1662, in the preſence of many perſons. The fourth Appendix was an anſwer to a writer (18), with whom the Jeſuit at his death had entruſted the management of his cauſe. This writer dwelt upon acceſſories, and quitted the main point of the diſpute, which was the accuſation of a paralogiſm. He complained of Father Maignan, that he had injured the moſt famous Jeſuits, Suarez, Vaſquez, Mendoza, Zacchi, *&c.* The Minim anſwered all theſe complaints, and forgot not to produce again his proofs of the accuſation of a paralogiſm. This fourth Appendix was printed 1667, at Bourdeaux, whither the author went about the affairs of his order. The fifth Appendix was an anſwer to Theophilus Raynaud, who wrote againſt the hypotheſis, which our Minim made uſe of, to explain the retaining of the accidents

(15) *Called* Lalouvere.

(16) Id. ib. pag. 35.

(17) See Rohault's Phyſics, *Part i, cap. xxii, num. xlvii, &c. p.* m. 191.

(18) *Father Courboullex, a Jeſuit of the college of Toulouſe.*

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found a fair opportunity of satisfying himself, when the king desired him to come to Paris, which was in 1660, after that his majesty himself had seen an infinite number of machines and curiosities in the cell of this monk [H]. Cardinal Mazarin, who viewed them with the king, acquainted Father Maignan next day with the intentions of this prince, by Mr Fieubet, first president of the parliament of Toulouse. The Minim expressed so modestly and humbly his inclination to spend his whole life in the obscurity of a cloister, in which he had taken upon him the habit of his order, that the affair rested there. He had therefore the satisfaction of shunning the pomp, in which they would have engaged him, and peaceably spent his time in writing books, making experiments, and reading lectures. He was consulted by the greatest Philosophers, and gave a thousand answers to them, either by word of mouth, or by writing. Never man loved idleness less than he did; he studied even in his sleep; for his dreams put him upon some theorems [I], the deduction of which he pursued, till he arrived at the demonstration of them; and it often happened that he awoke suddenly, on account of the great pleasure he had in finding out a demonstration. The goodness of his morals, and the purity of his virtues, rendered him no less worthy of esteem, than his wit and knowledge. He died the twenty ninth of October, 1676 (i). We must not forget, that, when he went to Paris in 1657, he was admitted, with great marks of honour, to the philosophical conferences (k) at the house of Mr de Mommor, master of the requests (l), and that he composed with great facility, and without blots (m).

(m) Eloquar ne an tacebo incredibilem illam conscribendi fine lituris ullis cogitata sua rapiditatem; appendicem tertiam tribus horis, quartam conscripsit tribus hebdomadis. - - - - *Shall I declare, or say nothing of, that incredible quickness in writing down his thoughts without any blots: he wrote his third appendix in three hours, and his fourth in three weeks.* Id. ib. pag. 48.

(i) Taken from F. Sequens, in his Elogium of Emanuel Maignan.

(k) *Those conferences are often mentioned in the letters of Sorbiere.*

(l) Sequens, ubi supra, pag. 46.

dents of the bread and wine in the Eucharist. This Jesuit had shewn, that he understood nothing of the state of the question; for he believed, that the opinion of F. Maignan was the same with that of a certain Sicilian called Chiavetta. In the same Appendix, F. Maignan answered two other adversaries, who were F. Vincent Baron, and F. Nicholas Arnu, both Jacobins. These five Appendixes, having been printed at several times, were re-published together in 1672 (19). I have already spoken (20) of the second edition of his course of Philosophy, and of the two treatises, which were added to it, one against the vortices of Mr Des Cartes, and the other concerning Sir Samuel Morland's trumpet. I add here, that this father invented a machine, which he caused to play before several learned men, and which overthrew, what Des Cartes supposes concerning the manner, in which the universe was framed, or might have been framed, and concerning the tendency to move from the center of motion by tangents (21).

(19) Taken out of F. Sequens, pag. 34, &c.

(20) In the remark [B].

(21) Sequens, ubi supra, pag. 42.

[H] *His majesty himself had seen, in the cell of this Monk, an infinite number of machines and curiosities.*] The particulars, which I shall now mention, may serve to discover the diligence and industry of F. Maignan. ' Properabat Rex ad celebrandas nuptias suas. . . . . ' Sed casu Tolosæ parumper constitit: nec inter res, ' quæ oculis Regiis dignæ censebantur, infima fuit ' cellula Cœnobitica Patris Maignani, quæ inter Religiosæ egestatis angustias, si quid Matheseos pulchrum ' colvit, includebat; tubos omnis generis Telescopicos, ' Microscopicos, Polyoptricos, Hygroscopicos, Thermometricos; ut non adjiciam machinamenta Pneumatica, Hydraulica, Magnetica multa, sileamque de ' planisphæriis, tabellis opticis, fabrefactis tum ad figurati torni industrias, tum ad vires staticas attinentibus ingeniosissimis plurimis: speculisque ustoriis ' qualia nec capacioris Sphæræ, nec nitidioris formæ, ' nec demum incendii pernicioris ullibi tunc temporis ' prodebantur. In quo copiosissimo supellectilis Mathematicæ apparatu non tam mirabatur Rex suo cum ' Aulico Comitatu manum artificem, quæ totum elaboraverat, quàm mentem ad multò plura & utilio- ' ra Reipublicæ molimina perficienda instructam. Quare recogitare apud se ipsum occæpit, quantus Mathescos fulgor per universam Galliam irradiaret, si ' Vir ille bonus ex Tolosana, ut sic loquar, eremo in ' popularem Regiæ civitatis, & Aulæ frequentationem ' educeretur (22). - - - - *The king was hastening to the celebration of his nuptials . . . . But, by accident, he stopped a little while at Toulouse; and, among the curiosities, which were thought worthy of his royal inspection, the cell of Father Maignan was not the least, being furnished, notwithstanding it's straitness, with all sorts of mathematical rarities; such as Telescopic, Microscopic, Polyoptric, Hygroscopic, Thermometric Tubes; not to mention Pneumatic, Hydraulic, and Magnetic, instruments; to say nothing likewise of planispheres, optical-tables, and many ingenious statical inventions; together with burning-glasses of the largest diameter, most beautiful form, and intensest heat, then extant. In which Apparatus of mathematical furniture, the king and his courtiers did not so much admire the artist-hand, that had framed the whole, as the mind of the artificer, qualified to bring greater undertakings, and more useful to the public, to perfection. Wherefore he began to consider, how much the credit of mathematical learning would increase over all France, if that good man were drawn out of the desart (if I may so speak) of Toulouse, to shine in the capital city of the kingdom, and at court.*'

(22) Id. ib. pag. 31, 32.

[I] *His dreams put him upon some theorems.*] Here follows a fact, which confirms an observation I made above (23). It is of the nature of those I mentioned at the beginning of the remark [E]. Let us therefore relate it in the words of the original. ' Mentem laboribus istis ita feliciter assuefecerat (*Maignanus*) ut ' emensa diem studio, in nullam nocturnæ corporeæ ' quietis partem veniret. Quod rarum aliis, frequentissimum Maignano fuit, ut idem assequeretur somni, ' & somnii alicujus eruditi initium redeunte mente ' ad solita sua theoremata, nec abstinente donec de illis demonstrationem obtinuisset, cujus inopinata voluptas dormienti sæpe fuit pro suscitabulo. Tum ne ' illa fulguris ad instar emicaret & fugeret, cretam suo ' sub cervicali recondebat, quâ notulis, quantum id ' tenebræ patiebantur, in parata charta exaratis eam sisteret (24). - - - - *Maignan had applied himself so successfully to those studies, that his mind, tho' employed the whole day, was not at rest even in the night. What rarely happens to others, was very common with Maignan, that same learned dream put him upon theorems, which his waking thoughts pursued, till he had obtained a demonstration of those things, the sudden pleasure of which had often waked him out of his sleep. And that those ideas might not vanish like lightening, he marked them down by short characters upon paper, as well as the darkness would permit, by the help of a piece of chalk, which he laid under his pillow.*' Did our age love quibbles, we might say, that he was a Geometrician, whose stock increased in his sleep.

(23) In remark [G], num. ii, of the article LOTICHIUS (Peter).

(24) Id. ib. pag. 47, 48.

MAIMBOURG (Lewis) was born at Nancy in the year 1610, and became a Jesuit in 1626. He taught classical learning six years; after which his superiors employed him in the office of a preacher; which he discharged in the chief cities of the kingdom (a); and I think the last sermons he preached were against the version of Mons. The answers, which the Jansenists published to his sermons against this translation, represent him very much to his disadvantage. He wrote three treatises of Controversy (b), which are not ill performed; but he acquired a much greater reputation by several histories, which he published (c). The Jansenists criticised that of Arianism, and that of the Iconoclasts, and suffered all the rest to pass. That, which he wrote of Calvinism in 1681, stirred

(a) *Taken from Nathan. Southwell*, Bibl. Societ. Jesu, *pag.* 567.

(b) *See the remark [D].*

(c) *The Supplement to Moreri has given a list of them.*

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ſtirred up againſt him a ſharp war, of which he left all the operations to his enemies; for he continued perfectly inactive; and neither acted offenſively, nor defenſively. He had already quitted the ſociety of the Jeſuits by order of their general, when he publiſhed the Hiſtory of Calviniſm, becauſe he declared too fiercely for the doctrines of the Gallican church, againſt thoſe of the Ultramontanes. He retired to the abbey of St Victor, and died there, Auguſt the thirteenth, 1686, after he had made a will, which ſhews that he was diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits [*A*]. He had a large ſhare in the friendſhip of Father Ferrier, the king's confeſſor [*B*]. I have elſewhere ſaid (*d*), that he ſtudied at Rome under John de Lugo. The books, that were written againſt him, are ſo common, and contain ſo fully a character of his genius and his conduct, that it is unneceſſary to collect thoſe facts here. But as thoſe, who have refuted his Hiſtory of Calviniſm, have ſaid nothing of a certain ſermon, which furniſhed a writer of Port-Royal with a merry ſtory [*C*], I ſhall inſert it in one of the remarks. I ſhall make another concerning the works of Father Maimbourg [*D*]; and another concerning

(*d*) *In the article* LUGO (JOHN DE) *citation* ‡.

[*A*] *He made a will, which ſhews, that he was diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits.*] See the news from the Republic of Letters for the month of September, 1686 (1).

(1) *Page* 1034, *&* *ſeq.*

[*B*] *He had a great ſhare in the friendſhip of Father Ferrier the king's confeſſor.*] He informs us of this himſelf in his Hiſtory of St Leo; for, after having ſhewn what *is an opinion truly probable, againſt the falſe notion which ſome have framed of it*; he adds, 'and this 'will be found very ſolidly proved in the little book 'concerning probable opinions, written by the deceaſ-'ed Father Ferrier, confeſſor to the king, and one 'of the moſt learned Divines that ever I knew; for 'whoſe memory I ſhall always have a ſingular vene-'ration, as well for his diſtinguiſhed merit, as for 'the particular obligations I have to him, and which 'I cannot diſcharge but by this ſmall teſtimony of 'my gratitude, which I will now leave to poſte-'rity (2).'

(2) Maimbourg, *Hiſt. of the Pontificate of St Leo, lib. iv, pag.* 343, *Edit. Holl.*

[*C*] *One of his ſermons furniſhed a writer of Port-Royal, with a merry ſtory.*] It is in a preface to the defence of the tranſlation of Mons, of the Cologne edition, 1668, and which was not reprinted in the Geneva edition of all the pieces which concern this tranſlation. Hence it is that this ſtory is but little known, and was not laid hold of by the cenſurers of the Hiſtory of Calviniſm. It will not therefore be impertinent to inſert it here in this remark, as the author of the preface tells it.

'It is now above twenty years, ſince going by 'chance into the chappel of the college of Clermont, 'I ſaw a man mount the pulpit, of an extraordinary 'mein, and who was none of thoſe, whom the ſcrip-'ture ſpeaks of, *whoſe wiſdom ſhines in their countenance.* 'On the contrary, there was nothing to be ſeen but 'fierceneſs in his eyes, in his geſtures, and in his 'whole air; and he might have ſtruck terror into the 'people, if this fierceneſs had not been mixed with a 'thouſand theatrical geſtures, fit to make people laugh '. . . . His diſcourſe was yet more aſtoniſhing than 'his air, and the oddneſs of it was ſo ſtrange, that I 'could never forget it. It was the ſecond Sunday af-'ter Eaſter, when the Goſpel about the good ſhepherd 'is read: from hence he took occaſion to magnify 'the condition of ſhepherds, by obſerving, that it 'was not formerly the profeſſion of the meaneſt peo-'ple, as it is at preſent; but that kings and princes 'did not think it unworthy of them. After this, 'he reckoned up a great number of princes, that 'were ſhepherds. He forgot not the patriarchs, but 'carried down the catalogue as low as David, upon 'whom he inſiſted a long time; for he gave us a 'merry deſcription of his beauty, the colour of his 'hair, his cloaths, and laſtly of his dog. *It was, 'ſays he, a brave dog, and had ſo much courage, that 'we may believe, while his maſter fought with Goliah, 'this dog, to avoid the diſgrace of doing nothing in the 'mean time, hunted after the wolves.* After this good 'father was once entered upon the ſubject of dogs, as 'if he had been linked to it by ſome ſecret ſympathy, 'he could not tell how to leave it, and therefore he 'divided his ſermon into four parts, according to the 'four ſeveral ſorts of dogs. The firſt ſort were bull-'dogs: the ſecond were maſtiff-dogs: the third were 'lap-dogs: and the fourth the good dogs; of which 'he made an application to different ſorts of preachers. 'The bull-dogs were the Janſeniſts, or, as they were 'then called, the Arnaudiſts, whom he repreſented 'as an indiſcreet people, who tore in pieces all men 'indifferently, and made no diſtinction between the 'innocent and the guilty, but oppreſſed every body 'with hard penances. He deſcribed the maſtiff-dogs 'as being cowardly, and having no courage, but up-'on their own dunghill, and who, when on from that, 'are always fearful, which he applied to preachers of 'that humour. The lap-dogs were, according to him, 'the court-abbots: *They are,* ſaid he, *ſhaped like lions, 'and make a great noiſe; but when they are ſeen near, 'their noiſe is laughed at.* Upon this occaſion, he de-'ſcribed their ruffles, their bands, their ſurplices, their 'geſtures. And laſtly, the good dogs were the Je-'ſuits, and ſuch preachers as himſelf. It is impoſſi-'ble to imagine after what manner he treated this ri-'diculous ſubject, and to what an exceſſive pitch he 'carried the buffoonry of his deſcriptions. I can aſ-'ſure you, that, being then preſent, I ſaw all the re-'verend Fathers, who were in the galleries above, 'holding their ſides with laughter, from the beginning 'of the ſermon to the end of it, and the reſt of the 'auditory could not well keep their countenance, and 'look grave: indeed there was nothing but burſts of 'laughter, which could not be ſtopped. All this di-'verted the good father, and inſpired him with a 'new ardor, to increaſe the laughter of his auditors, 'by new grimaces. After I had been a ſpectator of 'this ſtrange profanation, and was informed of the 'name of the Jeſuit who had preached, who was ſaid 'to be F. Maimbourg, I went out more ſcandalized 'at the ſociety than at their preacher (3).'

(3) Preface to the Defence of the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, printed at Mons, againſt the ſermons of F. Maimbourg the Jeſuit, *p.* 6.

[*D*] *I ſhall make a remark concerning the works of F. Maimbourg.*] He publiſhed, at Roüen, two panegyrics in 1640; one is that of Lewis XIII, on his puting France under the protection of the virgin; the other is an elogium of the kings of France. He had publiſhed at Rome, in 1638, a funeral oration on Nicholas Zappi an Auguſtin monk; and he publiſhed at Paris his Lent-ſermons in 1670, in two volumes in 8vo. Father Southwell, who informed me of this, has ſaid nothing of the letters of Francis Romain, which is a work of F. Maimbourg; the title of which alone gives us to underſtand, that it relates to the manner of reconciling the obedience, due to the Pope, with that due to the king. Southwell did not forget the controverſial treatiſes, written by F. Maimbourg. They are three little treatiſes; one of which (4) is intituled, *A peaceable method to bring back the Proteſtants, without diſputation to the true faith as to the Euchariſt, upon occaſion of the conteſt* (5) *concerning the perpetuity of the faith of the ſame myſtery.* The ſecond is intituled, *Of the true church of* JESUS CHRIST. And the third, *Of the true word of* GOD. The firſt of theſe three works appeared ſo good to the Roman Catholics, that it holds the fifth place among the ſixteen methods of converting the Huguenots, which were recommended by the clergy of France to the controverſial writers in 1682. The words of the memorial, drawn up by that aſſembly, are theſe. 'The 'fifth is a peaceable method, and without diſputation 'founded upon the ſynod of Dort, which all the 'Proteſtants of France have received, and which has 'determined by the holy Scripture, that, when there 'is a conteſt about any article between two parties, 'which are in the true church, it muſt be referred to 'it's deciſion, under this penalty to any one that 'refuſes to ſubmit to it, that he ſhall be accounted 'guilty of ſchiſm and hereſy.' And indeed in this

(4) Printed at Paris in 1670, and reprinted there the third time in 1682.

(5) It was that, which then made ſo great a noiſe between Mr Arnaud and Mr Claude.

conſiſts

concerning a couſin of his [*E*], who became a Proteſtant, and is the author of two or three books.

conſiſts the whole ſtrength of the method of F. Maimbourg. He ſhews, by the conduct, which was obſerved in Holland, when diſputes aroſe between the Arminians and Gomariſts, that, according to the doctrine of the Proteſtants, it belongs to the church, in whoſe boſom the conteſts ariſe, to do juſtice to the parties, by deciding which is in the right, and which is in the wrong; and that, by virtue of it's definitive ſentence they muſt drop the diſpute; and that thoſe, who will not ſubmit to this deciſion, are to be reputed Heretics, and to be cut off from the body as unruly members. According to this principle, will the Papiſts ſay, the Proteſtants ought to acknowledge, that it belonged to the council of Trent to give ſentence, without appeal, as to the diſputes of Luther and Calvin; and that, after the deciſion of this council, they were no longer permitted to quarrel, but that each of them ought to have conformed himſelf, to the definitive decree, with the Romiſh doctors, upon pain of deſerving the thunder of excommunication, as a Heretic and Rebel. This is not a place to examine, whether this argument *ad hominem* has any force (6). It is ſufficient to ſay, that the Proteſtant church cannot be blamed for eſtabliſhing an order, without which it is impoſſible any ſociety can ſubſiſt: for, in all ſocieties there muſt be a tribunal, to give ſentence without appeal in the diſputes of private perſons, and who have power to inflict the penalties of rebellion upon thoſe, who refuſe to ſubmit to its decrees; for otherwiſe it would not be poſſible to cure any diſorder, nor to hinder diſputes from laſting eternally. I know very well, it is objected, that, in this reſpect, there is no other difference between the Romiſh and Reformed church, as to the point of authority, but that the one declares itſelf to be infallible, and does not permit private perſons to examine it's deciſions; whereas the other acknowledges itſelf fallible, and permits private perſons to examine the whole, provided that at laſt they ſubmit to it's decrees. I know very well, I ſay, that it is objected, that, in this reſpect, the way of authority is no leſs the laſt refuge of Proteſtants than of Papiſts; but I know alſo what the Proteſtants anſwer. Three of their authors (7) have refuted the method of Father Maimbourg. He, whom I name laſt, has taken the beſt expedient that could be taken; his reflexions are fine and good; but he did not always perceive whether his anſwers were a paralogiſm. I will give an example of it.

He propoſes this objection in page 347. 'If one 'is not obliged to ſubmit to the deciſions of councils and ſynods; if it be always lawful to appeal 'from them; if every one has a power to look upon 'thoſe deciſions as meer councils, and to reject them; 'when they judge them not agreeable to the word 'of GOD, there will be no way left of deciding any 'controverſy, or putting an end to it (8).' He anſwers, among other things, that they, who lay ſuch a ſtreſs upon this difficulty, do not remove it by the doctrine of the infallibility of the church. He proves it (9) by two hundred Hereſies, which, according to the calculation of Bellarmin, have made great devaſtations in the Romiſh church, which has always, *ſays he*, declared herſelf to be infallible. He adds (10) that there is in the birth of Hereſies θεῖον τι, ſomething ſupernatural, and therefore that we muſt not imagine that we have it always in our power to ſtop thoſe miſchiefs, unleſs GOD interpoſes in an extraordinary manner. There are two great defects in this anſwer: I. It is to confeſs to the oppoſite party, that GOD has not left in his church any ordinary means of determining diſputes. II. That the multitude of Hereſies, which have appeared in Chriſtendom, proves, that the doctrine of authority is not a proper means to extinguiſh them. How came this author not to ſee, that theſe Hereſies could never have laſted, if their followers had believed this doctrine? They were maintained only by rejecting it: Does this prove any thing againſt the goodneſs of the remedy? Is a ſick man, who is not cured, becauſe he rejects all that the Phyſician orders him, a good evidence, that the Phyſician's remedies are good for nothing? I ſay this only by the bye, to adviſe the readers, that there is a large field for criticiſm in controverſial books.

I return now to the books of Father Maimbourg; but ſhall not mention the titles of his hiſtories, which may be found in the ſupplement to Moreri. I think it may be ſaid, that he had a particular talent for ſuch works. They are very agreeably written, contain many lively ſtrokes, and a great variety of occaſional Inſtructions. There are few Hiſtorians, even among thoſe, who write better, and are more learned and exact than he, who have the art of engaging the reader ſo much as he does. I wiſh that thoſe, who could exceed him in candor and knowledge, would give us all the hiſtories he had undertaken to write, if he had lived twenty years longer, and that they would ſet them off with the ſame attractives as he did: it would be no ſmall advantage to the learned world. I have ſaid in the body of this article, that his hiſtories of Arianiſm, and of the Iconoclaſts, were criticized. That criticiſm is very good (11). It was burnt at Paris, in 1674, and printed again in Holland, in 1683. His hiſtory of the church of Rome was alſo criticized, and I have heard ſay, that Dr Boileau is the author of that criticiſm. His work was printed twice (12), and is very much augmented in the ſecond edition. The *News from the Republic of Letters* mentions the firſt (13). The abſtract, which is found there of this piece, ſhews, that Mr Maimbourg ſucceeded very ill in the attack he made upon the infallibility of the Pope, and the ſuperiority of the Holy See over councils.

[*E*] *I ſhall make a remark concerning a couſin of his, named* THEODORE MAIMBOURG.] He conformed to the cuſtom of the times, in publiſhing the motives why he changed his religion. The letter, which he wrote upon this occaſion to his eldeſt brother, was printed in 1659. He retired into Guienne (14), to the houſe of the marquis de Bougi, and wrote a *Summary Anſwer* to the method of cardinal Richelieu. He dedicated it to madam de Turenne, and ſent the MSS. to Samuel Mareſius, who publiſhed it at Groningen, in 1664. The author gives himſelf the name, of R. de la Ruelle. He returned to the Romiſh communion ſome time after, and made profeſſion of it when the famous book of the expoſition of the Catholic faith was printed (15). He made ſome reflexions upon that work, which were ſeen in MSS. by ſome of the Reformed religion. This made Mr de la Baſtide (16) affirm, *That he knew a Catholic, who was writing againſt the Expoſition of the biſhop of Condom.* I uſe the ſame words, which the biſhop of Condom cites, as taken from the 23d page of the preface of Mr de la Baſtide; but I find, in this preface, at page 30 of the ſecond edition, the following words: 'I have been informed, that there is a certain perſon 'of the Romiſh church, who is writing againſt this 'ſame Expoſition of the biſhop of Condom; and 'what thoſe of his own communion can ſay, concerning their own belief, will be of more weight, and 'leſs ſuſpected in their mouth, than in ours.' The biſhop of Condom obſerves, that the Proteſtants were impoſed upon, when they were told ſo. 'It would 'certainly, *adds he* (17), be a curious thing, that this 'good Catholic, whom the Catholics have never 'known, ſhould place ſo much confidence in the enemies of the church, as to tell them of a book he 'was preparing againſt a biſhop of his own commu'nion. But this imaginary writer has been now ex'pected too long a time, and the pretended Reformed 'will be very credulous, if for the future they ſuf'fer themſelves to be amuſed with ſuch like pro'miſes.' The perſon, meant by Mr de la Baſtide, was our Theodore Maimbourg, who went into England about the year 1682, to return to the Proteſtant church. He took with him ſeveral manuſcripts, which he had written, and, among the reſt, an anſwer to the peaceable method of his couſin the Jeſuit, and an anſwer to the book of the biſhop of Condom. The firſt of theſe two pieces was printed at Rotterdam, in 1683. The Bookſeller was earneſtly deſired to print the ſecond immediately; but the ſale of the firſt gave him no encouragement to do it. Thus the work lay buried in the obſcurity of a ſtudy. The author was appointed governor to one of the natural ſons of king Charles II. He died at London about two or three years ago (18), and, if one may believe the reports that were ſpread of him, he declared to the miniſters that prepared him for death, that he died a Socinian, and continued obſtinate in it to the laſt. I

(6) Mr Jurieu, in his treatiſe of the Power of the Church, *pag.* 333, confeſſes, that there is wit and cunning in this book of Mr Maimbourg. And *pag.* 325, That the turn he gives to the difficulty has ſomething dazzling, and which ſtrikes the mind with an idea of great difficulty.

(7) Viz. 1. Mr Lenfant, miniſter of Chatillon upon the Loing, father of Mr Lenfant, miniſter at Berlin. II. A couſin of Father Maimbourg, of whom I ſhall ſpeak below. III. Mr Jurieu, in his letters about the Power of the Church, printed at Roan in 1677.

(8) Jurieu's treatiſe of the Power of the Church, Letter vii, num. ix, *pag.* 347.

(9) Ib. *pag.* 348.

(10) Ib. *pag.* 351.

(11) The title is, *Dialogues between Eudoxus and Euchariſtus, upon the Hiſtory of Arianiſm, and the Hiſtory of the Iconoclaſts of Father Maimbourg.*

(12) In Holland in 1686, and in 1688.

(13) Month of April, 1686, *pag.* 461.

(14) To the caſtle of Calonge in Condomois, near Agen.

(15) Written by Mr Boſſuet, then biſhop of Condom. This book was printed the firſt time in 1671.

(16) In the advertiſement of his anſwer to the book of the biſhop of Condom. See the advertiſement of this prelate, on the ſecond edition, *pag.* 25. of the Holland Edition.

(17) Ibid.

(18) I write this in the month of January, 1696.

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have heard some say, that he was a man of a good mein, of a great deal of wit, and who knew the world very well. What we read in a letter of Mr Simon (19), is enough to make one believe, that this man openly died an Unitarian, and that he had been so a long time *incognito*. It is a very curious particular. I advise you to read it in the original.

(19) The fifth of his *Select Letters*, *pag.* 64, 65, edition of Trevoux, 1700.

There was a Jesuit, a native of Lorrain, called JOHN MAIMBOURG, who was not inferior, either in knowledge or wit, to the famous Serrarius, another Jesuit of Lorrain; but he would never publish any books, though he was earnestly exhorted to do it. A Jesuit of the same country gives us an account of these things. ‘ Magnum uterque Lotharingiæ lumen, magnum eruditionis omnis ornamentum, magnum pietatis, & Christianæ modestiæ decus. Ambo florentes ingeniis, eruditi ambo, ambo in omnis generis authorum assidua lectione versati, vel potius omnibus tum sacræ tum prophanæ doctrinæ partibus absoluti atque perfecti: ambo sacras literas, & hanc ipsam, quæ me suspensum tenebat, inscriptionem,

Explanare pares, & respondere parati.

‘ alter scriptis in lucem publicam emissis illustrior: ‘ alter ingenio par, eruditione, virtutibus: hoc uno ‘ duntaxat inferior quod adduci nunquam potuit, ut ingenii doctrinæque suæ fœtus expromeret, ac prælo ‘ mandari pateretur. Alter erat Nicolaus Serrarius, ‘ alter Joannes Memburgus (20). - - - - - - *They were both a great honour to Lorrain, a great ornament of all sorts of learning, and a great credit to piety and Christian modesty. They were both men of flourishing parts, both learned, both versed in the reading of all kinds of authors, or rather perfectly accomplished in all parts of learning, both sacred and prophane: they were both equally skillful in explaining the scriptures, and ready to answer their adversaries. The one was more famous for the works he had published; the other was his equal in wit, learning, and virtues; in this alone inferior to him, that he could never be prevailed upon to let his works see the light, or suffer them to be published. The one was Nicolas Serrarius, the other John Maimbourg.*

(20) Nicol. Abramus, in Pharo Veteris Testamenti, *pag.* 256, col. 2.

MAINUS (JASON) one of the most famous Civilians of his age, was born in 1435. Andreot Mainus, his father, being banished from Milan, for a crime he had committed, retired to Pesaro, and there got his maid with child (*a*). To this noble exploit our Civilian owes his birth. He was educated at Milan, whither his father returned; but his tutor treated him very harshly, and did not take the same care of him, as he did of the legitimate sons of Andreot Mainus. He was sent, to study the Civil-law at Pavia; where he was so much addicted to playing at cards, that, having lost all his money and his books, he rambled about the streets in a miserable condition [*A*]. He profited by his father's punishment; for he applied himself so heartily to study, that he made a wonderful progress, both at Pavia and Bologna, insomuch, that he was judged worthy to teach the Civil-law in 1471. He taught in Pavia from that year till 1486, when he was called to Padua. Though they gave him a large salary [*B*], he was not contented with it; and because he could not obtain an augmentation of it, he retired, at the end of three years, to Pisa, where he had a better pension. He was recalled to Pavia in 1491, and became so famous there, that he had three thousand scholars. He was sent to Rome, the next year, to congratulate the new Pope Alexander VI, to whom he made a very fine harangue. That, which he made upon the marriage of Maximilian of Austria, king of the Romans, with the niece of Lewis Sforza, was no less applauded at the court of the emperor, from whence he returned loaded with presents, and honourable titles [*C*]. He harangued likewise in 1495, when Lewis Sforza was declared duke of Milan, which procured him new titles of honour (*b*). Having almost lost his sight, he broke off his lectures [*D*], but was prevailed upon to re-assume them by the urgent sollicitations

(*a*) Pisaurum ad Galeacium Malatestam oppidi dominum venit, ubi ex ancilla Annete concubina. . . . . Jasonem filium suscepit. *Guidius Panzirollus, ubi infra, pag.* 281.

(*b*) *See the remark* [*C*].

[*A*] *He rambled about the streets in a miserable condition.*] He was forced to be shaved, because the scurf had eaten into his head, and besides he was very ill cloathed. We shall make use of the words of Panzirollus. *In pestilenti chartarum lusu adeo miserè deperditus est, ut omni consumpta suppellectile etiam jurium volumina in membranis magno pretio descripta vendere cogeretur, ad extremamque inopiam deductus vili veste, & tonso capite, quod deformi tinea obsitum erat, omnium sordidissimus incedebat* (1).

(1) Panzirollus, de claris Legum Interpretibus, *lib. ii, cap. cxxvii, pag. m.* 281.

[*B*] *Though they gave him a large salary.*] *Viz.* The sum of a thousand ducats, which none ever had before him; the whole pension, that was given to his predecessors, amounting only to two or three hundred ducats. *Primus ex nostris jurium interpretibus mille aureorum salarium obtinuit, cum ante ducentis aut summum trecentis aureis docerent* (2). He was also the first, who required fifty ducats for a consultation, nay, sometimes 100 and more; whereas, before, no more than four were given (3). He was mistaken sometimes in his advice; but I know not whether he kept his word to his clients, who consulted him, to whom he promised a restitution of the money, he had received from them, in case they lost the cause. *Consultoribus onerosus in hoc laudem meruit, quod si causa excidissent, extortam pecuniam se restituturum pollicebatur, in quibusdam tamen minus rectè consuluisse arguitur* (4). There are some sellers of febrifuges, who promise the like restitution, in case a fever does not go off. But should it so happen, I do not believe the people ever make them refund the money.

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 282.

(3) Primus etiam 50. 100. & amplius aureos pro responsis accepit, cum prius quatuor aureolis honorarentur. *Panzirol. ubi supra, pag.* 282.

(4) *Id. pag.* 285. He cites *Marzar. cons. i, fol.* 10, & 12. *in princ.*

[*C*] *He returned from the emperor's court loaden with presents and honourable titles.*] *Auro argentoque donatus & equestri ac palatina dignitate honestatus, Cæsarisque patritius factus lætus in patriam rediit* (5). Mr Bullart relates (6), ‘ That Lewis Sforza, ‘ duke of Milan, having a mind to promote the ‘ glory of a man, who was his subject, preferred ‘ him to the rank of a senator in his council, and ‘ honoured him with the order of knighthood (7), ‘ and then sent him on some embassies to the emperors Frederic and Maximilian; who judging him ‘ worthy of their esteem, on account of his own ‘ merits, as well as of his character, did him extraordinary honours, and dismissed him loaded with ‘ presents.’ This is not well told; for, if we depend upon these words, we may imagine, that Mainus was sent successively to the emperors Frederic, and Maximilian. But this is a mistake; for he was sent only to the Imperial court, when Bonna Sforza married Maximilian, king of the Romans.

(5) Panzirol. ib. *pag.* 283.

(6) *Bullart's Academy of Sciences, Tom. i, pag.* 212.

(7) Ejus (*Ludovici Sforziæ*) Senator ac Patritius est declaratus. *Panzirol. ibid.*

[*D*] *He broke off his lectures.*] For more than nine years, if we may believe Panzirollus; but he himself will not permit us to believe him: for he says, that king Lewis XII engaged him to read public lectures again, and that Mainus, being invested with a fief, upon condition he would teach the Law (8), performed this condition, and yet was disappointed of his fief (9). He complained of this to Lewis XII, who dispatched letters in his favour; but they were thrown on the ground, and he who presented them received many blows. *Jasonis amicorum opera à Rege literas impetravit, ut sibi ablata restitueretur; sed nuncius pugnis, & calcibus percussus penè cæsus est, Literæ in terram projectæ, & conculcatæ fuere.* Mainus complained to Guy de Rocheford, chancellor of France, and did not forget to tell him of the hundred and fifty crowns, this affair had cost him, without getting one penny from the lands, the

(8) Castrum Pioperam Rex in feudum Jasoni, dum viveret, cum multis prædiis & proventibus concessit, hoc animo ut Jura profiteri teneretur, nisi valetudine esset impeditus. *Id. ib. pag.* 283.

(9) Dominus à Corcu regnæ dominus magister Jasonem Castro in liavit, eth post acquisitum Castrum semper d cuit. *Id. ib. pag.* 284.

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sollicitations of Lewis XII. He was honoured with the presence of this prince at one of his lectures [E]; which was attended with a thousand advantages; but the fief, wherewith he was invested, never brought him in one farthing (c); but on the contrary put him to great charges. The jealousy between him, and Philip Decius, another professor, was carried to a great height [F]. He was not a man of a very subtile wit, neither did he scruple to make use of the labours of others [G]. He exacted most exorbitant fees from those who came to consult him; but he promised to restore the money, if they lost their cause (d). He was excused from reading lectures during the last years of his life; which was a favour, that he obtained from the duke of Milan, and which the bad state of his mind was sufficient to procure him. This last part of his life was very melancholy. He had lost the use of his reason; and he had a nephew, who often beat him (e). He died at Pavia, the twenty second of March, 1519, aged eighty four years, and left a natural son behind him, who had employments in the republic of Genoa (f). The answer he made to Lewis XII is ill related by Mr. Moreri [H]. He is the author of several books [I]. He studied by candle-light in the daytime

(c) *See the remark* [D].

(d) *See the remark* [B].

(e) Ferunt eum senio confectum delirasse, & sæpe à Corn. Hippolyto ex fratre nepote pugnis cæsum fuisse. *Panzirol. ubi infra, pag.* 286.

(f) *Taken from Panzirol. lib. ii, de claris Legum Interpretibus, cap. cxxvii.*

the king had given him. Panzirollus adds, that these things happened in the year 1500, and that Mainus continued to teach till the year 1511. The interruption did not begin, at the soonest, till the year 1495; where then shall we find the nine years which Panzirollus makes it continue? I used to be surprized, when I met with such faults of Arithmetic in good authors; but now I wonder no longer at it: I have found too many of them, not to be accustomed, and pretty well hardened, to them.

[E] *He was honoured with the presence of Lewis XII at one of his lectures.*] Lewis XII being at Pavia, had a mind to hear him. Mainus, being clad in a robe of gold, conducted him to the auditory. The king made him go before him, and said, that the royal power in these places was inferior to that of the professors (10). He was followed by five cardinals, and a hundred lords. He embraced Mainus, after he came down from his chair, and presented him with a castle. We may compare this to the honours paid by Pompey to the Philosopher Posidonius. 'Cn. Pompeius confecto Mithridatico bello intraturus Posidonii sapientiæ professione clari domum, fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit, & fasces literarum januæ submisit is cui se oriens occidens que submiserat (11). *'--- Cn. Pompey, just after the Mithridatic war, designing to enter the house of the famous Philosopher Posidonius, forbad his lictors to strike the door, as usual, and struck his fasces at learning's gate; he, to whom the east and west had submitted.*' The Sieur Bullart should not have said, that Lewis XII *went often to this auditory* (12); but this is the humour of all those, who make elogiums: they never regard the exact numbers; they multiply every thing. The subject, treated of by Mainus in this lecture, ought not to be forgotten: he maintained, that the dignity of a knight, conferred by a prince upon him, who had signalized himself in a battle, ought to pass from father to son. *Ea lectione dignitatem equestrem ob spectatum in acie facinus de manu Regis traditam, accendendæ virtutis ergo ad posteros manare definivit* (13).

(10) Rex eum velut præceptorem præire jussit, quod eo in loco professoribus regum potestatem inferiorem esse diceret. *Panzirol. pag.* 283.

(11) Plinius, *lib. vii, cap.* xxx.

(12) Bullart, *ubi supra.*

(13) Jovius, in Elog. *cap. lxvi, pag.* 154. See also Panzirol. *ubi supra, pag.* 283.

[F] *The jealousy between him and Philip Decius, another Professor, was carried to a great height.*] There is nothing more common than to see this kind of jealousy produce a torrent of reproaches and slanders; but it happens seldom that those, who are tainted with it, throw stones at one another, in a literal sense, as these two Professors did one day. They met in a narrow street, and disputed the wall, and had like to have knocked one another down with stones. What a strange fight was this! and how diverting to children, and all passengers! *Jasonis nominis invidia exagitatus Philippus Decius, ipsum usque ad insanas cavillationes numquam insectari destitit. In tantum denique odium prorupere, ut semel in angiportu, obviam facti, cum de loco contendere capissent, etiam lapidibus sese incessisse ferantur* (14).

(14) Panzirol. *pag.* 284.

[G] *Neither did he scruple to make use of the labours of others.*] It would have been wrong to have left him out of the list of Plagiaries (15); for he attributed to himself a book, which Alexander of Imola had composed; and he hired some scholars, who took copies of the lectures of the most learned Professors, of which he afterwards made an advantage. One of these Professors complained of it publickly, and was so enraged at the cheat, that he changed his sentiments out of spite, and refuted those opinions, which had been stolen from him. Read this Latin, and you will find the names of the persons concerned. 'Aliorum etiam laboribus Jason libenter fruebatur, siquidem commentarium in titulum de Actionibus ab Alexandro Imolensi scitè elaboratum sibi adscripsisse, & in lucem edidisse, fertur. † Hieronymi Torti Papiensis, qui cum Jacobo Puteo in patria vespertinas lectiones paulo ante explicuerat, & aliorum scriptis locupletari voluit; Bononiæ quoque dum ibi Bartholomæus Socinus, deinde Carolus Ruinus profiterentur, auditores aluisse dicitur, qui eorum descriptas lectiones ad se referrent: id & ejus commentaria ostendunt, & Ruinus sæpe publicè deploravit, qui, mutata per indignationem sententia, surreptas opiniones confutare consueverat (16). - - - - *Jason freely made use of other mens labours; for he is reported to have ascribed to himself the commentary on the title* de Actionibus, *curiously written by Alexander of Imola, and to have published it as his own: he would enrich himself with the works of Jerom Tortus of Pavia, who, a little before, had explained, together with James Puteus, the evening lectures, in his own country, as also with the works of other authors; at Bononia likewise, during the Professorship of Bartholomew Socinus, and Charles Ruinus, he is said to have kept in pay certain scholars, to transcribe, and bring their lectures to him. This his commentaries shew, and Ruinus often publickly lamented, who, changing his sentiments through indignation, used to confute the opinions that were stolen from him.*'

† *Apostil. ad conf. lxii, & clxiii. Decii.*

(16) Panzirol. ibid. *pag.* 283.

[H] *His answer to Lewis XII is ill related by Mr Moreri.*] 'Paul Jovius adds, That Lewis XII having asked him, why he was never married, he answered, because he was persuaded, that, by his Majesty's sollicitation, Pope Julius II would make him a cardinal (17).' This is not translating as he should have done, the words of Paul Jovius 'Me audiente interrogatus à Ludovico Gallorum Rege cur nunquam duxisset uxorem, ut te commendante, inquit, Julius Pontifex ad purpureum galerum gestandum me habilem sciat (18). - - - - - *Being asked, in my hearing, by Lewis, king of France, why he never married, that Pope Julius, on your recommendation, said he, may know, that I am qualified to wear the red hat.*' Nevertheless we may know, by this bad version, that Mainus wished for a cardinal's hat; but it availed him nothing to discover the secret of his ambition. *Hoc responso animi quidem secretum ostendit, sed nunquam voti compos factus est* (19). This is what Panzirollus says, after he had said what you are going to read. 'In domestico colloquio ab eodem (Rege) interrogatus Jason, cur nunquam uxorem duxisset, Ut tua, inquit, amplissime Rex, opera Julius Pontifex me ad purpureum Galerum promovere possit (20). - - - - *Jason, in conversation, being asked by the same king, why he had never taken a wife, that by your means, said he, great king, Pope Julius may promote me to the red hat.*'

(17) *Moreri, at the word Mainus.*

(18) Jov. in Elog. *cap. lxvi, pag.* 154.

(19) Panzirol. *pag.* 283.

(20) *Compare with this the answer of* ALLATIUS, *related in his article, remark* [D].

[I] *He is the author of several books.*] Of a Commentary upon the Pandects, and upon the Code of Justinian, besides four volumes of Answers, and the explication of the title *de Actionibus* (21). He compiled many things; but he did not always understand what he borrowed from others. 'Jason non multum ingenio acutus ob hæsitationem indecisos quandoque articulos reliquit, nec semel male percepta aliorum argumenta recitat, ac in referendis receptis opinionibus,

(21) Panzirol. *pag.* 282.

(15) He is in the *Ms of Thomasius*, num. 471.

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time [*K*].

‡ *Hieron. Buttigel. in lib. i, §. si quis simpliciter. num. ix. ff. de ver. oblig.*

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 285.

' opinionibus, quæ Communes vocantur, non nunquam ' decipitur. Vir alioqui laborioſus, & in cumulandis ' aliorum dictis diligens ‡, quicquid enim legebat, ' ſcriptis mandabat, unde à ſolo calamo Juris ſtudio- ' ſum adjuvari dictitabat, & ſe quantum ſtudebat, tan- ' tum ſcribere referebat (22). - - - *Jaſon, not being of a ' quick apprehenſion, ſometimes left articles undecided, ' through doubt: he often repeats the arguments of others, ' without underſtanding them, and is ſometimes miſtaken ' even in relating received opinions. He is otherwiſe a ' laborious man, and induſtrious in compiling what others ' have ſaid; for he wrote down whatever he read; ' whence he ſaid, that a ſtudent of the law was aſſiſted by ' his pen alone, and that himſelf wrote, as much as he ſtu- ' died.*'

[*K*] *He ſtudied by candle-light in the day-time.*] I have heard this ſaid of ſome other learned men, and I am very glad to find it printed concerning Jaſon Mainus. ' Linteo capiti obvoluto, etiam meridie occluſis fene- ' ſtris ad accenſum lumen elucubrare conſueveret, ne ' cœli claritate mentem evagari ſineret (23). - - - *With ' a linen night-cap on his head, and his windows ſhut ' up, at noon-day, he uſed to ſtudy by candle-light, leſt ' the brightneſs of the ſkie ſhould divert, and take off his ' thoughts.*' The reaſon of this conduct may be eaſily gueſſed; there are ſome men, who can produce no- thing, unleſs they collect themſelves, and concenter their thoughts within themſelves; and they find it very difficult to prevent diſtractions: upon which account it is neceſſary to remove from their eyes the variety of objects, which the open day-light preſents to them.

(23) Panzirol. ibid.

MAJORAGIUS (Marc Antony) profeſſor of Eloquence at Milan in the XVIth century, gained great reputation by the politeneſs of his ſtyle, and by his great knowledge in the *Belles Lettres*: he ſtudied at Como under a profeſſor, who was nearly related to him [*A*]; after which he went to Milan, where he met with a patron (*a*), in whoſe houſe he lodged five years, and ſo applied himſelf to ſtudy, that he almoſt killed himſelf by it [*B*]. It came into his head to revive the cuſtom of declaming, which antiently qualified youth to be capable early to make eloquent harangues, and after he had given many of his ſcholars very uſeful inſtructions to this purpoſe, and prepared them for it in private, he reſolved to employ himſelf in this function publickly. The curators of the college were ſo favourable to him, that they beſtowed that employment upon him, as ſoon as they knew his intentions. He was then but twenty ſix years old. He diſcharged that office very well; but, at the end of two years, all the profeſſors were diſmiſſed, becauſe the Milaneſe was threatened with a dangerous war. He retired to Ferrara, where he ſtudied the Civil-law under Andreas Alciatus, and Philoſophy under Vincent

(*a*) Called Lancelot Fagniano.

[*A*] *He ſtudied under a Profeſſor, who was nearly related to him.*] He was a perſon of great merit, and his name was *Primus Comes* (1). This name occaſioned an ambiguity, which ſurpriſed Eraſmus; for this Italian having put his name at the bottom of a note, wherein he acquainted him, that he intended to pay him a viſit, it made Eraſmus, though then very weak, go forth in all haſte to meet him, thinking that he was ſome great prince. He was much aſtoniſhed to find only a little man all alone; but he did not repent of having made ſuch haſte; for the converſation of the man pleaſed him very much. Majoragius relates this much better than I do, and ſo deſerves to be heard. *Cum in Germaniam ea de cauſa profectus fuiſſet, ut Eraſmi conſuetudine per aliquot tempus frueretur, priuſquam ipſum Eraſmum conveniret, ad eum literas dedit, quibus adventus ſui cauſam declarabat, quarum in extrema parte nomen ſuum, ut ſit, ita ſubſcripſerat, Tui ſtudioſiſſimus Primus Comes Mediolanenſis. Hanc cùm Eraſmus ſubſcriptionem vidiſſet, credidit ſtatim magnum aliquem adeſſe Principem, ſui viſendi gratiâ. Quare licet admodum ſenex & infirmus eſſet, tamen quo ſtudio, quoque apparatu potuit, obviam conſobrino meo longe proceſſit. Sed poſtquam homunculum unum, nullo comitatu, nullo ſervorum grege ſtipatum, & benè quidem literatum, ſed nullo elegantiori cultu veſtitum reperit, errorem ſuum ridere jucundiſſimè cœpit: & tamen eum ſibi multò gratiorem adveniſſe, quàm ſi magnus Princeps fuiſſet, multis audientibus, teſtatus eſt* (2). He informs us in the ſame place, that one reaſon why he quitted the name of *Comes*, *Count* (3), was, becauſe ſeveral perſons were deceived by it; for Gryphius, anſwering a letter of Majoragius, addreſſed him, as if he had been a prince. *Eadem ratione deceptus aliquando fuit in nomine meo vir inſignis ac literatus Sebaſtianus Gryphius. Cùm enim ad eum literas dediſſem, & me Comitem inſcripſiſſem, ille mihi tanquam alicui Principi reſpondit, & clariſſimum Comitem non ſemel appellavit* (4).

(1) *See* Natalis Comes, Mythol. *lib. ix, cap. v, pag. m.* 960. [Primus Comes *ſignifies alſo* firſt count. Rem. Crit.]

(2) Majoragius, Orat. 10. *pag. m.* 221, 222.

(3) *We ſhall ſee, below, in remark* [*D*], *that Majoragius was called* Antonius Maria Comes.

(4) Majoragius, ubi ſupra, *p.* 222.

[*B*] *He ſo applied himſelf to ſtudy, that he almoſt killed himſelf by it.*] Diverſions, ſports, feaſts, had no charms for him; and it was in vain to tell him that ſo ſedulous an application to his books would kill him, for he would not unbend at all; but at laſt a dangerous ſickneſs made him ſenſible, that he ſhould have yielded to the exhortations of his friends. This he himſelf informs us of. ' Fui apud hunc annos circiter quinque, ' quo quidem tempore literarum ſtudiis adeò vehemen- ' tem operam dedi, ut totum illud quinquennium in ' labore atque contentione animi contriverim, ut me ' non quies, non remiſſio, non æqualium ſtudia, non ' ludi, non convivia delectârint. Teſtis eſt vir iſte ' graviſſimus atque ornatiſſimus Lancillottus Fannianus, ' patronus meus, qui mihi adeſt, de me ſollicitus eſt, ' meum honorem atque exiſtimationem tuetur. Qui ' cùm in ſtudiis literarum me continenter verſari vide- ' ret, magno quodam cum amore ſæpiſſime reprehen- ' dere ſolebat, quod acquirendæ ſcientiæ deſiderio, ' propriæ ſalutis oblivíſcerer. Teſtes ſunt omnes, qui ' me norant eo tempore, ut non ſemel propter nimis ' aſſiduum ſtudium, cum in graviſſimos morbos inci- ' diſſem, de vitæ periculo dimicarim (5). - - - *I abode ' with him about five years, in which time I applied ' ſo cloſely to ſtudy, that I ſpent the whole five years in ' the toil and labour of the mind; ſo that I took no delight ' in unbending my thoughts, in feaſting, and diverſions. I ' appeal for the truth of this to that excellent man Lan- ' celot Fannianus, my patron, who is preſent with me, is ' ſollicituous concerning me, and defends my honour and re- ' putation: who, ſeeing me perpetually taken up with ' ſtudy, uſed, to reprove me in a very friendly man- ' ner, telling me, that I neglected my own health for the ' ſake of acquiring knowledge. All, who knew me at ' that time, can witneſs, that more than once, falling in- ' to moſt grievous ſickneſſes, through too much ſtudy, I was ' in danger of loſing my life.*' After he was cured, he wanted no leſs to be put in mind, that he took too much pains; the love of knowledge and of glory enticed him ſo much, that he did not conſider the prejudice his health ſuffered by it. ' Quo quidem mu- ' nere (*Oratoriam artem publicè docendi*) duos annos ita ' perfunctus ſum, ut (ne quid arrogantius de me di- ' cam) nemo diligentiam aut induſtriam meam deſide- ' rarit. Quin potius ita noctes & dies in omnium do- ' ctrinarum meditatione verſabar, ut non tantum pro- ' pinqui atque neceſſarii mei, ſed etiam multi ex vobis, ' P. C. me ſæpiſſime reprehenderent, quod nimios ' magnos labores & viribus meis impares aſſumere non ' dubitarem. Ardebam enim (ut ingenue fatear) in- ' credibili gloriæ cupiditate, quam in adoleſcente ne- ' quaquam eſſe vituperandam ſapientes omnes exiſti- ' mant. Nullum igitur omnino diem eſſe patiebar, in ' quo non aut publice docerem, aut private mecum ' ipſe meditarer, & vel ſcriberem, vel declamarem: ' frequenter autem eodem die hæc omnia faciebam (6). ' - - - - - *Which employment (that of teaching Rhetoric ' publickly) I diſcharged, for two years, with the ' greateſt induſtry and diligence. Rather, I was ſo ' wrapt in ſtudy both night and day, that not only my re-*

(5) Id. ib. *p.* 196.

(6) Ib. *pag.* 198.

' *lations*

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Vincent Magius. He publiſhed ſome pieces, in which he gave himſelf the name of Marcus Antonius Majoragius [C]. The alarms of war being over, he returned to Milan, and was reſtored to his profeſſorſhip, with a more conſiderable ſalary. His enemies, who had laboured in vain to hinder this, fell upon him, and drew up a proceſs againſt him, for the Name, which he had prefixed to one of his books [D]. He pleaded his cauſe publickly

(7) Orat. 10. pag. m. 199.

(8) Ibid. pag. 200.

(9) Hankius, de Rerum Roman. Scriptoribus, lib. 1, pag. 215.

(10) Majoragius, ubi ſupra, pag. 198.

(11) Ibid.

(12) See citation (12) of the article ALCIATUS (ANDREW).

(13) Cum apud nos maxima eſſet lætitia ſuſcepto, quotiam ingentes Gallorum copiæ ſam Alpes tranſcenderant, atque in Taurinis conſiderant, omnes publici bonarum artium Profeſſores, ut fit, in ea tumultu temporibus, dimiſſi ſunt, & ſtudia literarum intermiſſa. Majorag. ubi ſupra, pag. 198.

(14) Hic eſt exactæ vitæ meæ curſus, P. C. hæc ſtudiorum meorum ratio; hic duorum & triginta annorum, quibus hactenus vixi, ſpacium. Majoragius, ibid. pag. 201.

(15) Ibid. pag. 199.

(16) Ibid. pag. 190, 213.

(17) In the article AGRIPPA, remark [C].

(18) Hankius, de Romanar. Rerum Scriptorib. lib. 1, pag. 215, is miſtaken, when he ſays, In avi materni memoriam .... Annonæ dictus eſt.

lations and dependents, but even many of your venerable body, often reproved me for labouring beyond my ſtrength. For (to confeſs the truth) I had an incredible thirſt after glory, which all wiſe men think is by no means to be deſpiſed in a young man. Therefore I let no day paſs in which I did not either publickly teach, or meditate in private, and either write or declaim: nay, I frequently performed all theſe in the ſame day.'

[C] *He publiſhed ſome pieces, in which he gave himſelf the name of Marcus Antonius Majoragius.*] I can hardly reconcile his ſeveral dates. . . . He ſays in his plea (7); that, being at Ferrara, he reſolved, by the advice of his friends, to print ſome treatiſes. They were ſome harangues, and the apology of Cicero againſt Calcagninus (8). After they were publiſhed, he began to be known at Ferrara by the name, which he had prefixed to them. Afterwards he returned to Milan, and there reaſſumed his firſt profeſſion, notwithſtanding the ill offices of his enemies. Some time after, he was accuſed of changing his name, as will appear in the following remark. This is not eaſily reconciled with the epiſtle dedicatory of his anſwer to the cenſure of Calcagninus; it is dated the eighth of July 1543; and in it he ſpeaks of himſelf, as of one who peaceably exerciſed at Milan the functions of his profeſſion. It is not therefore true, that this book was publiſhed while the author was at Ferrara, whither he had retired, when the confuſions of war interrupted the public lectures at Milan. Another remark is this; he was born the twenty ſixth of October, 1514 (9), and he was made profeſſor of Rhetoric, when he was ſcarce twenty ſix years old (10), that is, in 1540. He diſcharged this office two years, and then went to Ferrara (11). So that he went thither in 1542. Now he was at Milan in July 1543, and there exerciſed his functions peaceably; and it was then he publiſhed his defence of Cicero againſt Calcagninus. He is miſtaken therefore, when he ſays, that this book appeared, while the war interrupted his lectures, and before he quitted Ferrara to return to Milan. Let us go farther. He ſtudied the civil-law at Ferrara, under Andreas Alciatus, who did not begin his lectures there till the year 1543 (12). Therefore Majoragius publiſhed a falſehood, when he ſays, that he was admitted profeſſor at the age of twenty ſix years, and that, at the end of two years, he went to Ferrara, where he heard the lectures of Alciatus. In this he is miſtaken; forgive him this falſhood, it will be eaſy to remove all the other difficulties, and to reſtore the true date of his journey to Ferrara. Since the public lectures ceaſed upon the French army's being arrived in Piedmont (13), this interruption muſt be placed in 1544. The duke of Enguien was ſent this year into Italy with a re-inforcement of troops, and gained the battle of Cerizolles. Majoragius, being quiet in his houſe in the month of July in the preceding year, had written the epiſtle dedicatory to his treatiſe againſt Calcagninus; but, before he put this book to the preſs, he was forced to go to Ferrara, and during his abode there, he publiſhed it. The ſame date may be proved by ſome places of his harangue, wherein Majoragius juſtifies himſelf as to the change of his name. He obſerves, that he was then thirty two years of age (14). He juſtified himſelf therefore in 1546. He obſerves, that Andreas Alciatus had taught the civil-law at Ferrara the four laſt years (15). This is not inconſiſtent with the year 1546. He obſerves, that it was a year ſince his return to Milan (16). He returned therefore in the year 1545. From whence we may conclude, that the interruption of his lectures, and his ſtay at Ferrara, laſted a year, in which he publiſhed ſome harangues, and the apology for Cicero.

I have obſerved elſewhere (17), that the learned are ſometimes careleſs in ſetting down the dates of their adventures. Here is one, who made himſelf younger than he was, when he entered upon public offices.

[D] *His enemies drew up a proceſs againſt him for the name he had prefixed to one of his books.*] His Chriſtian name was Antony, as was that of his uncle by the father's ſide (18). His mother, by her particular authority, joined to it the name of Maria, both upon the account of her devotion for the Holy Virgin, and becauſe ſhe delighted to hear that word. *Boni ominis gratia . . . . nomini meo Mariam addidit, ut ſanctiſſimum illud divinæ matris nomen, materna quadam pietate muliebrique religione mihi additum, gratiorem ex nomine meo ſonum atque amabiliorem ad ipſius matris aures apportaret. Eam enim ſæpiſſime commemini dicere, ſe Mariæ nomine mirandum in modum ſolitam eſſe recreari* (19). And thus from the cradle our Majoragius was called Antony Maria. His father and his neighbours called him by this name; and by this name he was known afterwards wherever he made himſelf known. People therefore were ſurprized to ſee him call himſelf, in the title of his firſt book, Marc Antony, ſuppreſſing the venerable name of the Holy Virgin, which he had always taken. I wonder this was not the principal attack of his accuſers, and that they did not endeavour to convict him of having done an injury to the Mother of the Son of GOD. The cauſe was pleaded before the ſenate of Milan with great pomp. I know not whether the pleading of his accuſers (20) was made public; but we have the defence of the accuſed among his harangues. He juſtifies himſelf very eloquently, and cited a great many illuſtrious examples of the liberty he took. He confeſſed ſincerely the reaſon why he durſt not appear in public under the name of Antony Maria, which was becauſe he was ſo ſcrupulous in the choice of words, that he durſt not employ any, but what were to be found in the beſt Latin authors. Now there is no inſtance in Roman antiquity of a man's being called Maria, and having at once a maſculine and feminine name. Upon which account he changed the name Maria into Marcus, by lengthening out the laſt ſyllable, and prefixed it to Antony: for it had been a barbariſm, an uſage unknown to ancient Rome, to call himſelf Antonius Marcus: he therefore not only lengthened out one of his names, but alſo changed it's place. Since we have here an example of the ſuperſtitions of the Ciceronian ſect (21), we muſt recite the very words of this author. *In verborum delectu, quod C. Cæſar eloquentiæ principium eſſe dicitabat, adeo diligens, & pene dixerim ſuperſtitioſus eram, ut nullum omnino verbum, nullam verborum conjunctionem, nullam dicendi formulam admittendam mihi eſſe cenſerem, quam non apud veteres Latinos atque probatos auctores inveniſſem. Id igitur in nomine meo præcipue ſervandum eſſe ſtatuebam, ne, cum Latinæ linguæ candorem & elegantiam profiterer, aliquis mihi barbarum nomen & inuſitatum aliquando poſſet objicere: atque eo magis, quod mihi nullo modo convenire videbatur, ut muliebre nomen cum virili conjungeretur. Quis enim apud antiquos unquam talem nominis conjunctionem vel legit, vel audivit, ut quis à viro & muliere nominaretur* (22)? As to the name Majoragius, he preferred it to that of Comes, for the reaſon I have given above (23). Thus, inſtead of Antonius Maria Comes, by which name he was called before he appeared as an author, he called himſelf Marcus Antonius Majoragius, when he ſet up for an author. I add, that Majoragius was the name of his father, and that his father was ſo called, becauſe he was born in the village Majoragio, near to Milan. 'Julianus Comes, homo cum innocentia atque integritate vitæ, tum officio, fide, auctoritate ſui municipii facile Princeps, mihi pater fuit, P. C. qui cum Majoragium vicum habitaret, atque ita ſe comiter liberaliterque gereret ut vicinis omnibus gratus & charus haberetur; cognomen à loco ſortitus eſt, & Majoragius appellatus (24) - - - -

(19) Majoragius, Orat. 10. pag. 195.

(20) *Their names were* Fabius Lupus, *and* Macrinus Niger.

(21) Majoragius was a moderate Ciceronian; he did not deſpiſe the terms, which Cicero did not make uſe of, provided they were in other good writers of antient Rome. See the remark [E] towards the end.

(22) Majoragius, ibid. pag. 199, 200.

(23) In the remark [A], citation (3).

(24) Majoragius, ibid. pag. 194. He ſays, pag. 222. Cum præfertim Majoragii cognomentum haberem adhuc à patre hæreditarium. - - - - -

My father was Julian Comes, a man diſtinguiſhed above his country-men both by the innocence and probity of his life, and by his office and authority: who, inhabiting the village of Majoragio, and being reſpected by all his neighbours for his courteſy and humanity, took a firname from the place, and was called Majoragius.'

For the reſt, this Julian Majoragius having married Magdalen de Conti, called himſelf *Comes*, in imitation of his brothers-in-law, who thought it improper to call themſelves *de Comite*, or *de Comitibus*. Of this our Majoragius informs us. 'Cum hoc locutionis genus

Eſpecially ſince I ſtill retained the firname Majoragius, by inheritance from my father.

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publickly, and gained it (*b*). He continued to teach with great application; which, without doubt, ſhortened his life; for he lived only about forty years and ſix months. He died April the fourth 1555. Mr Moreri has given the titles of ſome of his books [*E*], and has committed ſome little faults [*F*]. Thuanus has alſo committed ſome [*G*].

(*b*) *Taken from the tenth harangue of Majoragius. It is that, wherein he juſtifies the change of his name.*

Majoragius ought to be put in the catalogue of thoſe, who are accuſed of being plagiaries [*H*].

‘ genus à conſuetudine Latini ſermonis abhorreret;
‘ primo vir eruditiſſimus avunculus meus, qui permul-
‘ tos annos Mediolani magna cum gloria publice do-
‘ cuit, cum elegantiæ ſermonis admodum ſtudioſus
‘ eſſet, non amplius ſe de Comitibus, ut cæteri fa-
‘ ciebant, ſed Petrum Comitem cœpit inſcribere. . . .
‘ Hunc imitati ſunt ejus fratres Jacobus & Aloyſius,
‘ atque etiam pater meus Julianus, qui horum ſororem
‘ Magdalenam, matrem meam in matrimonio habe-
‘ bat (25). - - - - *As this manner of ſpeaking was not*
‘ *agreeable to the Latin idiom; my uncle, a very learned*
‘ *man, who for many years taught publickly, and with*
‘ *great reputation, at Milan, and was very exact as to*
‘ *the elegance of language, was the firſt, who wrote*
‘ *himſelf no longer* de Comitibus, *as the reſt did, but*
‘ Petrus Comes. . . . . *His was followed by his bro-*
‘ *thers James and Aloyſius, and alſo by my father*
‘ *Julian, who had married their ſiſter Magdalen, my*
‘ *mother.*’ Note, that Julian and his wife were deſcended from the ſame anceſtors (26).

(25) Ibid. *pag.* 221.

(26) Idem, Orat. 8, *pag.* 141.

[*E*] *Mr Moreri has given the titles of ſome of his books.*] He forgot the harangues and prefaces, which have been printed ſeveral times. I think, the firſt edition was printed at Venice, in 1582 (27), by the care of John Peter Ayroldus Marcellinus. It contains twenty five harangues, fourteen prefaces, and the dialogue *de Eloquentia*. I make uſe of the edition of Leipſic, 1628, illuſtrated with marginal notes by Valentin Hartungus, profeſſor of Phyſic. They never ventured to publiſh in Italy the harangue of Majoragius againſt the avarice of the clergy (28). It is a very fine piece, and as well turned as poſſible. It was publiſhed at Utrecht in 1666, in 4to, from the M. S. of Mr Gudius. Mr Morhof, perceiving, that the copies of it grew ſcarce, cauſed it to be re-printed, with the diſcourſe he made upon this model, in 1690. Theſe two pieces are in the collection of harangues and programata, by Mr Morhof, publiſhed at Hamburg in 1698. You will find a very long extract of this harangue of Majoragius in Mr Seckendorf's Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm (29). Mr Moreri ought to have explained a little better the occaſion of the quarrel of Majoragius with Calcagninus, and with Nizolius. The quarrel with Calcagninus was in defence of the Offices of Cicero, againſt which Calcagninus had publiſhed twenty five diſquiſitions. Majoragius refuted them all by ſo many deciſions; which is the title he gave to his anſwers publiſhed in 1543. James Grifolus refuted alſo the diſquiſitions of Calcagninus. Theſe three pieces, I mean the cenſure of Calcagninus, and the anſwers of Majoragius, and Griſolus, were publiſhed together in 8vo, in the XVIth century. Mr Grævius has inſerted all this in his excellent edition of Cicero's Offices. Nizolius quarrelled with Majoragius through a jealouſy natural to men of the ſame profeſſion: he came off by the worſt, becauſe few learned men approved his being a rigid Ciceronian. ‘ Hunc Tullianæ elucubrationis genium
‘ cum inter cæteros ejus ætatis præferret etiam Marius
‘ Nizolius Brixellenſis, orta eſt inter utrumque de
‘ primæ laudis acquiſitione contentio, multa viciſſim
‘ ſibi publicè objectantem, ac ſua viciſſim ſcripta car-
‘ pentem: in quo tamen Nizolius ideo acerbiora
‘ tulit eruditorum judicia, quod ſubacri & tetricâ ſu-
‘ perſtitione, in tanta latinorum procerum fœcundi-
‘ tate ne hilum quidem à Ciceronis formulis recedendum arbitraretur. Sua igitur non ineptè tutatus
‘ placita Majoragius perdocti ac induſtrii ingenii no-
‘ men emeruit (30). - - - - *It happening that Marius*
‘ *Nizolius of Breſſello, among others of that time, af-*
‘ *fected the Ciceronian ſtyle, theſe two became rivals for*
‘ *the ſuperiority, objecting many things publickly againſt*
‘ *each other, and, by turns, cenſuring each others*
‘ *writings: in which conteſt however, the ſentiments*
‘ *of the learned were leſs favourable to Nizolius, becauſe,*
‘ *among ſuch a variety of Latin authors, he was for*
‘ *adhering ſuperſtitiouſly to the phraſeology of Cicero alone.*
‘ *Majoragius therefore, by his apt defence of his opinions,*
‘ *gained the reputation of a very learned and induſtrious*
‘ *man.*’ We muſt not forget, that Gaudentius Merula is to be reckoned among the adverſaries of Majoragius, who accuſeth him of being a great plagiary (31).

(27) *It is in 4to.*

(28) *The title of it is* Philochryſus, ſive de Laudibus auri.

(29) Seckendorf, Hiſt. Luther. *lib. iii, pag.* 342, *& ſeq.*

(30) Joh. Imperialis, in Muſæo Hiſtor. *pag.* 126.

(31) In Apologia, *pag.* 28, apud Almelovenium in Plagiariorum Syllabo, *pag.* 27.

[*F*] *Mr Moreri has committed ſome little faults.*] I. He ſhould not have ſaid, that Majoragius was a native of a caſtle of that name; for Majoragio is only a village. If any one ſhall ſay, that this does not hinder but there might be a caſtle in that village, I will confeſs it; but then I will add, that Majoragius was not born in a caſtle; and this I prove from theſe words (32): ‘ Amphortius qui ex illis (33) natu
‘ maximus erat, Majoragium vicum extruxit, atque
‘ in eo turrim, cujus adhuc in domo mea paterna,
‘ poſt ſeptingentos atque ampliùs annos, quædam ex-
‘ tant veſtigia atque fundamenta; hic noſtri generis
‘ auctor fuit. - - - *Amphortius, the elder of them, built*
‘ *the village of Majoragio, and in it a tower, the ruins*
‘ *of which, and part of the foundation, after more than*
‘ *ſeven hundred years, are ſtill to be ſeen in my father's*
‘ *houſe: this perſon was the founder of our family.*’ Would Majoragius have talked thus of his paternal houſe, if it had been the caſtle of the place? Add to this, that he confeſſes, his father was very poor (34); but not that he was a domeſtic of the lord of the village. II. It was not he, but his father, who, from the village Majoragio, where he dwelt, took the name of Majoragius. See the remark [*D*], citation (24). III. It is not true, that his name was *Marc-Antony Maria*. IV. Nor that he taught at Ferrara.

(32) Majoragius, Orat. 10. *pag.* 220.

(33) *He means three brothers, whom Deſiderius, king of the Lombards, their uncle by the mother's ſide, promoted to the dignity of counts, and to whom he gave a great deal of land.*

(34) Licet in tenuiſſima re familiari verſaretur. *Majoragius, ibid. pag.* 236.

[*G*] *Thuanus alſo has committed ſome faults.*] I. He ſhould not ſay, that *Majoragio was ſo called, from a town, where his father dwelt* (35). I have already ſhewn, that his father was called Majoragius. II. His epitaph, in the *Muſæum Imperiale*, imports, that he taught for the ſpace of fourteen years; but, in the theatre of Ghilini, it tells us, that he taught only nine years. Thuanus, in Mr Teiſſier, makes the profeſſorſhip of Majoragius to ceaſe at the end of eight years, and ſuppoſes, that he quitted it, to *apply himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of Divinity*. My edition of Thuanus informs me, that Majoragius did not begin this ſtudy till he had ſpent thirteen years in inſtructing youth. III. He ſays, in the ſame Mr Teiſſier, that Majoragius lived forty two years. The Latin edition allows him but forty, tho' the truth is, he lived forty years, and near ſix months.

(35) *I make uſe of the ſame verſion, that Mr Teiſſier uſed, Addit. to the Eloges, Tom. i, pag.* 105. *Edit.* 1696. *The Latin has it,* A Majoragio, vico in quo ejus pater habitabat, ita vocatus. *Thuanus, lib. xvi.*

[*H*] *He ought to be placed in the catalogue of thoſe, who are accuſed of being plagiaries.*] Natalis Comes aſſirms, that he heard ſome learned Florentines ſay, that Majoragius, being indebted to Peter Victorius for illuſtrations upon Ariſtotle's Rhetoric, had not the gratitude to own it, but adorned himſelf with the ſpoils of others. ‘ Qui locus *(Ariſtotelis in 3 libro Rheto-*
‘ *ricorum)* cum ante noſtram ætatem legeretur depra-
‘ vatus, Petri Victorii patricii Florentini ac viri clariſ-
‘ ſimi ingenio eſt integritati reſtitutus: ut mihi, cum
‘ eſſem Florentiæ, multis rationibus probarunt viri
‘ quidam eximiæ integritatis & eruditionis, atque in
‘ primis Vicentius Borghinus, vir omnium quos un-
‘ quam cognovi, multiplici rerum cognitione præ-
‘ ſtantiſſimus. Horum gravium teſtium autoritate
‘ commotus non potui non ſummopere improbare M.
‘ Antonii cujuſdam Majoragii neſcio impudentiam ne
‘ appellem, an exquiſitam ambitionem: qui omni
‘ explicatione propè Ariſtotelicæ artis ipſius Victorii
‘ ſcriptis accepta, ut ex iiſdem viris illuſtribus cognovi,
‘ ex hac emendatione elatus, mox alibi in Victorium
‘ ipſum non ſemel inſultavit, & per hujus loci cor-
‘ rectionem viros omnes clariſſimos ſuæ ætatis infectatus
‘ eſt: atque in primis Hermolaum Barbarum virum
‘ præſtantiſſimum (36). - - - - *Which paſſage of*
‘ *Ariſtotle's Rhetorics, book the third, having been cor-*
‘ *rupted before our time, was reſtored to the true read-*
‘ *ing, by the moſt ingenious and celebrated Petrus Victo-*
‘ *rius of Florence, as was fully proved to me, when I*
‘ *was at Florence, by perſons of great integrity and learn-*
‘ *ing, particulary Vincentius Borghinus, a man of the*
‘ *moſt extenſive knowledge I ever met with. Affected*
‘ *by the teſtimony of ſuch great men, I could not but*
‘ *greatly*

(36) Natalis Comes, Mythol. *lib. ix, cap.* 9, *pag. m.* 959.

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'*greatly blame the impudence (ſhall I call it?) or* '*exquiſite ambition of one Marc Antony Majoragius,* '*who borrowing almoſt his whole explication of the* '*Ariſtotelian art from the writings of Victorius, as the* '*fame illuſtrious perſons informed me, and growing vain* '*upon this emendation, more than once inſulted Victorius,* '*and attacked the moſt eminent men of his time, par-* '*ticularly the great Hermolaus Barbarus, upon the* '*ſtrength of this correction.*'

MAJUS (JUNIANUS) a Neapolitan gentleman, taught the *Belles Lettres* in Naples, towards the end of the XVth century (*a*). Among other ſcholars, he had the famous Sannazarius [*A*]. He contributed much by his lectures and books to reſtore the elegancy of the Latin tongue [*B*]; but he diſtinguiſhed himſelf much more by interpreting dreams [*C*]. He was the greateſt Onirocritic of his age; and people flocked to him

(*a*) *See the* Biblioteca Napoletana *of* Nicolo Toppi, *pag.* 162.

[*A*] *He had amongſt other ſcholars . . . Sannazarius.*] This appears by the ſeventh elegy of the ſecond book of Sannazar, dedicated *ad Junianum Majum præceptorem.* I ſhall cite a long paſſage out of it below.

[*B*] *He contributed much to reſtore the elegancy of the Latin tongue.*] This is the commendation Sabellicus has given him. ' Subjiciet his aliquis, *ſays he* (1), ' haud immerito Jo. Tortelium Aretinum & Junianum ' Parthenopæum. Juverunt illi induſtria uterque ſua, ' nec multum inter ſe diverſa verborum utriuſque ' linguæ copiam. - - - *Some one will very deſervedly* ' *add here John Tortelius Aretin, and Junianus Par-* ' *thenopæus. They both, by an almoſt equal induſtry,* ' *contributed to reſtore the elegancy of both languages.*' Majus publiſhed a book at Naples in 1475, *de priſcorum proprietate verborum*, which was reprinted in the ſame city in 1490. The ſecond edition is full of faults, occaſioned by the negligence of the Printer (2): but he greatly commends the Printer of the firſt. The words he uſes will pleaſe the curious; for they acquaint us with the name of him, who firſt began to practiſe Printing in that country. ' Accedit ad hæc ' quod Germani ſolerti ac incredibili quodam invento ' nuper novam quandam imprimendi rationem inve- ' nerunt, præcipue Matthias Moravus vir ſummo in- ' genio ſummaque elegantia in hoc genere impreſſio- ' nis effloruit. Quem conſilio Blaſii Monachi Rome- ' rii viri ſacris literis inſtituti ac ſanctis moribus pro- ' bati, hac noſtra urbe excepiſſe gratulamur, *&c.* (3). ' - - - *Add to this, that the Germans have lately found* ' *out a new method of Printing; eſpecially Matthias a* ' *Moravian, a moſt ingenious man, diſtinguiſhed himſelf* ' *in this new invention: whoſe reception in this our* ' *city, by advice of Blaſius a monk of Romerium, we* ' *congratulate.*' Some believe, that Volaterran ſpeaks of our Majus in the words which follow: ' Chalci- ' dius Græcorum non erat ignarus, nec imperitus ' Grammaticus, attamen infans & abſque genio. Di- ' ctionibus in primis invigilabat, lexiconque condide- ' rat quod obitu ipſius ſuperveniente Jovinianus ejus ' diſcipulus ſibi vindicavit (4). - - - *Chalcidius was* ' *verſed in the Greek authors, and a ſkillful Gramma-* ' *rian, yet a meer child, and without genius. He par-* ' *ticularly ſtudied Phraſeology, and had compiled a Di-* ' *ctionary, which his diſciple Jovinian, after his death,* ' *claimed as his own.*' This Chalcidius taught at Rome. Majus would deſerve a place among the plagiaries, if he is the perſon mentioned by Volaterran. On the other ſide, Calepin made a great advantage of the book of Majus, as Toppi remarks. *Diede alla luce un libro della proprieta delle parole antiche, del quale ſe n'e ſervito Ambroſio Calepino aſſai bene* (5).

(1) Sabellicus, de lingua Latinæ Repertoribus, pag. 40 c. apud Anton. Nicodemum Additioni alla Biblioteca Napoletana, pag. 144.

(2) Nicolo Toppi, Bibl. Napolet. pag. 162.

(3) Junian. Majus, Epiſtola dedicatoria ad Regem Ferdinandum, apud Nicodemum, ubi ſupra.

(4) Volaterranus, lib. xxi, pag. m. 776.

(5) Nicolo Toppi, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf . . . . . by the interpretation of dreams.*] Alexander ab Alexandro, who had been his ſcholar, ſays wonderful things of his knowledge in theſe matters. Every morning the houſe of Majus was full of people, who came to tell him their dreams, that they might learn their interpretation; and among them there were ſome perſons of quality. He anſwered them, not, as moſt others do, in dark ſpeeches, and a few words, but clearly, and at large. Many perſons, by following his advice, ſecured themſelves from death, and prevented ſometimes very great troubles. We may ſee this more at large, if we conſult the Latin of Alexander ab Alexandro. *Junianus Majus*, ſays he (6), *conterraneus meus, vir bene literatus, in exquirendis adnotandiſque verborum & ſententiarum viribus, multi ſtudii fuit: & præterquam quod in eruditendis juvenculorum animis, imbuendiſque doctrina pueris, caſtigatiſſimæ diſciplinæ, ſomniorum quoque omnis generis ita verus conjector fuit, ut ipſius reſponſa, divina fere monita haberentur. Ad eum memini, cum puer adhuc eſſem, & ad capiendum ingenii cultum frequens apud eum ventitarem, quotidie ſomniantium turbam, homineſque celebri fama & multi nominis, de ſomniis conſultum veniſſe. Declarabat definiebatque ille, non breviter aut ſubobſcure, ut plerique, ſed expoſite atque aperte ænigmata ſomniorum, ſive boni, ſive mali prænuncia: ita apte, ut judicium factum à veridico diceres. Multi quoque illius monitu, vitæ interitum nonnunquam animi ægritudines vitarunt.* Sannazarius, another ſcholar of this interpreter of dreams, found it happy both for himſelf and his miſtreſs, that he had recourſe to ſuch an oracle. He extols him to the ſkies, and prefers him before all the antient Augurs. Let us remember, that he writes as a Poet; and therefore that he did not intend, we ſhould give credit to his words, without making ſome abatement. However, let us hear what he ſays.

(6) Alexander ab Alexandro, Genial. Dierum, lib. i, cap. xi, pag. 81, 82.

At tibi venturos, Mai, prædicere caſus
Fas eſt, & mites conſuluiſſe Deos.
Nec tantum aut aræ fumos, aut nuntia ſentis
Fulgura, ſed Stygiis ſomnia miſſa locis,
Somnia quæ miſeram perturbant ſæpe quietem,
Dum mens incertis pendet imaginibus.
O quoties per te vanum poſuiſſe timorem
Me memini, & lætos continuaſſe dies.
O quoties, trepidus cum non ſpernenda putarem,
In noſtrum cavi damna futura caput.
Sæpe meæ tibi cum narraſſem viſa puellæ,
Dixiſti, certos haud procul eſſe metus,
Sæpe illam madidos luſtrare in flumine crines
Juſſiſti, & miſto ſolvere farra ſale.
Quod ſi olim terris talem te fata dediſſent,
Spreviſſet Thuſcos Martia Roma viros.
Nam te quis melius calidas deprendere fibras,
Conſulere aërias aut potuiſſet aves?
Illa triumphatum, *&c* (7).

(7) Sannazar. Eleg. vii, *lib. ii, pag.* 96. Edit. Amſtel. 1689.

Favour'd by gods, to thee, my friend, 'tis giv'n
Events to ſcan, and read the will of heav'n.
Nor ſmoak alone from reaking altars ſent,
Or winged lightnings, teach thee each event;
But dreams to thee the laws of fate diſcloſe,
From Stygian darkneſs ſent, to break the mind's repoſe.
Thou from my heart vain fears haſt chas'd away,
And bad continu'd mirth prolong the day.
Secur'd by thy advice, I ſafely tread,
And dangers vainly threaten o'er my head.
Oft, when my miſtreſs, waking in a fright,
Has trembled at the viſions of the night,
Preſcrib'd by thee, due rites have baniſh'd fear,
And taught her to believe no danger near.
Rome, had'ſt thou flouriſh'd in thoſe martial days,
Above Etrurian ſeers, had ſung thy praiſe;
More ſkill'd in ſmoaking entrails fate to ſpy,
And better read i'th' language of the ſky.

Martin del Rio, who is otherwiſe ſo credulous, and ſo little wont to reject romantic ſtories, ſpeaks of Majus in another tone, and treats him with the laſt decree of contempt. ' Cæterorum onirociti- ' corum veterum, non magna reipub. jactura omnes ' libri interierunt, præter unum Artemidorum Daldi- ' anum, delirum ſenem, qui libris quinque cuncta ab ' aliis tradita complexus fuit. Brevior eſt Aſtram- ' pſychus Græcè & Latinè his annis editus: ſed æque ' nugax, ut & alius ille Arabs, qui Græcè barbari- ' zans una cum Artemidoro in lucem prodiit in Gal- ' lia. Hodiè in pretio habent Apomaſaris Arabica

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him from all Parts, to know what such and such dreams presaged. Many pretended, that his answers were very useful to them. This is not unworthy of consideration [D].

'Apotelesmata, ex recentioribus Contra. Wimpina, 'vellem ne tam multa sine antidoto congessisset †. 'Avorum quoque memoria, hanc in Italia vanissimè 'profitebatur artem Junianus Majus ‡: cujus extant 'epistolæ & libelli quidam Grammatici (8). - - - *All 'the books of the other antient Onirocritics, with no 'great detriment to the public, are lost, except only Arte-'midorus of Daldia, a doting old man, who comprized 'in five books all that the rest had delivered. Astram-'pschus is shorter, who has been lately published in 'Greek and Latin; but he is equally a trifler, as is 'that other Arabian, whose book in barbarous Greek, 'lately came out, together with that of Artemidorus, in 'France. At present they esteem Apomasar's astrolo-'gical works in Arabic, and among the Moderns Conr. 'Wimpina; I wish he had not made such great collecti-'ons without an antidote. In the memory likewise of our 'grand-fathers, Junianus Majus professed this vain 'art in Italy; who hath left behind him some epistles, 'and grammatical pieces.'*

† *L. de divinat. cap. xiv, & lib. de insomniis per decem capita.*

‡ *De quo Alex. ab Alex. lib. i, cap. xi.*

(8) Mart. Del Rio Disquisit. Magicar. *lib. iv, cap. iii, quest. vi, pag. m.* 278.

A REFLEXION on dreams.

[D] *This is not unworthy of consideration.*] It were to be wished, for the happiness and quiet of an infinite number of persons, that dreams had never been mentioned as presages of future events; for those who are once possessed with this notion, imagine that the greatest part of the images, that pass through their minds in their sleep, are so many predictions, which very often threaten them with future evils: from whence arise a thousand uneasy thoughts; and where there is one man, who is not subject to this weakness, there are a thousand, who are not able to free themselves from it. I think we may say of dreams the same almost as of inchantments, that they are far less mysterious than people believe, and somewhat more than Free-thinkers fancy. The histories of all times and places relate, both with respect to dreams and magic, so many surprizing things, that those who obstinately deny them all, render themselves suspected, either of want of sincerity, or judgment to discern the force of the proofs. A violent prejudice, or a certain turn of mind, blinds their understanding, when they compare the reasons *pro* and *con*. I have known some men of parts, who denied all presages from dreams upon this principal, *viz.* None but GOD, said they, know things to come, that is, such as are called contingent: but dreams are generally supposed to foretel contingent futurities; GOD therefore must be the author of those dreams, and then he must produce them by a miracle; and so, in all the countries of the world, he must work an infinite number of miracles, which are no wise agreeable to the character either of his infinite greatness, or sovereign wisdom. These gentlemen insist strongly upon this, that the most mystical dreams are as common among Pagans and Mahometans, as among the followers of the true religion. In effect, read Plutarch, and the other Greek and Roman Historians; read the books of the Arabians and Chinese, and you will find in them as many examples of miraculous dreams, as in the Bible, or in Christian histories. It must be confessed, that this objection is of great force, and seems to lead us necessarily to another system, *viz.* that, which attributes these sort of dreams, not to GOD as the immediate cause, but to certain intelligences, who, under the direction of GOD, have a great share in the government of man. It may be supposed, according to the doctrine of occasional causes, that there are general laws, which subject a great number of effects to the desires of such and such intelligences, as there are general laws, which subject to the desires of men the motion of certain bodies. This supposition is not only agreeable to an opinion, which was very common among the Pagans, but also to the doctrine of the Scripture, and to that of the antient Fathers (9). The Pagans acknowledged several inferior gods, who presided over particular things, and they pretended also, that each man had a genius that governed him. The Roman Catholics pretend, that the doctrine of a guardian-angel, and of an angel presiding over a whole country, a city, or a province, is founded upon the Scripture. If you once lay it down for a truth, that GOD has thought fit to appoint certain spirits, as the occasional cause of man's conduct, with respect to certain events, then all the difficulties that are objected against dreams, vanish away. We must no more wonder, that we do not find a character of greatness or gravity in the images, which advertise us in dreams (10). Tho' they be confused or childish, and though they vary according to times and places, and according to the temperament of mens bodies, this ought not to surprize those, who know the narrow bounds of creatures, and the obstacles which occasional causes, of different kinds, must needs reciprocally raise against one another? Do we not find by experience, every day, that our soul and our body mutually hinder each other in those operations that are peculiar to them? an intelligence, that should act both upon our body and our mind, must needs find divers obstacles in the laws, which establish these two principles (11), as the occasional cause of certain effects. But whence comes it, may some ask, that these invisible genii do not make use of a fitter time? Why do they not advertise men of things future, while they are awake? Why do they wait till they are asleep? 'Illud etiam requiro, cur, si deus ista visa nobis pro-'videndi causa dat, non vigilantibus potius det quàm 'dormientibus? Sive enim externus, & adventitius 'pulsus animos dormientium commovet, sive per se 'ipsi animi moventur, sive quæ causa alia est, cur se-'cundùm quietem aliquid videre, audire, agere videa-'mur, eadem causa vigilantibus esse poterat: idque 'si nostra causa dii secundum quietem facerent, vigi-'lantibus idem facerent; præsertim cùm Chrysippus, 'Academicos refellens, permulto clariora, & certiora 'esse dicat, quæ vigilantibus videantur, quàm quæ 'somniantibus. Fuit igitur divina beneficentia dignius, 'cùm consuleret nobis, clariora visa dare vigilantibus, 'quàm obscuriora, per somnium: quod quoniam non 'fit, somnia divina putanda non sunt. Jam verò quid 'opus est circuitione, & amfractu, ut sit utendum inter-'pretibus somniorum potiùs, quam directo? Deus, si 'quidem nobis consulebat, *Hoc facito, Hoc ne feceris*, 'diceret? idque visum vigilanti potiùs, quàm dormi-'enti daret (12)? - - - - *I likewise ask, why, if GOD 'gives us these visions, for the sake of fore-sight, he 'does not rather give them us, when awake, than when a-'sleep? For, whether an external and adventitious im-'pulse affects the minds of the sleepers, or their minds 'are moved of themselves, or there be any other cause, 'why, in our sleep, we seem to see, hear, or do, any thing; 'the same might be effected in those that are awake: 'and if the gods did this for our sakes, when we are 'asleep, they would do the same, when we are awake, 'especially since Chrysippus, refuting the Academics, says, 'that our waking ideas are much more clear and certain 'than our sleeping. It were therefore more worthy of the 'divine goodness, in consulting our benefit, to give us clearer 'visions, when awake, than more obscure in sleep: 'which not being done, dreams are not to be considered 'as divine. Besides, where is the use of the round-'about way of consulting interpreters of dreams, rather 'than the direct? For if GOD considered our good 'he would say,* Do this, avoid doing that: *and would 'present such a vision rather to our waking, than our 'sleeping thoughts.*' Why do they communicate their predictions to people of weak minds, rather than to those of stronger heads? It is easily answered, that those, who are awake, are not proper to be thus advertised; for then they consider themselves as the cause of every thing that presents itself to their imagination, and clearly distinguish between what they imagine, and what they see. But when they are asleep, they do not distinguish between their imaginations and sensations; all the objects, which they imagine, appear to them to be present, and they cannot retain exactly the coherence of their images (13): and so they cannot persuade themselves that they have not connected them together themselves; from whence they conclude that some of them proceed from other causes, and were inspired by some spirit, that would advertise them of something. Can it be denied, that an engine is fitter to be played in a certain manner, when some of it's parts are at rest, than when they are not? Let us say the same of our brain. It is more easy to direct in it certain motions for exciting presaging imaginations, when the eyes, and other external senses, are locked up, than when they are in action. Do we know how far the effects of sickness or madness may assist the authors of dreams? can we doubt, but that

(9) According to the Theology of St Augustin, which includes, as F. Thomasin teaches, the antient tradition of all men, nothing is done in the world but by angels or by demons, or by the sentiments, which God imprints on the minds of men. *Arnaud, against the System of Malebranche. Tom. i, pag.* 191.

(10) There are some dreams that are meer rebus's, like that, which Brantome speaks of, which foretold to Margaret of Austria, who was to be married to Charles VIII, that Anne of Bretagne should take from her the crown of France. She dreamed, that, as she was walking in a garden, an ass came to her, and took away a nosegay, which she held in her hand.

(11) *Viz.* the human body, and the human soul.

(12) Cicero, de Divinat. *lib. ii. cap. lxi.*

(13) See the article LOTICHIUS (PETER), remark [G].

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that the laws of motion, according to which our organs are moved, and which are only to a certain degree ſubject to the deſires of created ſpirits, trouble and confound the images, which the author of a dream would render more diſtinct? Cicero ſeems to triumph, upon pretence that theſe images are obſcure and intricate. 'Jam vero quid opus eſt circuitione, '& amfractu, ut ſit utendum interpretibus ſomniorum 'potius, quam directo (14)? . . . . Venit in contentionem, ſit probabilius, deoſne immortales, rerum 'omnium præſtantia excellentes, concurſare omnium 'mortalium, qui ubique ſunt, non modò lectos, verum etiam grabatos, & cùm ſtertentes aliquos viderint, objicere his quædam tortuoſa, & obſcura, 'quæ illi exterriti ſomnio ad conjectorem manè deferant: an natura fieri, ut mobiliter animus agitatus, quod vigilans viderit, dormiens videre videatur '(15). - - - - - *Beſides, where is the uſe of ſuch a round about way, of conſulting interpreters of dreams, rather than the direct? . . . . It is diſputed, whether it be more probable, that the immortal gods, who excel in all perfection, run up and down, and ſurround, not only the beds, but the very couches, of all men, every where, and, when they find any aſleep, preſent to their imaginations ſome intricate and obſcure ideas, which terrified by the viſion, they are to carry in the morning to an interpreter; or that it happens by a natural effect, that the mind, being put into motion, ſeems to ſee in ſleep, what it really ſaw when awake.*' But to this it may be anſwered, that every creature is limited and imperfect: there may therefore be variations, and even ſome oddities, according to our way of judging, in the effects, which are directed by the deſires of a created ſpirit. This may ſerve us as an anſwer to ſome objections, which the free-thinkers alledge to thoſe, who talk to them about the exiſtence of magic. In fine, I ſay, that the knowledge of things future is not ſo great as is imagined, in ſuppoſing that there are dreams of divination. For if we duly examine the common relations and popular tradition, moſt of theſe dreams inform us only of ſuch things as happen in other countries, or ſuch as are quickly to come to paſs. A man dreams of the death of a friend or a relation, and it is found, ſay they, that this friend or relation died fifty leagues off at the time of this dream. To reveal ſuch a thing as this, does not imply the knowledge of things to come. Others dream of I know not what, that threatens them with ſome misfortune, as with death, if you pleaſe. The genius, who is the author of this dream, may know the plots and devices, which are framing againſt them; it may ſee, in the ſtate of the blood, a near diſpoſition to an apoplexy, a pleuriſy, or ſome other mortal diſeaſe. But this is not to know things future, which are called contingent. But ſome may ſay, there are private perſons, who have dreamed that they ſhould reign, and they did not reign till twenty or thirty years after. I anſwer, that their genius being of a very high order, active and wiſe, had a mind to raiſe them to a throne; he was reſolved to lay hold of every opportunity, and did not doubt of ſucceſs (16); and from theſe conjectures, which were almoſt certain, he imparted the dream. Men would do as much proportionably to their ability.

I do not produce theſe things as proofs, or ſtrong reaſons, but only as anſwers to the difficulties, which are propoſed againſt the common opinion: and it muſt alſo be conſidered, that I confine my ſelf within the bounds of natural light; for I ſuppoſe the diſputants would not make uſe of the authority of Scripture. I deſire alſo that it may be obſerved, that thoſe, who maintain there are dreams of divination, need only weaken the objections of their adverſaries; for they have an infinite number of facts to alledge for their opinion; as have thoſe alſo, who maintain that there is ſuch a thing as magic. And this being ſo, it is ſufficient for them, that they can anſwer objections; but it belongs to thoſe, who deny theſe facts, to prove that they are impoſſible, and without this they will never gain the cauſe. I ought alſo to put the reader in mind that I do not pretend to excuſe the antient Pagans, either as to the care they took to relate ſo many dreams in their Hiſtories, or as to the proceedings that were conſequent upon certain dreams. Sometimes they had no other foundation for appointing certain ceremonies, or for condemning the accuſed (17). 'Quum ex æde Herculis patera aurea gravis ſurrepta 'eſſet, in ſomniis vidit (*Sophocles*) ipſum deum dicen-

(14) Cicero, ubi ſuprà.

(15) Id. ib. *cap. xxv.*

(16) *See the remark [D], in the article* CALNIES.

(17) *See* Cicero, *de Divinat. lib. i, fol. m. 311. A.*

'tem, qui id feciſſet. Quod ſemel ille, iterumque neglexit, ubi idem ſæpius, aſcendit in Ariopagum: 'detulit rem. Ariopagitæ comprehendi jubent eum, 'qui à Sophocle erat nominatus. Is, quæſtione adhibita, confeſſus eſt, pateramque retulit. Quo facto, 'fanum illud Indicis Herculis nominatum eſt (18). - - - *A large golden goblet being ſtolen out of the temple of Hercules, Sophocles, in a dream, ſaw the GOD himſelf telling him who had done it. He diſregarded the viſion once, and twice; but it being repeated, he went to the court of Ariopagus, and gave information of the matter. The Ariopagites ordered the perſon, whom Sophocles had named, to be arreſted. Upon examination by torture, he confeſſed the fact, and reſtored the goblet. From thence that temple received the name of Hercules the diſcoverer.* One may juſtly laugh at the weakneſs of Auguſtus (19), and much more at the law which enjoined all private perſons in certain countries, who had dreamed any thing concerning the Republic, do declare it openly, either by a public advertiſement, or by a cryer (20); and, excepting ſome particular dreams, we may ſay of all the reſt what we read in Petronius (21). 'Hinc ſcies Epicurum hominem eſſe 'divinum, qui ejuſmodi ludibria facetiſſimâ ratione condemnat.

Somnia, quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
Non delubra Deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt;
Sed ſibi quiſque facit. Nam cum proſtrata ſopore
Urget membra quies, & mens ſine pondere ludit:
Quidquid luce fecit, tenebris agit. Oppida bello
Qui quatit, & flammis miſerandas ſævit in urbes, &c.

'*Hence you may know, that Epicurus was a God-like Philoſopher, who very juſtly and pleaſantly condemns theſe idle notions.*

Dreams, which delude the mind with fleeting ſhades,
Come not from temples, or the gods above:
Each his own viſions makes; for, ſtretch'd in ſleep,
When ſlumber looſens the material chains,
The active mind in airy viſions ſports,
And acts, in dreams, the buſineſs of the day.
The ſoldier dreams of war, and cities fired, &c.

(18) Id. ib. *cap. xxv.*

(19) Somnia neque ſua neque aliena de ſe negligebat. - - - *He neglected neither his own dreams, nor thoſe of others concerning him.* Sueton, in Auguſt. *cap. xci.*

(20) *See* Caſaubon *upon* Suetonius, in Aug. *cap. xci. who cites* Artemidorus, *lib. i, cap. ii.*

(21) Petronius, *pag.* 178. Edit. Roterod. 1693.

And I continue in the ſame opinion, which I have declared elſewhere (22), that there is no employment more frivolous and ridiculous, than that of the Onirocritics. Our Junius Majus deſerved a ſeverer cenſure than that paſſed upon him by Martin del Rio. If we would compare, with what happens to us, an infinite number of images, that ariſe in our minds, when, being awake, we abandon our ſelves to all objects that offer themſelves, we might find in them as much relation to our adventures, as in any dreams, which we look upon as preſages. And I do not value the reaſon which appears ſo ſtrong to many people. But ſay they, we not only ſee in a dream the objects, but we hear them tell us ſuch things, as we never heard when we were awake, and conſequently of which we could have no traces in our brain. We ſometimes believe that we ſee, in a dream, a new book, which we have never heard of before, and we read the title, preface and a hundred other things in it. This reaſon is of no force. Do we not all this, while we are awake? Do we not repreſent to our ſelves ſuch and ſuch perſons, who tell us a hundred things, which we our ſelves frame? Cannot we imagine, if we pleaſe, that ſuch a one has juſt now publiſhed ſuch a book, which contains ſuch and ſuch things? And ſo this pretended great reaſon is of no weight: but I believe, at the ſame time, that we cannot doubt of certain dreams, which are mentioned by authors, neither can we explain them by natural cauſes, I mean without acknowledging an inſpiration, or a revelation. See Valerius Maximus (23), and the letters of Grotius (24). As to the objections of Cicero, which are indeed very ſtrong, and almoſt unanſwerable, they are of no ſtrength, but upon the ſuppoſition, that GOD himſelf is the immediate author of our dreams. It was the ſuppoſition of the Stoics, whence it comes to paſs, that Cotta ſpeaks thus: 'Quomodo iidem dicitis non omnia Deos perſe-'qui, iidem vultis à Diis immortalibus hominibus diſ-'partiri ac dividi ſomnia (25)? - - - - *How comes it that you ſay, the gods do not perform all things, and at the ſame*

(22) *In the article* ARTEMIDORUS, *remarks* [B] *and* [C].

(23) Valer. Maximus, *lib. i, cap. vii.*

(24) Grotius, Epiſt. cccv. Part. ii.

(25) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib. iii. ſub fin.*

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same time affirm, that all dreams proceed from them? Primum igitur, *says he* (26), intelligendum eſt, nullam vim eſſe divinam effectricem ſomniorum. Atque illud quidem perſpicuum eſt, nulla viſa ſomniorum proficiſci à numine deorum. Noſtra enim cauſa dii id facerent, ut providere futura poſſemus. Quotus igitur eſt quiſque, qui ſomniis pareat? qui intelligat? qui meminerit? quàm multi verò, qui contemnant; eamque ſuperſtitionem imbecilli animi, atque anilis putent? Quid eſt igitur, cur his hominibus conſulens deus, ſomniis moneat eos, qui illa non modo cura, ſed ne memoria quidem digna ducant? nec enim ignorare deus poteſt, qua mente quiſque ſit: nec fruſtrà, ac ſine cauſa quid facere, dignum deo eſt: quod abhorret etiam ab hominis conſtantia. Ita ſi pleraque ſomnia aut ignorantur, aut negligun- tur; aut neſcit hoc deus, aut fruſtrà ſomniorum ſignificatione utitur. Sed horum neutrum in deum cadit. Nihil igitur à deo ſomniis ſignificari fatendum eſt. - - - - - *In the firſt place, we are to underſtand that dreams cannot be cauſed by any divine power. And this is very evident, that no viſions of dreams proceed from the gods. For, the gods would do it for our ſakes, that we might foreſee future events. But how few obey dreams, how few underſtand them, or remember them? And how many are there, who deſpiſe them, and think them the ſuperſtition of a weak and doating mind? Why then ſhould GOD, conſulting the good of theſe men, admoniſh by dreams ſuch as think them not only unworthy of their regard, but even of their remembrance? Nor can GOD be ignorant of the diſpoſition of each man's mind; and it is unworthy of GOD to do any thing in vain, and without reaſon; which is abhorrent even from human conſtancy. Therefore, if moſt dreams are either forgotten, or neglected; either GOD knows not this, or he ſends dreams to no purpoſe. But neither of theſe can be true of GOD. We muſt therefore acknowledge, that nothing is ſignified to us in dreams from GOD.*' This is his firſt reaſon. We have already ſeen the ſecond (27). Here follows the third (28). ' Jam verò quis dicere audeat, vera omnia eſſe ſomnia? ' *Aliquot ſomnia vera*, inquit Ennius, *ſed omnia non eſt neceſſe*. Quæ eſt tandem iſta diſtinctio? quæ vera, quæ falſa habet? & ſi vera à deo mittuntur, falſa unde naſcuntur? nam ſi ea quoque divina, quid inconſtantius deo? quid inſcitius autem eſt, quàm mentes mortalium falſis, & mendacibus viſis concitare? ſin vera viſa divina ſunt: falſa autem, & inania, humana: quæ eſt iſta deſignandi licentia, ut hoc deus, hoc natura fecerit potiùs, quàm aut omnia deus, quod negatis, aut omnia natura? - - - *And now, who will venture to ſay, that all dreams are true?* Some dreams *Ennius tells us*, muſt neceſſarily be true, but not all. *What diſtinction is this? And how ſhall we know which are true, which are falſe? And if the true are ſent by GOD, whence proceed the falſe? For if they likewiſe are Divine, can any thing be more inconſtant than the deity? And what can be more ignorant, than to ſtir up the minds of men by falſe and lying viſions? But, if true dreams are Divine, and the falſe and empty, human, what liberty is this of diſtinguiſhing, and ſaying, that GOD does this, and nature that, rather than that all is done by GOD alone, which you deny, or by nature alone?*' He propoſes a fourth, founded upon the obſcurity of dreams, which has been already conſidered (29); but let us conſider it a little better. There is no one, ſays he, who has ſufficient capacity to expound dreams aright; if therefore the gods ſpeak to us in this way, it will be as if the Carthaginians ſhould harangue the ſenate of Rome in their own language, and bring no interpreter with them, ' Vide igitur, ne etiam ſi divinationem tibi eſſe conceſſero, quod nunquam faciam, neminem tamen divinum reperire poſſimus. Qualis autem iſta mens eſt deorum ſi neque ea nobis ſignificant in ſomniis, quæ ipſi per nos intelligamus: neque ea, quorum interpretes habere poſſimus? ſimiles enim ſunt dii, ſi ea nobis objiciunt, quorum nec ſcientiam, neque explanatorem habeamus, tanquam ſi Pœni, aut Hiſpani in ſenatu noſtro loquerentur ſine interprete. Jam verò quò pertinent obſcuritates, & ænigmata ſomniorum? intelligi enim à nobis dii velle debebant ea, quæ noſtra cauſa nos monerent (30). - - - - *But ſuppoſing I ſhould grant you, that there is ſuch a thing as divination, which I never will, perhaps even this may not lead us to a Divine Being. For what kind of mind is that of the gods, if they neither ſignify thoſe things to us in dreams, which we may of our ſelves underſtand; nor theſe, of which we can find interpreters? for if the gods throw ſuch things before us, as we have neither knowledge, nor interpreter of, it is the ſame thing as if the Carthaginians, or Spaniards, ſhould ſpeak in our ſenate without an interpreter. Beſides, to what purpoſe ſerves the obſcure and ænigmatical nature of dreams? for the gods ought to deſire that we ſhould underſtand thoſe things, which they admoniſh us of for our own ſakes.*'

(26) Cicero, de Divinat. *lib. ii, cap. lx.*

(27) *Citat.* (12).

(28) Cicero, ibid. *cap. lxi, lxii.*

(29) *In citation* (14) *above.*

(30) Cicero, ibid. *cap. lxiv.*

MAKOWSKI (JOHN), in Latin *Maccovius*, a Poliſh gentleman, and profeſſor of Divinity at Franeker, was born at Lobzenic in the year 1588. He began his ſtudies ſomewhat late, but he repaired this backwardneſs by his great application, and natural ſharpneſs of wit. He ſtudied Latin, and his courſe of Philoſophy, at Dantzic, under the famous Keckerman; and he improved himſelf ſo conſiderably, that he glorioufly excelled his ſchool-fellows, and particularly in diſputation; and, when he returned to his father's houſe, he was made governor to ſome young gentlemen (*a*). He travelled with them, and upon all occaſions improved his talent of diſputing as well againſt the Jeſuits, as the Socinians [*A*]. He ſaw the moſt flouriſhing academies of Germany, thoſe of Prague, Heidelberg, Marpurg, Leipſic, Wittemberg, and Jena; after which he came to Franeker, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, March the eighth 1614. He gave ſuch great proofs of his wit and learning, that the curators of the univerſity reſolved to detain him, and for that end they made him profeſſor extraordinary of Divinity, April the firſt 1615, and profeſſor in ordinary the next year. He diſcharged the office for almoſt thirty years, that is, till his death, which happened towards the end of the month of June, 1644 (*b*). He married three wives, whoſe families may be ſeen, if any one deſires it, in the funeral oration, which furniſhed me with this article. Cocceius, his colleague, who ſpoke it, informs us, that Maccovius maintained, with great zeal, and even with too much heat, the good cauſe againſt the Arminians, which was to him a ſource of vexations [*B*]: They are the common conſequences of this kind of temper.

(*a*) *Their name was* Sieninſki.

(*b*) *The* Diarium Biographicum *of the Sieur Witte, places it on the twenty fourth of July; which cannot be, ſince the funeral oration was ſpoken the ſecond of July. Maccovius was dead eight days before;* die Lunæ ante octiduum, *ſays Cocceius, in the funeral oration of Maccovius.*

[*A*] *Upon all occaſions, he improved his talent of diſputing.*] At Prague he attacked the Jeſuits in one diſpute; at Lublin he entred the liſts with the Socinians; and, during his ſtay at Heidelberg, he went to Spire, on purpoſe to diſpute with the Jeſuits, in the room of of Bartholomew Coppenius, whom they had challenged, and who could never obtain leave of the elector Palatine to appear there (1).

[*B*] *His great zeal . . . . againſt the Arminians . . . was to him a ſource of vexations.*] Cocceius (2), having ſaid, that Maccovius was not a dog, that could not bark during the troubles of a church, but that he fought valiantly for the truth of grace, adds, *that theſe ſort of wars generally producing ill ſuſpicions, enmities and diſcords, thro' human infirmity; we muſt not think it ſtrange, that the infirmity of the fleſh made Maccovius drink deep of this bitter cup, Hot ſpirits, adds he, have this fault, that altho' they defend a good cauſe, they appear ſometimes to be tranſported with paſſion. It happens to them as to good dogs* (3) *(ſuffer me ſo far to extend a compariſon borrowed from ſcripture) who, while they keep their maſter's houſe, bark againſt all ſtrangers, tho' they may be the greateſt friends of the houſe. Thus the defenders of the truth, whom the prophet Iſaiah commands*

(1) *Taken from* Coccejus, Orat. Funeb. Maccovii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Concerning this compariſon, ſee, above, remark [*D*] of the article St BERNARD, and remark [*L*] of the article CASTELLAN.

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temper. He had ſome trouble in the ſynod of Dort [C]. We ſhall ſee below the titles of the greateſt part of his printed works [D]. I paſs over thoſe, which were found among

commands (4) *to bark aloud, (as being the great dogs, that keep the flock) while they are employed againſt the enemy, and think of nothing but fighting, are often ſo careleſs, that they very indecently uſe harſh and bitter words againſt the innocent.* After this he makes uſe of the compariſon of mariners, who in a violent ſtorm, murmur and complain againſt one another, tho' the general aim of them all is to ſave the veſſel. This was ſufficient to declare what was the fate of Maccovius. He had raſhly laid about him both againſt the heterodox, and orthodox, and at laſt, in his turn, was attacked by them both. Theſe are the fruits of diſputing: ſtout dogs fancy they every where ſee the wolf, as often as they meet with any one that does not agree with them in all their hypotheſes; and if they find a brother, who departs from them, they leave the common enemy, and ruſh upon that fellow-labourer, as upon a traytor (5). They tell them their own; *hinc illæ lacrymæ!* Conſider theſe words of one of the Fathers of the ſynod of Dort. 'Qui revera primo quoque auditu videbantur, 'exceptis uno aut altero, non fuiſſe tanti momenti, ut 'homo doctus de illis coram Synodo accuſaretur: com- 'plurimi ipſorum erant ex iſta receptiſſima diſtinctione 'agentis phyſicæ & moraliter ab accuſatore male intel- 'lecta (6). - - - *Which indeed, at the very firſt hear- 'ing, one or two of them excepted, ſeemed not to have 'been of ſo great importance, as that a learned man ſhould 'be accuſed before the ſynod upon their accounts: moſt of 'them were of that vulgar diſtinction of a phyſical and 'moral agent, which the accuſer did not well under- 'ſtand.*

[C] *He had ſome trouble in the ſynod of Dort.*] They read, in the hundred and thirty eighth ſeſſion, the petition, which he preſented to the aſſembly; he complained of being accuſed of Hereſy before the ſtates of Frieſland, by his colleague Sibrandus Lubbertus, and he moſt humbly prayed the ſynod, that they would determine this difference, or permit the accuſer and himſelf to chuſe commiſſioners in this aſſembly, who ſhould inform themſelves of the matter of fact, and give an account of it to the aſſembly. Lubbertus, being queſtioned about this matter, denied that he had accuſed him, and declared that he had only been the mouth of the Claſs of Franeker, who were the true accuſers of Maccovius, and therefore he would not acknowledge himſelf a party in this ſuit. It was ordered, that the acts ſhould be read, which were brought from Frieſland, relating to this affair. They were read in the hundred and fortieth ſeſſion, and there were found in them fifty errors, of which Maccovius was accuſed, and which appeared all of them to be of ſmall importance, and were founded upon the bad ſenſe, which the accuſer put upon the words of the accuſed (7). Two apologies of Maccovius were read, and ſome deputies, who were foreigners, ſaid, that the fifty heads of accuſation might have been reduced to four, and that the crime of Hereſy, imputed to Maccovius, did not appear. *Quidam ex Exteris Theologis dicebant, potuiſſe illos quinquaginta errores, ad quinque vel etiam quatuor reduci; nec ullum crimen hæreſeos, ſicut objectum fuerat, in illis deprehendi* (8). When Lubbertus gave his opinion, he broke out into a great heat againſt one of the members of the aſſembly, and produced a new liſt of the errors of Maccovius. He was anſwered, that they had heard from perſons worthy of credit, that though he would not be a party, yet it was he who had extracted, from the theſes and lectures of Maccovius, the propoſitions that were pretended to be erroneous. He was very angry, and ſwore twice, that this was not true. *Quod ut audiebat D. Sibrandus, vehementiſſime commotus, bis Deum vindicem in animam ſuam precabatur ſi iſthæc vera eſſent; adeo ut D. Præſes eum ſæpius modeſtiæ ſanctæ, & reverentiæ Synodo debitæ juſſerit meminiſſe* (9). In the hundred and forty ſecond ſeſſion, it was thought proper not to read before the ſynod the third apology of Maccovius, becauſe it contained ſeveral perſonal matters againſt Lubbertus. It was read only in a particular committee, of which Sculletus (10) would be one, though he was very unfit to be a judge, ſince the Divines of Heidelberg had already declared, that they condemned the accuſed party. *Certe Exteri mirabantur D. Sculletum nominatum fuiſſe à Provincialibus; & multo magis, D. Sculletum id munus velle ſubire, cum facultas Theologica Heidelbergenſis, cujus ipſe pars eſſet, theſes illas, quæ examinandæ ſunt, jam hactenus tanquam otioſas, metaphyſicas, & falſas damnaverit* (11). The judgment of the commiſſioners was, that Maccovius had been falſely accuſed, and that he was neither guilty of Paganiſm, nor Judaiſm, nor Pelagianiſm, nor Socinianiſm, nor of any other Hereſy; but that he ought not to have made uſe of obſcure and ambiguous phraſes, borrowed from the ſchoolmen, nor have denied certain propoſitions. They may be ſeen in the Latin, which I ſhall here ſet down. By this means it will appear, that he was a Supralapſarian, and that he expreſſed himſelf harſhly as to certain doctrines, in which he ſhould have ſtudied to pleaſe nice ears. 'Legitur judicium deputatorum à Synodo 'in cauſa Maccoviana: cujus ſumma hæc erat; D. 'Maccovium nullius Gentiliſmi, Judaiſmi, Pelagia- 'niſmi, Socinianiſmi, aut alterius cujuſcunque hære- 'ſeos reum teneri, immeritoque illum fuiſſe accuſa- 'tum; peccaſſe eum, quod quibuſdam ambiguis, & 'obſcuris phraſibus ſcholaſticis uſus ſit; quod ſcho- 'laſticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis Acade- 'miis introducere; quod eas ſelegerit quæſtiones diſ- 'ceptandas, quibus gravantur Eccleſiæ Belgicæ: Mo- 'nendum eſſe eum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, 'non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio: hoc vitio ver- 'tendum ipſi, quod diſtinctionem ſufficientiæ & effi- 'cientiæ mortis Chriſti aſſeruerit eſſe futilem; quod 'negaverit humanum genus lapſum eſſe objectum præ- 'deſtinationis; quod dixerit Deum velle, & decernere 'peccata; quod dixerit Deum nullo modo velle om- 'nium hominum ſalutem; quod dixerit duas eſſe ele- 'ctiones. Judicant denique, liticulam hanc inter D. 'Sibrandum, & D. Maccovium componendam eſſe, '& deinceps neminem debere eum talium criminum 'inſimulare (12). - - - - *The judgment of the deputies in 'Makowſki's caſe was read; which amounted to this, 'that Makowſki was neither guilty of Paganiſm, Ju- 'daiſm, Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm, nor any other kind 'of Hereſy, and that he was unjuſtly accuſed: that he 'had offended in making uſe of certain ambiguous and 'obſcure phraſes of the ſchools; in endeavouring to in- 'troduce the ſcholaſtic method of teaching in the uni- 'verſities of Holland; in ſelecting thoſe queſtions to be 'controverted, with which the churches of Holland are 'burthened: that he be admoniſhed to ſpeak according to 'the Holy Spirit, not according to Bellarmin or Suarez: 'that he was to blame in aſſerting that the diſtinction of 'the ſufficiency and efficiency of the death of CHRIST 'was idle; in denying that fallen man was the object 'of Predeſtination; in ſaying that GOD wills and de- 'crees ſin; in ſaying that GOD by no means wills the 'ſalvation of all men; and in ſaying that there are 'two elections. They are of opinion laſtly, that this little 'broil between Sibrand and Makowſki be made up, and 'that no one thenceforward ought to bring ſuch kind of 'accuſations againſt him.*' The ſynod approved the judgment of the commiſſioners (13); and this was the iſſue of that ſuit. There was a deputy of Frieſland, who deſired they would proceed againſt the accuſers, and offered to prove by authentic writings, that Lubbertus had orders to be his accuſer. This motion occaſioned ſuch a tumult in the ſynod, that the political deputies were forced to knock with a hammer, to command ſilence. *Communi collegarum nomine coram Synodo proteſtari, ſalvo jure ut agant contra accuſatores; partes autem accuſatorias domino Sibrando eſſe demandatas, conſtare ex literis quibuſdam publicis, quas è ſinu deprompſit, ac coram Synodo legi poſtulavit: increbreſcenti hac in expoſtulatione plurium fervori, ac multiloquio, modum imponunt Delegati politici malleo ſuo, quo mos eſt ſilentium obſtrepentibus imperare* (14).

[D] *Here is the titles of . . . . his printed works.*] I have taken them out of the *Diarium Biographicum* of the Sieur Witte, where theſe words are to be found (15): *Reliquit Collegia Theologica: Locos Communes: Diſtinctiones & Regulas Theol. ac Philoſophicas: Opuſcula Philoſophica: Πρῶτον ψεῦδος Anabaptiſtarum: Πρῶτον ψεῦδος ſive oſtenſionem primi Falſi Arminianorum: Prælectiones pro Perkinſo contra Arminium: Diſceptationes de Triuno vero Deo, &c.* Note, that the greateſt part of theſe books are poſthumous, and were publiſhed by the care of a Polander (16), who was miniſter of a little town of Frieſland, and afterwards profeſſor of Divinity at Franeker. He promiſed to publiſh ſeveral others, as

(4) Chap. lvi.

(5) That it might appear, that I do not enlarge upon the thoughts of Cocceius, I would have placed them here in Latin, but I could not find upon the funeral oration.

(6) G. Balcanquallus apud Epiſt. Eccleſ. & Theolog. pag. 573. col. 1, Edit. in fol. 1684.

(7) Id. ib.

(8) Id. ib.

(9) Ib. col. ii.

(10) Deputy of the palatinate, and profeſſor of Divinity at Heidelberg.

(11) Balcanq. ubi ſupra, pag. 573. col. ii.

(12) Ibi pag. 574, col. ii.

(13) Legitur, & per plura Synodi ſuffragia approbatur, ſententia deputatorum in cauſa Maccoviana, qui eum ab omni hæreſi abſolvendum cenſuerunt; ſed monendum, ut Theologiam docendi modum commodiorem ſequatur, verborumque formis ex ſacra Scriptura petitis utatur; etiam juſtam eum reprehenſionem incurrere ob quaſdam propoſitiones ab ipſo crudius & rigidas aſſertas. Ibid. pag. 576, col. i.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ad 24. Jul. 1644.

(16) Called Nicolas ARNOLDUS, of whom I have given an article.

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among his papers, and were never publiſhed. He has been accuſed of Plagiariſm [E].

as may be ſeen in his preface to the *Loci-communes* of Maccovius. He cauſed them to be re-printed with many corrections and additions taken out of the author's MSS. His epiſtle dedicatory is dated in 1649. The edition, which I make uſe of, is of the year 1658.

[E] *He was accuſed of plagiariſm.*] He, who made this diſcovery, propoſed it modeſtly, and did not forget to praiſe Maccovius; theſe are his words: 'Imo 'ne abſolvi quidem crimine hoc plane poteſt inter 'Theologos noſtros vir alioqui ſubtiliſſimus, Joannes 'Maccovius. Quod ſi enim inſpicere non detrectes 'Exercitationes ipſius *Remonſtrantium* hypotheſibus ab- 'hinc annos aliquot oppoſitas, docebunt te oculi tui, 'eximiam earum partem non tantum quoad † *materiam*, ſed quoad ipſa etiam *verba*, è Belgico *Latine* 'verſa, è ‡ Clar. *Molinæi* Anatome *Arminianiſmi* com- 'pilatam eſſe. Quod in Doctore, extemporanei acumi- 'nis honore alias celebratiſſimo, miratus ſemper 'fui (17). - - - *Even our great Divine John Makowſki* 'ſtands convicted of this crime: for if you will take the 'pains to look into his* Exercitations, *oppoſed a few years* 'ago to the hypotheſes of the Remonſtrants, your eyes will 'inform you, that a conſiderable part of them, not only 'as to the matter, but as to the very words, tranſlated 'out of Dutch into Latin, is compiled from Molinæus's 'Anatomy of Arminianiſm. I have always wondered at 'this in a Doctor, otherwiſe famous for the readineſs of 'his genius.'

† *Maccov. Colleg. Theolog. Diſp. iv, & xi.*

‡ *Molin. Anatom. Arminianiſmi, cap. v, & xxiv.*

(17) Saldenus, de libris, pag. 156.

MALDONAT (JOHN), a prieſt of Burgos in Caſtile, flouriſhed about the year 1550. He wrote good Latin, and publiſhed a piece, to recommend the ſtudy of polite learning, *Paræneſin ad litteras politiores*. His Abridgment of the Lives of the Saints was printed ſeveral times (a). We ſhall ſee below whether he had reaſon to boaſt ſo much of his correction of the Breviary [A].

(a) *Taken from Andrew Schottus*, Bibl. Hiſp. *pag.* 350, 351.

[A] *We ſhall ſee . . . . whether he had reaſon to boaſt ſo much of his correction of the Breviary.*] I find what follows in a book of Mr Thiers, publiſhed in 1699, under the title of a *Diſſertation concerning the place where at preſent lies the body of St Firmin third biſhop of Amiens*. '(1) John Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, the 'capital city of the antient Caſtile, deſigning to pub- 'liſh a new edition of the Breviary of his dioceſe, 'appointed three learned men, Carrera, Lara, and 'John Maldonat, to manage it. This John Maldo- 'nat, ... who muſt not be confounded with the 'famous John Maldonat the Jeſuit, took upon him 'to compoſe, and put into Latin, the lives of the 'ſaints, which were to ſerve for leſſons in that Bre- 'viary. He underſtood Latin very well, and ac- 'quitted himſelf ſo well (as he imagined) of this com- 'miſſion, that he boaſted of his Breviary, as the moſt 'exact, the moſt correct, and finiſhed work that ever 'was.' *Theſe boaſts are contained in an epiſtle, which he printed at the end of this Breviary, and of theſe lives of the ſaints, of the Lyons edition*, 1561. . . . . *It is addreſſed to his two colleagues Carrera and Lara* (2). Mr Thiers gives it at length, and then adds theſe words (3): 'Any one, who has read this epiſtle, 'would believe, that the leſſons containing the lives 'of the ſaints of the Breviary of Burgos are entirely 'free from faults: and yet that epiſtle is nothing but 'a Spaniſh rhodomontade, and in thoſe leſſons there 'are many ſilly things, which are to be found in 'the antient Legends.'

(1) *Pag.* 18. *of the diſſertation of Mr Thiers.*

(2) Ib. *pag.* 19.

(3) Ib. *pag.* 21.

MALDONAT (JOHN) a Spaniſh Jeſuit [A] was born in 1534. He ſtudied at Salamanca, and taught Philoſophy, Divinity, and the Greek tongue there, before he devoted himſelf to the ſociety of the Jeſuits in the ſame city. He did not there take the habit of the order, but at Rome in 1562. He was ſent to Paris the next year, to teach Philoſophy there, in the college, which the Jeſuits had lately obtained. He afterwards taught Divinity there [B] with very great ſucceſs; for what is related of the multitude of his auditors, is wonderful [C]. He was ſent to Poictiers with nine other Jeſuits, in 1570. There he read Latin lectures, and preached in French; but, not finding a good ſettlement there, he returned to Paris, after he had maintained ſome diſputations againſt thoſe of the reformed religion. He made a ſhort journey to Lorrain; and as he paſſed through

[A] *A Spaniſh Jeſuit.*] The place of his birth is called *Las Caſas de la Reina*. It is ſituated near Larena, in the province of Eſtramadura, and belongs to the great maſter of the knights of St James. Maldonat atteſts all theſe things in a writing ſigned with his own hand, which is kept at Rome in the archives of the Jeſuits (1). Therefore George Cardoſus (2), Thuanus (3), and Mr Thiers (4), are miſtaken, when they make him a Portugueſe. Alegambe was not perfectly acquainted with this, for he calls Maldonat's country *Fuente del Maeſtro in ditione Zafrenſi* (5). Nicolas Antonio (6) calls it by the ſame name. Mr Moreri has perverted this name into *Fruente deli Maeſtro*.

(1) *Taken from Nathan. Sotuel*, Bibl. Script. Societ. *pag.* 473.

(2) *In* Agiologio ad diem 6. Jan. apud Sotuel. ibid. pag. 475.

(3) Thuanus, *lib. liii, pag.* 1088.

(4) Thiers, Diſſertat. ſur ſaint Firmin, *p.* 18.

(5) Alegambe, Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu, *p.* 255.

(6) *In* Bibliotheca Script. Hiſp. *Tom. i, pag.* 558.

[B] *He afterwards taught Divinity there.*] I do not mean, that he taught it full ten years, though Southwell affirms it (7); for I find ſome little difficulty in this matter. This author ſays, that Maldonat firſt taught Philoſophy at Paris, whither he had been ſent in 1563, and that he went to Poictiers about 1570, and that afterwards he made a journey into Lorrain. He ſpeaks no more of his lectures of Divinity: where then ſhall we find theſe ten years? Southwell ſhould have ſaid, that, after his journey to Lorrain, Maldonat began again to be a profeſſor in the college of Paris. Maldonat was at firſt reader of Philoſophy, and began to teach it in the year 1564 (8). He ſpent two or three years in this: for at that time a courſe of Philoſophy could not be finiſhed ſooner. He afterwards taught Divinity, and finiſhed a courſe of it in four years. *Tradidit ille primum totam Theologiam compendio annis quatuor* (9). We are come now to the time, when he was ſent to Poictiers. Now, ſince a miniſter (10), who had changed his religion during the maſſacre of Paris, accompanied him in his journey to Lorrain, we cannot place this journey before the month of September 1572. It is very probable, that being returned to Paris, he began to execute his deſign of dictating a courſe of Divinity larger than the former; for if he had began to execute it after his return from Poictiers, would he have been taken from this exerciſe, and ſent into Lorrain? This larger courſe was interrupted by a proceſs of Hereſy, and of a teſtamentary cheat, which was entered againſt him. *Iterum eandem uberius tradere aggreſſus, cum jam procul eſſet progreſſus, alieniſſimo ſane tempore, ab hoſtibus variis calumniis appetitus eſt* (11). Now this ſuit was determined in 1575, and Maldonat, notwithſtanding his abſolution, quitted Paris. I know not therefore where we ſhall find thoſe ten years of his teaching Theology, which are mentioned by the two Bibliographers of the Jeſuits. I have inſiſted the longer on theſe trifles, to ſhew, that a clear and exact narrative is a work more difficult than is commonly thought. Does not Alegambe, who is accounted very exact, throw us here into confuſion? Can there be any thing more obſcure and intricate than his account? They, who write books like his, oughtt o know what I have criticiſed here.

(7) Totos decem annos Theologiam profeſſus eſt. *Sotuel, Bibliotb. Scriptor. Societat. pag.* 474.

(8) *Richeome, Apologetical Complaint, pag.* 33.

(9) Sotuel, ubi ſupra.

(10) Du Roſier. *See* Thuanus, *lib. liii. pag.* 1088.

(11) Sotuel, ibid.

[C] *What is related of the multitude of his auditors is wonderful.*] The Bibliographers of the ſociety ſay, that

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through Sedan, he disputed there with more than twenty ministers [D]. He was brought into trouble at Paris; for he was not only accused of Heresy, but also of having stolen an inheritance [E], by seducing the president St André to leave his estate to the Jesuits. Peter de Gondi, bishop of Paris, acquitted him of Heresy [F], and the parliament declared

that people, lest they should not find a place, went to the school two or three hours before he mounted the chair, and that he was often obliged to read his lectures in a court, and in the streets, because the benches were not sufficient for all those who came to hear him. They add, that there were also some ministers of the Reformed religion present at his lectures. *Ne ipsi quidem Calviniſtæ, & Calviniſtarum Miniſtri ipſius prælectionibus abſtinerent. Duabus quotidie, tribuſve horis ante ſubſellia certatim implebant, quam ludum ille ingrederetur, ne excluderentur. Sæpe in aperto, atque adeo in viis publicis docere coactus eſt ob multitudinem Auditorum, quos nullæ extedræ capiebant* (12).

(12) Alegambe, pag. 255. Sotuel, pag. 574.

[D] *He disputed at Sedan with more than twenty ministers.*] Genebrard, an author whose testimony is to be suspected, says, that Maldonat overcame them all, and that two of them were converted. 'De quo 'certamine Genebrardus ſic ait; *Joannes Maldonatus 'Capellum, Holinum, Loqueum, & xx alios Miniſtros 'Calviniſtas, primum diſſerendo, deinde declamitando 'proſtravit: nam in declamationes diſputationem commutandam Miniſtri cenſuerant, quod ejus vim Syllogiſticam non poſſent depellere.* Additque *Launeum & Hericum Penneterium Miniſtros, qui aderant, fuiſſe converſos* (13). - - - - *Of which dispute Genebrard thus 'speaks:* John Maldonat vanquished Capellus, Holinus, Loqueus, and twenty other Calvinist ministers, 'first by disputation, and then by declamations: for 'the ministers were for his turning his disputation 'into declamations, because they could not guard 'against the force of his syllogisms. *And he adds,* 'that the Ministers Launoi and Henry Pennetier, who 'were there, were converted.' It is certain, that Matthew de Launoi, and Henry Pennetier, changed their religion; but this was not a consequence of that dispute with Maldonat. They became Papists in 1577, and immediately published a book of controversy (14), which they dedicated to the French king. There they mention Maldonat, but do not say, that he had disputed with the ministers of Sedan, or that his reasons had opened their eyes. They inform us (15), that du Rosier, a minister, who had changed his religion, accompanied Maldonat, and left him at Metz, to go into Germany, because the ministers of Sedan persuaded him, that, if he returned to Paris with this Jesuit, he would be put to death, and *that Maldonat had given some intimation of it, by saying, that he was still a Heretic.* They do not say in what year this was done; but it may be affirmed, that it was three or four years before their abjuration; for as I have already observed, it was after the massacre at Paris, that Maldonat and du Rosier were sent to Metz. It was believed at the court of France (16), that du Rosier, having changed his religion, and contributed very much to the abjuration of the king of Navarre, the princess Catherine, the prince of Condé, and the wife and mother-in-law of this prince, would be a fit instrument to make converts at Metz, and therefore he was sent thither with Maldonat. The duke of Mompensier desired them to go to Sedan, that they might undeceive the duchess of Bouillon, his daughter, who was a very good Huguenot (17).

(13) Id. ib.

(14) *See the title of it in remark [D] of the article* LAUNOI (MATTHEW DE).

(15) *Felix* 139.

(16) Thuanus, *lib. liii, pag.* 1088, *ad ann.* 1572. *See also* Theod. Beza, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. xvi, pag.* 475.

(17) Thuan. ibid.

[E] *He was not only accused of Heresy, but also of having stolen an inheritance.*] Let us quote Alegambe. 'Alieniſſimo ſane tempore, ab hoſtibus variis calumniis appetitus eſt: nam & Præſidem Montibrunenſem St Andreæ moribundum circumveniſſe, & poſteros ejus fortunis evertiſſe, illi perſuadendo ut ſua omnia Societati legaret, dicebatur, ſeductor ſimul & prædo nuncupatus; & a nonnullis Lutetiæ zelo præpoſtero, hæreſis eſt accerſitus; verum ab hac eum injuriâ vindicavit Summi Pontificis Gregorii XIII, auctoritate Petrus Gondius Pariſienſis Antiſtes: ab illa vero publico Senatus conſulto liberatus eſt. Veram quamvis ſic ejus innocentia publice ſatis teſtata foret, ſatius tamen fore putavit, ſi paucorum æmulationi, præſertim ingraveſcente ætate viribuſque labefactatis, cederet, lucemque illam hominum fugeret (18). - - - - - *His enemies took a very improper time to attack him with calumnies: for it was said, 'that he had imposed upon president St André, as he lay 'upon his death-bed, by persuading him to leave all his 'effects to the society, and he was called both a seducer 'and a thief: Nay, some preposterous zealots of Paris 'accused him of Heresy. But Peter de Gondi, arch-'bishop of Paris, by authority of Pope Gregory XIII, 'vindicated him from this injurious charge; and he was 'acquitted of the other by a public sentence of the par-'liament. Yet, though his innocence was thus publickly 'enough attested, he chose, especially as he was in the 'decline of life, to give way to the jealousy of a few, 'and to retire from the world.'*

(18) Alegambe, *and* Sotuel, ubi supra.

Antony Arnauld, pleading against the Jesuits, in 1594, supposes, that Maldonat was really guilty of seducing the president St André, and that the parliament of Paris had not acquitted him. 'Nothing 'comes out, *says he* (19), every thing goes in, whether people die intestate, or make their wills, which 'they extort every day, representing on one side the 'terrors of Hell to those who are near death, and 'on the other, proposing Paradise open to those, who 'give to the society of Jesus; as Maldonat did to the 'president Montbrun St André, drawing from him 'his goods and purchases, by a confession full of avarice and imposture; upon which Mr Pibrac appealed 'to the parliament in a full audience.' I know not what the Jesuit Richeome answered as to this article; for I have not the apology he published under the name of Francis de la Montagne (§ *a*) against the plea of Antony Arnauld.

(19) Arnauld, *Plea against the Jesuits, pag.* 37.

[(§ *a*) Des Montagnes is the name, which the Jesuit Richeome takes in his book of *The Truth defended, &c.* See the notes on the *Confession of Sanci*, edition of 1699, pag. 415. REM. CRIT.]

[F] *Peter de Gondi . . . . acquitted him of Heresy.*] The Bibliographers of the Jesuits do not say of what Heresy he was accused: but here follows some particulars, which Mr Simon affords me. *It was very difficult for a man of his merit, and who professed to speak his mind freely, without regarding the prejudices of others, to please every body. Some false zealots accused him of having taught Heresies. Their accusations proceeded so far, that they were carried to Rome, and Pope Gregory XIII sent them back to the bishop of Paris, to be examined upon the spot. His accusation was, that, contrary to the sentiment of the faculty of Divinity at Paris, he had taught, that it was not a point of faith, that the Holy Virgin was conceived without original sin. The doctors pursued this affair with so much heat, that Maldonat, who had done so good service to religion and the State, was forced to appear before the bishops tribunal, who acquitted him. His brethren thought it convenient to print the sentence of his absolution before his commentary, in the manner it had been published: yet it is to be found only in the first editions,* viz. *in that of Pont a Mousson, which appeared in* 1596, *and in the others till* 1615, *at which time the Jesuits revised that Commentary in an edition of Lyons; and I find, that, afterwards, this reformed edition was generally followed, from which the sentence of absolution was taken away, which I shall here set down entire, as I have read it in the edition of Pont a Mousson* (20). Mr Simon having set down the whole sentence (21), adds, that tho' it was very favourable, Maldonat *thought it better to lay aside his Divinity lectures, than to give occasion to his enemies to excite new troubles against him. He retired to Bourges to study quietly there in the college of his society* (22).

(20) *Simon's Critical History of the Commentators on the New Testament, cap. xlii, pag.* 620.

(21) *It is dated January* 17, 1575.

(22) *Father Simon,* ubi supra, *pag.* 621.

Let us set down here some extracts from the registers of the faculty of Divinity at Paris. John Maldonat read lectures upon the master of the sentences in the college of Clermont in 1574, and disputed earnestly concerning the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin against the faculty of Divinity, which made their members swear, that they would believe this conception as an article of faith. The rector of the university of Paris called together the four faculties, and they resolved unanimously to complain of this Jesuit to Peter de Gondi bishop of Paris. The faculty of Divinity being assembled, all the doctors, except eight or nine, declared expressly, that they held it as an article

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clared him innocent of the other crime. But this did not hinder Maldonat from resolving to hide himself in the college of Bourges, that he might apply himself entirely to his commentaries upon the scripture. He had a dream, which the event confirmed [G]. Being gone to Rome, by order of the Pope, to take care of the edition of the Greek Bible, he finished there his commentary upon the Gospels, and presented it to the general Aquaviva, December 21, 1582. A little while after, he fell sick, exactly according to his dream, and was found dead in his bed, on the eve of the Epiphany, 1583. There is, no doubt, but his too earnest application to study shortened his days. He wrote many books [H], which shew, that he had a great capacity (a). Thuanus gives him

(a) *Taken from Nathanael Southwell*, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societat. *pag.* 473, *& seq.*

article of faith, that the Holy Virgin was conceived without original sin. Hence it came to pass, that the bishop of Paris published a censure against the rector, and the principal members of the university; but, seeing that his proceeding raised great tumults, he changed his method, and thundered out an excommunication against the dean, and the syndic of the faculty of Divinity, the four faculties appealed from this, as a grievance, to the parliament, who disapproved the conduct of the bishop. This you will find in Latin in a book of Mr Joli (23): you will find there likewise (24) what follows. 'Five months and a day after the sentence of the bishop of Paris, by which Maldonat was discharged from the accusation of Heresy brought against him concerning the conception; and after that the rector, and the principal members, the dean, and the syndic of the faculty, were excommunicated, for acting contrary to the decree of the council of Trent afore-related: all the faculties, on the eighteenth of June 1575, declared, that the bishop of Paris had no power to excommunicate either the rector, or the principal members of the university, and condemned the words of Maldonat as heretical. Here follow the words taken out of the registers of the nation of France. *Rursus XVIII ejusdem mensis Junii eædem Facultates fuerunt convocatæ super anathemate Episcopi Parisiensis, qui quoniam Dominus Tissart Rector proposuerat omnibus Facultatibus dictos articulos Maldonati cum & cæteri Accademiæ . . . percussit, declaratum est & conclusum Episcopum Parisiensem non posse ferire anathemate neque Rectorem, neque cæteros Academiæ proceres, eademque Congregatione fuit condemnata opinio Maldonati tanquam Hæretica.*' They, who know the present state of the controversy concerning the immaculate conception, will doubtless wonder that a Jesuit was persecuted by the Sorbonnne upon such an occasion.

(23) *Intituled*, Prescriptions concerning the conception of our lady, *and printed in* 1676. *See pag.* 19, *& seq. and pag.* 89, *& seq.*

(24) *At pag.* 95, *and* 96.

[G] *He had a dream, which the event confirmed.*] He thought he saw a man, who exhorted him to go on vigorously with his commentary, and assured him he should finish it, but should not long survive the conclusion of it. When he had said this, he pointed to a certain part of his belly, which was the very same place, where Maldonat felt the sharp pains, of which he died. 'Cum autem instituisset primum in quatuor Evangelia Commentarios scribere, per aliquot noctes visus est sibi videre quendam; qui ut strenue cœptum opus prosequeretur, exhortabatur, fore enim ut illud ex sententia perficeret: sed operi parum diu superviçturum; atque hæc cum diceret, intento digito certam aliquam ventris partem illi signabat. Hoc visum quanquam pro somni ludibrio habitum, comprobavit eventus; nam à Gregorio XIII, Pontifice Maximo è Gallia in urbem accersitus, ut operam suam præstaret ad editionem Græcam LXX Interpretum, quam parabat, non diu Romæ superstes fuit. Ibi lucubrationem illam suam absolvit, & Claudio Aquavivæ recens in Præpositum generalem electo ad diem xxi Decembris, anno MDLXXXII obtulit; ac secundum id, acerrimus eum dolor incessit eâ corporis parte, quæ tanto jam prius illi fuerat per nocturnam signata visionem (25). - - - - - *Having first resolved to write a commentary on the four Gospels, a certain person appeared to him for some nights, who exhorted him to go on vigorously with the work he had undertaken, for that he would finish it to his wish, but not long survive his work: and when he had said this, he pointed with his finger to a certain part of his belly. This vision, though looked upon as the delusion of a dream, was confirmed by the event. For, being sent for, by Pope Gregory XIII, from France to Rome, to assist in publishing an edition of the Septuagint, which that Pope was preparing, he soon after died there. It was there he finished his lucubration, and presented it, the twenty first of December* 1582, *to Claudius Aquaviva just then elected general: and, according to his dream, he was seized with acute pains in that very part of his body, which had been pointed out to him in his sleep.*' It is very probable, that this was known from Maldonat himself, and that he did not intend to deceive those to whom he related it. And it is by no means probable, that chance was the cause of the great conformity between the dream of this Jesuit, and the event. Such facts as this, of which the world is full, confound unbelievers more than they are willing to own.

(25) Alegambe, ubi supra, *pag.* 256.

[H] *He wrote many books.*] He published nothing himself; all that came out was printed after his death. The first of his works, that was published, is his commentary upon the four Gospels. Mr Simon has commended it much, as appears from his own words, which are both critical and historical (26). 'Of all the commentators, that we have mentioned hitherto, there are few, who have explained with so great care, and even with so good success, the literal sense of the Gospels, as John Maldonat, a Spanish Jesuit. Dying at Rome before he attained the age of fifty years, Claudius Aquaviva, general of his society, to whom he recommended his commentray upon his death-bed, gave orders to the Jesuits of Pont à Mousson, to cause it to be printed from the copy, which was sent to them. These jesuits tell us in the preface, prefixed to this work, that they have inserted something of their own, and that they were obliged to rectify the MS. copy, which was defective in some places, it not being in their power to consult the original, which was at Rome. Besides, the author having not set down, in the margin of his copy, the books, and places, from which he took a good part of his citations, they supplied this defect. It appears also that Maldonat had not read in the original authors a great many of those places, which he cites, but that he had made use of the labours of former writers, as is commonly done. He is not so exact, as if he had put the last hand to that commentary (27). Notwithstanding those defects, and some others, which may be easily supplied, it appears plainly, that this Jesuit took a great deal of pains in composing this excellent work. He lets no difficulty, pass without examining it thoroughly. When he meets with several literal senses of the same place, he usually chooses the best, without shewing too much regard to the authority of the ancient commentators, nor even to the greater number, because he regarded nothing but truth. He often rejects the interpretation of St Austin, *&c.*'

(26) Simon, ubi supra, *pag.* 618.

(27) *Thuanus is of the same opinion.* Nihil vivens publicavit, *says he, lib.* lxxviii, *pag.* 481. post mortem ejus, opera ac cura Clementis Puteani ex eadem sodalitio viri doctissimi, prodierunt eruditissima Commentaria in IV Evangelistas Mussiponti edita, meliora & integriora multorum judicio futura, si superstite auctore edita fuissent.

The commentaries of Maldonat upon Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, and Daniel, were printed at Lyons in 1609, and at Cologne in 1611. To which they added his exposition upon the 109th Psalm, and a letter about his dispute at Sedan. His treatise, *De fide*, was printed at Mentz in 1600, and that about angels and demons at Paris, in 1605. As to the Sum of cases of conscience, and the controversies about the seven Sacraments, two books which have appeared under his name, the Bibliographers of the society look upon them as suppositious, as appears by their own words. 'Summa casuum conscientiæ, *quæ tanquam hausta è scriptis & doctrina Maldonati, & collecta per Martinum Codognat Minimum prodiit Lugduni apud Hæredes Guelielmi Rovillii MDCIV, Venetiis etiam & alibi, partus suppositicius est, erroribus scatens, Maldonato prorsus indignus, & merito ab Apostolica Sede damnatus. Similiter* Disputationum ac Controversiarum decisarum circa VII Ecclesiæ Romanæ Sacramenta, *tom.* II. *Lugduni sine Typographi nomine, nec illius nec ullius de Societate sunt, & suos etiam errores continent* (28). - - - - - The *Sum of cases of conscience*, which, as having been extracted from the writings, and doctrine of Maldonat, and collected

(28) Alegambe, *pag.* 257. Southwel, *pag.* 475.

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him great commendations [I]. Some Proteſtants have alſo much commended him (b); but they complain of ſome paſſionate expreſſions that have dropt from his pen. Others ſpeak of him with the greateſt contempt [K]. One of his lectures, concerning the exiſtence

(b) *See Sir Thomas Pope Blount*, Cenſura Autorum, *pag. m.* 535.

' by Martin Codognat a minim, was publiſhed at Ley-
' den, for the heirs of William Roville, 1604, as alſo
' at Venice and elſewhere, is a ſpurious piece, full
' of errors, altogether unworthy of Maldonat, and de-
' ſervedly condemned by the Apoſtolical See. Alſo the
' *Diſputations and Controverſies decided relating to the ſe-*
' *ven Sacraments of the Romiſh church, printed in two vo-*
' *lumes at Lyons*, without the Printer's name, are neither
' his nor any other Jeſuit's, and are not without faults.'
They ſay nothing of a folio that was printed at Paris by Sebaſtian Cramoiſy, in 1643, with this title, *Johannis Maldonati Soc. J. Commentarii in præcipuos ſacræ Scripturæ libros Veteris Teſtamenti. Don Nicolas Antonio* makes mention of it (29), and of ſome other MS pieces of the ſame Jeſuit. Some pieces of Maldonat were publiſhed at Paris in 1677, which had never appeared before, *viz.* his treatiſe of grace, that of original ſin, that of providence and juſtice, that of juſtification and the merit of works; his prefaces, his harangues, and his letters. Theſe new treatiſes do not make three volumes in folio, as Mr Teiſſier affirms (30), but only one. The two others, printed at the ſame time by Pralard, had already been publiſhed. We are put in hopes, that ſome other treatiſes of this Jeſuit, will appear; and it is the more probable, becauſe a great number of perſons tranſcribed what he dictated at Paris (31). I think it was Mr du Bois, doctor of the Sorbonne, who procured the edition of the new treatiſes of Maldonat: he has prefixed a preface to it, which contains the elogy of this Jeſuit (32).

I have read in a book of Mr Joli, a paſſage, which I will now tranſcribe. ' The MS. Letters of Maldo-
' nat, and his book of the Sacraments, were printed
' at Paris about twenty or thirty years ago; but the
' Jeſuits buy up all the copies (33).' Father Simon has proved that this work on the ſacraments is Maldonat's (34). See the fifteenth of his Select Letters: it is full of particulars relating to this learned Jeſuit. See alſo the ſame work of Father Simon, pages 181, 182, 187, 188.

[I] *Thuanus commends him very much.*] According to him, the merit of Maldonat was the cauſe why the parliament of Paris decreed nothing againſt the Jeſuits, tho' they were ſuſpected by the wiſeſt heads, and the whole univerſity hated them very much. Can any man be better praiſed? *Unus in cauſſa exſtitiſſe merito creditur, ut ſodalitium illud toti Academiæ valde inviſum, & alioqui jam prudentioribus ſuſpectum, ob tanti viri gratiam ac commendationem à Senatu apud quem lis adhuc indeciſa pendebat, tamdiu tolleretur; & eouſque dum rebus ſodalium in urbe confirmatis, Maldonatus poſt conciliatam inſigni ſua unius eruditione novo ordini celebritatem, a Gregorio XIII Pontifice Romam evocatus eſt* (35). Thuanus had juſt before ſaid, that this Jeſuit joined a ſingular piety and purity of life, and an exquiſite judgment with an exact knowledge of Philoſophy and Divinity. *Qui ad exactum philoſophiæ & theologiæ ſtudium ſingularem pietatem, morum candorem & acerrimum judicium cum attuliſſet, magna cum laude & frequenti omnium Ordinum concurſu totos X annos Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, ubi & tum pueri audiviimus, in Claromontana ſchola profeſſus eſt* (36). He did not know the true age of Maldonat; for he ſuppoſes him to have lived more than fifty ſix years, when indeed he did not arrive to fifty. You will wonder the leſs at this miſtake, when you know, that Richeome has made Maldonat younger than he was, at a time when the intereſt of his cauſe required, that he ſhould rather have added more years to his Life, than have taken any from it. It was objected to the Jeſuits, *that they appointed young men to teach the lower claſſes* (37). Richeome anſwers (38), *John Maldonat began to read Philoſophy, when he was twenty ſeven years of age, in* 1564. It is a miſtake: he ſhould have ſaid, when he *was thirty years old*, and by that ſome will ſay, the anſwer would have been better. It ſeems ſo at firſt; but when we conſider the matter more cloſely, this miſtake of Richeome appears to be advantageous to his cauſe; for his deſign was to prove, that a man, tho' he be young, may nevertheleſs be qualified to teach well. Maldonat, whoſe lectures were admired, is an example of this. Now the younger you make him, the more weight you give to that example. Thus Richeome was not miſtaken to his prejudice.

I have ſaid elſewhere (39), that it is difficult to abridge a book well; I will add here, that it is difficult to make pertinent additions to it. An addition, perhaps, requires that twenty places be corrected. Patience alone does not always fit a man to make theſe emendations: he muſt be ſenſible of the moſt imperceptible connexions, and remember them a long time, and whenever it is neceſſary. An author, who enlarges his own work, has not always theſe qualifications; but commonly he ſucceeds better in the corrections, which the additions require, than one, who adds to the work of another. This fault is to be excuſed in him, when the addition is far diſtant from the place which is to be corrected. This is not Southwell's caſe, with reſpect to the following cenſure; for his addition precedes but a few lines the words of Alegambe, which wanted correction. Alegambe ſays, that Maldonat died, in the beginning of his fiftieth year, the fifth of January, 1583 (40). If he could not ſay it without telling an untruth, at leaſt he could ſay it without refuting himſelf, ſince he takes no notice of the year of his birth. Southwell, his continuator, has inſerted ſome additions in the article of Maldonat; one among the reſt, which informs us, that this Jeſuit was born in the year 1534. From hence it appears, that the words of Alegambe, which I have related, muſt be falſe, and yet Southwell has changed nothing in them; he has related them, and conſequently he is guilty either of a contradiction, or of a falſe calculation.

That it is a difficult taſk to make additions to a book.

[K] *Some Proteſtants .... complain of the paſſionate expreſſions, that have dropped from his pen. Others ſpeak of him with the greateſt contempt.*] I will cite Caſaubon (41). ' Quum ubique virulentus hic ſcriptor
' in magnos viros pro ſua modeſtia, pari petulantia
' & impudentia debacchetur; nuſquam tamen male-
' dicæ linguæ ſuæ laxiores habenas indulſit, quam
' in hac diſputatione: *hæreticos* tertio quoque verbo
' nominans illos, qui eandem cum Auguſtino & aliis
' ſententiam tuentes PETRAM exponunt de
' Chriſto: cujus Majeſtatem defendere, hodie eſt
' hærefin committere .... (42). Omnium accuratiſ-
' ſime (quod equidem ſciam) ejuſmodi argumenta
' congeſſit in hunc locum Maldonatus, acris &
' magni ingenii vir; ſi affectibus, ſi linguæ, ſi odio
' veritatis, potuiſſet moderari. - - - - *This virulent*
' *writer, who every where, with impudence and ſcur-*
' *rility, falls foul upon great men, has no where given a*
' *greater looſe to his ſlanderous tongue, than in this diſ-*
' *putation; calling thoſe, every third word, by the name*
' *of Heretics, who, with St Auguſtin, and others, ex-*
' *plain the word PETRA (ROCK) of CHRIST;*
' *to defend whoſe majeſty at preſent is to be guilty of*
' *Hereſy .... Maldonat has (as far as I can judge)*
' *very accurately collected the arguments of all writers*
' *on this paſſage; and is a man of great abilities, if*
' *he could but moderate his paſſion, bridle his tongue,*
' *and reſtrain his hatred of truth.*' This judgment is at once both obliging and offenſive; but Scaliger does not obſerve this temperament: he ſays nothing but what is ill of this Jeſuit. If he allows him to have publiſhed ſome good things, yet he robs him of all the glory of them, becauſe he acccuſes him of having ſtolen them. ' Maldonatus in Evangelia maledicus,
' inſignia tamen quædam habet bona. - - - *Maldonatus*
' *is abuſive in his commentary on the Goſpels; yet he*
' *has ſome remarkable good things.*' Having taken all this from Beza, he ſpeaks ill of him. ' Quando
' aliquid habet boni furatur à Calvino, & ut agnoſcas,
' maledicit ei, ut Euſebius ex Africano conatur furta
' ſua tegere (43). - - - *When he has any thing good, he*
' *ſteals from Calvin, and to convince you of it, he*
' *ſpeaks ill of him, in like manner as Euſebius endeavours*
' *to conceal what he has ſtolen from Africanus.*' He denoted him by the word Iyon; but he denied it, when he ſaw that ſome took advantage of it. We muſt believe, that he did not remember he had uſed that word, and that he did not apprehend, when he uſed it, there

(39) *At the end of remark* [C] *of the article* ACHILLES; *and the end of remark* [A] *of the article* ARTAXATA.

(40) Mortuus in lectulo inventus, ætatis vixdum anno 50, ſalutis vero 1583, ineunte, pervigilio Epiphaniarum. *Alegambe, p.* 236.

(41) Caſaubon. in Baronium, Exercitat. xv, *num.* xii, *pag. m.* 347, *col.* 1.

(42) Id. id. *col.* ii.

(43) Scaligerana, *pag.* 148.

(29) Bibl. Script. Hiſp. *Tom.* 1, *pag.* 558.

(30) *Addition to the Eloges, Tom.* 1, *pag.* 14. *Edit.* 1696.

(31) Ex ejus ſchola prodierunt viri eruditi quamplurimi, & vix quiſquam poſtea fuit in Gallia qui eum ejus auditor eſſe non poniſſet, quæ in ſchola dictaverit ſibi dictum ſcripta non haberet. *Adv. pag.* 355. *Simil. pag.* 474.

(32) Simon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 620.

(33) Joli, *Preface concerning the conception of our Lady, pag.* 19. *This book was printed in* 1676.

(34) Simon, Select Letters, *pag.* 134. *Edit. of Trevoux*, 1700.

(35) Thuanus, *Hiſtoriarum, pag.* 421.

(36) Id. ib.

(37) Richeome's Apologetical Lampoon, *pag.* 32.

(38) Ib. *pag.* 33.

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ſtence of God, occaſioned a greater outcry than the thing deſerved; and I wonder, Paſquier did not perceive the weakneſs of that objection [L].

there would be any thing diſobliging in the alluſion. However this be, my proofs are theſe (44). ‘ Pag. 313. ‘ Inſultas Scioppio: *Proferat fur* (inquis) *ſcriptum* ‘ *meum, in quo ulla veſtigia extent, quod Maldonatum* ‘ *LEONEM vocarim.* Proh Deum immortalem! ‘ tune tam impudens es, ut id negare audeas? Cedo ‘ enim, an non hæc tua ſunt verba de Maldonato in ‘ Elencho trihæreſii adverſus Serarium, *cap. xi. fol.* 89. ‘ *Raro verum dicit, niſi in illis, quæ ab aliis accipit,* ‘ *quibus cum maledicit, putat ſe furta ſua occultare* ‘ *poſſe. Utinam viveret, non inultas ſycophantias fer-* ‘ *ret. Sed LEONI non reſpondetur poſt mortem ejus.* ‘ I nunc, & Scioppium mendacii poſtula. - - - - Let ‘ the thief *(ſay you)* produce a work of mine, in ‘ which there are any footſteps of my having called ‘ Maldonat LYON. *Good God! are you ſo loſt to* ‘ *ſhame as to deny it? Pray, tell me; are not theſe* ‘ *your words concerning Maldonat, in the xith chap.* ‘ *fol.* 89. *of the Elench. Trihæreſ. adv. Serrar.* He ‘ ſeldom ſpeaks truth but where he borrows of others, ‘ by ſpeaking ill of whom he thinks he ſhall be able ‘ to conceal his thefts. I wiſh he were alive, he ‘ ſhould ſmart for his ſycophancy. But we anſwer ‘ not a LYON after his death. *After this, give Sci-* ‘ *oppius the lye.*’ Rivetus has followed the foot-ſteps of Scaliger; he does not allow Maldonat one good quality (45), he makes him a very ill man, and very ignorant, or at leaſt a meer pretender to learning. Pareus, in his commentary upon St Matthew, has cenſured this Jeſuit very often, and very ſharply.

(44) Oporinus Grubinius, in Amphotidibus Schioppianis, pag. 254.

(45) Nos certe merito in eo & veram eruditionem, & fidem, etiam aliquando mentem & ſenſum requirimus. *Rivetus, Comment. in Pſalm. ex. Operum, Tom. ii, p.* 329.

[L] *Paſquier did not perceive the weakneſs of that objection.*] Here follows a paſſage of his plea againſt the Jeſuits in 1564. ‘ Within theſe two Months, ‘ your Metaphyſician Maldonat, in one of his le- ‘ ctures, endeavoured to prove a God by natural ‘ reaſons, and, in another, by the ſame reaſons, to ‘ prove, that there is none, he ſays and unſays on ſo ‘ worthy a ſubject. Now I would aſk, in which is ‘ the greateſt impiety and extravagance, in the firſt, ‘ or in the ſecond? Indeed, theſe are the holy my- ‘ ſteries, by which you become famous among the ‘ people; theſe are the good ſeed which you ſow ‘ among us (46).’ There are three faults in this objection: I. It is contrary to candor, to pretend, that one, who firſt gives the proofs of the exiſtence of a God, and after that propoſes the reaſonings and objections of the Atheiſts, intends to overthrow what he has eſtabliſhed. This advocate therefore cannot be excuſed. He reports unfaithfully the ſtate of the caſe; he would perſuade us, that Maldonat did equally intend to prove, that there is a God, and that there is none. But this was by no means the intention of this Jeſuit; for, in both diſcourſes, he intended to prove the exiſtence of a God: in the firſt, by propoſing the ſolid arguments of thoſe who maintain it; in the ſecond, by expoſing the weak arguments of thoſe, who deny it. II. Paſquier trifles childiſhly, when he blames this method of diſputing; for, on all ſubjects, a Philoſopher ſhould examine the objections of his adverſaries, and not weaken them through policy. Thus Maldonat, as a Metaphyſician, did but his duty, when he ſet apart one lecture for examining the arguments of the Atheiſts. III. It is an abſurdity, I will not ſay unworthy of ſo learned a man as Stephen Paſquier, but of any man of common ſenſe, to affirm, that there is as much impiety *in proving a* God *by natural reaſons*, as in proving, *by the ſame reaſons, that there is none.* Whoever conſiders theſe three cenſures of this paſſage of Paſquier, will eaſily believe, without farther proof, that this able advocate had the ſhame to be worſted in this cauſe. Nevertheleſs I will ſhew after what manner he was attacked.

(46) Paſquier, Recherches de la France, *livr. iii, c. xliii, pag. m.* 337.

‘ Before I ſhew here the ignorance of Paſquier, I ‘ muſt take notice of the occaſion of this calumny. ‘ Maldonat, in the year ſixty four, handled the ‘ queſtion, which is uſeful at all times, and neceſſary ‘ in ours; a queſtion, which the maſter of the ſen- ‘ tences, St Thomas, and all the other doctors of ‘ Divinity, have handled among the queſtions *de* ‘ *Deo*, viz. *Whether there be a GOD?* Which ‘ queſtion is to be decided by natural reaſons, ſuch ‘ as are fit to convince the Atheiſts, who admit no ‘ teſtimonies from Scripture, but only arguments ‘ drawn from nature. The divines, who treat ſolidly ‘ this ſubject, bring arguments *pro* and *con*, and con- ‘ firm the truth by ſtrong reaſons, and by the ſame ‘ confute the falſhood and impiety of the Atheiſts, ‘ and their contrary arguments. This Maldonat has ‘ done. Paſquier, neither knowing, nor deſiring to ‘ underſtand the ſenſe of the queſtion, hath founded ‘ a calumny both upon his ignorance and malice. ‘ Now, in this queſtion, there are two contradictory ‘ propoſitions; the one is, *there is a GOD*; the ‘ other, *there is no GOD.* Paſquier calls both theſe ‘ propoſitions equally impious in a tranſcendent man- ‘ ner, that is beyond meaſure. And herein he firſt ‘ diſcovers, that he is beyond meaſure ignorant, not ‘ only in religion, but alſo in the firſt principle of ‘ nature: Secondly, that he himſelf is an impious ‘ man (47).’ The advocate of the Jeſuits here ſpoils his cauſe; for he miſtakes the meaning of his adverſary, and ſo confutes a chimerical impiety; for Paſquier's meaning was not, that there is as much impiety in this propoſition, *there is a GOD*, as in this, *there is no GOD.* And yet he aſcribes this to him, and ſpends a whole page in refuting it, which I do not ſet down. Paſquier meant, that there is as much impiety in proving by natural reaſons the exiſtence of a God, as in denying it by natural reaſons. His adverſary, attacking him in this manner, which was the only way of doing it, quite overthrows him. ‘ He is no leſs ignorant in the Chriſtian ‘ religion than in nature, to think it an impiety to ‘ prove a God by natural reaſons, as I ſhall ſhew ‘ very plainly. There is no Chriſtian ſo little in- ‘ ſtructed in our faith, but knows, that God ‘ demonſtrates and proves himſelf by his works. ‘ There never was any good Philoſopher, though ‘ a Pagan, who did not naturally know, and ‘ acknowledge a God from the works of God. ‘ The Scripture ſays expreſsly, that the creatures ‘ teſtify there is a God. St Paul purpoſely ſhews ‘ this, when he ſays, writing to the Romans, *The* ‘ *inviſible things of GOD are clearly ſeen, being under* ‘ *ſtood by the things that are made.* And ſpeaking of ‘ the Philoſophers, he ſays, *Who knowing GOD, did* ‘ *did not glorify him as GOD* (48).’

(47) *The anſwer of Renatus de la Fon, to the plea of Simon Marion*, chap. xxxvij, pag. 173, Edit. 1599.

If Paſquier had been wiſe, he had continued ſilent all his life, as to his objection againſt Maldonat; but, tho' he found himſelf weak, and incapable of aſſuming on this occaſion, that triumphant air, which he ſhews in the reſt of his catechiſm, yet he would not hold his peace. He pretended (49) that the Jeſuits, who defended Maldonat, were fallen into the Hereſies condemned by the whole Gallican church, and by Pope Innocent II, namely into the Hereſy of Peter Abelard, who ſaid, that we muſt believe nothing but what may be proved by natural reaſon. This was to make his laſt condition worſe than the firſt; and it will always be the fate of thoſe obſtinate men, who, being fallen into groſs miſtakes, will neither acknowledge them ſincerely, nor hold their peace, but maintain what they have ſaid to be right. It will always be their fate to defend one falſhood by another (50). This is what Paſquier did, and he fared the worſe for it. Read what was replied to him. ‘ He had been charged with having ſaid, when he ‘ ſlandered the lectures of John Maldonat, a divine ‘ of this ſociety, that it was as great an impiety to ‘ prove by natural reaſons that there is a God, as ‘ to prove that there is none; which is groſs igno- ‘ rance and blaſphemy againſt God, who proves ‘ and manifeſts himſelf by all nature. It is alſo con- ‘ trary to the holy Scripture, and againſt all the ‘ creatures in the univerſe, which teſtify that there ‘ is a moſt powerful, moſt good, and moſt wiſe God. ‘ How does he clear himſelf of this crime? By ſaying, ‘ that the Jeſuits teach, *by the pen of Renatus de la* ‘ *Fon, that the Deity is to be proved by natural reaſon,* ‘ *and that he, who confines himſelf only to faith, is im-* ‘ *pious.* Here is a double forgery for his juſtifica- ‘ tion; for Renatus de la Fon ſays only, as Maldo- ‘ nat, and all divines have ſaid, that we may piouſly ‘ teach, that there is a God, by natural reaſons, ‘ againſt the Atheiſts, which is the Catholic doctrine; ‘ and

(48) Renatus de la Fon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 175.

(49) *Paſquier's Catechiſm of the Jeſuits*, book ii, ch. vii, pag. m. 239, 240.

(50) *See the article LUTHER, remark* [R], *citation* (88).

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'and not that the Deity is to be proved only by natural 'reaſon, without recurring to faith, which is the 'Hereſy of Abelard, who would believe nothing 'but what is proved by natural reaſon, and who de- 'ſtroyed faith, by which we believe what is above 'reaſon and ſenſe. And thus, inſtead of clearing 'himſelf, he is juſtly charged with two new calum- 'nies (51).'

(51) Richeome, *Apologetical Compleat, num. 601, pag. 300, 301.*

Paſquier might have defended himſelf ſomewhat better, by ſaying, that, ſince firſt principles are not to be proved, all thoſe, who undertake to prove, there is a GOD, do hereby confeſs, that they do not rank among firſt principles this propoſition, *there is a GOD:* but it is impious not to reckon it among firſt principles. But this anſwer, tho' ſomewhat better than the other, would nevertheleſs have been a very bad one; for it would have accuſed of impiety the moſt holy, and moſt famous authors, and even the cuſtom of all ages, authorized by the ſtate and the church. I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould undertake to name all the authors, who have proved by natural reaſons, that there is a GOD. I ſay, pious authors, and ſuch as are no leſs exemplary for their virtue than learning. And every one knows, that, in all the ſchools in Chriſtendom, where Philoſophy is taught, there is always a metaphyſical chapter ſet apart for the proofs, which natural reaſon affords us, of the exiſtence of a GOD, and for the refutation of the ſophiſms of the Atheiſts. The greateſt part of the common-places of Divinity, that have been publiſhed, contain ſuch a chapter. It would therefore be ridiculous for any one to pretend, that all thoſe, who prove by natural reaſons, that there is a GOD, are impious, or do not acknowledge, as a principle, this poſition, *there is a GOD.* We muſt take notice, that all the propoſitions, which are called principles, are not equally evident. There are ſome, which are not to be proved, becauſe they are as clear, or clearer, than any medium that can be uſed to prove them. Such, for inſtance, are theſe propoſitions: *The whole is greater than a part; if from two equal quantities you take away equal parts, the remainder will be equal: two and two make four.* Theſe axioms have this advantage, that we have not only a clear idea of them in our mind, but they alſo fall under our ſenſes: daily experience confirms them, and ſo the proof of them would be altogether uſeleſs. We cannot ſay the ſame thing as to the propoſitions, which fall not under our ſenſes, or which may be oppoſed by other maxims; they want to be diſcuſſed and proved. We muſt ſecure them from objections. It cannot be denied, that this theſis, *there is a GOD*, is one of this number: it does not fall directly under our ſenſes; it has been denied in all ages by men of letters, and who made profeſſion of reaſoning, and we ſhall ſee hereafter (52), that it is denied to this day by ſome flouriſhing ſects. It is not therefore ſuperfluous to undertake the proof of it; nay, it is very uſeful and neceſſary to produce it, tho' we could not make vulgar minds ſenſible of it, as we make them ſenſible of the properties of numbers. This is what a famous miniſter pretends (53).

(52) *Cite. (55), in a paſſage of Mr ARNAULD.*

(53) *This truth, That there is a God, may be demonſtrated, I believe, but not by a demonſtration that is ſuitable to a vulgar mind, in like manner as every one may be convinced, though of the meaneſt capacity, that ſix is the half of twelve.* Jurieu of Nature and Grace, *pag.* 248.

But ſome perhaps may ſay, is it not a ſcandalous thing to propoſe it as a problem in a metaphyſical lecture, whether there be a GOD or no? I have heard of a German prince, who was about to ſuppreſs an univerſity that he had founded, becauſe he was informed, this queſtion was diſputed in it. Probably ſome body alarmed him in the ſame manner that ſome perſons attempted to prejudice the parliament of Paris againſt Maldonat. We ſhall add a few words about this difficulty. It is certain, that, according to the rules or method of diſputing, we muſt reduce this great and important truth into a queſtion, as ſoon as we undertake to prove by Philoſophical reaſons, that there is a GOD; for the natural and juſt end of this undertaking, is to convince thoſe of falſhood, who deny this theſis. Now, according to the rules of diſputing, it may and ought to be required of them, that they ſhould lay aſide their prejudices, and that they ſhould not employ their peculiar principles againſt the reaſons, which ſhall be oppoſed to them; for, if they did it, they would fall into the Sophiſm, which the ſchools call *petitio principii*, which is an enormous fault, and ought to be baniſhed from all controverſies, as an eſſential obſtacle to the deſign of diſcovering the truth. They have the like right of requiring the ſame thing; ſince, in all diſputes, that are well regulated, the combatants ſhould be equally armed. Thus, for a certain time, that is, while each party is alledging his reaſons, both thoſe who deny, and thoſe who affirm, ought to lay aſide their theſis, and neither affirm nor deny it. It will be then a queſtion; it will be a matter of enquiry; to proceed impartially in which, we muſt not ſuffer our pre-conceived opinions to add any weight to the arguments that favour them, nor to weaken the contrary reaſons. We muſt examine every thing, as if we were a *tabula raſa*. It is not neceſſary actually to doubt, and much leſs to affirm, that all we have believed is falſe: it is ſufficient to keep it in a kind of ſuſpence; that is, not to ſuffer our perſuaſion to byaſs us, in the judgment we are to paſs upon the proofs of the exiſtence of a GOD, and the difficulties and arguments of the Atheiſts. This is doubtleſs what Des Cartes intended, when he would have his Philoſopher doubt of every thing, before he examines the reaſons of the certainty of it. If any one will not believe me, let him hear at leaſt a miniſter, who, in a diſpute with the Atheiſts, would have us, for a time, renounce the principles, to which they do not agree. 'Ut clare oſtendamus, *ſays he* (54), 'quæ iſta tanto pere declamata dubitatio eſt, cui tot 'retro annis tantæ lites motæ atque etiamnum mo- 'ventur, rem ipſam paulo altius & ab initio repete- 'mus. Conſtat, ab omni tempore repertus eſſe, qui 'Dei naturam, exiſtentiam, providentiam, & quid- 'quid horum eſt, quibus omnis plane nititur Religio, 'neſcio quibus non ſubtilitatibus aut evertere, aut dubia 'ſaltem reddere non vererentur. . . . Cui tamen malo 'quantum pote obviam eundo, iiſque quos infeciſſet, 'convincendis, haud pauci ſemper viri docti ac egre- 'gii ingenia calamoſque ſuos acuerunt. Quibus certe, 'ii quid proficere volunt, non ex principiis adverſæ 'parti negatis, ſed ab eadem conceſſis neceſſario eſt 'diſputandum; utut illæ alias in ſe ipſæ poſſint eſſe 'certiſſimæ. Quod cum recte perpenderet Carteſius, 'eaque de exiſtentia Dei argumenta proferre ſtuderet, 'ad quæ pertinaciſſimus quiſque Scepticus obmute- 'ſceret, ecquid potuit aliter, quam ut ea omnia de 'quibus iſti dubitant, tantiſper ſeponeret? - - - - - 'That we may ſhew, what that ſo cried up doubting it, 'which ſo many years ago occaſioned diſputes, and ſtill 'occaſions, I will take the matter higher, and give an 'account of it from the very beginning. It is certain, 'there always have been perſons, who were not aſhamed 'to endeavour to overthrow, by I know not what ſubtil- 'ties, or at leaſt to render doubtful, the exiſtence and 'providence of GOD, and every thing on which reli- 'gion is built. . . . To obviate which evil, and refute 'thoſe whom it had infected, ſeveral great and learned 'men have exerciſed their wits and pens; who, if they 'would at all ſucceed, muſt neceſſarily argue, not from 'principles denied by the adverſe party, but from ſuch 'as they allow; however certain they may be otherwiſe 'in themſelves. This Des Cartes being well aware of, 'and ſtudying to produce ſuch arguments for the exiſtence 'of a GOD, as might confound the moſt obſtinate Sceptic, 'could he do otherways than ſet aſide for a time ſuch 'principles as thoſe men doubt of?' He names Diagoras, Epicurus, and the Sceptics: he might have cited whole bodies of the Chineſe, as Mr Arnauld has done, who thus addreſſes himſelf to the Jeſuits. 'The 'moſt able miſſionaries of China, ſome of whom are 'of your ſociety, maintain, that the greateſt part 'of *literati* there are Atheiſts, and that they are 'idolaters only through diſſimulation and hypocriſy; 'like many of the Pagan Philoſophers, who adored 'the ſame idols with the common people, tho' they 'did not believe in any of them, as may be ſeen in 'Cicero and Seneca. The ſame miſſionaries inform 'us, that theſe *literati* do not believe any thing to 'be ſpiritual, and that the *King above*, which your 'Matthew Ricci took for the true GOD, is nothing 'but the material Heaven; and that what they call 'the ſpirits of the earth, rivers, and mountains, are 'nothing but the active virtues of thoſe natural bo- 'dies. Some of your authors ſay, that they fell into 'this Atheiſm ſome ages ago, by having ſuffered the 'great diſcoveries of their Philoſopher Confucius to 'be loſt. But others, who have ſtudied theſe mat- 'ters with greater care, as your Father Longobardi, 'maintain, that this Philoſopher ſaid many fine things 'about morality and politics; but, as to the true 'GOD, and his law, he was as blind as the 'reſt (55).'

A REFLEXION upon the Carteſian doubting.

(54) Abrahami Heidanus, Conſiderat. ad res quaſdam nuper geſtas, *pag.* 135, 136.

(55) *Arnauld, in his fifth denunciation of the Philoſophical Sin, pag.* 35. *See alſo Father Gobien, in the preface to the Hiſtory of the Edict of the Emperor of China; and, below, remark* [A] *of the article* SOMMONA-CODOM.

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We conclude therefore, that our John Maldonat deſerved not the cenſure, which Stephen Paſquier has inſerted in his plea againſt the Jeſuits. No reader can doubt this.

I am ſorry, that Mr de St Evremond, whom I admire and honour as much as any man in the world, holds an opinion contrary to the method uſed by Maldonat, and that I muſt prefer to it that of an anonymous writer, who criticiſed him. 'Let us leave 'Divinity entirely to our ſuperiors, *ſays he* (56), and 'follow, with reſpect, thoſe who have the care of our 'ſouls. Though it muſt be confeſſed, that our 'teachers are the firſt to deſtroy this deference; and 'that they inſpire us with a ſort of curioſity, that 'leads inſenſibly into error. There is nothing ſo well 'eſtabliſhed among men, but what they ſubject to 'the extravagance of reaſoning. They burn a man, 'who is ſo unhappy as not to believe there is a GOD, 'and yet they make it a queſtion in the public 'ſchools, whether there be one. By this means you 'offend the weak, and give the diſtruſtful room to 'ſuſpect. By this you arm the furious, and allow 'them to ſeek for pernicious reaſons, with which 'they oppoſe their own opinions, and the true im-'preſſions of nature.' Let us ſee the obſervation of his cenſurer (57). *When the Divines aſk whether there be a GOD, it is not to doubt of his exiſtence, but to give certain proofs of it, and to confound the Atheiſts, as Phyſic inſtructs us in the knowledge of poiſons, in order to cure thoſe who are infected by them. . . . .* (58) *He calls all the doctors ſcandalous and imprudent men, and St Thomas himſelf, who, in the beginning of his* Summa, Quæſt. II, Art. III, *puts the queſtion, whether there be a GOD. Can Mr de S. E. imagine, that any body will take his part againſt ſo many learned Divines, who have treated this queſtion in all the moſt famous univerſities, for ſo many years, in the face of the church? &c.*

(56) *St Evremond's Judgment on the Sciences, &c. Vol. i, of his works, pag. 50, of the Lond. Edit. 1728.*

(57) *Diſſertation on St Evremond's Works, pag. 216. Paris Edit. 1698.*

(58) Ibid. *pag.* 308.

MALHERBE (FRANCIS DE) the beſt French Poet of his time, was born at Caen, about the year 1555, and died at Paris in 1628. I ſhall not ſay many things of him. Mr Moreri has ſaid enough for the greateſt part of readers; and thoſe, who deſire more may be eaſily ſatisfied in books, which are every where to be found (*a*). I know upon what Mr Moreri might ground what he ſaid, That Malherbe *expreſſed himſelf with a very ill grace:* but Racan affirms the contrary [*A*]. He informs us of a thing, which confirms what I have ſaid in the article LOTICHIUS (*b*), *viz.* That the Poets form to themſelves imaginary miſtreſſes [*β*], that they may have an opportunity of giving vent

(*a*) *The Life of Malherbe by Racan, printed at Paris, in* 1672. *The converſations of Balzac. A collection of the fineſt pieces of the French Poets, reprinted in Holland in* 1692, *Tom. ii, p.* 215.

(*b*) (PETER), remark [*F*].

[*A*] *I know upon what Mr Moreri might ground what he ſaid, that Malherbe expreſſed himſelf with an ill grace: but Racan affirms the contrary.*] Moreri might ground it upon theſe words of Balzac (1): 'What 'you have been told is true; Malherbe was a moſt 'ingenious man in converſation; but he had not a 'graceful elocution, and his way of reciting was very 'diſagreeable. We uſed to call him *Anti-Mondori*; for 'he ſpoiled his fine verſes in pronouncing them. Be-'ſides, he could not well be heard, on the account of 'an impediment in his tongue, and the lowneſs of his 'voice: he would ſpit at leaſt ſix times in repeating 'a ſtanza of four verſes. And this occaſioned Cava-'lier Marini to ſay of him, that he never knew a 'man more moiſt, nor a Poet more dry.' Racan ſays quite the contrary. 'Such, *ſays he* (2), were the or-'dinary diſcourſes he had with his moſt familiar 'friends; but they cannot be expreſſed with ſuch a 'grace as he ſpoke them, becauſe they derived their 'greateſt ornament from his geſture, and the tone of 'his voice.'

(1) Balzac, Converſation xxxvii, pag. m. 355.

(2) Racan's Life of Malherbe, *pag.* 22.

[*B*] *The Poets form to themſelves imaginary miſtreſſes.*] This will appear by the following narrative. 'Racan 'and Malherbe one day were diſcourſing of their 'amours; to wit, of the deſign they had of making 'choice of ſome lady of great merit and quality, to 'be the ſubject of their verſes. Malherbe named 'Madam de Rambouillet; and Racan, Madam de 'Termes, who was then a widow, They found, that 'both of them were named Catherine; *viz.* the firſt, 'whom Malherbe had choſen, Catherine de Vivonne, 'and Racan's choice Catherine de Chabot (3).' They ſpent all the afternoon 'in ſeeking anagrams on this 'name, that might be ſoft enough for verſe, and they 'found but three, Arthenice, Eracinthe and Charin-'tee. The firſt was judged the fineſt; but Racan ha-'ving made uſe of it in his paſtoral, which he made 'immediately after, Malherbe deſpiſed the two others, 'and reſolved to make uſe of Rodante . . . . He was 'then married, and far advanced in years; wherefore 'his amours produced but few verſes, and, among 'the reſt, thoſe which begin thus, *Chere beauté, que 'mon ame ravie*, &c. - - - - *Dear beauty, how my ſoul 'is raviſh'd*, &c. and theſe others, which Boiſſet ſet 'to a tune, *Ils s'en vont ces Rois de ma vie.* - - - - - 'These kings of my life go away. He wrote alſo ſome 'letters under the name of Rodante: But Racan, who 'was thirty four years younger than he, and a ba-'chelor, changed his poetical love into a true and 'lawful one, and took ſome journies into Burgundy 'for that end (4).' Obſerve well the difference they make between a poetical love and a real one. At that age, honeſt Malherbe was fit only to love poetically; and yet, if one had judged of him by his verſes, one would have thought that he had a miſtreſs, who often made him ſigh, and who embraced him very cloſe; though he was ſo chilly, that he numbered his ſtockings with the letters of the alphabet, leſt he ſhould put more upon one leg than upon the other: he confeſſed one day, that he was come as far as the letter L (5). His infirmities were known, and jeſted upon. It was objected to him one day in verſe, that he was in the wrong to make women his idols, ſince he had nothing for them but words (6). Here are other verſes that concern him.

(3) Id. ib. *pag.* 42, 43.

(4) Id. ib. *pag.* 43, 44.

(5) Id. ib. *p.* 17.

(6) See the article LOGES, remark [*F*].

Avoir quatre chauſſons de laine,
Et trois Caſaquins de futaine,
Cela ſe peut facilement:
Mais de danſer une Bourrée
Sur une Dame bien parée,
Cela ne ſe peut nullement (7).

To wear four woollen ſocks,
And three fuſtian frocks;
He can do it at any hour:
But to dance a Bourrée
O'er a fair lady;
Alas! 'tis beyond his pow'r.

(7) Menage's Obſervations upon the poems of Malherbe, *pag.* 497.

He was ſenſible of his weakneſs, and complained of it very much. 'I am not buried; but thoſe, who 'are, are not more dead than I am. I have no rea-'ſon, thank GOD, to murmur at the conſtitution na-'ture has given me: it is ſo good, that, at the age 'of ſeventy years, I know not one of thoſe inconve-'niences, to which men are commonly ſubject in old 'age. And if to be well, were nothing elſe but not 'to be ill, I ſee but few perſons, whom I ſhould 'envy. But what? becauſe I not am ill, ſhall I be ſo 'fooliſh as to make myſelf believe, that I am well? 'I know not what others think, but I am not ſo 'eaſily ſatisfied. Indolence is the deſire of thoſe, 'whom the gout, the gravel, the ſtone, or ſome ſuch 'diſtemper, put upon the rack once a month. I de-'ſire, not only to be free from pain, but to enjoy 'pleaſure; not indeed all ſorts of pleaſure; for I do 'not confound gold with copper; but that which 'men reliſh by the incomparable ſweetneſs of con-'verſing with women (8).' He deſcribes afterwards this ſweetneſs, and then he ſays, 'Judge, if, after 'this, there be any misfortune equal to that of not 'being able to have a ſhare in their favours; and I 'am ſure you will hardly condemn me. But I muſt 'no longer continue this diſcourſe, leſt it ſhould bring 'me to deſpair (9).' He ſaid, one day, to the duke de Bellegarde, 'You act the part of a galant, and 'lover of fine ladies; can you pay a bill at ſight? 'This

(8) Malherbe's letter to Balzac, *pag.* 67, of the collection of new letters, printed at Paris, 1642.

(9) Ib. *pag.* 65.

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vent to their thoughts. It is very probable, that Malherbe had ſcarce any religion [C]. His

‘ This was his uſual phraſe, to expreſs, whether he ‘ was ſtill ready to ſerve them. The duke anſwered ‘ him, yes. Malherbe replied in theſe words; as I ‘ live, Sir, I had rather reſemble you in this, than in ‘ your being a duke and a peer (10).’ Some caviller perhaps may tell men, that Malherbe reſembled one of the ancients, who would not renounce love, even when age obliged him to renounce enjoyment.

(10) Racan, ibid. pag. 19.

Amare liceat, ſi potiri non licet.
Fruantur alii: non moror, non ſum invidus,
Nam ſeſe excruciat qui beatis invidet:
Quos Venus amavit, facit amoris compotes:
Nobis Cupido velle dat, poſſe abnegat.
. . . . . .
Hæc illi faciant quęis Venus non invidet,
At nobis caſſo ſaltem delectamine
Amare liceat, ſi potiri non licet (11).

(11) Apuleius, in Asclep. sive, ex Menandro, in veterum Poetarum Catalectis ad calcem Petronii, pag. m. 220.

Sure I may love, though I cannot enjoy;
Let others reap the bliſs, I envy not;
For he, who envies, tortures but himſelf.
Whom Venus loves, ſhe for enjoyment forms;
But fruitleſs wiſhes only are my lot.
. . . . . .
This may they do, whom Venus envies not.
Let me at leaſt the empty pleaſure taſte,
To love, though 'tis not giv'n me to enjoy.

I anſwer, that if Malherbe had been ſtill in a condition to have taken a real miſtreſs, he would not have made choice of Madam de Rambouillet, whoſe quality, and much more her virtue, would have left him no manner of hope. Rambouillet-houſe, which is become ſo famous, was truly a palace of honour. *There was nothing but galantry there, and no love. Mr de Voiture, giving one day his hand to Mademoiſelle de Rambouillet, who was afterwards Madam de Montauſier, was ſo bold as to kiſs her arm. But Mademoiſelle de Rambouillet ſhewed ſo ſeriouſly, that his boldneſs did not pleaſe her, that he had no inclination after that, to take the ſame liberty another time* (12). We conclude from all this, that the miſtreſſes of Poets, I mean their Chloe's, their Phyliis's, &c. for whom they make ſo many love verſes, are not always the objects they love. Theſe are only poetical miſtreſſes, whom they make uſe of, that they may have a fixed ſubject, to which they may apply ſome thoughts.

(12) Menage, pag. 186, 187.

[C] *It is very probable, that Malherbe had ſcarce any religion.*] *When the poor ſaid to him, that they would pray to GOD for him; he anſwered them, that he did not believe they had great intereſt in Heaven, ſince they were left in ſo bad a condition in this world; and that he ſhould like it better if the duke de Luyne, or ſome other favourite, had made him the ſame promiſe* (13) . . . *In his* Primer, *he had blotted out all the particular names from the Litanies of the ſaints, ſaying it was ſuperfluous to name them all one after another, and that it was ſufficient to name them in general,* Omnes ſancti & ſanctæ Dei, orate pro nobis (14). . . . . *He would ſay ſometimes,* That the religion of gentlemen was that of their prince (15). During his laſt ſickneſs, *he had much a-do to reſolve to confeſs to a prieſt* (16); *for which he gave this reaſon,* That he was not wont to do it but at Eaſter. . . . . *He who prevailed with him to reſolve upon this, was Yvrande, a gentleman, who had been bred up a page to the great royal ſtables, and was his ſcholar in Poetry, as well as Racan. To perſuade him to receive the ſacraments, he told him, that having always profeſſed to live like other men, he muſt alſo die like them; and Malherbe having aſked him what he meant by that, he told him, that, when other men died, they confeſſed to a prieſt, communicated, and received the other ſacraments of the church. Malherbe owned he was in the right, and ſent for the vicar of St Germans, who aſſiſted him in his laſt hours* (17). Obſerve, that no motive of religion, no inſtinct of conſcience, prevailed with him to confeſs; but he yielded to a reaſon purely human, namley, that we muſt follow the cuſtom of other men, as well at the point of death, as during our life. We ſhall ſee, that at the approach of the fatal moment, which determines our condition for eternity, he ſcarce thought of Heaven or Hell. *An hour before his death, after he had been two hours in an agony, he awaked on a ſudden, to reprove his land-lady, who waited upon him, for uſing a word that was not good French; and when his confeſſor reprimanded him for it, he told him, he could not help it, and that he would defend the purity of the French tongue until death* (18). I have heard ſay, that this confeſſor having repreſented to him the happineſs of another life, with very little eloquence, and aſked of him, whether he did not feel a great deſire to enjoy quickly that happineſs; Malherbe anſwered him, ſpeak no more of it; your bad ſtile diſguſts me. But I am willing this ſhould be looked upon as a meer ſtory, and even that the truths, which Balzac thought fit to ſuppreſs (19), ſhould be thought to have no relation to the laſt hours of this Poet. Let us only inſiſt upon the facts, that are taken out of his life, written by Racan his good friend: Do they not raiſe a ſtrong preſumption, that his faith and piety were very ſlender. *Racan enquired very carefully in what manner he died,* becauſe he had heard him ſay, *That the religion of gentlemen was that of their prince* (20). This is a curioſity, which ſhews, that he was ſuſpected of irreligion, and it is alſo a good ground for theſe ſuſpicions. It is therefore to no purpoſe for Racan to tell us, that his friend *was very ſubmiſſive to the commands of the church; that he did not willingly eat meat on the forbidden days without leave, though he was very old; that he went to maſs every holy-day and Sunday, and that he never failed to confeſs, and to communicate at Eaſter at his own pariſh; that he ſpoke always of GOD and holy things with great reſpect, and that one of his friends made him confeſs one day before Racan, that he had once made a vow to go from Aix to the cave of St Magdalen bare-headed, for the diſeaſe of his wife* (21). Racan may tell us theſe things as much as he pleaſes; but he can never remove the bad impreſſions, which the other facts have produced; and if he gains any thing, it is only this, that Malherbe had determined nothing, either for or againſt religion, and that, having ſome ſort of religion in his mind, not in his heart, he conformed to the common uſage by way of precaution; as to a thing, which whatever happened, might be ſerviceable, and could do him no hurt. We may believe, that, in time of great affliction, when the ſoul is troubled, and turns itſelf on all ſides, and tries all remedies it can think of, he might have had ſome thoughts, which put him upon making vows; but that this tempeſt was calmed in his heart, after the danger was over. We may add to this, that he had reaſon to fear a real and effectual damage, by not obſerving the commands of an abſolute obligation, ſuch as thoſe of his church are, to communicate once a year, to hear maſs upon holy-days and Sundays. A man of parts, who wants to make his fortune, or deſires to continue in his preſent condition, will never deſpenſe with this kind of precepts; he will ſo behave himſelf, that his neighbours, friends, and domeſtics ſhall not know, that he deſpiſes his church, and even carry the matter ſo far, that he will not, without leave, eat meat on the forbidden days. All the religious actions, that Malherbe performed, were ſo eaſy, and ſo neceſſary to his fortune, and to the reputation of an honeſt man, which he maintained in all other things, that they cannot balance the proofs of irreligion, which the relations of Racan furniſh us with. When I ſaid, that, in all other things, he maintained the reputation of an honeſt man, I had regard to the way of judging, which the corruption of the times has introduced over all the world; for mankind is ſo depraved, that the purſuit of venereal pleaſures by unlawful ways, and criminal galantries, do not hinder a man from being accounted honeſt. If we ſhould judge otherwiſe of things, Malherbe would not paſs for ſuch an one; for he deſcribes himſelf as one beſotted with thoſe kind of pleaſures. He repreſents himſelf as within an ace of deſpair, when he reflects, that old age renders him incapable of enjoying women (22). Finding himſelf in this ſtate of decay, in which nature ſeeks, but cannot find herſelf, *quærit ſe natura nec invenit*; he groaned and ſighed (23); he ſhed almoſt tears of blood, and wiſhed rather to recover his vigour that way, than to

(13) Racan, Life of Malherbe, p. 15.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 24.

(15) Ib. pag. 45.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ib. pag. 46.

(18) Ibid.

(19) I cite his words in the remark [D] citation (31).

(20) Racan, ibid. pag. 45, 46.

(21) Ib. pag. 45.

(22) See his letter to Balzac, cited, and referred to, above, remark [B], citat. (8).

(23) Confer what has been ſaid in the article ACHILLES, remark [L].

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His good friend, having no mind that this ſhould be believed, has taken ſuch a method as puts it out of all doubt. In the article of Madam DES LOGES, we have ſet down ſome facts relating to Malherbe. I point out the beſt edition of his poems [*D*], and I will ſay ſomething of his tranſlations [*E*]. Mr Baillet (*c*), to whom I refer my readers, has carefully collected whatever has been ſaid in favour or to the diſadvantage of

(*c*) Jugement des Sçavans, *Tom. iii, num.* 944, *and on the Poets, Tom. iv. num.* 1411.

to have the dignity of a duke and peer. In this he differed very much from the opinion of the wiſe Pagans (24), who reckoned that among the advantages of old age, which he accounted a misfortune. How much did he fall ſhort of the virtue of Sophocles, a Poet, as he was, but a Pagan Poet! Being old, he was aſked one day, whether he could ſtill divert himſelf with the fair ſex: GOD forbid, anſwered he, I am delivered out of the hands of ſo furious a maſter, and I eſteem it the greateſt pleaſure in the world. 'Bene Sophocles, 'cum ex eo quidam jam affecto ætate, quæreret, 'utereturne rebus venereis: Dii meliora, inquit. Li'benter vero iſtinc, tanquam à domino agreſti, ac 'furioſo profugi. Cupidis enim rerum talium, odio'ſum, & moleſtum eſt fortaſſe carere. Satiatis vero, '& expletis, jucundius eſt carere, quam frui. Quam'quam non caret is, qui non deſiderat. Ergo hoc 'non deſiderare, dico eſſe jucundius, quam frui (25). '---- *For to thoſe, who are eager after ſuch pleaſures, perhaps it is hateful and troubleſome to be without them: but to thoſe, who are ſatiated with them, the want of them is more pleaſing, than the enjoyment. Though he does not want, who does not deſire. Therefore, not to deſire this, I ſay, is more pleaſing than to enjoy it.*' Malherbe is accuſed of another moral fault, or rather of two: I mean, vanity, and avarice. He is eaſily convicted of the former, by ſeveral paſſages in his poems (26); but the proofs of the ſecond are of no force. 'Some have thought, ſays Mr Baillet (27), 'that there are, in the poems of Malherbe, ſome marks 'of a meaneſs of ſoul, and of his being too much 'addicted to his intereſt, which ſometimes deprived 'him of the natural ſentiments of humanity. But I 'think, this accuſation has no other foundation, than 'the epitaph of one of his relations, call'd Mr d'Is, 'whoſe heir he was, in which he declared, that he 'wiſh'd to ſee all his kindred buried, that he might 'have the whole eſtate of his family. The verſes of 'Malherbe upon this occaſion are theſe.'

Icy gît Monſieur d'Is,
Plût or à Dieu qu'ils fuſſent dix!
Mes trois ſœurs, mon Pere, & ma Mere,
Le grand Eleaſar mon Frere;
Mes trois Tantes, & Monſieur d'Is:
Vous les nommé-je pas tous dix?

Here lies Monſieur d'En,
I would to God here were ten,
My three ſiſters, my father, and my mother,
The great Eleazar my brother,
My three aunts, and Monſieur d'En,
Don't I name you all the ten?

To judge of this impartially, this ſeems to be, not the diſpoſition of Tiberius (28), but a ſally of wit, and a poetical jeſt, in which the heart has no ſhare. Malherbe was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon (29); and he loved his wife ſo well, that the affliction of ſeeing her ſick awaked his dormant religion, and engaged him to do a thing, which he was very much aſhamed of afterwards: For he made a vow to go bare-headed to St Baume (the cave, where St Mary Magdalen did penance); but he was not pleaſed to find it was known that he was ſo devout, and he was ſo far from boaſting of it, that he endeavoured, by all means, to keep it a ſecret (30).

[*D*] *The beſt edition of his poems.*] It is that, which Menage procured, and improved with many notes. It was printed at Paris in 1666. Mr Menage had been long before at work upon it, as appears by a letter of Balzac, dated January 23, 1651. 'The news 'of a commentary upon the works of Malherbe 'ſurpriſed me; and how comes it to paſs, that our 'excellent friend has given over his deſign of publiſh'ing Diogenes Laërtius, and many other works of 'great importance, which he had promiſed the pub'lic, to amuſe himſelf with explaining a poet ſo plain 'and intelligible as ours is? I knew him, it is true, 'and that very particularly; and I know ſeveral par'ticulars of him, which all others, beſides my ſelf, 'are ignorant of. I have with me, as yet, one who 'ſaw him die, and whom I ſent him, not being able 'my ſelf to go and ſee him, on account of my indiſ'poſition. But what I know, Sir, more than others, 'cannot be decently written; for there are certain 'truths, which are only fit to be ſuppreſs'd (31).' As I promiſed, in the the preceding remark, a part of this paſſage, it is therefore longer than my text requires. Mr Menage himſelf informs us (32), *That he was no more than twenty years old, when he firſt had a deſire to comment upon Malherbe*; and that, if his friends had not diſſuaded him, *he would have begun with that, to make himſelf known to the world.* He adds, that before his notes were publiſhed, Mr Chevreau had printed a *commentary upon the ſame poems. I do not doubt*, continues he, *but this commentary contains many very curious things, and very well worth reading: But I have deprived my ſelf of the pleaſure of reading them, leſt I ſhould be accuſed of ſtealing from Mr Chevreau, if I ſhould happen to hit upon the ſame thoughts; or of having a mind to contradict him, if I am not of his opinion.* Thoſe who have not this work of Mr Chevreau (of whom I am one), may form an idea of it from theſe words of Mr Baillet (33). 'It were tedious to run 'over all the other faults, which are charged upon 'Malherbe. Thoſe who would be fully inſtructed, 'may conſult a book of remarks, which Mr Chevreau 'has wrote, upon our poet. Mr Roſteau declares, 'that, having communicated theſe remarks, or ra'ther cenſures, to Madam de Scuderi, ſhe gave him 'to underſtand, after ſhe had read them, that ſhe was 'very much ſurprized. This learned and judicious 'lady confeſſed, that there may be ſomething, which 'deſerves reproof in ſome places of Malherbe's po'ems; but ſhe could not have ſeriouſly imagined, that 'this famous poet furniſhed matter for ſo many cor'rections.'

Note, that Mr Chevreau will not allow, that his remarks had not been ſeen by Mr Menage. See his narrative and complaints in a letter, which I quote (34). See alſo, in the ſecond part of his miſcellanies, and of his Chevræana, many fine and ſolid obſervations againſt Malherbe.

[*E*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his tranſlations.*] He has tranſlated ſome works of Seneca, and ſome books of Livy, and, if he was not ſucceſsful in it, yet he had the happineſs to be well ſatisfied with his labour. 'His principal buſineſs was to criticize upon the 'French language; in which he was ſo well ſkilled, 'that ſome of his friends deſired him one day to make 'a Grammar for our tongue..... He anſwered them, '*That he needed not take that pains, for they might read 'his tranſlation of the* xxxiii *book of Livy, and he 'would have them write after that manner.* But every 'body was not of this opinion. Madam de Gour'nay, a learned lady of that time, uſed to ſay, *That 'this book appeared to her like broth of fair water.* She 'meant, that the language of it was too plain and 'ſimple, and ſome thought that ſhe was in the 'right (35).' Mr Huet obſerves (36), that the ſtrong deſire Malherbe *had to pleaſe courtiers, made him to invert the method of his author; that he neither followed his pointing nor his words, and that he ſtudied only to purify and poliſh our language.* Mr Racan confirms this: 'Malherbe, ſays he (37), often ſaid, and chiefly 'when he was reproved for not following the ſenſe of 'the authors, whom he tranſlated or paraphraſed, that 'he would not dreſs meat for cooks; meaning, that 'he did not much regard the praiſes of learned men, 'who underſtood the books he had tranſlated, pro'vided he was praiſed by the courtiers.'

(24) Habeo ſenectuti magnam gratiam, quæ mihi ſermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis & cibi ſuſtulit.... At non eſt voluptatum tanta quaſi titillatio in ſenibus. Credo: ſed ne deſideratio quidem. Nihil autem moleſtum, quod non deſideres. ---- *I am greatly obliged to old age, which has increaſed in me the deſire of converſation, and taken away that of eating and drinking... But old men have not ſuch a titillating ſenſe of pleaſures. I believe it: but neither have they the deſire. Now nothing gives us uneaſineſs, which we do not deſire.* Cicero de Senectute, cap. xiv, p. m. 421, 423. Illa quanti ſunt, animum tanquam emeritis ſtipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, ſecum eſſe, ſecumque (ut dicitur) vivere? --- *What a happineſs is it to be free from the dominion of luſt, ambition, ſtrife, enmities, and every paſſion, and to be our own maſters?* Idem, ibid. *pag.* 424.

(25) Id. ib. *pag.* 423. Plato de Repub. *lib. i, Circa init. pag. m.* 572, 573, relates this anſwer of Sophocles.

(26) *See Baillet,* Jugem. ſur les Poëtes, *Part iv, num.* 1411. *pag.* 14, & *ſeq.* Conſult below, remark [*H*].

(27) Ib. *pag.* 17, 18.

(28) Identidem felicem Priamum vocabat, quod ſuperſtes omnium ſuorum exſtitiſſet. ---- *The ſame prince uſed to call Priam happy, becauſe he ſurvived his whole family.* Sueton. in Tiberio, *cap. lxii.*

(29) See Balzac, Converſation, xxxvii, *pag. m.* 356, & *ſeq.*

(30) I have cited above, theſe words of Racan: *One of his friends made him confeſs,* &c.

(31) Balzac, Letter fourth to Conrart, *lib. ii, p. m.* 100, 101.

(32) In the preface to this edition of Malherbe.

(33) Baillet, ubi ſupra, *Part iv, num.* 1411, *pag.* 23.

(34) It is in *pag.* 103, & *ſeq.* of the firſt part of his Miſcellanies

(35) Sorel, Bibl. Françoiſe, *pag.* 259, 260. Edit. 1667.

(36) De claris Interpretibus, *lib. ii, pag.* 186. apud Baillet, Jugem. *Tom. ii, n.* 944, *citat.* 2.

(37) Racan, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 28.

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of his works. I do not find, that Malherbe had any great ſhare in the affection of cardinal Richelieu [F].

He was of the number of thoſe authors, whom I have mentioned twice or thrice, who write with extream difficulty [G], and who put their mind upon the rack, in correcting their

[F] *I do not find, that he had a great ſhare in the affection of cardinal Richelieu.*] It was the misfortune of this great Poet, that his parſimony of wit was known to that cardinal. It was diſcovered, that, inſtead of putting himſelf to any expence in celebrating the glory of that great miniſter, Malherbe had only patched together old ſcraps, which he found among his papers. This was not the way to pleaſe a perſon of ſo delicate a taſte and ſo haughty a ſpirit; and therefore he received this homage from Mr Malherbe very ill. Read theſe words of Mr Menage. 'I 'learned from Mr Racan, that Malherbe wrote thoſe 'two ſtanza's above thirty years, before Richelieu, 'to whom he addreſſed them, was made a cardinal, 'and that he changed only the firſt four verſes of 'the firſt ſtanza, to accommodate them to his ſub- 'ject. I learned alſo from the ſame Racan, that car- 'dinal Richelieu, who knew that theſe verſes had 'not been made for him, did not receive them well, 'when Malherbe preſented them to him, which 'cauſed Malherbe not to proceed (38).'

(38) Menage, Obſervations upon the poems of Malherbe, pag. 545.

[G] *He was of the number of thoſe authors, who write with extream difficulty.*] He, who diſguiſed himſelf under the name of Yigneul-Marville, was not ignorant of this. *It was not*, ſays he (39), *without much watching and labouring hard, that Malherbe produced his divine poems.* They might have compared his muſe to certain women, who are ſeven or eight hours in hard labour, before they can bring forth a Child; and, ſince his pains were much longer, and more troubleſome, than thoſe, to which Balzac was expoſed in the like caſe, they muſt have been very terrible. Conſider a little theſe words: (40) 'At laſt it is 'finiſhed; I mean the diſcourſe, which was mentioned 'in my laſt letter, and which is one of the five that 'I have promiſed you. It has wearied me, ſpent 'my ſprits, and made me curſe the buſineſs a dozen 'times. Whatever you may ſay upon this occaſion, 'I am ſtill leſs difficult to be pleaſed, than the good 'man, I have often mentioned to you, who waſted 'half a ream of paper in making and unmaking one 'ſingle ſtanza. If your curioſity deſires to know 'what ſtanza it was, the beginning is as follows.

(39) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, *pag.* 223, *Edit. de Rouen*, 1699.

(40) Balzac, Letter xi, book ii, to Conrart, pag. 113, Dutch Edit.

Comme en cueillant une guirlande,
L'homme eſt d'autant plus travaillé.

'Good God! what pains do we take in ſuch kind of 'trifles! trifles moral and political, in French and 'Latin, in proſe and verſe.' This is what Mr Balzac wrote to Mr Conrart the 25th of June 1651. The good man here mentioned is our Malherbe, as plainly appears from the fifth ſtanza of his ode to the duke of Bellegarde.

Comme en cueillant une guirlande,
L'homme eſt d'autant plus travaillé,
Que le parterre eſt émaillé
D'une diverſité plus grande;
Tant de fleurs de tant de coſtez
Faiſant paroiſtre en leurs beautez
L'artifice de la Nature,
Il tient ſuſpendu ſon deſir
Et ne ſait en cette peinture
Ni que laiſſer, ni que choiſir (41).

(41) Malherbe's poems, book iv, pag. m. 102.

As when a man wou'd from the field
Cull the beſt flowers it's borders yield,
The rich parterre, in ſummer pride,
With thouſand flow'rs diverſify'd,
Whoſe beauties, variouſly gay,
Great nature's artifice diſplay,
Diſtracts his eye; nor can he chuſe
Theſe flow'rs, nor can he thoſe refuſe.

If Mr Menage had known this circumſtance, which Balzac knew, concerning the pains, which that ſtanza coſt the author, he had doubtleſs inſerted it in his notes upon this place of Malherbe. I have elſewhere related (42) what is commonly ſaid of the inconceivable difficulty wherewith Mr Balzac wrote his books. We have already ſeen what he ſays of it himſelf; and here follows another paſſage out of his letters to Mr Conrart. 'Mr Courbé (43) thinks perhaps, that 'I proceed as faſt as Salmaſius, who goes faſter than 'the tranſcribers and Printers. One ſmall letter coſts 'me more pains than a large book does this devourer 'of books. Happy are thoſe writers, who are ſo 'eaſily ſatisfied, who labour only with their memory 'and fingers, who without chuſing, write all that 'they know (44). This ſerves me for a proof; for, ſince Malherbe was yet more difficult to be pleaſed than Balzac, whatever repreſents to us the pains of the latter, increaſes the idea we have of the great pains of the former. What follows is a ſhorter proof, ſince we find in it, that Malherbe ſurpaſſed Balzac in point of trouble. 'Honeſt Malherbe told me often, that, 'after having compoſed a poem of one hundred 'verſes, or a diſcourſe of three ſheets, one ought to 'reſt ten whole years. Mr Courbé is not of that o- 'pinion, neither am I. I do not want to reſt ſo 'long after ſo ſmall a work. But ſhould they expect 'from me that happy facility, which enables Mr 'de Scuderi to produce large volumes, they muſt 'know very little of me, and do me a greater honour 'than I deſerve (45).'

(42) In citat. (38) of the article GUARINI.

(43) He was a Bookſeller at Paris.

(44) *Balzac, Letter xii, of the firſt book to Conrart, pag.* 50. *See what he ſays in Letter xxiv of the ſecond book.* O happy writers, Salmaſius in Latin, and Scuderi in French! I admire your eaſe and copiouſneſs! You can write more Calepins, than I can Almanacks.

(45) Balzac, Letter xvi of the ſame book, *pag.* 58.

There are ſo many things to be collected in relation to this character of wit, that, after the many citations I have already produc'd (46) upon this ſubject, there remains ſtill more to be added. Caſaubon had freed himſelf from the ſlavery, under which theſe authors groan, who write their letters many times over, and do nothing but blot out. He has made an authentic declaration of it. 'Da mihi quæſo, *ſays he* (47), ut 'ἀυτοφυεῖ καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀσκεπάρνῳ λόγῳ tecum 'loqui liceat. Polire impenſa cura quæcunque ſcribas, 'præſertim autem epiſtolas, & de ſingulis vocibus ire 'in conſilium, diligentioris eſt hominis atque, ut in- 'genue dicam, πάσαν τὴν ἀληθειαν φιλοπονωτέρᾳ 'quam ego ſum. ----- *Allow me to deal freely with 'you. This poliſhing every thing you write, and weighing 'every word, diſcovers more diligence, and a greater re- 'gard for politeneſs than I can pretend to.*' The phraſe he makes uſe of to expreſs the ſcruples of a writer, who deliberates upon every word, is borrowed from Seneca the father. 'Illi qui ſcripta ſua torquent, qui 'de ſingulis verbis in conſilium veniunt, neceſſe eſt 'quæ totiens animo ſuo admoverint noviſſime affi- 'gant (48). ----- *They who torture what they write, 'and deliberate on every word, muſt at laſt fix upon 'what they have ſo often revolved in their minds.*' The exceſſes, committed this way, are very much to be blamed, and are indeed a yoke, which reduces the pen ſometimes to a kind of barrenneſs. Quintilian cenſures them very juſtly, and calls this the *being condemned to the unhappy puniſhment of ſlandering one's ſelf.* 'Nec enim rurſus eos qui robur aliquod in ſtylo fece- 'rint, ad infœlicem calumniandi ſe pœnam alligandos 'puto. Nam quomodo ſufficere civilibus officiis poſ- 'ſit, qui ſingulis actionum partibus inſeneſcat? Sunt 'autem quibus nihil ſit ſatis: omnia mutare, omnia 'aliter dicere quam occurrit, velint: increduli qui- 'dam & de ingenio ſuo peſſime meriti, qui diligentiam 'putant, facere ſibi ſcribendi difficultatem (49). ---- 'Nor again do I think, that they, who have exerted 'their ſtrength in writing, are to be tied down to the un- 'happy puniſhment of calumniating themſelves. For how 'can he perform the ſeveral duties of ſocial life, who 'dwells a long time on each particular branch of actions? 'Now there are ſome, who think nothing enough: they 'are for changing every thing, and for altering every ex- 'preſſion that has occurred to them. They are infidels to 'themſelves, and deſerve ill of their own wit, in miſ- 'taking that for diligence, which is indeed only making it 'a difficult taſk to write.' It is not eaſy to determine, adds he, whether thoſe, who approve whatever they write, are more to be blamed than thoſe, who are always diſſatisfied. He obſerves, that this great niceneſs is attended ſometimes with ſpite and diſpair; and he relates what was ſaid to a young man, who was vexed for having taken a great deal of needleſs pains for the ſpace of three days to find out the exordium of his ſubject (50). Would you, ſaid one to him, write

(46) Remark [G] of the article GUARINI; and the article LINACER, remark [E].

(47) Caſaubon, Epiſt. clxxiii.

(48) Seneca, Præf. lib. i, Controverſ. pag. m. 72.

(49) Quintil. *lib. x, cap. iii, pag. m.* 484.

(50) This confirms what I have ſaid in the article LINACER, remark [F], that the beginning of a work coſts moſt pains.

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their works. The vain-glorious manner, in which he ſpoke of his own poems, would be more offenſive; were it not that Poets have always taken the liberty of praiſing themſelves exceſſively [*H*]. I do not doubt but that it is he whom Balzac ſpeaks of, when he laughs at a certain tyrant of ſyllables [*I*].

write better than you can? The words of Quintilian have more beauty and ſtrength. 'Nec promptum eſt 'dicere, utros peccare validius putem, quibus omnia 'ſua placent, an quibus nihil. Accidit enim etiam 'ingenioſis adoleſcentibus frequenter, ut labora conſumantur, & in ſilentium uſque deſcendant nimia 'bene dicendi cupiditate. Qua de re memini narraſſe 'mihi Julium Secundum, illum æqualem meum, atque à me, ut notum eſt, familiariter amatum, miræ 'facundiæ virum, infinitæ tamen curæ, quid eſſet ſibi 'à patruo ſuo dictum. Is fuit Julius Florus, in elo'quentia Galliarum (quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam) 'princeps, alioqui inter paucos diſertus, & dignus illa 'propinquitate. Is cum Secundum ſcholæ adhuc operam dantem triſtem forte vidiſſet, interrogavit, *Quæ 'cauſſa frontis tam obductæ?* Nec diſſimulavit adoleſ'cens, tertium jam diem eſſe, ex quo omni labore 'materiæ ad ſcribendum deſtinatæ non inveniret exordium: quo ſibi non præſens tantum dolor, ſed 'etiam deſperatio in poſterum fieret. Tum Florus ar'ridens, *Num quid tu*, inquit, *melius dicere vis, quam 'potes? Ita ſe res habet: Curandum eſt, ut quam op'time dicamus: dicendum tamen pro facultate. Ad pro'fectum enim opus eſt ſtudio, non indignatione* (51). '- - - - *Nor is it eaſy to ſay, which I think the moſt to'blame; thoſe, who are pleaſed with every thing of 'their own, or thoſe, who like nothing. For it often 'happens, that even ingenious young men ſink under la'bour, and are reduced to ſay nothing thro' too great a 'deſire of expreſſing themſelves well. This puts me in 'mind, that Julius Secundus, my equal, whom it is 'known I intimately loved, a man of wonderful elo'quence, but extreme diligence, related to me what his 'uncle had told him. His name was Julius Florus, 'the beſt Orator of France; for it was in that country 'he laſt of all exerciſed that art. This Julius by 'chance ſeeing Secundus, who ſtill followed the ſchool, 'very melancholy, aſked him the reaſon of it; upon 'which the young man confeſſed, that he had been three 'days in vain endeavouring to find an exordium of a 'ſubject; which not only gave him a preſent concern; 'but made him deſpair for the future. Upon which 'Florus, ſmiling ſaid:* Would you write better than you can? The matter is thus: We muſt take care to expreſs ourſelves the beſt we can; but ſtill we can 'but do our beſt: and, to go forward, we have need 'of application, not indignation.'

(51) Quintil. ubi ſupra.

(52) *In the new Letters againſt Maimbourg, pag.* 123.

(53) Coſtar, *Letter L, Vol. i, pag.* 126.

(54) Idem, *Continuation of the Defence of Voiture, pag. m.* 32.

(55) *Menage's Obſervations upon the poems of Malherbe, pag.* 331, *&c ſeq.*

(56) Id. Anti-Baillet, *Tom. ii, cap. cxxxix.*

[*H*] *The Poets have always taken the liberty of praiſing themſelves to exceſs.*] I have elſewhere (52) blamed Malherbe for praiſing himſelf in a manner more becoming a braggadochio in a play, than a gentleman: And I have cited two authors, one of whom condemns him (53), or juſtifies him only ironically (54); and the other excuſes him in earneſt, and ſhews, that the liberty of giving one's ſelf pompous elogiums, is an ancient privilege of the ſons of the Muſes (55). He obſerves, that Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, have made uſe of it. He treats this matter more largely in another work, wherein he recites (56) the places, in which Ennius, Nævius, Plautus, Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Propertius, Lucan, Statius, and Martial, praiſe themſelves. He ſhews alſo (57), that the Moderns (58) have imitated thoſe examples. Note, that he goes back as far the Greek Poets; for he cites (59) Pindar, Heſiod, Theocritus, and Moſchus. I reproved a perſon the other day, who told me, that thoſe, who pretend, that the Greeks knew nothing but what they had learned from the Phœnicians, had forgot a remark, which favours them; which is this, That the Poets, who promiſed immortality to ſome perſons, whom they praiſed, had borrowed this idea from the Epithalamium, contained in the 45th Pſalm, which ends thus, according to the verſion of Buchanan.

(57) Id. ib. *cap. cxxxvii, cxl.*

(58) F. Caſimir Sarbieſchi, F. Vavaſſeur, F. Rapin, F. Commire, *in their Latin verſes:* Ronſard, Joachim du Bellai, Malherbe, *and* du Perier *in their French verſes.*

(59) Men. ibid. *cap. cxxxviii.*

Nec tu carminibus regina tacebere noſtris,
Quaque patet tellus liquido circumſone ponto
Poſteritas te ſera canet, dumque aurea volvet
Aſtra polus, memori ſemper celebrabere fama.

Nor ſhall my verſe, O queen, forget thy name,
But late poſterity ſhall ſing thy fame,
Long as the ſtars ſhall glitter round the pole,
And wide as ocean's ſwelling waters roll.

I told this perſon that his remark appeared to me childiſh, and that he was much to blame to wonder, that Mr Menage had not made uſe of it. Mr Menage had too much judgment to mix profane and ſacred authorities together.

[*I*] *Balzac ſpeaks of him when he laughs at a certain tyrant of ſyllables.*] The deſcription is very lively, and may convince us, that there are people, who are little reſpected, after their deaths, by thoſe perſons, who gave them a thouſand tokens of veneration. They fancy, that, provided they do not name them, they may be as ſmart upon them as they pleaſe. This is my proof of it. 'You remember the old court peda'gogue, who was formerly called the tyrant of words 'and ſyllables; and who, when he was in a good 'humour, called himſelf the Grammarian with ſpe'ctacles and grey hair. We muſt not imitate the ri'diculous things which are related of this old doctor: 'our ambition is to follow better examples. I pity 'a man, who makes ſo great a difference between *pas* 'and *point*, who treats of *gerunds* and *participles*, as if 'they were two neighbouring nations, jealous of their 'frontiers. This doctor, in the vulgar tongue, 'uſed to ſay, that he had endeavoured for many 'years to *ungaſcon*, the court, but that he could 'not obtain his end. Death caught him turning a 'period, and he was ſurprized by his climacterical 'year, whilſt he was deliberating, whether *doute* and 'erreur were maſculine or feminine. With what at'tention did he deſire to be heard, when he dogma'tized on the uſe and virtue of particles (60).'

(60) Balzac's Chriſtian Socrates, *Diſcourſe x, pag. m.* 267, 268.

MAMMILLARIANS, a ſect among the Anabaptiſts. I do not know the time, when this new Schiſm aroſe; but the city of Haerlem is ſaid to have given birth to this ſub-diviſion (*a*). It owes its original to the liberty, which a young man took of putting his hand into the boſom of a maid, whom he loved, and had a mind to marry: this touch of her breaſt came to the knowledge of the church; and thereupon they conſulted what puniſhment the delinquent ought to ſuffer. Some maintained, that he ought to be excommunicated; others ſaid, that his fault deſerved favour, and would never conſent to his excommunication. The diſpute grew to ſuch a height, that it cauſed a total rupture between the two parties. Thoſe, who declared for indulgence to the young man, were called Mammillarians (*b*) [*A*]. In one ſenſe, this does a great deal of honour to the Anabaptiſts; for it is a proof, that they are much more ſtrict in their morals, than thoſe, who are called Rigoriſts in the Spaniſh Low-countries [*B*]. I ſhall relate to this purpoſe

(*a*) *See* Micræ-lius, Syntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. *pag.* 1012. *Edit.* 1679.

(*b*) *See Stoupp's religion of the Hollanders, Letter iii, pag. m.* 61. *See alſo the Syntagma of Micrælius, bi upra.*

[*A*] *They were called Mammillarians.*] I need not here turn Etymologiſt: all, who underſtand Latin know, that the word *mamilla* ſignifies a breaſt.

[*B*] *The Anabaptiſts are much more ſtrict in their morals than . . . . the Rigoriſts.*] The looſeſt Caſuiſts, the Sanchez's, and the Eſcobars, condemn the touching of the breaſt. They agree, that it is an impurity, and a branch of luxury, one of the ſeven mortal ſins. But, if I miſtake not, they do not impoſe upon him, who is guilty of it, any very ſevere penance; and there are

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purpoſe a certain ſtory, which is told of Labadie [C]. I have been informed, that ſome people of ſenſe maintained one day in converſation, that there will never be any Baſilarians, or Oſculariens among the Anabaptiſts [D].

are many countries in Europe, where they are forced to treat this as one of the ſmall faults, which are called *quotidianæ incurſionis*. This bad practice is ſo common in thoſe countries, and it is a thing ſo frequent even the middle of the ſtreets, eſpecially among the common people, that the moderate Caſuiſts perſuade themſelves, this prevalency of cuſtom blots out one half of the crime. They think it is not conſidered under the idea of a very indecent liberty, and that the offence the ſpectators take at it is very ſmall: upon which account they ſlightly paſs over this article of confeſſion. I do not believe, that any Rigoriſt, upon ſuch an occaſion, ever delayed the abſolution of his penitent, even in thoſe climates where this kind of toying is little uſed, and paſſes for one of thoſe liberties, at which women are obliged to be angry. Thus the Anabaptiſts are the moſt rigid of all the Chriſtian moraliſts, ſince they condemn to excommunication him who touches the boſom of a woman, whom he intends to marry, and break off eccleſiaſtical communion with thoſe who will not excommunicate ſuch a ſpark.

[C] *I will relate a certain ſtory, which is told of Labadie.*] All, who have heard of this man, know, that he recommended to his devotees, both men and women, ſome ſpiritual exerciſes, and that he prepared them for inward recollection and mental prayer. It is ſaid, that, having given one of his female diſciples a ſubject of meditation, and earneſtly recommended to her an entire and cloſe application to this great object for ſome hours, he approached her, when he thought ſhe was moſt recollected, and put his hand into her boſom. She briſkly repulſed him, and expreſſed to him her great ſurprize at this kind of proceeding, and was preparing to cenſure him, when he prevented her. *I perceive, my child,* ſaid he to her, without being diſturbed, and with a devout air, *that you are ſtill very far from perfection: confeſs humbly your weakneſs; beg pardon of GOD for having been ſo little attentive to the myſteries you were meditating upon. If you had had all the neceſſary attention, you would not have perceived what was done to your breaſt. But you was ſo little abſtracted from ſenſe, ſo little concentred with the Deity, that in a moment you knew when I touched you. My deſign was to try your fervour in prayer, whether you were raiſed above matter, and united to the ſovereign Being, the living ſource of immortality and ſpirituality, and I perceive, with much grief, that you have made but a very ſmall progreſs. Let this, my child, fill you with confuſion, and excite you to perform better for the future the holy duty of mental prayer.* It is ſaid, the maid, having good ſenſe as well as virtue, was no leſs angry at theſe words, than at the action of Labadie, and that ſhe would no more hear of ſuch a guide. I do not warrant the certainty of all theſe facts, but I affirm, that it is very probable, that ſome of thoſe ſpiritual devotees, who make people believe, that a ſtrong meditation will raviſh the ſoul, and hinder it from perceiving the actions of the body, have a mind to toy with their devout ſifters, with impunity, and to do ſtill worſe: of which the Molinoſiſts are accuſed. In general, there is nothing more dangerous to the mind, than too myſtical, and too abſtracted devotions, and doubtleſs the body in that caſe runs ſome hazard, and many are glad to be deceived.

[D] *There will never be any Baſilarians or Oſculariens among the Anabaptiſts.*] Theſe would be a ſort of people, who would be cut off from their communion, for not conſenting to excommunicate thoſe, who kiſs their miſtreſſes. Thoſe who denied, that any ſuch ſchiſm can be expected, did it upon theſe grounds. Such a ſchiſm is not poſſible, ſaid they, unleſs ſome caſuiſts ſhould be ſo ſevere, as to make excommunication the puniſhment of a kiſs; as ſome have been found ſo rigid, as to make a man undergo that penance, who has touched the breaſts of his miſtreſs. Theſe two caſes are not at all parallel. The laws of courtſhip in certain nations, continued they, have eſtabliſhed from generation to generation, and chiefly among perſons of the common ſort, that kiſſes ſhould be the firſt favour, and that touching the breaſts ſhould be almoſt the laſt, or the laſt but one. When people are educated in theſe principles, they do not believe, that they do, or ſuffer, any great harm by kiſſing; but they believe they do, or ſuffer, a great deal by the handling of the breaſts. And therefore, though they, who adminiſter the canon-laws, complained very much of the young man, who was protected by the Mammillarians, it does not follow, that they would do ſo againſt the other kind of courtſhip. No; they would allow ſomething to cuſtom, and pardon thoſe liberties, which paſs for the firſt elements, and the alphabet of endearments. I relate theſe things, only to ſhew, that there is no ſubject, to which the converſation of perſons of merit will not ſometimes deſcend. It is of ſome uſe to diſcover this weakneſs of men of underſtanding. Does ſuch a ſpeculation deſerve, in conſcience, to be examined? and after all, had it not been much better not to have given a deciſive anſwer about a thing future? *De futuro contingenti non eſt quoad nos determinata veritas*, is the judicious ſaying of the maſters of the ſchools of Philoſophy.

Obſerve, by the way, that, in ſome countries it was ſuppoſed, that the firſt kiſs a maid received from her galant, was that of her betrothing. This we read in the Hiſtory of Marſeilles (1). *It was uſual for the bridegroom to give a ring to the bride on the day of their betrothing, and make alſo ſome conſiderable preſent, in acknowledgment for the kiſs he gave her. In effect, Fulco, viſcount of Marſeilles, made a grant, in* 1005, *to Odila, betrothed to him, for the firſt kiſs, of all the demeſns he had in the territories of Sixfours, Cireſte, Soliers, Cuges, and Olieres. This cuſtom was founded, as I take it, upon the law* * 16. *Si à Sponſo, which ordained, that, when the marriage did not take effect, the woman betrothed ſhould get half of the preſents ſhe had received from the man; for the antients believed, that the purity of a virgin was defiled by one ſingle kiſs; but this law at preſent is abrogated in this kingdom.*

(1) Ruffi, Hiſtory of Marſeilles, *Tom. ii, pag.* 391, *Edit.* 1696.

* *Leg.* 16. *Cod. lib.* v.

See, above (2), the anſwer which was made by a young Florentine lady.

(2) Remark [A] of the article GUALDRADA.

MAMURRA, a Roman knight, a native of Formium, acquired prodigious riches in Gaul, where he attended Cæſar in the quality of ſurveyor of the workmen (*a*), if I may ſo tranſlate the *Præfectus Fabrûm* in Pliny. He uſed his riches as voluptuous men do; he heaped them up with great avarice, and a devouring extortion, and ſpent them prodigally in all ſorts of luxury: *Alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, as is ſaid of Catiline (*b*). He built an houſe extreamly magnificent at Rome, upon mount Cœlius; all its walls were covered with marble, and he was the firſt who built one with that magnificence [A]. It conſiſted in placing properly little pieces of marble very thin, and of divers colours, all over

(*a*) Cicero, ad Attic. lib. vii, Epiſt. vii. Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. vi.

(*b*) Salluſt. in Bello Catilinar.

[A] *He built an houſe . . . . . whoſe walls were covered with marble; and he was the firſt, who built in ſo expenſive a manner.*] ‘ Primum Romæ parietes ‘ cruſta marmoris operuiſſe totius domus ſuæ in Cœlio ‘ monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram Formiis ‘ natum, equitem Romanum, Præfectum fabrum C. ‘ Cæſaris in Gallia. Neque indignatio ſit tali auctore ‘ inventa re, hic namque eſt Mamurra, Catulli Vero- ‘ nenſis Carminibus proſciſſus, quem & res & domus ‘ ipſius clarius quam Catullus dixit habere quidquid ‘ habuiſſet comata Gallia, *&c* (1). - - - - - *Cornelius* ‘ *Nepos related, that Mamurra, born at Formiæ, a* ‘ *Roman knight, and ſurveyor of Cæſar's workmen in* ‘ *Gaul, was the firſt in Rome, who covered his whole* ‘ *houſe on mount Cœlius with a cruſt of marble. Nor* ‘ *ought we to be angry, that ſuch a man invented this* ‘ *magnificence; for he is that Mamurra, ſatirized in the* ‘ *verſes of Catullus of Verona, whom his eſtate and* ‘ *houſe*

(1) Plin. *lib. xxxvi, cap.* vi.

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over the walls. There was no column in this houſe, but what was entirely of the moſt precious marble. Catullus made very ſatirical verſes againſt the immenſe robberies of Mamurra, and the leud intercourſe he ſuppoſed there was between Julius Cæſar and him [*B*]. We have ſpoken of it in the article of this Poet.

'houſe prove, more clearly than Catullus, to have poſ-'ſeſſed whatever Gallia Comata afforded.'

[*B*] *Catullus made very ſatirical verſes . . . . againſt him.*] Here follows the beginning of his thirtieth epigram:

Quis hoc poteſt videre, quis poteſt pati
Niſi impudicus, & vorax, & helluo?
Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia
Habebat unctum, & ultima Britannia.
Cinæde Romule hæc videbis & feres,
Es impudicus, & vorax, & aleo.

Who, but a wretch as vile, can bear to ſee
Mamurra riot thus in luxury,
Rich with the ſpoils and plunder'd wealth, he bore
From long-hair'd Gaul, and diſtant Britain's ſhore?
The Pathic Roman, who, unmov'd, can ſee
Such wanton riot, is as baſe as he.

The fifty eighth epigram is yet more ſevere.

Pulcre convenit improbis Cinædis,
Mamurræ Pathicoque Cæſarique.

This ſuits ſuch impious Pathics well,
Cæſar and vile Mamurra . . . . .

Some interpreters of Cicero (2), think, that theſe words of the fifty ſecond letter of the thirteenth book to Atticus, *Tum audivit de Mamurra, vultum non mutavit* (3), ſignify, that Cæſar did not change his colour, when he was told, that Catullus had written verſes againſt him and Mamurra: but this explication is ill-grounded. Cæſar, being returned from the defeat of Pompey's ſons, was then at a country-houſe of Cicero's. Now what probability is there, that he was then ignorant of the verſes of Catullus, and that it was any news to inform him of them? we have ſhewn at large in another place (4), that the defeat of Pompey's ſons was long after the reconciliation of Cæſar and Catullus. Manutius imagines, that ſome at that time ſpoke to Cæſar about the neglect of the ſumptuary laws, of which Mamurra was then guilty. This is more probable than the explication of Lambinus.

(2) Corradus, and Lambinus.

(3) *The edition of Mr Grævius has it, non mutavi.*

(4) *In the article CATULLUS, remark* [*I*], *num.* 2.

MANARD (JOHN), born at Ferrara in 1462, was one of the ableſt Phyſicians of his age: you will find in Moreri, that he was Phyſician to Uladiſlaus king of Hungary, that afterwards he was profeſſor of Phyſic at Ferrara, and that, having married, when he was very old, a young wife, he run into exceſſes which killed him. The Poets did not fail to jeſt upon this affair [*A*], and chiefly thoſe who knew, that an Aſtrologer had foretold, he ſhould die in a ditch. He died at Ferrara in March 1536, at the age of ſeventy

[*A*] *He fell into exceſſes, which killed him. The Poets did not fail to jeſt thereupon.*] Paul Jovius accuſes him of great want of judgment. When he was very old and gouty, ſays he, he married a maid, whoſe beauty and youth required a man in the flower of his age. The worſt of it was, adds he, that he fell into intemperance, even at the expence of his life: he ſhewed a greater deſire to have children than to live, and he was willing to haſten the hour of his death, provided he could obtain the title of father. *Duxit autem uxorem plane ſenex, & articulorum dolore diſtortus, ab ætate, formaque, florentis juvenis toro dignam, adeo levi judicio, & letali quidem intemperantia, ut maturando funeri ſuo, aliquanto prolis, quam vitæ cupidior ab amicis cenſeretur* (1). You may find in Moreri an epigram conſiſting of ſix Latin verſes (2) upon this ſubject, by Curſius; but you will not find there this diſtich of Latomus.

(1) Paul Jovius, in Elog. *cap. lxxxi, pag.* 190.

(2) *It is in Paul Jovius, ibid.*

In fovea qui te periturum dixit Aruſpex,
Non eſt mentitus: conjugis illa fuit.

'Twas ſaid, you in a ditch ſhou'd loſe your life;
And ſo it prov'd; the ditch was your own wife.

This diſtich was ſo much deſcanted upon, that at laſt ſome ſaid, that Manard, to ſhun the prediction kept at a diſtance from all ditches. He dreamed of nothing but the literal ſenſe, and never miſtruſted the allegorical: but he knew by experience, that it is not always the letter, which kills, and that the allegory ſometimes gives the mortal blow. He died on the night of his marriage, in the very minute of enjoyment, and thus the prediction was fulfilled. Thus ſome writers circumſtantiate the thing. I wonder they did not compare him to bees, who die by the ſtings which they give (3). *Johannes Manardus - - - - - cum ab Aſtrologo ipſi prædictum fuiſſet, vitæ periculum in* FOVEA *ipſi imminere, à foveis ſibi timuit & foſſis, non ſatis perſpecta oraculi* κρύφει. *Cum vero illiberis, prolis aliquanto quam vitæ cupidior, plane ſenex uxorem duceret juvenculam, prima nuptiali nocte cum dilecta concumbens, deſideratis intentus amoribus, in genitali fovea extinctus, ſuavi morte oraculi implevit ſcopum, & funus maturavit ſuum* (4). I believe they are miſtaken; for ſuch a circumſtance would never have been omitted by thoſe, who firſt ſpoke of this matter; and I obſerve, that Paul Jovius induces us to believe, that Manard did not ſink ſo ſoon. No body informs us whether his endeavours were attended with any fecundity, and whether he had at leaſt the conſolation to leave his wife big with child. To labour much, and after all return empty, is very unpleaſant.

(3) Animaſque in vulnere ponunt. *Virgil. Georg. lib. iv, ver.* 238.

(4) Sacra Eleuſinia patefacta, *pag.* 181, 182. *Edit. Francof.* 1684.

Αἰσχρὸν τοι ἀνῆρ τε μίμνειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι.

Nam turpe diuque manere inanemque redire (5).

(5) Homer. Iliad. lib. ii, ver. 298.

If it were true, that this good old man died on the night of his marriage, a Soothſayer, who had foretold him what is to be ſeen in the two verſes, which are in the cloſe of a paſſage, I am now to tranſcribe, would have anſwered much better than the author of the Latin diſtich already cited. The paſſage is taken out of Mr Chevreau, and is here very much to the purpoſe; for it relates to the imprudence of old men, who marry. 'If you had conſidered ſeriouſly the principal end of marriage, you 'would eaſily have perceived, that this principal 'end does not belong to us, who are eighty years 'old: and I offer, at a venture, to maintain at my own 'expence the nurſes of the firſt-fruits of your family, 'provided you have no helper, and do not delight in 'rocking other folks children in your own cradle (6). 'The advice of St Paul, *That it is better to marry than 'to burn*, in my opinion, does neither belong to 'you, nor to me: and I could relate to you many 'examples and authorities of the ridiculouſneſs of old 'men, who reſolve to marry, when they ought to 'think of their funerals. This ridiculouſneſs is 'always mortal; and you may underſtand me with-'out a commentary, when I remind you of the verſes, 'which Hardy puts in the mouth of a confident of 'Alcyoneus, who thought that, in order to get the 'dominions of his king, the way was to marry his 'daughter.

(6) *Chevreau's Miſcellanies, Part i, pag.* 149, *in a letter dated Octob.* 13, 1693.

One torch ſhall light you to your bed and grave (7).

(7) Ibid. *pag.* 150.

Let us add to this a paſſage of Guy Patin. *A counſellor of the Great Chamber, being very old, and almoſt upon the brink of the grave, will needs marry a pretty young daughter of another counſellor. I believe the good man fancies he ſhall do a fine exploit; but conſider how well qualified*

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seventy four years [*B*], and was interred in the cloister of the Carmelites (*a*). It is said, in the inscription of his monument, that he had restored Physic to its antient lustre [*G*], after he had several times put to flight the many base pretenders who dishonoured it. His letters are the best of his works (*b*). Calcagninus commends them, and speaks of their author with great esteem [*D*].

(*a*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*b*) *They are divided into twenty books: you may find a summary of them in Gesner's Bibliotheque.*

qualified these good men are to judge our causes, who commit such follies (8). We have seen in another place (9) what Dr Patin said of such another amour of Dr De Lorme a famous Physician, and who, as some say, met with a fate very different from that of our Manard; he was the occasion of the death of his young spouse, and thereby shewed, that the aphorism, *The weakest goes to the wall*, is not always true.

(8) Patin, Lettre xxv, pag. 383, of Tom. i.

(9) In the article LORME (N. de), remarks [*D*] and [*E*].

[*B*] *He died in March, 1536, at the age of seventy four years.*] This is set down in his epitaph. Brother Augustin Superbi of Ferrara is mistaken, when he affirms, that our Manard died in 1545 (10). Gesner, on the other side, who wrote his *Bibliotheque* in 1544, and who tells us, that he heard some say, that Manard died about six years before (11), was not well informed.

(10) F. Agostino Superbi da Ferrara, Theologo, e Predicatore de Minori Conventuali, Apparato de gli huomini illustri della Citta di Ferrara, pag. 76.

(11) Gesner, in Bibloth. fol. 455.

[*C*] *It is affirmed, that he restored Physic to it's antient lustre.*] The words of his epitaph are these (12):

' Ann. P. M. L. X (13). Continenter tum docendo
' & scribendo, tum innocentissime medendo omnem
' Medicinam ex arce bonarum literarum fœde pro-
' lapsam, & in Barbarorum Potestatem ac ditionem
' redactam, prostratis ac profligatis hostium copiis
' identidem ut Hydra renascentibus in Antiquum
' Pristinumque statum ac nitorem restituit - - - - *By*
' *constantly teaching, and writing, and healing in the*
' *most innocent manner, he restored Physic to it's antient*
' *state and lustre, which had been shamefully abused,*
' *vanquishing and putting to flight it's enemies, which*
' *were perpetually springing up.*'

(12) It is in *Agostino Superbi, ubi supra*, who says it is to be seen in the cloister of the Carmelites of Ferrara. It is more perfect in the *Itinerarium Italiæ* of Andrew Schott, *fol. m.* 114.

(13) I do not know whether these four letters signify *plus minus sexaginta*.

[*D*] *Calcagninus speaks of Manard with very great esteem.*] It is in a letter he wrote to Erasmus in 1525, wherein you may see that, having declared his affliction for the death of Leonicenus, he adds (14):

' Una res mihi solatio fuit, quod Joannes Manardus,
' vir Græce & Latine doctissimus, rem medicam &
' naturæ arcana iisdem vestigiis prosequitur, cujus rei
' specimen dare possunt epistolæ, quas proxime edidit:
' eas puto in manus tuas perveniisse, quod si nondum per-
' veniisse significaveris, dabo operam, ut quamprimum ad
' te perferantur. Scripsit ille quidem alia plurima digna
' immortalitate, sed vir minime ambitiosus ea nondum
' publicam materiam fecit: hoc superstite minus Leoni-
' cenum desideramus. - - - *One thing afforded me conso-*
' *lation; namely, that Manard, a very learned man both*
' *in the Greek and Latin languages, follows Physic and the*
' *secrets of nature on the same steps; of which you may see*
' *a specimen in the letters he lately published: I suppose they*
' *are come to your hands; but if not, I will take care*
' *they shall be brought to you as soon as possible. He*
' *wrote likewise many other things worthy of immortality;*
' *but, being a man of the least ambition, he has not*
' *yet made them public: while this man lives, we the*
' *less want Leonicenus.*'

(14) Calcagninus, Epist. liv, lib. xx, inter Erasmianas, pag. 1019.

MANCINELLUS (ANTONY) was an excellent Grammarian of the XVth century. He taught in the college of Rome, and afterwards went to Venice by the advice of Pomponius Lætus (*a*), and continued to publish several books of Literature [*A*]. It is said, that having made an oration against the immoralities of Alexander VI, that Pope was so enraged, that he ordered his tongue to be cut out, and his hands cut off (*b*). The two authors whom I quote for this fact, are, the one a good Catholic, and the other a good Protestant. I shall quote a third, who gives us a little more particular account of the matter [*B*].

(*a*) *See the verses, which Gesner cites, fol. 69 verso, of his Bibliotheque.*

(*b*) *Prateolus, History of the Church, Vol. ii, fol. 304, verso. Crespin, of the State of the Church, pag. m. 502.*

[*A*] *He continued to publish several books of Literature.*] You will find the titles of most of them in Gesner's *Bibliotheque*, who observes, that Mancinellus's Commentary on the first book of Cicero's Rhetorics *ad Herennium*, was printed at Venice in the year 1497, in the presence of the author. I add, that Mancinellus made notes on Horace, Juvenal, Suetonius, &c. and corrections on Laurentius Valla's *Elegantiæ*. He likewise composed orations, and Latin verses, which have been inserted in the second volume of the *Deliciæ Poëtarum Italorum*.

[*B*] *I will quote a third author, who gives us a little more particular account of the matter.*] Mr Du Plessis Mornai, alledging those, who spoke against the papacy under Alexander VI, begins with citing a passage of Jerom, Paul Catalan, and then adds (1),

' Antony Mancinellus was still more bold. On
' a solemn day, just as the procession was setting for-
' ward, mounted on a white horse, according to
' custom, he made an oration at Rome before all the
' people, against Alexander VI, openly reproving his
' irregular, scandalous, and abominable behaviour;
' and having finished it, he threw copies of it among
' the people. Alexander caused him to be seized,
' and both his hands to be cut off: as soon he was
' cured, he made a more bold speech on another
' festival; and then Alexander ordered his tongue to
' be cut out, of which he died *.'

(1) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquite, pag. 567.

* Hieronymus Marius, in Eusebio Caprivo.

Coëffeteau could answer nothing to this, *but that he knew not what to believe of it. There are few persons, except such as are of a melancholy disposition, who set so little value on their lives* (2). Without doubt, he knew not, that the Hieronymus Marius, whom Du Plessis had cited, and whom he calls Hieromse le Maire, was an author, who fled from Italy, for the liberty of professing the Protestant religion. In a word, it is the Jerom MASSARIUS, whose article you will find below. The Jesuit Gretser (3) had but an imperfect knowledge of him; but yet he has charged him with being an enemy to the Popes. I know not whether this adventure of Mancinellus can be proved by any other testimony than this; but I doubt not, that the testimony of all those, I have any knowledge of, who have spoken of it, is derived mediately or immediately from him. I have read in the *Diarium* of Burchard, a particular which relates to this affair: namely, that, on the first Sunday of Advent 1502, the duke of Valentinois, son of Alexander VI, ordered the hand and the end of the tongue of a man masked, who had spoken ill of him, to be cut off. For two days his hand was seen hanging at a window, the end of the tongue being fastened to the little finger. *Eadem die sero quidam mascheratus usus est per Burgum quibusdam verbis inhonestis contra Ducem Valentinum, quod Dux intelligens fecit eum capi & duci ad curiam sanctæ crucis, & circa nonam noctis fuit ei abscissa manus, & anterior pars linguæ, quæ fuit appensa parvo digito manus abscissæ, & manus ipsa feneſtra curiæ sanctæ crucis appensa, ubi manſit ad secundum diem* (4). Many things, as unlike as these two, have served as a foundation to one another, by a metamorphosis, to which historical facts are very subject. I do not affirm, that this is the present case; but, that it may be enquired into, whether some mixture of accidents may not have confounded matters here, I will relate a story, which Thomasi tells immediately after that of the unknown person, whose tongue and hand were cut off.

(2) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 1213, 1214.

(3) Gretser, in Exam. Myst. Plessiani, pag. 552.

(4) Burchard, in Diario, pag. 78, 79. See also Thomaso Thomasi, in the Life of Cæsar Borgia, pag. 367.

' The Pope, and the duke of Valentinois, being
' informed, that a brother of one John Lorenzo of
' Venice, at that time famous for his learning, had
' translated into Latin, and even sent to Venice, to be
' printed there, some libels, which he had caused to
' be rendered into Greek (5), against the life of the
' one and the other, by the said John Lorenzo, who
' was since dead, they gave orders to seize him,
' taking all the precautions to keep the matter
' secret,

(5) This passage has not been rightly translated: the original Italian imports, that these books had been written in Greek by John Lorenzo, and that they were found among his papers.

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‘ ſecret, and with all poſſible diligence: they ordered
‘ all his effects and papers to be taken from him,
‘ whether they belonged to him or his brother; of
‘ which the republic was ſoon apprized, being very
‘ particularly intereſted in the perſons and goods of
‘ theſe brothers: for which reaſon ſhe immediately
‘ ſent orders to her ambaſſador to intercede as power-
‘ fully as poſſible with the Pope, in her name, for the
‘ releaſe of this priſoner. The ambaſſador performed
‘ his orders as ſoon as poſſible, preſſing his holineſs
‘ in an extraordinary manner, in a long audience
‘ which he had of him, and preſenting to him the
‘ ſenate's letters, to grant him the enlargement of
‘ the perſon he demanded; to whom the Pope
‘ anſwered, that he could not have thought the re-
‘ public would have intereſted itſelf ſo far in behalf
‘ of the priſoner, and that he was extreamly ſorry
‘ he could not comply with her demands; ſince the
‘ proceſs, and the life of the perſon, for whom ſhe
‘ interceded, were already at an end, he having been
‘ ſtrangled, and thrown into the Tiber ſome nights
‘ before (6).’

I have only to obſerve farther, that Auguſtin Niphus, ſpeaking of the witty ſayings, which we ought to avoid, that we may not run any hazard, makes uſe of the example of Jerom Mancionus a Neapolitan, whoſe tongue Cæſar Borgia ordered to be cut out (7).

(6) Thomaſo Thomaſi, *Life of* Cæſar Borgia, *pag.* 368, 369.

(7) Cum Hieronymus Mancionus Neopolitanus adverſus Cæſarem Borgiam uſus eſſet talibus aculeatis ſermonibus, & a Cæſare linguæ mutilatione in illum animadverſum eſt. *Aug. Niphus, de Aulico, lib. i, in fine, pag. m.* 337.

MANDUCUS. Thus the Romans called certain figures, which they produced in plays, or at other publick ſports [*A*], to make ſome laugh, and to terrify others. It is not difficult to gueſs why theſe figures were thus called. We need only remember, that they had great cheeks, a great open mouth, and long and ſharp teeth, with which they made a ſtrange cracking noiſe. Juvenal informs us, that children were very much frightened at them (*a*). And from hence doubtleſs the mothers took occaſion to threaten their children, who would not obey their commands, that Manducus would come and eat them (*b*). It therefore became a nocturnal ſcare-crow, or ſpectre. This did not ill agree with the tradition of the Lamiæ; for it was ſaid, that they alſo devoured children. If we may believe Scaliger [*B*], Manducus was called Pytho Gorgonius, by a Poet, who thus intituled a Dramatic piece. This Poet applied himſelf chiefly to the Comedies called *Atellanæ*, wherein the figures, I am ſpeaking of, chiefly took place. Our remarks contain a proof of all this. In a parallel between the ancient and modern cuſtoms, we ſhould join together Manducus and Bugbear. See the article ACCO.

(*a*) Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium cum perſonæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans. *Juvenal, Sat. III, ver.* 174.

(*b*) *See the commentary upon the emblems of Alciatus, pag.* 717, *of the Edit. of Padua,* 1661.

[*A*] *Or at other public ſports.*] I prove it by theſe two verſes of Plautus (1).

C H. Quid ſi aliquo ad ludos me pro Manduco locem?
L A. Quapropter? C H. Quia pol clare crepito dentibus.

C H. What if I let myſelf out to the public games for a Manducus? L A. Why ſo? C H. Becauſe I make an excellent cracking with my teeth.

(1) Rudent. Act. ii, Scen. vi, ver. 51.

Upon which the commentator Philippus Paræus makes this note, which he borrowed from Scaliger (2). ‘ Manducus eſt μορμολυκεῖον quod in ludis circumfe-
‘ rebatur inter cæteras ridicularias & formidoloſas per-
‘ ſonas, magnis malis, lateque dehiſcens & clare cre-
‘ pitans dentibus. - - - - - *Manducus was a frightful*
‘ *figure, carried about in ſhews among other ridiculous*
‘ *and terrifying pageants, with great cheeks, a wide*
‘ *gaping mouth, and making a loud cracking with it's*
‘ *teeth.*’ Scaliger adds, that this was done chiefly when the *Atellanæ* were acted, and cites the paſſage I have related out of Juvenal. ‘ Dentes, *continues he,*
‘ magnos & voracitatem attribuebant nocturnis illis
‘ terriculamentis; quo nomine factum ut Lamiam pue-
‘ rorum infantium deglutricem fingerent. - - - - - *They*
‘ *aſcribed great teeth and voracity to thoſe nocturnal*
‘ *ſcare-crows: hence it was, they feigned, that Lamia*
‘ *devoured young children.*’

(2) Scalig. in Varron. de Ling. Lat. *pag.* 150.

[*B*] *If we may believe Scaliger.*] Here is the ſequel of the words, cited in the preceding remark. ‘ Inde Pomponius Atellanarius Poëta inſcripſit exodium
‘ quoddam Pythonem Gorgonium, qui nihil aliud erat,
‘ ut puto, quam ille Manducus, de quo dixi. Nam
‘ Pythonem pro terriculamento, & Gorgonium pro
‘ Munduco, quia γοργόνες cum magnis dentibus
‘ pingebantur. Itaque apud Nonium ita leges, *gumiæ*
‘ *Guloſi.* Lucillius libro xxx.

Illo quid fiat Lamia, & Pytho oxyodontes.
Quo veniunt illæ gumiæ, vetulæ, improbæ, ineptæ.

‘ *From thence Pomponius, the Atellanarian Poet, intitu-*
‘ *led, a certain interlude Pytho Gorgonius, which was no*
‘ *other, I believe, than the Manducus, I have been*
‘ *ſpeaking of; becauſe the Gorgons were painted with*
‘ *great teeth. Hence in Nonius you meet with* Gumiæ
‘ Guloſi, *i. e.* Gluttons; *and in Lucilius, book xxx;*’

Illo quid fiat Lamia, *&c.*

MANICHEES, heretics, whoſe infamous ſect, founded by one Manes [*A*], begun in the IIId century, and eſtabliſhed itſelf in ſeveral provinces, and ſubſiſted a very long time. They taught ſuch doctrines, as ought to inſpire us with the greateſt horror.

[*A*] *A ſect founded by one Manes.*] He was a Perſian by nation, of a very mean birth, but *well-ſhaped, and of a good wit*, which was the reaſon that a widow, who bought him, *took a liking to him, adopted him for her ſon, and took care to have him inſtructed, by the magi, in the diſcipline and philoſophy of the Perſians; wherein he improved ſo much, that being otherwiſe naturally eloquent, and expreſſing himſelf eaſily, and with a good grace, he acquired the reputation of a ſubtile and learned Philoſopher* (1). He ſtudied chiefly the books of a certain Arabian called Scythianus, and took from him the greateſt part of his wicked doctrines. Terebinthus, heir to the eſtate, money, and impieties of Scythianus, had brought upon himſelf a great perſecution, for having publiſhed ſome doctrines in Perſia, and fled to this widow's houſe. He made a very tragical end; his books and money remained with the widow, and by this means Manes found in her houſe the writings of Scythianus. ‘ When, accord-
‘ ing to his cuſtom, he aſcended in the night-time
‘ to the top of the houſe (2) to invoke, upon
‘ the platform, the demons of the air, which the
‘ Manichees have ſince practiſed in their execrable
‘ ceremonies, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with a blow
‘ from heaven, which threw him down from the top
‘ to the bottom upon the ground, whereby his head
‘ was cruſhed, and his neck broken (3).’ St Epiphanius relates, that Scythianus had the ſame fate; that is, that he fell from the top of the houſe (4). Others ſay, that the devil carried Terebinthus into a deſert, and there ſtrangled him, and that Scythianus was cruſhed under the ruins of his houſe at Jeruſalem. *Scythianus autem domus ſuæ ruina oppreſſus miſeri periit. Diſcipulum autem & ſucceſſorem doctrinæ ſuæ habuit quendam nomine Buddam, cognomine Terebinthum, qui & ipſe à Satana in ſolitudinem abreptus ſtrangulatus eſt* (5). They ſay alſo that Manes married the widow, who enfranchiſed him (6,) and hereby they find a continuation of the parallel they make between him and Mahomet. They add, that he was flea'd alive, becauſe of the enchantments and witchcraft he uſed, to kill the king's ſon. *Poſtquam ſuis incantationibus Regis*

(1) Maimbourg's Hiſtory of St Leo, *book i, pag.* 11.

(2) *That is, the widow's houſe.*

(3) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

(4) Epiphan. adv. Hæreſ. *pag.* 620.

(5) Lamb. Danæus, notis in librum Auguſt. de Hæreſibus, *fol.* 118. *verſo.*

(6) Id. ib. *fol.* 120.

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horror. Their weakneſs did not conſiſt, as at firſt it may ſeem, in their doctrine of two principles, one good, and the other bad; but in the particular explications they gave of it, and in the practical conſequences they drew from it [B]. It muſt be confeſſed, that this

(7) Id. ib.

gis Perſarum filium necaſſet, vivus ab eo excoriatus eſt (7). But it is much more probable, that he did all he could to cure him. It is certain, that he pretended to reſtore his health, but did not perform his promiſe. 'The report being ſpread every where 'of the great power, he ſaid he had of working 'miracles, he was ſent for by king Sapores, to cure 'his ſon who was very ſick. At firſt, this bold de- 'ceiver drove away all the Phyſicians, who had under- 'taken the cure of this young prince, and promiſed 'the king to reſtore him quickly to perfect health, 'without any other remedy, but that of his own 'prayers (8). But the child dying in his arms, the 'king, enraged againſt him, cauſed him to be im- 'priſoned; but he eſcaped, and fled into Meſopota- 'mia. There he was twice confuted in two ſolemn 'diſputes, by the holy and learned biſhop Arche- 'laus *, who, with difficulty, ſaved him from the 'fury of the people, who would have torn him 'in pieces. Nevertheleſs this ſecured him but a little 'while; for ſoon after he was re-taken by ſome horſe- 'men, who were ſent every where after him, and 'carried to Sapores, who cauſed him to be flea'd 'alive, and then threw his body to the dogs, to be 'devoured by them, and hanged up his ſkin, ſtuffed 'with ſtraw, before one of the gates of the city (9).'

(8) S. Epiphan. pag. 621, ſays however, that he did recover. Τοῦ οἴκου φαρμακευτικῆς ἐφευρετικὸς. Cum medicamenti curandi adhibendi.

* Hiſt. de Script. Eccl. in Archelao.

(9) Maimb. ubi ſupra, pag. 13, 14.

[B] *The explications they gave of it, and the practical conſequences they drew from it.*] According to the Manichees (10), the two principles fought together, and this conflict occaſioned a mixture of good and evil. Ever after the good principle laboured to ſeparate what belonged to him: he ſpread his virtue among the elements, to make in them this ſeparation. The elect alſo laboured in it; for all that was impure in the meat, they did eat, ſeparated from the particles of the good principle, and then theſe particles, thus ſevered and purified, were tranſported to the kingdom of GOD, their firſt country, in two veſſelsappointed for that purpoſe. Theſe two veſſels are the ſun and moon. *Ipſam vero boni à malo purgationem ac liberationem non ſolum per totum mundum, & de omnibus ejus elementis virtutem Dei facere dicunt; verum etiam Electos ſuos per alimenta quæ ſumunt, & eis quippe alimentis, ſicuti univerſo mundo, Dei ſubſtantiam perhibent eſſe commixtam, quam purgari putant in Electis ſuis eo genere vitæ, quo vivunt Electi Manichæorum, velut ſanctius & excellentius auditoribus ſuis* (11). . . . . *Quicquid vero undique purgatur luminis per quaſdam naves (quas eſſe lunam & ſolem volunt) regno Dei tanquam propriis ſedibus reddi* (12). Theſe Heretics 'imagined, that, 'to ſave ſouls, GOD had made a great machine, 'compoſed of twelve veſſels, which inſenſibly carried 'the ſouls up, and afterwards unladed them in the 'moon, which, having purified theſe ſouls by it's 'rays, conveyed them into the ſun, and into glory, 'and hereby they explained the different appearances 'of the moon. It was in the full, when the 'veſſels brought thither a multitude of ſouls, 'and it decreaſed in proportion as theſe ſouls were 'removed out of it into glory (13).' There were in theſe veſſels, ſaid they, certain virtues, which aſſumed the ſhape of a man, on purpoſe to make the women of the other party fall in love with them; for, during the motions of luſt, the light which is entangled in the members, flies away, and is received into the tranſport veſſels which reſtore it to it's natural place. *Eſſe autem in eis navibus ſanctas virtutes, quæ ſe in maſculos transfigurant, ut illiciant fœminas gentis adverſæ, & per hanc illecebram commota eorum concupiſcentia fugiat de illis lumen, quod membris ſuis permixtum tenebant, & purgandum ſuſceperant ab Angelis lucis, purgatumque illis navibus imponatur ad regna propria reportandum* (14). While ſome virtues aſſumed the ſhape of a man, others took upon them that of a woman, to entice men to love them, and ſo reciprocally to make the laſcivious fires ſeparate the ſubſtances of light from the ſubſtances of darkneſs. *Certe illi libri Manichæi ſunt omnibus ſine dubitatione communes, in quibus libris illa portenta ad illiciendos, & per concupiſcentiam diſſolvendos utriuſque ſexus principes tenebrarum, ut liberata fugia ab eis, quæ captivata tenebratur in eis divina ſubſtantia, de maſculorum in fœminas, & fœminarum in maſculos transfiguratione conſcripta ſunt* (15). If you add to this, that they fancied, that the parts of light were much more intermixed with the parts of darkneſs, in perſons that do the work of generation, than in others (16), you may underſtand the monſtrous alliance they made between theſe two doctrines, one of which was, that men muſt not marry, nor procreate children; the other that they may give the reins to the tranſports of nature, provided they hinder conception. *Et ſi utuntur conjugibus, conceptum tamen generationemque devitant, ne divina ſubſtantia quæ in eos per alimenta ingreditur vinculis carneis ligetur in prole* (17). It ſeems, they believed that Saclas, one of the princes of darkneſs, a greater devourer of children than Saturn, could not find a better way of holding in cloſe priſon the divine particles he had eaten, than that of generation, and that for this end he came near his wife, and begot two children on her, which were Adam and Eve. *Adam & Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi aſſerunt natos, cum pater eorum nomine Saclas ſociorum ſuorum fœtus omnium devoraſſet, & quicquid inde commixtum divinæ ſubſtantiæ ceperat, cum uxore concumbens in carne prolis, tanquam tenaciſſimo vinculo, colligaſſet* (18). Now becauſe they looked upon their elect as very good purifiers, I mean as perſons, who did admirably filter the parts of the divine ſubſtance, entangled and impriſoned in the aliments (19), they gave them the principles of generation to eat; and it is ſaid, that they mixed them with the ſymbols of the Euchariſt, a thing ſo abominable, that the biſhop of Meaux had reaſon to ſay, *That one dares not think, and much leſs write it* (20). The words of St Auguſtin are theſe: 'Qua occaſione vel potius exe- 'crabilis ſuperſtitionis quadam neceſſitate coguntur 'Electi eorum velut Euchariſtiam conſperſam cum 'ſemine humano ſumere, ut etiam inde, ſicut de aliis 'cibis quos accipiunt, ſubſtantia illa divina purge- 'tur (21). . . . . Ac per hoc ſequitur eos, ut ſic eam 'de ſemine humano, quemadmodum de aliis ſemi- 'nibus, quæ in alimentis ſumunt, debeant manducan- 'do purgare. Unde etiam Catharistæ appellantur, 'quaſi purgatores, tanta eam purgantes diligentia, ut 'ſe nec ab hac tam horrenda cibi turpitudine abſti- 'neant (22). . . . . *Upon which occaſion, or rather compelled by an execrable ſuperſtition, their elect are obliged to take as it were the ſacrament ſprinkled with human ſeed; that from thence alſo, as from other kinds of food which they take, that divine ſubſtance may be purged. . . . . They likewiſe purge this ſubſtance by human ſeed, as well as by other kinds of ſeed, which they take in their food. Whence alſo they are called Puriſts, that is purgers; purging it ſo diligently, that they abſtain not even from this horrid and ſhameful food.*' They did not own, that they committed this abomination; but it is pretended, that they were convicted of it (23): let us recite the words of a modern writer, 'As they believed, that the ſpirit came from a 'good principle, and that the fleſh and the body were 'from an ill one, they taught, that men ought to 'hate, deſpiſe, and diſhonour it by all ways poſſible; 'and, upon this infamous pretence, there is no ſort 'of execrable uncleanneſs, wherewith they did not 'defile themſelves in their aſſemblies (24).' St Auguſtin does not attribute to them this; yet I do not ſay, that Maimbourg is miſtaken, for the doctrine and conduct of the Manichees is related many different ways; which happened without doubt, either becauſe they varied their doctrine from age to age, or becauſe all their cotemporary doctors did not explain it after the ſame manner; or laſtly, becauſe all their adverſaries did not rightly underſtand them. It was thought fit to deſtroy all the books of the Manichees: which may have been of ſome uſe; but this little inconvenience ariſes from it, that we cannot be ſure of their doctrine, as we might have been by conſulting the works of their moſt learned authors. By the fragments of their ſyſtem, which we meet with in the fathers, it plainly appears, that they were not happy in their hypotheſes, when they came to particulars. Their firſt hypotheſis was falſe, and it grew worſe in their hands by the little art and philoſophical ſkill they employed in explaining and applying it.

(10) Auguſt. de Hæreſ. cap. xlvi.

(11) Id. ib. fol. 115. Edit. Lamberti Danæi.

(12) Ibid. fol. 115. verſo.

(13) Baſnage, Hiſt. of the Religion of the Reformed Churches, Tom. i, p. 125, 126.

(14) Auguſt. ubi ſupra.

(15) Id. ib. fol. 116.

(16) In cæteris autem hominibus, etiam in ipſis auditoribus ſuis, hanc partem bonæ diviæque ſubſtantiæ, quæ mixta & colligata in eſcis & potibus detinetur, maximeque in eis qui generant filios, arctius & inquinatius colligari putant. *Ibid. fol.* 115.

(17) Auguſtin. ibid. fol. 117.

(18) Id. ib.

(19) See the laſt remark.

(20) Hiſt. of the Variations, *book xi, num. xv, pag. m.* 129.

(21) Auguſt. ib. fol. 115. verſo.

(22) Ib. fol. 116. verſo.

(23) Ib. fol. 116.

(24) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, pag. 17, 18.

[C] *This*

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this falſe tenet, which is much more ancient than Manes [C], and cannot be maintained by

[C] *This falſe tenet is much more ancient than Manes.*] We have already ſeen, that he found it in the books which Terebinthus inherited from his maſter Scythianus. It is not true, as St Epiphanius ſuppoſes that this Scythianus lived in the times of the apoſtles (25); he ſhould have ſaid only, that he might have been Manes's grandfather: But it is very true, that the doctrine of two principles was known in the world a long time before the preaching of the apoſtles. Scythianus was indebted to Pythagoras for it, if we may believe Epiphanius (26). Some ſay (27), that Terebinthus borrowed it from Empedocles. The Gnoſtics, Cerdonians, Marcionites, and ſeveral other ſectaries, who introduced this bad doctrine into Chriſtianity, before Manes was ſpoken of, were not the inventers of it: they found it in the Pagan Philoſophers. Plutarch informs us of the antiquity and univerſality of this ſyſtem, not as a mere hiſtorian, but as a faithful follower of it. 'It is impoſſible, ſays 'he (28), that one cauſe alone, whether good or bad, 'ſhould be the principle of all things together, be- 'cauſe GOD is not the cauſe of evil, and the har- 'mony of this world is compoſed of contraries, like 'a harp, whoſe muſic conſiſts of high and low notes; 'as Heraclitus ſaid, and to the ſame purpoſe Euri- 'pides alſo:

The good was never ſeparated from the evil,
The one is always mixed with the other,
That all things in the world may go on the better.

'Wherefore this opinion is very ancient being de- 'ſcended from Divines and Lawgivers, in times paſt, 'to the Poets and Philoſophers, but without its being 'known who was the firſt author of it; although it 'is ſo firmly imprinted in the minds of men, that it 'can by no means be defaced or rooted out: it is ſo 'frequently taught, not only in private diſcourſe, 'and common reports, but at the ſacrifices and di- 'vine ceremonies of the gods, as well in the bar- 'barous nations, as among the Greeks in many 'places, that neither does this world float in uncer- 'tainty, without being governed by providence and 'reaſon; neither is it one reaſon alone, which main- 'tains and governs it with I know not what rudders, 'and reins of obedience; but there are many of them 'mixed with good and evil; and to ſpeak openly, 'there is nothing here below, which nature brings 'forth and produces, that is in itſelf pure and ſimple; 'nor is there one only diſpenſer of the two veſſels, 'who diſtributes to us all affairs, as a Vintner does his 'wines, by mingling and brewing them one with ano- 'ther. Thus this life is governed by two principles 'and two powers contrary to one another; one of 'which directs and conducts us to the right hand by 'a right way, and the other, on the contrary, diverts 'us from it, and turns us back. Thus this life is 'mixed, and this world, if not all of it, yet at leaſt 'the lower and terreſtrial part of it below the moon, 'is unequal and variable, ſubject to all the changes 'that are poſſible: For nothing can be without a 'preceding cauſe, and what is good in it ſelf 'can never be the cauſe of evil; nature therefore 'muſt have a principle and cauſe, from which e- 'vil proceeds, as well as another, from which good 'proceeds. This is the opinion of the greateſt part, 'and the wiſeſt among the ancients; for ſome think, 'there are two gods acting in an oppoſite man- 'ner; the one the author of all good, and the o- 'ther of all evil: Others call him GOD, who is 'author of all good, and the other a dæmon; as 'did Zoroaſter the magician, of whom it is ſaid, 'that he lived five hundred years (29) before the 'times of the Trojan war. He therefore called the 'good god Oromazes, and the other Arimanius: 'And moreover he ſaid, that the one reſembled 'light more than any other ſenſible thing, and the 'other darkneſs and ignorance; and that there was 'between them two, one called Mithres; wherefore 'the Perſians do ſtill call him, who intercedes and 'mediates, Mithres; and he taught men to ſacri- 'fice to the one, to deſire of him all good things, and 'thank him for them; and to the other, to divert 'and keep off all evil and unfortunate things. . . . . 'did not conſider, that he curſed the generation and 'production of all things, which come into being 'by the ſtruggle and contrariety of the paſſions, and 'that the ſun would not tranſgreſs the bounds, 'prefixed to him, leſt the furies, the miniſters 'and aſſiſtants of juſtice, ſhould meet him. And 'Empedocles ſays, the principle of good is called 'love and friendſhip, and often *harmonia*; and the 'cauſe of evil is

A bloody fight, and peſtilential noiſe.

'As to the Pythagoreans, they denote and ſpecify 'this by many names, calling the good principle, 'one, finite, reſting, ſtreight, odd, ſquared, dexter, 'luminous; and the bad, two, infinite, moving, 'crooked, even, more long than broad, unequal, 'ſiniſter, dark. Ariſtotle calls the one Form, and 'the other Privation. And Plato, ſhadowing, as it 'were and covering his meaning, in many places, 'calls one of theſe contrary principles the Same, 'and the ſecond the Other: But in his book of 'laws, which he wrote when he was old, he no 'more calls them by ambiguous and covered names, 'nor by ſignificant notes, but in plain terms he ſays, 'that this world is not managed by one ſoul only, 'but by many, at a venture, at leaſt by two, whereof 'one is beneficent, and the other contrary to it, and 'produces contrary effects. And between theſe two 'there is alſo a third cauſe, which is not without 'a ſoul, nor without reaſon, nor unmoveable of it 'ſelf, as ſome think, but adjacent and adhering to 'the two others.' Plutarch, in another book (31), ſays expreſsly, that the nature of GOD does not permit him to do any thing but what is good, nor to be angry with any one, nor to hurt him. This author therefore muſt have been perſuaded, that the afflictions, which ſo often torment men, proceed from another cauſe than GOD, and conſequently that there were two principles, one that did nothing but what was good, and the other which did nothing but what was evil. I add, that the Perſian Philoſophers, who are much ancienter than thoſe of Egypt, have conſtantly taught this doctrine (32).

Plutarch carries it too far when he pretends, that this doctrine appeared in the public acts of religion among the Barbarians and Greeks (33), for though it be true, that the Pagans acknowledged and honoured hurtful gods; yet they taught alſo, both by their books and by their practice, that the ſame GOD, who ſometimes beſtowed good things upon a nation, did ſome time after afflict it, to take vengeance for ſome offence. If you read the Greek authors never ſo little, you will plainly perceive this: We may ſay the ſame thing of Rome. Read Livy, Cicero, and other Latin writers, you will clearly underſtand, that the ſame Jupiter, to whom ſacrifices were offered for a victory gained, was honoured upon other occaſions, that he might ceaſe to afflict the people of Rome: And though there was one Vejovis, much more inclined to do evil than to do good; nevertheleſs it was believed, that Dijovis, or Dieſpiter, that is, the good Jupiter, darted the thunderbolt. Aulus Gellius expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he clearly diſtinguiſhes

(25) St Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. *pag.* 620, ſuppoſes, that Scythianus went to Jeruſalem, to confer with the apoſtles. He went therefore before Titus took the city; and ſo his diſciple could not be cotemporary with Manes in the IIId century.

(26) Ib. p. 619.

(27) Suidas, in Μάνης.

(28) Plutarch, in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, *pag. m.* 1043. This paſſage in the Greek and Latin edition of Frankfort, 1620, is at *pag.* 369, and following.

(29) He ſhould ſay 5000: ſee the remark [E] of the article ZOROASTER, at the beginning.

(30) Ib. p. 1046.

(31) Non poſſe ſuaviter vivi juxta Epicurum *pag.* 1102.

(32) Diog. Laërt. in proœmio, num. viii. Agathias, Hiſt. lib. ii.

(33) Obſerve, that I cenſure Plutarch only for ſuppoſing, that by the public acts of religion the Greeks teſtified that there were ſome gods, the good Jupiter, for inſtance, who could do nothing but what was good.

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by any one, who admits the Holy Scripture, either in whole or in part, would not easily be

(34) Aulus Gellius, lib. v. cap. xi.

distinguishes Jupiter from Vejovis (34). ‘ Cum Jovem ‘ igitur & Dijovem à juvando nominassent : eum quo- ‘ que contra deum, qui non juvandi potestatem sed ‘ vim nocendi haberet (nam deos quosdam ut prodes- ‘ sent celebrant, quosdam ne obessent placabant) *Ve- ‘ jovem* appellaverunt, dempta atque detracta juvandi ‘ facultate. . . . . Simulachrum dei *Vejovis*, quod est ‘ in æde, de qua supra dixi, sagittas tenet, quæ sunt ‘ videlicet paratæ ad nocendum : quapropter eum de- ‘ um plerique Apollinem esse dixerunt. . . . Virgilium ‘ quoque aiunt, multæ antiquitatis hominem sine osten- ‘ tationis odio peritum, numina læva in Georgicis ‘ quoque deprecari, significantem quandam vim esse ‘ hujuscemodi deorum in lædendo magis quam in ju- ‘ vando potentem. Versus Virgilii hi sunt :

In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria, si quem
Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo (35).

(35) See concerning these two kinds of gods, a passage of Arnobius, in the remark [G] of the article PAULICIANS.

‘ . . . *Having named Jupiter and Dijovis from* juvare ‘ *to* help ; *on the contrary, they called that god, who had* ‘ *not the power of helping, but of hurting,* Vejovis ; ‘ *for they honoured some gods, that they might assist them,* ‘ *and some they prayed to, lest they should hurt them.* . . . . ‘ *The image of the god Vejovis, which is in the temple* ‘ *I before mentioned, holds arrows in his hand, to shew* ‘ *his readiness to hurt ; for which reason many have* ‘ *taken him for Apollo.* . . . . . *They say likewise, that* ‘ *Virgil, who was skilled in antiquity without ostenta-* ‘ *tion, deprecates the unpropitious deities in his Georgics,* ‘ *signifying, that these gods are more powerful to hurt,* ‘ *than to assist : He says ;*

Though mean the theme, the glory will be great,
If hurtful gods permit, and Phœbus hear my pray'r.

Plutarch is also mistaken, when he thinks, that the Philosophers and Poets are agreed in the doctrine of two principles. Did he not remember that Homer, the prince of poets, their pattern, their common original ; that Homer, I say, set only one god over the two vessels of good and evil ?

Δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
Δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.
Ὅ μὲν καμμίξας δώῃ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,
Ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὅγε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐθλῷ
Ὧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώῃ, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε.
Καί έ κακὴ βόσκουσι ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλάυνει·
Φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.

Duo quippe dolia jacent in Jovis limine
Donorum quæ dat, *alterum* malorum, alterum vero bonorum :
Cui quidem miscens dederit Jupiter fulmine gaudens,
Interdum quidem in malum ille incidit, interdum & in bonum :
Cui vero ex malis dederit, injuriis *omnibus* obnoxium facit :
Et illum exitialis dolor acerbissimus super terram almám exercet :
Vagaturque, nec diis honoratus neque mortalibus (36).

(36) Homer, Iliad. lib. ult. 527.

Two vessels stand before the throne of Jove,
Replete with gifts ; these good, the others ill.
On some the god that thunders pours them mix'd :
Such lead a chequer'd life of happiness and woe.
But he, to whom the bad alone he sends,
Harrass'd with endless misery and pain,
Wanders, an outcast both of gods and men.'

Mr Costar has justly censured these words of Mr Girac : *It seems, you imitate Homer's Jupiter, and that, drawing out of vessels, you pour out with both hands, as he did, this diversity of matter, by chance, and without choice.* Here follows the censure. The comparison ‘ of Jupiter does me honour ; but it does ‘ little honour to him, who alledges it so impertinent- ‘ ly. Homer *, who is the inventer of this fiction, ‘ and Plato, who relates it † in his Republic, do ‘ not say, that Jupiter, having drawn out of his ‘ two vessels all the goods and evils of life, scatters ‘ them inconsiderately upon miserable mortals. They ‘ say only, that sometimes he pours them out pure, ‘ sometimes he mixes them ; from whence it comes to ‘ pass, that, among men, some are always unhappy, ‘ and the fortune of others is nothing but a reciprocal ‘ flux of happiness and misery (37).’ But Mr Costar forgot one thing, which deserved notice : He did not say, that of the three things, which Jupiter could do with these two vessels, he does but two of them : For he might either take out of the good vessel, or out of the bad, or partly out of one, and partly out of the other. Homer took care not to speak of these three offices ; for he knew too well, that the first never takes place, and I think he had done well to have suppressed the second ; for is there any man so unhappy, as to enjoy no manner of good ? Plato rejected this thought of Homer, because it is essential to God to do nothing but what is good ; from whence he concluded, that God is not the cause of some events that befal men. Οὐδ' ἄρα ὁ θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθὸς, πάντων ἂν εἴη αἴτιος, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν· ἀλλ' ὀλίγων μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος, πολλῶν δὲ ἀναίτιος. πολὺ γὰρ ἐλάττω τἀγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα ἄλλον αἰτιατέον· τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄλλ' ἄττα δεῖ ζητεῖν τὰ αἴτια, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν θεόν. *Non igitur Deus, quum bonus sit, omnium causa est, ut multi dicunt, sed paucorum quidem hominibus causa est, multorum vero extra causam. Multo enim pauciora nobis sunt bona quam mala. Et bonorum quidem solus Deus causa est dicendus. Malorum autem quamlibet aliam præter Deum causam quærere decet* (38). He says, that the Poets, who give us this fiction of two vessels, speak foolishly of God, and are guilty of a great sin. Οὐκ ἄρα ἀποδεκτέον ὅτε Ὅμηρε, ὅτ' ἄλλα ποιητὴν ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως ἁμαρτάνοντα, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς δοιοὶ πίθοι. *Neque Homeri igitur, neque alterius poëtæ admittendum est peccatum, stulte de Diis dicentis, in Jovis limine duo jacere dolia* (39). We shall elsewhere (40) give a larger account of the Platonic hypothesis concerning the original of good and evil.

† Dialog. ii.

(37) Costar, Apol. pag. 225.

(38) Plato de Repub. *lib. ii, pag. m.* 605. *D.*

(39) Id. ib.

(40) In the remark [*L*] of the article PAULICIANS.

The Apology of Costar being very scarce in foreign countries, I shall make no scruple to cite a long passage out of it (41). ‘ Perhaps Mr Girac believed the ‘ romance of the rose, which makes fortune a Vintner, ‘ who distributes by pots and pints the several li- ‘ quors of these two vessels, according to her caprice ‘ and fancy ;

(41) Costar, ubi supra, *pag.* 226, 227.

Jupiter en toute saison
A sur l'issuë de sa maison,
Ce dit Homer, deux pleins tonneaux,
S'il n'est vieulx Homs ne Garçonneaux
Ni n'est Dame ni Demoiselle,
Soit vieille, jeune, laide ou belle,
Qui vie en ce monde reçoive,
Qui de ces deux tonneaux ne boive.
C'est une Taverne pleniere,
Dont *Fortune est la Taverniere*,
Et en trait en pots & en coupes,
Pour faire à tout le monde soupes.
Tous elle en abreuve à ses mains,
Mais aux uns plus, aux autres moins.
N'est nul qui chacun jour ne pinte,
De ces tonneaux, ou quarte ou pinte,
Ou muy, ou septier, ou chopine,
S'il, comme il plaist à la mechine,
Ou plene paulme, ou quelque goute,
Que la Fortune au bec luy boute :
Et bien & mal à chacun verse,
Si comme elle est douce & peverse.

That is,

‘ *Homer informs us, that Jupiter has always two* ‘ *full vessels before him ; and that every one, whether* ‘ *old*

* Iliad. α.

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be refuted, if it were maintained by Pagan Philoſophers, well ſkilled in diſputing [*D*].

*' old or young, man or boy, matron or maiden, hand-
' ſome or ugly, drinks of theſe veſſels. It is a tavern
' of which fortune is the Vintner, who draws for all the
' world, and gives them to drink with her own hand, to
' ſome more, to others leſs. Every one drinks a certain
' portion, be it pint, quart, or gallon, every day out of
' this veſſel, as it pleaſes fortune, who mixes to all, good or
' evil, as ſhe happens to be in good or bad humour.'*

For the reſt, the ancient hereſy of two principles prevails ſtill in ſome oriental countries (42); and it is believed, that it was very common among the ancient barbarous people of Europe. ' Apud Sclavos nondum ' quidem Chriſti fide imbutos, ſimile dogma receptum ' fuiſſe, Helmoldus ‡ auctor eſt, qui malum illorum ' Deum *Zeevuboch* vocatum ſcribit. Paria & de aliis ' Germanorum populis Voſſius * conjicit. Atque ' hodienum, Provinciæ *Fetu* in Africa incolas perſua- ' ſum ſibi habere, eſſe aliquod Numen, cui omnia ' mala, aliud cui bona accepta ferenda, Joh. Guil. ' Mullerus **, Danicæ in Africa Eccleſiæ quondam Pa- ' ſtor, teſtatur (43). - - - *Helmoldus tells us, that the Sclavonians, before their converſion to Chriſtianity, held a like opinion: he informs us, that their bad god was called* Zeevuboch. *Voſſius conjectures the ſame of the other nations of the Germans. And John William Muller, formerly miniſter of the Daniſh church in Africa, tells us, that the inhabitants of the province of* Fetu *in Africa, at this time, aſcribe all the good they receive to one god, and all the bad to another.*' The Gurdes, a nation in Aſia, worſhip two principles, one as the author of good, the other as the cauſe of evil; but with this difference, that they are infinitely more exact in the worſhip of the latter, than of the former (44).

[*D*] *It would not eaſily be refuted, if it were maintained by Pagan Philoſophers, well ſkilled in diſputing.*] By reaſons *à priori* they would quickly have been routed: but the reaſons *à poſteriori* were their ſtrong holds: with theſe they might have fought a long time, and it would have been difficult to force them. You will underſtand me better by the explication I ſhall now ſubjoin. The moſt certain and moſt clear ideas of order we have, teach us, that a Being, which exiſts by itſelf, which is neceſſary and eternal, muſt be one, infinite, almighty, and endowed with all kind of perfection. If therefore we conſult theſe ideas, we ſhall find nothing more abſurd, than the hypotheſis of two eternal principles, and independent on one another, one of which has no goodneſs, and can put a ſtop to the deſigns of the other. This is what I call reaſons *à priori*; and which neceſſarily lead us to reject this hypotheſis, and to admit only one principle of all things. If nothing but this were required to prove the goodneſs of a ſyſtem, the cauſe would be determined to the confuſion of Zoroaſter, and all his followers. But every ſyſtem requires theſe two things to make it good; one, that the ideas of it be diſtinct; the other, that it accounts for what experience teaches us. We muſt ſee therefore whether the phœnomena of nature can be conveniently explained by the hypotheſis of one principle alone. When the Manichees tell us, that, ſince we ſee in the world many things, that are contrary to one another, as heat and cold, white and black, light and darkneſs, there muſt neceſſarily be two firſt principles (45), they argue pitifully; for the oppoſition between thoſe Beings, however confirmed by what we call variations, diſorders, and irregularities of nature, cannot make one half an objection againſt the unity, ſimplicity, and immutability of God. All theſe things may be accounted for, either by the different powers God has given to bodies, or by the laws of motion, which he has eſtabliſhed, or from the concurrence of occaſional intelligent cauſes, by which he is pleaſed to act. This does not require the quinteſſences, which the Rabbins have imagined, and which have furniſhed an Italian biſhop with an argument *ad hominem*, in favour of the incarnation. *Di queſta unione parla diffuſamente l'Autore, portando gli eſempi e le ſimilitudini, con cui la ſpiegano i Rabbini (alcune delle quale ſono le medeſime che adoprano i noſtri Theologi per eſplicar l'Incarnaſione) e con le ſteſſe loro dottrine prova evidentemente ch'ella non ſia altro che un inſefroſatione, cioe due nature ſefireita, è Divinita inſieme in un ſuppoſto* (46). They ſay, that God has united himſelf to ten moſt pure intelligences called *Sefira*, and that he acts with them in ſuch a manner, that all the variations and imperfections of effects muſt be attributed to them. *Attribuendoſi à Dio ne' ſacri libri atti frà ſe contrarii e imperfetti, per ſalvare l'immutabilita e ſua ſomma perfettione, hanno poſta una Gerarchia di dieci Intelligenze puriſſime, per mezo delle quali, come inſtrumenti della ſua potenza, egli opera tutte le coſe, ma in modo che à loro ſole s'attribuiſce ogni varieta, imperfettione, e mutatione* (47). Without being at the expence of ſuch an hypotheſis, the ſimplicity and immutability of the ways of God may be ſaved; the ſole eſtabliſhment of occaſional cauſes is ſufficient for that, provided we are only to explain the phœnomena relating to bodies, and do not conſider man. The heavens, and the reſt of the univerſe, declare the glory, power, and the unity of God; man alone, that maſter-piece of his creation among things viſible, Man alone, I ſay, affords the greateſt objection againſt the unity of God. The matter is thus:

Man is wicked and unhappy: every one knows it by what he feels in himſelf, and by the intercourſe he is obliged to have with his neighbours. He, who lives only five or ſix years (48), may be perfectly convinced of theſe two things; and they, who live long, and are much engaged in worldly affairs, know this ſtill more clearly. Travels afford perpetual leſſons upon this ſubject: they ſhow every where the monuments of mens misfortunes and wickedneſſes: this appears every where by the many priſons, hoſpitals, gibbets, and beggars. Here you ſee the ruins of a flouriſhing city; elſewhere you cannot even find the ruins of it (49).

Jam ſeges eſt ubi Troja fuit, reſecandaque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio ſanguini pinguis humus (50).

*Where the famed Troy once ſtood, now corn is found,
And Phrygian blood manures the fertile ground.*

Read theſe fine words taken from a letter that was written to Cicero: ' Ex Aſia rediens, cum ab Ægina ' Megaram verſus navigarem cœpi regiones circum- ' circa proſpicere. Poſt me erat Ægina, ante Megara, ' dextra Piræeus, ſiniſtra Corinthus: quæ oppida quo- ' dam tempore florentiſſima fuerunt, nunc proſtrata & ' diruta ante oculos jacent (51). - - - - *Returning out of Aſia, and ſailing from Ægina towards Megara, I began to take a view of the countries on every ſide of me. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, on my right hand Piræeus, on my left Corinth: which cities were once in a moſt flouriſhing condition, but now lye in ruins.*' Studious men, without going out of their cloſets, make the greateſt diſcoveries on theſe two articles; becauſe, in reading hiſtory, they take a view of all the ages and countries of the world. Hiſtory, properly ſpeaking, is nothing but a collection of the crimes and misfortunes of mankind; but we muſt obſerve, that theſe two evils, the one moral, and the other phyſical, do not wholly fill up hiſtory, nor all the experience of private perſons. There are every where ſome things, that are phyſically good and morally good; ſome examples of virtue, and ſome examples of happineſs: and this is that, which makes the difficulty; for if there were none but evil and unhappy men, there would be no occaſion to have recourſe to the hypotheſis of two principles; it is the mixture of happineſs and virtue with miſery and vice, which requires this hypotheſis; and this is the ſtrong hold of the ſect of Zoroaſter.

See the reaſoning of Plato and Plutarch in the paſſages I have cited above.

In order to make it appear how difficult it would be to refute this falſe ſyſtem, and that we may conclude, that it is neceſſary to have recourſe to revelation to overthrow it, let us feign here a diſpute between Meliſſus and Zoroaſter, who were both Pagans, and great Philoſophers. Meliſſus, who acknowledged but one principle (52), would ſay, at firſt, that his ſyſtem agrees admirably well with the ideas of order. The neceſſary Being is not bounded; and therefore is infinite and almighty, and conſequently one; and it would be a monſtrous thing, and a contradiction, if he had no goodneſs, but the greateſt of all vices, viz.

(42) See the words of Father Thomaſſin, in the remark [*D*] of the article PAULICIANS.

‡ *Helmold. Chronic. Sclav. cap. liii.*

* *Voſſ. de Orig. Idololatr. lib. i, cap. viii, pag.* 280.

** Guill. Muller. *Beſchreibung der Africaniſchen Landſchafft* Fetu, pag. 43, 44.

(43) Tobias Pfannerus, Syſtema Theol. Gentilis, *pag.* 258.

(44) Venerano come i Manichei due principii, uno del bene, e l'altro del male: con queſta differenza che poco penſando al primo, come quello che credono non poter loro far alcun malo, attendono ſolo al culto del ſecondo. *Giornale de Letterati, of the thirty firſt of March*, 1673, *pag.* 33, *of the abſtract of* Viaggio, *&c. of the voyage to the Eaſt Indies, of Vicenzo Maria, of St Catherine of Siena, procurator-general of the Carmelites.*

(45) *See St Epiphanius, when he ſpeaks of Scythianus, pag.* 619, adv. Hæreſ.

(46) *Joſeph Cianes, biſhop of Marſico*, in diſcurſu de ſanctiſſima Incarnatione clariſſimis Hebræorum doctrinis ab eorundem argumentorum oppoſitionibus defenſa, *in the Journal of Italy, Aug.* 27, 1668. *pag.* 102.

(47) *The Journal of Italy, ibid. pag.* 101.

(48) At that age he has played and ſuffered malicious tricks; he has had grief and ſorrow, and has powted many times, *&c.*

(49) See Converſation XXX, of Balzac.

(50) Ovid. Epiſt. Penel. ad Ulyſſ. ver. 53.

(51) Sulpicius ad Ciceron. Epiſt. v, lib. iv. Cicer. ad Famil.

(52) See Diogenes Laertius, *lib. ix, num. xxiv, & ibi Menagius.*

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It was a happy thing, that St Auguſtin, who underſtood ſo well all the arts of controverſy,

an eſſential malice. I confeſs to you, would Zoroaſter anſwer, that your ideas are very well connected, and I am willing to grant, that, in this reſpect, your hypotheſis ſurpaſſes mine. I will not inſiſt upon an objection, which I might make uſe of; which is this, that as infinity muſt include every thing that is real, and malice (53) being no leſs a real Being than goodneſs, the univerſe requires, that there ſhould be both wicked and good Beings; and that, ſince a ſovereign goodneſs, and a ſovereign malice, cannot ſubſiſt in one and the ſame ſubject, there muſt be in nature one Being eſſentially good, and another eſſentially evil: I do not inſiſt, I ſay, upon this objection (54); I will allow, that your ſyſtem is more agreeable to the notions of order than mine: but explain to me, I pray, by your hypotheſis, whence it comes to paſs, that man is wicked, and ſo ſubject to pain and grief? I defy you to find in your principles a reaſon of this phænomenon, as I can in mine; and now I have regained the advantage I gave you; for, as you ſurpaſs me in the beauty of ideas, and in reaſons *à priori*, ſo I ſurpaſs you in the explication of phænomena, and in reaſons *à poſteriori*. And ſince the principal character of a good ſyſtem is to account for what experience teaches us, and that the bare incapacity of explaining it, is a proof, that an hypotheſis is not good, how beautiful ſoever it appears, you muſt grant, that I have hit the mark, by admitting two principles, and that you have not hit it, by admitting but one.

(53) That is, a malicious action. I remark this, leſt any one ſhould allledge, that evil is nothing but a privation.

(54) I have read, in the Journal of Italy, of the thirty firſt of Auguſt, 1674, pag. 101, that Piccinardi, in the third book of his *Dogmatica Philoſophia Peripatetica Chriſtiana*, refutes this theſis, *An aliud Deus & poſſibile*, which was maintained by Father Peter Conti againſt Colmenar.

Here, without doubt, lies the ſtreſs of the whole matter: here Meliſſus has a great opportunity to ſhow his parts; *Hic Rhodus, hic ſaltus. Res ad triarios rediit. Nunc animis opus, Æneа, nunc pectore firmo.* Let us hear Zoroaſter continuing his diſcourſe.

If man is the creature of one principle perfectly good, moſt holy and omnipotent, can he be expoſed to diſeaſes, to heat and cold, hunger and thirſt, pain and grief? can he have ſo many bad inclinations? can he commit ſo many crimes? can perfect holineſs produce a criminal creature? can perfect goodneſs produce an unhappy creature? would not omnipotence, joined with infinite goodneſs, furniſh his own work plentifully with good things, and ſecure it from every thing that might be offenſive or vexatious? if Meliſſus conſults the notions of order, he will anſwer, that man was not wicked when God made him. He will ſay, that man was created by God in a happy ſtate; but he not following the light of his conſcience, which was intended by the author of his Being to conduct him in the way of virtue, became ſo wicked, and deſerved, that God, who is perfectly juſt as well as perfectly good, ſhould make him feel the effects of his wrath. God therefore is not the cauſe of moral evil, but he is the cauſe of phyſical evil, *i. e.* of the puniſhment of moral evil; a puniſhment, which is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with a principle perfectly good, that it flows neceſſarily from one of his attributes, I mean from his juſtice, which is no leſs eſſential to him than his goodneſs. This anſwer, which is the beſt that Meliſſus could make, is good and ſound at the bottom; but it may be oppoſed by reaſons that have ſomething more ſpecious, and dazzling: for Zoroaſter would not fail to repreſent, that, if man were the work of a principle infinitely good and holy, he ought to have been created not only without any actual evil, but alſo without any inclination to evil, ſince that inclination is ſuch a defect, as could not have ſuch a principle for it's cauſe. It remains therefore, that we ſay, that man, coming out of the hands of his Creator, had only the power of determining himſelf to evil, and that having determined himſelf to it, he was the ſole cauſe of the crime, which he committed, and of the moral evil, which has introduced itſelf into the world. But, I. we have no diſtinct idea, that can make us underſtand, that a Being, which does not exiſt by itſelf, can nevertheleſs act by itſelf. Zoroaſter therefore will ſay, that the free will, which was given to man, is not able actually to determine itſelf, ſince it exiſts continually and totally by the action of God. II. He will put this queſtion: did God foreſee, that man would make an ill uſe of his free-will? if you anſwer yes, he will ſay, that it ſeems not poſſible, that any thing can foreſee that, which depends wholly upon an indeterminate cauſe. But I will grant you, will he ſay, that God did foreſee the ſin of his creature, and from thence I conclude, that he would have hindered him from ſinning; for the ideas of order will not ſuffer us to believe that a cauſe infinitely good and holy, which can hinder the introduction of moral evil, ſhould not hinder it, eſpecially ſince, by permitting it, God was obliged ſeverely to puniſh his own work. If God did not foreſee the fall of man, yet at leaſt he muſt think it poſſible: ſince therefore he ſaw himſelf obliged, in caſe it ſhould happen, to depart from his paternal goodneſs, and to make his children very miſerable, by exerciſing upon them the office of a ſevere judge, he would have determined man to moral good, as he determined him to that which is phyſical; he would not have left in the ſoul of man any power, which ſhould incline him to ſin; any more than he has left any to incline him to miſery as ſuch. This is what our clear and diſtinct ideas of order lead us to, when we follow, ſtep by ſtep, what a principle infinitely good ought to do: for if a goodneſs, ſo bounded as that of earthly fathers neceſſarily requires that they ſhould prevent, as much as is poſſible, the bad uſe their children may make of the good things they give them; much more will an infinite and almighty goodneſs prevent the ill effects of his gifts. Inſtead of giving them free-will, it will determine it's creatures to that which is good; or, if it gives them a free-will, it will alway effectually watch over them, to keep them from ſinning. I believe indeed, that Meliſſus would not remain ſilent; but all that he could anſwer would be preſently oppoſed by reaſons as plauſible as his, and ſo there would be no end of the diſpute (55).

If he had recourſe to retortion, he would very much perplex Zoroaſter; but by once granting him his two principles, he would leave him an open way to come at the explication of the origin of evil. Zoroaſter would go back to the time of the chaos, which is a ſtate, as to his two principles, very like that, which Hobbes calls the ſtate of nature, and which he ſuppoſes to have preceded the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſocieties. In this ſtate of nature one man was a wolf to another, and every thing belonged to the firſt poſſeſſor: none was maſter of any thing, except he was the ſtrongeſt. To get out of this confuſion, every one agreed to quit his right to the whole, that he might have a property in ſomething; they tranſacted together, and the war ceaſed. The two principles, weary of the chaos, wherein each confounded and overthrew what the other would do, came at laſt to an agreement; each of them yielded ſomething, each had a ſhare in the production of man, and in the laws of the union of the ſoul (56). The good principle obtained thoſe, which procure to man a thouſand pleaſures, and conſented to thoſe, which expoſe man to a thouſand ſorrows; and if it conſented, that moral good ſhould be infinitely leſs in mankind than moral evil, he repaired the damage in ſome other kind of creatures, wherein vice ſhould be much leſs than virtue. If many men in this life have more miſery than happineſs, this is recompenſed in another ſtate: what they have not under a human ſhape, they ſhall recover under another (57). By means of this agreement, the chaos was diſembroiled, the chaos, I ſay, a paſſive principle, which was the field of battel between theſe two active principles. The poets have repreſented this diſembroiling under the image of a quarrel ended (58). This is what Zoroaſter might alledge, boaſting that he does not attribute to the good principle the production of a creature at his own pleaſure, which was to be ſo wicked and miſerable; but only after he had found by experience, that he could do no better, nor better oppoſe the horrible deſigns of the evil principle. To render his hypotheſis the leſs offenſive, he might have denied, that there was a long war between the two principles, and lay aſide all thoſe fights, and priſoners, which the Manichees ſpeak of. The whole might be reduced to the certain knowledge of the two principles, that one could never obtain from the other but ſuch and ſuch conditions. And thus an eternal agreement might have been made upon this foot.

A thouſand great difficulties might be objected to this Philoſopher; but as he would find anſwers, and after all deſire to be furniſhed with a better hypotheſis, pretending to have ſolidly refuted that of Meliſſus, he would never be brought back into the way of truth. Human reaſon is too weak for this end: it is a principle

(55) All this is more largely diſcuſſed in the remarks of the article PAULICIANS.

(56) *Apply here what Juno ſays to Venus in Virgil, Æneid. lib. iv, ver.* 98.
Sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
Quin potius pacem æternam pactoſque hymenæos
Exercemus? . . . . .
. . . . . Communem hunc ergo populum, paribuſque regamus
Auſpiciis. . . . . *Let diſcord be no more, but peace eterna! Succeed; and, when the nuptial band is tied, One common people be our common care.*

(57) Note, that all thoſe, or the greateſt part of thoſe, who admitted two principles, held the metempſychoſis.

(58) Hanc Deus & melior LITEM natura diremit. *Nature, and nature's god, this* STRIFE *compos'd.* Ovid. Metam. lib. I, ver. 21.

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verſy, abandoned the Manichean Hereſy; for he would have removed its groſſeſt errors, and framed ſuch a ſyſtem, as, by his management, would have puzzled the Orthodox. Pope Leo I, acted very vigorouſly againſt the Manichees; and his zeal being ſupported by the Imperial laws [E], this ſect received then a very great blow. It became formidable in Armenia in the IXth century, as I ſay elſewhere (a), and it appeared in France in the

(a) *In the article* PAULICIANS, *remarks* [B], *and* [D].

ciple of deſtruction, and not of edification; it is only fit to ſtart doubts, and to turn itſelf all manner of ways, to perpetuate a diſpute: and I think I am not miſtaken, if I ſay, of natural revelation, that is, of the light of reaſon, what divines ſay of the Moſaical œconomy. They ſay, that it was only fit to diſcover to man his weakneſs, and the neceſſity of a redeemer, and of a law of mercy. It was a ſchoolmaſter (they are their own words) to bring men to JESUS CHRIST. Let us ſay the ſame of reaſon; it can only diſcover to man his ignorance and weakneſs, and the neceſſity of another revelation, which is that of the ſcripture. There we find what is ſufficient to refute unanſwerably the hypotheſis of two principles, and all the objections of Zoroaſter. We find there the unity of GOD, and his infinite perfections; the fall of man, and the conſequences of it. Let any one tell us with a pompous ſhew of arguments, that it was not poſſible, that moral evil ſhould introduce itſelf into the world by the work of a principle infinitely good and holy; we ſhall anſwer, that this was nevertheleſs done, and conſequently that it is very poſſible. There is nothing more fooliſh than to reaſon againſt matter of fact; this maxim, *Ab actu ad potentiam valet conſequentia*, is as clear as this propoſition, two and two make four (59). The Manichees were ſenſible of what I have juſt now obſerved, and therefore they rejected the Old Teſtament; but what they retained of the Scripture ſupplied the orthodox with ſufficient arms againſt them. And ſo it was not very difficult to confound thoſe Heretics, who otherwiſe childliſhly entangled themſelves when they came to particulars (60). Now ſince the Scripture affords us the beſt ſolutions, I cannot be blamed for ſaying, that it would be difficult to gain the victory over a Heathen Philoſopher in this cauſe. This is the text of this remark.

(59) See the article PAULICIANS, remark [E] towards the beginning.

(60) See the remark [B].

How long ſo ever it be, I ſhall not conclude without adverti ſing my reader, that there remains ſtill three obſervations to be made, for which I refer the reader to another article (61). In the firſt, I ſhall conſider, whether the Fathers have always reaſoned well againſt the Manichees, and whether they could always ſilence them. In the ſecond I ſhall ſhew, that, according to the doctrines of Paganiſm, the objections of Zoroaſter had no great force; and in the third, in what ſenſe it may be ſaid, that the Chriſtians do not reject the ſyſtem of the two principles. It is more difficult for them, than the Pagans, to reſolve theſe difficulties, in the way of reaſon, becauſe they have among them diſputes about liberty, in which the aggreſſor ſeems always to have the better (62); and becauſe the ſmall number of thoſe, who are predeſtinated, and the eternity of hell-torments afford ſuch objections, as Meliſſus would not very much fear.

(61) To that of the PAULICIANS, remarks [E], [G], and [H].

(62) See the remark [F] of the article MARCIONITES.

[E] *The zeal of Pope Leo was ſupported by the Imperial laws.*] There were Manichees at Rome when St Auguſtin came thither in 383. 'For he lodged in 'the houſe of a Manichee, and converſed very often 'with thoſe of that ſect. . . . . But after Carthage 'had been taken and deſtroyed by Genſerich king of 'the Vandals, in 439, the greateſt part of the Mani'chees in Africa fled, as well as the Catholics, in'to Italy, &c. and chiefly to Rome (63).' Pope Leo obliged the people to make an exact ſearch after theſe Heretics, and ſhewed by what marks they might be diſcovered (64). 'To create in all men the greater 'abhorrence of ſo deteſtable a ſect, he held an aſ'ſembly, to which, together with the biſhops, who 'lived near Rome, he invited the chief of the clergy, 'of the ſenate, of the nobility of Rome, and of the 'common people †. There he produced the moſt 'conſiderable among the Manichees, and one of 'their biſhops, who made a public confeſſion of their 'abominable luſts, which I dare not declare, leſt I 'ſhould offend the ears, or rather the chaſte eyes of 'my reader; and which thoſe ſame perſons, who 'had been guilty of them in their ſecret aſſemblies, 'by order of this falſe biſhop, declared before all the 'world, and diſcovered at the ſame time what their 'biſhops and prieſts were, and the ſecret places where 'they aſſembled, their prophane myſteries and ſacri'legious ceremonies, all which was authentically 'taken down in writing. And St Leo gave an ac'count of all this to the people a little while after in 'a ſermon, which he made for the faſt of the Ember'week, wherein he declared ‡, that they were obliged 'in conſcience to accuſe thoſe, whom they knew to 'be engaged in ſo infamous and pernicious a Hereſy; 'that all ought to unite and act with the ſame zeal, 'and with equal vigilance, againſt thoſe common 'enemies; and that thoſe, who thought they ought 'not to diſcover them, would be guilty of a very 'criminal ſilence before the great tribunal of JESUS 'CHRIST, tho' they did not partake in their errors. 'In fine, he cauſed ſuch diligent ſearch to be made 'after the Manichees, and was ſo well ſeconded by 'the people, that none of them could eſcape; ſo 'that he had the good fortune to deliver Rome en'tirely from that Hereſy. For many of thoſe Here'tics, being ſtrongly affected by his powerful exhor'tations, were ſeriouſly converted to GOD; and, 'after they had made a public abjuration of their 'Hereſy in the church ‡, and ſigned the form, which 'was preſented to them, containing a condemnation 'of Manes, and of his doctrine and books, they ſub'mitted to the penance, which was impoſed on them. 'Thoſe who continued obſtinate in their error, and 'refuſed to ſubſcribe this condemnation, were con'demned by the judges to baniſhment, according to 'the laws and edicts of the emperors. But, becauſe 'the moſt wicked and dangerous followers of this 'execrable Hereſy, fearing the puniſhment of their 'crimes, had fled away; he gave notice of it to 'the biſhops of Italy, and other provinces, by a 'circular letter, wherein, after he had declared to 'to them all that was done at Rome in this cauſe of 'the Manichees, he exhorted them to proſecute thoſe 'fugitives, and to give all neceſſary orders to prevent 'their retiring into their dioceſes, proteſting, that 'they would be inexcuſable before GOD *, if it 'ſhould ever happen, that any of their ſubjects were 'ſeduced by theſe impoſtors, for want of due care to 'diſcover them, to drive them away, and to hinder 'them from ſpreading among the people the venom 'of their deteſtable doctrine. And that which finiſhed 'the extermination of this Hereſy, was, that the em'peror Valentinian III, knowing that the holy 'Pope had diſcovered the crimes of the Manichees, 'cauſed an edict to be publiſhed **, wherein he con'firms and renews all the ordinances of his predeceſ'ſors againſt them, declares them infamous, incapable 'of any offices, and of bearing arms, making a will, 'contracting and doing any valid act in civil ſociety; 'forbids all the ſubjects of the empire to conceal and 'ſhelter any of them, and requires them to diſcover 'and proſecute them, that they may be puniſhed as 'ſoon as they ſhall be known. Thus this Hereſy, 'which came from Africa into Italy, was quickly 'baniſhed from it by the effectual zeal of St Leo (65).'

† Contra communes hoſtes pro ſalute communi una communis debet eſſet vigilantia; . . . . & qui tales non prodendos putant, in judicio Chriſti invenientur rei de ſilentio, etiamſi non contaminenatur aſſenſu. *Ser. 5. de jejun. decim. menſ.*

‡ Ut damnarent Manichæum cum prædicationibus & diſciplinis ſuis publicâ in Eccleſia profeſſione, & manus ſuæ ſubſcriptione compulimus. *S. Leo. Ep. ii. ad Epiſc. per Italiam: & Epiſt. 93. ad Turib. Aſturic.*

* Ante tribunal Domini de reatu negligentiæ ſe non poterit excuſare quicunque plebem ſuam contra ſacrilegæ perverſionis auctores noluerit cuſtodire. *Epiſt. ii. ad Epiſc. per Italiam.*

** Nov. Valent. 3. de Manic.

Father Thomaſſin does not forget this example of the uſe of penal laws againſt Hereſy. 'St Leo the Pope, 'ſays he (66), in his firſt Decretal, ſays, that ſeveral 'Manichees were converted at Rome, but that 'ſome among them were ſo far engaged in thoſe 'deteſtable errors, that no remedies, that could be 'uſed, were ſufficient to reclaim them; that after'wards the rigour of the laws had been made uſe of, 'and, according to the conſtitutions of the Chriſtian 'princes, the public judges had condemned them to 'a perpetual baniſhment, leſt their contagious con'verſation ſhould infect the reſt of the flock.' I put in the margin the words, which he quotes from St Leo (67). A little after, he cites the Code of Juſtinian, to inform us, that the eleventh law of the fifth title of the firſt book condemns *the Manichees to loſe their head in whatever part of the Roman empire they are found.* Manichæo in loco Romano deprehenſo

(63) Maimbourg's Hiſt. of St Leo, *book i, pag.* 14.

(64) Id. ib. *pag.* 18.

† Ep. 93. ad Turib. Ser. 5. de jejun. decim. menſ.

(65) Maimbourg, ibid. *pag.* 20, ad ann. 443.

(66) *Thomaſſin of the Unity of the Church, Tom. i, pag.* 339.

(67) Aliquanti vero, qui ita ſe demerſerunt ut nullum his auxiliantis poſſet remedium ſubvenire, ſubditi legibus, ſecundum Chriſtianorum Principum conſtituta, ne ſanctum gregem ſua contagione pollueret, per publicos judices perpetuo ſunt exilio relegati.

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the time of the Albigenſes (*b*). This cannot be denied: but it is not true, that the Albigenſes were Manichees (*c*). Theſe, among other errors, taught that the ſouls of plants are rational; and condemned Agriculture as a murdering employment; but they permitted it to their hearers in favour of their elect [*F*].

(*b*) *See the biſhop of Meaux's Hiſt. of Variations, book xi.*

(*c*) *See Mr Baſnage, Hiſt. of the Religion of the Reformed Churches, Part i. ch. iv, &c.*

NOTA BENE. As in this article, in that of the MARCIONITES, and PAULICIANS, and ſome others, there are ſome things, which have given offence to ſeveral perſons, and have made them ſuſpect, that I had a mind to favour the Manichean ſect, and raiſe doubts in the minds of my Chriſtian readers, I here GIVE NOTICE, that you will find at the end of this work, a diſſertation to ſhew, that this can by no means weaken the foundations of the Chriſtian Faith.

(68) Thomaſſin, in pag. 377.

(69) Ib. p. 378.

prehenſo caput amputare (68). The next law, continues he (69), *is of the emperor Juſtin, and it diſtinguiſhes the Manichees not only from the Heretics, but alſo from the Greeks*, that is, *from Pagans, Jews, and Samaritans. The Manichees are puniſhed with death; all others are only condemned as Heretics, who cannot be promoted to any magiſtracy, or dignity, nor diſcharge the office of judges, or patrons, or fathers of cities.*

[*F*] *They permitted Agriculture to their hearers in favour of their elect.*] The Manichees were divided into two orders, that of the elect, and that of the hearers. The former were not allowed to exerciſe Agriculture, or even to gather fruit; the later were allowed to do theſe things, and were aſſured, that the murders, they committed in this exerciſe, were pardoned them by the interceſſion of the particles of GOD, which came out of priſon, when the elect did eat them. Thus the remiſſion of theſe murders was founded upon this, that they furniſhed the elect with food, and procured liberty to the particles of the divine ſubſtance, that were impriſoned in plants. St Auguſtin relates theſe chimæras, and laughs at them as they deſerve. ‘ Cæteras animas & in pecora redire putant, ‘ & in omnia quæ radicibus fixa ſunt, atque aluntur ‘ in terra. Herbas enim atque arbores ſic putant vi- ‘ vere, ut vitam, quæ illis ineſt, & ſentire credant, ‘ & dolere, cum læduntur, nec aliquid inde ſine ‘ cruciatu eorum quenquam poſſe vellere, aut carpere. ‘ Propter quod agrum ſpinis purgare nefas habent. ‘ Unde agriculturam, quæ omnium artium eſt innocentiſſima, tanquam plurium homicidiorum ream ‘ dementes accuſant; ſuiſque auditoribus ideo hæc ‘ arbitrantur ignoſci, quia præbent inde alimenta ‘ electis ſuis, ut divina illa ſubſtantia in eorum ventre ‘ purgata impetret eis veniam, quorum traditur oblatione purganda. Itaque ipſi Electi nec in agris ‘ operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec ſaltem folia ulla ‘ vellentes, expectant hæc afferri uſibus ſuis ab auditoribus ſuis, viventes de tot ac tantis ſecundum ſuam vanita- ‘ homicidiis alienis (70). - - - - *As for other ſouls, they think that they return into beaſts and plants. For they hold, that herbs and trees have ſuch a kind of life, as is ſenſible of pain, when they are hurt, and that nothing can be pulled or torn from them without torturing them. For this reaſon they think it a crime to root thorns out of a field. From whence they are ſo fooliſh as to condemn Agriculture, the moſt innocent of arts, as being guilty of many murders; and they think their hearers are therefore allowed to practiſe it, becauſe by that means they provide food for their elect, that that divine ſubſtance being purged in their belly may obtain pardon for thoſe, by whoſe offering it is delivered to be purged. Therefore the elect themſelves, neither working in the fields, nor gathering fruit, nor pulling off any leaves, expect theſe things to be brought them for their uſe by their hearers, living, as they vainly think, by the repeated murders of others.*’

(70) Auguſt. de Hæreſ. *cap. xlvi, fol. m.* 116. *verſo.*

MANTO, the daughter of Tireſias, and a great Diviner, as well as her father. She was ſo highly eſteemed, that, when the Argians plundered the city of Thebes, they thought they could not acquit themſelves of the vow, they had made to Apollo, to conſecrate to him the moſt excellent thing they had among their ſpoils, but by offering to him this maid. She was therefore ſent to the temple of Delphi: but this did not oblige her to make any vow of continence, or if ſhe was engaged to it, ſhe very ill obſerved her vow; for we read, that Alcmæon, who was generaliſſimo of the army that took Thebes, had two children by our Manto; a ſon, whoſe name was Amphilochus, and a daughter, who was very handſome, and was called Tiſiphone. Theſe were the fruits of a courtſhip, which had ſomething very ſingular in it, ſince it happened during the fury, which ſeized Alcmæon, after he had put his mother to death. This is what Apollodorus (*a*) tells us concerning Manto. Others ſay (*b*), that ſhe was indeed carried to Delphi with the other Theban priſoners, but that the oracle having ordered them to go and plant a colony, they went to Claros [*A*], where Rhacius had ſettled one; and that Rhacius having learned from Manto, who thoſe were, with whom ſhe had made this journey, and for what end they made it, took her to wife, and had a ſon by her named Mopſus (*c*). Diodorus Siculus (*d*), inſtead of this, tells us, that the daughter of Tireſias was called Daphne; that ſhe was ſent to Delphi as an offering, and an *Ex-voto* of the Argians; that ſhe improved the prophetic knowledge ſhe had already acquired, and wrote a great number of oracles; that it is pretended, Homer ſtole from her many verſes to adorn his Poems; and that ſhe was named Sibylla, becauſe ſhe was often ſeized with a divine ſpirit, and gave many anſwers (*e*). Pauſanias ſays, that, in his time, at Thebes, before the porch of a temple, the ſtone was ſhewn, on which Manto ſate, and which was called the chair of Manto (*f*). He ſpeaks of the tomb of Manto in another place (*g*); but there he means another perſon, who was the daughter of Polyidus. She of whom Virgil ſpeaks, is the ſame with the daughter of Tireſias [*B*]. And this ſhews, that

(*a*) Bibl. *lib. iii, pag. m.* 196, 200.

(*b*) Pauſanias, *lib. viii, pag. m.* 207.

(*c*) *See, below, citation* (2).

(*d*) Bibl. *lib. v, cap. vi.*

(*e*) *See one of her oracles in* Ovid, Metam. lib. vi, *upon occaſion of the worſhip of Latona.*

(*f*) Pauſan. *lib. ix, pag.* 289.

(*g*) Ib. *lib. i, pag.* 41.

(1) Lib. i, cap. xvii.

(2) Mopſus, according to Strabo, was the ſon of Apollo and Manto, and not, as Pauſanias would have it, of Rhacius and Manto. See the article MOPSUS.

[*A*] *They went to Claros.*] I do not underſtand why Pauſanias did not add what Pomponius Mela ſays (1), that Manto, flying from the conquerors of Thebes, built the temple of Apollo Clarius, and that her ſon Mopſus (2) built Colophon. Take notice of theſe words of Mela; *Fugiens victores Thebanorum Epigonos*; for if I am not very much miſtaken, they ſhew, that Charles Stephens, Lloyd, and Hoffman, are in the wrong to ſay, that Manto fled from the tyranny of Creon and and Theſeus, when ſhe fled to build the temple of Claros. Moreri had nothing to ſay of Manto, tho', if he had ſearched well, he might have found matter enough concerning her.

[*B*] *She, of whom Virgil ſpeaks, is the ſame with the daughter of Tireſias.*] Servius (3) informs us, that ſhe was the daughter of Tireſias, for Virgil only ſpeaks of her as a propheteſs, and mentions her love for the Tiber.

(3) *In* Virgil. ubi infra.

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(b) Æneid. lib. X, ver. 199.

that this poor propheteſs is made to have been a great traveller; for Virgil (b) tranſports her into Italy, not to preſerve her virginity there, but to make her bring forth a child, which built Mantua.

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris
Fatidicæ Mantûs & Tuſci filius amnis,
Qui muros matriſque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen (4).

(4) Virgil. Æn. lib. X, ver. 198.

His country's force the valiant Ocnus leads;
Ocnus, deſcended from the genial bed
Of Manto, mixing with the Tuſcan ſtream.

The ſame Servius adds, that ſome ſaid Hercules was the father of this propheteſs. Leander Albertus relates a vaſt number of traditions concerning this founder of Mantua. Conſult him, if you pleaſe, in his deſcription of Italy (5).

(5) *Pag. m.* 602, & *ſeq.*

MARASCIA (JOSEPH VINCENT) born at Palermo, was of the congregation of the oratory of St Jerom de la Charité. He wrote a book, to prove, there were two St Mamilians, archbiſhops of Palermo [*A*]. He died the ſeventeenth of January 1699 (a).

(a) *Taken from the Journal de Trevoux, March 1702, pag. 94, Edit. of Trevoux.*

[*A*] *He wrote a book to prove that there were two St Mamilians, archbiſhops of Palermo.*] The book is intituled, *De due Santi Mamiliani, Archivescovi e Citadini di Palermo, Riſolutione Hiſtorica*, and was printed by the care of Mr Mongifore (1), after the death of the author. There are but one or two modern Critics, who acknowledge two Mamilians. Maraſcia confeſſes, *that he oppoſes the ſtream of Sicilian Hiſtorians; but he has on his ſide ſome antient manuſcripts, which he cites, and ſome conjectures, which he thinks very ſolid* (2).

(1) He is a doctor of Divinity.

(2) Taken from the Journal de Trevoux, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 94, 95.

MARCA (PETER DE) one of the moſt illuſtrious ornaments of the Gallican church, was born at Gant in Berne, January 24, 1594. He was baptized by a prieſt in the dioceſe of Tarbes [*A*], and went through his ſchool-learning (a), and a courſe of Philoſophy (b) under the Jeſuits: then he ſtudied the Civil-law (c) for three years; after which he was admitted, in 1615, counſellor in the ſupreme council of Pau. He was not the firſt of his family, who bore an office in the long robe [*B*]. All his collegues were then of the reformed religion (d): but the face of affairs was quickly changed; for, in a little time after, none could be admitted into that council, erected into a parliament, who was not of the Romiſh religion (e). Peter de Marca had a great ſhare in the intrigues, which produced this change. He married a lady of the antient family of the viſcounts of Lavedan; but loſing her, in 1632, after he had had many children by her (f), he would not marry again. He was made preſident in the parliament of Berne in 1621, and counſellor of ſtate in 1639. Three years after, the king nominated him to the biſhopric of Conſerans. He had already been employed to write a work of great importance [*C*]. He was ſent into Catalonia in 1644, to exerciſe the office of viſitor-general,

(a) *At Auſch.*

(b) *At Toulouſe.*

(c) *At Toulouſe.*

(d) [Stephanus Baluzius, in vita *Petri de Marca, pag.* 12.

(e) Ib. pag. 13.

(f) *The eldeſt,* Galhetarius de Marca, *ſucceeded in his father's office; I mean that of preſident in the parliament of Pau.*

[*A*] *He was baptized by a prieſt in the dioceſe of Tarbes.*] The exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was forbidden in Berne ever ſince the edict of 1569; ſo that the few Catholics who remained in that country, were forced, for want of prieſts, to get their children baptized in the churches of the Reformed (1). James de Marca would not follow their example. He cauſed his ſon to be carried to the monaſtery of St Peter de Generes in Bigorre. There our archbiſhop was baptized by a Benedictin monk, who was curate of the pariſh. This refutes Patin, who ſays, ſomewhere, that this prelate was born of the reformed religion. See the following remark.

(1) Stephanus Baluzius, de vita & rebus geſtis *Petri de Marca, pag.* 8, *Edit.* 1663, *in* 8vo.

[*B*] *He was not the firſt of his family, who bore an office in the long-robe.*] The family of Marca comes originally from GARCIAS de MARCA, who commanded the cavalry of Gaſton prince of Berne, at the ſiege of Saragoſſa, in the year 1118. His poſterity followed the profeſſion of arms; but, about the year 1440, there was one Peter de Marca, a good civilian, who, after he had been attorney-general to the prince, his maſter, in all his dominions, was made preſident of his councils (2). I have read in a book, which was printed in the time of the league, that one de Marqua ſecond preſident in the parliament of Pau, *could never be admitted or reſtored to his office . . . . till he had made the common proteſtation againſt the maſs, together with a profeſſion of the Calviniſt faith, appointed by the late queen of Navarre*, mother to Henry the Great (3). This refutes Guy Patin, who affirms, that our Mr de Marca was of mean birth. Let us produce the paſſage, it contains many falſhoods; for, to ſay nothing of the reſt, it is falſe, that this prelate was ever either a miniſter among the Reformed, or a Jeſuit. We ſhall here have an example of the falſe reports, which are ſpread againſt great men: one cannot collect too many ſuch examples, to bring the world to a ſpirit of incredulity in this reſpect. ' We are informed here, ' that the archbiſhopric of Toulouſe is beſtowed upon ' Mr de Marca, biſhop of Conſerans, by means of ' 50000 crowns, which he has given to cardinal Mazarin. This is a good fortune for that ambitious man. ' He is of a mean original: after he had ſtudied, he ' became a miniſter to the party of the Reformed (4), ' of whom he was one. After he had changed his ' religion, he became a Jeſuit; and then, quitting ' the ſociety, he married, and became counſellor in ' the parliament of Pau, and after that preſident: ' Afterwards he came to Paris, and, by the favour of ' the chancellor Seguier, he was made counſellor of ' ſtate in ordinary, after that intendant of Catalonia, ' and then biſhop of Conſerans, after he had a long ' time waited for his bulls, which he could not get ' from Rome, becauſe of the quarrel he had with the ' Jeſuits, after he had quitted them; and at laſt he ' had them not, till he had reconciled himſelf to them: ' and now he is made archbiſhop of Toulouſe. When ' he has paid his debts, if a red hat be offered to him, ' he will be ſure to purchaſe it for money. I cannot ' better compare Mr de Marca than to the late Mr le ' Jay, who from a ſmall beginning became firſt preſident in the parliament of Paris (5).'

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 6, 7.

(3) An anſwer of the true French Catholics to the advertiſement of the Engliſh Catholics, *pag.* 53, *Edit.* 1589.

(4) Note, that, in order to juſtify Patin, the conſtraint that was put upon the preſident de Marca cannot be alledged; (ſee, above, citat. (3), for our Peter de Marca was the ſon of a military man. He had not therefore been obliged to make an abjuration, to preſerve an office. See the Life of Peter de Marca by the abbot Faget, *pag.* 7, 8.

[*C*] *He had already been employed to write a work of great importance.*] The hiſtory of Berne, which he publiſhed in 1640, confirmed extreamly the good opinion, which was conceived of his knowledge and great capacity. It was therefore believed, that he would be very fit to be employed about a nice and important matter, which offered it ſelf a little while after. The volume of the liberties of the Gallican church, which Peter du Puy had publiſhed, alarmed the partiſans of the court of Rome; and ſome of them endeavoured to make it believed, that theſe were the preliminaries of a ſchiſm, which was deſigned by cardinal Richelieu; as if his eminence had had ſome thoughts of erecting a Patriarchate in the kingdom, that ſo the Gallican church might have no dependance upon the Pope. A French Divine, under the name of Optatus Gallus (6), wrote upon this ſubject, and inſinuated, that the cardinal

(5) Patin, Letter lxix, *pag.* 294, of *Tom. I*, dated June 28, 1652.

(6) He was a prieſt of Paris, called Hersent. See the Life of F. Morin, *pag.* 52. The Jeſuit Michael Rabardeau wrote an anſwer to him, which was cenſured at Rome. See *Theophilus Raynaudus, de bonis & malis libris, num.* 514, *pag. m.* 295.

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general, and intendant; which he diſcharged till the year 1651, with ſo great capacity, that

nal had gained over a great perſon, who would write an apology for this new eſtabliſhment. This great perſon was no other than Peter de Marca. 'Sequens 'menſis Martius materiam præbuit novis ſermonibus, 'ob editionem Libelli Parænetici ad Antiſtites Regni; 'de cavendo ſchiſmate, quod præ foribus adeſſe nun- 'ciabat Optatus Gallus. Sub eo namque nomine la- 'tere voluit auctor; ſatis alioqui cognitus, ſi larvam 'illi detrahere liberet. Occaſionem turbandi ſumebat 'ex editione Voluminum de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ 'Gallicanæ, quæ anno ſuperiore prodierant curâ Cla- 'riſſ. Viri Petri Puteani; atque item ex rumore vul- 'gi, differentis eam Cardinali Richelio mentem eſſe; 'ut omiſſo Epiſcopo Romano, Patriarcha in Galliis 'conſtituatur. Ajebat præterea, magnum virum in 'partes tractum promiſſis ingentibus, qui ſcripto defen- 'deret quæ pro ea cauſa Cardinalis facturus erat, neque (*) Baluzius, ubi ſupra, pag. 23, 24. 'dubitatur, quin Marcam intelligeret (7). - - - - - - '*The following month of March furniſhed new matter for* '*diſcourſe, on account of the publication of the exhorta-* '*tory addreſs to the nobles of the kingdom, to guard a-* '*gainſt the ſchiſm, which Optatus Gallus pretended was* '*at their doors: for under that name the author concealed* '*himſelf, who is otherwiſe very well known, if I had* '*a mind to take off his maſk. He took occaſion to raiſe* '*diſturbances from the publication of the book concerning* '*the liberties of the Gallican church, which came out* '*the year before by the care of the learned Peter Putea-* '*nus; as alſo from the common report, that cardinal Ri-* '*chelieu intended to ſhake off the Pope's authority, and* '*eſtabliſh a patriarch in France. He ſaid farther, that* '*the cardinal had gained over a great man by large pro-* '*miſes, to write in defence of his proceedings thereup-* '*on; nor is it doubted but he meant de Marca.*' The king, underſtanding that an accuſation of this nature made him odious, by reaſon of the hatred, to which it expoſed the cardinal, gave orders to Mr de Marca to refute this Optatus Gallus, and to keep a certain Medium, which ſhould not prejudice the liberties of the Gallican church, and ſhould ſhew, that they did not leſſen the reverence due to the holy ſee. He accepted of this commiſſion, and executed it in the book, *de Concordia ſacerdotii & imperii, ſive de libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, which he publiſhed in 1641 (8). He declared in his preface, that he would not enter upon the diſcuſſion of the right, but only inſiſt upon matters of fact, that is, that he would only ſhew the bounds, which at all times had parted the two empires, *viz.* that of the temporal, and that of the ſpiritual prince (9). But, tho' he collected an infinite number of teſtimonies concerning the Pope's power; yet his book diſpleaſed the ultramontanes, who have very tender ears. *Quorum aures teneritudine quadam plus trahuntur, ut ait Auxiliaris præfectus apud antiquum ſcriptorem vitæ ſancti Hilarii Epiſcopi Arelatenſis* (10). The court of Rome ſhewed itſelf very backward to diſpatch the bulls, which were deſired for this author, who was lately nominated to the biſhopric of Conſerans. They acquainted him, that he muſt, in the firſt place, ſoften ſome paſſages of his work, which they cauſed to be examined with great exactneſs. Holſtenius, one of the examiners, declared that he found ſeveral things in it, which wanted explication, and ſome others, that ſecretly wounded the rights of the church. 'Hol- 'ſtenius quidem quamplurima in eo contineri retulit, 'quæ explicatione indigerent; quædam etiam eſſe 'quæ Romana jura violent, ſed in occulto. Tanto 'quippe ac tam ſingulari artificio librum hunc eſſe 'perfectum, ut diſtingui vix poſſit, quæ pars ejus 'Eccleſiæ Romanæ faveat, quæve noceat (11). - - - '*For that this book was ſo artfully written, that it* '*was difficult to diſtinguiſh wherein it was favoura-* '*ble, and wherein prejudicial, to the Romiſh church.*' One of the other examiners gave it a better teſtimony; he affirmed that this book proved ſo ſtrongly the authority of the ſee at Rome, that the author of it deſerved to be rewarded. His approbation was concealed and Mr de Marca could never get a copy of it. After the death of Urban VIII, cardinal Bichi earneſtly ſollicited Innocent X, to grant the bulls to the biſhop of Conſerans; but the aſſeſſor of the holy office revived the complaints, which had been made againſt the book *de concordia ſacerdotii & imperii*, which made the Pope examine the book anew. 'Innocentius naturâ 'cunctator, & qui per imprudentiam nihil eorum præ- 'termitti volebat quæ ad dignitatem Sedis Apoſtolicæ 'pertinere exiſtimabat, librum hunc examinandum 'de integro commiſit Cardinalibus Barberino &c (12). '*Innocent, naturally given to delay, and who would* '*have nothing omitted, thro' imprudence, which he thought* '*for the honour of the apoſtolic ſee, ordered this book to* '*be re-examined by the cardinals Barberini, &c.*' Mr de Marca perceiving things thus drawn out to a great length, and hoping for no good iſſue, unleſs he made ſatisfaction to the court of Rome, publiſhed a book at Barcelona in 1646; wherein he explained his opinion according to the mind of the Ultramontanes, and wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the Pope, wherein he made great promiſes of fidelity. 'Quo editionis librorum 'de Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii conſilium exponit, 'opus Apoſtolicæ Sedis cenſuræ ſubmittit, & Reges Ca- 'nonum cuſtodes, non vero auctores eſſe docet (13). '*In which he gives the reaſons of the publication of the* '*book* de Concordia, *&c. ſubmits the work to the cenſure of* '*the apoſtolical ſee, and declares, that kings are the guar-* '*dians, not the makers, of the canons.*' He confeſſed, that he had diſcharged in his book the duties of a preſident in the parliament, much better than thoſe of a biſhop; but it will be better to relate the very words which he made uſe of. 'Fateor eo in libro Principis 'partes pro muneris mei ratione foviſſe, Præſidemque 'potius impleviſſe quam Epiſcopum. - - - - & ne li- 'bri publicati invidia deſideriis meis obeſſet, libello al- 'tero Barcinone ed to, quem huic chartæ adjunxi, hal- 'lucinationes meas deprecatus ſum; Opus cenſuræ 'Beatitudinis Veſtræ ſubmiſi, quam prona mente am- 'plexurum voveo, & aſſertorem vindicemque libertatis 'eccleſiaſticæ futurum (14). - - - - - *I confeſs, that I* '*thought my ſelf in duty bound to ſide with my prince,* '*and that I diſcharged the preſident's, rather than the* '*biſhop's part: - - - - - and, leſt the publication of that* '*book ſhould prejudice me, I begged pardon for my errors* '*in another book, publiſhed at Barcelona, which is an-* '*nexed to theſe papers: I ſubmitted the work to the cen-* '*ſure of your Holineſs, which I promiſe to embrace with* '*a ready mind, and for the future to aſſert and defend* '*the liberties of the church.*' He did not forget, in his book, the great ſervice he pretended to have done the Ultramontanes, by publiſhing the decretal of Pope Vigilius (15). The court of Rome, according to their uſual artifice, continued ſtill their delays, after this ample ſatisfaction: but at laſt Mr de Marca obtained his bulls in the month of January 1647. He was ordained prieſt at Barcelona in the month of April 1648, and conſecrated biſhop, at Narbonne, in the month of October following. In this year, he was put to the proof, and he made it appear, that he was ſincere in promiſing a great zeal for the intereſt of the Pope. They had a mind to know his opinion about a queſtion, which made a great noiſe (16), and he gave it ſuch as Innocent X, could wiſh. 'Mota erat temporibus il- 'lis gravis quæſtio, de duplici capite in Eccleſia, ple- 'riſque unicum tantum caput, videlicet B. Petrum, 'in ea conſtituentibus; quibuſdam vero cenſentibus 'Paulum quoque Eccleſiæ caput cum Petro fuiſſe. Cum 'hæc quæſtio diſtraheret in partes ingenia hominum 'eruditorum, atque interim dignitas Romanæ Sedis 'tentari videretur; Innocentius, qui apprime noverat 'Marcam in primis Eccleſiaſticæ antiquitatis peritum 'eſſe, ratus præterea eveniſſe occaſionem qua ejus a- 'nimum erga Sedem Romanam experiretur, aperire 'ſententiam jubet. Ille nihil cunctatus, *Exercitationem* 'Barcinone V. Kalendas Junii anno MDCXLVII. 'ſcripſit *de ſingulari Primatu Petri*, quæ nondum e- 'dita eſt: quam Innocentio, ad quem ſtatim miſſa 'eſt, valde placuiſſe ex eo intellectum eſt, quod eam 'publice legi juſſit, ac ſingularem quandam de Marcæ 'in Sedem Romanam propenſione accepit opinionem '(17). - - - - *At that time, an important queſtion was* '*ſtarted, concerning a two-fold head of the church;* '*moſt people ſuppoſing there was but one head, namely* '*St Peter, but ſome being of opinion, that St Paul like-* '*wiſe was head of the church, together with St Peter.* '*This queſtion dividing the learned, and it ſeeming to* '*be an attack upon the dignity of the Roman ſee, Inno-* '*cent, who very well knew, that Marca was ſkilled* '*in eccleſiaſtical antiquities, and thinking this a pro-* '*per opportunity of trying his fidelity towards the Roman* 'ſee

(7) Id. ib. pag. 24, 25.

(8) Sic ſcriptionem ſuam temperavit, ut relicta diſcuſſione juris quod utrique Pontificati competit, ad ſolam ſacti inquiſitionem, quæ finis veterum poſſeſſorum demonſtrare poſſet, ſe contuleret; ut ipſe præfatur in Admoniſtione ad Lectorem. *Id. ib. pag.* 25.

(9) Ib. pag. 26.

(10) Ib. pag. 28.

(11) Ibid. pag. 37, 38.

(12) Ib. pag. 30.

(13) Ib. pag. 314

(14) Ib. pag. 324

(15) See the remark [*M*].

(16) That about the two heads of the Church, St Peter and St Paul.

(17) Ibid. pag. 37, 38.

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that the Catalans loved him to such a degree, as is scarce to be parallelled [D]. He went to take possession of his bishopric in August 1651. The next year, he was nominated to

' see, ordered him to give the world his opinion. He, ' without delay, wrote an Exercitation at Barcelona, ' the fifth of the kalends of June, 1647, concerning The ' singular primacy of St Peter, which is not yet pub- ' lished; which Innocent, to whom he immediately sent it, ' was very well pleased with, as appeared from his or- ' dering it to be publickly read, and conceiving an extra- ' ordinary opinion of Marca's affection for the see of ' Rome.'

Two things may be concluded from this narrative: I. That it is a great slavery for the court of France, to want the Pope's bulls for the making of bishops; for it hinders those, who are capable of maintaining the liberties of the Gallican church, and the interests of the king in his quarrels with Rome, from exerting all their strength: they aspire to bishoprics, and they see that they cannot arrive at them if they render themselves, too odious to the court of Rome; or at least that they must make a shameful satisfaction. It is not long (18), since this happened to some members of the assembly of the clergy in the year 1682. The second thing I conclude is, that Mr Sallo had no reason to take for an artifice, what was done at Rome, in 1664, against the new edition of Mr de Marca's book. It was pretended, that Baluzius had published that book *ex retractatis scriptis Petri de Marca*. This was not without ground. Did not this prelate make a recantation in the writing published at Barcelona? Did he not write to the Pope, to ask his pardon? Let us set down the very words of the decree, and the reflexion of Mr Sallo. ' Decretum sacræ Indicis congregationis, ' quo damnati, prohibiti, ac respective suspensi fue- ' runt infra scripti omnes libri. Romæ, 17. Novem- ' bris 1664. De concordia sacerdotii & Imperii, seu ' de libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ liber, à Stephano Ba- ' luzio impressus Parisiis, anno 1663. Perperam ad- ' scriptus Petro de Marca, ex cujus retractatis scriptis ' aliorumque erroneis sententiis operâ præfati Baluzii e- ' ditus est (19). - - - - - - *The decree of the sacred con- ' gregation of the Index, by which all the underwritten ' books were condemned, prohibited, and respectively sus- ' pended at Rome, November the seventeenth*, 1664. ' De Concordia, *&c. published by Stephen Baluzius, ' and printed at Paris*, 1663; *falsly ascribed to Peter ' de Marca, from whose recanted works, and the erro- ' neous opinions of others, it is published by the care of ' the aforesaid Baluzius.*' ' The court of Rome having ' always their private views, it is not very safe to adhere ' scrupulously to their censures. Wherefore this de- ' cree ought not to hinder us from having always ' as great an esteem as we had for the book of the ' Liberties of the Gallican church, written by the late ' Mr de Marca. In effect, it contains nothing but ' very certain maxims, and which may pass for the ' fundamental laws of this monarchy. Likewise we ' ought not to have the worse opinion of the since- ' rity of Mr Baluze, altho' he is accused in this de- ' cree of having falsly attributed this book to Mr de ' Marca. For it is plain, that the congregation made ' use of this artifice, because they durst not directly at- ' tack the memory of this great archbishop, and they ' thought it would be more easy to cry down his book, ' by substituting in his place a person of less eminent ' dignity in the church (20).'

To conclude the history of this book, I must add further, that Baluzius has procured two editions of it since the death of the author; one in 1663, and the other in 1669. These editions are larger than the first, as it appears from these Latin words (21). ' Opus *de concordia sacerdotii & imperii* . . . . . altero ab ' ipsius obitu anno augustiori habitu adornatum, ite- ' rum emisit in lucem Baluzius, & non saltem priores ' quatuor libros recensuit, additionibus ab Auctore ' compositis auxit, ac suis notis, ubi occasio tulit, ' illustravit; sed & integrum Tomum alterum nunquam ' antea editum ex autographo summi Viri descriptum ' addidit, nonnulla Antiquitatis illustra monumenta ' adjecit, integrosque in eo Libros, quod Gallice essent ' scripti, in Latinam linguam vertit. Cumque Opus ' hoc tanto favore eruditorum fuerit exceptum & com- ' muni approbatione commendatum, ut intra breve ' tempus distracta exempla fuerint, istud anno ' MDCLXIX recognitum emendatius copiosiusque ' literato iterum orbi dedit. - - - - *Within one year after ' his death, Baluzius published a more pompous edition ' of the work* de Concordia, &c. *and not only revised ' the four first books, augmented them with the author's ' additions, and illustrated them with his own notes, as ' occasion offered; but added another volume, never be- ' fore published, transcribed from the great author's ma- ' nuscript, added some illustrious monuments of antiquity, ' and translated whole books of it, which were in French, ' into Latin. And this work being so well received by ' the learned, and in so great esteem, that the copies ' were all sold off in a short time, he republished it, re- ' vised, corrected, and enlarged, in* 1669.' He has caused it to be reprinted, with additions and corrections, in the year 1704 (22).

Deckherrus has committed some gross mistakes, in speaking of the writing of Optatus Gallus, and of the book of our Mr de Marca: they were criticised in a letter, added to the new edition of his book in 1686 (23).

Note, that the author of the famous book *de libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, published in 1685, does not speak favourably of the conduct of the author of the *concordia sacerdotii & imperii*. ' He insinuates, that ' Mr de Marca does not act with sincerity, and that, ' tho' he wrote like a man who would make his court ' in France, yet he had a cautious regard for the ' court of Rome; for he seems, in certain places, by ' virtue of his citations, to have established the point; ' but, on a sudden, he gives the advantage to the o- ' other side, by citing examples and testimonies con- ' trary to the former, or by limiting the former with ' a thousand restrictions: and then, after all this, he ' lessens also the advantage of the second party. At first ' he grants all, and then he regains it insensibly, but ' in such a manner, that he makes the balance incline ' towards the secular power (24).'

[D] *The Catalans loved him to such a degree, as is scarce to be parallelled.*] This appears by the prayers and pilgrimages, which they made for his health, in 1647. The city of Barcelona made a public vow to our lady of Montserrat, and sent thither in their name twelve capuchins, and twelve maids. The latter travelled with their hair dishevelled, and bare-foot. Mr de Marca was persuaded, that so many vows and prayers obtained his health, and he would not leave Catalonia without going to offer up his prayers at Montserrat (25). He went thither in 1651, and there he wrote a little treatise, *de origine ac progressu cultus B. Mariæ Virginis in Monteserrato*, which he left in the archives of the monastery (26). It was lost, because perhaps the author did not admit all kind of traditions. He sent a copy of it, in 1660, to Francis Crespus, professor of Divinity at Lerida, who was writing a history of this convent of Montserrat. He advised him to use a little more discretion than the Spaniards do. ' Paucis ' agit de antiquitate loci; admonetque Crespum, ne in ' ea historia scribenda, falsis, uti Hispani solent, te- ' stimoniis utatur; *quæ Gallis*, inquit, *fabularum istiusmodi detegendarum peritissimis, ludibrium debent, & ' reliquæ narrationi, licet alioqui veræ, auctoritatem de- ' munt* (27). - - - - *He briefly treats of the antiquity ' of the place; and advises Crespus not to use false te- ' stimonies in writing that history, as the Spaniards do*; ' which, *says he*, the French, who are not easily im- ' posed upon by such fables, laugh at, and which take ' off from the credit of the rest of the narration, tho' ' otherwise true.' This dissertation was published in 1681, by the care of Baluzius. Note, that Mr de Marca, this great author, did not disdain to write about such things, as were more becoming a Monk than a counsellor of state: as when he wrote the history of our lady of Betaram (28), at the desire of a devout priest called Charpentier, who was the founder of that chapel, as he was afterwards of that of Mont Valerien, near Paris. This history was published at Barcelona (29).

(18) I write this on the 18th of December, 1695.

(19) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *Jan.* 12, 1665.

(20) Sallo, Journal des Sçavans, *ibid.*

(21) Acta Eruditor. Lipsiens. ann. 1682, *pag.* 327.

(22) See the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the twelfth of January, 1705.

(23) *See* Deckherrus, de Scriptis adespotis, *pag.* 384. Edit. 1686.

(24) *News from the Republic of Letters, July* 1685, pag. 718. *of the second edition.*

(25) Baluzius, ubi supra, *pag.* 45.

(26) Ib. pag. 46.

(27) Ib. pag. 48.

(28) In Berne. in the diocese of Lescar.

(29) Taken from the Life of Mr de Marca, written by the abbot Faget, *pag.* 43.

[E] *He*

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to the archbiſhopric of Toulouſe, and wrote to the Pope a letter, which deſerves a remark [E]. He took poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of Toulouſe, without any pomp, in the month of March 1655. He aſſiſted the next year at the general aſſembly of the clergy of France, where he oppoſed the Janſeniſts [F]. He was preparing himſelf for reſidence

[E] *He wrote a letter to the Pope, which deſerves a remark.*] The tranſlation of a biſhop from one ſee to another, ſtands in need of a particular favour from the court of Rome: Wherefore Mr de Marca biſhop of Conſerans, being nominated to the archbiſhopric of Toulouſe, paid his reſpects to the Pope with the greateſt addreſs that was poſſible; and tho' he knew that Exuperius, biſhop of Toulouſe, was not the ſame Exuperius, who had commanded in Spain, yet he gave it out as a thing certain, in the letter he wrote to Innocent X. By this means he drew an agreeable parallel between Pope Innocent I, and Pope Innocent X, and between himſelf and this Exuperius. 'O me ſe-
'licem, quando veteris illius atque ſanctiſſimi Sacer-
'dotis Exuperii exemplo, (qui ex Præſidatu in Hiſpa-
'niis acto Cathedram illam ſuſcipiens, eam deinde
'rexit juxta pium atque prudens Innocentii primi ad
'ejus conſulta reſponſum) licebit per Innocentii X
'decretum poſt geſtos Magiſtratus Regios in Gallia &
'Hiſpania, Epiſcopatus quoque curis functo mihi,
'Toloſanæ Sedis adminiſtrationem capeſſere (30). - - - *O*
'*happy me, when, after the example of that ancient and*
'*moſt holy biſhop Exuperius, (who, after having com-*
'*manded in Spain, took upon him that ſee, and governed*
'*it according to the pious and prudent direction of In-*
'*nocent the firſt,) I may, by the decree of Innocent the*
'*tenth, after having born offices under the king in France*
'*and Spain, take upon me the epiſcopal function, and go-*
'*vern the ſee of Toulouſe.*' And therefore he made no ſcruple to vent this falſity, with which he thought proper to tickle the Pope, and to render him more favourable to himſelf. Some body obſerved, that this was a falſhood; but Mr de Marca being told of this criticiſm, laughed at it, and called ſuch a cenſurer a low wit, who did not ſee the difference between a letter of compliment and a hiſtory. Baluzius has given us ſo good a narrative of this, and in terms ſo well choſen, that it would be an injury to the judicious reader, not to ſet down his words. There he will find much more matter for reflexions than in the ſhort account I have given of it. 'Sciebat ſane
'vir eruditiſſimus diverſum ab Exuperio Epiſcopo To-
'loſano fuiſſe Exuperium illum, qui Præſidatum in
'Hiſpaniis egit. Quis enim ignorat? Verum eum ar-
'gumentum eſſet accommodatiſſimum ad rem quam
'tractabat, ſciretque præterea Principum aures ita eſſe
'formatas, ut nihil niſi jucundum lætumque accipere
'velint, vim aliquam inferre veritati non abnuit, ut
'Pontificem alioqui difficilem ac moroſum ſibi faven-
'tem ac propitium habere poſſet. Quod ideo retuli,
'ut eatur obviam ſcrupuloſæ cujuſdam ſcriptoris dili-
'gentiæ, qui in adverſariis ſuis adnotavit lapſam heic
'eſſe Marcam: de quo admonitus à me vir optimus
'paucis ante obitum menſibus, riſit hominis ſupinita-
'tem, qui non animadverteret cujuſmodi argumen-
'tum in ea epiſtola tractaretur. Neque enim hiſtoria
'ſcribebatur. Non diſplicet profecto hominibus eru-
'ditis, quod oratores veri limites nonnunquam exce-
'dunt in compoſitione verborum, aut auditorum au-
'res aliqua voluptate permulceant, & alliciant (31).
'- - - - *No doubt, that learned man very well knew,*
'*that the Exuperius, who commanded in Spain, was*
'*not the ſame Exuperius, who was biſhop of Toulouſe.*
'*For who is ignorant of it? But finding it an argu-*
'*ment to his purpoſe, and knowing beſides, that the*
'*ears of princes are ſo formed, that they will receive*
'*nothing but what is pleaſing, he ſcrupled not to offer*
'*ſome violence to truth, to inſinuate himſelf into the*
'*good graces of a Pope, otherwiſe intractable and mo-*
'*roſe. I have related this, to obviate the ſcrupulous*
'*exactneſs of a certain author, who, in his* adverſaria,
'*has obſerved that Marca is here miſtaken: which*
'*when I informed the good biſhop of, a few months*
'*before his death, he laughed at the thoughtleſſneſs of the*
'*man, in not conſidering the ſubject-matter of that let-*
'*ter. Learned men, it is certain, are not diſpleaſed, that*
'*orators ſometimes exceed the bounds of truth, to tickle*
'*and pleaſe the ears of their auditors.*'

(30) Baluzius, in lapsa, *p.* 53.

(31) Id. ib. *pag.* 54.

[F] *In the aſſembly of the clergy, in* 1656, *he oppoſed the Janſeniſts.*] It was an unhappy thing for them, that this great prelate met with ſuch great difficulties at Rome, when he wanted a bull to be biſhop of Conſerans. This taught him, that he muſt not loſe any opportunity of repairing the damage, which his *Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii* had done him in that country. Now what more favourable occaſion could he expect, than that of ſeconding the court of Rome in the proceedings againſt the diſciples of Janſenius? Add to this, that he had been repreſented as a Janſeniſt beyond the Alps, and that this bad office had for a long time retarded the expedition of the bull, which was neceſſary for making him archbiſhop of Toulouſe. I do not know, whether among the many pieces, that have been written on calumny, it was ever thought fit to write one concerning the uſefulneſs of that crime. They who would employ themſelves on this ſubject, would be much to blame, if they forgot the advantage, that may be drawn from calumny in religious diſputes; for ſometimes an able and very active man would keep himſelf neuter, or endeavour to accommodate matters in a fair way, if he was not defamed as a favourer of heretics. Then, to clear himſelf, and to prevent the diſadvantage, that may ariſe from ſuch a report, he is obliged to ſet up for a perſecutor (32): Whatever might be the cauſe of Mr de Marca's zeal againſt the Janſeniſts, it is certain that they found him a terrible adverſary. Alexander VII thanked him heartily for it. Take the words of Baluzius. 'Cleri Gallicani Co-
'mitia Pariſiis habebantur. Illuc itaque Marca ſe
'conferens anno M. DC. LVI. perhonorifice in eo
'cœtu ſuſceptus XIII Kalend. Aprileis, deinceps in
'plurimis occaſionibus oſtendit quanta ingenii vi pol-
'leret, & quam præclara eruditione ac doctrina præ-
'ditus eſſet. Nam auctoritatem Romani Pontificis,
'quam per ſummum nefas aliqui deprimere conaban-
'tur, fortiter & ſtrenue vindicavit adverſus æmulos.
'Gnarum id Alexander VII qui poſt abſoluta de-
'mum Comitia, honorificas ad Marcam literas die
'XVII Novembris anni M. DC. LVII. ſcripſit:
'quibus ei grates egit, ob aſſertam Sedis Apoſtolicæ
'dignitatem, & ut deinceps pergeret in eadem reve-
'rentia, verbis amantiſſimis hortatus eſt. Janſeniſ-
'mum vero, tum maxime vires ſuas colligentem, ſic
'induſtria & auctoritate ſua repreſſit, ut ob hoc ipſum
'promeritus ſit iram hominum ejus ſectæ, qui ne
'mortuo quidem pepercerunt (33). - - - - *The aſſembly*
'*of the French clergy was held at Paris. Thither Mar-*
'*ca repairing in* 1656, *and being very honourably re-*
'*ceived in that aſſembly, on the twentieth of March, he*
'*gave many proofs of his abilities and great learning:*
'*for he ſtrenuouſly defended the authority of the Pope,*
'*which ſome wickedly endeavoured to leſſen. Alexan-*
'*der VII was apprized of this, and did Marca the ho-*
'*nour of writing to him, the ſeventeenth of November,*
'1657; *thanking him for aſſerting the dignity of the*
'*apoſtolical See, and exhorting him in a moſt friendly*
'*manner to perſiſt in the ſame reſpectful ſentiments. He*
'*likewiſe ſo checked the growth of Janſeniſm, which at*
'*that time exerted all it's ſtrength, by his diligence and*
'*authority, that he drew on himſelf the reſentment of*
'*that ſect, which did not ſpare him even after his*
'*death.*' He adds, that, before the concluſion of this aſſembly (34), there appeared a ſatire againſt Mr de Marca, which was followed by another ſome time after. 'Infauſtis auſpiciis prodiit libellus famoſus,
'ſub titulo Epiſtolæ ad Illuſtriſſimum Dominum de
'Marca Archiepiſcopum Toloſanum, quo ejus fama
'atrociter proſcindebatur, & auctoritas Romanæ Sedis
'per ſummam audaciam aperte violabatur. Libellum
'hunc ſecutus eſt alius, haud moderatior; & ipſe, ut
'prior, abſque auctoris nomine (35). - - - - - *An infa-*
'*mous libel appeared under the title of,* A Letter to the
'moſt illuſtrious Lord de Marca, Archbiſhop of Tou-
'louſe, *in which his reputation was torn to pieces,*
'*and the authority of the Roman ſee very boldly and*
'*openly attacked. This libel was followed by another, not*
'*more moderate, and, like the former, anonymus.*' Some of his friends adviſed him not to anſwer thoſe libels, and others adviſed him to do it. He conſidered with himſelf which advice he ſhould follow, and at laſt reſolved to be ſilent (36). He was contented to ſee the agreement

(32) Compare with this the article FERRIER, remark [L], towards the end.

(33) Baluzius, ibid. *pag.* 59.

(34) It ended in the month of March 1657.

(35) Ib. *pag.* 64.

(36) Id. ib. *pag.* 65. Yet he wrote ſomething againſt thoſe libels, which Baluzius publiſhed in 1681.

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residence in 1658; when, to remove all the scruples that might trouble him, if he had continued a long time at Paris, the king made him minister of state. He followed the court in its progress to Lyons, and then was present in the states of Languedoc, from whence he went to Toulouse in the month of April 1659. He presided in the states of that province in the same city, while the king was there, and presented the rolls to his majesty. The next year he went to Roussillon, to regulate the limits with the commissioners of the king of Spain. The conferences were of a very singular character; for he was obliged to make several critical remarks upon some words of Pomponius Mela and Strabo [G]. He made a journey to Paris in the month of September in the same year, and died there June 29, 1662, a little after he had obtained the bulls for the archbishopric of that city [H], to which he was named without making any interest, as soon as the king had accepted the resignation of cardinal des Rets. He left the care of his MSS to Baluzius, who had been in his family ever since the twenty ninth of June 1656 (g). He could not chuse a more worthy depositary; for Baluzius made it appear from that time, that he had a great zeal for the glory of the deceased, and all the capacity requisite for publishing such a deposit [I]. He promised the life of his Mæcenas, as a very large work, setting forth the particulars of the noble actions, and fine qualities of this prelate. I think he has not executed this design. The public hath lost much by it, although the letter, I have cited (b), and from which I have taken the chronological narrative, which I have set down, does very clearly, and pretty largely declare the virtues, merits, and actions of this archbishop. Some time after, his life appeared, written by the abbot Faget, with three or four dissertations; which raised a dispute between him and Baluzius [K]. There are in the work of this abbot many particulars, which may be read with pleasure, by those who love to know all that concerns great men. There we may see how Mr de Marca renounced all the pleasures of youth, out of love

(g) *Taken from a Latin letter of Baluzius, written to Sorbiere,* de Vita, Rebus gestis, Moribus, & Scriptis illustrissimi viri Petri de Marca, *printed at Paris in* 1663, *in* 8vo.

(b) *It has been enlarged and prefixed to the book* De Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, *of the Edit.* 1669.

agreement of the empire and the priesthood with respect to those two libels; for they were condemned to be burnt, both at Paris and at Rome. Here follow the titles of three pieces that appeared against him. *A Letter from the Author of the most important Rules to my Lord de Marca Archbishop of Toulouse*, 1657. *An Answer to the Letter of my Lord Archbishop of Toulouse about the Consultation of the Clergy, November* 14, 1656. *An Answer to a Letter lately published about what passed in the Assembly of the Clergy, November* 14, 1656. The first of these three pieces was preceded by this; *Very important rules drawn from two passages, one of the Council of France, and the other of Glaber, alledged by my Lord de Marca archbishop of Toulouse.* This is not at all satirical.

I have just now cast my eyes upon a book (37), wherein I find something, which shews, that the resentment of the Jansenists is not yet over. In this book it is said, that the archbishop of Roan (38), had a mind to compose the disputes of Jansenism, during the general assembly of the clergy in 1657. 'This negotiation did not continue long. The archbishop of Roan had audience upon this subject, 'May 3d, of cardinal Mazarin; who, as this prelate the same day informed Mr de Bagnols, declared 'he had a mind to accommodate this affair, and 'that they had agreed, his eminence and he, to 'treat of this matter with Mr de Marca archbishop 'of Toulouse, who probably made no secret of it to 'F. Annat. After a second audience, which the 'archbishop of Roan had of the cardinal the next 'day, this prelate related, that, having been two 'full hours in conference with that chief minister, 'and with the archbishop of Toulouse, his eminence had shewn more firmness, than he had done 'before, and had made a greater opposition to the 'project of accommodation; and that the archbishop of Toulouse spoke vehemently against it, and 'called the distinction of the Jansenists of right and 'fact, a meer chimera. This is very probable; for 'this prelate, being a true Politician, was the father of the inseparability of right and fact, a 'true chimera which he was in love with, or seemed 'to be so, because it served his ends. This prelate would not give over his own designs, in order to follow those of the archbishop of Roan. 'He was better skilled than he, in matters of policy and intrigue. He had framed his scheme, and 'taken his measures with F. Annat, upon a different 'plan from this, which could not please that father. 'In fine, he had, for this kind of affairs and many 'others, the entire confidence of the cardinal, and 'the whole support of the court. Thus the archbishop of Roan took care not to push on this affair, 'upon better information (39).'

(37) Printed in 1700, and intituled, *The Peace of Clement IX, &c.*

(38) Francis Harly, who died archbishop of Paris.

(39) *The Peace of Clement IX, pag.* 144.

[G] *He was obliged to make several critical remarks upon some words of Pomponius Mela and Strabo.*] It was said in the treaty of the Pyrenees, that the limits between France and Spain, in the county of Roussillon, should be the same with those, which anciently separated Gaul from Spain. It was therefore necessary to examine where the ancient Geographers bounded Gaul on that side. The learning of our archbishop was a great help. You will find the particulars of all these conferences in a posthumous work of this author (40).

[H] *He died at Paris . . . . a little after he had obtained the bulls for the archbishopric of that city.*] The little time that he lived, after his nomination to the archbishopric of Paris, engaged some body to write an epitaph upon him, of six verses, which is known to every body.

(40) Intituled, *Marca Hispanica.* The *Bibl. Universf.* has an abstract of it, at the beginning of *Tom. xv.*

Cy git l'illustre de Marca,
Que le plus grand des Rois marqua,
Pour le Prelat de son Eglise:
Mais le mort qui le remarqua.
Et qui se plait à la surprise,
Tout aussi-tot le demarqua.

Here lies the illustrious De Marca, whom the greatest of kings nominated to be bishop of his church: But, death, who observed it, and who takes a pleasure in surprising men, on a sudden cancelled the nomination.

[I] *Baluzius had a great zeal . . . . and all the capacity requisite for the publication of this deposit.*] To be convinced of this truth, we need only see the prefaces, notes, additions, &c. wherewith he has enriched the posthumous pieces of his Mæcenas, as he published them. I have already spoken of the new editions, which he procured of that famous work, *de Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii.* I must now add, that he published three or four dissertations of that learned man in 1669 (41). They concern the authority of the Pope, and that of the patriarchs and primates; a very difficult canon of the council of Orange, and the first establishment of the Christian faith in Gaul. He published several others in 1681, the subjects whereof you may see in the Journal of Leipsic (42). In 1688, he published a folio, with this title, *Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus, hoc est Geographica & Historica descriptio Cataloniæ, Ruscinonis, & circumjacentium populorum, auctore illustrissimo viro Petro de Marca.* All the journalists make mention of it.

(41) See the Journal of Leipsic, 1682, *pag.* 327.

(42) Ib. p. 328. *See also the* Journal des Sçavans *March* 21, 1681 *pag.* 117.

[K] *His life, composed by the abbot Faget . . . raised a dispute between him and Baluzius.*] The abbot Faget, late agent of the clergy, and son of an aunt by the mother's side to Mr de Marca, published at Paris, in 1668, the

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love for his books, while he was a ſchool-boy. He foretold to his ſchool-fellows, who loſt their time in vain recreations, what a difference there would be one day, between their glory and his [L]. It was at Toulouſe, that he laid the foundations of his great knowledge. He neglected no means, whereby he might become a good Grecian [M]; which

the life of this prelate, together with a treatiſe of the Euchariſt, another of the ſacrifice of the maſs, another about the erection of the patriarchate of Conſtantinople, another in French about the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, and ſome other ſacraments. He was the author of the life, but not of the diſſertations, added to it: theſe were written by Mr de Marca. He could never obtain the approbation of the faculty of Divinity, without conſenting, that the French treatiſe ſhould be left out, and that ſome leaves ſhould be re-printed, to alter ſeveral things in the others. The Printer, who was of the Reformed religion, knew very well, that ſome leaves were re-printed on purpoſe to omit ſome things, which favoured the Proteſtants. What does he do? He retains all the paſſages, which were to be changed, and ſo delivered a copy to Mr Claude, juſt ſuch as he had printed it, before the commiſſioners of the faculty of Divinity made theſe changes in it (43). From this copy, or ſuch another (44), an edition of the book was printed in foreign countries, as Baluzius had foreſeen (45). To this edition were added the letters, which Baluzius and Mr Faget wrote againſt each other: For you muſt know, that, Baluzius thought he ought not to be ſilent, when he ſaw, that the probity and orthodoxy of Mr de Marca were going to be called into queſtion. He wrote therefore, two letters to preſident de Marca (46). I will here give one paſſage of the firſt (47): 'You 'know, Sir, that his enemies have wickedly pub-'liſhed, that, in the affairs, which paſſed thro' his 'hands, he did not ſo much conſider truth and 'juſtice, as his own intereſt and ambition, having 'always endeavoured to riſe higher and higher in 'the church, and that theſe conſiderations were the 'reaſon, why he often betrayed the truth, to flat-'ter the court of Rome. We did what we could 'to ſtop theſe diſcourſes, and hinder them from 'making any impreſſion on the minds of rational 'men. But Mr Faget, with one daſh of his pen, 'has overthrown, if we may believe him, all that 'the true ſervants of the late archbiſhop were able 'to eſtabliſh in the ſpace of many years.' Let us ſee another paſſage, taken out of the ſecond letter (48). 'I think my ſelf obliged to acquaint you, 'that the book, which Mr Faget has publiſhed, makes 'a great noiſe in this city, upon the account of 'ſome expreſſions that have crept into it, which 'ſeem to favour the error of the Calviniſts and 'Lutherans concerning the ſacrament of the Eucha-'riſt; which is one of the moſt eſſential points of 'our religion, and at this day moſt controverted. 'If it be true, which I can hardly believe, that the 'late archbiſhop wrote the treatiſes, which Mr Faget 'has printed under his name, of which he boaſts 'in the preface, and in the life, to have the ori-'ginals, written with the author's own hand; we 'cannot hinder the late archbiſhop's being accounted 'by many people a heretic on the ſubject of the Eu-'chariſt, and conſequently his reputation will re-'ceive great damage. . . . . You cannot ima-'gine how this edition has given occaſion to all ſorts 'of people to talk of him. The Huguenots expreſs a 'great joy, it being a thing, which comes very ſeaſon-'ably to confirm their opinion, and the enemies of the 'late archbiſhop take occaſion from thence to blaſt his 'memory, and blacken his reputation.' The abbot Faget, being treated with the utmoſt contempt in theſe two letters, was enraged at it, and publiſhed two other letters full of rancour. I ſhall not dwell upon it, but only touch one point, which relates to a fact, I have mentioned in the body of this article. Mr Faget (49) denies, that Mr de Marca entruſted his MSS with Baluzius. Let us ſee what Baluzius did, when he found the lie given him upon this head. 'I will obſerve to 'you, *ſays he to the biſhop of Tulle*, that having cauſed 'him to be rebuked by a good prieſt of Roüergue, 'of his acquaintance, called Guibert, becauſe, to the 'prejudice of the truth well known to him, he has 'affirmed in that life, that I was guilty of forgery, 'when I publiſhed, that the late archbiſhop had given 'me his papers, when he was dying, and entruſted 'me with the edition of his works; he anſwered, that 'it concerned him in point of reputation to ſhew, that 'this was not true; becauſe, ſaid he, if this were be-'lieved, it would follow, that the deceaſed arch-'biſhop had not a good opinion of me, and did 'not think me capable of taking care of the edi-'tion of his works. And this he ſaid alſo, in general 'terms, to a perſon of great merit and virtue, whom 'you know, who did me the honour to tell me of it. 'This is, my lord, the fine principle, upon which he 'grounds his calumny and impoſture.' Without eſpouſing any party in this quarrel (50), I will only ſay in general, that that there are a thouſand falſhoods printed, which have no other foundation than the point of honour; for when once we perceive, that a naked declaration of the truth will do us a prejudice in the world, things are related quite otherwiſe than they happened.

(43) A letter of Baluzius to the biſhop of Tulle, printed at the end of the book, publiſhed by Mr Faget, Edit. 1669.

(44) Baluzius, in his ſecond letter to preſident de Marca, confeſſes, that Mr Faget *had already made ſeveral of his friends ſee it, and that the Biſhop of Tulle had ſold ſome of them*, before there was any thought of ſuppreſſing the edition.

(45) Provided there remain but one copy in the hands of a private perſon, ten thouſand ſhall be preſerved from that, wherever they have a mind to make it public, which I am certain they will not fail to do ſpeedily, in Holland and at Geneva. *Baluzius's ſecond letter to preſident de Marca, at the end of the book of the abbé Faget, Edit.* 1669.

(46) Son of the archbiſhop of Paris.

(47) It is dated at Paris April 22, 1668.

(48) Dated at Paris May 27, 1668.

(49) In Vita Petri de Marca, *pag.* 118.

[L] *He foretold to his ſchool-fellows . . . . what a difference there would be one day between their glory and his.*] A young man of your quality, would they ſay to him, ought not to ſhun company, nor to forſake play, dancing, and ſuch other diverſions. You are like one that is dead and buried. A time will come, anſwered he to them, when I ſhall make my name famous, but ye ſhall remain in darkneſs. *Exprobrabant adoleſcentem genere clarum non decere, à virorum & mulierum nobilium civitatis colloquiis & ſocietate recedere, nec præſtantes animi dotes exercere, non ludos, nec ludicra, neque nocturnas hyemis choreas, ut aliis ſolitum erat, frequentare, poſſeque eum, virum abſconditum jure nominari. Ad quæ ille, quum veniſſet temporis occaſio, futurum ſe omnibus permotum, ubi latendum illis foret, peracute reſpondit* (51). The event juſtified this anſwer. Mr de Marca became one of the greateſt men of his age, and appeared on the higheſt ſtages; and perhaps not one of thoſe, who gave him this reproof, was ever known two leagues from their own pariſh. This is a good leſſon for ſcholars that are ſtudious, and for thoſe that are debauched. It is good to ſet before their eyes ſuch an example as this; which was the reaſon why I made this remark.

(50) Note, that Baluzius, in the Life of Mr de Marca, Edit. 1669, refutes Mr Faget as to the depoſit, and many other things.

(51) Fagetus, in Vita Petri de Marca, *pag.* 9.

[M] *He neglected no means to become a good Grecian.*] He gave proof of this in 1642, by publiſhing a Greek MS which he found in the king's library (52), and which he tranſlated into Latin. It was the decretal epiſtle of Pope Vigilius, confirming the ſecond council of Conſtantinople: he added to it a learned diſſertation, the anathemas of the ſame council, a letter of Eutyches to this Pope, and this Pope's anſwer (53). Theſe anathemas, and theſe two letters, had never appeared before but in Latin. The Decretal had never been publiſhed in any language (54). He pretended to have done a great ſervice to the Pope by this work; for he obſerved, in the book he printed at Barcelona, in 1646, to remove the occaſion of complaint, which retarded the diſpatching of his bulls; he obſerved, I ſay, that the publiſhing of this Decretal ſerved very much to confirm the authority of the holy ſee above the œcumenical councils, which was much ſhaken in the ſchools of France. *Quid de hac editione poſtea ipſe ſenſerit, accipe ex libello ejus Barcinone edito* MDCXLVI *cujus ſuprà mentionem feci:* Sane explicari non poteſt, quantum hujus Epiſtolæ publicatio profuerit ad firmandum Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritatem erga Concilia Generalia; quæ apud Gallicanos Academiarum Magiſtros, majorum ſuorum decretis inhærentes, valde nutabat (55). See the margin (56). The diſſertation was inſerted in the edition of the councils, which was publiſhed at the Louvre, as alſo the diſſertation of the ſame author, *De primatu Lugdunenſi & cæteris primatibus, cum notis ad Canones aliquot Concilii Claromontani ſub Urbano II celebrati* (57). I cannot believe what the abbot Faget ſays, *viz.* that de Marca, coming from his ſtudies, and returning from Toulouſe to his father's houſe, did ſo confound ſome Huguenot gentlemen, who provoked him to diſpute in a baron's houſe, that they were forced to ſend for a miniſter of Pau, a man famous for his learning, to come to their aſſiſtance; who propoſed ſome ſophiſms, of which this young ſcholar

(52) Interdum codices manuſcriptos Græcos Bibliothecæ regiæ, ut erat linguæ Græcæ peritiſſimus, Marca pervolvebat. *Faget, ibid. pag.* 44.

(53) Id. ib.

(54) Baluzius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 39.

(55) Id. ib.

(56) *Here are the words of the abbot Faget*, ubi ſupra, pag. 44. Eam (*decretalem*) non ſolum ut hactenus incognitam ille pluribus fecit, ſed etiam ad quod multum affirmandam Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritatem contra quorundam Theologorum ſententiam in Concilia generalia prodeſſet.

(57) Baluzius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 40.

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which very much diſtinguiſhed him from other learned men. One of his chief excellencies was, that he could explain the moſt intricate matters without ſtanding in need of a guide [*N*].

ſcholar diſcovered the weakneſs, by a paſſage of St Paul (58). The miniſter had nothing to reply, but that the text of St Paul was not ſuch as he alledged it. De Marca taking out of his pocket a Greek Teſtament, prepared himſelf to juſtify his citation; but the miniſter declared, that he underſtood nothing of that language. This ſtory of Mr Faget looks like a tale forged at pleaſure. *Allatis quibuſdam argutiis, quarum aciem citato ex Epiſtolis Divi Pauli loco novus athletes omnino retudit. A tam expreſſo rei probandæ textu Ψευδοπροφήτην nullo alio modo explicare ſe potuit, quam aliter in Divo Paulo legi pertinaciter conteſtando. Marca vero confeſtim in Novi Teſtamenti Græci abſque interpretatione Latina, quem fere ſemper ſecum ferebat, codice, laudatum locum ipſiſmet, quæ attulerat verbis, conceptum indicavit. Sed cum ſibi penitus ignotam eam linguam profiteretur Pſeudominiſter, ſi non omnino cauſſa cecidiſſe, delufus ſaltem ab adoleſcente ſuis etiam viſus eſt* (59).

(58) Faget, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 11.

(59) Id. ib. *pag.* 12.

[*N*] *Without ſtanding in need of a guide.*] Moſt learned men are only fit to cultivate the lands, which have been already tilled: they can ſmooth or enlarge a way, which has been already made. There are but a few, *quibus arte benigna & meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan* (60), that can plough up grounds that were never tilled, and make a way through a foreſt, where no man had ever paſſed. Mr de Marca was of this ſmall ſelect number. *The rank, he held among the critics, was no leſs conſiderable in the commonwealth of learning, than that he had among the prelates in the church and ſtate* (61). The author, from whom I borrow theſe words, relates the praiſes, which Father Combefis (62), and Father Labbe (63), have given to the great parts of this prelate, and he adds, *That the certainty of his conjectures, and the liberty of ſpeaking his thoughts . . . . would have enabled him to carry his criticiſms much further, if he had not been reſtrained by conſiderations, which every one knows.*

(60) Juven. Sat. XIV, ver. 34.

(61) Baillet, *Judgments of the Learned, Tom. ii, num.* 245.

(62) Combef. Recenſion. Auctor. Concionat. *pag.* 15.

(63) Labbe, Epiſt. Dedicator. Diſſertat. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. & Tomo xi, Concil. General. ad Concil. Claromontan.

MARCELLINUS (AMMIANUS) holds a very honourable rank among thoſe, who have written the Roman hiſtory. He was a Greek by birth, as he declares at the end of his laſt book [*A*], and a native of Antioch, as may be gathered from a letter of Libanius (*a*). This, together with the military life, which he followed, ought to make us excuſe the harſhneſs of his Latin. This defect, and that of ſome high-flown digreſſions, are abundantly compenſated by many excellent qualities, which are to be found in this author; as for inſtance, the little partiality he ſhewed againſt Chriſtianity, tho' he was a Pagan [*B*], and the exact enquires he made, that he might write nothing but what he was certain of, and whereby he has informed us of many things, which otherwiſe we ſhould not have known. His authority is alſo very conſiderable, becauſe he was an eye-witneſs of many things he wrote of. While he was yet very young he liſted himſelf a ſoldier, and was preſently enrolled among thoſe, who were called *Protectores domeſtici*; which may induce us to believe, that he was of a good family; ſince it was uſual for youths of the firſt quality to enter themſelves in that body (*b*); and he, who could be promoted to it, thought himſelf well rewarded for his long ſervices. This was our Marcellinus's firſt ſtep;

(*a*) *See the preface of Henry Valeſius to Ammian. Marcellin. The Printers of Moreri have put* Labienus *inſtead of* Libanius.

(*b*) Valeſius, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was a Greek by birth, as he declares at the end of his laſt book.*] This paſſage will be cited elſewhere (1); I can now mention three others. One is in chap. viii, of the twenty ſecond book, εὐήθην, *Græci dicimus ſtultum*; The ſecond is in chap. xv of the ſame book; *ad ignis ſpeciem, τὸ πυρὸς, ut nos dicimus, extenuatur in conum*: The third is in chap. vi of the twenty third book, *tranſire, διαβαίνειν dicimus Græci.* Voſſius (2) makes uſe of the ſecond, which wants the clauſe that he has joined to it, *nempe nos Græci.* Had he remembered the other two places, in which the author has uſed the very word *Græci*, he would rather have cited them, than this. But we ſee the greateſt memories have not that always ready at hand, which they ſtand in need of.

(1) In remark [*D*], citat. (11).

(2) De Hiſtor. Lat. *pag.* 201.

[*B*] *Although he was a Pagan.*] It is ſo eaſy for thoſe, who weigh every thing exactly to diſcover that he was one, that we muſt needs think it very ſtrange, that ſuch able men as Petrus Pithœus (3), and Claudius Chifflетius (4) ſhould take him for a Chriſtian. Would a Chriſtian, who wrote his hiſtory under the emperors who reduced Paganiſm to the laſt gaſp, have been contented with ſpeaking honourably of the Chriſtian religion, and have never carried the matter ſo far, as to declare ſometimes, that it was the only good and true religion, and that the worſhip of the Pagan deities was idolatry? Under ſuch emperors, would a Chriſtian have been ſo inconſiderate, as to praiſe Julian the Apoſtate to the ſkies (5), and never declaim ſharply againſt his apoſtacy, and his hatred of JESUS CHRIST? Would he have ſpoken of Mercury, and the goddeſs Nemeſis, and the goddeſs Themis, and the augural ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm, as Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of them? I know of no Chriſtian authors who did not, even in the hotteſt perſecutions, ſpeak contemptibly of the Pagan idolatry, and in ſome manner inſult over it; and it is incomparably more eaſy to conceive, that a Pagan ſhould uſe moderation, ſpeaking of the Goſpel, than that a Chriſtian ſhould do it, when he ſpeaks of the worſhip of falſe gods. The proofs, alledged by Chifflетius for the pretended Chriſtianity of Marcellinus, need no refutation, except that one paſſage of book 27, where, having cenſured the luxury of the biſhops of Rome, he oppoſes to it the auſterity of ſome country biſhops. 'Quos, *ſays he*, te-'nuitas edendi potandique parciſſime, vilitas etiam in-'dumentorum & ſupercilia humum ſpectantia, perpe-'tuo numini veriſque ejus cultoribus ut puros com-'mendant & verecundos. . . . . *Whom their moderation* 'in eating and drinking, the meanneſs of their garb, and 'down-caſt looks, recommended to the deity, and his true 'worſhippers, as men of purity and modeſty.' But all that can be inferred from theſe words, is only this, that, according to this author, ſobriety and humility recommend men to GOD, of whatſoever religion they be, and that the Pagans themſelves had a veneration for Chriſtian biſhops, who teſtified by their manner of living, that they did not ſeek any temporal advantage. As to the definition he gives us of martyrs, *qui deviare à religione compulſi pertulere cruciabiles pœnas aduſque glorioſam mortem intemerata fide progreſſi* (6), - - - - *who, when they would compel them to abandon their religion, underwent torments, even to a glorious death, with unſhaken fidelity*, it proves only, that the Pagans themſelves might admire ſuch a firmneſs of ſoul, as was not ſhaken by the moſt cruel torments. *Intemerata fides* is not oppoſed, in this place, to a falſe religion, but to changing ſides. What he had ſaid in the preceding page, that a biſhop (7), who turned informer, had forgotten, that his profeſſion adviſed him to nothing but what is juſt and gentle; *profeſſionis ſuæ oblitus, quæ nihil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene, ad delatorum auſa feralia deſciſcebat*, proves only, that he knew what the Chriſtians made profeſſion of; and we ſhould ſay as much of the Chineſe

(3) Apud Hadrian. Valeſium, Præf. Edit. 1681.

(4) In Vita Amm. Marcellini. *It is to be found in the edition of Valeſius* 1681.

(5) *The abbot de Billi*, Schol. ad Greg. Nazianz. Orat. ii, in Julian, *ſays thus*, Hinc perſpicuum eſt Marcellinum Græcæ ſuperſtitionis cultorem plus gratiæ quam veritati tribuiſſe, cum ſcribit, nulla Juliani definitio litis à vero diſſonans reperitur. - - - - - *Hence it is plain, that Marcellinus, who followed the Greek ſuperſtition, conſulted his intereſt more than truth, when he writes, that no deciſion of Julian in matters of law was diſagreeable to truth.*

(6) Lib. ii, cap xi.

(7) This was George biſhop Alexandria, w periſhed in a pe pular ſedition, 362.

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ſtep; but we do not know whether he ever roſe higher [C]; only we find that, in this employment, he followed Urſicinus, general of the cavalry, in ſeveral expeditions. He was ordered to go with him into the eaſt, when the emperor Conſtantius ſent him thither in 350. Urſicinus, being recalled from thence in 354, and obliged to come to Milan, brought back with him Marcellinus into Italy. They went into Gaul the next year, and quickly reduced the tyrant Sylvanus to reaſon; after which Conſtantius ſent for Urſicinus to Sirmium, and ſent him back again into the Eaſt. The bad offices, which ſome did Urſicinus with this emperor, were the cauſe why he was recalled, and his office given to another. He obeyed; but, being arrived in Thrace, he found orders there, which obliged him to return immediately towards Meſopotamia, though the command was not reſtored to him, which had been given to Sabinianus. Nevertheleſs he did the emperor great ſervices. Marcellinus alſo, who always followed him, did the emperor much ſervice, both as a ſoldier, and as a manager of affairs, as he himſelf relates, without exceeding the bounds of modeſty. He did not quit the ſervice, when Urſicinus was utterly diſgraced, in the year 360; but, as I have already ſaid, it is not known, whether he was advanced, or whether he continued always in his poſt of Domeſtic Protector, even when he followed Julian in the war againſt the Perſians. It may be gathered from ſome places of his books (c), that he lived at Antioch under the reign of Valens. He afterwards ſettled at Rome, and there compoſed his hiſtory [D]. He recited ſeveral parts of it to his friends as he compoſed them (d), and they were received with great applauſe. It is not known when he died, but without all doubt he was alive in 390, ſince a conſulſhip, which fell in this year, was not unknown to him (e). He had ſome ſuits (f), which put him ſo out of humour with the practiſers in the Law, that he could not forbear making a long digreſſion againſt them. It is an invective almoſt as ſharp as the comedy intituled Grapinian.

(d) Epiſt. Liban. apud Valeſium, ubi ſupra.

(e) Neotherium poſtea Conſulem tunc Notarium ad eamdem tuendam ire diſpoſuit. *Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvi, cap.* v, That man was conſul with Valentinian II, in 390. *Valeſius, ibid.*

(f) Lib. xxx, cap. iv. *See* La Mothe le Vayer, *Judgment about the principal Hiſtorians, pag.* 247, *of the third Tom. in* 12mo.

(c) *Lib. xxix, cap.* i. *where he ſpeaks* that he ſaw the torments of many perſons, whom Valens put to death at Antioch in 371; *and lib. xxx, cap.* v, *where he complains of the tricks that had been put upon him in the Eaſt.*

Chineſe prieſts, if we knew, that their ritual obliged them to a great purity of life. Is it neceſſary to be a Chriſtian, may not a little reaſon ſuffice, to diſcern that an eccleſiaſtic, who ſets up for an informer to princes, as this biſhop of Alexandria did, *apud patulas aures Conſtantii multos exinde incuſans ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis*, diſhonours his character? Theſe are the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chiffletius for the pretended Chriſtianity of Marcellinus. But if he be deprived of this happineſs, which is attributed to him, yet at leaſt this praiſe is due to him, that he ſpoke very honourably of a religion he did not follow. There are but few examples of ſuch a moderation. Father Poſſevin, who is not contented with it (8), ſeems to be too nice, and we need not fear, that our poſterity will diſpute concerning the religion of thoſe, who write hiſtory at this day (9). I confeſs, that Marcellinus wrote under the Chriſtian emperors; but that reaſon did not ſet bounds to the malice of Libanius and Zoſimus.

(8) Diligenter ſcripſit, ſed ea quæ pertinent ad Chriſtianos tradenda ac deteſtanda. . . . . *He was a careful writer, but perverted whatever related to the Chriſtians.* Poſſev. Appar. Sect. iii, cap. xi.

(9) See the News from the Republic of Letters, *July* 1684, *pag.* 687, *of the ſecond edition.*

[C] *We do not know whether he ever roſe higher.*] Moreri therefore hath too raſhly affirmed, that Marcellinus *compoſed his hiſtory, after he had gone through the moſt honourable offices of the army.* He tranſcribed this from la Mothe le Vayer (10).

(10) Judgment on the Hiſtorians, *pag.* 240, *of Tom. iii.*

[D] *His Hiſtory.*] This work contained, in thirty one books, what paſſed from Nerva till the death of Valens (11). The firſt thirteen are loſt, which brought down the hiſtory to the reign of Conſtantius, (for he enlarged leſs upon thoſe times, which he did not know but by the information of others) the eighteen, which remain have been very much abuſed, either by the ignorance of the tranſcribers, or the raſhneſs of the critics. Note, that Claudius Chiffletius maintains, upon pretty good reaſons, that this hiſtory contained thirty two books, and that there was a book between the thirtieth, and that which we now reckon the thirty firſt, which is certainly the laſt of all. He had heard that the firſt books which are now wanting of Marcellinus, were to be found in the library of cardinal Pole. Mr de Marolles publiſhed a French tranſlation of this Hiſtorian in 1672, with remarks; but the undertaking was too weighty for him.

(11) Hæc ut nulla quondam & Græcus à principatu Cæſaris Nervæ exorſus, ad Valentis interitum pro viribus explicavi memoriter. *Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxxi, fub fin.*

Valeſius the elder ſays (12), that the firſt edition of Marcellinus was that of Rome in 1474, which was prepared by A. (13) Sabinus a Poet Laureat; that the ſecond was printed at Bologna, in 1517, by P. Caſtellus, a man void of wit or judgment; that the next year John Frobenius reprinted at Baſil this edition of Bologna; that in 1533 there appeared two new editions, one at Augſburg, corrected by Mariangelus Accurſius, the other at Baſil by the care of Sigiſmond Gelenius (14); that the edition of Accurſius was augmented with the five laſt books which had never been printed before; that the edition of Gelenius had the ſame addition, except the laſt book, and the laſt page of the laſt book but one; that, in 1546, Jerom Frobenius who had printed the edition of Gelenius, publiſhed another with the laſt book; and that, all the editions which appeared afterwards in France and Germany, till that of the year 1609, which Frederic Lindenbrogius publiſhed with notes, ſeem to have been printed from this ſecond edition of Frobenius. That of Lindenbrogius is very good; but that which Valeſius publiſhed in 4to, in 1636, is incomparably better. We ſhall hereafter ſay ſomething of that of 1681. Mr Moreri could not tranſcribe the preface of Valeſius faithfully; for he ſaw ſeveral things in it which are not there: He ſaw there that Accurſius was the firſt that publiſhed the firſt five books of Marcellinus, and that *Gelenius added the laſt book with the laſt page of the thirtieth which we had not.* All this is falſe; Gelenius was ſo far from making this addition, that, on the contrary, what he publiſhed wanted juſt this book which was in Accurſius's edition; and it is ſo far from being true, that Accurſius publiſhed the firſt five books, that to this day all the thirteen are wanting, as Mr Moreri had ſaid a little before. Valeſius commends the edition of Accurſius, but beſtows mighty encomiums on that of Gelenius: which makes me wonder, that Voſſius, who ſpeaks with approbation of the former, ſays nothing of the latter. He is extreamly dry, for what reaſon I know not, upon the article of our Ammianus Marcellinus. Accurſius, who boaſts he had corrected five thouſand faults in this author, is commended by Claudius Chiffletius, but in ſuch a general way, that he ſays nothing of his chief excellency, I mean his publiſhing the five laſt books. Is it not ſtrange, that Chiffletius ſhould ſay nothing of this, and yet that he ſhould give Gelenius the glory of being the firſt who publiſhed the twenty ſeventh, twenty eighth, twenty ninth, and thirtieth books? He obſerves, that Sebaſtian Gryphius inſerted in his edition the end of the thirtieth book, and was the firſt who publiſhed it. Valeſius ſays nothing of the firſt of theſe two facts, and refutes the ſecond by ſaying, that Accurſius publiſhed the laſt five books. Toppi, in his *Bibliotheca Neapolitana* (15), falſly aſcribes the publiſhing of the ſixth book of Ammianus Marcellinus to Mariangelus Accurſius, and ſays nothing of his publiſhing the five books of this Hiſtorian, which had never appeared before. Valeſius the younger publiſhed our Ammianus at Paris in 1681, in folio. This ought not to have been omitted in the Dictionary of Moreri. In this edition there are added, I. Many new notes of Valeſius the elder: II. Thoſe publiſhed by Lindenbrogius, in 1609, and thoſe he afterwards added to them, which were found among his papers: III. The life of Ammianus Marcellinus by Claudius Chiffletius, profeſſor of Law at Dole. IV. Some corrections and obſervations of Valeſius the younger. Mr Gronovius reprinted this edition at Leyden in 1693 (16), and added good notes to it.

(15) Pag. 170.

(16) In folio, and in 4to.

(12) Hen. Valeſ. Præfat. ad Ammian. Marcel.

HISTORY of the editions of Marcellinus. Faults of Moreri, &c.

(13) Moreri takes this *A.* for *Auſi*, but according to Konig he ſhould have ſaid *Angelo*.

(14) Moreri having ſeen in Valeſius, *Sig. Gelenius*, believed, by a miſtake, that it meant *Sigebert*.

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MARCELLUS (CHRISTOPHER), a noble Venetian, and archbiſhop of Corfu (*a*) in the XVIth century, was famous for his learning, his eloquence, his piety, and his manners; and he might have expected the higheſt dignities from Clement VII. Unluckily for him, he was at Rome, when the troops of Charles V ſacked it. He fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who, after having plundered his houſe, took him priſoner, and tormented him cruelly, becauſe he could not pay the great ranſom they demanded of him. To make themſelves amends for not getting from him the ſums they expected, they chained him to the trunk of a tree, in an open field near Gæta, and tore off his nails, one each day. He expired in this ſad condition, both on account of the torture he endured, as alſo by reaſon of the inclemency of the air, to which he was expoſed night and day, without ſleeping, and without taking any nouriſhment (*b*). He made a ſpeech to the council of Lateran, the tenth of December 1512. His *Exercitationes in ſeptem priores Pſalmos* were printed at Rome in 1525 (*c*). I have ſaid elſewhere (*d*), that he publiſhed a work, which, it is pretended, he only ſtole. Florimond de Remond has committed a very childiſh blunder in citing it [*A*].

(*a*) Pierius Valerianus, *ubi infra*, expreſſes this by *primarius Corcyrenſium Flamen.*

(*b*) *Taken from Pierius Valerianus*, lib. i, de Litterat. Infelicitat. pag. m. 10.

(*c*) Konig, Bibl. pag. 506.

(*d*) In the remark [*D*] of the article GRASSIS.

[*A*] *Florimond de Remond has committed a very childiſh blunder in citing it.*] 'I am contented, *ſays he* (1), 'to repreſent part of the ceremonies, which are obſerved at the election, coronation, and conſecration of the Roman Pontiffs, which are to be found in many places, and particularly in a book intituled, *The Sacred Ceremonies*, preſented to Pope Leo X, by M. Electus, and that following the council of Lyons, in 1273.' He believed that *Electus* was this author's family-name, and did not find out, that *Chriſtophorus Marcellus electus Corcyrenſis* meant *Chriſtopher Marcellus, archbiſhop of Corfu elect.* David Blondel has reproached him with this miſtake (2), which is certainly as groſs a one as that, with which La Mothe le Vayer has reproached Bodin. Read theſe words of the *Hexameron Ruſtique*. 'I will begin with putting you in mind 'of the inattention of Bodin, when, in order to 'prove, in the laſt chapter of the firſt book of his 'Republic, how this phraſe, *by the grace of GOD*, 'is not a mark of ſovereignty, he ſays, that we find 'in the records of France an Act, by which a meer 'biſhop of Meaux, deputed on a treaty of peace, calls 'himſelf, choſen by the grace of GOD. I have ſeen 'this act, which is in Latin, and I could not forbear 'laughing, to conſider that a man of Bodin's learning 'ſhould miſtake *Electum Meldenſem* for a perſon 'choſen, when it means a perſon nominated to the 'biſhopric of Meaux, and who was not yet conſecrated (3).'

(1) Florimond de Remond, chap. xviii, of the *Anti-Papeſſe*, (*Anti-ſhe-Pope*) ſub fin. fol. m. 412, verſo.

(2) Blondel, in the French treatiſe of the She-Pope, *pag.* 83, and in the Latin treatiſe, *pag. m.* 222.

(3) Hexam. Ruſtique, Journee I, *pag. m.* 24, 25.

MARCHE (OLIVER DE LA), ſon of a gentleman of Franche-Comté (*a*), was made page to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, in 1439, at the age of about thirteen years (*b*) [*A*]. He ſerved this prince, and duke Charles his ſucceſſor, with great zeal, and was ſteward and captain of the guards to the latter (*c*). He incurred the diſpleaſure of Lewis XI when the baſtard de Rubempré was made priſoner in Holland in the year 1463 [*B*]. He was one of the knights (*d*), created by the count of Charolois (*e*) at the battle of Montleheri in 1465. He fell into the hands of the enemy at the unhappy battle of Nancy (*f*), where his maſter loſt his life in the beginning of January 1477. Having paid his ranſom he was ſet at liberty, and had the office of high-ſteward to Maximilian of Auſtria, who married the heireſs of Burgundy (*g*). He held the ſame office under the archduke Philip, ſon to Maximilian (*h*). He was ſent ambaſſador to the court of France to congratulate the new king on his acceſſion to the throne, after the death of Lewis XI (*i*). He wrote ſome memoires, which were publiſhed at Lyons in 1562 [*C*], in folio, by the care of Denys Sauvage, Hiſtoriographer of France. He died at Bruſſels February 1, 1501 (*k*).

(*a*) Oliver de la Marche's Memoires, *book i, cap. i, p. m.* 76.

(*b*) Id. ib. *cap. iv, pag.* 103.

(*c*) Id. *in the preface of the firſt book*, pag. 74.

(*d*) Id. ib. *cap. xxxv, pag.* 314.

(*e*) *The ſon of Philip the Good.*

(*f*) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra, book ii, cap. viii, pag.* 408.

(*g*) Id. ib. *cap. ix, pag.* 409.

(*h*) Id. *in the preface, pag.* 1, *and in cap.* xiii, *of the ſecond book*, pag. 423.

(*i*) Id. *book ii, cap. x, pag.* 415.

(*k*) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. *pag.* 707.

[*A*] *He was page . . . . at the age of about thirteen years.*] This agrees with what he ſays in chap. i. of the firſt book (1), that he was between eight and nine years old, when, in 1434, his father put him to ſchool at Pontarli, but not with what he ſays in his firſt preface (2), that he was ſixty ſix years old when the archduke Philip was not ten. This archduke was born in 1478. Oliver de la Marche was then fifty two years of age, and ſo his ſixty ſixth year falls in with the fourteenth of the archduke. This is not the firſt time I have obſerved that authors ſpeak of their age with the utmoſt confuſion. Note here a groſs fault of Valerius Andreas. He aſſigns the year 1380, for that of the birth of our Oliver, and places his death in 1501 (3), without taking notice of ſuch an extraordinary old age. An author like this, who had lived one hundred and twenty one years, ought to be placed in the number of remarkable things. The truth is, as I have already ſaid, that the year 1426, was the year of his birth.

(1) Pag. 76.

(2) Pag. 2.

(3) Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belg. *pag.* 707.

[*B*] *He incurred the diſpleaſure of Lewis XI, when . . . . the baſtard de Rubempré was made priſoner in* 1463.] He was ſeized, becauſe he was ſuſpected of having a deſign to carry off the count de Charolois (4). Our Oliver de la Marche carried the news of this ſeizure to duke Philip who was then at Hedin, where he conferred ſometimes with Lewis XI (5). The duke hearing of this, departed in all haſte, and without the knowledge of that prince. A report was ſpread, that Lewis XI had a deſign to ſecure at the ſame time both the father and the ſon (6). He ſent embaſſadors to the duke to complain of this, and demand Oliver to be delivered up to him (7); for he looked upon him as the author of all theſe calumnies, and of what thoſe ſuſpicions had produced, and had a mind to puniſh him ſeverely. The duke anſwered, *That Oliver was his ſubject and his ſervant, and that if the king, or any other perſon, had any thing to charge him with, he would do them juſtice* (8). Read the firſt chapter of Philip de Comines.

(4) Oliver de la Marche *book i, cap. xxxv, pag.* 312.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Mezer. Abridg. Chronol. *Tom. iii, pag.* 292, *ad ann.* 1463.

(7) Id. ib.

(8) Oliver de la Marche, ibid. *pag.* 313.

[*C*] *His Memoirs . . . . were publiſhed at Lyons in* 1562.] The manuſcript was taken from the library of the houſe of la Chaux in Franche-Comté (9). There was a ſecond edition of it at Ghent in 1567, in 4to, with notes and corrections in the margin, and a preface which informs us, that the author of theſe Memoirs was rather a calumniator than a hiſtorian, with reſpect to the civil wars of Flanders (10). As to the other books compoſed by this writer, printed and not printed, ſee the Bibliotheque of Du Verdier Vau-Privas (11). They have lately publiſhed in Dutch, the State of the houſe of Charles duke of Burgundy (12); which is a tranſlation of a treatiſe written by this author in French, and publiſhed at the end of his Memoirs in the edition of Louvain, 1645 (13). Gollut inſerted ſomething of it in his Memoirs of Burgundy (14). Du Cheſne will inform you that this ſtate of the houſe of duke Charles was written in 1474, and that it was printed at Bruſſels in 1616, in 4to, and that the Memoirs of the ſame author were printed at Lyons in folio, in 1612, and at Bruſſels in 4to, in 1616 (15).

(8) See the advertiſement to the readers.

(9) Valerius Andreas, ubi ſupra.

(10) *At* pag. 932.

(11) See the *Viveris Æneæ Palæſta*, publiſh by Mr Matthæus at Leyde in 1698.

(12) See the pr face to this wo of Matthæus.

(13) Du Cheſne, Biblioth. *of the Hiſtorians of France*, pag. m. 199.

(14) In chap. cix, book x.

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MARCIONITES. So they call the disciples of the Heresiarch Marcion, who lived in the IId century [*A*]. He was born at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine sea, and had a good and pious bishop for his father. He applied himself first to a monastic life, but he observed very ill the laws of continency, for he debauched a young woman. His father exercised all the rigour of the discipline upon him; he excommunicated him, and would never yield either to his prayers or offers of penance. Then Marcion being exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the whole city, went secretly out of it and retired to Rome, where he could never be received to the communion (*a*), although he made use of the artifices of a woman who went before him to prepare the way (*b*). This denial obliged him in revenge to set up for the head of a party [*B*]. He became

(*a*) Taken from Tertullian, adverf. Hæref. pag. m. 302, 303.

(*b*) Romam præmisit mulierem, quæ decipiendos sibi animos præpararet. *Hieronym. Tom. ii, Epist. ad Ctesiphontem, pag.* 253.

[*A*] *Marcion lived in the IId century.*] This may be said for certain: but as to the year when he came to Rome, and the time when he began to vent his false doctrine, they cannot be cleared from the confusions which are found on this subject in the antient Fathers. According to St Epiphanius (1), he came to Rome after the death of Pope Hyginus, that is, according to the account of Baronius, after the year of our Lord 157. Tertullian pretends that he came to Rome under Pope Anicetus (2), that is, if we believe Mr Wetstein, under the empire of Antoninus Pius, *Romanis tunc imperante Antonino Pio, unde Tertull.* lib. i, cap. xix. adv. Marc. *eum* Antoninianum hæreticum, sub Pio impium *vocat, id est circa annum Christi* 154 (3). But since the two passages of Tertullian, the one in verse, the other in prose, are contrary to each other, we cannot confirm the one by the other, nor refer them both to the empire of Antoninus Pius. Consult the Annals of Baronius, and there you will find the death of this emperor under the year 163, and that of Pope Pius, and the promotion of Anicetus under the year 167; so that if it be true, that Marcion came to Rome under the pontificate of Anicetus, it is false that he came thither under Antoninus Pius, and consequently Tertullian could not speak the truth in his verse, without telling a falshood in his prose, and *vice versa*. He says in another place, that this Heretic was divers times expelled the communion of the faithful under Pope Eleutherius. 'Constat illos (*Marcionem & Valentinum*) neque adeo olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu & in Catholicam primo doctrinam credidisse apud Ecclesiam Romanensem, donec sub Episcopatu Eleutherii benedicti ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem qua fratres quoque vitiabant, semel & iterum ejecti, Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis suis quæ Ecclesiæ intulerat, novissime in perpetuum diffidium relegati venena doctrinarum suarum disseminaverunt (4). . . . . *It is certain that they (Marcion and Valentinus) lived not long ago, but about the reign of Antoninus; and that they at first professed the doctrine of the Catholic church, at Rome; till, under the pontificate of Eleutherius, for their ever restless curiosity, with which they also corrupted the brethren, they were diverse times expelled, and Marcion, with his two hundred sesterces which he had brought into the church, at last being separated, they begun to spread the poison of their doctrines.*' This leads us far away from the empire of Antoninus Pius, for Eleutherius was created Pope in 179. Besides it is nowise probable that the excommunication of Marcion should have been delayed till the pontificate of Eleutherius, since he had rendered himself so abominable by his heresies, under the pontificate of Anicetus, that St Polycarp called him the eldest son of Satan. Consult St Irenæus (5), who tells us that St Polycarp coming to Rome in the time of Pope Anicetus, reclaimed many of the followers of Marcion, and repelled this Heretic with the encomium that I have related: which served as an answer to the question that Marcion put to him, *Do not you know me* (6)? Baronius observes, that Marcion begun to dogmatize in the reign of Hadrian (7); which he proves by Origen, who says, that the Philosopher Celsus, who wrote against the Christians under that emperor, speaks often of the errors of this Heretic. Philastrius seems to confirm this, when he says, that Marcion, before he went to Rome, was convicted of teaching false doctrines in Asia by St John, and driven away from Ephesus (8). Suppose as much as you please, that he was excommunicated several times, and that he made several journies to Rome; you can never excuse Tertullian's want of exactness in his account of him.

Let us see a passage of Lambert Danæus, in which there are some faults. 'Venit (Marcion) Romam 'quemadmodum lib. i. Adverf. eum scribit Tertull. 'sub Antonino Pio, circa annum à Christo passo 115, 'sub Hygino, ut ait Platina: Tertullian. sub Eleutherio. Cœpit autem post Cerdonem innotescere illius 'hæresis sub M. Antonino Philosopho imperatore, & 'Aniceto pontifice Romano, circa annum à passo 'Christo 133. quanquam Clemens lib. 7. Stromat. 'vult adhuc eo ipso tempore vixisse Romæ Valentinum hæreticum, quem jam senem Marcion juvenis 'viderit (9). . . . . *Tertullian, in his first book against 'Marcion, says, that he came to Rome, in the reign of 'Antoninus Pius, about the year* 115 *after Christ's death, 'under Hyginus, as Platina says; under Eleutherius according to Tertullian: but his Heresy first began to be 'known after Cerdon, under the emperor Antoninus the 'Philosopher, and Anicetus Pope of Rome, about the year* 133 *after CHRIST's death: though Clemens will 'have it, that Valentinus the Heretic was living at this 'time still at Rome, being in an advanced age, and 'was known to Marcion, who was then but a youth.*' In the Ist place it is an error, not to have seen that Tertullian would have been mistaken, if he had said, that the Popedom of Eleutherius and the empire of Antoninus Pius were cotemporary. II. It is a fault in Chronology to place the pontificate of Anicetus under Antoninus Pius; for Anicetus was not promoted to that see, till five years after the death of this emperor (10). III. Clemens Alexandrinus does not say, that Valentinus was still living under the emperor Marcus Aurelius; he says only that Basilides and Valentinus having begun to spread their errors under Hadrian, lived unto the reign of the first of the Antoninus's. IV. He was so far from affirming that Marcion in his youth saw Valentinus in his old age, that he says Marcion conversed with these other Heretics as an old man with young people. Μαρκίων γὰρ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος, ὡς πρεσβύτης, νεωτέροις συνεγένετο. *Marcion enim cùm natus esset eadem, qua ipsi, ætate, versabatur ut senex cum junioribus* (11).

(9) Lambertus Danæus, in Comment. ad librum D. Augustini de hæresibus, *fol.* 58. *Edit. Genevensis* 1578, *in* 8vo.

(10) *See* Baronius, ad ann. 167.

(11) Clemens Stromat. lib. vii, pag. 764. *D.*

[*B*] *He could never be received to the communion at Rome. . . . . This denial obliged him to set up . . . for head of a party.*] I should deceive my readers, if I should leave these words without a commentary; and it would be in vain to say, that St Epiphanius having deceived them first, I need not scruple to do it after him: they would not approve so bad an apology: let us therefore show wherein the fault of St Epiphanius's account consists. None can read this Father but he must think, that the church of Rome never admitted Marcion to her communion, and that the governors of this church having told him, *We cannot admit you into communion without the leave of your father, who has excommunicated you*; he threatened them with a schism, and was as good as his word. Τί μὴ ἠθελήσαταί με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τῦ τιμίυ πατρὸς συ τῦτο ποιῆσαι. Μία γάρ ἐσιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ ἐ δυνάμεθα ἑναγλιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτυργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σῷ. Σπλώσας λοιπὸν, καὶ εἰς μέγαν ἀφθεὶς θυμὸν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν, τὸ σχίσμα ἐργάζεται ὁ τοιῦτος, ἑαυτῷ τὴν αἵρεσιν προσηγάμενος, καὶ ἐιπών. Ὅτι ἐγὼ σχίσω τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ βαλῶ σχίσμα ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ὡς τἀληθῆ μὲν σχίσμα ἔβαλεν ἐ μικρὸν, ἐ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σχίσας, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸς αὐτῷ πεσθένλας. Cur me, inquit, recipere noluistis? Responderunt illi. Nobis injussu venerandi Patris tui facere istud non licet. Una siquidem fides est, & animorum una consensio: neque contra spectatissimum Collegam patrem tuum moliri quippiam possumus. At ille vehementius excandescens, ac superbia invidiaque percitus Schisma conflavit, ac privatam Hæresin architectatus est: & Ecclesiam, ait, vestram ego dissociabo, in

(1) Epiphan. adv. Hæref. pag. m. 302.

(2) A quo Pio successit Anicetus ordine sextus, Sub quo Marcion hic venenum novæ Pontica pestis. *Tertull. carm. lib. iv, adversus Marcion.*

(3) Joh. Rodolphus Wetstenius, Not. in Origenis dial. contra Marcionitas, *pag.* 51. *Edit.* 1674.

(4) Tertull. de Præscript. *cap.* xxx.

(5) Iren. lib. iii, cap. iii. *See also* Euseb. lib. iv, cap. xiv.

(6) See the notes of Henry Valesius upon Euseb. lib. iv, *cap.* xiv, where these words are not taken for an interrogation but as plain sense.

(7) Baronius, ad ann. 146. num. vi.

(8) Philastrius, de hæred. *cap.* xlvi.

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became the diſciple of Cerdon (*c*), and that he might be the better able to maintain the doctrine of two principles, which he had learned of this Heretic, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy [*C*]. He had a great number of followers; who not only ſupported themſelves after his death, but alſo ſpread into all parts, and formed churches in emulation of the Orthodox, wherever they could [*D*]. It was found neceſſary to employ the ſecular power againſt them, when the empire was devolved to the Chriſtians; and ſome ages paſſed before this good remedy put an end to this ſect. They boaſted of their pretended martyrs. This fact gave occaſion to a diſpute [*E*], of which it will not be needleſs

(c) Epiph. ubi ſupra, pag. 303.

in eam ſchiſma Sempiternum immittam. Quod ille revera nec mediocre quidem injecit: non ita tamen ut Eccleſiam, ſed ut ſe potius ac ſuos diſcinderet (12). ----- *Why, ſays he, will not you receive me? They anſwered, we cannot do it without the conſent of thy reverend father; for the faith is one, and conformity of opinion one: nor can we attempt any thing againſt our worthy colleague thy father. But he being enraged and filled with pride and envy, raiſed a ſchiſm, and broached a hereſy of his own; and, ſays he, I will divide your church and bring an everlaſting ſchiſm among you. And indeed he was the author of a very great one; yet not ſo as to diſtract the church, but rather confound himſelf and his followers.* If St Epiphanius had conſulted Tertullian, he would have known, that Marcion was ſeveral times driven out of the communion of the Orthodox (13); which is an evident ſign, that they were more than once ſatisfied with the Proteſtations he made of renouncing his errors, and that they had reconciled him to the church. Perhaps alſo, if death had not prevented him, he had endeavoured to perform the condition required of him the laſt time he appeared penitent, which was, that he ſhould undeceive thoſe whom he had perverted from the true faith. 'Poſtmodum Marcion pœnitentiam conſeſſus, cum conditioni datæ ſibi occurrit, ita pacem recepturus, ſi cæteros quoque quos proditioni erudiſſet, Eccleſiæ reſtitueret, morte præventus eſt (14)- - - *Afterwards Marcion having manifeſted his repentance, and agreed to the terms which were propoſed to him, viz. that, in order to obtain his peace, he ſhould reſtore to the church thoſe whom he had ſeduced away, was prevented by death.*' There are ſome (15) who ſay, that after he was turned out of the church with his money, he joined with the ſect of the Cerdonites; which they prove by ſome paſſages, wherein Tertullian and Philaſtrius affirm, that he was the diſciple of Cerdon. I believe they confound the times, for the expulſion they mention was the laſt, and it happened under Eleutherius (16); but it is no wiſe probable that Cerdon was then alive.

(12) Epiphanius, adverſus Hæreſes, pag. 303.

(13) See, above, citat. (4), the words of Tertullian.

(14) Tertullian. de Præſcript. *cap. xxx.*

(15) Rodolphus Wetſtenius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 4.

(16) See Tertullian above, citation (4).

[*C*] *He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy.*] In this I have followed the opinion of a learned commentator (17). 'Quo felicius hæreſin propagaret, Philoſophiæ ſe mancipavit, Stoicæ præſertim: Tertull. *de præſcr. hær. c*, 30. Unde idem Tertullianus, *c.* 7. *ejuſd. libri* Philoſophiam & Dialecticam exagitat, vel ut matrem hæreſeon, & Prudentius *in Hamartigenia*, Dialecticæ oſtentationem ei exprobrat, *p.* 192.

(17) Wetſtenius, ubi ſupra.

Hæc tua Marcion gravis & dialectica vox eſt.

'Norunt enim omnes à Zenone (18) Stoico dialectam eſſe inventam. ---- *In order to propagate his hereſy the more ſucceſsfully, he applied himſelf to Philoſophy, eſpecially that of the Stoics: whence Tertullian inveighs againſt Philoſophy, & Logic, as apt to produce Hereſies, and Prudentius upbraids him with oſtentation of Logic.*

(18) *This is Zeno Eleates, who paſſes for the inventer of Logic. See* Gaſſendus de Logicæ Origine, cap. i, Tom. i, Oper. pag. 37, 38.

This, Marcion, is thy grave and logical diſcourſe.

'*Every body knows that Logic was invented by Zeno the Stoic.*' But I do not blame thoſe who believe that he was already a good Stoic, when he was excluded from the communion of the church the firſt time.

[*D*] *Theſe Sectaries formed churches in emulation of the orthodox, where-ever they could.*] Let us cite again the ſame commentator (19). 'Poſt ejus obitum Marcionitæ Eccleſias, in æmulationem Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, ubique locorum erexere: unde Tertull. *l.* 4. *c. Marc. c.* 5. *Faciunt favos & veſpæ, faciunt Eccleſias & Marcionitæ.* ---- *After his death the Marcionites built churches every where, in emulation of the Catholic church; whence Tertullian ſays,* The waſps make honey-combs; and the Marcionites build churches.' St Epiphanius teſtifies, that the hereſy of the Marcionites continued ſtill not only at Rome, and the reſt of Italy, but alſo in Egypt, Paleſtine, Arabia, Syria, in the iſle of Cyprus, in Thebais, Perſia, and in other places (20). Is it not ſtrange that Lambertus Danæus, who makes uſe of this paſſage of St Epiphanius, to prove that this ſect had made a great progreſs, did not alſo uſe it to prove that it was ſtill very numerous in this Father's time. He cites Epiphanius, as to his own time, only to prove that there were then at Rome ſome Marcionites (21). If we ſhould make a collection of ill-choſen citations, the moſt famous authors would be found there very often. This part of criticiſm would be no leſs uſeful than the reſt: It might teach us how to diſcern between thoſe who are truly learned, and thoſe who only make a ſhow of it.

(19) Wetſtenius, ibid. *pag.* 5.

(20) Epiphanius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 302.

(21) Denique Epiphanius ſcribit ſuo ſeculo adhuc quoſdam Marcionitas Romæ natos fuiſſe. *Lambert. Danæus ubi ſupra, fol.* 59.

[*E*] *This ſect boaſted of their r- - - - martyrs. This gave occaſion to a diſpute*]. Let us produce the ſeveral pieces of this proceſs, in their due order.

SEVERAL pieces of a controverſy put together.

I. The firſt ſhall be furniſhed by Mr Maimbourg, whoſe words are theſe (22). 'They (23) cannot be ignorant that the moſt famous of their doctors, who wrote that Heretics ought to be puniſhed, cauſed Michael Servetus, a Sabellian, who remained obſtinate until death, to be burnt at Geneva, and that according to the doctrine of the holy Fathers, who ſay it is not the ſuffering, but the cauſe that makes the martyr, he does not give him this illuſtrious title, no more than to the Marcionites, and many other antient Heretics, who ſuffered, with an incredible ardour, the moſt cruel deaths for their own ſect.'

(22) Maimbourg, Hiſt. of Calviniſm, *book i, pag.* 33.

(23) He means the Proteſtants.

II. Let us ſee what anſwer was given him (24) 'I do not know that ever there was an example of ſuch prodigious ignorance given by any man that undertakes to write, or of ſo great a boldneſs in an author, who knows that his book is to be ſeverely examined. The Marcionites, ſays he, expoſed themſelves to the torments of death for their ſect with an incredible ardour. Now in the firſt place we muſt know that the Marcionites prevailed in the ſecond and third century, at which time the Chriſtians were under perſecution; how then could they put the Marcionites, and other Heretics to death, when they had no judges, no tribunals, and they themſelves were every day condemned to death? We muſt moreover obſerve, that, in the age of the Marcionites, the morals of the church were ſo ſevere, that moſt Chriſtians did not think that they could, with a good conſcience, execute the office of a magiſtrate. They would not have condemned wicked men to death, how then could they ſentence Heretics to loſe their lives? But chiefly we muſt obſerve, that the Marcionites were a branch of the Gnoſtics, and that the general error of the Gnoſtics, was, *That GOD did not thirſt for the blood of Chriſtians, and that JESUS CHRIST did not expect that we ſhould procure our ſalvation by our death.* Wherefore they ridiculed the martyrs, and laughed at the folly, as they pretended, of thoſe who expoſed themſelves to death for their religion. And even Tertullian tells us, that the Gnoſtics, Valentinians, and other Heretics, in the time of perſecution, were the moſt forward to perſecute others, to ſave themſelves from being perſecuted *. Quum igitur fides æſtuat, & Eccleſia exuritur de figura rubi tunc Gnoſtici erumpunt, tunc Valentiniani proſperpunt, tunc omnes matyriorum refragatores ebulliunt calentes, & ipſi offendere, figere, occidere. ----- *Thus when the faithful are condemned to the fire, and the church is in flames, like the burning buſh, then ſwarm the Gnoſtics, then the Valentinians creep out; then all the oppoſers of martyrdom give a looſe to their rage, and are themſelves found perſecuting, deſtroying, and burning.* And upon theſe words, *omnes martyriorum refragatores*, Rigaltus makes this obſervation: he means the Gnoſtics, and other Heretics, who endeavoured to hinder every body from 'ſuffering

(24) Jurieu, Apology for the Reformers, *cap. xii, pag.* 171, *of Tom. i, Edit. in* 4*to.*

* Scorpiac. cap. 1.

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needless to give a particular account. For the rest, if we will judge charitably, Marcion died

'suffering martyrdom, and condemned it. Such 'were the Heretics, who, according to the learned 'Father Maimbourg, embraced torments and death 'for their sect with an incredible ardour. But that 'this declaimer may not escape us, we desire him, 'if he will quit the age of the Marcionites, to show 'us what Heretics suffered death in great numbers 'to maintain their Heresy, and when this happened. 'For as to us, who know nothing of History but 'what books teach us, we find no such ages, we meet 'with no such numbers of Heretics who died for their 'errors. We know only that in the fourth century 'some orthodox bishops prosecuted certain Spanish 'Heretics to death. . . . . It is very unhappy for a 'man to go out of his sphere. Father Maimbourg 'has been taken up of late years with copying modern 'histories; but if he had been wise, he would never 'have said any thing of antient history; for he 'can say nothing of it which does not discover his 'ignorance. And I must confess that these discoveries 'give us great satisfaction; for they show that this 'great author, who undertakes to write antient histo- 'ries, as, among others, that of Arianism, is only a 'poor transcriber, who knows nothing of antiquity.'

III. Let us now see what was replied on behalf of Mr Maimbourg (25). 'Whatever desire we may 'have, to discover the faults of an author by criti- 'cizing upon him, methinks we should never draw 'up a charge against him in a matter which is capa- 'ble of a good sense as well as of a bad one. What 'Mr Maimbourg has asserted about the Marcionites, is 'of this nature. It may be taken in a bad sense, by 'saying with the apologist, that the Marcionites were 'not forward to run in crowds to martyrdom, since 'the primitive Christians, were neither able nor wil- 'ling to put them to death for their sect, both be- 'cause they were under persecution, and had not courts 'of judicature, and also because they were averse to ex- 'ecute the office of a magistrate. But, on the other side, 'the Marcionites might run to torments, in order to die 'for their sect, if, to show that it was good, they suffered 'martyrdom for the cause of JESUS CHRIST, as well 'as other Christians who were not of their opinion. 'This sense is no less natural than the other, but rather 'more; and I doubt not but Mr Maimbourg had it in 'view, when he spoke of the Marcionites: what 'convinces me of it, is, that he only says, the Mar- 'cionites suffered death with an incredible ardour, 'and not that the Christians condemned them to it. 'The apologist has added this of his own head; but 'we may say, that his commentary is not agreeable 'to the meaning of the author whom he interprets. 'If this be so, as I believe it is, Mr Maimbourg 'has not shown a prodigious ignorance, supposing 'it may be proved, that there were pretended 'martyrs among the Marcionites. The apologist 'maintains, that these Heretics were so far from 'exposing themselves to martyrdom, that they were 'of the number of those who condemned it, and 'laughed at those who suffered it. If I did not 'profess to banish from this dispute all offensive 'words, I might say the apologist is fallen into 'that ignorance he objects to his adversary. But I 'retract the word ignorance, and will not only 'use a softer word, but I should be glad to find 'another expression than what I am obliged to use, 'by telling him that he is mistaken: which I prove 'thus†. Eusebius tells us, that one of those whom GOD 'raised up to write against the Phrygists, confuted in his 'third book, those who boasted of having had many 'martyrs among them. *After they have been con- 'victed*, says this anonymous author, *of all the points 'I have mentioned, and have nothing to answer, they 'allege their martyrs, affirming, that they have many, 'and that this plainly proves the power of the prophetic 'spirit which they pretend to in their party. But, in my 'opinion, they are mistaken; for the followers of other 'Heresies boast also of having many martyrs; and yet 'we do not go over to their opinion, nor ever confess 'that the truth is on their side. The Marcionites say, 'that they have many martyrs of JESUS CHRIST, 'notwithstanding which they are of a religion contrary 'to that of JESUS CHRIST.* I might observe further against this apologist, that the Marcionites did not prevail so in the second and third century, 'but that there were still some of them left in the 'fourth, since St Epiphanius ‡ tells us of a dispute 'he had with a Marcionite (26). But I pass over 'this as a trifle, that I may come to something more 'considerable . . . . (27). If it may be said, as cer- 'tainly it may, that one *dies for Heresy*, who ex- 'poses himself to martyrdom in hopes of promoting 'it, we shall easily find other martyrs besides those 'of the Marcionites; for instance, those of the Phry- 'gists, who are mentioned by the anonymous author 'in Eusebius. Several of these Heretics exposed 'themselves to martyrdom, and suffered it for the 'end I have mentioned, as appears by the nameless 'author who opposed their Heresy. St Augustin 'relates ‡, that in the times when idols were pu- 'blickly adored, great crowds of the Donatists 'would appear at the Pagan solemnities, and throw 'themselves head-long a-cross those idolaters, that 'they might be killed by the adorers of the idols. 'Here are Heretics who ran in crowds to death.'

IV. It is but just we should hear what Mr Maim- bourg himself replies (28). 'Mr Ferrand . . . . . 'does only tell him, with the greatest modesty in the 'world, that he is mistaken in all these heads: for, 'first, he shows him that I never said, nor pretended, 'that the Marcionites were sentenced to torments by 'the Christians, but only by the persecuting Pagans. 'Secondly, That the Marcionites were not only in 'the second and third centuries under the Pagan 'emperors, but also in the fourth, as he proves by 'St Epiphanius ††, and I say further, as I have 'alread proved in their history, that there were some 'also in the sixth under the Christian emperors, 'when, according to the Imperial laws †† and con- 'stitutions, Heretics were punished with death. In 'the third place he shows him, that the Marcionites 'and several other Heretics, ardently exposed them- 'selves to torments, to support and honour their 'sect by a pretended martyrdom, as I had said. This 'he proves to him by very convincing testimonies, 'and chiefly by that of Eusebius, that he may know, 'that what he boldly says does not appear in history, 'is very evident in it. For Eusebius tells us in his 'history, when he relates what was said by an antient 'author, whom GOD raised up to write against the 'Phrygists or Cataphrygians, Heretics who boasted 'they had among them several martyrs ‡‡. *After 'they were convicted of all the points I have mentioned.* 'They are the words of that nameless author, as they 'are related by Eusebius in Greek, and by Mr Fer- 'rand in French, *and have nothing to answer, they 'allege*, &c. . . . (29). What will the apologist say 'now? Here are the Cataphrygians, and many other 'antient Heretics, who are exposed to torments by 'suffering a pretended a martyrdom; and here are 'also Marcionites who suffer it, and they suffer 'from the Pagans, and not by the order of the Chri- 'stians, because, as he himself says, they had not at 'that time any judicature. Here then is a very au- 'thentic testimony of history which fully justifies me, 'and overthrows him, and perfectly destroys all that 'he has said against me on this subject **. And if the 'confusion into which this ought to put him, would 'permit him to advance one step further, he might 'find, in what is cited to him from St Augustin †, 'great numbers of Donatists, who ran in crowds 'to death, and pretended to be martyrs, when they 'threw themselves head-long a-cross the Pagans, to 'suport their sect by receiving death from the hand 'of these Idolaters. But is it possible, that this 'apologist, who believes himself so learned a man, 'should be ignorant of that which almost every one 'knows, *viz.* that, upon occasion of the pretended 'martyrs of the Donatists, St Augustin has used, in 'more than one place of his works, this sentence, so 'good, and so common ‡; *That it is not the torment, 'but the cause for which a man suffers that makes him 'a martyr.* This he learned from St Cyprian, who 'had said it a long time before him, on occasion of 'the Schismatics and Heretics, who boasted of their 'martyrs ‡, *He that is not united to the church, 'cannot be a martyr; he may be put to death, but 'he cannot be crowned.* And does not our St Gregory 'produce to this purpose this fine sentiment of St 'Cyprian, using the words of St Augustin, to stop 'the

(25) Ferrand's Answer to the Apology for the Reformation, pag. 213, & seq.

† Baluz. cap. xv. pag. 182, C. D. pag. 183, A. Edit. Gr. Lat. Paris. 1658.

(26) Apply to Mr Ferrand what has been said above, concerning *Lamb. Danæus*, citat. (21).

(27) Ferrand, ubi supra, *pag.* 217.

(28) Maimbourg, Hist. of the Pontificate of St Gregory, *book iv, pag.* 427, *Dutch Edit.*

(29) Maimbourg, ubi supra, *pag.* 428.

† Hæref. 48. num. 2, pag. 403.

‡ Epist. L. ante med.

†† Cod. lib. i, leg. 5, 11, 12.

‡‡ Eusеb. lib. v, cap. xvi.

** Pag. 218.

† Aug. Ep. 50, lib. 3. cont. Ep. Parm. & alibi. Optat. lib. iii.

‡ Christi Martyrem non facit pœna, sed causa. *Lib. iii, Contr. Crescon. cap. iv, insp. Psa. xxxiv, lxviii.*

‡ Esse Martyr non potest qui in unitate non est; occidi potest, coronari non potest. *Cypr. lib. de unit. Ep. 52, ad Antonian.*

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died in a good disposition of mind, he was not so dogmatical in his Heresy as his disciples

'the presumption and pride of the schismatical bishops, who boasted that they suffered persecution 'as martyrs * ? *You ought to know*, says he to them; 'that, according to St Cyprian, it is not the torment but 'the cause that makes the martyr: And this being so, 'it is very unjust, and unreasonable, that you should 'dare to boast of that persecution which you suffer. 'Were there not then, in the times of these holy 'Fathers, Schismatics and Heretics, who pretended 'to have martyrs in their party, since they are told, 'that they are mistaken, and that it is neither the 'persecution nor the torment, nor death itself, when 'it is suffered, that makes the martyr, but the good 'cause, and the truth for which one suffers. After 'all that I have said, what credit can be given to 'people, who write so boldly, and even insultingly 'of things which are plainly proved to be false.'

* Debetis enim scire, sicut beatus Cyprianus dixit, quia Martyrem non facit pœna, sed causa. Dum igitur ita fit, incongruum nimis est de ea vos quam dictis persecutione gloriari. *Greg. lib. ii, ind. x, Ep. xxxvi*

V. There is yet one piece to be produced, and that is, the reply of the censurer of Mr Maimbourg, the reply, I say, which he made to Mr Ferrand: He 'accuses me of ignorance, because I did not 'know a passage of Eusebius, wherein it is said, '*That the Marcionites say they have several martyrs of* '*JESUS CHRIST.* I should not be ashamed 'to learn of Mr Ferrand in point of quotations; but 'I can assure him, that I both read, and observed 'this passage of Eusebius before he gave me notice 'of it. Neither do I apprehend that it will oblige 'me to retract the least thing I have said against 'Mr Maimbourg. For, I. The question is not what 'the Marcionites said, but what is the real truth of 'the matter. I doubt not but after the danger was 'over, and peace was restored to the church, the 'Marcionites would boast as others did, of their having martyrs. This honour they would assume to 'themselves when it cost them nothing. But it was false 'that they had any martyrs. Tertullian, and all the 'other antients, are more to be believed than the Marcionites themselves, who far from being persecuted 'were the foremost in the crowd of persecutors. II. 'Besides I would gladly know, if a few words spoken 'slightly, and by the by like these, *The Marcionites* '*say they have several martyrs of* JESUS CHRIST, be 'sufficient ground to assert with great assurance, *that* '*the Marcionites run to the place of execution with incredible ardour, in order to die for their sect?* One 'that reads this would be apt to think, that 'Mr Maimbourg had seen some martyrology of 'the Marcionites, wherein he had read the history and 'all the circumstances of the death of these martyrs, and among other things had observed their 'constancy and incredible zeal. Certainly, I may 'tell him once more, that if he had read Tertullian, 'he would not have asserted such a falsehood with so 'great assurance: and therefore, with Mr Ferrand's 'leave, we may say, that Mr Maimbourg is neither 'solidly nor universally learned. In what follows 'Mr Ferrand makes a long digression, and quotes a 'vast number of passages from the antients about the 'punishments of Heretics; whereof some would have 'them left to their own conscience; others would have 'them restrained, but not by inflicting a capital punishment on them; and lastly, others think fit that 'they should suffer death. He concludes his chapter 'with citing long extracts out of Optatus and St Austin, which prove this maxim, *causa non pœna facit Martyrem.* - - - - *The cause not the suffering makes* 'a martyr. It looks as if Mr Ferrand were under a 'vow to say nothing to the purpose: for what is all 'this to the point? Who denies that it is not the death 'but the cause of the death that makes the martyr? 'Who denies but there have been Heretics who died 'for their Heresy? The thing to be proved was, 'whether it is possible for Heretics to die for their 'Heresy, I. In great numbers: II. Persons of both 'sexes, *&c* (30).'

(30) Jurieu, True System of the Church, *pag.* 644, 645.

My readers have now the process as fully drawn as possible; for the parties have produced all they have to say: It remains only that sentence should be given, who is in the right, and who in the wrong, and I hope I may be allowed to give my opinion in the case.

In the first place it seems to me that Mr Maimbourg did not sufficiently weigh his words; his expressions are hyperbolical; for it is neither certain that the Marcionites had many martyrs, nor that those martyrs suffered death as Marcionites. It had been therefore more prudent to have said only, that this sect boasted of having martyrs. II. But if the expressions of Mr Maimbourg are hyperbolical, those of the censurer are much more so; for a man ought not, only for using expressions that are too strong, to be accused either *of a prodigious ignorance, or of too great boldness.* III. The censurer hath been so passionate, that did not we perceive a great air of moderation in the whole work of Mr Ferrand, the extraordinary modesty which he shows in this place, might pass for a malicious trick, designed to expose more effectually the hideous deformity of the criticism he refuted. When I read this page of his book, methinks I see fine pearls about the neck of an Æthiopian, the lustre of which is increased by the blackness surrounding them, whilst they add new degrees of obscurity to the blackness (31). IV. According to all appearance, the censurer knew nothing of this passage of Eusebius, when he published his apology for the reformers, and was ignorant that the sect of the Marcionites subsisted still in the fourth century. How then comes it, may one say, that he *affirms he had read and observed this passage, before Mr Ferrand gave him notice of it?* Does not he himself overthrow all his confutation, by confessing that he was not ignorant of this place in Eusebius? Since therefore this confession was prejudicial to him, we must conclude that he was sincere in it. I answer, that of two evils we must always choose the least. Now in comparing the prejudice which might happen to him by his confession with that which might happen by a conduct quite opposite, the damage is less which he suffers by the first than by the second: and therefore he boasted of knowing what Eusebius says concerning the martyrdom of the Marcionites. If he had confessed that he knew nothing of it, all his readers would have entertained the worse opinion of his learning; for the most stupid might have sense enough to conclude with a great deal of ease, that he was a meer novice in ecclesiastical History, and that it was very indecent in him to object this fault to his adversary with so much haughtiness. The evil was great; the danger unavoidable, and the prejudice not to be easily repaired. But what had he to fear in boasting that he was well acquainted with his Eusebius? I will tell it you here in two words, and more particularly hereafter. He might fear that the readers who reason well, and take the pains to compare exactly the objections with the answers, and to consider whether a proof that is good in itself does not lose it's force by supposing this or that, would perceive the weakness of his criticism. The mischief of this is not very great, for of a thousand readers there are scarce two who will trouble themselves with these enquiries, or are capable of making them; wherefore the danger is infinitely greater, when a person is exposed to be thought ignorant by every one that can read, than when he is in danger of being taken for a bad Logician by a small number of readers. Did he need a greater motive to act as he did? It was worth his while to boast that he knew very well the pretensions of the Marcionites related by Eusebius; to boast of it I say, being in such circumstances wherein he was exposed to the great inconveniences, which I shall now lay open. V. All the proofs made use of against Maimbourg, may be reduced to this: the Marcionites lived only in the second and third centuries, therefore they had no martyrs; for at that time the Christian church had not any courts of judicature, and besides they taught with the Gnostics, that it was a foolish thing to expose one's self to martyrdom. This reasoning supposes, that the followers of Marcion were neither persecuted by the Christians nor by the Pagans. Could any one be so bold as to say this, if he knew, 1. that an author cited by Eusebius, confesses, that they boasted of the multitude of their martyrs? Καὶ οἱ πρῶτοί γε ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως Μαρκιωνισταὶ καλούμενοι, πλείστους ὅσους ἔχειν χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγουσιν· ἀλλὰ τὸν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν οὐχ' ὁμολογοῦσι. Primi certe qui Marcionis hæresim sequuntur, vulgo Marcionitæ cognominati, quamplurimos habere se dicunt martyres Christi. Et tamen Christum ipsum revera minime confitentur (32). - - - *The first followers of the Heresy of Marcion, usually called Marcionites, boast that they*

(31) *Every knows this rism of the f.* Contraria ju posita magis cescunt.

(32) Eusebius v, cap. xvi m. 182. D

ciples were. We may say of his system the same thing as of that of the Manichees. He

they had a great number who died martyrs for the testimony of JESUS CHRIST: *and yet they do not confess* CHRIST *in reality.* 2. That Eusebius does not deny the fact, but only denies, that the great number of the Marcionites, that were martyrs, was a proof of the goodness of their sect? VI. This passage of Eusebius utterly ruins the pretension of the critic, *viz.* that the followers of Marcion taught with the Gnostics, that none but fools would lose their lives for their religion, and that *they were the most forward among the persecutors, in order to keep off persecution from themselves.* How could they teach this, when they pretended to prove by their martyrs, that they were the true church? VII. It is impertinent to cite Tertullian, since he says nothing expressly of that sect, and it is ridiculous to pretend, that those who join the note of Rigaltius with the words of Tertullian, dare not mention any Marcionites that were martyrs. VIII. It is very true, that Marcion agreed with the Gnostics in some things, but nevertheless his sect was different from theirs; and so without express testimony and particular proofs, it is not just to ascribe to him the opinion of the Gnostics concerning martyrdom. For if so, it might be lawful to argue thus: *the Arminians are a branch of the Protestants; therefore they believe the real presence like those of the confession of Augsburg, and absolute predestination like those of the confession of Geneva.* IX. It is very strange, that one who presumed to insult Mr Maimbourg for his ignorance of antiquity, should not know that the sect of the Marcionites flourished very much towards the end of the fourth century, as St Epiphanius informs us (33). It flourished still in the time of Theodoret, who informs us, that he converted and baptized more than ten thousand Marcionites (34). Note, that Lambertus Danæus was not ignorant, that these sectaries boasted of their martyrs; but with St Cyprian he pretends, that such of them as suffered death for religion were not martyrs. 'Martyres etiam se 'habere jactant, ut scribit Eusebius lib. 5. cap. 16. 'inter quos recensetur Methodorum Smyrnæ crematum, 'lib. 4. cap. 16. sed falso, nam causa facit martyres, 'quemadmodum Cyprianus ait, non autem pœna (35). 'They also boast that they have martyrs (as Eusebius 'writes, among whom he reckons Methodorus burnt at 'Smyrna) but falsly, for it is the cause that makes 'martyrs, not the suffering, as St Cyprian says.' He speaks of a Marcionite priest that was burnt at Smyrna at the same time with Polycarp. Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν γραφῇ, καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας· μεθ' ὧν καὶ Μητρόδωρος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα φλάνης, πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἶναι δοκῶν, πυρὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀνῄρηται. Sed & alia martyria sub idem tempus quo Polycarpus passus est, apud Smyrnam facta, in eadem epistola conjunctim leguntur. In quibus & Metrodorus quidam qui Marcionis sectæ presbyter dicebatur, flammis consumptus interiit (36). - - - - - *Other martyrs are likewise mentioned in the same epistle, to have suffered at Smyrna, about the time with Polycarp, among which one Metrodorus, said to be a presbyter of the sect of the Marcionites, was burnt.* X. I do not know whether I may not say, that these people reckoned those for martyrs among them who were perhaps killed in some popular commotion of the orthodox. It would be no great wonder if some did believe, that even before the emperors were Christians, the Heretics were exposed sometimes to the violence of the Catholics; for we learn from St Epiphanius, that Manes had like to have been killed by the common people in the city of Caschara, where he had publickly disputed with the bishop of that place. He had infallibly lost his life there, if a very honest man, called Marcellus, had not by his venerable presence, put a stop to the burning zeal of the people. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Μάνης ἀποδράσας, βαλομένων τῶν δήμων αὐτὸν λιθοβολῆσαι, εἰ μὴ ὅτι παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον Μάρκελλος, καὶ τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ αὐτοῦ προσώπῳ κατεδυσώπησε τὸν δήμους, ἐπεὶ ἂν ὁ πάλαι νεκρὸς μένων πάλαι ἐτεθνήκει. *Secundum hæc Manes fuga sibi consulit. Populus enim lapidibus illum obruere volebat; nisi Marcellus in medium prodiens vultu ipso venerationis pleno aspectuque repressisset. Quod nisi fecisset, jam dudum infelix ipse periisset* (37).

This honest man had used the same moderation before, to hinder the bishop from causing Manes to be killed. This prelate was called Archelaus, he was in so great a rage, when he knew what Manes had writ to Marcellus, that he would immediately have seized this Heretic, had not Marcellus hindred him by his intreaties. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος γνοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπισολὴν ἀναγνούς, ἐβρυχε τὸν ὀδόντας, ὥσπερ λέων ὠρυόμενος, καὶ ζῆλον Θεοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁρμῆσαι μᾶλλον ἕως αὐτοῦ, καὶ χειρώσασθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον. Archelaus re omni perspecta denibus fremens, rugientis leonis instar, ac divino quodam ardore percitus ad Manichæum potius proficisci cupiebat, hominemque capere (38). - - - - *Archelaus being informed of the whole matter, raged like a roaring lion, being fired with a divine zeal, and resolved to go and seize him.* Some days after he had occasion again for all his eloquence to restrain the zeal of this prelate. Manes having received the answer of Marcellus, went to him. Archelaus was of opinion that he should be killed like a wild beast, who ravaged the lord's sheep-fold. But Marcellus, by his wise discourses, inclined him to mildness, and made him agree to confer peaceably with this heresiarch. Perhaps I shall not be believed, unless I cite the Greek, which therefore I will do. Ὁ δὲ Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀρχέλαος ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ζηλωτικὸν τῆς πίσεως, ἐβουλεύετο εἰ ἦν δυνατὸν, ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ὥσπερ παρδαλιν ἢ λύκον, ἢ τι ἕτερον τῶν θηρίων ἀγρεύσας, θανάτῳ παραδῶναι, ἵνα μὴ λυμανθῇ τὰ θρέμματα τοιούτῳ θηρὸς, [ἐφ' ὁδὸ] τὴν εἴσοδον κατανοῶν. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἤξίου, καὶ ἀνεξικάκειαν πρὸς αὐτὸν διάλογον ἀπ' αὐτῆ γενέσθαι. At Archelaus Episcopus præter doctrinam fidei insuper ardore præditus, author erat, ut si fieri posset, homo ille, pardi instar ac lupi, vel cujusvis alterius bestiæ interceptus morti traderetur, ne ejusmodi feræ incursione pecora læderentur, cum illius ingressum cognosceret. Marcellus contra patienter ac leniter potius illum in colloquio tractandum putabat (39). - - - - *But Archelaus the bishop being not only sound in faith, but also very zealous; when he heard of his coming, was of opinion, that, if possible, he ought to be killed like a tyger, or wolf, or any other beast of prey, lest the flock should be hurt, by the ravages of such sort of creatures: Marcellus, on the other hand, advised that he should rather be discoursed with, and treated patiently, and mildly.* This shows, that under pretence that the orthodox had not any courts of judicature for the first three centuries, one must not conclude so magisterially, that the Heretics could not boast of having martyrs. All communions agree in honouring with this title some of those who die for their religion by the wicked attempts of the common people. XI. Lastly I observe, that Mr Ferrand should not have been insulted for making long *extracts out of Optatus and St Augustin which prove this maxim,* Causa non pœna facit martyrem; for it was necessary for him to make them to answer the challenge of the apologist, and to show his rashness: once more here is the tenor of this challenge (40); 'but 'that this declaimer may not escape, we desire him, 'if he will quit the age of the Marcionites, to show 'us what Heretics died in crowds to maintain their 'Heresy, and when this happened. As for us, who 'know nothing of History but what books teach us, 'we find no such ages, we meet with no such crowds 'of Heretics, who died for their errors: we know 'only, that in the fourth century, some orthodox bi'shops prosecuted to death certain Spanish Heretics.' This challenge does plainly contain this assertion. *In the first four centuries there were no other martyrs that were Heretics but some Priscillianists.* The contrary to this was proved to him by long citations. What then can be more ridiculous, than to laugh at those long extracts, and to say they are impertinent, and that *he does not deny that there were Heretics who died for their heresy,* and that *the question was not, whether it be possible for Heretics to die for their Heresy* (41); but only whether it be possible in the circumstances alledged by him, which are five in number? It is manifest that this challenge contains nothing relating to those circumstances, and so this author is notoriously guilty of acting insincerely. He challenges a man to prove such a thing to him; and when he sees

(32) See the remark [D], cent. (30).

(33) Theodor. Epist. calvi, apud Baron. ad ann. 424, num. 19.

(34) Lambert. Danæus, ubi supra, fol. 59.

(35) Eusebius lib. iv, cap. xv, pag. m. 152. Compare it with what Mr Jurieu says. It was false that they had any martyrs. Caus. Baronius, ad ann. 424, num. 14, where he says, Facilius est invenire Marcionitam à Gentilibus olim occisum, quam à Christianis Ecclesiæ reddatum. - - - - *It was heretofore easier to find a Marcionite killed by the Heathens, than one refused to the church by the Christians.*

(36) Epiph. adv. Hæres. num. 66, pag. m. 627.

(37) Id. ib. pag. 624.

(38) Ib. pag. 625.

(39) Jurieu, Apology for the Reformers, Tom. I, pag. 172.

(40) Jurieu, System of the Church, pag. 645.

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He did not know how to manage his principal point [F]: but entangled himſelf in a multitude

ſees it proved demonſtratively, he complains of the length of the proof, and ſays, the queſtion was not about this, but about another thing. What is moſt aſtoniſhing is, that a man ſo much verſed in controverſy, ſhould dare to give ſuch a challenge as this; ſince almoſt all the Romiſh controverſial writers, in anſwer to any thing that is alledged from the martyrology of the Proteſtants, ſay, that the antient Heretics boaſted of the ſame thing. I ſhall only quote a Jeſuit, who wrote againſt Peter du Moulin, and whom this miniſter and Andrew Rivet have refuted. 'Vetus 'delirium hæreticorum eſt, *ſays he* (42), Eccleſiam 'Catholicam in Martyrum cenſu æmulari velle. Ita 'de Marcionitis & de Cataphrygibus ſeu Montaniſtis 'ſcribit ‡ Apollinaris Epiſcopus Hierapoleos, antiquiſ-'ſimus Theologus; ipſos, cum omnia quæ pro ſe at-'tulerant argumenta, fuiſſent rationibus conſentaneis 'rejecta, ad Martyres confugiſſe, & ad propheticum 'illorum ſpiritum. Invehuntur pariter tum ſanctus 'Cyprianus contra pſeudomartyres Novatianos, tum 'ſanctus Epiphanius contra Euphemitas: qui ob eo-'rum multitudinem ſe Martyrianos vaniſſime appella-'runt. Habuere ſuos Donatiſtæ; tantáque inſaniâ 'Martyrii eam larvam affectarunt, ut cum Eccleſiæ 'tyrannorum perſecutio deeſſet, ſe aliquoties dederint 'præcipites exanimaverintque; deque his Optatus Mi-'levitanus, divus Auguſtinus, & Theodoretus memi-'nerunt. Non caruerunt iis quoque Ariani & Priſcil-'lianiſtæ, quorum inſiſtere veſtigiis ſatagunt Sectarii 'noſtri temporis, & ideo ſuos habent Martyrologos, 'qui mendacia intexunt ineptiis dicerem lepidiſſimis, 'niſi jocari in re tanti momenti facinus eſſet. - - - - - '*It is an antient infatuation of Heretics, to rival the* 'Catholic church in the number of their martyrs: ſo Apol-'lonaris, biſhop of Hierapolis, a very antient Divine, 'writes of the Marcionites, and Cataphrygians, or Mon-'taniſts; that they, when all their arguments were re-'futed by ſound reaſoning, uſed to take refuge in their 'martyrs, and their prophetic ſpirit. St Cyprian in 'like manner inveighs againſt the Novatian Pſeudo-mar-'tyrs, and St Epiphanius againſt the Euphemites, who, 'from the multitude of their martyrs, were vain enough 'to call themſelves Martyriſts. The Donatiſts had 'theirs, and to ſuch a degree of madneſs did their infatua-'tion carry them, that when at any time the church's free-'dom from the perſecution of tyrants, prevented their 'meeting their fates from the hands of others, they would 'ſeek it from their own, and would throw themſelves 'down headlong from precipices to obtain it; as is men-'tioned by Optatus Milevitanus, St Auguſtin, and Theo-'doret. Nor were the Arians, and Priſcillianiſts, 'without their martyrs; in whoſe ſteps our modern 'ſectaries are ſo anxious to tread, and therefore they 'have their martyrologiſts, who weave into their fictions, 'ſuch ridiculous tales, which one might call moſt enter-'taining, and diverting, but that it would be crimi-'nal to jeſt in a matter of ſuch importance.' Note, Petraſancta is miſtaken, as well as Baronius (43), in thinking that Apollinaris was the author whom Euſebius quotes. Rufinus and Nicephorus are guilty of the ſame error. See how they are refuted in the firſt tome of the Bibliotheque of Mr du Pin (44), agreeable to the reaſons which Henricus Valeſius (45) and Peter Halloix (46) have alledged.

(42) Silveſter Petraſancta, in notis in epiſtolam Petri Molinæi ad Balzacum, *pag.* 36, 37.

‡ Apud Euſeb. hiſt. lib. v, cap. xv.

(43) Ad ann. 173, num. 20, *& ſeq.*

(44) Pag. 68. Dutch edition.

(45) In Euſeb. *lib. v, cap. vi.*

(46) In notis ad vitam S. Apollin. *cap. iii.*

THE advantages of collecting the writings of ſuch controverſies.

It were to be wiſhed, that ſome good critic would take the pains to collect together all the pieces of ſuch like controverſies, and place them one after another, as I have done, in regard to the diſpute about the martyrs of the Marcionites. I have given here a ſpecimen of this work, to encourage thoſe who are able to undertake it. It would be a work of very great uſe, either to diſcover the diſingenuity of ſome diſputants, or to accuſtom authors to a greater exactneſs: for knowing that very few, if any, compare together the replies and rejoinders which are ſcattered in many volumes, they do not fear the conſequences of their diſingenuous practices; which they would certainly be afraid of, if they knew that ſome body would make ſuch a collection of the objections and anſwers, and of the replies and rejoinders, as will be moſt proper to ſhow in a moment the ſtrength and weakneſs both of the one and the other; which might be ſeen the more eaſily if there were added to it ſuch obſervations as I have made above. The beſt way of doing it, would be by ranging the whole in two or three columns. See the preface to the project of this Dictionary, towards the end.

[F] *He did not know how to manage his principal point.*] If a man of abilities equal to thoſe of Des Cartes had been to manage this affair, the ſyſtem of the two principles could not have been overturned ſo eaſily as it was by the Fathers, when they had none to oppoſe, but Cerdon, Marcion, Apelles, and Manes, who knew not how to make uſe of their advantages, either becauſe they admitted the goſpel, or becauſe they had not knowledge enough to avoid the explications, which perplexed them the moſt (47). It was the moſt ridiculous thing in the world, to maintain that CHRIST did indeed appear upon earth, but not with a true humane body, and to give this reaſon for it, becauſe the fleſh is not the work of the good principle but of the ill one. The Marcionites diſpute pitifully about this. In general, if we judge of their ſtrength by the objections they propoſe in the dialogue of Origen (48); we muſt think very meanly of them. We do not find that they preſſed home the difficulties about the origin of evil; for it ſeems, that after they were anſwered, that evil came from the bad uſe of the free-will of man, they knew not what to reply; or if they urged the fore-ſight of this miſchievous uſe, they were ſatisfied with the firſt anſwer, how weak ſoever it was. Origen (49) having anſwered, that an intelligent creature, if it had not enjoyed free-will, would have been immutable and immortal like GOD, ſtops the mouth of the Marcionite, for he has nothing to reply. Nevertheleſs it was eaſy to refute this anſwer; for he needed only to have aſked Origen, whether the bleſſed in paradiſe are equal to GOD in the attributes of immutability and immortality. He would doubtleſs have anſwered, they are not: And conſequently, might it have been replied, a creature does not become a GOD, becauſe it is determined to good, and is deprived of that which you call free-will. You do not therefore anſwer the objection; for the queſtion was, wherefore GOD, fore ſeeing that a creature would ſin, if it were left to its own free-conduct, did not determine it to that which was good, as he does continually determine the ſouls of the bleſſed which are tranſlated into paradiſe? You anſwer after ſuch a manner as ſhows, that you took the queſtion to have been, why GOD did not give a creature a being as immutable and independant as himſelf? But there was never any ſuch queſtion put to you. St Baſil has given another anſwer which has the ſame defect. GOD, ſays he, would not have us to love him by conſtraint, and we our ſelves do not think our ſervants well-diſpoſed to our ſervice, while we hold them in chains, but only when they obey us of their own inclination. Ὅτι καὶ σὺ τὺς οἰκέτας, ὐχ ὅταν δεσμὶυς ἔχῃς, εὖνυς ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἑκυσίως ἰδῇς ἀποπληρὦντάς σοι τὰ καθήκοντα, καὶ Θεῷ τοίιυν ὐ τὸ ἠναγκασμένον φίλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρετῆς κατορθύμενον, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ ὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται. *Quoniam & tu ſervos, non quando vinctos in cuſtodiâ tenes, benevolos eſſe tibi exiſtimas; ſed cum ſponte omnia, quæ erga te oportet, videris agere. Sic item Deo eum puta fore amicum, non qui coactus, ſed qui ſponte ſuâ virtuteque illi obtemperat. Virtus vero ex voluntate perficitur, non ex neceſſitate* (50). To convince St Baſil that his reflexion is very falſe, we need only put him in mind of the ſtate of paradiſe: GOD is there loved and ſerved perfectly well, and yet the bleſſed do not enjoy free-will; they have no longer that fatal privilege of the power to commit ſin. Muſt we therefore compare them to thoſe ſlaves who obey only by force? What was St Baſil dreaming of? And ſince he anſwers the difficulties by the parallel we have produced, it is a ſign that the followers of Marcion and Manes made no reply, when they ſaw themſelves overthrown by this argument, and that they never thought to put their adverſaries in mind of the ſtate of glorified ſouls. If there were any Marcionites at this day, as able diſputants, as either the Jeſuits or the Janſeniſts in their diſputations againſt one another, they would begin where their anceſtors left off. They would firſt of all attack the laſt intrenchment of Origen, viz. free-will, and before they had

(47) Compare what was ſaid in the article MANICHEES, remark [B].

(48) I mean the dialogue againſt the Marcionites attributed to Origen, of which Mr Wetſtein, profeſſor at Baſil, publiſhed an edition in 1674, being the firſt in which the Greek appeared.

(49) A Dialogue againſt the Marcionites, *Sect. iii, pag.* 79, 80. *Edit. Baſil.* 1674.

(50) Baſilius Magnus, Tom. i, in homilia, *Quod Deus non ſit auctor mali, pag.* 369.

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multitude of ill-contrived explications; from whence it came to paſs, that the Fathers eaſily confounded the Marcionites. It ſeems they were overthrown by the firſt anſwer that was given them: for as ſoon as they were told of the inviolable privileges of human liberty, they were altogether ſilent and mute as fiſhes. Yet it was eaſy to reply to this [G]. I ſhall make a few obſervations againſt Moreri [H].

advanced three ſyllogiſms, would oblige the reſpondent to confeſs, that he did not underſtand what he affirmed (51), and that theſe are unſearchable depths of the ſovereignty of the Creator in which our reaſon is ſwallowed up, and nothing but faith can ſupport us. This is in reality our reſource. Revelation is the only magazine of the arguments, with which we muſt oppoſe theſe people: it is by this means only, that we are able to refute the pretended eternity of an ill principle. But when we go about to determine after what manner the Creator has acted, with reſpect to the firſt ſin of the creature, we find our ſelves very much entangled. All the hypotheſes laid down by Chriſtians, are not ſufficient to ward off the blows that are levelled at them (52). They are triumphant when they act offenſively; but they loſe all their advantage when they ſuſtain the attack. Our ideas in this matter are only juſt clear enough to make an eternal war; like thoſe princes, who cannot hinder others from ravaging their frontiers, tho' they are ſtrong enough to make incurſions into the enemy's country. It does not appear that Marcion and his followers did well underſtand the ſtrength and weakneſs of the orthodox.

Prudentius who wrote a poem about the origin of ſin, has not well anſwered the objection of thoſe heretics (53).

[G] *Yet it was eaſy to reply to this.*] I have already ſhown in the preceding remark, that to refute invincibly the anſwer of St Baſil, it was ſufficent to deſire him to conſider the ſtate of the bleſſed. I add here, that it was not neceſſary to put him upon ſo high a contemplation; for it was ſufficient to deſire him to conſider the ſtate of the juſt in this life. It is by virtue of the grace of the holy ſpirit that the children of God, while they are travellers, I mean while they are in this world, do love their heavenly father, and perform good works. Neither St Baſil, nor the other Greek Fathers, could deny this, tho' they did not aſſert the neceſſity of grace efficacious by itſelf ſo ſtrongly as St Auguſtin did. Does the grace of God reduce the faithful to the condition of a ſlave who obeys only by force? Does it hinder them from loving God voluntarily, and from obeying him with a good and ſincere will? If this queſtion had been put to St Baſil and the other fathers, who wrote againſt the Marcionites, would they not have been obliged to anſwer negatively? But what is the natural and immediate conſequence of that anſwer? Is it not to ſay, that, without infringing the liberty of the creature, God could infallibly determine it to good? And therefore ſin does not proceed from hence, that the Creator could not prevent it without deſtroying the free-will of the creature; but we muſt find out ſome other cauſe of it. I wonder that the Fathers of the church did not ſee the weakneſs of their anſwers, and that their adverſaries did not give them notice of it. I know very well, that theſe matters had not then paſſed thro' all the diſcuſſions which have appeared in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries; but it is certain the primitive church knew perfectly well the agreement of human liberty with the grace of the holy ſpirit (54). The moſt rigid Chriſtian ſects acknowledge at this day, that the decrees of God did not impoſe upon the firſt man a neceſſity of ſinning, and that the moſt efficacious grace does not deſtroy the liberty of a ſinful man. They confeſs therefore, that the decrees of preſerving mankind conſtantly and invariably in a ſtate of innocence, how abſolute ſoever they might have been, would have permitted all men to perform all their duties very freely. The Thomiſts maintain, that phyſical pre-determination perfects the liberty of our ſoul, far from deſtroying or weakening it; and yet they teach that this pre-determination is of ſuch a nature, that when it is given to produce an act of love, it is not poſſible *in ſenſu compoſito*, that the ſoul ſhould produce an act of hatred. I frankly confeſs, that I believe they do not very well underſtand, how the liberty of the creature is perfected by this phyſical pre-determining quality, which the firſt cauſe, ſay they, produces in the ſoul of a man before it acts; but whether they do underſtand it or no, it is certain, that they afford enough totally to overthrow the ſolution which St Baſil gave to the objections of the Manichees. As for the Moliniſts, they cannot make uſe of ſuch a ſolution, for they do not reject the grace of God, which infallibly ſecures a man's predeſtination; they do not deny but God, if he pleaſes, can ſecure a man who always acts freely from ever falling into ſin in the moſt dangerous temptations.

[H] *I ſhall make a few obſervations againſt Moreri.*] I. His remark, that Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, had formerly been a city of Pontus, is very wrong ſince Sinope was at the ſame time both a city of Paphlagonia and a city of Pontus. II. It is not true, that Marcion was never received into the communion of the church of Rome (55). III. Nor that *after he had followed a long time the errors of Cerdon, he invented new ones in* 134. We have ſhown before that he came to Rome under Antoninus Pius, who did not begin to reign till 138. Baronius, building upon ſome paſſages of Tertullian, believed that Marcion began to publiſh his tenets at Rome in 146 (56); and yet there are other paſſages of this Father which teſtify, that Marcion did not come to Rome till the time of Pope Anicetus (57): which ſuppoſes that he did not arrive there till twenty years after the birth of his ſect. Tertullian was in the right when he ſaid (58), that he was not well informed of the time when this heretic began to dogmatize. IV. Since Cerdon went to Rome in Pope Hyginus's time (59), who was not created till the year 153, how was it poſſible that Marcion ſhould invent new hereſies in 134, after he had followed a long time thoſe which Cerdon taught him at Rome? V. It is falſe, that Marcion *called himſelf* Jesus Christ *ſent to aboliſh the law as being wicked.* Moreri ſlanders him in aſcribing this to him. If it be ſaid, that Moreri, in theſe words, *He called himſelf* Jesus Christ, does not refer to Marcion, but to one of the gods of this heretic, to him whom he owned *for the author of the goſpel, and the redeemer of the univerſe*; this will not clear Moreri, he will ſtill be guilty both of expreſſing himſelf ill, and of reporting amiis the opinion of this heretic. Marcion admitting two gods, one good and the other bad, ſaid, that one made the world, and the other was the father of Jesus Christ (60). Perhaps the confuſion with which Baronius ſpeaks of this, deceived Moreri. *Duos poſuit Deos* (Marcion) *ſibi contrarios, quorum alter bonus, malus vero eſſe alter; alter legis veteris auctor, alter autem novæ . . . . . ab illoque malo mundum eſſe creatum, à bono autem reſtitutum atque redemptum, huncque fuiſſe Jeſum ſolventem legem atque Prophetas à Deo patre miſſum* (61). Thus this paſſage is read in my edition of Baronius (62). I know not whether the Printers have omitted ſome words, or whether we muſt attribute to Baronius the contradiction found there, which conſiſts in ſaying, that Jesus Christ was the good principle, and that his Father ſent him into the world.

(51) They would pretend that ſuch a confeſſion, amounts to no leſs than being reduced to a non plus. *ad terminum non hæret.*

(52) See in the article PAULICIANS, remark [F], what I have cited from the *Judgment of Mr Turrin about the true methods of explaining Grace.* See alſo what a French miniſter anſwered to the Lutherans. Mr Beauval hath mentioned it in the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Nov.* 1695, *pag.* 105, *& ſeq.* but chiefly ſee the inſyncrisms of Bernardinus Ochinus.

(53) See the remark [F] of the article PRUDENTIUS.

(54) That is, of ſuch a grace as certainly produces it's effect.

(55) See the remark [B].

(56) Baron. ad ann. 146, num. 1.

(57) He was created biſhop of Rome in 167, according to Baronius.

(58) Adv. Marcion. *lib. i, cap. xix*, apud Baronium, ibid.

(59) Irenæus, *lib. i, cap. xxviii*, apud Baron. ibid. num. 2.

(60) See Danæus, *ubi ſupra, fol.* 36, citing Iren. *lib. ii, cap. 1*, and *lib. iv, cap. lvii*, and other Fathers.

(61) Baronius, ubi ſupra, num. 9, *pag.* 117.

(62) It is that of Antwerp, 1597.

MARESTS (John des) a Pariſian, Sieur de St Sorlin, was one of the fineſt wits of the XVIIth century; but he became at laſt viſionary and fanatical. He was very much beloved by cardinal Richelieu, and we may ſay that among other offices (*a*),

(*a*) *He was comptroller-general of the extraordinaries of the war, and ſecretary-general of the marine of the Levant.* Hiſtory of the French Academy, pag. m. 342.

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he had under his eminence an employment of wit [*A*]. He himſelf has left us a deſcription of his morals, which is not very much to his advantage; for he confeſſes, that to ſeduce the women who oppoſed him out of a concern for their ſalvation, he made no ſcruple to incline them to Atheiſm [*B*]. He was a member of the French academy at its firſt foundation, and one of its principal ornaments. He wrote ſeveral dramatic pieces (*b*), which were much applauded, and chiefly that intituled *Les Viſionaires*. He undertook an Epic Poem (*c*), which coſt him many years labour, and he believed he ſhould have taken a longer time to finiſh it, if Providence had not had a deſign to employ his pen in works of Devotion [*C*]. He alſo wrote romances, wherein he departed from thoſe ideas of virtue which were then repreſented in that kind of writings [*D*]. He died in 1676. He declared himſelf an enemy to the Janſeniſts, but certainly he had better never have meddled in that quarrel; for had it not been for this, his viſions which are ſo well deſcribed by theſe gentlemen [*E*], had lain concealed in darkneſs. He promiſed the king of France, by

(*b*) *See the titles of them and of ſeveral other pieces of his in the* Hiſtory of the French Academy, *pag. m.* 343.

(*c*) *Intituled* Clovis.

[*A*] *He had under his eminence an employment of wit.*] Hear what he ſays himſelf under the name of Euſebius in one of his books. ‘ (1) With the help ‘ of ſome, by whom I was ſupported to arrive at ‘ the height of the palace of fortune, I came at laſt ‘ to his apartment, who reigned in this high place. ‘ There I taſted a thouſand raviſhing pleaſures by the ‘ eſteem he had for me, by the careſſes both pub- ‘ lic and private, wherewith he honoured me, by the ‘ applauſes I received from all parts, and by the ‘ victories I often gained over my envious enemies ‘ . . . . (2) You will force me to give you a taſte of ‘ theſe delicacies whereby you may judge of the reſt, ‘ and which will ſerve to ſhow the indefatigable ‘ ſtrength of the genius of this great man, who ‘ could not relax from one labour of the mind, but ‘ by another labour of the ſame nature. Imme- ‘ diately after he had ſpent ſome hours in ſettling all ‘ the affairs of ſtate, he often ſhut up himſelf with ‘ a learned Divine, to handle with him the ſublimeſt ‘ queſtions of religion, and his wit gathered a new ‘ ſtrength in theſe changes of converſation. After ‘ this he commonly called me in alone, to divert ‘ himſelf about matters more gay and nice, in which ‘ he took wonderful pleaſure. For having obſerved ‘ in me a ſort of fruitful wit to bring forth ſudden ‘ thoughts, he confeſſed to me, that his greateſt ‘ pleaſure was, when in our converſation, he excelled ‘ my thoughts. And if I propoſed another thought ‘ beyond his, then his wit made a new effort with ‘ very great ſatisfaction. . . . . Now judge you, if I ‘ did not taſte in my turn the ſame pleaſure, which ‘ ſeemed to him ſo great, ſince it often happened, that ‘ I went beyond his thoughts.’

(1) Delices de l'Eſprit, *pag.* 4.

(2) Ib. *pag.* 105.

[*B*] *He confeſſes that to ſeduce the women . . . . . he made no ſcruple to incline them to Atheiſm.*] He does not only ſay, ‘ (3) That he ſtaid ſome time in the cot- ‘ tage of carnal and groſs pleaſures, which had but ‘ one ſign, coarſely painted, and whereon Bacchus and ‘ Venus were repreſented; and that finding that theſe ‘ pleaſures ruined his body and his fortune, he reſolved ‘ to ſeek after thoſe which were more ſublime. *He* ‘ *adds*, (4) That he ought to mourn with tears of ‘ blood for the bad uſe he made of his eloquence ‘ among the women; for I made uſe of nothing but ‘ diſguiſed lies, ſubtile tricks, and infamous treache- ‘ ries. I endeavoured to ruin the ſouls of thoſe ‘ whom I feigned to be in love with; I ſought ‘ out deceitful ſpeeches to diſturb, to blind, and ſe- ‘ duce them, that I might induce them to believe, ‘ that vice was virtue, or at leaſt a thing natural and ‘ indifferent. I betrayed even God himſelf, by in- ‘ terpreting his laws maliciouſly, and ſetting off the ‘ falſe and damnable reaſonings of the voluptuous and ‘ impious, ſuch as you are, and I employed all ‘ the efforts of my eloquence to extinguiſh the ‘ ſenſe of Virtue in a ſoul.’ *It was proved to him* (5), *that* ‘ He had denoted himſelf by thoſe individual and ‘ perſonal characters;’ ſo that what his Euſebius ſays, is his own hiſtory.

(3) Ib. *pag.* 3.

(4) Delices de l'Eſprit, *pag.* 73. *See the new Critical Letters againſt Maimbourg, pag.* 746, 747.

(5) Meſſieurs of Port-Royal in their Viſionaires, *Letter viii. pag.* 456. *Edit. of Cologne*, 1683, *in* 8vo.

[*C*] *He believed he ſhould have taken . . . . . a longer time to finiſh his Clovis, if Providence had not had a deſign to employ his pen in works of devotion.*] It is he alſo who revealed this little myſtery; for he begins his *Delices de l'Eſprit* (6) *with a kind of prodigy, which he pretends happened to him; which was*, ſays he (7), ‘ That God did ſo ſenſibly aſſiſt him in finiſhing ‘ his great work of Clovis, thereby to bring him the ‘ ſooner to ſuch things as were more uſeful, more ‘ nice, and more ſublime, that he durſt not ſay in ‘ what time he finiſhed the nine books which re- ‘ mained, and poliſhed the others.’ The gentlemen of Port Royal make the following reflection upon this paſſage. ‘ Thus, according to Mr Des-Ma- ‘ reſts, it was the ſpirit of God which moved ‘ him to write theſe nine books, which aſſiſted ‘ him to poliſh the reſt, and which inclined him ‘ to publiſh this work. It was the ſpirit of Truth ‘ which aſſiſted him in publiſhing and divulging among ‘ Chriſtians ſo many impertinent and ridiculous fables. ‘ It was the ſpirit of God that moved him to tempt ‘ them by ſo many dangerous images, and the repre- ‘ ſentation of ſo many criminal paſſions. It was the ‘ ſpirit of God that induced him to write a romance, ‘ which differs in nothing from others, only that it ‘ is more extravagant (8).’ For the reſt, the abbot de Marolles informs us of one particular, from whence we may conclude, that our John Des-Mareſts ſet a high value upon his Clovis. He gave me his *Delices de l'Eſprit*, ſays the abbot (9), and *ſome other of his works in proſe and verſe, at ſuch a time as I had no difference with him, as I have had ſince, becauſe he underſtood what I had written of his Clovis, in a ſenſe different from what I had intended. I had not preferred it above the Æneid, although I had an eſteem for it, and thought it not unworthy of him.*

(6) Les Viſionaires, *Letter i, pag.* 256.

(7) *Preface to the* Delices de l'Eſprit.

(8) Viſionaires, *ibid.*

(9) Michael de Marolles, enumeration of the authors, who gave him their books.

[*D*] *He wrote . . . . romances, wherein he departed from thoſe ideas of virtue, which were then repreſented in that kind of writings.*] On this account he is pleaſantly expoſed in the *Parnaſſe Reformé*, which puts this complaint in the mouth of Ariana, his heroine. ‘ There ‘ are no places with me but what are infamous, each ‘ book furniſhes one at leaſt; and the heroes of the ‘ romance are ſo accuſtomed to frequent thoſe places, ‘ that one would take them for common ſoldiers or ‘ muſqueteers. To give me a viſit, and to go to, (you ‘ know my meaning) is but one and the ſame thing; ‘ the one is now confounded with the other. I am ‘ become the repertory of all good places. I do not ‘ wonder after this, if he makes me appear naked; it ‘ had been irregular to have uſed me otherwiſe; and ‘ ſince Aſtræa, who had not the advantage of place as ‘ I have, ſhows herſelf to Celadon in this condition, ‘ there was an indiſpenſable neceſſity, that I ſhould do ‘ the like (10). It is not therefore for the romance of Ariana, that Des-Mareſts can be concerned in the laſt part of the cenſure I am now to relate, and which is principally addreſſed to him. ‘ A writer of romances ‘ and plays is a public poiſoner, not of the bodies but ‘ of the ſouls of the faithful, who ought to be looked ‘ upon as guilty of an infinite number of ſpiritual ‘ murders, which he has either actually committed, ‘ or might have been the cauſe of by his pernicious ‘ writings. The more care he takes to cover with a ‘ veil of decency the criminal paſſions he deſcribes, ‘ the more dangerous he renders them, and the more ‘ capable of ſurprizing and corrupting ſimple and in- ‘ nocent ſouls. This ſort of ſins is ſo much the more ‘ dreadful becauſe they always ſubſiſt: for books re- ‘ main, and always infuſe the ſame venom in thoſe ‘ who read them (11).’ He cannot juſtly defend himſelf againſt the *Parnaſſe Reformé*, by ſaying he followed the precept of the ancient maſters, that romances ought to be probable (12); for there is a *medium* between a heroine that is not altogether virtuous, and one that is too much ſo, and this *medium* does not exceed probability. See what has been ſaid elſewhere concerning ancient romances (13).

(10) Parnaſſe Reformé, *pag.* 148, 149.

(11) Viſionaires, *Let. i, pag.* 253.

(12) Ficta voluptatis cauſa ſint proxima veris. *Horat. de Arte Poet. ver.* 338.

(13) Remark [*C*] of the article HYPSIPYLE, and remark [*C*] of the article LONGUS.

[*E*] *His viſions which are ſo well deſcribed by the gentlemen of Port-Royal.*] When I firſt read their letters, I

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by his expounding of the prophecies, that he ſhould have the glory of deſtroying the Mahometans

was extreamly ſurpriſed: I could not ſufficiently wonder, that a wit, author of pieces of galantry and of plays, and ſuch as were fit for the ſtage, ſhould boaſt very ſeriouſly, *That GOD of his infinite goodneſs had ſent to him the key of the treaſure of St John's Revelation, which was known but to very few perſons before him* (14), *- - - - and that by the order of GOD he was to raiſe* 144000 *fighting men, whereof part was already muſtered to make war againſt the wicked and the Janſeniſts* (15). My ſurprize was increaſed when I reflected on the time and place where theſe chimeras were vented, and it was ſtill re-doubled when I took notice, that not only the management of his own eſtate was left to this pretended prophet, but alſo the office of an inquiſitor beſtowed on him; and that no body intrigued more than he, or was more active for the extirpation of Janſeniſm. If I had then known what I ſaw twenty years after, I ſhould not have been thus ſurprized; but certainly I was excuſable to think it ſtrange at that time, that one who publiſhed at Paris ſo many chimera's, ſhould obtain greater authority than ever he had before. Oh what irregularity! 'The archbiſhop of Paris makes uſe of him for his a-'pologiſt, admits him to his table, receives him into 'his houſe. The archbiſhop of Auch approves of the 'deſign of his army. He is permitted to be the 'founder of a new order, to ſet up, though he is 'wholly a layman, for the director of a great num-'ber of women and maids, to take an account of their 'moſt ſecret thoughts, to write for them letters of 'conſcience, ſtuffed with an infinite number of very 'dangerous and imprudent things, to ſay no more, 'and to frequent many convents of virgins, and pub-'liſh there his mad fancies and new ſpiritualities. 'And laſtly, the archbiſhop of Paris hath caſt his eyes 'upon him to help him to reform the monaſtery of Port-'Royal at Paris. His inſtructions are there greedily 'received, and they confer with him about mental 'prayer; they give him an account of the ſtate in which 'they are, whether of comfort or miſery (16).'

The book which he publiſhed, intituled, *The advice of the HOLY GHOST to the king*, has all the characters of fanaticiſm. He there explains *three prophecies of Scripture, which he pretends are to be underſtood of the Janſeniſts*; who are to be deſtroyed by the king of France with the pomp of a great army. *This is one character, which is as the popular mark of fanatics, for if you conſider it well, how ſpiritual ſoever theſe people endeavour to appear, yet, their ſpirituality commonly aims at ſome external and ſenſible effect; and they are never ſatisfied till they have carried on their imaginations and allegories to ſome great event that is ſenſible, of which they fancy they are to be not only the ſpectators, but alſo the miniſters* (17). The author from whom I have theſe words, proves this by ſeveral examples, and then continues his diſcourſe after this manner (18). 'The imaginations of 'the Sieur Des-Mareſts, being of the ſame kind 'with thoſe of other viſionaries, muſt alſo 'terminate in ſomething external, and he muſt be 'willing, like others, to enjoy in this world the 'fruit of his prophecies. It is true, he does not ſeem 'to come to that at once; for at firſt he did all he 'could to keep clear from it, by ſpiritualizing every 'thing, and reducing the moſt terrible beaſts in the 'Revelations into chimeras, or quinteſſences of myſti-'cal Theology. But at laſt he is grown weary of thoſe 'airy ſpiritualities, and the natural biaſs of a fanatical 'imagination carries him on, to frame, like others, 'a vaſt deſign in this world, for the execution where-'of he believes he was choſen by GOD. The idea 'of it is not altogether noble and ſublime. But leſt 'you ſhould think that I miſrepreſent him, I will 'ſhew it to you in his own words. This deſign 'then is to raiſe an *army to combat and deſtroy impieties 'and hereſies every where*. The number of thoſe who 'are to compoſe it, *is to be, according to the prophecy of 'St John*, 144000, *who ſhall have the mark of the 'living GOD upon their foreheads; that is, who ſhall 'make it plainly appear by their lives, that GOD lives 'in their hearts*. And becauſe every army has need 'of a general, he has provided one for that, by of-'fering this poſt to the king, *that ſo the zeal and va-'lour of his ſacred perſon, who ſhall be the general 'of this brave army, as being the eldeſt ſon of the 'church, and the principal king of all Chriſtians, may 'encourage all the ſoldiers*. As to the inferior offices, 'he declares to his majeſty, that they are deſigned 'for the knights of the order. *Your royal hand*, ſays 'he, *of the knights of the HOLY GHOST, ought to 'march at their head, if they be as noble and valiant 'as they pretend to be*. And to animate them with 'the deſire of honour, he adds, *that they will gain a 'large ſhare, if they be as ready as the reſt of the holy 'army to do and ſuffer all things*. As for the means 'to be made uſe of in this war, by this numerous army 'he does not as yet diſcover them, but reſerves the 'declaration of them to a proper time and place, As 'having learned them from the HOLY GHOST. He 'ſays only by the bye, *that they are to extirpate all 'impieties, not by temporal but ſpiritual arms* (19), *accord-'ing to the heavenly means and methods which GOD 'hath appointed, and which ſhall be particularly de-'clared*. But leſt it ſhould be thought, that this 'was only a chimera, and for fear the expectation of 'an event very remote, ſhould not make a ſufficient 'impreſſion upon the king's mind, he declares, that 'the greateſt part of this army is already raiſed. 'GOD, ſays he, *Sir, hath already anticipated your 'deſign, and you have a long time had an army of ſuch 'perſons as are faithful to him, and who are devoted 'to him as victims of his wrath, which has been juſtly 'kindled by ſo many abominations, to pray to him with-'out ceaſing, and to ſuffer all things, that ſo it may 'pleaſe him to convert the falſe Chriſtians, and to ex-'tirpate, by your authority, ſo many ſects and deteſtable 'vices as now reign in France. This army is compoſed 'only of valiant and undaunted ſouls, who fight without 'ceaſing againſt Satan and his emiſſaries*. And in the vow of union he affirms, *that there are already ſe-'veral thouſand ſouls engaged*. Nevertheleſs ſince it has not yet arrived to the prophetic number of 144000, the Sieur Des-Mareſts has a commiſſion from heaven to publiſh every where, that thoſe who have a mind to liſt themſelves, may do it by his means; and to this end the *Advices of the HOLY GHOST* are particularly deſigned. *We muſt*, ſays he, *communicate theſe holy advices to all the world, 'that we may encourage ſeveral faithful ſouls to offer 'themſelves to GOD as victims, by liſting in this ho-'ly army*. And as it is uſual to make ſoldiers take an oath, Mr Des-Mareſts has framed one for thoſe who ſhall compoſe this army, which he has print-ed at the end of theſe advices with this title, *The 'League and Vow of each knight or ſoldier in the army 'of JESUS CHRIST*. He has alſo preſcribed to them an exerciſe for every day, whereby it ap-'pears, that theſe people are all KNIGHTS OF THE 'INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.' He has foretold alſo all the exploits which this army is to perform for he expreſsly ſays, that they are to obtain a victory over the enemies of GOD by the deſtruction of impieties and hereſies, and that then an innumerable number of all ſorts of people and nations ſhall be openly united to the church, and ſhall pray before the throne of GOD within themſelves (20). *And all this is to happen under the reign of Lewis XIV, who will be the Joſhua of this army, that is, the captain and general to lead on and animate the troops, and fight valiantly with them, under the inviſible conduct of the four princes of the heavenly hoſts, St Michael, St Gabriel, St Raphael, and St Uriel* (21).

The Janſeniſt author has made a reflexion upon this, too judicious to be here omitted. 'I am willing 'to believe, *ſays he* (22), that the Sieur Des-Mareſts 'has not yet a deſign to make his victims take up 'rebellious arms, and that his army is as yet wholly 'ſpiritual and extatic; but he knows not what he will 'be for to-morrow, becauſe he knows not whither 'his imagination will carry him, not what it may 'diſcover in the Revelations. A man who like him 'takes all his thoughts for ſo many divine Revela-'tions cannot anſwer for himſelf. The figures of the 'Apocalypſe change often in his head, and ſignify 'ſometimes one thing, and ſometimes another, and 'always by inſpiration from GOD.' Then the Janſeniſt gives ſome examples of the variations which had already appeared in his prophetic doctrine. See his whole fifth letter; wherein he expoſes ſo many chimeras

(14) Deſcen de l'Eſprit, *Part* II, *pag.* 2, in the Viſionnaires, *Letter* I, *pag.* 241.

(15) Advices of the Holy Ghoſt to the king, *pag.* 242.

(16) Viſionaires, *Letter* II, *pag.* 287.

(17) Ib. *pag.* 279.

(18) Ib. *pag.* 280.

(19) *Note, that the greateſt part of viſionaries begin thus; but they find afterwards that temporal arms ought alſo to concur: all the furies of war come into their plan, under the notion of pious actions.*
Proh ſuperi, quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent! ipſo ſceleris moliminе Tereus
Creditur eſſe
Pius: laudemque à crimine ſumit.
Ovid. Metam. lib. vi, ver. 472.
*You gods! how dark a blindneſs overſpreads
The ſouls of men! whilſt to his ſin
he climbes,
They think him good; and praiſe him for his crimes.*
SANDYS.

(20) Viſionaires, *Letter* II, *pag.* 282.

(21) Ibid. *pag.* 283.

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 286.

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Mahometans [F]. We ſhall elſewhere ſhow his conduct againſt one Morin (d), who called himſelf the Son of GOD. Des-Mareſts wrote ſomething againſt the ſatires of Mr Boileau (e) in his later years. I ſhall ſay ſomething of his elder brother in a remark [G].

(d) *In the article of this* MORIN.

(e) *See the remark* [R] *of the article* MACEDONIA.

meras of the Sieur Des-Mareſts, that it is no otherways accountable how a man could fill his head with ſo many viſions, without loſing that part of common ſenſe, which hinders people from running about the ſtreets, but on this conſideration, which a great wit has inforced with examples. *It is one of the miſeries of mankind*, ſays he (23), *that reaſon and good ſenſe are ſometimes overthrown and dethroned, if I may ſo ſay, in one of their provinces, and continue maſters in the others, wherein a violent imagination does not prevail.* The viſionary mentioned by Horace was of this ſort; he did not run about the ſtreets, he was even reaſonable in ſeveral things.

(23) Peliſſon, *Chimeres de Mr Jurieu, Part ii, Sect. ii, pag.* 69. *Dutch edition.*

Cætera qui vitæ ſervaret munia recto
More, bonus ſane vicinus, amabilis hoſpes,
Comis in uxorem, poſſet qui ignoſcere ſervis,
Et ſigno læſo non inſanire lagenæ:
Poſſet qui rupem & puteum vitare patentem (24).

(24) Horat. Epiſt. II, lib. II, ver. 131.

In all things elſe he ſhew'd a ſober mind
A loving neighbour and an honeſt friend;
Kind to his wife, and gen'rous to his ſlave,
Nor when he ſaw the barrel broach'd wou'd rave.
Would ſhun a precipice, and dang'rous pits,
And ſeem a perfect man, and in his wits.

CREECH.

Conſult the article TULENUS. Let us now ſee ſome other inſtances of St Sorlin's Fanaticiſm.

[F] *He promiſed the king of France, the glory of deſtroying the Mahometans.*] 'The excellency of prophets conſiſts, firſt, in the greatneſs of the events 'which they foretel; and ſecondly, the clearneſs 'wherewith they expreſs the particular circumſtan'ces, which ſhew them to be true prophecies, and 'not diſcourſes at random, among which we may 'by chance meet with ſomething that is agreeable to 'the event. This is what the Sieur Des-Mareſts takes 'care to avoid above all things. His language is 'neither obſcure nor enigmatical; he is the moſt in'telligible of all prophets. He ſeems to be telling us 'a ſtory of times paſt. He ſets down the time, place, 'and circumſtances, in poſitive and intelligible terms. 'He does not refer us to a time very remote, to veri'fy his prophecies; and yet they are the greateſt 'things that any man can ever propheſy. Let us 'hear him ſpeak, for he expreſſes himſelf very clear'ly. *This valiant prince*, foretold, according to him 'in Jeremiah, under the denomination of the *Son of 'the Juſt*, which words unfortunately are not to be 'found in this prophet, *is to deſtroy and drive out of 'his dominions impiety and hereſy, and to reform the 'eccleſiaſtics, the adminiſtration of juſtice and the finances. 'And then by common conſent, he, and the king of Spain, 'ſhall call together all the princes of Europe, with the 'Pope, to re-unite all Chriſtians to the true and only 'Catholic religion. He ſhall ſend for the Pope to Avig'non, that there they may confer together about the means 'neceſſary for ſo great a good, becauſe otherwiſe*, (ſee 'how circumſpect he is) *he would*, ſays he, *be obliged 'to go to Rome with a great army worthy of a king of 'France, to confer there in perſon with him, and the Pope 'will rather chooſe to come to Avignon, than to be bur'dened at Rome with a great army.* Theſe are great 'things, and very particular, the deſtruction of all 'impieties, the Heretics and impious perſons driven 'out of France, the eccleſiaſtics, adminiſtration of 'juſtice, and the finances reformed, the aſſembly of 'the princes and Pope at Avignon, the re-union of all 'Chriſtians to the Catholic religion. But theſe which 'follow are ſtill greater. *After the re-union*, ſays he, *'of all Heretics under the holy ſee, the king will be 'declared head of all Chriſtians, as being the eldeſt 'ſon of the church, and with the forces of Chriſtendom 'he will go and deſtroy by ſea and land the empire of 'the Turks and the law of Mahomet, and propagate the 'faith and kingdom of JESUS CHRIST all over 'the world*; that is, in Perſia, in the empire of the 'Great Mogul, in Tartary and China. What can 'be deſired more, except that all theſe great things 'ſhould be particularly mentioned in the prophecies? And of this the Sieur Des-Mareſts does confidently aſ'ſure us. *All this*, ſays he, *is ſpecially foretold by the 'propheſies, as will be made appear to the king, to 'whom alone GOD hath given the power to bear ſo 'great a ſecret, and ſo important a diſcovery, and the il'luſtrious proſpect of a Life ſo glorious, during which the 'kingdom of GOD, which is to laſt unto the end of all 'ages, will be eſtabliſhed every where.* And to make 'theſe events the more credible, he has ſet down the 'means of compaſſing them (25).' He gives alſo the reaſons why other people cannot bear theſe great diſcoveries. 'The queens themſelves, *adds he* (26), 'would not be able to endure at firſt, that the king 'ſhould talk of quitting Paris, and going to Avignon, 'whither he is called by a ſpecial prophecy, to ſtay 'there ſome time with the Pope, that he may re'unite all Chriſtendom by common conſent with the 'king of Spain, as is ſet forth by an expreſs pro'phecy.'

(25) Viſionaires, *Letter* o, *pag.* 395, 396.

(26) Viſionaires, ibid. *pag.* 398.

The reflexion of the Janſeniſt is very fine; it is a picture that reſembles a great many people, and ſhows the univerſal ſpirit of the makers of predictions. 'There is doubtleſs ſomething difficult in theſe words; 'as the minority of the king of Spain makes him for 'a long time incapable of conſenting to this great 'deſign; ſo that the Sieur Des-Mareſts ſeems to 'have had in view the late king of Spain, who died, 'notwithſtanding this expreſs prophecy. But per'haps if Mr Des-Mareſts was preſſed upon this point, 'he would extricate himſelf after the ſame manner, 'as another prophet very like him did, from an ob'jection of the ſame nature. He was called the pro'phet John, and waited upon the queen of Poland 'when ſhe was at Paris, and had retired to the mona'ſtery of Port-Royal. He endeavoured to apply to 'her by the Apocalypſe, that the empire of the Turks 'was to be deſtroyed under the reign of Lewis XIII, 'and the Pontificate of Urban VIII. She made an 'objection to this, which was very natural, *viz.* That 'both of them were already dead. But the prophet, 'without troubling himſelf about this difficulty, an'ſwered gravely, that he never diſputed; and there'upon he left the princeſs. The Sieur Des-Mareſts 'will find ſome ſuch anſwer to the difficulties of his 'prophecy, and will tell us, that he meant the queen 'regent of Spain, who acts in the name of the king. 'For to put us off to the time of the king of Spain's 'being of age, would be attended with too great in'conveniencies, ſince he could not begin too ſoon, 'who is to conquer the whole world, and to finiſh 'his conqueſts during his life (27).

(27) Ibid.

[G] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his elder brother in a remark.*] He was called ROLAND DES-MARESTS. He was born at Paris in 1594, and pleaded at the bar for ſome time; but being diſguſted with the noiſe and clamours attending the profeſſion, he conſecrated himſelf to a quiet life. Being neither covetous of riches, nor ambitious of honours, he applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of polite literature, and ſought his happineſs in the boſom of the Muſes, and the ſhades of his retirement. 'A cupiditate gloriæ, reique ſtudioſius augendæ deſiderio 'prorſus alienus, ſuæ animi conſcientiæ teſtimonio ac 'domeſticis copiis contentus, ſe modeſte exhibere, 'quam operoſis fortunæ famæque bonis avide captan'dis imminere maluit (28). ---- *Being entirely averſe 'to the ſearch of glory, or the labour of increaſing his 'fortune, and content with the teſtimony of a good con'ſcience in his paternal eſtate; he choſe rather to live 'privately, than ſpend his time in the laborious toil 'of increaſing his wealth and fame.*' Yet he cultivated a friendſhip with learned men, and conferred with them about his ſtudies. He became a very good critic, inſomuch that his friend Nicolas Bourbon, a man of an excellent taſte, feared no man's cenſure ſo much as that of our Roland's (29). He publiſhed ſome letters in Latin, which were judged to be very well written, and therefore after his death they, together with ſeveral others, written by him afterwards, and found among his papers, were publiſhed by

(28) Petrus Halæus, ubi infra, *citat.* (32).

(29) Tantum exiſtimationis in operibus aliorum examinandis tibi quæſiverat, ut eundem Borbonium, ſe ſibi magis ab uno Mareſio, quam à cæteris omnibus cenſoribus timere, ſæpe aſſirmantem audiverim. *Ibid.*

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by Mr De Launoi, and the two Valeſius's at Paris, in 1655 (30). They were re-printed in Germany, in 1687. He was never married: he employed ſome of his leiſure hours in the education of a niece, whom he found fit for ſtudy, and taught her the Latin and Greek tongues. *Per otium Mariam Prætam, ſororis filiam, quæ in tenera ætate domeſtici vim ingenii & acumen haud obſcure exprimebat, Latinis Græciſque literis non infelici ſucceſſu informavit* (31). There was all along a ſtrict friendſhip between him and John Des-Mareſts, his brother. His health was very good, but by ſtudying too much he ſo weakened his conſtitution, that he fell into a languiſhing diſtemper, which waſted him by degrees, till at laſt he died at Paris, about the end of December, 1653 (32). The Gentlemen of Port-Royal took advantage of the approbation he gave to their method of teaching the Latin tongue; for they printed the letter containing this approbation at the beginning of their book. It is the XVIth letter of the firſt book.

The obſervations on the letters of Rolandus Mareſius, in the *Mélanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature*, written by Vigneul Marville (33), are curious and judicious.

(30) *Jacobi Rolandi Mareſii epiſtolarum philologicarum libri duo.*

(31) Petr. Halæus, ubi infra.

(32) Taken from his Elogy compoſed by Petrus Hallæus, and placed before the letters of Rolandus Mareſius.

(33) At *pag.* 171, and 172, of the firſt edition at Roüen.

MARESTS (ROLAND DES-) See the laſt remark of the preceding article.

MARESIUS (SAMUEL), in French Des-Marets, a miniſter and profeſſor of Divinity, was one of the moſt famous Divines of the XVIIth century. He was born at Oiſemond in Picardy, the ninth of Auguſt 1599, and from his infancy diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to ſtudy (*a*). When he was thirteen years old, he was ſent to Paris, where he improved much in the *Belles Lettres* and Philoſophy. Three years after he was ſent to Saumur, where he ſtudied Divinity under Gomarus, and Hebrew under Lewis Capel. He returned to his father in 1618, and then went to Gevena to finiſh his ſtudies of Divinity. He came back to France the next year, and to fit himſelf for preaching he went to Paris. The probation-ſermons he made at the houſe of Mr Durant, one of the greateſt preachers of that time, pleaſed that miniſter very much, who adviſed him to betake himſelf early to the holy miniſtry. His youth and his low ſtature [*A*] made him averſe to this advice; nevertheleſs he followed it, and preſented himſelf before the ſynod of Charenton in the month of March 1620; and although the examination was then very ſevere, yet he gave full ſatisfaction. The church given him was that of Laon. The circumſtances of the time and Place rendered the exerciſe of his miniſtry very difficult; yet he diſcharged his duty very well. The anſwer he wrote to a lady who had changed her religion, provoked his adverſaries ſo much, that it is thought Father de Aubigni the Jeſuit ſuborned an aſſaſſin, who gave him a ſtab with a knife on December

(*a*) See the remark [*A*] towards the end.

[*A*]. *His youth, and his low ſtature.*] There are but few perſons who at twenty years of age have not attained to the full ſtature by nature deſigned for them. Mr Mareſius was none of thoſe; he was a very Zaccheus at the age of twenty one, and was always called the little Probationer. But he grew after that till he was twenty five years old, and then he was of a moderate ſtature. ‘ Mareſius qui eum (*Durantium*) ‘ ſibi maxime imitandum delegerat, nonnullas in ‘ ipſius ædibus habuit Propoſitiones, quæ ipſi adeo ‘ placuêre; ut hic author fuerit operam ſuam Eccleſiis offerendi; à quo alias conſilio ut abhorreret duo ‘ efficiebant, nempe & quod ætate valde juvenis eſſet; ‘ & quod ſtaturâ & vultu, majorem adhuc præ ſe ‘ ferret juventutem: Etſi enim nunc ſatis ſit procerus, ‘ tamen ita parvus manſit uſque ad annum 21, ſuæ ‘ ætatis, quo demum uſque ad 25, celerrime crevit, ‘ ut vulgo parvi Proponentis nomine deſignaretur (1). ‘ *Mareſius, who had choſen Durant for his pattern, made* ‘ *ſome probationary diſcourſes at his houſe, which pleaſed* ‘ *him ſo well, that he adviſed him to offer his ſervice to* ‘ *the churches; to which reſolution he was otherwiſe* ‘ *averſe for two reaſons; firſt, that he was at that* ‘ *time very young; ſecondly, that his ſtature and counte-* ‘ *nance made him appear ſtill younger than he was:* ‘ *For tho' he is now of middle ſtature, yet he was ſo* ‘ *little at twenty one years of age, from which time he* ‘ *grew a-pace till twenty five; that he commonly went* ‘ *by the name of the little Probationer.*’ I will remark another thing very ſingular, which may ſerve to comfort fathers and mothers who have infirm children: this is not always a certain argument, that they ſhall not attain to old age, nor that they ſhall never be ſtrong. Samuel Mareſius, who was ſo weak in his infancy, that they were obliged to feed him with milk and butter, and let him lie in his bed for ſeveral days together, becauſe his legs could not ſupport him, lived to the age of near ſeventy four, and was ſo vigorous, that the ſtrongeſt men could hardly endure the fatigues and exerciſes which he endured, without ever being ſick. When he firſt fell ſick at Groningen, he had, for the ſpace of thirty years, diſcharged there a very laborious profeſſion, and had continually been publiſhing ſeveral books (2). The Latin I ſhall here ſubjoin will give a more particular account of the infirmities of his infancy. ‘ Infantiam habuit ‘ imbecillem & ita teneræ conſtitutionis, ut fere lacte ‘ & butyro fuerit educandus; Puer carne elixâ veſci ‘ non poterat, nec jure, nec ullis oleribus: & ſemper ‘ occulta quadam antipathia poma, pyra, ceraſa, fraga ‘ & id genus delicias puerorum, ita eſt adverſatus, ut ‘ in hunc diem nihil ex illis queat deguſtare. Quamvis autem pueritiam haberet languidam & valetudinariam, ex qua eum non fore vitalem augurabantur plurimi, ſæpius ex oculis, aliiſque fluxionibus laborans, aliquando ex genuum debilitate per 15 dies ‘ affixus lecto; unde metuebant parentes, eum ſi vir ‘ fieret, futurum podagricum, licet huc uſque nihil ‘ tale Dei beneficio ſit expertus; non ſemel ex lapſu ‘ aliiſque caſibus puerilibus in præſens vitæ diſcrimen ‘ adductus; tamen animo erat erecto, tenacis memoriæ, & ad ſtudia tam proclivis, ut ante ſeptennium ‘ exactum, non modo legere poſſet & literas accurate pingere, ac jam rudimentis Linguæ Latinæ operam daret, ſed etiam bis univerſa Biblia à capite ad ‘ calcem evolviſſet, ut difficilius fere ab illis occupationibus abduceretur luſus ergo, quam alii ſolent à ‘ luſu ad illa magis ſeria revocari (3). - - - - *In his infancy he was ſo weak, and of ſo tender a conſtitution,* ‘ *that for the moſt part they were obliged to feed him* ‘ *with milk and butter: when a boy, he could not eat* ‘ *boiled meat, nor broth, nor any herbs, and always had* ‘ *ſo utter an antipathy to apples, pears, cherries, ſtraw-* ‘ *berries, and the like things, which children are uſually* ‘ *fond of, that to this day he cannot taſte any of them;* ‘ *but notwithſtanding he was ſo weak and ſickly in his* ‘ *younger years, that few people thought he would be long* ‘ *lived, being often troubled with ſore eyes, and other* ‘ *defluxions, ſometimes confined to his bed for fifteen days* ‘ *together by a weakneſs in his knees, which made his* ‘ *parents apprehenſive, that if he lived to be a man, he* ‘ *would be ſubject to the gout, tho' hitherto, by GOD's* ‘ *grace, he has not felt any thing of it, and was more* ‘ *than once in immediate danger of his life, by falls, and* ‘ *other accidents which children are liable to, yet he was* ‘ *cheerful, had a ſtrong memory, and ſo great an inclina-* ‘ *tion to ſtudy, that before ſeven years of age, he had* ‘ *not only learned to read and write a fair hand, and* ‘ *made ſome progreſs in the Latin tongue, but had read the* ‘ *whole Bible twice from the beginning to the end; that it* ‘ *was even more difficult to draw him from theſe employ-* ‘ *ments to play, than it commonly is to bring other children* ‘ *from play to theſe ſerious employments.*’ You ſee in theſe laſt words the proof of what I ſaid concerning the inclination which appeared early in him to his ſtudies. It was harder for him to leave them, to divert himſelf

(1) Effigies & Vitæ Profeſſorum Groning. *pag.* 138.

(2) I have read this in his funeral oration, in Mſ.

(3) Effigies & Vitæ Profeſſorum Groning. *pag* 135.

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ber the 13th, 1623 [B]. But although the wound was dangerous, yet it was cured in a ſhort time; and then it was thought fit to diſengage him from a church, which he could no longer ſerve without great danger, and to lend him for a year to the faithful of Falaiſe (b). This was ordered in a ſynod of the Iſle of France in the month of March, 1624. In a little while after he accepted the call of the church of Sedan, and was inſtituted in the room of James Capel in the month of October the ſame year. He was to be miniſter and profeſſor of Divinity; but he was excuſed from the duties of this laſt office, till he had recovered the ideas of his ſcholaſtic ſtudies (c). He obtained alſo leave to go into Holland to take his degree of doctor of Divinity, which he did at Leyden the eighth of July 1625. Having made a ſmall tour into England, he returned to Sedan, and there began to exerciſe his profeſſion of Divinity on the twenty fourth of November in the ſame year: and continuing in that place he met with a great deal of trouble; for he had ſome ſtorms to weather, which he endured with great reſolution, by the favour of the duke of Bouillon, and the affection of the church. But he judged that one of the ſtrongeſt barriers he could oppoſe againſt his enemies, was to marry [C]. For that reaſon he married a widow, who had fled to Sedan for religion with her firſt huſband in 1622. The marriage was celebrated the ſecond of May 1628: In this year alſo he publiſhed his firſt book (d), which was afterwards followed by a multitude of others

(b) Upon the frontiers of Champagne.

(c) Petito tamen quoad profeſſionem ſpatio aliquo ad ſtudia ſua ſcholaſtica recolligenda, quo paratior illam capeſſeret. *Vitæ Profeſſorum Groning. pag.* 142.

(d) Intituled, *A preſervative againſt Apoſtacy.* Note, that in 1623, there was printed, without his knowledge, and without his name, one of his ſermons about Predeſtination, upon 2 *Tim.* ii, 12. It was reprinted ſeveral times.

ſelf with the plays of infancy, than it is for others to leave their play, and apply themſelves to ſtudy. This is a proof that the application of the mind is not always hurtful to weak conſtitutions, and an example that affords comfort to thoſe parents, who are afraid, leſt their ſtudious and weak ſons ſhould die ſoon.

[B] *An aſſaſſin . . . gave him a ſtab with a knife, on December the* 13*th*, 1623.] Mareſius having heard that the wife of the governor of la Fere had changed her religion, after the example of her huſband, who turned Roman Catholic, in order to keep his government (4), wrote a letter to her full of exhortations to return to the ſheepfold. She wrote a large anſwer to him to juſtify her conduct, and ſent him a printed relation of her converſion. This relation being ſtuffed with falſhoods, he thought it his duty to refute it, and at the ſame time to anſwer the reaſons alledged by the lady. The Jeſuits had been employed to gain her over, and found the anſwer of this miniſter too bold, and threatened to puniſh him for it. This made people imagine, that the wound he received ſome time after, was the effect of this menace; and if Father d' Aubigni was chiefly ſuſpected, it was becauſe he had been the converter of this lady, and was then preaching the Advent ſermons at Laon. ‘ Nec ‘ dubitatum redemptum fuiſſe Sicarium, ob literas ‘ ſupra commemoratas, à Monachis, præſertim ab ‘ Albinio Jeſuita, illo eodem, qui duodecennio ante ‘ Ravaillaci parricidæ Henrici IV Confeſſarius fuerat, & coram Ampliſſimo Senatu dixerat, ſe dono ‘ oblivionis pollere poſt auditas Confeſſiones, excuſaturus quod Regii parricidæ Confeſſionis non amplius ‘ meminiſſet. Is enim & Hurtebizianæ defectioni ‘ fuerat obſtetricatus, & tum Laoduni ſolemnes Adventus habebat conciones. Nec aliud totâ urbe, ‘ maxime inter Reformatos, perſuaſum fuiſſe, univerſa ‘ Laodunenſis Eccleſia comprobavit adhuc non ita ‘ pridem, ſolemni ſuo Teſtimonio, conſcripto à R. & ‘ Doct. Viro D. P. GEORGIO illius Paſtore anno ‘ 1647, 18 Auguſti, paullo priuſquam ad Deum evocaretur (5). - - - - *It was not doubted but the aſſaſſin was hired, on account of the letter abovementioned, by the monks, particularly by D'Aubigni the Jeſuit, who twelve years before had been confeſſor to Ravaillac the murderer of Henry IV; and to excuſe himſelf from diſcovering the murderer's confeſſion, told the parliament, that he had the gift of forgetfulneſs after hearing confeſſions, and that he did not remember what the king's murderer ſaid. He was the perſon who drew Madam Hurtebize to change her religion, and at that time preached the Advent ſermons at Laon; and this was fully believed throughout the whole city, eſpecially among the Reformed, as appears by the teſtimony of the whole church of Laon; written by the reverend and learned D. P. GEORGE their paſtor, in the year* 1647, *the eighteenth day of Auguſt, a little before his death.*' The aſſaſſin eſcaped, and the magiſtrates did not think fit to enquire further into this affair. He waited for Mareſius in the ſtreets, when he was returning home from ſupping with his uncle, and ſtruck the knife in his breaſt: by good fortune the blow did not hurt his lungs. ‘ Vulnus erat profundum & quod in thoracis capaci- ‘ tatem, illæſo tamen pulmone, penetraret. . . . . ‘ Quamvis autem vulnus periculoſum valde fuerit, & ‘ ex quo candelam ei objectam poterat *Mareſius* extin- ‘ guere, brevi tamen tempore ex eo convaluit (6). - - - *The wound was deep, and entered into the cavity of the thorax, but without hurting his lungs; but notwithſtanding, the wound was very dangerous, inſomuch that he could blow out a candle held to it, yet he recovered in a very little time.*'

(4) Uxor nobilis cujuſdam cui *Hurtebizio* nomen erat, & qui ut ſibi conſervaret Feræ præfecturam, jam ante biennium defecerat, maritum ſuum tandem ſequuta fuerit, circa finem anni 1622. *Ib. pag.* 140.

(5) It. *pag.* 140, 141.

(6) Id. ib.

[C] *He judged, that one of the ſtrongeſt barriers he could oppoſe againſt his enemies, was to marry.*] He thought that he was expoſed to the ſtorm, only becauſe he had no wife, and had refuſed one. This thought obliged him to marry, and preſently the tempeſt was calmed, and after it halcyon-days ſucceeded, and he lived in peace with all his colleagues. ‘ Cum hos fluctus decumanos ſibi videretur pati quod ‘ cœlebs eſſet, & nonnullis, ut credebatur, maneret

- - - - - - - - alta mente repoſtum
Judicium Paridis ſpretæque injuria formæ;

‘ vita cœlibe relicta tandem vitæ ſociam ſibi adſcivit ‘ *Abigalem le Grand*, natam Aquiſgrani honeſtiſſimo ‘ loco, patre *Jaſpare le Grand* Tornacenſi, Mercatore ‘ Magnario . . . . Ab eo tempore *Mareſius* Alcyonia ‘ Sedani obtinuit, & cum Reverendis ſuis Collegis omnibus, in ſuo munere, tranquille & pacifice verſatus ‘ eſt (7). - - - *Being of opinion that he was expoſed to theſe ſtorms, only becauſe he was a bachelor; and ſome perſons believed that*

(7) Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. *pag.* 144.

Deep graven in her heart, the doom remain'd
Of partial Paris, and her form diſdain'd.
DRYDEN.

‘ *he reſolved to live no longer ſingle, and at laſt married* ‘ *Abigail le Grand, born at Aix-la-Chapelle, of a very* ‘ *reputable family, ſhe was daughter of Jaſper le Grand,* ‘ *an eminent Merchant of Tournay . . . From that time* ‘ *Mareſius enjoyed halcyon-days at Sedan, and lived* ‘ *peaceably in his office with all his colleagues.*' There is in this narrative one thing eaſy to be underſtood, and another, that is very obſcure. It is eaſy to conceive, that a man who has refuſed a woman, is expoſed to the ill offices of the relations of that perſon whom he refuſed to marry. It is an injury which the fair one will not pardon, and if ſhe have any intereſt, or be capable of managing intrigues, ſhe may give a great deal of trouble to a miniſter and a profeſſor. Theſe gentlemen have their friends, and their enemies, and from hence ariſe factions and diſcords, which the family that is angry for the contempt of the affinity they would have contracted, may take advantage of to ſatisfy their reſentment. It was no wonder therefore that Samuel Mareſius endured at Sedan ſeveral troubleſome perſecutions, after he had provoked a family by a judgment ſomething like that of Paris, *ſpretæque injuria formæ, - - - for her form diſdain'd.* But it is ſtrange, that by marrying a widow, whom he had never refuſed, he ſhould calm that ſtorm, and be reconciled to all his enemies. This is what I cannot comprehend. The marriage with the widow was a new occaſion of anger to the party deſpiſed. If Mareſius had always lived a bachelor, it might have been thought that his refuſal proceeded from a general indifference for the ſex, which was a kind

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others [D]. He attended the duke of Bouillon into Holland in 1631, to be his chaplain in the army. The next year he returned into the same country, with that prince's mother, and engaged in the service of the States, who appointed him minister to the church of Maestricht. He opposed, both by word of mouth and by writing, the efforts made by the ecclesiastics of Liege, to hinder the establishment of the reformed churches in that country; and he had a thousand difficulties more to overcome, after the duke of Bouillon had married a Catholic [E]. He endeavoured, but in vain, to retain him in the profession of the reformed church, and by this means incurred the hatred of the duchess; which, being added to his other troubles, made him look upon the call which the church of Boisleduc gave him in 1636, as a piece of good fortune, and therefore he did not refuse it. The next year he became professor in the illustrious school of the same city, and discharged that office with so much application and success, that he was called to Franeker in 1640, and to Groningen in 1642. He refused the first call and accepted the second. He made his inaugural oration at Groningen the twentieth of January 1642 (e). And from that time to his death, he did so great services to this university, that it passed for one of the most flourishing in the Low-countries. The magistrates of Bern being well informed of his great parts, offered him with great advantages a professor's chair of Divinity at Lausanne

(e) Taken from his Life, printed in the work intituled, *Effigies & Vitæ Professorum Academiæ Groningæ*. Printed at Groningen, in 1654.

kind of comfort to the fair one refused: but after she saw him married, she could only look upon it as a peculiar indifference, and a contempt of herself: this is a vexatious thing, which must needs increase her anger, and bad offices. Here is therefore something kept in the dark: the narrative is not exact; there are many things wanting here, which I would not relate, tho' I knew them. I know part of them.

[D] *He published his first book, which was followed by a multitude of others.*] You will find a chronological catalogue of his works at the end of his System of Theology (8). The number of them is prodigious, and the variety of the subjects shows that his mind was not confined. We may say, that he was both very laborious, and wrote with great ease and much quickness of thought and learning. He had a mind to collect into one body all his works, as well those that were printed as those that were not. He revised them for this end, and made additions to them. They would have made four volumes in folio. His death hindered the execution of this project. The first volume was to have contained all that he had published before he went to Groningen; among which would have been several pieces in Latin which had been published before only in French. The second volume would have contained his *Opera Theologica didactica*; the third his *Opera Theologica polemica*; the fourth was to have had this title *Impietas triumphata*, and was designed to contain *Hydra Sociniamsmi expugnata*, and *Biga fanaticorum eversa*, and *Fabula Præadamitarum refutata*. These three books had been printed at different times. The System of Theology of this author was found so methodical, that it was used in other academies, and was several times re-printed. 'Hinc primum mihi 'nata est hæc *Synopsis Theologica*, non tam aliis, quam 'mihi & meis discipulis primitus destinata: etsi favorabilius publice excepta fuerit quam putassem, 'adeo ut sæpius recudi debuerit, & in omnibus scholis 'Reformatis vel publice explicari, vel privatim proponi sibi à viris clarissimis in cynosuram suorum 'Collegiorum mos fere constans fuerit (9). - - - *Hence 'rose this* Synopsis of Theology, *not designed at first so 'much for others as for my self and scholars: tho' it 'was more favourably received by the public than I 'expected, and was publickly explained in all the Uni'versities of the Reformed, or read by private men in 'their colleges.* The last edition was enlarged with a great number of notes, wherein the author explains his sentiments, and refutes, with his ordinary warmth, the censures of his enemies. It was printed at Groningen in 1673. If I observe that Grotius was one of those whom he attacked, it is only that I may have an opportunity to undeceive those, who having read the *Acta Eruditorum*, might think that he durst not do it without a disguise. We find in the Journal of Leipsic, that Mr Ittigius censured Matthew Pool, who had said, that Claudius Salmasius, under the name of Simplicius Verinus, refuted Hugo Grotius's explication of some passages of the New Testament which relate to Antichrist. Ittigius pretends, that it was our Maresius, who under the name of Johannes Simplicius, refuted this explication of Grotius. *Lapsum deprehendit in Matthæo Polo, qui Hugonis Grotij Commentationem ad loca quædam Novi Testamenti à Salmasio sub Simplicii Verini nomine refutatam scribit, cum tamen à Maresio sub Johannis Simplicii nomine refutata fuerit* (10). I have three things to say against this. I. It is very certain, that Salmasius did assume the name of Simplicius Verinus in two works he published against Grotius, in 1646; but these works have no relation to the treatise of Antichrist: One of them is concerning the discussion of the apology of Andrew Rivet, with whom Grotius had been engaged in a long controversy about the re-union of Christians. The other is concerning Transubstantiation. The title of the first is this, *Simplicii Verini ad Justum Pacium epistola, sive judicium de libro posthumo H. Grotii.* II. Maresius did not disguise his name when he wrote against Grotius about Antichrist, for he put all this in the title of his book. 'Dissertatio de An'tichristo, quâ expenditur & refutatur nupera Com'mentatio ad illustriora eâ de re Novi Testamenti 'Loca, II. V. Hugonis Grotii credita; simulque Ec'clesiarum Reformatarum sententia de Antichristo Ro'mano defenditur & confirmatur; authore Samuele 'Maresio, S. S. Theol. Doctore & Professore, in Scho'la Illustri Sylvæducensi, nec non ibidem Ecclesiæ 'Gallo-Belgicæ Pastore (11). - - - - - - *A dissertation 'concerning Antichrist, wherein a late commentary on 'some remarkable passages of the New Testament con'cerning that matter, supposed to be written by the fa'mous Hugo Grotius is examined and refuted, and the 'opinion of the reformed churches, concerning the Roman 'Antichrist is defended and confirmed: by Samuel Ma'resius, Doctor and Professor of Divinity in the illustrious 'school of Boisleduc, and pastor of the Walloon church 'there.*' III. Jonas Schligtingius the Socinian disguised himself under the name of Johannes Simplicius to write against Grotius's treatise *de Antichristo*. This appears by the Bibliotheque of the *Antitrinitarians*, at page 128. This was doubtless the original of the error of Matthew Pool, who was not rightly censured by Mr Ittigius. You may observe by the by, that the work of this Socinian author was put in the vast collection called the Great Critics. Note, that Grotius was not silent with respect to Maresius; for he published an 'Appendix ad interpretationem 'locorum Novi Testamenti quæ de Antichristo agunt 'aut agere putantur. - - - *Appendix to the interpretation 'of the places in the New Testament, which treat or 'are supposed to treat of Antichrist*;' where he uses him very ill. He did not vouchsafe to name him, but denoted him only by the reproachful name of *Borborita*, in allusion to the French word *Bourbe*, (that is *dirt*) which suits the word Marais (*Bog*) in allusion to Maresius. This Appendix was vigorously refuted by a book printed in two volumes in8vo, in 1642, with this title, 'Concordia discors & Antichristus revela'tus: id est, Ill. Viri HUGONIS GROTII 'apologia pro Papa & Papismo: quam prætextu Con'cordiæ inter Christianos sarciendæ, exhibet illius Ap'pendix ad Interpretationem Locorum Novi Testa'menti de Antichristo, modeste refutata duobus Li'bris, per Samuelem Maresium S. Theol. Doctorem '& Professorem in Scholâ Buscoducensi & Eccl. Gallo'Belgicæ ibidem Ministrum. - - - - - - *The disagreeing 'Concord and Antichrist revealed, that is, the apology 'of the illustrious Hugo Grotius, for the Pope and Po'pery, which is set forth on pretence of restoring unity 'among*

(8) It is not in the last edition, nor in the two first. It reaches to the year 1654, in the *Lives of the Professors of Groningen*.

(9) Mares. in Præfat. Edit. 1673.

(10) Acta Eruditor. Lipsi. 1690, *pag.* 313.

(11) This work was printed in 1640, in 8vo.

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Lausanne in 1661, for which he thanked them. The university of Leyden desired him for the like profession in the month of March 1673 (*f*). He accepted it, but had not time to go and take possession of it. He died at Groningen the eighteenth of May the same year, leaving two sons, of whom I shall say something below [*F*]. I shall also say something

(*f*) And not in 1675, as Mr Hofman, and after him Konig affirm.

'*among Christians, in his appendix to the interpretation of* '*the places of the New Testament concerning Antichrist,* '*modestly refuted in two books by Samuel Maresius,* &c.' It was objected to Grotius among other things in this reply, That he had not been careful enough of the rights of kings. 'Id præsertim tolerari non po- 'test in Grotio, quod satis aperte negat Reges esse 'institutionis divinæ; quando-quidem judicibus illis 'eximiis, *quorum institutio à Deo*, ut apparet Num. 'xi. 16. opponit Reges, quos *voluntas primum populi* 'reperit (12). - - - - *This in particular cannot be ex-* 'cused in Grotius, *that he manifestly denies kings to be* 'of *divine appointment, since in opposition to those* 'eminent *judges, whose institution appears to have been* 'from GOD, *Numb.* xi. 16. *he places kings who were* 'first *made by the will of the people.*' This surely is singular, for Grotius is every day refuted, because he hath too much subjected the people to the royal power (13). How can they say after this, that the Lutherans are the only persons who approve the maxims of Grotius (14), since here is a Calvinist minister, who thinks that Grotius has not spoke favourably enough of monarchy. The bishop of Meaux (15) has observed the same thing, and many inconsistencies in the hypothesis of Grotius.

(12) Sam. Maresius, in Antichristo revelato, *Tom. i, pag.* 345.

(13) *See the* History of the Works of the Learned, *Nov.* 1695, *pag.* 127.

(14) Important Advice to the Refugees, *pag.* 216, 217.

(15) See his fifth advertisement against Mr *Jurieu.*

[*E*] *He had a thousand difficulties to master after the duke of Bouillon had married a Catholic.*] This marriage cast Maresius into a thousand troubles (16). The duke had promised to abjure the Protestant religion when he married Mademoiselle de Berghes (17), but he thought fit for many reasons to delay the performance of his promise. That people might think his change proceeded from a motive of conscience, he proposed a thousand doubts to his minister, and put off the thing for four or five years. Maresius drew up a relation of this affair; I know not why he did not print it: There would appear several curious things in it. 'Dum altius in consilia & astu- 'tias Jesuitarum penetrat, quam voluissent, sibi ac- 'cersivit novæ Conjugis odium satis vehemens, & 'sensit DUCEM pedetentim ad publicam Pontificio- 'rum communionem gradum sibi struere, in quo mo- 'liendo per mille fraudes Jesuiticas, annos 1634, & '1635, transacti sunt. Interesset Ecclesiæ, specialem 'Historiam istius defectionis, à *Maresio* diligenter col- 'lectam, publici juris fieri, ut constaret quibus arti- 'bus Egregius alias ille Princeps, Reformatam Com- 'munionem deseruit, & ab illo tempore, non sine oc- 'culto Dei judicio, in illas incidit calamitates con- 'tinuas, quibuscum quoad vixit, luctatus est (18). '- - - - *By entring deeper into the designs and crafts of* 'the *Jesuits than they desired, he drew upon himself* 'the *hatred of the new duchess, and he perceived the* 'duke *was paving his way by degrees publickly to pro-* 'fess *the Popish religion in the management, of which* 'by a *thousand Jesuitical frauds, the years* 1634, *and* '1635, *were passed. It would be of use to the church* 'to *have the particular history of this defection, which* 'was *carefully collected by Maresius, made public, that* 'it *might appear by what arts this otherwise excellent* 'prince *was induced to forsake the Reformed commu-* 'nion, *and from that time not without the secret* 'judgment *of GOD, he fell into those continual cala-* 'mities *which he had to struggle with as long as he* 'lived.' Mr de Puysegur informs us, that this prince became a Catholic in January 1636, and that for some time it was known only to few (19)

(16) Ex conjugio Ducis Bullionæi cum Berghensi Comitissa, eximiæ formæ & sublimis ingenii fœmina, sed supra modum Pontificia, nova fuerunt certamina illi sustinenda. *Vitæ Professor. Groning. pag.* 148.

(17) Quam deserturum harum nuptiarum gratia jam antea clam receperat. *Ibid.*

(18) Vitæ Professor. Groning. *pag.* 149.

(19) *Puysegur's Memoirs*, Tom. i, pag. 135, Dutch Edit.

[*F*] *Leaving two sons of whom I shall say something.*] The eldest was born at Sedan, and was presented to baptism by Elizabeth of Nassau, duchess of Bouillon, who gave him the name of Henry, which was that of the prince whose widow she was (20). He studied the Civil Law, and after he had taken his Licentiate's degree, he begun to prepare himself for the studies of the bar in the house of Charles Des-Marests, his uncle, a famous advocate in the parliament of Paris. He pleaded some causes with good success, and yet he abandoned all on a sudden this profession, to consecrate himself to the study of Theology, and to the ministry of the word of GOD. What follows is what his Father says to him in an epistle dedicatory: 'Tu 'quidem, Henrice, tyrocinia posueras sacræ facundiæ 'in Augustissimo Parisiensi foro, ubi post Licentiæ in 'utroque Jure gradum susceptum, cœperas Advocati 'munere defungi, sub Auspiciis Consultissimi & Am- 'plissimi fratris mei. Et belle tibi prima illa publice 'dicendi initia processisse, audivi ipse ex ore Illu- 'strissimi Præsidis Bellevræi, cum ad Celsissimos Or- 'dines Generales Legatum extraordinarium Regis 'Christianissimi ageret, siquidem ipso Præside & Ju- 'dice in aliqua causa peroraveras & triumphaveras: 'adeoque postquam tuopte nutu, nec sine Numine, 'me ab initio ob causas sæculares (quid dissimulem?) 'dissuadente, & Domino Patruo tuo tandem consen- 'tiente, animum appulisti ad sacra studia, & corpus 'Juris cum corpore Scripturarum permutasti, exem- 'plo plerorumque virorum magnorum in veteri & re- 'nascente Ecclesia, omnia faciliora expertus es (21), '- - - *You, Henry, had begun the study of Eloquence in* 'the *illustrious parliament of Paris, where, after taking* 'a *Licentiate's degree in both laws, you had taken upon* 'you *the profession of an advocate, under the auspices of* 'my *eminent and learned brother, and I my self have* 'heard, *that you had good success in your first attempts in* 'pleading, *from the mouth of the illustrious Bellievre* 'when *he was ambassador-extraordinary from the most* 'Christian *king to the States-General, for you have pleaded* 'in *some causes where he was president and judge,* 'and *gained the victory: And after that, of your own* 'accord, *but not without the will of GOD, I, from the* 'beginning *for worldly causes, (for why should I dissem-* 'ble) *dissuaded you from it, and your uncle at last* 'consenting, *you turned to the study of Divinity, and* 'changed *the body of the law for the body of the* 'scriptures, *after the example of several great men in* 'the *ancient, and in the reviving church you found every* 'thing *more easy.*' He was admitted minister in 1652, and his first employment was to preach in French in the academical church of Groningen. In the same year he was called to Cassel, to be minister there to the French church. He had a call the next year from the Walloon church of Boisleduc, and accepted it, tho' he was very well satisfied with the court of Hesse, where he received great testimonies of their goodness and esteem. *Sylvæ ducenses . . . . te Henrice ad se evocarunt Cassellis, ubi in aula Serenissimi Principis Lantgravii (à quo & ægre dimissus es, nec sine specialibus benevolentiæ & beneficentiæ suarum Serenitatum testimoniis) linguâ Gallicâ fungebaris ministerio sacro, ferme à tempore tuæ hîc ad illud ordinationis* (22). He served the church of Boisleduc, until he accepted that of Delft in 1662. From that time to this (23) he has been fixed at Delft, where he has acquired the esteem of every body. He refused in 1669, the call he had from the Walloon church of Leyden. Daniel DES-MARESTS, his younger brother, was born at Maestricht in 1635. After he was admitted to be a minister, he was colleague to his father in the French church of Groningen, until the year 1656, after which he was called to Middleburg, and served the French church there, until he had a call from that to the Hague in 1662. His wit, eloquence, and judgment, and, in a word, his great merit, procured him so much esteem at the court of the prince and princess of Orange, that one might properly say, he was in favour. The throne of England, to which their highnesses were advanced in 1689, added a new lustre to the favour this minister continued to enjoy, and which he still enjoys to this day in the glorious and agreeable retirement of Hontslaerdyke. His health not permitting him to continue in the exercise of his ministry, he retired to this fine house, where he spends his time in such employments as are useful and agreeable to H. B. M. These two gentlemen have been concerned in the edition of the Bible which is called Maresius's, wherein the Bookseller, Elzevir, spared no cost for the beauty of the letter and paper. Their father, on his part, undertook with great labour to adorn this edition with notes, wherein he was assisted by his two sons. I add, that they published (24) 'A curious history of the life, behaviour,

(20) Sam. Maresius, Epist. Dedicatoria, 3 Editionis Systematis Theologici.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Id. ib.

(23) I write this the fourth of February 1696.

(24) At the Hague in 1670, and in 12mo.

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something of his anceſtors [G]. We muſt not forget that in the year 1652, he was appointed ſole miniſter to the Walloon church of Groningen, where, till then, he had preached once every Sunday, to eaſe the paſtor of that church, though he was not obliged to it (g). The academy of Montauban deſigned to call him after the death of Garriſſoles; and likewiſe the univerſity of Marpurg, when it began to be reſtored (h). Among all the diſputes he was engaged in, there was none longer and hotter than that which he had with Voëtius [H]. He had one with Mr Daillé, which was very hot, but it laſted not

(g) Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. pag. 153.

(h) Ibid. pag. 152.

'and true ſentiments of John Labbadie, with a 'modeſt refutation of the declaration, publiſhed in 'form of a manifeſto by the ſaid Labbadie, to juſtify 'his deſigns and ſchiſmatical reſolutions, which were 'the cauſe of his being juſtly depoſed.'

[G] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of his anceſtors.*] They had conſiderable poſts in Picardy. 'Mareſii inter 'ſuos Majores, Depenſes Præfectos, Gamachienſeſque 'Caſtellanos, poſſunt numerare; nec ita pridem *Da-*'*vidis* patruelis, Breſtæ in Armorica, Sardinio Gu-'bernatore, Propræfectum egit: *Vaucquetiorum* vero 'familia, totâ Picardia nota eſt. Verum in eo potiſ-'ſimum ſolet *Mareſius* gloriari, quod ex parentibus ſit 'ortus piis & probis, ac Religioni puriori ἀπὸ βρέ-'φους addictiſſimis (25). - - - - *The family of Mareſius* 'may reckon among their anceſtors, governors of Diepe 'and Caſtellans of Gamache; and not long ſince *Da-*'*vid's* uncle was deputy-governour of Breſt in Bretagne, 'when Mr Sardigne was governor; and the family of 'the Vaucquets is noted thro' all Picardy. But *Mareſius* 'uſed to glory in this chiefly, that he was deſcended of pious 'and honeſt parents, who adhered to the true religion 'from their infancy.' The titles and offices of David DES-MARETS the father of Samuel, were as follows. 'Pater ei fuit Ampliſſ. & Conſultiſſi-'mus *David Des-Marets* Dominus du Feret, Avimon-'tii ejuſque Commendæ Prætor ſive Juridicus ordina-'rius, Baronatus item Chepienſis, Sancti Maxentii 'aliorumque pagorum Judex Civilis & Criminalis; 'in Regia Præfectura Vimacenſi Juriſconſultus & 'cauſarum Actor eximius, & Notarius Regius, Re-'giſque Chriſtianiſſimi, Rerum Maritimarum in Occi-'duo Mari Commiſſarius; eoque nomine gaudens ea-'dem immunitate à Tributis ordinariis quâ Nobi-'les (26). - - - - - *His father was the honourable and* 'learned David Des-Marets, Sieur du Feret, *juſtice in* 'ordinary of Aumont and its appendages, and alſo Judge 'civil and criminal of the barony of Chept, St Maixant, 'and other towns, counſellor, and an eminent pleader in 'the government of Vineux, and notary royal, commiſſa-'ry to the moſt Chriſtian king for maritime affairs in 'the weſtern ſea; and, on that account, enjoying the ſame 'immunity from the ordinary taxes as the nobility.' He married in 1588 Magdalen Vaucquet, the daughter of a noted man, and very zealous for the reformed church (27), and died in 1649. His widow was living in 1654. Lambert DES-MARETS, the father of David, was very zealous for the ſame religion. *Lambertus Davidis pater, Civis Blangiacenſis honoratus & opulentus, Senior fuit in Eccleſia Domeſtica Principis Porciani, ſub auſpiciis Reformationis* (28).

(25) Vitæ Profeſſor. Groning. pag. 134.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Johannes Vaucquetius Magdalenæ pater, Prætor Sanmauritii Fontiumque, & Juris patrii conſultiſſimus in Præfectura Vimacenſi, atque Regius Notarius, itidem columen fuit inter ſuos Eccleſiæ Reformatæ; quem Mareſius recordatur & admodum parum vidiſſe, venerandâ canitie (ætem, natum 93 vel 94 annos, integris mentis & corporis viribus ſacra noſtra frequentantem. Ibid.

[H] *The diſpute . . . . be had with Voëtius.*] It began in 1642. Voëtius had publiſhed a diſputation *de idololatria indirecta*, wherein he blamed the conduct of the magiſtrates of Boiſleduc, concerning a fraternity of the Virgin ſettled in their city for ſome ages. They had obliged the Roman catholics to admit the Proteſtants into it, after they had taken away the ceremonies, which the reformed church could not allow (29). Voëtius maintained, that the Proteſtant magiſtrates ought not to tolerate ſuch fraternities, and that private perſons who entered themſelves into them did very ill. Mareſius, who was at this time profeſſor in the *Schola Illuſtris* of Boiſleduc, was deſired to write an apology for the magiſtrates who tolerated the fraternity of the Virgin, and entered themſelves into it. His book was printed in 1642, with this title, *Defenſio Pietatis & Sinceritatis Optimatum Sylvæducenſium, in negotio Sodalitatis quæ à B. Virgine nomen habet, teſtibus veritate & charitate* (30). A little while after there appeared a book of Voëtius, intituled, *Specimen aſſertionum partim ambiguarum aut lubricarum, partim periculoſarum, ex tractatu nuperrime ſcripto pro ſodalitatibus B. Mariæ inter Reformatos erigendis aut interpolandis, titulo,* Defenſio pietatis & ſinceritatis, *&c.* Theſe were the firſt acts of hoſtility on both ſides, and after this there was no means of getting off; for the combatants had not only joined battle, but there was alſo blood ſpilt between them.

(28) Ibid.

(29) See the Life of Mr Des Cartes, written by Mr Baillet, Tom. ii. pag. 180, & ſeq.

(30) It is in quarto.

Ubi ſanguine bellum
Imbuit, & primæ commiſit funera pugnæ,
Deſerit Hiſperiam, & cœli convexa per auras,
Junonem victrix affatur voce ſuperba:
En perfecta tibi bello diſcordia triſti:
Dic, in amicitiam coëant, & fœdera jungant:
Quandoquidem Auſonio reſperſi ſanguine Teucros (31).

The fury bath'd them in each other's blood.
Then having fix'd the fight, exulting flies,
And bears fulfill'd her promiſe to the ſkies.
To Juno thus ſhe ſpeaks; Behold, 'tis done,
The blood already drawn, the war begun;
The diſcord is compleat, nor can they ceaſe
The dire debate, nor you command the peace.
Now ſince the Latian and the Trojan brood
Have taſted vengeance, and the ſweets of blood.
DRYDEN.

(31) Virgil. Æneid. lib. vii. ver. 541.

The battle grew hot, and the combatants often renewed the charge. Mareſius who had only ſkirmiſhed (32) in the years 1643, and 1644, gave battle in 1645. This is the title of the book he publiſhed. Samuelis Mareſii *Theologi Ultima patientia tandem expugnata* à D. G. Voetio *Ultrajectino Profeſſore & quibuſdam illius aſſeclis; ſive Modeſta & Neceſſaria defenſio tripartita, tum ſui ipſius, tum eâ occaſione cauſæ Procerum Sylvæducenſium & Decretorum Synodicorum circa illam, ipſa extorta variâ ac longâ contumeliarum ſerie, ac præſertim nupero libello famoſo, Belgicè edito, & inſcripto,* Kort ende oprecht verhael, *&c.* The profeſſor of Utrecht ſcarce appeared in the field of battle (33), but ſent thither either his ſon or his friends: But the profeſſor of Groningen would not be ſo put off, but continued to ſtrike directly at the father. You may underſtand how things ſtood, after the war had laſted as long as the ſiege of Troy; I ſay, you may underſtand it by the book which Mareſius publiſhed in 1652, with this title, Auctarium primum Bibliothecæ Theologicæ *D. Giſberti Voetii* nuper recuſæ cum virulentâ præfatione; continens, 1. Summariam deductionem litis decennalis quæ ipſi cum *Samuele Mareſio*, licet pacem & amneſtiam ſemper deprecante, hactenus interceſſit. 2. Vindicias Conditionum Amneſtiæ & Reconciliationis partibus oblatarum à R. R. Deputatis Synodi Groning. Omlandicæ, ab hoc admiſſarum & ab illo rejectarum. 3. Conditiones iniquiſſimas & impracticabiles, ab ipſo *D. Voetio* pro imperio præſcriptas; Ad ejus pertinax odium & animum invincibiliter irreconciliabilem toti Belgio demonſtrandum. - - - - *The firſt ſupplement to the Theological library, of Giſbert Voëtius, lately reprinted with a virulent preface; containing,* 1. *A ſummary deduction of a ten years controverſy; which he has had with Samuel Mareſius, who all the while ſued for peace and amneſty.* 2. *A vindication of the conditions of the peace and amneſty, offered to both parties by the reverend deputies of the ſynod of Groningen and the Omlands, which were accepted by the latter, but rejected by the former.* 3. *The moſt unjuſt and impracticable conditions, preſcribed by D. Voëtius himſelf; to ſhew to all the United Provinces, his unrelenting hatred and implacable temper.* It is a book in 8vo. It is believed, that this quarrel which laſted eighteen years, would never have ended but with the death of the parties, had not a common intereſt induced them to come to an agreement, that they might unite all their forces againſt a party of Divines (34), who were as odious to the profeſſor of Groningen as to him of Utrecht. It was obſervable in this diſpute, that on the one ſide the curators of the univerſity of Groningen, and on the other, the magiſtrates of Utrecht,

(32) See thoſe ſkirmiſhes in the Appendix of the *Tribunal iniquitatis*, pag. 151, 152.

(33) He appeared perſonally in it in 1648, at the beginning of his firſt volume of Theological Diſputations, (See the long preface to that volume,) and in the year 1651, in the preface to the ſecond edition of the *Bibliotheca Studioſi Theologiæ*.

(34) *Thoſe who are called Cocceians.* Mareſius, de Statu afflicto Studii Theologici, pag. 3, *calls it* Factionem Carteſio-Loveſteniano-Remonſtrantinam.

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not long. I ſpeak of it elſewhere (*i*). If I be not miſtaken the laſt adverſary whom he wrote againſt, was Wittichius, a great Carteſian and profeſſor of Divinity. Our Mareſius cannot be ſufficiently commended for his zeal againſt the Enthuſiaſts, and the foretellers of great revolutions. We have ſeen how he baffled Comenius (*k*), nor did he ſhow Labadie and the Millenarian Serarius any better quarter. The extracts I ſhall give out of the book wherein he refuted this Millenarian, will be acceptable to men of good ſenſe [*I*]. He

(*i*) *In the article* DAILLE', *remarks* [*K*] *and* [*L*].

(*k*) *See the remarks* [*F*] *and* [*G*], *of the article* COMENIUS.

trecht offered their mediation to the parties, and that they having accepted it, it was immediately ordered, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility during the treaty of peace. After this, they conſulted about the preliminaries, the mediators diſpatched courier after courier to agree about the time when, and place where, the conferences ſhould be held, and on the choice of the deputies plenipotentiaries. All this was labour in vain, becauſe during theſe preliminaries, the party of Utrecht broke the truce, by publiſhing a very injurious book againſt Mareſius. The forcible carrying away of the prince of Furſtemberg did not more diſſolve the conferences about the general peace which was treating, at Cologne in 1674, than this book did the project of peace between theſe two profeſſors. If you would ſee my proofs in the original, you need only read what follows (35). ‘ Caduceum injicere conati ſunt Nobiliſſi-
‘ mi & Ampliſſimi hujus Academiæ p. t. Curatores
‘ . . . . Scripſerunt eum in finem Ultrajectum, &
‘ ſtipulati ſunt ut interim dum ipſi convenirent cum
‘ Delegatis quibuſdam ex N. N. & A. A. illo Magi-
‘ ſtratu ad totum negotium componendum, armiſtitium
‘ bonâ fide ſervaretur, nec quicquam *directe vel indi-*
‘ *recte, mediate vel immediate* ultra emitteretur. Sed
‘ vix dum in has conditiones N. N. & A. A. Magi-
‘ ſtratus Ultrajectinus, re communicatâ cum D. Voetio
‘ & ſuis bonâ fide conſenſerat, & adhuc de loco, tem-
‘ pore & perſonis conventus præliminariter agebatur
‘ per Tabellarios hinc inde inter Proceres utroſque
‘ miſſos, cum ecce novus interim libellus convitioſus
‘ & famoſus, ſub nomine Chabanæi, contra fidem
‘ publicam in me Ultrajecti prodiit. - - - - *The cura-*
‘ *tors of this univerſity endeavoured at a reconciliation*
‘ . . . . *To this end they wrote to Utrecht, and agreed,*
‘ *that till ſuch time as they ſhould meet with deputies,*
‘ *from the magiſtrates of Utrecht, to compoſe the difference,*
‘ *an armiſtice ſhould be faithfully obſerved on both ſides,*
‘ *and nothing further ſhould be publiſhed either directly or*
‘ *indirectly, mediately or immediately. But no ſooner*
‘ *the magiſtrates of Utrecht conſented to theſe propoſals,*
‘ *after communicating them to D. Voëtius, and his friends,*
‘ *while yet they were treating by couriers, ſent to and fro,*
‘ *between the reſpective magiſtrates, on the preliminaries*
‘ *of the time, place, and perſons of the convention, when*
‘ *a new book full of ſcurrility and railing, under the*
‘ *name of Chabanæus, is publiſhed at Utrecht, in breach*
‘ *of public faith.*’

(35) Mareſius, in Præfatione, Theologi paradoxi retecti & refutati. *This book was printed at Groningen in* 2649.

This quarrel (36) being one of the moſt remarkable that has been known between two Proteſtant Divines, and having produced more books than can be imagined, I deſigned to have given the whole Hiſtory of it, with a chronological catalogue of all the writings it produced; but I found that this undertaking required fuller inſtructions, and deeper inquiries than I could afford, and that it would fill up too many pages; and therefore I leave it to thoſe that write the Eccleſiaſtical Annals, or the *Hiſtoria Literaria* of the XVIIth century, and ſhall conclude this remark with a thing which I know not well how to circumſtantiate. I have heard in France from many people, that a Jeſuit (37), publiſhed a book, which contained nothing but the reproaches which theſe two famous profeſſors divulged one againſt another, and that he concluded after this manner: ‘ altho' it were ſuppoſed, that two thirds
‘ of theſe accuſations were falſe on both ſides, yet
‘ the other third being true, renders theſe two wri-
‘ ters worthy of corporal puniſhment, who yet pro-
‘ teſſed, during the progreſs of this quarrel, that they
‘ wiſhed a good reconciliation.’ I could find no body in Holland who knew of ſuch a book; and ſome people, worthy of credit in theſe matters, told me, that there never was any ſuch book. But at laſt Mr Grævius informed me, that a Jeſuit of the Low-Countries had publiſhed a collection of that nature.

(36) Concerning it's origin, ſee Letter ccclxiii of Voſſius.

(37) Some ſaid he was called *James Tirinus*; but that is falſe. He died before the beginning of this quarrel. Thoſe who ſaid ſo, ſeemed to have this ground for it, that Mareſius having publiſhed two volumes againſt *James Tirinus*, had probably provoked him.

If Mr Grævius only meant the *Munus adventitium*, publiſhed by a Jeſuit under the feigned name of W. Gutherthoma in the year 1643 he by no means proved that the book which I had in ſome ſort denied the exiſtence of, was ever printed; for this *Munus adventitium*, contains only the foul language that Voëtius uſed in his firſt book againſt Mareſius. The latter did not anſwer that ſatire before the year 1645. It was doubtleſs a very diſagreeable thing for him to find himſelf painted by a Jeſuit, in the black colours borrowed from the work of a Reformed Divine. Thus he ſpeaks of it in a book publiſhed in the year 1652. ‘ Quin etiam cum eadem illâ æſtate prodiiſſet in ipſum
‘ Satira quædam Jeſuitica ſub titulo *Muneris adventitii*
‘ quam Author corraſerat ex *Specimine* Voetii, & illo au-
‘ thore laudato ac Speciminis paginis citatis verbiſque
‘ recitatis, Mareſium deſcribebat & traducebat, tanquam
‘ *falſarium, vulneratæ exiſtimationis hominem, ſcandaloza-*
‘ *rum ſcriptionum authorem, heterodoxum, pſeudologum, ca-*
‘ *lumniatorem, mendacem, pietati & Religioni contume-*
‘ *lioſum, Pacis Eccleſiæ & Reip. turbonem, Veritate, Cha-*
‘ *ritate, & Prudentia deſtitutum, &c.* (his enim jam e-
‘ logiis à Voetio fuerat inſignitus Mareſius priuſquam
‘ vel vocula durior in ipſum illi excidiſſet) nihil ei voluit
‘ reponere Mareſius (38). - - - *Nay, altho' a ſatire had*
‘ *been publiſhed againſt him, that ſame ſummer, by a Je-*
‘ *ſuit, under the title of* Munus adventitium, *which the*
‘ *author, had compiled from Voëtius's ſpecimen, and com-*
‘ *mending that author, quoting the pages, and reciting the*
‘ *words of the ſpecimen, deſcribed and traduced Mareſius as*
‘ *a cheat*, a man of a blemiſhed character, author of
‘ ſcandalous books, heterodox, an inventer of falſities
‘ a calumniator, a lier, a reviler of piety and religion,
‘ a diſturber of the peace of the church and ſtate, deſti-
‘ tute of truth, and charity, and prudence, &c. *(for*
‘ *with theſe elogiums had Mareſius been complemented by*
‘ *Voëtius, before he had dropt the leaſt hard word a-*
‘ *gainſt him) Mareſius refuſed to give any anſwer.*’

(38) Sam. Mareſius, Auctario primo Biblioth. Theol. Giſb. Voëtii, *pag.* 6.

[*I*] *The Millenarian Serarius. The extracts I ſhall give . . . . . will be acceptable to men of good ſenſe.*] Peter Serarius (39) publiſhed a book in 1663, wherein he declared, that the conjunction of the planets in the ſign Sagittarius foretold great revolutions. The ſame news was publiſhed in many other Latin and French books. Mareſius refuted this pretenſion in ſome Theſes which he cauſed to be maintained. Serarius wrote againſt thoſe Theſes, which obliged Mareſius to publiſh (40) a book which he intituled *Chiliaſmus enervatus*, and which contains, beſides thoſe Theſes, three diſſertations againſt one part of the anſwer of Serarius. He dedicated this book to his adverſary, and prudently repreſented to him, that the doctrine of the Chiliaſts rendered the Reformed Religion odious to the ſupreme powers; for ſince they pretend, that the proſperity of the church depends upon the deſtruction of all temporal powers, they excite the people to inſurrections that they may bring in the golden age of Chriſtianity, or the reign of a thouſand years. He repreſents to him the ſeditions that had been raiſed in England by the doctrine of the fifth monarchy men, and the mortification the Chiliaſts had lately ſuffered, by ſeeing all the hopes they had grounded upon the difference between France and the Pope, vaniſh into nothing by the peace of Piſa. The affront offered to the duke of Crequi at Rome in the year 1662, very much provoked his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: he ſent ſome troops into Italy, and then the credulous people, chiefly the Millenarians, doubted not but the beaſt in the Revelation was then certainly to be deſtroyed, and they could not refrain from publiſhing their hopes: wherefore the treaty of Piſa, which ended this difference, without any effuſion of blood, or any real damage to the court of Rome, was like a clap of thunder to them. Mareſius takes care to put his adverſary in mind of this terrible mortification. He obſerves, that it had been publiſhed at London in the year 1656 that Rome would be deſtroyed in 1666, and that the day of judgment ſhould happen in 1711. Many people flattered themſelves, that the war which was deſigned in France againſt Alexander VII, to revenge the affront done to the duke of Crequi, embaſſador of

(39) I ſhall ſay ſomething of him at the end of this remark.

(40) In the year 1664.

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He did a great injury to the Janſeniſts, without deſigning it [K], by declaring that their opinions were the ſame with thoſe of the Reformed. His Reputation gave him great authority

that crown, would verify the firſt article of the prediction: judge then whether the peace of Piſa was acceptable to them. What he ſays concerning the conjunction of the planets in Sagittarius, is curious; it happened on the eleventh of December 1662. A Dutch author, following the obſervations of the Aſtrologer Theodorus Hoen, affirmed, that the like conjunction had not been ſince that which was in the ſign Aquarius in the time of Noah's deluge (41). Serarius building on this Dutch book, and another that appeared in High-Dutch, wrote a Latin diſſertation to ſhow, that the conjunction of the planets in Sagittarius, the laſt ſign of the fiery trigon, *igneæ triplicitatis*, being well conſidered with all it's circumſtances antecedent and concomitant, foretold the approaching coming of JESUS CHRIST for the converſion of the Jews, the ruin of the Pope, and the eſtabliſhment of the millenary kingdom. Mareſius refutes him ſolidly, and obſerves, that, according to Alſtedius, this monarchy ſhall begin in 1694, and according to Theodorus Hoen, the conjunction in Sagittarius, was to produce the univerſal conflagration. He laughs at this, and ſays, that Sagittarius cannot paſs for a fiery ſign, unleſs it be becauſe it obliges people to keep good fires in their houſes to preſerve them from the cold; and he obſerves that at the time of this conjunction, it was a terrible froſt for many weeks. And whereas Serarius ſaid, that the conjunction which was in the ſame ſign, October 9, 1603, did ſtill continue it's bad effects; Mareſius anſwers him pleaſantly, that it is very ſtrange it has not yet diſcharged all it's poiſon, *mirum eſt ejus virus nondum deferbuiſſe*. He adds, that Serarius was a good friend to Paul Felgenhawer, who printed a book in 1655 (42), wherein he aſſumes to himſelf more than once a prophetic ſpirit, and promiſes the Jews all ſorts of good news. But he does not agree with the author of a piece intituled, *Judæorum excitabulum matutinum, ſive Judæus redux*, wherein it is affirmed, that the converſion of the Jews ſhall begin in 1664, and that it ſhall quickly after be followed with their return into Paleſtine, where they ſhall live moſt deliciouſly.

When I conſidered this multitude of Chriſtian doctors, who have foretold for ſo many ages a great revolution of the faith, I was curious to know whether there were not ſuch kind of people in other religions; and among other things I find that there are ſome Mahometans who leave legacies to an unknown prophet, who is to come and deliver the world from the tyranny of Anti-Chriſt (43). And the Perſians believe, that Mahomet Mahadi, the ſon of Hoſſen, ſecond ſon of Ali, is not dead, but lies hid in ſome place, from whence he ſhall come forth one day and refute all errors, and re-unite all men in the ſame belief. He will preach on horſe-back, and begin to do it in the city of Mazadel, where there is always a horſe kept ready for him (44). This in ſome things reſembles the opinion of ſeveral Chriſtians concerning the prophet Elias. We need not wonder that the Mahometans believe ſuch chimeras, ſince the prince of Baſſora can perſuade them that he is the chief favourite of Mahomet, and that his credit is ſo great with that prophet, that, by his bills of exchange, he can procure the bearers ſuch or ſuch a place in Paradiſe. There is a bank in his houſe for the diſpatch of theſe bills; he ſigns a policy, by which the poſſeſſion of a certain place in heaven is acquired, that is more or leſs advantageous, in proportion to the ſum payed him. *Il prencipe di Baſſora pretende eſſer de' Confidenti di Mahometto e haver maggior autorita degl' altri, in vertu della quale concede à gente ſimplice pezza di cielo, ſegnando polize di cambio di tanto e tal ſito nel Paradiſo, ſecondo il dinaro che ne riceve* (45).

We will in a few words acquaint the reader who this Petrus Serarius, or Serrurier, was, againſt whom Mareſius wrote. I find at p. 297, of a book (46) printed in 1670, that he was lately dead, and that above forty years before he was depoſed from the miniſtry for the fanatical errors of Swenckveldius, to which he was wholly addicted; that he publiſhed a ſmall piece in favour of Labadie, in 1669, and intituled it *Examen Synodorum*, and addreſſed it to the Walloon ſynod; and in the title of this book he called himſelf *a miniſter of the Goſpel of the univerſal church*, and that he was a man who communicated with no church.

[K] *He did a great injury to the Janſeniſts, without deſigning it.*] In the year 1651, he publiſhed a book in 4to with this title, *Synopſis veræ Catholicæque doctrinæ de Gratia & annexis quæſtionibus; propoſita partim libello qui anno ſuperiori à Janſeniſtis in Communione Romana Gallice prodiit ſub hoc titulo*, Catechiſmus Gratiæ, *& poſtea recuſus fuit ſub iſto*, Elucidationes quarundam difficultatum de gratia; *partim brevibus ad illam Scholiis Theologicis*. The next year there was publiſhed at Paris a little book written by the Jeſuits and intituled, *The Janſeniſts owned for Calviniſts by Samuel Mareſius, doctor and chief profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Groningen, and miniſter in ordinary of the academical church, in his Latin verſion of the Catechiſm of Grace of the Janſeniſts, printed at Groningen in* 1651. The author of this book inſerted the preface which Mareſius put before his Synopſis, and took advantage of all that he has obſerved, to ſhow that in the doctrines about Grace, and thoſe that relate to them, the opinions of the Janſeniſts are the ſame with thoſe of Calvin. From that time few books appeared againſt the Janſeniſts, wherein this agreement, which the profeſſor of Groningen had owned between them and his ſect, was not objected to them. As this gave a great deal of trouble, and did great prejudice to theſe gentlemen, they writ bitterly againſt him. Mr Daillé put him in mind of it in the defence of the apology for the national ſynods of Alençon and Charenton (47). 'Hoc ne neſciat, 'narro illi iſtos, quos tantopere prædicat Janſenianos, 'quos *cordatos* dicit, quos *graviſſimos argumentatores* 'cenſet, hos inquam ipſos narro jam ante quadriennium 'tres libellos longe ſacerrimos ac nequiſſimos, convi- 'tiis & maledictis prodigioſis refertos, contra ipſum 'edidiſſe; in quibus, quod credo, auſus eſſet iis male 'palpari ita ferociter recalcitrant, ut nihil mitius co- 'gitaſſe videantur quam ut laudatorem hunc ſuum 'miſere diſcerperent ac laniarent. Scin' tu quas ei 'pro ſuis laudibus grates reddant? Quibus elogiis vi- 'rum talibus pro meritis exornent? * *Virulentiſſimum* 'ſcriptorem vocant; *artis diabolicæ multoties convictum*, 'hominem frontis ad omne mendacium proſtitutæ, *Theolo- 'gaſtrum, Sophiſtam, Sycophantam dira calumniandi libi- 'dine citra modum ac legem efferatum, proter-vum, eminen- 'ſum convitiatorem, audaciſſimum impoſtorem, fanaticum* 'vatem. Piget plura de teterrimis iſtorum convitia- 'torum venenis dicere. Hos ſuos rabioſiſſimos ac 'maledicentiſſimos obtrectatores, pro laudibus, quibus 'immerentes affecerat, turpiſſima probra rependentes, '& plenis in eum plauſtris effundentes habet tamen 'Epicrita pro *cordatis, gravibuſque* diſputatoribus '(48). - - - - *Leſt he ſhould be unacquainted with this, 'I tell him, that thoſe Janſeniſts, whom he ſo highly 'extols, whom he calls* judicious, *whom he thinks to be 'very* ſtrong reaſoners: *thoſe very men, I tell him, 'have publiſhed now four years ago, three moſt execra- 'ble and wicked books againſt him, abounding with 'moſt prodigious reproaches and reviling; in which, 'becauſe as I believe he dared to ſtroke them injudici- 'ouſly, they kick again ſo furiouſly, that they ſeem to have 'thought of nothing kinder than beating to pieces and 'deſtroying this their panegyriſt. Would you know what 'thanks they return him for his praiſes, with what elo- 'giums they extol the man for his merits? They call 'him* a moſt virulent writer, often convicted of diabo- 'lic arts, a man of a front hardened to all manner 'of lies, a Theologaſter, a Sophiſter, a Sycophant, ra- 'ging with a curled deſire of ſlander beyond mea- 'ſure or rule, a froward fellow, an ominous reviler, 'a barefaced impoſtor, a fanatic prophet. *I am loth 'to repeat any more of the venom of theſe revilers. Yet 'the approbator reckons theſe his mad and moſt abuſive 'detractors, who, for the commendations he beſtowed up- 'on them undeſervedly, return him the baſeſt reproaches 'and pour them upon him by cart-loads; he reckons them 'I ſay* judicious and ſolid diſputants.' The ſame apology informs us (49). I. That David Blondel wrote to Mareſius, and blamed him for meddling with the diſputes between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits. II. That the Janſeniſt (50) who treated Mareſius ſo very ill, had forged a lye, *viz.* that the miniſters of Charenton had induced him of Groningen, to own the diſciples

(41) According to Serarius, who built upon the fame Hoen, and upon the tables of conjunctions, it happened in Piſces.

(42) At Amſterdam. It was intituled, *Bonus Nuntius Iſraëli.*

REVOLUTIONS of religion hoped for by the Mahometans.

(43) Ne teſtamenti ſi fanno legati à certo profeta incognito, che dee venir liberar il mondo dalla tirannide del Antichriſto. *Giornale de Letterati, March* 31, 1673, *pag.* 33, *in the extract of the Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, by Father F. Vincenzo Maria of St Caterine of Siena, procurator-general of the barefooted Carmelites.*

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) *Intitulé,* Modeſte Réfutation de la Declaration en forme de Manifeſte, *publiſhed by* Jean Labadie.

(47) Dallæus, in Vindiciis Apologiæ pro duabus Synodis, *part* 1, *cap.* vi, *pag.* 130, 131.

* *Hier. ab Angelo ſorti. Epiſt.* 1, *a. D.* 1654. *edita, pag.* 14, 15.

(48) *Mr Daillé, at pag.* 428, *of the ſame book, ſpeaks thus:* Ex his ſuis laboribus nihil ad eum pro expectatis triumphis redijſſe videmus, quam à Romanis quidem librorum cenſoribus eam notam, de qua non erat, quod hic tantopere gloriaretur, Janſenianis vero tria convitiorum & maledictorum plauſtra, quæ in eum ab Hieronymo illo perſonato, de quo alibi ſupra diximus, tota plaudente Lutetia effundi inviti ac dolentes ſpectavimus. - - - *From theſe his labours we do not find that he has gained any of the triumph he expected, except that mark from the Romiſh cenſors of books, of which he has no great reaſon to boaſt; here we ſee the Janſeniſts have thrown three cart-loads of ſlander on him by the feigned Hieronimus, whom we have mentioned above, with the applauſe of the whole city of Paris, and to our great ſorrow.*

(49) Pag. 428.

(50) It is Mr Hermant, who diſguiſed himſelf under the name of *Hieronymus ab Angelo ſorti.*

diſciples

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authority even in foreign countries; insomuch that one who had written a very severe book against him, in Germany, was ordered to suppress it [*L*].

disciples of Jansenius for orthodox, on purpose to render them odious to the Jesuits, and to be revenged for the reproaches the Jansenists had published against Labadie. Mr Daillé answers, that those who are accused of this trick, are so innocent of it, that they would have advised their brother of Groningen with all their heart, never to engage in that quarrel, but to leave the two parties to dispute it out. *Quæ quam falso, quamque mendaciter conficta sint, nemo scire vel testari melius atque certius potest, quam Epicrita, qui sui in edenda illa Jansenianæ catecheseos censura consilii unus sibi optime conscius est. Nos quidem, quos fabulator totius rei auctores fuisse fingit, tantum ab eo quod iste comminiscitur, abfuisse novit Deus, ut Epicritam, si nos ille consuluisset, etiam à scribendo deterrituri fuerimus, suasurique ut bene compositos cum suis Bitis Bacchios inter se digladiari, dignisque utrimque Romano supercilio iris ac ictibus bacchari sineret; neve quos certandi rixandique æstus atque libido tam commode commiserat, eos intempestivo alloquio divulsos in se provocaret, atque converteret* (51).

(51) Dallæus, ibid. *pag.* 133, 134.

[*L*] *A man who had written a severe book against him, was ordered to suppress it.*] It was intituled, *Ismaël Gallus*. The Author, called Steinbergius, lived at Herbron, and was subject to the counts of Nassau, who obliged him to suppress his book (52).

(52) See the fifth tome of the works of James Altingius, *pag.* 393.

MARGARIN (Cornelius) abbot of mount Cassin, and Archivist general of the order, was one of the greatest compilers that lived in the XVIIth century. He was born in 1605, and died February 11th, 1681 (*a*). The works which he published give but an imperfect idea of his indefatigable industry. To make a true representation of it, we must join to that which is printed, that which is not as yet published [*A*].

(*a*) Prosper Mandosius, in Biblioth. Romana, *Centur. v, num.* 66.

[*A*] *To make a true representation of his application, we must join to that which is printed, that which is not as yet published.*] These are his works of the first kind. *Justinianus magnus Aniciæ familiæ restitutus. Discorso Apologetico in corroborazione della verita di un instrumento concernente la famiglia de Capizucchi. Bullarium Casinense* in two tomes. *Inscriptiones antiquæ Basilicæ sancti Pauli de Urbe. Dictionarium Longobardicum.* His unprinted works are a large undigested collection of papers, which make eight volumes, that are kept in the Vatican. The title of them is this, *Thesaurus Historicus sacræ & politicæ veritatis in S. R. E. Agro ipsis Autographis monumentis à vetustissimis antiquitatum latibulis per diurna sæcula absconditus, in tomos octo distributus, & ad sanctissimos Innocentii XI. P. M. pedes ea qua decet veneratione & alacritate humillime depositus, per Cornelium Margarinum Abbatem Casinensem, ad certam Chronologiæ normam juxta Indictionum rationem ipsa testante veritate expositus* (1).

(1) Prosper Mandosius, Bibl. Romana, *Centur. v, num.* 66, *pag.* 332.

MARGARET, queen of Navarre. See NAVARRE.

MARGUNIUS (Maximus), bishop of Cythera (*a*), was a native of Candia. He lived many years at Venice, and died about the end of June 1602 (*b*). He had a fine library, which he bequeathed to the monks of Candia; and, as if he had foreseen his dissolution, he sent thither, a little before his death, nine trunks full of books (*c*). He had sedulously collected a great number of Greek manuscripts which were scarce and curious.

(*a*) An island of the Archipelago, now called Cerigo.

(*b*) Velserus, Epist. xx, ad Scaligerum.

(*c*) Id. ib.

MARIANA (John) born at Talavera, in the diocese of Toledo, entered into the order of the Jesuits January 1, 1554. He was then a student at Complutum, being seventeen years old. He became one of the ablest men of his age; a great Divine, a great Humanist, one of a profound skill in ecclesiastical and prophane history, a good Grecian, and learned in the holy tongue. He went to Rome in 1561, and there taught Theology. Four years after this he went into Sicily, and taught there for two years. He came to Paris in 1569, and there explained Thomas Aquinas for the space of five years. His health would not suffer him to continue, and obliged him to follow such studies as were less laborious. He returned to Spain in 1574, and spent the rest of his days at Toledo. He died there February 17th, 1624, being eighty seven years of age [*A*]. He was employed by the Inquisition in several important affairs; but for himself he stood in need of patience [*B*], and of great courage to bear with constancy the severe trials of adversity (*a*). What is observed of his chastity, is altogether singular [*C*]. He published several

(*a*) *Taken from* Nathan. Southwell, Bibl. Script. Societ. *pag.* 477.

[*A*] *He died February the 17th, 1624, being eighty seven years of age.*] Don Nicolas Antonio, who had read all this in Alegambe, does affirm (1), that Mariana died February 17, 1623, aged ninety years. As to this, I trust more to two Jesuits, who compiled the *Bibliotheque* of their order, than to him, or even to Bernardin Giraldi (2), who affirms, that Mariana died in 1632, aged ninety six years. 'Jesuitarum quos ætas 'nostra vidit annosissimus, qui abhinc biennium pie 'obiit diem suum nonaginta sex annos natus. - - - - - '*The oldest Jesuit of this age, did, two years ago, piously depart this life, being ninety six years old.*'

(1) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Hispan. *Tom. i, pag.* 561.

(2) Bernardinus Giraldus Patavinus, in Apolog. pro Senatu Veneto, *dated at Padua Dec.* 1, 1634.

[*B*] *For himself, he stood in great need of patience.*] If I could have consulted his life, (3) written by Thomas Thomaius (4) de Vargas, Historiographer to the king of Spain, I could doubtless have given here some particular account of the persecutions which Mariana endured; but I can only now transcribe the words of the two Bibliographers of the Jesuits. 'Ipse 'vicissim multa perpessus adversa, admirabili animi 'æquitate, & omnium virtutum documento se malis 'superiorem esse probavit. Exercitam senectutem To'leti produxit usque ad diem xvii Februarii anni Do'mini MDCXXIV (5). - - - *He himself endured much 'adversity with admirable patience, and as an example 'of all virtues shewed himself to be above the shocks of 'fortune. He protracted his labouring old age at 'Toledo, to the xviith of February MDCXXIV.*' Add to this passage what they will tell us hereafter, when I shall speak of the book about the alteration of money.

(3) Alegambe and Southwell, mention it in the article of MARIANA. Don Nicolas Antonio does not mention it in the long be printed. He *p.* 308, *and* 385, catalogue he has given of the writings of Thomaius, printed and to calls him *Tamajus*.

(4) Mr Teissier, Biblioth. Bibliothecar, *calls him* Tamæus.

(5) Alegambe, *pag.* 258. Sotuel, *pag.* 477.

[*C*] *What is observed of his chastity, is altogether singular.*] Those who have read the new letters of the animadverter upon Mr Maimbourg, have there seen this singularity expressed after this manner (6): 'You 'will not believe this, nor perhaps what F. Alegambe 'says of the Jesuit Mariana, who died in 1624, 'after he had lived almost ninety years in the 'most exact chastity; from whence perhaps it came 'to pass, adds the historian, that his hands ‡ were as 'supple and pliable after his death, as if he had been

(6) See the New Letters, *pag.* 685.

‡ *Castitatis cultor studiosissimus, cujus aliquis effectus esse potuerit quod mortuo manus fuerint ita tractabiles ac flexibiles.*

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ſeveral books (*b*), and among others a hiſtory of Spain, which many look upon as a maſter-

(*b*) *See the titles of them in Moreri.*

' been alive. I confeſs freely that I ſee no connexion ' between theſe two things.' I believe with him, that it would be a difficult thing to give a natural reaſon of ſuch an effect of chaſtity; and as to miraculous reaſons, I know not by what reſemblance or analogy they can be ſupported. Perhaps they may be grounded upon an argument from contraries, and that in conſequence of a monkiſh tradition, which lays it down for a certain truth, that all thoſe who have had to do with Nuns, are accuſed after their death, and convicted of this action by a certain ſtiffneſs, which is obſerved in that part which had been made uſe of to commit the ſin. ' Notabile ' eſt quod Mariani (7) dicunt, eum qui ſpurium ex ' moniali precrearit, ſingulariſſime à Deo poſt mortem ' puniri, uti celeberrimus Medicus *Leonellus Faventi-* ' *nus, c. 7. ſecundæ partis Practicæ Medicinalis* hoc ' myſterium naturæ aperuit, *Qui coit*, inquiens, *cum* ' *Monachâ vel moniali, quando talis moritur, remanet* ' *virga ejus tenſa*, Unde dicitur in carmine apud vul- ' gares:

Qui monacha potitur, virgâ tendente moritur.

' Cujus & meminit *Wolfgangus Hildebrandus Mag. Nat.* ' *l.* 1. *c.* 31. *p.* 34. *Erford. impreſſ.* 16. 22. Et for- ' tean etiam moniales ſtupratæ poſt mortem peculiari ' ſigno notantur, quod honoris & pudoris ergo retice- ' tur. Certe ſi miracula hæc quotidie contingerent pau- ' ciores ſpurii invenirentur (8). - - - - *What is aſſerted* ' *by the Papiſts is remarkable, that he who begets a* ' *baſtard upon a Nun, is, after death, puniſhed by* GOD ' *in a moſt ſingular manner; as the moſt famous phyſician* ' Leonelius Faventinus, c. 7. of the ſecond part of ' his Medicinal Practice *has diſcloſed this ſecret of na-* ' *ture*, He, *ſaith he*, who hath had criminal conver- ' ſation with a Nun, when he dieth, the offending ' part remains erected; *which is alſo mentioned by* Wolf- ' gangus Hildebrandus. *And perhaps the Nuns who* ' *have been defloured are alſo diſtinguiſhed by ſome parti-* ' *cular mark, which, for honour and modeſty's ſake, is* ' *concealed. Aſſuredly, there would not be ſo many* ' *baſtards, if theſe miracles ſhould daily fall out.*' The words of Leonellus Faventinus, which I have tranſcribed, were cited by Henry Korman in chap. lxvii, part iv, of the Miracles of the Dead.

(*) Thus this author calls the Roman Catholics, as if they held the Holy Virgin for the head of their religion.

(7) Lyſer. Polygamiæ triumphat. pag. 314.

PARTICULARS concerning the chaſtity of ſome Jeſuits.

I will obſerve upon this occaſion ſome very notable ſingularities which are to be found in Alegambe, concerning the chaſtity of certain Jeſuits. He ſays, that Father Gil, who died in 1622, aged ſeventy-three years, knew not any woman by ſight, ſuch a ſtrict watch did he keep over his ſenſes that they ſhould not fix upon theſe objects. He was afraid of himſelf: he could ſcarcely bear to touch himſelf; and he thanked GOD that he had a bad ſight, becauſe that had afforded him great aſſiſtance to chaſtity. *Erat ſeveriſſimus ſuorum ſenſuum cuſtos: nullam tot annis feminam de facie noverat: ſe quoque ipſum attingere quodammodò horrebat. Agebat Deo gratias pro hebetata ſibi acie oculorum; ex quo multa commoda caſtimoniæ perſentiſceret* (9). Father Cofterus declared, that his chaſtity was never overcome by any irregular motion, nor by any obſcene imagination (10). Father Coton, who was confeſſor to a very leud prince, whoſe court followed the maxim, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*, died a virgin, and preſerved his inward purity in ſuch a manner, that he had a horror for every thing that might be offenſive to this virtue; and he had ſo nice a ſmell in this reſpect, that perſons who came near him after having violated the laws of chaſtity would excite in him the ſenſation of an intolerable ſtink. *Caſtitatem impenſe coluit, & Viginitatis decus ad extremum uſque obtinuit. Senſus frænabat accuratâ cuſtodiâ, & horrore quodam impuritatis; quam etiam in iis qui ſe illa fædaſſent, ex graveolentiâ neſcio qua diſcernebat* (11). Father Spiga, who died in the year 1594, aged ſeventy-four years, was accounted a virgin, he had never looked upon any woman, and could not diſtinguiſh his own nieces one from another, altho' he had been their confeſſor; and nothing could induce him to enter into their houſe, when he knew they were alone. *Caſtitati tuendæ, nunquam fœminas intuitus eſt. Neptes ſuas, quas crebro confitentes audierat, inter ſe diſtinguere neſciebat; ad illas, ſi domi ſuæ eſſent non poterat induci ut intraret, quanticunque, momenti negotio urgeretur. Opinio conſtans fuit, Virginitatis illi decus uſque ad extremum conſtitiſſe* (12). I am ſurprized, that Alegambe ſhould not know what is related of Poſſevin the Jeſuit, ' That being to read Tibullus, ' upon account of his fine Latin, he prayed to GOD ' kneeling on the ground, that the verſes of this poet ' about love might not inſpire him with love.' Mr Menage, who relates this (13), had ſaid juſt before, ' That he heard Father Sirmond ſay, that having ' read the judgment, which Photius gave of the ' romance of Achilles Statius, whereby it appeared, ' that this romance was full of obſcenity, he would ' never read it.' To this purpoſe I will add, that Melchior Canus, who was no friend to the Jeſuits, made himſelf merry one day at their coſt, at the king of Spain's court. He ſaid, that they carried about them an herb which mortified nature in ſuch a manner, that by the efficacy of this ſimple they could ſafely converſe with women. Philip II taking this in a literal ſenſe, had a mind to know what this herb was, and having given order, that the Jeſuits ſhould be preſſed to name it, he learned that it was called the Fear of GOD. ' Feſtivum eſt quod refert Nico- ' laus Orlandinus libro quinto hiſtoriæ Societatis JESU. ' Petrus Faber & Antonius Araozius aulam Philippi ' ſecundi Hiſpaniarum Regis adierant, & tum primum ' in illud regnum Societatis nomen invexerant. *Qui-* ' *buſdam autem inſtar erant miraculi, quod cum omni* ' *genere ſexuque promiſcuo tam verſarentur innoxii. Nec* ' *dubitavit in media curia Melchior Canus belle jocari,* ' *Patres Societatis JESU herbam quandam ſecum ſoli-* ' *tos circumferre, quæ vim haberet interimendæ libi-* ' *dinis: eaque velut antidoto tuto poſſe inter fœmi-* ' *narum verſari greges, & confitentibus puellis aurem* ' *ſalva integritate præbere*, &c. *Ea vox*, &c. *ſenſim* ' *ſparſa per curiam ad Principis pervenit aures. Qui* ' *rei auditæ curioſus inveſtigator Johannem de Zuniga* ' *(is erat ei velut morum magiſter ac cuſtos) ad Patres* ' *miſit ſciſcitatum quod herbæ genus illud eſſet*, &c. ' Non negavit Araoſius hujus virtutis herbam ſe ha- ' bere: & cum Johannem aliquandiu ſuſpenſum re- ' ſponſi ambiguita e tenuiſſet, quo majorem audiendi ' cupiditatem accenderet, *Hæc, inquit, herba commu-* ' *ni ſermone Timor Dei nuncupatur*, &c. *hoc igitur prin-* ' *cipi, velim, narres, hoc fideliter referas* (14). *What* ' *Nicolaus Orlandinus relates in his Hiſtory of the Society* ' *of JESUS, is pleaſant enough. Petrus Faber and* ' *Antonius Araoſius had come to the court of Philip the* ' *ſecond, king of Spain, and had then firſt brought into* ' *that kingdom the name of the ſociety.* But by ſome it ' was looked upon as a miracle, that they could inno- ' cently converſe with all ſorts and ſexes of people. ' Whereupon Melchior Canus pleaſantly ſaid before ' all the court, that the fathers of the ſociety of JESUS ' uſed to carry about them a certain herb, which had ' the virtue of extinguiſhing luſt: and thereby, as ' with an antidote, might ſafely frequent the company ' of women, and lend an ear to the confeſſing virgins, ' without violating their integrity, *&c.* This ſpeech, ' *&c.* being by degrees ſpread over the court came ' to the ears of the prince. Who being a curious ' inquirer into the truth of what he heard, ſent Jo- ' hannes de Zuniga to the fathers of the ſociety, to ' aſk what kind of herb that was, *&c. Araoſius did* ' *not deny that they had ſuch an herb; and when by* ' *the ambiguity of his anſwer he had for ſome time* ' *held him in ſuſpenſe, that he might heighten his de-* ' *ſire of hearing it*, The herb, *ſaid he*, in common ' ſpeech, is called the Fear of GOD, *&c.* This I ' deſire you would faithfully report to the prince.' Jarrige does not faithfully report the circumſtances of this ſtory. ' Philip II, ſays he (15), their great ' protector, and a prince of fine wit, jeſting, aſked ' them one day, how they could be chaſte, having ' private and familiar converſations with all the fine ' ladies of his magnificent court, We have, ſaid ' they, as it is reported by their hiſtorian, an *herb* ' which we carry about us, by which we avoid the ' danger of uncleanneſs, and reſiſt all its attacks. ' Being preſſed by the monarch to name it, they an- ' ſwered, that it was the *Fear of GOD*; but I aſſure you, ' if they had it then, I am very certain they have loſt

(8) Alegambe, pag. 369, col. 1.

(9) Virginitatem nulla unquam cogitatione aut indecoro motu oppugnatam ſe ferviſſe ſibi ipſe aſſeverando. *Idem, pag.* 118.

(10) *Idem, pag.* 379, *col.* 2.

(11) (12) Idem, *pag.* 401, *col.* 1.

(13) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *cap. cxliv*, quoting Nicius Erythræus in the Elogy of Poſſevin. This Elogy is not in the three *Pinacothecæ* of Erythræus.

(14) Nicol. Abramus, Comm. in Orat. Ciceronis, *Tom. ii, pag.* 599, *col.* 1.

(15) Jarrige, Jeſuites ſur l'Echafaud, *cap. vi, pag. m.* 65.

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master-piece [D]. It is he who publiſhed a book of Lucas Tudenſis (c), on the life to come, and againſt the Albigenſes. His treatiſe of the Alteration of Coin brought him into trouble at the court of Spain [E], and expoſed him to a puniſhment which is ill related

(c) *Thus we muſt call him, and not* Tridentis *with Alegambe and Southwell.*

'the ſeed of it now, and that it does not grow in 'their garden.'

This herb of Melchior Canus brings to my mind the Indian hermits, who practiſe a ſevere penance all their life-time, and renounce even the ſight of the other ſex. They hold in their hands a cane, by which they drive away all impure thoughts and temptations, as if they were chaſing away a dog. *I Ruxis ò Hiobioli abitano ne' deſerti paſcendoſi di foglie, e frutti ſalvatici, occupati quaſi ſempre nelle meditatione de' lor dii, profeſſano perpetua verginita, fuggendo la viſta delle donne, portano una canna in mano con la quale dicono tener lontano i diletti, tentationi, e travaglii* (16).

(16) Giornale de Letterati, *March* 31, 1673, *pag.* 35, *in the extract of the* Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, *by* F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena.

[D] *A hiſtory of Spain, which is looked on by many as a maſter-piece.*] It is divided into thirty books, after which follows an appendix. The firſt twenty were printed at Toledo, in folio, in 1592. He added to them the ten other books ſome time after (17). He tranſlated this hiſtory himſelf out of Latin into Spaniſh, and publiſhed this verſion at Toledo in 1601. It hath been often reprinted (18). He ſometimes departs from the original, as if he were writing, not a tranſlation, but a new book (19). The appendix contains only a little ſummary of ſome events from 1515, to the time it was written; for the author having finiſhed his great work at the death of Ferdinand of Arragon, in 1516, thought it would be more for his intereſt to publiſh a meer hiſtorical Index of matters ſince that time, than exact narratives of them, which he could not do without departing from that fidelity he had hitherto followed, or offending ſome perſons ſtill alive. Wherefore he took the ſureſt and honeſteſt way, and that which wiſe men have always moſt approved if (20). He would not write of what happened in his own time, or a little before. Let us ſee the encomiums which Father Rapin has beſtowed upon this hiſtory. 'None of the modern 'hiſtorians has written more judiciouſly than Mariana 'in his hiſtory of Spain. It is a maſter-piece of theſe 'laſt ages for this ſingle property. There ſhines in 'all the work a wiſdom which never ſuffers him to 'dwell too long on noble exploits, nor to neglect 'thoſe that are not ſo. This equality ſo judicious, 'which is always the ſame in the inequality of mat'ters which this author handles, is little known to 'the hiſtorians of theſe times (21).' To underſtand the full force of this encomium, we muſt add to it this deſcription. 'To write judiciouſly, *according 'to Father Rapin* (22), is to purſue our end on 'whatever ſubject we write, without wandring or 'amuſing our ſelves by the way: It is to expreſs 'things with a kind of wiſdom and reſervedneſs, 'without giving way either to the heat of our ima'gination, or the briſkneſs of our wit. It is to know 'how to ſuppreſs what is ſuperfluous in the expreſſion, 'as thoſe adverbs and epithets are which diminiſh 'things by heightning them; to leave nothing in it 'that is idle, languiſhing, and uſeleſs; to leave out 'generouſly what ought not to be uttered how fine 'ſoever it be; to take always leſs care of the * or'naments than of ſolid truth; not to ſhow heat or 'warmth where a man ought to be cool and ſerious; 'to examine one's thoughts, and meaſure one's words, 'with that juſtneſs of ſenſe, and accurate judgment, 'that nothing may paſs but what is exact and ju'dicious. It is to have the power of reſiſting the 'temptation we naturally have to diſcover our wit '... It is to leave room for thoſe who read hiſtory, 'to imagine what ought not always to be ſaid. 'Laſtly, It is well to underſtand how to avoid con'tradictions, and to lay down probabilities in all 'that is ſaid. And this judicious ſpirit, this cha'racter of wiſdom which hiſtory requires, is a kind 'of watchfulneſs over one's ſelf; which allows of 'no exaggaration, and uſes continual precaution 'againſt thoſe bold imaginations to which a man is 'ſubject, when he has a wit too bright, or too luxu'riant; to the end that he may expreſs great mat'ters in a few words, as Salluſt does.' Father Rapin does not ſtop here, but he adds further, 'That Mariana 'is one of the moſt accompliſhed writers among the 'modern hiſtorians, becauſe he is one of the plain'eſt (23) *That nothing* gives the hiſtory of Mariana ſo 'much of that air of grandeur it hath, as the art of this 'author in bringing into it, by way of digreſſion, 'all the conſiderable things that have paſſed in the 'world, all that's admirable in the fabulous times; all 'that was remarkable in Greece, in Sicily, in the 'Roman empire; a particular account of the repub'lic of Carthage, which is no where better done 'than there; the ſieges of Saguntus and Numantia; 'the paſſage of Hannibal into Italy; the ſucceſſion 'of the emperors; the birth of Chriſtianity; the 'preaching of the goſpel; the conqueſt of the Ara'bians, and many other great tranſactions. He is a 'genius who treats of nothing but great matters, which 'always have ſome relation to the hiſtory of Spain. 'Upon which account never did any hiſtorian do 'ſo much honour to his country by any work; 'for he has attributed to his nation the greateſt 'actions that have ever been done in the world (24). 'Among the moderns, *continues Father Rapin* (25). 'I find Mariana, Davila, and Fra Paolo admirable 'for hiſtory. Mariana had the talent of thinking, 'and expreſſing nobly what he thought and ſaid, 'and of imprinting a character of greatneſs upon any 'thing he conſidered .... (26) None of the moderns 'exceeds Mariana, either for the greatneſs of his de'ſign, or the nobleneſs of his ſtile. He is more exact 'than others, and judges ſolidly of every thing.' Let us add to ſo many encomiums, not what is ſaid by another Jeſuit in favour of Mariana (27), but what a Proteſtant ſays of him. 'Inter Latinos omnibus 'palmam præripit Johannes Mariana Hiſpanus, re'rum Hiſpanicarum cognitione nemini ſecundus. Va'luit vero Mariana inſigni eloquentia, prudentia, & 'magna libertate dicendi: hinc & libertatis ſtudioſiſſi'mus in Reges ſuos ſæpe eſt mordax (28). ----- *'Amongſt all the Latin writers of hiſtory Johannes Ma'riana may be reckoned the chief, being inferior to none 'in the knowledge of the Spaniſh affairs. Mariana 'was a perſon of mighty eloquence, prudence, and great 'liberty of ſpeech: Hence it was that he is often very 'ſevere upon his own kings.*'

(23) Rapin, Ibid. *num.* 5, *pag.* 236.

(24) Ibid. *num.* 22, *pag.* 280.

(25) Ibid. *num.* 26, *pag.* 293.

(26) Ibid. ſub fin. *pag.* 305.

(27) Quid Mariani gravem & decoram conſtructionem, ſonantia verba, ſplendorem, narrandique ſublimitatem, copioſum ingenium in non impari materia, quæ ætas non reverebitur? *Clarus Bonarſcius, in Amphitheatro, honoris, lib. ii, cap. xiii, pag. m.* 192.

How excellent ſoever this book of Mariana be, yet it has ſeveral faults which have been partly cenſured by a ſecretary of the Conſtable of Caſtile. This cenſurer calls himſelf Pedro Mantuano. He publiſhed his critical remarks at Milan in 4to, in 1611 (29), and intituled them *Advertencias à la Hiſtoria de Juan de Mariana.* He was then but twenty ſix years of age. Thomas Tamaius de Vargas, who anſwered in behalf of Mariana, relates a thing that is very wonderful; which is, that Mariana would never caſt his eyes upon the work of his cenſurer, nor on that of his apologiſt; tho' this latter offer'd him his MS. before he gave it to the Printer, and deſired him to correct it. *Noluiſſe Marianam legere, nec Mantuani cenſuram, nec Tamaji amiciſſimi capitis apologiam, etiam ante editionem ſibi ab authore ad pervidendum, & emendandum oblatam, quod credet vix poſteritas* (30). There was publiſhed in the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, at p. 139, of the month of November 1693, the deſign of a French tranſlation of Mariana, with good notes. The public ought to wiſh they may quickly enjoy this work. There was printed in Holland, in 1694, a chronological abridgment of the Hiſtory of Spain, taken chiefly from Mariana, which is attributed to a gentlewoman of Rouen (31), now a Refugee in England for her religion.

(28) Herm. Conringius de regno Hiſpan. apud Pope Blount, Cenſura Autorum, *pag.* 614.

(29) And ſince at the Royal Printing-houſe an edition more correct. *Nicol. Anton. ubi infra, Tom. ii, pag.* 170.

(30) Nicol. Anton. Bibliot. Scriptor. Hiſpan. *Tom. i, pag.* 561.

(31) *Called* Madam de la Roche.

[E] *His treatiſe of the alteration of coin* (32) *brought him into trouble at the court of Spain.*] Alegambe only tells us, that this work diſcovered the frauds of the times, and that at the requeſt of the ambaſſador of Spain, it was ſtopped by Paul V, but that the ſequel ſhewed, that Mariana being perſecuted for this book, was a lover of juſtice and truth. 'In tractatu 'de Monetæ mutatione cum acrius corruptelam ſui 'temporis perſtrinxiſſet, gravem in ſe concivit pro'cellam; & tractatus ipſe poſtulante Catholici Regis 'Oratore, à Summo Pontifice Paulo V tantiſper ſu'penſus fuit, donec invidia & cum ea tempeſtas con'quievit; docueruntque poſteriora tempora veri recti'que amantem fuiſſe Marianam (33). ---- *He occa-*

(32) It was printed in folio, at Cologne in 1609, with ſix other treatiſes of Mariana.

(33) Alegambe, *pag.* 258, *col.* 2.

(17) The thirty books with the Appendix are in the edition of Mentz, 1605, in 4to.

(18) At Madrid in 1616, and 1600, in folio, *& alibi Nicol. Anton. ubi infra.*

(19) *See* Nicolas Antonio, Bibl. Script. Hiſpan. *Tom. i, pag.* 560.

(20) See the remark [D] of the article BONFADIUS, and the remark [E] of the article HAILLAN.

(21) Rapin, Reflexions on Hiſtory, *num.* 3, *pag. m.* 232.

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 230.

* Delectus verborum habendus & pondera ſingulorum examinanda. *Fab. lib. x, cap. iii.*

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related by Mr Varillas [F]: but there had been more reaſon to moleſt him upon the account of another book, which Spain and Italy ſuffered to go abroad, and which was burnt at Paris by a decree of the parliament, becauſe of the pernicious doctrine it contained. There is nothing more ſeditious, nor more capable of expoſing kingdoms to frequent revolutions, and even the lives of princes to the knife of aſſaſſins, than this book of John Mariana [G]. It expoſed the Jeſuits, and chiefly in France, to a thouſand bloody

' *ſtirred unto himſelf great troubles, by having ſeverely in-*
' *veighed againſt the corruptions of his own time, in a trea-*
' *tiſe upon the alteration of the coin; and the treatiſe itſelf*
' *was kept from being publiſhed, at the deſire of the*
' *ambaſſador of the Catholic king, by Pope Paul V, till*
' *ſuch time as the malice of his enemies, and the conſe-*
' *quences of it were over; and the times following made*
' *it appear, that Mariana had been a lover of truth*
' *and juſtice.*' Nicolas Antonio in ſome reſpects ſpeaks more generally, tho' he declares, that the chief miniſters of ſtate accuſed Mariana of having cenſured the government. ' Nec tamen, *ſays he* (34), vir tot me-
' ritis ad famæ immortalitatem nitens effugere valuit
' læväe famæ diſcrimina, interpretantibus quædam ejus
' ſcripta principibus in Curia viris tanquam iniqua exer-
' teque injurioſa ſibi ipſis, ac publicæ adminiſtrationi.
' Cujus rei nomine ſolemniter accuſatus non niſi poſt
' agitatam diu cauſam ægreque ſtatui priſtino fuit re-
' ſtitutus. - - - - *Nor could he, tho' a man that was*
' *ſtriving by his merits to attain an immortal fame, eſcape*
' *the danger of infamy, the prime nobility of the court*
' *blaming ſome of his writings as falſe and injurious to*
' *themſelves, and the adminiſtration of the government:*
' *upon which account he was accuſed in form, and was*
' *not, but, after a tedious defence of his cauſe, reſtored to*
' *his former eſtate.*' But here is an author who ſpeaks out more clearly: he aſſures us, that Mariana diſcovered ſo plainly the waſting of the treaſury, by ſhowing the robberies that were committed in the coining of money, that the duke of Lerma, who found himſelf plainly pointed at, could not reſtrain his anger. It was not difficult for him to vex the author, becauſe king Philip III was clearly cenſured in this work, as a lazy prince, who left the great affairs of his kingdom to the diſcretion of his miniſters. Princes who are much governed by a Favourite, are eaſily provoked againſt thoſe, who expoſe them to public contempt by a juſt and free cenſure of this ſlavery. Mariana was caſt into priſon, and did not come out till a year was expired; but the event ſhowed that he was not miſtaken, in foretelling, that the abuſes which he reproved, would throw Spain into great confuſion. The writer who gives an account of this is called Bernardin Giraldus, whom I have cited once before. ' Quarum
' (*Diſſertationum*) una fuit, (*ſays he* 35) de *Monetæ*
' *mutatione* in Hiſpania, quâ quidem fraudes, & im-
' poſturæ Miniſtrorum Regiorum Monetas publicas
' adulterantium detegebantur, oſcitantia, & dormita-
' tio Philippi III, Regis Catholici perſtringebatur, in-
' gentia denique damna in univerſam Hiſpaniam ex
' improbiſſimo Regiorum peculatu certo exoritura præ-
' nuntiabantur: quem librum qui legat, & hodiernum
' Hiſpaniæ ſtatum non ignoret, abeſſe haudquaquam
' poſſit, quin Marianam divinum hominem fuiſſe ag-
' noſcat (qui ea, quæ hodie Hiſpania experitur mala,
' tanto ante ut vates occinerit) vel certe prudentiam
' genus divinationis eſſe intelligat. Verum vehementer
' ea res Lermæum Ducem, Regiæ Hiſpanicæ Sejanum,
' pupugit: quippe qui fundi Hiſpanici calamitas eſſet,
' ſeque à Mariana deſignari ſatis intelligeret. Homi-
' nem ergo in vincula poſcit, in iiſque annum verten-
' tem amplius continet. - - - *Of which* Diſſertations,
' *one was* (*ſays he*) *concerning the* alteration of the coin
' *in Spain, wherein the frauds and impoſtures of the mi-*
' *niſtry in adulterating the current money were expoſed,*
' *and the negligence and indolence of Philip III was cen-*
' *ſured, and, in fine, the great miſchiefs to the whole king-*
' *dom, from the moſt unjuſt robberies of the public by the*
' *courtiers were foretold: which book whoever reads, and*
' *is not unacquainted with the preſent ſtate of Spain, muſt*
' *needs acknowledge that Mariana (who could, ſo long before*
' *they happened, foretel the evils which Spain at this day*
' *labours under) was a true prophet, or at leaſt that*
' *prudence is a kind of prophetic ſpirit. This affair did*
' *vehemently exaſperate the duke of Lerma, the Sejanus of*
' *the Spaniſh court: he being the cauſe of the miſeries of*
' *that kingdom, and well knowing that he was the perſon*
' *intended by Mariana. Wherefore he prevailed to have*
' *him put in priſon, where he detained him more than a*
' *year.*'

[F] . . . . . *and expoſed him to a puniſhment which is ill related by Mr Varillas.*] This Hiſtorian pretends that Ribadeneira ' durſt not write in Spain under the ' reign of Philip II, what Charles V had contributed ' to oblige the court of Rome to proceed to the laſt ' extremities againſt Henry VIII. One muſt have as ' little knowledge of the court of Spain as Dr Burnet ' has, *continues he*, who knows not that the ſame ' Philip II baniſhed Mariana into Sicily for fifteen ' years, upon a leſs important occaſion than ' that of writing againſt Charles V, ſince it was ' only for writing a treatiſe about money, which ' did not ſo directly concern the majeſty of the Catholic kings, as the conduct of Charles V, with ' reſpect to Henry VIII (36).' There are three falſhoods in theſe words: I. Mariana was never baniſhed into Sicily; much leſs did this pretended baniſhment laſt fifteen years. II. Philip II was dead when this Jeſuit wrote about money. III. This treatiſe offended much more the king of Spain, who then reigned (37), than the book of Ribadeneira would have offended Philip II, if he had deſcribed in it the conduct of Charles V towards Henry VIII. I take no notice of the abſurdity that is in his remark upon Ribadeneira; this matter has been ſolidly refuted by the learned man who replied to him (38).

[G] *There is nothing more ſeditious . . . . than this book of Mariana.*] The title of it is, *de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione*, and it was printed at Toledo in the year 1598, with the king's licence, and the uſual approbations. The author having propoſed, in the ſixth chapter of the firſt book, to conſider whether it be lawful to kill a tyrant, enters on this ſubject with a narrative of the tragical end of Henry III. He admires the courage of James Clement, and ſays, there were different opinions about the action of this young monk: ſome commended it, and thought it worthy of immortality; others blamed it, becauſe they were of opinion, that it is never lawful for a meer private man to kill a prince declared king by the nation, and anointed with the ſacred oil according to cuſtom, altho' this prince becomes a wicked man, and a tyrant. *De facto monachi non una opinio fuit, multis laudantibus atque immortalitate dignum judicantibus: vituperant alii prudentiæ & eruditionis laude præſtantes, fas eſſe negantes cuiquam privata auctoritate Regem conſenſu populi renunciatum, ſacroque oleo de more delibutum ſanctumque adeo perimere, ſit ille quamvis perditis moribus, atque in tyrannidem degenerarit* (39). We may clearly perceive, that Mariana is one of thoſe who approved the action of James Clement; for he rejects the principle, upon which wiſe and learned men condemned it. Beſides, he affects to extol the courage and undaunted ſteddineſs of this aſſaſſin, without dropping one word that tends to render him odious to the reader. This obſervation does admirably diſcover the whole venom of the doctrine of this Jeſuit; for it is certain, that he only begins with the example of Henry III, that he might deſcend from the theſis to the hypotheſis, and to ſhow the people a notable caſe of tyranny, that ſo at all times, when they ſhould find themſelves in the like condition, they might think that their circumſtances did warrant them to make uſe of the knife againſt their monarchs. But if it be once lawful to do this, when people live under ſuch a prince as Henry III, I know not what monarchs ought not to fear that they ſhall be aſſaſſinated or dethroned: for oftentimes the good and evil of two conditions are counterbalanced when they are compared together. If the faults of government are not the ſame as they were under Henry III, yet it will be ſaid, that all things duly conſidered, they are equal, and from thence people will conclude, that they are in the ſame condition which the Jeſuit has deſcribed. However let us go on with the explication of his ſyſtem.

(34) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Hiſpan. Tom. I, pag. 560.

(35) Bernardin. Giraldus Patavinus, pro Senatu Venetо apologia, ſive de juſtitia decreti, quo Senatus Venetus adoleſcentes dictoni ſuæ ſubditos ad Jeſuitarum ſcholas accedere interdixit: deque conditionibus quibus Jeſuitæ reditum ad Venetos vidcntur impetrare poſſe. *This piece is in a collective intitled*, Arcana Secretaria Jeſu, *printed at Geneva in* 1635, *in* 8vo.

(36) Varillas's Anſwer to the Criticiſms of Dr Burnet, *pag.* 84, Dutch Edit.

(37) See, in the preceding remark, the words of Bernard. Giraldus.

(38) *See the* Defence de la Critique de Mr Varillas, *pag.* 65.

(39) Mariana, de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione, *lib. I, cap. VI, pag. m.* 54.

Mariana

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bloody reproaches [*H*], and to very mortifying insults, which are repeated every day, and

Mariana relates the reasons of those who blamed James Clement, that is to say, according to him, the reasons of those, who teach, that every one must patiently submit to the tyrannical yoke of his lawful sovereign; and before he answers them (40), he produces the arguments of the contrary party, built upon this fundamental principle, that the authority of the people is superior to that of kings (41). This is his beloved position, for proof of which he spends two whole chapters (42). Having alledged the reasons of each party, he declares, I, That according to the opinions of Divines and Philosophers, a prince who, by main force, and without the general consent of the people, is possessed of the sovereign power, is one whom every private person has a right to kill: 'Perimi à quocunque, vita & principatu spoliari 'posse (43). . . . . *May be killed by any one, and de-* '*prived of his life and crown.*' II. That if a prince, who is lawfully created, or who is a lawful successor to his ancestors, overturns the religion, and public laws, without hearkening to the remonstrances of the nation, he must be made away by the safest and surest method. III. That the shortest and surest way of doing it, is to assemble the States, and in this assembly to depose him, and there to order that an army be raised against him, if it be necessary for removing his tyranny. IV. That such a prince may be lawfully put to death, and that each private person, who shall have the courage to attempt to kill him, has a right to do it (44). V. That if an assembly of the States cannot be held, and it appears nevertheless to be the will of the people that the tyrant should be dispatched, there is no private person but may lawfully kill this prince, to satisfy the desire of the people; 'Qui votis publicis favens eum perimere tentavit, 'haud quaquam inique eum feciste existimabo (45). '*He who to accomplish what is wished by the people,* '*shall attempt to kill him, I shall not judge him to have* '*acted at all unjustly.*' VI. That the judgment of a private person, or of many, is not sufficient; but one must be governed by the voice of the people, and also consult grave and learned men (46). VII. That, indeed, it shows greater courage to rise up openly against the tyrant; but there is no less prudence to attack him secretly, and destroy him in the snares that are laid for him. *Est quidem majoris virtutis & animi simultatem aperte exercere, palam in hostem reipublicæ irruere: sed non minoris prudentiæ, fraudi & insidiis locum captare, quod sine motu contingat minori certe periculo publico atque privato* (47). He advises therefore, either that he should be attacked in his own palace with open force, or that a conspiracy should be formed against him; he will have it that open war, crafty devices, frauds, and treacheries, are equally lawful: and if the conspirators, adds he, are not killed in the attempt, they ought to be admired as heroes all their life-times: if they perish in it, then they fall victims acceptable to GOD and men, and their efforts deserve immortal praises. *Aut in apertam vim prorumpitur seditione facta armisque publice sumptis . . . aut majori cautione, fraude & ex insidiis pereunt, uno aut paucis in ejus caput occulte conjuratis, suoque periculo reipublicæ incolumitatem redimere satagentibus. Quod si evaserint, instar magnorum Heroum in omni vita suspiciuntur: si secus accidat, grata superis, grata hominibus hostia cadunt, nobili conatu ad omnem posteritatis memoriam illustrati. Itaque aperta vi & armis posse occidi tyrannum, sive impetu in regiam facto, sive commissa pugna in confesso est. Sed & dolo atque insidiis exceptum* (48). VIII. That altho' there seems to be no difference between an assassin who kills with the stab of a knife, and one who poisons; yet because Christianity has abrogated the laws of the Athenians, which ordered criminals to drink a poisoned cup; Mariana does not approve that a tyrant should be killed by poison mixed with his meat; but if any would make use of poison, he would have it applied to his cloaths, or to his saddle. *Ergo me auctore neque noxium medicamentum hosti detur, neque lethale venenum in cibo & potu temperetur in ejus perniciem. Hoc tamen temperamento uti, in hac quidem disputatione licebit, si non ipse qui perimitur venenum haurire cogitur, quo intimis medullis concepto pereat: sed exterius ab alio adhibeatur nihil adjuvante eo qui perimendus est. Nimirum cum tanta vis est veneni, ut sella eo aut veste delibuta vim interficiendi habeat* (49).

Such is the system of this Jesuit. The last part of it is very absurd; it is a ridiculous distinction: for he who drinks poison without knowing it, and believing it to be good food, does not any ways contract the guilt of those who destroy themselves; and yet to preserve a tyrant from so great a crime, Mariana would not have him made to drink or eat poison (50). Moreover, if it were true, that in drinking off the poison, without knowing of it, he would be guilty of his own death; he would be no less guilty in putting on a poisoned shirt: and yet Mariana makes no scruple to consent, that his cloaths should be poisoned, his saddles, or any other things which act from without upon the inward parts. I say therefore, that the eighth article of this Jesuit is unworthy of a man who understands reasoning; and I am surprized, that a man who had so much good sense, and so much Logic, should trifle so childishly. Abating this, many people are persuaded, that his system is finely contrived, that the parts of it are well connected together, and that he proceeds naturally from one consequence to another. Suppose once say they, that a king holds of the people, as being his supreme judge, and that he is accountable to them, all the rest will follow of course. And therefore the author who refuted Mariana, laid down a principle quite opposite to this, *viz. That Sovereign princes depend only upon GOD, to whom alone it belongs to call them to an account* (51): I shall not enter upon the discussion of this question; but shall only observe, that as the doctrines of Mariana are very destructive of the public good: it had been better that he had argued inconsequently, than to follow, like a good Logician, the consequences of his principle. See above remark [δ] of the article LOYOLA.

[*H*] *It exposed the Jesuits . . . . . to a thousand bloody reproaches.*] The Catholics and Protestants thundred upon them, out-vying one another, upon occasion of these doctrines of Mariana, and chiefly after the execrable attempt of Ravaillac: for it was said, that the reading of Mariana had inspired this cruel assassin with the infamous design of stabbing Henry IV. Wherefore Father Coton published a letter which he wrote to Mary de Medicis, the widow of that prince, wherein he quotes some famous Jesuits who taught the contrary to what Mariana had maintained: he did more, for he asserted, that the book of this Spanish Jesuit was condemned in 1606, in one of their congregations. I shall set down his own words (52). 'Such 'therefore being the judgment, and such the decrees 'of these grave and eminent doctors of our society; 'how can the private opinion of Mariana prejudice the 'reputation of the whole order, which, according 'to it's institution, being extreamly careful of holding fast the holy ordinances of the church, and respectful to the power and authority of kings, who 'as to temporals depend upon GOD only, has of a 'long time disowned the rashness of a bold pen, and 'particularly in the provincial congregation of France, 'held in this city of Paris, in 1606, wherein, moreover, the reverend Father Claudius Aquaviva, general of our society, was requested, that those who 'had written to the prejudice of the crown of France, 'should be restrained, and their books suppressed; 'which the said reverend Father did afterwards very 'carefully and exactly, being very sorry, that, thro' 'inadvertency, in his absence, and without his having 'seen the work, they had made use of his approbation. The words which he used in his answer are 'these (53): we have approved the judgment and 'the care of your congregation, and are very 'much troubled, that this was not perceived before 'the printing of such books; which however we 'have commanded forthwith to be corrected, and 'we will take most diligent care for the future, 'that such things shall not happen. One copy of 'Mariana would scarce be found now, were it not for 'the pernicious liberality of the heirs of Wechelius, 'who are known to be of the pretended reformed religion, and who printed it at their own charges, not 'out of any desire to serve the public, as may be 'easily presumed, but from a particular design to

'prejudice

(40) He refutes them at the end of this sixth chapter.

(41) A republica, unde ortum habet regia potestas, rebus exigentibus Regem in jus vocari posse, & si fanitatem respuat principatu spoliari, neque ita in Principem jura potestatis transtulit, ut non sibi majorem reservarit potestatem. *Mariana, ubi supra, pag.* 57.

(42) The eighth and ninth of the first book.

(43) Ibid. *pag.* 58.

(44) Principem publicum hostem declaratum ferro perimere, eademque facultas esto cuicunque privato, qui spe impunitatis abjecta, neglecta salute in conatum juvandi rempublicam ingredi voluerit. *Ibid. pag.* 60.

(45) Id. ib.

(46) Neque enim id in cujusquam privati arbitrio ponimus, non in multorum, nisi publica vox populi adsit, viri eruditi & graves in consilium adhibentur. *Id. ib.*

(47) Ibid. *cap. vii, pag.* 65.

(48) Ib. *pag.* 64.

(49) Ibid. *pag.* 67.

(50) Crudele existimarunt, atque à Christianis moribus alienum, quantumvis flagitiis coopertum eo adigere hominem, ut sibi ipsi manus afferat pugione in viscera adacto, aut lethali veneno in cibo aut potu temperato. Perinde enim est, neque minus humanitatis legibus, jurique naturæ contrarium: quo in vitam suam sævire vetatur omnibus. Negamus ergo hostem, quem fraude dedimus perimi posse, veneno interfici jure. *Mariana, ibid. pag.* 66.

(51) Rousel, in chap. xvii of his *Anti-Mariana.*

(52) Coton, Letter declaratory of the Doctrine of the Jesuits, *pag.* 8, 9.

(53) See the following remark.

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and will never be ended; which historians will in passion transcribe one from another; and

'prejudice our society.' As to what concerns Ravaillac's reading of Mariana, it is asserted in the same letter, that the parliament knew 'by the repeated deposition 'of this wretch, that Mariana contributed nothing to 'the execrable parricide, and could not influence him, 'since the wretch had not sufficient knowledge of 'the language wherein his book was written. Which 'discovers, *adds Father Coton*, the uncharitable intention of those who go on still to say, that he had 'it all by heart (54).' In another book Father Coton repeats and inforces this. 'The Heretics of France, 'says he (55), will have Mariana to have induced Ravaillac to give that unhappy and execrable blow, as 'having learned his book by heart. To which it 'will be replied a hundred times, on peril of honour 'and life, that Ravaillac did never see nor read it, 'and did never so much as hear the name of Mariana, except when he was asked whether he had read 'his book; and he answered no, and that he did not 'know what it was; witness the reverend Father 'Coëffeteau, witness also the verbal process which 'was made of the matter: from whence we may infer what shameless calumny will do; for there being 'nothing more false than to say, that this wretch saw 'even the cover of Mariana's book frequently, yet 'some of the common people will believe, by hearing 'it reported, that he knew it by heart, from one end 'to the other, as has been said. I will add, that 'tho' Ravaillac had read it, yet it is most false that 'Mariana taught the murder and parricide this wretch 'committed; which yet in this place and through his 'whole book the calumniator endeavours to persuade. 'Nay, in some respect, it were to be wished, that 'Ravaillac, had read Mariana in case he could have 'understood him; for Mariana teaches expressly, as 'Gretserus shows, that a lawful prince ought not to 'be killed by a private person upon his own private authority.' Father Coton is mistaken, the book of Mariana was very fit to inspire one with the attempt of assassinating Henry IV, for that Jesuit says, that the action of James Clement was good, and that if the voice of the people, and the counsel of some learned men concur to declare that the prince oppresses religion, a private person may kill him. By joining these two things together, we may conclude the justice of assassinating Henry IV. For if Henry III, a Catholic, to the highest degree, was an oppressor of catholicism, because he laboured for the rights of an heretical prince who was to be his successor, one may believe in general, that every prince who is favourable to Heretics designs to oppress religion. Now if it be lawful to kill an oppressor of religion, it is lawful doubtless to kill him who has a mind to oppress it as soon as he can: for prudence will not permit that we should suffer evil to encrease till it be come to such a height that it is difficult to put a stop to it; but we ought to prevent it and attack it whilst it is weak. Besides, by the voice of the people we must not understand the judgment of all private persons; it is sufficient that in every city there are several persons who join their voices for certain things. Now it is past all doubt, that the kingdom was full of people who suspected that Henry IV had a mind to make the Reformed religion triumphant as soon as he could, and that he undertook a war against the house of Austria only upon this prospect. Thus Ravaillac reasoning upon the principles of Mariana, and joining to them, according to custom, a sense of *accommodation*, might very well believe, that he had no less a right than James Clement. There were but too many learned men, and in his judgment very prudent, who confirmed him in his pernicious design, and that for the good of religion. See in the remark [K] his answer to them who asked him why he had committed this assassination, and remember that he declared before the judges, that his 'resolution 'to kill the king was because that prince had not 'endeavoured (as he had power) to reduce those of the 'pretended Reformed religion, to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church (56), and because he had 'heard that the king intended to make war against 'the Pope, and translate the holy see to Paris (57); 'for making war against the Pope, said he (58), was 'to make war against GOD, in as much as the Pope 'was GOD, and GOD was the Pope.'

(54) Coton, Letter declaratory, *pag.* 13.

(55) Apologetical Answer to the *Anti-Coton*, *pag.* 30.

(56) The French Mercury, *Tom. i, fol.* 440. See also *fol.* 442, *verso.*

(57) *Ibid. fol.* 442, *verso.*

(58) *Ibid. fol.* 443.

A Catholic writer, who refuted the declaratory letter written by Father Coton, in a book intituled Anti-Coton (59), informs me of some things which deserve a place here. 'This book of 'Mariana, *says he* (60), having been first printed at 'Toledo, was brought into France about eight years 'ago, and presented to the king; and the seditious 'clauses of this book being represented to his majesty, 'he called for Father Coton and asked him, whether 'he approved of this doctrine. But the said Jesuit, 'who complies with occasions, and suits himself to 'the times, said, that he did not at all approve it. 'According to which answer, his majesty, by the 'advice of Monsieur Servin his advocate general, 'commanded Coton to write against it; but he excused himself, knowing very well, that he could 'not write against it without contradicting the general of the order, and the provincial of Toledo, 'and a great body of Jesuits who had approved this 'book. And now he sees that by the death of 'this king, the Jesuits are loaded with an universal hatred, and that he is urged by the court of parliament, 'and by the Sorbonne, he has written an epistle declaratory, wherein he condemns Mariana, but in 'terms so soft and doubtful, that it plainly appears he 'is afraid of offending him, saying only, that it is the '*rashness of a bold pen*, whereas he ought to have accused the person of Heresy, and perfidious and barbarous treason, and the doctrine of impiety and enmity to GOD and men. And if he had reproved 'Mariana, as he deserves, it had been too late; but 'he should have written when the king commanded 'him, and not have suffered this opinion to take root 'in the minds of the people, which cost the king 'his life a few years after.' Father Coton found eight lyes in this narrative. See his apologetical answer to the Anti-Coton (61). For the rest, if the Jesuits of France were troubled upon the account of their brother Mariana, those of Germany had likewise a share in this storm, as appears by the apology which James Gretserus was obliged to publish (62). Let us add this passage of Conringius. 'Prodiit & alius ejus '*(Marianæ)* libellus *de Institutione Regis*, multa præclara continens, in quo liberrime judicat quo modo 'Reges instituendi sunt: Non dubitavit autem & aperte quoque docere, si Rex vel anathemate tactus, 'vel excommunicatus, ac nonnihil recessit à *Romana* '*Ecclesia*, licere in illum gladio, igne scilicet animadvertere. Ea tamen pietate videri voluit, ut dixerit 'Regem veneno tolli non licere, quasi vero. Combustus vero hic est liber ob talem horrendam doctrinam *Parisiis*, & coacti fuere Jesuitæ dissensum profiteri. Non dubitavit & *Mariana* Sicarium *Henrici* 'quarti Regis *Galliæ* inter Sanctos memorare (63). '*Another little treatise of* (Mariana) *was published, intituled* de Institutione Regis, *containing many remarkable things, wherein he very freely gives his judgment how kings are to be instructed: and makes no scruple, to affirm, that, if a king is either excommunicated, or hath at all differed from the* church of 'Rome, *it is lawful to destroy him, yet he would appear so pious forsooth, as to say, that it is unlawful 'to poison him. This book, for such execrable doctrine, 'was burnt at Paris, and the Jesuits were obliged to disown it. Mariana did not hesitate to reckon amongst 'the saints, the assassin of Henry IV king of France.'* I think that Conringius commits two mistakes: Mariana did not affirm that it is is lawful to kill a prince who departs never so little from the Romish communion, or who is meerly excommunicated: and since his book was printed above ten years before the death of Henry IV, he could not mention Ravaillac in it. If he had spoken of this monster in other books, as of a saint, doubtless this had been objected to the Jesuits, every time that the seditious maxims of Mariana were represented to them, since the impression of those other books; but I do not think that it was ever done. There has always been a great difference put between Ravaillac and James Clement. The latter had some persons that publickly approved him, nay, some that commended him highly; but the other never had any such that I know of. The reason of this is plain, Henry III was excommunicated when he was killed; but Henry IV had been for a long

(59) This work was falsly ascribed to the minister Peter du Moulin.

(60) *Anti-Coton* printed in 1610, *pag.* 22, 23.

(61) *Pag. m.* 3. *See also the answer of* Eudæmon Johannes, *to the* Anti-Coton, *pag.* 54.

(62) See his *Vindiciæ pertilio Hæreticæ Politicus.* Father Coton speaks of it in his Letter Declaratory, *pag.* 7, and in his Apologetical Answer, *pag.* 33.

(63) Herman. Conring. de regno Hispan. apud Pope Blount, Censura Autorum, *pag.* 614.

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and which appear the more plauſible, becauſe the book was printed with good approbations [I]. It was affirmed that Ravaillac took from it the abominable deſign he executed againſt the life of Henry IV, and that he confeſſed it in his anſwer to his interrogatories.

a long time reconciled to the Pope when he was killed.

Let us upon this occaſion make a critical remark upon Mr Seckendorf. He pretends that the doctrine of Mariana conſiſts in this, that a meer private perſon, being excited either by his own zeal or the Pope's orders, may attempt the Life of an heretical king. (64) Seckendorf, Hiſt. Lutheran. *lib. iii, pag.* 332. *num.* 68. *Dudum quoque, male audiit,* ſays he (64), *Jeſuitarum Societas propter doctrinam* Joh. Marianæ, *itidem Jeſuitæ Hiſpani, aliorumque, qui ſtatuerunt, licitum, immo laudabile eſſe, ſi quis, privatus licet aut ſubditus, Regem aut Principem hæreticum, mandato Pontificis, vel etiam ex zelo religionis quovis modo è medio tollat.* But it is certain that Mariana laid down his poſition in general terms, and ſaid nothing in particular, either of heretical princes, or the permiſſions and diſpenſations of the court of Rome; his maxims reſpect all nations and all tyrants: he excludes not from his rules the Proteſtants, who ſhould live under a tyrannical government; he excludes not from them the Mahometans nor the Pagans: he treats this queſtion altogether as Ariſtotle would have done; neither do I ſee in what Milton, and ſuch like writers, who are ſo numerous, can blame the hypotheſis of this Spaniard, unleſs they ſhould condemn the preamble which he made uſe of in favour of James Clement: but this preamble is not exactly his doctrine; it denotes only by way of conſequences, the application the author would make of his maxims (65).

(65) See what has been ſaid above, in the remark [G]; and note, that James Gretſer has ſhown, that there are books more pernicious than that of Mariana. See alſo the book intituled, *A Collection of Pieces concerning the Romiſh Doctrine and Practices of depoſing kings, and the Deſtruction of their Life and State which enſues.* Printed at Geneva, 1627, *pag.* 251, & *ſeq.*

[I] . . . . . *It was printed with good approbations.*] Peter de Onna, provincial of the regulars for the redemption of captives, having read and examined it by order of the king of Spain, praiſed it and judged it worthy to be printed. The author obtained a licence of his Catholic majeſty for ten years. Stephen Hojeda, a Jeſuit, viſitor of the province of Toledo, and authorized by the general of the ſociety, permitted the impreſſion of the work, after he knew the good teſtimony which ſome learned and grave Jeſuits gave of it. The author of the Anti-Coton took advantage of this to aſcribe the doctrine of this author to the whole ſociety. *And that you may know,* ſays he (66), *that this is not the opinion only of a few Jeſuits, in the frontiſpiece of Mariana's book, there is an approbation and permiſſion to print it, from the general of the order Aquaviva, and from Stephen Hoyeda, viſitor of the ſociety of* JESUS, *in the province of Toledo.* Moreover, in the ſame permiſſion to print it, it is ſaid †, *that before the permiſſion was granted, theſe books of Mariana were approved by learned and grave men of the order of the Jeſuits. From whence it follows, that though the general Aquaviva had been impoſed upon, (as Father Coton would make us believe, by forging letters at his pleaſure from this Aquaviva) yet the viſitor and Jeſuitical doctors, who examined the book before it was printed, could not be impoſed upon.* I ſhall here add the anſwer of Father Coton, which contains ſomething very ſurprizing. *The calumniator calls in queſtion the anſwer of the R. Father general Claudius Aquaviva; but the tenor of it, here inſerted in the margin* ‡, *will ſhow that I do not impoſe upon the reader as he does. And as to the doctors, of whom he makes ſo great a noiſe, who approved Mariana, they are no more than three; which is a much ſmaller number than that of thirty or forty, who have approved the thirteen or fourteen books of thoſe of our ſociety, who have taught and maintained the contrary to Mariana, agreeably to the council of Conſtance. And if the authority of the reverend Father General is to be alledged to this purpoſe, is it not more conſiderable in the permiſſion he gave to a great number of authors, to print the aforeſaid books, than in that ſingle permiſſion he gave to Mariana, which is nowobjected* (67)?

(66) Anti-Coton, *pag. m.* 11, 12.

† Quippe approbatos prius à viris doctis & gravibus ex eodem noſtro ordine.

‡ Ad ea quæ Congregatio Provinciæ Franciæ proponenda cenſuit: reſpondeo, Probamus judicium ac ſtudium Congregationis: & ſane doluimus vehementer, ubi aliqua hujuſmodi poſt librorum tantum editionem obſervari cognovimus, & ſtatim emendari juſſimus, & in poſterum ut caveantur ſerio monuimus, ac monituri porro ſumus.

(67) Coton's Apologetical Anſwer, *pag.* 35, 36.

That which is ſurprizing in theſe words is, that Father Coton confeſſes, that the general Aquaviva approved the book of Mariana, and licenſed the impreſſion of it. But this does not appear at the beginning of this book, where we find only that the Father Viſitor, having a ſpecial commiſſion from the general, permits the book of Mariana to be printed. This proves only that the general Aquaviva had entruſted this viſitor with the office of permitting or forbidding the impreſſion of ſuch books as were written by the Jeſuits; in conſequence whereof this viſitor allowed that Mariana ſhould publiſh this book. But, this does not prove, that the general knew either that Mariana had written *de inſtitutione principis*, or that this book contained a pernicious doctrine. There are cenſors of books in all countries, who exerciſe this office by authority from the prince, or from the biſhops, &c. If they approve a Hereſy, does it follow that the prince, or the biſhop, from whom they received their commiſſion, does alſo approve that Hereſy? By no means, unleſs it be known, either that they communicated the MS to their maſter, before it was approved, or that their approbation was ratified by him. It is very ſtrange, that neither Father Coton, nor Father Richeome (68) did ever uſe this reaſon. Their brother Eudæmon Johannes had not ſuch a miſt before his eyes in this reſpect. See what he anſwers to the author of the Anti-Coton: ‘ *p.* 15. Affirmas ‘ Marianæ librum à Generali Societatis atque à Pro- ‘ vinciali Toletano approbatum fuiſſe: pag. 23. A- ‘ pologiam meam pro Henrico Garneto editam eſſe ‘ cum approbatione Præpoſiti Generalis. Utrumque ‘ mendacium eſt. Nam moderatores noſtri libros non ‘ recognoſcunt ipſi, ſed aliis tradunt recognoſcendos ; ‘ qui ſi eos probaverint, tum demum poteſtatem eden- ‘ di faciunt. . . . . Neque difficilis eſt forma diplo- ‘ matis, quod legitur in libro Marianæ, cujus edendi ‘ poteſtatem Generalis non fecit, ſed Viſitator, non, ‘ ut tu ſcribis Provincialis, cui partes in ea re ſuas Ge- ‘ neralis delegarat, ut ſi liber is deſignatis eam ad ‘ rem Theologis probaretur, imprimendi ejus facultа- ‘ tem dare poſſet (69). - - - *You aſſirm that the book of* ‘ *Mariana hath been approved by the general of the ſocie-* ‘ *ty, and by the provincial at Toledo: pag.* 23. *that my* ‘ *defence of Henry Garnet was publiſhed with the appro-* ‘ *bation of the general. Both are falſe, for our gover-* ‘ *nors do not themſelves reviſe books, but deliver them to* ‘ *others to be examined; by whom, if approved, they are* ‘ *allowed to be publiſhed. . . . . Nor was it difficult to* ‘ *obtain the licence, which is prefixed to Mariana's book* ‘ *which was not given by the general, but the viſitor* ‘ *(not the provincial, as you ſay) whom the general* ‘ *had deputed, that, if the book had been approved by the* ‘ *examiners, he might give leave for it's publication.*’ The true way of rendring Aquaviva an accomplice to the abominable doctrine of Mariana, would be to prove that after he knew what his ſubdelegate or commiſſary had licenſed, he was content with it, and he conſented that Mariana ſhould leave in his book all that was in it. But the Jeſuits took care not to be catched this way: they acquainted the public (70), that their father-general, being advertiſed by Richeome in 1599, and by their *Fathers in France, ordered that the book of Mariana ſhould be corrected, and the public never had ſeen,* ſay they (71), *any copy without correction, had not the Heretics, who thought it would be for their advantage, preſently re-printed it.* They publiſhed a fragment of Aquaviva's letter upon this occaſion (72), and alſo the general order he ſent to all the colleges of the Jeſuits, wherein he forbids them to publiſh and teach any doctrine, which tends any wiſe to the ruin of ſovereigns (73). ‘ Præpoſitus Generalis cum de Maria- ‘ næ libro à Patribus Provinciæ Franciæ accepiſſet, ‘ reſpondit; *Primum collaudare ſe ſtudium, judicium-* ‘ *que, Provinciæ; deinde ægerrime tuliſſe, quod libri ii* ‘ *ante emiſſi eſſent, quam ejus rei quicquam ad ſe defer-* ‘ *retur. Cæterum, & ubi primum rem accepiſſet, man-* ‘ *daſſe uti corrigeretur, & ſedulo daturum operam, ne* ‘ *quid ejuſmodi in poſterum accideret.* Neque eo con- ‘ tentus (cogit enim me importunitas tua eſſerre in ‘ vulgus ea, quæ Societatis legibus vulgari non opor- ‘ teret) decretum etiam addidit vehemens & grave; ‘ ne quis è noſtris hominibus aut publice quicquam ‘ ſcriberet, doceretve; aut privatim conſilii cuiquam ‘ daret, quod in principum perniciem ulla ratione ‘ vergeret. Quod, quia vulgandi ejus Præpoſitus Ge- ‘ neralis mihi poteſtatem fecit, ipſis ejus verbis ad- ‘ ſcribam (74). - - - - *The general, when he heard of* ‘ *Mariana's book, from the Fathers of the province of* ‘ *France, anſwered*; that in the firſt place he commended

(68) Richeome, a categorical examination of the libel Anti-Coton, *chap. xix, pag.* 168, 169.

(69) Eudæmon Joannes, in Confutatione Anti-Cotoni, *pag.* 52.

(70) Richeome, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 163.

(71) Id. ib.

(72) See, above, citations (53), and ‡.

(73) Eudæmon Joannes, in the confutation of Anti-Coton, *cap. i, pag.* 39.

(74) After this we ſee in the book of *Eudæmon Joannes*, the decree of the general of the Jeſuits.

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gatories. This was publickly contradicted [K]. Another treatise of the same Jesuit has made a great noise. It is that wherein he discovers the faults in the government of his society [L]; but his brethren do not acknowledge that he is the author of such a book [M]. His scholia upon the Scripture have deserved the approbation of Father

' mended their care, and judgment, but was exceedingly displeased that this book had been published before he was acquainted with that affair. *But*, that so soon as he had been informed of it, he gave orders that it should be corrected; and that he would take care that no such thing should happen for the future. *Nor with this was he satisfied, (for your importunity forces me to utter those things, which, by the rules of the society, ought to be kept from the knowledge of the vulgar) but made a strict and severe decree; that none of our fraternity, should either publickly write or teach, or privately advise, what might in any manner tend to the destruction of princes. Which, because the general hath given me leave, I will subjoin in his own words.*' See the reflexions which are made upon all this by George Hornius, professor at Leyden (75).

(75) In Dissertation. Histor. & Politic. pag. 116, & seq.

[K] *It was affirmed that Ravaillac took from it . . . and that he confessed it in his answer to his interrogatories. This was publickly contradicted.*] The passages of Father Coton related in the remark [H] are a sufficient proof of this text; nevertheless I will add something to them. The interrogatories of Ravaillac are in the Mercure François (76) but not a word of Mariana. We find that the two days he was kept at the Hotel de Raiz, he answered to those who asked what moved him to this attempt? ' The sermons which I have ' heard, by which I learned the causes for which it was ' necessary to kill the king. *Likewise, as to the question,* ' *whether it was lawful to kill a tyrant; he knew all* ' *the evasions and distinctions about it, and it was easy* ' *to perceive, that he had been carefully instructed in* ' *this matter; for in all other points of Theology he was* ' *ignorant and wicked, sometimes saying a thing, and* ' *sometimes denying it?*' This is no proof that he had read Mariana's book; for he might have learned either by word of mouth, or by reading several other books, whether printed, or in MS, all the principles of this Spanish Jesuit. It is very possible that this propositon may be true, *Such an one knows perfectly the maxims of Mariana, and yet he knows not that there was such an author as Mariana.* To prove therefore that Ravaillac had read this Jesuit's book, there must be stronger reasons than this, *he knew the doctrine of this writer*; there must be other arguments than this passage of the Mercure François (77). ' The day of this exe- ' cution (78), because Ravaillac in all his answers to ' the questions which the archbishop of Aix, the ' preacher Coëffeteau, and several others put to him ' during his imprisonment, about the parricide he had ' committed, helped himself out very subtly, by the ' maxims of Mariana, and others, who have written, ' That it is lawful to kill tyrants: Before they pro- ' ceeded to a new prohibition of such books, the ' court defired the consultation of the faculty of The- ' ology, and enjoyned the dean and syndic, &c." Note, That altho' they had been most certain, that the assassin had never read Mariana; yet the remonstrance might very reasonably be made to the Jesuits, which the abbot du Bois made to them from the pulpit. They complained of it to the queen, and accused this abbot: ' That during the octaves of ' the Holy Sacrament, when he preached at St ' Eustachius's church, in handling the question, *whe-* ' *ther it is lawful to kill tyrants*, and refuting the ' book of Mariana and others, he had made an ex- ' hortation to the Fathers Jesuits, *That they should for* ' *the future take great care, that the author who might* ' *give offence to France, should come forth with the name* ' *of their society, and the approbation of their superiors,* ' *unless they had a mind designedly to expose themselves to* ' *dangers, which all their prudence, supported by the au-* ' *thority of their friends, could not avoid.* These are ' the principal points of accusation, upon which they ' told the queen, that these words had almost excited ' an insurrection against the Jesuits. The bishop of ' Paris was ordered to examine the same abbot, who ' told him in his vindication, that it was neither enmity ' nor malice against the Jesuits, or others, that moved ' him to preach as he had done, but the dreadful ' horror and unspeakable grief he had for the sur- ' prising death of his very good master, and the pro- ' bability of danger to which the king and queen ' were exposed, as long as the cursed books of Ma- ' riana, and others, were spread among the people: ' which being understood by the bishop, he dismissed ' him, after he had given him a gentle admonition to ' live in amity with all the other servants of God, ' and chiefly with the Jesuits; and to continue to ' preach the obedience due to the king and queen, ' and to praise the high merits of the deceased ' king, without offending any body (79).'

(76) Tom. i, fol. 440, & seq.

(77) Mercure François, Tom. i, fol. 457.

(78) That is, of Ravaillac.

(79) Ibid. fol. 493.

[L] *The book wherein he discovers the faults in the government of his society.*] While the duke of Lerma detained him prisoner for the causes above mentioned (80), all his papers were rigidly examined by Francis Sosa, bishop of Osma, and counsellor of state, who had orders to destroy all the MSS he should find there, wherein the negligence of the king, and the tricks of the duke of Lerma were censured. This bishop found a book written with Mariana's own hand *del Govierno de la Compania de Jesus*, (of the government of the society of Jesus) wherein the author represented the deadly mischiefs wherewith the society was threatned, unless they corrected the faults in their government; concerning which he offered very good advices. The bishop of Osma made no scruple to give this MSS to his friends to read, and to permit them to take copies of it. Hence it came to pass, that this book fell into the hands of some person (81) who sent it into France, Germany, and Italy. A French Bookseller printed it not only in Spanish, which was the language of the original, but also in Latin, French, and Italian. As soon as it was carried to Rome, the Jesuit Floravanti, confessor to Urban VIII, read it and cryed out, Heu! heu! actum est de nobis Jesuitis, quando nimis vera sunt quæ liber hic cantat. *Alas! alas! we Jesuits are undone, since it is too true what is said in this book.* The general of the Jesuits spared no pains to obtain the condemnation of this book, which at last was granted in 1631 (82). The author I cite alledges some passages of this book of Mariana. You may find it intire in Spanish and French in the second tome of the Mercure Jesuite, printed at Geneva in 1630, and you may see the whole sixth chapter of it in the *Arcana Societatis Jesu*, printed at the same place in 1635. Father Alegambe could not pass over in silence this book of Mariana; which he mentions after this manner. ' Circumfertur præterea Hispanicè, Gallicè, Ita- ' licè, Latinè, excusus, *Discursus de erroribus, qui* ' *in forma gubernationis Societatis Jesu occurrunt, constant* ' 20 captibus. Burdigalæ per Joannem de Bordeos ' 1625, in 8vo, & alibi. Sed is clam illi subductus à ma- ' levolo quopiam ad conciliandam societati invidiam, ' extrusus in lucem est; adjectis etiam fortasse non pau- ' cis, ut prorsum est existimare, ab ipsius observationi- ' bus atque animo alienis (83). *Moreover there is handed* ' *about, a* discourse of the errors in the manner of the ' government of the society of Jesus, *in Spanish, French,* ' *Italian, Latin, consisting of twenty chapters, printed at* ' *Bourdeaux by Johan. de Bordeos, in* 8vo. 1625, *and* ' *elsewhere. But being taken from him by stealth, by some* ' *malicious person, it was published to procure hatred to* ' *the society, with not a few additions, perhaps, as may* ' *readily be judged foreign to his observations and opinion.*' ' Conringius is greatly mistaken, when he says that Mariana himself published the book. Tantam liber- ' tatem sibi assumpsit ut & libellum ediderit de membris ' (84) societatis, quem licet supprimerent Jesuitæ, ' tamen in media Roma editum esse constat: rarissimus ' hodie est inventu (85). - - - *He assumed such liberty* ' *to himself, as to publish a small piece concerning* ' *errors of the society, which though suppressed by the* ' *Jesuits, yet it is known to have been published in Rome:* ' *it is rarely now to be found.*' I can hardly believe that it was printed at Rome, though Conringius affirms it.

(80) In the remark [E].

(81) And particularly into the hands of Nicolas Ricardius, a Dominican, surnamed *the Monster*, upon the account of his great wit and learning. *Bernardin Giraldus, ubi infra.*

(82) *Taken from* Bernardin Giraldus, Apologia pro Senatu Veneto, *pag. m.* 104, & *seq.*

(83) Alegambe, *pag.* 258, *col.* 2.

(84) Perhaps it should be *Moribus*, or *Morbis.*

(85) Conringius, de Regno Hisp. apud Pope Blount, Cens. Autor. *pag.* 614.

[M] The Jesuits *do not acknowledge that Mariana is the author of such a book.*] This appears from the affair wherein they were concerned in 1697, which made a great noise. The archbishop of Reims published

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Father Simon [*N*]. I had forgot to obſerve, that his ſpeaking ill of Henry III, was partly the cauſe that his book of the Inſtitution of a Prince was condemned at Paris [*O*].

I queſtion

liſhed a very learned decree the 15th of July in that year, againſt two Theſes which had been maintained by the Jeſuits of Reims, and made uſe of the treatiſe of *John Mariana, of ſuch things which require amendment (§ a) in the ſociety of the Jeſuits* (86). He ſays (87), that the Spaniſh author, who lived in the time of the congregations *de auxiliis*, informs us of the ſad conſequences that followed, from the liberty which Molina, and ſo many others, took to publiſh their viſions . . . . . Marina ſays therefore in chap. 4. ‘ *That from the liberty every one took in teaching his own opinions, there followed many contentions with the Dominicans*, and he declares, *that the Jeſuits had better have owned them for their maſters.* He adds, *That upon occaſion of a book which Father Molina wrote about Grace and Free-will, theſe Fathers were ſo much offended, that they had recourſe to the Inquiſition, and from thence to Rome*, where he ſays, *That at the time of his writing, the proceſs ſtill continued, and was managed with great obſtinacy and paſſion; and that though the Jeſuits ſhould come off victorious, which was very doubtful, yet it would coſt them many great ſums, beſides the vexation of many years.*’ I paſs by the other extracts out of the ſame book, which are to be found in the decree of this prelate. But let us ſee the Jeſuits anſwer to him. They alledged at firſt two or three arguments, and then they proceeded after this manner (88). ‘ But, My Lord, without ſo much arguing, I ought to tell you, that this book did not deſerve the honour to be cited in a great archbiſhop’s Paſtoral Letter. This, is, in few words, the hiſtory of it, as it is related by our adverſaries, the truth of which I do not, however, pretend to vouch. This MSS, ſay they, was taken from Mariana, when he was put in priſon at Madrid, for another book he wrote about the alteration of coin, and wherewith the miniſters of Spain, and chiefly the duke of Lerma, were much offended. The thing happened in 1609, or 1610. By this it appears, that the enemies of the Jeſuits kept the MS for the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen years; that is, during all the remainder of the life Mariana, who might have diſowned it, either as a ſuppoſititious or falſified book. It was not printed till 1625, immediately after the death of this Father, who died in 1624, being about ninety years of age. This ſingle circumſtance renders this book much ſuſpected, and ſome books have been accounted ſuppoſititious for weaker reaſons. It was printed only to defame our ſociety; and can it be doubted, that they did not at leaſt alter and add many things in it? But that which puts the cheat out of all doubt, is this, that the original was never produced, nor the place named where it was, although the Jeſuits at that time preſently complained of it as a forgery. In effect, the very place which is cited in the Paſtoral Letter, is ſo contrary to the notions of Mariana, in the matter *de Auxiliis*, that we muſt believe him mad, if we believe it to be his. For he is made to ſay in this place, that the Jeſuits had done better, as to the controverſy about Grace, ‡ *to own the Dominicans for their maſters*, than to contend with them. * And Mariana in his book intituled, *De morte & immortalitate*, which he wrote in the greateſt heat of theſe diſputes, as he himſelf obſerves, ſhowed ſo ſtrong a byaſs againſt the doctrine of the Thomiſts, that Molina himſelf could not have done more.’ See the margin (89).

[*N*] *His ſcholia upon the Scripture have deſerved the approbation of Father Simon.*] ‘ The ſcholia, or notes of Mariana, upon the Old Teſtament, may alſo be very uſeful for underſtanding the literal ſenſe of the Scripture, becauſe he chiefly applies himſelf to find out the proper ſignification of the Hebrew words. Thus at the beginning of Geneſis, he has judiciouſly obſerved, that the Hebrew word *bara*, which is commonly tranſlated *to create*, does not properly ſignify *to make out of nothing*, as is commonly believed; and that even the Greek and Latin authors, who invented the word *to create*, could not uſe it in this ſenſe, for as much as that which is now called creation, the production of a thing out of nothing, was altogether unknown to them. Although theſe notes are ſhort enough, yet he might have avoided ſome remarks, which ſerve only to ſhow his learning, and not to explain the text. Yet this ſort of digreſſions happen to him but ſeldom, and we may ſay, that Mariana is one of the ableſt and moſt judicious ſchollaſts that we have upon the Bible. It is true, that he had but a moderate knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues; but the penetration of his wit, and his great application, ſupplied in ſome meaſure this want. He commonly made choice of the beſt ſenſe, neither is he tedious in the different interpretations he relates (90).’ In another book Father Simon ſays (91). ‘ As for Mariana, his notes upon the new teſtament are true ſcholia, wherein there appears no leſs judgment than learning . . . . (92) It were to be wiſhed, that the obſervations of this learned man had not been ſo ſhort. Nevertheleſs, he ſays much in a few words.’ See alſo what the ſame author (93) ſays about the book of Mariana *for the vulgar edition.*

[*O*] *His ſpeaking ill of king Henry* III, *was partly the cauſe that his book of the Inſtitution of a Prince, was condemned at Paris.*] This is manifeſt by the tenor of the decree of parliament. ‘ The court having ſeen . . . the book of John Mariana, intituled *de Regia & Regis inſtitutione*, printed at Mentz (94), and other places, containing ſeveral blaſphemies againſt the deceaſed king Henry III, of moſt happy memory; the perſons and ſtates of ſovereign kings and princes, and other propoſitions, contrary to the ſaid decree . . . The ſaid court hath ordained, and doth ordain . . . That the ſaid book of Mariana ſhall be burnt by the publick executioner, before the church of Paris . . . Done in parliament, June 8, 1610.’ If Mariana had only ſaid, that Henry III, in his elder years, had ſtained all the glory he acquired in his youth, he could not have been blamed; for it is certain, that no prince ever became more unlike himſelf than he was. ‘ Felix futurus, ſi cum primis ultima contexuiſſet, talemque ſe principem præſtitiſſet, qualis ſub Carolo fratre rege fuiſſe credebatur adverſus perduelliones copiarum bellique dux: qui illi gradus ad regnum Poloniæ fuit procerum ejus gentis ſuffragio. Sed ceſſerunt prima poſtremis, bonaque juventæ major ætas flagitio obliteravit. Defuncto fratre revocatus in patriam, rexque Galliæ renunciatus, omnia in ludibrium vertit (95). - - - - - *Happy would he have been, if the latter part of his life had been anſwerable to its beginning, and had he ſhewn himſelf to be ſuch a prince, as he was believed to be a general, under the reign of his brother king Charles againſt the rebels: upon which account it was that he was elected king of Poland by the votes of the nobility. But the virtues of his youth were obliterated by the wickedneſs of his more advanced age. His brother being dead he ſucceeded, and turned all things into confuſion.*’ There was not a greater difference between Hector victorious over Patroclus, and his carcaſe, dragged by a chariot (96), than between the duke of Anjou victorious at Moncontour, and Henry III beſet by monks and minions, and forced to quit Paris to the duke of Guiſe. Debauchery firſt began to enervate his courage; but bigotry made him perfectly effeminate

(96) In ſomnis, ecce, ante oculos mœſtiſſimus Hector
Viſus adeſſe mihi, largoſque effundere fletus;
Raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento
Pulvere, perque pedes trajectus lora tumentes.
Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore; qui redit exuvias indutus Achillei,
Vel Danaûm Phrygios jaculatus puppibus ignes!
Virgil. Æneid. lib. ii, ver. 270.

When Hector's ghoſt before my ſight appears:
A bloody ſhroud be ſeem'd, and bath'd in tears.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Swoln were his feet, as when the thongs were thruſt
Through the bor'd holes, his body black with duſt.
Unlike that Hector, who return'd from toils
Of war triumphant in Æacian ſpoils:
Or him, who made the fainting Greeks retire,
And launch'd againſt their navy Phrygian fire.
Dryden.

His

(§ a) Read therefore *mendis* in Conringius, and not *moribus* nor *morbis*. Rem. Crit.]

(86) The Ordonnance of Charles Maurice Tellier, *page* 55, Delft Edit. 1698.

(87) Ib. *pag.* 57.

(88) A remonſtrance to the lord archbiſhop of Reims, *pag. m.* 157, *&c.*

‡ Pag. 57.

* *Marianæ Opuſcula, pag.* 415, 416, 430, 431, *&c.*

(89) Colomiés, Biblioth. Choiſie, *pag.* 174, *of the ſecond edition obſerves, that Augustin de Mauleon, Sieur de Granier, tranſlated into French*, The Treatiſe of Father Mariana about the Reformation of the government of the Jeſuits. *See concerning this Mr Granier*, Hiſtory of the French Academy, *pag.* 225.

(90) Critical Hiſt. of the Old Teſtament, *book iii, cap. xii, pag. m.* 426.

(91) Critical Hiſt. of the principal commentators of the New Teſtament, *cap. xlii, pag.* 637.

(92) Ibid. *p.* 639.

(93) Critical Hiſt. of the Old Teſtament, *book iii, cap. xviii, pag.* 463.

(94) By Balthazar Lippius, 1605. That which I uſe is of the year 1611. *Typis Wechelianis apud hæredes Joannis Aubrii.*

(95) Mariana de Rege, *lib. i, cap. vi, pag. m.* 54.

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I queſtion whether he wrote the book *de Republica Chriſtiana*, which a German writer praiſes very much [*P*].

His fraternities of Penitents, and their ſack-cloths bring to my mind this place of Mr *Deſpreaux*:

Dans ce ſac ridicule où Scapin s'envelope,
Je ne reconois plus l'Auteur du miſantrope.

I cannot any longer, under this ſack-cloth, under this Equipage of a falſe penitent, diſcern that brave warriour who triumphed over the Proteſtants at Jarnac and Moncontour, and who deſerved the ſuffrages of the Polanders for a great kingdom. *Ultima primis obſtant, diſſimiles hic vir & ille puer.* But Mariana did not confine himſelf to the obſervation of this change.

Note, however, that it is falſly aſſerted in the laſt edition of Moreri's Dictionary (97), *that he publiſhed the book* de Rege & Regis inſtitutione, *to juſtify the aſſaſſination of Henry* III, *king of France*. That was not his deſign. He treated the matter according to the extent of the title of his book. What concerns the authority he gives to ſubjects over tyrannical kings, is but a very ſmall part of this Book, and he does not ſpeak of Henry III but occaſionally, and in few words.

(97) That of Paris, 1699.

[*P*] *I queſtion whether he wrote the book* de Republica Chriſtiana, *which a German writer praiſes very much.*] He ſays, that it is an excellent work publiſhed by John Mariana in Spaniſh, in 1615, and dedicated to Philip III king of Spain; and that after ſeveral other things ingeniouſly invented, and wiſely propoſed (98), he gives a deſcription of the head of a good prince, with the lawful uſe of his five external ſenſes. If the Jeſuit Mariana had publiſhed ſuch a book, would the Bibliographers of the ſociety, and Don Nicolas Antonio have paſſed it over in ſilence?

(98) Poſt multa alia ingenioſe excogitata cordateque prolata. *Andreas Carolus, Abbas Sangeorgianus in Ducatu Wirtembergico Memorab. Eccleſ. ſæculi xvii, lib. ii. cap. xxvi, pag.* 388. He cites Selenian. Aug. J. V. A. *pag.* 393, *& ſeq.* 449 *pl. Note, that the book he cites is the ſame I have cited above, remark* [*D*] *of the article* DURER, *citation* (12).

MARY, or MIRIAM, the ſiſter of Aaron and Moſes, makes no inconſiderable figure in the Scripture twice or thrice at leaſt. She was the cauſe why her mother was choſen by the daughter of Pharaoh to be nurſe to Moſes [*A*]. She put herſelf at the head of all the women of Iſrael after the paſſage through the Red-Sea, in order to ſing the ſame ſong that the men had ſung [*B*]. She joined with her brother Aaron in murmuring

[*A*] *She was the cauſe that her mother was choſen to be nurſe to Moſes.*] The ſcripture relates, that after he was expoſed, his ſiſter kept at a diſtance to ſee (1) what would become of him, and that ſhe ſaid to Pharaoh's daughter, who had the child brought to her, *Shall I go and call to thee a nurſe of the Hebrew women, that ſhe may nurſe the child for thee* (2). And that after ſhe had received an anſwer, ſhe fetched her mother, who had orders to nurſe him. Joſephus thinking that this ſtory was not ſufficiently circumſtantiated, ſuppoſes that the daughter of Pharaoh employed at firſt Egyptian nurſes, but that the infant would not ſuck any of them; and that Mary feigning to come there only out of curioſity, repreſented to the princeſs, that it was to no purpoſe to fetch any nurſe but one of the Hebrew women, and that it would be well done to try whether it would be more tractable with a woman of that nation. The young maid had orders to ſeek out one, and ſhe fetched her mother, and becauſe the child ſucked her freely, ſhe was appointed his nurſe (3). This ſupplement of circumſtances is not ill contrived, although it multiplies miracles a little. Note, that there are ſome commentators, who think, that even according to the relation of holy Scripture, there is a lie in the words of this infant's ſiſter; for ſhe feigned that ſhe would go and ſeek out another woman than her mother. Upon this occaſion they relate to us all the examples of officious or pious frauds that we read in the ſacred writers, that of Rebecca, Rachel, Michal, *&c.* and conclude, that there are ſubtile tricks that are commendable, and a deceitfulneſs that is of neceſſary uſe, not only in the profeſſion of arms, and the political adminiſtration, but alſo in domeſtic affairs (4). This you will find in the commentary of the Franciſcan John Nodinus on the ſecond of Exodus, and he grounds it upon the authority of St Baſil, and St John Damaſcen. But this is altogether impertinent; for our Mary did nothing contrary to ſincerity, ſhe denied not that the woman ſhe would fetch was her mother: She only did not confeſs it, becauſe ſhe was not aſked about it, nor obliged upon any account to tell what ſhe knew. The defenders of equivocations cannot find any thing here that favours them.

(1) Exod. ii, 4.

(2) Ib. ver. 7.

(3) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. ii, cap. v.

(4) Ex Joanne Nodino, Comment. in priora xv Capita Exodi, pag. 67, Edit. Lug. 1611.

[*B*] *She put herſelf at the head of all the women of Iſrael . . . . . in order to ſing the ſame ſong that the men had ſung.*] When I ſpeak thus, I confine myſelf to the order of the narrative in the ſcripture. You ſee in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, the whole ſong which Moſes and the children of Iſrael ſung, after the deſtruction of the army of Pharaoh, and then you read this: *And Mary the propheteſs, the ſiſter of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Mary anſwered them, ſing ye to the Lord,* &c (5). The word *præcinebat* in the vulgar Latin, ſeems to me better than the word *anſwered* in the Geneva and Engliſh verſions; for it is very probable that Mary begun and ſet the ſong and led the dance of the women. Conſult Philo who ſuppoſes that Moſes appointed two choirs, one of men, and the other of women, and that himſelf directed the muſic in the former, and gave the management of the other to his ſiſter, and that theſe two chorus's anſwered one another. There are ſome who think, that Moſes, either alone, or with the men, ſung the ſong, and that the others ſung only the beginning of it, which they repeated from time to time like the chorus of it. 'Oleaſter hæc ſcribit. *Crediderim equidem, Moſen & viros Hebræos Canticum hoc incæpiſſe, fœminas vero reſpondiſſe: ita quod Moſes aut ſolus, aut ſimul cum viris Canticum proſequebatur, fœminæ vero reſpondebant ſeu repetebant illud exordium Cantici* Cantemus Domino, *ut conſtat ex fine hujus Cantici, ubi talia verba repetuntur à Maria. Hoc enim ſolebat in aliis etiam Canticis fieri, ut patet in Pſal.* cxxxv. *ubi unus aut duo dicebant:* Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in æternum miſericordia ejus. *Et deinceps proſequebantur alios verſus: Cœtus autem aliorum repetebat ſemper illud:* Quoniam in æternum miſericordia ejus. *Idem quoque obſervare licet in primo libro Samuelis capite decimo octavo. Solebant enim Prophetæ choros canentium ducere, dum laudes Dei celebrarent.* Sic Oleaſter. *Philo tamen in libro tertio de vita Moſis, ait, Moſen diſtribuiſſe omnem populum in duos choros, unum virorum, in quo ipſe viris præibat Carmen: alterum, in quo ſoror ejus Maria præcinebat fœminis. Ergo Moſes prior quemlibet verſum hujus Cantici canebat, & deinde populus eundem verſum cantabat. Sed enim idem Philo in libro de Agricultura, ſcribit, factos eſſe duos choros: unum mulierum: alterum virorum, è diverſo ſtantes, & alternis carminibus ſibi invicem reſpondentes* (6). - - - - - *Thus Oleaſter writes:* I ſhould indeed have thought, that Moſes and the Hebrew men began this ſong, and the women anſwered: and that Moſes, either alone or together with the men, proceeded with the ſong, the women anſwering or repeating that beginning, *Let us ſing unto the Lord*; as appears by the end of this ſong, where ſuch words are ſpoken by Mary. For thus it was uſual in other ſongs to do, as may be ſeen in the cxxxv Pſalm, where one or two ſaid; *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* And then they went on with other verſes: But the other company repeated always that; *for his mercy endureth for ever.* The ſame alſo may be obſerved in the eighteenth chapter of the firſt book of Samuel. For it was the cuſtom of the prophets to lead up the company of dancers ſinging the praiſes of GOD. *Thus far Oleaſter.* But Philo, in his third book of the life of Moſes, ſays, that Moſes divided all the people into two choirs, one of the men, in which he himſelf did ſet the ſong; another wherein his ſiſter Mary did the like among the women. Moſes therefore firſt ſang every verſe, and the people after did the ſame. This ſame Philo, in his book of Agriculture, further writes, that there were two choirs appointed, one

(5) Exod. xv, 20, 21.

(6) Pererius, in *cap. xv*, Exodi Diſput. i, *pag. m.* 484.

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muring againſt Moſes [C], and was ſeverely puniſhed for doing it; for ſhe became leprous

‘ of men, the other of women, ſtanding apart, that ‘ anſwered one the other ſinging by turns every other ‘ verſe.’ A modern Poet (7) fancies, that this great prophet placed himſelf in the middle of the two chorus's, and diſtributed the parts of the ſong, and beat time with his rod. You may ſee a deſcription of the habits and geſtures of Mary, I ſay you may ſee it in this paſſage of Father Menetrier (8) ‘ After ‘ the paſſage thro' the red ſea, Moſes and Mary his ‘ ſiſter, to thank God for the preſervation of his people, ‘ and the deſtruction of the Egyptians, who were ‘ drowned in the purſuit of them, made two great ‘ chorus's ſeparated from one another, the one of ‘ men and the other of women, and danced to the ‘ tune of a ſong, wich makes the fifteenth chapter ‘ of Exodus, a ſong of thankſgiving. A modern ‘ Poet has elegantly deſcribed this dance in the ſixth ‘ book of his Poem intituled, *Moſes Viator*.

(7) It is a Jeſuit of Lyons, called *Antonius Milliæus*. See Alegambe, *pag.* 40.

(8) Menetrier, des Ballets anciens & modernes, *pag.* 9, *& ſeq.*

Nunc igitur memores animos ad Carmina mecum
Adjicite; alternis ſubſultent caſtra choreis;
Littora divinas referant ad ſidera laudes.
Sic fatus jubet in partes diſcedere turmas
Adverſiſque choris medius, geſtumque, modoſque
Dividit, & virga modulans præit Enthea verba.
Hæc poſtquam ſaltata Viris, modulataque Vate
Chironomo, paribus ſtimulis agit impetus idem
Hebræas cantare nurus, Diamque Pronæam
Tinnula concuſſis ad tympana pſallere ſiſtris.
Proſiluit ſancto Moſis ſoror excita Phœbo,
Prætexta lambente pedes, cinctuque modeſto
Caſtigante ſinus: volat alto à vertice Sindon
Carbaſina & Zephyros Zona retinente coërcet,
Subtileſque tument telæ pellentibus auris,
Cœrula jam niveos compeſcit tænia crines,
Saltibus extremæ volitant per tempora vittæ.
Aſſultant digitiſque pedes, pulſuque moventur
Ora, pedes, digitique pari, non mollia ceſſant
Brachia, non humeri, aut cervix, à corpore toto
Vox ſonat, & cunctis loquitur Symphonia membris.
Exiliunt paribus ſtudiis examina matrum
Virgineique greges, hæ ſiſtra ſonantia pulſant
Hæ citharas & plectra movent, hæ nablia carpunt:
Nec vultus torſiſſe pudor, caſta omnia caſti
Obſequii decorat pietas. Jocabethia virgo
Inchoat, & geſtu cantum comitante figurat *.

* *Anton. Milliæus, lib. vi, Moſis Viatoris.*

Now therefore join in grateful ſong again,
And whilſt alternate meaſures mark the plain,
Let diſtant ſhores reſound the praiſe of GOD.
He ſaid; the hoſt divided at his nod;
Plac'd in the midſt, the prophet marks the bounds
Of graceful motions, and alternate ſounds;
His ruling rod the words divine precedes,
Directs the ſacred ſtrain, the meaſure leads:
Taught by the ſeer, the men firſt raiſe the ſong,
And to the notes divine the dance prolong,
With equal warmth the Hebrew matrons ſtrove,
Urg'd by their grateful zeal to ſing their love:
But chief the heav'n-inſpir'd MIRIAM *tries*
With voice and cymbal to aſcend the ſkies;
Fill'd with her GOD, *the ſiſter prophet ſprings,*
Whilſt at her feet her flowing robes ſeem wings;
Her garb in decent folds her form contains;
High o'er her head the flying lawn reſtrains
Zephyr's ſoft breath, that ſwells the floating veil
Far as the Zone admits the ſportive gale.
Her ſilver locks, in azure fillets bound,
Wave as ſhe leaps, and ſport her temples round;
Her artful fingers and her active feet
Vye with her looks in a diſpute ſo ſweet:
Not tender arms, nor neck, nor waiſt, ſhe ſpares;
Her ev'ry part breathes muſic's ſofteſt airs:
Such ſweet conſent in all ſhe does is found,
Motion ſeems harmony, and geſture ſound.
Intent on the ſame arts the matron-throng,
And virgin-tribe, repeat the dance and ſong.
Some ſtrike the ſounding cymbal, ſome the lyre;
Theſe the ſoft lute, and thoſe the harp inſpire;
Nor bluſh, whilſt ſinging, the diſtorted face,
Duty their charm, and piety their grace.
The ſacred virgin, ſprung from Jacob's line,
Leads the ſoft choir, inſtructs it when to join,
And ſuits her motions to the ſtrain divine.

Here follows another paſſage of the ſame writer, which contains many things that do not relate to Mary; but ſince the whole is curious, I will not ſeparate what concerns the ſong in which ſhe bore a part from the reſt. ‘ It is the moſt ancient ſong (9) we have, and ‘ the greateſt part of the interpreters of this ſong are ‘ of opinion, that it is the firſt compoſition in Muſic, ‘ which appeared three hundred years before the ‘ birth of Linus and Orpheus, whom the Grecians ‘ make the fathers of their Poetry (10). This ſong ‘ is a meer narrative; but that which we have in the ‘ thirty-fecond chapter of Deuteronomy, has all the ‘ beauties of Poetry and of ſublime Eloquence. God ‘ commanded Moſes to write this ſong the day before ‘ his death, to ſerve for the condemnation of the ‘ people of the Jews, whoſe ingratitude was exceed- ‘ ing great. This faithful miniſter of the will of ‘ God, did not only write but ſing it: And as the ‘ author of the book of the wonders of the Scrip- ‘ ture, which is inſerted among the works of St ‘ Auſtin, thought that God wrought a miracle with ‘ reſpect to the firſt of theſe ſongs, having inſpired ‘ all the people to ſing it with a juſt harmony, and a ‘ regular conſort of ſo many voices without any confu- ‘ ſion; ſo ſome interpreters are of opinion, that God ‘ wrought another miracle with reſpect to the ſecond, ‘ by giving Moſes a voice ſo ſtrong and extenſive, ‘ as to be heard by all the people, how diſtant ſoever ‘ a great part of that prodigious multitude was from ‘ him (11).’

(9) He ſpeaks of that which was ſung after the paſſage through the Red-Sea.

(10) *Here is what Pererius ſays*, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 485, 486. Inter alias porro hujus Cantici excellentias, illa profecto perinſignis eſt, quod eſt primum omnium Canticorum, quæ fuiſſe unquam facta vel cantata, ſive in ſacris, ſive in profanis literarum monumentis proditum ſit, nam Lini, Muſæi, & Orphei, qui ante bellum Troianum fuerunt, hymnos, carmina, & cantus, plus trecentis annis poſt hoc Canticum Moſis eſſe factos, certa temporum obſervatione compertum eſt.

Note, That there is ſome probability, that Mr Herſant is not altogether of the ſame opinion with the Jeſuit Menetrier. *He hath printed a little book with this title*, the ſong of Moſes in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, explained according to the rules of Rhetoric. *He pretends that this piece which was written in Hebrew verſe, exceeds all that is moſt beautiful in this kind in prophane authors, and that Virgil and Horace, the moſt perfect patterns of fine poetry, have nothing that comes near it.* This we read in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the month of March 1700, p. 353, with this circumſtance, that *Mr Herſant is at preſent with the abbot de Louvois, and that he was before profeſſor of Rhetoric in the college of Pleſſis.* There is reaſon to believe that he looks upon the ſong of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, as more beautiful than that in chap. xxxii of Deuteronomy. And this is not the opinion of the Jeſuit Menetrier. We ſhall conclude with cenſuring a miſtake of Mr Simon, who ſays that the ſong in chap. xv of Exodus was compoſed by Mary (12).

(11) Menetrier, Repreſentations en Muſique, *pag.* 9, 10.

(12) Simon's Dictionary of the Bible, *pag.* 514. Note, that this Simon is different from him who wrote the Critical Hiſtory of the Bible.

[C] *She joined with her brother Aaron in murmuring againſt Moſes.*] The ſcripture relates this in theſe words: *And Miriam and Aaron ſpoke againſt Moſes, becauſe of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman: And they ſaid, hath the Lord indeed ſpoken by Moſes? hath not he alſo ſpoken by us* (13)*?* In our age many readers complain, that a thing is not written ſhort enough, and accuſe all authors of prolixity, who do not leave the beſt of their thoughts to be gueſſed at. Such readers would find theſe two verſes of Moſes admirable, tho' they ſhould not believe them inſpired by God; for things are expreſſed there by halves, and parted from one another by a great gap. There are many connections wanting, which they muſt ſupply, and ſince they love this exerciſe, they may here find matter for ſuch an agreeable employment. The words of the ſacred author, which I have related, are equivalent to theſe: *Mary and Aaron ſpoke ill of Moſes, becauſe of his marriage with an Ethiopian woman, and their evil-ſpeaking was expreſſed after this manner, Does none propheſy but he? If he is a prophet we are ſo too.* We do not ſee at firſt how

(13) Numb. *ch. xii, ver.* 1, 2.

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leprous, and was ſeparated from the camp for the ſpace of ſeven days (*a*). She would not have been delivered from this affliction, if Moſes had not implored the mercy of GOD. She died before her two brethren (*b*), and in the ſame year with them, and was interred with pomp, and at the expence of the public in the mountain of Sin (*c*). It is believed that ſhe lived a hundred and thirty years, or thereabout. The Rabbins make a ridiculous remark, becauſe the ſacred text does not contain the ſame clauſe concerning the death of Mary, as concerning that of her two brothers [*D*]. He that would know the reſemblance there is between this ſiſter of Moſes, and the Pagan goddeſſes needs only read Mr Huet's demonſtration (*d*).

(*a*) Numb. chap. xi.

(*b*) Ib. chap. xx.

(*c*) Joſeph. Antiq. *lib. iv, cap. iv, pag. m.* 109.

(*d*) Huet. Demonſtrat. Evangel. *prop. iv, cap. x, pag. m.* 252, *& ſeq. &* in præfat. fol. *C. ii, verſo.*

how the wife of Moſes was the cauſe of theſe interrogations? The leap is a little too great from the principle to the conſequence, and the mind is divided into divers conjectures to find the connexion or relation between theſe things. I think the famous Toſtatus did not conjecture amiſs, who ſuppoſes that Sephora, the wife of Moſes, was proud of the glory and prophetic authority of her huſband, and from thence took occaſion to inſult her ſiſter-in-law, and affected to exalt the merit of her huſband above that of Aaron. The ſiſter-in-law, and the brother-in-law, having no better way to humble her pride, criticized upon the marriage of Moſes with a woman of another nation, and boaſted that they had a ſhare in propheſy as well as he. 'Veriſimile eſt, quod ait 'Abulenſ. Sephoram more muliebri (hic enim ſexus, 'cum ſit imbecillis ingenii & judicii, ambitioſus eſt, '& ſui honoris ſtudioſus) voluiſſe ſe præferre Mariæ, 'eo quod uxor eſſet Moſis, Moſenque ſuum, quaſi 'populi ducem, verbis extuliſſe, ac præpoſuiſſe Ma'riæ & Aaroni: qua re primum concitata Maria, de'inde Aaron, ſe erigere cœperunt, volentes ſe non 'tantum Sephoræ, ſed & Moſi æquare, jactitando ſe 'tam nobiles eſſe prophetas, quam erat Moſes. Id 'ita eſſe, colligitur tum ex v. ſeq. tum ex v. 6. ubi 'Deus hanc murmuris cauſam indicat, & præſcindit, 'docetque eos in ambitione ſua falli; eo quod Moſes 'præſtantiſſimus, fideliſſimus, Deoque familiariſſimus 'ſit propheta, cui nec quis alius comparari poſſit (14). '---- *It is probable, that Zipporah (as is the cuſtom 'of her ſex, who are of weak underſtanding and 'judgment, and ambitious of honour) would prefer 'her ſelf to Mary becauſe ſhe was the wife of Moſes, 'whom ſhe extolled as being the leader of the people, 'and more honourable than Mary and Aaron: whereby 'firſt Mary and then Aaron being ruffled, began to ſhew 'their reſentment, equalizing themſelves, not only to Zip'porah, but even to Moſes himſelf; boaſting that they 'were not leſs excellent prophets than was Moſes. 'That this matter was as now repreſented, may be 'collected both from the following, and from the ſixth 'verſe, where GOD takes notice of the cauſe, re'proves their ambition, and tells them that Moſes was 'the moſt excellent and moſt faithful prophet, whom 'he admitted to the greateſt familiarity with himſelf, 'and to whom no other was to be compared.*' This ſuppoſition of Toſtatus connects the disjointed pieces, and diſpels the obſcurity in the reaſoning of the ſacred hiſtorian. Note, That there are ſome commentators who maintain, that Sephora might be called an Ethiopian, tho' ſhe was of Arabia (15): But others pretend (16), that the ſeventy interpreters, and the author of the vulgar Latin, did not underſtand the true ſenſe of the Hebrew word, which they have tranſlated an Ethiopian woman. Note alſo, that this chapter of the book of Numbers is proper to prove, that the title of a propheteſs, which is given to Mary in chap. xv of Exodus, did belong to her properly, and according to the higheſt ſignification of the word; that is, that ſhe had a ſhare in the divine inſpiration (17).

(14) Corn. à Lapide in Exod. *cap. xii, ver. 1. pag. m.* 356.

(15) *See* Cornelius à Lapide, ib.

(16) See Mr le Clerc upon this place of the book of Numbers.

(17) *See* Rivet. in Exod. *cap. xv, ver. 20. Oper. Tom. i, pag.* 963.

[*D*] *The ſame clauſe concerning the death of Mary, as concerning that of the two brethren.*] This clauſe in the verſion of Geneva ſignifies, that Aaron and Moſes died *according to the command of GOD*; but the Jews pretend it ſignifies *by the mouth of GOD*, as if the breath of GOD had gently drawn out their ſoul. They add, that Mary died not after this manner, which is not fit for the feminine ſex, and that the worm has no power over thoſe who die ſo. What impertinence is here! *De Moſe quidem*, Deut. cap. xxxiv. ver. 5. *De Aharone autem*, Numb. cap. xxxiii. ver. 38. *dicitur, quod mortui ſint* על פי יהוה ad os, *i. in oſculo*, Domini, *quaſi anima eorum ipſius Dei halitu ſuaviſſime rapta fuerit. De eorum ſorore Mirjam dicunt, eam mortuam quidem* בנשיקה *ſed non* על פי יהוה ad os Domini, *quaſi hæc locutio ſequiori ſexui non conveniat. In hos vero vermem non habuiſſe poteſtatem in libro Jalkut legitur* (18). The Pagan ſuperſtition is well known, which made kinſmen apply their mouths to that of dying perſons. See the commentators of Virgil upon theſe words of Dido's ſiſter:

(18) Lomeier. genial. dierum decad. i, *pag.* 337, 338. *I have twice corrected the numbers; there is in the original* xxxii *inſtead of* xxxiv, *and* xxiii *for* xxxiii.

----- & extremus ſi quis ſuper halitus errat,
Ore legam ----- (19).

(19) Virgil. Æneid. lib. IV, ver. 684.

------ *while I in death*
Lay cloſe my lips to her's, and catch the flying breath.
DRYDEN.

All thoſe who treat *de funeribus* (20) ſpeak of this cuſtom.

(20) *See among others* Kirchmannus de Funeribus Romanorum, *lib. i, cap. v.*

MARY the Egyptian, a famous proſtitute, and a famous convert. When ſhe was twelve years old, ſhe went out of her father's houſe, into the city of Alexandria, where ſhe ſpent twenty ſeven years in leud practices, and then ſhe went to Jeruſalem to continue there the ſame kind of life. But an inviſible power having hindered her from entering into the temple on the day of the exaltation of the Holy Croſs, ſhe felt ſuch a remorſe of conſcience as obliged her to proſtrate her ſelf before an image of the Holy Virgin, and to promiſe that ſhe would forſake her leud courſes. After that ſhe entered into the temple, and having adored the croſs, ſhe enquired of the holy Virgin what ſhe ſhould do to pleaſe God. She heard a voice which ordered her to go into the deſert; which ſhe obeyed, and did penance forty ſeven years, without ſeeing any body. She was there waited upon by angels for the laſt thirty years. The author (*a*) who furniſhes me with theſe materials, ſays nothing of the payment ſhe would have made to the mariners for her paſſage [*A*]. The confeſſion of Sancy has too much abridged the hiſtory of this woman

(*a*) Paul Boyer, Eſq; Sieur de Petit-Puy, *in his Dictionary ſerving for an univerſal library, printed at Paris in* 1649, *in folio, p.* 254. (*wherein he cites Sophronius biſhop of Jeruſalem.* Nicephorus Calliſtus, *book viii, ch. v, of his Hiſtory. St John Damaſcen, in his third oration of Images*) *and pag.* 323.

[*A*] *Of the payment ſhe would have made to the mariners for her paſſage.*] Having no money to give them for her paſſage, ſhe offered to give them leave to uſe her body as they pleaſed. This made the famous Peter de Moulin ſay, that the authors of the Legends had no judgment, and managed the matter ſo, as if they deſigned to ridicule the ſaints they write of. *Vitas Sanctorum ſic deſcripſerunt Pontificii, quaſi propoſitum iis fuiſſet eos differre populo, & exhibi-*
landos proponere. Mariam Ægyptiam perhibent cum non haberet unde naulum ſolveret, voluiſſe facere nautis corporis ſui copiam, ut quod non habebat in ære lueret in corpore (1). I ſhall eaſily be believed, when I affirm that I will not take the part of the Legendary writers; nevertheleſs I will ſay, that a judicious writer might relate what Mr du Moulin alledges as a proof of indiſcretion: For if it were true, that Mary the Egyptian would have proſtituted her ſelf

(1) Petrus Molinæus, in Hyperaſpi- te adverſus Sir eſtrum Petra- nclam, *pag.* 46.

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man [B]: It is in the chapter wherein there is a fraud concerning St Dominic, and a nun called Mary [C]. This name will make my remark not altogether impertinent; but since

to the mariners for what she owed them, because she had no money; I do not see why any historian should suppress it: Is it not very proper to exalt the mercy of GOD, and the efficacy of his spirit? The more enormous the extravagance of a debauched woman has been, the more we ought to admire her conversion, and the long austerities of her penance: and therefore discretion does not oblige an author to say nothing of the singular circumstances of the leudness of the convert. Moreover it cannot be objected to the Legendary writers, that they transgress the rule of probability; for these creatures, which are the victims of public impurity, as Tertullian calls them, are sometimes reduced to the last farthing; or else they had rather gratify their creditors with the use of their body, than discharge the debt by paying the money.

[B] *The confession of Sancy has too much abridged the history of this woman.*] Here follow the words of d'Aubigné (2): 'The legend of the saints is the 'garden of the soul: ..... in this garden are 'herbs, which at least give ease, if they do 'not cure. A spark who complies with the ne'cessity of the times, knows what the country people 'call robbing. If he finds that his dissolute soul can'not change it's life, there is in the legend, in the 'chap. of the annunciation, an example of a knight, 'who robbed, without pity, both poor and rich, and 'was cleared for saying once every day, *Ave Maria*. 'And as to the soldiers of these days, it is what they 'commonly practise. If a lady of the court feels in 'her dissolute soul, that she cannot leave her great, 'catholic, and universal leudness, has she not Mary 'the Egyptian to comfort her, who from the age of 'twelve years, till she became contemptible for 'old age, never refused a man? And have not 'we, the example of St Magdalen, so famous in 'antient chronicles? The writers of the legend have 'afterwards taught us, how she, by her charms, 'made many men of good families sell their goods 'for her; many valient men cut their throats thro' 'jealousy, and then she was no sooner tired, but 'presently she was canonized.' The omission of this author, with respect to St Mary the Egyptian, and St Magdalen, is inexcusable; for he supposes that these two prostitutes were immediately advanced from infamous places, to the rank of canonized saints, and by this supposition he pretends to prove, that the legend is very fit to let loose the reins to those ladies, who have a boundless desire to spend their time with men. If he had dealt candidly, he should have told us of the long penance of these two saints; but since this would have spoiled the rallery he intended in the objection against the legendary writers, he thought it would be better to say nothing of it, or even to deny it (3). Let us learn from hence, that satirical writers are the people in all the world, against whom a reader should most guard himself. These are the men who reason the worst of any, and by the pleasantness of their wit, hinder us from enquiring into their sophistical arguments. But let us remember, that if they can dispense with several rules, yet they ought to be no less subject to the laws of reasoning than grave authors (4).

[C] ... *wherein there is a fraud concerning St Dominic and a Nun, whose name was Mary.*] I make this remark only to set in a clearer light what was said just now; and therefore it ought not to be condemned as being foreign to this place. 'When I was an Hu'guenot, they are Sancy's words, I found nothing 'that made me laugh so much as the legend of Bro'ther Jacopon. There is also a book in our house, 'on which I have made fine annotations, as particu'larly upon making his brother confess his sins by 'signs. Madam de Villeroy enquiring, how he con'fessed his whoring, had also the curiosity to ask, 'how they called in Greek, that light oil which St 'Dominic spilt between the Nuns thighs, and called 'it the oil of love (5).' It is certain, that d'Aubigné falsifies the legend, that he may give the story a more diverting air; but I think that neither the laws of rallery, nor even of satire, do allow of this. The legend of St Dominic (6) says, That a Nun being in an extasy, thought she saw him come into her chamber, accompanied by two Friars, and that he took out from under his garment an ointment of a very good smell, wherewith he rubbed her leg, and called it the sign of charity. *Maria sanctimonialis in Ectasi rapta vidit Dominicum cum duobus fratribus ante lectum ejus intrantem, qui de sub cappa unguentum miræ fragrantiæ proferens, tibiam ejus inunxit, quam unctionem dilectionis esse signum dixit* (7). By comparing these words with those in the *confession of Sancy*, what falsifications do we not find? The legend does not say, that Dominic applied an ointment to the Nun's leg, but it says, that the Nun being in an extasy, thought she saw this saint who rubbed her leg with the ointment; and so it was only a dream, or a vision. At least d'Aubigné should have stopped at the Nun's leg, and not have corrupted the text, by the false gloss of spilling light oil between the thighs. If the question was about the trunk of a tree, it would be a small mistake; a little near to, or farther from, the earth, would make no difference; but in such a subject as this the difference is capital. Mr du Moulin, in his answer to Petrasancta, promises to speak elsewhere of this unction of St Dominic (8). I do not know whether he kept his word; but his brother-in-law Andrew Rivet, answering the same Jesuit, does very candidly stop at the literal sense of the legend; he owns, that this anointing of the leg was only a dream; but he declares, that these extatic visions were ridiculous and justly suspected (9). It was at this, as he pretends, that du Moulin scoffed, and not meerly at the use of ointments for healing of the sick, a thing practised by the Apostles (10). 'Accusat 'Molinæum, quod riserit *Dominicum* sanantem *muli'erem* oleo, & Franciscum *aviculis* concionantem. 'Primum illud non potuit simpliciter irridere Moli'næus, qui noverat initio Christianismi Apostolos 'unxisse ægros oleo, & sanasse, Marc. vii. Sed risit '& merito, quod in legenda Dominici legitur, quod '*Maria Sanctimonialis*, &c (11). ..... *He accuses du 'Moulin of mocking St Dominic's curing of a woman 'with oil, and St Francis's preaching to the birds. The 'first he could not absolutely ridicule, knowing, that in 'the beginning of Christianity, the Apostles anointed with 'oil, and cured the sick, Mark vii. But he scoffed, and 'deservedly, what is to be read in the legend of St Do'minic, that Maria Sanctimonialis*, &c.' Observe that Petrasancta knowing that in the library of Sedan, they had laughed at this action of Dominic, did not make use of the answer which the legend could have furnished him with, *viz.* that it was a dream; for he was ignorant of this circumstance: but he answered very seriously, that they might as well make such a rallery at JESUS CHRIST, who anointed a dumb man with his spittle. *Sedani, dum Bibliotheca, his qui mecum advenerant, ostenderetur, nihil ferme auditum est, præter Sanctorum irrisiones. Risit aliquis sanctum Dominicum, persanantem oleo mulierem ægram. Rideat perinde Christum Dominum aut saliva utentem, aut luto, dum os muti aperiret, & dum oculis unius cæci nati explicaret lucem & diem* (12). This is a bad answer, for this is to own the fact. After all, the ralleries of d'Aubigné must needs be false, since they are founded upon a lie. And this should teach the readers, that if they would be well instructed in controversy, they must neither consult satires, nor burlesque pieces: this were to sit in the seat of the scorners, an action condemned in the first Psalm. Such people, when they have a mind to divert themselves, spare not their best friends (13), but they care little for truth (14). See, below, the remark [D]. Thus when the Poet, whom I cite, asks this question; 'Can any thing hinder one who jests from speak'ing the truth (15)? *He might be answered*, you 'will find an answer to this in your fourth satire, 'where you say, that a jester gives no quarter to his 'best friends, much less does he regard the circum'stances of a story.' Nevertheless the question put by Horace is reasonable; for it signifies no more but that it is possible for one in rallery to speak the truth, and this is incontestable.

But the injury done by d'Aubigné will be better discovered, if we consider, that, in all probability,

(2) Confession Catholique de Sancy, *book i, cap. ii, pag. m.* 329.

(3) *This d'Aubigné does in these words*, She was no sooner tired, but she was presently canonized.

(4) See the article COLOMIES, remark [C].

(5) D'Aubigné, Confession of Sancy, *book i, cap. ii, pag.* 328.

(6) In Jacobus de Voragine.

(7) Jacob. de Voragine, in Aurea Legenda, apud Rivetum in Castigat. notarum in epistol. Molinæi ad Balzacum, *cap. vi, num.* 7, *Oper. Tom. iii, pag.* 511.

(8) De Dominico confricante femur puellæ unguento amoris suo loco acceptur. *Molinæus ubi supra, pag.* 47.

(9) Ecstases illæ monialium quæ monachos SOMNIANT ingredientes & earum ungentes tibias unguento dilectionis *de sub cappa*, & ridiculæ sunt & suspectæ. *Rivet. Oper. Tom. iii, pag.* 511.

(10) Rivetus, in *Tom. iii, pag.* 511.

(11) You will find what follows, above, in citation (7).

(12) Petrasancta, Nat. in Epistol. Molinæi ad Balzacum, *cap. iii, pag.* 32.

(13) Fenum habet in cornu, longe fuge, dummodo risum Excutiat sibi non hic cuiquam parcet amico. *Horat. Sat. IV, lib. I, ver.* 34, 35.

(14) Compare the article BROSSIER, remark [B].

(15) - - - ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat? - - - *Horat. Sat. I, lib. I, ver.* 24.

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since it is moreover designed to oppose the bad inclination men have to trust too much to satirical writers [D], I hope I shall not be charged with irregularity for placing it here.

If

the apology for Herodotus was his original: in which book I find these words (16). 'I will not forget 'another act of the same St Dominic, related towards 'the end of his legend, an act truly of a good com- 'panion, at least related in such a manner as will make 'good companions laugh; and afford them matter of 'jesting; which was this; that a Nun called Mary, 'having a pain in her thigh, endured it for the space 'of five months, and despaired of curing it. Then 'she said to herself, that she was not worthy to pray 'unto GOD, nor to be heard by him, and therefore 'she desired St Dominic to be a mediator between 'GOD and her, to obtain for her the blessing of 'health. And after this request, being asleep, she 'saw near her St Dominic, who took from under his 'garment an oil of a good smell, wherewith he 'anointed her thigh. And when she asked how the 'ointment was called, St Dominic answered, that it 'was the Ointment of Love.' Thus you see that even by the confession of Henry Stephens the Nun was asleep.

(16) Henry Stephen's Apology for Herodotus, cap. xxxiv, pag. m. 367, 368.

[(§ a) This might perhaps be more the negligence than malice of d'Aubigné, how satirical soever he may elsewhere be. He trusted to his memory when he wrote this; and having, in all probability, forgot the word *signum* of the legend, he could scarcely otherwise translate *unctionem dilectionis*, than by the *oil of love*, which precedes. REM. CRIT.]

Mr Jurieu confesses the same thing; but, according to his custom, he takes little care to speak exactly. His words are these (17). 'The same legend 'says, that a Nun, called Mary, having for the 'space of five months a great pain in the parts next 'to those which I dare not name, St Dominic ap- 'peared to her in a dream, and pulled from under 'his habit an ointment of a very good smell, 'wherewith he rubbed the part affected, and being 'asked by the maid what it was, he answered, that 'it was called *unguentum amoris*. This is as chast as 'the amours of Francis for St Clara, and his passion 'for friar Massus, whom he embraced, and raised 'from the ground in his arms. Which put Father 'Massus in so great a heat, that he was like one in 'the midst of a fire, says the book of the *Conformi-* 'ties'. Note, that he puts in the margin this summary; *The abominations of St Francis and St Dominic*; and thence you may conclude, that he treats the controversy as if he were playing at blind-man's-buff. I leave it to those who believe it is not lawful to act deceitfully in favour of religion, that is, to transgress the duties of religion for the sake of religion; I leave it to them, I say, to judge, whether honour and conscience can permit, that the word *tibia* should be translated by *the parts next to those which we dare not name*. It is a circumlocution which would be absurd in all sorts of subjects; for, in short, the word *leg*, which answers that of *tibia*, has nothing in it which obliges a man to use any periphrasis: but to make use of it on purpose to give one an idea of impurity, is to carry the matter beyond absurdity, and is a criminal fraud. The cheat does no less appear in the change of these terms, *signum dilectionis*, into those of *unguentum amoris*. But what will you say of a writer, who rather than lose the comparison he had found in the apology for Herodotus (18), compares the vision of a Nun in an extasy, with the embraces of two men full of vigour? Tho' it were certain the Nun had dreamed that St Dominic came to bed to her, and committed uncleanness with her, must we therefore conclude that he is guilty? Are we answerable for the dreams of another person? Did the mother of Julius Cæsar lose any thing of her merit, because her son dreamed that he had to do with her (19)? Here is a controversist, who calls the application of an ointment the *abomination of St Dominic*, which was only an apparition in a dream, as he himself says.

(17) Jurieu, Prejug. part i, pag. 394.

(18) Chap. xxxiv, pag. 368.

(19) Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. vii.

[D] *The bad inclination men have to trust too much to satirical writers.*] These writers are like those jesters who sacrifice every thing to the pleasure of putting off their jests. Horace has very well described this passion in the verses cited above (20). Quintilian makes use of the same colours for drawing the picture of such sort of people, and for giving a distaste of their chartacter. Let us beware, says he, of the maxim of those, who had rather lose their friend than their jest. *Ludere nunquam velimus, longeque absit propositum illud, potius amicum quam dictum perdidi* (21). Cicero observes, that they slight all the considerations of decency, and have no regard either to persons or occasions, and could more easily keep fire in their mouths than a jest. *Parcebat* (Crassus) *adversarii dignitati, in quo ipse servabat suam, quod est hominibus facetis, & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem, & temporum, & ea quæ occurrant, quum salsissime dici possint, tenere. Itaque nonnulli ridiculi homines hoc ipsum non insulse interpretantur. Dicere enim ajunt Ennium flammam à sapiente facilius ore inardente opprimi quam bona dicta teneat: hæc scilicet bona dicta quæ falsa sint. Nam ea dicta appellantur proprio jam nomine* (22). We must not wonder that they do not spare their friends, for they do not spare themselves: They make themselves merry at their own cost; and their character is like that of those buffoons, who strike indifferently themselves and others. Aristotle describes them by this. Ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἥτ]ων ἐστὶ τῆ γελοίᾳ καὶ ὅτε ἑαυτῦ, ὅτε τῶν ἀλλων ἀπεχόμενος εἰ γέλω]α ποιήσει. *Scurra autem ridiculo moderari non potest, cum nec sibi nec aliis parcat, dummodo risum moveat* (23). They spare neither GOD nor men; and the religion of their heart does not escape their poignant wit (24). It is too weak a barrier to keep off the irruption of a flash of wit. Judge then, whether the religion which they believe to be false can restrain such sallies of wit. The glory and satisfaction which they expect from the boldness of a jest, transports them beyond all other considerations; and those who have said that a poetic vein *is a vomiting potion, whose operation cannot be stopped without great danger of choaking* (25), have given us a lively image of the passion of these people. We may add, that when they have their pen in their hand, they quit all things to run after some satirical thoughts; and when they have any glance of them, tho' at never so great a distance, they throw themselves on that side: and lest they should digress to no purpose, they force in, and wind any matter till they have adjusted it to their purpose; and if they find it too long and too gross, they contract and smooth it as much as their interest requires. These writers may be compared to Procrustes, who made all his prisoners equal to the measure of his bed (26). These words of Montagne agree to them exactly (27). 'There are some fools 'who turn out of their way a quarter of a league to 'hunt after a fine word, *aut qui non verba rebus* 'aptant †, *sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba* 'conveniant. And that other passage ‡, *Qui alicujus* 'verbi decore placentis vocentur ad id quod non propo*sue-* 'rant scribere.'

(20) Cicero, (21).

(21) Quintil. lib. vi, cap. iii, pag. m. 288.

(22) Cicero de Orat. lib. ii, cap. lix, fol. m. 81. C.

(23) Arist. de morib. ad Nicomach. lib. iv, cap. xiv, pag. 42, 43.

(24) See, before, the article DIOGENES, remark [N].

(25) I have read this in a romance intituled, *The Queen of Æthiopia*, printed in 1670, or 1671.

There is more or less in all this, and I do not put together all these ideas to prove, that all those who delight in rallery and satire, do equally, and without exception, use these excesses. But it is a matter of moment to expose the character of wit, by which men are so easily seduced, by shewing it's deformed side. A writer of controversies, who has a good wit, very much diverts the readers of his party, when he turns things maliciously, and with an air of rallery, satire, and burlesque; and the more he diverts them, the more he persuades. Now, since the method he adopts, engages him into a thousand cheats, and a thousand falsifications, it is necessary one should know that he is a dangerous impostor. This will enable us to stand upon our guard; we should read him as one we must distrust, take nothing upon his word, examine what he says, and confront his words with the originals; and if we find he has changed *signum delectionis* into *unguentum amoris*, we shall tell him, I am not your fool, address yourself to others.

(26) See in the *Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinism* of Maimbourg, Letter v, *pag.* 95, of the third edition, what use has been made of this parallel. See also in *pag.* 517, of Menage's Etymologies of the Italian tongue, and *chap. lxxxvi*, of his *Anti-Baillet*, another comparison between Procrustes and the sonnet.

(27) Montagne, Essays, *book i, chap. xxv, pag. m.* 261.

† Who do not fit their words to things, but make things to suit their words. *Quint. lib. viii.*

‡ Who by the allurement of a word which pleases them, are carried away to that which they had no desire to write. *Seneca, Epist. lix.*

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If I could have conſulted the work, which is intituled *S. Maria Ægyptiaca, muſca de extremo fluminum Ægypti, ſibilo Domini evocata* [E]. I might have enlarged very much in this ſecond edition the article of St Mary the Egyptian; but not being able to get it, I can only make this addition. This ſaint lived without food, and without cloaths, the laſt thirty years of her ſolitude, and was ſo disfigured with heat and cold, that ſhe might have been taken for an Æthiopian (b). Two loaves and ſome herbs ſufficed her for the firſt ſeventeen years of her penance (c).

(b) Veſtibus conſumptis nuda frigore & æſtu toſta ut videretur Æthiopiſſa. *Cornel. à Lapide in Deuteron. cap. viii, ver. 4, pag. m. 1010.*

(c) *Taken from* Cornelius à Lapide, *ibid.*

[E] *The work intituled S. Maria Ægyptiaca, &c.*] Theophilus Raynaudus is the author of it. I have ſeen in another of his books, that he ſuppoſed the truth of the Hiſtory of this ſaint, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the centuriators of Magdeburg (28), who look upon it as a fable, that ſhe lived on two loaves ſeventeen years; that ſhe was taken up into the air; that ſhe went over the river Jordan without ſwimming, and without a boat, and that ſome lions took care of her burial. I have ſeen alſo, that Nicolas Harſfield, under the name of Alanus Copus (29), has refuted on this ſubject the centuriators, and that there is in the book of Theophilus Raynaudus, an Appendix concerning the women who left their leudneſs and became ſaints. *Porro hujus operis Mantiſſa eſt, Tractatio* de mulieribus Sanctis è cœno turpitudinum emerſis (30).

(28) Centur. iv, *cap. x, pag.* 1334.

(29) Dial.. *ii, cap. i, and xiv.*

(30) *Taken from* Theophilus Raynaudus, Syntagm. de libris propriis, *num.* 24, *pag.* 42, 43. Apopompæi.

MARILLAC (CHARLES DE) archbiſhop of Vienne, was born in Auvergne, about the year 1510. He was advocate in the Parliament of Paris, when perceiving himſelf ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, he followed John de la Foreſt embaſſador of Francis I to Conſtantinople. Thus he avoided the terrible perſecution, which was to be feared from the inquiſitors. He was made ambaſſador to the Sultan after the death of la Foreſt, and afterwards was entruſted with ſeveral other embaſſies (a) of which he acquitted himſelf very well. He was abbot of St Pere (b), archbiſhop of Vienne, and a counſellor in the privy-council, when the aſſembly of the Notables was called at Fontainebleau in the month of Auguſt 1560. In it he delivered an harangue, wherein learning and eloquence did no leſs appear, than his zeal for the reformation of the diſorders in the church and ſtate [A]. There he adviſed, among other things, the calling of a national council, and a meeting of the ſtates general [B]. The Guiſes were offended at his harangue, and

(a) In England and Germany, *&c.*

(b) Near Melun.

[A] *He . . . . delivered an harangue, wherein learning and eloquence did no leſs appear, than his zeal for the reformation of the diſorders in church and ſtate.*] You will find it entire in the preſident de la Place, in the third book of the ſtate of religion and the republic; and in the Hiſtory of Francis II, written by Lewis Regnier. Theſe two writers agree in ſaying, that the archbiſhop of Vienne, who gave his opinion after the other counſellors of the privy-council, carried away the prize of honour. *For as he was a perſon endowed with ſingular gifts and graces, and had been employed for a long time in embaſſies of great importance far and near with great applauſe; ſo he did not only deliver his opinion very learnedly, as was believed, but alſo gave ſatisfaction to the greateſt part of the company* (1). Theſe words of Lewis Regnier precede the harangue of Marillac, and theſe are the words that follow it: *Such was the learned, wiſe, and Chriſtian ſpeech of this great perſon, who lived not long after it, being as it is ſaid intimidated by thoſe whom he had diſpleaſed. Others ſay, that ſeeing how things grew worſe and worſe he died of grief* (2). Mr Varillas gives us an abſtract of this ſpeech, but not without ſome falſifications, of which this is one: he ſuppoſes, that Marillac repreſented, *That the antient affection of the French for their king was notably diminiſhed, and that there was no other way to reſtore it but by an aſſembly of the States, that this was the only tribunal appointed to hear the complaints of the whole nation, and to ſatisfy them, as the other tribunals were for ending differences between private perſons: that the ancient founders of the French monarchy had only reſerved to themſelves this place, wherein they might ſhare with the king in the abſolute authority they had given him; where they might be admitted to a kind of equality, which was neceſſary for repairing what the prince had uſurped over his ſubjects, and what the ſubjects had uſurped over their prince; and laſtly, where the ſupreme and unlimited power, wherewith they had inveſted him, ſhould not hinder them from negotiating and concluding treaties with him, which ſhould be obligatory on both ſides: that this moderate liberty had maintained the crown for eleven hundred years, by the wonderful counterpoiſe wherewith power and ſubmiſſion were balanced* (3). It is certain that the archbiſhop of Vienne ſaid nothing that contained theſe maxims, either formally or virtually, if I may uſe this word. How can we truſt the abſtracts which this Hiſtorian makes of MSS, when we ſee that he corrupts printed ſpeeches? You may ſee in the next remark, how far he took the liberty to alter and falſify them.

(1) Lewis Regnier, Hiſtory of Francis II, *pag.* 523, 524.

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 553.

(3) Varillas, Hiſt. of France II, *book ii, pag. m.* 230.

[B] *He adviſed . . . . . the calling . . . . . of the ſtates general.*] He made uſe of the moſt ſolid reaſons that could be alledged, and anſwered very well the objections, and particularly that which was taken from this, *that the authority of the king would be diminiſhed.* Thoſe who ſay this, anſwered he (4), *ſeem to me not to know the hearts of the French, who have always done for their king what lay in their power; and to require more were an unjuſt exaction and an impoſſibility. And therefore to propoſe to kings things that are juſt, is to eſtabliſh their authority, and not to diminiſh it, ſince they cannot do otherwiſe without violating the name of a king; and by that means the king may expect to obtain every thing he has a mind to, ſince he has ſo good a people that they will refuſe him nothing. And if it be replied, that the king ſtints himſelf who has nothing without the conſent of the people; I anſwer that ſince without aſſembling the States, and hearing the reaſons which moved the prince to increaſe the ancient offices, the people have formerly obeyed, without contradiction; what will not they do when they believe, that the reaſons of the demand, made to the States, will be found juſt? If it be urged, that this is to make the people judges, whether what the king demands is juſt. It may be replied, that, among many people aſſembled, the greateſt part of them will ſeek the public good, and that the people are capable of underſtanding what is for their own advantage, and ſo of conſenting to it, ſince the voice of the people is commonly that which is approved by GOD.* Can any thing be more unlike, than this diſcourſe of the archbiſhop of Vienne, to the words of Varillas related before? But the better to diſcover that this Hiſtorian did not apprehend the deſign of what he undertook to abridge, I muſt here ſet down another paſſage of Marillac's ſpeech. We ſhall there ſee what were his thoughts, as well with reſpect to politics as to religion: and we ſhall find that as to the latter he reſembled Eraſmus; for he would have abuſes reformed, but not to make uſe of arms, either to ſupport the reformation of the church or to oppreſs the reformers. The fourth preparative, ſaid he, is (5). 'That until the aſſembling of the council, 'the ſeditious be checked and reſtrained, ſo that 'they may not diſturb the tranquillity and peace of 'men, and to take this for an undoubted maxim, that 'it is not lawful to take up arms on any pretence 'whatſoever, without the will, command, and permiſſion, of the prince, who has the ſole diſpoſal of 'them. This I ſay, becauſe of the ſad examples that 'have lately happened, and whereof we have daily 'new informations. On one ſide we have ſeen the 'tumult

(4) Lewis Regnier, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 548.

(5) Ib. *pag.* 557.

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and obstructed all the good effects of his counsels. He endeavoured to take good measures to prevent the mischiefs wherewith the kingdom was threatened (c); but seeing no probability of succeeding in it, he fell into a melancholy, which brought upon him a disease, whereof he quickly after died (d), on the second of December, 1560, at his abbey of St Pere. GABRIEL DE MARILLAC, his brother, died advocate-general in the parliament of Paris in 1551, and was an able understanding man, and of an exemplary probity: consult Thuanus (e). You will find in Moreri's Dictonary, a very long article of our Charles de Marillac, and a long account of several persons of this family; but you will find nothing there about FRANCIS DE MARILLAC, advocate in the parliament of Paris, under Henry II. I shall say something of him in my commentary [C]. I do not think that the advocate I have mentioned in another place (f), was a different

(c) See, above, the article LONGVIC, remarks [A] and [B].

(d) Unde Viennensis in profundum mœrorem & ex mœrore in letalem morbum incidit, ex quo paulo post decessit. Thuan. ubi infra.

(e) Thuan. lib. xxvi, init. pag. m. 520, ad ann. 1560. See the remark [E].

(f) In citation (85) of the article HENRY III.

'tumult of Amboise, under colour of presenting a 'confession, whereas it ought to have been brought 'with all humility: on the other side, several preach-'ers have endeavoured to raise up the people for 'the extirpation of the Protestants, under colour of a 'holy sedition; as if religion allowed, that either for 'the planting or preserving of it, it was lawful to make 'use of sedition. Thus on both sides there was a fault: 'for as before men were killed on pretence that they 'were Protestants; so, on the contrary, the judges were 'forced, and the ordinary courts were assaulted, to 'make them deliver up the Protestant prisoners: 'and thus under the mask of religion, several usur-'ped the authority of the magistrate, and took up 'arms, which was in no wise lawful, but rather forbid-'den to them all. For the design of the law is to live 'godly, and not to offend any body: and the design 'of arms is to cause the law to be obeyed. The king 'therefore being the conservator of the law, and for 'that end ordained by GOD, is consequently the sole 'disposer of arms, which are given him to punish 'those that transgress the law. Wherefore to conclude, 'he makes himself king, who takes up arms by his 'own authority, and is not ordained by GOD to be 'one. And hence it follows, that every body should 'oppose him, as being one that resists the ordinance 'of GOD, which has appointed a king.

WHETHER the meeting of the states general is advantageous to France.

How wise soever the advices of this archbishop were concerning the convocation of the States, they were much censured by a famous Civilian: for Stephen Pasquier writes thus upon this subject (6). 'He who 'first gave this advice of holding a meeting of the 'States, was Charles Marillac. He, in the assembly 'at Fontainbleau (either because the affairs of France 'were not governed according to his mind, or upon 'some other occasion) by a sudden impulse of nature 'made a strong remonstrance, wherein after he had 'considered all sorts of advices he could think of, 'he declared that he found no remedy more effectual 'for the present evil, than to call together the States. 'It is an old folly, that runs in the mind of the 'wisest French, that nothing can so much relieve the 'people, as such assemblies: Whereas, on the contra-'ry, nothing does them greater prejudice, as I could 'prove by an infinite number of reasons, but that I 'should exceed the bounds of a letter. This opinion 'at first troubled a little the cardinal of Lorrain, 'who was afraid lest it should give a check to the 'king, and destroy the authority which he and the 'duke of Guise had in the government during the 'minority of the young king their nephew. And 'indeed from that time this archbishop was never 'looked upon by him with a good eye, and volun-'tarily banished himself from court. Nevertheless 'after he had consulted with his servants, of what con-'sequence this convocation of the States might be, 'and finding that it could be no prejudice to the 'king, whom he and his brother had made the most 'powerful, he was so far from rejecting this opinion, 'that he embraced it very heartily, as thinking it 'might prove a means for exterminating with the 'greater assurance and solemnity all the Protestants of 'France.' Pasquier observes, that the death of Francis II spoiled in an instant the designs of this cardinal; and having related part of what was enacted in the meeting of the states of Orleans, he adds (7): *But for a general conclusion, they have granted for five years to the king, a subsidy of five sous, for each barrel of wine that is brought into the walled towns. This is for the most part the end and conclusion of such assemblies, to draw money from the people, by an honest bargain between the king and his three estates.* Note, I pray you, that Pasquier boasted that *he had an infinite number of reasons*, to prove, that nothing is more pernicious to France, than the meeting of the states general. I do not doubt but he could have produced many reasons upon this subject, and I believe also that our Charles Marillac could have replied to them all, and that it is a matter which men may dispute eternally *pro* and *con*. But if we appeal to experience, it is apparent, that the opinion of Pasquier must prevail: for it would be very difficult, to show any advantage France has drawn from these assemblies, and easy to prove, that they only served to encourage confusions (8). The English have reason to say, that the frequent meeting of parliaments is necessary for the good of their country; but France cannot say the same thing of the meeting of her states general. They were often called together under the reign of the sons of Henry II, and France was never more embroiled and harassed than at that time; and instead of finding a remedy by these meetings, the grievances were made worse by them. No man ought more freely to own this truth than those of the Reformed religion, for in these assemblies their enemies got new strength. There are some who compare the meeting of the states general with the councils. They are, say they, assemblies that bode ill; they signify that the public evils are great, and that men begin to despair of curing them. It happens then, as in diseases that are almost desperate, many Physicians are called for and sent for from remote places; they consult, they dispute, they seldom agree, and at last they must come to a majority of votes, and so manage the matter that the sick man may say, *The multitude of Physicians has killed me* (9). Fine harangues are not wanting in these assemblies, and much less cabals and intrigues; and for the most part the conclusion is not the effect of justice and truth, but of the most powerful faction.

(6) Pasquier's Letters, book iv, pag. 192, 193, of the first tome.

(7) Id. ib. pag. 195.

(8) *This is one of the reasons which Charles de Marillac had to oppose. He denied not the fact.* Some, *says he, Hist. of Francis II, ubi supra, pag.* 550, have set forth, what happened in the time of king John, when the states obliged the dauphin to take several indecent courses.

(9) Hinc illæ circa ægros miseræ sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem censente ne videatur accessio alterius. Hinc illa infelicis monumenti inscriptio, TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERISSE. *Plin. lib. xxix, cap. i, pag. m.* 667. *Compare this with what has been said above, citation* (28) *of the article* HADRIAN.

[C] *I shall say something of Francis de* MARILLAC . . . . *in my commentary.*] He and Peter Robert were appointed council to the prince of Condé, in 1560, in the prosecution for a capital crime, which made so much noise, and which, as was thought, would have made him lose his head upon a scaffold. 'Cum præcipiti Guisianorum violentia, amputatas 'omnes moras videret Condæi uxor, libello supplice à 'rege petit & impetrat, ut marito homines spectatæ 'eruditionis ac prudentiæ darentur, quorum consilio 'uteretur: Nominati à Rege Petrus Robertus & Fran-'ciscus Marillacus celeberrimi in foro patroni (10).' I cite these words of Thuanus, because they discover the reputation of Francis de Marillac. He had been not long before advocate to Anne du Bourg. They have put in the Index to the History of Francis II, that *Marillac the advocate betrayed du Bourg in pleading for him.* This ought to be explained, for otherwise it might be inferred from it, that this advocate was a traitor and a prevaricator, and this would be a great injury done to him, since there was nothing in all his management but an officious lie, which was designed to save his client's life. The matter of fact is thus related by the Sieur de la Planche (11). 'His 'causes of recusation (12) were by a decree pronounced 'by Olivier, declared admissible, and it was ordered 'that he should have counsel, which had been before 'denied him, so that the cardinal was confounded. 'The advocate Marillac was assigned him for counsel, 'and he used all his endeavours to make him depart 'from his confession, alledging, that without this he 'could not avoid death; but not being able to prevail 'with him to do it, he persuaded him to let him 'plead without interrupting him, and then he might 'say

(10) Thuan. lib. xxvi, pag. 522, col. 1.

(11) Lewis Regnier, Sieur de la Planche, History of Francis II, pag. 53. *Bena has transcribed all this passage word for word in the* Ecclesiastical History of the Churches, *lib. iii, pag.* 222.

(12) That is, those which du Bourg had alledged.

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a different man from that CHARLES DE MARILLAC, of whom la Croix du Maine ſays, that he was a *gentleman of Paris, a kinſman of the archbiſhop of Vienne, an advocate in parliament*, &c. *a young man very learned in Greek, and well verſed in many ſciences, and that he died at Paris in* 1581, *or thereabouts, to the great grief of all his friends* (g). I find in Father Anſelme (b) one CHARLES DE MARILLAC, who died counſellor in the parliament of Paris, April 10, 1580, and who was ſon to WILLIAM DE MARILLAC, brother to the archbiſhop of Vienne. There is no difference between that advocate and this counſellor [D]. Note, that la Croix du Maine obſerves that this prelate *wrote ſeveral books, of which there are but few printed, and that thoſe that are in print, are not licenſed, there being a reaſon for it* (i). GILBERT DE MARILLAC, baron of Puiſac and St Geneſt, eldeſt brother to our archbiſhop of Vienne (k), *writ a hiſtory of the houſe of Bourbon, and, among the reſt, the life and great actions of the conſtable Charles de Bourbon, till the month of March* 1521, *when he began his revolt.* Antony de la Val, *the king's Geographer, and captain of the caſtle of Moulins — has inſerted this hiſtory in his works printed in* 1605. The true name of this family was Marlhac [E].

(g) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 46.

(b) Anſelme, Hiſt. of the great Officers. *pag.* 252.

(i) La Croix du Maine, ubi ſupra.

(k) Vigneul Marville Melange d'Hiſtoire & de Literat. *Tom. ii, pag.* 17, *Dutch Edit.* 1700.

ſay what he thought fit. Being therefore come before the judges, the advocate remonſtrated the merits of the cauſe, the manner of the impriſonment, which was ſuch as never had been practiſed, and much leſs the manner of Bertrand's proceeding; who, being void of all ſhame and modeſty, had acted two or three parts in preſiding and aſſiſting at the three preceding judgments. Whereby the error did not only moſt evidently appear, but alſo the nullity of the ſentences and decree; ſo that it was neceſſary to begin the proceſs anew, to null and make void all the proceedings, ſince no forms of the courts of juſtice had been obſerved. But inſtead of concluding with his appeal, he ſubmitted, and had recourſe to the mercy of the king and the court; confeſſing that his client had grievouſly offended GOD and holy mother the church, provoked the king, and had been diſobedient to his biſhop, to whom, and the holy Roman church, he deſired to be reconciled. Whereupon du Bourg, who was preſent, endeavouring to oppoſe what had been ſaid, Marillac made a ſign to the preſidents, deſiring that his life might be ſaved by this means, who, inſtead of giving him a hearing, to know whether he acquieſced in what had been ſaid by his counſel, ſent him preſently back to his priſon. But while they were conſulting to depute two among them, to acquaint the king with his converſion, and to beg his pardon, a paper written and ſigned by du Bourg came, wherein he diſowned the concluſions of his advocate, perſiſting in his appeal, and in his confeſſion of faith made before the king.'

We ſee in a dialogue of Antony Loiſel, that the chief advocates of the parliament of Paris (13) were *Mr James Canaye of Paris, Claudius Mangot of Loudun, and Francis Marillac of Auvergne, who was more eſteemed than the other two, becauſe he made very good replies, but he was taken away in the prime of his years, ſo that his houſe hath been reduced to nothing, at leaſt if compared to thoſe of Canaye and Mangot.* Note, that he was of the ſame family with the other Marillacs (14).

(13) Loiſel Dialogue des advocats du Parlement de Paris, *pag.* 520.

(14) Loiſel's Opuſcul. *pag.* 707.

(15) Ibid. *pag.* 551.

[D] *There is no difference between that advocate and this counſellor.*] We will ſee what is ſaid of him in the ſame dialogue of Antony Loiſel (15). *Mr Charles Marillac ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence; for he acquired as much honour in that little time he was at the bar, as others do in all their lives. It is true, anſwered Mr Paſquier, he was one of the moſt ſenſible and learned men that then were; but you know the times in which we live, and the ſmall value that is ſet upon advocates, in compariſon of the counſellors, as we complained at the beginning, and not without cauſe. His relations did not give him time to ſhew his ſufficiency, and the ſtrength of his parts as an advocate, nor death, what he promiſed as a counſellor* *; *for he was taken off in the flower of his age* †. *I would ſay more of him, if he had not learned of me.*

[E] *The true name of this family was Marlhac.*] *It was thus, that Gabriel de Marillac, advocate-general of the parliament of Paris, ſigned in all the public acts and in his private letters* (16). The author whom I quote aſſures us (17), that *he learned this from an antient counſellor of ſtate, who knew very well the illuſtrious houſes and families of France.* After which he brings two paſſages to prove, that this advocate-general, *was as famous for his profound knowledge at his rare probity*; one is from Thuanus, and the other from *the ſuppplement to the chronicle written by John Carion.* He ſuppoſes that in the latter it is Gabriel Marillacus, but in my edition (18) it is Gabriel Marliacus. This might have ſerved him to confirm what he had advanced. We may add to theſe two paſſages, what Maludan writ to Denys Lambin (19). 'Mariliacus Regius Patronus, *a. d.* ix. Kal. 'Maias horâ quartâ pomeridianâ exceſſit è vitâ admodum Chriſtianè. Poſtridie funus duxerunt amici '& propinqui ſine ullâ pompâ, ut moriens juſſerat: 'ſed non ſine omnium bonorum lachrymis. Deſi- 'derant etiam inimici nunc ejus, λόγως ἐπιχειρηματικὰς καὶ βιαίους, καὶ χρεωδεῖς. Eo Patrono 'fiſcum nemo unquam dicere potuit, lienem: ut loque- 'batur olim Trajanus. In demortui locum ſuffectus 'eſt Ridens (20). - - - - *Marillac, the king's advocate departed this life in a moſt Chriſtian manner, on the twenty third of April at four in the afternoon. The next day he was interred, as he had deſired, without any pomp, his friends and relations accompanying the funeral, as himſelf had ordered: but not unlamented by all good men. Even his enemies now found the want of his free, forcible, and uſeful ſpeeches. When he was of counſel, none could ever call treaſure a grievance, as Trajan of old was wont to ſay. Into his place a gentleman of mirth was appointed.*' But nothing is more proper to confirm what was ſaid by a counſellor of ſtate to Mr de Vigneul Marville, than the marginal note which is in the 504th page of Antony Loiſel's ſmall pieces. Here it is entire. 'He (21) is called Marlhac by Miraumont, and by Co- 'quille, who in his Commentaries on the Cuſtom of 'Nivernois, chap. 1, art. 5. relates from him a 'maxim of the French law, with great praiſe, in 'theſe words: *and as that very learned and good 'man, Mr Gabriel Marlac ſaid, who was the king's 'advocate in parliament, and a good model for the 'young advocates who uſed to be at the pleadings in the 'ſaid parliament*, every fraud deſerves in France ex- 'traordinary and corporal puniſhment, tho' it be 'managed as a civil affair.'

* Blanchard names two Charles de Marillacs, counſellors; one in 1541, who was ... at laſt archbiſhop of Vienne; the other was admitted the twentieth of March 1576, and is the advocate of whom we are ſpeaking.

† In 1580, Blanchard.

(16) Vigneul Marville Melange. *Tom. ii, pag.* 16. *Dutch Edit.*

(17) Ibid.

(18) That of Paris, *ex Officina Puteana*, 1563, in 16mo.

(19) Maludan Epiſt. ad Lambinum, *pag.* 367, Epiſto'. clarorum Virorum *Edit. Lugd.* 1561. *I found this paſſage in Mr Joly's notes on Loiſel's* Opuſcula, *pag.* 707. *See there in the* 630th *page, a paſſage of the* Ciceronianus *of* Peter Ramus.

(20) That is Denys Riant made the king's advocate in 1551.

(21) That is to ſay, Gabriel Marillac who was made the king's advocate in 1543.

MARILLAC (LEWIS DE) marſhal of France, ſon to WILLIAM DE MARILLAC, who was brother to the archbiſhop of Vienne, was a poſthumous ſon, born in 1573 (a), or, according to others, in the month of July, 1572 (b). You will find in Moreri's Dictionary (c), the employments that he had ſucceſſively, till he was ſeized in Italy by the king's order in 1630. He was tried and condemned to loſe his head, and was executed at Paris May the 10th, 1632. The curioſity of the Pariſians was ſo great, that a hundred thouſand perſons were witneſſes of the execution, and that

(a) Anſelme, Hiſt. of the great Officers, *pag.* 251.

(b) The Paris Gazette, *May* 17, 1632.

(c) Correct what he ſays in it, *that he ſerved Henry III on divers occaſions.* He ſhould have ſaid Henry IV.

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ſome windows were let for eight piſtoles (*d*). The opinion moſt common is, that he was an innocent victim, ſacrificed to the reſentment of cardinal Richelieu; but this can hardly be believed by perſons who are not governed by prejudices, and ſubmit only to certainty [*A*]. I ſhall make ſome obſervations thereupon (*e*), and I imagine I ſhall not be

(*d*) The Paris Gazette, *May* 17, 1632.

(*e*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *The common opinion is, that he was an innocent victim . . . . . but this can hardly be believed by perſons who . . . ſubmit only to certainty.*] The remark [*F*] in the article of Lewis XIII, might ſuffice for a commentary upon this text. Nevertheleſs I ſhall add to it many things. And firſt I ſhall obſerve, that it is at preſent (1) much more difficult to diſcover the truth, than at the time when the cauſe againſt Mr Marillac was pleaded, for then one might have been informed of matters by an infinite number of perſons who knew this marſhal. One might then have enquired in the places where he commanded, and have learned the names, the titles, the intereſts, and reputation, of the witneſſes, and the practices that were uſed on both ſides to put them on, either to depoſe or to retract. All this, and a hundred other things which at the time of the proceſs were eaſy, are now impoſſible to be known; that generation is now wholly paſſed and gone, and we can only make uſe of the prejudice, or the books, which remain of that time. Let us enquire a little what the favourers of this marſhal might ſay, to thoſe whom they would perſuade of his innocence, and whom they perceive to be fully reſolved to admit nothing but upon good proof.

(1) I write this in Octob. 1700.

In the firſt place they might ſay, that the public was then perſuaded, and is ſtill, that he was guilty of nothing but diſpleaſing the cardinal. II. That it is notoriouſly known, that the cardinal was ſo revengeful, that he ſpared nothing to ſatisfy his reſentment. III. That he was a perſon of ſo great credit, that he could compaſs his deſigns, either by promiſes or threatenings. IV. That the proceedings were attended with ſo many irregularities, all unjuſt, and fit to oppreſs the moſt innocent perſons, that this alone is ſufficient to ſhow that the marſhal was not guilty. V. That his ſentence was reverſed by a decree of the parliament of Paris, after the death of cardinal Richelieu. The greateſt part of the people do ſo little diſpute the grounds on which they are made to believe ſome things, that they would eaſily acquieſce in the five reaſons now propoſed: but there are others who have ſo little faith, and are ſo very hard to be perſuaded, that they would not think them ſufficient grounds for their belief.

How much cardinal Richelieu was hated.

I. To the firſt reaſon they would anſwer, that the public opinion cannot be more ſuſpected on any occaſion than on this. Cardinal Richelieu was become ſo odious through all France, that all the evil that could be ſaid of his conduct, was eaſily believed without any enquiry. He was in ſuch a poſt wherein moſt men are expoſed to calumny, and the hatred of the people, and therein he behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner as to draw upon him an infinite number of enemies; for he daily encreaſed the ſovereign authority, and puniſhed great men who durſt riſe up and cabal. This was to force them from an evil cuſtom which was very pleaſing, and had been often profitable to them. He oppreſſed the people much more than had been done in other reigns. In a word, the yoke of the royal authority, which had always been too heavy in the people's opinion, was become more inſupportable than ever, under his miniſtry. The people therefore were much diſpoſed to ſpeak ill of his perſon, and they ſwallowed down with joy, and as a kind of reſtorative, all the ſatires, complaints, and murmurings, which were ſpread againſt his reputation. France was then full of malecontents; what was formerly called the Catholicon, and which cauſed ſo many miſchiefs, had left ſome roots that remained ſtill. The greateſt part of the devout people, and all the bigots, were enraged becauſe the cardinal ſupported the Proteſtants of Holland and Germany, and hindred the houſe of Auſtria from ſubduing them. If he did good to ſome perſons, they were thought unworthy of it: if he perſecuted ſome, his enemies complained, and bewailed their being unworthily uſed (2). What relations were made of the laſt moments of thoſe whom he got condemned? What care was taken to collect all their pious diſcourſes, all their acts of love of GOD; it ſeemed as if they had a deſign to ſwell the martyrology, or to imitate that Fannius, whom I have mentioned in another place (3). The execution at Lyons was never mentioned, but in a ſtyle of complaints. This was very reaſonable, as to Mr Thuanus; but as to Mr de Cinqmars, it was not enough to pity him; but they ſhould alſo have deteſted his vanity, ingratitude, and rebellion. Now ſince the public was thus diſpoſed towards cardinal Richelieu, thoſe who will believe nothing but what is ſupported with good proofs, can never be gained by this argument: *The general opinion is, that marſhal de Marillac was only guilty of diſpleaſing the cardinal, therefore he was guilty of nothing elſe.*

(2) See, above, citation (41) of the article LEWIS XIII.

(3) Above, remark [*A*] of the article FANNIUS.

II. The ſecond reaſon has nothing in it that is convincing, ſince the experience of all tyrannic reigns ſhows, that wicked men fall ſometimes into diſgrace under a bad prince, or a very unjuſt favourite, who ſacrifices to his revenge every body, who has the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. Read attentively Tacitus, and the other relations of the ſame time, and you will find ſome wicked men among thoſe that were puniſhed under Tiberius, and under Nero. The informers attacked ſometimes perſons of a bad life, and who could eaſily be convicted of the crimes they were accuſed of. For any one therefore to conclude, becauſe ſuch an one loſt his head upon the ſcaffold under a bad reign, therefore he was innocent, is to admit a deceitful conſequence, and to run the hazard of being deluded by a manifeſt ſophiſm. Much more ought we to take heed of this kind of reaſoning, when we ſpeak of Lewis XIII, who was a very good king, and whoſe chief miniſter, how violent and revengeful ſoever he was, was obliged to obſerve better meaſures than are obſerved in a tyrannic reign.

III. To the third reaſon the ſame anſwer may be given as to the ſecond. Thoſe, whoſe power was ſo great, that they could find witneſſes and judges enough to take away the lives of innocent men, have had ſometimes enemies who were wicked men, and whom they puniſhed with death without doing any thing that is unjuſt and unreaſonable. Thus, tho' cardinal Richelieu had been a hundred times more unjuſt and more powerful than he was, yet we cannot thence infer the innocence of any one of thoſe whom he got condemned: for perhaps this concluſion might be drawn in favour of thoſe guilty perſons, who periſh ſometimes in the courts of tyrants. We muſt therefore lay aſide all prejudices, and examine each proceſs in particular. This is the only expedient, for diſcovering whether ſuch and ſuch are innocent victims ſacrificed to the reſentment of cardinal Richelieu.

IV. Now we are come to the great and only expedient. The perſons whom I ſpeak of, who carefully enquire into the truth of what is propoſed to them to be believed, would deſire that the monſtrous irregularities might be proved, which are alledged to be in the proceedings of the commiſſioners who condemned our marſhal: and if they were anſwered, that all thoſe, who might witneſs the truth of it, are dead; they ought to reply, how then do you know this? They would undoubtedly then be referred to two printed pieces, whereof one is intituled, *A true relation of what paſſed at the tryal of marſhal Marillac, and of the execution of the ſentence given againſt him by the commiſſioners of the court of juſtice, eſtabliſhed at Ruel, and of his laſt words and actions juſt before his death*; and the other is intituled, *The happy ſoul of marſhal de Marillac, to the unhappy ſoul of cardinal Richelieu.* It is true, will the others reply, we ought to examine theſe two pieces; but withal we muſt examine a printed piece, which appeared at the ſame time with this title, *Obſervations on the Life and Condemnation of Marſhal de Marillac, and upon the libel intituled,* A Relation of what paſſed at his tryal, and at the execution of the ſentence given againſt him, *&c.* The author of thoſe two firſt pieces is not known; but it is certain the third was written by Mr du Chaſtelet, a man remarkable for his birth and his offices (4); for he was advocate-general in the parliament of Rennes, maſter of the requeſts, counſellor of ſtate in

(4) See the Hiſtory of the French Academy, *pag.* 246, 247, *Edit. of Paris*, 1672.

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be blamed, if I ſet down part of the things which Mr du Chaſtelet publiſhed to the diſadvantage of this marſhal. Every one may believe as he pleaſes, and ſince he was his enemy, I am willing that he ſhould paſs for a very ſuſpected witneſs. I ſhall not offer theſe things but as detractions which he publiſhed, not in that Latin ſatire in rhimed proſe (*f*), wherein the flights of imagination might have too large a ſhare, but in a ſerious and grave piece, wherein he refutes the Apologiſts of his enemy. He ſays therefore (g), that the father of marſhal Marillac, 'was advanced from the office of maſter 'of the accounts, to that of comptroller-general of the finances, and left a very ſmall 'eſtate to his children. He was born with a handſome body, and a ready wit, and 'employed himſelf chiefly in learning his exerciſes, which he attained to perfection. 'Being not rich enough to ſubſiſt of himſelf, he lived commonly with the marquis de 'Cœuvre, who being highly in favour with the ducheſs of Beaufort, had much a-do to 'ſave

(*f*) See the *Hiſtory of the French Academy, pag. m.* 247.

(g) *Du Chaſtelet's Obſervations on the Life and Condemation of marſhal de Marillac, p.* 770. *of the Collection of ſeveral Pieces uſeful for hiſtory, Edit.* 1643, 4to.

in ordinary, and intendant of juſtice in the royal army. His piece therefore ought to be eſteemed of greater weight than the anonymous writings, which are to be ſeen in the collection of what was publiſhed in defence of the queen-mother. Now we ſee that Mr du Chaſtelet denies and refutes all that had been alledged about unjuſt and irregular proceedings; and maintains, that the moſt exact formalities were obſerved in the tryal of marſhal Marillac: unleſs therefore you prove that he has aſſerted ſome facts that were falſe, and denyed others that were true, we cannot acquieſce in thoſe two anonymous pieces. One thing which he does not deny, and we know moſt certainly, is, that Mr Marillac was not tryed by the parliament of Paris, but by a court of commiſſioners. This is a very ſtrong prejudice to the diſadvantage of the cardinal; it is very well known what judges extraordinarily created are capable of, when they are choſen by ſuch as are enemies to the party accuſed (5). However ſince we now ſeek for inconteſtable proofs, or ſuch at leaſt as are ſtronger than great preſumptions, we do not pretend that this can determine us to believe the marſhal innocent. We have ſome inſtances under that reign, which prove, that ſome commiſſioners, choſen by Cardinal Richelieu, did all that could be expected from a court of the greateſt integrity. Thoſe who judged Mr de Cinqmars followed the practice in criminal cauſes with the greateſt exactneſs (6). Mr de Laubardemont, who was thought to be entirely devoted to the paſſions of the cardinal, was the reporter of the proceſs. His report hath been printed (7), which is as clear, exact, and agreeable to the rules, as ever was ſeen. The fact was proved by clear and full evidence, and after this no good judge in the kingdom could judge otherwiſe than the commiſſioners did who condemned Cinqmars. There was an extraordinary court appointed in the next reign for judging Mr Fouquet, and none had reaſon to ſay that it oppreſſed the innocent: much leſs could any ſuch thing be ſaid of that which prepared the proceſs of the duke of Luxembourg and judged him. If we inſiſt upon prejudices, they will be found to favour the cardinal Richelieu, as to the commiſſioners of marſhal Marillac. The chief man of the long robe, the keeper of the ſeals, was placed at the head of them: the others were either maſters of the requeſts, or preſidents, or counſellors in the parliament of Burgundy, &c. They referred to the council of ſtate the greateſt part of the matters that came before them, and proceeded no further in them, but by virtue of the decrees of that council: ſo that if we will ſuppoſe that marſhal Marillac was an innocent victim, we muſt ſuppoſe that his judges, in number twenty three, and the greateſt part of the counſellors of ſtate, had conſpired the ruin of an innocent man. This is hard to ſuppoſe; for common ſenſe inclines us rather to believe, that a military man has been guilty of evil practices, than to ſuppoſe that ſo great a number of ſuch magiſtrates ſhould agree to condemn an innocent man (8). Note, I pray you, that though ten of the judges did not think him worthy of death, yet all of them thought him guilty: and for this I refer my ſelf to the narrative of Mr du Chaſtelet. *After each of the judges had, with an equal affection to juſtice, proved his opinion by the beſt reaſons the ſubject could afford, and the laws and proofs had been well canvaſſed for the ſpace of two hours, all their votes were reduced to theſe two opinions. Thirteen judged him worthy of death, and ten of them were for depriving him of his honour, his offices, and eſtate, and changing the ſentence of death into perpetual baniſhment, or elſe imprisonment, at the choice of the king, and in ſuch a place as his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to keep him, as had been often practiſed with ſuch perſons* (9).' One of the apologiſts for Mr Marillac confeſſes, that the cardinal *mixed among the new commiſſioners three or four perſons of great integrity, which he did,* as he adds, *the better to conceal his deſign, when he believed that his party was ſo ſtrong, that they would carry it for his condemnation, againſt thoſe who were for acquitting him* (10). Is not this to acknowledge that three or four perſons of great integrity judged him worthy of perpetual baniſhment, or perpetual impriſonment? And would any good man vote againſt him, whom he believes to be innocent? In fine, I obſerve, that among ſo many people, whom cardinal Richelieu perſecuted, baniſhed, and impriſoned, there were but few whom he tryed in courts: which is a ſign, that he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to find witneſſes and commiſſioners to his mind. He did not therefore appoint commiſſioners, but when he was ſure that the behaviour of an enemy, ſuch as that of St Preuil was for inſtance, would furniſh ſufficient proofs to the commiſſioners.

(5) See the remark [*F* [of the article GRANDIER.

(6) See, at the end of the *Memoirs of Montreſor*, the advices and inſtructions which cardinal Richelieu gave concerning this proceſs, and the way how the judges managed it.

(7) See the ſame Memoirs of Montreſor.

(8) Note, that this is not given for a rule; for it is well known that many judges have been corrupted: but here I inſiſt upon the circumſtances of this particular trial.

(9) Chaſtelet's Obſervations, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 806, 807.

(10) L'Eſprit bienheureux du Marêchal de Marillac, *pag. m.* 60.

V. As to the fifth reaſon, ſee hereafter the remark [*K*].

Here two objections do offer themſelves, which deſerved to be diſcuſſed. It may be alledged: 1. That we muſt not conſider the writing of Mr du Chaſtelet, and the two anonymous pieces I have cited as being of equal weight. 2. That the injuſtice of the cardinal is viſible at leaſt in this, that he cauſed a marſhal of France to be put to death, for ſuch crimes as did not deſerve ſo great a puniſhment; and which he left unpuniſhed when people had not diſpleaſed him.

As to the firſt of theſe two difficulties, I muſt obſerve, that it is not without reaſon I pretend, that the writing of Mr du Chaſtelet is of equal weight with the two anonymous pieces. I know very well, that being appointed one of the judges, he was excepted againſt as the author of a very bitter ſatire againſt Meſſieurs Marillac, and that the marſhal, when he was at the bar, did very much provoke him by his reproaches (11). I know alſo that he owned himſelf to be juſtly excepted againſt, and that he did not aſſiſt at the judgment, and that he made in priſon thoſe remarks I have mentioned, to reconcile himſelf to the court, and to procure his own liberty (12). He was therefore one, you will ſay, who wrote on one ſide to ſatisfy his hatred, and on the other, to gain the favour of cardinal Richelieu. But pray, upon what motives did the other write the two pieces, which I ſet againſt Mr du Chaſtelet's? Had not they an extreme hatred againſt the cardinal, and a paſſionate deſire to favour marſhal Marillac? Ought we to diſtruſt leſs a writer of invectives, than a flattering writer? Do you think that thoſe fugitives who wrote at Bruſſels for the queen-mother (13), thinking to make their court to the Spaniards, by defaming the cardinal, and being exceeding angry to ſee, that the advantages they expected by adhering to the intereſt of this queen, were all vaniſhed away, by the ſuperiority of the cardinal's party: do you think, I ſay that theſe writers were more credible than thoſe that were hired by this chief miniſter and flattered him. It ought not to be accounted partiality, if the one be ſuſpected as well as the other.

(11) See the relation of the proceſs and condemnation of marſhal Marillac, *pag.* 7.

(12) See the *Hiſtory of the French Academy, pag.* 248.

(13) Note, that the two anonymous pieces I have mentioned are printed in the *Collection of the Pieces for the Defence of the Queen-Mother.*

Satire and flattery are the two plagues of hiſtory, two ſources that poiſon the relations of human events; but we may ſay, that the contagion of a detracting writer, who is governed by hatred and reſentment, is more pernicious to hiſtory, than the contagion of thoſe who write panegyrics. One of the moſt celebrated hiſto-

WHETHER flatterers corrupt the truth of Hiſtory more than ſatirical writers.

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'save his life, and obtain his pardon, after the murder of Caboche, whom he had killed 'upon a small provocation, and when he was not in a condition to defend himself. 'These great obligations engaged him more closely to serve his benefactor, who en- 'trusted with him the secret of his amours, and because he was not faithful in that affair, 'he broke off all further conversation with him. He lived afterwards in the court upon 'his good mein, and under the name of handsome Marillac, seeking all opportunities 'of showing his address and fine shape in public, and of making himself agreeable to 'the deceased king, who nevertheless treated him always as a mean person, and one day 'at Zamet's house turned him out from the table where he sat, with many others. All 'these

'rians of antiquity observes, that the histories they had of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, were not faithful, because they were written, either in their life-time, or little after their death: the former by persons whom fear made to falsify the truth, the latter by such as hatred, still recent, did equally influence (14). He observes in another place, that the truth had been corrupted on one side by the flatterers of princes and on the other side by the malecontents of the government, and that both of them took little care to inform posterity right; for the readers must either choose an historian that is officious to please, or one that is an enemy. But one can more easily secure himself from the imposture of a flatterer, than of a censurer: mercenary pens soon disgust, and men greedily swallow detraction and malice. Flattery is looked upon as a vile slavery, and the malice of a writer as a generous love of liberty. It is impossible to think of these things more justly, and therefore I shall give you the original of so judicious an observation (15). *Postquam bellatum apud actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit; magna illa ingenia cessere. Simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia Reip. ut alienæ mox libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris: obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.* It is certain, commonly speaking, that the praises of flatterers sink with those to whom they are given, and that posterity is not deceived by them; but a critical history of great men, written with a well-governed malice, is never lost. This kind of falsehood does more easily impose upon succeeding ages than the other, for its activity is eternal. The flatterers themselves gather up this like manna several ages after, and make use of it to set off the merit of their heroes. They praise without any bounds, and to make you believe that they do not love flattery, they revile, without mercy, those that are dead; and herein they are the very reverse of old men (16). Mr le Laboureur discovered this trick in some writers, of his time. *If I pursue*, says he (17), *each good or bad hero to his cradle, I will also examine his private actions, as well as those which appeared great in the eyes of his cotemporaries; because this is the only way to destroy all the unjust monuments that flattery has erected, and to break off or disgrace the wretched trade of many writers, who are devoted to a servile and dishoneſt interest, and are so indiscreet, as to address that to posterity, which they have written only to serve a turn. We have many examples of it, but I find none that deserves more to be blamed than that of some of the modern writers, who to make it appear, that they were forced by the truth to write in commendation of some persons that are odious, or whose merit is very doubtful, and have nothing in them more commendable, but that that they are still alive, and have it in their power to do the writer good, I say, to make this appear, they affect to defame the most accomplished men, from whom they have nothing to hope or fear, and treat them rather in the style of a satire than of a history, and freely bespatter their memory with all the foul things, that a base and mercenary detraction can inspire.*

Let us say something of the second difficulty, and let us grant, that it is very probable, that if marshal Marillac had not endeavoured to ruin the cardinal, he would have had nothing to fear from a court of justice; and that if he had adhered to the interest of the cardinal, his embezzling of the publick money, and extortion, had not hindered the advancement of his fortune. He was not perhaps less guilty than such and such, who did not only commit the same crimes with impunity, but were amply rewarded for their services by the recommendation of his enemy. He represented to his judges, 'that all his accusations con- 'sisted in facts so inconsiderable, that they might be 'objected to every one that had the least command in 'the army (18); *and he said on the day of his execu- 'tion*, That it was a strange thing he should be pro- 'secuted as he had been, when the process was only 'about hay, straw, stones, wood, and lime, and that 'there was nothing in all this for which a lacquey 'would be whipped (19).' Mr du Chastelet refutes this by very strong reasons (20); but it is certain, that the commanders of the troops at that time did commonly make use of a thousand unjust ways to enrich themselves. He makes a remark to this purpose, which is, that the marshal's faults had passed unpunished, if he had not incurred, upon other accounts, the indignation of the court. Weigh well these words (21). *The most rigorous states have allowed, that commom crimes should be passed over in the chief persons: their splendor and eminent station, together with the favour of their master, which is commonly annexed to it, covers common faults: but if it happen that malice and ungratefulness destroy the favour they enjoy, they are then levelled with the meaneſt of the kingdom, their faults appear equal, and they become subject to the penalties appointed against other subjects. All men employed in great offices, come to them only by the favour of their sovereign, in whose hand all the laws are like flaming fires, to enlighten those who please him, and to consume others, when he thinks fit. Robberies and bad intrigues joyned together ruined this man.* He means that the court would have winked at such-like extortions practised by another marshal of France, if the rest of his conduct had tended to the welfare of the state; but since this man's factions tended only to sow division in the royal family for the advantage of the Spaniards (22), it was thought necessary to deliver him up to the rigour of justice. To speak freely, those who formed factions with Mary de Medicis, were altogether inexcusable; for instead of cherishing in this princess the passionate desire of dominion, they should have advised her to be quiet and peaceable. She had tasted sufficiently of the royal power in her husband's life-time, and during the minority of her son. When he became of age and was married, she ought to have studied only to lead a peaceable life as a queen dowager, without endeavouring to prescribe to Lewis XIII the choice of such and such ministers, and without quarrelling with them. I believe one might apply to her what Tiberius said one day to the Widow of Germanicus. You take every thing for an injury that hinders you from reigning. *Nurum Agrippinam, post mortem mariti, liberius quiddam questam, manu apprehendit: Græcoque versu,* Si non dominaris, *iniquit,* filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas (23)? The Paris Gazette contains a remarkable thing, concerning the reasons which obliged the king not to grant letters of grace upon this occasion. *The death of marshal Marillac, (so the Gazetteer expresses himself in the article from Brussels, dated May 15, 1632) makes people here talk differently: nevertheless the common opinion is, that those who wrote in the names of the queen-mother, and king's brother, letters full of threats addressed to his judges to fright them, instead of doing him any service, had been the cause of his ruin; because they hindered the king from granting him a pardon, and, in a manner, forced his majesty to give him up to justice, instead of affording him that clemency which he might have found, if his majesty had not apprehended with great reason, that the favour would have been imputed to his weakness and fear, which had been owing only to his mercy* (24).

As to the question, whether the embezzling of the publick moneys could be punished with death, I refer you to Mr du Chastelet (25), who maintains, that the

(14) Tiberii, Caique, & Claudii, ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositæ sunt. *Tacit. Annal. lib. i, cap. 1.*

(15) Idem, Histor. *lib. 1, cap. 1.*

(16) Horace, de Arte Poëtica, *says, that old men praise the times passed, and blame the present.* Laudator temporis acti Se puero, censor castigatorque minorum.

(17) Le Laboureur, *Pref. to the Hist. of Charles VI, fol. 1 ij, verso. Compare what is said in the* Nouvel. de la Rep. des Lettres, *June 1686, art. 1, at the end.*

(18) Relation of the process of marshal Marillac, *pag.* 8.

(19) Ib. *pag.* 18.

(20) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 821, 822.

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 804, 805.

(22) After all the knowledge and strong presumptions that his majesty might have, that he was partly guilty of the troubles and divisions that were begun in France, for the only advantage of strangers, will any body besides this faithful Historian, or one of his accomplices, think it unjust that he was thus prosecuted? *Id. ib. pag.* 823.

(23) Sueton. in Tiberio, *cap. liii.*

(24) Paris Gazette, May 24, 1632, *pag.* 24, *Edit. of Roum, in* 8vo.

(25) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 807, *&c.*

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'these misadventures did not hinder him from charming one of the queen's maids of (b) Ib. pag. 771. 'honour [B].' He married her, and thought that after the death of Henry IV (b), *under the government of the women, his outward show, and the appearance of his virtues, being joyned with his little services, his cajolling, attendance, and complaisance, would procure him all that he could not obtain* before. ——— *The difference between the profession of his brother, who was the master of requests, and his running at the ring, rather than his handling the sword, procured him the name of* Gendarme. *He was always the busiest man in the lists and tournaments.* ——— *The queen being concerned by her alliance to deliver him from his necessitous condition, gave him an office in the company of the duke of Orleans, increased his salary, and desired the marquis d'Ancre to make use of him. The marquis became marshal of* France ——— *and was secretly instructed by Marillac in the method and policy of war*, and gave him hopes (i) Ib. pag. 772. of a good reward [C]. His death, and the removing of the queen-mother, left *Marillac* (i) *burdened with a wife, and with their common poverty.* ——— *He had a mind to comply with those who sat at the helm, being very unwilling to depart from his pretensions at court, which were his chief inheritance.* But he was given to understand, *that his presence was not grateful to the king. Whereupon he returned to his mistress, alledging a false pretence of suffering banishment upon her account*; and after some refusals, he was restored to her favour, and was made marshal de camp at Pont de Sé [D]. He did not well discharge this office, and yet it was confirmed to him by the king, upon the request of the queen-(k) Ib. pag. 773. mother. He conceived great hopes in 1624 (k), because MICHAEL DE MARILLAC, his brother, was advanced to the office of superintendant of the finances, and cardinal

the sentence passed upon marshal Marillac, does not exceed the rigour of the laws. This we can scarce grant him, and the sentence passed upon the marshal, would be better approved than it is, if it was like that which was passed upon Mr Fouquet. At the time of his trial there was published a learned book about embezzling the public moneys.

If it be considered, that even to this day there are some writers who plead for the innocence of Mr Marillac (26), the discussions I have now proposed in this remark, will not be found improper in a Critical Dictionary. For it is more useful than is commonly believed, not to use one's readers to suffer themselves to be drawn by the popular opinions concerning the conduct of sovereigns. But it is eminently dangerous to be deceived herein, when we understand that the common opinions are fortified by certain apophthegms that come out under great names. This is the present case; read therefore what an ingenious man has lately published. *It was under pretence of robbing the public treasure, that cardinal Richelieu cut off marshal Marillac's head. They alledged against that lord, that he had employed the king's money in sumptuous buildings on his fine estate at Tournebu. This fine estate, worth about two thousand Livers per annum is in Normandy, lying on the banks of the river Siene, between Vernon and Andely. Mr de Marillac, who inherited it from his ancestors, began to build a house there worth about ten or twelve thousand crowns but left it unfinished. One day the prince of Condé, grandfather to the present prince, passing by this magnificent building, about half finished, having neither doors nor windows, stopt on a sudden, and having viewed it well, said to the gentlemen who were with him:* This building is alledged as a reason why Marillac's head should be cut off; but I would not whip a page for it (27). See how this saying runs about: some ascribe it to cardinal Richelieu (28), others to Mr de Marillac himself (29), and others to the prince of Condé. If that Prince spoke in this manner he was not very exact; for he supposed that this building was the foundation of the accusations, which caused the marshal de Marillac to lose his life, and perhaps in the whole trial there was not one word said of the house of Tournebu. The judges do not concern themselves with future expences, and it would be a fine thing to condemn a man for a house which is not yet built. But what need is there of dispute? We need only read the sentence given by the commissioners, and we shall find that the accusation was grounded upon something very different from the design of a building.

[B] *He charmed one of the queen's maids of honour.*] The words which follow in Mr du Chastelet are these (30). 'She was descended from a branch of 'the house of Medicis, before the crown of Florence 'came into it. She was poor and indifferently hand-'some; and had already formed several designs to 'make a more advantageous alliance, which did not 'succeed. The prospect she had of meeting with no 'better fortune, and the fear she was in, that it 'would be more difficult for her being a stranger than 'for another, to live for the future with the trouble-'some title of an old maid, made her resolve to mar-'ry him. It is true, the match was easily made up, 'since she had nothing for an estate, but a great 'name, and her lover could afford nothing but his 'fine mien and galantry. But they conceived great 'hopes of advancement, and joined to the natural 'address of an Italian woman educated at court, the 'tricks and intrigues of a man, who after he had 'been fifteen years there, had learned all the arts 'of deceiving, and appearing to be what he was not.' This lady died during the trial of her husband; whereof we have a proof in the speech of the marshal to his judges. He represented to them *What method the deceased lady his wife had taken to get access to the king by the means and permission of cardinal Richelieu*; and he added, *That she was inhumanly repulsed, banished, and worse treated than if she had been among Barbarians, being forced to retire into a village, and to dwell in a borrowed house, where she died of grief, and almost without any relief* (31). The contract of this marriage was made December 20, 1607. They had no children (32).

[C] *The marquis d' Ancre became marshal of France . . . . . and gave him hopes of a good reward.*] Mr du Chastelet paraphrases this maliciously. The new marshal of France, says he, (33) *took upon him the command of the armies without going thither: and to make people believe that he was perfectly skilled in a profession, which he had never learned, he procured Mr Marillac to instruct him secretly in the method and policy of war. After a month's conversation, they were so pleased with one another, and so well satisfied with their courage and skill, that they were quickly persuaded they could undertake any thing safely. This master of a military school, who pretended nothing but to make himself rich, and understood the ways of making an advantage by the expences of war, desired of his scholar, as the first favour, to be made commissary-general; together with a power which made all the commanders, or pay-masters, of the troops tributary to him, by taking from them all means of making a prey of the soldiers without him. This brave office, which would have brought in so good a revenue, he was assured of, if the death of the marquis d'Ancre had not prevented this design, together with many others.*

[D] *He was restored to the favour of the queen-mother, and was made marshal de camp at Pont de Sé.*] The paraphrase which follows is no less malicious than the former. 'The fate of disgrace, which required all 'sorts of people to be accepted and employed, the 'tears of his wife, the advices and little services, 'which the party received from the other Marillac, 'his brother, being assisted by the ministry of some 'religious correspondence, caused all things past to be 'forgotten: He had the tone and look of a com-'manding officer, and could talk of entrenchments, 'half-moons, and redoubts, and had so many young 'men about him, who could better defend than de-'sign them, that for want of another, and of 'being

(26) *See, above, citation* (35) *of the article* LEWIS XIII, *what I have quoted from the* Mémoirs d'Artagnan, *and add thereto these words of page* 50, *of the same book:* The marshal de Marillac, tho' he was unfortunately ruined, was not therefore less esteemed by a great many good men, who knew the occasion of his misfortune.

(27) Vigneul Marville, Mêlanges d'Histoire & de Litterature. *Tom. ii, pag.* 15. *Dutch Edit.* 1700.

(28) See, above, citat. (42) of the article LEWIS XIII.

(29) See, above, citation (19).

(30) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 770, 771.

(31) A true relation of what passed at the trial of marshal Marillac, *pag.* 8, 9.

(32) Father Anselme's Hist. of the great Officers, *pag.* 252.

(33) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 771.

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cardinal Richelieu was made miniſter of ſtate. The firſt command that he received *was to go into Champagne to the duke of Angouleſme with a commiſſion to furniſh proviſions for the army* [E]. —— *As this was his firſt commiſſion, ſo it was alſo the firſt beginning of his theft* [F]. They became more enormous when he was employed in the *fortification and building of the citadel of Verdun, of which the king made him governor, and appointed him lieutenant general of the three biſhoprics, with the office of pay-maſter-general* (l). He was employed in the war of Rochelle in 1627 (m). He was preſent at the defeat of the Engliſh in the iſle of Ree [G], and ſerved, 'as Marſhal de Camp in the quarters of the 'duke of Angouleſme, with ſo bad ſucceſs, that in all the ſallies that were made, and all 'the attempts for taking the fort of Thadon, and blowing up with a petard the grates 'on the ſide of the moraſs, he was always forced to excuſe himſelf, and to juſtify his 'not being where he ſhould have been. He was conſtantly accuſed by the ſoldiers of 'ſome miſtake, and of being the cauſe why things ſucceeded ſo ill; ſo ſtrong was 'their opinion, that he was not ſo valiant as he was thought to be (n)". It was during the ſiege of Rochelle, that he begun to cabal againſt cardinal Richelieu; which he did chiefly by endeavouring to render him odious to Mary de Medicis (o). *Marillac continuing at Rochelle, contributed at a diſtance, as much as lay in his power, towards carrying on the monopoly; and as he confeſſed at his tryal he wrote often to the queen-mother, and gave inſtructions to thoſe who decyphered his letters, that Mr Bouthillier, then her ſecretary, ſhould ſee none of his diſpatches; that they ſhould be conveyed by the ladies of the bed-chamber, and that this good princeſs ſhould know nothing of the diſtruſt that he had —— Thoſe who formed this cabal became ſkillful men in the practice and government of women. —— Marillac, became the hero of the faction, and therefore a deſign was laid to* make him *marſhal of* France; and the queen-mother *was ſo well perſuaded, that it was for her honour and ſervice to puſh on this matter*, that ſhe uſed the ſtrongeſt recommendations which obliged the cardinal *to ſnatch this ſtaff from the hand of the king, and give it to this importunate ſuitor at the ſiege of Privas* (p). This new marſhal of France and his brother, who was then keeper of the great ſeal, continued their endeavours to ruin the cardinal, which they hoped to compaſs in Italy, and for this end they did what they could to hinder the king from approaching Piedmont, and with the ſame proſpect, the marſhal *ſlighted the orders which the king ſent him to bring the army from Champagne into Italy* (q) [H]. At laſt he *went*

(l) Ib. pag. 774.

(m) Ib. pag. 778.

(n) Ib. pag. 780.

(o) Ib. pag. 783.

(p) Ib. pag. 785.

(q) Ib. pag. 795.

'being better known, he was made marſhal de camp 'at Pont de Sé. Experience quickly diſcovered, by 'the undertaking, performance, and keeping of the 'works, which were all equally bad, that he was 'a much better ſoldier and captain upon paper than 'in the field . . . . . The ill opinion which the ſol-'diers had of his valour in his youth, was not made 'better after the loſs of the battle at Pont de Sé, 'which they attributed to his want of courage, and of experience (34). See the margin (35).

(34) Id. ib. pag. 772.

(35) Note, that Pont de Sé, a place upon the Loire, was attacked and taken by the king, Auguſt 8, 1620, from the troops of the queen-mother, who had declared for the malecontents.

[E] *With a commiſſion to furniſh proviſions for the army.*] 'He executed this commiſſion ſo ill, that the ſup-'port he had from the queen-mother, and the in-'tereſt of his brother, who became daily more pow-'erful, did not hinder him from being accuſed to the 'king from this time of miſdemeanors and thefts. 'In this firſt attack he had recourſe to the cardi-'nal by letters, and afterwards at his trial, he ſhowed 'the cardinal's anſwer of the ſeventh of April, 1625; 'which was full of marks of his friendſhip. It con-'tained an aſſurance, that he had removed out 'of the king's mind this bad impreſſion, and ad-'viſed him ſo to behave himſelf for the future, that he 'ſhould not ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance (36).'

(36) Ib. pag. 799.

[F] *This was alſo the beginning of his thefts.*] A beginning which was attended with continual conſe-quences of the ſame nature, if we believe our author. *And it will be found*, ſays he (37), *whatever declaration has been made of his innocence, that after this, till the time of his impriſonment, he did not manage, or treat of any affair relating to money, for his majeſty, but he practiſed all poſſible ways to make an advantage of it.* The detail he gives about this is dreadful: therein are to be ſeen ſuch exceſſive and ſordid miſdemeanors, that Mr du Chaſtelet was obliged to anſwer an ob-jection which was very obvious, ſince he had elſewhere repreſented the marſhal as a perſon ambitious of glory. 'It ſeems, ſays he (38), that one who minds 'ſuperficially this diſcourſe, would think it could not 'be meant of the ſame man: Therein we ſee the 'meanneſs of all ſorts of villainies, and the high 'thoughts of honour and offices. We find alſo, that 'Marillac applied himſelf to great things, and at 'the ſame time took the poor peaſants by the throat 'to rob them of their goods. Yet it is eaſy to un-'derſtand that theſe fruits proceed from the ſame 'root, and that he might be capable of both theſe 'extreams, if any one will remember, that he was 'of a malicious and proud ſpirit, and that to bear 'the weight of his ambitious poverty, he muſt have 'had recourſe to vile practices that diſhonoured his 'life. And ſucceeding beyond his own expectation, 'he was tranſported by the impetuous current of 'his faction, wherein women, and many people in-'capable of war, had ſo much authority, that 'he who had a good mien, could talk much and 'make a noiſe, eaſily acquired the opinion of great 'valour with thoſe who had no experience in his pro-'feſſion.'

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ib. pag. 793.

[G] *He was preſent at the defeat of the Engliſh in the iſle of Ree.*] We ſhall now inform you who was the author of an anonymous relation, which appeared at this time. 'It is obſervable, that the keeper of the 'ſeals (39) became the hiſtorian of the tranſactions in 'that iſle at the defeat of the Engliſh, that he might 'give all the glory of them to his brother. He would 'not put his name to it, that the relation might be 'the leſs ſuſpected, and that he might give it the 'more credit againſt the public voice of all thoſe 'who returned after the fight. He was very indiſ-'creet to make the great and only harangue of his 'book about him: For beſide, that he was accounted 'by the ſoldiers a man great only in words, but little 'in deeds, he juſtified the name which the ſoldiers 'gave him of Marillac *Gold-bridge*, becauſe he gave 'ſo many reaſons for not fighting. He makes him 'come near the enemies to take a view of them in 'theſe words: That he approached them in ſpite of 'the volleys of the advanced ſoldiers, which he was 'forced to ſtand. Whereupon it was ſaid, at the firſt 'reading of this panegyric, that he found them of a 'bad taſte, and ſuch as he had never taſted but this time. '. . . . . In a word, he makes him the only author 'of all the feats of courage and conduct, and allows 'marſhal Schomberg only to approve his counſels, 'and Thoiras to make raſh and revengeful overtures 'for the death of his two brothers. Yet all the 'world knows, that after this action which the ro-'mance of his brother attributes wholly to him, he 'was more complained of than before, &c (40).' I ſuppreſs the reſt, becauſe it is too ſatirical.

(39) That is, Michael de Marillac, brother to him of whom I ſpeak in this article.

(40) Chaſtelet, ubi ſupra, *p.g.* 279.

[H] *He ſlighted the orders the king ſent him, to bring his army from Champagne into Italy.*] He perſiſted in his diſobedience, 'till the ninth or tenth 'of September, that an expreſs command came 'from the king to depart under a great penalty. He 'acquainted

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'these misadventures did not hinder him from charming one of the queen's maids of
(b) Ib. pag. 771. 'honour [B].' He married her, and thought that after the death of Henry IV (b), *under the government of the women, his outward show, and the appearance of his virtues, being joyned with his little services, his cajolling, attendance, and complaisance, would procure him all that he could not obtain* before. ——— *The difference between the profession of his brother, who was the master of requests, and his running at the ring, rather than his handling the sword, procured him the name of* Gendarme. *He was always the busiest man in the lists and tournaments.* ——— *The queen being concerned by her alliance to deliver him from his necessitous condition, gave him an office in the company of the duke of Orleans, increased his salary, and desired the marquis d'Ancre to make use of him. The marquis became marshal of* France ——— *and was secretly instructed by Marillac in the method and policy of war,* and gave him hopes
(i) Ib. pag. 772. of a good reward [C]. His death, and the removing of the queen-mother, left *Marillac* (i) *burdened with a wife, and with their common poverty.* ——— *He had a mind to comply with those who sat at the helm, being very unwilling to depart from his pretensions at court, which were his chief inheritance.* But he was given to understand, *that his presence was not grateful to the king. Whereupon he returned to his mistress, alledging a false pretence of suffering banishment upon her account*; and after some refusals, he was restored to her favour, and was made marshal de camp at Pont de Sé [D]. He did not well discharge this office, and yet it was confirmed to him by the king, upon the request of the queen-
(k) Ib. pag. 773. mother. He conceived great hopes in 1624 (k), because MICHAEL DE MARILLAC, his brother, was advanced to the office of superintendant of the finances, and cardinal

the sentence passed upon marshal Marillac, does not exceed the rigour of the laws. This we can scarce grant him, and the sentence passed upon the marshal, would be better approved than it is, if it was like that which was passed upon Mr Fouquet. At the time of his trial there was published a learned book about embezzling the public moneys.

If it be considered, that even to this day there are some writers who plead for the innocence of Mr Marillac (26), the discussions I have now proposed in this remark, will not be found improper in a Critical Dictionary. For it is more useful than is commonly believed, not to use one's readers to suffer themselves to be drawn by the popular opinions concerning the conduct of sovereigns. But it is eminently dangerous to be deceived herein, when we understand that the common opinions are fortified by certain apophthegms that come out under great names. This is the present case; read therefore what an ingenious man has lately published. *It was under pretence of robbing the public treasure, that cardinal Richelieu cut off marshal Marillac's head. They alledged against that lord, that he had employed the king's money in sumptuous buildings on his fine estate at Tournebu. This fine estate, worth about two thousand Livers per annum is in Normandy, lying on the banks of the river Siene, between Vernon and Andely. Mr de Marillac, who inherited it from his ancestors, began to build a house there worth about ten or twelve thousand crowns but left it unfinished. One day the prince of Condé, grandfather to the present prince, passing by this magnificent building, about half finished, having neither doors nor windows, stopt on a sudden, and having viewed it well, said to the gentlemen who were with him:* This building is alledged as a reason why Marillac's head should be cut off; but I would not whip a page for it (27). See how this saying runs about: some ascribe it to cardinal Richelieu (28), others to Mr de Marillac himself (29), and others to the prince of Condé. If that Prince spoke in this manner he was not very exact; for he supposed that this building was the foundation of the accusations, which caused the marshal de Marillac to lose his life, and perhaps in the whole trial there was not one word said of the house of Tournebu. The judges do not concern themselves with future expences, and it would be a fine thing to condemn a man for a house which is not yet built. But what need is there of dispute? We need only read the sentence given by the commissioners, and we shall find that the accusation was grounded upon something very different from the design of a building.

[B] *He charmed one of the queen's maids of honour.*] The words which follow in Mr du Chastelet are these (30). 'She was descended from a branch of 'the house of Medicis, before the crown of Florence 'came into it. She was poor and indifferently handsome; and had already formed several designs to 'make a more advantageous alliance, which did not 'succeed. The prospect she had of meeting with no 'better fortune, and the fear she was in, that it 'would be more difficult for her being a stranger than 'for another, to live for the future with the trouble-'some title of an old maid, made her resolve to marry him. It is true, the match was easily made up, 'since she had nothing for an estate, but a great 'name, and her lover could afford nothing but his 'fine mien and galantry. But they conceived great 'hopes of advancement, and joined to the natural 'address of an Italian woman educated at court, the 'tricks and intrigues of a man, who after he had 'been fifteen years there, had learned all the arts 'of deceiving, and appearing to be what he was not.' This lady died during the trial of her husband; whereof we have a proof in the speech of the marshal to his judges. He represented to them *What method the deceased lady his wife had taken to get access to the king by the means and permission of cardinal Richelieu*; and he added, *That she was inhumanly repulsed, banished, and worse treated than if she had been among Barbarians, being forced to retire into a village, and to dwell in a borrowed house, where she died of grief, and almost without any relief* (31). The contract of this marriage was made December 20, 1607. They had no children (32).

[C] *The marquis d'Ancre became marshal of France . . . . . and gave him hopes of a good reward.*] Mr du Chastelet paraphrases this maliciously. The new marshal of France, says he, (33) *took upon him the command of the armies without going thither: and to make people believe that he was perfectly skilled in a profession, which he had never learned, he procured Mr Marillac to instruct him secretly in the method and policy of war. After a month's conversation, they were so pleased with one another, and so well satisfied with their courage and skill, that they were quickly persuaded they could undertake any thing safely. This master of a military school, who pretended nothing but to make himself rich, and understood the ways of making an advantage by the expences of war, desired of his scholar, as the first favour, to be made commissary-general; together with a power which made all the commanders, or pay-masters, of the troops tributary to him, by taking from them all means of making a prey of the soldiers without him. This brave office, which would have brought in so good a revenue, he was assured of, if the death of the marquis d'Ancre had not prevented this design, together with many others.*

[D] *He was restored to the favour of the queen-mother, and was made marshal de camp at Pont de Sé.*] The paraphrase which follows is no less malicious than the former. 'The fate of disgrace, which required all 'sorts of people to be accepted and employed, the 'tears of his wife, the advices and little services, 'which the party received from the other Marillac, 'his brother, being assisted by the ministry of some 'religious correspondence, caused all things past to be 'forgotten: He had the tone and look of a com-'manding officer, and could talk of entrenchments, 'half-moons, and redoubts, and had so many young 'men about him, who could better defend than de-'sign them, that for want of another, and of 'being

(26) *See, above, citation* (35) *of the article* LEWIS XIII, *what I have quoted from the* Mémoirs d'Artagnan, *and add thereto these words of page* 50, *of the same book:* 'The marshal de Marillac, tho' he was unfortunately ruined, was not therefore less esteemed by a great many good men, who knew the occasion of his misfortune.

(27) Vigneul Marville, Mêlanges d'Histoire & de Litterature. *Tom. ii, pag.* 15. *Dutch Edit.* 1700.

(28) See, above, citat. (42) of the article LEWIS XIII.

(29) See, above, citation (19).

(30) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 770, 771.

(31) A true relation of what passed at the trial of marshal Marillac, *pag.* 8, 9.

(32) Father Anselme's Hist. of the great Officers, *pag.* 252.

(33) Chastelet, ubi supra, *pag.* 771.

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cardinal Richelieu was made miniſter of ſtate. The firſt command that he received *was to go into Champagne to the duke of Angouleſme with a commiſſion to furniſh proviſions for the army* [E]. ——— *As this was his firſt commiſſion, ſo it was alſo the firſt beginning of his theſts* [F]. They became more enormous when he was employed in the *fortification and building of the citadel of Verdun, of which the king made him governor, and appointed him lieutenant general of the three biſhoprics, with the office of pay-maſter-general* (*l*). He was employed in the war of Rochelle in 1627 (*m*). He was preſent at the defeat of the Engliſh in the iſle of Ree [G], and ſerved, 'as Marſhal de Camp in the quarters of the 'duke of Angouleſme, with ſo bad ſucceſs, that in all the ſallies that were made, and all 'the attempts for taking the fort of Thadon, and blowing up with a petard the grates 'on the ſide of the moraſs, he was always forced to excuſe himſelf, and to juſtify his 'not being where he ſhould have been. He was conſtantly accuſed by the ſoldiers of 'ſome miſtake, and of being the cauſe why things ſucceeded ſo ill; ſo ſtrong was 'their opinion, that he was not ſo valiant as he was thought to be (*n*)". It was during the ſiege of Rochelle, that he begun to cabal againſt cardinal Richelieu; which he did chiefly by endeavouring to render him odious to Mary de Medicis (*o*). *Marillac continuing at Rochelle, contributed at a diſtance, as much as lay in his power, towards carrying on the monopoly; and as he confeſſed at his tryal he wrote often to the queen-mother, and gave inſtructions to thoſe who decyphered his letters, that Mr Bouthillier, then her ſecretary, ſhould ſee none of his diſpatches; that they ſhould be conveyed by the ladies of the bed-chamber, and that this good princeſs ſhould know nothing of the diſtruſt that he had* ——— *Thoſe who formed this cabal became ſkillful men in the practice and government of women.* —— *Marillac, became the hero of the faction, and therefore a deſign was laid to* make him *marſhal of* France; and the queen-mother *was ſo well perſuaded, that it was for her honour and ſervice to puſh on this matter*, that ſhe uſed the ſtrongeſt recommendations which obliged the cardinal *to ſnatch this ſtaff from the hand of the king, and give it to this importunate ſuitor at the ſiege of Privas* (*p*). This new marſhal of France and his brother, who was then keeper of the great ſeal, continued their endeavours to ruin the cardinal, which they hoped to compaſs in Italy, and for this end they did what they could to hinder the king from approaching Piedmont, and with the ſame proſpect, the marſhal *ſlighted the orders which the king ſent him to bring the army from Champagne into Italy* (*q*) [H]. At laſt he *went*

(*l*) Ib. pag. 774.

(*m*) Ib. pag. 778.

(*n*) Ib. pag. 780.

(*o*) Ib. pag. 783.

(*p*) Ib. pag. 785.

(*q*) Ib. pag. 795.

'being better known, he was made marſhal de camp 'at Pont de Sé. Experience quickly diſcovered, by 'the undertaking, performance, and keeping of the 'works, which were all equally bad, that he was 'a much better ſoldier and captain upon paper than 'in the field . . . . . The ill opinion which the ſol-'diers had of his valour in his youth, was not made 'better after the loſs of the battle at Pont de Sé, 'which they attributed to his want of courage, and of experience (34). See the margin (35).

(34) Id. ib. pag. 772.

(35) Note, that Pont de Sé, a place upon the Loire, was attacked and taken by the king, August 8, 1620, from the troops of the queen-mother, who had declared for the malecontents.

[E] *With a commiſſion to furniſh proviſions for the army.*] 'He executed this commiſſion ſo ill, that the ſup-'port he had from the queen-mother, and the in-'tereſt of his brother, who became daily more pow-'erful, did not hinder him from being accuſed to the 'king from this time of miſdemeanors and thefts. 'In this firſt attack he had recourſe to the cardi-'nal by letters, and afterwards at his trial, he ſhowed 'the cardinal's anſwer of the ſeventh of April, 1625; 'which was full of marks of his friendſhip. It con-'tained an aſſurance, that he had removed out 'of the king's mind this bad impreſſion, and ad-'viſed him ſo to behave himſelf for the future, that he 'ſhould not ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance (36).'

(36) Ib. pag. 799.

[F] *This was alſo the beginning of his theſts.*] A beginning which was attended with continual conſe-quences of the ſame nature, if we believe our author. *And it will be found*, ſays he (37), *whatever declaration has been made of his innocence, that after this, till the time of his impriſonment, he did not manage, or treat of any affair relating to money, for his majeſty, but he practiſed all poſſible ways to make an advantage of it.* The detail he gives about this is dreadful: therein are to be ſeen ſuch exceſſive and ſordid miſdemeanors, that Mr du Chaſtelet was obliged to anſwer an ob-jection which was very obvious, ſince he had elſewhere repreſented the marſhal as a perſon ambitious of glory. 'It ſeems, ſays he (38), that one who minds 'ſuperficially this diſcourſe, would think it could not 'be meant of the ſame man: Therein we ſee the 'meanneſs of all ſorts of villainies, and the high 'thoughts of honour and offices. We find alſo, that 'Marillac applied himſelf to great things, and at 'the ſame time took the poor peaſants by the throat 'to rob them of their goods. Yet it is eaſy to un-'derſtand that theſe fruits proceed from the ſame 'root, and that he might be capable of both theſe 'extreams, if any one will remember, that he wa-'of a malicious and proud ſpirit, and that to bear 'the weight of his ambitious poverty, he muſt have 'had recourſe to vile practices that diſhonoured his 'life. And ſucceeding beyond his own expectation, 'he was tranſported by the impetuous current of 'his faction, wherein women, and many people in-'capable of war, had ſo much authority, that 'he who had a good mien, could talk much and 'make a noiſe, eaſily acquired the opinion of great 'valour with thoſe who had no experience in his pro-'feſſion.'

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ib. pag. 793.

[G] *He was preſent at the defeat of the Engliſh in the iſle of Ree.*] We ſhall now inform you who was the author of an anonymous relation, which appeared at this time. 'It is obſervable, that the keeper of the 'ſeals (39) became the hiſtorian of the tranſactions in 'that iſle at the defeat of the Engliſh, that he might 'give all the glory of them to his brother. He would 'not put his name to it, that the relation might be 'the leſs ſuſpected, and that he might give it the 'more credit againſt the public voice of all thoſe 'who returned after the fight. He was very indiſ-'creet to make the great and only harangue of his 'book about him: For beſide, that he was accounted 'by the ſoldiers a man great only in words, but little 'in deeds, he juſtified the name which the ſoldiers 'gave him of Marillac *Gold-bridge*, becauſe he gave 'ſo many reaſons for not fighting. He makes him 'come near the enemies to take a view of them in 'theſe words: That he approached them in ſpite of 'the volleys of the advanced ſoldiers, which he was 'forced to ſtand. Whereupon it was ſaid, at the firſt 'reading of this panegyric, that he found them of a 'bad taſte, and ſuch as he had never taſted but this time. '. . . . . In a word, he makes him the only author 'of all the feats of courage and conduct, and allows 'marſhal Schomberg only to approve his counſels, 'and Thoiras to make raſh and revengeful overtures 'for the death of his two brothers. Yet all the 'world knows, that after this action which the ro-'mance of his brother attributes wholly to him, he 'was more complained of than before, *&c* (40).' I ſuppreſs the reſt, becauſe it is too ſatirical.

(39) That is, Michael de Marillac, brother to him of whom I ſpeak in this article.

(40) Chaſtelet, ub. ſupra, fol. 279.

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went from thence; but he kept thoſe troops near Lyons to put in execution the *reſolutions that were taken againſt the perſon of the cardinal* (r). The king's recovery made this plot miſcarry. The marſhal went over the Alps, and obtained the ſame power over the armies that the marſhals de la Force and Schomberg had (s); but the cabal having failed in their main deſign, I mean the queen not being able to obtain the favour ſhe deſired of her ſon the king, to remove the cardinal from his council, the Marillacs were undone (t). *The king having taken away the ſeals from the eldeſt, which were powerful and dangerous inſtruments in ſo bad hands, cauſed him to be carried to Lizieux* (u), *and commanded the marſhals* de la Force *and* Schomberg *to ſeize the other, and ſend him priſoner under a ſtrong guard to the caſtle of* Sainte-Menehouſt. Theſe are ſome extracts out of the book of Mr du Chaſtelet. He mentions alſo the engagement which the eldeſt of theſe gentlemen had entered into with the League [I]. We ſee, in Moreri, that the marſhal *always refuſed* the offers his friends made him to deliver him out of priſon, and that his ſentence was reverſed by a decree of parliament after the death of cardinal Richelieu [K]. This deſerves

(r) Ib. pag. 799.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Ib. pag. 803.

(u) Father Anſelme's *Hiſtory of great Officers*, *pag.* 104, ſays, that he was carried to the caſtle of Caën, and from that to the caſtle of Chateaudun, where he died in priſon, Auguſt 7, 1632.

‘ acquainted thoſe of Paris, that he was there as ‘ a ſhield to ſecure them againſt the forces of the ‘ emperor, that waited only for his removal, that ‘ they might enter into France. He filled the king- ‘ dom with letters written to his friends, containing ‘ the cauſes of his delay, which he excuſed to the ‘ king, ſometimes by falſe news, and ſometimes be- ‘ cauſe he could not draw troops out of the garriſons, ‘ without paying the ſoldiers and the communities ‘ which had maintained them. This delay was ſo ‘ prejudicial to the king's deſigns, that all the reſo- ‘ lutions of thoſe whom he entruſted with his affairs, ‘ and with the army beyond the Alps, remained in ‘ ſuſpence upon the uncertainty of his coming, which ‘ he promiſed in one diſpatch, and preſently delayed ‘ by another for reaſons frivolous and deceitful; which ‘ occaſioned ſuch a loſs of men and time, that if he ‘ had come in the beginning of July to Suza, as he ‘ might eaſily have done, and was commanded to ‘ do, the paſſage of Veillane had been ſecured, and ‘ the relief of Cazal infallible at the beginning of ‘ Auguſt. If he had obeyed, as he could have done, ‘ the men had not been there in the time of that ‘ peſtilence and mortal diſeaſe, which deſtroyed ‘ twenty thouſand French in the Autumn, in the ‘ plains of Piedmont. The ſtate of the beſieged, ‘ and of our troops had not forced the generals to ‘ admit, in September, the Spaniards into the city ‘ and caſtle, by a truce, which the event only ex- ‘ cuſed; and the bad air of Lyons, infected with ſo ‘ many impurities and miſeries, had not put the king ‘ in danger of his life (41).' Here you may ſee the confirmation of a reflexion I made above (42), that it was for the good and ſervice of Lewis XIII, that his troops ſhould be commanded by the friends of cardinal Richelieu; for there being nothing more proper to deſtroy this prime miniſter than the bad ſucceſs of the war, it was to be feared, that the enemies of that cardinal would favour at leaſt indirectly the enemies of France. You ſee how the Marillacs contrived the matter ſo, that the expedition to Italy, of which they had the direction, proved unfortunate (43). I am willing to believe they did not deſire the ſucceſs of the Spaniards as ſuch, but only as a means to procure the fall of the prime miniſter. Whatever motive they might have to deſire it, the intereſt of the crown, and the ſervice of Lewis XIII ſuffered by it.

(41) Ib. pag. 793.

(42) See, above, remark [X] of the article LEWIS XIII.

(43) Chaſtelet, ibid. *pag.* 789.

[I] *The obligations which the eldeſt of theſe gentlemen had entered into with the League.*] The circumſtances of this are very remarkable. Mr du Chaſtelet affirms, that, among other things, it was repreſented to cardinal Richelieu, ‘ That it would not be difficult to ‘ make people believe the ingratitude and diſguiſes of ‘ Marillac the keeper of the ſeals; that it would ‘ eaſily be credited that he, whom all the world be- ‘ lieved poſſeſſed with ſuch a furious paſſion, as to ‘ ſign the League with his own blood; who had a ‘ mind from a Frenchman to become a Spaniard; ‘ who from counſellor in the parliament of Paris, ‘ became an aſſiſtant to an attorney, to impriſon the ‘ moſt illuſtrious perſons in the world; who de- ‘ parted from his pretenſion of being a gentleman, to ‘ be a deputy of the third eſtate of the League, tho' he ‘ was an officer in the higheſt court; who from a ‘ lay-counſellor, became aſſiſtant as a cleric to the ‘ bull thundered out againſt his king; and who, from ‘ a furious Leaguer became a domeſtic to the ducheſs ‘ of Bar, and her confident ſo far as to go to a ‘ Proteſtant ſermon, might, on this occaſion, have ‘ aſſumed all the faces, changes and reſolutions ‘ that were moſt agreeable to his paſſion (44).' The author whom M. du Chaſtelet refutes, had ſaid, that marſhal Marillac recommended to his nephew, *That he ſhould always ſerve the king faithfully next to* G O D. Which Mr du Chaſtelet criticizes thus. ‘ Upon what ‘ other grounds, *ſays he* (45), was the rebellion of ‘ the League founded? Did Buſſy, the Spartacus of ‘ our age, being encouraged by the preſence and ‘ fury of Michael de Marillac, who aſſiſted him, uſe ‘ any other prologue for his driving the ſenate from ‘ their ſeats, and dragging them to priſon?'

(44) Ib. *pag.* 796, 797. *See alſo pag.* 787, *and* 836.

(45) Ibid. *pag.* 839.

[K] *We ſee in Moreri that . . . his ſentence was reverſed . . . . after the death of Richelieu.*] The Memoirs of Mr Puyſegur, cited in the Dictionary of Moreri, ſay, that the ſame day the marſhal was ſeized, the captain of his guards ‘ propoſed to him to procure his eſcape; ‘ and *that the marſhal anſwered him*, that he would not ‘ make his eſcape, if he could; that he feared nothing; ‘ that he had always been a true ſervant to the king; ‘ that he ordered him to ſerve his majeſty faithfully, and ‘ to tell all his friends to do the ſame (46).' Mr Puyſegur publiſhed this as having *learned it afterwards from Mr de Marillac, when he had him in his cuſtody at Pontoiſe.* Thoſe that will read what is related four pages after this, will not think that Moreri has informed us faithfully, nor that Mr Marillac had never any intention to make his eſcape. The king had a mind to know whether Mr de Puyſegur would be anſwerable for this marſhal, and conduct him to the great hall of the vicarſhip of Pontoiſe. ‘ I ſay, *they are the* ‘ *words of Mr Puyſegur* (47), that I could not anſwer ‘ for him, that Mr de Marillac, keeper of the ſeals, ‘ had there a daughter who was a Nun, that was very ‘ powerful, and much beloved, that I would not run ‘ the hazard of carrying him thither; and that there ‘ was another reaſon which hindered me, which I ‘ would not tell, but the king knew afterwards, that ‘ by the intrigue of that Nun, and the queen-mother, ‘ Mr d' Argouges, who belonged to her, would have ‘ given me a 100000 crowns to ſet Marillac at liberty.'

(46) Puyſegur Memoir. *pag.* 83. Dutch Edit.

(47) Ib. *pag.* 87.

The other obſervation of Moreri, *viz.* that the parliament of Paris reverſed the ſentence againſt marſhal Marillac, might have overthrown what I ſaid in the firſt remark of this article, if that parliament had revived the proceſs, and declared that the judges who condemned this marſhal, did willingly oppreſs him, or were deceived by falſe witneſſes. But I cannot believe that the decree of the parliament of Paris contained any ſuch thing. I muſt confeſs that I do not know the tenor of it, and I do not remember that I have ſeen any book except Moreri's Dictionary, wherein it is mentioned. Father Anſelme ſays nothing of it, and yet he was a man who was very careful to oblige the families he wrote about. Common ſenſe tells us, that if the parliament of Paris had declared marſhal Marillac innocent of all the crimes for which he was condemned to death, they had ſet a mark of infamy upon thoſe who had condemned him, and chiefly upon Mr de Chateauneuf their preſident. This had been a ſtain ſo black, ſo ſhameful and abominable, that I cannot underſtand how Mr de Chateaneuf could have appeared in public; and yet it was after the death of cardinal Richelieu, which, according to Moreri, was the time when the ſentence againſt Marillac was reverſed, that he was delivered from his diſgrace:

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may it ought to be obſerved, that he was advanced a ſecond time to be keeper of the ſeals in 1650 (48). See the margin (49). I could therefore eaſily believe, that the decree which Moreri mentions, does not concern the things whereof the marſhal was accuſed, but only the method of proceeding. It could not but be diſagreeable to the parliament; for the erection of an extraordinary court to judge the officers of the crown, was a thing irregular, and contrary to the rights of parliament. Beſides, marſhal Marillac had often declared, that he did not own the commiſſioners that tried him to be his natural judges. This might afford the parliament of Paris a ſpecious reaſon, to declare that the marſhal was not lawfully tried; but this is no proof, that they declared him innocent of the crimes upon which the condemnation was grounded. Here is a convincing inſtance of what I ſay. After the battle of Rocroy, and the taking of Thionville, the court having a mind to make ſome acknowledgment to the duke of Enguien, reſtored to the prince of *Condé the fine houſe of Chantilli, and ſome other parts of the inheritance of the duke of Montmorency, to whom the princeſs of Condé was heireſs. The decree of the parliament of Paris intervening upon the letters of the grant, ſays expreſsly, that the duke of Montmorency was not rightly judged: and this is founded upon one of the moſt certain maxims of the kingdom; That the dukes and peers cannot be judged but by the king in perſon, and in his court of parliament, a ſufficient number of eccleſiaſtical and ſecular peers being preſent* (50). According to theſe maxims, the marſhal de Biron had not been rightly tried; for Henry IV did not aſſiſt in perſon at his trial. But ſetting aſide all cavils, I ſhall only obſerve, that what was inſerted in favour of the duke de Montmorency, in the decree of the parliament of Paris, does no ways hinder but that he was certainly guilty of rebellion, and cannot impeach the probity of his judges. They were incompetent, if you pleaſe; but they gave ſentence according to law, and againſt a perſon who was really guilty. It often happens that inferior judges are guilty of irregular proceedings, which are nulled by ſuperior courts, and the accuſed gains nothing by it, but only a little time; for the proceedings are renewed with all the requiſite formalities, and he is duly convicted, and the firſt ſentence is confirmed in the main.

Note, That I do not intend to deny, that the honour of ſome perſons who were puniſhed with death, has been reſtored in ſuch a manner as did import a judicial declaration of their innocence; but commonly this is the conſequence of a reviewing of the proceſs, attended with new writings in juſtification of the party, and with convincing proofs of the corruption or raſhneſs of the judges. Without this, the reſtoring of the honour of thoſe that are puniſhed with death, is nothing but a favour granted for the good ſervices that have been received, or are expected, from a conſiderable family. This is a comfort to a family, and a kind of barrier againſt the inſulting reproaches of it's enemies. I cannot tell exactly what kind of reſtoring that was which follows: 'In 1549, a little after the 'death of king Francis I, James de Coucy, lord of 'Vervin, the king's lieutenant at Bologne, and Odoart 'de Biez, marſhal of France, his father-in-law, were 'condemned; the former to death, becauſe he had 'not well defended Montreuil againſt the Engliſh, the 'other to loſe his dignity of marſhal, becauſe he had 'betrayed and ſurrendered Bologne to Henry king of 'England. Theſe two lords were declared innocent 'in 1577, in the reign of Henry III, at the ſuit of 'James de Coucy, ſon to the ſaid lord of Vervin, 'and grandſon to the ſaid lord marſhal Biez: and 'the verification and publication of their innocence was done judicially at Bologne, June the 'fourteenth (51).'

To ſpeak truth, the letters-patents, edicts, and decrees of princes, contain often ſome honourable things, which, properly ſpeaking, are nothing but compliments, and muſt be underſtood after the manner of compliments. Do you think that Henry III ſpoke according to his own judgment, when he declared (52), that the duke of Alençon, his brother, the king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, the prince of Condé, and all the other lords, knights, gentlemen, officers, and inhabitants of his kingdom, who had a hand in the laſt troubles, *had been in this his good and loyal ſubjects and ſervants*; and when he teſtified, *that he was well and duly informed of the good intention of the ſaid duke of Alençon, and that there was nothing done by him, nor by thoſe concerned with him, whoſoever they were, the living as well as the dead, but what was for his ſervice?* Do you think that Lewis XIII ſpoke more ſincerely, when he declared (53), that *he believed that what was done by the prince of Condé and his followers, had been done with a good intention, and for his ſervice?* The like clauſes are commonly to be found in all the edicts of peace, ſince the firſt civil war for religion under Charles IX (54), and are now become a form that will be uſed at all times when the exigences of the ſtate ſhall require it. The heads of a party, in a troubleſome civil war, do commonly capitulate ſo happily for themſelves, and their own intereſt, that they obtain either the marſhal's ſtaff, or the blue ribbon, or the government of a place, beſides letters, I do not ſay of pardon, but wherein the king declares that he is perſuaded, that what they did was for his ſervice. Neither the prince who ſpeaks, nor the ſecretary of ſtate who draws up the writing, nor the chancellor who ſeals it, believe any thing of this to be true; yet the neceſſity of the times forces them to expreſs themſelves after this manner. But nobody underſtands this literally; people continue to ſay, or to think, that they bore arms againſt the king, and were rank rebels. The reſt muſt paſs for compliments under the great ſeal, and chancery-lies.

What kings do in their edicts and declarations, is alſo done ſometimes in a parliament, either by their order, or upon their recommendation, and ſometimes tho' they are not concerned in it. I mean, that the honour of perſons is reſtored ſometimes upon one pretence, and ſometimes upon another, ſuppoſing that this ſerves the purpoſes of the relations as well as reaſon it ſelf: but the judges who have condemned, are not accounted infamous, or looked upon as puniſhable, unleſs the re-inſtating decree, be grounded upon a review of the writings, and it be ordered, that the judges or witneſſes ſhall be immediately proſecuted. I think that nobody dare ſay, that the parliament of Paris ordered any thing like this againſt Mr de Chateauneuf, or againſt his aſſeſſors, or againſt that multitude of witneſſes whom they examined and re-examined. If Mr Moreri had cited ſome authors, he might have eaſed me, and perhaps enabled me to know, that what I have juſt now obſerved is needleſs. See the margin (55). It muſt be confeſſed, that in hiſtorical matters, thoſe who abound with exact quotations, do extreamly abridge the way of inſtruction.

(48) Anſelme, cited ſupra, *pag.* 105.

(49) The prince of Condé remembring that Mr de Chateauneuf preſided at the trial of Mr de Montmorency, (compare what is ſaid, in remark [G] of the article LEWIS XIII, at the beginning), croſſed him as much as he could, and at laſt cauſed the ſeals to be taken from him. See Priolo, *lib.* v, *cap.* xvi, & xxvi, & alib. Would not he have alledged, if he could, the infamy wherewith the parliament of Paris had marked him?

(50) Aubery, Hiſt. of cardinal Mazarin, *book* v, *pag.* 208.

(51) Richeotne, Apologetical Complaint, *num.* 50, *pag.* 184, 185.

(52) The edict of the year 1578 *Art. xlix, liii.*

(53) Edict of the month of May, 1616. *Art. xviii.*

(54) See Mr Daillé's Reply to Adam and Cottiby, *part ii, cap. xviii, pag.* 112, 113.

(55) Balzac, in the thirteenth Letter of the firſt book to Mr Conrart, dated April 30, 1650, mentions a letter he had writen to a gentleman of Languedoc, *wherein*, ſays he, *I have ſpoke of the reviewing of the proceſs of marſhal Marillac, although nobody be named in it.* I confeſs I know not what he means by that reviewing. I want a great many books and memoirs for which I have occaſion.

MARINELLA, or MARINELLI, (LUCRETIA), a Venetian lady of a great deal of wit, who publiſhed among other books [A] one intituled *La Nobiltà e l'eccellenza delle donne con diffetti e mancamenti de gli huomini, (The excellency and nobleneſs of women with the defects and faults of men)* (a). She carried the pretenſions of her ſex, not only to an equality, as ſome authors have done [B], but alſo to a ſuperiority above

(a) It was printed at Venice in 1601, in 4to.

[A] *Among other books.*] She wrote a book, intituled, *La Colomba Sacra, (the Holy Dove)* the Life of the Virgin Mary, and of that of St Francis. I find this in *le coſe notabili & maravigliose della Citta di Venetia* (1).

(1) At pag. 311, of the Venice Edit. 1655.

[B] *At ſome authors have done* (2).] I ſhall name only two: one is Madam de Gournay, who wrote a little book *of the equality of men and women.* Her pretenſion was diſapproved by Mrs Schurman: 'Nobiliſſima Gornacenſis diſſertatiunculam ..... uti ab 'elegantia ac lepore improbare minime poſſum: ita 'eam per omnia comprobare nec auſim quidem nec velim; licet ad ſapientum teſtimonia quæ illa nobis exhibuit, brevitatis cauſa provocarim (3). - - - - *The ſhort diſcourſe of the excellent Madam de Gournay . . . . as I cannot, becauſe of it's elegance, and gracefulneſs, diſapprove*

(2) See the article FONTE.

(3) Anna Maria, a Schurman, in Opuſcul. *p.* 85.

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above the male. Mrs de Schurman did not approve the design of this book (*b*); and therefore she would have blamed Mrs Jacquette Guillaume [*C*].

(*b*) Tanto vero abest ut hoc cum virginali modestia aut saltem innato mihi pudore congruere arbitrer, ut vel perlegere pigeat tractatum cætera insignem Lucretiæ Marinellæ. - - - - - *So far am I from thinking this agreeable to the modesty of a virgin, or my own innate modesty, that I cannot bear to read over the treatise of Lucretia Marinella, though otherwise very ingenious.* Anna Maria à Schurman, in Opusculis, pag. 85.

'*disapprove it*; *so I neither dare, nor will, in all things* '*approve it, tho', for brevity's sake, I have referred to* '*the testimonies of the men of wisdom which she hath* '*produced*' The other author is one who published at Paris in 1673, a book intituled, *Of the Equality of the two sexes, a discourse physical and moral, wherein is to be seen the importance of clearing the mind from prejudices.* He thought that some would write against him, and he was threatened with it (4). But finding that none appeared to refute him, he himself wrote against his own book; for he published a treatise in 1675, *Of the excellency of men, against the equality of Sexes.* If you consider well all that he says, you will discover, that he had no design to refute his first book, but rather to confirm it indirectly. However it be, these two books were reprinted at Paris in 1679. It was a long time before the author of them was known: It was said in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for the month of October 1685 (5), that his name was Frelin; but some time after it was declared there (6), that he should rather be called Poulain. And indeed this is his true name, altho' he assumed that of la Barre, at the beginning of the third edition in 1691 (7), and at the beginning of the third part of his work published in 1692. I must tell you, by the way, that he was an ecclesiastic of Lorrain, who embraced, at Geneva, the Protestant communion.

(4) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *March* 16, 1676.

(5) Article vii, pag. 1145, of the second edition.

(6) On the back side of the last page of the table of the second edition of the *Nouvelles* for the year 1685.

(7) *See the* Hist. of the Works of the Learned, *Sept.* 1691, *pag.* 27, &c.

[*C*] *Mrs de Schurman would have blamed Mrs Jacquette Guillaume.*] Who published at Paris, in 1665, a book intituled, *The Illustrious Ladies, wherein is proved, by good and strong reasons, that the Female Sex in all respects exceeds the Male.* There was published at Paris a book in 8vo, in 1643, with this title, *The generous Woman, who proves that her Sex is more Noble, more Politic, more Valiant, more Learned, more Virtuous, and more Frugal, than that of Men, by L. S. D. L. L.* I add, that Mr Scheffer (8) informs me, that there was printed at Upsal, in 1650, a treatise intituled, *La donna migliore dell huomo, Paradosso*, written by Jacobus del Pozzo (*i. e.* de Puteo).

(8) Joh. Scefferi de Scriptis & Scriptor. Suecorum, *pag.* 301.

This Thesis had been a long time maintained by some wits. Jerom Ruscelli published, in 1552, an Italian book, wherein he gave the superiority of perfection to the women, CHE LA DONNA *sia di gran lunga piu nobile & piu degna dell' HUOMO* (9). He observes, that Plutarch, John Boccace, *il Cortegiano, l'Agrippa, il Portio, il Lando* (10), *il Domenichi*, and several others, handled this question; notwithstanding which, we do not find, that their reasons have made the world believe, that the women surpass the men. He quotes (11) Maggio, and Bernardo Spina, who writ in defence of the same opinion. I have a book, which was printed at Paris in 1617, with this title, *A Reply to the Antimalice, or Defence of Women, of the Sieur Vigoureux, otherwise called Brye-Comte-Robert . . . . . by the Sieur de la Bruyere, a Gentleman of Berne.* This gentleman declares (12), *That his intention is to confute what* the author of the defence had *said*, that *the women are better than the men, and more virtuous in all things.* Note, that this defence was the refutation of a piece of one James Olivier (13), and that he, who published it, *to have a larger field of discourse, undertook to appropriate to the men . . . . what was attributed to the women*, in the book which he refuted (14). You will find other writers in the second tome of Vigneul Marville's Miscellanies, at the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth pages of the Dutch edition.

(9) Ruscelli, Lettura sopra un Sonetto del Marchese della Terza, *fol.* 14.

(10) See his article, at the end of the rem. [*A*].

(11) Fol 14. verso, & fol. 15.

(12) In his preface.

(13) *Intitulé*, Alphabet de l'imperfection & Malice des Femmes.

(14) *Preface to the* Replique à l'Antimalice. *This* Anti *is not to be found in Mr Bayle's collection.*

MARINELLO (JOHN) an Italian Physician in the XVIth century, published, in Latin, Commentaries on the works of Hippocrates in general (*a*), and on the Aphorisms in particular (*b*), a Treatise of Fevers, and a Treatise of the Plague, &c. I have spoken elsewhere (*c*) of two Italian books, which he published, one of which will engage me to make a small remark [*A*].

(*a*) *At Venice*, 1575, *in folio.*

(*b*) At Venice, 1583, in 16mo.

(*c*) In the remark [*C*] of the article LIEBAUT.

[*A*] *One of his books will engage me to make a small remark.*] It is that which is intituled, *Le Medicine pertenenti alle infermita delle Donne.* I have shewn, in another place (1), that there is no reason for saying, that the work of John Liebaut, on the Diseases of Women, is only a translation of this. Lazarus Pe, publishing a new edition of this work of Liebaut at Paris, in 1609, in 8vo, intituled it, *The Diseases of Women, and their Cure, in three books, by John Marinello, of Formia* (2), *a learned Italian Physician.* He revised, corrected, and augmented it one third, in which he made use of Roderigo à Castro, a Portuguese Physician, who had happily seconded John Marinello. Here is a passage, in which this latter is commended, and in which Liebaut is accused of Plagiarism. 'Marinello . . . . has so skillfully handled 'this matter, that he has exceeded all the ancients 'and moderns: for all the parts of it, to the most 'minute, are clearly, distinctly, and learnedly, com- 'prised. A work worthy of so deserving a genius as 'his! of which he has given proofs throughout the 'whole: it is he, who has continued Arculan on 'Rhasis: it is he, who wrote the four books of the 'Embellishment of Women; and many other treatises, which the Italians and French have improperly laid claim to: as this book of the diseases of 'women, which M. John Liebaut claimed to himself: notwithstanding which, by comparing one 'with the other, I have discovered, that he took all 'the materials from Marinello, transposing sometimes, and adding something of his own the better 'to disguise it. But the credit of it ought to be restored to the author, and John Liebaut to be never- 'theless commended for having polished, enlarged, 'and translated this book into French; as also that of 'the Embellishment of Women (3).

(1) In remark [*C*] of the article LIEBAUT.

(2) In *Lindenius renovatus*, *pag.* 634, he is said to be a Venetian.

(3) Lazarus Pe, in the Epistle Dedicatory.

MARIUS, surnamed ÆQUICOLA, because he was born in the country of the Æqui in Italy [*A*], flourished at the end of the XVth century, and in the beginning of the XVIth. He studied at Paris, Physics and Mathematics under Faber Stapulensis (*a*). He was one of the wits in the court of Francis Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, and he wrote in Italian a history of Mantua [*B*], wherein he enlarges very much

(*a*) He himself says so, as I learned by a memoir which a certain person communicated to me, but would not be named.

[*A*] *He was surnamed Æquicola, because he was born in the country of the Æqui.*] This is the opinion of Leander Albertus, in his description of Italy. *Æquicolorum nomen superiori memoria Marius Alvetius plurimum nobilitavit cognomento Æquicola* (1). The Italian words of this author are these; *ha illustrato gli Equicoli, Mario di Alveto* (2). We must not wonder, that Nicodemo (3) did not make use of them, to refute Nicolas Toppi, who placed this Mario among the Neapolitan authors (4); for there was great reason for placing him there. Marius Æquicola was of Alvito; and if on the one side, many Geographers believe, that this place was situate in the country of the ancient Æqui, it is certain, on the other side, that at present it belongs to the kingdom of Naples.

(1) Leander Albertus, in Descript. Ital. *pag.* 225.

(2) Fol. m. 149. verso.

(3) Nicodemo, Addit. alla Bibl. Napoletan. *pag.* 172.

(4) Nicolo Bibl. Napoletan. *pag.* 206.

[*B*] *He wrote in Italian a history of Mantua.*] Let us cite the words of Leander Albertus: 'Diu inter 'Francisci Gonzagæ Mantuani Marchionis familiares fuit,

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much upon what concerns the illuſtrious houſe of Gonzaga. He wrote many other books [C]: what he wrote about the nature of Love, was re-printed ſeveral times [D], and yet is very difficult to be met with. I have ſaid ſomething of him in another place (*b*), Scaliger, the father, praiſes him very much [E]. The epitome of Geſner's *Bibliotheque* deſerves to be cenſured [F].

(*b*) In the remark [B] of the firſt VERGERIUS.

' fuit, & lingua vernacula pereleganter Gonzagarum
' vitas ſcripſit (5). - - - - *He was long honoured with*
' *the friendſhip of Francis Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua,*
' *and very elegantly wrote the lives of the family of Gon-*
' *zaga in his mother-tongue.*' Give no credit to what he ſays of the elegance of this book; for I know that the ſtyle of it was ſo harſh, that Benedict Oſanna was obliged to correct and poliſh it, when a new edition of that hiſtory of Mantua was made in 1608. ' Maximam vitæ partem Manituæ egit Ma-
' rius inter familiares Iſabellæ Eſtenſis uxoris Fran-
' ciſci II, Marchionis in ejus gratiam ſcripſit de
' Mantuana hiſtoria breves commentarios a rerum Ori-
' gine ad ſua uſque tempora lingua Italica, eaque
' rudi & rancida, ut ea ætas ferebat. Verum ſeculo
' ſequenti Bened. Oſanna Mantuanus cum Marii hi-
' ſtoria recuderetur, voces obſoletas uſitatis commuta-
' vit, & ſtylum rubigine ſquallidum limavit ornavit-
' que (6). - - - *He ſpent the greateſt part of his life at*
' *Mantua, among the intimates of Iſabella D'Eſte, wife*
' *of Francis II, the marquis, to oblige whom, he wrote*
' *a ſhort hiſtory of Mantua, from it's original to his*
' *own time, in the Italian tongue, but that rude and*
' *unpoliſhed, agreeable to that age. But, in the next*
' *century, Benedict Oſanna of Mantua, when Marius's*
' *hiſtory was to be reprinted, changed the obſolete words*
' *for thoſe in uſe, and poliſhed the ſtile.*' It is divided into five books: The three firſt are dedicated to Francis II, Marquis of Mantua, who died in 1519. The fourth, being wholly deſigned for the life of that marquis, was dedicated to Frederic Gonzaga, his ſon. to whom Marius was ſecretary, if we may believe Boneſmond. The fifth contains the hiſtory of this Frederic, till the year 1521. Of this I have been informed by a memoir, which Mr . . . was pleaſed to ſend me.

(5) Leander Alberus, ubi ſupra.

(6) Theſe words are taken from a memoir, which Mr . . . . has been pleaſed to ſend me.

[C] *He wrote many other books.*] A treatiſe *De opportunitate*, printed at Naples in 1507, in 4to. *Epiſtola ad Maximilianum Sfortiam Mediolani ducem de liberata Italia*, printed in 1513, in 4to. A Latin apology *againſt the ſlanderers of the French nation.* It was tranſlated into French by Michael Roſe, and that verſion was printed at Paris in 1550, in 8vo. *D. Iſabellæ Eſtenſis Mantuæ Principis iter in Galliam Narbonenſem deſcriptum.* I ſhall ſpeak hereafter of the deſcription of that journey. We find in the Bibliotheque of Draudius (7) one Marius Æquivolus Olivetanus, the author of a book of Theology (8), printed at Munich in 1584, and (9) one Marius Æquicolius, the author of an harangue *de laudibus trium Philoſophiæ facultatum.* Toppi (10) aſcribes the firſt of theſe two treatiſes to our Marius Æquicola. He gives us the title of it, with a clauſe, which Draudius has forgotten, *viz.* that Anſelm Stocklius firſt publiſhed this book, after he had corrected it. Leonard Nicodemo (11) mentions this title; *Introduzione di Mario Equicola al comporre ogni ſorte di rima della lingua volgare, con uno eruditiſſimo diſcorſo della Pittura, e con molto ſegrete allegorie, intorno alle Muſe, e alla poeſia*, at Venice 1555, in 4to. Add to this what will be ſaid in the following remarks.

(7) At *pag.* 283, of the edition of Francfort, 1625.

(8) In quo tractatur unde antiquorum latria, & vera Catholici religio incrementum ſumpſerint: cum epiſtola Anthelmi Stockii Equitis.

(9) At *pag.* 1451.

(10) Nicolo Toppi, ubi ſupra.

(11) Nicodemo, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 191.

Let us ſee what Mr . . . . . has informed me of, as to the relation of a journey, which Iſabella d'Eſte, marchioneſs of Mantua, made into Provence, to viſit St Baume, to which ſhe was obliged by a vow. The author declares, that he knows not the reaſon of that journey, and would not tell it, if he knew it (12). Here is his dedication. ' Marius Æquico-
' la Ferdinando Gonzagæ Franc. March. Mantuæ iiii.
' filio S. D. P. In hoc ſcribendo non minus equidem
' animo laboravi quam corpore fatigabar, cum ea
' adirem de quibus diximus loca: ſequitur enim laſ-
' ſitudo ingenii, ut corporis. Jam vero arma Itine-
' raria non Herculis ad poſtem fiximus, ſed in tem-
' plo Veneris genitricis conſecravimus. Illius ergo
' hæc ad te. Vale. - - - - *Marius Æquicola, to Fer-*
' *dinand Gonzaga, ſon of Francis iiii, marquis of Man-*
' *tua. In writing this, I have wearied my ſelf no leſs*
' *in mind than in body, when I came to thoſe paſſages,*
' *of which we ſpoke. But now I have hung up the ar-*
' *mour of my expedition, not on the pillar of Hercules*
' *but in the temple of my mother Venus. For her ſake I*
' *ſend you this.*' He begins his relation with inquiring into the original of vows among the ancients. After this, he leads his heroine, thro' Venice, over the Alps, into Provence, and gives a ſhort and good deſcription of the places, thro' which ſhe paſſed. The impreſſion of the book is faulty; for there is no year to it, nor is the year of the pilgrimage mentioned; but it ſeems it was before 1512.

(12) Cauſas noncnt alii, non diſſimulo ne meminerint: quod equidem ſcirem, diſſimularem.

[D] *What he wrote about the nature of Love was reprinted ſeveral times,*] Toppi mentions only the edition of Venice 1536, in 8vo; which is not the firſt; for he ſays, *Un libro di natura d'amore, riſtampato e corretto* (13) *Nicodemo* (14) takes notice of the edition of Venice 1554, in 12mo, which is intituled; *Libro di Natura d'amore di Mario Equicola di nuovo con ſomma diligenza riſtampato, e corretto da M. Lodovico Dolce. Con una tavola delle coſe piu notabili che nell' opera ſi contengono.* He ſays, that Doni mentions this book with praiſe, in his firſt *Libreria*, at p. 73, of the Venice edition 1550. This book of Æquicola was reprinted at Venice in 1563, and 1583. Gabriel Chapuys made a French tranſlation of it, which was printed at Paris (15): The following paſſage of Auguſtinus Niphus will not be ſuperfluous: ' Tempori-
' bus noſtris Marius Æquicola Olivetanus amiciſſimus
' noſter meo Judicio fertiliſſime de amore ſcripſit, &
' licet vulgari atque materno ſermone, tamen nihil
' intentatum præteriit (16). - - - *In our times, Marius*
' *Æquicola of Olivetum, my very good friend, wrote*
' *with a moſt fruitful genius, in my opinion, on the ſub-*
' *ject of love; and, tho' in the vulgar and mother-*
' *tongue, yet he left nothing unattempted.*' Do not take Olivetanus for an error of the preſs; for the author calls himſelf *Equicolam Olivetanum*, in his book *De opportunitate* (17). It was not becauſe he was of the order of the monks of mount Olivet, as Poſſevin affirms in his Apparatus; but becauſe he believed the place of his birth might be called *Olivetum* (18), as well as *Alvitum* or *Alvetium.*

(13) Toppi, ubi ſupra.

(14) Nicodemo, ubi ſupra.

(15) *See* du Verdier's Biblioth. Françoiſe, *pag.* 433.

(16) Auguſt. Niphus, de amore, *cap. i, pag. m.* 285.

(17) Mr . . . . in the memoir cited above.

(18) Ab Oleis, ibid.

[E] *Scaliger. the father, praiſes him very much.*] He inſcribed a piece of Poetry to him, which begins thus:

Maxime vir, geminas cui circum tempora laurus
Purpurea facilis nectit Apollo manu:
Æquicola Aonidum decus, acceptiſſime rerum
Numinibus veſtris, numinibuſque meis:
Quid faciam miſeri . . . . (19)?

O thou! the Muſes favourite! for whoſe brows
A double laurel Phœbus ſelf prepares:
Deareſt Æquicola! What ſhall I do,
Unhappy that I am? . . . . .

(19) Julius Cæſar Scaliger, in Lacrymis, *part i, Poematum, pag.* 535, *Edit.* 1591.

This Poem was written in 1517, if we believe Joſeph Scaliger (20), who adds, that his father and Matthew Bandel, a dominican, contracted a very cloſe friendſhip at Mantua, while they were both inſinuating themſelves into the favour of Æquicola.

(20) Joſephus Scaliger, Confut. Fabulæ Burdonum, *pag.* 264. *See alſo pag.* 240, 241.

[F] *The epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque deſerves to be cenſured.*] Marius Æquicola is there firnamed Alvelanus (21), which is a fault; it ſhould be Alvetanus. It is ſaid there, that his Italian treatiſe *De natura amoris*, corrected by Thomas Fazellus Porcaccius, was printed at Venice in 1563. I know no author, who has thoſe three names. Marius Æquicola Alvetanus, the author of that book, is impertinently diſtinguiſhed from Marius Æquicolus, ' Vir nobilis, Italus, eques
' auratus, qui ſcripſit pro Baptiſta Mantuano defenſo-
' rium in ſycophantas librum 1. Item de opportuni-
' tate. Item de natura & de amore. - - - - - *A man*
' *of noble birth, and an Italian, who wrote a book, in*
' *favour of Baptiſta Mantuanus, intituled* Defenſorium
' in Sycophantas; *another*, De opportunitate; *and*
' *another*, De natura & amore.'

(21) Epit. Bibl. Geſn. *pag.* 573.

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MARLIANUS (RAIMOND), wrote an alphabetical deſcription, *veterum Galliæ locorum, populorum, urbium, montium, ac fluviorum, eorum maxime quæ apud Cæſarem in Commentariis ſunt, & apud Cornelium Tacitum*, i. e. *Of the antient places, people, cities, monntains, and rivers of Gaul, thoſe eſpecially, which occur in Cæſar's Commentaries, and Cornelius Tacitus:* which is uſually printed at the end of Cæſar's Commentaries. It was ſaid, in the year 1704, in a famous aſſembly, that he was *one of the learneſt men of his time, in the reign of Lewis* XII (*a*). In my edition of Julius Cæſar he is called *Vir clariſſimus, & ſui temporis eruditiſſimus*, that is, *A moſt famous man, and the greateſt ſcholar of his time.*

(*a*) *See* Memoirs de Trevoux, *July* 1704, *pag.* 1133.

MARNIX (PHILIP DE) lord of Mount Sainte Aldegonde. See SAINTE ALDEGONDE.

MARNIX (JOHN DE) baron des Potes, *&c.* is not known to me but by a book intituled, *Reſolutions Politiques, ou Maximes d'Eſtat*, which he printed at Bruſſels in 1612, in 4*to*. It contains ſome good things, and chiefly in the margins. He dedicated it to the arch-duke *Albert*, ſovereign of the Low-Countries, whoſe ſubject he acknowledges himſelf to be. He put out, ſome years after, a ſecond edition of it, very much enlarged (*a*), and dedicated it to the Infanta Iſabella Clara Eugenia, this arch-duke's widow. I have not ſeen his other book, intituled *Repreſentations*, which the catalogue of Oxford mentions to have been publiſhed at Bruſſels in 1622, in 4*to*.

(*a*) It was reprinted at Rouen, in 1624, and in 1631, in 8vo.

MAROT (CLEMENT) valet de chambre to Francis I, and the beſt Poet of his time, was of Cahors. He infinitely exceeded JOHN MAROT, his father, who was pretty good at making verſes (*a*) [*A*]. Some ſay, that *he was educated, in the quality of a page to Nicolas de Neufville, who was the firſt of his family that was ſecretary of ſtate*; but they are miſtaken [*B*]. They add, with more truth, that, about 1520, he was appointed to ſerve the princeſs Margaret [*C*], the king's ſiſter, and the duke of Alençon's wife.

(*a*) See Paſquier, Recherches de la France, *lib. viii, cap. vi, pag. m.* 613.

[*A*] *JOHN MAROT, his father, ... was pretty good at making verſes.*] He was born at Mathieu, near to Caen, if we may believe Moreri. Others ſay only, that he was of Caen, and add, that he was Poet to queen Anne of Bretagne, and then valet de chambre to Francis I (1). The collection of his works contain, *The Doctrinal of Princeſſes and noble Ladies, deduced in* 24 *Rondeaux. The Journies to Genoa and Venice, victoriouſly finiſhed by king Lewis XII. Other forty-nine Rondeaux. An Epiſtle of the Ladies of Paris to king Francis I, being in Italy, after he had defeated the Swiſſers. Another Epiſtle of the Ladies of Paris to the Courtiers of France, who were then in Italy. Another Epiſtle to queen Claudia. The Church ſpeaking to France. A Royal Song about the Conception of Our Lady, and another Royal Song in honour of JESUS CHRIST* (2).

(1) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 242.

[*B*] *Some ſay, that he was educated in the quality of a page ..... but they are miſtaken.*] Mr de Rocolles aſſerts this fact (3), againſt whom I offer two reaſons. Nicolas de Neufville, who was the firſt of his family, that was preferred to the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, was born in 1542 (4); and therefore he could not have Clement Marot for page, who was then fifty-five years old, Nicolas de Neufville, his father, died very ancient in 1599 (5); nevertheleſs we may very well ſay, that he was born a long time after our Poet. Now, we never ſee gentlemen much younger than their pages. This is my firſt reaſon. The ſecond is taken from a Poem, wherein Marot relates, that, after he left his country, he was always in the retinue of Francis I.

(2) *Taken from* du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibliotheque Franſoiſe, *pag.* 718.

(3) Rocolles, True Hiſtory of Calviniſm, *lib. v, pag.* 153.

(4) According to F. Anſelme, *Hiſt of the great Officers, pag.* 273, he died in 1617, aged ſeventy five years.

5) Anſelme, ib.

A bref parler, c'eſt Cahors en Quercy,
Que je laiſſay pour venir querre icy
Mille malheurs; auſquelz ma deſtinée
M' avoit ſubmis. Car une matinée
N'ayant dix ans en France fus mené:
Là ou depuis me ſuis tant pourmené,
Que j'oubliay ma langue maternelle,
Et groſſement apprins la paternelle,
Langue Françoiſe es grand Cours eſtimée:
Laquelle en fin quelque peu s'eſt limée.
Suyvant le Roy François premier du nom,
Dont le ſavoir excede le renom.
C'eſt le ſeul bien, que j'ay acquis en France
Depuis vingt ans en labeur, & ſouffrance (6).

(6) Marot, in the poem intituled *Hell, pag.* 42, Hague Edit. 1700.

In ſhort, Cahors in Quercy did I leave,
Oppreſs'd with woes unnumber'd here to grieve.
Scarce ten years old, to France I was convey'd,
One morn; where, afterwards, ſo long I ſtay'd,
That I forgot my mother-tongue, to gain
Imperfectly the French, with toil and pain.
In time, I gain'd a victory entire
Or'e that fam'd language, which great courts admire;
Following the great king Francis, firſt o'th' name,
Whoſe knowledge far exceeds his royal fame.
In France, this ſole advantage cou'd I gain,
By twice ten years of ſuff'rance and of pain.

Mr de Rocolles adds, that *Marot dedicated to this lord of Neufville one of his Poems, intituled*, The Temple of Cupid; *and that the epiſtle, wherein he dedicates this Poem, is dated at Lyons, May the* 15*th*, 1538. Several editions of Marot (7), which I have conſulted, give me no ſuch account (§ *a*): The *Temple of Cupid* is placed in them at the beginning, without date, and without any dedication.

This wants reforming. See remark [*R*].

[(§ *a*). If Mr Bayle could have conſulted the old editions, particularly that of Stephen Dolet, Lyons 1542, in which this epiſtle is found, he would have ſeen, that, when Marot compoſed his *Temple of Cupid*, he was, in fact, page to Nicolas de Neufville, lord of Villeroy. For the reſt, this Poem is at leaſt as old as the year 1532, becauſe we find it among the *Juvenilia Clementina*, reprinted in 8vo, at Paris, that year, by Jeffery Tory. So that the dedication of the ſame Poem to the lord of Villeroy, in 1538, related properly to the laſt reviſal which the author made of it; and it is alſo what that dedication expreſsly ſays. REM. CRIT.]

(7) That of Paris, by Nicholas du Cheſmin, 1545, in 16mo. That of Paris by Eſtienne Groulleau, 1552, in 16mo. That of Lyons by Guillaume Rouille à l'eſcue de Veniſe, 1548, in 16mo. That of Roüen, by Raphael du Petit Val, 1596, in 12mo. That of Roüen, by Claude le Vilain, 1615, in 12mo. That of the Hague, by Adrien Moetjens, 1700, in 12mo

[*C*] *He was appointed to ſerve the princeſs Margaret.*] Mr de Rocolles affirms, *that ſhe took him into her ſervice as her ſecretary* (8). But Marot, who is more to believed than any other, tells us, that he was not in that employment.

(8) Rocolles, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 15.

Rien n'ay acquis des valeurs de ce Monde,
Qu'une Maiſtreſſe, en qui git & abonde
Plus de ſavoir, parlant, & eſcrivant,
Qu'en autre femme en ce Monde vivant.
C'eſt du franc Lys l'iſſue Marguerite,
Grande ſur terre, envers le Ciel petite:

C'eſt

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Wife. He followed that duke to the army in 1521 (*b*). He was wounded, and taken prisoner, at the battle of Pavia [*D*]. This adventure is less taken notice of, than the persecution he suffered from the bigots, who put him in prison as one suspected of Heresy [*E*]. When he was delivered out of their hands, by the protection of Francis I, he

(*b*) See the Epistle of Marot from the camp of Attigny, *pag.* 104, of the Hague Edit. 1700, and the following.

C'est la Princesse à l'esprit inspiré,
Au cueur esleu, qui de Dieu est tiré
Mieux (& m'en crois) que le festu de l'Ambre :
Et d'elle suis l'humble Valet de chambre.
C'est mon estat. O Juge Plutonique :
Le Roy des Francs, dont elle est sœur unique,
M'ha fait ce bien : & quelque jour viendra,
Que la sœur mesme au frere me rendra (9).

(9) Marot, Ibid. *pag.* 43.

The only worldly benefit I found,
A mistress was, in whom I saw abound
More wit, than her whole sex beside can show ;
Great on the earth, but to heav'n bending low.
My muse the princess Margaret intends,
Into whose soul heav'n inspiration sends ;
Whose pious heart GOD to himself does draw,
Better, I trust, than amber does the straw.
On her, her very humble slave, I wait ;
And this, Plutonian judge, is Marot's fate.
This honour to her brother do I owe,
Who on his sister did this gift bestow :
The compliment, perhaps, she may repay,
And Marot be giv'n back another day.

These verses inform us, that he was appointed by Francis I, to serve the princess, his sister : which appears also by the following passage :

Ainsi je suis poursuy, & poursuivant
D'estre le moindre, & plus petit servant
De vostre hostel (magnanime Princesse)
Ayant espoir que la vostre noblesse
Me recevra, non pour aucune chose,
Qui soit en moy pour vous servir enclose :
Non pour prier, requeste, ou rhetorique,
Mais pour l'amour de vostre Frere unique,
Roy des François qui à l'heure presente
Vers vous m'envoye, & à vous me presente
De par Pothon, Gentilhomme honorable (10).

(10) Id. *in the* Despourveu à Madame la Duchesse d'Alençon, *pag.* 104.

'Tis thus, great princess, I aspire to be
The humblest vassal of your high degree ;
Hoping to me your favour will be shown,
Not for ought meritorious of my own ;
But for the king your royal brother's sake,
Who sends me now, your bounty to partake.
Presented thus by Mr Pothon's hand,
I humbly wait your highness's command.

[*D*] *He was wounded, and taken prisoner, at the battle of Pavia.*] The author of the Life of Clement Marot, inserted in the collection of the most excellent pieces of the French Poets (11), has not omitted this adventure. He produces the following verses of Marot, without telling us from what piece he had them (12).

(11) Printed at Paris by Claude Barbin, 1692.

(12) It is from the first Elegy, *pag.* 47. It is not inscribed to the king, as is affirmed in the Life of Clement Marot, prefixed to his works, in the Hague Edit. 1700.

Là fut percé tout outre rudement
Le bras de cil, qui t'ayme loyaument :
Non pas le bras, dont il ha de coustume
De manier ou la lance, ou la plume :
Amour encor le te garde, & reserve,
Et par escrits veult que de loing te serve.
Finalement, avec le Roy mon maistre
Delà les monts prisonnier se vid estre
Mon triste corps, navré en grand suffrance.
Quant est du cueur, long temps y ha, qu'en France
Ton prisonnier il est sans mespriſon.

'Twas there that arm, whose loyalty profound
To you is known, receiv'd a cruel wound :
But not that arm, which wont to guide the pen,
Or wield the glitt'ring lance, was wounded then.
Love, for your sake, that arm does still preserve,
It's mistress, tho' removed far off, to serve.
Lastly, beyond the Pyrenees convey'd,
And pris'ner, with my royal master, made,
My body now's enslav'd by cruel chance ;
My heart has long your pris'ner been in France.

[*E*] *The bigots put him in prison, as one suspected of Heresy.*] This was done at the instance of Dr Bouchard, when Francis I was the prisoner of Charles V in Spain. The first of these two facts is proved by these words of Marot :

Donne response à mon present affaire,
Docte Docteur. Qui t'ha induit à faire
Emprisonner depuis six jours en ça,
Un tien Amy, qui onc ne t'offensa ?
Et vouloir mettre en luy crainte, & terreur
D'aigre justice, en disant, que l'erreur
Tient de Luther ? Point ne suis Lutheriste,
Ne Zuinglien, & moins Anabaptiste :
Je suis de Dieu par son filz Jesu Christ (13).

(13) Marot's Epistle to Mr Bouchart, Dr of Divinity, *pag.* 116.

Answer me, learned sir ; what cou'd prevail
On you, to throw your friend into a goal,
Six days in hard confinement there to lye,
And tremble for the law's severity ;
Saying, that I with Dr Luther err ?
I am no Heretic, I do aver.
Nor Zuinglius, nor Luther is my guide ;
Much less with Anabaptists do I side.
My orthodoxy to the world is known ;
I worship God, thro' Jesus Christ his son.

He afterwards in this letter, continues to protest, that he is orthodox and a good Catholic. The proof of the second fact is contained in the verses I am going to transcribe. Note, that Marot relates, in them, what passed between his judges and him, during his imprisonment.

Or suis-je loing de ma Dame, & Princesse,
Et pres d'ennuy, d'infortune, & destresse,
Or suis-je loing de sa treſclere face.
S'elle fus pres (ô cruel) ton audace
Pas ne se fust mise en effort de prendre
Son serviteur, qu'on n'ha point veu mespredre :
Mais tu vois bien (dont je lamente, & pleure)
Qu'elle s'en va (helas) & je demure
Avec Pluton, & Charon nautonnier.
Elle va veoir un plus grand prisonnier :
Sa noble mere ores elle accompagne
Pour retirer nostre Roy hors d'Espagne (14).

(14) Marot, in the poem intituled *Hell*, *pag.* 43.

I am absent from my royal mistress' eye,
And near to grief, distress and misery,
Had she been by, her presence you'd have fear'd,
And guiltless I from durance had been spar'd.
But wisely you the princess' absence chose.
(Fatal departure ! cause of all my woes !)
She's gone, alas ! and left Marot behind,
With Pluto, and with Charon, here confin'd.
She's gone, and her great mother in her train,
To bring our captive monarch back from Spain.

I know not the circumstances of the conclusion of this process ; but I believe that the king and the princess Margaret protected our Poet. Do not tell me, that it

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he was ſtill in great fear of thoſe people, and ſo much the more, becauſe he had very naturally deſcribed the injuſtice of the Chatelet in one of his Poems (c). And therefore, when he knew, that they were again in ſearch after him, and that they had ſeized his books, he had not the courage to return to Paris [F]. He left Blois, where he had learned this

(c) See the remark [F], citation (22).

it is manifeſt that the letter (15), he wrote to Francis I, on the fifteenth day of his impriſonment, was very well received, and that this prince *was ſo charmed with it, that he wrote himſelf to the court of Aydes, to procure the liberty of Clement Marot* (16); for this concerns another impriſonment, not about Hereſy, which was after the king's return into France. It is eaſy, to prove all theſe particulars. Marot declares, that he had been in priſon fifteen days, and that he was accuſed of taking a priſoner out of the hands of the ſerjeants (17). It appears by the regiſter of the court of Aydes at Paris, that the letter of Francis I, concerning the enlargement of Marot, is dated from Paris, November 1, 1527 (18). This prince declares, *that he was duly informed of the cauſe of the ſaid impriſonment, which was the reſcueof certain priſoners*, and enjoins, *that all excuſes being ſet aſide*, Marot ſhould be delivered out of priſon; which orders the court obeyed. Here then is a fault to be corrected in the collection of the moſt excellent pieces of the French Poets, and in the new edition of the works of Clement Marot (19). The Life of this Poet, in both theſe works, ſays, that the letter of Francis I to the court of Aydes, delivered Marot out of priſon, where he had been put upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy. Did the court of Aydes meddle with that? This ought to teach thoſe, who write the lives of private perſons, that it concerns them to attend to the ſmalleſt circumſtances.

(15) It is at *pag. m.* 149 of his works.

(16) The Life of Clement Marot in the collection of the moſt excellent pieces of the French Poets, *Tom. i.*

(17) See his letter to the king, *pag.* 149.

(18) See the *Anti-Baillet*, of Mr Menage, *Tom. ii, ob. cxii.*

(19) That at the Hague 1700.

[F] *He had not the courage to return to Paris.*] Let us hear what he himſelf ſays: he tells us, that as he was returning thither, he came back, when he underſtood that the king was prepoſſeſſed againſt him. The verſes, which I cite, are in a letter, which he wrote to that monarch.

Pour revenir donques à mon propos,
Rhadamanthus aveques ſes ſuppoſts
Dedans Paris, combien que fuſſe à Blois,
Encontre moy fait ſes premiers exploits,
En ſaiſiſſant de ſes mains violentes
Toutes mes grands richeſſes excellentes,
Et beaux treſors, d'avarice delivres:
C'eſt à ſavoir mes papiers, & mes livres,
Et mes labeurs. O Juge ſacrilege,
Qui t'ha donné, ne loy, ne privilege,
D'aller toucher, & faire tes maſſacres
Au cabinet des ſaintes Muſes ſacres?
Bien eſt-il vray que livres de deffenſe
On y trouva: mais cela n'eſt offenſe
A un Poëte, à qui on doibt laſcher
La bride longue, & rien ne lui cacher (20).
- - - - - - - - -
Le Juge donc affecté ſe monſtra
En mon endroit, quand les premiers outra
Moy, qui eſtois abſent, & loing des villes,
Où certains fols feirent choſes trop viles,
Et de ſcandale: helas, au grand ennuy,
Au detriment, & à la mort d'autruy.
Ce que ſçachant, pour me juſtifier.
En ta bonté je m'oſay tant fier,
Que hors de Blois party, pour à toy Sire,
Me preſenter: mais quelqu'un me vint dire,
Si tu y vas, amy, tu n'es pas ſage:
Car tu pourrois avoir mauvais viſage
De ton Seigneur. Lors comme le Nocher,
Qui pour fuir le peril de'un Rocher
En pleine mer ſe deſtourne tout court,
Ainſi pour vray m'eſcartay de la Court;
Craignant trouver le peril de durté:
Où je n'euz onc fors douceur, & ſeurté (21).

(20) Marot, in his Epiſtle to the king, during his exile at Ferrara, *pag.* 179.

(21) Ib. pag. 180.

But to return to my narration true;
Fell Rhadamanthus, and his horrid crew,
At Blois their firſt attacks upon me made,
And their dire hands on all my riches laid.
They bore my books by violence away,
And my dear treaſur'd papers were their prey.
O ſacrilegious judge! What laws permit
To violate the Muſes cabinet?
Were books prohibited among them found?
Poets by ſuch reſtraints were never bound.
A looſer rein ſhou'd be indulg'd the muſe,
And bards have liberty their books to chuſe.
- - - - - - - - -
Tho' abſent from the town, their ſpite I found,
Who know with keeneſt calumny to wound.
This knowing, I, my innocence to clear,
Reſolv'd before your majeſty t'appear;
And, leaving Blois, to court I took my way,
But ſome one ſtopp'd me, and began to ſay;
If you go thither, friend, you are not wiſe;
The king may ſee you with unfav'ring eyes.
Then, as a pilot, when he ſpies a rock,
Turns ſhort his veſſel, to avoid the ſhock,
So I my ſteps directed far from town,
Dreading a jail, whoſe hardſhips I had known.

Note, that he begins this letter with repreſenting that his flight is no proof that he owns himſelf to be guilty, but only that he is convinced of the bad adminiſtration of juſtice.

Je penſe bien que ta magnificence,
Souverain Roy, croira que mon abſence
Vient par ſentir la coulpe, qui me point
D'aucun mesfait: mais ce n'eſt pas le poinct.
Je ne me ſens du nombre des coulpables:
Mais je ſçay tant de Juges corrompables
Dedans Paris, que par pecune prinſe,
Ou par amis, ou par leur entreprinſe,
Ou en faveur, & charité piteuſe
De quelque belle humble ſoliciteuſe,
Ilz ſauveront la vie orde, & immunde
Du plus meſchant, & criminel du monde
Et au rebours, par faute de pecune,
Ou de ſupport, ou par quelque rancune,
Aux innocens ilz ſont tant inhumains,
Que content ſuis ne tomber en leurs mains.
Non pas que tous je les mette en un compte:
Mais la grand' part la meilleure ſurmonte.
Et tel merite y eſtre authoriſé,
Dont le conſeil n'eſt ouy, ne priſe.
Suyvant propos, trop me ſont ennemys
Pour leur Enfer, que par eſcrit j'ay mis,
Où quelque peu de leurs tours je deſcœuvre,
Là me veult on grand mal pour petit œuvre:
Mais je leur ſuis encor plus odieux,
Dont je l'oſay lire devant les yeux
Tant clervoyans de ta Majeſté haute,
Qui ha pouvoir de reformer leur faute (22).

(22) Ib. pag. 176.

Perhaps your majeſty may take my flight
For proof of guilt; but that wou'd not be right.
I truſt I ſhall not criminal be found:
But corrupt judges ev'ry where abound.
At Paris, money properly apply'd,
With friends, and a fair ſuitreſs on your ſide,
Will ſtop the hands of juſtice, right or wrong,
And ſave the vileſt ſlave that ever ſwung,
But, if you cannot bribe the magiſtrate,
Tho' innocent, the gallows is your fate.

I wou'd

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this news, and retired to the houſe of the queen of Navarre, his antient miſtreſs (*d*), and, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he went into Italy, and ſtaid at the court of the princeſs

(*d*) The ducheſs of Alençon was becoſne queen of Navarre by her marriage with John d'Albret.

I wou'd not fall into ſuch hands as theſe,
To ſuffer, or eſcape, as they ſhall pleaſe.
Not that this cenſure comprehends them all;
But ah! the number o'th' upright is ſmall.
And ſuch alone deſerve to fill the chair,
Who without favour or affection bear.
*Beſides, too many foes my Hell * has made*
Of ſuch, who fear, leſt I ſhould ſpoil their trade;
Who curſe my muſe for painting them aright,
And dragging ſome of their dark deeds to light.
But more they take offence, that I ſhou'd dare
To bring ſuch verſes to your royal ear.
They know, your majeſty has piercing eyes,
To ſee, and to reform, their villanies.

* A poem of Marot's ſo called.

He informs us afterwards of a thing his Hiſtorians take no notice of, *viz.* That he was made priſoner while he was under a great ſickneſs, and that the king gave orders he ſhould be let alone.

- - - Meſmes un jour ils vindrent
A moy malade, & priſonnier me tindrent,
Faiſans arreſt ſus un homme arreſté
Au lict de mort, & m'euſſent pis traité,
Si ce ne fuſt ta grand' bonté, qui à ce,
Donna bon ordre avant que t'en priaſſe,
Leur commandant de laiſſer choſes telles:
Dont je te rends graces treſimmortelles (23).

(23) Ibid. pag. 177.

One day they came, when I in bed was laid,
Sick, and in pain, and me their priſ'ner made;
Arreſting one almoſt at his laſt breath,
And ſinking under the arreſt of death.
But let me thank your gracious majeſty,
Which kindly interpos'd to reſcue me.
My life and liberty to you I owe,
Who bad their envious rage no farther go.

Then he goes on, and cenſures the Sorbonne, and proteſts, that the ſuſpicions of Hereſy, they had endeavoured to raiſe in the king's mind againſt him, were altogether unjuſt. See what he ſays againſt the Sorbonne.

Autant comme eux, ſans cauſe qui ſoit bonne
Me veult de mal l'ignorante Sorbonne:
Bien ignorante elle eſt d'eſtre ennemie
De la trilingue, & noble Academie,
Qu'as erigée. Il eſt tout manifeſte,
Que là dedans contre ton veuil celeſte
Eſt deffendu qu'on ne voiſe allegant
Hebrieu, ny Grec, ny Latin elegant:
Diſant, que c'eſt langage d'Heretiques.
O povres gens de ſçavoir tous ethiques!
Bien faites vray ce proverbe courant,
Science n'ha hayneux que l'ignorant.
Certes, ô Roy, ſi le profond des cueurs
On veult ſonder de ces Sorboniqueurs,
Trouvé ſera que de toy ils ſe deulent.
Comment douloir? Mais que grand mal te veulent,
Dont tu as fait les lettres, & les arts
Plus reluiſans, que du temps des Ceſars:
Car leurs abus void on en façon telle.
C'eſt toy, qui as allumé la chandelle,
Par qui maint œil void mainte verité,
Qui ſous épeſſe, & noire obſcurité
A fait tant d'ans icy bas demeurance.
Et qu'eſt-il rien plus obſcur qu' ignorance?
Eux, & leur court en abſence, & en face
Par pluſieurs fois m'ont uſé de menace:
Dont la plus douce eſtoit en criminel
M' executer (24).

(24) Ibid.

The Sorbonne, ignorant ſociety,
Beholds Marot with no leſs jealous eye:
Thoſe ignorants, who fooliſhly withſtand
The nurſ'ry, founded by your royal hand;
Where the three languages ſhould ſtudied be:
But 'tis well known, they thwart your majeſty,
Forbidding the young ſtudents to recite
Greek, Hebrew, Latin, languages polite;
But languages abus'd by Heretics,
And therefore ill befitting Catholics.
Poor wretches, laid in Pagan darkneſs low,
You verify the Proverb (well I know)
That ignorance is learning's only foe.
Certes, O king, cou'd we to th' bottom ſee
Of their diſlike, they hate your majeſty;
Under whoſe reign, auſpicious, arts ariſe,
Science uprears her head, and ignorance flies;
Learning appears in a more ſhining robe,
Than when the mighty Cæſars ſway'd the globe.
'Tis you have lit the candle, by whoſe light,
Truth, bury'd long in ignorance's night,
(For what is more obſcure, than ignorance?)
Burſts forth upon the general eye of France.
Theſe ignorants, and their ſociety,
Preſent, and abſent, oft have menac'd me,
Death was the mildeſt ſentence I cou'd hope;
And 'twas their pity doom'd me to the rope.

I do not ſet down the heroic vow, which he adds. He wiſhed he might be ſacrificed to their rage, provided the church were not ſubject to their frauds. I doubt whether he would have carried his zeal ſo far as he ſaid; but I do not doubt of what he ſays, that thoſe Doctors had a mind to keep up ignorance. This part of the XVIth century will be an eternal blot to the Sorbonne, who managed things at that rate. Let us now go on to the proteſtations this Poet made of his being orthodox.

Or à ce coup il eſt bien évident,
Que deſſus moy ont une vieille dent,
Quand ne pouvans crime ſur moy prouver,
Ont tres-bien quis (25), & tres-bien ſceu trouver,
Pour me faſcher, briefve expedition,
En te donnant mauvaiſe impreſſion
De moy ton ſerf, pour apres à leur aiſe
Mieux mettre à fin leur voulonté mauvaiſe:
Et pour ce faire ilz n'ont certes eu honte
Faire courir de moy vers toy maint compte,
Avêques bruit plein de propos menteurs,
Deſquelz ilz ſont les premiers inventeurs.
De Lutheriſte ilz m'ont donné le nom:
Qu' à droit ce ſoit, je leur reſponds que non.
Luther pour moy des cieux n'eſt deſcendu:
Luther en Croix n'ha point eſté pendu
Pour mes pechez: & tout bien advisé,
Au nom de luy ne ſuis point baptizé:
Baptizé ſuis au nom qui tant bien ſonne,
Qu'au ſon de luy le Pere éternel donne
Ce que l'on quiert: le ſeul nom ſous les cieux
En, & par qui, ce monde vicieux
Peut eſtre ſauf. Le nom tant fort puiſſant,
Qu'il ha rendu tot genoüil flechiſſant,
Soit infernal, ſoit celeſte, ou humain:
Le nom, par qui du Seigneur Dieu la main
M'ha preſervé de ces grands loups rabis,
Qui m' eſpioient deſſous peaux de Brebis (26).

(25) The ſame as *cherché*.

(26) Ibid. pag. m. 178.

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princeſs Renata of France, ducheſs of Ferrara (e), who was a good friend to thoſe of the Reformed religion. He obtained, of Francis I, leave to return, in 1536 [G]; but he was ſo well known to be a follower of what was called the new opinions, that he made his eſcape, ſome years after, to Geneva. It is pretended, that he there debauched his landlady, and that the penalty of death, which he feared, was changed into that of whipping, at the requeſt of Calvin [H]. He left Geneva, and went to Piedmont, where he died

(e) See the Epiſtle, which Marot wrote to the king, during his exile.

Now their revengeful ſpirit plain is ſeen,
When, failing 'gainſt my life to vent their ſpleen,
A ſhort expedient they at length have found,
At once my quiet, and my fame to wound,
By robbing me of what I hold moſt dear,
Your gracious countenance, and princely ear;
That, ſtript of royal favour, I may feel
The utmoſt rage of blind and furious zeal.
This to effect, without remorſe or ſhame,
My character they blacken and defame,
And brand with Luther's Hereſy my name.
The charge is falſe, and a meer calumny;
Luther did not come down from heav'n for me,
Nor dy'd upon the croſs, from ſin to ſet me free.
In Chriſt's, nor Luther's, name, I was baptiz'd;
That name, whoſe ſound in Heav'n ſo much is priz'd,
That it procures us all we wiſh to have,
Powerful alone a vitious world to ſave:
That name, at which all knees do humbly bow,
In Heav'n above, in Earth, or Hell below:
That name, by which the Father does me keep
Safe from theſe ravenous wolves, in cloathing of a ſheep.

[G] *He obtained . . . . leave to return in* 1536.] This date is verified by his poem intituled, *A Godbleſs-you to the Court* (27), which he wrote a little after his arrival: in it he ſpeaks of the death of the Dauphin, and of the marriage of the princeſs Magdalen (28), and obſerves, that ſhe was upon her departure. Now the Dauphin was poiſoned in Auguſt 1536, and the princeſs Magdalen married the king of Scotland on the firſt day of the year 1537. Add to this, that Marot ſays he arrived at Lyons, a little after Francis I. ſet out from thence (29).

(27) Pag. m. 191.

(28) He calls her Queen Magdalen: but this does not prove, that the marriage was compleated; it being ſufficient that it was agreed upon.

(29) This prince departed from thence, after the emperor Charles V retired from Provence, in the autumn of the year 1536.

Si qu'à Dieu rends graces un million,
Dont j'ai atteint le gracieux Lyon,
Où j'eſperoys à l' arriver tranſmettre
Au Roy François humble ſalut en mettre (30)
Conclud eſtoit. Mais puis qu'il en eſt hors,
A qui le puis je, & doy je addreſſer, fors
A toy qui tiens par prudence loyale,
Icy le lieu de ſa hauteur Royale (31).

(30) That is to ſay, in verſe.

(31) Marot, in his poem to cardinal de Tournon, *pag.* 189.

At Lyons (Heav'n be prais'd!) I am ſafe arriv'd,
But of my hopes unluckily depriv'd.
King Francis, at whoſe feet I thought to lay
His humble ſlave, and my poor duty pay,
Is gone: ſince then I've miſs'd his majeſty,
To whom can I ſo properly apply,
As you, who, by your royal maſter's grace
With loyal prudence here ſupply his place?

Mr Maimbourg ſays, that the ducheſs of Ferrara *obtained of the king the return of our Poet, upon aſſurance given, that he ſhould be more wiſe for the future* (32). Others ſay, that king Francis I. granted the ducheſs her petition, only *upon condition, that Marot ſhould return to the Romiſh religion, and ſhould be more diſcreet for the future* (33). I do not ſee in the works of Marot, that that princeſs meddled with this; and I doubt whether her zeal for the Proteſtant religion would permit her to treat of the recalling any man upon ſuch conditions. This is certain, that Marot, having begged of the Dauphin to obtain him a paſs for ſix months, declared that he had learned in Italy to be very circumſpect in his diſcourſes, and never to ſpeak of God.

(32) Maimbourg, ubi infra, *pag.* 97.

(33) The Life of Marot, in the collection of the moſt excellent pieces of the French Poets.

Il le feroit (34) s'il ſavoit bien comment
Depuis un peu je parle ſobrement:
Car ces Lombards avec qui je chemine,
M'ont fort apris à faire bone mine:
A un mot ſeul de Dieu ne deviſer,
A parler peu, & à poltronniſer.
Deſſus un mot une heure je m'arreſte:
S'on parle à moy, je reſpons de la teſte.
Mais je vous pry mon ſaufconduit ayons,
Et de cela plus ne nous eſmayons (35).

(34) *That is,* the king would recall me.

(35) Marot, Epiſtle to the dauphin, *pag.* 183.

The king wou'd me recal, were it but known,
How cautious in diſcourſe of late I'm grown.
Theſe Lombards, in whoſe country I reſide,
From talking indiſcreet my tongue have ty'd.
To utter the word GOD I'm never heard;
I dwell an hour upon a ſingle word.
If any ſpeak, I hear indeed what's ſaid,
But only nod, and anſwer with my head.
Pray let my paſſport be diſpatched away,
And of theſe things we'll talk another day.

[H] *It is pretended, that he debauched his landlady at Geneva, and that the penalty of death . . . . was changed . . . at the requeſt of Calvin.*] All thoſe, who affirm this, build upon the teſtimony of Cayet, who therefore muſt be taken for the firſt, and the only perſon that affirms it. Florimond de Remond, who is alſo cited, is only his tranſcriber. *As if by reading and meditating on the Pſalms, which he tranſlated ſo ill,* they are the words of Mr Maimbourg, *he was not become a better man* †, *and afterwards, according to his former cuſtom, leading a very licentious life, he had debauched his landlady, which is puniſhed with death at Geneva. Calvin, by his intereſt, cauſed his puniſhment to be changed* ‡ *into another more mild, which was that of whipping, which he ſuffered through all the ſtreets* (36). Here follow the words of another writer. *Having committed at Geneva a notorious adultery, he had certainly been hanged, if, by the intereſt of Calvin, they had not converted the puniſhment into that of whipping through all the ſtreets of Geneva, as Cayet ſays. But Beza, conſidering he was one that followed the ſame errors with himſelf, and whoſe pſalms he had finiſhed, does not ſo clearly declare this fact* (37). It is true, Theodore Beza only obſerves in general, that Clement Marot could never reform the habit of immorality, he had got at the court of France. *Quamvis (ut qui in aula, peſſima pietatis & honeſtatis magiſtra, vitam fere omnem conſumpſiſſet) mores parum Chriſtianos ne in extrema quidem ætate emendarit* (38). This general expreſſion implies a great deal, and in particular inſinuates, that Marot did in no wiſe edify the Genevois by his chaſtity. However, I do not think it probable, what Cayet ſays; for if a poet, ſo famous as Marot, and ſo much hated in the Romiſh communion, had been whipped through all the ſtreets of a great city, all Europe would have quickly known it; he would have been inſulted, upon the account of this infamy, in ſeveral books; he would not have dared to preſent himſelf before thoſe, who commanded for the French king at Piedmont; we ſhould not have been reduced to the ſingle teſtimony of Victor Cayet, ſo many years later than this adventure. Some may ſay, that the Proteſtants themſelves would have publiſhed this puniſhment, to ſhew the ſeverity of their diſcipline at Geneva: but it muſt be granted, that this obſervation has no great weight; for, without being perfect in the moſt refined politics, any one will judge that the reputation of a brother, who is perſecuted, muſt be managed to the beſt advantage (39). For the reſt, it is ridiculous to object to the Proteſtants the publick uſe of Marot's Verſion, ſuppoſing he had been puniſhed for his adulteries: for the immorality of a Poet, who tranſlates the Pſalms of David well, ought not to prevent the ſinging of his tranſlation in churches; any more than the immorality of a Painter,

† Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes Ref. *lib.* i.

‡ Cayet, *in his* Formul. Flor. de Ræm. *lib. viii, cap. xviii.*

(36) Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Calv. *livr.* ii, *pag. m.* 99.

(37) The Life of Clement Marot, in the collection of the moſt excellent pieces.

(38) Beza, in Iconibus.

(39) Note, that the public records of Geneva make no mention of this puniſhment of Marot. See Jurieu, Apol. for the Reformed, *cap. xii, pag.* 124.

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died in 1544, aged about sixty years [I]. The Chronological fault, which, it seems, Mr Maimbourg is guilty of, concerning the first flight of Clement Marot, is very slight [K]. As to the other faults he has committed, speaking of this person, you may see a refutation of them in the authors, who wrote against his history of Calvinism. You may find in Sleidan (f), and Pasquier (g), a fine Elogy upon Clement Marot. It may be said, without flattery, not only that the French Poetry had never appeared with such natural charms and beauty, as he adorned it, but also that, in all the remainder of the XVIth century, there appeared nothing that came near his happy Genius, his native elegance, and the smartness of his Poems. The Poets of the Pleiad are dull in comparison of him: And if, in the next age, a Voiture, a Sarrazin, a Benserade, and some others, exceeded him, it is only because they found the times improved to a better judgment, and a more refined stile (b). The incomparable La Fontaine, who owned himself

(f) Sleidan, lib. xv, ad ann. 1543, fol. m. 366.

(g) Pasquier. Recherches, *lib. vii, cap. v, pag. m.* 613, 614.

(b) Mr de la Bruyere, whose words you will see in the remark [M] of the article RONSARD, confirms this.

Painter, or Statuary, ought to hinder those, who worship images, from consecrating a picture or statue.

[I] *He died in Piedmont in* 1544, *aged about sixty years.*] The first of these two facts is told us by Sammarthanus, and the second by Theodore Beza. But we must not think, that Sammarthanus condescended to tell us, that Marot died in 1544. This had been too plain, and would not have allowed him to express himself in pompous phrases: therefore, in order to it, he tells us that this Poet died the year, in which the battle of Cerizolles was fought. ‘ Cum extorris & rerum ‘ egenus Taurini apud infubres procul à tuorum aspectu ‘ decesseris, eo ipso anno quo ad Ceresolam illius agri ‘ oppidum regius exercitus Anguiano duce insignem de ‘ Cæsarianis victoriam reportavit (40). *You dying a* ‘ *banished man, far from the sight of your relations and* ‘ *friends, in Piedmont, that very year, in which the* ‘ *king's army, under the duke of Anguien, gained a signal* ‘ *victory over the Germans at Cerizoles, a town of that* ‘ *country.*’ There is among the Poems of Marot (41), *a stanza of ten verses to the king, sent from Savoy in* 1543, and (42) *a salutation from the camp of the duke of Anguien at Cerizoles.* This shews, that he left Geneva the same year that he published his fifty Psalms. ‘ Edidit illos quinquaginta Psalmos hoc anno ‘ Genevæ, quosese receperat, cum in Galliis propter ‘ Lutheranismi suspicionem parum esset tutus. Tri- ‘ ginta quidem Psalmos ediderat ante biennium (43) - - - ‘ *He published those fifty Psalms this year at Geneva,* ‘ *whither he had retired, not being safe in France, on* ‘ *account of a suspicion of Lutheranism. He had pub-* ‘ *lished thirty Psalms two years before.*’ There is an Eclogue upon the victory of that duke of Anguien (44). As to the sixty years of Marot's life, I must have recourse to other witnesses (45), for Sammarthanus does not stoop to take notice of it. Note, that I shall rectify, below in the remark [R], what concerns the sixty years. The verses, cited above in citation (5), seem to prove, that, in 1526, he was but thirty years of age. Note, that in his eclogue, under the name of Pan and Robin, he considers himself as on the brink of old age.

[K] *The Chronological fault, which, it seems, Mr Maimbourg is guilty of, is very slight.*] He says that Clement Marot did not run away till 1535. ‘ When .. ‘ he saw, that the king, his master, positively declared ‘ in the hall of the bishop's palace that he would ‘ spare no body in this case, he was afraid lest he ‘ should be seized, and therefore he fled quickly into ‘ Berne, and after that he went farther over the Alps ‘ to Ferrara, to the duchess Renata, who pro- ‘ tected the Protestants (46).’ The King's Declation in the hall of the bishop's palace, was in the year 1535 (47). Mr Maimbourg relates it (48) under that year with many circumstances. Now we have shewn above, that Marot returned from Ferrara into France in 1536, and we find in his poems (49) a letter from Lyon Jamet to Marot, of which the last verses are these:

C'est à Ferrare au huictieme an
De la sienne proscription.
Mais à la tienne intention
Que ce soit le dernier. Amen.

That is,

At Ferrara, in the eighth year of his banishment; but may it prove the last. Amen.

This is a proof will some say, that the flight of Marot could not be, at the latest, till the year 1528. But those, who shall say so, are very much to blame; for Lyon Jamet marks the time of his own proscription, and not of Marot's. It will be said, that this latter, in a letter, which he wrote to Ferrara, upon the departure of Madam de Soubise, says (50), that this lady left a court, wherein she had continued seven years. It is probable that she followed Renata of France, who was married, in 1527, to the duke of Ferrara; from whence it might be concluded, that she returned into France in 1534; which would prove, that Marot was beyond the Alps that year. But, I confess, this proof appears to me weak, when I consider, that Rabelais, in the year 1536, mentioned the return of this lady as a piece of news (51). As I see nothing in the Works of Marot, which can make us believe, that he stayed long at the court of the duke of Ferrara, I do not think, that Mr Maimbourg is much mistaken; for Marot himself tells, that he stayed but a little while at the court of the king of Navarre.

Si m'en allay, evitant ce danger,
Non en pais, non à Prince estranger,
Non point usant de fugitif destour,
Mais pour servir l'autre Roy à mon tour,
Mon second Maistre, & ta sœur son espouse,
A qui je fus des ans a quatre & douze,
De ta main noble heureusement donné.
Puis tost apres, Royal chef couronné,
Sçachant plusieurs de vie trop meilleure,
Que je ne suis, estre bruslez à l'heure,
Si durement, que mainte nation
En est tombée en admiration,
J'abandonnay, sans avoir, commis crime,
L'ingrate France, ingrate, ingratissime
A son poëte (52).

I fled, tis true, the danger to avert,
But fled not to a stranger prince's court.
A fugitive is an inglorious thing:
I paid my duty to another king,
My second master, and his royal spouse,
The princess, Sir, your sister, in whose house,
Full sixteen years are pass'd, since I was plac'd,
And with the title of her servant grac'd.
Soon after, hearing, that the fire did roast
Many, of better lives than I can boast,
Whilst wand'ring nations saw, with great surprise,
The kindling flames of persecution rise;
France I abandon'd, that ungrateful soil,
But most ungrateful to her Poet's toil.

Comparing this passage with that, which I have cited above (53), we may easily discover the true epoch of the retreat of Clement Marot, and in what manner the circumstances are to be ordered. The enemies of this poet accused him to the king in the time of the placards, and doubtless they rendred him suspected of being an accomplice in the insolence of those who posted them up. He had notice of this, and was resolved to go and justify himself: but because he was told, that he could not compass his end, he retired to the queen of Navarre, and, being informed there, that Francis I caused some Lutherans to be burnt, he removed farther still

(50) The works of Marot, pag. m. 209.

(51) See the article FERRARA, citat. (47).

(52) Marot's Epistle to the king, in the time of his exile at Ferrara, pag. 180, 181.

(53) Citat. (21).

(40) Sammarthanus, Eleg. *lib. i, pag. m.* 24.

(41) *At pag.* 383.

(42) *At pag.* 387.

(43) Sleidanus, *lib. xv, fol. m.* 366 *verso, ad ann.* 1543.

(44) *At pag.* 473.

(45) To Theodore Beza, who has said, in his *Icones, eruter annum vitæ sexagesimum mortuus.* La Croix du Maine, probably upon the authority of Beza, has said, *pag.* 65, that Marot died at the age of sixty years or thereabouts.

(46) Maimbourg, *ubi supra, pag.* 97.

(47) See Bouchet's Annals of Aquitain, *fol. m.* 271.

(48) *Pag.* 30, *& seq.*

(49) *At. pag.* 174.

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ſelf to be his ſcholar [L], has contributed very much to reſtore the credit of this antient Poet's verſes. An infinite number of curious perſons ſought after his works, and could hardly find them; which obliged a Bookſeller at the Hague (i) to reprint them. This is a very fine edition. You may ſee, in the judgments that have been collected about Clement Marot (k), 'that the French Poets are indebted to him for the rondeau, and 'that they do in a manner owe to him the modern form, or the reſtoration of the ſonnet, 'and madrigal, and of ſome other kinds of little verſes.' We may add, that he invented the mixture of maſculine and feminine rhymes (l), without which our Poetry would be very harſh and unpleaſant. There are but too many obſcene pieces among his works [M], and

(i) Adrian Moetjens: his edition is of the year 1700, in two volumes in 12mo.

(k) Baillet, Jugem. ſur les Poëtes, *Tom. iii, pag.* 206.

(l) See the Obſervations of Mr Menage upon the poems of Malherbe, *pag.* 402. But note, that Marot ſometimes diſpenſed with this mixture.

ſtill from Paris, and eſcaped into Italy. And thus Mr Maimbourg is miſtaken only in a few months: he thought that Marot did not retire to Berne, till after the harangue of the king; whereas he ſhould have ſaid, that he retired ſome weeks before (54).

[L] *La Fontaine owned himſelf to be his ſcholar.*] See what he wrote to Mr de Saint-Everemond.

(54) The affair of the Placards happened in the month of November 1534. The proceſſion and the harangue of Francis I, belong to the month of January 1535.

Vos beaux Ouvrages ſont cauſe,
Que ja'y ſceu plaire aux neuf Sœurs,
Cauſe en partie, & non toute:
Car vous voulez bien ſans doute,
Que j'y joigne les Ecrits
D'aucuns de nos beaux Eſprits.
J'ay profité dans Voiture,
Et Marot par ſa lecture
M'a fort aidé, j'en conviens.
Je ne ſçay qui fut ſon Maiſtre
Que ſe ſoit qui ce peut eſtre,
Vous eſtes tous trois les miens (55).

(55) La Fontaine's Poſthumous Works, pag. 107. Dutch Edit.

'Tis from your works I've learn'd to pleaſe the Nine;
But you'll allow me other wits to join
With you, as the inſpirers of my Muſe:
Voiture's and Marot's aid I can't refuſe:
I profit by them both, I frankly own.
Who Marot's maſter was, to me's unknown;
But you all three were mine. . . . .

'I had forgot maſter Francis, whoſe diſciple I acknowledge my ſelf to be, as well as Mr Vincent's, and 'Mr Clement's *.' What he ſays, that he did not know whoſe ſcholar Marot was, gives me occaſion to recite a paſſage of Lewis Camerarius, which will inform us, that John le Maire de Belges was Marot's maſter. 'Audivi ego ex viris dignis fide, Eum illum 'Belgam, hominem doctum, & in linguæ Latinæ antiquioribus ſcriptis multum verſatum, primum fuiſſe, 'qui rationem & modum demonſtraret elegantioris ſermonis Gallici loquendo, ſcribendi autem quaſi artis 'viam indicaſſe, quam cum ipſe ſequeretur uſurpando, 'tum aliis præcipiendo traderet: Eumque Poëtam quem 'Gallia habuit celeberrimum, & cujus ornatam copiam 'venuſtatemque imprimis admirata eſt, Clementem 'Marottum, eundem percoluiſſe & componendi verſus 'ſcientiam edocuiſſe (56). - - - - *I have been informed 'by men of credit, that John le Maire de Belges, a man 'of learning, and very converſant with the ancient La'tin authors, was the firſt who poliſhed the French 'tongue, and taught others, by his own example, the art, 'as it were, of writing: and that the ſame perſon in'ſtructed the famous and admired French Poet, Clement, 'Marot, to make verſes.*' By this author's leave, theſe Latin words are very ill placed; he ſhould not have taken advantage of the liberty, which the ancient language of the Romans allows, of making uſe of expreſſions that may be underſtood in different ſenſes. We muſt conſult Chronology, to know whether he means that Clement Marot taught John le Mair, or whether John le Maire taught Clement Marot to make verſes. The latter is the true ſenſe; but we cannot diſcover it without a cloſe attention to the author's deſign, and the help of Chronology. Why does he thus unneceſſarily fatigue the mind of his readers? I will obſerve, upon this occaſion, another thing againſt the ſame writer, concerning the book, out of which I have taken the aforeſaid paſſage. It is the Latin tranſlation of the Treatiſe of Schiſms, written in French by John le Maire de Belges: It was printed at Leipſic in 1572, with notes. Lewis Camerarius knew not, that John Schardius had already publiſhed (57) a Latin tranſlation of the ſame book in 1566. Voſſius knew nothing of the Latin tranſlation of Lewis Camerarius; for he mentions only the other (58). Note, that Marot, in his letter to Madam de Soubize, ſpeaks of John le Maire, without taking notice that he had been taught by him.

* Francis Rabelais, Vincent Voiture, and Clement Marot.

(56) Ludovicus Joach. F. Camerarius, in Proœm. Verſionis Latinæ Tractatus de Differentiis Schiſmatum.

(57) *At Baſil, with the four books of* Theodoricus a Niem, Hiſtoriarum ſui Temporis.

(58) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 650.

Or adieu donc, noble Dame, qui uſes
D'honeſteté tousjours envers les Muſes.
Adieu par qui les Muſes deſolées
Souventesfois ont été conſolées,
Adieu qui voir ne les peult on ſouffrance.
Adieu la main qui de Flandres en France
Tira jadis Jean le Maire Belgeois,
Qui l'ame avoit d' Homere le Gregeois (59).

(59) Marot, Epiſtle to Madam De Soubize, pag. 209.

Adieu then, noble lady, to whoſe hand
The Muſes, for reſpect, indebted ſtand!
Adieu, from whom the afflicted Nine receive
The kindeſt conſolation, when they grieve!
Adieu the hand, which firſt from Flanders brought
Divine le Maire, inſpir'd with Homer's thought.

But here follows what I find in the Recherches of Stephen Paſquier: 'Our country-man Clement Marot, in 'the ſecond impreſſion of his works, owns, that it 'was John le Maire de Belges who taught him to make 'an eliſion of the *e* feminine in the middle of the 'verſe (60).

(60) Paſquier, Recherches, *lib. viii, cap. ii, pag. m.* 612. See the words of Marot below, in the remark [R].

[M] *There are but two many obſcene pieces among his works.*] He followed in this the humour of the times, and of the beſt Poets of antiquity, and, which is worſe, his own inclinations and courſe of life; for he was not only a court Poet, but alſo a man, who loved women, and could not renounce his ſenſual pleaſures. We have ſeen in Latin, the teſtimony that Theodore Beza gives of him (61). Let us now ſee what he ſays of him in French: *Clement Marot, after his return from Italy to the court, was very much hated by the Sorbonne, for tranſlating, very happily, thirty Pſalms of David into the French tongue, which are dedicated to the king, who thought them worthy to be printed. But he was forced to make his eſcape, and retreated to Geneva, where he tranſlated twenty more of them. He had always been bred up in a very bad ſchool, and could not live in ſubjection to the reformation of the Goſpel; and therefore he went, and ſpent the reſt of his days in Piedmont, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the king, where he lived in ſome ſecurity under the favour of the governours* (62).' Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the obſcenities of Clement Marot are leſs groſs, and better wrapped up, than thoſe of the Roman Poets, and of many French Poets, companions of Theophile. What is ſtrange, is, that the talents of his wit, his ſmartneſs, the agreeable, lively, eaſy, ingenious turn of his Muſe, are never perceived more, than when he writes upon a laſcivious ſubject. Is it not ſtrange, that the greateſt part of the Poets have an unhappy gift of ſucceeding better on this, than on other ſubjects? Such a Poet, whoſe verſes would be inſipid, unleſs he gives a looſe to his pen, makes excellent pieces (63), when he lays aſide all modeſty. This cannot proceed from the nature of Poetry it ſelf, but muſt come from the corruption of man's heart. Whatever may be the cauſe of it, the effect appeared certain to thoſe, who have given it for a maxim, that a Poet ought to be chaſte as to his perſon, but not as to his verſes, ſince they cannot be acceptable, and ſeaſoned with ſalt, unleſs they be a little ſmutty.

(61) In the remark [H], citation (38).

(62) Beza, Hiſt. des Egliſes Reform. *lib. i, pag.* 33.

(63) Poetically, but not morally, ſpeaking.

Nam caſtum eſſe decet piam poetam
Ipſum. Verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt:

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and this gives juſt occaſion to blame him. I ſhall relate ſome curious things concerning his verſion of the fifty Pſalms of David [*N*]. The moſt notable particulars are to be found in

Qui tum denique habent ſalem, ac leporem,
Si ſunt molliculi, ac parum pudici,
Et quod pruriat incitare poſſunt,
Non dico pueris, ſed his pilofis.
Qui duros nequeunt movere lumbos (64).

(64) Catullus, Epig. xvi.

The Bard himſelf ſhou'd chaſte and pious be:
His verſe is not reſtrain'd to chaſtity;
For ſprightly wit implies obſcenity.
Such wit, as rouzes to the feaſts of love
Mortals, who ſcarce their ſluggiſh haunches move.

Which is a falſe maxim, or at leaſt a very pernicious one, and deſerves not to be looked upon as a rule, by men who are ſincerely good. But it is with this, as with the itching deſire of uttering a jeſt. No conſideration can reſtrain it (65) and, when a poet thinks himſelf capable of doing wonders in an epigram, provided he admits ſome obſcene thoughts into it, he quits, in favour of his Wit, the ſentiments of mind. This is what Des Accords did. 'I wiſh, ſays 'he, I had not been ſo looſe and wanton at that age, 'but I cannot help it now. I will excuſe myſelf by this 'diſtich, which I gave to a learned and ſevere Senator 'of our parliament of Dijon, together with the book.

(65) See the remark [*D*] of the article MARY, the Egyptian.

Putidulum ſcriptoris opus ne deſpice, namque
Si laſciva legis, ingenioſa leges.

Let not a little ſmut offend your ear:
Together wit and wantonneſs appear.

'And indeed, I never affected to appear ingenious, 'that I might be laſcivious; but I have been laſci- 'vious only that I might be ingenious (66).' Such writers may find a good leſſon in this laſt verſe of an epigram of Martial (67), *Tanti non erat eſſe te diſertum*: a leſſon, which he gave to others, and which himſelf ſtood in need of as much as any body, but which he never practiſed. Let us return to Marot, and ſay, that, in all probability, his heart and his wit agreed: however it be, he gave no ill turn to this kind of verſes. His epigram on a *wild Spouſe*, was thought worthy by Menage to be inſerted almoſt entire among his obſervations, where he endeavours to prove that it was formerly ſaid, *j'ai mors*, for *j'ai mordu* (68).

(66) Des Accords, in his preface to his *Bigarrures*.

(67) The forty third of the twelfth book.

(68) Menage, Obſervations ſur la Langue Françoiſe, *Tom. i, pag.* 90. Edit. of Paris 1675.

[*N*] *I ſhall relate ſome curious things concerning his verſion of the fifty Pſalms of David.*] Florimond de Remond (69) affirms, that Marot, after his return from Ferrara into France, was exhorted by Vatablus to turn the Pſalms of David into French verſe, and that, following his advice, he publiſhed a verſion of thirty Pſalms, and dedicated it to Francis I. It was cenſured by the faculty of Divinity at Paris, who, moreover, made ſome remonſtrances and complaints of it to that monarch. 'The king, who loved Marot 'for the fineneſs of his wit, made uſe of delays, and 'ſaid, that he had approved the firſt draughts, and 'deſired to ſee the reſt. Upon which account the 'Poet ſent him this epigram.

(69) Florimond de Remond, Hiſt. of the Birth and Progreſs of Hereſy, *liv. viii, cap. xvi, pag.* m. 1042, *& ſeq.* See alſo Mr Varillas, his tranſcriber, *book xxi,* of the Revolutions, *pag.* 48, *& ſeq.* Dutch Edit.

Puis que voulez que je pourſuive, ô Sire,
L'œuvre Royal du Pſautier commencé,
Et que tout cœur aymant Dieu le deſire,
D'y beſongner me tiens pour diſpenſé:
S'en ſente donc qui voudra offenſé:
Car ceux à qui un tel bien ne peut plaire,
Doivent penſer ſi jà ne l'ont penſé,
Qu'en vous plaiſant, me plaiſt de leur deſplaire

Since you deſire it, Sire, I can't refuſe
To cloath in metre David's royal muſe.
Let thoſe then, whom the work diſpleaſes, know,
If you're my friend, I care not who's my foe.

'Nevertheleſs the publication, after many remon- 'ſtrances made to the king, was forbidden. But

Des hommes plus la choſe eſt deſirée,
Quand plus elle eſt aux hommes prohibée,

We value moſt what is forbidden us.

'They could not be printed ſo faſt as they were 'ſold off. They were not then ſet to Muſic, as 'they are now, to be ſung in churches; but every 'one gave them ſuch a tune as he thought fit, and 'commonly that of a ballad. Each of the princes 'and courtiers took a Pſalm for themſelves. King 'Henry II loved this Pſalm, *Ainſi qu'on oyt le cerf 'bruire, - - - Like as the Hart doth breathe and bray*; 'and took it for his own, which he ſung in hunting. Madam de Valentinois, whom he loved, took 'this, *Du fond de ma penſée; - - - Lord, to thee I make 'my moan*; and made choice of it for herſelf. The 'queen choſe the Pſalm, *Ne vueillez pas ô Sire, - - - 'Lord, in thy wrath reprove me not*; which ſhe ſung 'to a merry tune. Antony, king of Navarre, took 'the Pſalm, *Revange moy, prens la querelle; - - - 'Judge, and revenge my cauſe, O Lord*; which he 'ſung to the tune of a dance of Poitou, and ſo did 'the reſt. In the mean time, Marot, fearing leſt he 'ſhould be ſent to priſon a ſecond time, becauſe he 'could not hold his tongue, fled to Geneva, where 'he continued his verſion as far as fifty Pſalms (70). 'Beza put the remaining hundred Pſalms into verſe (71), 'and the Pſalms, which he rhymed in imitation of 'Marot's, were received by all men with as much ap- 'plauſe as ever any book had. For not only all the 'Lutherans, but the Catholics alſo took pleaſure in 'ſinging them; becauſe they were pleaſant, eaſy to 'learn, and fit to be played upon the violin, and 'muſical inſtruments. Calvin took care to put them 'in the hands of the beſt Muſicians in Chriſtendom; 'and, among the reſt, he pitched upon Godimel, 'and another called Burgeois, to ſet them to Muſic (72). 'After this, ten thouſand copies of the Pſalms in 'rhime, ſet to Muſic, were diſperſed every where. 'Then every one begun, even the Catholics, to carry 'them about, and ſing them as ſpiritual ſongs, 'thinking there was no hurt in doing it. For they 'were not as yet, nor till ſome years after, a form of 'religious worſhip among the Calviniſts; but after- 'wards they were appointed to be ſung in their aſſem- 'blies, being divided into ſmall ſections; which 'was done in the year 1553, to ſerve as a reſting- 'place, where they might take breath, after ſo long 'a devotion as theirs is. For the ſinging of Pſalms 'at church, for the moſt part, laſts half a quarter of 'an hour. After they were bound up with the Cal- 'vinian and Geneva catechiſms, the uſe of them was 'wholly forbidden, and the former prohibition re- 'newed, with a ſevere penalty; ſo that to ſing a 'Pſalm, was to be a Lutheran (73).' The ſubſtance of this narrative of Florimond de Remond was turned into elegant Latin, by Famianus Strada (74), who particularly obſerves, that Francis I. often ſung this tranſlation of the Pſalms (75).

(70) Id. Flor. de Remond, ibid. *pag.* 1043.

(71) Id. ib. *pag.* 1044.

(72) Id. ib. *pag.* 1049.

(73) Id. ib. *pag.* 1050.

(74) Strada de Bello Belg. *dec. i, lib. iii, pag. m.* 130, 131.

As I intend here chiefly to inſiſt on matters of fact, I have not taken notice of the critical obſervations of Florimond de Remond. He pretends, that Marot has falſified the Hebrew text, tho' Vatablus gave him a very good verſion of it. The criticiſms of this Hiſtorian have been confuted not only by reaſons, but alſo by authorities (76). Mr Jurieu has produced 'the approbation of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, upon 'which Charles IX, in the greateſt heat of perſecution, 'granted a Licence to Antony Vincent, a Printer at 'Lyons, for the printing of theſe Pſalms. The approbation 'runs thus: We, Doctors of Divinity, whoſe names 'are here ſubſcribed, do certify, that, in a certain tran- 'ſlation of the Pſalms, preſented to us, beginning at 'the forty eighth Pſalm, with theſe words, *C' eſt 'en ſa très Sainte cité*, and ending with this verſe, 'Chante à jamais ſon Empire. We have found no- 'thing contrary to our Catholic faith, but every 'thing agreeable to it, and to the truth of the Hebrew 'text: in teſtimony whereof we have ſigned the pre- 'ſent certificate, Octob. 16, ſigned J. de Salignac. 'Viboult. *The Licence, granted to Plantin, for printing* 'theſe

(75) Rex quamvis ejus (*Marotti*) verſiculos identidem cantitaret. *Id. ib.*

(76) See Mr Jurieu, Apology for the Reformers, *Tom. i, pag.* 126, *& ſeq.* Edit. in 4to.

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'*these Psalms, says also, that these Psalms, before the* '*impression*, had been examined, viewed, and approved, 'by Mr Josse Schelling, Portionary of St Nicolas at 'Brussels, deputed for this end by the council of 'Brabant. And that, after the impression was finished, 'they were viewed again, and found to be no wise (77) Ibid. *pag.* 127. 'repugnant to the Catholic faith (77).' That the dates may appear, we must add to these words, what the same author says three pages after; which is, that the edition, for which Charles IX granted a licence to Antony Vincent, a Printer at Lyons, '*is to be seen* '*at this day, bearing date* 1562; *and that the privi-* '*lege of the sixteenth of October is of the same year.* '*Three years after, Plantin printed them at Antwerp,* (78) Ib. *pag.* 130. '*with the privilege of Philip, king of Spain* (78).' Mr Bruguier, minister and professor of Divinity at Nimes, has related the very words of the licence of Charles IX. The most authentic approbation of this work, *says he* (79), 'was that of king Charles IX, in 1561, (79) Bruguier, Discourse about the singing of Psalms, *pag.* 32, 33. This Discourse was printed in 1664. 'who, after he had caused these Psalms to be exami- 'ned by some persons well versed in the Scripture, 'and the Languages, found that they were faithfully 'translated according to the truth of the Hebrew 'text, whereupon, being in council, he readily gave 'his approbation, and licence for printing and sing- 'ing of these Psalms. The words of the licence, 'which are still to be seen in our old Psalms, are these. '*By a special favour, full power, and royal authority,* '*we have given and granted to Antony, the son of Antony* '*Vincent, Bookseller at Lyons, the privilege, leave,* '*licence, and permission, for the space of ten years next* '*following, to print, or cause to be printed, when, and* '*wheresoever he shall please, all the Psalms of the pro-* '*phet David*, translated according to the truth of 'of the Hebrew text, *turned into French metre, and set* '*to good Music, as it is well known, and has been exa-* '*mined by men learned in the holy Scripture, and in the* '*said languages, and also in the art of Music*, &c.' There are some difficulties in all this; for it is hardly conceivable, that Charles IX should have granted to a Bookseller of Lyons a licence, dated October the nineteenth, 1562, for printing the Psalms of Clement Marot, and Theodore Beza. The first civil war of religion was then in it's greatest height. Lyons had been in the power of the Huguenots for five months, and they were actually besieged in Roan. It is therefore more probable, that this licence was granted in 1561, as Mr Bruguier says: but this difference of dates between him and the other ministers (80) is inconvenient. Besides it is inconceivable, that, in 1561, or 1562, the translation, which was sung at Geneva, should have been examined by the Sorbonnists, without the forty seven Psalms; for, according to Florimond de Remond, the fifty Psalms, which Marot translated, were bound up with the other hundred Psalms, translated by Theodore Beza, and with the Calvinian catechisms, in the year 1553; and from that time 'the use of them was wholly forbidden, and the 'first prohibitions were renewed with severe penal- 'ties (81). 'Note, that the forty eighth Psalm, which was the beginning *of the translation presented* to the doctors of the Sorbonne, was not translated by Clement Marot, but by Theodore Beza. I must not forget, that the Sieur de Pours, in his vast catalogue of the Psalms, that have been printed with licence (82). says nothing of the edition of Lyons approved by the Sorbonne, and authorized by Charles IX, but he observes, that the edition of Plantin, approved by a doctor, *deputed to that end by the council*, having a royal licence, dated June the sixteenth, 1564, was finished in the month of September next following, and that the names of Clement Marot, and Theodore Beza, do not appear in it (83) (§ β). Add to this the remark [S].

(80) Drelincourt, in his dialogues against the missionaries, concerning the service of the Reformed churches, *pag.* 59, affirms, that all the Psalms were printed at Lyons and Paris, with an authentic licence of king Charles IX, in 1562.

(81) Flor. de Remond, ubi supra, *pag.* 1050.

(82) Jeremiah de Pours, Divine Melody of the Holy Psalmist, *pag.* 570, & *seq.*

(83) Id. ib. *pag.* 571.

[(§ β) The privilege for the translation of the other Psalms is dated, not the nineteenth of October 1562, as Mr Jurieu believed, but the nineteenth of October 1561, and it is the same which Mr Bruguier has cited under this date. For the rest, tho' I am fully persuaded, that the approbation of the Sorbonne, of the sixteenth of October 1561, is still in being, I cannot tell where it is; for the privilege of the nineteenth of October does not contain it, nor even mention it. Here is my opinion on all this, which yet does not entirely satisfy me.

It is past doubt, that king Francis I, licensed the impression of the Psalms, the translation of which Marot dedicated to him. It was, I think, in the year 1540, in consequence of the approbation, mentioned by Sleidan, *lib.* xv, under the year 1543. But this privilege related only to the thirty Psalms then translated by this Poet. These thirty Psalms make a part of Marot's works, printed in 8vo, by Dolet, in 1542, *with a privilege for ten years*, says the title of this edition.

Nevertheless, this approbation, in the intention of the Sorbonne, must imply much less than a licence for printing, since, according to Sleidan's account in the same place, after the impression of these thirty Psalms procured by Marot, this Poet, as being an avowed Lutheran, was obliged to retire to Geneva, where, in 1543, he translated into verse twenty other Psalms, which being printed the same year at Geneva with the first thirty, gave occasion to a preface, which Calvin prefixed to this edition.

We do not find, that, 'till the year 1553, the Reformed, whether natives of France, or inhabitants, sung any other Psalms, than these fifty, excepting *eight* other *Psalms*, the translators of which are yet unknown; which eight Psalms, with the first thirty of Marot, were printed, in 1542, in Gothic, *at Rome, by order of the Pope, by Theodore Drust, a German, his Printer in ordinary, the fifteenth of February*; as we read, in the last leaf of the book, printed in 8vo, without either name, of place or Printer. Jeremiah de Pours knew nothing of this edition, which, by the way, is the same with that of Strasburgh, 1545, except as to the number of Psalms. The other hundred, put into verse by Beza, appeared probably in 1553, since it was at that time, that being tacked to the Catechism and Liturgy of Geneva, they excited the aversion of the Catholics, who, after the example of Francis I, on his death-bed †, made no scruple to use the first fifty.

† Inventory of Serres, in the place where the death of king Francis I, is mentioned.

This aversion continued to the time of the Conference of Poissy, the event of which, being favourable to the Reformed, produced, the nineteenth of October 1561, the privilege of Charles IX, upon the approbation given by the Sorbonne, on the sixteenth, for the translation of the rest of the Huguenot Psalms; in consequence of which, the edition of Antony Vincent appeared at Lyons, in 1562; from which, several years after, other editions, in various forms, were printed at Lyons, Rochelle, and elsewhere, all in virtue of this privilege, which ought to have been inserted in them at length, together with the approbation of the Sorbonne.

Villemadon's letter, cited by Mr Bayle in the remark [O], mentions the Psalm, *Vers l'Eternel des oppressez le Pere*, &c. This Psalm, which is the 142d, and, according to the remark of Jeremiah de Pours, the 141st, after the reckoning of that time; this Psalm, I say, is the last but one of the Gothic edition of 1542; and it was then just translated into verse, probably for the use of the Dauphiness Catherine de Medicis, who, being thitherto barren, and threatned for that reason with a divorce, conceived hopes from thence of the birth of a prince in a short time, which in effect happened the following year. REM. CRIT.]

He observes (84), that the fifty Psalms of Clement Marot were printed at Strasburg in 1545, with the ecclesiastical Liturgy. 'The Music of those Psalms, '*says he*, is not every where like that, which was 'aftewards made use of. The poetry is also in many 'places different from that which is in those old edi- 'tions .... The first Psalm in it ends thus: (84) Id. ib. *pag.* 570.

Car le chemin des bons est approuvé
Du Seigneur Dieu, qui toujours l'a trouvé
Droit & uni: Car on ne s'y fourvoye.

'The Psalms are without sections or marks of di- 'stinction. The Apostle's Creed, and some other 'Canticles, are set also to Music, and, besides the 'common Decalogue, there is also another.

Oyons la voyx que de sa voix
Nous a donné le Createur,
De tous hommes legislateur,
Nostre Dieu souverain. Kyrie-Eleison.

That

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That is,

Let us hear the voice of our Creator, the law-giver of all men, our ſupreme GOD. Lord have mercy upon us.

'Which is repeated at the end of every verſe of the 'Decalogue.' What follows deſerves to be conſidered. 'The firſt preface, prefixed to the Pſalms of Marot 'by the church of Geneva, is dated June the tenth, '1543, written by Mr John Calvin .... All the 'Pſalms, with their Muſic, were printed the firſt 'time at Geneva, with a preface concerning an agree-'ment for the relief of the poor Refugees at Geneva; 'which then the other Printers, who printed from 'the firſt copies, ſhould voluntarily and liberally 'furniſh. The deacons of Geneva, in 1567, after the 'preface to the ſermons of John Calvin upon Deute-'ronomy, complain, with grief, *of thoſe, who printed, 'or cauſed to be printed every day, and who had hereto-'fore printed, the Pſalms turned into metre by Beza. 'For every one of them knows very well, that they could 'not with a good conſcience, and ought not to print 'them, without paying to our poor, what was promiſed 'and agreed upon before ever they were printed the firſt 'time* (85).' De Pours obſerves (86), *that Lewis Bourgeois ſet eighty three Pſalms to Muſic in four, five, and ſix parts, which were printed at Lyons in* 1561; *and* (87) *that Guidomel* (88) *ſet to Muſic the Pſalms of David, printed at Paris, by Adrian le Roy and Robert Balard, in* 1565; *and that our Pſalms were ſet to Muſic in four and five parts, by Claudius Guidomel, and after that by Claudius le Jeune, who was of Valenciennes* (89).

(85) Id. ib. pag. 582.

(86) Ibid. pag. 575.

(87) Ibid. pag. 581.

(88) He ſhould be called *Goudimel.*

(89) Ibid. pag. 721.

I wonder he takes no notice of him, who was the firſt author of the ordinary Muſic; for Muſic, in ſeveral parts, was never uſed in the Reformed churches. Here is what a profeſſor of Lauſane did me the honour to write to me. 'I have diſcovered a thing which 'is curious enough: It is a teſtimonial, which Beza 'gave under his hand, and in the name of the 'other miniſters, to William Franc, the ſecond of 'November, 1552, wherein he declares, that it was he, 'who firſt ſet the Pſalms to Muſic, as they are ſung in 'our churches: and I have ſtill a copy of the Pſalms, 'printed at Geneva, where William Franc's name is; 'and beſides this, a licence from the magiſtrate, 'ſigned Gallatin, ſealed with red wax, in 1564, 'in which he is alſo acknowledged to be the author 'of this Muſic. Our Plantin, in his *Lauſana Reſti-'tuta*, gives him the ſame teſtimony (90).'

(90) A MS. letter from Mr Conſtant de Rebecque, who ſhall be mentioned hereafter, in citation (*b*) of the *diſſertation concerning James Bruta*, at the end of this work.

Here follows the anſwer of Mr de Pours to Florimond de Remond, concerning the conformity of the tunes of ſome Pſalms with thoſe of balads (91). 'Florimond ſays, the tune of our thirty eighth Pſalm;

Las en ta fureur aigue
Ne m'argue,
De quoy fait Dieu toutpouſſant,

(91) Ibid. pag. 577, 578.

'agrees with this balad,

Mon bel ami, vous ſouviene,
De Piene,
Quand vous ſerez par dela.

'And that the tune of the 130th Pſalm agrees 'with this,

Languirai-je plus guere,
Languirai-je toujours!

'If it had pleaſed this counſellor, he might have 'added a ſong of the adverſity of England, changed 'into proſperity, to the tune of the thirty eighth 'Pſalm.

Tous les Huguenots de France,
Mille cinq cens & cinquante,
La Regente,
Qu'on appelle Eliſabeth.

All the Huguenots of France,
One thouſand, five hundred, and fifty,
The queen,
Whom they call Elizabeth.

'Of whom it is ſaid,

Comme auſſi en Angleterre,
Bonne terre,
Dieu ſa grace a fait couler,
Leur donnant en ce Royaume
Une Dame
Qui ne veut point vaciller.

As alſo in England,
A good land,
GOD has pour'd down his grace,
Giving them in this kingdom
A miſtreſs,
Who will continue ſtedfaſt.

'This ſeems to be more antient, intituled, to the 'tune de Piene, without making any mention of the 'aforeſaid Pſalm.

Sus Cardinaux, Archeveſques,
Et Eveſques,
Venez tous me ſecourir,
Moines, preſtres & Hermites,
Jeſuites,
Venez pour me voir mourir.
Papauté ſuis appellée,
Qui meſlée,
Me ſuis de perdre la gent,
Envoyant dedans la flamme,
Corps & ame
Du riche & de l'indigent.
Je veux que de moi on chante,
La meſchante,
Qui juſqu'au ciel s'eſlevoit,
Elle eſt cheute & abiſmée,
La damnée,
Qui tout le monde enchantoit.

Come, cardinals, archbiſhops,
And biſhops;
Come all to my aſſiſtance,
Monks, prieſts, and hermits,
Jeſuits,
Come, and ſee me dye.
My name is Popery,
Who have attempted
To ruin the nation,
Setting on fire,
The body and ſoul
Of the rich and poor.
I wou'd have them ſing of me,
The wicked,
Who lifted himſelf up to Heav'n,
She is fall'n, and ſunk,
The damned one,
Who enchanted the whole world.

'Now they muſt know, that theſe delicate ſtrains are 'taken away from the wanton Poets, as being unjuſt 'poſſeſſors of them; and their wantonneſs is turned 'into holineſs. That, which was wont to belong to 'them, is taken from them, and is as it were ſancti-'fied: antiently, any thing that was of common uſe, 'tho' it were even the ſpoil of an enemy, being ſo-'lemnly ſet apart and ſequeſtred, and applied to the 'ſervice of the ſanctuary, was reputed a holy thing.' After this, he makes uſe of recrimination (92), and ſhews, that the tranſlation of the Pſalms into Flemiſh verſe, printed at Antwerp, by Simon Cock, in 1540, with the Imperial licence, granted at Bruſſels in 1539, contains a Muſic borrowed from balads, and that it is ſaid ſo at the beginning of each Pſalm (93). 'You will find, *ſays he*, in the Pſalms 'of Cock, theſe following inſcriptions ſet down 'according to the Pſalms. The 72d Pſalm is 'ſung to the tune of, *D'ou vient cela.* The 81ſt 'to the tune of, *Sur le pont d'Avignon.* The 95th to 'the tune of, *Que maudit ſoit ce faux vieillard.* The '103d Pſalm to that of, *Languir me faut.* The '113th to that of, *De triſteſſe & deſplaiſir.* Likewiſe,

(92) This recrimination was alſo made uſe of, when Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm was anſwered; for the ſongs, that are ſung at Chriſtmas, and the ſpiritual ſongs of Colletet, and thoſe, which the author of *l'Evêque de Cour* made ſuch a jeſt of, were objected. See Jurieu, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 128, 129, *and Mr Rou*, Remarks upon the Hiſtory of Calviniſm, *pag.* 39, *& ſeq.*

(93) De Pours, ibid. *pag.* 572.

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in a letter written to Catherine de Medicis, a little after the death of Henry II [O]. We

‘ wiſe, the 120th Pſalm to that of, *Madame la regente*
‘ *ce n'eſt pas la façon.* The 128th Pſalm to that of, *Il*
‘ *me ſuffit de tous mes meaux.* The 135th to that of,
‘ *Le berger & la bergere ſont a l'ombre d'un buiſſon.*
‘ It is a Flemiſh Pſalter, and thoſe inſcriptions, which
‘ at firſt were were all in French, are placed there in
‘ Walloon, according to the Imperial ſtile, mentioned
‘ in our preface, which puts the Walloon language for
‘ good French (94).

(94) Id. ib. *pag.* 578.

I have quoted in the margin (95) two authors, who have objected to the Catholics the prophane tunes of their Chriſtmas ſongs, *&c.* I add, that there has been lately reprinted, at Geneva, a piece which had been publiſhed in 1645, and which affords matter for a ſharp recrimination: Out of which I ſhall tranſcribe what follows. ‘ Nullo delectu ſacra profanaque juxta
‘ habet *(hæc gens)* imo tam præpoſtero cultu divina
‘ curat, ut pios Eccleſiæ uſus nullis ſemper in-
‘ ſanientis ſeculi ludis pervertat, ſordibuſque conta-
‘ minet. Quæ quidem ſatis denuo experti ſumus, his
‘ Natalis Chriſti nuper exactis temporibus, cum om-
‘ nia templa putidis profanarum cantionum vocibus
‘ perſonarent: ubi quotannis ipſum Incarnationis My-
‘ ſterium turpiſſimis ſecularium cantuum odis conſpur-
‘ catur; tantuſque amor eſt Eccleſiaſticos hymnos ad
‘ mundanas ejuſmodi cantilenas inflectere, ut nulla
‘ quantumvis obſcœna vulgetur, quin ſtatim in Eccle-
‘ ſiis ridicule detorta audiatur; vixque in indignatione
‘ riſum teneo, quoties recordationem ſubit alicubi vi-
‘ deri ſacrorum cantuum rituale, in quo hanc (ut alias
‘ omittam omnino turpes) rubricam legere eſt:

(95) See, above, citat. (92).

MAGNIFICAT to the tune of,

Que ne vous requinquez-vous vieille:
Que ne vous requinquez-vous donc (96)?

(96) Querela ad Gaſſendum de parum Chriſtianis Provincialium ſuorum ritibus, &c. *pag.* 71. Edit. Genev. 1700.

‘ - - - *This people makes no difference between ſacred and*
‘ *prophane things; nay, their care of divine things is*
‘ *ſo prepoſterous, that they pervert and defile them with*
‘ *every folly of a looſe and abandoned age. This I was*
‘ *ſufficiently convinced of, the laſt Chriſtmas, when every*
‘ *church reſounded with prophane ſongs; where every*
‘ *year the myſtery of the Incarnation itſelf is prophaned*
‘ *with moſt ſcandalous worldly ſongs; and ſo fond are*
‘ *they of adapting church hymns to ſuch worldly ſongs,*
‘ *that the moſt obſcene no ſooner appear, than they are*
‘ *ridiculouſly heard in the churches: and I can ſcarce*
‘ *forbear laughing in my anger, when I recollect that*
‘ *I have ſeen a ritual of Pſalms, in which (to omit others,*
‘ *which are quite ſcandalous) you may read this rubric.*
‘ Magnificat, *to the tune of,*

Trick up yourſelf, old dame.

The piece, I ſpeak of, was written by an advocate called Muret, who inſcribed it to the famous Gaſſendus, to repreſent to him the ridiculous ceremonies of the Provençals.

[O] *The moſt particulars are to be found in a letter . . . . written to Catherine de Medicis, a little after the death of Henry II.*] It is dated Auguſt 26, 1559, and was ſent to Catherine de Medicis ‘ by a gentleman,
‘ who had ſerved the deceaſed queen of Navarre,
‘ and ſubſcribed himſelf Villemadon, with whom the
‘ aforeſaid lady (97) had formerly conferred privately
‘ about her affairs, and even about points of reli-
‘ gion (98).’ I will make uſe of the very words of the letter. ‘ (99) I ſhall begin, Madam, with telling
‘ you, that, in the reign of king Francis, and the
‘ late king, who was then Dauphin, being returned
‘ from Piedmont, where he forgot himſelf ſo far as
‘ to commit a vile and foul adultery, by the coun-
‘ ſel and management of certain minions, wicked and
‘ unfaithful ſervants, and by whom, moreover, the
‘ wretched wife of the great ſeneſchal, Diana of
‘ Poitiers, who was the public and common re-
‘ ceptacle of ſo many debauched and diſſolute men,
‘ ſome of whom are dead, and others are ſtill alive,
‘ was introduced to him as a fine ring, from whom
‘ he would learn a great deal of virtue: and after
‘ the news was come, that a baſtard child was
‘ born of the foreſaid adultery; you were talked of,
‘ Madam, by the foreſaid ſcoffers, and the ſaid old
‘ whore, who declared among themſelves, that you
‘ was incapable of ſo great an honour, as to be
‘ the wife of a Dauphin of France, becauſe you
‘ would never have any children, ſince you had been
‘ ſo long without bearing any, and it was not the
‘ fault of your lord and huſband. I remember that,
‘ at the caſtle of Rouſſillon upon the Rhône, they
‘ had a great deal of talk about it, notice whereof
‘ was brought to the deceaſed queen of Navarre, who
‘ loved you very well, and told me . . . . . (100).
‘ You was not ignorant, Madam, of this miſchief,
‘ which was deſigned againſt you; but you had
‘ then a bloody wound in your heart, and you ſought
‘ after the lord with tears and prayers, becauſe you
‘ wanted him: And at that time you acknowledged
‘ him, honouring the Holy Bible, which was kept
‘ in your trunks, or lay upon the table, in which
‘ you looked, and read ſometimes. And your wo-
‘ men and ſervants had the happy opportunity to
‘ read in it; and there was none but the nurſe,
‘ who did not love you much, no more than ſhe
‘ did GOD, who was angry at it. . . . . GOD did not
‘ anſwer you preſently, but left you for many years in
‘ a languiſhing condition, that you might ſeek after
‘ him, pray, and beſeech him, that he would awake
‘ for your aſſiſtance. . . . . The Almighty, your pro-
‘ tector . . . . (101) prepared and opened a way, from
‘ whence all the bleſſings of the king and your ſelf
‘ were to ſpring, and to come to perfection. For this
‘ Father, being full of mercy, put it in the heart of
‘ the deceaſed king Francis, to take great pleaſure
‘ in the thirty Pſalms of David, with the Lord's-Prayer,
‘ the angelical Salutation, and the Apoſtles Creed,
‘ which the late Clement Marot had tranſlated, and
‘ dedicated to his majeſty; who commanded the ſaid
‘ Marot to preſent the whole to the emperor Charles
‘ V, who received the ſaid tranſlation graciouſly,
‘ highly valued it, and preſented him with two hun-
‘ dred Spaniſh piſtoles, and alſo encouraged him to
‘ finiſh the ſaid work, by tranſlating the reſt of the
‘ ſaid Pſalms, and deſired him to ſend him, as
‘ ſoon as he could, the Pſalm *Confitemini Domino,*
‘ *quoniam bonus,* becauſe he particularly loved it.
‘ Which ſeeing and hearing the Muſicians of thoſe
‘ two princes, nay all the Muſicians of France, ſtrove
‘ who ſhould beſt ſet the ſaid Pſalms to Muſic, and
‘ every body ſung them. But if any perſon loved
‘ them dearly, and commonly ſung them, and cauſed
‘ them to be ſung, it was the late king Henry, who
‘ loved them ſo well, that good men bleſſed GOD
‘ for it; and his minions and his whore loved them,
‘ or feigned ſo great a love for them, that they
‘ wont to ſay, Sir, ſhall not this be mine? Give
‘ me that if you pleaſe: inſomuch that this good
‘ prince had much ado to pleaſe every one's fancy,
‘ according to his deſire. Nevertheleſs kept for
‘ himſelf the following Pſalm, as you may remem-
‘ ber:

(100) Ib. *pag.* 502.

(101) Ib. *pag.* 503, *& ſeq.*

Bienheureux eſt quiconques
Sert à Dieu volontiers, &c (102).

(102) It is the 128th Pſalm.

The man is bleſt who fears the Lord,
Nor only worſhip pays,
But keeps his ſteps confin'd with care
To his appointed ways, &c.

‘ He himſelf made a tune to this Pſalm, which was
‘ very good and pleaſant, and very ſuitable to the
‘ words. He ſung it, and cauſed it to be ſung ſo
‘ often, that he plainly ſhewed he had an earneſt de-
‘ ſire to be that bleſſed man, whom David deſcribes in
‘ the ſaid Pſalm, and to ſee you become the fertile
‘ vine therein mentioned. This was when he was re-
‘ covering of his ſickneſs at Angouleſme. The queen,
‘ my miſtreſs, (who was then with king Francis, her
‘ brother) intreated him to uſe with pity and clemency
‘ the citizens of Rochelle, inſtead of maſſacring them,
‘ and ſent me to you to be informed of his ſickneſs;
‘ which I found ſo much abated, that he begun to
‘ ſing the ſaid Pſalms, with lutes, violins, ſpinnets,
‘ and flutes, attended with voices; and he took great
‘ delight in them, and commanded me to come near
‘ him, becauſe he knew that I loved Muſic, and could
‘ play a little upon the lute and guittar; and he
‘ ordered

(97) *That is to ſay,* Catherine de Medicis.

(98) Beza, Hiſt. Eccl. *book iii, pag.* 225.

(99) Recueil des choſes Memorables faites & paſſees pour le faict de la Religion, & Etat de ce Royaume depuis la mort du Roy Henry II, *Tom. i, pag.* 501, *Edit.* 1565, *in* 12*mo.*

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We muſt not forget, that the church of Geneva, which was the firſt that made uſe of this verſion of the Pſalms, was the firſt that forſook it [P], to make uſe of another verſion

'ordered the tune, and the parts of it, to be given 'me, which I carried to the queen, my miſtreſs, with 'the news of the recovery of your health. I muſt 'not forget your Pſalm, which you often deſired to be 'ſung, and which was this:

Vers l'Eternel des oppreſſez le pere
Je m'en iray, luy monſtrant l'improper
Que l'on me faict, luy ferai ma priere
A haulte voix, qu'il ne jette en arriere
Mes piteux cris, car en lui ſeul j'eſpere (103).

(103) This is the beginning of Pſalm 141.

To thee, O Lord, my cries aſcend,
O haſte to my relief:
And with accuſtom'd pity hear
The accents of my grief.

Inſtead of off'rings, let my pray'r
Like Morning incenſe riſe;
My lifted hands ſupply the place
Of Evening ſacrifice, &c.

'When my ſaid queen of Navarre ſaw theſe two 'Pſalms, and heard how they were frequently ſung, 'even by the Dauphin, ſhe admired it very much, 'and ſaid to me, I know not how the Dauphin's lady 'came by this pſalm, *Vers l'Eternel*, &c. for it is 'none of thoſe that were tranſlated by Marot. But 'it is not poſſible to find another, wherein her af'fliction is better deſcribed, and by which ſhe may 'more clearly ſhew the grief that ſhe feels, and de'ſire of GOD to be eaſed of it, as indeed ſhe will 'be. For ſince it has pleaſed GOD to put this gift 'into their hearts, behold the time, behold the days 'are at hand, when the eyes of the king ſhall be ſa'tisfied, the deſires of the Dauphin ſhall be fulfilled, 'the hopes of the enemies of the Dauphin's lady ſhall be 'diſappointed, and my wiſhes alſo, and the faith of my 'prayers, ſhall come to an end. Within the ſpace of a 'year, the merciful viſitation of the Lord will ap'pear, and I dare ſay that ſhe ſhall have a ſon for 'the greater joy and ſatisfaction .... (104). About 'thirteen or fourteen months after this, you brought 'forth our king Francis, who is now alive ... (105). 'But when this good GOD made you fruitful, then 'the late king began to be negligent and forgetful of 'ſuch a benefit: Whence it came to paſs, that GOD, 'being provoked, permitted this poor prince to be 'infatuated with that old whore Diana, who admitted 'into his houſe a young ſerpent (106), which ſe'cretly licked her boſom: He was her oracle, and 'ſhe was the organ of it; he began to blame the ſaid 'Pſalms of David, which teach us to forſake all 'ſins, which encourage chaſtity, and ſtrengthen vir'tue. Then he brought in the laſcivious verſes of 'Horace, which excite the fleſh to all ſorts of 'wantonneſs and leudneſs, and other fooliſh ſongs, 'which were made about their infamous amours, 'by thoſe Poets of the devil; not only to indulge 'their impure and unchaſte life, but alſo to plunge 'them into the abyſs of all iniquity and exceſs, 'and even of all impiety. For ſeeing that the great 'ſeneſchal's lady had, in imitation of you, a Bible 'in French, he ſet himſelf to deſpiſe and condemn 'it, and making a great ſign of the croſs, and 'ſtriking his breaſt with his hand, and fetching deep 'ſighs like an hypocrite, he repreſented to her, that 'ſhe muſt not read it, that ſuch reading did not 'belong to women, and was attended with great 'danger; but that, inſtead of one maſs, ſhe ſhould 'hear two, and content her ſelf with her beads and 'primer, in which there was ſo much good devo'tion, and ſo many fine pictures. And by this means 'this wretched old ſinner perſuaded the late king to 'believe all ſhe ſaid, and you had ſuch a force put 'upon you, Madam, that your confeſſor Bouteiller 'was taken from you, who taught and adminiſtred 'to you the pure word of GOD, and, inſtead of 'the ſaid Bouteiller, her Dr Henuyer, a Sorbon'niſt, was obtruded upon you, to ſuborn your con'ſcience; who was alſo given afterwards to the late 'king, to govern his, and imprint upon it what he 'pleaſed. In ſhort, he robbed you both of that 'holy treaſure, which never periſheth, and which 'procures immortality to him that is poſſeſſed of it. 'He concealed it from you, and made you both 'ſlaves to vain ſuperſtitions, by the ſnares of an old 'woman, whom he had firſt blinded the better to carry 'on his deſign.'

(104) Recueil, ib. pag. 505.

(105) Ib. pag. 506.

(106) He means the cardinal of Lorrain.

[P] *The church of Geneva, which was the firſt that made uſe of this verſion, was alſo the firſt that forſook it.*] It is now a long time ſince it was perceived in France, that certain paſſages of this verſion were become barbarous; which gave riſe to Mr Conrart's deſign of reviſing it. He began this work, and Mr de la Baſtide finiſhed it. But their new verſion was never introduced into the public ſervice of the Reformed. If any propoſals were made about it, they were only examined; but the deciſion was always, that they would keep where they were (107). The French churches, ſettled in foreign countries ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantes, have continued to ſing the tranſlation of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza. At laſt it was reſolved in good earneſt, in the church of Geneva, to uſe them no more, and to introduce in their room the verſion of Mr Conrart and Mr de la Baſtide, after they had been reviſed and ſome alterations made in them. The paſtors and profeſſors of Geneva acquainted the public with their intention (108), by an advertiſement, which was prefixed to the edition they publiſhed of this new verſion in 1695; and ſome years after they quite aboliſhed the uſe of the old tranſlation, and requeſted the other churches, by their circular letters, to do the like. The churches of Heſſe-Caſſel and Neufchatel have admitted this innovation, *upon the ſame foot with the church of Geneva* (109). It is not yet known (110), what the churches in England and Brandenburg will do; but it is well known, that the Walloon ſynod, aſſembled at Rotterdam, in the month of Auguſt 1700, reſolved to retain the ancient cuſtom, and to change only ſome expreſſions or ſome words in the old Pſalter.

We have ſeen a letter of a gentleman of Montpellier, dated June the 5th, 1700, upon which I will make two obſervations. This gentleman ſays, 'That, 'after Mr Godeau had printed his paraphraſe upon 'the Pſalms, the Jeſuit Vavaſſeur made it a queſtion, 'whether he was a Poet, in a Latin diſſertation, 'which appeared with this title, *An Godellus ſit Poëta.*' He is miſtaken; the diſſertation of this Jeſuit, *Antonius Godellus, Epiſcopus Graſſenſis, utrum Poëta*, contains nothing that relates to the Pſalms of Mr Godeau. He ſays, 'that we may apply to the Poems 'of Marot and Beza, what Quintilian ſays of Ennius: 'Let us reverence the verſes of Ennius, as we re'verence the groves, that are venerable for their 'great age, and whoſe old and lopped oaks, though 'they have little beauty, yet ſtrike us with a religious 'awe.' *Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem. Quintilian. lib.* 10. *cap.* 1. He might have found in Quintilian another paſſage more to his purpoſe, where he obſerves, that the Salian prieſts themſelves ſcarce underſtood the ſong they ſung; but that religion did not allow of any change, and that we ought to retain ſuch cuſtoms as have been conſecrated. *Saliorum carmina vix ſacerdotibus ſuis ſatis intellecta, ſed illa mutari vetat religio & conſecratis utendum eſt* (111). When it is alledged, that it is ſufficient to take from the old tranſlation ſometimes one word, and ſometimes another, according as they become obſolete, obſcene, and unintelligible; it ſeems to be founded on very plauſible reaſons: For indeed, to avoid great confuſion, all changes of this nature muſt be made inſenſibly. If many ages be ſpent in following this method, it will be with the verſion of Marot and Beza, as it was with the famous ſhip of Theſeus (112). It was preſerved as a precious thing, and no repairs were made in it but what were neceſſary, that is, in proportion as any ſea piece rotted. Which was at laſt an inſtance made uſe of by the Philoſophers, who diſputed, whether bodies be the ſame, or no, the matter whereof has been changed.

(107) In the Latin ſtile, we ſhould ſay, that theſe propoſitions were *antiquatæ*; for the reſult was *antiqua manent*. Note, that the churches of France could not decide this matter, becauſe, ſince this verſion was made, they have not had leave to hold a national ſynod.

(108) *See the letter intituled*, An Anſwer to a printed Letter, which Mr Jurieu wrote to a French miniſter at London againſt the change of the Pſalms propoſed by the church of Geneva. *This Anſwer contains thirteen pages in* 4to, *and is dated July*, 24, 1700.

(109) Ib. *p.* 11.

(110) I write this in October, 1700.

(111) Quintil. *lib. i, cap. vi, pag. m.* 39.

(112) *See* Plutarch, *in Theſeo, pag.* 1c. *C.*

I ſhall

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ſion more ſuitable to the preſent genius of the French tongue. It is not known, whether other churches will conform to this change. I do not remember that I ever took notice, that Marot mentions his wife in his poems; but I have found in them a paſſage, which ſhews, that he was a father, and beſides it appears that MICHAEL MAROT, his ſon, wrote verſes, which were printed [Q].

There are ſome things, in the article of this Poet, which want to be ſet right. This will give me an opportunity to point out more at large the editions of his works [R]. What

I ſhall make but one remark on the letter, which Mr Jurieu has printed, wherein he condemns the innovation. He ſays, that the churches of France *received from the church of Geneva, a liturgy and a book of Pſalms, which was made and ſung at Paris, before it was at Geneva.* This is not exactly true, ſince the verſes, made at Paris, contained only thirty Pſalms, and thoſe, who ſung them, were indifferently either friends or enemies to the reformed religion. It was at the court of Francis I, that they were chiefly ſung; and it is very well known how much this prince perſecuted the reformed religion. And if, afterwards, the French ſung the other twenty pſalms of Marot, and thoſe of his ſucceſſor, it was before the Reformed diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this way of ſinging, and made it a part of their exerciſes of devotion. Now this was not done, till the whole Pſalter was ſet to Muſic at Geneva, and bound up with the Catechiſm, and from that time the Catholics left off the ſinging of theſe Pſalms, as may be ſeen above in a paſſage of Florimond de Remond (113). It cannot therefore be pretended, that theſe verſes were ſung at Paris before they were at Geneva. I ſay, this cannot be pretended in the ſenſe I ſpeak of: For the queſtion is about a ſinging peculiar to the Reformed, and making part of their pious exerciſes. In this reſpect its birth was at Geneva; and it cannot be denied, that the church of Geneva begun firſt to ſing thoſe Pſalms. I know very well what may be alledged concerning the numerous aſſemblies of the Reformed at Paris about the year 1558: of whom Beza ſpeaks in the following manner (114). 'Thus the aſſembly 'daily multiplied at Paris, where it happened, that 'ſome being in the place called *le pré aux Cleres*, a 'public place of the univerſity, began to ſing Pſalms; 'which being heard, a great many of thoſe, who 'were walking, or playing at divers games, joined 'the company that was ſinging, ſome for the novelty 'of it, and others to bear a part in the Muſic. This 'continued for ſome days in a very great aſſembly, 'where were preſent the king of Navarre himſelf, 'with many lords and gentlemen, both of France and 'other nations, who fell a finging. And although, 'in a great multitude, there is frequently great confuſion, yet there was ſuch an harmony and devotion, 'that every one preſent was raviſhed with it; even 'thoſe who could not ſing, nay, the moſt ignorant, got upon the walls and the places round 'about, to hear the finging, and declared that it 'was ill done to forbid ſo good a thing.' But who does not ſee that all this happened, after thoſe of Geneva had added the Pſalter to the Cathechiſm? Note, that, before Beza tranſlated a hundred Pſalms, thoſe of Marot were ſung in the eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies of Geneva; for, without doubt, the following words ought to be underſtood of an aſſembly at Geneva. '(115) *Beza writes thus in his Paphraſe* 'upon the Pſalms in 1581. It is now thirty two 'years (*viz from the year* 1549. (116) that this 91ſt 'Pſalm was the firſt that I heard ſung in the aſſembly 'of Chriſtians, being the firſt time that I was preſent 'there; and I may ſay, that I was ſo rejoiced to hear 'it ſung, that ever ſince I have had it as it were engraved in my heart.'

[Q] *He was a father* .... MICHAEL MAROT, *his ſon, wrote verſes which have been printed.*] You will find this in the deſcription of Clement Marot's flight.

J'abandonnai, ſans avoir commis crime,
L'ingrate France, ingrate, ingratiſſime
A ſon Poëte: & en la delaiſſant,
Fort grand regret ne vint mon cueur bleſſant:
Tu ments marot, grand regret tu ſentis,
Quand tu penſas a tes Enfans petits (117).

Ungrateful France, without a crime, I quit,
Nor feel the leaſt regret in leaving it.
'Tis falſe, Marot; great grief does ſeize your mind,
When thinking on your children, left behind.

We may with certainty conclude from hence, that he was married; for he was not ſo profligate as to tell Francis I, in a letter, that he was ſorry for the loſs of his baſtards. La Croix du Maine relates, that Michael Marot, the ſon of Clement Marot, *wrote ſome French Poems, which were printed with the* Contredicts à Noſtradamus, *written by the lord du Pavillion ... Printed at Paris in* 1560, *by Charles l'Angelier* (118).

[R] *There are ſome things .... which want to be ſet right. This will give me an opportunity to point out more at large the editions of his works.*] It is always wrong to deny, or call in queſtion, what is true; but ſometimes it is excuſable, becauſe there may be plauſible reaſons for ſo doing. This is my caſe here. I have contradicted (119) an author, who has ſaid, that Marot was page to one Nicolas de Neufville, *who was the firſt ſecretary of ſtate of his family*, and that he dedicated to him his Poem of the Temple of Cupid, the 15th of May 1538. I very juſtly denied, that he had been page to Nicolas de Neufville, who was ſecretary of ſtate; but I ought not to have denied that he had been page to that gentleman's father. I grounded what I ſaid on the difference of age; I took for granted what Theodore Beza affirms, that Marot lived ſixty years. Who could have thought, that Theodore Beza was miſtaken, he, who doubtleſs was acquainted with Clement Marot at Paris (120), and who had it in his power to have informed himſelf at Geneva, of ſeveral particulars relating to this famous refugee? Now, ſuppoſing that Marot was born in the year 1484, as it ought to be ſuppoſed on the teſtimony of Theodore Beza, it was right to deny, that he had been page to one Nicolas de Neufville, who died in 1599. I drew my ſecond reaſon from a paſſage of Clement Marot, in which he affirms, that from the age of ten years, he had always been in the retinue of Frances I. Does this ſuit with one, who had been page of Nicolas de Neufville? There are very good editions of the works of Clement Marot, which have not the epiſtle dedicatory of the Temple of Cupid. Is there not good reaſon, from hence, to ſuſpect, that, if it is to be met with in ſome other editions, it is ſuppoſititious? Theſe are the principles on which I reaſoned in the remark [B]; they muſt be allowed to be probable: nevertheleſs I am obliged ingenuouſly to confeſs, that Marot had been page to one Nicolas de Neufville, and that he himſelf owns it in dedicating to him the Temple of Cupid. I have found this epiſtle dedicatory in the edition of Niort, by Thomas Portau, 1596. This edition (121) is the beſt of all thoſe I had conſulted: Marot's words are theſe. *In reviſing the books of my youth, in order to publiſh them more correct than before, I recollected, that, at the very time, when I was your page, moſt honoured Sir, I compoſed, by your order, the Queſt of conſtant Love, which I found in the beſt place of the Temple of Cupid, in viſiting it, as my age then required. It is therefore fitting, that this work ſhould be dedicated to you, who commanded it; to you, my firſt maſter, and the only one (except princes) whom I ever ſerved* (122). You ſee by this, that he wrote verſes while he was a page. This circumſtance confirms me in my preſent opinion, that Marot died younger than Beza pretends; for, if he was ſixty years old when he died in 1544, he muſt have been born in 1484, and have been page to Nicolas de Neufville about the beginning of the XVIth century, and have begun from that time to make verſes. Yet we do not find that he wrote any, which can be referred to the reign of Lewis XII (123). It is more probable, that he was born in 1496. Take notice of the verſes, which I have cited in the remark [B]: they were made in 1526, and

(113) Citation (73).

(114) Beza, Hiſt. Eccl. *book ii, pag.* 141. *See alſo* Jeremiah de Pours, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 731, 732.

(115) De Pours, ibid. *pag.* 730.

(116) I do not think, that de Pours reckoned right: for Beza coming to Geneva, October 24, 1548, it is not likely that he did not begin to aſſiſt at the aſſemblies of the Faithful, till 1549.

(117) Marot, in his Epiſtle to the king at the time of his baniſhment at Ferrara, *pag. m.* 181. *Add*, that, in the poem, wherein he prays the dauphin to procure him a paſs, *pag.* 182, he ſays, *Not to go and viſit my caſtles, but to ſee my little Marots.*

(118) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 326.

(119) In the remark [B].

(120) Beza, having an exquiſite talent for Poetry, no doubt got acquainted with Marot, or at leaſt got opportunities of ſeeing him.

(121) Mr Des Maizeaux obliged me with his copy in June 1702.

(122) Marot, Epiſtle Dedicatory to Meſſire Nicolas de Neufville, knight, lord of Villeroy. It is dated at Lyons, May 15, 1538.

(123) See his Eclogue of Pan and Robin, where we find that his firſt poems were made in the reign of Francis I.

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What I have ſaid about certain editions of the Pſalter of the Proteſtants of Geneva, will be

and they ſhew, that he was carried to court at the age of ten years, and that he had followed it, *with labour and misfortunes*, twenty Years. We have no verſes, where he ſpeaks of his old age: he is contented to ſay, that he is in the autumn of his age.

Car l'yver qui s' appreſte
A commencé à neiger ſur ma teſte (124).

(124) Marot, Eclogue of Pan, pag. 38, Edit. at Niort, 1596.

Th' approaching winter 'gins to ſhed
It's ſilver honours on my head.

(125) Epigr. pag. 433.

He ſays in another place (125),

Plus ne ſuis ce que j'ay eſté,
Et ne le ſaurois jamais eſtre:
Mon beau Printemps, & mon eſté,
Ont fait le ſaut par la feneſtre.

I am no longer, now, the ſame;
Another man, in all, but name:
My chearful ſpring, and ſummer bright,
Have out of window ta'en their flight.

The autumn of age uſually reaches to between forty and fifty-five years, more or leſs: a man is already in the winter of life at ſixty years.

ADVANTAGES of the edition of Clement Marot's works, at Niort, in 1596.

Since I have ſaid, that the edition of Niort 1596, is the beſt of all thoſe I had conſulted, it will be proper to point out what is particular in it. We find in it ſome pieces, which were wanting in ſeveral of the preceding editions, and which have been left out of ſeveral of the ſubſequent editions. The firſt of theſe pieces are, *Clement Marot's epiſtle in proſe to Stephen Dolet, of the laſt day of July*, 1538. *The ſaid Clement Marot's epiſtle in proſe of the 12th of Auguſt* 1530, *to ſeveral of his brethren, all ſons of Apollo. The ſaid Marot's epiſtle in proſe to Meſſire Nicolas de Neufville, knight, lord of Villeroy, on his piece of the Temple of Cupid. Theſe three epiſtles* (126) *of the author* were again inſerted, *becauſe they give us to underſtand, among other things, certain notable particulars, which ſerve both to preſerve his works intire in the hands of the Printer, and to ſhew us what his ſtile was in proſe*, they likewiſe inſerted *the epiſtle of Stephen Dolet, with his annotations in the margin, on the Hell of the ſaid Marot. The epiſtle of the ſaid Marot to his friend Anthony Couillart, lord of Pavillion, with an epigram of Michael Marot, only ſon of the ſaid Clement Marot.* The three firſt of theſe pieces are at the beginning of the book: the letter of Dolet is to be found at page 47, and that of Marot to the lord de Pavillon at page 211. That of Dolet, was written to Lion Jamet, and is dated at Lyons, the firſt day of the year of Grace, 1542. It informs us, that the Poem intituled *Hell*, was *printed only at Antwerp*. Note, that Clement Marot, in his letter to the ſame Dolet, makes great complaints againſt thoſe, who, printing his works, had mixed with them pieces, of which he was not the author, and ſome of which were *compoſed coldly and with a bad grace, and others full of ſcandal and ſedition. The injury they have done me*, ſays he, *is ſo great and ſo outrageous, that it has touched my honour, and endangered my perſon . . . . . In truth, I dare ſay it without lying, (always without reproach) that the profit of all theſe my labours accrues to them. I have planted the trees, they gather the fruit of them. I have dragged the plow, they reap the harveſt; and all I gain by it is a little eſteem among men, which yet they would rob me of, by aſcribing to me fooliſh and ſcandalous works. I know not what to call this, but ingratitude, which I cannot have deſerved, except by the fault I commit in giving them my copies. Now I am not the only one who have been thus finely ſerved. If Alain Chartier were alive, I firmly believe (my friend) he would willingly bear me company in complaining of thoſe of their art, who have added to his excellent works, the Counter-Lady without mercy, the Hoſpital of Love, the Complaint of St Valentine, and the Shepherdeſs of Granſon, works certainly unworthy of his name; and of which he was no more the author, than I am of the Complaint of the Bazoche, the Alphabet of the preſent Time, the Epitaph of the Count de Sales, and many other fooliſh pieces, which they have thrown amongſt my works. Here follows another cauſe of complaint. Nor were they ſatisfied, continues he, to injure me alone, but many other excellent Poets of my time, whoſe fine works the Bookſellers have joined with mine, making me, in deſpite of myſelf, the uſurper of another's honour, which I could not know, and bear at the ſame time. I have therefore thrown out of my book, not only bad, but even good things which do not belong to me; contenting myſelf with the productions of my own muſe. But that the reader may not complain, I have put twelve times as much of my own compoſitions, never before printed, in the room of thoſe I have thrown out; nay even two books of Epigrams. And after having reviſed both the old and the new, changed the order of the book for the better, and corrected an infinite number of errors of the preſs, I have reſolved to ſend you the whole, in order that, under the fine and ample privilege, which the king has given you in conſideration of your meritorious virtue, you may (in reſpect to our friendſhip) get it re-printed, not only thus correct as I ſend it you, but even ſtill more ſo: which you may eaſily do, if you will take care of it with a diligence equal to your learning.* If you would know in what the new diſpoſition of his Poems conſiſts, you need only conſider theſe words. *Moreover their additions have quite ſpoiled the order of my books, which coſt me ſo much to adjuſt, which order (learned Dolet, and the other courteous readers) I thought proper to change at this laſt reviſal, ſeparating between my youthful works, and thoſe written afterwards; ſo that you may readily find what you have a mind to read, and if you do not find it where it uſed to be, you will find it in a place more ſuitable to it.* The concluſion of this letter is very remarkable. *Putting you in mind, that of all the books, which have been heretofore printed under my name, I declare theſe to be the beſt, the moſt ample, and the beſt diſpoſed; and I diſclaim the others as baſtards, or as ſpoiled children.* This is what he wrote at Lyons the 31ſt of July 1538. It was then near eight years ſince the impreſſion of his Poems intituled, *L'Adoleſcence*, i. e. *Poems of Youth*, and to which the letter, *to a great number of his brethren, all ſons of Apollo*, ſerved by way of preface. What I am going to copy from that letter will acquaint us of the eagerneſs of the public for the productions of Marot's muſe. 'I know not, my dear 'brethren, which has moſt incited me to publiſh theſe 'little pieces of my youth; your continual intreaties, 'or the diſpleaſure it gave me to hear cryed about 'the ſtreets a great part of them, incorrect, badly 'printed, and more to the Bookſeller's profit, than 'the Author's credit. Certainly both conſiderations 'prevailed upon me, but your intreaties the moſt.' In the ſame Letter we find what Paſquier has informed us of above (127). 'Hoping ſoon to offer you ſome-'thing better, and, as a pledge of that better, I now 'preſent you, after the *Adoleſcence* (128), a work of 'a better temper, and more poliſhed materials: but 'the *Adoleſcence* ſhall go before, and I will begin it 'with the firſt Eclogue of Virgil's Bucolics, tranſlated 'when I was very young, as you may perceive by the 'ſeveral ways, even by the eliſion of the *e* feminine, 'which I did not then obſerve; and which John le 'Maire de Belges, by teaching it to me, reproved me 'for (129).' This letter was written from Paris the 12th of Auguſt 1530: and it is proper to take notice of this date; becauſe it is the Æra of the firſt edition, which Clement Marot owned and directed.

(126) Note, that the two firſt were taken from the edition of Lyons, 1543, by Stephen Dolet.

(127) In remark [L] at the end.

(128) On this occaſion, I ſhall remark, that the little book, which followed the *Adoleſcence Clementine*, was printed at Lyons, by Francis Juſtus, in 1534. See the edition of Niort, *pag.* 398.

Tho' the edition of Niort had no other advantage than that of informing us of the particulars I have juſt mentioned, it would deſerve to be preferred to the others; but that is not it's only advantage: the works of Marot are there ranged in very good order, and augmented with ſeveral pieces, which never before appeared. The Bookſeller informs us, that he had 'procured the whole to be thus diſpoſed by M. Francis 'Mixiere of Poiſtou, M. D. his friend, who, loving 'the memory of the author, and the preſervation of 'his works more grave and leſs wanton, was willing 'to undertake it, by way of amuſement and relaxa-'tion from other more ſerious ſtudies; giving himſelf 'the trouble farther of enlarging and explaining a good 'part of the ſhort arguments of each poem or ſubject, 'by the addition he has made of ſuitable circumſtances; 'namely, to whom, of whom, of what, in what 'place, at what time, and on what occaſion, they 'were written; as far as he could inform himſelf by 'the hiſtory of that time, and by the edition of Ste-'phen Dolet of the year 1543, and others preceding

(129) Marot, Epiſtle to a great number of his brethren.

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be a little enlarged [S].

'that, according to which they were reſtored where 'they had been taken away, by ſome Printers, who 'too boldly maim the works of authors, and leave out 'their preliminary epiſtles or prefaces (130): thereby 'preventing the reader from readily comprehending 'their deſign, with the order and method they obſerve 'in their books, which they generally diſcover in their 'ſaid prefaces or epiſtles.'

(130) This ſhews how old this practice is, which is ſtill complained of, as may be ſeen in remark [F] of the article ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO.

[S] *What I have ſaid* (131) *of certain editions of the Pſalter of the Proteſtants of Geneva ſhall be a little enlarged.*] I have quoted two miniſters (132), who have ſaid, that Charles IX granted a licence for printing this Pſalter to Antony Vincent, Bookſeller of Lyons. This privilege is dated the 14th of October 1562, according to one of theſe miniſters; but, according to the other, it was granted in 1561. I learn from Mr Daillé (133), that it was given at St Germain en Laye, the 19th of October 1561 (§ *a*), that Robertet, one of the Secretaries of State, ſubſcribed it, and that that theſe Pſalms were printed at Paris, in 1562, for Adrian de Roy, Robert Balard, Martin le Jeune, and Robert Motet; and at Lyons for John Deſtournes. This date proves the obſervation of Mr Jurieu to be falſe (134); for it is not true, that the month of October 1561, was the time when the heat of the perſecutions was violent. It was the time of the conference of Poiſſy: the affairs of the Proteſtants were not then in a very bad ſituation. It will be of ſome uſe to obſerve with what view Mr Daillé mentions this privilege of the Pſalms. He was to anſwer a ſpeech, which the Clergy had made to king Lewis XIII in 1636, in which, among other things, the Proteſtants were charged with having blotted out of their Pſalms a certain paſſage, which contained a prayer for the king (135). The archbiſhop of Orleans was the ſpeaker, and recited theſe verſes of the former tranſlation;

(131) In the remark [N].

(132) Jurieu and Bruguier.

(133) Dallæus, Reſponſ. Apolog. ad Aurelianenſis Epiſcopi Orationem, *pag.* 261.

[(§ *a*) Charles IXth's privilege is not dated Octob. 19; but December 26, 1561. REM. CRIT.]

(134) See the remark [N], citation (77).

Seigneur, plaiſe toi de defendre
Et maintenir le roi:
Veuille nos requeſtes entendre,
Quand nous crions à toi.

That is,

Be pleaſed, O Lord, to defend and maintain the king; and hear our petitions, when we cry unto thee.

(135) It is in Pſalm xix according to the Vulgate, and the xxth according to the Hebrew.

He pretended, that it was not long before the pretended Reformers had changed theſe four verſes into the following:

Seigneur, plaiſe toi nous defendre,
Et faire que le roi
Puiſſe nos requetes entendre
Encontre tout effroi.

That is,

Be pleaſed, O Lord, to defend us, and make the king hear our petitions againſt all affright.

His declamation thereupon was very vehement. I omit Mr Daillé's anſwer, as to the principal point, namely to ſhew, that the Hebrew Text is more agreeable to the latter tranſlation, than to the former, which is according to the Vulgate: I only ſay, that he obſerves, that the latter verſion is that, which has always been followed ſince the Reformed obtained the firſt liberty of conſcience, by the edict of January 1562. He ſhews that it is the verſion which appeared in the Pſalter, printed with the privilege, which Charles IX granted, the 19th of October 1561. He confeſſes, that the firſt way of tranſlating is in ſome editions; but he ſays, that they never were uſed by the reformed Churches, or but a very little time. He had ſeen one, which, as far as he could remember, was of the year 1559 (136). It contained but a part of the Pſalms. Obſerve what I have ſaid above, citation (77), that the Pſalter approved by the doctors of the Sorbonne, began but at the xlviiith Pſalm. Whence is it then, that ſo many editions, mentioned by Mr Daillé, and publiſhed in virtue of the privilege granted by Charles IX, in conſequence of the approbation of the doctors, contained the xxth Pſalm? Mr Colomiés has declared for the firſt tranſlation, and has blamed Beza, for not having followed it, in his firſt edition of the Pſalms, *which appeared, if I am not miſtaken*, adds he, *in the year* 1560, he afterwards went from it (137). *In which he did very ill*, continues he, *to correct himſelf. For (beſides that this laſt tranſlation is not near ſo faithful as the firſt) referring to the people, what ought to be underſtood of the king, he has thereby given occaſion, though innocently, to a calumny, with which we are charged to this very day.*

(136) Dallæus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 260, 261.

(137) Colomiés, Letter to Mr Claude, at page 184 of his *Obſervationes ſacræ*, Edit. 1679.

MARSILIUS of Padua. See MENANDRINO.

MARSUS (*a*) (PETER), born at Ceſa in *Campagnia di Roma* (*b*), was eſteemed for his works about the end of the XVth century. He had been a diſciple of Pomponius Lætus and Argyropylus (*c*). He was dedicated to an eccleſiaſtical life from his youth (*d*); notwithſtanding which, he employed himſelf more in illuſtrating profane authors [A], than in turning over Chriſtian authors. It is true, that, remembring his vocation, and to preſerve the decorum of it, he undertook to comment on the fineſt book of Morality, which the Pagans have left us; I mean Tully's Offices [B]. At that time he

(*a*) He had this name becauſe he was born in the country of the antient Marſi.

(*b*) Leandro Alberti, Deſcritt. di tutta Italia. *fol. m.* 151, *verſo.*

(*c*) See the remark [C].

(*d*) See the remark [B].

[A] *He employed himſelf very much ... in illuſtrating profane authors.*] His notes on Silius Italicus were printed in Folio, with the text of that Poet, at Venice, in the year 1483 and 1492, and at Paris in 1512. Add to this the editions in 8vo, which are that of Paris 1531, and that of Baſil 1543. His Notes on Terence were printed, with thoſe of Malleolus, at Straſburg, in 1506, in 4to, and at Lyons in 1522 (1). They had already been printed at Venice. The edition of his Commentary on the books of Cicero *de natura Deorum*, which has been taken notice of in Geſner's Bibliotheque (2), and which is of Baſil, *apud Jo. Oporinum* 1544, is not the firſt. This work was firſt printed at Paris, and dedicated to Lewis XII by the author, who calls himſelf a prieſt (3) in his preface, and acknowleges himſelf to be, already, very old. Father Leſcalopier had ſeen a copy of this little book only in the library of the Jeſuits at Reims (4). I am going to mention a Commentary of our Marſus, on Tully's Offices.

(1) Geſner, Bibl. *fol.* 538, *verſo.*

(2) *Fol.* 550, *verſo.*

(3) Servulum & Preſbyterum Chriſti.

(4) Leſcalop. Pref. Comment. in Ciceronis libros de Natura Deorum.

[B] *Remembring his vocation ..... he undertook to comment on .... Tully's Offices.*] This is what he ſays in his epiſtle dedicatory to cardinal Francis de Gonzaga. 'Ne igitur ocio; quod poſt varios labores & 'moleſtias ſub te tandem nactus ſum: & melius mihi 'ipſi jam polliceri audeo clementia tua & generoſo 'animo frætus abuti viderer: diu multumque cogitavi 'quid potiſſimum mihi cum decoro agendum eſſet qui 'ab ineunte ætate ſacris inſtitutis & ceremoniis initiatus 'eſſem & addictus. Tandem id elegi quod meæ profeſſioni congrueret: & in ſe plurimum honeſtatis haberet & utilitatis. Ciceronis officia, ſ. ad uſum eruditionem cultumque vitæ communis inſtituta interpretari (5) ----- *That I may not ſeem to abuſe the leiſure, which, after many fatigues and troubles, I have at length gained under you, and, depending on your clemency and generoſity, dare promiſe my ſelf ſtill better, I conſidered a long time with my ſelf, what was fitteſt for me to employ my time in, who have been from my youth, devoted to the rites and ceremonies of religion. At length I choſe what was ſuitable to my profeſſion, and moſt reputable and uſeful; namely, to explain Tully's Offices, deſigned for the uſe, inſtruction, and cultivation of common life.*' He reviſed this Commentary ſome time after, and corrected ſeveral faults, which youth and a haſty impreſſion had introduced into it. Read what he confeſſes in the epiſtle dedicatory of the ſecond edition. 'Qui falſa docet atque defendit: ignorantiam

(5) Petrus Martyr, Ep. ad F. Gonzag. Card. Mantuan.

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he enjoyed an honourable leiſure by the favour and liberality of cardinal Francis de Gonzaga. This good fortune had been preceded by ſeveral troubles and inconveniences. He dedicated this commentary to that cardinal; but, when he publiſhed a ſecond edition augmented and corrected, he dedicated it to cardinal Raphael Riario, who honoured him with his good offices. I cannot ſay where nor when he died (e); but I know, that he lived to a great age, and that he was vigorous enough even then to continue writing books (f). Some have ſpoke of his works with great contempt; but others have highly commended them [C]. The moderation, which Barthius obſerved, appears to

(e) See in the remark [C] the words of Leander Alberti.

(f) See the paſſage of Eraſmus, towards the end of the remark [C].

' rantiam ſuam fatetur: & ducem ad omne ſcelus im-
' pudentiam. Horum ſacratis inſiſtens veſtigiis: licet
' hallucinanti ſimilis: mea commentariola recognovi.
' Cum in illis multa juveniliter ac minus quam de-
' cuiſſet conſiderate dicta cognoſcerem: celeritas nam-
' que partus efficit: ut manca quodammodo & habe-
' rentur & eſſent: cum Horatianæ maturitatis oppor-
' tunitatem exſpectare non ſuſtinuerint: quod impru-
' dentiæ aſcribendum eſt: præſertim hac ætate quæ
' per omnem Italiam perſpicaciſſimis decoratur inge-
' niis (6) - - - - *He who teaches and defends what is*
' *falſe, confeſſes his ignorance, and impudence, which*
' *leads to every vice. Treading in the ſacred footſteps of*
' *theſe men, tho' like one who miſtakes the way, I have*
' *reviſed my Commentary; obſerving in it many things boy-*
' *iſhly and inconſiderately ſaid; for a haſty birth is gene-*
' *rally imperfect; nor could I wait the maturity pre-*
' *ſcribed by Horace; which is to be aſcribed to imprudence,*
' *eſpecially in this age, when the fineſt geniuſes appear in*
' *all parts of Italy.*' All authors ought to profit by this example. They ſhould not apply to a Printer the moment they are paſſed their childhood, and they ſhould compoſe ſedately and at leiſure. They find, too late, the inconvenience of the contrary behaviour (7). But let us return to Peter Marſus. He retrenched many things, and added many others; and he acknowledges, that Cardinal Raphael Riario, his patron, had given him his advice in the reviſal. ' Ne igitur
' ocio quod benignitas tua mihi conceſſit abuterer: id
' tentavi quod eminentiſſimum celſitudinis tuæ inge-
' nium & ſupra ætatem in rebus omnibus judicium ef-
' flagitabant. Utilitatem: ſi quæ erit in his Petri
' Marſi clientis tui commentariolis: amplitudini tuæ
' debebunt adoleſcentes: quorum inſtitutioni: te hor-
' tante: te duce: pro viribus conſulendum duxi: quod
' ut aliquando conſequerer multa delevi: multa addidi:
' quæ ex uberrimo Platonis & Ariſtotelis fonte de-
' ducta: Ciceronis majeſtas expoſcere videbatur (8).
' - - - - *Therefore that I might not make an ill uſe of the*
' *leiſure you have kindly procured me, I attempted ſuch a*
' *work, as your Eminency's great abilities, and uncom-*
' *mon judgment required. If youth receives any benefit*
' *from the Commentaries of your client Peter Marſus, they*
' *are indebted for it to your Eminency, who encouraged*
' *and aſſiſted me in endeavouring their improvement; to*
' *effect which, I have blotted out many things, and ad-*
' *ded others, which, fetched from the plentiful ſtores of*
' *Plato and Ariſtotle, the mighty Cicero ſeemed to re-*
' *quire.*' Note, that he ſays, he intended to reviſe in the ſame manner what he had written on Silius Italicus; but that he waited for a convenient opportunity to publiſh his thoughts on Horace, and on Cicero's Tuſculan Queſtions, and his books *de Finibus*. Note alſo, that he commented on the treatiſes, which generally go along with the Offices, namely the Dialogues *de Amicitia*, and *de Senectute*, and the Paradoxes. The edition, which I make uſe of, is of Venice, *per Bartholomæum de Zanis de Porteſio*, 1498, in *Folio*. It is at leaſt the ſecond. Geſner mentions only that of Lyons 1514 (9).

[C] *Some have ſpoken of his works with great contempt; but others have highly commended them.*] Geſner (10) cites theſe words of Ludovicus Vives. ' Petrus
' Marſus in Officia Ciceronis loquacitate pene intole-
' rabilis - - - - - *Peter Marſus in his Commentary on*
' *Tully's offices, is intolerably loquacious.*' Let us ſee the judgment, which Dauſqueius made on Peter Marſus's Notes on Silius Italicus. ' Silium immerentem ac de
' fato ſuo mœrentem conſpicati tres viri, licet humani
' habiti, ſuppetias ferre connixi ſunt Marſus, Modius,
' & Auctor Crepundiorum; ſed aut novis ſæviere pla-
' gis, aut hiantia vulnera diduxere. Ignoſcibilis qui-
' dem Marſi ignoratio, & ſeculo condonanda: ſimpli-
' citate nocuit, nec valde (11) - - - - - *Three perſons,*
' *though eſteemed good-natured men, beheld SILIUS la-*
' *menting his undeſerved fate, and reſolved to help him:*
' *they were Marſus, Modius, and the author of the* Crepundia: *but they either gave him new wounds, or cruelly*
' *opened his old ones. Marſus's ignorance is indeed par-*
' *donable, and to be aſcribed to the age in which he*
' *lived; he hurt his author through folly, but not greatly.*'

Here follow ſome authors, who judge of him more to his advantage. ' Petrus Marſus non ad poëtas ſolum
' explicandos, ſed ad oratores, quoque & philoſo-
' phos ſtudium adjecit. Extant ejus in Silium Ita-
' licum commentarii, multa eruditione referti: ſed
' longè utiliora, quæ in Ciceronis opera conſcripſit:
' eloquens, ut Pomponii auditorem agnoſcas, &, quod
' plus eſt, propemodum philoſophus: ſed quantuſcun-
' que in philoſophia eſt, eum Argyropuli contuber-
' nium effecit. *Epitaphium* ejus tale mihi ſeſe obtulit

Quæ ſola eloquii ſuperabat gloria & illam
Perdidimus, tecum vixit & interiit (12).

' (12) - - - - - *Peter Marſus applied himſelf not only to*
' *explaining the Poets, but the Orators and Philoſophers*
' *likewiſe. There are extant his Commentaries on Silius*
' *Italicus, full of learning, but what he wrote on Cicero's*
' *works is much more uſeful: ſo eloquent a writer, that*
' *you would fancy him a diſciple of Pomponius, and,*
' *what is more, almoſt a philoſopher: but he is indebted*
' *to Argyropylus, with whom he lived, for all his Philo-*
' *ſophy. His epitaph, as I have met with it, is as fol-*
' *lows:*

The poor remains of eloquence are fled;
With thee alone it liv'd, with thee is dead.

Add to this theſe words of Leandro Alberti: ' Ceſa
' picciolo Caſtello, patria gia di Pietro Marſo huomo
' molto litterato. Il quale colle ſue ſingolari virtuti ha
' illuſtrato queſto luogo, come chiaramente conoſcere ſi
' puo dall' opere da lui laſciate, & maſſimamente delli
' Commentari fatti ſopra Sillio Italico. Abandonò li
' mortali pochi anni fa (13). - - - - - *Peter Marſus, a*
' *very learned man, was born at Ceſa, a ſmall caſtle.*
' *This man has made this place famous by his ſingular*
' *virtues, as plainly appears by the works he left behind*
' *him particularly his Commentaries on Silius Italicus.*
' *He died but a few years ago.*' See in the margin the Latin verſion, which Kyriander has given of this Italian paſſage (14), and note, by the way, that Peter Marſus had not been long dead, when Leandro Alberti wrote this; but we can conclude nothing certain concerning the year of his death, ſince this work of Alberti was finiſhed a long time before it was made public. It was printed in the year 1550, and Flaminius had read it in manuſcript in the year 1537 (15). Perhaps, the page, in which Peter Marſus is commended, had been written, a long time, when the author communicated his manuſcript to Flaminius. One ought never to make uſe of the expreſſion *not long ſince*, &c. without ſetting down the year, in which we thus expreſs ourſelves. Eraſmus, who had ſeen Marſus at Rome about the beginning of the XVIth century, ſays, that he was very old, and that he continued to write. ' Romæ vidi Petrum
' Marſum longævum potiùs quam celebrem. Non
' multum aberat ab annis octoginta, & florebat ani-
' mus in corpore non infelici. Mihi viſus eſt vir pro-
' bus & integer, neque potui non mirari induſtriam.
' In tanta ætate ſcribebat Commentarios in librum *de*
' *Senectute*, alioſque nonnullos Ciceronis libellos. Li-
' cebat in eo perſpicere veſtigia veteris ſeculi (16). - - -
' *I ſaw Marſus at Rome, who was rather an old, than*
' *a famous man. He wanted but little of eighty years,*
' *and he had a vigorous mind in no unhappy body. He*
' *ſeemed to me a man of probity and integrity, and I*
' *could not but admire his induſtry. At ſo great an age,*
' *he*

(12) Autor Dialogi de reparatione linguæ Latinæ, apud Gifanium, *pag.* 411, citante Konigio in Biblioth. *pag.* 512.

(13) Leand. Alberti, Deſcritt. di tutta l'Italia, *fol. m.* 125. *verſo.*

(14) Oppidulum Ceſa, Petri Marſi Patria, nuper vita defuncti, virl cum primis literati, prout ejus ſcripta, maximeque Commentaria in Silium teſtantur.

(15) This appears by a letter of Flaminius, dated the firſt of May, 1537. It is prefixed to Leandro Alberti's book.

(16) Eraſm. Epiſt. v, lib. xxiii, pag. m. 1210.

(6) Petrus Marſus, Epiſt. ad Raphaelem Riarium.

(7) See the remark [B] of the article ZUERIUS.

(8) Marſus, Ep. ad Raph. Riarium.

(9) Geſner, Bibl. *fol.* 550, *verſo.*

(10) Ibid.

(11) Dauſq. Præf. in Sil. Ital. *fol.* 1 *verſo.*

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to me very reaſonable [D].

' *he wrote Commentaries on the book* de Senectute, *and* ' *ſome other books of Cicero. It was eaſy to diſcover* ' *in him the footſteps of antiquity.*'

[D] *The moderation, which Barthius has obſerved, appears to me to be very reaſonable.*] He does not pretend, that, abſolutely ſpeaking, Peter Marſus's Notes are good; but only that they deſerve praiſe, conſidering the time in which they were written. It is ingratitude, and a crying injuſtice, to deſpiſe or blame authors, who had ſuch great obſtacles to ſurmount, at a time when literature was but beginning to revive. Reaſon will have us pay a veneration to it's firſt reſtorers, though their labours are very imperfect. Such commentators, as, at preſent, ſurpaſs Peter Marſus, would not have equalled him, if they had lived in his time. It is therefore with an ill grace that they inſult him, or judge him not fit to be named. Let us produce the modeſt terms of Barthius; ' Vide quæ notarunt proavorum noſtrorum ævo docti homines, quälium memoriam lubenter facimus ut noſtris litteris ' redintegremus; fuerunt enim optime animati, & ' pro copia tum ſtudiorum, non male de optimis ' Auctoribus meriti: Petrum Marſus Comm. ad Te' rentium, pag. 193. Editionis Venetæ, J. Sulpitius ' ad Lucanum pag. 1230. Tenuibus ambo notis; ſed ' & talia ingenia per nos poſteritati denuo commenden' tur (17). - - - - - *Conſider what learned men, in the* ' *times of our fore-fathers, have remarked, whoſe me*' *mory let us willingly revive; for they had the beſt* ' *diſpoſition, and, conſidering the ſtate of learning, de*' *ſerved very well of the authors: Peter Marſus,* ' *Comment on Terence, pag.* 193, *edition of Venice, J.* ' *Sulpitius on Lucan, pag.* 1230: *both wrote but ſlender* ' *notes; nevertheleſs let ſuch geniuſes be again recom*' *mended by us to poſterity.*'

(17) Barthius, in Statium, Tom. iii, *pag.* 610, ad Verſ. 82, libri vi Theb.

MARTELLIUS, or rather MARTELLUS, (HUGOLIN), biſhop of Glandeves, was of Florence, and one of thoſe Italians, who made their fortune on this ſide of the Alps, by the intereſt of Catherine de Medicis. There are ſcarce any particulars left concerning his life (*a*), and I have not been able to conſult the *Gallia Chriſtiana* of the brothers *Sammarthani*. He publiſhed ſome books of Literature [A], and ſome treatiſes

(*a*) See the remark [B].

[A] *He publiſhed ſome books of Literature.*] I find in Konig's Bibliotheque one Hugolinus Martellinus, who publiſhed a Commentary upon the ſecond Ode of the fourth book of Horace, and I am perſuaded that he ſhould be called Martellus or Martellius, and not Martellinus. The Catalogue of Thuanus's library, at p. 324 of the ſecond part, has theſe words. *Hugolini Martellii Epiſcopi Gland. epiſtola in qua Calpurnii & Nemeſiani loci aliquot illuſtrantur.* This book was printed at Florence by the Juntii in 1590. Naudé obſerves, that one Hugolinus Martellius wrote a whole treatiſe upon an Epigram of Auſonius, and ſo perplexed it with his explications, that it is impoſſible to underſtand any thing of it. If he had known that he ſpoke of a biſhop of Glandeves, he would have made a more honourable mention of him, and not have cenſured him with ſuch palpable contempt. Let us relate, at ſome length, his words; for they explain an obſcure paſſage, and on the other ſide are ſomewhat liable to cenſure (1). ' Auſonii . . . Muſa . . . . Demoſthenis eâ de re judicium, perbrevi ſanè hoc Epigrammate (2) ſed multis tamen obſtructo difficultatibus comprehenſum, nobis offert.

(1) Naudæus, Syntagm. de Studio liberali, *pag.* 84.

(2) It is the exliſt Epigram of Auſonius.

Diſcere ſi cupias doctis quàm multa licebit.
Quæ nôſti, meditando velis inoleſcere menti,
Quæ didiciſti, haud dum, diſcendo abſumere tendas.

' Sic enim illud exhibent Typographi recentiores, cum ' tamen ante ſuptuaginta annos Aldinus codex, & Gry' phius poſtea liquido haberent in primo verſiculo ' *doctus*, quæ vox male intellecta fucum procul dubio fecit ' diſertiſſimo Eliæ Vineto, cujus opera atque induſtriâ, ' Auſonii monumenta emendatiora explicatioraque habemus. Hic enim (uti probum Virum, atque ingenuum decebat) fincerè fatetur, ſe mentem hujus Epigrammatis aſſequi non valuiſſe; quam paullò poſt ' Hugolinus quidam Martellius, operæ pretium eſſe ' duxit integro volumine declarare, ſed fatiùs illi profectò fuiſſet micare digitis, aut cucurbitas pingere, ' cùm huic potiùs tam ſpiſſum (velut ſepia) atramentum infuderit, ut illud vix eluere poſſit quidquid eſt ' aquarum in Hippocrene, & Pegaſo; adeò ſingula ' quæque verba malè torquendo, quo ſex in illis gradus ad expeditè diſcendum inveniret, omnem ferme ' Epigrammatis ſenſum corrupit, qui ſic (meo quidem ' judicio) reſtituendus eſt, ut nihil aliud ſibi velit Auſonius, niſi modum edocere, quo docti homines multa ' loqui, & dicere poſſint ex tempore, qui quidem modus in hoc tantùm conſiſtere videtur, ut, quæ jam ' optimè nôrunt, velint ea inoleſcere menti, id eſt, ' firmiter inſerere, ac imaginationi & ingenio commendare; quemadmodum eodem ſenſu dixit Agellius: *Natura induit nobis inolevitque*, quæ vero nondum bene didicerint, frequenter dicendo & repetendo ' adſumere, & altiùs memoriæ infigere conentur; ſicque totum Epigramma lego, & interpungo:

Diſcere ſi cupias doctus quàm multa, licebit.
Quæ nôſti, meditando velis inoleſcere menti:
Quæ didiciſti haud-dum, dicendo adſumere tendas (3).

(3) According to the correction of Mr Grævius, in the edition of Tollius, there is wanting in the firſt verſe *cupis à doctis*, and in the laſt *diſcenda adſumere*.

' - - - - *Auſonius's muſe affords us the judgment of De*' *moſthenes in this matter, in a very ſhort, but obſcure,* ' *Epigram.*

Diſcere ſi cupias, &c.

' *So the modern editions give it, though, ſeventy years be*' *fore, Aldus, and after him Gryphius plainly have it* ' doctus *in the firſt verſe; which word, ill-underſtood,* ' *no doubt, puzzled the learned Elias Vinetus, to whoſe* ' *pains and induſtry it is owing, that the remains of* ' *Auſonius are more correct and intelligible. He, as be*' *comes an honeſt man, ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he could* ' *not diſcover the meaning of this epigram; which ſoon* ' *after, one Hugolinus Martellius thought it worth his* ' *while to explain in a whole volume: but he had better* ' *have trifled away his time on any thing elſe; ſince (like* ' *the Cuttle-fiſh) he has ſo darkened it with his ink, that* ' *all the water in Hippocrene and Pegaſus can ſcarce* ' *waſh it out: for, in order to find in them ſix ſteps to* ' *learn expeditiouſly, he has tortured every ſingle word,* ' *and quite deſtroyed all the meaning of the epigram,* ' *which, in my opinion, is ſo to be reſtored; as that Au*' *ſonius's meaning ſhall be, only to teach us, how learned* ' *men may converſe and ſpeak of many things off-hand;* ' *which conſiſts only in this, that they let thoſe things,* ' *which they are already well acquainted with, take deep* ' *root in their minds, and lay faſt hold on their imagi*' *nations; agreeable to what A. Gellius ſays,* Natura ' induit, &c. *and that they endeavour, by frequent re*' *petitions, to infix ſtill deeper in their memories what* ' *they have not yet well learned. Thus therefore I read,* ' *and point the whole epigram.*

Diſcere ſi cupias doctus, &c.

The miſtake of Naudé conſiſts in this: he ſays, that ſeventy years before, the edition of Aldus put *doctus* in the firſt verſe; now he wrote this about the year 1633. He pretended therefore, that the edition of Aldus was in the year 1563, or thereabouts. Now this was a miſtake; for that edition was in the year 1517. If any one has a mind to put another ſenſe upon his expreſſions, he may alledge, that he means, that the modern editions, which have put *doctis*, are later by ſeventy years, than that of Aldus; but beſides that this ſenſe would be ill expreſſed, he muſt alſo be underſtood to mean certain editions, publiſhed in 1587. Now no body has obſerved any edition of Auſonius in that year, and it is certain, that thoſe in 1588, do not deſerve to be mentioned rather than the foregoing.

[B] . . . . *and*

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treatiſes concerning the reformation of the Calendar [*B*]. Naudé, who knew ſo many authors, was ignorant of his being a biſhop, and took him to be a very poor writer (*b*).

(*b*) See the remark [*A*].

[*B*] . . . . *and ſome treatiſes concerning the reformation of the Calendar.*] Mr Thomaſſin de Mazaugues, counſellor in the parliament of Aix, was pleaſed to give himſelf the trouble to inform me of the following particulars (4). 'Hugolinus Martellus was a Florentine. He came into France with Catherine de 'Medicis, and was made biſhop of Glandeves, January the 10th 1572. The printed books which I 'have of his, are theſe: *De anni integra in integrum reſtitutione*, dedicated to cardinal Sirlet, and printed 'in 4to at Florence, in 1578. It is divided into 'thirty four ſmall articles, and contains in the whole 'but forty three pages. He reprinted this book at 'Lyons in 1582, in 8vo, with additions, and joined to 'it the following treatiſe, *Sacrorum temporum aſſertio*, 'which he dedicated to Lewis Martelli, his brother, 'a canon of Florence. In 1583, he alſo publiſhed 'at Lyons in 8vo, the following book, *La chiave 'del Calendario Gregoriano*, which he dedicated to 'Ottavio Bandini, Referendary, abbot of Caſanuova, 'which is a work of 362 pages, and the moſt conſiderable. This, Sir, is what I know of this Martellius. There are no conſiderable monuments of 'his in his church: he gave ſomething to pious uſes, 'and that is all. None of his family remain in this 'province. We had a famous Phyſician of his name, 'who wrote ſomething and died fifteen years ago, but 'he was not of the ſame family. This Phyſician was 'very learned, and always talking of the abuſes of 'Phyſic, and wrote upon that ſubject.

(4) Taken from a letter written at Aix in Provence, *Auguſt* 2, 1690.

MARTIN (POLONUS). See POLONUS.

MARTINENGHUS (TITUS PROSPER) a Benedictine Monk, native of Breſcia, and of the family of a count, made himſelf famous by his ſkill in the learned languages. The reputation he acquired, made the college of cardinals ſend for him to Rome, under the pontificate of Pius IV, to give him a commiſſion to reviſe and correct the works of St Jerom, which were afterwards printed by Paulus Manutius. He reviſed alſo the works of St Chryſoſtom, and thoſe of Theophylact, and the Greek Bible, which was printed at Rome. To reward him for ſo great pains, Pius V had a mind to promote him to ſome dignities; but, as ſoon as this Monk heard of it, he retired to a convent in his own country, where he ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books [*A*]. He died very old at Breſcia, in the monaſtery of St Euphemia, in 1594 (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken out of the* Libraria Breſciana nuovamente aperta da Leonardo Cozzando, Parte prima, *pag.* 307, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *He ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books.*] He publiſhed *Le bellezze dell' huomo conoſcitor di ſe ſteſſo*; they are diſcourſes, which the reading of Plato furniſhed him with. He underſtood the Greek tongue, and had a great inclination to Poetry. Hence it was, that he publiſhed many poems, both in Latin and Greek, moſt of them upon matters of devotion. That, which he made in honour of the Holy Virgin, is divided into ſeveral hymns, which are equal to the number of years that ſhe lived. This poem is intituled *Theotocodia, ſive Parthenodia*. He made a panegyric upon Sixtus V in Greek and Latin (1).

(1) *Taken from* Leonardo Cozzando, Libraria Breſciana, *pag.* 308.

MARTINI (RAYMOND) a Dominican Monk, very well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages flouriſhed about the end of the XIIIth century. He was engaged in the ſtudy of thoſe languages upon this occaſion. Raymond de Pennafort, his general (*a*), having on one ſide a great deſire to purge Spain from Judaiſm and Mahometiſm, which infected it, and knowing on the other ſide the truth of the maxims, which the primitive Fathers have ſcattered in their works, about conſtraint in matters of religion, cauſed it to be decreed, in a chapter held at Toledo in 1250, that the Monks of his order ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Hebrew and Arabic. He impoſed this taſk upon ſome of them in particular, among whom he named our Raymond Martini, and he obtained a penſion from the kings of Arragon and Caſtile for thoſe who ſhould ſtudy theſe languages, that they might endeavour to convert the Infidels. From hence it came to paſs that Raymond Martini applied his ſtudies that way, in which he had very good ſucceſs. He was not of Barcelona (*b*), as ſome have publiſhed (*c*); but it was there he took upon him the habit of a Dominican, and he was born at Sobirats. Having attained the ſkill that was neceſſary for reading the works of the Rabbins, he extracted from them ſuch things as might ſerve him to beat the Jews at their own weapons, as he has ſhewn in his *Pugio Fidei*, which was printed at Paris in 1651 (*d*) [*A*]. It is believed, that

(*a*) *He was the third general of the Jacobins.*

(*b*) Natione Catalanus, patria Subiratenſis. *Altamura, Bibl. Ord. Prædicat. pag.* 451.

(*c*) Antonius Senenſis, in Chronico Ordinis Dominic. & Bibliotheca; Franc. Diagus, in Hiſt. Provinciæ Aragoniæ Fratr. Prædicat; Poſſevinus, in Apparatu; apud Altamur. ibid.

(*d*) Ex Altamura, ibid.

[*A*] *His* Pugio Fidei *was printed at Paris in* 1651.] Several perſons contributed to this edition. Mr Boſquet, who died biſhop of Montpellier, met with the manuſcript, as he was ſearching with great diligence, at Toulouſe, all the corners of the library of the college of Foix, about the year 1620. He read it, and tranſcribed ſomething out of it, and, after ſome years, when he had learned the Hebrew, by the care of a learned German, called James Spieghel de Roſembach; he ſhewed it to his Hebrew maſter, and gave it to him to tranſcribe. This James Spieghel, being very well verſed in theſe matters, and having frequent Diſcourſes about them with Mr de Mauſſac, put him upon publiſhing this book, from a copy of it very neat, and well pointed, which he gave him: but tho' Mr de Mauſſac was a very able man, yet he wanted an aſſiſtant, who ſhould take upon him the greateſt part of the labour. This aſſociate was Mr de Voiſin, the ſon of a counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux. Thomas Turc, general of the Dominicans, ſollicited powerfully the promoters of the edition, and did not only write to them letters equally preſſing and obliging, but alſo gave order, that they ſhould have all the manuſcripts of the *Pugio Fidei* that could be recovered. John Baptiſt de Marinis, his ſucceſſor, continued to take the ſame care. At laſt the Order concerned themſelves in it ſo far as to be at the expence of the impreſſion (1). The work came from the preſs in 1651, with many prefaces and approbations, which verify what I have ſaid. Mr de Voiſin compared the manuſcript of the college of Foix with three others the firſt of which belonged to the Dominicans of Toulouſe; the ſecond had been ſent from Barcelona, and the third was come from Majorca. He ſet down in the

(1) Prodiit Pugio ille Pariſiis apud Joannem Henault anno 1651, in folio, impenſis Ordinis. *Altamura, pag.* 451.

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to me very reasonable [D].

' he wrote Commentaries on the book de Senectute, and ' some other books of Cicero. It was easy to discover ' in him the footsteps of antiquity.'

[D] *The moderation, which Barthius has observed, appears to me to be very reasonable.*] He does not pretend, that, absolutely speaking, Peter Marsus's Notes are good; but only that they deserve praise, considering the time in which they were written. It is ingratitude, and a crying injustice, to despise or blame authors, who had such great obstacles to surmount, at a time when literature was but beginning to revive. Reason will have us pay a veneration to it's first restorers, though their labours are very imperfect. Such commentators, as, at present, surpass Peter Marsus, would not have equalled him, if they had lived in his time. It is therefore with an ill grace that they insult him, or judge him not fit to be named. Let us produce the modest terms of Barthius; ' Vide quæ notarunt proavorum nostrorum ævo docti homines, quàlium memoriam lubenter facimus ut nostris litteris ' redintegremus; fuerunt enim optime animati, & ' pro copia tum studiorum, non male de optimis ' Auctoribus meriti: Petrum Marsus Comm. ad Terentium, pag. 193. Editionis Venetæ, J. Sulpitius ' ad Lucanum pag. 1230. Tenuibus ambo notis; sed ' & talia ingenia per nos posteritati denuo commendentur (17). - - - - - *Consider what learned men, in the times of our fore-fathers, have remarked, whose memory let us willingly revive; for they had the best disposition, and, considering the state of learning, deserved very well of the authors: Peter Marsus, Comment on Terence, pag.* 193, *edition of Venice, J. Sulpitius on Lucan, pag.* 1230: *both wrote but slender notes; nevertheless let such geniuses be again recommended by us to posterity.*'

(17) Barthius, in Statium, Tom. iii, pag. 610, ad Vers. 82, libri vi Thebaid.

MARTELLIUS, or rather MARTELLUS, (HUGOLIN), bishop of Glandeves, was of Florence, and one of those Italians, who made their fortune on this side of the Alpes, by the interest of Catherine de Medicis. There are scarce any particulars left concerning his life (*a*), and I have not been able to consult the *Gallia Christiana* of the brothers *Sammarthani*. He published some books of Literature [*A*], and some treatises

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He published some books of Literature.*] I find in Konig's Bibliotheque one Hugolinus Martellinus, who published a Commentary upon the second Ode of the fourth book of Horace, and I am persuaded that he should be called Martellus or Martellius, and not Martellinus. The Catalogue of Thuanus's library, at p. 324 of the second part, has these words. *Hugolini Martellii Episcopi Gland. epistola in qua Calpurnii & Nemesiani loci aliquot illustrantur.* This book was printed at Florence by the Juntii in 1590. Naudé observes, that one Hugolinus Martellius wrote a whole treatise upon an Epigram of Ausonius, and so perplexed it with his explications, that it is impossible to understand any thing of it. If he had known that he spoke of a bishop of Glandeves, he would have made a more honourable mention of him, and not have censured him with such palpable contempt. Let us relate, at some length, his words; for they explain an obscure passage, and on the other side are somewhat liable to censure (1). ' Ausonii . . . Musa . . . . Demosthenis eâ de re judicium, perbrevi sanè hoc Epigrammate (2) sed multis tamen obstructo difficultatibus comprehensum, nobis offert.

(1) Naudæus, Syntagm. de Studio liberali, *pag. m.* 84.

(2) It is the exlixt Epigram of Ausonius.

Discere si cupias, doctis quàm multa licebit.
Quæ nôsti, meditando velis inolescere menti,
Quæ didicisti, haud dum, discendo absumere tendas.

' Sic enim illud exhibent Typographi recentiores, cum ' tamen ante suptuaginta annos Aldinus codex, & Gryphius postea liquido haberent in primo versiculo ' *doctus*, quæ vox male intellecta fucum procul dubio fecit ' disertissimo Eliæ Vineto, cujus opera atque industriâ, ' Ausonii monumenta emendatiora explicatioraque habemus. Hic enim (uti probum Virum, atque ingenuum decebat) sincerè fatetur, se mentem hujus Epigrammatis assequi non valuisse; quam paullò pòst ' Hugolinus quidam Martellius, operæ pretium esse ' duxit integro volumine declarare, sed satiùs illi profectò fuisset micare digitis, aut cucurbitas pingere, ' cùm huic potiùs tam spissum (velut sepia) atramentum infuderit, ut illud vix eluere possit quidquid est ' aquarum in Hippocrene, & Pegaso; adeò singula ' quæque verba malè torquendo, quo sex in illis gradus ad expeditè discendum inveniret, omnem ferme ' Epigrammatis sensum corrupit, qui sic (meo quidem ' judicio) restituendus est, ut nihil aliud sibi velit Ausonius, nisi modum edocere, quo docti homines multa ' loqui, & dicere possint ex tempore, qui quidem modus in hoc tantùm consistere videtur, ut, quæ jam ' optimè nôrunt, velint ea inolescere menti, id est, ' firmiter inserere, ac imaginationi & ingenio commendare; quemadmodum eodem sensu dixit Agellius: *Natura induit nobis inolevitque*, quæ vero nondum bene didicerint, frequenter dicendo & repetendo ' adsumere, & altiùs memoriæ infigere conentur; sic- ' que totum Epigramma lego, & interpungo:

Discere si cupias doctus quàm multa, licebit.
Quæ nôsti, meditando velis inolescere menti:
Quæ didicisti haud-dum, dicendo adsumere tendas (3).

(3) According to the correction of Mr Grævius, in the edition of Tollius, there is wanting in the first verse *cupis à doctis*, and in the last *discendo adjumere*.

' - - - - *Ausonius's muse affords us the judgment of Demosthenes in this matter, in a very short, but obscure,* ' *Epigram.*

Discere si cupias, &c.

' *So the modern editions give it, though, seventy years before, Aldus, and after him Gryphius plainly have it* ' doctus *in the first verse; which word, ill-understood,* ' *no doubt, puzzled the learned Elias Vinetus, to whose pains and industry it is owing, that the remains of* ' *Ausonius are more correct and intelligible. He, as becomes an honest man, ingenuously confessed, that he could* ' *not discover the meaning of this epigram; which soon* ' *after, one Hugolinus Martellius thought it worth his* ' *while to explain in a whole volume: but he had better* ' *have trifled away his time on any thing else; since (like* ' *the Cuttle-fish) he has so darkened it with his ink, that* ' *all the water in Hippocrene and Pegasus can scarce* ' *wash it out: for, in order to find in them six steps to* ' *learn expeditiously, he has tortured every single word,* ' *and quite destroyed all the meaning of the epigram,* ' *which, in my opinion, is so to be restored; as that Au-* ' *sonius's meaning shall be, only to teach us, how learned* ' *men may converse and speak of many things off-hand;* ' *which consists only in this, that they let those things,* ' *which they are already well acquainted with, take deep* ' *root in their minds, and lay fast hold on their imagi-* ' *nations; agreeable to what A. Gellius says,* Natura ' induit, &c. *and that they endeavour, by frequent re-* ' *petitions, to infix still deeper in their memories what* ' *they have not yet well learned. Thus therefore I read,* ' *and point the whole epigram.*

Discere si cupias doctus, &c.

The mistake of Naudé consists in this: he says, that seventy years before, the edition of Aldus put *doctus* in the first verse; now he wrote this about the year 1633. He pretended therefore, that the edition of Aldus was in the year 1563, or thereabouts. Now this was a mistake; for that edition was in the year 1517. If any one has a mind to put another sense upon his expressions, he may alledge, that he means, that the modern editions, which have put *doctis*, are later by seventy years, than that of Aldus; but besides that this sense would be ill expressed, he must also be understood to mean certain editions, published in 1587. Now no body has observed any edition of Ausonius in that year, and it is certain, that those in 1588, do not deserve to be mentioned rather than the foregoing.

[*B*] . . . . *and*

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treatiſes concerning the reformation of the Calendar [*B*]. Naudé, who knew ſo many authors, was ignorant of his being a biſhop, and took him to be a very poor writer (*b*).

(*b*) See the remark [*A*].

[*B*] . . . . *and ſome treatiſes concerning the reformation of the Calendar.*] Mr Thomaſſin de Mazaugues, counſellor in the parliament of Aix, was pleaſed to give himſelf the trouble to inform me of the following particulars (4). 'Hugolinus Martellus was a Florentine. He came into France with Catherine de 'Medicis, and was made biſhop of Glandeves, January the 10th 1572. The printed books which I 'have of his, are theſe: *De anni integra in integrum reſtitutione*, dedicated to cardinal Sirlet, and printed 'in 4to at Florence, in 1578. It is divided into 'thirty four ſmall articles, and contains in the whole 'but forty three pages. He reprinted this book at 'Lyons in 1582, in 8vo, with additions, and joined to 'it the following treatiſe, *Sacrorum temporum aſſertio*, 'which he dedicated to Lewis Martelli, his brother, 'a canon of Florence. In 1583, he alſo publiſhed 'at Lyons in 8vo, the following book, *La chiave 'del Calendario Gregoriano*, which he dedicated to 'Ottavio Bandini, Referendary, abbot of Caſanuova, 'which is a work of 362 pages, and the moſt conſiderable. This, Sir, is what I know of this Martellius. There are no conſiderable monuments of 'his in his church: he gave ſomething to pious uſes, 'and that is all. None of his family remain in this 'province. We had a famous Phyſician of his name, 'who wrote ſomething and died fifteen years ago, but 'he was not of the ſame family. This Phyſician was 'very learned, and always talking of the abuſes of 'Phyſic, and wrote upon that ſubject.

(4) Taken from a letter written at Aix in Provence, *Auguſt* 2, 1730.

MARTIN (Polonus). See POLONUS.

MARTINENGHUS (Titus Prosper) a Benedictine Monk, native of Breſcia, and of the family of a count, made himſelf famous by his ſkill in the learned languages. The reputation he acquired, made the college of cardinals ſend for him to Rome, under the pontificate of Pius IV, to give him a commiſſion to reviſe and correct the works of St Jerom, which were afterwards printed by Paulus Manutius. He reviſed alſo the works of St Chryſoſtom, and thoſe of Theophylact, and the Greek Bible, which was printed at Rome. To reward him for ſo great pains, Pius V had a mind to promote him to ſome dignities; but, as ſoon as this Monk heard of it, he retired to a convent in his own country, where he ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books [*A*]. He died very old at Breſcia, in the monaſtery of St Euphemia, in 1594 (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken out of the* Libraria Breſciana nuovamente aperta da Leonardo Cozzando, Parte prima, *pag.* 307, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *He ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books.*] He publiſhed *Le bellezze dell' huomo conoſcitor di ſe ſteſſo*; they are diſcourſes, which the reading of Plato furniſhed him with. He underſtood the Greek tongue, and had a great inclination to Poetry. Hence it was, that he publiſhed many poems, both in Latin and Greek, moſt of them upon matters of devotion. That, which he made in honour of the Holy Virgin, is divided into ſeveral hymns, which are equal to the number of years that ſhe lived. This poem is intituled *Theotocodia, ſive Parthenodia*. He made a panegyric upon Sixtus V in Greek and Latin (1).

(1) *Taken from* Leonardo Cozzando, Libraria Breſciana, *pag.* 308.

MARTINI (Raymond) a Dominican Monk, very well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages flouriſhed about the end of the XIIIth century. He was engaged in the ſtudy of thoſe languages upon this occaſion. Raymond de Pennafort, his general (*a*), having on one ſide a great deſire to purge Spain from Judaiſm and Mahometiſm, which infected it, and knowing on the other ſide the truth of the maxims, which the primitive Fathers have ſcattered in their works, about conſtraint in matters of religion, cauſed it to be decreed, in a chapter held at Toledo in 1250, that the Monks of his order ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Hebrew and Arabic. He impoſed this taſk upon ſome of them in particular, among whom he named our Raymond Martini, and he obtained a penſion from the kings of Arragon and Caſtile for thoſe who ſhould ſtudy theſe languages, that they might endeavour to convert the Infidels. From hence it came to paſs that Raymond Martini applied his ſtudies that way, in which he had very good ſucceſs. He was not of Barcelona (*b*), as ſome have publiſhed (*c*); but it was there he took upon him the habit of a Dominican, and he was born at Sobirats. Having attained the ſkill that was neceſſary for reading the works of the Rabbins, he extracted from them ſuch things as might ſerve him to beat the Jews at their own weapons, as he has ſhewn in his *Pugio Fidei*, which was printed at Paris in 1651 (*d*) [*A*]. It is believed, that

(*a*) *He was the third general of the Jacobins.*

(*b*) Natione Catalanus, patria Subiratenſis. *Altamura, Bibl. Ord. Prædicat. pag.* 451.

(*c*) Antonius Senenſis, in Chronico Ordinis Dominic. & Bibliotheca; Franc. Diagus, in Hiſt. Provinciæ Aragoniæ Fratr. Prædicat; Poſſevinus, in Apparatu; apud Altamur. ibid.

(*d*) Ex Altamura, ibid.

[*A*] *His* Pugio Fidei *was printed at Paris in* 1651.] Several perſons contributed to this edition. Mr Boſquet, who died biſhop of Montpellier, met with the manuſcript, as he was ſearching with great diligence, at Toulouſe, all the corners of the library of the college of Foix, about the year 1620. He read it, and tranſcribed ſomething out of it, and, after ſome years, when he had learned the Hebrew, by the care of a learned German, called James Spieghel de Roſembach; he ſhewed it to his Hebrew maſter, and gave it to him to tranſcribe. This James Spieghel, being very well verſed in theſe matters, and having frequent Diſcourſes about them with Mr de Mauſſac, put him upon publiſhing this book, from a copy of it very neat, and well pointed, which he gave him: but tho' Mr de Mauſſac was a very able man, yet he wanted an aſſiſtant, who ſhould take upon him the greateſt part of the labour. This aſſociate was Mr de Voiſin, the ſon of a counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux. Thomas Turc, general of the Dominicans, ſollicited powerfully the promoters of the edition, and did not only write to them letters equally preſſing and obliging, but alſo gave order, that they ſhould have all the manuſcripts of the *Pugio Fidei* that could be recovered. John Baptiſt de Marinis, his ſucceſſor, continued to take the ſame care. At laſt the Order concerned themſelves in it ſo far as to be at the expence of the impreſſion (1). The work came from the preſs in 1651, with many prefaces and approbations, which verify what I have ſaid. Mr de Voiſin compared the manuſcript of the college of Foix with three others the firſt of which belonged to the Dominicans of Toulouſe; the ſecond had been ſent from Barcelona, and the third was come from Majorca. He ſet down in the

(1) Prodiit Pugio ille Pariſiis apud Joannem Henault anno 1651, in folio, impenſis Ordinis. *Altamura, pag.* 451.

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to me very reaſonable [D].

' *he wrote Commentaries on the book* de Senectute, *and* ' *ſome other books of Cicero. It was eaſy to diſcover* ' *in him the footſteps of antiquity.*'

[D] *The moderation, which Barthius has obſerved, appears to me to be very reaſonable.*] He does not pretend, that, abſolutely ſpeaking, Peter Marſus's Notes are good; but only that they deſerve praiſe, conſidering the time in which they were written. It is ingratitude, and a crying injuſtice, to deſpiſe or blame authors, who had ſuch great obſtacles to ſurmount, at a time when literature was but beginning to revive. Reaſon will have us pay a veneration to it's firſt reſtorers, though their labours are very imperfect. Such commentators, as, at preſent, ſurpaſs Peter Marſus, would not have equalled him, if they had lived in his time. It is therefore with an ill grace that they inſult him, or judge him not fit to be named. Let us produce the modeſt terms of Barthius; ' Vide quæ notarunt proavorum noſtrorum ævo docti homines, quæ lium memoriam lubenter facimus ut noſtris litteris ' redintegremus; fuerunt enim optime animati, & ' pro copia tum ſtudiorum, non male de optimis ' Auctoribus meriti: Petrum Marſus Comm. ad Te- ' rentium, pag. 193. Editionis Venetæ, J. Sulpitius ' ad Lucanum pag. 1230. Tenuibus ambo notis; ſed ' & talia ingenia per nos poſteritati denuo commenden- ' tur (17). - - - - - *Conſider what learned men, in the* ' *times of our fore-fathers, have remarked, whoſe me-* ' *mory let us willingly revive; for they had the beſt* ' *diſpoſition, and, conſidering the ſtate of learning, de-* ' *ſerved very well of the authors: Peter Marſus,* ' *Comment on Terence, pag.* 193, *edition of Venice, J.* ' *Sulpitius on Lucan, pag.* 1230: *both wrote but ſlender* ' *notes; nevertheleſs let ſuch geniuſes be again recom-* ' *mended by us to poſterity.*'

(17) Barthius, in Statium, Tom. iii, *pag.* 610, ad Verſ. 82, libri vi Thebaid.

MARTELLIUS, or rather MARTELLUS, (HUGOLIN), biſhop of Glandeves, was of Florence, and one of thoſe Italians, who made their fortune on this ſide of the Alpes, by the intereſt of Catherine de Medicis. There are ſcarce any particulars left concerning his life (*a*), and I have not been able to conſult the *Gallia Chriſtiana* of the brothers *Sammarthani*. He publiſhed ſome books of Literature [A], and ſome treatiſes

(*a*) See the remark [B].

[A] *He publiſhed ſome books of Literature.*] I find in Konig's Bibliotheque one Hugolinus Martellinus, who publiſhed a Commentary upon the ſecond Ode of the fourth book of Horace, and I am perſuaded that he ſhould be called Martellus or Martellius, and not Martellinus. The Catalogue of Thuanus's library, at p. 324 of the ſecond part, has theſe words. *Hugolini Martellii Epiſcopi Gland. epiſtola in qua Calpurnii & Nemeſiani loci aliquot illuſtrantur.* This book was printed at Florence by the Juntii in 1590. Naudé obſerves, that one Hugolinus Martellius wrote a whole treatiſe upon an Epigram of Auſonius, and ſo perplexed it with his explications, that it is impoſſible to underſtand any thing of it. If he had known that he ſpoke of a biſhop of Glandeves, he would have made a more honourable mention of him, and not have cenſured him with ſuch palpable contempt. Let us relate, at ſome length, his words; for they explain an obſcure paſſage, and on the other ſide are ſomewhat liable to cenſure (1). ' Auſonii . . . Muſa . . . . De- ' moſthenis eâ de re judicium, perbrevi ſanè hoc Epi- ' grammate (2) ſed multis tamen obſtructo difficultati- ' bus comprehenſum, nobis offert.

(1) Naudæus, Syntagm. de Studio liberali, *pag.* m. 84.

(2) It is the exliſt Epigram of Auſonius.

Diſcere ſi cupias doctis quàm multa licebit.
Quæ nôſti, meditando velis inoleſcere menti,
Quæ didiciſti, haud dum, diſcendo abſumere tendas.

' Sic enim illud exhibent Typographi recentiores, cum ' tamen ante ſuptuaginta annos Aldinus codex, & Gry- ' phius poſtea liquido haberent in primo verſiculo ' *doctus*, quæ vox male intellecta fucum procul dubio fecit ' diſertiſſimo Eliæ Vineto, cujus opera atque induſtriâ, ' Auſonii monumenta emendatiora explicatioraque ha- ' bemus. Hic enim (uti probum Virum, atque inge- ' nuum decebat) ſincerè fatetur, ſe mentem hujus Epi- ' grammatis aſſequi non valuiſſe; quam paullò poſt ' Hugolinus quidam Martellius, operæ pretium eſſe ' duxit integro volumine declarare, ſed fatiùs illi pro- ' fectò fuiſſet micare digitis, aut cucurbitas pingere, ' cùm huic potiùs tam ſpiſſum (velut ſepia) atramen- ' tum infuderit, ut illud vix eluere poſſit quidquid eſt ' aquarum in Hippocrene, & Pegaſo; adeò ſingula ' quæque verba malè torquendo, quo ſex in illis gra- ' dus ad expeditè diſcendum inveniret, omnem ferme ' Epigrammatis ſenſum corrupit, qui ſic (meo quidem ' judicio) reſtituendus eſt, ut nihil aliud ſibi velit Au- ' ſonius, niſi modum edocere, quo docti homines multa ' loqui, & dicere poſſint ex tempore, qui quidem mo- ' dus in hoc tantùm conſiſtere videtur, ut, quæ jam ' optimè nôrunt, velint ea inoleſcere menti, id eſt, ' firmiter inſerere, ac imaginationi & ingenio com- ' mendare; quemadmodum eodem ſenſu dixit Agel- ' lius: *Natura induit nobis inolevitque*, quæ vero non- ' dum bene didicerint, frequenter dicendo & repetendo ' adſumere, & altiùs memoriæ infigere conentur; fic- ' que totum Epigramma lego, & interpungo:

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' - - - - *Auſonius's muſe affords us the judgment of De-* ' *moſthenes in this matter, in a very ſhort, but obſcure,* ' *Epigram.*

Diſcere ſi cupias, &c.

' *So the modern editions give it, though, ſeventy years be-* ' *fore, Aldus, and after him Gryphius plainly have it* ' doctus *in the firſt verſe; which word, ill-underſtood,* ' *no doubt, puzzled the learned Elias Vinetus, to whoſe* ' *pains and induſtry it is owing, that the remains of* ' *Auſonius are more correct and intelligible. He, as be-* ' *comes an honeſt man, ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he could* ' *not diſcover the meaning of this epigram; which ſoon* ' *after, one Hugolinus Martellius thought it worth his* ' *while to explain in a whole volume: but he had better* ' *have trifled away his time on any thing elſe; ſince (like* ' *the Cuttle-fiſh) he has ſo darkened it with his ink, that* ' *all the water in Hippocrene and Pegaſus can ſcarce* ' *waſh it out: for, in order to find in them ſix ſteps to* ' *learn expeditiouſly, he has tortured every ſingle word,* ' *and quite deſtroyed all the meaning of the epigram,* ' *which, in my opinion, is ſo to be reſtored; as that Au-* ' *ſonius's meaning ſhall be, only to teach us, how learned* ' *men may converſe and ſpeak of many things off-hand;* ' *which conſiſts only in this, that they let thoſe things,* ' *which they are already well acquainted with, take deep* ' *root in their minds, and lay faſt hold on their imagi-* ' *nations; agreeable to what A. Gellius ſays,* Natura ' induit, *&c. and that they endeavour, by frequent re-* ' *petitions, to infix ſtill deeper in their memories what* ' *they have not yet well learned. Thus therefore I read,* ' *and point the whole epigram.*

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MARTINENGHUS (Titus Prosper) a Benedictine Monk, native of Breſcia, and of the family of a count, made himſelf famous by his ſkill in the learned languages. The reputation he acquired, made the college of cardinals ſend for him to Rome, under the pontificate of Pius IV, to give him a commiſſion to reviſe and correct the works of St Jerom, which were afterwards printed by Paulus Manutius. He reviſed alſo the works of St Chryſoſtom, and thoſe of Theophylact, and the Greek Bible, which was printed at Rome. To reward him for ſo great pains, Pius V had a mind to promote him to ſome dignities; but, as ſoon as this Monk heard of it, he retired to a convent in his own country, where he ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books [A]. He died very old at Breſcia, in the monaſtery of St Euphemia, in 1594 (a).

(a) *Taken out of the* Libraria Breſciana nuovamente aperta da Leonardo Cozzando, Parte prima, *pag.* 307, *& ſeq.*

[A] *He ſpent his time in publiſhing ſeveral books.*] He publiſhed *Le bellezze dell' huomo conoſcitor di ſe ſteſſo*; they are diſcourſes, which the reading of Plato furniſhed him with. He underſtood the Greek tongue, and had a great inclination to Poetry. Hence it was, that he publiſhed many poems, both in Latin and Greek, moſt of them upon matters of devotion. That, which he made in honour of the Holy Virgin, is divided into ſeveral hymns, which are equal to the number of years that ſhe lived. This poem is intituled *Theotocodia, ſeve Parthenodia.* He made a panegyric upon Sixtus V in Greek and Latin (1).

(1) *Taken from* Leonardo Cozzando, Libraria Breſciana, *pag.* 308.

MARTINI (Raymond) a Dominican Monk, very well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages flouriſhed about the end of the XIIIth century. He was engaged in the ſtudy of thoſe languages upon this occaſion. Raymond de Pennafort, his general (a), having on one ſide a great deſire to purge Spain from Judaiſm and Mahometiſm, which infected it, and knowing on the other ſide the truth of the maxims, which the primitive Fathers have ſcattered in their works, about conſtraint in matters of religion, cauſed it to be decreed, in a chapter held at Toledo in 1250, that the Monks of his order ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Hebrew and Arabic. He impoſed this taſk upon ſome of them in particular, among whom he named our Raymond Martini, and he obtained a penſion from the kings of Arragon and Caſtile for thoſe who ſhould ſtudy theſe languages, that they might endeavour to convert the Infidels. From hence it came to paſs that Raymond Martini applied his ſtudies that way, in which he had very good ſucceſs. He was not of Barcelona (b), as ſome have publiſhed (c); but it was there he took upon him the habit of a Dominican, and he was born at Sobirats. Having attained the ſkill that was neceſſary for reading the works of the Rabbins, he extracted from them ſuch things as might ſerve him to beat the Jews at their own weapons, as he has ſhewn in his *Pugio Fidei*, which was printed at Paris in 1651 (d) [A]. It is believed, that

(a) *He was the third general of the Jacobins.*

(b) Natione Catalanus, patria Subiratenſis. *Altamura, Bibl. Ord. Prædicat. pag.* 451.

(c) Antonius Senenſis, in Chronico Ordinis Dominic. & Bibliotheca; Franc. Diagus, in Hiſt. Provinciæ Aragoniæ Fratr. Prædicat; Poſſevinus, in Apparatu; apud Altamur. ibid.

(d) Ex Altamura, ibid.

[A] *His* Pugio Fidei *was printed at Paris in* 1651.] Several perſons contributed to this edition. Mr Boſquet, who died biſhop of Montpellier, met with the manuſcript, as he was ſearching with great diligence, at Toulouſe, all the corners of the library of the college of Foix, about the year 1620. He read it, and tranſcribed ſomething out of it, and, after ſome years, when he had learned the Hebrew, by the care of a learned German, called James Spieghel de Roſembach; he ſhewed it to his Hebrew maſter, and gave it to him to tranſcribe. This James Spieghel, being very well verſed in theſe matters, and having frequent Diſcourſes about them with Mr de Mauſſac, put him upon publiſhing this book, from a copy of it very neat, and well pointed, which he gave him: but tho' Mr de Mauſſac was a very able man, yet he wanted an aſſiſtant, who ſhould take upon him the greateſt part of the labour. This aſſociate was Mr de Voiſin, the ſon of a counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux. Thomas Turc, general of the Dominicans, ſollicited powerfully the promoters of the edition, and did not only write to them letters equally preſſing and obliging, but alſo gave order, that they ſhould have all the manuſcripts of the *Pugio Fidei* that could be recovered. John Baptiſt de Marinis, his ſucceſſor, continued to take the ſame care. At laſt the Order concerned themſelves in it ſo far as to be at the expence of the impreſſion (1). The work came from the preſs in 1651, with many prefaces and approbations, which verify what I have ſaid. Mr de Voiſin compared the manuſcript of the college of Foix with three others the firſt of which belonged to the Dominicans of Toulouſe; the ſecond had been ſent from Barcelona, and the third was come from Majorca. He ſet down in the

(1) Prodiit Pugio ille Pariſiis apud Joannem Henault anno 1651, in folio, impenſis Ordinis. *Altamura, pag.* 451.

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that Peter Galatinus a Franciſcan, took from this *Pugio Fidei* all that he has ſaid to any good purpoſe in his book *De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*. But it is more probable, that he ſtole from a Carthuſian of Genoa, called Porchettus Salvago (*e*) [*B*], who flouriſhed about the year 1315 (*f*). It is true, that this Carthuſian had taken from Raymond Martini what he thought proper, as he acknowledges in his preface. This confeſſion acquits him of being a Plagiary, from which Galatinus cannot be cleared, who never mentions Porchettus, nor Martini. The learned Joſeph Scaliger has been guilty of ſome faults [*C*], in juſtly accuſing Francis Galatinus of being a Plagiary. Martini finiſhed his work in the year 1278 (*g*). And hereby they are refuted, who pretend, that Raymond de Pennafort was the author of it; for it is plainly proved, that he died January the ſixth, 1275 (*b*). There are ſome, who think, that Martini wrote another book entituled *Capiſtrum Judæorum*, and a refutation of the Alcoran; and that the copy of the *Pugio Fidei*, written with his own hand in Latin and Hebrew, is at Naples, in the convent of St Dominic (*i*). The great knowledge he diſcovered, in the books and

(*e*) Porchettus de Sylvaticis.

(*f*) Rafael Soprani, Scrittori della Liguria, *pag.* 244.

(*g*) *He ſays ſo*, Part ii, Pugion. *cap. x*, apud Altamur. *pag.* 453.

(*b*) Vide Altamuram, ibid.

(*i*) Poſſev. in Appar. Sacro.

the margin the various readings, and wrote notes upon all the difficult places. He detected all the thefts of Galatinus, and made good ſupplements by way of commentary upon the preface of Raymond Martini. It is ſurpriſing, that Gabriel Naudé did not know, that Scaliger was miſtaken in ſpeaking of Galatinus and Sebondus. See below the remark [*C*]; and here follow the words of Naudé: 'Omnium ut majori conatu, ſic 'etiam feliciori eventu, Petrus Galatinus Monachus 'ex ordine ſancti Franciſci; aut potius Raimundus 'Sebondus profeſſione Medicus, cujus, præter libros 'de Theologia naturali, duo inſuper volumina ingen- 'tia in Collegio Fuxenſi Theloſano etiamnum hodie 'ſub titulo Pugionis fidei conſervantur. Ex quibus, ſi 'Joſepho Scaligero fides eſt habenda, omnia ſua hau- 'ſit & tranſcripſit Galatinus, diſſimulato ipſius Sobon- 'di nomine; non tam propter acerrimum, quod ſem- 'per extitit inter Dominicanam familiam & Franciſca- 'nam, odium, quemadmodum maligne cavillatur Sca- 'liger, & fortaſſis etiam imperite; quam ut eruditum 'iſtud opus acceſſione quadam augeret & ſibi vendica- 'ret locupletatum ita atque expolitum (2). - - *Peter Ga- 'latinus, a Monk of the order of St Francis, as he took more 'pains, ſo ſucceeded better; or rather Raimund Sebondus, 'by profeſſion a Phyſician, of whoſe writing, beſides his 'books on natural religion, two large volumes, under the 'title of* Pugio Fidei, *are ſtill preſerved in the college of 'Foix, at Toloufe. From which, if Joſeph Scaliger is 'to be believed, Galatinus borrowed and tranſcribed all 'he wrote, ſuppreſſing the name of Sebondus; not ſo much 'on account of the inveterate hatred between the Domi- 'nicans and Franciſcans, as Scaliger ill-naturedly, and 'perhaps unſkillfully, ſuppoſes, as for the ſake of augmen- 'ting that work, and claiming it, ſo augmented and po- 'liſhed, as his own.*' There was a ſecond edition of the *Pugio Fidei*, at Leipſic, in 1687, with a learned introduction, *in Theologiam Judaïcam* (3).

(2) Naudæus, in Bibliographia Politica, *pag. m.* 35.

(3) *Written by* Jo. Benedictus Carpzovius, Theologiæ Profeſſor Lipſiæ.

[*B*] *It is more probable, that Galatinus ſtole from . . . Porchettus Salvago.*] This is proved by Father Morin, who affirms, that he found the ſame things in Porchettus, and Galatinus, in all places where he compared them together. He adds, that all the artifice, which Galatinus has made uſe of to conceal his theft, conſiſts in ſome changes of expreſſion, and of the diviſion of the chapters, in the method of the dialogue, and in his frequent citations of a Rabbi (4) unknown to Martinus and Porchettus, and alſo to the Jews. *Plagium ſane portentoſum cui vix ſimile unquam factum eſt, nam Galatini liber nihil aliud eſt quam Porcheti exſcriptio ipſiſſimis Porcheti verbis, atque etiam Hebræorum textuum tranſlationibus conſervatis, hoc ſi excipias, quod elegantiæ cauſa quædam verba & verborum conſtructiones immutantur. Eſt enim Porcheti phraſis Galatiniana multo ſimplicior. Deinde alius eſt ordo Galatini & minutius diſtinctus, ideo ex uno Porcheti capite duo vel tria componit & varie digerit, in qua dialogica fermocinatione alium paulo colorem inducit . . . . Non id tantum ſemel deprehendimus, ſed toties quoties id periclitati ſumus, mirati ſane Galatinum Porcheto reconditæ Judæorum Hiſtoriæ nihil ſuperaddere præter frequentia teſtimonia ex libello*, &c (5). Galatinus dedicated his book to the emperor Maximilian I, and did not believe, that Porchet's book would be printed ſo ſoon. We may ſay alſo that he hoped this manuſcript would never be publiſhed; for it was exceeding rare: but Auguſtin Juſtiniani, biſhop of Nebbio, did nevertheleſs diſcover it by the help of money, and publiſhed it at Paris in 1520, with this title, *Victoria Porchetti adverſus impios Hebræos.*

(4) He is called *Rabenu Hakadoſch*, and his book *Gale Razaia*, according to Father Morin. Others call him *Hakkadoſch.*

(5) Joan. Morinus, Exercit. Biblic. i, *lib. i, cap. ii, pag. m.* 16. *Vide etiam pag.* 19.

[*C*] *Joſeph Scaliger has been guilty of ſome faults.*] He believed firſt, that the author of the *Pugio Fidei* was called Raymond Sebondus. 2. That Raymond Sebondus was a Dominican, and that he lived at Toulouſe about the year 1376. 3. That Galatinus ſtole immediately from the *Pugio Fidei:* Which may be ſeen in his letters, wherein he mentions this twice to Caſaubon (6), and once to Thomſon (7). 'Scito 'illos libros *(Galatini)* eſſe compendium duorum in- 'gentium voluminum quibus titulum Pugionem fidei 'fecit auctor Raimundus Sebond Monachus Domini- 'canus, eximius Philoſophus. - - - - *Know, that thoſe 'books of Galatinus are an abridgment of two large 'volumes, intituled,* Pugio Fidei, *by the author Raimond 'Sebondus, a Dominican monk, and an excellent Philoſo- 'pher.*' This is what he ſays in letter 84, which he thus confirms in letter 93. 'De Galatino ſcito 'me vera dixiſſe, nam non ſolum illa omnia è Rai- 'mundo Sebone expiſcatus eſt, ſed & opus ejus nihil 'aliud eſt quam breviarum Pugionis fidei, ita enim 'opus ſuum doctiſſimus Dominicanus ille inſcripſerat 'qui Toloſæ ante CC, plus minus annos ſcribebat, 'ejuſque operis duo ingentes tomi in Collegio Fu- 'xenſi ejuſdem civitatis ante annos xxi quum ego ibi 'eſſem, extabant. Cum judicio tamen illi libri le- 'gendi ſunt, qui utinam typis excuſi eſſent. Hoc 'unicum exemplum, præter aliud quod penes Mat- 'thæum Beroaldum fuit, Toloſæ extare ſcio. - - - - - 'Know, that what I ſay of Galatinus is true; for he 'not only ſtole it all out of Raimond Sebondus but his 'work is nothing but an abridgment of the* Pugio Fidei; 'for ſo that learned Dominican, who wrote at Toulouſe 'about two hundred years ago, intituled his work; of 'which there were two large volumes extant in the college 'of Foix, twenty-one years ago, when I was there. 'But thoſe books are to be read with judgment, which I 'wiſh were publiſhed. This copy, beſides another in 'the hands of Matthew Beroaldus, is extant, to my 'knowledge, at Toulouſe.' In letter 241, written in 1606, two years after the 93, he changed ſomething as to the age of Raymond Sebondus, 'qui an- 'te ccxxx plus minus annos, *ſays he*, Toloſæ vive- 'bat. - - - *Raimond Sebond, who lived about* 230 *years 'ago, at Toulouſe.*' Father Morin (8) obſerves, againſt Scaliger, that Raymond Sebondus, who does not appear to have underſtood the Hebrew tongue, was a hundred years younger than Raymond Martini the true author of the *Pugio Fidei*. He adds, that it is at leaſt three centuries ſince this Martinus wrote his book, becauſe Nicolas de Lyra ſpeaks of him. He ſhews, that Galatinus ſtole immediately only from Porchettus. Mr de Mauſſac has reckoned up yet more exactly the faults of the great Scaliger (9). He does not only ſay, that Raymond Sebondus was neither a monk, nor learned in the oriental tongues, and that, according to Trithemius and Simler (10), he died in 1432; but he ſays alſo, that the manuſcript of Raymond Martini in the college of Foix, contains three volumes; and that beſides this, and the copy of Beroaldus, there is one at Naples, one with the Dominicans of Toulouſe, one at Barcelona, and one at Majorca. If any one would deal as rigorouſly with Mauſſac, as he hath done with Scaliger, he might be told, that he unjuſtly attributed to Scaliger the firſt diſcovery of the theft of Galatinus (11). Matthew Beroaldus ſpoke of it, before the manuſcript of Toulouſe was known to Scaliger; which may be thus demonſtrated. Scaliger wrote in the year 1604, that, twenty-one years before, he had ſeen

(6) Epiſt. lxxxiv, & xciii.

(7) Epiſt. ccxli.

(8) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 19.

(9) Vide Prolegomena ad Pugionem fidei.

(10) Epit. Bibl. Gesner. *But he ſays,* claruit, *and not* obiit anno 1450. *He had better have cited Gesner himſelf.*

(11) Primus Galatini furta [illegible] doratus eſt. [illegible] *Carpzovius [illegible] like.* Even *[Scaliger [illegible] agere quod primus Galatini plagium prodidit . . . .* Excuſe Scaliger. Galatini furta primus [illegible] boratus eſt. *Intr. Jud. pag.* 92.

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and opinions of the Jews, made ſome believe, that he had been of their religion (*k*). But this is falſe. (*k*) Auguſtin Juſtiniani, Præfat. ad Porcheti Victoriam.

ſeen at Toulouſe the *Pugio Fidei*; ſo that he ſaw it in 1583. Now Beroaldus publiſhed his Chronology in 1575, and had occaſion to obſerve, that Galatinus had publiſhed as his own the writings of Raymond Martini, having made ſome alterations in them. Let us ſet down all that he ſays. 'Galatinus (ut hoc 'obiter moneam) Martini Raymundi ſcripta pro ſuis 'edidit, commutato rerum ordine & argumento non- 'nihil variato, ut plagii poſſit accuſari Galatinus: 'quod planum me facturum ſpero ſi dederit Dominus, 'ut pugionem ipſius Raimundi ſcriptum ad impiorum 'perfidiam jugulandam maxime autem Judæorum in 'lucem proferam. Is autem liber ſtudiis Hebraicis 'maxime utilis pervenit ad me ex Bibliotheca Fran- 'ciſci Vatabli Mecænatis mei (12). - - - - *Galatinus*, 'by the way, *publiſhed the works of Raymond Marti-* 'nus for his own, *changing the method, and varying* 'the ſubject a little; ſo that Galatinus may be accuſed of 'Plagiariſm: which I hope to prove beyond doubt, GOD 'willing, that I may bring to light the* Pugio *of Raymond* 'himſelf, *written to detect the treachery of the impious, par-* 'ticularly *of the Jews. This book, of the greateſt* 'uſe *in Hebrew ſtudies, came to me out of the library* 'of *Francis Vatablus, my Mecænas.*' This paſſage informs us, that Beroaldus had a deſign to publiſh the *Pugio Fidei*, and that his copy came from Vatablus. Probably it was by the book of Beroaldus, that Poſſevin knew, that Vatablus had ſuch a manuſcript, and when he mentioned this particular, he accuſed Galatinus of being a Plagiary (13). Note, that Scaliger's letters were not made public till after the printing of Poſſevin's Apparatus; ſo that here we have a ſecond diſcoverer of this theft before Joſeph Scaliger. I have obſerved, that Toppi, in pag. 202, of his *Biblioteca Napoletana*, ſays, the latter diſcovered it firſt; and therefore he is miſtaken.

(12) Beroaldus, in Chronic. cap. iii, lib. ii.

(13) Poſſev. Apparat. Sacr. Tom. ii, fol. 411.

MARTYR (PETER) a Proteſtant Divine in the XVIth century. See VERMILLI.

MARULUS (MARCUS), a native of Spalato in Dalmatia, lived in the beginning of the XVIth century, as is obſerved in Moreri's Dictionary; who has not given us the right title of one of his books (*a*). It is a Latin book, which was tranſlated into French, and into ſome other languages (*b*). The French tranſlator did a thing very ſingular, which deſerves to be related [*A*]. Geſner confounds this Marulus with Marullus the Poet (*c*).

(*c*) *Geſn. in Bibl. fol.* 495, *verſo.* His abbreviators have not corrected this. See, at the end of the remark [*D*] of the article INNOCENT VIII, a little fault of Andreas Rivetus.

(*a*) See the remark.

(*b*) Into Spaniſh and German.

[*A*] *The French tranſlator did a thing very ſingular which deſerves to be related.*] This I learn from Martin del Rio. This Jeſuit having cenſured Bodin, becauſe he allowed the judges to lye, that they might draw the truth from the criminals, adds, that Marcus Marulus was of the ſame opinion with Bodin, and that the author of the French tranſlation of Marulus's book has corrected this bad doctrine. He ſuppoſes, that Marulus taught the quite contrary, and inſerts in his book a confutation of Bodin's opinion. *Fuit in ſententiâ Bodini M. Marulus lib.* 4. de Inſtit. benè vivendi cap. 4. *Sed errore animadverſo ejus interpres Gallicus plane contrariam Marulo ſententiam tribuit; & multas paginas, quæ non ſunt Maruli, Marulo inſeruit, dictorum ipſorum Maruli confutationem pro Maruli dictis continentes; quam bono exemplo & prudenter ipſe vidit* (1). Tranſlators have ſo often exceeded their privileges, that a reader is unhappy, who cannot learn things in the originals; for he always runs the hazard of being impoſed upon. See how Geſner recites the title of this book of Marulus: *De religioſe vivendi Inſtitutione lib.* 6. *per exempla ex veteri, novoque Teſtamento collecta, ex authoribus quoque D. Hieronymo Preſbytero, Gregorio Pont. Max. Euſebio Cæſarienſi, Jo. Caſſiano nonnulliſque aliis qui vitas conſcripſere ſanctorum, digeſta per capita ſive locos communes* (2). Miræus has too much abridged this; for he only ſays: *Scripſit libros ſex exemplorum, hoc eſt dictorum factorumque memorabilium* (3); and yet Moreri thought it too long; for he only ſets down *lib.* 6. *Exemplorum.* The Printers, having tranſpoſed the figures, have given us an edition of the works of Marulus in 1610, which, according to Miræus, was in 1601. Gabriel Naudæus, who wrote a diſſertation to prove, that it is lawful for Phyſicians to tell a great many lies to a ſick perſon, does not forget to cite our Marulus, who maintained, that a man, who lies in favour of the commonwealth, or for the greater glory of GOD, does an act of ſingular prudence and piety. *Marullus Spalatenſis lib.* 4. *memor. c.* 4. *ob Reipublicæ bonum vel majorem Dei gloriam mentiri ſore ſummæ pietatis ingentiſque prudentiæ contendit* (4). O wicked morality!

(1) Martinus del Rio, Diſquiſit. Magicar. Tom. iii, lib. v, Sect. 2, pag. m. 74.

(2) Geſn. in Biblioth. fol. 495, verſo.

(3) Anb. Miræus de Scriptor. ſæculi xvi, pag. 9.

(4) Naudæus, in Pentade Quæſt. Jatrophilol. pag. 150, Edit. Genev. 1647.

MARULLUS, a Poet of Calabria, in the Vth century, went to wait upon Attila at Padua, after this king of the Huns had opened a way into Italy by taking of Aquileia, and had ruined and ſubdued all that came in his way. This Poet expected a great reward for the flatteries wherewith he had filled the panegyric of Attila. But when this prince knew by his interpreters, that the Poem, which Marullus had repeated, derived his pedigree from the gods, and called him a god, he ordered that theſe verſes, and the author of them, ſhould be burnt. He moderated this puniſhment, when he reflected, that this ſeverity might induce other authors to write nothing in his praiſe (*a*).

(*a*) Ex Callimacho Experiente, in vita Attilæ.

MARULLUS (MICHAEL TARCHANIOTA) [*A*] retired into Italy after the Turks had taken Conſtantinople, where he was born. He did not leave his country out of zeal for Chriſtianity; for his opinions in matters of religion were very far from being orthodox [*B*]. It was doubtleſs the fear of ſlavery, or the deſire he had to avoid the cruel

[*A*] *Tarchaniota.*] I believe it was the name of his mother's family; for, in the firſt book of his epigrams, there is an epitaph upon Michael Tarchaniota, his grandfather by the mother's ſide, and another upon Euphroſyne Tarchaniota, his mother; and in the third book, there is one upon Paul Tarchaniota, his uncle by the mother's ſide. As to his grandfather by the father's ſide, whoſe epitaph is to be ſeen a few pages after, he was called Philip Marullus. One of the four learned Greeks, who fled for refuge into France, under the reign of Charles VII, and were recommended by Philelphus to William des Urſins, chancellor of France, was called Nicolas Tarchaniotes (1).

(1) Guillet, Life of Mahomet II, Tom. i, pag. 258, ex Turco-Græc. pag. 91.

[*B*] *His ſentiments in matters of religion were very far from being orthodox.*] This is what we learn from Leander Albertus (2) who makes this obſervation by the way, in ſpeaking of the river, wherein Ma-

(2) Deſcript. Ital. pag. 44.

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cruel vexation of seeing and hearing the insults of an insolent conqueror, that made him remove from Greece. He listed himself a soldier in Italy [C], and served in the cavalry, under Nicolas Ralla (a), who was of Lacedemon. He joined learning with arms, and would be no less a Poet than a soldier: and because he feared, lest his skill in making Greek verses should not be thought any thing extraordinary, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of Latin Poetry, and by this means he acquired a great reputation (b). His Latin verses consist of four books of Epigrams, and four books of Hymns. He began a Poem about the education of princes, which he never finished. What was found of it among his papers, was printed with the Epigrams and Hymns, of all which there have been several editions. Authors are divided in their opinions about these Poems. For some critics, such as the two Scaligers (c), speak very ill of them. But other writers have commended Marullus very much (d). He gained many enemies by censuring too freely the antient Latin Poets (e). Floridus Sabinus undertook their defence, and treated him harshly. Politian had a great quarrel with him upon the same occasion (f). I speak elsewhere (g) of the marriage of Marullus with the learned Alexandra Scala. But here I must take notice, that he was of a restless spirit, and could never find a fixed place, for his body, or for his studies [D]. Other learned men became famous by translating books: but he despised this labour (b) [E], either as a thing below him, or too hazardous, and he was thinking of something of much

(a) Jovius in Elogiis, *cap. xxviii*, Militari stipendio sese alere coactus. Pier. Valer. de Liter. infel. *lib. ii.*

(b) Jovius, ibid.

(c) Jul. Cæs. Scaliger, Poet. *lib. vi, cap. iv.* Jos. Scalig. in Catull. Epigr. lxvii.

(d) Crinitus de honesta, discipl. *lib. xxiii, cap. vii.* Jo. Secundus Epigr. Jovius, ubi supra. Pontanus apud Jovium, ibid. Pier. Valerian. de Liter. infel.

(e) *See* Crinitus, ubi supra.

(f) Paulo ante Græcorum nomini favens, cum Politiano ejus gentis ingeniis infesto, maledicentissimis epistolis lites extenderat. *Jovius, ibid.*

(g) In the article SCALA.

(b) Jovius, ubi supra.

rullus was drowned: Flumen Cæcina *Marulli Byzantini viri docti, sed de Christiana pietate haud sane sentientis interitu illustratum.* He, who published some curious notes upon Sannazar, makes use of two proofs against those, who pretended, that John Francis Picus assisted Marullus in making his hymns. The first is, that Picus was so much addicted to the study of Christian Theology, that it is not probable that he troubled himself about politeness of style: The second is, that there is no footstep of Christianity in the hymns of Marullus. *In hymnis adjutum fuisse a Joann. Francisco Pico erant qui asserirent Lilii Gyraldi ætate, quod tamen mihi neutiquam verisimile sit, cum constet Picum tanto studio incubuisse Christianæ Theologiæ, ut omnem prorsus styli atque elocutionis ornatum neglexisse merito videri possit. Marullum verò si legas, nec volam, nec vestigium hominis Christiani invenias* (3). This seems to me good reasoning. Pierius Valerianus relates, that this Poet uttered horrible blasphemies when he died. *Ferunt illum primo statim casu vehementer excanduisse, utque erat iræ impatiens convitia & maledicta in superos detorsisse* (4). Erasmus would have thought Marullus's Poems tolerable, if they had contained less Paganism: *Marulli pauca legi*, says he in his *Ciceronianus, tolerabilia si minus haberent paganitatis.* This Paganism was not the greatest fault of Marullus; his impieties are much more to be condemned; which doubtless were the cause why Lucretius pleased him so much, that he put out a new edition of that author, and endeavoured to imitate him (5), and said, that we must only read other Poets, but get Virgil and Lucretius by heart (6). Joseph Scaliger, in his notes upon Catullus, thunders against this edition. Here follows a proof of the impudent impiety, wherewith Marullus blasphemed heaven:

(3) Not. ad Sannaz. *pag.* 189. Edit. Amstel. 1689. *See also pag.* 201.

(4) Pier. Val. de Liter. infel. *lib. ii, pag. m.* 70.

(5) Gyral. Dialog. i, de Poët. sui temp.

(6) Crinitus, de hon. Disc. *lib. xxiii, cap. vii.*

At pia pro patria, pro diis, arisque tuendis,
Indueras Latium dux caput arma tibi.
Ultoresque deos jurata in bella trahebas,
Si modo sunt curæ jusque piumque deis.
Sed neque fas, neque jura deos mortalia tangunt,
Et rapit arbitrio fors fera cuncta suo.
Nam quid prisca fides juvit, pietasque Pelasgos?
Nempe jacent nullo damna levante Deo.
Aspice Byzanti quondam gratissima divis
Mœnia, Romanæ nobile gentis opus.
Hæc quoque jampridem hostili data præda furori est
Solaque de tanta gloria gente manet (7).

(7) Marullus, Epigr. *lib. i, pag. m.* 16, 17.

But pious arms with holy zeal you take
For your dear country, and religion's sake;
A zeal, which vengeful gods to battle draws,
If gods regard the justice of a cause.
But they, supine, in their own heaven remain,
Nor aught on earth e're gives their godships pain:
But this wide world's affairs at random go,
And fate and fortune govern all below.
In vain the ancient Greeks were good and brave;
Their virtues from destruction cou'd not save.
Behold Byzantium's walls of wond'rous fame,
The pride and glory of the Roman name.
To hostile arms a prey, they strew'd the plains,
And nothing, but their memory, remains.

[C] *He listed himself a soldier in Italy.*] The author of the Anecdotes of Florence (8) says, that Marullus went from Greece into Italy in a company of Cuirassiers. This may be; but Paul Jovius, whom this author follows most, in what concerns the learned men of that time, says no such thing. His words are these. *Inter alarios* (§α) *equites descriptus, Nicolao Ralla Spartano duce in Italia militavit.* I do not believe, that *Alarius Eques* should be translated a *cuirassier.*

(8) *Pag.* 179, the Printers, who have miserably disfigured the proper names in this book, have put *Marcilius* for *Marullus.* At *pag.* 161, they have put *Trachamote* for *Tarchaniote.*

[(§α) If it were certain, that Paul Jovius wrote *alarios*, without any mark of abbreviation in the copy, *alarii equites*, in my opinion, would mean the *light-horse*, and not *cuirassiers*; the light cavalry being, if I may so say, *wings* in comparison of the others. But perhaps, instead of *alarios equites*, the true reading is *Alabastarios equites, Cross-bow-men*, as the Albanian cavalry was at that time, since known in France by the name of *Estradiots* REM. CRIT.]

[D] *He was of a restless spirit, and could never find a fixed place for his body, or his studies.*] I will cite for this two authors: 'Inquieto ingenio nullibi sedem 'stabilem nactus, in cursu studiorum ac itinerum sem-'per fuit (9). - - - - *Being of a restless disposition, he* 'settled no where, but was always studying and tra-'velling.' 'Nullius unquam principis liberalitate ita 'adjutus, ut in literarum otium se conferre posset (10). '- - - *He never gained so much by the bounty of princes,* 'that he could retire, and devote himself to his studies.' I know not whether one may oppose to their testimony that of Crinitus. Let every one do as he pleases: Here it is in verse:

(9) Jov. in Elog. *cap. xxviii.*

(10) Pier. Valerian. de infel. Litter. *lib. ii.*

Et gradum
Placuit ad urbem flectere,
Qua noster Medices Pieridum parens
Marulle hospitium dulce tibi exhibet,
Ac te perpetuis muneribus fovens
Phœbum non patitur tela resumere
Laurens Camœnarum decus (11).

(11) Crinitus, *lib. ii*, Poëmat. *pag. m.* 328.

That is,

To that city, where Laurens de Medicis, the parent of the Muses, kindly entertains you, O Marullus, and by his munificence towards you, suffers not Phœbus to resume his darts.

Marullus therefore had a good Mæcenas in the person of Laurence de Medicis. Crinitus praises Marullus very much, particularly in his *Nænia de obitu Poëtæ Marulli.*

[E] *He despised the labour of translating.*] Mr Varillas (12) tells us, that Laurence de Medicis desired Marullus,

(12) Anec. de Flor. *pag.* 179.

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much greater importance, when he was drowned in a river of Tuſcany [F], blaſpheming againſt Heaven. This was in the year 1500 [G]. I have read, in a late book, that this misfortune was foretold him a long time before; but the witneſs, who is alledged for it, ſays no ſuch thing [H].

lus, *in his letters which are ſtill extant*, to tranſlate the moral works of Plutarch, but that Marullus 'had 'ſo great an averſion for that ſort of work, wherein 'one muſt, ſaid he, make himſelf a ſlave to the ſen- 'timents of another, that it was impoſſible for him to 'finiſh the firſt page of that verſion.'

[F] *He was drowned in a river of Tuſcany.*] It is that, which runs by Volterra, and which the antients called Cecina. It ſtill retains the ſame name, as Cluverius and Baudrand affirm, ſo that I cannot underſtand why Pierius Varillas ſays, that it is now named Sicla (13), nor why Valerius calls it the river of Volterra (14). Paul Jovius ſays, that it was more ſwelled than ordinary, that day on which Marullus was drowned in it (15): But Valerianus ſays the quite contrary; and ſince he is more particular in this matter, he is more worthy of credit than the other; and it appears, that he had examined the circumſtances. Marullus, ſays he, perceiving, that his horſe ſo ſunk with his fore feet in the water, that he could not diſengage himſelf, grew angry, and ſpurred him: but he fell with his horſe, and, having his leg entangled under the belly of the beaſt, there wanted but little water to choak him. *Fluvium vel exigua tunc aqua fluentem ingreſſus, ſive equum potaturus ſive alia de cauſa tantillum immoratus, ſenſit equum anterioribus pedibus ita in arenas alvei ſemper infidi voraginoſas abſorberi ut emergere inde non poſſet . . . . modica admodum ejus profluentis aqua ſuffocatus interiit* (16). The liberty, which Varillas takes in paraphraſing upon what he borrows from another, was prepoſterous upon this occaſion. To tranſlate the words of Paul Jovius, *ſolito inflatior*, he ſays, that *the rains had extraordinarily ſwelled* the river, and yet, according to him, Marullus was fording it. He was either drunk or mad, you will ſay; the adverb *extraordinarily* decides it upon this occaſion. Let us not go ſo faſt: I remember I have read in a book of Lancelotti of Perugia, that the inhabitants of the country advertiſed our Marullus not to paſs the river, becauſe great rains had fallen that night. To whom he anſwered, that he was afraid of Mars, and not of Neptune; for he relied upon the Aſtrologers (17), who had caſt his nativity, and told him, that he ought to be afraid of arms, and that he would do well not to go to the war (18). Volaterranus obſerves, that Marullus, who had lodged in his houſe, parted from him the ſame day he was drowned; and he ſpeaks honourably of him (19). Voſſius, in his treatiſe of the Latin Poets, ſays, that day was the fifteenth of June, 1511 (20). I believe, this error proceeded originally from the two haſty reading of a paſſage in Paul Jovius, wherein the day, on which Marullus died, is ſet down in this manner: 'Eo die 'quo Ludovicus Sforcia captus ut ferrato in carcere 'miſer expiraret, in ulteriorem Galliam eſt perductus. '*That day, in which Lewis Sforza, being taken, was* '*carried to the fartheſt part of France, to die miſerably* '*in an iron priſon.*' Somebody, not carefully attending to the words, confounded the day, on which Lewis Sforza was ſeized, with the day of his death; and, becauſe his death happened in 1511, they concluded, that our Poet died alſo in the ſame year. The ſeizing of Lewis Sforza was on the eleventh of April, 1500 (21). Mr Baillet (22) follows the Chronology of Voſſius, abating one day.

[G] *This was in the year* 1500.] The manner, in which Paul Jovius characteriſes this year, does not ſuffer us to doubt, that it was the laſt of the XVth century. See the preceding remark, at the end. Peter de St Romauld is miſtaken half a century; for thus he ſpeaks under the year 1545. 'Michael Ma- 'rullus, a native of Conſtantinople, who wrote very 'elegantly in Latin verſe, in imitation of Catullus 'and Tibullus, and who had ſerved the emperor 'Maximilian, in the quality of a captain, was drowned 'in Tuſcany; which an Italian Poet deploring, in his 'epitaph, ſays at the end of it, that if he muſt loſe 'his life in water,

Mergier Aonio flumine debuerat:

He ſhould have periſh'd in th' Aonian ſtream.

'Which way of ſpeaking did not pleaſe the late Mr 'de Balzac (23).'

Sandius refutes Voſſius by this reaſon, namely, that Pontanus, who died in 1503, or 1505, made verſes upon the death of Marullus. He obſerves, that there are ſome, who place the death of Marullus, on the ſixteenth of May 1466, and he convicts them of falſhood by the epigrams of that Poet againſt Pope Innocent VIII, and upon the death of Theodorus Gaza, and John Picus Mirandula. This Pope ſat in the ſee of Rome from 1484, to 1492. Theodorus Gaza died in 1478, and John Picus Mirandula in 1494; therefore the proofs of Sandius are very good; and he had reaſon to reject the opinion of thoſe, who ſaid, that Marullus flouriſhed in the year 1520 (24).

[H] *I have read, in a late book, that this misfortune was foretold him . . . but the witneſs, who is alledged, ſays no ſuch thing.*] To determine this queſtion of matter of fact, we need only compare the paſſage of the modern author with the words of Pierius Valerianus, who is his witneſs. 'Suffocatus eſt Marullus in Tuſciæ amne 'Cecina fallente equum veſtigio. Miſerabile id leti 'genus multis annis ante ipſi prædictum fuiſſe, inde- 'que ſemper aquas timuiſſe auctor eſt Pierius Valeria- 'nus in Dialogis de literatorum infelicitate, qui rei 'veritatem ignorare non poterat, ipſamque adeo car- 'mine quodam ſuo, multò ante Marulli mortem poſte- 'ritati palam fecerat (25). - - *Marullus was choaked in* '*the Cecina, a river of Tuſcany, his horſe's foot ſlipping.* '*Pierius Valerianus, in his dialogues of the misfortune of* '*learned men, tells us, that this unfortunate kind of* '*death was foretold him many years before, and that* '*from that time he was always afraid of water; nor* '*could Pierius be ignorant of the truth of the fact,* '*which he publiſhed in one of his poems, long before Ma-* '*rullus's death.*' According to this account, we have here, not one of thoſe predictions made after the event, which are ſo frequent, but a prediction publiſhed a long time before the event; which would therefore be of great moment, if the matter of fact were certain. Now let us ſhew, that Pierius Valerianus ſays nothing of the prediction, and that his verſes were made after the misfortune of Marullus. I have cited above (26) a long paſſage out of his tract *de Literatorum Infelicitate*, the concluſion whereof was, *aqua ſuffocatus interiit*: after which words immediately follow theſe: 'Verum igitur fuit quod meus Pierius 'jam tum puer de Marullo cecinit. CAT. Quid- 'nam? illud muſici recita obſecro quoniam libenter 'ejus cantilenas auſculto. - - - - *It was true therefore,* '*what Pierius, then a boy, ſung of Marullus. CAT.* '*pray recite theſe verſes; for I am always pleaſed to* '*hear his poetry.*' Then the verſes of Pierius are related, which turn upon this thought, That Marullus ought not to be troubled at his periſhing in water. The fear which is attributed to him, reſpects only the time, in which his horſe fell under him in the Cecina. But ſome, perhaps, may ſay, Pierius was very young when he made thoſe verſes, *jam tum puer*; he made them therefore before the year 1500; for, according to Thuanus, he died in 1550, aged eighty three years. I anſwer, that Thuanus is miſtaken. Imperialis (27) places the death of Pierius in 1558, and makes him to be then no more than eighty one years of age: and thus he would have been but twenty three years old, when Marullus died. Now it is not without precedent, in good Latin authors, to call one of that age *puer*; and however it be, the verſes of Pierius did not precede the death of Marullus.

(13) Dum Siclam qui olim Cecina dicebatur. *Pier. Valer. ubi ſupra.*

(14) Ancol. *pag.* 179.

(15) Cecina amnis ſolito inſtrior fallente equum cæco vado violenter abripuit. *Jovius, ubi ſupra.*

(16) Pier. Valer. *ubi ſupra.*

(17) A great confidence in that ſort of people makes a man ſometimes as bold as madneſs or drunkenneſs.

(18) Don Serendo Lancellotti da Perugia Abbate Olivetano, *in the book intitled*, Chi l'indovinà è Savio, *lib. i, Diſcorſo iii, pag.* 64. *He cites* Paul. Cort. *lib. i.*

(19) Jo. Jovianus Pontanus diſcipulum habuit Marullum Conſtantinopolitanum hoſpitem meum, qui eodem die quo a me Volaterris diſceſſit in amne Cecina ſubmerſus eſt, vir acris cum ingenii tum judicii. *Vitæ. lib. xxxviii, pag.* m. 1462.

(20) Id factum XVII. Kal. Jul. an. CIↃIↃXI.

(21) Labbe, Chron. Françoiſe.

(22) Jugement ſur les Poetes, num. 1244.

(23) St Romuald, Abrégé du Thréſor Chronologique, *Tom. iii, pag.* m. 300. *See* Balzac, Socrate Chrétien, *pag.* m. 228.

(24) *Taken out of* Sandius, Not. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 227.

(25) Not. ad Sannazari Eleg. *pag.* 191. Edit. Amſtel. 1689.

(26) Its citation (16).

(27) *See his* Muſæum Hiſtoricum, *pag.* 40.

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MASCARDI (AUGUSTIN) was a learned man, and one of the beſt Orators of the XVIIth century (*a*). He was born at Sarzana (*b*) in 1591, and died there in 1640 (*c*). You will find in Moreri, that he was chamberlain to Urban VIII, and that this Pope *founded for him a profeſſor's chair of Rhetoric in the college* della Sapienza in 1628. He granted him for life a penſion of five hundred crowns (*d*). If Maſcardi was always in want, and oppreſſed with debts, it was not ſo much becauſe he neglected his buſineſs, as becauſe he diverted himſelf too much; for it muſt be confeſſed, that his manner of living was not ſo highly eſteemed as his wit and learning [*A*]. He was for ſome time prince of the academy of the Humoriſts (*e*); and he had a paper-war with Paganinus Gaudentius, and other authors [*B*]. He printed at his own expence his treatiſe *dell' Arte Hiſtorica*, and had loſt a conſiderable ſum by it, if cardinal Mazarin had not procured many copies to be ſold at Paris [*C*]. The authors, who ſpeak of him, and to whom Moreri refers us (*f*), are quoted by Michael Juſtiniani (*g*).

There is in the works of Balzac a certain diſcourſe, wherein he ſharply cenſures our Maſcardi, without naming him [*D*].

(*a*) Michel Giuſtiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti, *pag.* 24. Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth I, *pag.* 113.

(*b*) A town in the ſtate of Genoa.

(*c*) Giuſtiniani, ib. *pag.* 25.

(*d*) Id. ib. *pag.* 24.

(*e*) Id. ib. *pag.* 25.

(*f*) *Inſtead of* Maracci, Bibliot. Mariam, *read in* Moreri, Maracci, Bibliotheca Mariana.

(*g*) Ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His manner of living was not ſo highly eſteemed as his wit and learning.*] To this purpoſe I ſhall cite a paſſage, whereby we learn, that Maſcardi lodged always in other peoples houſes, and that proviſionally, and ſpent his money without diſcretion. 'Utinam 'ſecundiore prudentia ac SANCTITATIS fama 'fuiſſet, nec in hac parte vitæ, ut fama eſt, claudi- 'caſſet; profecto ad egregias ejus virtutes hæc quo- 'que præſtantiſſima omnium laus acceſſiſſet. Sed 'homo in re familiari negligens, profuſus, nulla pe- 'cuniæ acceſſione ſuppeditare ſuis ſumptibus poterat; 'in ſuis nummis nunquam, in ære alieno ſemper: &, 'quod mireris magis, nunquam certis ac conductis 'ædibus habitavit, ſed incertis atque precariis (1). '*I wiſh he had been more famed for prudence and* 'PROBITY, *and had not, as is reported, been blameable* '*in this part of his life: the reſt of his excellent vir-* '*tues, then, would have been crowned with this greateſt* '*of praiſe. But, being careleſs in his domeſtic affairs,* '*and profuſe, no ſums were ſufficient for his expences;* '*he was always in debt, and lived upon other peoples* '*money; and, what is ſtrange, he never had a ſettled* '*habitation.*'

(1) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth I, *pag.* 113.

[*B*] *He had a paper-war with ſeveral authors.*] In his hiſtory of the conſpiracy of count Fieſche, he very often attacks the religion of Ubert Folietta. He did the like in his other books, againſt ſome writers; which was the reaſon why he was attacked in his turn. *Venendo eſſo parimente tacciato da Paganino Gaudentio, mi ſi dara motivo di far qualche reſteſſione nel libro de gli Academici Humoriſti, per vedir quale di loro ſoſtien meglio le ſue accuſe* (2). To the ſecond edition of his hiſtory of the conſpiracy of the count Fieſche are added the objections that were made to him, and his anſwer to them. I know not whether his anſwer to Brunor Taverna, concerning that hiſtory, has been publiſhed: the abbot Michael Juſtiniani had read it in manuſcript (3).

(2) Michel Giuſtiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri deſcritti, *pag.* 25.

(3) Ib. *pag.* 25.

[*C*] *Cardinal Mazarin procured many copies to be ſold of his treatiſe* dell' Arte Hiſtorica.] Among an infinite number of ridiculous things, which are objected to this cardinal during the troubles of Paris, it was ſaid, that he traded in all manner of merchandize, and that he even made an auction of books in the palace d'Eſtrée (4). Naudé (5) anſwered in his behalf thus: 'I believe I have ſufficiently proved the contrary. 'But now to juſtify likewiſe this ſale of books, which 'was the beſt and moſt decent way the cardinal could 'uſe, to teſtify the care he always took of learned 'men; we muſt know, that the Sieur Agoſtino 'Maſcardi, who was accounted the beſt writer of 'Italy in his time, thought fit to print, in 1636, a 'book of his own writing, intituled, *Dell' Arte Hi-* '*ſtorica trattati cinque* (6), in 4to, and ſo thick, that 'it contained near a hundred ſheets; and becauſe *la* '*Tavola di Cebete, le Pompe del Campidoglio, la Con-* '*giura dei Fieſchi, le Proſe, i diſcorſi Academici, Silva-* '*rum ſive variorum Carminum libri iv*; and, in a 'word, all his works had ſold very well, he cauſed 'many more copies of this than of the preceding 'ones, to be printed: wherein he was ſo unſucceſs- 'ful, that the greateſt part of the copies were left on 'his hands, becauſe few people delighted in ſuch kind 'of matters. As he was complaining of this one day 'to cardinal Mazarin, he propoſed to ſend ſome 'bales of them to Paris, where he had a man to 'manage his affairs, who ſhould take care to ſell them 'for him, and remit him the money he took: 'which the Sieur Maſcardi very willingly accepted 'of; and by this means he prevented a great loſs, 'which was almoſt unavoidable. I have this ſtory 'from the man himſelf, who managed at that time 'the cardinal's affairs in that city.'

(4) See Naudé, in his *Dialogue de Maſcurat*, *pag.* 70.

(5) Naudé, ib.

(6) Naudé had conceived a good opinion of this work. See his *Bibliographia Politica*, *pag.* m. 67.

[*D*] *There is in Balzac's works . . . . . a diſcourſe, wherein he ſharply cenſures our Maſcardi, without naming him.*] It is in a diſſertation, which was printed with the *Socrete Chrétien*. It conſiſts of ſome remarks upon divers pieces: thoſe, which concern the philoſophical Orator, point at him, who is the ſubject of this article. Of this Balzac himſelf informs us, in theſe words of a letter, which he wrote to Mr Conrart, January 4, 1641. 'It is Maſcardi, whom I mean, for 'certain very ill things, which I obſerved in him, 'before he had refined his ſtyle, and formed his judg- 'ment (7).'

(7) Balzac's Letter to Conrart, *pag.* m. 96.

MASCARON (JULIUS), one of the greateſt preachers of the XVIIth century, was born at Marſeilles in the year 1634. He inherited *from his father, the moſt famous advocate of the Parliament of Aix, the uncommon talent of Eloquence, which diſtinguiſhed him.* He entered very young into the congregation of the Oratory, *and he taught Rhetoric, from the age of twenty-two years, at Mans. Soon after he mounted the pulpit*, and preached with great great ſucceſs in the church of St Peter at Saumur. *The biſhop of Mans, deſiring to keep ſo able a preacher in his church, made him a prebend of it.* He was admired at Paris, when he preached the Advent-ſermons at the oratory. He was appointed, in 1666, to make the funeral oration of the queen-mother. Afterwards he preached at court five or ſix years, and was nominated to the biſhopric of Tulle in the year 1671. *Having pronounced, with the uſual applauſe, the funeral oration of the mareſchal Turenne in* 1675, *he was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Agen. He was ſent for, in* 1694, *to preach the Lent-ſermons at court. The year following, he opened the aſſembly of the Clergy, and returned to his dioceſe, where he died of a dropſy, and a complication of diſtempers, the ſixteenth of December*, 1703 (*a*). His life is prefixed to a collection of his funeral orations, publiſhed at Paris in the year 1704 in 12°.

(*a*) Taken from the *Memoires de Trevoux*, Jan. 1705, *pag.* 95, & *ſeq.*

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MASSARIUS (JEROM), doctor of Phyſic, and native of Vicenza, lived in the XVIth century, and left his country, to ſeek for a land of liberty, where he might openly, and without fear of the conſequences, embrace the Proteſtant religion. He retired into Switzerland, and there publiſhed a controverſial work [*A*]. It is ſaid, that he taught at Straſburg, and that he died in the year 1564 (*a*). I will ſet down the titles of ſome other works, which are aſcribed to him (*b*).

(*a*) Konig, Biblioth. *pag.* 517.

(*b*) See the remark, towards the end.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a controverſial work.*] The title of it is: *Euſebius Captivus, ſive modus procedendi in Curia Romana contra Evangelicos; in quo eſt Epitome præcipuorum capitum doctrinæ Chriſtianæ, & Refutatio Pontificiæ Synagogæ: una cum hiſtoriis de Vitis aliquot Pontificum, quæ ad negotium religionis ſcitu utiles ſunt ac neceſſariæ.* He gives himſelf the name of Hieronymus Marius Vincentinus (1). Placcius has not mentioned this in his collection of pſeudonymous writers. The reaſon of Maſſarius's publiſhing this work was this: His friends took it ill that he had left Italy, to retire into Switzerland: they were of the ſame ſentiments, that he was, as to religion: but worldly motives prevailed upon them ſhamefully and publickly to abjure Proteſtantiſm. They exhorted him to follow their example, and to quit a communion, which they called heretical, and they deſired him to come and confer with them a little. He was afraid leſt they ſhould entrap him, and rejected the propoſition. Some perſons of merit gave a bad turn to this, as if he diſtruſted his cauſe. This made him take pen in hand, to ſhew, that he did not refuſe conferences for the reaſon they ſuſpected, but becauſe he did not believe, his friends propoſed them with a good deſign. He feigns in his book, that a true believer (2), a priſoner at Rome, gives an account of his faith before the Pope and the Inquiſition. The affair comprehends three days: the judges ſpeak little; the priſoner is almoſt the only ſpeaker. The work was dedicated by the author to the ſenate of Berne, and printed at Baſil, for Oporinus, in the year 1553, in 8vo, as is affirmed in the Abridgment of Geſner's Bibliotheque: but Chriſtopher Pezelius, who procured a more correct edition of it in 1597 (3), ſuppoſes, that it had been printed in the year 1555 (4).

We find, in the abridgment of the ſame Bibliotheque, that Maſſarius had compoſed an excellent grammar of the German tongue, and that his Hebrew grammar was never publiſhed. His Latin verſion and paraphaſe of the treatiſe of Hippocrates *de Natura Hominis* was printed at Straſburg in 1564 (5).

(1) See the Abridgment of Geſner's Bibliotheque, *pag.* 349.

(2) Whom he calls *Euſebius Veranius.*

(3) At Zurich, for John Wolfius, in 8vo.

(4) Editus eſt ante annos quadraginta duos. *Pezelius, Epiſt. Dedic. dated in* 1597.

(5) Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 424.

MATMAN (RODOLPHUS) born at Lucerne in Swiſſerland, became a Jeſuit at eighteen years of age. He taught Rhetoric for twenty years, and died at Munich September 18, 1612, after he had been thirty years in the Society. He prepared ſeveral books for the public (*a*). He wrote againſt Scaliger, a little book, which many perſons have attributed to Scioppius [*A*].

(*a*) Alegambe, in Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu, *pag.* 417.

[*A*] *He wrote, againſt Scaliger, a little book, which many perſons have attributed to Scioppius.*] It was printed at Ingolſtad in 1608, in 4to, with this title; *Cornelii Denii Brugenſis tres Capellæ, ſive admonitio ad Joſephum Juſtum Burdonem Julii Burdonis F. Benedicti Burdonis N. prius Scaligerum nunc Sacrilegum.* Scioppius re-printed it in 1611, with his *Oporini Grubinii Amphotides Scioppianæ.* Scaliger ſpeaks with great contempt of this little book (1): 'Hoc mittimus, *ſays he* (2), 'ad Apoſtolum Japponenſem, retrimentum inſcitiæ, impurum Auctorem libelli de tribus Capellis, cujus inſcitia certat cum improbitate: quanquam non deſunt qui Furem Veſpillonis filium auctorem aſſerant. - - - 'I *ſend this to the Japoneſe Apoſtle, the very dregs of* 'ignorance, *and the filthy author of the book* De Tribus 'Capellis, *in which there is as much ſtupidity as knavery*; 'tho' *ſome aſcribe it to the bearer's ſon.*' Theſe laſt words ſignify, that ſome attributed this book to Scioppius. Mr Placcius obſerves, that this is the opinion of ſome perſons (3), and refutes thoſe, who ſhould deny it upon this ground, that it is not in the catalogue of the writings of Scioppius. The author of the *Decas Decadum* (4) cites a paſſage of Scioppius, to ſhew, that the Jeſuits of Ingolſtad are the true authors of the book *De Tribus Capellis*, but he knows not the name of the Jeſuit, who wrote this ſatire, and he alledges a paſſage of Scaliger (5), which does not at all prove, as he pretends, that it was Martin Delrio. Mr Baillet has already obſerved, that Denius Burgens Cornelius, is a diſguiſe for Ralph Matman (6); and, ſince Alegambe affirms it (7), we muſt believe it.

(1) It contains leſs than twenty pages in the edition of 1611, in 12mo.

(2) Scaliger, Confut. Fabulæ Burdonum, *pag.* m. 324.

(3) Tres Capellæ . . . . Scioppianæ videntur nonnullis. *Placcius de Anonymis, pag.* 65.

(4) Johannes Albertus Faber, Dec. Decadum, *num. xxviii.*

(5) *Taken from the* Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum, *pag.* 330.

(6) Baillet, Liſt of diſguiſed Authors, at the word DENIUS.

(7) Alegambe, Biblioth. Script. Societ. *pag.* 417.

MAUGIN (JOHN), ſirnamed the Angevin [*A*], lived in the XVIth century, and publiſhed ſeveral books in French, ſome in verſe, others in proſe. The greateſt part were only tranſlations. That of Machiavel's diſcourſes on Livy was printed at Paris, in *folio*, in the year 1548, and in 16*to* in 1572 (*a*). He publiſhed in the ſame city, in 1546, in folio, *The Hiſtory of Palmerin of Oliva, ſon of king Florendos of Macedonia, and the fair Griana, daughter of the emperor of Conſtantinople, tranſlated from Italian* (*b*). His firſt book of the *New Triſtan, prince of Leonnois, knight of the round table, and Yſeulta, princeſs of Yrland, queen of Cornwall*, was printed at Paris in *folio*, in 1554 (*c*). He dedicated it to Mr *de Maupas, abbot of St John of Laon, counſellor and almoner in ordinary to the king*, and ingenuouſly confeſſes to him, that he choſe him for the hero of his book, becauſe he knew, that *his hand had never been cloſe to thoſe, who had preſented to him their works ſmall or great.* He alledges another reaſon; namely, that Mr de Maupas had reſtored him to liberty (*d*). This epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Laon the twentieth of June 1554, and begins with a piece of raillery, which you will ſee below [*B*].

(*a*) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc. *pag.* 724.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) La Croix du Maine, knew nothing of this edition: he mentions only that of 1567.

(*d*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *Sirnamed, the Angevin.*] He thus briefly ſigns the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his *New Triſtan*, and he puts in the title-page of this book, *made French by John Maugin, called the Angevin.* This ſhews, that he was more known by the name of his native country, than by that of his family. He was of Angers, according to la Croix du Maine, who adds, that he was ſir-named, *the little Angevin* (1). Du Verdier Vauprivas has made the ſame remark. If there had been at that time another writer, named Maugin, native of another province, or of the country of Anjou, but more conſiderable than he, either by his ſtature, or his merit, the ſir-name, I am ſpeaking of, would not be ominous; but, as our John Maugin had not a contemporary, who wrote books, and was of the ſame name, we may reaſonably believe, that he was of mean extraction, and of ſmall ſtature, a foot-boy, a journey-man Taylor, *&c.* oftener bears the name of his province, than that of his family; and it is not without example, that a lacquey has become a diſtinguiſhed Poet and author.

(1) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. *pag.* 244.

[*B*] *The Epiſtle Dedicatory of his* New Triſtan *begins with the following piece of raillery.*] 'My lord, it has 'been the common pretence of all French authors for 'this twenty years, either that their copies have been 'ſtolen from them, or that the importunity of their 'friends have forced them to publiſh them. I know 'how commendable modeſty is: but to reckon ſimplicity, and diſtruſt of one's ſelf as ſuch, ſeems to me 'ſo ridiculous and contemptible, that I will not in 'the

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'the leaſt make this ill uſe of it, tho' among ſome 'it paſſes for opinion and cuſtom. For this reaſon, 'it was always my intention and deſire, in oppoſi- 'tion to theſe men, from the very hour, in which 'you kindly freed me from captivity and priſon, 'to liberty, and the freedom of your ſervice, to pre- 'ſent you with the product of my pen, which may 'afford you ſo much pleaſure, that I ſhall have ſuf- 'ficient reaſon to be ſatisfied (2).' After the Epiſtle Dedicatory, there is an Ode to Mr de Maupas, out of which I am going to cite a ſtanza, which may induce ſome perſons to think, that Maugin was delivered out of the priſons of the Chatelet.

(2) Maugin, Epiſtle Dedicatory to the *New Triſtan*.

Maugin fut par vous racheté
D'Enfer, dont mit ſa liberté
Toute a voſtre commande:
Oultre il vous donne ſes labeurs
(Meurdriers de ſes vieigles douleurs)
N'aiant choſe plus grande.

That is,

Maugin by you from Hell (3) *was freed;*
To you his liberty is due:
The ſole amuſement of his griefs,
His labours he devotes to you.

(3) Alluding perhaps to Nicrot's poem intituled *Hell*.

For the reſt, the practice which Maugin laughs at, has continued to this time. An infinite number of prefaces witneſs it: we have ſeen alſo, from time to time, prefaces, which take quite another turn. In them the authors acknowledge, that of their own accord they publiſh their works. Sincerity is not the only reaſon which makes them ſpeak thus: they have a mind to rally thoſe, who complain of violence offered them.

MAUSOLUS, king of Caria [*A*], is more known as the huſband of Artemiſia, than upon any other account; although, during a reign of twenty four years, he acted very politicly, and became formidable (*a*). After the example of his predeceſſors, he was much more inclined to the party of the Perſians, than to that of the Greeks; and it appears (*b*), that, in favour of the Perſians, but chiefly out of a deſire to enrich himſelf, he committed many piracies upon the neighbouring iſles. He was one who took money with both hands, and gave no quarter to the purſe of his beſt friends, but made uſe of ſly artifices to enrich himſelf at their expence [*B*]. He engaged himſelf for money in all ſorts of wicked actions [*C*]. We muſt not therefore wonder, that his conduct was ſometimes contrary to the intereſt of the court of Perſia, and that by this means he brought himſelf into many difficulties (*c*). He was much concerned in the war which was called Confederate [*D*], and which begun in the CVth Olympiad, between the Athenians on one ſide, and thoſe of Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium, on the other. It was he that contrived this league againſt the Athenians (*d*). Among other exploits he changed during this war the democracy of Rhodes into an ariſtocracy; but neither his conqueſts, nor his good mien, nor his bravery, nor any of his actions procured him ſuch an immortal name as

(*a*) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi.*

(*b*) In argumento Orationis Demoſth. contra Timocrat.

(*c*) See the harangue of Iſocrates *ad Philippum*, in the place where he ſpeaks of Idrieus, and his brother. This brother was our Mauſolus.

(*d*) Libanius, in Argument. Orat. Demoſth. pro libert. Rhodior.

[*A*] *King of Caria.*] Aulus Gellius has obſerved, that Cicero gives him this title; but that ſome Greek Hiſtorians give him one that is leſs honourable. 'Mau- 'ſolus fuit, ut M. Tullius ait, rex terræ Cariæ; 'ut quidam Græcarum Hiſtoriarum ſcriptores Pro- 'vinciæ Græciæ præfectus, Satrapen Græci vo- 'cant (1). - - - - *Mauſolus was, according to Cicero,* 'king of Caria; *but, according to ſome Greek Hiſtorians,* 'governor of a province of Greece: *the Perſians call it* 'Satrapa.' I know not who they are that have called him the governor of a province of Greece. The word Satrapa, which is Perſian, is ſufficient to prove, either that Aulus Gellius is miſtaken, or that it is not he who has ſaid, *Provinciæ Græciæ*. Charles Stephens, Lloyd, and Hofman have formed no ill ſuſpicions about this paſſage; they cite the laſt part of it, without changing any thing in it. Iſocrates (2) has given to Hecatomnus, the father of Mauſolus, the title of Καρίας ἐπίσκοπος, that is, according to the paraphraſe of Harpocration, *Cariæ Satrapes*. Mauſolus is called by the ſame Harpocration, and by Suidas ἄρχων Καρῶν, *imperans Caribus*; by Libanius Καρίας ὑπαρχος *Cariæ præfectus* (3): but by Polyænus (4), and many others, Βασιλεὺς Καρίας, *Rex Cariæ*.

(1) Aul. Gellius, *lib. x, cap. xviii.*

(2) In Panegyr.

(3) Argum. Orat. Demoſth. pro Rhod.

(4) Polyænus, Stratag. *lib. vii, cap. xxiii.*

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Ariſtot. Oecon. *lib. ii.*

[*B*] *He made uſe of ſly artifices, to enrich himſelf at the expence of his friends.*] Read upon this ſubject Polyænus (5) and Ariſtotle (6); where you may ſee, that if, on one ſide, the court of Perſia taxed Mauſolus at great ſums, he knew, on the other, how to indemnify himſelf, and exact the ſame ſums from others with uſury. In this he was more unjuſt than thoſe great farmers of the king's revenues, who, after they have been taxed, cauſe their ſubordinate officers to be delivered up into their hands. You may ſee moreover in Ariſtotle, that under this king of Caria, it was very well known how to make an advantage of the Lycians inclination to wear long hair. They invented a kind of a tax which was very gainful. See alſo what I cite out of Ariſtotle in the remark [*E*].

[*C*] *He engaged himſelf for money in all ſorts of wicked actions.*] The words of Harpocration, tranſcribed by Suidas, are theſe; φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος μεν- δῆνὸς ἀπίχεσθαι πράγμα]ος χρημάτων ἕνεκα. De quo Theopompus ſcribit eum à nullo facinore pecuniæ cauſa ſibi temperaſſe. *Of whom Theopompus writes, that for money he would commit the greateſt crimes.* Without doubt theſe words are taken out of the hiſtories of Theopompus; but he took care not to ſpeak thus in the Elogium, he made upon this prince, in the Elogium I ſay, which won the prize that Artemiſia propoſed to the Orators, that would make a panegyric upon her huſband, Then for certain Theopompus made our Mauſolus a moſt accompliſhed prince, and adorned him with all ſorts of virtues; and yet you ſee what he ſays of him in another book. This double dealing, in ſaying one thing with the tongue and another with the pen, is abominable: Every thing ought to be ſuſpected in ſuch kind of people who divide themſelves into two perſons, and think it lawful when they conſider themſelves as Orators, to tell ſuch lies as they would not adopt, when they write a hiſtory, by which no prize is to be got. This diſtinction is meer ſophiſtry, and is no better than that wherewith ſome would ſave the honour of Procopius. An author of memoirs, and a writer of hiſtory, are wholly and inſeparably reſponſible for all that comes from their pen, when they are one and the ſame writer. For the reſt, although Vitruvius ſpeaks rather to the advantage than diſadvantage of Mauſolus, yet one may perceive by his words that this prince was an extortioner (7). He praiſes the magnificence, and the good contrivance of his buildings, and the great conveniences in them.

(7) Halicarnaſſi Potentiſſimi regis Mauſoli domus .... Parietes habet latere ſtructos qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præſtant firmitatem .... neque is rex ab inopia hoc fecit, infinitis enim vectigalibus erat fartus, quod imperabat Cariæ toti. *Vitruv. de Architect. lib. ii, cap. viii.*

[*D*] *He was much concerned in the war, which was called Confederate.*] Moreri and Hofman have falſely imagined, that there were two Mauſolus's, and that he who was concerned in the confederate war, was not the ſame with him who was the huſband of Artemiſia, buried in the Mauſoleum. If they had taken the pains to conſult the originals, they would have made but one article, which would have been for this huſband, and might have been full enough, independently of his wife.

[*E*] *He*

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as his wife did (*e*) by the ſtately monument which ſhe built for him, and by the tender and friendly reſpect ſhe preſerved for his memory; of which we have ſpoke in the article of ARTEMISIA. Mauſolus died the laſt year of the CVIth Olympiad, as we have ſhown in the remarks upon the ſame article. He had ſome predeceſſors whoſe names we know [*E*], and ſome ſucceſſors, whoſe names are alſo handed down to us. The Phyſician who cured Mauſolus, demanded a great reward, but like a generous man [*F*].

(*e*) *See* Lucian Dial. Mort. Diog. & Mauſ.

The houſe of Mauſolus in Halicarnaſſus, was built with brick, and lined with marble. Pliny knew no building more antient than that which was adorned with this kind of incruſtation, and this made him conjecture that the art of ſawing marble, was an invention of the Carians; which yet he does not affirm. This houſe ſtill remained in the time of Pliny. See the proofs of all this in the remark [*G*].

[*E*] *He had ſome predeceſſors whoſe names we know.*] We read in Suidas (8), that Lygdamis, contemporary with Herodotus, was the third tyrant of Halicarnaſſus after Artemiſia. Now although Herodotus does not ſay, that Lygdamis, the father of Artemiſia, had been king of Harlicarnaſſus; yet it is very probable, that ſhe was the daughter of a king, and the widow of a king. We may therefore go back as far as her father, who at leaſt, according to the teſtimony of Herodotus (9) dwelt in Halicarnaſſus. She had a ſon called Piſindelus, whoſe ſon was another Lygdamis, who drove away Herodotus from Halicarnaſſus: But he returned thither and drove away the tyrant (10). It is very probable that Lygdamis, the ſecond of that name, was immediately ſucceeded by Hecatomnus, whoſe three ſons Mauſolus, Idrieus and Pexodarus, reigned ſucceſſively in Caria, (ſee the the article of ADA) but it is not certain that Hecatomnus was the ſon of Lygdamis. Who knows whether Lygdamis, driven away by Herodotus, recovered his poſt? Who knows whether Hecatomnus eſtabliſhed himſelf by uſurpation without being related to Lygdamis? One thing is very well known, that he was of Mylaſſa (11), and ſettled there the ſeat of his royalty; and there alſo Mauſolus was born. Vitruvius, who informs us of this, tells us moreover, that Mauſolus cauſed his houſe to be built in Halicarnaſſus, becauſe he found that city excellently well ſituated (12). Ariſtotle informs us of another particular (13). Mauſolus deſiring to raiſe money upon the city of Mylaſſa, repreſented to the inhabitants, that ſuch a city as theirs, which was his native place, and the capital of his kingdom, ſhould not be without walls, eſpecially ſince the Perſians threatened it. Every body contributed according to his ability: But when Mauſolus had got the money into his hands, he told them that it was not yet the will of GOD that the city ſhould have walls.

(8) Suidas, in Ἡρόδοτος.

(9) Herod. *lib.* vii, *cap.* xxx.

(10) Suidas, ib.

(11) Strab. *lib.* xiv, *pag.* 653.

(12) Vitruv. de Archit. *lib.* ii, *cap.* viii.

(13) Ariſt. Oeconom. *lib.* ii.

[*F*] *The Phyſician who cured Mauſolus, demanded a great reward, but like a generous man.*] This was Dexippus, a native of the iſle of Cos, and a diſciple of Hippocrates. He was ſent for by Hecatomnus king of Caria, to cure Mauſolus and Pexodarus, who were dangerouſly ill, and given over by the Phyſicians. He cured them, but upon this condition, that the king, their father, ſhould deſiſt from the war againſt the iſle of Cos. Ἐπὶ ὑποσχέσει ἰάσα[ο τὸ παῦσαι πρὸς Κῶας (*ſo it muſt be read, and not* Κᾶρας) τότε αὐτῷ ἐνεσώτα πόλεμον. *Eos ea conditione ſanavit, ut bellum quod tum adverſus Coos gerebat deponeret* (14). Was not this very generous? Could there be a better ſubject? Was not this being throughly affected with love for one's country?

(14) Suidas, ἐν Δεξίππος.

[*G*] *See the proofs of all this in the remark.*] They are contained in this ſhort paſſage of Pliny (15). *Secundi marmor in cruſtas neſcio an Cariæ fuerit inventum. Antiquiſſima, quod equidem inveni-am, Halicarnaſſi Mauſoli domus* (16) *Proconneſio marmore exculta eſt lateritiis parietibus.* Vitruvius explains this more exactly. Halicarnaſſi, ſays he (17), Po- ‘ tentiſſimi regis Mauſoli domus cum Proconneſio ‘ marmore, omnia haberet ornata, parietes habet la- ‘ tere ſtructos, qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præſtant ‘ firmitatem, ita ſectoriis operibus expoliti ut vitri per- ‘ luciditatem videantur habere. - - - - *At Halicarnaſ-* ‘ *ſus, the palace of the great king Mauſolus, is every* ‘ *where imbelliſhed with Proconneſian marble, and built* ‘ *with brick walls, which to this time continue exceed-* ‘ *ing ſtrong, and are ſo admirably poliſhed by the art* ‘ *of the Stone-cutter, that they ſeem to ſhine like glaſs.*’

(15) Plin. *lib.* xxxvi, *cap.* vi, *pag.* 287.

(16) Quæ etiam nunc durat - - - *which remains to this day,* ſays he, book xxxv, ch. xiv, *pag.* 249.

(17) Vitruv. lib. ii, cap. viii, pag. 29.

MAUSOLEUM. Thus the magnificent monument was firſt called, which Artemiſia erected to Mauſolus her huſband, and which was reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world. See a deſcription of it in Pliny (*a*), and in the Supplement to Moreri [*A*]. Afterwards the ſame name was given to all coſtly monuments [*B*]. Thus the ſtately monument was called, which Auguſtus built during his ſixth conſulſhip, between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber, to be a burial-place for him and his family (*b*), Strabo has deſcribed it to us in his fifth book. It is alſo the name which Florus gives (*c*) to the monument of the kings of Egypt, wherein Cleopatra ſhut herſelf up, and put herſelf to death. The Latin Dictionaries of Lloyd and Hofman afford us ſeveral authorities, which ſhow, that the word Mauſoleum was given by the Romans to thoſe ſepulchres whoſe ſtructures were magnificent; but there are two verſes of Martial [*C*], which are not to be joined with thoſe authorities. The French language has adopted this word in the ſame ſenſe with the Romans. We call the monuments of the kings of France *Mauſolées*. This word is alſo extended to the repreſentations of a monument, which make part of a funeral pomp,

(*a*) Plin. *lib.* xxxvi, *cap.* v.

(*b*) Sueton. in Aug. *cap.* 101.

(*c*) *Lib.* iv, *cap.* xi.

[*A*] *In the Supplement to Moreri.*] The author has tranſcribed from Mr Chevreau, without confronting him with Pliny. If he had compared him with his original, he might have ſeen, *That the fronts of the Mauſoleum were not a little broader* than its extent from ſouth to north (1), but on the contrary a little leſs. ‘ Patet ab Auſtro, *(ſays* Pliny) & Septentrione ‘ ſexagenos ternos pedes, brevius à frontibus (2). - - - ‘ *It extends, from ſouth to north ſixty-three foot, on the* ‘ *front leſs.*’ Father Hardouin (3) ſays, that Dalecampius and Leo Allatius did not underſtand this chapter.

(1) Cherv. Hiſt. of the World, Tom. iv, *pag.* 36, *Dutch Edit.* 1687.

(2) Pliny, *lib.* xxxvi, *cap.* v.

(3) Hardouin, in Plin. ibid.

[*B*] *The ſame name is given to all coſtly monuments.*] Μέγεθος δὲ ὕτω δή τι ἐϛι μέγας καὶ ἐς κα[ασκευὴν περίλεπ[ος τὴν πᾶσαν, ὥϛε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δή τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῆ μνήμα[α Μαυσωλεῖα ὀνομάζουσιν. Ea fuit operis magnitudo & ornamentorum magnificentia ut Romani valdè illud mirantes magnificentiſſima quæque apud ſe monimenta Mauſolea appellarint (4). *Such was the greatneſs of the work and magnificence of ornaments, that the Romans extremely admiring it, called all ſtately monuments among themſelves Mauſolea.*

(4) Pauſan. *lib.* viii, *pag.* 250.

[*C*] *Two verſes of Martial.*] It is an evident miſtake to think, that theſe words;

Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mauſolea,
Laudibus immodicis Cares in aſtra ferant (5).

(5) Mart. Spect. initio.

Nor

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pomp, and last no longer than the time of the funeral. Mr Furetiere is in the right to call them *Mausolées*; but he adds a thing very uncertain [D].

Nor let the Carians with excessive praise,
Their lofty monuments to heaven raise.

prove, that by Mausoleum, the Latin authors understand in general a magnificent monument; for Martial speaks there only of the first Mausoleum.

[D] *Furetiere . . . adds a thing very uncertain.*] He says, that *the shrine of a saint was also called Mausoleum.* I question it; for although Mr du Cange may have informed him, that, in the latest Latin authors, Mausoleum signifies *feretrum Sancti alicujus*, the coffin of some saint, and *Mausoleare, to bury*, it does not follow, that Mausoleum has been so used in French; however he should have given some proofs of it.

MECCA, a town of Arabia, is not only famous as being the place of Mahomet's nativity, and because the followers of this false prophet go on pilgrimage to it with great superstition, but also because it had a temple, which in the times of old Paganism, was no less reverenced among the Arabians, than that of Delphos among the Grecians [A]. Those who presided over this temple, were very considerable at Mecca (a), and this shows the error of those who say, that Mahomet was of mean extraction; for he was of a family which had for a long time enjoyed the government of the city and that of the temple [B]. People did not fail to tell stories concerning the miraculous protection which Heaven afforded to that sacred place [C]. The inhabitants of

(a) See the remark [B].

[A] *It had a temple, which, in the times of old Paganism, was no less reverenced among the Arabians, than that of Delphos among the Grecians.*] Dr Prideaux furnishes me with this comparison; his words are these (1). 'As to the temple of Mecca, and what 'it was before Mahomet, all that is true of it, is 'this. It was an heathen temple in the same veneration 'among the Arabs, that the temple of Delphos was 'among the Greeks, where all their † tribes for 'many ages came once a year to perform their idola'trous homage to their gods, till at length Maho'met having forced them to change their idolatry 'for another religion altogether as bad, made this 'temple also undergo the same change, by appoint'ing it thenceforth to be the chief place for the per'forming of that false worship, which he had im'posed upon them, in the same manner as it was 'before of that which he had abolished; and so it 'hath continued ever since.' From the beginning of his imposture he ordered his disciples, 'to pray with 'their ‡ faces towards Jerusalem, which he used to 'call the Holy City, and the City of the Prophets, 'and pretended to fix his pilgrimages there, and to 'make it the chief place where all his sect were to 'worship. But now finding that his followers still 'bore a superstitious veneration to the temple of 'Mecca, which had for many ages been the chief 'place of the idolatrous worship of the Arabians, 'and that it would be the most effectual means to 'reconcile his fellow-citizens to him, if he still pre'served their temple in its former honour, he 'changed this order to serve his purpose, and there'fore directed his ‡ disciples to pray with their 'faces towards Mecca, and ordained the temple of 'that place, which from its square form was called 'the Caaba, (that word signifying a square in the 'Arabic tongue) to be the chief place of worship for 'all those of his religion, to which they were still 'to perform their religious pilgrimages as in former 'times (2).' The author had just said (3), 'It was 'usual among the people of the east, of whatsoever 'religion, to observe one particular point of the Hea'vens, towards which they turned their faces when 'they prayed. The Jews, in what part of the world 'soever they were *, prayed with their faces towards 'Jerusalem, because they there had their temple ††; 'the Arabians towards Mecca, because there was their 'Caaba, the chief place of their heathen worship.' The order which Mahomet gave his followers to turn towards Mecca when they prayed, was in the second year of the Hegira: And since that time, adds Dr Prideaux (4), 'have we all those fabulous stories in'vented, by this impostor, in order to exalt the tem'ple of Mecca, and render it more famous. As that 'it was ‡‡ first built in Heaven to be the place where 'the Angels were to worship, and that Adam wor'shipped at it while in Paradise; but being cast 'down from thence, (for they place Paradise in Hea'ven) he prayed GOD, that he might have such a 'temple on Earth, towards which he might pray, 'and go round it to worship him in the same manner 'as the Angels went round that which he had seen in 'Heaven: That thereupon GOD sent down the re'semblance of this temple in curtains of light, and 'pitched it at Mecca, in the place where the Caaba 'now stands, which is, say they, exactly under the 'original, that is in Heaven: That there, after the 'death of Adam, Seth built it with stones and clay, 'and that the people of GOD there worshipped till 'the Flood, by which it being destroyed ‡‡, GOD 'commanded Abraham again to rebuild it, having 'shown him the form of the fabric in a vision, and 'directed him to the place by his visible Shechinah 'residing on it: That accordingly Abraham and Ismael 'rebuilt it in the place where it now stands: And 'that Ismael ever after, living at Mecca, there wor'shipped GOD with the true worship; but his po'sterity having afterwards corrupted it with idolatry, 'and also prophaned this holy temple, he was now 'to purge it from idols, and consecrate it a-new to 'the true worship of GOD, for which it was origi'nally designed. Thus, he not only retained the tem'ple of Mecca, but also the pilgrimages were con'tinued thither, as well as the other ceremonies that 'had been in use, in the times of idolatry. For, 'as all these things had been held for a long time in 'great veneration by the Arabians, there was no 'great difficulty in persuading them to embrace them, 'after he had once introduced them into his new 'religion.' Add to these last words what shall be said hereafter in the remark [F].

(1) Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, *pag. m.* 96.

† Shareftani Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, *pag.* 8, 9. Makrisi Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arab. *pag.* 177, 311.

‡ Abul Feda Abul Faraghius, *pag.* 102, Johannes Andreas, *cap. vi*, Pococ. Spec. Hist. Arab. *pag.* 175.

‡ Alc. *cap. ii*, Johannes Andreas, *cap. ii*, *vi*.

(2) Prideaux, ib. *pag.* 92, 93.

(3) Ib. *pag.* 92.

* Dan. *cap. vi*, *ver.* 10. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, *cap. x.* Maimonides in Halachoth Tephillah, *cap. i*, *sect. iii.*

†† Abul Faraghius, *pag.* 102.

(4) Prideaux, ubi *supra*, *pag.* 94, 95. See the remark [F] of the article ABRAHAM.

‡‡ Shareftani Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arab. *pag.* 115. Sionita Appendix ad Geographiam Nubiensem, *cap. vii*

[B] *Mahomet was of a family which had for a long time enjoyed the government of the city and that of the temple.*] Some reckon back as far as one Cosa, as Dr Prideaux informs us (5). 'This Cosa ** was 'very famous among the Koraishites, for establishing 'in his family the keeping of the keys of the 'Caaba, and at the same time the presidency of 'that temple, which is the same to which the Ma'hometans now make their pilgrimage at Mecca, 'and was then as much celebrated for the heathen 'worship among the Arabs, as it hath since been 'for the Mahometan; and therefore the presidency 'of it was a matter of great moment, as being a 'station, which rendered him that was in it ho'nourable through all Arabia. It was before in the 'possession of Abu-Gabshan,' who was so simple as to part with it for a bottle of wine, in an unhappy moment when he was in an humour to drink. He had afterwards a mind to get off from such a prejudicial bargain, and was supported by the people of his own tribe; but both he and they were driven out of Mecca by Cosa (6). 'And from 'that time the whole possession of Mecca remained 'to the Koraishites: and Cosa and his posterity in 'a right line down to Mahomet, had the presidency 'of the temple, and the chief government of the 'town ever after (7). Cosa was great grandfather of 'Mahomet's grandfather.'

(5) Prideaux, ib. *pag.* 2.

** *Abul Feda. Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. pag.* 42, 50, 342. *Eccbelensis Hist. Arab. pag.* 1, *cap. iii. Fortalitium Fidei, lib. iv, Consid.* 1.

(6) Prideaux, ib. *pag.* 3.

(7) Ibid. *pag.* 4.

[C] *Stories were told concerning the miraculous protection, which Heaven afforded to that sacred place.*] *About seventy years before the time of Mahomet, there*

‡‡ Alc. *cap. ii*, *iii*, & *xxii.* Al Jannabi in vita Abrahami Shareftani, Zamach Sharidum ad *cap. ii.* Alcorani Sharifol Edrisi Liber Agar Johannes Andreas, *cap. i.*

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of Mecca lived in very groſs ignorance [D], and yet they rejected the viſions and doctrines which Mahomet taught them as ridiculous (b). He was an inſtance of the truth of this maxim, *no prophet in his own country*. He could never make his own countrymen reliſh his pretended revelations; and both becauſe they thought them impertinent, and becauſe they ſuſpected he had a mind to deſtroy the old religion, and to aſpire to tyranny under the auſpicious title of a new prophet (c), they oppoſed his deſigns ſo vigorouſly, that he was forced to betake himſelf to flight (d); and it was only by way of military conqueſt, that he eſtabliſhed in that place his new law (e). There was a ſharp war between him and thoſe of Mecca for ſix years after he fled. This was followed by a truce, which was to laſt ten years; but it continued only two (f), for in the eighth year of the Hegira (g), this impoſtor accompanied with ten thouſand men, marched againſt Mecca, under pretence that it had broken the truce, and very eaſily ſubdued it. He baniſhed from thence all idolatry [E], and in a little while after he went upon other expeditions. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca in the tenth year of the Hegira, he entered it *on the great day of that ſolemnity. The people ran in crouds from all places of Arabia to ſee their new maſter: He inſtructed them in his Law, after which he returned to Medina*, and died there the next year. He had the policy, during the truce he concluded with the inhabitants of Mecca, to command his followers, to go in pilgrimage to Mecca. This was

(b) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, *pag.* 22, 65.

(c) Ib. *pag.* 24

(d) Ib. *pag.* 73, 74.

(e) See the remark [E].

(f) Prideaux, ib. *pag.* 112.

(g) It is the ſame thing with the flight of Mahomet. This eighth year of the Hegira anſwers to the year 629.

there reigned over the Homerites, an ancient nation of the Arabs, lying to the South of Mecca, a certain king called † *Du Nawas, who having embraced the Jewiſh religion, perſecuted, that of the Chriſtians, which had been planted there upwards of three hundred years before, and did the utmoſt he was able to extirpate it out of his Dominions* (8). . . . . *This perſecution forced many of the Homerite Chriſtians to fly into Ethiopia for ſafety; where making their complaints to the king who was a Chriſtian, of the cruel perſecution of Du Nawas againſt them, prevailed with him to ſend Aryat his uncle* ‡, *with an army of ſeventy thouſand men for their relief; who having overthrown Du Nawas in battle, purſued him ſo cloſe that he forced him into the ſea, where he periſhed. Whereupon the* kingdom of the Homerites *fell into the hands of the Æthiopians, and Aryat governed it twenty years. After him ſucceeded Abraham Al Aſram, who having built a famous* ‡ *church at Sanaa, the chief city of the Homerites, abundance of Arabians reſorted thither to the Chriſtian worſhip, ſo that the* temple of Mecca *began to be neglected, and the Heathen Worſhip there, hitherto performed by ſo great a concourſe of people, from all parts of Arabia, fell to ruin: at which the inhabitants of Mecca were exceedingly diſturbed. For their chief ſupport depended on the great reſort of pilgrims, who went thither every year, according to cuſtom, to worſhip their Heathen deities, and to perform certain ceremonies, the ſolemnity of which drew thither a multitude of people from all parts of Arabia. And therefore to expreſs their indignation againſt* this church, *which ſo much threatned their common intereſt with total ruin, ſome of them went to Sanaa, and getting privately into the church, had the impudence to defile it with their excrements. At which Abraham was ſo incenſed, to revenge the affront, he vowed the deſtruction of the temple of Mecca: and accordingly, to effect it, marched thither with a great army and beſieged the town. But not being able to compaſs his end,* (*probably for want of proviſions ſo neceſſary for his numerous forces in ſo deſart and barren a country*) *he was forced to march back again with loſs; and becauſe he had ſeveral elephants in his Army, this was called,* the War of the Elephant; *and the* Æra *by which they uſed to reckon after that time,* the Æra of the Elephant. *To this war the* Alcoran *alludes in the* 105*th* chapter, *called the* Chapter of the Elephant, *where* Mahomet *tells us, How* the lord treated them that came mounted upon elephants to ruin the temple of Mecca, and that he defeated their treacherous deſign, and ſent againſt them great armies of birds, which threw down ſtones upon their heads, and made them like corn in the field, which is deſtroyed and trodden under foot by the beaſts. *Where* * *the* Commentators *of the* Alcoran *tell us, that to preſerve the temple of Mecca from the deſtruction that threatned it,* GOD *ſent againſt the Æthiopians great armies of birds, each of which carried three ſtones, one in the bill, and one in each foot, which they threw down upon the heads of the enemies; and that thoſe ſtones, altho' not much bigger than peaſe, where yet of that weight, that falling upon the helmet, they pierced that and the man through; and that on each of them was written the name of him that was to be ſlain by it; and that the army of the Ethiopians being thus deſtroyed, the* Temple of Mecca *was ſaved* (9).

† Abul Feda Al Maſudi. Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. *Part* i, *cap.* x. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 62.

(8) Prideaux, ib. *pag.* 79.

‡ Al Jannabi Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. *Part* ii, *cap.* i. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 63.

† Abul Feda, Al Jannabi Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. Zamachſhari Bidawi, & Jalalani in Commentar. ad *cap.* cv. Alcorani. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 64. Celſii notæ ad Alfraganum, *pag.* 54.

* Zamachſhari Bidawi, Jalalani, &c.

(9) Prideaux, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 80.

[D] *The inhabitants of Mecca lived in very groſs ignorance.*] Mahomet was 'an illiterate Barbarian ††, 'that could neither write nor read. But this was not 'ſo much a fault in him, as in the Tribe to which he 'belonged, with whom it was the cuſtom as to all 'manner of literature, to continue ‡‡ in the ſame ig'norance in which they were born, even to their lives 'end. And therefore at the time when Mahomet firſt 'ſet up for a Prophet, there was not one man of Mec'ca that could either write or read, excepting only '‡‡ Waraka, a kinſman of Cadigha, who having firſt 'turned Jew, and afterwards Chriſtian, had learned to 'write Arabic in Hebrew letters. And for this rea'ſon, the inhabitants of Mecca were called ** the 'Illiterate, in oppoſition to the people of Medina, 'who being the one half Chriſtians, and the other 'half Jews, were able both to write and read; and 'therefore were called † the *People of the Book*. It 'was of them that ſeveral of Mahomet's followers, 'after he came to Medina, learned to read and write 'alſo, which ſome of them had begun to learn before 'of Baſhar the Cendian ⊥, who having lived at An'bar, a city of Erack, near the Euphrates, there 'learned that art; from whence coming to Mecca, 'and marrying the ſiſter of Abuſophian, he ſettled 'there, and from him the men of Mecca are firſt ſaid 'to have received letters. Among the followers of 'Mahomet, Othman was the greateſt proficient here'in, which advanced him afterwards to ‡ be ſecretary 'to this Impoſtor. But for want of paper at firſt, being 'in a place where there was never before any occaſion 'for it, they were forced to make uſe * of the ſhoul'derbones of mutton, and camels, to write on; 'which was a device antiently made uſe of by 'other tribes of the Arabs, who had letters, but 'wanted traffic to accommodate them with more 'convenient materials for this purpoſe; and there'fore their books, in which their Poems, and other 'matters they delighted in, were written ††, were 'only ſo many of thoſe bones of ſheep and camels 'tied together with a ſtring (10).'

†† Alcoran. *cap. vii.* Johannes Andreas, *cap. ii.* Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. 156. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, *cap. xii.* Richardi Confutatio, *cap. iii.*

‡‡ Ebn'ol-Athir Shareſtani. Al Motawazi in libro Mogreb. Pococke. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 157.

** Al Bochari Pocock. ibid.

** Shareſtani Pocock. Spec. Arab. Hiſt. *pag.* 156.

† Shareſtanſi, & Pocock. ibid. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. *lib. i, cap. i.*

⊥ Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 157.

‡ Elmacin. *lib. i, cap. i.* Bartholomæus Edeſſenus.

* Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 157.

†† Ebnol Athir. Pocock. ibid.

[E] *He very eaſily ſubdued Mecca. He baniſhed from thence all idolatry*] He marched ſo expeditiouſly to this city with his army, that he was at the gates of it *before the inhabitants were aware of his deſign* ††; *therefore be ſurpriſed them before they had time to prepare for their defence; and ſo they were forced to ſubmit themſelves to him . . . . The city ſurrendered at diſcretion without making the leaſt ſhew of defence. On his entry into it having put to death ſuch as had been moſt violent againſt him, all the reſt, ſubmitted to him, and embraced his religion. He was no ſooner abſolute maſter of the place, but he ſet himſelf to purge the Caaba of it's idols, and conſecrate that Temple a-new, as if he had reſolved to preſerve it's antient ſplendor, by making it the Moſque, the moſt ſacred of all, and the chief place for the religious ſervice of his followers. There* ‡‡ *was a multitude of idols within the temple, and as many without, that ſurrounded it, all which Mahomet pulled down and deſtroyed, without exception. The chief among thoſe idols were thoſe of Abraham and Iſmael within the Temple, and that of Hoball without. The reſt were of Angels and Prophets, and others of their principal Saints departed, whom they worſhipped only as media-*

(10) Prideaux, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 36, & *ſeq.*

†† Abul Farag. *pag.* 103. Elmacin. *lib. i, cap. i.*

‡‡ Pocokii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 95, 96, 97, 98.

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was a ſolemnity which the Arabians for many ages had held in great veneration [F]. He believed therefore, that by preſerving it, he ſhould diſpoſe them the ſooner to ſubmit to the new yoak he had a mind to impoſe upon them. And doubtleſs this had a good effect for his purpoſe upon the inhabitants of Mecca, ſince they reaped a very great advantage from this religious cuſtom, and an advantage which they ſtood much in need of, for they have the moſt barren and fruitleſs ſoil in the world. I have ſhown above (*i*), the lamentable ſtate to which their city was reduced in the IVth century of the Hegira. It had ſuffered in the firſt century of the ſame Æra (*k*), all that the fury of war uſually produces. Some authors ſay (*l*), that Solyman erected there an univerſity about the year 949 of the Hegira, and that the college which he built there, and the revenue wherewith he endowed it, were worthy of his magnificence. Authors do not agree as to the ſituation of Mecca. Moreri's Dictionary places it a day's journey from the Red-Sea. Mr Baudrand makes it forty Arabic miles diſtant from it; and Mr d'Herbelot three days journey. Some (*m*) place it almoſt under the line, and others in twenty one degrees, and forty minutes of north latitude (*n*). The uſe of arms is prohibited within its territory, which is ſix miles to the eaſt, twelve to the north, eighteen to the weſt, and twenty four to the ſouth: but robbers laugh at this prohibition, and plunder wherever they can, which obliges travellers and pilgrims frequently to carry arms in thoſe parts, to ſecure themſelves from the inſults of thoſe highway-men (*o*). An author whom

(*i*) In the article ABUDHAHER.

(*k*) *See* Bibliotheque Orientale, *of Mr d'Herbelot, pag.* 569.

(*l*) Gabr. Sionita & Joan. Hefronita, de nonnullis Oriental. Urbibus, *pag.* 19.

(*m*) Id. ib. *pag.* 17.

(*n*) *See* d'Herbelot. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 569.

(*o*) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Hefron. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 20.

*tors, in the ſame manner as the Romaniſts now do their ſaints, and the images which they erect unto them. For the Arabians always held***, *that there was but only one* God, the Creator and Governor of all things, *whom they called Allah Taal, that is the ſupreme GOD, and GOD of Gods, and Lords of Lords, whom they durſt never repreſent by any image. But this GOD being (as they held) ſo great and ſo exalted, as not to be approached to by men while here on Earth, but through the mediation of advocates interceeding for them in Heaven; that Angels and Holy Men beatified might perform this office for them, they ſet up their images, and built them temples, and directed their worſhip and devotions to them. And in this conſiſted the whole of the Arabian idolatry, which Mahomet put an end to by deſtroying theſe idols* (11).

** Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 107, 108.

(11) Prideaux, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 122, *& ſeq.*

[F] *He ordered the pilgrimage to Mecca. This was a ſolemnity which the Arabians held in great veneration for many ages.*] 'This was a rite of the Heathen A-'rabs, who for many ages before uſed to go once a 'year to the temple of Mecca, there to worſhip their 'Heathen Deities. The time of this pilgrimage † 'was in the month of Dulhagha; and on the tenth 'day of that month was their great feſtival, in which 'the chiefeſt ſolemnities of their pilgrimage were per-'formed . . . . . And that every body might come 'with full liberty and ſafety to this feſtival from all 'parts of Arabia, and alſo return in the ſame manner, 'not only this month, but alſo the preceding and 'following were held ſacred among them, in which 'it was not lawful to uſe any act of hoſtility againſt 'any man whatſoever, as I have before ſhewn (12). 'And therefore this ſolemn pilgrimage to Mecca 'having been a religious uſage, which all the tribes 'of the Arabs had been long accuſtomed to, and was 'had in great veneration among them, Mahomet 'thought not fit to exaſperate them with any inno-'vation in this matter, but adopting it into his religion 'retained it juſt in the ſame manner as he found it 'practiſed among them, with all the ridiculous rites 'that accompanied it, and ſo it is obſerved even un-'to this day by all of that religion, as one of the 'fundamental duties of it. For this crafty impoſtor 'taught them concerning it (as he did of all the o-'ther *Heathen rites of the Arabs*, which he found ne-'ceſſary to retain) that it was a command from God 'to Abraham and Iſmael, annually to obſerve this pil-'grimage to Mecca; and it was commanded them on 'their rebuilding the Caaba; now, ſays he, in the 'beginning, this pilgrimage was performed only to 'honour God, all the Arabians repairing to Mecca 'once a year to worſhip God together, juſt as the 'Jews did afterwards three times a year, going up to 'Jeruſalem by his order at the time of their three ſo-'lemn feaſts. But in proceſs of time the Arabians 'having perverted this cuſtom, and changed it into 'idolatry, Mahomet made them believe he had an or-'der from God to re-eſtabliſh it in it's former purity. 'By enjoining this pilgrimage, this falſe prophet la-'boured to preſerve to the town which gave him birth 'the advantages it had enjoyed a long time before. 'And in thus providing for the intereſt of that people 'in the very religion which he was a framing, he 'thought he might the eaſier prevail to draw them 'over to it. And in this he was not miſtaken. For 'had he aboliſhed this pilgrimage, it being the grea-'teſt honour and benefit which that place enjoyed, 'and by which indeed the inhabitants did moſtly ſub-'ſiſt; their intereſt would have engaged them to that 'vigorous oppoſition againſt him, that in all likeli-'hood he would never have become maſter of that 'town, and conſequently have miſcarried in the whole 'deſign (13).'

† Shareſtani. Makrizi. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, *pag.* 8, 9. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 177.

(12) See the laſt paragraph of this remark.

(13) Prideaux, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 113, *& ſeq.*

This reflexion is very judicious; there is nothing that ſets men more againſt innovations in matters of religion, than when they ſee that the change of worſhip would put a ſtop to their trade, and be *lucrum ceſſans, & damnum emergens*, gain ſinking, and loſs riſing. I know very well, that ſuperſtition alone, is ſufficient to make a city obſtinate in retaining the worſhip of it's idols: the hope of their protection is ſometimes the only advantage that is reaped from them. The worſhip of idols is not always attended with public profit; the artificers and merchants do not always get by it, and it does not always occaſion a great concourſe of ſtrangers and devout travellers, who leave a great deal of money behind them. Without this kind of aſſiſtance, the zeal of a people for their antient Gods may inſpire them ſtrongly to oppoſe the extirpation of idolatry; but it is quite another thing, when the publick worſhip is a ſource of gain to private perſons. What was the cauſe, pray, of that popular commotion, which made that out-cry (when St Paul was preaching) *Great is Diana of the Epheſians?* Was it not from the remonſtrance of one *Demetrius, a Silver-Smith, who made ſilver-ſhrines for Diana, which brought no ſmall gain to the Crafts-men* (14)? He aſſembled them and told them, *Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth*; and gave them to underſtand, that not only their profit, but likewiſe the advantage of the whole city of Epheſus, was concerned not to ſuffer one Paul, *who perſuaded and turned away many people, ſaying they be no Gods which are made with hands.* From hence we may conclude, that the inhabitants of Epheſus would have been more tractable, with reſpect to the Goſpel, if their great Diana could have been taken away, without doing any prejudice to their gain, or to the veneration which all the world had for their temple. They would in ſuch a caſe have been infinitely more docile as to the lectures of St Paul againſt idols. We muſt confeſs therefore, that Mahomet found out a notable device to gain the inhabitants of Mecca. He preſerved the concourſe of pilgrims, which was ſo profitable and glorious to them; he left their temple its ancient privileges; he took care to indemnify them: this was an excellent remedy againſt the vexation which the ruin of their ancient idolatry might cauſe them.

(14) Acts of the Apoſtles, *chap. xix, ver.* 24.

Note, That Dr Prideaux in the place where he obſerves, that the Arabians had no leave to do any act of hoſtility, during the month of their great feſtival, nor in the Month *preceding, or next following*, adds this, *as I have before ſhown* (15). I believe he means that he has ſpoken of this, when, in the pages 83 and 84, he mentions the war, 'in which Mahomet firſt 'bore arms, being then twenty years old †. It was 'called

(15) See, above, citation (12).

† Al Kodaï, Al Kamus, &c. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 174, in margine.

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whom I have already named affirms, that Mecca is ſituated near the river Betius, which is now called Chaibar (*p*). Yet a few Lines after he ſays, that all the water of that town was in the well of Zemzem [G], and in the ciſterns where the rain was kept; but that in the laſt century it was conveyed from mount Arafat by means of an aqueduct, which coſt a great deal of money (*q*). See the remark [G]. I ſhall ſay ſomething of the prince to whom Mecca belongs [H].

(*p*) Baudrand, *pag.* 696.

(*q*) Id. ib. *He cites* Golius, (*it ſhould be* Golius) Not. in Alfraganum.

‘ called the *Impious War*, becauſe it proceeded to that ‘ heat and fury, that they carried it on even in thoſe ‘ months when it was reckoned impious among them ‘ to wage war. For it was ‡ an ancient cuſtom ‘ through all Arabia, to hold four months of the ‘ year ſacred, in which all war was to ceaſe: and ‘ theſe were the months of Moharam, Rajeb, Dulkaada, and Dulhagha; which are the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh and the twelfth of the year. ‘ And theſe months were ſo religiouſly obſerved by all ‘ the tribes, that how great ſoever the enmity of one ‘ tribe might be to another, a thing common enough ‘ amongſt them, the ſacred month was no ſooner be‘ begun, but taking off the heads of their ſpears, and ‘ laying down their arms, they forbore all manner of ‘ hoſtilities, and even carried on trade together, ‘ mingling with each other, as if there had been a ‘ ſolid peace, and perfect friendſhip between them: ‘ ſo that if a man, during thoſe months, had met the ‘ murderer of his father or brother, he durſt not aſſault him, how violent ſoever his reſentment or thirſt ‘ of revenge might be.’ This paſſage and the other do not agree together; one mentions four months, which do not immediately ſucceed one another; the other mentions three months that follow one another.

‡ Al Jauhari, Al Schareſtani, Al Kamus, Citati a Golio in notis ad Alfraganum, *pag.* 4, 5, & Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. *pag.* 174, 176.

[G] *The well of Zemzem.*] Others call it Zamzam, or Zanzam as I have ſhewn above (16). This well is one of the moſt ſacred rarities of Mecca. It is ſaid to be a ſpring of water, which was produced under the feet of Iſhmael, when he was dying with thirſt. The pilgrims are obliged to make uſe of this water to waſh their body and head three times: they muſt alſo drink of it, and, if they can, muſt carry ſome of it away with them. ‘ Poſtquam ſacellum illud, atque lapidem ‘ prædictum inviſerunt, ſe ad aliud intra templum ſatis ‘ amplum ſacellum conferunt, ubi puteus eſt dictus ‘ Zam Zam; & eſt inquit *Jacub Ben Sidi Aali*, fons ‘ ſeu ſcatebra quæ fluxit ſub pedibus Iſmaël dum ge‘ meret ſitibundus, quam Hagar primo videns filio ait ‘ linguâ Coptiticâ Zam, Zam, hoc eſt, ſiſte, ſiſte gra‘ dum. Ex hoc puteo multi ſunt qui aquam exhauriunt, ‘ atque dant peregrinis quibus præceptum eſt corpus ‘ & caput eadem aqua ter ſe lavare, atque ex eadem ‘ bibere, ſecumque ſi poſſint deferre (17) - - - - *After ‘ they have viſited that chapel, and the ſtone* (18) *before ‘ mentioned, they go to another pretty large chapel within ‘ the temple, where there is a well called Zam Zam, ‘ and is, ſays Jacub Ben Sidi Aali, a fountain, or ſpring, ‘ which guſhed out under the feet of Iſmael, when he ‘ was ready to dye with thirſt, which Hagar preſently ‘ ſeeing ſaid to her ſon in the Coptic tongue, Zam, Zam, ‘ that is, ſtay, ſtay. Many draw water out of this well, ‘ and give it to pilgrims, who are commanded to waſh ‘ their head and body with it three times, and to drink ‘ of it, and, if they are able, to carry ſome of it away ‘ with them.* Mahomet, to render the town of Mecca, ‘ the place where he was born, more conſiderable, ‘ to raiſe the devotion of the poeple, and draw thither ‘ a greater multitude of pilgrims, beſtowed great en‘ comiums upon the water of this well. For there is ‘ a tradition of him received by the Kalif Omar, ‘ which ſays, that the water of the well of Zemzem ‘ ſerves for a cure, and gives health to thoſe that ‘ drink of it; but that thoſe who drink plentifully ‘ of it, and quench their thirſt with it, obtain the ‘ pardon of all their ſins. And it is reported of Abdallah, ſirnamed Al Hafedh, becauſe he knew by ‘ heart a great many traditions, that being aſked ‘ about his memory, he anſwered that ever ſince he ‘ had drank great draughts of the water of Zemzem, ‘ to ſtrengthen it, he had forgot nothing that he had ‘ learned (19).’ Mr de Herbelot, from whom I have theſe words, has collected many particulars concerning this well. Conſult his *Bibliotheque Orientale* at the word Zemzem. I ſhall take from it only this: ‘ The town of Mecca continued a long time without ‘ any other water, than that of the well of Zemzem, ‘ till the great concourſe of caravans obliged the Kalifs ‘ to build an aqueduct, which affords now a ſufficient ‘ quantity of it (20).’ This ſuppoſes that the aqueduct is more ancient than Mr Baudrand affirms upon the credit of Golius (21).

(16) In the text of the article ABUDHAHER, and remark [K] of the article AGAR.

(17) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Heſronita de nonnullis Oriental. Urbibus, *pag.* 19.

(18) That is, the ſtone ſpoken of before, remark [K] of the article AGAR.

(19) D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. *pag.* 928, *col.* 2.

(20) Id. ib.

(21) See the text of the article towards the end, citation (*g*).

[H] *We ſhall ſay ſomething of the prince to whom Mecca belongs.*] He is deſcended from Haſcem, great grandfather of Mahomet, and ſtiles himſelf the head of the Haſcemeans. He alſo gives himſelf the title of Scerif or Emir. He formerly held of the Soudans of Egypt, and afterwards of the Turkiſh ſultans, but he always preſerved his own dominion and power. *Et quanquam olim Ægypti ſultanorum, ac modo Othomanorum pareat imperio* (22), *nunquam tamen ſuo dominio auctoritateque fuit ſpoliatus* (23). The Grand Signior is ſo far from aſſuming the title of the ſovereign of Mecca and Medina, that he calls himſelf their humble ſervant. The Emir or Scerif of Mecca is commonly poor; although he has large incomes, and receives many preſents from princes and pilgrims; but he has always ſome quarrels with his brothers who aſpire to dominion, and with the Arabian Beduins. He receives from the Grand Signior a third part of the revenues of Egypt, on condition that he ſhall protect the pilgrims of Mecca, and ſecure them from the inſults and robberies of the Arabians (24). This I have taken from the Appendix to the *Geographia Nubienſis*. Mr d'Herbelot affirms, ‘ That ‘ the moſt antient original of the Emirs or Scerifs of ‘ Mecca, as they are now called, is that which is ‘ related by Ben Schouhnah, under the reign of the ‘ Aioubites, or princes of the poſterity of Saladin, ‘ who reigned in Jemen in Arabia. For he writes, ‘ that at that time, there was a prince at Mecca, and ‘ another at Medina, who had the title of Emir, and ‘ that in the year 633 of the Hegira, one Cotadah, ‘ the ſon of Edris, of the race of Ali, of the branch ‘ of Hoſſain, was Emir of Mecca (25).’ I remember, that during the laſt war (26), the news-writers of the allies, publiſhed from time to time, that the affairs of the Turks went very ill in Aſia, and that Mecca had been taken from them (27). The news-writers of Paris were vexed at it, and gave to underſtand in the firſt place, that this was not true, and in the ſecond, that the conſequence drawn from it was not good, ſince Mecca does not belong to the Turk, and the Porte receives no revenue from thence, but rather ſends thither preſents and penſions.

(22) That is, as appears by the whole ſequel of the diſcourſe, *that he is under the protection of the great Turk.*

(23) Appendix Geogr. Nubienſis, ubi infra.

(24) Gabr. Sionita & Jo. Heſronita, ubi ſupra, ſive in Appendice Geograph. Nubienſis, *pag.* 21.

(25) D'Herbelot, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 569, *col.* 2.

(26) I write this in Octob. 1700.

(27) Compare this with the above citat. (13), of the article MAHOMET, II.

MEY (Jonh de) a doctor of Phyſic, profeſſor of Divinity, and miniſter at Middelburg in the XVIIth century, wrote ſeveral books in Dutch (*a*). He wrote alſo a Latin book intituled *Sacra Phyſiologia* (*b*), wherein he explains the paſſages of Scripture which concern Natural Philoſophy. There are ſome who have ſpoken of that treatiſe with a great deal of contempt [A]. This author died the eighth of April 1678, being fifty nine years

(*a*) They are all collected in one volume in folio, printed at Middelburg in 1682.

(*b*) Printed at Middelburg in 1661, and not at Venice in 1602, as Konig ſays.

[A] *There are ſome who have ſpoken of that treatiſe with a great deal of contempt.*] Valentine Henry Voglerus accuſes him of collecting without judgment the opinions of other authors, and of ſuffering himſelf to be too much drawn away by novelty. Another accuſes him of being a plagiary. Here follows the proof: ‘ Induſtriam ſuam non approbavit Valentino Henrico ‘ Voglero, qui in ſuo commentario poſthumo de eodem ‘ argumento cenſet *Maium non tam ſuam ſcientiam declaraſſe, quam alienas ſententias exſcripſiſſe, idque nulla fere delectu novitate præcipue opinionum pellectum.* ‘ Quod judicium inclementius aliquanto videri poterat, ‘ cum in ejuſmodi ſcriptoribus aliter fieri vix oportebat, ‘ quibus non tam induſtriæ gloria quam legentis utili‘ tas

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years of age, as Witte obſerves in the 116th page of the ſecond part of his *Diarium Biographicum.*

' tas ſpectatur, niſi id reprehenſione dignum eſt quod ' Maius ex eo hominum genere eſſe videtur, qui ſup- ' primendis autorum nominibus unde ſua exſcripſerunt, ' neſcio quam ingenii laudem affectant (1). - - - - *His* ' *induſtry has not been approved by Valentine Henry Vog-* ' *lerus, who, in his poſthumous commentary upon the ſame* ' *ſubject, thinks,* that Mey had not ſo much ſhown his ' own learning as copied the ſentiments of others, and ' that almoſt without diſtinction, being chiefly led ' away by the novelty of opinions. *Which judgment* ' *might ſeem a little too ſevere, ſince writers of that kind* ' *ought ſcarcely to do otherwiſe, who conſider the benefit* ' *of the reader more than the glory of induſtry, unleſs* ' *that Mey deſerves cenſure, becauſe he ſeems to be one* ' *of thoſe, who, ſuppreſſing the names of authors from* ' *whence they have tranſcribed their own materials, af-* ' *fect, I cannot tell how, to be thought men of parts.*'

(1) Godofredus Vockerodt, in Præfat. Diſputationes de Fœtura artificioſa Jacobi. *This book was printed at Iena in 1689, in 4to.*

MEYNIER (HONORATUS DE) the author of a book intituled, *Les demandes curieuſes & les reſponſes libres, (curious Queſtions and free Anſwers)*, which he publiſhed at Paris in 1635. He had born arms thirty ſix years (*a*). This book runs upon political and military ſubjects, and contains ſome conſiderations and examples which are not extraordinary, but do not want good ſenſe. I have cited it ſometimes (*b*).

(*a*) See his advertiſement to the French nobility.

(*b*) Above, citation (26) of the article FRANCIS I, and citation (34) of the article LEWIS XI.

MELAMPUS, a great ſoothſayer among the antient Pagans, was the ſon of Amythaon and Aglaia [*A*]. He had a brother called Bias, for whom he expreſſed a great affection upon two occaſions; firſt in procuring him a wife, and in the ſecond place in procuring him a crown. Neleus, who reigned at Pylos in Peloponneſus, required of thoſe who would marry his daughter, that they ſhould bring to him the fine oxen of Iphiclus, which were fed in Theſſaly. Melampus, to enable his brother to make this preſent to Neleus, undertook to carry off thoſe oxen (*a*). In this deſign he did not ſucceed, for thoſe who kept them made him priſoner; but becauſe he propheſied in priſon, concerning ſuch things as Iphiclus deſired an explication of, he obtained, as a reward the oxen (*b*). Thus he was the cauſe of the marriage of his brother [*B*], and procured

(*a*) Pauſanias, *lib. iv*, ſub fin.

(*b*) Id. ib.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of Amythaon and Aglaia.*] See, in the remark [*A*] of the article AMPHIARAUS, the genealogy of Amythaon. It would be needleſs to repeat it here. I ſhall only ſay, that Melampus's mother called Aglaia by Diodorus Siculus (1) is called Eidomene in Apollodorus (2), who adds, that ſhe was the daughter of Pheres the ſon of Cretheus (3).

(1) Diodor. Siculus, *lib. iv, cap. lxx, pag.* 258.

(2) Apollod. *lib. i, pag.* 45.

(3) Id. ib. *p.* 51.

[*B*] *Thus he was the cauſe of the marriage of his brother.*] The narrative of Pauſanias, which I have followed, does not agree with that of Apollodorus, which I ſhall now abridge. Bias deſired in marriage Pero, the daughter of Neleus, who was at that time courted by ſeveral others. Neleus told them, that he would not marry her to any, but to him that ſhould bring him the oxen of Phylachus, that were kept by a dog which no man or beaſt durſt approach. Bias implored the aſſiſtance of Melampus, who promiſed to bring him thoſe oxen, after he had continued a year in priſon. Accordingly he was ſeized as he endeavoured to commit this robbery; he was loaded with chains and made a cloſe priſoner. He had already been near a year in this captivity, when he heard the noiſe of worms eating the beam of the roof of the houſe. He aſked them how much was eaten of it; they anſwered, there remained but a very little. Thereupon he deſired to be carried to another place, which was done, and in a little while after the houſe fell. Phylachus admired this, and knowing that Melampus was a very good diviner, he ſet him at liberty, and aſked him how his ſon Iphiclus might have children: The prophet promiſed him every thing that depended on his knowledge, provided he would grant him the oxen. He uſed ſome ceremonies to call forth the birds; a vulture preſented itſelf, which informed him, that when Phylachus gelded ſome rams, he had left near Iphiclus the bloody knife; and that Iphiclus being ſeized with fear, fled away, and fixed the knife in a tree; and that he muſt take it away from thence, and ſcrape off the ruſt of it, and make Iphiclus drink it ten days ſucceſſively in wine. Melampus did as the vulture told him; Iphiclus became the father of Podarces, and the diviner brought to Pylos the oxen which were to be given to Neleus, after which he cauſed the marriage to be celebrated between Bias and Pero, and ſtayed at Meſſina (4).

(4) Taken from Apollodorus, *lib. i, pag.* 47. See alſo *Homer. Odyſſ. lib. xv, pag. m.* 462.

(5) Ἐστυδάκεσαν δὲ ἆρα οἱ τότε πλοῦτόν τινα συλλέγεσθαι τοιοῦτον ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας. Fuit hoc præcipuum illis temporibus divitiarum ſtudium luculenta habere equorum & boum pecuaria. *Pauſan. lib. iv. ſub fin.*

Let us obſerve two things from Pauſanias; one is, that in thoſe ages, the greateſt care of rich people, was to have a great number of oxen and horſes (5). That this was the chief deſire of that time, he proves, 1. By the conditions which Neleus ſtipulated with the admirers of his daughter. 2. By the order which Euryſtheus gave to Hercules to bring him oxen from Spain. 3. By the conditions of the combat between Eryx and Hercules. The firſt, if he was overcome was to loſe his kingdom, and if he did overcome he was to gain the oxen which Hercules had carried away from Erythia. 4. By the preſent of a hundred oxen, which Iphidamas, the ſon of Antenor, made to his father-in-law when he married. The ſecond obſervation from Pauſanias is this, that thoſe who married their daughters, demanded a wedding preſent from their ſons-in-law (6). This puts me in mind of Saul, who obliged David to bring him an hundred foreſkins of the Philiſtines (7). But I muſt add, that Pauſanias has omitted ſomething, which hinders us from judging exactly in this affair. By this narrative it would ſeem, that it was the ſole ambition of having fine oxen, a ſign of vain-glorious wealth at that time, that moved Neleus to require of the lovers of Pero, that they ſhould bring him the oxen of Iphiclus. But the truth is, it was another thing which prompted him to act after this manner. Part of the eſtate of Tyro, his mother, had been uſurped by Iphiclus (8); he had a mind to have the loſs repaired, and to be revenged upon the uſurper. And therefore he deſired, that he who would marry his daughter ſhould do this exploit. There is ſcarce any omiſſion, but makes hiſtory deceitful: and this fault is very common in moſt of the relations of antient Mythology. The only way to make them good, is to join together the ſeveral pieces which are diſperſed in divers authors: which Muretus hath done as to this expedition of Melampus, and by that means has given us a full account of it. I ſhall extract from him thoſe circumſtances which Pauſanias and Appollodorus have omitted.

(6) Ἔδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀ- τεῖ τοῦς μνωμένους. A ſimilitium munus deſcebat. *Ibid.*

(7) 1 Sam. xviii, 25.

(8) *See* Muretus in Propertium, Eleg. iii, *lib. ii.*

Melampus was ſerved in priſon by a very good man, married to a very bad wife: from the former he received a thouſand civilities, and from the latter abundance of bad uſage. The worms which corroded the beam, having diſcovered that the houſe would quickly fall, he pretended to be ſick, and deſired to be tranſported elſewhere with his bed. The huſband went before, the wife followed after; and as ſoon as the bed was almoſt out of doors, the houſe fell down and cruſhed the wife to pieces. The huſband having learned of Melampus the whole ſecret of this affair, acquainted Phylachus with it, who informed Iphiclus. Iphiclus knowing the ability and deſign of Melampus, was very kind to him: You ſhall have my oxen, ſaid he to him, provided you will enable me to get children. The Diviner gave him hopes; he ſacrificed, he marked out the regions of the auguries. All ſorts of birds came thither except the vulture; but none of them could tell

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procured to him a kingdom in the following manner. Being desired to cure the women of Argos of a furious disease, he would not do it, but on condition they would give him half the kingdom of Argos. This condition at first was denied him, but when the disease increased, they returned to him and promised him what he demanded: but not being satisfied with this, he would have them also resign up to his brother the third part of the kingdom, to which they consented. This adventure is differently related [C]. He was the first who taught the Greeks the ceremonies of the worship of Bacchus (c). He was not the inventer of them, if we believe Herodotus, but he acquired the knowledge of them by the conversation he had with the Phœnicians [D]. It is pretended that he understood

(c) Herodot. lib. ii, cap. xlix.

tell him what he must do to enable Iphiclus to get his wife with child. At last a vulture presented himself, and did more than all the rest: he showed the cause of the barrenness, and then the remedy. Phylachus, says he, being one day angry with his son, pursued him with sword in hand, and not being able to overtake him, he fixed his sword in a pear-tree, and there it continues from that time wrapped up in the bark. You will find it in such a place, take it from thence, and make Iphiclus drink the rust of it ten days together in wine. The fear wherewith he was seized that day, is the cause of his impotency; you may cure it by the receipt I have prescribed (9).

(9) Taken from Muretus, ubi supra.

PROPERTIUS criticised.

This narrative serves as a commentary upon some verses of Propertius, which deserve a little censure, for a fault which Muretus did not perceive. Propertius having said, that love is a passion which constrains young men to endure all things, proves it by the imprisonment of Melampus.

Ac veluti primo taurus detractat aratra,
Mox venit assueto mollis ad arva jugo:
Sic primo juvenes trepidant in amore feroces,
Dehinc domiti post hæc æqua, & iniqua ferunt.
Turpia perpessus vates est vincla Melampus
Cognitus Iphicli subripuisse boves:
Quem non lucra, magis Pero formosa coëgit,
Mox Amythaonia nupta futura domo (10.)

(10) Propert. Eleg. III, lib. ii.

The bull at first declines to plough the field,
But to the yoke use makes him tamely yield:
So fiery youths, tho' first love's power they fear,
Yet afterwards the greatest hardships bear.
Iphiclus to prison Melampus sent,
Because to steal his oxen the prophet went.
Captivity he bore, and chains beside,
To have the beauteous Pero for his bride.

This example is impertinently alledged; for it was not the love of a maid, but brotherly kindness which induced Melampus to expose himself to the disgrace of a prison. Theocritus served as a guide to lead Propertius astray. He has placed Melampus also among the examples of the power of love.

Τὰν ἀγέλαν χ' ὡ μάντις ἀπ' Ὄθρυος ἄγε Μελάμπους
Ἐς πύλον. ἁ δὲ Βίαν τῶ ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἐχλίνθη
Μάτηρ χαρίεσσα περιφρόνω Ἀλφεσιβοίας.

Egit & vates Melampus armentum ab Othry monte
In Pylum. In amplexu vero Biantis jacuit
Pulcherrima *Pero* mater sapientis Alphesibœæ (11).

(11) Theocrit. Eccll. III, sub fin. pag. m. 25.

And the prophet Melampus drove the oxen from mount Othrys to Pylos. But yet Bias enjoyed the beautiful Pero, mother of the wise Alphesibœa.

The ostentation of learning hath drawn several impertinent things from the antient Poets. Ronsard, and many others, in the XVIth century have split upon this rock.

(12) See, besides Apollodorus, ubi infra, Servius in Virgil. Eclog. VI, ver. 48.

(13) Μετὰ δαιμονίας ἀνάγκης δὲ τῆς ἐρωμανίας ἐπραττον Omni decore per deserta discurrebant. *Apollod. lib. ii, pag. 85.*

[C] *This adventure is differently related.*] I have followed the relation of Herodotus, but here is another. Prœtus having disputed the kingdom of Argos with Acrisius, his brother, was driven out of the country, and could not settle again but at Tyrinthus. He had three daughters who grew mad, as a punishment for some irreligious act (12). The fury that seized them was so violent, that they run through the fields with all sorts of indecency (13). Melampus, who understood not only the art of Divining, but also Physic, promised to cure them, provided their father would give him the third part of his kingdom. Prœtus finding that the cure of his daughters would cost him too much, would not purchase it at this price. Their distemper grew worse, and became contagious: the other women of Argos were so tormented with it, that they killed their children, and went into the desarts. The malady increased every day more and more, so that Prœtus was willing to pay Melampus for the cure according to his own demand: but the Physician raised the price, and demanded another third of the kingdom for his brother. This was granted him; for it was feared lest a refusal should engage him to demand a greater recompence afterwards. He picked out the most vigorous young men to run with loud cries after those poor distempered women. They were pursued as far as Sicyon: The eldest of the daughters of Prœtus died by the way; the two others were purged; Melampus married one; and Bias the other. Some time after there was born to Prœtus a son, who was called Megapenthes (14). We may observe, that it is said, Melampus, besides part of the kingdom, demanded in marriage one of the three daughters he should cure (15).

(14) Taken from Apollodorus, *lib. ii, pag.* 85, & *seq.*

Another account of it is this Under the reign of Anaxagoras, the son of Argeus, the son of Megapenthes, the women were seized with such a malignant fury, that they ran up and down the streets and thro' the fields. Melampus having cured them, found Anaxagoras so thankful, that he received of him two thirds of his kingdom; that is, this prince divided it equal with him and Bias. Since that time the kingdom of Argos was possessed by three kings, till the posterity of Melampus and Bias failed; the former in the sixth generation, and the later in the fourth. The posterity of Anaxagoras at last re-united all the three parts of the kingdom, and continued till Cylarabes, who died without children. After which Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, seized on Argos (16). Thus you see there is a great difference in Chronology between Pausanias and Apollodorus.

(15) Servius, in Virgil. Eclog. VI, ver. 48.

(16) Taken from Pausanias, *lib. ii, pag.* 60.

Some think that the distemper of these women, was nothing else but the *Furor Uterinus*, which is the opinion of Mr Menjot. (17) Their imagination was so disordered, that they fancied themselves cows.

Prœtides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros:
At non tam turpes pecudum tamen ulla secuta est
Concubitus: quamvis collo timuisset aratrum,
Et sæpe in levi quæfisset cornua fronte (18).

The Prœtides with fancied lowings fill'd
The pastures; yet of them none sought such foul
Embraces: tho' they fear'd the plough, and oft
In their smooth foreheads, dubious, felt for horns.
TRAPP.

(17) Antonius Menjotius, Dissertat. Patholog. *Part i, pag.* 122.

(18) Virgil. Eclog. VI, ver. 48.

However it be, the antients relate, that religious remedies were used to cure this malady. Pausanias says, that the daughters of Prœtus hid themselves in a cave, and that Melampus drew them out by virtue of some mysterious ceremonies, and expiations, and brought them to a village called Lusi, where he cured them in the temple of Diana. Ἃς ὁ Μελάμπους θυσίαις τε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς καθήγαγεν ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Λυσούς . . . καὶ ἱκέσατο τῆς μανίας ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ. *Quas Melampus arcanis quibusdam sacris & expiationibus eduxit in vicum quos Lusos nuncupant . . . . & ab insania liberavit in Dianæ templo* (19). We shall see hereafter (20) that he made them also take some remedies.

(19) Pausanias, *lib. viii, pag.* 252, 253.

[D] *The conversation he had with the Phœnicians.*] I mean with Cadmus, and those who accompanied him into

(20) See the remark [G].

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derſtood the language of birds, and learned of them what was to come to paſs [E]. Some ſay alſo, that the worms which eat wood, anſwered his queſtions (d). And yet, thoſe who built him a temple (e), after his death, and who offered him ſacrifices, and celebrated his feſtival every year, did not attribute to him any kind of divination (f). I could eaſily refute the argument that was made uſe of to prove, that he certainly foretold future things [F]. If the Poets had not made pleaſant digreſſions upon what concerns him, they would only have told us, that he was an able Phyſician [G], and if Statius ſpoke hiſtorically,

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) It was in a city called Ægiſthena in the country of Megara. *Pauſan. lib. i, ſub fin.*

(f) Καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύεσθαι δὲ ὅτι δὶ ἐνειράτων αὐτὸν, οὔτε ἄλλος λέγουσι. Melampodi ſacrum faciunt & feſtum diem quotannis celebrant: futura vero prædicendi neque è ſomniis neque ex ulla ratione ei ſcientiam tribuunt. *Idem, ibid.*

into Bœotia (21). I ſhall obſerve two faults in Barthius: He ſays, that Plutarch affirms, Melampus taught the Grecians ſeveral things that were borrowed from the Egyptians (22). Plutarch is ſo far from ſaying ſo, that, on the contrary, he blames Herodotus for ſaying this, and taxes him with a wicked prevarication, for endeavouring to rob Greece of part of it's glory (23). You muſt know, that the Grecians did not own, that they were the diſciples of the Phœnicians in matters of religion. Pauſanias had a long conteſt with one of that country about it (24). The ſecond fault of Barthius is, that he ſays Herodotus affirms, that Melampus brought from Egypt the feſtivals and worſhip of Bacchus. *De* Bacchi ſacris *ex Ægypto in Græciam allatis ab Melampode, non tamen perfectis ſcribit etiam libro ſecundo Herodotus* (25). Herodotus does not ſay that Melampus made a journey into Egypt, but, on the contrary, ſuppoſes that Cadmus and his companions who came into Bœotia, were thoſe who inſtructed Melampus. It is neceſſary to cenſure ſuch faults in order to ſhow, that it is not ſufficient to have the authors we cite before our eyes; for if we do not examine them very narrowly, even to the leaſt word, we ſhall make them ſay a thouſand things which they never thought of. Take notice, I do not abſolutely deny, that our Diviner travelled into Egypt: I know that the Egyptians affirmed it (26).

(21) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. xlix.*

(22) Barthius, in Statium, *Tom. ii, pag.* 834.

(23) Plut. de Malignit. Herodoti, *pag.* 857.

(24) Pauſan. *lib. vii, pag.* 230. See, above, citation (87) of the article JUPITER.

(25) Barthius, ubi ſupra.

(26) Diodor. Siculus, *lib. i, cap. xcvi, pag. m.* 83.

[E] *It is pretended, that he underſtood the language of birds, and learned of them what was to come to paſs.*] I have already ſpoken of this in other places (27), but I ſhall here ſet down the very words of Apollodorus. Μελάμπους ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων διαιτᾶτο, ἔσης περὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως δρυὸς, ἐν ᾗ φωλεὸς ὄφεων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀποκτείναντων τῶν θηραπόντων τοὺς ὄφεις, τὰ μὲν ἑρπετὰ, ξύλα συμφορήσας, ἔκαυσε· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὄφεων νεοσσοὺς ἔθρεψεν. οἱ δὲ, γενόμενοι τέλειοι, περιστάντες αὐτῷ κοιμωμένῳ τῶν ὤμων ἐξ ἑκατέρου, τὰς ἀκοὰς ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐξεκάθαιρον. ὁ δὲ, ἀνασὰς, καὶ γενόμενος περιδεὴς, τῶν ὑπερπετομένων ὀρνέων τὰς φωνὰς συνίει· καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων μαθάνων, πρὸς ἔλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα. περιέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερείων μαντικήν. περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλφεὸν συντυχὼν Ἀπόλλωνι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἄριστος ἦν μάντις. Melampus cum ruri ageret, ac pro ipſius ædibus quercus eſſet, in eaque ſerpentium latebra eſſet, occiſis a miniſtris ſerpentibus, cætera quidem reptilia congeſtis lignis concremavit, at ſerpentium pullos educavit: qui cum ad juſtum corporis modum ſuccreviſſent, ipſum jam dormientem circumſtabant, & ex utroque humero illius aures linguis extergebant. Tandem expergefactus, excitatuſque, ac perterrefactus, ſupervolitantium avium voces intelligebat, & quæ ab iis futura edocebatur, mortalibus prædicebat, per haruſpicinam præterea vaticinari ab iis didicit. Ad hæc Apollini prope Alpheum obviam factus, circa cætera vaticinandi peritiſſimus evaſit (28). - - - - *Melampus living in the country, and there being an oak before his houſe, in which ſerpents uſed to lurk, he made a fire of wood, and burned the other reptiles, but his ſervants having killed the old ſerpents, he preſerved, and brought up the young ones; which being grown to their full bigneſs, ſtood round him as he lay aſleep, and from each ſhoulder liked his ears with their tongues. At length waking, and getting up in a fright, he underſtood the voices of birds, and, as they taught him, he foretold to men what was come to paſs. Beſides, he learned of them to propheſy by the art of Divination. And moreover meeting Apollo near Alpheus, he became moſt ſkillful in other methods of prognoſticating.* You will find ſeveral collections concerning this faculty of ſerpents in the book which I direct you to (29).

(27) In the remark [C] of the article CASSANDRA, and the remark [B] of the article TIRESIAS.

(28) Apollodor. *lib. i, pag.* 47.

(29) The Hierozoicon of Bochartus, *book i.*

[F] *I could eaſily refute . . . . the argument that was made uſe of to prove that he foretold future things.*] The force of that proof lies in this: The reputation of this Diviner would not have laſted for ſeveral ages, if he had not convinced the world, by inconteſtable proofs that he had the gift of prophecy. 'Permul-'torum exemplorum & noſtra plena eſt reſpublica & 'omnia regna omneſque populi, cunctæque gentes, 'augurum prædictis multa incredibiliter vera eeci-'diſſe: neque enim Polidæ, neque Melampodis, 'neque Mopſi, neque Amphiarai, neque Calchantis, 'neque Heleni tantum nomen fuiſſet, neque tot na-'tiones id ad hoc tempus retinuiſſent Arabum, Phry-'gum, Lycaonum, Cilicum, maximeque Piſidarum, 'niſi vetuſtas ea certa eſſe docuiſſet. Nec vero 'Romulus noſter auſpicato urbem condidiſſet, neque 'Accii Navii nomen memoria floreret tam diu, niſi hi 'omnes multa ad veritatem, & mirabilia dixiſſent (30). '- - - - *Both our own republic, and all kingdoms, and 'nations, and countries are full of inſtances, that many 'more incredible things have happened true according 'to the predictions of Sooth-ſayers: for the fame of 'Polidas, Melampus, Mopſus, Amphiaraus, Calchas, 'and Helenus, would not have been ſo great, nor have 'been preſerved to this time by ſo many nations, as the 'Arabians, Phrygians, Lycaonians, Cilicians, and eſpe-'cially the Piſidians, if antiquity had not averred thoſe 'things for truth. Nor would our Romulus have 'luckily founded the city, nor the memory of Accius Na-'vius remain ſo long, if all theſe had not told many 'wonderful things according to truth.' This reaſon is like the objection which Cicero recites in favour of the oracle of Delphos. You may read it in the Miſcellaneous Thoughts on Comets (31), with ſome reflexions which refute it. Thither therefore I muſt refer you for an anſwer to the paſſage in the ſecond book *de Legibus*. There is in Cicero a maxim, which might be brought to aſſiſt this paſſage; he ſays, that time deſtroys fictions, but confirms the judgments that are founded upon nature. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat* (32). From whence it may be inferred, that the oracles, having continued many ages, were not a fiction. But let us refute Cicero by Cicero himſelf. He acknowledges in his ſecond book *de Legibus*, that the art of the Augurs did not then continue. 'Dubium non eſt, quin hæc 'diſciplina & ars augurum evanuerit jam & vetuſtate, '& negligentia. Itaque neque illi aſſentior, qui hanc 'ſcientiam negat unquam in noſtro collegio fuiſſe, ne-'que illi qui eſſe etiam nunc putat (33). - - - - *Un-'doubtedly this ſcience and art of Divination is vaniſhed 'thro' length of time and negligence. Therefore I nei-'ther agree with thoſe that deny this ſcience ever to 'have been in our college, nor with thoſe that think it 'ſtill ſubſiſts.*' It had therefore the fate of the opinions which human wit brings forth, ſince time, inſtead of confirming it, deſtroyed it.

(30) Cicero, *lib. ii.* de Legibus, *fol.* 334. D.

(31) Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, *num.* 45.

(32) Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, See, above, citation (71) of the article LAUNOI (JOHN DE).

(33) Idem, *lib. ii*, de Legibus, *cap. xiii.*

[G] *He was an able Phyſician.*] Apollodorus makes him the inventer of purgatives, and ſays, he uſed them in curing the daughters of Prœtus (34). Μελάμπους . . . . . μάντις ὢν τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς (35) . . . . . Ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τυχούσαις καθαρμῷ σωφρονῆσαι συνέζη. Melampus . . . . vaticinandi cognitione inſignis & qui potionandi expurgandique rationem primus invenit . . . . reliquæ vero repurgatæ reſipuerunt. - - - - *Melampus . . . . famous for his ſkill in divining, and who firſt invented the method of purging, and giving potions . . . . but the reſt being thoroughly purged, came to their ſenſes.* Servius obſerves, that he was ſir-named Καθαρτὴς, that is, *The Purger* (36). But let us not build upon this, ſince the ſame Grammarian intimates, that the purifications invented by Melampus,

(34) Apol. *lib. ii, pag.* 85.

(35) Id. ib. *pag.* 85.

(36) Servius, in Virgil. Georg. *lib. iii, ver.* 550.

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cally, we ought to believe that Melampus arrived to a great age [*H*]. He left ſome children behind him (g). Heſiod commended him in a book that is loſt (*b*).

(*b*) Pauſan. *lib. ix, pag.* 306.

and uſed for the daughters of Prœtus belonged to religion. *Prœtidas ipſe purgavit luſtrationibus quas invenerat, hoc dicit, convaleſcente morbo, nec medicinam prodeſſe nec religionem* (37). That is, by theſe words

(37) Id. ib.

Ceſſere magiſtri
Phillyrides Chiron, Amythaoniuſque Melampus (38),

(38) Virgil. Georg. *lib. iii, ver.* 549.

We muſt underſtand, that diſeaſes in a certain ſtate are above the power of Phyſic and Religion. Chiron is therefore repreſented there as a Phyſician, while Melampus is repreſented as the diſpenſer of ſupernatural remedies. But I will rather keep to Servius upon the eclogues of Virgil, where we find Melampus repreſented as a mixed perſon, partly as a Phyſician, and partly as a Prophet. He firſt appeaſed Juno, and then made his patients take a certain medicine. 'Quas *(Prœtidas)* Melampus . . . . placata Junone, 'infecto fonte ubi ſolitæ erant bibere, purgavit & in 'priſtinum ſenſum reduxit (39). - - - - *Whom (the 'daughters of Prœtus) Melampus . . . . having firſt ap-'peaſed Juno, purged, by putting phyſic in the fountain 'where they uſed to drink, and ſo brought them to their 'ſenſes.*' Note, that καθαρμὸς ſignifies not only a purgative medicine, but alſo that which we call an exorciſm, or rather a magical form of words.

(39) Servius, in Virgil. Eclog. VI, ver. 48.

There is a kind of hellebore, which upon his account is called *melampodium* (40): which is a ſign that he made uſe of it, and one may very well believe that he did not omit it in the grand cure, which was to purchaſe him a kingdom. Yet Pliny intimates nothing of this; he ſpeaks of Melampus only as a prophet; he does not attribute to him the cure of the daughters of Prœtus, but ſays, it was aſcribed to a ſhepherd. 'Melampodis fama divinationis artibus 'nota eſt. Ab hoc appellatur unum ellebori genus 'Melampodion. Aliqui paſtorem eodem nomine in-'veniſſe tradunt, capras purgari paſto illo animad-'vertentem, datoque lacte earum fanaſſe Prœtidas 'furentes (41). - - - - *The fame of Melampus is well 'known by his ſkill in Divination. From him one kind 'of hellebore is called Melampodion. Some relate, that 'a ſhepherd of the ſame name invented it, having ob-'ſerved his goats to purge by eating of it, and that, by 'giving their milk to the daughters of Prœtus, he cured 'them of their madneſs.*' If Voſſius (42) built upon this paſſage, when he ſays, that our Melampus cured the fury of the daughters of Prœtus, by mixing black hellebore with goats milk, he has not faithfully related it, and he ſhould produce ſome authorities for what he ſays. He is in the right to cenſure Peter Caſtellan and John Neander, for making Melampus poſterior to Empedocles. In this they were guilty of a miſtake; for Melampus lived before the Trojan war. As to the writings we have under his name, they are ſuppoſititious. We have *Melampi ex Palpitationibus Divinatio*, printed in Greek at Rome in 1545. *Ex Nævis Corporis Divinatio*, printed at Rome in Greek the ſame year, and in Latin at Venice in 1552. (Nicolas Petreius is the author of that verſion) and in Latin and Greek, with the Metopoſcopia of of Cardan at Paris, in 1658. See *Lindenius Renovatus*, at p. 804. The abridgment of Geſner's *Bibliotheque* informs me, that 'Melampus hierogrammateus 'ſcripſit de auguriis ex ſaltibus corporis, quæ Augu-'ſtinus Niphus in librum primum de auguriis tran-'ſtulit. - - - *Melampus, an excellent author, wrote on 'Divination from the palpitations of the body, which 'Auguſtinus Niphus tranſcribed in his firſt book* de 'Auguriis.'

(40) Plin. *lib. xxv, cap. v, pag. m.* 380.

(41) Id. ib.

(42) Voſſius, de Philoſophia, *cap. xi, num.* 17, *pag. m.* 84.

[*H*] *We ought to believe that Melampus arrived to a great age.*] Statius ſuppoſes, that Amphiaraus was aſſociated with Melampus for conſulting the auguries concerning the war of Thebes:

- - - - ſolers tibi cura futuri
Amphiaraë, datur, juxtaque Amythaone cretus
Jam ſenior ſed mente virens Phœboque Melampus
Aſſociat paſſus: dubium cui dexter Apollo
Oraque Cyrrhæa fatiarit largius unda (43).

(43) Statius, Thebaid. *lib. iii, ver.* 451.

- - - - - - *This was thy ſcene
Amphiaräus, with old Melampus join'd
Amythaon's ſon, who flouriſh'd ſtill in mind,
And Phœb's great preſence; 'twas a doubt, it ſeems,
Who beſt below'd, drunk moſt of Cyrrha's ſtreams.*

STEPHENS.

Melampus was the great grandfather of Amphiaraus; the latter had then ſeveral children, and one among the reſt, who was Generaliſſimo of the Argivi ten years after; from whence we may conclude, that Melampus muſt have been very old. But the Poets make no ſcruple of anachroniſms. Statius ſuppoſes in another place, that Thiodamas, the ſon of Melampus, was choſen to ſucceed Amphiaraus in overſeeing the auguries. He repreſents him as the ſecond in that art, but yet of ſo great modeſty, as obliged him to own himſelf unworthy of the ſucceſſion, juſt as the ſon of a great king is afraid in his infancy, that he cannot ſupply the place of his deceaſed father.

Concilium rex triſte vocat: quæruntque gementes,
Quis tripodas ſucceſſor agat? quo prodita laurus
Tranſeat? atque orbum vittæ decus. haud mora, cunctis
Inſignem fama, ſanctoque Melampode cretum
Thiodamanta volunt. qui cum ipſa arcana deorum
Partiri, & viſas uni ſociare ſolebat
Amphiaraus aves, tantæque haud invidus artis
Gaudebat dici ſimilem, juxtaque ſecundum.
Illum ingens confundit honos, inopinaque turbat
Gloria, & oblatas frondes ſubmiſſus adorat,
Seque oneri negat eſſe parem, cogique meretur.
Sicut Achæmenius ſolium, genteſque paternas
Excepit ſi forte puer, cui vivere patrem
Tutius, &c (44).

(44) Id. ib. *lib. viii, ver.* 275.

Would he have made ſuch compariſons if he had known that Thiodamas was brother to the grandfather of Amphiarus? Add to this, that Statius is the only perſon, if I be not miſtaken, who gives ſuch a ſon to Melampus. The two which Homer gave him, were called Antiphates and Mantius (45). To mention this by the by, the father of Amphiaraus was the ſon of the later, if we may believe Pauſanias (46). But the common opinion is, that Antiphates was the father of Oicles.

(45) Homerus, Odyſſ. *lib. xv, pag. m.* 462.

(46) Pauſan. *lib. vi, pag.* 195.

MELANCHTHON (PHILIP) born at Bretten in the Palatinate of the Rhine, Febr. 16, 1497, was one of the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his age. He gave ſo early marks of his capacity, that they begun betimes to inſtruct him; which was done by the care of his grandfather by the mother's ſide, more than by his father's [*A*]. He ſtudied firſt

(1) This word ſignifies *black earth*, and therefore Reuchlin gave our Philip the name of Melanchthon, which in Greek ſignifies the ſame thing as Schwartzerdt does in the German language.

[*A*] *They begun betimes to inſtruct him, which was done by the care of his grand-father by the mother's ſide, more than by his father's.*] As I do not pretend to commend one of them to the prejudice of the other; I will ſhew, why George Schwartzerdt (1), the father of our Philip, did not take care of the education of his ſon. He was taken up with the affairs of the elector Palatine, his maſter, whom he ſerved as engineer, or commiſſary of the artillery. 'Huic (*avo materno*) pa-'tre occupato negotiis principum, præcipue educatio '& inſtitutio Philippi curæ fuit (2). - - - - *The inſtru-'ction and education of Philip, was chiefly committed to 'the care of the grand-father by the mother's ſide, the fa-'ther being employed in the affairs of princes.*' Camerarius is my authority for the words I have uſed, for thus he ſays: 'Orto pernicioſo bello inter Palatinos & 'Bavaros cognatos Principes cum Georgius patriæ ſuæ 'Principi Philippo operam officiumque quod debebat, 'fideliter præſtaret, inprimis machinarum tormento-'rumque ratione adminiſtranda (3). - - - - *A bloody war 'broke*

(2) Melch. Adam. in Vit. Philoſoph. *pag.* 184.

(3) Joach. Camerarius, in Vita Philip. Melancht. *pag. m.* 3.

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first in the place of his nativity, at a public school, and then under a tutor, when it was known that the master of that school had the Pox (a). He was some time after sent to Pfortsheim, where there was a famous college, and lodged with a relation of his, who was sister to Reuchlin. Upon this occasion it was that he was quickly known to this learned person, who loved him with great tenderness (b). Having lived there about two years, he was sent to Heidelberg (c) in the year 1509 (d), and there made such considerable improvement (e), that he was intrusted to teach the sons of a certain count (f), though he was under fourteen years of age. He has been justly reckoned among illustrious youths [B]. Being vexed that he was refused his degree of master of Philosophy, on account of his youth,

(a) Joach. Camerarius, in Vita Melanchthonis, *pag.* m. 5.

(b) Id. ib. *pag.* 7, & *seq.*

(c) Id. ib. *pag.* 10.

(d) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. German. *pag.* 328.

(e) Id. ib. *pag.* 329.

(f) It was the count of Leonstein.

'*broke out between the Palatine and Bavarian princes, who were related to one another, whilst George was faithfully employed, especially as Engineer, in the service of his own prince.*' I think this Engineer was at first only a Gunsmith, who growing very skillful in his art, came to be known and beloved by princes. He invented the most useful arms, as well offensive as defensive, both for tournaments and battles. It is pretended that Maximilian the emperor made good use of those inventions in a duel. This singular matter of fact I shall here relate, to excite my readers to search curiously into the circumstances of it. Read therefore carefully this encomium on the father of Melanchthon: 'Ipse Georgius & probitate, integritate, taciturnitate-'que & fide, etiam prudentiâ atque solertiâ, & quod 'admirabili artificio opera armorum elaborare sciret, 'quibus & defenderentur contra vim adversariorum in 'conflictu, & instruerentur ad hos percellendum ster-'nendumque qui manum sive in acie cum hostibus, 'seu in ludis equestribus, cum suis (quæ exercitationes 'tum in aulis Principum studiosissime frequentabantur) 'conferere vellent: Harum igitur artium ille peritus, '& iis virtutibus quas commemoravimus ornatus, in 'notitiam pervenit maximorum & potentissimorum 'Principum, iisque carus fuit, in quibus nominasse 'satis sit & Regem optimum & bellatorem Invictissi-'mum Divum Maximilianum Imperatoris Friderici 'filium. Quem Georgius aliquando cum glorioso pro-'vocatore Italo, cui nomen Claudio Bataro, certami-'ne singulari congressurum ita instruxit, & sic arma 'ipsius machinando paravit, ut fortissimo Viro Maxi-'miliano victoria certa facile etiam & celeriter con-'tingeret. Claudius enim non diu repugnans, cum 'quanto omnibus rebus esset inferior sentiens, ad pe-'des Maximiliani se adjecisset, ita in potestatem ejus 'se tradidit (4). ------ *George himself was a man of probity, integrity, secrecy, and fidelity; he was likewise prudent and industrious, and very ingenious in making arms both offensive and defensive, either for battles or tournaments, which kind of exercise was then very common in the courts of princes. Upon the account of those good qualities I have mentioned, and of his skill in these arts, he came to be known and beloved by the greatest and most powerful princes, particularly that excellent king, and invincible warriour, Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederic. Maximilian, being to fight a duel with one Claudius Batarus, an Italian bully, who sent him a challenge, George equipped and fitted him with arms so ingeniously contrived, that he quickly and easily obtained the victory. For Claudius, not being able to resist long, and finding himself inferior in every respect, threw himself down at Maximilian's feet, and surrendered.*' He was born at Heidelberg, but he settled at Bretten by marrying the daughter of John Reuterus, who had been mayor of that town some years (5). He died eleven days after his father-in-law, the twenty ninth of September 1508. His widow did not marry again till after she knew that Melanchthon, her son, was married. She was displeased with it, and this discontent obliged her to marry a citizen of Bretten, about the year 1520 (6). She died the sixth of June 1529 (7). Her son George, younger, about four years, than Melanchthon (8), survived his brother (9), and was employed in the highest offices of his country (10).

(4) Id. ib. *pag.* 2, 3.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Mater vidua manfit annis totis 12. postea cum Philippum duxisse uxorem audiisset, non sine quadam offensiuncula, nupsit iterum viro honestissimo civi Brettano. - - - - *His mother remained a widow twelve whole years, &c.* Id. ib. *pag.* 5.

(7) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 328.

(8) Camerarius, ubi supra, *pag.* 4.

(9) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philos. *pag.* 184.

(10) Camer. ib. *pag.* 8.

That this remark may be not only historical, but also critical. I will add, that the Jesuit Maimbourg is to be blamed for saying, that Melanchthon was *of a little village in the lower Palatinate*, and *of a mean extraction* (11). This is refuted by what I have already said. See also Mr Seckendorf in the second book of the History of Lutheranism, pag. 158.

(11) Maimb. Hist. of Lutheran. *book ii, pag.* 181. *Dutch Edition.*

[B] *He has been justly reckoned among illustrious youths.*] The chapter which Mr Baillet has bestowed upon him in his *Historical Treatise of young men, who became famous by their studies or writings*, was due to him, and is very curious. There we see, that at the age of thirteen years he dedicated to Reuchlin *a Comedy which he wrote without any assistance.* This young scholar being at Pfortsheim, made his school-fellows learn the several parts of a kind of comedy, which Reuchlin had lately published. His design was to act that piece in the presence of the author, and this was performed very prettily: *Tunc & æqualibus suis scriptum quoddam ludicrum Reuchlini instar Comœdiæ illis diebus editum edifcendum distribuit, & suas cuique partes assignavit, ut coram Reuchlino ad se reverso fabula ea ageretur. Quod etiam factum est cum summa ipsius voluptate atque lætitiâ* (12). He might then be in his thirteenth year, or he might be younger, for he stayed two years at Pfortsheim, and went from thence to Heidelberg, where he was matriculated, October 13, 1509 (13). Mr Baillet adds, *that he was employed to make the greatest part of the harangues and discourses of eloquence, that were spoken in public* in the university of Heidelberg. This agrees with the words of Melchior Adam: 'Scripsit jam adolescentulus professori-'bus in eâ scholâ orationes, quæ publice recitatæ sunt '(14). - - - - *He wrote, whilst he was but a lad, orations for the professors in that college, which were spoken in public.*' Here follows a passage which is not exactly true. 'At the age of thirteen he wrote a co-'medy to the honour of Reuchlin. He was but 'nineteen years when he published his Rhetoric: 'the next year he put out his Logic, and in his 'twenty fourth his Grammar. Immediately after 'he wrote many pieces of Theology, and at twenty 'six years of age he published his Common-places, 'which were equally esteemed by * Protestants and 'Catholics: for being published under the name of '*Mester Philippo di terra nera*, and carried to Rome, 'all the copies were presently sold (15).' You have already seen what I have to say about this comedy *to the honour of Reuchlin*; which I will not repeat. I only say, that Mr Teissier did not rightly attend to these Latin words. 'Anno decimonono evulgavit Rhetori-'cam; sequenti Dialecticam: vicesimo quarto Gram-'maticam, aliis deinde annis alia (16). - - - - - *In the 'year nineteen he published his Rhetoric, the next year 'his Logic, the twenty fourth his Grammar, and in the 'following years other things.*' They refer to the years of the century, and not of Melanchthon; and therefore Mr Teissier should have said that he was twenty two years old when he published his Rhetoric, &c. He ought not to have asserted, that he wrote several pieces of Theology, only after the publishing of his Grammar; for he put out several treatises of that nature in the year 1521 (17), three years before his Grammar was printed. In fine, it is false that he published his Common-places at the age of twenty six, for he published them in the year 1521 (18), when he was but twenty four years old.

(12) Camerar. ibid. *pag.* 9.

(13) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philosoph. *pag.* 185.

(14) Id. ib. *pag.* 186.

* Scaligerana.

(15) Teissier, addit. to the Eloges. *Tom. i, pag.* 188.

(16) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. *pag.* 331.

(17) Id. ib.

(18) Id. ib. *pag.* 332.

Note, that all the pieces which Melchior Adam has just named, are posterior to his being professor at Wittemberg. But we must remember what he says elsewhere, that Melanchthon published some books whilst he was professor at Tubingen. 'Privatim ac 'publice cum magna laude & admiratione docuit (*Tu-'bingæ*) & scripta quædam ceu primos fœtus ex qui-'bus satis apparuit qui proventus in posterum expectan-'di forent, in lucem edidit (19). - - - - *He taught* '(at Tubingen) *both in public and private with great 'applause and admiration, and published some works as 'first fruits, from which it sufficiently appeared what a 'a crop might be expected afterwards.*' There is reason therefore to believe, that he was an author in print before the age of twenty or twenty one, and so he deserved very well to be placed in the catalogue of Mr Baillet. I have read in the parallel which John James Grynæus made between the

(19) Id. in Vitis Philosoph. *pag.* 186.

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youth, and finding that the air of Heidelberg did not agree with his conſtitution, he left that univerſity in 1512, and went to ſee that of Tubingen (g) where he ſtaid ſix years (b). There he heard the lectures of all ſorts of profeſſors, and publickly explained Virgil, Terence, Cicero, and Livy; and being very laborious, he found time alſo to ſerve Reuchlin in his quarrels with the Monks, and to overſee a Printing-houſe (i) [C]. He moreover applied himſelf very much to the reading of the word of GOD [D]. He accepted in 1518, the profeſſorſhip in the Greek tongue, in the univerſity of Wittemberg, which Frederic the elector of Saxony offered him upon the recommendation of Reuchlin (k). He made ſo fine an inauguration ſpeech four days after his arrival, that he not only removed the contempt to which his ſtature and mien expoſed him, but alſo raiſed great admiration of himſelf (l). The lectures he read upon Homer, and upon the Greek text of the epiſtle of St Paul to Titus, drew a great croud of auditors, and excited in them an earneſt deſire of underſtanding the Greek tongue (m). One of the greateſt ſervices he did to the ſciences, was to reduce them into a ſyſtem (n), which was then difficult, conſidering the confuſion wherewith they had been taught for a long time. There was quickly an intimate friendſhip contracted between him and Luther (o), who taught Divinity in the ſame univerſity. They went together to Leipſic in the year 1519, to diſpute with Eccius. The following years were to Melanchthon a complication of hard labours; he wrote many books, he travelled in order to found colleges, and viſit churches (p). But nothing coſt him more pains than the taſk that was given him in the year 1530, to draw up a Confeſſion of Faith; which is called the Augſburg Confeſſion, becauſe it was preſented to the emperor at the diet in that city. All Europe was convinced, that he was not ſo averſe as Luther, to an accommodation, and that he would have ſacrificed many things for the ſake of peace [E]. Wherefore Francis I. judged him a proper perſon to pacify the diſputes

(g) Ib. *pag.* 329.

(b) Id. in Vitis Philoſoph. *pag.* 186.

(i) Id. ib. & in Vit. Theol. *pag.* 330.

(k) Camerar. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 24.

(l) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theologorum, 330.

(m) Id. ib.

(n) Id. ib. *pag.* 331.

(o) Camerar. ibid. *pag.* 30, 31.

(p) In 1527.

prophet Daniel and Melanchthon, a fine encomium upon the latter it deſerves to be tranſcribed. 'At Deum 'immortalem, quam non ſpem de ſe præbet, admo- 'dum etiam adoleſcens & pene puer, Philippus ille 'Melanchthon, utraque literatura pene ex æquo ſuſ- 'piciendus! Quod inventionis acumen? quæ ſermonis 'puritas? quanta reconditarum rerum memoria? quam 'varia lectio? quam verecunda regiæque prorſus indo- 'lis feſtivitas (20). - - - *But, good GOD, what hopes* 'may we not conceive of Philip Melanchthon, tho' as 'yet very young, and almoſt a boy, equally to be admired 'for his knowledge in both languages, what quickneſs of 'invention? What purity of diction? What vaſtneſs of 'memory? What variety of reading? What modeſty and 'graceſulneſs of behaviour?' This is what Eraſmus ſaid in the year 1515.

(20) Eraſmus, Paraphraſ. in 1 Theſſ. cap. ii, apud Jo. Jac. Grynæum Epiſt. ſelect. pag. 302.

[C] *And to overſee a Printing-houſe.*] This remark is, properly ſpeaking, an appendix to the preceding, for it relates to Melanchthon, as he wrote books in his youth: for to put in good order a confuſed heap of collections, is, in effect, to make a book. So Mr Baillet thought; for having obſerved that Melanchthon 'made it his recreation to correct the printing-preſs 'of the place, *he adds*, that to ſuch a paſtime we owe, 'among other books, the edition of Nauclerus at Tu- 'bingen. It was a ſilly heap of chronicles and fables 'bundled together among hiſtories in a ſtrange confu- 'ſion. Melanchthon took the pains to purge it, and 'to ſelect out of it what was tolerable and put it in 'order? ſo that one may ſay, this book is the work 'of Melanchthon (21).' Camerarius obſerves, I. That the labour of Melanchthon upon Nauclerus, conſiſted, not only in putting things in order, and new moulding them, but alſo in enlarging them. II. That the corrector of this book took upon him to reviſe all the books which Thomas Anſhelmus ſhould print. *Librum hunc* (Naucleri) *exprimendum ſuſceperat Thomas Anſhelmus qui Typographicam officinam habebat Tubingæ. A quo perfectum fuit, ut & illius ſcripti & aliorum, quæ à ſe ederentur, curam reſpectumque Philippus ſuſciperet, quo prodirent correctiora. Is tunc & in hoc opere Naucleri partim diſponendo, partim augendo, partim etiam retexendo id præſtitit, ut lectio libri iſtius à plurimis expeteretur, & fructu voluptateque non careret* (22). Note, that this edition of Nauclerus was the firſt of all.

(21) Baillet's Enfans celebres, *Art* 21.

(22) Camer. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 16. *Sæ alſo* Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſoph. *pag.* 186, 187.

[D] *He applied himſelf much to the reading of the word of GOD.*] He had a copy of the Bible, which John Frobenius had lately printed at Baſil in a ſmall volume, which he carried always about him, and chiefly when he went to church. Thoſe who ſaw that during divine ſervice, he held always in his hands a book much larger than a prayer-book, believed that he was reading quite another thing than what the time and place required of him. Thoſe that envyed him took occaſion from hence to make him odious. This is what we learn from Camerarius (23). Another author obſerves, that Reuchlin made him a preſent of that Bible (24).

(23) Camer. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 15.

(24) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſoph. *pag.* 185.

[E] *Would have ſacrificed many things for the ſake of peace.*] This appears chiefly by the book he wrote concerning things indifferent; which was ſo ill received by the faction of Illyricus. 'Suaſerat Philippus *de* 'Adiophoris ne ſcrupuloſe contenderent, modo nihil 'idololatriæ illi ritus ac ceremoniæ haberent adjunctum, '& ſervitutem aliquam, quæ ſine impietate ſit, ſuſti- 'nendam (25). - - - - *Philip adviſed them not to con-* 'tend ſcrupulouſly about indifferent things, provided thoſe 'rites and ceremonies had nothing of idolatry in them, 'and to bear ſome hardſhips, if it might be done with- 'out impiety.' Illyricus, on the contrary, cryed out, that people ſhould rather deſert all the churches, and threaten an inſurrection, than to bear a ſurplice. *Contra* Flacius *vociferabatur potius vaſtitatem faciendam in templis, & principes metu ſeditionum terrendos quam ſal- tem* linea veſtis *admittatur* (26). Some Roman Catholics have been inſpired with the ſame ſpirit, if we may believe the anonymous author of a letter publiſhed by Mr Jurieu. 'I enquired, *ſays he* (27), as 'much as poſſibly I could, whether a Proteſtant would 'be received into the Romiſh communion, upon the 'biſhop of Meaux's explication of the Romiſh do- 'ctrine, as it was made uſe of to inſtruct thoſe who 'ſeek to comply with the times. Every one told me 'no, and ſome body added that no abjuration 'was to be ſigned, but that in which the whole 'ſarago ſhould be included. Theſe are the very 'words he made uſe of. This calls to my mind what 'a Jeſuit ſaid, that they would not put out one 'wax taper, though it were to convert all the Hugue- 'nots.'

(25) Id. ib. *pag.* 195.

(26) Id. ib. *pag.* 196.

(27) Suite du Preſervatif contre le changement de Religion, *pag.* 173. *of the Hague Edit.* 1683.

What Melanchthon ſaid to his mother, plainly ſhews, that he hated diſputes in religion, and that he was only engaged in them by the part he was to act in the world. Being gone to the conferences at Spire in the year 1529, he made a little journey to Bretten, to ſee his mother. This good woman aſked him what ſhe muſt believe amidſt ſo many diſputes, and repeated to him the prayers ſhe was wont to make, and which contained nothing that was ſuperſtitious. Continue, ſaid he, to believe and pray as you have done hitherto, and never trouble your ſelf about controverſies. *Ab ea cum interrogatus eſſet:* quid ſibi in ejuſmodi controverſiis credendum? *reſpondit, auditis illius precibus, quæ nihil ſuperſtitionis habebant, ut* pergeret hoc credere & orare quod credidiſſet & oraſſet hactenus: nec pateretur ſe turbari conflictibus diſputationum (28). This refutes invincibly a ſilly ſtory which Florimond de Remond publiſhed. *It is written*, ſays he (29), *that Melanchthon being at the point of death in the year* 1560, *his mother, being extremely old, ſpoke to him after this manner:* 'My

(28) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 333

(29) Florimond de Remond, Hiſtory of the Birth and Progreſs of Hereſy, *book ii, ch. ix, pag. m.* 186, 187.

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putes about religion in his kingdom, and desired him to come thither [F]. The king of England also desired to see him (q), but neither of these two monarchs did ever see him. As I intend to mention, but some of his principal actions, I shall only say, that, in 1541, he assisted at the conferences of Ratisbon, where the controversies between the Catholics and Protestants were warmly disputed, and that, in the year 1543, he went to the archbishop of Cologne, to assist him in introducing a reformation into his diocese, which turned to no account. The affair of the Interim took up much of his time. He attended at seven conferences upon this subject in the year 1548, and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, and the censure of that Interim (r). He was one of the deputies whom Maurice, elector of Saxony, was to send to the council of Trent in the year 1552. He waited some time at Nuremberg for a safe conduct, but because of the war which was ready to break out, he returned from thence to Wittemberg (s). His last conference with the Doctors of the Romish communion was at Worms, in 1557; and of the dissensions which afflicted him, there was none more violent than that which was raised by Flacius Illyricus. He died at Wittemberg April the nineteenth, 1560, which was the sixty third day of his sixty fourth year (t). He was buried near Luther in the church of the castle, two days after. His funeral oration was spoken by Winshemius, a Doctor of Physic, and professor of the Greek tongue. The testimonies of piety with which he ended his days, were admirable (u); and it is observable, that one thing which made him

(q) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 336.

(r) Id. ib. *pag.* 343.

(s) Id. ib. *pag.* 343, 346.

(t) Ætatis fuæ climactericum diebus LXIII egressus. *Thuan. lib. xxvi, sub fin. pag. m.* 538. *Du Rier, in Teissier's Elogies, Tom. i, pag.* 183, *translates it ill by* he died the sixty third day of his climacterical year.

(u) *See* Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philos. *pag.* 202.

* *See* Morus, *lib. ii,* de Miss. & Francis Montagnes, *in his book intituled,* la Verité defendue.

'* *My son, you seem to me to be upon the point of* '.... *leaving this world, to go and give an account* 'to *the great judge of what you have done. You know* 'I *was a Catholic, and you induced me to change my* 'religion, *and to embrace one that is different from that* 'of *my fore-fathers. I adjure you by the living GOD,* 'to *tell me now which is the best, and do not conceal* 'it *from me. Ha!* said *Melanchthon, the new doctrine* 'is *more plausible, but the old is more safe and certain:* 'And *turning himself about, he said aloud,* Hæc plausibilior, illa securior, *this is the more plausible, that* 'the *more safe.*' It is false, that Melanchthon induced his mother to change her religion, and it is certain she died above thirty years before her son.

[F] *Francis I, thought him a proper person ..... and desired him to come into France.*] Let us here recite the paraphrase which Maimbourg has made upon the narrative of Florimond de Remond. *The queen of Navarre, who knew that the king her brother passionately desired the peace of the church, hoped she might be able to gain him by that means: For that end, she often talked to him of a very good man, as she said, who was called Philip Melanchthon, whom she was continually praising as the most learned man of his time, *who does not indeed approve, added she very dextrously, certain abuses which are manifestly to be seen in the doctrine, manners, and discipline of the Christians of these latter ages; but then he detests the schism which has been made upon this occasion in Germany, and which he has always endeavoured to extinguish by all sorts of means. She assured him that he was a peaceable man, of a mild temper, who had nothing of that fierce and violent spirit of Luther and Zuinglius, one who had always endeavoured to reconcile them among themselves, and with the Catholics, that he might re-unite all mens minds in one and the same belief, and restore to the church peace and union, which he continually wished for; that she did not doubt but if so holy and able a man could confer with the Doctors of the Sorbonne, who desired also nothing but peace, they would quickly find the means of procuring it to the church, and of destroying a schism, which might easily spread from Germany into France, and produce there the same troubles and disorders, which were to be seen in the empire. In fine, she told him so many things to Melanchthon's advantage, and gave him so great hopes of being able to put an end, by his means, to the differences which begun to arise in France, as well as in Germany, about several articles of religion, that he was persuaded to it. Whereupon this prince, who otherwise had a great desire to bring into France the ablest men of his time, wrote to Melanchthon* ‡, *and invited him to come to Paris, to join his endeavours with our divines to restore the ancient discipline of the church* (30). He relates afterwards how the cardinal of Tournon warded off the blow, and persuaded the king *to revoke immediately the leave he had granted to Philip Melanchthon* (31). In fine, he affirms, that this change at first astonished the Heretics; but *that as soon as they had recovered themselves from this surprize ... they had the confidence* to post up placards full of blasphemies *at the gates of the Louvre, and even at the king's chamber-door.* You see then the order in which this Jesuit placed these particulars. 1. The queen of Navarre persuaded the king to send for Melanchthon. 2. The king wrote to this Doctor. 3. The cardinal of Tournon changed this design of the king. 4. The innovators set up placards. 5. These four things happened in the year 1534. Florimond de Remond places them in the same order. Now I will shew they are mistaken, and I am much surprized that Beza should commit the same error; he says also (32), that the business of the placards was posterior to the resolution which Francis I. had taken to send for Melanchthon. Note, that he observes that those placards were fixed up in the month of November 1534.

Here follows a better Chronology of all these matters. The placards were posted up at the time observed by Theodore Beza. Francis I. assisted at a famous procession January 21, 1535, and caused some Heretics to be burnt. Melanchthon was exhorted to endeavour to mitigate the king's anger: He wrote a letter to John Sturmius, who was then in France, and another to John du Bellai, bishop of Paris (33). A gentleman (34) whom Francis I. had sent into Germany spoke to Philip Melanchthon of the journey to France, and assured him, that the king should write to him about it himself, and would furnish him with all necessary safe conducts (35). When he returned into France, he assured the king, that Melanchthon would undertake the journey, if the king would do him the honour to write to him about this matter (36). The prince dispatched immediately the gentleman to carry to Melanchthon the letter he wrote to him. It is dated at Guise the twenty-eighth of June 1535 (37), and declares the pleasure the king had when he understood by the gentleman, and by the letter which William du Bellai had received from Melanchthon, that this Doctor was disposed to come into France, to endeavour to pacify the controversies. Melanchthon wrote to the king the twenty-eighth of September the same year (38). He assured him of his good intentions, and that he was sorry he could not as yet surmount the obstacles to his journey. The gentleman who carried this letter to the king, found him very busy about his preparations for the war in Italy (39), and besides Melanchthon could never obtain leave from the duke of Saxony to go to the court of Francis I (40), although Luther had earnestly exhorted that elector to consent to this journey, by representing to him, that the hopes of seeing Melanchthon had put a stop to the persecution of the Protestants in France, and that there was reason to fear, they would renew the same cruelty when they should know that he would not come (41). The elector had very good reasons not to suffer this journey (42), for he was afraid to expose himself to the resentment of Charles V, and he saw no probability that Melanchthon could do any thing for the interest of religion. He wrote to Francis I, an excuse that he could not suffer Melanchthon to go into France (43). His letter is dated the twenty-eighth of August 1535. Note, that, in the month of December the same year, Langei solicited

(32) Bera, Hist. Ecclesiast. *lect. i, pag.* 15, 16.

(33) Camerar. ubi supra, *pag.* 144.

(34) *Called* Barnabas Voré, Sieur de la Fosse.

(35) Camerar. ib. *pag.* 146.

(36) Id. ib. *pag.* 151.

(37) It is the twenty ninth of the first book among the letters of Melanchthon.

(38) This letter is the thirtieth of the first book of those of Melanchthon.

(39) Camerar. ibid. *pag.* 153.

(40) Id. ib. *pag.* 151.

(41) Luther, *Tom. vii, fol.* 491, apud Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. *lib. iii, pag.* 107.

(42) *See* Seckendorf, ibid. *pag.* 109.

(43) Seckendorf, ubi supra. *pag.* 110.

‡ Epist. Francisc. Reg. ad Phil. Melanc. apud Flor. Ræm. *lib. viii, cap. iv.*

(30) Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism, *book i, pag.* 25, at the year 1534.

(31) Id. ib. *pag.* 29.

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him look upon death as a happineſs, was, that it delivered him from Theological perſecutions [G]. He had married the daughter of a burgomaſter of Wittemberg, in the year 1520, who died in the year 1557 (x). He had two ſons and two daughters by her [H]. As the deſcription of his moral accompliſhments, may be found in a book more eaſie to be conſulted than this Dictionary (y), I ſhall ſay nothing of them. But I will obſerve, that he was credulous, as to prodigies, Aſtrology (z), and Dreams (aa); and I will make ſome reflexions upon the inclination to Pyrrhoniſm,

(x) Id. ib. pag. 190.

(y) In the additions of Mr Teſſier to the Eloges taken out of Thuanus, Tom. i. pag. 187, Edit. 1696.

(z) See the proofs of it in the Hiſtory of the Variations by the biſhop of Meaux, lib. v, num. 34.

(aa) See Melch. Adam, in ejus Vita paſſim.

licited in Germany, that Melanchthon, or ſome other Divines, ſhould be ſent to the king, his maſter (44). How will you make this agree with the narrative of Maimbourg, or with the account of Mezerai, who affirms (45), that, in 1533, the king wrote to Melanchthon by William du Bellai Langei (46), but that the cardinal of Tournon, and the Divines of Paris, perſuaded him to ſend word, *that he did excuſe him from this trouble?* I do not meddle with the confuſions of Mr Varillas; they ſhall be ſhewn afterwards (47). Note alſo, that Melanchthon ſent into France, a ſmall piece, which contained his advices about the reconciling of the controverſies. He did not publiſh it, but it is to be found in the collection of Pezelius (48).

(44) Id. ib.

(45) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. vi, pag. m. 407, 408.

(46) It was not he who carried the king's letter.

(47) In the remark [N].

(48) Seckendorf, lib. iii, pag. 208.

I have read in a letter written to Eraſmus by Sir Thomas More (49), that Tyndal had ſent word that Melanchthon was at the court of France, that he ſpoke to him, and that he had ſeen him enter Paris accompanied with 150 Horſe. 'Tyndalus hæreticus noſtras, qui & nuſquam & ubique exulat, ſcripſit huc nuper *Melanchthonem* eſſe apud Regem *Galliæ*: ſemet collocutum cum eo, qui illum vidiſſet exceptum *Pariſiis*, comitatu C L. equorum: addebat ſe timere *Tyndalus*, ne ſi *Gallia* per illum reciperet verbum Dei, confirmaretur in fide Euchariſtiæ contra *Vicleficam* ſectam. - - - - *Tindal added he was afraid, if France ſhould receive the word of GOD by him, it would be confirmed in the faith of the Euchariſt contrary to the ſect of the Wickliffites.*' Is it poſſible that perſons of merit dare to ſend ſuch lies to their friends?

(49) It is the tenth in the twenty ſeventh book of the letters of Erſmus, pag. 1510.

[G] *He ſaid . . . . that death would deliver him from Theological perſecutions.*] Some days before he died, he wrote upon a piece of paper in two columns the reaſons why he ought not to be ſorry for leaving this world. One of thoſe columns contained the bleſſings which death would procure him; the other contained the evils from which death would deliver him (50). He put only two articles into the latter; I. That he ſhould ſin no more. II. That he ſhould be no longer expoſed to the vexations and rage of the Divines (51). The other column contained ſix heads: I. That he ſhould come to the light. II. That he ſhould ſee GOD. III. That he ſhould contemplate the Son of GOD. IV. That he ſhould underſtand thoſe admirable myſteries which he could not comprehend in this life. V. Why we are created ſuch as we are. VI. What is the union of the two natures in JESUS CHRIST (52). Note, that the ſtate of man appeared to this great Divine one of the moſt incomprehenſible myſteries of religion; and yet there is not one among thoſe who believe without examining, who imagines there is any difficulty in it. From hence it came to paſs, that ſome were ſo ſurprized to find by my Dictionary, that the Manichees could raiſe puzzling objections. But let us keep to our text, and add, that nature which gave Melanchthon a peaceable temper, made him a preſent ill ſuited with the time in which he was to live. His moderation ſerved only to be his croſs. He was like a lamb in the midſt of wolves; no body liked his mildneſs, which expoſed him to all ſorts of ſlander, and deprived him of the means of anſwering a fool according to his folly. The only advantage it procured him was to look upon death without fear, by conſidering that it would ſecure him from the *Odium Theologicum - - - hatred of Divines*, and from the *infidos agitans diſcordia fratres* (53) - - - *diſcord of falſe brethren*. I ſhall ſpeak below (54) of the ſlavery wherein he lived. He ſaid in one of his works, that he had held his profeſſor's place forty years, without ever being ſure that he ſhould not be turned out before the end of the week. *Publice non dubitavit affirmare* †, *ego jam ſum hic, Dei beneficio, quadraginta annos: & nunquam potui dicere aut certus eſſe me per unam ſeptimanam manſurum eſſe* (55).

(50) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. pag. 202.

(51) Diſcedes à peccatis, literaveris ab erroribus & à rabie Theologorum. Id. ib.

(52) Id. ib.

(53) Virgil. Georg. lib. ii, ver. 496.

(54) In the remark [L].

† Tom. i, Enarrat. Evangel. pag. 338.

(55) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 357.

[H] *He had two ſons and two daughters.*] I find nothing concerning his two ſons; but I know that Anne, his eldeſt daughter, was the wife of George Sabinus, one of the beſt Poets of his time. He married her at Wittemberg, November 16, 1536 (56), when ſhe was but fourteen years old. Her huſband carried her into Pruſſia to the great grief of Melanchthon, in the year 1543 (57). There had been ſeveral quarrels between the father-in-law and the ſon-in-law, becauſe the latter being very ambitious, wanted to raiſe himſelf to civil employments, and did not like the humility of Melanchthon, who confined himſelf to literary employments, and would be at no trouble to advance his children (58). Anne underſtood Latin well, and was very handſome (59). Her father loved her tenderly (60). Judge then of the grief he had when ſhe went ſo far from him in the year 1543 (61), and afterwards when ſhe died at Konigſberg in the year 1547 (62). And infer from all this, that he was neither happy at home nor abroad. 'Narrationem talium ideo nequaquam omittendam duco . . . . ut hujuſmodi quaſi vulneribus inſpectis quam miſera interdum vita ſit magnorum virorum intelligatur, cum ad onera Republicæ pondus etiam domeſtici doloris adjicitur (63). - - - - *I think all theſe things ought to be mentioned, and by no means to be omitted . . . that by viewing, as it were, ſuch wounds, we may ſee how miſerable ſometimes the life of great men is: ſince to the burden of the common-wealth the weight of domeſtic trouble is likewiſe added.*' His other daughter was married in the year 1550 to Gaſpar Peucer, who was an able Phyſician, and very much perſecuted (64). If you ſhould doubt whether Melanchthon was a good father, I would deſire you to conſider, that a Frenchman found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a child with the other. Melanchthon ſeeing him ſurprized at this, made ſuch a pious diſcourſe to him about the duty of a father, and the ſtate of grace in which children are with GOD, that this ſtranger went away much more learned than when he came in (65).

(56) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. pag. 227.

(57) Camerar. ubi ſupra, pag. 206.

(58) Id. ib. pag. 207.

(59) Melch. Adam. ibid.

(60) Camerar. ibid. pag. 208.

(61) *See what he wrote to* Camerar. apud Melchior Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 358.

(62) Id. lb.

(63) Camerar. ib. pag. 207.

(64) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Medic. pag. 377.

Let us not forget this reflexion. It is a great happineſs to ſtudious men to be free from ambition and avarice. This ſaves them much time, preſerves them from mean ſubmiſſions, and many troubles. But that a man may enjoy the benefit of this good diſpoſition, it is not ſufficient that he himſelf poſſeſs it; his kindred alſo muſt be provided with it; for a wife, a ſon-in-law, a ſon, a near kinſman, who want to get an eſtate, or advance themſelves to honours, will not ſuffer the man of learning to be at reſt; they will have him to ſollicit, to canvaſs, to make his court, and if he does it not they grumble and quarrel. Melanchthon and his ſon-in-law are a proof of this. 'Inter ſocerum ac generum non quidem odium aut ſimultas, ſed alienatio tamen quædam & prope diſſidium ortum fuit . . . . Fons autem erat omnium, quod Sabinus ſocero nimia cupiditate Illuſtris fortunæ videbatur ardere. Ille autem non tantum adjuvari & quaſi promoveri ſe ab ipſo quantum optabat & poſſe arbitrabatur, ægre ferebat (66). - - - - *There happened between the father-in-law, and the ſon-in-law, not indeed hatred or enmity, but a kind of averſion, and almoſt an open breach . . . . The foundation of all was, becauſe the father-in-law thought Sabinus to be too ambitious of honour. And Sabinus took it ill, that he was not ſo much aſſiſted, and, as it were, promoted by the other, as he wiſhed and imagined might have been done.*' From whence I conclude, that it is a difficult matter to live happily in this miſerable world, ſince a happy life requires not only that a man ſhould govern his own paſſions, but alſo that thoſe of his relations ſhould be well governed.

(65) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. pag. 198.

(66) Camerar. ubi ſupra, pag. 207.

[I] *I will*

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nism, for which he is blamed [*I*]. Some h

[*I*] *I will make some reflexions upon the inclination to Pyrrhonism for which he is blamed.*] 'He seemed 'to have been brought up in the school of Pyrrho, 'for a thousand doubts befet his soul, for fear, said 'he, of erring. His writings were a continual jum-'ble of uncertainties (67).' The author who says this, cites some authorities, and tells us no more than what an infinite number of writers have observed. See in the last place the bishop of Meaux in his *Histoire des Variations*. I believe they exaggerate the matter, but at the same time I think Melanchthon was not free from doubts, and that there were many points about which he could not positively say, *It is so, and it cannot be otherwise*. He was of a mild and peaceable disposition, he had a great deal of wit, much reading, and a vast knowledge. Such a mixture of natural and acquired qualities is commonly a source of irresolution. A great genius, supported with a vast knowledge, will scarce find error to be altogether on one side. He discovers a strong and a weak side in each party, he understands what is most specious in the objections of his adversaries, and what is not solid in his own proofs; he does, I say, all this, provided he be not of a choleric temper; for if he be, he is so prepossessed in favour of his own party, that his knowledge is of no service to him. He does not only persuade himself that he is in the right, but he has such a fondness for his own sentiments, as moves him to hate bitterly the doctrine that opposes them. From the hatred of opinions he quickly proceeds to hate the persons; he aspires to triumph, and being heated with dispute, he is fretted till he obtains the victory: he is angry with those who represent to him, that it is for the interest of heavenly truth, that we should not have recourse to expedients of human policy. He is no less troubled if he hears any body say, that his doctrines are not certain and evident, and that the contrary party can alledge good reasons. Being of such a temper, he examines things only for this end, that he may be more and more convinced, that the doctrines he has embraced are true, and he does not fail to find much solidity in his own arguments; for there is no mirror so flattering as prepossession: it is a paint that embellishes the ugliest faces; it does the same offices to a doctrine that the Venus of the Roman Poet did to her son.

(67) Flor. de Remond, ubi supra, *book ii, cap. ix, pag.* 181.

Restitit Æneas, claraque in luce refulsit;
Os humerosque Deo similis: namque ipsa decoram
Cæsariem nato genitrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum, & lætos oculis afflarat honores.
Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum, Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro (68).

Confess'd Æneas stood, and shone in light
Serene, in shape, and features like a God:
For Venus with the rosy bloom of youth
Had flush'd her son, with graceful looks adorn'd,
And breath'd a sparkling lustre on his eyes.
Such is the beauty which the artist's hands
To polish'd ivory lends: so silver shines,
Or Parian stone, enchas'd in yellow gold. TRAPP.

(68) Virgil Æn. *lib. i, ver.* 588.

Melanchthon not having this temper, could not be so steady in his opinions. He was so cool, that he examined matters freely *pro* and *con*; and because he loved peace, and deplored the confusions which the schism gave birth to, he was more disposed to judge favourably of several doctrines, which hot men made the foundation of a rupture, and which he would have had tolerated to facilitate a re-union. His modesty and experience rendered him a little distrustful. He was persuaded that his knowledge might increase every day, for he remembered that he had corrected many things in his own writings, which he believed to be good when he first published them; but time taught him to withdraw his approbation, and to apply to himself a fine passage of Terence

Nunquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit.
Quin res, ætas, usus, semper aliquid apportet novi,
Aliquid moneat: ut illa, quæ te scire credas nescias
Et quæ tibi putâris prima, in experiundo ut repudies.
Quod mihi evenit nunc - - - - (69).

(69) Terent. Adelph. act v, sc. iv. init.

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Peripatetic Philoſophy [*K*]. There is infinitely more reaſon to pretend that he did not believe

'trantur quicquam intereſt, niſi quod illi non dubitant 'quin ea vera ſint quæ defendunt: Nos probabilia 'multa habemus, quæ ſequi facile, affirmare vix poſ- 'ſumus. Hoc autem liberiores & ſolutiores ſumus, 'quod integra nobis eſt judicandi poteſtas, neque ut 'omnia quæ præſcripta & quaſi imperata ſint, de- 'fendamus, neceſſitate ulla cogimur. Nam cæteri 'primum ante tenentur aſtricti, quam quid eſſet op- 'timum, judicare potuerunt. Deinde infirmiſſimo 'tempore ætatis aut obſecuti amico cuidam, aut una 'alicujus quem primum audierunt, ratione capti, de 'rebus incognitis judicant, & ad quamcunque ſunt 'diſciplinam quaſi tempeſtate delati, ad eam tanquam 'ad ſaxum adhæreſcunt. Nam quod dicunt, omnino 'ſe credere ei, quem judicent fuiſſe ſapientem, proba- 'rem, ſi id ipſum rudes & indocti judicare potuiſſent. 'Statuere enim quid ſit ſapiens, vel maxime videtur 'eſſe ſapientis. Sed ut potuerunt omnibus rebus au- 'ditis, cognitis etiam reliquorum ſententiis judicave- 'runt, aut re ſemel audita ad unius ſe authoritatem 'contulerunt. Sed neſcio quomodo plerique errare 'malunt, eamque ſententiam quam adamaverunt, pug- 'naciſſime defendere, quàm ſine pertinacia quid con- 'ſtantiſſime dicant exquirere. - - - - *The deſign of our 'diſputations is nothing elſe, but by arguing and hearing 'both ſides of the queſtion, to draw forth, and as it were 'to ſqueeze out, the truth, or what comes very near it. Nor 'is there any difference between us and them, who think 'themſelves knowing, but that they entertain no doubt 'about the truth of what they defend: and we think 'many things probable, which we can readily follow, 'but can hardly aver for certain. In this however 'we are more free and independent, that we have 'entire liberty to judge, and are by no means compelled to 'defend all that is preſcribed, and in a manner com- 'manded. For the others are pre-engaged before they could 'judge what was beſt. And moreover, being ſwayed 'in the weakeſt time of life by ſome friend, or led away 'by the firſt that inſtructed them, they judge of things 'without examination, and whatever opinion they are 'caſt upon, as it were by a tempeſt, they cleave to it as 'to a rock. And as to what they ſay, that they entire- 'ly believe him, whom they judge to have been a wiſe 'man, I ſhould approve it, if ignorant and illiterate 'perſons were capable of judging that. For to deter- 'mine what a wiſe man is, ſeems chiefly to be the pro- 'vince of a wiſe man. But I know not how it is, moſt 'people chuſe rather to err, and ſtiffly to defend the opinion 'they love, than, without partiality, to ſearch out what 'they may ſtedfaſtly maintain.'*

[*K*] *Some have falſly accuſed him of hating the Peripatetic Philoſophy.*] I have cited elſewhere (74) Father Rapin, who places Melanchthon in the catalogue of the modern Heretics, who have declamed againſt Ariſtotle and his Philoſophy. This accuſation is not well grounded, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter (75), and would be ſufficiently refuted by ſetting down here what Melanchthon wrote to the chancellor of Bavaria in 1535. 'Vere judicas plurimum intereſſe Reipublicæ ut Ari- 'ſtoteles conſervetur, & extet in ſcholis ac verſetur in 'manibus diſcentium. Nam profecto ſine hoc autore, 'non ſolum non retineri pura philoſophia, ſed ne qui- 'dem juſta docendi aut diſcendi ratio ulla poterit (76). '- - - *You judge truly that it very much concerns the 'State, that Ariſtotle be preſerved, and that it remains 'in ſchools, and be much read by ſcholars. For indeed 'without this author, neither pure Philoſophy, nor even 'a juſt method of teaching and learning can be kept up.*' The Logic of the ſchools, of all the parts of Philoſophy, was that which was leaſt grateful to the Reformers; for they looked upon it as the ſource of vain ſubtilties, which made young people loſe a great deal of time, and corrupted Theology; yet Melanchthon declared for Logic. His teſtimony was cited by Caramuel in the catalogue he has given us of ſome Proteſtant Doctors, who recommend the ſtudy of that part of Philoſophy. 'Philippus Melanchthon, *ſays he* (77), Lutheri diſ- 'cipulus fuit, & tametſi Magiſter parvi Logicam pen- 'deret, ipſe maximi eam fecit, & inter alia in præfatione 'Erotem. Dialect. hæc ſcripſit. *Hos & adhortor, & prop- 'ter gloriam Dei, ac propter Eccleſiæ ſalutem obteſtor ne di- 'alecticen negligant, nec applaudant inſulſis ſermonibus eo- 'rum qui vituperant eam & Eccleſiæ inutilem eſſe &c. 'imo Dialectica opus eſt non ſolum ut doctrina lucem ha- 'beat, ſed etiam ut ſit concordiæ vinculum - - - Philip 'Melanchthon was the diſciple of Luther, and tho' his 'maſter undervalued Logic, he himſelf had a vaſt o- 'pinion of it; and, among other things, he wrote thus:* 'I exhort and beſeech them, both for the glory of 'God, and the welfare of the church, not to neglect 'Logic, nor applaud the fooliſh diſcourſes of thoſe who 'reproach it, and ſay it is uſeleſs to the church, *&c.* 'Nay, Logic is not only neceſſary, that the doctrine 'may receive light, but alſo that it may be the bond 'of peace.' The Jeſuit James Gretſer, deſigning to combat the hatred which Luther expreſſed againſt the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, oppoſes Melanchthon to him and cites a long paſſage out of this diſciple of Luther: 'A quo, *ſays he* (78), hanc Apologiam mutuabimur, 'niſi ab illo, cui Lutherus plurimum tribuere ſolebat: 'quique ea, quæ olim in Ariſtotelem conjecerat, ma- 'ledicta laudibus poſtea diſpunxit? Is eſt Melanchthon 'qui in oratione de Ariſtotele * à Flocco quodam 'Norimbergenſi recitata his verbis Logicam Ariſtote- 'licam adverſus Lutheri criminationes nobis dat de- 'fenſam. *Nunc quædam de genere Philoſophiæ addam 'cur Ariſtotelicum maxime nobis in Eccleſia uſui eſſe 'arbitremur. Conſtare arbitror inter omnes, maxime no- 'bis in Eccleſia opus eſſe Dialectica, quæ methodos recte 'informat, quæ dextre definit, juſte partitur, apte con- 'nectit, judicat, & divellit monſtroſas connexiones. 'Hanc artem qui non norunt lacerant materias expli- 'candas, ut cuculi panniculos. Libet enim uti Platonis 'ſimilitudine. Vere eam Plato laudibus effert, inquiens 'igniculum eſſe, quem Prometheus è cælo attulerit, ut 'in mentibus hominum lumen accenderet ad recte judi- 'candum. Sed artis præcepta nuſquam tradit. Ca- 'rere igitur Ariſtotelis monumentis non poſſumus. Stoi- 'ca non extant, & apparet intricatos Labyrinthos, & 'corruptelas artis fuiſſe, non ſimplicem diſſerendi viam, 'utilem explicationi magnarum rerum.* Hæc Philip- pus pro Ariſtotelis Logicâ contra Lutheri amentiam: '- - - *From whence ſhall we borrow this apology, but from 'him, for whom Luther uſed to have a vaſt eſteem; 'and who afterwards cancelled with praiſes, thoſe re- 'proaches he had formerly thrown upon Ariſtotle? It is 'Melanchthon, who, in an oration on Ariſtotle, ſpoken 'by one Floccus of Nuremberg, defends, the Logic of A- 'riſtotle againſt the charge of Luther in the following 'words:* Now I will add ſomething concerning Phi- loſophy, why I judge that of Ariſtotle to be moſt 'uſeful in the church. I think it is agreed by all, that 'Logic is moſt neceſſary for us in the church, becauſe 'it teaches method and order, it defines fitly, divides 'juſtly, connects aptly, judges, and ſeparates mon- 'ſtrous connexions. Thoſe who are ignorant of this 'art, tear the ſubject to be treated on, as puppies do 'rags. For I like to uſe Plato's ſimilitude. Plato 'juſtly extols it by calling it the fire, which Pro- 'metheus brought from Heaven, to kindle a light in 'the minds of men to enable them to judge rightly. 'But he no where gives the precepts of the art. We 'cannot therefore be without Ariſtotle's Logic. That 'of the Stoics is not extant, and it appears to have 'been intricate, and a corruption of the art, not a ſim- 'ple way of reaſoning, fit for explaining great things. 'Thus far Philip for Ariſtotle's Logic againſt the madneſs 'of Luther.' The ſequel of this paſſage of Melanch- thon recited by Gretſer, contains great praiſes upon the Phyſics and Moral Philoſophy of Ariſtotle.

It is not therefore neceſſary to juſtify Melanchthon upon this head, his own works ſufficiently juſtify him; but I muſt not forget a miſtake of Father Rapin. He cites (79) a Theſis maintained by Luther at Heidelberg in the year 1518, wherein Ariſtotle was ill- uſed. 'Luther, continues he, lets no occaſion ſlip in 'his books of inveighing againſt this Philoſopher, 'wherein he is followed by Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, 'Zanchius, Melanchthon, and by all thoſe who 'have oppoſed the doctrine of the Romiſh church: 'which made Melchior Canus ſay, *&c.*' All this, and what he had juſt ſaid of the Anabaptiſts, is taken out of a book of George Hornius, which he cites. Now the words of that author are theſe: 'Ibique '(*Lutherus*) pluribus Ariſtotelem exagitat. Zuin- 'glius etiam, P. Martyr, Zanchius & alii excelſiſſime 'florebant

(74) In the remark [*T*] of the article ARISTOTLE.

(75) At the end of this remark.

(76) Melanchth. Epiſt. ad Leonhardum Eccium. *It is the 116th of the firſt book, pag.* m. 165.

(77) Jo. Caramuel, Theolog. Rational. Tom. 1, pag. 42. Edit. Francof. 1654, *in folio.*

(78) Jacob. Gretſer. inaugur. Doctor. *pag.* 60, 61.

* *Melanchth. Tom. iii, Declamat.*

(79) Rapin, Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, *pag.* m. 451.

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believe the real presence [L], nor that Grace was irresistible (bb). Frier de St Romuald affirms,

(bb) See the article SYNERGISTS.

florebant Philosophiæ laudibus. Omnes tamen exsuperavit divinum *Philippi* Melanchtonis ingenium, qui scriptis suis totam Philosophiam ita illustravit, ut vere author ejus & fatalis in Germania instaurator dici possit. Illustravit Dialecticam, Ethicam, Physicam, & Mathematicas disciplinas: expurgavit spinas Philosophorum: id denique effecit, ut Philosophia mox florentissima efficeretur (80). - - - - *And there Luther inveighs much against Aristotle. Zwinglius also, P. Martyr, Zanchius, and others eminently distinguished themselves in Philosophy. But the divine genius of Philip Melanchthon surpassed them all, who by his writings has so illustrated all Philosophy, that he may be truly called the author, and destined restorer of it in Germany. He has illustrated Logic, Ethics, Physics, and Mathematics: he has cleared the intricacy of the Philosophers, and, in fine, brought Philosophy to the most flourishing condition.*' The particle *etiam* being put a little after the words which signify that Luther inveighed against Aristotle, made Rapin think, that Zuinglius, and the other reformers named by Hornius, inveighed also against Aristotle; but he might easily have known that this was far from the thoughts of Hornius. The elogium he bestowed upon Melanchthon might be still further enlarged; for this great man did not only illustrate all the parts of Philosophy; but there is scarce any art or science about which he did not write, and endeavour to facilitate the study of them by easy and plain methods. What shall we say then of those who were so impudent as to publish, that Melanchthon and Carlostad cried down all the sciences, that they turned artificers, and rendered all the schools like a desart, so that there was nothing to be seen in them but cobwebs (81)? It would be difficult to find professors who read so many lectures, and to so many people as he did (82). He often read three or four lectures in a day (83), and there is reason to believe, that when he married he did not interrupt his academic exercises, except on his wedding-day, which may be inferred from this distich:

(80) Georg. Hornius, Hist. Philos. *lib. vi, cap. ix, pag.* 315.

(81) The Jesuit Cresollius is one of them. *See* Morhoff. Polyhist. *pag.* 7, 8.

(82) See, below, in the remark [P] what Sabinus answered to cardinal Bembus.

A studiis hodie facit ocia grata Philippus,
Nec vobis Pauli dogmata sacra leget.

Rest from your studies: Philip says you may.
He'll read no lectures on St Paul to day.

(83) Konig. Bibl. *pag.* 527. *See below, citation* (85).

This was the notice which was given on that day to his auditors (84). He was the prineipal support of the university of Wittemberg. ' Sua industria atque eruditione Wittembergicam Academiam præcipuè sustinuit: nec passus est vel bellis civilibus, vel intestinis odiis sese ab ea abstrahi: binas, ternas, quaternas quotidie scholas habuit easque frequentissimas: nullam autem horam vacuam à legendo, scribendo, disserendo, consulendo (85). - - - - *By his industry, and learning he principally supported the university of Wittemberg: nor did he suffer himself to be drawn away from it either by civil wars or intestine quarrels: he gave lectures twice, thrice, or four times a day, and that to a numerous audience, and not an hour did he spend without reading, writing, discourfing, or consulting.*'

(84) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philos. *pag.* 190.

(85) Id. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 355.

To speak the truth without dissimulation, I must here declare, that Melanchthon at the beginning followed the dance that Luther led him, and spoke ill of Aristotle: but he quickly changed his tone, and continued to recommend the Philosophy of this founder of the Lyceum. Wherefore Father Rapin had no ground for the accusation mentioned in the beginning of this remark; for we must not judge of a man by those opinions which he quickly forsakes; but by those wherein he continues all the rest of his life. Father Gretser might have taught Father Rapin how to speak about this matter. See what I have already cited from that German Jesuit, and what I am going to take from the same author. ' Quid ad nos, quid Aristoteles impurus homo dicat? *vociferatur Philippus* †. *Et in Locis Anno Christi, M D XXIII, Argentorati editis:* ‡ Aristotelis doctrina est in universum quædam libido rixandi ut eum inter paræneticæ philosophiæ scriptores ne postremo quidem loco dignemur. Quid ad me quid senserit ille rixator? inquit *in iisdem locis* ‡ *Philippus. Quanquam postea Vertumnus iste stylum vertit, & maledicta in benedicta convertit* (86). - - - - *What is it to us, what Aristotle, that vile fellow, says?* cries Philip. And in his Common-places published at Strasburg, in the year 1523: *The doctrine of Aristotle is in general a certain violent desire of quarrelling; so that I do not think him worthy even of the last place among the writers of the Parenetic Philosophy.* What is it to me, *what the opinion of that quarrelsome fellow was?* Says Philip in the same Common-places. Tho' afterwards that turn-coat changed his stile, and turned his curses into blessings.' See the margin (87).

† Phil. in Apolog. pro Luth. & in Ludo contra Parisiens.

‡ Tit. de Peccato.

‡ Tit. de Lege.

(86) Jacob. Gretser. ubi supra, *pag.* 45.

[L] *There would be more reason to pretend that he did not believe the real presence.*] Peucer was heard to say (88), I. That Melanchthon, his father-in-law, having read the dialogue of Oecolampadius *de Cœna Domini*, forsook the opinion of the oral manducation, and that afterwards he triumphed in the argument from the authority of the Fathers. ' Patribus doctrina ' Synusiastarum fuit ignota: Augustinus crassissimus ' fuit Swinglianus, ergo, *&c.* - - - *The doctrine of Con-* ' *substantiation was unknown to the Fathers: Augustin* ' *was a thorough-placed Zwinglian, therefore,* &c.' II. That he did not believe a man could die with a greater glory than for the doctrine of the Eucharist, and that he was angry with himself that he did not show a greater courage in making an open profession of his opinion. ' Ah utinam possem esse fortior in confessione istius causæ, & alibi essem. Sed his moribus, his ' temporibus inter hos homines fieri id non potest, & habeo ' graves rationes mei consilii. Interim dico sententiam ' meam ubi video opus esse. - - - - - *I wish I could* ' *be more courageous in the profession of that cause, and* ' *that I were somewhere else. But in these times,* ' *and considering the manners of these men, it cannot be* ' *done, and I have weighty reasons for thinking so. In* ' *the mean time I declare my sentiments when I see it ne-* ' *cessary.*' III. That in the year 1544, he explained himself freely to an Hungarian, who asked his thoughts about the Eucharist, and that the thing being reported to Luther and Pomeranus, the latter one day addressed himself in this manner to the people in a sermon. *Most dear brethren, the church is in great danger, pray to God Almighty for some great persons that are fallen into error.* IV. That Melanchthon understanding this was meant of him, could not suppress his anger, but went out of the church in the sight of all the congregation; that he related this affair to Cruciger, and that they concluded to withdraw from Wittemberg; which they would have put in execution, if Luther had not passed his word, that the court of Saxony should do them no hurt upon this occasion. V. That Melanchthon lived under hard bondage at Wittemberg, and run the risque three times of being sent to prison (89). VI. That he disapproved the Concordate made in the year 1536, and the fearfulness of Bucer, which made him yield too much to Luther. ' Nec tacebat de con- ' cordia Wittembergica inter Lutherum & Bucerum ' anno 1536, inita. Melanchthonem aiebat Bucerum ' sæpe hortatum fuisse ne tantum Luthero largiretur, ' sed Bucerum fuisse timidum, circumseptum ab inimicis. Reliquos etiam superioris Germaniæ Theologos nimis fracto & demisso animo fuisse. - - - - - ' *Nor did he conceal his dislike of the Concordate, made at* ' *Wittemberg in the year* 1536, *between Luther and Bucer. He said Melanchthon had often exhorted Bucer not* ' *to yield so much to Luther, but that Bucer was fearful,* ' *being surrounded by enemies. That the other Divines of* ' *Upper-Germany were likewise too mean spirited.*' These are the discourses which Peucer had with Scultetus, who went to see him at Dessau in the year 1589.

(87) *This may be confirmed by these words of Erasmus,* Epist. ad fratres Germaniæ inferioris, *pag. m.* 2127. Nonne Melanchthon aliquando damnavit scholas publicas? Nunc hic dicit, maneant scholæ quæ bonæ sunt, vitia corrigantur. - - - *Did not Melanchthon once condemn the public schools? Now he says, let good schools remain, and faults be corrected.*

(88) Abraham Schultetus, Narrat. Apologet. *pag.* 20, *&* *seq.*

(89) A Joanne Friderico Electore ter illi decretum fuisse carceremo. - - - *John Frederic the elector, determined three times to put him in prison.* Id. ib.

But if one would be assured of the sincerity of this relator, he needs only read the works of Peucer (90), and particularly that which was printed in 1596, by the care of Quirinus Reuterus, which is intituled, Tractatus historicus de clarissimi viri Philippi Melanchthonis sententia de controversia cœnæ domini, à D. Casparo Peucero ante plures annos scriptus, sed jam primum seperatim boni publici ergo excusus: Cum appendice selectarum epistolarum & judiciorum aliquot Philippi, aliorumque præstantium virorum de eadem materia. - - - - - *An historical treatise of the opinion of of the famous Philip Melanchthon, on the controversy about the Lord's Supper, written several years ago by the D. Casparius Peucer, but now first printed by itself, for the*

(90) *As the* Historia Carcerum, *and the preface to the treatise* De præcipuis divinationum generibus.

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affirms, that his body was burnt at Munich [*M*]. This appears to me to be a very groſs fiction. Mr Varillas has publiſhed ſuch ſtrange falſhoods [*N*], that it may be juſtly

the benefit of the public: with an appendix of ſome ſelect epiſtles and opinions of Philip, and other great men, on the ſame ſubject. Hoſpinian (91) will prove to you at large, that Melanchthon was undeceived and turned from Lutheraniſm, as to the point of the real preſence, although the fear of oppreſſion did not ſuffer him to declare his judgment openly. He hath collected together ſeveral proofs of this fear (92). The famous Melanchthon being threatned with baniſhment, declared at laſt, that he wiſhed for it as a kind of deliverance (93). He ' knew of no other remedy for all thoſe evils, but ' flight, and his ſon-in-law Peucer †† informs us, ' that he was reſolved upon it. ' He himſelf writes ‡‡, ' that Luther was ſo enraged againſt him, about a ' a letter received from Bucer, that he thought of no- ' thing but withdrawing himſelf for ever from his ' preſence. He lived under ſuch continual conſtraint ' with Luther, and the heads of the party, and was ' ſo oppreſſed with labour and vexation, that, being ' quite ſpent, he wrote to his friend Camerarius: *I am,* ' ſays he ‡‡, *in bondage, as if I were in the cave of* ' *the Cyclop; for I cannot diſguiſe my ſentiments to you,* ' *and I have often thoughts of making my eſcape.* Lu- ' ther was not the only perſon that was violent againſt ' him. Every one has the command at certain times ' among thoſe who forſake the lawful authority, and ' the moſt moderate are always the moſt enſlaved (94).' Note, that this paſſage of the biſhop of Meaux does not concern the conſtraint Luther was in, with reſpect to his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(91) See his ſecond volume Hiſtoriæ Sacramentariæ, *pag.* 234, & paſſim alibi. Conſult alſo the biſhop of Meaux, Hiſt. des Variat. *livr. viii, num.* 39.

(92) See particularly, *pag.* 428. & ſeq. Hiſt. Sacrament. *Tom. ii.*

(93) Hoſpin. ib. *pag.* 430.

†† Peuc. *Ep. ad Vit. Theod. Hiſp. pag.* 2, *fol.* 193, & *ſeq.*

‡‡ *Mel. lib. iv, Epiſt.* 315.

†† *Lib. iv,* 355.

(94) *The biſhop of Meaux,* Hiſt. des Variations, *livr. v, num.* 16.

[*M*] *St Romuald affirms, that his body was burnt at Munich.*] ' Philip Melanchthon, a native of Breſſe (95) ' in Germany, died at Wittemberg, being a little ' above ſixty three years of age. He was the conſtant ' companion of Martin Luther. He was buried like ' him, honourably enough by people of their own ' ſtamp; but ſome time after, the Catholics * dug up ' his body and burnt it with great zeal at Munich: ' And becauſe in the mean time the caſtle took fire, ' and the lyons eſcaped, not without great danger to ' the inhabitants of the city, Du Pleſſis-Mornai took ' occaſion from thence to cry out, Juſta Domini ' judicia, *the juſt judgment of God.* This is in a letter ' he wrote to the Sieur Languet of Burgundy (96).' This good Monk quotes no body, and ſets down the year 1597, which is a good proof of his ignorance; for Languet died in 1581.

(95) He ſhould have ſaid Breton.

* In the year 1597.

(96) Peter de St Romuald, Abrégé Chronol. *Tom. iii, pag.* m. 328. *ad ann.* 1580.

[*N*] *Mr Varillas has publiſhed ſuch ſtrange falſhoods.*] ' They give no leſs different accounts of Melanchthon's ' death, which happened almoſt at the ſame time; he ' was then ſixty three years and three days old (97). ' His mother, who attended him, having conjured ' him at his death to declare which of the religions ' was the beſt; he anſwered her, that the new ' was more plauſible, but the Catholic was more ' ſafe. Yet that which was moſt ſurprizing in him ' was, that his inconſtancy in matters of religion, ' did not hinder him from ſhowing a great firmneſs ' of ſoul under adverſity. He ſpent all his life in ' ſtudy, and ſeemed not to be capable of any other ' labour. He ſubſiſted with his wife and ſeveral ' daughters he had (98), upon the ſalary he received ' from John Frederic elector of Saxony, as profeſſor ' of Divinity, in the univerſity of Wittemberg. This ' ſalary was juſt ſufficient to maintain Melanchthon's ' family, who receiving it punctually every quarter, ' never troubled himſelf much about the time to come, ' becauſe he ſuppoſed this would be an inexhauſtible ' ſpring to ſupply him. But it happened, as we have ' ſhown in the 16th book of this hiſtory, that the ' elector of Saxony loſt his dominions and his liberty, ' and Melanchthon's ſalary was no longer paid. His ' houſhold-goods were of ſo little value, that they ' were not ſufficient to maintain him for any long time; ' and within a few months he was reduced to the ' neceſſity of begging or importuning his friends, every ' one of whom had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes in the ' general revolution of Saxony. Both theſe extremi- ' ties were equally unpleaſant to him; and therefore ' he choſe rather to get his livelihood with the ſweat ' his brows, by going into a profeſſion very different ' from his own. He hired himſelf to a Brewer of ' beer, and ſerved three whole years in the brew-houſe, ' till duke Maurice being put in poſſeſſion of the elec- ' torate of Saxony, re-eſtabliſhed the univerſity of ' Wittemberg, and the ſalary of Melanchthon (99).' Note, that the mother of Melanchthon died in 1529, how then could ſhe aſk any queſtion in 1560? See, above, what I have ſaid in the remark [*E*] (99**). againſt Florimond de Remond. I will not trouble myſelf with proving that he never hired himſelf to a Brewer: This is a ſtory whoſe falſity may be diſcovered by the bare inſpection of the courſe of the life of this learned Perſon. I ſhall add, by the by, that thoſe who ſay that, in the year 1524, *Luther took Melanchthon out of a Baker's ſhop* (100), *to whom he had bound himſelf apprentice to get a livelihood* (101) with the ſweat of his brows, are groſsly miſtaken.

(97) He ſhould have ſaid ſixty three days.

(98) He had but two.

(99) Varillas, Hiſt. de l'Hérèſie, *Tom. v, book xxiv, pag.* 277, *Dutch Edit.*

(99**) Citat. (29).

(100) Florimond de Remond, Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, *livr. i, cap. ii, pag.* 95.

Not to ſeparate the faults of Varillas, I referred to this place the narrative he has given us of the deſign of Francis I, with reſpect to Melanchthon. He ſuppoſes that the ſiſter (102), and the miſtreſs (103) of this prince, intrigued mightily to introduce the new religion into the kingdom (104), and that not ſucceeding in their attempt, built upon a ſermon of the curate of St Euſtache, they made uſe of another device, which was to perſuade the king to gain the Proteſtants of Germany, which would be very advantageous to him for oppoſing the too great power of Charles V, and they repreſented to him, that nothing would be more effectual to gain them, than to ſhew a great deſire of having a conference with Melanchthon (105). The firſt ſtep which this prince made in ' this affair, was the order which Langey received, ' who had known this divine in Saxony, to ſound him ' if he were inclining to change his chair of Theology ' at Wittemberg, whoſe income was only two hun- ' dred crowns a year, for a Royal Profeſſor's chair ' in the univerſity of Paris, at twelve hundred crowns ' a year (106).' The ſecond ſtep that he made was ' to commiſſion Langey to uſe his endeavours at the ' court of Saxony, *to obtain the leave that Melanch-* ' *thon deſired*, and to give him a letter for this famous ' divine, ſigned with the king's own hand .... The ' elector of Saxony did no ſooner hear what the moſt ' chriſtian king deſired of him to let Melanchthon ' come, but he imagined that this would make all ' France turn Lutheran ..... He did not deliberate ' an inſtant upon the requeſt that was made to him, ' and not only parted with a man, whom he believed ' to be ſtill very neceſſary to him, but alſo exhorted ' him to ſet out immediately on his journey. But ' Luther, who could not be without Melanchthon, de- ' tained him a long time, upon pretence that he was ' to concert, or, to ſpeak more properly, to poliſh ' with him, his laſt book againſt the Anabaptiſts ' (107).' Melanchthon wrote a civil anſwer to Fran- ' cis I, and concludes ' with an excuſe for not coming ' away the minute the elector, his maſter, had given him ' leave (108).' The cardinal of Tournon had the courage *to oppoſe this intrigue of the queen of Navarre,* *and the ducheſs of Etampes* (109). He made a diſ- courſe which Francis I. reliſhed well; ' but the virtue ' which this prince affected moſt was to keep his ' word, and he ſuppoſed that it would be thought the ' more ſtrange, if he ſhould break it with reſpect to ' Melanchthon, becauſe that divine had not attempted ' of himſelf to come to Paris, neither had he conſented ' to do it, till he was invited in an honourable way. ' There was nothing therefore reſolved upon, and his ' majeſty's indifference had probably continued longer, ' if the ſame Lutherans who had ſo dextrouſly in- ' ſpired him with the deſire of ſeeing Melanchthon, ' had not made him averſe to it by an inſolent action, ' which put him quite out of conceit with them ' (110).' They had already poſted up ſome placards at his cloſet door, which had made him very angry; but he was much more offended ' at the printed bills ' which they ſlipt into the caſket that contained the ' linnen for the king's table, by means of Ferret a ' ſervant to his Apothecary. It was ſuſpected that ' they were compoſed by Farel .... The reading of ' theſe bills finiſhed the work which the cardinal of ' Tournon had begun, and Melanchthon was counter- ' manded. The ſpreaders of theſe bills were ſearched ' for, and a very ſevere edict was publiſhed, which

(101) Id. ib. *book ii, cap. ii, pag.* 126.

(102) Margaret queen of Navarre.

(103) The ducheſs of Etampes.

(104) Varillas, ibid. *Tom. ii, book x, pag.* 312.

(105) Id. ib. *pag.* 317, 319.

(106) Id. ib. *pag.* 321.

(107) Id. ib. *pag.* 322.

(108) Ib. *pag.* 323.

(109) Ib. *p.* 324.

(110) Ib. *p.* 325.

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justly thought a needless labour to confute them. The violence wherewith Melanchthon was calumniated during his life, persecuted him even after his Death (*cc*). It is astonishing, that amidst so many other occupations he could write so many books. The number of them is prodigious; a Chronological catalogue of them was published in the year 1582 (*dd*). As he saw that his works, tho' he did not finish them, nay tho' he published them pretty imperfect, were nevertheless profitable to the youth, he rather chose to print many of them, than to perfect a small number (*ee*). And so he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe also that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him some assurance that his works would be esteemed, tho' they were not finished (*ff*). His Latin verses pleased the hypercritical Julius Cæsar Scaliger (*gg*). He sometimes assumed a false name in the title of his books [O]. Cardinal

(*cc*) *See* Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. *pag.* 357, 358, & Bucholcher. Ind. Chron. ad ann. 1560, *pag. m.* 600.

(*dd*) Mar. Mylius is the author of that catalogue. See *Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag.* 347.

(*ee*) *See* Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 361.

(*ff*) *See* Erasmus, in Ciceroniano.

(*gg*) Jul. Cæsar Scalig. Poet. *lib. vi, pag. m.* 736.

'the cardinal, chancellor Duprat, had drawn up against 'the Lutherans. On the twenty ninth of January '1535, there was a solemn procession, at which the 'king assisted on foot bare-headed, and with a wax-
(111) Ib. *p.* 326. 'taper in his hand (111).'

There are many falsehoods in this narrative. In the 1st place I desire a good warrant, before I believe upon
(112) Note, that Florimond de Remond, *book vii, cap. iii,* says the same thing, but his authority requires another to support it. the authority of Varillas (112), that the duchess of Etampes concerned herself out of love to the Protestants, among other intrigues, in that of Melanchthon's journey, and that he was offered the chair of Regius professor. II. It appears by the kings letter to Melanchthon, that he who carried it was called la Fosse: And therefore it was not given to Mr de Langey. III. The elector of Saxony was so far from believing that Melanchthon's journey would make all France Lutheran, that one of the reasons why he would not consent to it, was, that he thought it would rather hinder than further the progress of the Reformation. This appears by the original letters which he wrote upon this occasion (113.) IV. He was so far from granting Melanchthon the liberty that was necessary without deliberating a moment, and moreover from *exhorting him to set forward on his journey presently*, that, on the contrary, he could not be prevailed upon, neither by the intreaties of that Professor, nor by those of Luther, nor by the good offices of the ambassador of France (114.) He wrote his excuses to Francis I, the 28th of August 1535 (115). The ambassador continued still to sollicit, and all to no purpose, till the month of December the same year (116). V. Luther did not *detain Melanchthon a long time*, but, on the contrary, made repeated instances to the court of Saxony for his journey. 'Exstant Lutheri ad electorem literæ d. 17. Aug. datæ tom. 'vi. fol. 491. in quibus repetitis & enixissimis precibus 'contendit ut Philippus ad tres menses dimittatur
(117) Ib. *p.* 107. '(117). - - - - - - *Luther's letter to the elector dated the* '*17th day of August, is to be seen tom.* vi. *fol.* 491. *in* '*which he most earnestly begs, again and again, that* '*Philip might be sent in three months time.*' VI. It is horrible impudence to say, that Melanchthon in a letter to the king, *concluded with an excuse that he had not come away the very minute the elector, his master, had given him leave.* There is no such thing in his letter, and he could not, without telling a lye, mention the permission of his master. VII. The time of the placards ought not to be distinguished from that wherein the bills were slipt into the casket of Francis I, and if Varillas had a mind to have made a distinction, the bills should have preceded the placards. And indeed Florimond de Remond, whom Varillas here does only paraphrase upon, supposes that the Heretics did not post up any placards (118), till after they had *dispersed several books here and there . . . . . and caused their articles of faith to be thrown into the king's closet by his Apothecary's servant called Ferret, and even little bills into the casket that contained the linnen for his table* (119). VIII. The sharpest things that were said against the mass and the priests, were not in those bills, but in the placards (120). IX. Varillas cannot prove that Francis I. countermanded Melanchthon; he still desired to have him in the month of December 1535, after the letter he received from the elector of Saxony, full of excuses for not granting to this doctor leave to go into France. It is therefore very probable that Francis I. was never under a necessity to countermand him. X. It is very certain that the placards did not induce him to it, for they were posted up in the month of November 1534. The king punished this insolence, and expiated that affront to the host, in the month of January following; and he wrote to Melanchthon five months after. Can one sufficiently wonder at the negligence of Mr Varillas? He gives the substance of the letter which Francis I. wrote to Melanchthon, and he might have seen that it is dated the twenty eighth of June 1535. He says (121), that the expiatory procession for the placards was made the twenty ninth of January 1535 (122), and yet he affirms, that the occasion of the procession was the cause why the German Divine received a counter-order.

(118) Florimond de Remond, ubi supra, *book vii, cap. v, pag.* 859.

(119) Varillas attributes this to the servant, and so does not keep to his original.

(120) Florimond de Remond, ubi supra.

(121) Varillas, ubi supra, *pag.* 326.

(122) Beginning the year with the month of January.

If he had complained that his History of Heresy had been taken for a Romance, he would hardly have had more reason for doing so, than *la Calprenede* had, who took it very heinously, that his Cassandra and Cleopatra were not looked upon as Histories. 'Nay, I will 'say, for the honour of these works, *says he* (123), 'that justice is not done them by the name that is 'given them, though perhaps they have been pretty 'well received in the world, and that instead of call-'ling them Romances, as the Amadis, and other such 'like, wherein there is neither truth, nor probability, 'nor Geography, nor Chronology, they may be 'looked upon as histories embellished with some inven-'tion, which by these ornaments lose nothing of their 'beauty. And indeed I can justly say, that in Cassan-'dra and Cleopatra, there is not only nothing con-'trary to truth, although there be some things be-'yond it; but that there is not any place wherein I 'can be convicted of a lie, and which I am not able 'to maintain, by all the circumstances of the history, 'to be true when I please. And there are several 'intelligent persons too, who have formed the same 'judgment of them, and who have looked upon me 'as a man better skilled in the affairs of the courts 'of Augustus and Alexander, than those who have 'writ their histories.' This is an arrant rodomontade, and there are very few things more romantic than this in the works of that author. Nevertheless I dare repeat it, that Mr Varillas could not make the like complaints with much more reason. For the rest, it is matter of astonishment, that so many French writers should be guilty of the sophism *à non causa pro causa, to assign for a cause what is not so*, speaking of this affair of Melanchthon. They pretend that the fixing up of placards by the Protestants hindered his journey; and yet it is certain that by accident it was the cause why he was sent for. How much soever they are to blame; they are less so than the Jesuit Sandæus (124), who durst call in question what Thuanus relates, that Francis I. wrote to Melanchthon, *&c.* Consult Mr Crenius, who solidly refutes the impudence of this writer, and his unjust contempt of Melanchthon (125).

(123) La Calprenede, *preface to* Pharamond.

(124) Maximil. Sandæus in pedia Academici Christiani, Commentat. vii, *pag.* 250, Edit. Colon. 1638, in 8vo, *apud Crenium ubi infra.*

[O] *He sometimes assumed a false name in the title page of his books.*] He called himself Didymus Faventinus in the answer he wrote in 1520, to an oration which Thomas Rhadinus, a Dominican and Professor of Divinity at Rome, had published against Luther. You will find an abridgment of that answer in Mr Seckendorf (126). But let no man think, because the author declaims very sharply against the errors of the school-men, that I was to blame in maintaining, that he did not disapprove Aristotle's Philosophy. To know exactly the sentiments of an author, we must not insist upon what he says in an invective written against another invective; but we must learn his judgment from his didactical writings or his letters, or, in general, from such works as do not savour of declamation. Every one knows how a man grows warm and exaggerates matters in harangues. After all, because a man censures very sharply the dangerous impertinencies wherewith the school-mens Philosophy is stuffed, it does not follow that he condemns Aristotle's Philosophy. Mr Placcius having observed (127) that Hoornbeeck attributed to Melanchthon

(125) Crenius, Animadv. Philolog. *Part ii, pag.* 21, *& seq.*

(126) Seckendorf, ubi supra, *lib. i, pag.* 108, *& seq.*

(127) Placcius de Pseudonymis, *pag.* 185, 186.

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Cardinal Bembus asked three questions which deserve to be related [*P*].

Melanchthon the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession, which appeared under the name of Paul Dolscius (128), believed that the translation of Ecclesiasticus and the Psalms into Greek verse, was the work of Melanchthon, though the name of Paul Dolscius is prefixed to them. This opinion of Placcius, which was adopted by Mr Teissier (129) and Mr Crenius (130), is found to be false. Mr Lyserus (131) ecclesiastic counsellor to H. E. H. the duke of Hanover, has proved, that the translations of the Psalter, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, into Greek verse, and of the Augsburg Confession into Greek prose, do really belong to Paul Dolscius (132), whose name they bear. See the letter which he wrote to Mr Crenius (133). Here let us observe a piece of negligence in Melchior Adam. He affirms, that in 1559 Melanchthon wrote in Greek to the patriarch of Constantinople, and sent him a copy of the Greek version of the Confession of Augsburg (134), which version, adds he, had been made by Melanchthon, although it was published under the name of Dolscius: And presently after he cites these words. 'Mitto tibi 'interpretationem Græcam confessionis sine meo con-'filio editam. Probo tamen phrasin, ac misi Constan-'tinopolim (135). - - - *I send you the Greek version of* 'the Confession, which was published without my advice. 'However, I like the style, and have sent it to Con-'stantinople.' These words are Melanchthon's, and show that he did not make this version. Wherefore we may say, that Melchior Adam produces a witness against himself, when he thought to prove what he had affirmed.

(128) Hornbeeck Summa Controvers. lib. ii, pag. 979, Edit. 2.

(129) Teissier, Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. i, pag. 152.

(130) Crenius, Animadv. Philol. & Histor. Part ii, pag. 25.

(131) Great grandson of Polycarp LYSERUS, of whom I have given an article.

It is pretended, that Melanchthon sometimes called himself Hippophilus Melangæus (136); but I have seen nothing of his under this disguise.

[*P*] *Cardinal Bembus asked three questions which deserve to be related.*] Melanchthon wrote to him a letter, to recommend to him George Sabinus, who was going to see Italy (137). The cardinal had a great regard to this recommendation, he showed much civility to Sabinus, and invited him to dine with him. He asked him several questions during the time of dinner, and particularly these three: *What is the salary of Melanchthon? What is the number of his auditors? And what is his judgment concerning another life and the resurrection?* To the first Sabinus answered, that Melanchthon's salary was but three hundred florins a year. O ungrateful Germany, said the cardinal, which purchases at so cheap a rate so many works of such a great man! The answer to the second question was, that Melanchthon had commonly fifteen hundred auditors. I cannot tell how to believe it, replied the cardinal, for I know not in all Europe any university, besides that of Paris, where the auditory of a professor is so numerous. Yet Melanchthon had often two thousand five hundred persons at his lectures. To the third question it was answered, that the writings of Melanchthon testify sufficiently his full persuasion as to those two articles. I should have a better opinion of him, replied the cardinal, if he did not believe this (138). I give you this story as I find it in Melchior Adam.

(136) See Moreri at the word *Melanchthon*, and Mr Baillet in the catalogue of authors disguised.

(137) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 360.

(138) Haberem virum prudentiorem si hoc non credereto. - - - - *I should have a better opinion of his judgment, if he did not believe this.* Id. ib.

(132) He was rector of the college of Hall in Saxony, and then Physician, and at last burgo-master of the same city. He died in the year 1589. (133) It is at the end of the third part of the Animadversions of Mr Crenius. (134) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 351. (135) Melanchth. Epist. ad Bordingum apud Melch. Adamum, ibid.

MELCHIORITES, an imaginary sect, wherewith Prateolus, and the Jesuit Gaultier have enlarged their catalogues of Heretics, the latter upon the authority of the former, and he again by copying the very words of Lindanus. They pretend that the founder of this sect was the Anabaptist Melchior HOFMAN, of whom I have spoken in his place. But the Printer of Father Gaultier, having put *Hosmannus* instead of *Hofmannus*, was the reason that Mr Moreri has given us (*a*) a chimerical Heresiarch called *Melchior Hosman*. And thus it is that typographical errors multiply persons. If he had read the writer whom he quotes (*b*), he would perhaps have avoided this fault.

(*a*) *Under the word* Melchior.

(*b*) *He quotes* Prateole V. Melch. *Now it is in Prateolus*, Melchiore Hofmanno, *and not* Hosmanno. *Note, that in the Paris edition* 1699, *instead of* V. Melch. *it is put* Vit. Melch. *This is a fault. The letter* V *signifies there* Voce, *i. e.* the word, *and not* Vita, *i. e.* Life.

MEMNON, General of the army of Darius the last King of Persia, was of the isle of Rhodes. He understood the art of war perfectly well, and gave his master the best advices that could be given him in the conjuncture of Alexander's expedition. Had he lived but a few years longer, the successes of this conqueror had not been so swift, and even the whole face of affairs perhaps might have been changed. His design was to carry the war into Macedonia [*A*], whilst the Macedonians were making war against the king

[*A*] *His design was to carry the war into Macedonia.*] This was the way the Romans used to force the terrible Hannibal to abandon Italy: they sent a good army into Africa under the conduct of Scipio, which so alarmed Carthage, that they recalled Hannibal. This sort of diversion has been practised a hundred times to good purpose. Memnon, who intended to make use of it, thought it to be the surest expedient that he could take for supporting the affairs of Persia. He considered that no decisive battle could be fought against the Macedonian forces, as long as they were only opposed in Asia; there would be only interchanged blows, towns besieged, and sieges raised. At the beginning of the war he had attacked Cyzicus, and could not make himself master of it (1); but a little while after he forced Parmenio to raise the siege of Pitane (2). These little successes on each side serve only to perpetuate the war. And therefore when it was debated what course should be taken against the king of Macedonia, who had already passed the Hellespont, and was advancing as far as he could toward the provinces of the king of Persia, his advice was, that they should destroy all the frontiers, and embark all the troops to transport them into Macedonia. By this means Europe would be made the seat of war; Asia would be at peace; the enemy not finding any means of subsistence in a country that had been wasted, would be forced to march back and return into Europe to secure his own kingdom. And certainly it was the safest course the Persians could take; but the other generals did not like this advice; they thought it not becoming the grandeur of their monarch, and therefore they concluded that they ought to fight the enemy. *Persarum duces . . . . quam belli contra Alexandrum gerendi inirent rationem, congressi deliberarant. Memnon ibi Rhodius, imperatoriis artibus perquam celebris, ne collatis signis dimicarent, sed agris longe lateque pervastatis, necessariorum inopiâ ulterius progrediendi facultatem Macedonibus intercluderent, navalibusque simul & terrestribus copiis in Macedoniam deportatis, totam belli molem in Europam transferrent censebat. Etiamsi vero consilium hujus viri optimum erat (ut eventus postea docuit) reliquorum tamen ducum assensionem impetrare nequivit, ac si consuleret ea quæ magnitudini animorum in Persis neutiquam convenirent. Quare cum sententia de conflictu cum hostibus ineundo perviciisset, accitis undique copiis, &c* (3). The governour of Phrygia declared, that he would never suffer the smallest cottage under his government to be set on fire (4). Arsanes was wiser some time after, for he practised in Cilicia, what Memnon had advised (5). O how strange a thing is war! when the

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. xxi.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Id. ib. *cap.* xviii, *pag. m.* 826, 827.

(4) Arsites Phrygiæ Satrapa nec unum quidem tugurium eorum qui sibi subessent incendi se passurum adfirmaverat, inque ejus sententiam cæteris itum erat. *Freinshem. Supplem. ad Curtium, lib. ii, cap. v, num.* 10. He cites Arrian. 1, 4, 20.

(5) Q. Curtius, *lib. iii, cap. iv.*

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juſtly thought a needleſs labour to confute them. The violence wherewith Melanchthon was calumniated during his life, perſecuted him even after his Death (*cc*). It is aſtoniſhing, that amidſt ſo many other occupations he could write ſo many books. The number of them is prodigious; a Chronological catalogue of them was publiſhed in the year 1582 (*dd*). As he ſaw that his works, tho' he did not finiſh them, nay tho' he publiſhed them pretty imperfect, were nevertheleſs profitable to the youth, he rather choſe to print many of them, than to perfect a ſmall number (*ee*). And ſo he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe alſo that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him ſome aſſurance that his works would be eſteemed, tho' they were not finiſhed (*ff*). His Latin verſes pleaſed the hypercritical Julius Cæſar Scaliger (*gg*). He ſometimes aſſumed a falſe name in the title of his books [*O*]. Cardinal

(*cc*) *See* Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. *pag.* 357, 358, & Bucholcer. Ind. Chron. ad ann. 1560, *pag. m.* 600.

(*dd*) Mar. Mylius is the author of that catalogue. See *Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag.* 347.

(*ee*) *See* Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 361.

(*ff*) *See* Eraſmus, in Ciceronian.

(*gg*) Jul. Cæſar Scalig. Poët. *lib. vi, pag. m.* 736.

'the cardinal, chancellor Duprat, had drawn up againſt 'the Lutherans. On the twenty ninth of January '1535, there was a ſolemn proceſſion, at which the 'king aſſiſted on foot bare-headed, and with a wax-'taper in his hand (111).'

(111) Ib. *p.* 326.

There are many falſhoods in this narrative. In the Iſt place I deſire a good warrant, before I believe upon the authority of Varillas (112), that the ducheſs of Etampes concerned herſelf out of love to the Proteſtants, among other intrigues, in that of Melanchthon's journey, and that he was offered the chair of Regius profeſſor. II. It appears by the kings letter to Melanchthon, that he who carried it was called la Foſſe: And therefore it was not given to Mr de Langey. III. The elector of Saxony was ſo far from believing that Melanchthon's journey would make all France Lutheran, that one of the reaſons why he would not conſent to it, was, that he thought it would rather hinder than further the progreſs of the Reformation. This appears by the original letters which he wrote upon this occaſion (113.) IV. He was ſo far from granting Melanchthon the liberty that was neceſſary without deliberating a moment, and moreover from *exhorting him to ſet forward on his journey preſently*, that, on the contrary, he could not be prevailed upon, neither by the intreaties of that Profeſſor, nor by thoſe of Luther, nor by the good offices of the ambaſſador of France (114.) He wrote his excuſes to Francis I, the 28th of Auguſt 1535 (115). The ambaſſador continued ſtill to ſollicit, and all to no purpoſe, till the month of December the ſame year (116). V. Luther did not *detain Melanchthon a long time*, but, on the contrary, made repeated inſtances to the court of Saxony for his journey. 'Extant Lutheri ad electorem literæ d. 17. Aug. datæ tom. 'vi. fol. 491. in quibus repetitis & enixiſſimis precibus 'contendit ut Philippus ad tres menſes dimittatur '(117). - - - - - - *Luther's letter to the elector dated the '17th day of Auguſt, is to be ſeen tom.* vi. *fol.* 491. *in 'which he moſt earneſtly begs, again and again, that 'Philip might be ſent in three months time.*' VI. It is horrible impudence to ſay, that Melanchthon in a letter to the king, *concluded with an excuſe that he had not come away the very minute the elector, his maſter, had given him leave.* There is no ſuch thing in his letter, and he could not, without telling a lye, mention the permiſſion of his maſter. VII. The time of the placards ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from that wherein the bills were ſlipt into the caſket of Francis I, and if Varillas had a mind to have made a diſtinction, the bills ſhould have preceded the placards. And indeed Florimond de Remond, whom Varillas here does only paraphraſe upon, ſuppoſes that the Heretics did not poſt up any placards (118), till after they had *diſperſed ſeveral books here and there . . . . . and cauſed their articles of faith to be thrown into the king's cloſet by his Apothecary's ſervant called Ferret, and even little bills into the caſket that contained the linnen for his table* (119). VIII. The ſharpeſt things that were ſaid againſt the maſs and the prieſts, were not in thoſe bills, but in the placards (120). IX. Varillas cannot prove that Francis I. countermanded Melanchthon; he ſtill deſired to have him in the month of December 1535, after the letter he received from the elector of Saxony, full of excuſes for not granting to this doctor leave to go into France. It is therefore very probable that Francis I. was never under a neceſſity to countermand him. X. It is very certain that the placards did not induce him to it, for they were poſted up in the month of November 1534. The king puniſhed this inſolence, and expiated that affront to the hoſt, in the month of January following; and he wrote to Melanchthon five months after. Can one ſufficiently wonder at the negligence of Mr Varillas? He gives the ſubſtance of the letter which Francis I. wrote to Melanchthon, and he might have ſeen that it is dated the twenty eighth of June 1535. He ſays (121), that the expiatory proceſſion for the placards was made the twenty ninth of January 1535 (122), and yet he affirms, that the occaſion of the proceſſion was the cauſe why the German Divine received a counter-order.

(112) Note, that Florimond de Remond, *book vii, cap. iii*, ſays the ſame thing, but his authority requires another to ſupport it.

(113) *See* Seckendorf, Hiſtor. Lutheraniſmi, *lib. iii, pag.* 109, 110.

(114) Seckend. ib. *pag.* 107.

(115) Ib. *p.* 110.

(116) Ibid.

(117) Ib. *p.* 107.

(118) Florimond de Remond, ubi ſupra, *book vii, cap. v, pag.* 859.

(119) Varillas attributes this to the ſervant, and ſo does not keep to his original.

(120) Florimond de Remond, ubi ſupra.

(121) Varillas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 326.

(122) Beginning the year with the month of January.

If he had complained that his Hiſtory of Hereſy had been taken for a Romance, he would hardly have had more reaſon for doing ſo, than *la Calprenede* had, who took it very heinouſly, that his Caſſandra and Cleopatra were not looked upon as Hiſtories. 'Nay, I will 'ſay, for the honour of theſe works, *ſays he* (123), 'that juſtice is not done them by the name that is 'given them, though perhaps they have been pretty 'well received in the world, and that inſtead of cal-'ling them Romances, as the Amadis, and other ſuch 'like, wherein there is neither truth, nor probability, 'nor Geography, nor Chronology, they may be 'looked upon as hiſtories embelliſhed with ſome inven-'tion, which by theſe ornaments loſe nothing of their 'beauty. And indeed I can juſtly ſay, that in Caſſan-'dra and Cleopatra, there is not only nothing con-'trary to truth, although there be ſome things be-'yond it; but that there is not any place wherein I 'can be convicted of a lie, and which I am not able 'to maintain, by all the circumſtances of the hiſtory, 'to be true when I pleaſe. And there are ſeveral 'intelligent perſons too, who have formed the ſame 'judgment of them, and who have looked upon me 'as a man better ſkilled in the affairs of the courts 'of Auguſtus and Alexander, than thoſe who have 'writ their hiſtories.' This is an arrant rodomontade, and there are very few things more romantic than this in the works of that author. Nevertheleſs I dare repeat it, that Mr Varillas could not make the like complaints with much more reaſon. For the reſt, it is matter of aſtoniſhment, that ſo many French writers ſhould be guilty of the ſophiſm *à non cauſa pro cauſa, to aſſign for a cauſe what is not ſo*, ſpeaking of this affair of Melanchthon. They pretend that the fixing up of placards by the Proteſtants hindered his journey; and yet it is certain that by accident it was the cauſe why he was ſent for. How much ſoever they are to blame; they are leſs ſo than the Jeſuit Sandæus (124), who durſt call in queſtion what Thuanus relates, that Francis I. wrote to Melanchthon, *&c.* Conſult Mr Crenius, who ſolidly refutes the impudence of this writer, and his unjuſt contempt of Melanchthon (125).

(123) La Calprenede, *preface to* Pharamond.

(124) Maximil. Sandæus in præfat. Academici Chriſtiani, Commentat. vii, *pag.* 250, Edit. Colon. 1638, in 8vo, *apud Crenium ubi infra.*

[*O*] *He ſometimes aſſumed a falſe name in the title page of his books.*] He called himſelf Didymus Faventinus in the anſwer he wrote in 1520, to an oration which Thomas Rhadinus, a Dominican and Profeſſor of Divinity at Rome, had publiſhed againſt Luther. You will find an abridgment of that anſwer in Mr Seckendorf (126). But let no man think, becauſe the author declaims very ſharply againſt the errors of the ſchool-men, that I was to blame in maintaining, that he did not diſapprove Ariſtotle's Philoſophy. To know exactly the ſentiments of an author, we muſt not inſiſt upon what he ſays in an invective written againſt another invective; but we muſt learn his judgment from his didactical writings or his letters, or, in general, from ſuch works as do not favour of declamation. Every one knows how a man grows warm and exaggerates matters in harangues. After all, becauſe a man cenſures very ſharply the dangerous impertinencies wherewith the ſchool-men Philoſophy is ſtuffed, it does not follow that he condemns Ariſtotle's Philoſophy. Mr Placcius having obſerved (127) that Hoornbeeck attributed to Melanchthon

(125) Crenius, Animadv. Philolog. *Part ii, pag.* 24, *& ſeq.*

(126) Seckendorf, ubi ſupra, *lib. i, pag.* 108, *& ſeq.*

(127) Placcius de Pſeudonymis, *pag.* 185, 186.

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Cardinal Bembus asked three questions which deserve to be related [*P*].

Melanchthon the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession, which appeared under the name of Paul Dolscius (128), believed that the translation of Ecclesiasticus and the Psalms into Greek verse, was the work of Melanchthon, though the name of Paul Dolscius is prefixed to them. This opinion of Placcius, which was adopted by Mr Teissier (129) and Mr Crenius (130), is found to be false. Mr Lyserus (131) ecclesiastic counsellor to H. E. H. the duke of Hanover, has proved, that the translations of the Psalter, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, into Greek verse, and of the Augsburg Confession into Greek prose, do really belong to Paul Dolscius (132), whose name they bear. See the letter which he wrote to Mr Crenius (133). Here let us observe a piece of negligence in Melchior Adam. He affirms, that in 1559 Melanchthon wrote in Greek to the patriarch of Constantinople, and sent him a copy of the Greek version of the Confession of Augsburg (134), which version, adds he, had been made by Melanchthon, although it was published under the name of Dolscius: And presently after he cites these words. 'Mitto tibi 'interpretationem Græcam confessionis sine meo con-'silio editam. Probo tamen phrasin, ac misi Constan-'tinopolim (135). - - - *I send you the Greek version of* 'the Confession, which was published without my advice. 'However, I like the style, and have sent it to Con-'stantinople.' These words are Melanchthon's, and show that he did not make this version. Wherefore we may say, that Melchior Adam produces a witness against himself, when he thought to prove what he had affirmed.

(128) Hornbeck Summa Controvers. lib. ii, pag. 979, Edit. 2.

(129) Teissier, Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. i, pag. 192.

(130) Crenius, Animadv. Philol. & Histor. Part iii, pag. 25.

(131) Great grandson of Polycarp LYSERUS, of whom I have given an article.

(132) He was rector of the college of Hall in Saxony, and then Physician, and at last burgo-master of the same city. He died in the year 1589. (133) It is at the end of the third part of the Animadversions of Mr Crenius. (134) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 351. (135) Melanchth. Epist. ad Bordingum apud Melch. Adamum, ibid.

It is pretended, that Melanchthon sometimes called himself Hippophilus Melangæus (136); but I have seen nothing of his under this disguise.

(136) See Moreri at the word *Melanchthon*, and Mr Baillet in the catalogue of authors disguised.

[*P*] *Cardinal Bembus asked three questions which deserve to be related.*] Melanchthon wrote to him a letter, to recommend to him George Sabinus, who was going to see Italy (137). The cardinal had a great regard to this recommendation, he showed much civility to Sabinus, and invited him to dine with him. He asked him several questions during the time of dinner, and particularly these three: *What is the salary of Melanchthon? What is the number of his auditors? And what is his judgment concerning another life and the resurrection?* To the first Sabinus answered, that Melanchthon's salary was but three hundred florins a year. O ungrateful Germany, said the cardinal, which purchases at so cheap a rate so many works of such a great man! The answer to the second question was, that Melanchthon had commonly fifteen hundred auditors. I cannot tell how to believe it, replied the cardinal, for I know not in all Europe any university, besides that of Paris, where the auditory of a professor is so numerous. Yet Melanchthon had often two thousand five hundred persons at his lectures. To the third question it was answered, that the writings of Melanchthon testify sufficiently his full persuasion as to those two articles. I should have a better opinion of him, replied the cardinal, if he did not believe this (138). I give you this story as I find it in Melchior Adam.

(137) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 360.

(138) Haberem virum prudentiorem si hoc non crederet. - - - - *I should have a better opinion of his judgment, if he did not believe this.* Id. ib.

MELCHIORITES, an imaginary sect, wherewith Prateolus, and the Jesuit Gaultier have enlarged their catalogues of Heretics, the latter upon the authority of the former, and he again by copying the very words of Lindanus. They pretend that the founder of this sect was the Anabaptist Melchior HOFMAN, of whom I have spoken in his place. But the Printer of Father Gaultier, having put *Hosmannus* instead of *Hofmannus*, was the reason that Mr Moreri has given us (*a*) a chimerical Heresiarch called *Melchior Hosman*. And thus it is that typographical errors multiply persons. If he had read the writer whom he quotes (*b*), he would perhaps have avoided this fault.

(*a*) *Under the word* Melchior.

(*b*) *He quotes* Prateole V. Melch. *Now it is in Prateolus*, Melchiore Hofmanno, *and not* Hofmanno. *Note, that in the Paris edition* 1699, *instead of* V. Melch. *it is put* Vit. Melch. *This is a fault. The letter* V *signifies there* Voce, *i. e.* the word, *and not* Vita, *i. e.* Life.

MEMNON, General of the army of Darius the last King of Persia, was of the isle of Rhodes. He understood the art of war perfectly well, and gave his master the best advices that could be given him in the conjuncture of Alexander's expedition. Had he lived but a few years longer, the successes of this conqueror had not been so swift, and even the whole face of affairs perhaps might have been changed. His design was to carry the war into Macedonia [*A*], whilst the Macedonians were making war against the king

[*A*] *His design was to carry the war into Macedonia.*] This was the way the Romans used to force the terrible Hannibal to abandon Italy: they sent a good army into Africa under the conduct of Scipio, which so alarmed Carthage, that they recalled Hannibal. This sort of diversion has been practised a hundred times to good purpose. Memnon, who intended to make use of it, thought it to be the surest expedient that he could take for supporting the affairs of Persia. He considered that no decisive battle could be fought against the Macedonian forces, as long as they were only opposed in Asia; there would be only interchanged blows, towns besieged, and sieges raised. At the beginning of the war he had attacked Cyzicus, and could not make himself master of it (1); but a little while after he forced Parmenio to raise the siege of Pitane (2). These little successes on each side serve only to perpetuate the war. And therefore when it was debated what course should be taken against the king of Macedonia, who had already passed the Hellespont, and was advancing as far as he could toward the provinces of the king of Persia, his advice was, that they should destroy all the frontiers, and embark all the troops to transport them into Macedonia. By this means Europe would be made the seat of war; Asia would be at peace; the enemy not finding any means of subsistence in a country that had been wasted, would be forced to march back and return into Europe to secure his own kingdom. And certainly it was the safest course the Persians could take; but the other generals did not like this advice; they thought it not becoming the grandeur of their monarch, and therefore they concluded that they ought to fight the enemy. *Persarum duces . . . . quam belli contra Alexandrum gerendi inirent rationem, congressi deliberarant. Memnon ibi Rhodius, imperatoriis artibus perquam celebris, ne collatis signis dimicarent, sed agris longe lateque pervastatis, necessariorum inopiâ ulterius progrediendi facultatem Macedonibus intercluderent, navalibusque simul & terrestribus copiis in Macedoniam deportatis, totam belli molem in Europam transferrent censebat. Etiamsi vero consilium hujus viri optimum erat (ut eventus postea docuit) reliquorum tamen ducum assensionem impetrare nequivit, ac si consuleret ea quæ magnitudini animorum in Persis neutiquam convenirent. Quare cum sententia de conflictu cum hostibus ineundo perviciisset, accitis undique copiis,* &c (3). The governour of Phrygia declared, that he would never suffer the smallest cottage under his government to be set on fire (4). Arsanes was wiser some time after, for he practised in Cilicia, what Memnon had advised (5). O how strange a thing is war! when the

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. viii.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Id. ib. *cap. xviii, pag. m.* 826, 827.

(4) Arsites Phrygiæ Satrapa nec tamen quidem tu-gurium eorum qui sibi subessent incendi se passurum adfirmaverat, inque ejus sententiam à ceteris itum erat. *Freinshem. Supplem. ad Curtium, lib. ii, cap. v, num.* 10. He cites Arrian. 1, 4, 20.

(5) Q. Curtius, *lib. iii, cap. iv.*

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king of Persia in Asia. He had already performed great exploits in the isle of Lesbos, which had very much terrified the other isles; and he sowed discord among the Grecians, to make a party there against Alexander: but this great design was ruined by his death. He had the advantage to know, by the conduct of Alexander with respect to him [B], that he was highly esteemed, and even much feared by this great monarch. He performed his duty very well at the battle of Granicus (a), where the Persians were so unfortunate as not to hinder the enemy from passing over the river, and getting the victory. He signalzed himself afterwards in the defence of Halicarnassus (b). He acted like a person of honour and a brave soul, in chastising a soldier who railed at Alexander [C]. His widow

(a) He commanded the left wing in that battle. *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii, cap. xix.*

(b) Id. ib. *cap. xxiv, & seq.*

the most charitable thing that can be done, is very often to set fire to great cities, and to burn all in many provinces, because without this the whole kingdom would be lost; and the pity which one should show to one of the members, would be a cruelty to the whole body (6). It is then pity to the whole, which inspires men with cruelty to a part. Unhappy necessity! This is a fatal maxim when applied to matters of religion, as was done by Catherine de Medicis. 'The king being somewhat doubtful, 'the queen to encourage him, among other things, 'spoke these words; *Will it not be better, said she, to* 'tear in pieces those rotten members, than the bosom of 'the church, which is the Spouse of our Lord? She con-'cluded with a sentence taken from one of the ser-'mons of the bishop of Bitonto, in these words: *Che* 'pieta lor fer crudela? Che crudelta lor fer pietoso (7)? '- - - - *Pity would be cruelty. Cruelty would be pity.*' Let us return to Miletus (8); he defended like a brave and skillful general the city of Halicarnassus: and not being able to force the enemy to raise the siege, he left a good garrison in the citadel, and transported the inhabitants, with their effects, to the isle of Cos (9): He thought always of the project he had proposed in the great council of war, and that he might move Darius to put an entire confidence in him, he sent to the court of Persia his wife and children, as a pledge of his fidelity (10). Having received great sums of money, and the post of generalissimo (11), he made great preparations by sea and land; he subdued the isles of Chios and Lesbos; he threatened also Eubœa; he held correspondence with the Grecians, and corrupted many of them with his presents. In a word, he was ready to cut out a great deal of work for his king's enemies in their own country, when a sickness suddenly seized him, and carried him off in a few days. 'Chium itaque sibi 'adjungit, & Lesbum cum classe petens, Antissam, 'Methymnum, Pyrrhum & Eressum, non magno ne-'gocio, capit. Sed Mitylenen & Lesbum, quia ma-'jor erat, magnoque apparatu & propugnatorum mul-'titudine probe instructa, per multos dies oppugna-'tam, post magnam suorum jacturam difficulter tan-'dem expugnat. Cujus strenuitatis fama, cum subito 'percrebuisset, Cycladum Insularum pleræque de pa-'ctionibus ineundis legationes miserunt. Rumor tunc 'allapsus erat Græciæ, Memnonem totâ cum classe 'Eubœam invasurum: unde factum, ut magno Insulæ 'civitates metu perculsæ essent, & Græcorum nonnulli 'Persarum societatem amplexi, animos rerum novarum 'spe arrectos haberent. Huc accessit, quod Memnon 'Græcorum non paucis largitione corruptis, ut suas ad 'Persarum spes aggregatas vellent, persuaserat. At-'qui viri hujus virtutem ad ampliora progredi for-'tuna non permisit, cum enim in valitudinem ad-'versam incidisset, periculoso quodam morbo correp-'tus, è vita decessit, ejusque morte res Darii labe-'factatæ sunt. Rex enim totam belli molem ex Asiâ 'in Europam translatum iri sperabat (12). - - - - *So* 'he subdued Chios, and going to Lesbos with a fleet, he 'took Antissa, Methymna, Pyrrhus, and Eressus, with-'out great difficulty. But as Mitylene was larger, and 'well fortified and defended with a numerous garrison, 'it cost him much trouble. However at last he forced 'it to surrender, after he had besieged it a long time, and 'lost a great number of his men. The fame of his 'bravery was soon spread abroad, which induced most 'of the islands of the Cyclades to send ambassadours 'to treat of an accommodation. At the same time a re-'port was spread in Greece, that Memnon was coming 'with his whole fleet to invade Eubœa; which struck 'the cities of that island with great fear, and some 'Grecians, having made an alliance with the Persians, 'had great expectations from a change of affairs. And 'moreover, Memnon having corrupted many of them 'with presents, persuaded them to join the Persians. 'But fortune stopt the progress of this great man's va-'lour; for he was seized with a dangerous illness which 'put an end to his life, and, by his death, the affairs of 'of Darius were brought low. For the king had hopes 'to carry the whole strength of the war out of Asia into 'Europe.'

(6) See in the Supplements of Freinshemius to Q. Curtius, *lib. ii, cap. iv*, the reasons upon which Memnon built his opinion.

(7) D'Aubigné, *Tom. ii, book i, cap. iv, pag. m.* 542.

(8) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvii, cap. xxii.*

(9) Id. ib. *cap. xxiv, & seq.*

(10) Id. ib. *cap. xxiii.*

(11) Ibid. *cap. xxix.*

(12) Ib. *pag. m.* 834, 835.

[B] *The conduct of Alexander with respect to him.*] This young prince marching with his army near the territories of Memnon, strictly forbad his soldiers to commit the least disorder in them. His design was either to render him suspected to the Persians, or to draw him to his own party. 'Alexander quum inter pro-'grediendum agrum a Rege Persarum Memnoni dono da-'tum adtigisset, *maleficio* † *abstineri* jubet, *coloniisque* & 'fructibus parcit: callido commento suspectum facturus ho-'minem industrium, & quem ‡ ex omnibus hostium du-'cibus unum non contemneret; si in suas partes transdu-'cere nequivisset. Quumque *lenitatem regis* admirati qui-'dam, *acerrimum* ‡ *callidissimumque Macedonum hostem, 'quam primum in potestatem redactus esset, interficien-'dum, atque interim quibus posset cladibus vexandum 'esse* dicerent: *quin*, inquit, *potius beneficiis supplanta-'mus hominem, & amicum ex inimico facimus, eadem 'virtute & solertia pro nobis staturum* (13). - - - *And* 'as some wondered at the king's lenity, *and said*, that 'such a violent and subtile enemy of the Macedonians 'ought to be put to death as soon as he was in their 'power, and in the mean time to be distressed by all 'ways possible: but, *answered he*, we rather under-'mine him by good turns, and make him a friend of 'an enemy, that he may use the same valour and sub-'tilty in our behalf.' I have put in the margin the words of Quintus Curtius, which Freinshemius refers to (14).

† *Polyæn. 4, 3, 15.*

‡ Curtius, 3, 1, 31.

‡ *Them. Orat. 9.*

(13) Freinshemius, ubi supra, *lib. ii, cap. v, initio.*

(14) Nondum Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat (*Alexander*) in quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expeditio fore si nihil ab eo moveretur.

[C] *He chastised a soldier who railed at Alexander.*] I have not taken you said he to him, striking him with his javelin, to rail at this prince, but to fight against him. Μισθοφόρον τινὰ πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντα τῇ λόγχῃ παταξας, Ἐγώ σε (εἶπε) τρῶσω μαχόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐ λοιδορούμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. *Militem quendam mercenarium suum, qui multis & impuris convitiis Alexandrum proscindebat, lancea feriens, Ego, inquit, te alo, non ut maledicas Alexandro, sed ut contra eum pugnes* (15). This is a good maxim, but it was not much practised in the time of Francis I, and Charles V, and I know not whether it be more practised at present. Freinshemius observes, that Memnon vigorously opposed some fugitive Grecians, who were so full of hatred against the Macedonians, that they were not for suffering Alexander to bury his dead, though by that permission they might boast of the victory. Memnon would not listen to the passion of these fugitives, and granted a cessation of arms, and the dead bodies which Alexander demanded. This was done at the siege of Halicarnassus. Read what follows: 'Alexander quam-'quam ea res opinione Græcorum * de victoria conce-'dentis videretur; corpora suorum, qui sub ipsis mœ-'nibus oppetierant, induciis postulatis ab hoste repe-'tere, quam inhumata dimittere maluit. At ** qui 'cum Persis erant, Ephialtes & Thrasybulus Athenien-'ses, quum plus apud ipsos odium adversus Macedo-'nas, quam humanitatis ratio valeret, negabant *in-'dulgendum hoc esse infestissimis hostibus.* Non tamen 'permoverunt Memnonem, quin *Græcorum moribus 'indignum esse* diceret, *sepulturam invidere cæsis hosti-'bus. ARMIS ET viribus in adversos & obsistentes 'utendum: neque contumeliis pugnandum in eos, quos 'bonis malisque nostris sua dies eximisset* (16). - - - - - *Alexander, tho' it might seem in the opinion of the 'Greeks to be yielding the victory, chose rather to de-'mand*

(15) Plut. in Apoph. *pag.* 174.

* *Justin. 6, 6, 9.*

** Diodor. 17, 25.

(16) Freinshem ibid. *cap. ix.*

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widow was the first woman whom this conquerour knew [D]. Mr Moreri has not clearly expressed himself [E], when he mentions the advice which this General gave, to destroy all the country through which the enemies troops were to march. I ought not to forget, that Mentor, the brother of Memnon, did very great services to king Artaxerxes Ochus, and was well rewarded for it (c). He restored his brother and brother-in-law (d) to the favour of this Monarch; for he caused them to be recalled from the Court of Macedonia, whither they had fled, after their bad success in a civil war (e).

(c) See Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii.

(d) He was called *Artabazus*; and married the sister of Memnon, and had by her eleven sons and ten daughters. *Id. ib. cap. liii.*

(e) Id. ib.

Mr Chevreau affirms (f), that MEMNON, *general of an army, who is mentioned at the end of the twelfth book* of the expedition of Cyrus, *by Xenophon*, was deceitful, covetous, ambitious, a slanderer, and an impostor. Thus he gives the character of this wicked wretch; but he should have observed that Xenophon calls him *Menon*, and not *Memnon*.

(f) Chevræana, *Part ii, pag.* 55, *Dutch Edit.*

'*mand a truce of the enemy and to fetch away the* '*bodies of his men, who died under the very walls,* '*than to leave them unburied. But Ephialtes and* '*Thrasybulus, both Athenians, who were then with the* '*Persians, being swayed more by their hatred to the Ma-* '*cedonians, than by the consideration of humanity, were* '*against* granting this indulgence to their mortal enemies. *But yet they could not prevail upon Memnon,* '*who told them,* it was unworthy the manners of the 'Greeks to refuse their slain enemies burial. We 'ought to use ARMS AND forces, *says he*, against 'such as oppose and resist us; and not to insult those, 'whom death has removed from the good and evil we 'can do them.'

[D] *His widow was the first woman whom Alexander knew.*] Plutarch assures us of this: Οὔτε τῶν ἐθιγεν ἔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. Nec has attigit, nec mulierem ante nuptias cognovit ullam, excepta Barsene (17). - - - - - *Neither did he touch them, nor did he know any woman before marriage except Barsene.* She was called Barsene, and was the daughter of Artabazus, whose mother was a daughter of a king of Persia. She was mild and civil, and understood Greek and the manners of the Grecians, and was very beautiful: So that Parmenio considering that, besides all this, she was of high birth, exhorted the king, his master, to divert himself with this prisoner (18). She was taken at the same time with the mother, the wife, and daughters, of Darius (19). The counsel of Parmenio was followed, which had fruitful consequences, since Barsene bore a son (20) to Alexander. She had two sisters (21) whom this prince married very advantageously.

(17) Plut. in Alexand. pag. 676.

(18) Id. ib.

(19) Curtius, *lib. iii, sub fin.* Plutarch, ibid. *says that she was taken at Damascus.*

(20) *Called* Hercules, Plut. ubi infra.

(21) One was the wife of Eumenes, and the other of Ptolomy. *Plut. in Eumene, init. pag. m.* 583.

[E] *Mr Moreri has not clearly expressed himself.*] These are his words in the article of Alexander: *Darius would not make a devastation in Asia, according to the advice of Memnon.* This is equivocal; for if I should write to a man, *I have not answered that letter according to your advice, or following your advice*, those who should read these words, would rather think that he advised me not to answer, than to do it. At least they would think the first sense as good as the other; and therefore I may affirm, that if one did not know what Memnon advised, he could not certainly understand what Moreri meant. So necessary it is to place our words right, if we would be understood, even when we use the reader's mother-tongue.

MENAGE (GILES), in Latin *Ægidius Menagius*, was one of the most learned men of his time, and the Varro of the XVIIth century. It would be needless here to give his elogium and an abridgment of his life; which is to be found in books that are every where dispersed (a), and which may be more easily transported into the remotest countries, than this great Dictionary. His illustrious friends erected a very glorious monument to him, in the collection intituled *Menagiana* [A], which has already passed through every one's hands. Had it not been for this, I should have taken pleasure, and thought it my particular duty to put here a long article of Mr Menage. I should have insisted upon the

(a) Moreri, Baillet, Niceron, Augustin Lemaire, Le Clerc, Gallandius, and the same year. See the continuation of the *Menagiana* at the beginning.

[A] *The collection, intituled* Menagiana.] Those who can judge of things aright, will confess, that this collection is very proper to shew the extent of genius and learning, which was the character of Mr Menage. And I may be bold to say, that the excellent works which he published will not distinguish him from other learned men so advantageously as this. To publish books of great learning, to make Greek and Latin verses exceeding well turned is not a common talent, I own; neither is it extremely rare. It is incomparably more difficult to find men, who can furnish discourse about an infinite number of things, and who know how to diversify them an hundred ways. How many authors are there, who are admired for their works upon the account of the vast learning that is displayed in them, who are not able to sustain a conversation? Some have a memory full of holes like a sieve, or like the cask of the Danaides, which receives every thing, but retains nothing; all would run out, and be entirely lost, if they had not some reservoirs just ready. These are their collections, which are treasures that fail not in time of need, when one writes a book, but are very needless in familiar discourses about learning. Those who know Mr Menage, only by his books, might think he resembled those learned men: but if you shew the MENAGIANA, you distinguish him from them, and make him known by a talent that is given to very few learned men. There it appears, that he was a man who spoke off-hand a thousand good things. His memory extended to what was antient and modern, to the court and to the city, to the dead and to the living languages, to things serious and things jocose; in a word, to a thousand sorts of subjects. That which appeared a trifle to some readers of the Menagiana, who did not consider circumstances, caused admiration in other readers, who minded the difference that is to be made between what a man speaks without preparation, and that which he prepares for the press. This Menagiana contains things of that kind, whereof one may say what one of the antients said of insects. 'Turrigeros elephantorum miramur humeros, 'taurorumque colla, & truces in sublime jactus, tigrium 'rapinas, leonum jubas, cum rerum natura nihilquam 'magis, quam in minimis, tota sit (1). - - - *We admire the tower-bearing shoulders of elephants, and the* '*necks of bulls, and the furious tossings of their heads,* '*the ravenings of tygers, and the manes of lions, tho'* '*nature is never more compleat, than in the smallest* '*animals.*' Aristotle also said, Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἢ μειζόνων ἴδοι τις ἂν τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκρίβειαν. Magis in minore genere *(brutorum)* quam in majore videris intelligentiæ rationem *. - - - *You may see more understanding in the smaller kind of brutes than in the greater.* And therefore we cannot sufficiently commend the care which his illustrious friends took to erect to him a monument so capable of giving him immortal glory. They were not obliged to rectify what they had heard him say; for in so doing, they had not been faithful Historians of his conversations. The most happy memories are liable to be deceived, and besides Mr Menage spoke sometimes concerning certain persons, what other people, being ill informed, had told him. We must not therefore wonder, that there are some mistakes in the Menagiana, and some things false in point of personality. He is mistaken in what he says of me.

(1) Plin. *lib. xi, cap. ii.*

* Aristot. Hist. Animal. *lib. ix, cap. vii.*

[B] *The*

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the diſputes he had with perſons of great merit; but I would have paſſed lightly over the difference he had with the count de Buſſi Rabutin [B].

Some perſons, whom I infinitely eſteem, did not approve of making the article of Mr Menage ſo ſhort in this Dictionary, and oppoſed the reaſons I have given for my brevity. They think, that the three books to which I refer the reader, will not be in the hands of all thoſe who will ſeek here for the hiſtory of this learned man. I do not agree to their opinion; and if I enlarge this article in this ſecond edition, it is only to ſet down a circumſtance which the three authors referred to (b) do not relate; it concerns the good fortune of Mr Menage as to his memory. This was a gift which he eminently poſſeſſed and which he preſerved to old age, and what is more rare, he recovered it after ſome interruption [C]. There

(b) Add to thoſe three, two others that have appeared ſince the firſt edition of my work, *viz.* Moreri of the Paris Edition, 1699, and the Elogies of Mr Perrault.

[B] *The difference he had with the count de Buſſi Rabutin.*] This difference may paſs for a quarrel of authors, altho' this count was a military man, and had a high poſt in the French army. This affair was decided by the ſtrokes of the pen. He firſt attacked Mr Menage in writing, and offended him grievouſly; but the verſes which Mr Menage printed againſt him, were the moſt contumelious and bloody that could be made. Here is the attack; afterwards we ſhall ſee the return. 'Menage being in love with 'Madam de Sevigny; his birth, his age, and his 'figure, obliged him to conceal his love as much as 'he could: and being one day with her, when ſhe 'was going out to buy ſome things, as her woman 'could not attend her, ſhe bid Menage go in the 'coach with her. He ſeeming to be in jeſt, but, in 'reality, being vexed, told her, it was very hard for 'him to find, that ſhe was not ſatisfied with the 'ſeverity ſhe had uſed him with for ſo long a time, 'but ſtill deſpiſed him, by thinking that none could 'ſpeak ill of him and her. Come, ſaid ſhe, come 'into the coach, if you vex me, I will go and viſit 'you at your own houſe (2).' Thus you ſee that the provocation was very great; but the Latin epigram of the perſon provoked far exceeded it.

(2) Hiſtoire Amoureuſe des Gaules, *pag. m.* 189, 190.

FRANCORUM proceres, media (quis credat?) in aula
Buſſiades ſcripto læſerat horribili
Pœna levis: LODOIX nebulonem carcere claudens,
Detrahit indigno munus equeſtre Duci.
Sic nebulo, gladiis quos formidabat Iberis;
Quos meruit, Francis fuſtibus eripitur (3).

(3) Menage, Epigr. cxxxviii, *pag.* 147, 148, Edit. Amſtel. 1687.

Buſſi Rabutin in writings vile,
Had, ev'n at court, the peers of France abus'd.
Lewis to priſon the worthleſs ſcoundrel ſent,
And from him took his military poſt.
Slight puniſhment! for, this the raſcal ſav'd
From Spaniſh ſwords, which coward-like he fear'd,
And from French cudgels, which he had deſerv'd.

If the author of theſe Latin verſes had had a benefice with cure of ſouls; if he had been not only a curate, but a true curate; he would have taken the meer accuſation of making love to Madam de Sevigny, as a horrid injury; but as his engagement in the clerkſhip, went no farther than his being qualified to enjoy ſome penſions out of benefices, without acting againſt the modern diſcipline, that which vexed him in the diſcourſe of count Rabutin, was ſomething elſe than what is contained in the firſt four or five words. He made no ſcruple to confeſs, that he had been in love, which I do not prove by his poems, for that proof would be ambiguous, that language is deceitful; but he affirms it in a very ſerious Epiſtle Dedicatory. 'I pray you to remember, *ſays he, ſpeaking to the* 'chevalier de Meré (4), that when we made our court 'together to a lady of great quality and merit, 'whatever paſſion I had for that illuſtrious perſon, 'I willingly ſuffered that ſhe ſhould love you more 'than me, becauſe I loved you more than myſelf.' He promiſed a work which he never publiſhed, wherein he would have given an account of his amours: and the reaſon why I believe ſo, is taken from theſe words: 'Why did he not mention 'Madam de la Fayette and Madam de Sevigny, who 'are his acquaintance?' It is Father Bouhours who aſked this queſtion. Mr Menage anſwered him:

(4) Menage, Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Obſervations upon the French tongue, *fol. a iij.* See alſo what he confeſſes in a dialogue of Sarraſin, *pag. m.* 146, and which is mentioned in the new letters againſt Maimbourg, *pag.* 777.

Pater Bohurſe, flos Scholæ Pariſius,
Deſideramus hic tuam prudentiam.

Father Bouhours, the ornament of Paris, in this I want your diſcretion.

'The reverend Father Bouhours accuſes me in this 'place of having been in love with Madam de 'Sevigny and Madam de la Fayette. I will anſwer 'this accuſation in the defence of my behaviour; 'and I will make ſuch an anſwer, that the laugh which 'Father Bouhours courts ſo much, ſhall not be on 'his ſide (5).' After all, the friendſhip between Mr Menage and ſome ladies of great wit, have done him much honour in the world, and will be glorious to him hereafter: For it is ſo rare, that ſo much Greek and Grammar as he had, ſhould not quite ſtifle the talents which are neceſſary for a polite and genteel converſation with ladies of quality, that this is a kind of prodigy. For the reſt, the keen reſentment which he expreſſed in his Latin verſes, did not hinder him from acknowledging the merit of the author who had offended him. 'Mr de Buſſy Rabutin 'is a fine wit, *ſaid he* (6), and I cannot but do him 'this juſtice, altho' he has endeavoured to ridicule 'me in his *Hiſtoire des Gaules*. No man can write 'with more ſpirit and fire than he has done in that 'hiſtory.' This looks like a man that is very ready to be reconciled. Such a reconciliation would not have been thought ſtrange, ſince Madam de Sevigny, who had been ſo ill treated in the ſame work, forgot the affront, and lived with the author as a very good kinſwoman. This appears by the letters ſhe wrote to him, and which were printed with thoſe of Mr de Rabutin.

(5) Id. Obſervations upon the French Tongue, *Tom. ii, pag.* 211, 212.

(6) Continuation of the *Menagiana, pag.* 356, Dutch Edit.

[C] *Memory was a gift which he eminently poſſeſſed, and which he preſerved .... and which he recovered after ſome interruption.*] That he ſhould remember things happily in his youth is not a rarity: but it was a peculiar favour of his ſtars, that when he began to grow old he did not perceive his memory to decay much, which is the too common misfortune of learned men. We will here cite a thing which was publiſhed in the year 1685. Several Hiſtorians are guilty of a very abſurd fault, which is this: 'They 'relate the ſame thing ſometimes one way, and ſome-'times another. It would be more for the honour of 'their memory, that they were always miſtaken; 'but on the other ſide it may be ſaid, that ſince the 'memory is the firſt thing that dies in a learned man, 'and the faculty which is the leaſt poſſible to be retained, we muſt not examine too rigorouſly the ſlips 'which forgetfulneſs may occaſion. Methinks we 'ought to have the ſame indulgence for theſe faults, 'as for thoſe which divines call *quotidianæ incurſionis*, '*daily infirmities*; ſince it is certain, that forgetfulneſs is an imperfection into which we relapſe 'every moment. From whence it appears, that the 'ſciences are not proper to make a man happy in 'this life; for as that which is moſt agreeable in 'learning, is to remember many things, and as this 'talent is the ſooneſt weakened and deſtroyed, a 'learned man ſees himſelf every day expoſed to the 'mortification of finding that what was moſt com-'fortable to him, forſakes him. Happy is the man, 'who, like the illuſtrious Mr Menage, makes no 'fine verſes to complain of the decay of his memory, 'till after he has enjoyed it a long time (7).' What has been juſt now ſaid, that *memory is the firſt thing that dies in a learned man*, was obſerved by Thuanus, 'Memoria in longævis ex omnibus animi facultatibus 'prima debilitatur & vacillat (8). - - - - *Memory in old* '*men is the firſt of all the faculties of the mind that* '*fails and declines.*' Seneca, the father, made the ſame obſervation, after he had experienced in his own perſon this bad effect of old age. 'Cum multa jam 'mihi,

(7) Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres, *June* 1685, *art.* 1, *pag.* 602, *of the ſecond edition.*

(8) Thuan. *lib. cxxxiv, pag.* 1082, *col.* 2.

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There are many people who wiſh, he had publiſhed ſome of his pleas [B].

(9) Seneca Pater Præfat. lib. i, Controvers. pag. m. 70.

'mihi, *ſays he* (9), ex me deſideranda ſenectus fecerit, 'oculorum aciem retuderit, aurium ſenſum habetave-'rit, nervorum firmitatem fatigaverit, inter ea quæ 'retuli memoria eſt, res ex omnibus partibus animi, 'maxime delicata & fragilis: in quam primam ſe-'nectus incurrit. - - - - *As old age has already brought* 'many infirmities upon me, as dimneſs of ſight, dul-'neſs of hearing, and weakneſs of nerves, among the 'reſt is the defect of memory, which is the moſt delicate 'and brittle of all the faculties of the mind, and which 'old age attacks the firſt.' The paſſage which I have cited from the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, informs us, that Mr Menage made ſome verſes, complaining of the decay of his memory: they are to be ſeen in the firſt book of his poems at p. 13, of the Amſterdam edition, 1687. My reader, if I miſtake not, will be glad to ſee ſome of them here; and they will not be ſuperfluous, ſince they contain a deſcription of this fine talent, whereof Mr Menage, as I have ſaid, was poſſeſſed. Here follows then the beginning of the hymn which he addreſſed to the goddeſs of Memory.

Muſarum veneranda parens, quam Juppiter ipſe,
Ille pater Divûm, magno dilexit amore,
MNEMOSYNE, fidum tu me patrona clientem
Deſeris? Ah memini, juvenis cùm mille Sophorum,
Mille recenſerem Sectarum nomina: mille
Stemmata narrarem, totaſque ex ordine gentes.
Nunc oblita mihi tot nomina. Vix mihi nomen
Hæret mente meum. Memini, cum plurima Homeri,
Plurima Peligni recitarem carmina Vatis:
Omnia Virgilii memori cum mente tenerem.
Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina. Non ego poſſim,
Condita quæ nuper mihi ſunt, meminiſſe meorum,
Gallia quem ſtupuit, ſtupuit me maximus ille
BIGNONIDES, legum capita omnia commemorantem.
Fabellas lepidas & acute dicta Sophorum,
Narrabam juvenis, juvenum mirante caterva,
Ingenii pars illa mei, placuiſſe puellis
Quâ potui, periit: nunc illis fabula ſio.
Pendebant olim, memini, narrantis ab ore.
Fabellas eaſdem, verſus eoſdem repetentem
(Has narraſſe ſemel, ſemel hos recitaſſe putabam?
Id me hodie monuit fiduſque vetuſque ſodalis)
Nunc me faſtoſæ medio in ſermone relinquunt (10).

(10) Menage, Poëmat. lib. i, pag. m. 13.

O venerable parent of the nine,
Belov'd by Jove, the father of the gods,
MNEMOSYNE, *my patroneſs moſt kind,*
Me, thy faithful client, doſt thou forſake?
Ah! I remember in my youthful days,
I could by heart rehearſe and reckon up
A thouſand ſages, and a thouſand ſects;
Whole nations in order, with their kings
Ev'n to a thouſand I could tell, but now
Scarce one of all thoſe names do I retain.
I know the time, when many an hundred lines
Of Homer, and of Ovid I could ſay,
And Virgil's whole poem with eaſe repeat;
All which I have forgot. What I myſelf
But lately wrote, I cannot recollect.
That great man, BIGNON'S SON, *whom France admir'd,*
Was much ſurpriz'd to hear me ſay by heart
All the heads of law. Crowds of wondring youth,
Then but a youth myſelf, attentive heard
When merry tales and apophthegms I told.
Young maids with liſtning ears upon me hung,
But now to them I am a joke become.
Now with contempt they leave me as I tell
The ſelf-ſame ſtories, and as I repeat
The ſelf-ſame verſes, which I thought but once
I had to them rehears'd. A faithful friend,
And old, with this acquainted me to-day.

You ſee, that among other things, he owns he was informed, that he repeated the ſame ſtories, thinking it was the firſt time he had told them. Aftewards he ſupplicates the goddeſs, either that ſhe would not abandon him, or that ſhe would ſo utterly forſake him, that he ſhould not ſo much as remember he had ever known any thing.

Si tales tu, Diva, preces audire recuſas
Diva, precor, memorem omnem nobis eripe mentem. (11) Id. ib. pag. m. 7.
Orbilius fiam, cunctarum oblivio rerum:
Nec meminiſſe queam, tot rerum non meminiſſe (11).

If theſe my prayers thou doſt refuſe to hear,
O goddeſs, take all mem'ry from me quite,
That of my loſs I may not conſcious be.

His prayer was heard in the moſt favourable ſenſe, his memory returned to him; and he did ſolemnly and publickly thank the deity which was ſo propitious to him. Here follows the beginning of the thankſgiving, which he publiſhed November 27, 1690, aged ſeventy ſeven years, three months, and ſeven days.

MUSARUM veneranda parens; quam Juppiter ipſe,
Ipſe pater Divûm, tenero dilexit amore;
Audiſti mea vota. Seni memorem mihi mentem
Diva redonaſti. Magnorum nomine mille,
Et proceres omnes ab origine Sablolienſes,
Leges Romanas, Sectas memorare Sophorum,
Tulli mille locos, & Homeri carmina centum,
Et centum poſſum verſus recitare Maronis.
Ingenii pars illa mei, juvenis placuiſſe
Quâ potui, ecce redux. Tua ſunt hæc munera, Diva.
Ingenii per te nobis renovata juventa eſt.

O venerable parent of the nine,
Belov'd by Jove, the father of the gods,
My prayers are heard; thou haſt to me reſtor'd
The gift of mem'ry. Now I can relate,
Tho' far in years, a thouſand famous names,
And all the nobles of the Sablyan race,
The Roman laws, and various ſects of old,
A thouſand paſſages of Tully's works.
Of Homer's poem, and of Virgil's too,
An hundred lines I can by heart repeat:
That faculty, with which I gave delight
When young, is now return'd. It is thy gift,
Who haſt renew'd the vigour of my mind.

Let us alſo ſet down the concluſion of this little poem, wherein the author ſupplicates the deity, which had reſtored to him the remembrance of ſo many things, to take from him the remembrance of the injuries he had received.

Muſarum veneranda parens, quam Juppiter ipſe,
Ipſe pater Divûm, tenero dilexit amore;
O diva, ô noſtræ meritò pars maxima famæ,
Eſt aliud ſupplex quod ego tu numina poſco.
Si te non pigeat, ſi non indebita poſco,
Quæ mihi tot rerum, rerum mihi jucundarum
Quas oblitus eram, rurſum meminiſſe dediſti,
Da, Dea; da nobis, atrocia tot nebulonum,
Immeritum qui me pergunt vexare libellis,
Dicta oblivíſci, memori mihi condita mente.

O venerable parent of the nine,
Belov'd by Jove, the father of the gods,
O thou, to whom I chiefly owe my fame,
Another thing I humbly thee beſeech,
If it be lawful, and without offence.
O goddeſs kind, who haſt again beſtow'd
The precious gift of memory, which was loſt,
Grant, I pray thee, grant, that I may forget

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And blot out from my mind the vile abuse
With which base wretches in their books me load.

But notwithstanding this happy restoration, there is proof that Mr Menage did not speak exactly of the affair. Consider a little these words of the Menagiana. ‘ I said some years ago, that I had lost one half of ‘ my memory, because I remembered very well what ‘ I had lent, and did not at all remember what I ‘ had borrowed. This was reported in Holland, ‘ and those who knew me, bewailed my condition, ‘ thinking that I had entirely lost it. Yet still I retain ‘ it pretty well, and have given sufficient proofs of it ‘ by the books I have published since that time (12.)’ How could he think, that the report of a discourse in conversation should persuade any in Holland, that he had entirely lost his memory? had they not seen his hymn to Mnemosyne, wherein he declared to all the world that he remembered nothing. To know the strength and reach of his memory, one needs only consider what he says of it, and what the abbot du Bois adds at the 309, 310, 311, pages of the first Dutch edition of the Menagiana.

(12) Menagiana, *pag.* 31, 32, of the first Dutch Edition.

[*D*] *Many people wish he had published some of his pleas.*] His first profession was that of an advocate, as we learn from himself in this passage of his Origines. *In* 1632, *I was admitted advocate at Angers, which is the place of my birth, and there I pleaded my first cause against Mr Ayrault, my cousin-german, who was since counsellor in the parliament of Bretagne, and commissary in the chamber of Justice. I came to Paris the same year held I was also admitted advocate. and where I pleaded for several years. In* 1634, *the parliament of Paris were their extraordinary sessions at Poitiers, where I pleaded also. And this made Mr Costar say, that as there where serjeants serving warrants through all the kingdom, so I was an advocate pleading through all the kingdom, and upon the same account Father Jacob, a Carmelite, told me, in one of his catalogues of new books, which he did me the honour to inscribe to me,* Atque erit in triplici par tibi nemo foro (13). - - - - - *And at the triple bar you'll find no match.* The memoirs for the Life of Menage, printed at the beginning of the continuation of the Menagiana, inform us, that he pleaded several causes in the parliament of Paris, *one among the rest for Mr Sengebere, who taught him the Civil-Law, and had a mind to divorce his wife for adultery.* I am sure this plea would be very acceptable to many people, if it were printed.

(13) Menage Origines de la Langue Françoise, *at the word* Rachat, *pag.* 611, *Edit. of* 1694. See the Memoires of Mr Maroles, *pag.* 96.

MENANDRINO (MARSILIUS DE) better known by the name of Marsilius of Padua, the city where he was born, was one of the most learned Civilians of the XIVth century (*a*). He studied at the university of Orleans (*b*), and was counseller to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and wrote an apology for this prince in the year 1324 [*A*], in which he maintained that the Pope ought to be subject to the Emperor, not only with regard to temporal things, but likewise with regard to the outward discipline of the church. He displayed in a lively manner the pride, luxury, and the other irregularities, of the court of Rome, and proved that, by divine right, all bishops are equal to the Pope. John XXII, who possessed at that time the see of Rome, was so enraged at this doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, that he issued out against him a long decree, wherein he endeavoured to refute him, and by which he excommunicated him in the year 1327. Our Marsilius died in the month of September in the year 1328, at Montemalto (*c*). He is quoted by cardinal Zabarella (*d*), among those who wrote to prove that the monks of St Francis could have no property in any thing. I do not believe that he taught, as it is affirmed in Moreri, that neither bishops nor priests can possess estates. In this, as well as all the rest of the article, Moreri copied Father Gaultier, the transcriber of Prateolus.

(*a*) *Father* Gaultier *deceived by* Prateolus, *and* Moreri *deceived by both have placed him wrong, in the beginning of the XIIth century.*

(*b*) Marsilius Patavinus, in Defensore Pacis, *part ii, cap. xviii, pag. m.* 296.

(*c*) *Taken from the* Appendix *of Dr Cave's* Hist. Litterar. Script. Eccles. *pag.* 23.

(*d*) Zabarella, in Clementin. *Exivit & de Electione.*

[*A*] *He wrote an apology for* the emperor Lewis of Bavaria *in the year* 1324.] The Protestants have frequently quoted it, and took care to publish it soon; for, in the year 1522, they put forth an edition of it, in folio at Basil, with a preface, the author of which calls himself, *Licentius Evangelius sacerdos* (1). Mr Wharton (2) has taken notice not only of this edition, but also of those of Francfort 1612, 1623, in 8vo; and has not forgot to observe, that this work was inserted by Goldast in the second tome of his Monarchy; but makes no mention of the edition of Francfort, 1592, in 8vo, *apud Jo. Wechelum*, which was procured by Francis Gomarus. The title of it is this: *Defensor Pacis, sive adversus usurpatam Rom. Pontificis Jurisdictionem, Marsilii Patavini pro invictiss. & constantiss. Rom. Imperatore Ludovico IV Bavarico, à tribus Rom. Pontificibus indigna perpessо, Apologia, qua Politicæ & Ecclesiasticæ potestatis limites doctissime explicantur: circa annum Domini* 1324 *conscripta, nunc vero ad omnium Principum, Magistratuum, & Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, ac nominatim Christianiss. Galliarum & Navarræ Regis &c. Henrici IV (à tribus etiam Rom. Pontificibus iniquè oppugnati) ejusque Regni & Ecclesiarum autoritatem ac libertatem demonstrandum utilissima. Franciscus Gomarus Brugensis recensuit, Capitum Argumentis & Notis ad marginem illustravit.* I have compared this edition with that which is intituled. *Marsilii de Menandrino, Patavini vulgo dicti,* DEFENSOR PACIS, *five Apologia pro Ludovico IV Imp. Bavaro. Tractatus de Translatione Imperii, ante CCC prope annos scripta. Ex Bibliopolio Comeliano MDXCIX*; and they seem to me to differ only with regard to the preambles; that is to say, the title only, and not the body of the book was reprinted: the epistle dedicatory in verse, subscribed *Franciscus Gomarus*, and addressed to the elector Palatine Frederic IV, was taken away: the advertisment to the reader was a little changed: and the *Testimonia Autorum*, and the treatise *de Translatione Imperii*, which contains but twenty six pages, were added. This treatise was wrote by our Marsilius of Padua, who besides that composed a book *de Jurisdictione Imperiali in Causis Matrimonialibus.*

(1) *See the* Biblioth. de Gesner, *fol.* 499 *verso: and the* Epitome, *pag. m.* 574, 575.

(2) Wharton, in Append. ad Cave, *pag.* 23.

Note that the Parenthesis (3), where it is observed in the title of the *Defensor Pacis*, that Lewis of Bavaria, had been persecuted by three Popes, could not have been in the manuscript of the author; for when he wrote this book, Lewis of Bavaria had quarrelled only with Pope John XXII. This work having been *translated into French by an anonymous author*, Pope Gregory XI (4) *complained of it to the deputies of the faculty of Theology at Paris, who declared by an authentic act, that none of their members had been concerned in this version, and that Marsilius of Padua, and John de Jande, who was thought likewise to have had a hand in writing that book, were not of their body* (5).

(3) It is even in the edition of Basil of the year 1522.

(4) He sat in the Papal chair, from the year 1370 to 1378.

(5) Du Pin, Biblioth. *Tom. xi, pag.* 127. *Amsterd. Edit.*

MENDOZZA (JOHN GONZALES DE) an Augustin Frier of the province of Castille, was chosen by the king of Spain to be embassador to the emperor of China in the year 1584. He was made bishop of Lipari in Italy in the year 1593, bishop of Chiapa in New Spain in the year 1607, and bishop of Popajan in the West Indies in the year 1608. He wrote in Spanish an History of China [*A*], which has been translated into several

[*A*] *He wrote an History of China.*] One may form a general idea of it by the bare title of the French translation, which is to this purpose: *The History of the great kingdom of China, in the East-Indies, in two parts: the*

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several languages (a). The French translation, done by Luke de la Porte, a Parisian, Doctor of the Laws, was printed at Paris in the year 1589 in 8vo.

(a) Taken from Philip Elsius, Encomast. Augustin. *p.* 379.

the first containing the situation, antiquity, fertility, religion, ceremonies, sacrifices, kings, magistrates, manners, customs, laws, and other memorable things of the said kingdom: and the second three voyages to it in the years 1577, 1579, *and* 1581, *with the most remarkable rarities, either seen or heard of there: together with an itinerary of the New World, and the discovery of New Mexico in the year* 1583.

MESPLEDE (LEWIS) a French Dominican, and provincial of his order in the province of Languedoc in the XVIIth century, published some books [*A*], as will be seen below.

[*A*] *He published some books.*] He printed at Paris in the year 1643 *Catalonia Galliæ vindicata, sive Dissertatio Historica de legitimo Regum Francorum in eam Provinciam imperio*, in 8vo. Mr Chantereau le Febvre assures us, that it is a book full of *learned and useful inquiries, which tend to shew the right that the crown of France, has to the county of Catalonia, and the city of Barcelona, and to prove the forgery and falsehood of the titles which the enemies of the crown produce against it, in order to cloke their usurpation of this county to it's prejudice* (1). Whilst Father Mesplede was provincial, he dedicated a piece to the chapter-general of his order, concerning the reformation which he thought was necessary to be introduced into it (2). He got this piece approved *by five professors, three of which were priors*. I shall quote a passage out of it, which acquaints us with the dissentions of the Dominicans.

(1) Chantereau le Febvre, Question Historique si les Provinces de l'ancien Royaume d'Austrasie doivent estre appellées Terres de l'Empire, *pag.* 81, *Paris Edition* 1644, *in* 8vo.

(2) *See the* Extrait de l'Hist. des Congreg. de Auxil. *pag.* 46, *Edit. of Liege* 1702, *in* 8vo.

'The doctrine of St Thomas would be sufficient alone
'to form great men, if it were taught altogether
'pure, and such as it is in it's source. But I am afraid
'by making us follow the streams, we are made to
'drink muddy water. Our ordinary method of teach-
'ing Philosophy and Divinity is very bad: We do
'not keep to the originals. In the schools of St Tho-
'mas, disputations are held about the true sense of
'his doctrine, and our authors write against one ano-
'ther with as much heat as the Schotists and Thomists
'did formerly. . . . . We ruin our selves. Nations
'blindly engage against one another. The new inter-
'preters condemn the old. Cajetan thinks only of
'refuting Capreolus, Herveus, and others who were
'before him. Bagnez, and those who are after him,
'think only of refuting Cajetan (3).

(3) Mesplede, in Commonitorio: d Capitulum Generale de Reformatione in Ordinem inducenda: *I use the translation which is given of this Latin passage, by the author of the* Errata de l'Histoire des Congregations de Auxiliis, *writ by the abbot* Le Blanc.

MESTREZAT (JOHN), a minister of the church of Paris, and descended from a very good family [*A*], was born at Geneva in the year 1592. He was sent very young to the academy of Saumur; and there he gave singular proofs of his excellent genius at a public disputation [*B*]. He was but eighteen years old when he was offered a professorship in Philosophy; and he was appointed to be minister to the church of Paris, as soon as he was admitted into Orders [*C*], a thing altogether extraordinary. They had no cause to repent of having called him so early; for his conferences with the Roman Catholics [*D*], his deputations, [*E*], his sermons and his books [*F*], shewed him to be one of the ablest men

[*A*] *He was descended from a very good family.*] AMI MESTREZAT, his father, was first syndic of Geneva, and had another son who was syndic of the same city; which is one of the principal offices of that state. PHILIP MESTREZAT, nephew to the minister of Charenton, was a famous professor of Divinity at Geneva (1). His eldest son, who died a few years ago (2), had exercised the office of syndic of the Republic with great honour. N. MESTREZAT, the other son of Philip, is at this time an able Physician in his own country (3).

(1) See the Epistle Dedicatory of a volume of his uncle's *sermons upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

(2) I write this in 1697.

[*B*] *He gave proofs of his excellent genius at a public disputation.*] He observed, that the professor of Philosophy, who presided at the disputation, answered to an argument, *transeat major, nego minorem, ... let the first proposition pass, I deny the second*, and he rose up to argue, after the opponent had made an end. His subject was, that the second proposition could not be denied, if the first was granted, and he maintained this with so much strength of reason, that he obliged the professor to own it was a fault. Mr du Plessis Mornai was present at this Act (4).

(3) Taken from a Memoir sent by Mr Pictet. Note, that since this Memoir was communicated to me, I heard that Mr Mestrezat, the Physician, was promoted to the office of counsellor to the republic.

(4) A Memoir communicated by Mr Pictet.

[*C*] *He was appointed minister of the church of Paris as soon as he was admitted into Orders.*] He presented himself to the synod of Charenton to be received into the ministry. Mr du Moulin, who was commissioned to find a pastor for the church of Orleans, had cast his eyes upon him for this office; but young Mestrezat being examined in the consistory of Charenton, shewed so much learning, that this church thought fit to keep him for their own service (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*D*] *His conferences with the Roman Catholics.*] I have been told that his conference with F. Veron was printed, and that he gloriously triumphed over this famous disputant. That which he had with the Jesuit Regourd, in the presence of queen Anne of Austria, was never published, and it is a common tradition among the Reformed in France, that this princess, being astonished to find that this Jesuit who had boasted he could easily confound all the ministers, was reduced to the greatest confusion by Mestrezat, required that the acts of this dispute should not be printed, which those of the Reformed religion punctually obeyed (6).

(6) See du Moulin, des Traditions, *pag.* 79.

[*E*] *His deputations.*] It is said, that being deputed by a national synod to Lewis XIII he answered admirably to three questions, which cardinal Richelieu suggested to that monarch to be put to him. I. Why do you make use of the liturgy of Geneva? II. Why do you join in your prayers the Papists with the Turks and Pagans? III. Why do you suffer ministers that are not natives of France? He answered, I. That since they professed the same religion with those of Geneva, it was not surprising that they should make use of the same liturgy. II. That it was no wonder, that at a time when those of the Romish communion treated the Protestants as Turks and Pagans would have done, they should join the Papists with those Infidels; but that they had taken the word Papists out of the new editions, even under the reign of Henry IV, and that if it remained still in some, they had not been printed in France. III. That it were to be wished, that so many Italian Monks who were then in France, had as great a zeal for his majesty, as these foreign ministers had, who acknowledged no other sovereign in the kingdom but the king. Whereupon cardinal Richelieu, putting his hand on his shoulder, said, *behold the boldest minister in France* (7).

(7) A Memoir of Mr Pictet.

[*F*] *His sermons and his books.*] His language did not come near the polite and clean style of Mr Daillé, but he preached with greater depth of reasoning, and with more learning than he did. There are no sermons that contain a more sublime Theology than those he preached upon the epistle of St Paul to the Hebrews, which were printed in several volumes. It is said (8), that having met in the street an ecclesiastic of his acquaintance, who had preached a whole Lent with applause, and having congratulated him upon it, *I took*, answered the other, *out of your sermons, the best things that I said in mine*. He handled the controversy about the authority of the scripture (9), and the authority of the church (10), with a peculiar strength of reason, and refuted upon those important subjects all the subtilties of Father Regourd and Cardinal du Perron. He showed by these works that he was very well versed in the Fathers, and understood Philosophy and the Scripture very well. His treatise concerning our *communion*

(8) Ibid.

(9) *In the book intituled*, A treatise of the Holy Scripture, wherein is shown the certainty and fulness of the faith, and it's independence on the authority of the church. *At Geneva* 1632, *in* 8vo.

(10) In his treatise of the church, printed at Geneva in 1649, in 4to.

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(a) He married her to James Maubert, Sieur de Boiſgibaut.

men the Reformed had in France. They relate a very particular circumſtance in a tryal he had in the parliament of Paris [G]. He died the ſecond of May 1657, in the forty third year of his miniſtry. He left but one (a) daughter (b).

(b) Taken from a Memoir ſent to me from Geneva by Mr Pictet, profeſſor of Divinity.

(11) Printed at Sedan 1625, in 8vo.

(12) Memoir of Mr Pictet.

(13) Some of them are printing at Geneva, with others of Mr Daillé. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, November 1700, *pag.* 586.

munion with Jeſus Chriſt in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt (11), is highly eſteemed. His heirs have ſtill by them ſeveral manuſcripts, which were found in his ſtudy (12), his ſermons upon the Catechiſm (13), the explication of the Epiſtle of St Paul to the Galatians, and of ſome chapters of the Epiſtle to the Epheſians; ſome ſermons upon divers texts, and ſeveral ſmall pieces. Note, that he publiſhed at Sedan a volume of ſermons in the year 1625, in 8vo. Thoſe he wrote upon the firſt Epiſtle of St John are in two volumes.

[G] *They relate a very particular circumſtance in a tryal he had in the parliament of Paris.*] The preſident of the court, where the cauſe was pleaded, having obſerved by his looks that he was not well ſatisfied with his advocate, interrupted him, and addreſſing himſelf to the miniſter, methinks, ſaid he to him, you do not ſeem pleaſed with what is alledged for your cauſe; the court gives you leave to plead for your ſelf. It is ſaid, that Mr Meſtrezat urged his arguments ſo finely, that he carried his cauſe without any difficulty (14).

(14) Memoir of Mr Pictet.

METEL (JOHN) was of Franche-Comté, and made a figure among the learned of the XVIth century. He ſtudied the Law at Bologna, and there contracted a very intimate friendſhip with Anthony Auguſtin and Jerom Oſorius. This appears by the dialogues of the latter *de Gloria*, wherein the two others are the interlocuters (a). Metel was in ſeveral places with Anthony Auguſtin, at Florence, Venice, Rome, and in the Low-Countries, and he accompanied him to England, when Auguſtin was ſent thither by the Pope to Philip II (b). He likewiſe correſponded much with Caſſander. Some letters that he wrote to him are publiſhed, which are pretty curious.

(a) Oſorius de Gloria, *lib. i, pag. m.* 87.

(b) Bartholom. Bodegem. Delphus, *Epiſt. Dedic. Libri* Oſorii de Gloria, *in Edit. Baſil.* 1584.

METELLA. There were ſome ladies of this name in ancient Rome, who had a very bad reputation. CÆCILIA METELLA, the ſiſter of Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, married Lucius Lucullus. From their marriage proceeded the famous Lucullus, who made war againſt Mithridates (a). We learn from Plutarch, that this Metella was infamous for her bad life (b). I cannot believe that it was ſhe whom Horace and Valerius Maximus have mentioned [A]. CÆCILIA METELLA, the daughter of Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius, the ſon of Numidicus, married firſt Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, and in a ſecond marriage the famous Sylla. She had by her firſt huſband, a ſon and a daughter. The ſon, Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many accounts, and chiefly by the magnificent theatre which he built. The daughter, called Æmilia, was firſt married to Marcus Acilius Glabrio, and afterwards to Pompey the Great, and died in child-bed (c). Theſe two children found Sylla, the ſecond huſband of their mother, to be a good patron; for though Metella did not behave herſelf well, nevertheleſs ſhe was much reſpected by Sylla (d). This was, as it is ſaid, becauſe he knew nothing of the debauchery of his wife, which he firſt heard the news of at the ſiege of Athens. He treated this city very harſhly becauſe of the abuſive language they uttered againſt Metella upon the ramparts (e). Having had twins by this wife, a ſon and a daughter, he gave the name of Fauſtus to the ſon, and that of Fauſta to the daughter (f). The latter

(a) Plut. ubi infra.

(b) Ἠδοξησεν ὡς ὑ βοβιωκυῖα σωφρόνως. Fuit ob vitam probroſam infamis. *Plut. in Lucullo, init. pag.* 491.

(c) Plut. in Sylla, *pag.* 473.

(d) Ib. *p.* 455.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ib. *p.* 473.

[A] *I cannot believe that it was ſhe whom Horace and Valerius Maximus have mentioned.*] Horace tells us, that Æſop's ſon diſſolved in vinegar a pearl of great price, and drank it off; and he obſerves that this pearl had ſerved for an ear-ring to Metella (1). An old ſcholiaſt upon Horace ſays, that this Metella was the wife of Æſop's ſon. I ſhould rather believe that there was only an unlawful commerce between them; and this is alſo the opinion of Mr Dacier. He doubts *whether this Metella was not the ſiſter of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, who was married to L. Lucullus* (2). I cannot believe it was ſhe, for the wife of this Lucullus was probably old, when the ſon of Æſop begun to be capable of making love. She had a grand niece who married Sylla in the year 665 of Rome, and who had by another huſband two children fit for marriage. We have ſeen (3) that the daughter of Sylla's wife was married to Pompey: but ſhe had been married to another huſband; and we know that Sylla, who cauſed her to marry Pompey, died in the year 672. If the grand-niece was a grandmother at that time, we may reaſonably think, that the great aunt was ſcarce a fit object to be courted. Add to this, that Lucullus the ſon of Metella, the great aunt, commanded the Roman army againſt Mithridates, as conſul in the year of Rome 679; and that Cicero, ſome years after the battle of Pharſalia, (4) makes mention of Æſop's ſon, as one that created him much trouble (5). It is not eaſy therefore to adjuſt the times of the love of theſe two perſons.

As for what concerns Valerius Maximus, I find in the Onomaſticon of Glandorp a period that is liable to cenſure; which is this: *Eamdem eſſe volunt de qua Valerius libro primo capite quinto, auctor de viris illuſtribus capite ſexageſimo ſecundo, ut viris duobus nuptam fuiſſe intelligamus* (6). He means that Metella, the ſiſter of Metellus Numidicus, and mother to Lucius Lucullus (7), was the ſame with her, whom Valerius Maximus and Aurelius Victor have ſpoken of. This is not amiſs as to the laſt author, ſince it is certain that he ſpoke expreſsly of Metella, the ſiſter of Metellus Numidicus: but the other writer ſpoke in ſuch an indefinite way, that he may be conjectured to be as well for as againſt it; and ſo Glandorp ſhould not have ſtuffed his paper with conjectures about the things he mentions. But I may relate the matter of fact, which is curious.

Cæcilia, the wife of Metellus, had a niece fit for marriage: ſhe carried her one night into a chapel to ſeek for nuptial preſages. This was the cuſtom when a young woman was intended for marriage. The aunt ſat down and the niece ſtood by her: they liſtened a long time without hearing any thing. The young lady finding herſelf weary with ſtanding, deſired her aunt to let her ſit down a few minutes: *with all my heart*, replyed the aunt, *I will give you my place.* Theſe words were the omen they ſought for: Cæcilia died quickly after, and her huſband married the young niece. This is what Valerius Maximus (8) relates. Cicero (9) mentions it alſo: He had it from Lucius Flaccus a prieſt of Mars (10). There is a note of Pighius in Valerius Maximus Variorum, which ſays, that this Lucius Flaccus was conſul in the year 622. But this was a long time before Cicero was capable of converſing with great men. Pighius adds, that Cæcilia, the ſiſter of Metellus Numidicus, is meant here, and he proves it by Aurelius Victor, who ſays, that this Metellus would not make a funeral oration for Metellus, his brother-in-law (11). But Aurelius Victor has not named this brother-in-law, and ſo the learning

(1) Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ (Scilicet ut decies ſolidum exſorberet) aceto Diluit inſignem baccam. *Horat. Sat. iii, lib. ii, ver.* 239.

(2) Remarks upon that paſſage of Horace, *Tom. vii, pag. m.* 301, 302.

(3) In the text of this article.

(4) It was fought in 705.

(5) Quin etiam Æſopi filius me excruciat. *Cicero ad Atticum, Epiſt. xv, lib. xi.*

(6) Gland. *pag.* 170.

(7) He who overcame Mithridates.

(8) *Lib. i, cap. v, num.* 4.

(9) De Divinat. *lib. i, cb. xlvi.*

(10) L. Flaccum flaminem Martialem ego audivi quum diceret. *Ibid.*

(11) Ipſam vero Cæciliam Q. Numidici ſororem fuiſſe ex auctore de viris illuſtribus eſt colligere, qui *cap. lxii*, ſcribit Numidicum ſororis ſuæ virum Metellum laudare noluiſſe, quod is olim ſuum judicium & leges detrectarat. *Pighius in Val. Maximum, lib. i, cap. v, num.* 4.

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latter did not at all degenerate [B]: but even out-did her mother. Since Metella was of an age to have children, I do not underſtand the reflexion of Plutarch [C]. Metella fell dangerouſly ill, at a time when her huſband gave entertainments to the people upon occaſion of a great vow. He had conſecrated to Hercules the tenth part of his whole eſtate, and treated the people magnificently for ſeveral days. The prieſts declared to him that it was not lawful for him to go and ſee his wife, nor to ſuffer his houſe to be defiled by the death of any one whatſoever. Whereupon he ſent a letter of divorce to Metella, and

learning of Pighius is founded upon a falſe ſuppoſition. 'Metellæ ſororis ſuæ virum laudare noluit. quod is 'ſolus judicium contra leges detrectaret. - - - *He would 'not commend his ſiſter Metella's huſband, becauſe he a-'lone declined judgment againſt the laws.*' Theſe are the words of Aurelius Victor in the good editions. What ſeems to me moſt memorable in this fact, is the ſtrange ſuperſtition of ancient Rome. Not only ſervant maids ſought after omens for marriage, but ladies of the firſt quality, and thoſe who were of a rank equal to that of our ducheſſes, amuſed themſelves with thoſe fooleries, and went to lie upon the catch of the firſt word that fortune ſhould make them hear. Even at this day the quality of a ducheſs does not free one from theſe fortune-telling ſuperſtitions, wherewith the citizens wives are infatuated.

[B] *Fauſta did not at all degenerate.*] She was one of the moſt lend women of her time; and it was at leaſt true with reſpect to her and Metella, her mother, that the world grows worſe and worſe. Metella was a looſe woman; but *mox datura progeniem vitioſiorem* (12). - - - *Was ſoon to bring forth a child more vitious.* Fauſta had for a third huſband the famous Milo, whom the murder of Clodius and the oration of Cicero have made ſo well known. It was not ſafe to meddle with him; however his wife did not fear him much; for ſhe admitted her galants with ſo little precaution, that one of them was one day catched by Milo. He would have been killed if he had not had a good deal of money; but he redeemed his life by paying the ſum to which Milo condemned him, after he had ſoundly laſhed him. *M. Varro in litteris atque vita ſide bomo multa & gravis, in libro, quem ſcripſit* Pius aut de pace, *C. Salluſtium ſcriptorem ſeriæ illius & ſeveræ orationis, in cujus hiſtoria notiones cenſorias fieri atque exerceri videmus, in adulterio deprenſum ab Annio Milone loris bene cæſum dicit, & quum dediſſet pecuniam, dimiſſum* (13). It is a ſad thing that this ſhameful diſgrace ſhould happen to a great author; for it was Salluſt the Hiſtorian who was ſo ill treated at Fauſta's houſe. But the galants did not profit by this example; for one Villius is ſaid to have been heartily cuffed in the ſame place, and to have narrowly eſcaped being ſtabbed.

(12) *See Horace, Ode VI, lib. iii.*

(13) Aul. Gellius, *lib. xvii, cap. xviii.*

Villius in Fauſta Syllæ gener (hoc miſer uno
Nomine deceptus) pœnas dedit uſque ſuperque
Quam ſatis eſt pugnis cæſus, ferroque petitus
Excluſus fore quum Longarenus foret intus (14).

(14) Horat. Sat. II, lib. i, ver. 64.

Some ſay, it was Milo that treated him after this manner (15). It was well for him that he was robuſt, for if he had not, his arms would not have been able to drub as often as was neceſſary ſuch as came to kiſs his wife. But others think with more probability, that he who thus treated the unfortunate Villius, was another galant of Fauſta, who being with her when Villius came in, drove him away diſgracefully. This Villius kept company with Fauſta, chiefly becauſe ſhe was of the firſt quality. Horace laughs at this fooliſh conceit, and ſhows that it does not proceed from nature, and that greater charms are often found among the meaner ſort

(15) Vetus interpres Horatii.

Huic ſi Mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
Diceret hæc animus: quid vis tibi? nunquid ego à te
Magno prognatum depoſco conſule cunnum
Velatumque ſtola, mea cum conferbuit ira?
Quid reſponderet? magno patre nata puella eſt,
At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque iſtis
Dives opis natura ſuæ . . . . . (16).

(16) Horat. Sat. II, lib. i, ver. 68.

Nec magis huic inter niveos viridiſque lapillos.
(Sit licet hoc Cerinthe tuum) tenerum eſt femur aut crus
Reſtius, atque etiam melius perſæpe togatæ (17).

(17) Ib. ver. 80.

This cenſure proved uſeleſs, and Perſius was obliged to renew it.

- - - - - Nunc nunc impenſius unge
Unge puer caules. Mihi feſta luce coquatur
Urtica, & fiſſa fumoſum ſinciput aure;
Ut tuus iſte nepos olim ſatur anſeris extis;
Cum moroſa vago ſingultiet inguine vena,
PATRICIÆ immejat vulvæ (18).

(18) Perſius, Sat. VI, ſub fin.

Pour oil, and pour it with a plenteous hand
Upon my ſallads, boy; ſhall I be fed
With ſodden nettles, and a ſing'd ſow's head?
'Tis holiday, provide me better chear,
'Tis holiday, and ſhall be round the year.
Shall I my houſhold gods, and genius cheat,
To make him rich, who grudges me my meat?
That he may loll at eaſe, and pamper'd high,
When I am laid, may feed on giblet pye?
And when his throbbing luſt extends the vein,
Have wherewithal his whores to entertain?
DRYDEN.

'And there are ſtill many people like Villius, 'who like nothing in their miſtreſs but their name 'and their quality.' Theſe are the words of an able commentator (19). I have not yet named all the galants of our Fauſta, whoſe memory is tranſmitted to us in books. She had two at the ſame time, whoſe names gave occaſion to a witty ſaying of her brother. *Fauſtus Sullæ filius cum ſoror ejus eodem tempore duos mœchos haberet, Fulvium fullonis filium & Pompejum Maculam, miror, inquit, ſororem meam habere Maculam cum fullonem habeat* (20). *I wonder*, ſaid he, *that my ſiſter ſhould have a ſpot, ſince ſhe has a ſcourer.* But the Latin is infinitely more graceful.

(19) Mr Dacier on Horace, *Tom. vii, pag.* 145.

(20) Macrob. Saturn. *lib. ii, cap. ii, pag.* 324.

[C] *I do not underſtand the reflexion of Plutarch.*] He ſays, that Sylla before he married Metella had three wives, whereof the laſt called Cœlia, was decently divorced upon pretence of barrenneſs; but, adds Plutarch, the marriage which Sylla contracted a few days after with Metella, ſhows that he had unjuſtly alledged againſt Cœlia this reaſon of divorce. Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Μετέλλαν ἔδοξε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Κοίλιαν ὑ καλῶς αἰτιάσασθαι. *Verum quod paucis diebus poſt Metellam duxit, apparuit eum immerito illam cauſam in Cœliam prætendiſſe* (21). To make this reaſoning of Plutarch good, we muſt ſuppoſe, that a man who has divorced his wife for barrenneſs, if he acts naturally and diſcreetly, will not make haſte to take another: but common ſenſe tells us, that this cannot be ſuppoſed without falling into an error; for every one that divorces his wife, and does it only upon account of barrenneſs, teſtifies by that, that he wiſhes to have children. And therefore reaſon requires that he ſhould marry again quickly another woman, who is like to be fruitful: and if he ſhould not marry again at all, or delay for a long time to do it, he would thereby plainly declare, he had given a falſe reaſon for his divorce. What did it ſignify, might one ſay, whether his wife was barren or no, ſince after her divorce he continues unmarried? And therefore it is not true, that Sylla's marrying quickly Metella, was a confutation of the reaſon for which he ſaid he divorced Cœlia; on the contrary, that marriage did confirm it, and juſtify his conduct. The reaſon of Plutarch would be good, if Metella had been paſt the age of child-bearing; but he informs us himſelf that ſhe was brought to bed of twins. That which deceived him, ſeems to be this: he reaſoned in this manner with himſelf; Sylla would not have concluded his marriage with Metella a little while after Cælia's divorce, if he had not been in love with her ſome time before, and even prepared things for his

(21) Plut. in Sylla, *pag* 453.

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and ordered that ſhe ſhould be carried out of his Houſe before ſhe died. Superſtition moved him to do all theſe things againſt his inclination; for he was much afflicted to loſe his wife, and he made her a very magnificent funeral to eaſe his grief (*g*). Upon the ſame account he made great feaſts for his friends, without any regard to the ſumptuary laws, which he himſelf had enacted (*b*). Theſe he tranſgreſſed boldly, tho' he durſt not violate the ridiculous and barbarous ceremonies which the prieſts had taught him. If the ſon of Æſop was beloved by one Metella [*D*], as there is ſome probability, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that the two gallant ladies I have ſpoken of, are not the only perſons of that name who behaved themſelves ill.

funerariam, quam tulerat ipſe, convulſit nullo habito ſumptus modo. *Ibid. pag.* 474. *B.*

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*g*) Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὸ νομιμον ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐτήρησε. τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ὁρίζοντα τὴν δαπάνην νομον αὐτος παρεισεγνωκὼς παρέβη μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φειδάμενος. Atque hac in re leges curioſe ex ſuperſtitione ſervavit: at legem

Some authors have given the name of METELLA to one of Pompey's wives, whom he divorced on account of her leudneſs (*i*); but ſhe ſhould rather be called Mucia: and I ſpeak of her under that word.

(*i*) *See* Biſſelius, Ruinar. illuſtr. *Decade iv, part iv, pag.* 298.

his new marriage before the diſſolution of the former. It was therefore his deſire to marry Metella, that puſhed him on to a divorce; and ſo the barrenneſs of Cœlia was only a vain pretence. Plutarch might have reaſon at the bottom; perhaps the only motive of Sylla was the deſire he had to marry Metella. However, ſince Plutarch builds his propoſition upon a very ambiguous proof, and which, according to the order of nature and good ſenſe, muſt needs be falſe, he is guilty of a paralogiſm. I have ſaid elſewhere, that ſuch a criticiſm as this, which may be called logical, may do young readers more ſervice than a grammatical criticiſm.

[*D*] *If the ſon of Æſop was beloved by one Metella.*] That which makes me expreſs myſelf after this manner is, that the words of Horace do not neceſſarily imply, that the lady whoſe pearl was ſwallowed by Æſop's ſon, was in love with him. Horace might have mentioned Metella, in caſe ſhe had been a lady who delighted to be pompouſly adorned with jewels; for ſince he deſigned to expoſe the extravagant prodigality of Æſop's ſon, he was to deſcribe the pearl by ſuch ſtrokes as might affect the reader. If then there had been a lady called Metella, famous for the magnificence of her jewels, he would have given a great idea of the value of a pearl, by ſaying, it was the earring of ſuch a lady; and ſo the expreſſion of Horace, *detractam ex aure Metellæ, - - - - taken from Metella's ear*, would not be uſeleſs, even tho' it ſhould be ſuppoſed that the ſon of Æſop did not become maſter of that pearl but by purchaſe. Yet I think it very probable, that this Metella behaved herſelf very ill with the ſon of this comedian: and it may very well be that ſhe was the ſame with that Metella who is mentioned in Cicero's letters. There are ſome commentators who think, 1. that when Cicero complains of being tormented by the ſon of Æſop (22), he means that this man was a companion of Dolabella in the debaucheries which ſo much vexed Tullia (23), and which were one of the cauſes of diſſolving her marriage with Dolabella. II. That theſe debaucheries were the intrigues of Dolabella with ſome ladies of pleaſure, and particularly with Metella. This conjecture is grounded upon a paſſage in another letter of Cicero, wherein Metella is reckoned among the cauſes of the divorce of *Tullia*. *Melius quidem in peſſimis nihil fuit diſcidio: aliquid feciſſemus ut vivi, vel tabularum novarum nomine, vel nocturnarum expugnationum, vel Metellæ, vel omnium malorum* (24). Some (25) think that this Metella was ſhe whom Lentulus Spinther divorced, and that the Metella of Æſop's ſon was ſhe that was divorced by this Lentulus (26). What is certain is, that there was about that time a very intriguing lady called Metella, whoſe amours afforded as much matter to the Poets, as Madam d'Olonne has done to the writers of the XVIIth century. Here follow two verſes of Ovid, taken out of the ſecond elogy of the ſecond book *de Triſtibus*, ver. 437.

(22) Quin etiam Æſopi filius me excruciat. *Cicero ad Attic. Epiſt. xv, lib. xi.*

(23) Quia ſocius Dolabellæ in adulteriis Pelicum Tulliæ, ut Metellæ de qua Epiſt. xxiii. *Popma, in Editione, Epiſt. Cicer. ad Atticum Græviana, Tom. ii, pag.* 248.

(24) Cicero, ad Attic. *lib. xi, Epiſt. xxiii.*

(25) Corradus, in Cicer. ad Attic. *Epiſt. vii, lib. xiii.*

(26) Et Lentulum cum Metella certe feciſſe divortium. *Cicero, ibid. Epiſt. vii, lib. xiii. See alſo Epiſt. li, lib. xii.*

Et quorum libris modo diſſimulata Perillæ
Nomine nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.

And thoſe who falſly put Perilla's name,
With whom, we read, Metella is the ſame.

We learn from Apuleius, how the author was called who diſguiſed the name of Metella by that of Perilla. 'Eadem opera accuſent, *ſays he*, p. 279 *of his apology*, C. Catullum quod Leſbiam pro Clodia nominavit, & Ticidam ſimiliter quod quæ Metella erat, Perillam ſcripſerit. - - - - *The ſame works accuſe C. Catullus of naming Leſbia inſtead of Clodia, and likewiſe Ticida of writing Perilla inſtead of Metella.*'

(*a*) In 690.

(*b*) Salluſt. in Bell. Catilin. *pag. m.* 81, 176.

(*c*) Cicero pro Cœlio, *pag.* 518. Edit. Abrami.

METELLUS CELER (QUINTUS) conſul in the year of Rome 693, diſcharged the office of pretor in the year of Cicero's conſulſhip (*a*), and did good ſervice to the commonwealth in oppoſing the troops of Catiline, which intended to paſs into Gallia Ciſalpina (*b*). He obtained the government of that province after his pretorſhip. He was a perſon of merit, but very unhappy in chooſing a wife; for he married a ſiſter of Clodius [*A*], who firſt diſgraced him by her leudneſs, and then poiſoned him. She was his couſin german (*c*). It is ſhe that, under the name of Leſbia, is ſo much defamed by

[*A*] *He married a ſiſter of Clodius.*] This is the Clodia whom Cicero has ſo well deſcribed in his defence of Cœlius, a fine country youth, who was accuſed of ſeveral crimes, and among the reſt of having a deſign to poiſon Clodia, that he might not be obliged to pay the ſums of money which he had borrowed of her. Cicero was his advocate, and pleaded for him with ſo much ſtrength of reaſoning, that he was acquitted. Clodia undertook this affair, only to be revenged upon him for a grievous affront he had put upon her, which was, that Cœlius, after he had taken his pleaſure with her as much, and as long as he would, at laſt grew weary of her, and forſook her, in order to make his courtſhip elſewhere. Plutarch (1) relates, that ſhe was ſirnamed Quadrantaria, becauſe one day one of thoſe who had lain with her, paid her in very bad money. He put into his purſe, not pieces of ſilver, but ſmall pieces of copper (2), much like farthings. Apuleius (3) informs us, ſhe was the lady whom Catullus has ſo much celebrated under the name of Leſbia: and ſo ſhe deſerved, for many reaſons, the title Plutarch has given her; for the Leſbia of Catullus was, at laſt, a ſtreet-walker, and waited for her prey at the corner of the ſtreets. She was for the firſt ſhe met, and without doubt took what was offered her. She would accept of a glaſs of the ſmalleſt liquor, and proſtitute her ſelf for a trifle, *Scortum diobolare, aut triobolare*; - - - *a penny, or a three half-penny whore.* Did ſhe not therefore deſerve the ſirname of Quadrantaria: See in the margin the verſes of Catullus, which were probably addreſſed to Cicero's client (4). She purchaſed a garden on the banks of the Tiber, that ſhe might have an opportunity of ſeeing thoſe that came to ſwim in the river, and the better to choſe the prey ſhe had a mind to draw into her net. *Habes hortos ad Tiberim: ac diligenter eo loco paraſti quo omnis juventus natandi cauſſa venit, hinc licet conditiones quotidie legas* (5). Of all the ſiſters of Clodius this was the moſt ſuſpected of inceſt with him (6). Being yet very young, he pretended to be fearful, that he might have leave to ſleep with his ſiſter. *Propter neſcio quam, credo, timiditatem, & nocturnos quoſdam inanes metus, tecum ſemper pufio cum majore ſorore cubitavit*

(1) Plutarch. in Ciceron. Vita, *pag.* 875.

(2) Which they called at Rome *Quadrantes.*

(3) *Apuleius, in Apol. pag. m.* 279. I have cited his words in the remark [*D*] of the preceding article.

(4) Cœli, Leſbia noſtra, Leſbia illa, Illa Lesbia quam Catullus unam Pluſquam ſe atque ſuos amavit omnes; Nunc in quadriviis & angiportis Glubit magnanimos Remi Nepotes. *Catull. Epigr. lix.*

(5) Cicero, pro Cœlio, *pag.* 445, Edit. Abrami. *Compare with this what has been ſaid in the article LEWIS VII, citat.* (3).

(6) Plut. ubi ſupra.

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by Catullus (*d*). Cicero loſt a very good friend by the death of this Metellus in 694 [*B*]. I ſhall obſerve a miſtake of Tuſnebus [*C*]. Our Metellus was of the college of the Augurs (*e*).

(*d*) See the remark [*A*], citation (3).

(*e*) Cicero in Vatinium, *pag.* 306, ejſudem Edit.

(7) Cicero, ibid.

(8) It is the thirtieth.

(9) It is not a proper name as ſeveral have believed. See Muret upon this Epigram.

tavit (7). There is an epigram in Catullus (8) which ſhews, that he loved Clodia; and that he fell out with her before the death of her huſband.

Leſbia mi, præſente viro, mala plurima dicit,
Hæc illi fatuo maxima lætitia eſt.
Mule (9), nihil ſentis. Si noſtri oblita taceret,
Sana eſſet, quod nunc gannit & obloquitur
Non ſolum meminit, ſed quæ multo acrior eſt res
Irata eſt: hoc eſt uritur & loquitur.

Before her huſband, Leſbia calls me names,
And at the leudneſs of the town exclaims;
This tickles the poor cuckold to the life,
And he thanks Heav'n for ſuch a virtuous wife.
Contented fool! . . . . indeed, you reaſon wrong,
If ſhe were virtuous, ſhe would hold her tongue.
Scandal and noiſe do not her virtue prove,
But are the marks of unextinguiſhed love.

[*B*] *Cicero loſt a very good friend by the death of this Metellus in the year* 694.] I will ſet down his own words, that we may know the merit of this Metellus, and his friendſhip for Cicero; and alſo the difference there is often between a man and a huſband. Metellus, with reſpect to Cicero, is an illuſtrious Roman; for Cicero conſiders him only as he is a man. But the ſame Metellus, with reſpect to Catullus, is a dunce, a fool, a mule (10), becauſe Catullus conſiders him only as a huſband. Catullus was convinced that the wife of Metellus was a worthleſs wretch. He knew ſo well all the effects of love, that he was perſuaded, that ſince ſhe ſpoke ſo ill of him, it was a ſign ſhe ſtill felt the flames of her paſſion. What eſteem then could he have for Metellus, who was catched in ſuch a miſerable trap, and ſuffered himſelf to be hornified, and then bubbled by his wife? Let us ſee the words of Cicero (11). 'Pro Dii immortales 'cur interdum in hominum ſceleribus maximis aut 'connivetis, aut præſentis fraudis pœnas in diem re'ſervatis? Vidi enim, vidi, & illum hauſi dolorem 'vel acerbiſſimum in vita, quum Q. Metellus abſtra'heretur è ſinu, gremioque patriæ: quumque ille vir, 'qui ſe natum huic imperio putavit, tertio die poſt'quam in Curia, in roſtris, in Republica floruiſſet, 'integerrima ætate, optimo habitu, maximis viribus 'eriperetur indigniſſime bonis omnibus, atque uni'verſæ civitati. Quo quidem tempore ille moriens, 'quum jam cæteris ex partibus oppreſſa mens eſſet, 'extremum ſenſum ad memoriam Reipublicæ reſerva'bat: quum me intuens flentem ſignificabat inter'ruptis, atque morientibus vocibus: quanta impen'deret procella urbi, quanta tempeſtas civitati: quum 'parietem ſæpe feriens eum, qui cum Q. Catulo fuerat 'ei communis, crebro Catulum, ſæpe me, ſæpiſſime 'Rempublicam nominabat: ut non ſe tam emori, 'quam ſpoliari ſuo præſidio quum patriam, tum 'etiam me doleret. Quem quidem virum ſi nulla vis 'repentini ſceleris ſuſtuliſſet, quonam modo ille furenti 'fratri ſuo patruelis Conſulari reſtitiiſſet, qui conſulem 'incipientem furere atque conantem, ſua ſe manu in'terfecturum, audiente Senatu dixerit? Ex hac igi'tur domo pregreſſa iſta mulier de veneni celeritate 'dicere audebit? nonne ipſam domum metuet, ne quam 'vocem eliciat? non parietes conſcios, non noctem 'illam funeſtam ac luctuoſam perhorreſcet? - - - - *O* 'immortal gods, why do ye ſometimes connive at the 'greateſt crimes of mankind, or defer the puniſhment of 'them? For I have ſeen, I have ſeen and endured the 'moſt bitter affliction of life, when Q. Metellus was drag'ged from the heart and boſom of his country; when he, 'who thought himſelf born for the ſervice of this Empire, 'on the third day after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in 'the ſenate, the roſtra, and the commonwealth, in the 'very prime of his age, and of a vigorous and healthy con'ſtitution, was moſt baſely ſnatched away from all good 'men, and from all the citizens. In his dying moments, 'tho' his mind was in other reſpects oppreſſed, he re'tained the memory of the commonwealth: and, beholding 'me in tears, ſignified, with broken and imperfect words, 'how a great ſtorm threatened the city and ſtate: and 'ſtriking frequently the wall, which had been common to 'Q. Catullus and him, he often named Catullus and 'me, and very often the commonwealth: intimating, 'that he did not ſo much regret his own death, as that 'his country and I ſhould be deprived of his aſſiſtance. 'Had he not been violently and wickedly carried off, 'how would he have reſiſted his furious brother that 'had been conſul, who ſaid, in the hearing of the 'ſenate, that he would ſlay, with his own hand, the 'conſul that began to rage and diſpute. Will that woman 'then go from this houſe, and dare to plead the cauſe 'about poiſoning her huſband? Will ſhe not be afraid 'of the very houſe, leſt it utter ſome word againſt her? 'Will ſhe not dread the conſcious walls, and that fatal 'and ſad night?' Cicero obſerves in another place, that Clodia lived ill with her huſband. 'Ea eſt 'ſeditioſa: ea cum viro bellum gerit, neque ſolum 'cum Metello, ſed etiam cum Fabio (12). - - - *She is* 'a contentious woman: *ſhe not only wages war with her* 'huſband Metellus, *but likewiſe with Fabius.*'

(10) See Epigram lxxxv, in the preceding remark.

(11) Cicero, ubi ſupra, pag. 514.

(12) Id. Epiſt. i, ad Attic. *lib. i, pag. m.* 175.

[*C*] *I ſhall obſerve a miſtake of Turnebus.*] He believed that Catullus ſpoke of our Metellus Celer in epigram 68. *Ita Cæcilio placeam, cui credita nunc ſum.* - - - *So may I pleaſe Cæcilius to whom I am truſted.* The Poet brings in the door of a debauched woman ſpeaking thus: but this woman was not Leſbia, or Clodia, for the woman meant in this epigram, had married an impotent man, whoſe father was ſo officious, as to conſummate the marriage which his ſon had contracted. It is not known whether he did it becauſe he loved his daughter-in-law, or becauſe he was perſuaded his ſon was not able to do it. Conſult theſe verſes of Catullus:

Primum igitur virgo quod fertur tradita nobis,
Falſum eſt: nonque illam vir prior attigerat,
Languidior tenera cui pendens ſicula beta,
Nunquam ſe mediam ſuſtulit ad tunicam;
Sed pater ipſius nati violaſſe cubile
Dicitur, & miſeram conſceleraſſe domum:
Sive quod impia mens cæco flagrabat amore,
Seu quod iners ſterili ſemine natus erat:
Et quærendum aliunde foret nervoſius illud,
Quod poſſet zonam ſolvere virgineam
Egregium narras mira pietate parentem,
Qui ipſe ſui gnati minxerit in gremium (13).

(13) Catul. Epigr. lxviii.

Scaliger refutes Turnebus by two reaſons: the firſt is, that the ſcene of this adventure was Verona, and not Rome. The ſecond is, that nobody ever ſaid that Clodia committed inceſt with her father. Cicero had certainly objected it to her, if her character had ſuffered upon that account (14). Theſe two reaſons of Scaliger are very good; but he did not obſerve that it was with her huſband's father, and not with her own, that the woman, mentioned by Catullus, loſt her maidenhead.

(14) Alienum à vero prorſus ſcribit Adr. Turnebus, Gallorum doctiſſimus, hunc eſſe Cæcilium, cui Clodia nupſerit. Hoc enim non Romæ, ſed Veronæ manifeſto actum ſcribit Catullus. Deinde nihil tale de Clodia narratur, ut conſuetudinem ſtupri nefandam cum patre ſuo habuerit. Hoc enim non tacuiſſet capitalis hoſtis ejus fratris Clodii Cicero. *Scalig. Not. in Catull. Epigr. lxviii.*

METELLUS (Lucius) a tribune of the people, when Cæſar made himſelf maſter of Rome, at the beginning of the civil wars, had more courage than all the other magiſtrates. The city of Rome appeared ſo ſubmiſſive to the will of Cæſar at the very firſt [*A*], that it ſeemed as if ſhe had been a long time accuſtomed to the yoke of bondage. Metellus was the only perſon that durſt oppoſe Cæſar, who had a mind to ſeize the treaſure that was

[*A*] *The city of Rome appeared ſo ſubmiſſive to the will of Cæſar at the very firſt.*] We muſt not wonder at this, for he was conſidered as a man that with an armed force had ſeized Rome, and it was feared he would have pillaged it.

Namque

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was kept in the temple of Saturn. Cæsar laughed at the opposition, and the laws which were objected to him [B], and went streight to the place where the treasure was deposited. He found it shut, and because the keys were refused him he ordered the doors to be broke open; whereupon Metellus renewing his opposition Cæsar threatened to kill him: *Young man*, added he, *you know it would be more easy for me to do it than to say it.* The tribune resisted no longer [C], but went away very quietly; and Cæsar took out of this treasury whatever he had a mind to (a). He was very careful not to tell how the thing happened; for he disguised it so in his History of the civil war (b) [D], that you can perceive

(a) Plut. in Cæsare. *pag.* 725.

(b) *Lib. i.*

Namque ignibus atris
Creditur, ut captæ rapturus mœnia Romæ
Sparsuruſque Deos: fuit hæc menſura timoris,
Velle putant quodcunque poteſt (1).

(1) Lucan. Pharſ. lib. III, ver. 99.

They think he comes to ravage, ſack, and burn,
Religion, gods, and temples to o'erturn.
Their fears ſuggeſt him willing to purſue
Whatever ills unbounded power can do.

ROWE.

The good fortune of Rome set bounds to his power, when the senate and people had set none to their submission. This will not be the last time, that even in circumstances, wherein effeminacy is more inexcusable than at that time, some will be less ashamed to suffer things to be taken, than others to take them, and that they will be beholden for their preservation to the discretion of others.

Omnia Cæſar erat, privatæ Curia vocis
Teſtis adeſt. Sedere patres cenſere parati
Si regnum, ſi templa ſibi, jugulumque Senatus
Exiliumque petat. Melius quod plura jubere
Erubuit, quam Rome pati (2).

(2) Id. ib. ver. 108.

Cæſar is all things in himſelf alone,
The ſilent court is but a looker on;
With humble votes obedient they agree
To what their mighty ſubject ſhall decree;
Whether as king or god he will be fear'd,
If royal thrones or altars ſhall be rear'd.
Ready for death or baniſhment they ſtand,
And wait their doom from his diſpoſing hand.
But he by ſecret ſhame's reproaches ſtaid
Bluſh'd to command what Rome would have obey'd.

ROWE.

[B] *Cæsar laughed at . . . . the laws which were objected to him.*] Appian (3) tells us, that after the fatal wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, certain sums of money were laid by at Rome, which it was forbid to touch, under pain of a public execration, except it were in case of a war against the Gauls. It was remonstrated to Cæsar, that their ancestors had given the curse of the country to any one that should touch this money, unless in this necessity. He made a jest of this curse, and said, that having subdued the Gauls, he had delivered Rome from the obligation, under which she might lie when she founded this treasury. Lucan has made an ingenious reflexion indeed, but I think it is a little strained. He says, that people have the laws, privileges, and liberty less at heart than money, and that it was only for the sake of this treasure that they attempted to resist Cæsar (4). He means the opposition of Metellus.

(3) *Lib. ii*, Bell. Civil. *pag. m.* 241.

(4) Uſque adeo ſolus ferrum, mortemque timere
Auri neſcit amor, pereunt diſcrimine nullo
Amiſſæ leges: ſed pars viliſſima rerum
Certamen moviſtis opes. *Lucan. ubi ſupra, ver.* 118.

[C] *The tribune resisted no longer.*] Lucan supposes, that Metellus was ambitious of the glory of being sacrificed to the violence of the tyrant, but that Cæsar did not think him worthy of that honour, and told him:

Vanam ſpem mortis honeſtæ
Concipis: haud (iniquit) jugulo ſe polluet iſto
Noſtra, Metelle, manus. Dignum te Cæſaris ira
Nullus honor facit, te vindice tuta relicta eſt
Libertas? non uſque adeo permiſcuit imis
Longus ſumma dies, ut non, ſi voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint à Cæſare tolli (5).

(5) Ib. ver. 134.

Sooth not thy ſelf with hopes of death ſo vain,
No blood of thine my conquering ſword ſhall ſtain,
Thy titles and thy popular command
Can never make thee worthy Cæſar's hand.
Art thou thy country's ſole defender! Thou!
Can liberty and Rome be fallen ſo low!
Nor time nor chance breed ſuch confuſions yet,
Nor are the mean ſo rais'd, nor ſunk the great;
But laws themſelves would rather chuſe to be
Suppreſs'd by Cæſar, than preſerv'd by thee.

ROWE.

This Poet supposes another thing, *viz.* that Metellus did not retire till after the strong remonstrances of Cotta. Liberty, said Cotta, ruins liberty, when the monarchical power curbs it; and if you would not quite destroy it, if you desire at least to retain the shadow of it, appear willing to do what is commanded you. This thought is very fine, and Lucan expresses it nobly.

Tum Cotta Metellum
Compulit audaci nimium deſiſtere cœpto.
Libertas, inquit, populi, quem regna coërcent,
Libertate perit; cujus ſervaveris umbram,
Si, quicquid jubeare, velis (6).

(6) Ib. ver. 143.

When Cotta to prevent the kindling fire,
Thus ſooth'd the raſh Metellus to retire.
Where kings prevail, all liberty is loſt,
And none but he who reigns can freedom boaſt.
Some ſhadow of this bliſs thou ſhalt retain
Chuſing to do what ſovereign powers ordain.

ROWE.

[D] *Cæsar . . . . . diſguiſes this action in his hiſtory of the civil war.*] It is rather a total suppression than a disguising of it; for he is so far from granting, that he used threats against Metellus, and that he carried off in spite of him the money that was in the treasury, that he declares he went out of Rome, that he might not be a long time entangled in the disputes that his enemies raised against him by means of Metellus. Is not this an insinuation that he was so gracious and complaisant, that he chose rather to leave his country than to struggle with this tribune of the people? 'Subjicitur etiam L. Metellus Tribunus plebis ab inimicis Cæſaris, qui hanc rem diſtrahat, reliquaſque res quaſcunque agere inſtituerit, impediat. Cujus cognito conſilio, Cæſar fruſtra diebus aliquot conſumptis, ne reliquum tempus omittat, infectis iis quæ agere deſtinaverat, ab Urbe proficiſcitur (7). - - - - *Lucius Metellus, tribune of the people, was engaged by Cæsar's enemies to protract the time, and oppose whatever Cæsar should offer; which resolution as soon as he perceived, having already spent some days to no purpose, he quitted the city that he might lose no more time, leaving the designs uneffected which had brought him thither.*' If he mentions the public treasure, it is not to tell us that he seized upon it; but only, that the false report of his arrival so frighted his enemies, that the consul Lentulus, who went to the treasury to take thence the money he could find in it, in order to send it to Pompey, departed suddenly without putting his design in execution. According to all the editions of Cæsar, the fear of this consul was so great, that it did not give him leave to shut up the public treasury (8); but a judicious critic (9) is of opinion, that this passage should be corrected by inserting the particle *non*, and then the meaning of Cæsar will be, that the consul fled away before he had opened the treasury.

(7) Cæsar. de Bello Civ. *lib. i, pag. m.* 250.

(8) Quibus rebus Romam nunciatis tantus repente terror invaſit, ut cum Lentulus conſul ad aperiendum ærarium veniſſet ad pecuniam Pompejo ex Senatuſconſulto proferendam, protinus aperto fanctiore ærario ex urbe profugeret, Cæſar enim adventare jam jamque, & adeſſe ejus equites falſo nunciabantur. *Ib. pag.* 239.

(9) Philip Rubens Electus, *lib. i, cap. xxiv* apud Voſſium de Hiſtor. Lat. *pag* 63, *would have it read* protinus non aperto.

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perceive nothing of injuſtice or violence in it. This is the method of thoſe who write their own lives; they conceal ſuch circumſtances as do not tend to their honour.

treaſury. According to the editions, Cæſar tells a thing very different from what all the other Hiſtorians affirm. They obſerve, that he cauſed the doors of the public treaſury to be broke open, or that he threatened to do it when the keys were denied him (10). The common reading ſuppreſſes this violence, becauſe it ſuppoſes that the doors were left open. If we follow the conjecture of Rubeins, we ſhall leſſen the inſincerity of Cæſar's pen: But yet he will always be guilty of a notorious concealing of the truth; for he ſays nothing of his taking advantage of this circumſtance, and of his entring the treaſury which Lentulus had not ſhut. Voſſius, I think, has given no good reaſon againſt this correction of Rubeins. 'Sed profecto, 'ſays he, ſequentia refellunt, nam quia mirum poterat 'videri, quod relinqueret apertum ærarium profu-'giens, eo ſubjungit: *Cæſar enim adventare*, &c (11). '*- - - - But indeed the following words refute it; for 'as it might ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould leave the 'treaſury open when he fled away, he adds: for it was 'reported that Cæſar was juſt a coming*, &c.' This reaſon is taken from the words which Cæſar uſes to ſhow the cauſe of Lentulus's fright: But it is not very ſtrong; for it is very ſtrange, that when a great war is coming on, a conſul who is ready to take out the money of the treaſury, in order to ſend it to the general, ſhould fly away before he ſecures that money. So that if Cæſar had made uſe of a negative particle, as Rubeins ſuppoſes, he would have been obliged to give a reaſon for the fear of Lentulus; a fear which would not have allowed him the time neceſſary to provide himſelf with money. Voſſius therefore, without good ground, ſuppoſes that a needleſs reaſon would be alledged, if the fact which Cæſar relates was agreeable to the criticiſm of Rubeins. It appears to me alſo, that the common reading carries the matter to an hyperbole. For what probability is there, that a Roman conſul ſhould have been ſo frighted, that he could not ſee that the time which was neceſſary to ſhut up a door, was not a time to be made much of, I mean that it would not be ſo long as to hinder him from making his eſcape?

(10) See Lucan, Plutarch, and Appian, ubi ſupra, citat. (a), (3), (4). Dion, lib. xli, pag. 181. Cicero, ad Attic. lib. x, Epiſt. xv. Livius, lib. xxi, cap. ii, xxx, 21.

(11) De Hiſt. Latin. pag. 63.

METHYDRIUM, in Greek Μεθύδριον, a city of Peloponneſus in Arcadia, was ſo called upon the account of its ſituation between two rivers (*a*). Orchomenes, who was the founder of it, built it upon a riſing ground. There was near Methydrium a temple of Neptunus Equeſtris, and a mountain which was called *Thaumaſius* [*A*], that is, *miraculous*, to which it is pretended that Cybele fled, being got with child by Jupiter, and that Hoplodamus, and the giants in his retinue, prepared to aſſiſt her, in caſe Saturn, her huſband, ſhould offer her any violence [*B*]. It was not denied that ſhe was delivered upon mount Lyceus, but ſome maintained that ſhe deceived her huſband upon mount Thaumaſius [*C*], by giving him a ſtone inſtead of a child. On the top of this mountain the cave of Cybele was ſhown, in which no perſon was ſuffered to ſet a foot, except the women conſecrated to that goddeſs (*b*). Methydrium was nothing but a village in the time of Pauſanias, and belonged to the Megalopolitans (*c*). This article will diſpleaſe a great many people, becauſe it ſhews there were in the times of Paganiſm certain places of devotion, whoſe pretended ſanctity was grounded only upon ridiculous tales: for there are many reſemblances which are not liked at all. Pauſanias is a troubleſome author, and deſerved to be reviſed by the commiſſioners, *Librorum expurgandorum, appointed to purge books.*

(*a*) One was called Malœta, and the other Mylaon.

(*b*) Taken from Pauſanias, lib. viii, pag. 266.

(*c*) Id. ib. pag. 246.

[*A*] *There was near Methydrium a temple . . . . and a mountain . . . . . called Thaumaſius.*] I make this remark only to correct a word in the text of Pauſanias. This author ſays, that the town of Methydrium was ſituated between the river Malœta, and the river Mylaon (1), and that there was a temple upon the river Mylaon, and a mountain upon the river Molottus. It is plain, that here is a river too much, and that this paſſage of Pauſanias has been corrupted by the tranſcribers. I will ſet down the Greek. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ, Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱππίου ναὸς, ἔστω μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μυλάονι ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Θαυμάσιον καλούμενον, κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν Μολοῆτιν τὸν Μολοῆτιν. *Eſt Methydrii Neptuni equeſtris ædes ad Mylaontem fluvium: mons vero Thaumaſius dictus ſupra Molottum amnem eſt.* I believe, that inſtead of Μολοῆτιν, we ſhould read Μαλοιτάν, which is the name of the other river, whereof Pauſanias had ſpoken a little before. Note, that upon reading this a long time after it had been written, I thought it neceſſary to conſult Pauſanias printed at Leipſic in 1696, which did not come to my hands till a few months ago: and there I found a note which informs me, 1. That Stephanus Niger believes, that Malœta and Molottus, or Moloſſus, in Pauſanias were two different rivers; but that others think the fault of the tranſcribers happened in the word Μαλοιτὰ. 2. That Kuhnius is not poſitive in the caſe, and knows not what to make of certain names which occur but once.

(1) Μαλοιτᾶ τε συναμοῦ καὶ Μολόεντος μέσης. Medio loco inter Malœtan & Mylaontem fluvium. Pauſan. lib. viii, pag. m. 266.

[*B*] *Hoplodamus, and the giants in his retinue, prepared to aſſiſt Cybele, in caſe Saturn . . . ſhould offer her . . . violence.*] Natalis Comes underſtood not the paſſage of Pauſanias; for he ſuppoſes that the giants called in to the aſſiſtance of the goddeſs the mountain Thaumaſius. *Qui mons fuit ab Hoplodamo, aliiſque illius ſociis Gigantibus in auxilium accitus, ſi forte Saturnus illi vim inferre paraviſſet* (2).

(2) Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. ix, cap. v, pag. m. 959.

[*C*] *It was not denied that ſhe was delivered upon mount Lyceus, but ſome maintained that ſhe deceived her huſband upon mount Thaumaſius.*] This is the true ſenſe of the words of Pauſanias, and tho' it be not very clear with reſpect to the grammatical conſtruction, yet it is evident enough from the context, or the intention of the author. You ſee, however, what it is to expreſs one's ſelf ambiguouſly by the wrong placing of words, which leads aſtray the moſt learned men. I have juſt read a commentary which is full of profound learning, and there I find (3) it attributed to Pauſanias, that he ſaid, the cave of Rhea (4) was to be ſeen upon the brow of mount Lyceus, and that no perſon was permitted to enter into it, but only the women who ſacrificed to this goddeſs. Pauſanias ſays ſo only of mount Thaumaſius, for he affirms two things of the ſame mountain; one is, that Saturn was deceived there, taking a ſtone for the child his wife had brought forth; the other is, that the cave of that goddeſs was to be ſeen there. Now it was upon mount Thaumaſius that Saturn was thus deceived; Stephanus Byzantinus ſays ſo (5) therefore, &c. I know very well, that Pauſanias relates ſeveral wonders concerning mount Lyceus, that Jupiter was brought up in it; that there was to be ſeen there a fountain which cauſed rain, when a great drought obliged people to have recourſe to this remedy, by uſing the requiſite ceremonies; that there was alſo to be ſeen a place conſecrated to Jupiter, which all perſons were forbidden to enter, and that if any one was ſo bold as to enter it, in contempt of religion, he died infallibly the ſame year; and that the beaſts as well as men, which entered into it caſt no (6) ſhadow (7). But all this does no prejudice to the wonders of the other mountain.

(3) Ezekiel Spanhemius, Obſervat. in Callimachum, pag. 5. Friſchlin *is in a like error.* Not. in Hymn. Callim. in Jovem, pag. 372, Edit. Græv.

(4) She is the ſame with Cybele.

(5) Stephan. Byzantinus, in Θαυμάσιον.

(6) Οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιὰν. Nullas è corporibus ſuis umbras reddere. *Pauſan. lib. viii, pag.* 269.

(7) *Taken from* Pauſanias, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 268, 269.

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METRODORUS of Chios, a disciple of Democritus, had among other disciples the Philosopher Anaxarchus and Hippocrates the Physician (*a*). Others affirm that he was the disciple of Nessas, who had been the disciple of Democritus, and that he was master to Diogenes, who had been the master of Anaxarchus (*b*). He taught the eternity of the world; for if the world, said he, had a beginning, it would have been produced out of nothing. He made it also infinite for a reason drawn from its eternity; and immovable, for a reason drawn from its infinity. He said that the clouds, and afterwards the rain, were formed of condensed air, and that the rain which fell upon the sun extinguished it, but that the rarefaction which succeeded this extinction kindled it again; that by length of time it grew thick with driness, and that the sparkling water served it for matter to produce stars. Thus he accounted for the alternate succession of day and night, and in general for the eclipses (*c*). He is thought to be one of those who denied Certainty; and a passage of Cicero is cited to that purpose [*A*]. There is no certain proof that Pliny quoted our Metrodorus, for he never gives the surname Chius to the person whom he cites. That surname is given him by Athenæus, together with a work intituled Τρωϊκὰ, *that is* An Account of the Affairs of Troy (*d*).

(*a*) Suidas, in Δημόκριτος.

(*b*) Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. *lib. xiv, cap. xvi, pag.* 758.

(*c*) *Taken out of* Plutarch, in Stromatis, apud Eusebium, ubi supra, *lib. i, cap. viii, pag.* 24, 25.

(*d*) Athen. *lib. iv, cap. ult. pag.* 184.

[*A*] *He is thought to be one of those who denied Certainty, and a passage of Cicero is cited to that purpose.*] Mr Menage commenting upon these words of Diogenes Laërtius: Ὅς (Μητρόδωρος) ἔλεγε μηδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδε: Hic (*Metrodorus*) se ne id quidem scire dicebat quod nihil sciret (1), --- *Metrodorus said he did not even know that he knew nothing*, has these words: 'Chius Metrodorus initio libri qui est de natura: nego, inquit, scire nos, sciamusne aliquid, an nihil sciamus, ne id ipsum quidem nescire aut scire, scire nos, nec omnino sit ne aliquid, an nihil sit. --- *Metrodorus of Chios, in the beginning of the book concerning nature says: I deny that we know, whether we know any thing or nothing, or that we can even determine that we know, whether any thing exists or nothing exists.*' His citation is out of the fourth book (2) of the Academic Questions of Cicero. I have read again and again this passage, and it always seemed to me that it was Democritus, and not Metrodorus, of whom Cicero says this. It is true indeed, that Metrodorus was a Sceptic; for Sextus Empericus (3) reckons him among those who admitted no criterium, or rule, whereby the truth may be discerned. I cannot conceive how either Democritus or Metrodorus, or any other, could be so extravagant as to maintain, that they knew not whether any thing existed; for they could not doubt whether they doubted, nor imagine, that what doubts is not that they does not exist. It must therefore be owned, thing, and pretended to except their own existence. Note, that Aristocles may confirm the sense which Mr Menage gives to the words of Cicero; for after he had observed that Metrodorus of Chios admitted, as Democritus, his master, did, a Plenum and a Vacuum for two principles, one as a being, and the other as nothing (4); he adds that his book of nature began thus: Οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν οἶδεν, οὐδ' αὐτο τοῦτο πότερον οἴδαμεν, ἢ οὐκ οἴδαμεν. Nemo nostrum quidquam novit, ne hoc ipsum quidem utrum aliquid noverimus necne. - - - - *None of us knows any thing, not even whether we know any thing or not.* It cannot be pretended that Metrodorus contradicted himself, affirming this on one side, and maintaining, on the other, that we must only believe our sensations and imaginations (5): for these two doctrines agree very well together. He said that all things are in a perpetual flux, and that upon this account Homer derived their original from the ocean. Protagoras inferred from this principle (6), that man is the measure of all things, that each of them is just what it appears to be, and that we can make no judgment of others. This is perfect Pyrrhonism; for there you find on one hand, that our senses are the only rule of our opinions; and, on the other, that nothing is certain, that there is nothing in the nature of things constant, nothing that does not undergo infinite changes.

(1) Diog. Laërt. in Anaxarcho, *lib. ix, num. lviii.*

(2) It is in my edition the second book, *fol.* 207. *D.*

(3) Sextus Empiricus, adverss. Mathemat. *pag.* 146, 153.

(4) Aristocles, apud Eusebium, Præpar. Evang. *lib. xiv, cap. xix, pag.* 765.

(5) Idem, apud eumdem, ibid. *cap. xx, pag.* 766.

(6) Ibid.

METRODORUS, a good Painter, and a good Philosopher; was chosen by the Athenians, to be sent to Paulus Æmilius, who, after he had taken Perseus king of Macedonia, desired them to send him two men, the one to instruct his children, and the other to paint his triumph. He told them he wanted a tutor that was an excellent Philosopher. The Athenians sent to him Metrodorus who excelled both in Philosophy and Painting, Paulus Æmilius was very well satisfied with their choice, as Pliny tells us [*A*]. We shall see in the remarks, whether it be true that Cicero speaks of this Metrodorus, as Father Hardouin pretends [*B*]. I should rather believe that he speaks of METRODORUS

[*A*] *The Athenians sent him . . . . to Paulus Æmilius, who was very well satisfied with their choice, as Pliny tells us.*] The reader will be pleased to see his own words: *Ubi* (Athenis) *eodem tempore erat Metrodorus pictor, idemque Philosophus, magnæ in utraque scientia auctoritatis. Itaque cum L. Paulus devicto Perseo petisset ab Athenienses ut sibi quam probatissimum Philosophum mitterent ad erudiendos liberos, itemque pictorem ad triumphum excolendum, Athenienses Metrodorum elegerunt professi eundem in utroque desiderio præstantissimum: quod ita Paulus quoque judicavit* (1). Vossius is mistaken when he affirms, that this Metrodorus was a Physician (2).

[*B*] *We shall see . . . . whether it be true that Cicero speaks of this Metrodorus as Father Hardouin pretends.*] Father Hardouin imagines, that this passage of Pliny concerns a man, who was a hearer of Carneades, and who wrote a book *de Architectonice*, and another *de Poetis* (3). Here are three things which he asserts of him; the first is founded upon the authority of Cicero in the first book *de Oratore*; the second upon the authority of Pliny, in the index of the thirty fifth book; and the third upon the testimony of Plutarch, in the book against the Epicureans. I shall examine these three things, by going backwards. It is plain, that that the Metrodorus cited by Plutarch (4), as having written concerning the Poets, is he who was a friend to Epicurus. He did not live therefore in the time of Perseus; for Epicurus, who survived him seven years (5), died in the second year of the CXXVIIth Olympiad (6), but Perseus was not taken by the Romans till about the end of the CLIId. The index of the thirty fifth book of Pliny contains nothing that obliges us to think the Metrodorus of Perseus, to be the author of the book about Architecture: and as to the passage of Cicero, which here follows, it does not seem to agree to this Metrodorus: 'Audivi summos homines quum quæstor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas florente Academia, ut temporibus illis ferebatur, quod eam Carneades, & Clitomachus, & Æschines obtinebant. Erat etiam Metrodorus qui cum illis una ipsum illum Carneadem diligentius audierat (7) - - - - *When I came quæstor from Macedonia to Athens, I was a hearer of the greatest men, the academy being at that time in much repute, because Carneades, Clitomachus, & Æschines, taught there. Metrodorus also was a diligent hearer of Carneades with the other.*' It is the Orator Crassus that speaks. The time he points to, in all appearance, is the year 650 of Rome. How then can one imagine that Perseus's Metrodorus was still alive, since he was sent to Paulus Æmilius about the year 585, as one of the most

(1) Plin. *lib. xxxv, cap. xi, pag. m.* 230.

(2) Vossius, de Histor. Græcis, *pag.* 389.

(3) Harduin. in Plinium, ubi supra.

(4) Plutarch. non posse suaviter, vivi, *pag.* 1094, *E.*

(5) Diog. Laërt. *lib. x, num.* 23.

(6) Id. ib. *num.* 15.

(7) Cicero, de Orat. *lib. i, cap. xi.*

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RUS of Stratonice [C], who forſook the Epicurean ſchool and followed Carneades.

moſt excellent Philoſophers that could be choſen in Athens? It is more eaſy to refute Volaterran, who did not only think that the Metrodorus, who was ſent to Paulus Æmilius, was the diſciple of Carneades mentioned by Cicero, but alſo that his artificial memory was commended by Cicero (8). The Metrodorus who was commended upon this account, was a native of Scepſis, and different from the diſciple of Carneades; of which I will here give you demonſtrative proof. Craſſus heard the latter in Athens (9), and the other in Aſia. 'Paulum, ſitiens, ſays 'he, (10) iſtarum artium de quibus loquor, guſtavi 'queſtor in Aſia quum eſſem æqualem fere meum 'ex academia rhetorem nactus Metrodorum illum 'de cujus memoria commemoravit Antonius. - - - - - 'Thirſting after thoſe arts, of which I ſpeak; I 'taſted a little when I was quæſtor in Aſia, having 'found Metrodorus, the Rhetorician, almoſt of the ſame 'age with my ſelf, whoſe memory Antonius has mentioned.' It is plain that he ſpeaks of Metrodorus of Scepſis; for Antonius the Orator had ſaid: 'Vidi ego ſummos 'homines & divina prope memoria, Athenis Carne- 'adem, in Aſia quem vivere hodie ajunt Scepſium 'Metrodorum, quorum uterque tanquam literis in cera, 'ſic ſe ajebat imaginibus in iis locis quos haberet, quæ 'meminiſſe vellet, perſcribere (11) - - - - *I ſaw at A-* 'thens *Carneades and Metrodorus of Scepſis, who is ſaid* 'to live now in Aſia; men of the greateſt abilities, and 'endowed with a memory almoſt divine; both which ſaid 'they wrote down in images, like letters on wax, thoſe 'things they deſired to remember.' A little after Craſſus ſpeaks after this manner: 'Audivi . . . . . & Athenis 'cum eſſem doctiſſimos viros, & in Aſia iſtum ipſum 'ſcepſium Metrodorum quum de his ipſis rebus diſpu- 'taret (12). - - - - *I heard . . . when I was at Athens* 'men of very great learning, and in Aſia Metrodorus of 'Scepſis, when he diſcourſed of thoſe very things.'

(8) Volaterr. lib. xxvi, pag. m. 456.

(9) See citat. (7).

(10) Cicero, ubi ſupra, lib. iii, cap. xx.

(11) Id. ib. lib. ii, cap. lxxxviii.

(12) Id. ib.

[C] . . . . *I ſhould rather believe that he ſpeaks of METRODORUS of Stratonice.*] We have already ſeen (13) that his Metrodorus followed Carneades with great application. He ſays in another book, that Metrodorus of Stratonice might very well know Carneades (14). It may therefore be imagined, that theſe two places concern the ſame perſon. Beſides, we ſee in Diogenes Laërtius, a Metrodorus of Stratonice, who forſook Epicurus to follow the ſchool of Carneades. The Hiſtorian is miſtaken as to the time, for the death of Epicurus preceded the birth of Carneades; but, however, his error ſerves to make one believe, that Metrodorus mentioned by Craſſus the Orator, was Metrodorus of Stratonice. As to the miſtake of Diogenes Laërtius, ſee Mr Menage (15), and the pieces inſerted in the Journal des Sçavans which I have cited in another place (16).

(13) In the preceding remark, citation (7).

(14) Bene autem noſſe Carneadem Stratoniceus Metrodorus putabatur. *Cicero, Academic. Quæſt. lib. ii, fol.* 203. *B.* Note, that theſe words have ſcarce any connexion with the preceding, ſo that one would think that there is ſomething left out.

(15) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. *lib. x, num.* 9.

(16) In the remark [N] of the article CARNEADES.

MEZIRIAC (CLAUDIUS GASPAR BACHET LORD OF) was one of the greateſt men of the XVIIth century. *He was of Breſſe, of a noble and antient family* (a) [A], as Mr Pelliſſon informs us, with ſeveral other curious particulars which I will not tranſcribe becauſe they are in a book (b), which is in every body's hands. I ſhall only take out of it two things; the firſt is, that *Mr de Meziriac in his youth ſpent a great part of his time at Paris and at Rome, and that in this laſt place he made many Italian verſes, in emulation of Mr Vaugelas, who was there alſo.* The ſecond is, *that when he was at Paris, and it was ſaid that he was to be made preceptor to Lewis XIII,* that *this was the reaſon why he left the court in haſte; and he ſaid afterwards, that he never was in ſo much pain, for he thought he had already upon his ſhoulders the heavy burden of a whole kingdom.* It is ſaid in Moreri's Dictionary (c) that *afterwards he returned to Paris, and was a member of the French Academy.* The latter of theſe two facts is true, and the former falſe (d): this learned man was choſen to fill up one of the places in the academy at its birth, although he was abſent; and when his turn came to make a diſcourſe there, he ſent one which was read in the aſſembly by Mr de Vaugelas (e). In a book of Colomiés we meet with a particular, which is not mentioned by Mr Pelliſſon, which is this, that *Mr de Meziriac had been a Jeſuit at twenty years of age, and went thro' his firſt claſs at Milan, where falling ſick he became once more a ſecular* (f). He died at Bourg in Breſſe (g), February the twenty ſixth 1638 (h), and left ſeveral children by his marriage with Philiberta de Chabeu (i). It will appear by the remark, which will be ſeen below concerning his writings [B], that he was a man of ſuch a large capacity,

(a) Pelliſſon, Hiſtory of the French Academy, pag. m. 256.

(b) The Hiſt. of the French Academy.

(c) At the word Bachet.

(d) I do not deny that Meziriac made journies to Paris, but only that he came to ſettle there, which is Moreri's meaning.

(e) Peliſſ. ubi ſupra, pag. 104.

(f) Colomiés, Recueil de Particularitez, pag. m. 109, 110. *He obſerves that he learned this from Mr Patin.*

(g) Guichenon, Hiſt. de Breſſe, *Part iii, pag.* 10.

(h) Peliſſ. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 262.

(i) Guichenon, ubi ſupra.

[A] *He was of a noble and antient family.*] It owes its nobility to learning. 'Peter Bachet, lord of Mey- 'ſeria, Vauluyſant, and Lyonnieres, whom the family 'of the Bachets owns for their ſtock, was a coun- 'ſellor, and lieutenant-general in the bailliwick of 'Breſſe, under king Henry II, and then chief-judge, 'after reſtitution was made to duke Emanuel-Philibert 'of his dominions. He did homage to this prince 'in the year 1563, for the lordſhips of Meyſeria, 'Vauluyſant, and Lyonnieres, his laſt will is dated 'September 5, 1565. He was one of the great men 'of his time, admired for his probity and learning; 'a noted Civilian whom the people came to conſult 'from all the neighbouring countries; and a great 'Latin Poet. There are ſtill to be ſeen two manu- 'ſcript tomes of his conſultations, a collection of his 'Latin Poems, and a book of epiſtles which he wrote 'to the moſt learned men of his age, and their an- 'ſwers to him, the publication whereof would con- 'firm the teſtimony I give to his memory (1).' He married, the tenth of December 1540, Frances de Soria, the daughter of Antony de Soria a Portugueſe gentleman, and chief Phyſician to Beatrix of Portugal, ducheſs of Savoy. From this marriage came John Bachet, who was counſellor to the duke of Savoy, *and judge of the appeals of Breſſe, which was the chief magiſtracy in that county while it was under the duke of Savoy; he was a perſon of as much learning and integrity as his father, his laſt will is dated July the 5th* 1586. He left, beſide other children, our Mr de Meziriac, and William Bachet (2), Lord of Vauluyſant, *counſellor to the king, and preſident in the election of Breſſe, who made his will April* 22, 1631, *and died without children. Among other qualities which recommended him, he was a very good French and Latin Poet, of which he has left us many proofs, particularly in that excellent and natural tranſlation of ſome of Ovid's Epiſtles, which are printed with thoſe of Claudius-Gaſpard Bachet, Lord of Meyſeria, his brother* (3). You may obſerve, that Guichenon, the Hiſtoriographer of that country, always calls the lordſhip Meyſeria, which the author, of whom I here give an article, always calls Meziriac in the title of his books. Doubtleſs he took the liberty to change the name to make it more ſmooth, and leſs grating to the ears of the French, and more capable of being brought into Poetry.

(1) Guichenon, Hiſt. of Breſſe, *part iii, pag.* 9.

(2) He was the eldeſt.

(3) Id. ib.

[B] *It will appear by the remark . . . . concerning his writings.*] The firſt book he publiſhed was printed in 1613, with the title of *Problemes plaiſans & delectables qui ſe font par les nombres.* He publiſhed it *as well to give an eſſay of his ability, as to try what judgment would be made of his works, and that it might ſerve as a forerunner to his Diophantus* (4). Eleven years after he put out a ſecond edition (5) of it, *corrected, with the addition of ſeveral propoſitions and problems.* And becauſe he feared leſt, his *Diophantus* being already publiſhed, any one ſhould wonder, *that he who wrote a work ſo ſerious,* and full of profound ſpeculations as his *Diophantus* was, ſhould trifle away his time in reviſing his Problems, he gave this anſwer among others in

(4) Meziriac, Preface to the ſecond edition of his Problems.

(5) At Lyons, by Peter Rigaud, 1624, in 8vo.

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capacity, that he could find convenient room for the ſciences which have no relation to one another. He was a pretty good Poet in French, Italian, and Latin, an excellent Grammarian, an eminent Grecian, and a great Critic. He knew the ſmalleſt particulars relating to fables: he was ignorant of nothing in Mythology. He was *a Philoſopher, and a Divine well verſed in controverſies* (*k*), and underſtood admirably well the moſt abſtracted queſtions of Algebra and Mathematics. Guichenon ſays, that 'without 'doing any injury to his memory, one may give him the elogium which Quintilian 'gave to a great perſon of his time, that he might have left better works if he had 'pleaſed, *Felix ingenium, quod voluit potuit! ô utinam meliora voluiſſet* (*l*).' I ſhall ſpeak, in a ſeparate remark, of his writings which he deſigned for the preſs [C]. It is a miſtake to affirm

(*k*) Id. ib.

(*l*) Id. ib.

in his Preface (6): 'That books are the children of 'our minds, and that beſides the natural diſpoſition 'which all fathers have to love their children in ge- 'neral, they have a particular affection to their firſt 'born; wherefore this book being the firſt that came 'from my hand, and as it were the firſt born child 'of my mind, I have reaſon to cheriſh it particularly, 'as not to be contented with having brought it into 'the world, but moreover to take care of its preſer- 'vation and growth.' Mr Pelliſſon obſerves (7), 1. That the book of *Arithmetical Recreations*, is a work, wherein *Mr de Meziriac taught all manner of ſubtleties, in playing with numbers, and from whence is taken part of the* Recreation Mathematiques (8). 2. That his *Diophantus* tranſlated out of Greek into Latin with a Commentary, is a work, *which Mr de Fermat, and all thoſe who underſtand Algebra, do highly eſteem*, and that Mr de Meziriac ſaid himſelf, *he wondred how he could compaſs this work, and that he had not finiſhed it had it not been for a melancholy and ſtubborneſs, proceeding from a quartan ague, of which he was then ill.* Voſſius (9) is miſtaken as to the year of this edition of *Diophantus*, which he places in the year 1623, he ſhould have placed it in the year 1621. The Hiſtoriographer of Breſſe was not guilty of this fault; but he too much multiplied the editions of his book. The works which Meziriac printed, ſays he (10), are, 'Dio- 'phanti *Alexandrini Arithmeticorum libri ſex, & de nume-* 'ris multangulis liber unus, a book very rare, which he 'reſtored in a great meaſure, and enriched with very 'learned Commentaries: it was printed firſt at Paris 'in the year 1621, and dedicated to the great Oracle, 'Antony Faure, firſt preſident of Savoy; afterwards it 'was reprinted ſeveral times in Germany. *Problems 'of Arithmetic and Mathematics. A tranſlation of ſome 'Epiſtles of Ovid into French verſe, with very curious 'Commentaries. A Treatiſe of Tribulation, tranſlated 'from the Italian of Cacciaguerra.* Epiſtolæ, & Poe- 'mata Varia. *The Life of Alexander Luſaga. The 'Life of Æſop*, wherein, according to the judgment 'of all the learned, there are very excellent and fine 'remarks.' Mr Pelliſſon clears what is there ſaid confuſedly of the Poems of our author. *There is a little book of Italian poems done by him, wherein are imitations of the beſt compariſons, which are in the eight firſt books of the* Æneids. *Another of Latin poems; ſeveral poems in French; ſome of which have been inſerted in the collection printed in* 1621, *with this title*, Delices de la Poeſie Françoiſe, *and in that of the year* 1627 (11). Note, that *Diophantus* had never appeared but in Latin. Xylander publiſhed it in this language, in the year 1575. Theſe words of Mr Konig, 'Caſp. 'quoque Bachetus An. 1613. profundiſſimis ſpecula- 'tionibus eum *(Diophantum)* illuſtravit (12). - - - - '*Caſp. Bachet likewiſe illuſtrated* Diophantus *with 'moſt profound ſpeculations in the year* 1613,' would be right, if inſtead of 1613, it had been 1621. I believe his Printers inſtead of 1623, have put 1613, for doubtleſs Mr Konig had it from Voſſius; and of this I am the more eaſily perſuaded, becauſe I find theſe words in Voſſius: 'Anno CIↃ IↃ 'CXXIII. Gaſper Bachetus *Diophantum* illuſtravit. Imo 'profundis in eum ſpeculationibus immortalem ſibi 'gloriam comparavit ut judicium eſt Jacobi de Billy 'Compendienſis, præfatione in Algebram (13). - - - - '*In the year* 1623, *Gaſper Bachet illuſtrated* Diophan- 'tus: *Nay, by his profound ſpeculations on it, he has 'acquired to himſelf immortal honour, according to the 'opinion of James de Billy of Compiegne, in the Pre- 'face to his Algebra.*' As to the Remark of Mr Konig, that Bulialdus publiſhed an edition of *Diophantus*, I believe it to be falſe. I will here give you a blunt expreſſion of Malherbe. '\Mr de Meziriac, 'attended with two or three of his friends, brought 'him a book of Arithmetic, written by a Greek au- 'ther, called *Diophantus*, whom he had commented 'upon. His friends praiſed the book exceedingly, 'as being very uſeful to the public; whereupon 'Malherbe aſked them, whether it would bring down 'the price of bread (14).' We ſhall ſee, in the next remark, what eſteem Mr Des Cartes had for that work of Mr de Meziriac.

(6) Meziriac, ubi ſupra.

(7) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. of the French Academy, *pag. m.* 263.

(8) It is the title of a book which was printed many times. I have an edition of it printed at Paris, 1630, in 8vo, with the remarks of *Claudius Mydorgius.*

(9) Voſſius, de Scient. Mathem. *pag.* 341, 464.

(10) Guichenon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 10.

(11) Pelliſſon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 262.

(12) Konig, Bibl. *pag.* 252.

(13) Voſſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 341.

(14) The Life of Malherbe, *pag.* 10.

[C] *I ſhall ſpeak of the writings which he deſigned for the preſs.*] 'He had undertaken a new tranſlation 'of all the works of Plutarch, with notes, wherein 'he intended to ſhow the faults which Amyot had 'committed in his verſion of this author, to explain 'many paſſages which had never been underſtood, and 'to lay open to us the treaſures of antiquity. There 'wanted but a ſmall matter of this great and labo- 'rious work to be done, when he died, which is an 'inexpreſſible loſs to the public; all learned men ex- 'pected it with impatience, which was increaſed by 'the fine letter which he wrote to the Academy 'of Paris, to thank them for the honour they had 'done him, to admit him into their ſociety, wherein 'he gave an account of his deſign. He has alſo left 'us many pieces finiſhed, but not printed, which it 'were to be wiſhed the public might no longer be de- 'prived of, viz. *Elementorum Arithmeticorum, lib.* 13. '*Tractatus de Geometricis quæſtionibus per Algebram.* 'Theſe are the two works which he promiſed at the 'end of his Preface upon *Diophantus. The reſt of 'Ovid's epiſtles without Commentaries. Apollodori A- 'thenienſis Grammatici Bibliotheces, ſive de Deorum Ori- 'gine libri tres*, tranſlated by himſelf, with very learn- 'ed obſervations. Agathemeres, a Greek Geographer 'not yet printed (15).' This paſſage of Mr Guichenon is not very exact; for he give us, as a letter of thanks, written to the gentlemen of the French Academy, a diſcourſe which Mr de Meziriac compoſed in conformity to the rules of the Academy. 'They 'made by lot with billets, a catalogue of the mem- 'bers of the Academy; it was ordered, that every 'one ſhould be obliged to make in his turn a diſcourſe 'upon ſuch a ſubject, and of ſuch a length as he 'pleaſed (16) . . . . . There were twenty of theſe diſ- 'courſes ſpoken ſucceſſively in the Accademy (17) . . . 'The ſeventeenth was ſent by Mr de Meziriac, and 'read in the aſſembly † by Mr de Vaugelas: It was 'intituled *De la Traduction.* In this diſcourſe the au- 'thor who was reckoned very ſkillful in the *Belles Let- 'tres*, and chiefly in the Greek Tongue, after he had 'commended the genius, the pains, and the ſtyle, of 'Amiot in his verſion of Plutarch, and, as it ſeems, with 'ingenuity enough, pretended to ſhow that in divers 'paſſages which he obſerved, to the number of two 'thouſand, this great tranſlator has committed very 'great faults of divers ſorts, of which he gives ſeve- 'ral examples (18).' I know that the abbot Nicaiſe, whoſe zeal for the advancement of learning is very well known, has been very buſy in finding out the Apollodorus of Meziriac, and it is none of his fault that the Bookſellers have not printed it.

(15) Guichenon, ubi ſupra.

(16) Pelliſſon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 99.

(17) Id. ib. *pag.* 100.

† *The tenth of December* 1635.

(18) Pelliſſon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 104.

Here follow ſome matters of fact, which concern another work of this writer. Mr Baillet relates that Mr de Des Cartes *in a very particular manner eſteemed the genius and capacity of Mr Meziriac, chiefly for Arithmetic and Algebra, which he was maſter of to ſo great a degree, as equalled him to Vieta . . . His work on Diophantus of Alexandria, is more than ſufficient to juſtify the eſteem which Des Cartes had for him: but it is likely that the public would have ſtill out done him in this eſteem, if they had ſeen the treatiſe of Algebra of Mr de Meziriac, and ſome other manuſcripts of this author, the chief of which is that of the* † *thirteen books, of the* Elements of Arithmetic ſubſervient to Algebra, *written in Latin, and purchaſed of the heirs of Mr de Meziriac*

† *A catalogue of the manuſcripts of Meziriac, ſent me from Bourg in Breſſe.*

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affirm that he was not *much above forty five years old* when he died [D]: but I cannot precisely tell the number of his years. It is said (m), that 'Mr *D. S.* who is . . . of the 'family of this famous academist, seems to have inherited his knowledge of Mytho- 'logy: he is writing the history of it, every circumstance of which will be supported by, 'or adorned with, some passages of a Greek or Latin Poet.'

(m) Diverfitez Curieuses, *Tom. VII, pag.* 121, 122, Dutch Edit.

One of his sons was president of the presidial of Bourg in Bresse. He was admired by all the court, when he went, in the year 1660, to compliment His Majesty at Lyons (n). He was still alive in the year 1704.

(n) *Taken from the* Mercure Galant *of January* 1705, *pag.* 132.

Meziriac about fifteen or sixteen years ago, by one of the Reformed religion, who did not fail to carry it out of the kingdom, at the time of that revolution, in which the Protestants were before the revocation of the edict of Nantes (19). There is in this narrative a circumstance that should be rectified, about which I have received the following memoir (20). *Besides the three books which Mr Backet de Meziriac wrote about numbers, and which he prefixed to his commentaries upon Diophantus, he wrote the Elements of Arithmetic, divided into thirteen books, which were never printed. After his death Mr de Meziriac, his son, was sollicited to publish them, but he set so great a price upon the manuscript, that no body would buy it. At last he sold it to Mr d'Alibert, Treasurer of France at Montauban, for* 1500 *livres. Mr d'Alibert intended to print it at his own expence, but being surprized by death before he could execute his design, he gave this manuscript as he was dying to one of his friends, which is all written with the hand of Mr de Meziriac the father. This friend gave it afterwards to Mr Case, who gave it to Mr Picard one of the royal academy of sciences. In the year* 1679, *Mr Picard gave it to the abbot Galloys, who, to fulfil the good intentions of Mr d'Alibert, offered it to several Booksellers to print it. But because these elements are of an abstracted science, and in Latin, he has not as yet met with any Bookseller, that would undertake the printing of it. There is therefore something to be corrected in the* 291*st page of the first part of the Life of Des Cartes; for he who purchased this manuscript was not of the Reformed religion; and he to whom it was given, did not carry it out of the kingdom; and the manuscript is still at Paris.* It appears by a letter of Sarravius (21), that Mr Morus had undertaken to collect the manuscript books of Mr de Meziriac, and that it was wished he would perform his promise. Doubtless Sarravius had inspired him with this good design, when he desired him to buy for him all the works of that learned man (22), for he spoke of them with peculiar encomiums. This was in a letter which he wrote March the fourteenth 1644. He thought that Meziriac had been dead about ten years; and consequently was ignorant of the true time.

(19) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. I, pag.* 291.

(20) Drawn up by the abbot Galois, and sent by Mr Simon de Valhebert.

(21) It is the 18th, at *pag.* 190, of the edition of Utrecht.

(22) See his LXXth letter, at *pag.* 68, he calls him always *Mezeriacus* instead of *Meziriacus*.

The decay of learning.

For the rest it is not to be wondered, that no Printer could be found for the commentary of Meziriac upon Apollodorus. The taste for this kind of learning is wholly lost, and it is very probable, that if Meziriac was now alive, they would not do him the honour to go to seek for him in Bresse, to give him a place in the French Academy. That which formerly procured him this advantage, would now be a reason for not thinking of him. The politeness of his stile, the beauty of the French verses, were not the cause why he was thought worthy to be one of the academy; for it must be ingenuously confessed, that neither his prose nor his verses in our language had any thing that was exquisite, and in this respect he was much inferior to almost all his fellow members. It was the only reputation of his knowledge, and the proofs he gave of his vast learning that made him be chosen. The times are changed; and an author is now of no account who perfectly understands Mythology, the Greek Poets, their scholiasts, and can make use of them to clear, or correct, some difficult passages, a point of Chronology, a question of Geography, or of Grammar, a variation of narratives, *&c.* Men not only prefer to the works of such an author, those that have no such thing in them; but also call this kind of learning pedantry (23). Which is the ready way to discourage all young people of good parts from following the study of Philology. There is no greater affront than to be called a Pedant, and therefore men will not take the pains to acquire much learning; because they are afraid of being exposed to this scandalous treatment if they should make it appear, that they have read the ancient authors. And where is the man who does not love to be respected for his knowledge, and who is not animated by the hope of glory? take away this hope, and you cool the most ardent, you increase the laziness of those who fear a painful application. Without doubt, one of the principal reasons why the study of the Belles Lettres is so much disused, is, that several who either pretend to be, or really are, fine wits, have introduced a custom of condemning, as a science fit only for the schools, and a gross piece of pedantry, all citations of Greek passages, and learned remarks. They have been so unjust as to extend their railleries to writers who were polite, and knew the world; as Costar for instance. Who would after this have aspired to the glory of a fine wit, by setting off his reading and critical remarks? If they had only condemned those who cite impertinently Plato and Aristotle, Hippocrates and Varro, to prove a thought common to all ages and nations (24), they had not discouraged so many people; but in a disdainful manner they have banished those from the number of fine gentlemen, and confined them to the colleges, who durst declare that they had made collections: they laughed at the Costars, and even at the letters of Voiture, which were intermixed with Latin. The effect of this censure was so much the greater, because it was cloaked with a very fair pretence, which was, that we should labour to polish our mind, and form our judgment, and not heap up in our memory what others have said. The truer this maxim is, the more it flatters superficial and lazy tempers, and pushes them on to ridicule all shew of learning. Their principal motive was, perhaps, to undervalue the merit of others, in order to magnify their own; for if one should tell them, *You condemn this author who cites Greek and Latin: Could you do as much? Lay your hand upon your heart, would you blame him if you were able to imitate him?* It is very probable, their sincerity would be put to an hard trial. But let us abridge this digression, and conclude, that things are come to such a pass, that the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Letters* for the last month (25) inform us, that the Bookseller of Paris, who would print the version of Homer, made by Madam Dacier, will not print the original with it. He is afraid, no doubt, that the sight of the Greek character will fright the readers, and hinder the sale of the book. Consider, I beseech you, what was written from Paris to Mr Bernard, and what he has inserted in his Nouvelles for the month of October last. The *Telemacomania* is a book *full of wit and fire* (26). It is divided into two parts: the author (27) shows, in the first part, that the church had always an aversion for romances. *The second part is much longer than the first, but it is also more tedious, because the author makes it his only business to shew the anachronisms and faults in History and Mythology which are in Telemachus* (28). By this you may judge what is the prevailing humour, and conclude, that the commentary upon Apollodorus would be laughed at in Paris; and this the Booksellers know very well, and therefore will not print it. It is a work of too much learning.

(23) See La Bruyere, in the chapter of *Judgment, pag.* m. 498, *&c. seq.*

(24) Herillus will always cite whether he speaks, harangues, or writes. He makes the princes of Philosophers say, that wine inebriates, and the Roman Orator, that water tempers it. If he falls upon the subject of Morality, it is not he but the divine Plato, who affirms, that virtue is amiable, and vice odious, and that both the one and the other grow into a habit. The most common and trivial things, which he himself is able to think of, he will be indebted to the Antients for, to Latin and Greek authors. *La Bruyere, ibid. pag.* 525.

(25) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *Nov.* 1700. *pag.* 586, 587.

(26) Idem, Nouvel. *for the month of October* 1700, *pag.* 385.

(27) That is, the abbot Faydit.

(28) Id. ib. *pag.* 389, 390.

[D] *It is a mistake to affirm that he was not much above forty five years old when he died.*] This age only is assigned him in the History of the French Academy. Others say, he lived forty seven years (29). But it is certain he died not so young; for his father who had him by the first marriage, married again in 1586. The contract of this second marriage is dated September 27, as Mr Guichenon informs us. I wish he had been as careful to set down the day of people's birth, as the day of their marriage and wills. The one would not have been more difficult to him than the other as to the family of Mr de Meziriac. He knew the son of this learned man, and by him probably he recovered the memoirs which taught him what he relates of this family. Why then did he not ask him the days of their births? If he had done it, we might have known certainly how long this member of the French academy lived.

(29) Baillet, Judgm. on the Poets, *num.* 1432.

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MICRÆLIUS (JOHN) professor of Divinity at Stetin, was born at Cuslin in Pomerania the third of September in the year 1597. He began his studies in the college of his own country, and, in the year 1614, he continued them at Stetin under Daniel Cramer who taught Theology there (*a*), and under Joachim Prætorius, &c. He there maintained a dispute *de Deo uno & trino* in the year 1616, which procured him great esteem. He went the year following to the university of Konigsberg, and there held a dispute *de Veritate transcendentali*. He received in the year 1621 at the university of Griphswald the degree of Master in Philosophy, after having maintained a thesis *de Meteoris:* some time after, he went to Leipsic to finish his studies, and was made professor of Rhetoric in the Royal College at Stetin in the year 1624, and rector of the senate school in the year 1627, and rector of the Royal College and professor of Theology in the year 1649, having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the university of Griphswald the same year 1649 [*A*]. He had obtained by his sollicitations in the 1642, that there might be professors of Law, Physic, and Mathematics, in the Royal College, and that a certain number of students might be maintained there at the public charge. He made a journey to Sweden in the year 1653, and had the honour to pay his respects to queen Christina, who gave him very obliging marks of her liberality. He died the third of December in the year 1658. He had been married three times (*b*) [*B*]. I shall set down the titles of his principal works [*C*], and make some observations [*D*] on the additions to his

(*a*) He was afterwards superintendant of the churches of Pomerania.

(*b*) Taken from his Life, writ by Daniel Hartnac. It is prefixed to his *Syntagma Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, and to his *Syntagma Historiæ Politicæ*. I have also taken something from Witte, *Memor. Theolog. pag.* 1282, *& seq.*

[*A*] *He was made Doctor of Divinity .... in the year* 1649.] He was put upon asking this degree, because in a famous dispute he had had with John Bergius (1), the latter arrogantly boasted of his being an old Doctor in Divinity, to which Micrælius could only answer, that he had received the degree of Master in Philosophy before Bergius. Queen Christina was at the charge of promoting Micrælius to the degree of Doctor of Divinity (2). The dispute I speak of related to the differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists.

(1) First preacher at the court of the elector of Brandenburg.

(2) Ex Dan. Hartnaccio, in Vita Micrælii.

[*B*] *He was married three times.*] He married his first wife in the year 1627. She was daughter to Joachim Prætorius, archdeacon, and professor at Stetin. He lost her at the end of one year with a child he had by her. He married again in the year 1630 a daughter of David Reutz, superintendant of eastern Pomerania, and had by her nine children, of which there were but two (3) alive when he died. He took a third wife in the year 1642, by whom he had six children who all survived him. She was daughter of Michael Hecken, superintendant of Primislaw (4). All these marks of the fruitful blessing which GOD shed upon him having been specified in his funeral Programma, I did not think it proper to pass them over in silence.

(3) A daughter, who was married, and a son who studied Divinity.

(4) *Taken from his* Funeral Programma, apud Witte, Memor. Theolog. *pag.* 1286, 1287.

[*C*] *I shall set down the titles of his principal works.*] His *Ethnophronius contra Gentiles de Principiis Religionis Christianæ* was printed at Stetin in the years 1647, 1651, and 1674, in 4to. He published a continuation of it in the year 1652 in 4to, *contra Judaicas depravationes*. His *Lexicon Philosophicum* was printed in the same city in the years 1653 and 1661, in 4to. *Heterodoxia Calviniana de Prædestinatione*, at Stetin in the year 1651 in 4to, and 1665 in 12mo. *Syntagma Historiarum Ecclesiæ*, in the same city in the years 1630, 1644, and 1660, in 8vo. It has been since printed in 4to, with the continuation of Mr Hartnac. I make use of the fifth edition which is of Leipsic 1699, in two volumes. *Monstrosæ opinionis Isaacii Peyrerii scriptoris Galli de Præ-Adamitis abominanda fœditas*, at Stetin in the year 1656, in 4to. *Syntagma Historiarum Politicarum*, at Stetin in the years 1627, 1633, in 8vo, and 1654 in 4to. I shall speak of it in the following remark. Those who have a mind to see the titles of the other works of Micrælius, both Latin and German, need only read the Sieur Witte (5).

(5) Witte, ibid. *pag.* 1289, *& seq.*

[*D*] *I shall make some observations on the additions to his Political History.*] The last edition is of Leipsic in the year 1702, in two volumes in 4to. The whole title of it is as follows: *Johannis Micrælii Pomerani Historia Politica, qua Imperiorum, Regnorum, Electoratuum, Ducatuum, Rerumque publicarum omnium origines, incrementa, fata, bello paceque gesta ad annum à Christo nato* 1648 *describuntur, cum Continuatione Danielis Hartnaccii Pomerani, qui ad exitum usque superioris seculi eandem eadem methodo juxta annorum seriem pertexuit, & totum Opus Autoribus in margine, unde isthæc desumta, adductis, Tabulis Chronologicis & Genealogicis Indicibusque plane novis & locupletissimis exornavit.* I am persuaded Mr Hartnac will not take it ill that I point at some things, which seem to me faulty in his additions, and by that means do all I can, that those who reprint general histories may give us good Appendixes. It is their custom to add to them such things as have happened between the former edition and their own (6): and when they find a continuation ready done, as that for instance of Mr Hartnac, they chuse rather to copy it than be at the trouble to compose a new one: but they will at least endeavour to correct what they copy, when they are advertised of the faults.

(6) Compare what I say in the Dissertation on defamatory Libels, *num. viii.* and remark [*A*] at the beginning.

I say then in the first place, Mr Hartnac does not sufficiently distinguish persons, their proper names, titles, *&c.* He tells us of one Condé, *Condæus*, who took Gernshac in Germany in the year 1691, and the fort of Haberstein (7). But there was no general of the name of Condé that year in the armies of France. He says, prince Eugene, a Frenchman, is a brother's son of the duke of Savoy (8): which is a mistake; for this duke has no brother, and the relation between these two princes arises only from their being descended of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, great-grand-father of prince Eugene. He gives to the mareschal de Lorge, the title of Marquis (9), which should have been that of count.

(7) Hartnaccius, *Tom. i, pag.* 565.

(8) Ibid. *pag.* 566.

(9) Ibid. *Tom. ii, pag.* 134.

II. I observe, he does not sufficiently characterize events: he sometimes forgets the most essential circumstances, or at least those the reader ought to be informed of, in order to judge rightly of the state of affairs. I shall instance but in one example: he affirms prince Eugene forced the marquis de Catinat to raise the siege of Susa in the month of July 1693, that he bombarded Pignerol in the month of September, and blew up, by mines, the fort of St Brigitt: that he fought a battle in the month of October, in which both sides lost a vast number of men, and yet the victory was doubtful; and lastly that he drove the enemy beyond the Alps. *Marchionem de Catinat Eugenius Dux ab urbis Susæ obsidione Julio Mense fortiter repulit: Septembri Pignarolum injectis ignibus globisque majoribus vastavit, fortalitium Brigittæ actis Cuniculis evertit; Octobri denique ambiguo marte & plurimis utrinque cæsis pugnavit, hostem denique difficillimo montes niveque gradu finibus excedere coegit* (10). These are the words of Mr Hartnac, and may be censured in many respects, for, I. Prince Eugene did not command all the troops, he commanded only those of the emperor, the duke of Savoy commanded in chief, and in person, the whole army: to him therefore he ought to have ascribed all the exploits, since he did not enter into particulars, but only took notice of the most remarkable successes of the campaign. II. It is not true that Mr de Catinat was ever forced to raise the siege of Susa. He took this town in the month of November 1690, and kept it till it was restored by the peace in the year 1696. It may be thought that Mr Hartnac by mistake put *Susa* instead of *Coni*. I allow it; but, III. I observe that the siege of Coni was raised in the year 1691, and not in the year 1693. I observe, IV, that Mr de Catinat was not there in person: V. that prince Eugene did not force the lines of the besiegers: he did not even attack them. Mr de Dulonde who commanded the besiegers

(10) Hart. *Tom. i, pag.* 568, 569.

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his political history.

besiegers retired out of hearing, and that without any necessity as the French believed: and indeed he was taken up, and turned out of favour (11). Therefore the expressions of the Historian, *ab obsidione. . . . fortiter repulit Marchionem de Catinat*, are deceitful, since they lead one to think that Mr de Catinat raised the siege in person after he had been soundly beaten. An exact Historian always chuses his words with so much care; that he does not leave his readers to guess whether the besigers retired of themselves, or waited to be attacked. VI. The circumstance should not have been suppressed, that the fort of St Brigitt was besieged in form, and that the French defended it many days and afterwards retreated to Pignerol. VII. He ought not to have confined himself to the bombarding of Pignerol, nor have said that the bombs utterly destroyed that place, *vastavit*. Fair dealing required of him to intimate, that the allies besieged it, and were not able to take it, and that their bombarding did no great mischief to it (12). VIII. Sincerity will not permit one to reckon the battle of Marsaglia among those whose success is doubtful. The writers against the French acknowledge, whether they will or no, that the mareschal de Catinat gained it (13). Mr Hartnac makes the same confession in other parts of his book, and that where he owns the raising of the siege of Pignerol (14). IX. It is false, that Mr de Catinat was forced by the Allies to return beyond the Alps; and therefore it is an improper expression to say, *finibus excedere coegit:* they could not hinder him from staying in Piedmont, and from consuming the forage there as long as he thought fit, nor did he depart from thence but by the orders of the king his master (15).

It is easy to see after all this, that I might have said, not only that he omits some essential circumstances, but likewise that he substitutes false ones, which alter the nature of the fact. He has committed this fault very palpably where he speaks of the taking of Valenciennes; for, not contented with concealing that this place was carried by assault the eighth day of the siege; he says, that the French became masters of it by treachery (16). If I had a mind to set down all the mistakes like that which follows, I should have a long catalogue to make. He affirms that John Barth, having beat the Dutch Fleet in the year 1694, found a great quantity of corn in the ships he took from them (17). Here is a false circumstance substituted by suppressing a true one. He should have said that John Barth was convoy to several vessels loaded with corn, and that having beat the Dutch men of war he saved the corn and carried it to France (18).

I say, in the third place, he does not always observe the order of time: he sometimes transposes, he anticipates, he confounds the dates. I shall give some instances. He asserts that Lewis XIV having taken Grave in the month of July in the year 1672, besieged and subdued Maestricht, ravaged the country of Triers, seized on several towns there, and became master of the principality Orange, and of the county of Burgundy; but that the town of Groningen defended itself vigorously against the bishop of Munster (19). Every body may see, that this is confounding of the times. Maestricht was not subdued till the year 1673, nor the Franche-Comté conquered till the year 1674. But the taking of Grave, and the resistance of Groningen belong to the year 1672. Our author adds, that France received a very great blow by the loss of Philipsburg, and by that of mareschal de Turenne, and yet that after this she laid Haguenau in ashes, and many other towns, and took Condé and Bouchain. Observe that Mr de Turenne was killed in the year 1675, and Philipsburg fell into the hands of the Germans in the month of September 1676, and Condé and Bouchain were taken in the spring of the year 1676, and that Haguenau was a town which the French made to serve as a rampart (20). They were far from burning it. I shall give two examples more. He says that in the year 1689 the duke de Noailles took Campredon in Catalonia (21), and that the marquis de Bouflers having almost ruined Kocheim, at last took Mentz (22). Every body knows that Mentz, without having been in the least attacked, received a French garrison in the month of October in the year 1688, and that Cocheim was taken by the marquis de Bouflers the twenty sixth of August in the year 1689, and that the French lost Mentz after a long siege the eighth of September in the year 1689 (23). The last example contains a fault in Geography. Mr Hartnac tells us that in the month of September in the year 1688, the French, under the conduct of the Dauphin, entring the dominions, of his highness the elector Palatine by Fort-Louïs, which is built on an island of the Rhine, took Neustad and Keiserslauthern, and afterwards Spire and Worms (24). It is obvious to every one, that the taking of these places should have preceded the passage of the Rhine, and that however it is not by Fort-Louïs that one is to pass in order to seize on Neustad.

It is certain, that, in order to rank things according to their dates, it is not sufficient to be provided with good Chronological tables; it is necessary even to consult a very good Journal, and in this the news papers may be useful. It would be of great service to the compilers of History, if Chronological accounts were published like that of Father du Londel (25).

(11) See the Life of prince Eugene, printed at the Hague, in the year 1702, *pag.* 109, & *seq.*

(12) See the Life of prince Eugene, *pag.* 181, & *seq.*

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 360.

(14) Subaudi anno 1692, (*it should have been* 1693) à Pignarolii obsessione rejecti, itemque fusorati iterum prope Marsiglium gravi clade mulctati sint. *Hartnac. Synagma Hist. Pol. Tom.* ii, *pag.* 54. *See alſo pag.* 134.

(15) See the Life of prince Eugene, *pag.* 205, 206.

(16) Valenciennam prodidere expertus. *Ibid. pag.* 131.

(17) Per Johannem Barthium quoque Batavorum naves, annono licet superiores profligat (*Rex Gallie*) eique copia magnam frumenti copiam subtrit. *Ibid. pag.* 134.

(18) *See the Letters of Father du Londel, under the twenty ninth of June* 1694.

(19) Hart. *Tom. ii, pag.* 130, 131.

(20) Montecuculi had besieged it in the year 1675.

(21) Hartnaccius; *Tom. ii, pag.* 133.

(22) Kocheimium graviter affligit, Moguntiam denique expugnat. *Ibid.*

(23) See Mr Hartnac himself, *Tom. i. pag.* 561, 562.

(24) *Tom. i, pag.* 561.

(25) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republiq. des Lettres, *Feb.* 1699, *pag.* 223.

MICYLLUS (JAMES) born at Strasburg, April 6, 1503, holds a very honourable place among the learned men of his age. He studied in the most famous universities of Germany, and spent near five years at that of Erford, where he contracted a very close friendship with Joachim Camerarius, which lasted as long as his life. His family name was Moltzer (*a*). The name of Micyllus was given him, because he admirably acted the part of Micyllus [*A*] in a piece upon the stage, wherein a Dialogue of Lucian (*b*) was repeated before a great number of auditors. He was soon known to be very well qualified to make a college flourish; for, in the year 1527, he taught the Latin and Greek tongues in that of Francfort: and he acquitted himself so well in that station that at Heidelberg he was chosen professor of the Greek tongue in the year 1532. Thither he went; but he stayed not long there, for the magistrates of Francfort having recalled him

(*a*) Moreri says *Moltzel*; Mr Teissier, in his additions to Thuanus, *Melcher*, Konig, in his Bibl oth. *Motzlerus*.

(*b*) That whose title is *Somnium, seu Gallus*.

[*A*] *He acted . . . . the part of Micyllus.*] Hagius in the Life of Peter Lotichius, gives an exact account of this adventure; but instead of saying he had it from one who was a spectator of it at Francfort (this was John Lonicerus Greek professor at Marpurg) he should have cited Micyllus himself (1), as Melchior Adam has done.

(1) *Lib. i,* Sylvarum.

Fortuito quondam Micylli nomina casu
Repperi, & in mores transiit ille meos.

It was by chance I found the name
Micyllus, which my own became.

There is in Moreri *fortitudo* instead of *fortuito*, which was corrected in the Dutch Edition, by *Ludendo*. For the rest I have every where put Micyllus, tho' I know that d'Ablancourt, who calls him Micyle in his translation of Lucian, was approved by Mr Menage (2). If I had been condemned for this by that learned man, yet I should not have been censured with regard to orthography; for I do not say, *Mycillus, as the greatest part of the German writers call him when they speak of Jacobus Micyllus, wherein*, says he, *they are so much the more to blame, because this name was given him, for acting well the part of Micylus in Lucian, when he was a school-boy.* Menage is not the only person who has said that Micyllus was then a school-boy (3), which is very likely: but it is not very easy to reconcile this with what is related above, that this piece was acted at Frankfort; for it does not appear, that Micyllus studied there. Melchior Adam makes

(2) Observations upon the French tongue, *vol. i, pag.* 346.

(3) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. *pag.* 78. Teissier, Addit. *Tom. i, pag.* 139. Konig. Bibliotha. *pag.* 540.

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him, he re-assumed his former post in their city. He returned to Heidelberg [B], when the Reformation was received there (c); and taught publickly the Greek tongue, and and at his own house the Latin tongue with good success, till he died, which happened the twenty eighth of January 1558 [C]. He had not long before a conference with Melanchthon who was come to Heidelberg at the desire of the elector Otho Henry, to concert the new statutes of the university. Micyllus was one of the best Poets of his time in Germany [D]. He had a great many children; but he left only two sons, whereof one studied the Law, and was chancellor to the elector Palatine; the other was a Taylor by trade in Heidelberg (d). I shall say something of his works [E].

(c) *That is, in* 1546, ex Sleidano, lib. xvi.

(d) *Taken from* Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philosoph.

makes him go from Strasburg to the most famous universities of Germany.

[B] *He returned to Heidelberg.*] Melchior Adam describes the time of this return only by the two circumstances of the war of Smalcald, and the reception of the Gospel in Heidelberg. *Donec sub bellum Smalcaldicum cum variis Germania concuteretur motibus, atque Heidelbergæ Evangelii doctrina reciperetur, eodem ad Græcanicæ linguæ professionem accersitus rediit.* This denotes the year 1546, or 1547, and agrees with the marginal note, wherein this author says, that Micyllus was twenty years in the service of the city of Francfort, and more than ten, tho' with some interruption, in the service of the electors Palatine.

[C] *He died the twenty eighth of January* 1558.] This shows that John Hagius, who says (4), that Micyllus, Melanchthon, and Lotichius Secundus, died the same year, is mistaken: he should have said it only of the two last, for they indeed died in 1560. Moreri is mistaken only in the day, who says, that Micyllus died the twenty third of January: probably the *duodetrigesimo* of Melchior Adam had dazzled him.

(4) In Vita Lotichii Secundi, *pag.* 69.

[D] *He was one of the best Poets of his time in Germany.*] Nevertheless the critics have observed a great many faults in his verses, and even some in respect of quantity. See the censure or the *Promulsis Critica* of John Peter Lotichius, in chap. 14, wherein there is an error of the press concerning the year of the birth of Micyllus, which is said to be 1553, instead of 1503. We learn from that book, that Micyllus after the example of the Poets of antiquity, had a very small share in the favours of fortune: *Variam ac novercantem, dum viveret, expertus fortunam . . . quæ fors illi cum majorum gentium veteribus poëtis fuit communis.*

(5) Apud Melch. Adam. *pag.* 181, Philosoph. German.

[E] *I shall say something of his works.*] His treatise *De re metrica*, is a master-piece, as Melanchthon says. See what he says of it (5). 'De re metrica extant 'eruditissimi & consummatissimi libri tres Jacobi Micylli, 'quo nemo Latinè scripsit prosodiam eruditius aut 'diligentius. - - - - *There are three books of the most* 'learned and accomplished *James Micyllus about quan-* 'tity, *than whom none ever wrote a prosody in Latin* 'more learnedly or accurately.' His other works are notes upon Ovid (6) and Lucan, the translation of some pieces of Lucian with scholia; some notes upon the genealogy of the gods composed by Boccace; several Greek and Latin verses; a translation of Tacitus into the German tongue; *Arithmeticæ logisticæ libri duo*, &c (7).

(6) The Epitome of the Bibliotheque of Gesner, excepts the Metamorphosis; but we see in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, the notes of Micyllus upon the fifteen books of the Metamorphosis.

(7) See the titles of his other works in the Epitome of the Biblioth. of Gesner.

MILLETIERE (THEOPHILUS BRACHET SIEUR DE LA) acquired a reputation much greater than good for meddling in matters of religion, and endeavouring to reconcile the Catholics and Protestants in France. One of his antagonists described him after the following manner (a): that after he had studied the Law superficially at Heidelberg, he was admitted advocate; that he was so much in love with an attorney's daughter, that he fell dangerously sick, and that he neither would nor could be cured but by marrying her; that he hoped to find causes by means of his father-in-law, and upon this account applied himself to the bar, but being at a stand in one pleading (b) he was so disgusted with the practice of the Law, that he set up for a Divine; that he was heard to dispute about matters of religion in the court, whither he went still as a hearing advocate, and there sputtered out Hebrew; that he affected a great zeal against Arminianism; that he occasioned the conference of Cameron with Tilenus; and that by all these motions he obtained the office of an elder in the consistory of the church of Paris, and afterwards was made deputy of the province to the assembly of Rochelle; that he had the chief hand in the tumultuous resolutions of that assembly, which overturned the state of the churches; that his conduct in this deputation is very well known, and with what heat he wrote against Tilenus, his particular enemy [A], and how little the success of his journey to the States-General answered the hopes he had raised in the assembly at Rochelle; that being returned home, he sollicited the affairs of the duke of Rohan at court, and that he was suspected of being concerned in enterprizes pernicious to his country, and of holding correspondence with foreigners; that he was apprehended and sent to Toulouse where, after he had endured the torture and a long imprisonment [B], he framed the first plan of the Syncretism;

(a) Samuel Maresius, in Antichristo revelato, *lib. ii, cap. ult. pag.* 562, & *seq.*

(b) Cum obmutuisset in frequenti senatu. *Id. ib.*

[A] *It is known . . . with what heat he wrote against Tilenus, his particular enemy.*] In the beginning of the month of March, 1621 (1), there came forth, under the name of Abraham Elintus, an advertisment to the assembly of Rochelle (2), wherein the Reformed were earnestly exhorted to submit to their prince, and not to undertake to preserve to themselves by a war the possession of the edicts. Elintus was the anagram of Tilenus, who was the author of this advertisement. La Milletiere, secretary to the assembly of Rochelle, wrote an answer to this piece, and intituled it, *A Discourse of the true Reasons why those of the Reformed religion in France can, and ought in conscience to, resist with force of arms the open persecution of the enemies of their religion and the State.* Tilenus replied in a little book which was intituled, *An Examination of a Book intituled, A Discourse of the true Reasons why those of the Reformed Religion*, &c. See in the eighth volume of the French Mercury (3) the contents of these two pieces. Note, that the *Chamber of the Edict*, sitting at Beziers, caused the answer of La Milletiere to the advertisement of Tilenus, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and ordered an enquiry to be made after the name of the author; which decree was made October 6, 1626. See the twelfth volume of the French Mercury (4). For the rest Father Ange de Raconis, a Capuchin preacher, made use of several extracts out of those writings of Tilenus and La Milletiere; and he informs us (5), that Du Moulin *chose among all the rest, La Milletiere, as his champion, to oppose him against Raconis* (6), *when the baroness de Courville was instructed.* Note, that Grotius did not approve of La Milletiere's publishing a work so capable of rendring the cause of the Reformed odious to princes (7).

(1) French Mercury, *Tom. vii*, ad annum 1621, *pag.* 223.

(2) It is inserted in the French Mercury, ibid.

(3) At *pag.* 155, & *seq.* See also the History of the edict of Nantes, *book viii, pag.* 423.

(4) At *pag.* 607, & *seq.*

(5) Ange de Raconis Glaive de Jezabel, *cap. iii, pag.* 313.

(6) Nephew to the Capuchin.

(7) Grotius, Epist. 174, *part i, pag.* 65. *See also the* 715*th letter.*

[B] *That he was sent to Toulouse, where after he had endured the torture, and a long imprisonment.*] He himself informs us of a very peculiar circumstance in his process. *I had in my hands*, says he (8), *the sentence of my death, drawn*

(8) La Milletiere, *in chap. xii of the* Catholique Reformé, *pag.* 197, 198.

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Syncretism; that having recovered his liberty by the clemency of the prince, and the interceſſion of his friends, he engaged to make all the Reformed return to the Romiſh communion, and that by this means he thought he was to ſhew his gratitude for the annual penſion of a thouſand crowns that were given him; that he printed many books about the re-union of the religions [C], and becauſe he did not pay a deference to the remonſtrances of the conſiſtory of Charenton, he was at laſt excommunicated, which did not hinder him from going to church conſtantly; that he maintained his family another way, which was by ſoliciting, as a brother-in-law, the ſuits of a famous courtezan, to whom he was indeed related in this degree of affinity, for ſhe was a baſtard of the Attorney whoſe daughter he had married (c); that no body denied, but he was grafted into honourable families, yet it was well known what trade his grandfather followed in Orleans (d) [D]. This I have taken out of a book printed in the year 1642. The reader may ſee elſewhere (e), that La Milletiere continued ſtill in the external profeſſion of the Reformed religion in the year 1645, at the time of the national ſynod of Charenton. The proceedings of the aſſembly againſt him obliged him to declare himſelf openly (f); that is, he embraced the Romiſh communion. He abjured towards the end of March 1645. He continued ſtill to write upon the controverſy, and to ſay that the re-union of the two religions was eaſy to be effected [E]. The firſt work he publiſhed after his

(c) Taceo aliud culinæ ſuæ ſubſidium ex publica ſollicitatione in Curia negotiorum famoſæ cujuſdam meretriculæ tanquam affinis ſuæ, eſt enim ſoceri ſui ſpuria. *Id. ib. pag.* 565.

(d) Id. ib. *pag.* 561.

(e) In the article AMYRAUT in the text.

(f) See letter cx, and cxiv, of Sarravius, Edit. of Utrecht, 1697.

drawn up by the hand of the firſt preſident Maſuyer, under the authority of the parliament of Toulouſe, in which I found my ſelf condemned as one accuſed and convicted of the crimes charged upon me, and this ſentence was put into the hands of the recorder, before the conſultation about it in parliament, which, by their interlocutory, was the occaſion of the delay, whereby afterwards I obtained my liberty and preſervation from the ſovereign authority.

[C] *That he printed many books about the re-union of the religions.*] He began with a letter which he publiſhed in French in the year 1634, and it was followed two years after by a work in Latin divided into two parts. In the firſt he examined the diſpute about St Peter's ſupremacy, about juſtification, prayers for the dead, the invocation of ſaints, and the euchariſt. In the ſecond, he treated of nature and grace, and of predeſtination. This book he ſent to the ableſt miniſters; and ſeveral anſwers were made to it: Among the reſt that of Mr du Moulin was very ſharp, to which he wrote a reply in French, which Grotius did not deſpiſe (9). In my opinion, none anſwered the ſecond book of La Milletiere better than Mr Daillé, whoſe anſwer is intituled, *An Examination of the Advice of Mr de la Milletiere, about the Accommodation of differences in Religion*; which he publiſhed in Latin and French in the year 1636. This examination was refuted by Mr de la Milletiere, and that refutation obliged Mr Daillé to write an apology; but he did not publiſh it (10). His adverſary publiſhed a new book after the holding of the national ſynod of Alençon in the year 1637, with this title, *The means of Chriſtian Peace by the Re-union of the Catholics and Proteſtants as to the Differences of Religion* (11). After this he publiſhed ſeveral other books, whoſe titles need not be ſet down. I will only add, that he became ſo captious, that he wrote an apology for the method of Peter Veron. He thought he had juſtified it by reaſons which no miniſter could anſwer: Of which he boaſts in the ninth page of his *Catholique Reformé*, printed at Paris in the year 1642.

Let us ſee the judgment that is given of him by the Hiſtorian of the edict of Nantes (12). ‘ La Milletiere ‘ was a raſh conceited man, who thought that none came ‘ near his great merits and capacity. Moreover, either ‘ the fear that the court, remembring what was paſſed, ‘ would give him trouble, or the hope of acquiring ‘ much honour, or making a great fortune by the ‘ ſucceſs of that enterprize, or the praiſes which the ‘ Jeſuits gave him to draw him over to their party, ‘ ſo byaſſed his mind, that he came entirely into the ‘ project of the cardinal, and drew up a plan of an ‘ accommodation exactly in the terms which that ‘ prelate deſired. He vindicated the Romiſh church ‘ almoſt in every thing; and in thoſe which he did ‘ not take the trouble to juſtify, he made uſe of ‘ the ſofteſt expreſſions, under pretence of explaining them, giving them out as queſtions, which ‘ ought not to hinder the Reformed from being reconciled.’

[D] *No body denied that he was grafted into honourable families, but his grandfather's trade was well known . . . . in Orleans.*] Let us relate the very words of him who affirms this. ‘ Homo male feriatus putavit non ‘ aliter quam alios contemptim deprimendo, imaginariam ſuam Nobilitatem poſſe commendari. Quaſi ‘ neſciretur quam artem avus ipſius Aureliæ exercuerit; ipſum vero à ſuis collactaneis ſemper cum riſu ‘ exceptum, quoties nobilitatis ſuæ ſermonem pro ‘ infita ſibi vanitate auſus eſt injicere; quamvis non ‘ negem eum honeſtis eſſe inſitum familiis, quas dehoneſtat quantum in ſe eſt (13). - - - - *He prepoſterouſly thought, that his own imaginary nobility could not be commended, but by contemptuouſly abaſing others. As if people did not know what trade his grandfather had followed at Orleans; and that he himſelf was always laughed at by his foſter-brothers, whenever his natural vanity prompted him to talk of his nobility; though I do not deny that he is grafted on good families, which he diſgraces as much as he can.*’ The abbot Marolles informs us, that La Milletiere was the *ſon of Ignatius Brachet, lord of la Milletiere, and of Antoinette Faye, the daughter of Bartholomew Faye, lord of Eſpaiſſes, counſellor in the parliament, and preſident of the inqueſts in* 1541 (14). By this marriage our reconciler of religions was related to ſeveral illuſtrious families, as this abbot ſhows at large.

(13) Samuel Mareſius, in Antich. revelato, *lib. ii, pag.* 561.

(14) Abbot de Marolles, Mémoires, *pag.* 322, 323.

[E] *He continued ſtill to write upon the controverſy, and to ſay, that the re-union of the two religions was eaſy to be effected,*] ‘ After divers admonitions which did ‘ no good, the ſynods declared, that he was no longer ‘ a member of the Reformed churches; and there ‘ was not one of them who would receive him into their communion. He became therefore a Catholic out of neceſſity, that he might be of ſome ‘ religion; and after this he conſtantly acted the ‘ part of a miſſionary, and looked out for conferences, at which he was always ſo ill treated as to daſh ‘ his boldneſs, if he had not been ſo ſelf-conceited that ‘ nothing could daunt him. Charles Drelincourt ‘ one of the colleagues of John Daillé, and the true ‘ ſcourge of ſuch as were of Milletiere's temper, quite ‘ confounded him in a conference, the acts whereof ‘ was publiſhed (15).’ Among other books he publiſhed at Paris, Le Triomphe, &c *The Triumph of Truth for the Peace of the Church, to invite the King of Great Britain to embrace the Catholic Faith.* Of this I ſhall ſpeak in the laſt remark.

(15) Hiſt. of the Edict of Nantes, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 515, 516. *Add to this theſe words of book xi, pag.* 578, his writings were condemned at *the national ſynod of Alençon, in the year* 1637, and they wrote to this reconciler, that if he did not give within ſix months an authentical declaration of his repentance to the conſiſtory of Paris, he ſhould be no longer accounted a member of the Reformed church.

Here follows a pretty curious paſſage: *The firſt conference that offers, is concerning the deſign of Mr de la Milletiere, to re-unite the churches that are divided. This virtuous man thinks it eaſy to bring about the return of the Proteſtants to the Catholic church. And when I ſeveral times aſked him the grounds of his perſuaſion, ſince the great differences of opinions, which occur in certain points, were difficult to be reconciled; he anſwered me with a ſpirit of charity, which gives him as much zeal as knowledge, that this reconciliation depended only upon a good reformation on our part, and on knowing the motives of the ſeparation of thoſe who have left us; which he has ſhown in ſeveral books written to that end. One needs only read his* Flambeau de l'Egliſe, *and his* Flambeau de la vraye Foye, *to which no anſwer has been made, neither is it poſſible to make a good one, becauſe they are ſo many invincible demonſtrations; and if the adverſaries do not allow it, one needs only enquire what they ſtick at, and try to bring them to a regular conference. In the mean time Mr de la Milletiere is perſuaded, that he has demonſtrated, or that it*

(9) Molinæus du expectato meſſum ad ſe librum excepit duro reſponſo, ut & priorem fecerant tum ipſe tum Rivetus Reformati: Milletierius Molinæo falle ſatis, cui ppe Gallico ſermone quo plus valet, & eundem dixit ad Molinæum pertinentia non vitæ. *Grotius, Epiſt.* 141, *inter Epiſtol. Eccleſ. & Theolog. pag.* 793, *Edit. Amſt.*

(10) The Life of Mr Daillé, *pag.* 21.

(11) Hiſt. of the Edict of Nantes, *Tom. ii, lib. x, pag.* 515.

(12) Id. ib. *pag.* 514, 515.

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his abjuration was that which contained the motives of his change (g). He begun ſeveral other books afterwards, but did not finiſh them, either becauſe his firſt thoughts ceaſed to charm him, or becauſe the neceſſity of obtaining the approbation of the Doctors was a conſtraint upon him; for they did not agree to all his opinions, and he oppoſed their remonſtrances. He was ſo offended at a ſermon preached by a biſhop, who in a parallel drawn between the Virgin Mary and JESUS CHRIST ſet her in all things above, or at leaſt equalled her to, the ſon of GOD, that he declared freely, he would return to the pale of the Proteſtant church, in caſe he was obliged to hear many ſuch ſermons (b). See the Memoirs of the abbot de Marolles, who had a great eſteem for him. He never was a miniſter, although Father Jacob makes him a miniſter of Charenton (i). Neither was he a Phyſician, as Mr de Vigneul Marville, at *pag.* 229 of his Miſcellanies, has imagined. He would not own that one of his books had been cenſured by the Sorbonne, and yet Mr Rivet publiſhed an act which did bear the name of that Faculty [F]. I have been told that Mr de la Milletiere had a ſon who was killed in the wars

(g) Sarravius, Epiſt. 118, *pag.* 121.

(b) Ex eodem Sarravio Epiſt. 170, *pag.* 173, 174.

(i) Ludovicus Jacob à Sancto Carolo, Carmelita, Biblioth. Pontific. *pag.* 471.

it is not impoſſible for him to demonſtrate the infallibility of the Catholic church, whoſe primitive and abſolute authority reſides in the holy ſee, and in the perſon of the Pope, without the concurrence of a general council. . . . . I ſay he is perſuaded, that, in his book of the Euchariſt and Tranſubſtantiation, he hath clearly demonſtrated the true doctrine which we always profeſſed, according to the deciſions of the holy councils, and the pure word of GOD, which is ſo expreſs in this point, together with tradition: And therefore they muſt no longer require of us the teſtimony of the ſenſes and of reaſon, to prove that there is no other Tranſubſtantiation than that of paſſing from the knowledge of a ſenſible ſubſtance to the knowledge of an intelligible ſubſtance (16). Thus the abbot de Marolles ſpoke of him in the year 1656.

(16) Abbot de Marol. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 241, 242. See alſo *pag.* 129, 193.

[F] *He would not own, that one of his books had been cenſured by the Sorbonne, and yet Mr Rivet publiſhed an act which did bear the name of that Faculty.*] This miniſter anſwering a little book of Grotius (17), put in an appendix (18) twelve theſes which he extracted from a treatiſe of la Milletiere about the power of the Pope, and the cure of ſchiſms, to which he added a decree of the Sorbonne againſt the *Means of Chriſtian Peace*, &c. This decree bearing date the fifteenth of December 1637, ſhould have been publiſhed at Paris (19), but was not. Nevertheleſs Andrew Rivet having got a manuſcript copy of it, printed it in Holland, in 1642, in the appendix I have mentioned. La Milletiere was much vexed at it, and affirmed that this piece was ſpurious, and that it was only the particular cenſure (20) of Mr Chappellas, *a native of Bourdeaux, and formerly a Jeſuit* (21), who was created ſyndic of the faculty of Theology, in the month of December 1637. *At the very inſtant he was confirmed, being deſirous to be talked of for ſome reputable act, worthy of the humour of his climate, and his fiery temper, he propoſed the examination of my book to the ſociety.* La Milletiere adds (22), that his book was never examined, and that Chappellas, who had alledged an order from the ſovereign authority, found himſelf very much out in his reckoning. 'The reaſons 'of theſe different motions being afterwards repre- 'ſented in the place from which the ſyndic pretend- 'ed to ſupport his deſign with a ſuperior authority, 'his proceeding was found ſo impertinent, that he 'and Mr du Val, the ſub-dean, received an expreſs 'command to deſiſt from it. Nevertheleſs he uſed the 'authority that his office of ſyndic gave him, to have 'his private cenſure inſerted in the regiſter of the 'Faculty, which was dated December 15, ſigned by 'him and Mr du Val, by whoſe means he obtained 'the place of ſyndic. It is therefore the cenſure of 'Mr Chappellas, which Mr Rivet has printed, and 'not the cenſure of the faculty of the Sorbonne.' He ſhows, by ſeveral marks, that this piece did not proceed from the Faculty. Mr Rivet (23) was not able to ſhow that this account was falſe. But as to other things, he ſolidly refuted his adverſary, and promiſed to give a fuller anſwer; for he intituled his book, *Prodromus ad pleniorem refutationem calumniarum*, &c (24). - - - *The Fore-runner to a fuller Confutation of the Calumnies*, &c. La Milletiere replied in Latin, by a diſſertation, intituled, *Crurifragium Prodromi - - - - The legs of the fore-runner broken.* Rivet, altering his mind, did only publiſh a letter of Cuthbert Higlandius (25), which contained an advice, not to enter the liſts any more with ſuch an adverſary, and a long catalogue of the faults of the Latin which were in the *Crurifragium*. Yet I find in a letter of Grotius (26), the title of a French book which Rivet printed at Rouen, in the year 1642. *An Anſwer to three Letters, with the Defence of the Sieur Rivet againſt the Calumnies and Forgeries of Mr la Milletiere.*

(17) Notes upon the Conſultation of Caſſander.

(18) See the third volume of the works of Andrew Rivet, *pag.* 976, 977.

(19) Ne hujus operis condemnati quemquam lateat, cenſuram hanc typis vulgandam eſſe decrevit. *Ib. pag.* 978.

(20) La Millet. Cathol. Reformé, *pag.* 194.

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 188.

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 193.

(23) See *pag.* 1037, of the third tome of his works.

(24) It is at *pag.* 1035, of the third volume of his works.

(25) At *pag.* 1114, of the ſame volume. Sorbiere is the author of this letter. See the preface of the *Sorberiana*.

(26) Grotius, Epiſt. 640, *Part ii, pag.* 949, *col.* 1.

Note, that in 1644, the cenſure of one of la Milletiere's books by the Sorbonne appeared at Paris. It had been ſoftened twice or thrice in favour of the approvers. The letters of Sarravius will tell you more of it (27). Grotius acquainted his brother, that the three doctors of the Sorbonne, who had approved the book of this reconciler, were ſuſpended for a year (28), and that Mr Arnaud wrote a book againſt la Milletiere out of policy. *De Arnaldus ſcripſit contra Miletium ut ejus odio ſuum elueret* (29). - - - *Mr Arnaud wrote againſt Milletiere, that he might divert the hatred they had to him by that of the other.* La Milletiere was alſo of the ſame opinion as to the motive of this doctor of the Sorbonne. Read the words of Sarravius (30): 'Arnaldus etiam, quem ſibi clam adſtipulari Bache- 'tus (31) arbitrabatur, epiſtolam edidit ad Præſules 'ſui libri Approbatores ſcriptam, in qua damnatum 'poſtea librum erroris, falſitatis, & hæreſeos accuſare 'prævertit. Hæc tamen omnia κατ' οἰκονομίαν fieri, 'jactat Henotes. *Credat Judæus Apella.* Sed quid 'huic homini facias? Eum ego, qui tam inſanum 'ſapit, Deo irato ſuo relinquo. - - - - *Arnaudus alſo, 'whom Brachet thought had privately joined with him, 'publiſhed an epiſtle writ to the prelates, the approvers 'of his book, in which he anticipates the accuſation of the 'book that was afterwards condemned of error, falſhood, 'and hereſy. Yet the reconciler brags, all this was 'done out of policy.* Let the circumciſed Jew believe it. '*But what can one do with this man? For my part, I 'leave him, ſince he is ſo like a madman, to his angry 'GOD.*'

(27) Sarravius, Epiſt. 85, 86.

(28) Grotius, Epiſt. 712, *part ii, pag.* 969. *It is dated July* 2, 1644.

(29) Idem, Epiſt. 714, *pag.* 969. *It is dated July* 16, 1644.

(30) Sarravius, Epiſt. 85, *pag.* 85, 86.

(31) It is a fault of the Printer for *Brachetus*. There are many other ſuch like faults in the letters of Sarravius.

Since the printing of what you have read, I have run over the piece which is mentioned above, *viz.* that which was printed at Rouen in 1642. It's title is *Reſponſes*, &c. *An Anſwer to three Letters of the Sieur de la Milletiere on his Means of a Re-union in Religion; by Andrew Rivet . . . . with the Defence of the ſaid Sieur Rivet againſt the Calumnies and Forgeries of the ſaid Sieur de la Milletiere, in his pretended Catholic Reformed, with a Letter of a learned Perſon of this time concerning the ſame Treatiſe.* There is one chapter in it concerning the account which Mr de la Milletiere had given, *of the pretended falſe cenſure attributed to the faculty of the Sorbonne.* Mr Rivet proteſts (32), *that neither Mr Chappellas, nor any one in his name*, had *put* that cenſure *into his hands*, or *procured it to be printed* . . . . (33). *He that gave him the copy of it in Holland*, told him *that it was ſent by Grotius.* He leaves to Mr Chappellas the trouble and care *of defending himſelf againſt what was objected againſt him*; but he refutes two objections which la Milletiere had made to prove the nullity of the cenſure of the Sorbonne (34). 'The firſt is, *That they are not uſed to 'talk at random, and without a due application and 'ſpecification of the errors contained in the writings 'they cenſure.* The ſecond, *That it is not their cuſtom 'to ſound an alarm againſt books which they cenſure, 'and to end with reprimands to the prelates of the church* '. . . . (35). I ſhall give him two examples ſuffi- 'ciently known of the contrary to what he ſays, 'eſpecially when they condemn the book of an author 'who is out of their communion. In the year 'cIↃIↃcxI, the twenty ſecond of Auguſt, they pub- 'liſhed a cenſure againſt the book of the late Mr du 'Pleſſis, of happy memory, which was intituled,

(32) Rivet, Reſponſes au trois Lettres, *pag.* 163.

(33) Ib. p. 164.

(34) Ib. p. 167.

(35) Ib. p. 168.

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wars (*k*), and that one of his daughters was married to Mr Catelan ſecretary to the council, and that from this marriage came a daughter, who was married to the count of Jonſac. I muſt not forget the work which he dedicated to the king of England [*G*].

(*k*) In Germany in the year 1643. See *Sarravius, Epiſt.* 53, *pag.* 51.

'*The Myſtery of Iniquity*, &c. There they ſpecify nothing, but ſay in general, *That being of opinion that the book bearing that abominable title, ought to be condemned, deteſted, and the reading of it wholly forbidden to Chriſtian people, as being heretical, very extravagant, and ſeditious, contrary to the divine and natural law, to the writings of the antient Fathers*, &c. And a little after they add a caution in theſe words, that *they adviſe good people, who are zealous for the defence of the holy church*, &c. of the danger which may accrue by the reading of that book; *praying, and conjuring* (pray mark this) *in a moſt humble manner, the prelates of the Catholic church, and the civil magiſtrates*, &c. *that they would endeavour with all their power, generouſly and effectually to ſtop the courſe of ſuch a dangerous and terrible peſtilence.* This is a cenſure exactly agreeable in thoſe two points to what the perſon cenſured by the diligence of the Sieur Chappellas, formerly denies to be the ſtyle of the Sorbonne. Will he ſay, *that this cenſure, injurious to the perſon of the author, and which does not ſpecify any ſentence or maxim of the book which it ſtrikes at, in order to qualify them by a name, which denotes the reaſon of the cenſure, did not proceed from the judgment of that ſociety?* Here is another without any ſpecification, and without making any formal application, of the year cIↃ Ↄ cxxix, againſt the ſmall pieces of Peter Picherel, who died in the communion of the Romiſh church, in a little priory of the abbey of Eſſome, wherein, without any ſpecification, on the firſt of September, they *condemn Picherel's book* (36) *as wicked and abominable, infected with the ſtinking leproſy of Calviniſm, and ſtinking like the pit of hell: and will have this cenſure to be publiſhed, leſt the houſhold of faith ſhould ſhipwreck their conſciences as it were in a ſtorm, and be circumvented by the reading of that deceitful book.* It is alſo *injurious to the perſon of the author*, for it calls him *Deſertor & Perduellis*, - - *deſerter and rebel*; and theſe two cenſures are publiſhed, being ſigned by the ſecretary to the recorder of the Sorbonne.'

(36) *See Mr Colomies, his Bibliotheque Choiſie, about this book of Picherel, pag.* 21, 22, *of the ſecond edition.*

Mr Rivet declares, at the end of this chapter, that he had *received the cenſure printed at Paris*, with *the Extract of the regiſters of the Faculty, on the manner of proceeding, with theſe words at the end*, Excerpta ex monumentis præfatæ facultatis, *&c.* ſigned Philip Bouvot, firſt beadle and ſecretary of the Faculty, the firſt of July 1642. He makes afterwards (37) *ſome reflexions on la Milletiere's new ſally in his* 'remonſtrance to the doctors of the faculty of Divinity aſſembled in the Sorbonne, the firſt of Auguſt 1642, on the nullity of the cenſure of the Sieur Chapellas, *&c.*' He ſays (38), that the act of this cenſure 'put Mr de la Milletiere into a great paſſion, and made him leave no ſtone unturned to beat down the Sieur Chapellas if he could; that he accuſes him of having forged it himſelf, and cauſed it to be printed contrary to the intention of the college, by a meer ſurprize, not having declared to them for what reaſon he demanded that act, and to what purpoſe he would make uſe of it.' This informs us of two things; I. That Mr Chapellas being deſirous to refute the ſlanders of M. de la Milletiere, let the public ſee all the proceedings of the Faculty. II. That the latter continued to clamour and wrangle. Now as this may ſerve to ſhow us his bold, vain, ſtubborn, and ſhuffling humour, it was not improper to let you ſee it; and I am perſuaded in general, that theſe abſtracts which I have given of Andrew Rivet's letters, will be thought curious and inſtructive.

(37) Rivet, ibid. *pag.* 377.

(38) Ibid.

[*G*] *I muſt not forget the work which he dedicated to the king of England.*] The title of it is mentioned above; and tho' I have not read it, I imagine, that the character of the author, the eager deſire of making himſelf neceſſary upon ſignal occaſions, and the love of oſtentation and vain-glory, appear in it as much or more than in any book he has publiſhed. My conjectures are grounded upon ſome places of the anſwer which was made to his Epiſtle Dedicatory. This anſwer is the work of an Engliſh biſhop who was with king Charles II during his exile. It was printed at Geneva in the year 1655, in 8vo. The preface to the reader contains this, among other things, *Mr de la Milletiere having once paſſed this rubicon*, 'became one of our moſt cruel adverſaries, and there was not a miniſter whom he did not harraſs, and by an infinite number of little volumes, he imagined that he had drained the whole ocean of controverſies, of which ſo many great men of both religions have been tired. The greateſt part of his works were neglected, and finding but few antagoniſts that would run ſuch a career with him, it was thought, that being fully ſatisfied with the titles of honour, which his great ſufficiency had obtained for him from the liberality of the prince, he was reſolved to keep a perpetual ſilence, till Mr Aubertin having writ a learned treatiſe of the Euchariſt, according to the ſentiments of the Fathers, this book which gave an alarm into the very heart of *the great city*, did, as it were, with a ſudden ſurprize, awake Mr de la Milletiere, and made him put pen to paper to refute it after his manner. But that which more aſtoniſhes all the wiſe men of both religions, is to ſee him ſo far forget himſelf, as to dedicate his book to the king of Great-Britain, a prince whom he very well knew to be of a belief quite contrary to that which he eſtabliſhed in his book, and to whom he could not addreſs things of that nature, without drawing upon himſelf his juſt indignation, and fomenting unjuſt ſuſpicions in his rebellious ſubjects. His Epiſtle Dedicatory is nothing but a torrent of reproaches againſt the church which he hath forſaken, after having torn her bowels, of horrible prejudices againſt the memory of the late king of England, of flattering inſinuations to his ſucceſſor, and imaginary victories over thoſe, whom neither he, nor the heads of his party durſt fairly look in the face: and all this fine ſtuff, together with the pretended refutation of Mr Aubertin, bears the ſpecious and pompous title of, *The Triumph of Truth for the peace of the church.* Tho' the king of England at firſt took this dedication very ill, yet he was inclined to follow the advice of thoſe who perſuaded him to deſpiſe it, and not to ſhew any reſentment of it in public: but conſidering afterwards that this attempt gave occaſion to the inſults of his enemies, he commanded a learned biſhop, who was then near his perſon, to write an anſwer to it, without touching, except by the bye, upon that lofty book to which it was prefixed.' This is ſufficient to ſhow that la Milletiere wrote without judgment. All the world knew, that the enemies of Charles I. accuſed him of being a favourer of Popery, and that nothing was more fit to foment the averſion of the Engliſh republicans to the family of this prince, than the opinion, that he had not been a Proteſtant; and yet here is a writer who had the boldneſs to dedicate to king Charles II a book wherein he ſuppoſes, that Charles I. died an inviſible member of the Romiſh church (39). The author that wrote an anſwer to him, made a very moderate remonſtrance upon it. *Many, and the wiſeſt men think*, ſays he to him (40), *that it was very indiſcreetly done to publiſh a treatiſe of ſuch a nature as your's is, under the protection of his majeſty, without his leave, and againſt his conſcience. Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ignorant, that ſuch inſinuations as your's, and the reports raiſed without any ground, about the deſign which the late king, his father, had to unite himſelf to the Romiſh church, made him loſe the affection of many of his ſubjects? And if you knew this, how durſt you tread in the ſame ſteps, on purpoſe to take from the ſon all hopes of ever recovering it?* The anſwer he makes him in another place is a little briſker. (41) 'You have the impudence to affirm, that this prince died a true *inviſible* member of your church, as it is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Chriſtian world. This is an old pious fraud (42), and one of your Machiaveliſtical tricks, to gain credit to your religion by any means whatſoever, lawful or unlawful: but it is quite contrary to the confeſſion he made at his death, contrary to what thoſe do certainly know who aſſiſted at the murder of this pious monarch; and all this, as I imagine, upon the vain preſumption, *That there is no other church but your's that is capable of begetting ſuch a child.*' Note, that the author oppoſes to this maxim a very remarkable doctrine, which the biſhop of Chalcedon (43) maintained

(39) An Anſwer to the Epiſtle Dedicatory of La Milletiere, *pag.* 34.

(40) Ib. p. 35.

(41) Ib. p. 163.

(42) See, above, the remark [*E*] of the article ABULPHARAGE.

(43) Spoken of before, remark [*A*], of the article KNOT.

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tained ‘ in two treatiſes that he publiſhed, *viz.* That ‘ *if thoſe who live in the communion of the Proteſtant* ‘ *church, endeavour to learn the truth, and cannot at-* ‘ *tain to it by reaſon of their inſufficiency, but implicitly* ‘ *embrace it by preparing their hearts to receive it, which* ‘ *they are always ready to do, whenſoever it ſhall* ‘ *pleaſe GOD to reveal it to them,* [which is the ‘ duty of every good Chriſtian], *they cannot fail of* ‘ *the true church, of faith, and ſalvation* (44).’ This is a maxim (45) which might afford many reflexions for a ſupplement to the Philoſophical Commentary upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in.* But this by the bye.

(44) Anſwer to la Milletiere, *pag.* 165.

(45) Compare what Caramuel ſays, in Nicolle's treatiſe of the Unity of the Church, *pag.* 71.

If la Milletiere had not been engaged in the ſtudy of controverſies above twenty five or thirty years, what we read in this paſſage of his antagoniſt, ſhould be looked upon as a greater piece of boldneſs than the firſt. ‘ You take upon you to enquire, or rather ‘ to decide, *why the hand of GOD, and of the parlia-* ‘ *ment, was ſo heavy upon the head of the late king, and* ‘ *of his ſon*; and particularly that of GOD; *becauſe*, ‘ ſay you, *he had aſſumed the title of head of the church:* ‘ *GOD intending by this puniſhment to teach other* ‘ *princes who live in ſchiſm, with what ſeverity he* ‘ *can vindicate his glory againſt the injury done to the* ‘ *unity and authority of the church:* and as to the ‘ hand of the parliament, *becauſe this prince would* ‘ *not give his conſent to the abolition of Epiſcopacy, and* ‘ *the ſuppreſſion of the liturgy and ceremonies of the church* ‘ *of England* (46).’ However, I think this raſhneſs is more excuſable than the other, in a man that had been ſo long accuſtomed to diſputes of religion; for it is hardly poſſible, that ſuch a man ſhould not contract a habit of attributing the proſperities of the orthodox to their zeal for the faith, and the misfortunes of Heretics to their falſe religion. It is not neceſſary to obſerve how mean, little, and vulgar, thoſe thoughts are, and yet they eaſily admit of the falſe ornaments of Rhetoric, which give them emphaſis and pomp. Let us rather take notice of the modeſty of the Engliſh prelate who anſwered la Milletiere. ‘ By applying theſe particular afflictions according to ‘ your ill-grounded fancy, what a pit have you dug ‘ for the boldneſs and liberty of other men? Who, if ‘ they would aſſume the liberty that you have taken, ‘ of judging of the misfortunes of other princes, might ‘ as well ſay, that GOD afflicts them becauſe they ‘ will not turn Proteſtant, as you ſay of the late ‘ king, that GOD puniſhed him becauſe he would not ‘ turn Papiſt (47).’ Thus you ſee what was the concluſion of the anſwer of the prelate, to this part of the indiſcreet and raſh reflexions of our Theophilus Brachet. This anſwer contains many other judicious conſiderations which I do not mention. It was ſufficient for me to take notice of that which is moſt proper to undeceive all reaſonable men; for to diſcover the falſhood of this bad common-place (48), we need only obſerve that all ſects make uſe of it, and, if I may ſo ſay, it is a ſaddle that fits all horſes. To which we may add ſtill this defect, that it may be retorted againſt thoſe who alledge it with the greateſt confidence. La Milletiere found it ſo by experience. ‘ Till you make appear the truth of what ‘ you ſay, *replied the Engliſh prelate* (49), give me ‘ leave to obſerve, that neither the conſtancy which ‘ queen Mary (50) ſhewed ſo much for the Roman ‘ Catholic religion, nor the change of Henry IV to ‘ the ſame religion, could exempt them from a cruel ‘ and bloody death. What reaſon then have you to ‘ impute the miſchiefs, which the king ſuffered, to ‘ the errors of his religion? Be you your own judge.’

(46) Anſwer to la Milletiere, *pag.* 42.

(47) Ib. *pag.* 45, 46.

(48) See, above, remark [O] of the article MAHOMET II, and what was ſaid in the *Critique Générale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme, letter xix, num.* 3, *pag.* 351, of the third edition, as to what Maimbourg ſaid of the prince of Condé killed at Jarnac.

(49) An Anſwer to la Milletiere, *pag.* 166, 167.

(50) He means the queen of Scotland, mother to king James I, and grandmother to Charles I, kings of England.

But nothing ſhows more clearly the vanity of *la Milletiere*, and his unbounded deſire of being diſtinguiſhed, than the method he propoſes to the king of England to recover his dominions. His Tongue, if you will believe him, was ſufficient to produce this great revolution. He affirms, on the one hand, that this monarch will be reſtored to his kingdoms, *provided he would turn Roman Catholic* (51); and on the other hand he ſays, that if this prince would be preſent at a diſpute between ſome Catholic doctors and the miniſters of Charenton, he would quickly be converted. By this means he gives us to underſtand, that if there were ſuch a diſpute, he would be one of the chief diſputants for the Romaniſts, and conſequently the principal cauſe of a triumph, the effects of which would be wonderful. Conſider a little his chimeras, according to all the gradations to which the Engliſh author has reduced them. ‘ But now we are come to ‘ the fineſt part of your whole epiſtle; which is this ‘ ridiculous propoſal you make *of a conference by the* ‘ *authority of your monarch, and at the requeſt of our* ‘ *king, before the Archbiſhop of Paris and his coadjutor,* ‘ *between ſome Roman Catholic doctors, and the miniſters* ‘ *of the church of that great city,* to whom you juſtly ‘ give an ample teſtimony *of their zeal and ſufficiency.* ‘ You go on further, for you ſuppoſe, *That thoſe mini-* ‘ *niſters will accept of a diſpute, or elſe by their ſhuffling,* ‘ *they will betray the weakneſs of their cauſe:* And you ‘ conclude with a prodigious aſſurance, *That theſe ſame* ‘ *miniſters will be convinced of the falſhood of their re-* ‘ *ligion, and that their converſion or conviction will give* ‘ *an ample occaſion to the king of Great Britain to em-* ‘ *brace the Romiſh Communion, and that his converſion* ‘ *will bring back all the Proteſtants who have yet any* ‘ *conſcience left, into the boſom of the church, and the* ‘ *obedience of the Holy See.* Give me leave to ſum up ‘ theſe fine conſequences: If the king of Great Britain deſires a ſolemn conference, the king of France ‘ will order it: If he orders it, the miniſters will accept it: If they accept it, they will certainly be ‘ overcome: If they are overcome, the king of England will change his religion: If he changes his religion, all the Proteſtants will do the ſame (52).’ One may eaſily gueſs, that the anſwer from which I take this paſſage, contains a ſtrong confutation of theſe illuſions, and that it did not coſt the Engliſh prelate much pains.

(51) See the Anſwer to La Milletiere, *pag.* 150.

(52) Ib. *pag.* 132, 133.

MILTON (JOHN) a famous Apologiſt for the death of Charles I. king of England, was born at London in the year 1608 [*A*]. He himſelf informs us (*a*), that after he

(*a*) Defenſ. ii, pro Populo Anglic. *pag.* 60, *& ſeq.* Edit. Hagæ Comitis, 1654.

OBSERVATIONS about the ſtature and mien of Milton.

[*A*] *He was born at London in* 1608.] This we learn from an inſcription which is at the bottom of his picture in one of his books (1), for it ſays, that in 1671 he was 63 years old. He had intimated his age in too indefinite a manner, in his ſecond apology written in 1653, or in 1654, where he only ſays, that he was above forty years old (2). It will not be improper here to obſerve, why he informs the public of this circumſtance, ſince it will give us occaſion to take notice of ſome falſities. Some had upbraided him with being a little ſhort man, who had nothing but ſkin and bones, and it was a corrective added to the application that had been made to him of theſe words of *Virgil.*

(1) It is his Logic.

(2) Quadragenario Major. *Milton, Defenſ. ii, pag.* 31.

> Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens cui lumen ademptum (3).
>
> *A frightful, ill-ſhaped, blind monſter.*

(3) Quamquam nec ingens quo nihil eſt exilius, exſanguius, contractius. *Epiſt. Dedicat. Clamor. Regii Sang.*

To which he anſwered (4), he did not believe that ever his perſon was eſteemed ugly; that his ſtature was rather of a middle ſize than little; that he felt ſtill the courage and ſtrength which he had formerly, when he wore a ſword, and thought himſelf able to look ſuch men in the face as were much ſtronger than himſelf; that his countenance was ſo far from being pale, thin, and wrinkled, that it did him a great deal of honour, ſince at the age of above forty years, he ſeemed to be younger by almoſt ten years; that to witneſs all this he appealed to an infinite number of people, who knew him by ſight, and might juſtly ridicule him if he did not ſpeak the truth. He owned he was blind, but at the ſame time took notice that his eyes did not appear to have the leaſt defect. No body after this can doubt, but Mr Morus and Salmaſius were impoſed upon with reſpect to the ſtature and ſhape of Milton; I ſay, Salmaſius, for he has alſo told us in his reply, that he heard, his adverſary was as little as a dwarf, *&c.* ‘ Relatum quippe eſt mihi ab illis qui vide- ‘ runt te, eſſe ſtatura pumilionem (5). Ab ea laborioſa ‘ & anxia longaque meditatione languorem etiam videtur ‘ contraxiſſe delicatum illud & inhrmum corpuſculum ‘ tuum (6). - - - - *For it was told me by thoſe who have ſeen*

(4) Milton, Defenſ. ii, *pag.* 30.

(5) Salmaſ. Reſponſ ad Milt. *pag.* 3.

(6) Id. ib. *pag.* 15, 16.

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he had ſtudied the languages, and a little Philoſophy in the place of his birth, he was ſent to Cambridge where he continued ſeven years, at the end of which he returned to his father's houſe [*B*], who then lived in the country. That having ſpent five years there in reading the beſt Greek and Latin authors, he travelled into France and Italy, in which he ſpent more than three years. That finding England at his return involved in the confuſions of a Civil-War, he thought fit to ſhut himſelf up in his cloſet, and to leave events to the care of Providence. That the authority of the biſhops being weakened, and every body ſpeaking againſt them, he hoped that this great beginning of liberty might deliver mankind from the yoke of bondage. That he thought himſelf bound to contribute to it to the utmoſt of his power. That to this purpoſe he wrote two books about the means of reforming the church of England; and after that two others againſt two biſhops who had written in favour of Epiſcopacy. That having ſeen the end of this diſpute, he conſidered, that beſides Eccleſiaſtical liberty, for which he and ſo many others had laboured ſucceſsfully, there were two others, *viz.* The domeſtic and civil, which were of no leſs importance. That he made uſe of his pen for the domeſtic liberty, while the magiſtrates were labouring very earneſtly for civil liberty. That having conſidered that domeſtic liberty related to three things, to marriage, the education of children, and the right of philoſophizing without reſtraint, he wrote upon divorce [*C*], and ſhowed that the Goſpel had not changed the laws under which the Jews

'*ſeen you, that you are a dwarf in ſtature. That deli-*
'*cate and infirm little body of your's ſeems to have con-*
'*tracted a languor from your laborious, anxious, and long*
'*application of thought.*' Mr Morus did not diſpute this, only he proteſted (7), that he never pretended to reproach Milton for being blind, ſince he did not know it but by his anſwer, and that if he had ſaid any thing that ſeemed to relate to blindneſs, he meant the blindneſs of his mind. By he owns himſelf the author of the Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Clamor Regii Sanguinis - - - The cry of royal blood.* Now ſince he had ſaid there, that there could be nothing more ghaſtly and lean than Milton, I believe he would have found it very difficult to reconcile his Epiſtle Dedicatory with that place of his anſwer where he ſays, he believed Milton was a handſome Man, eſpecially ſince he ſaw his picture ſo curiouſly done before his Poems. *An deformitatem* tibi vitio verterem, *qui bellum etiam credidi maxime, poſtquam tuis præfixam poematibus comptulam icunculam illam vidi* (8)? Salmaſius ſeems to boaſt of having been the cauſe that Milton loſt his good plight of body, and his eyes, by anſwering the Apology for Charles I, and is ſo far from upbraiding him with any natural deformity, that he pities him maliciouſly for having no longer that beauty, which rendered him ſo lovely during his abode in Italy. 'Inde etiam fortaſſe cerebrum tibi nimis inquies in oculis diſtillaverat 'eoſque afflixerat. Malo iſto magnam partem tuæ pul-'chritudinis deperiiſſe, pro eo ac debeo doleo. Nam 'in occulis maxime viget ac valet formæ decus. Quid 'Itali nunc dicerent ſi te viderent cum iſta fœda lip-'pitudine. Non haberent amplius quod in te lauda-'rent. Non ergo miror ſi Salmaſium iſtum odiſti, 'propter quem tantum tibi laboris & oneris impoſitum 'eſt, unde ægritudo tibi corporis & mentis hæc acci-'dit, & præterea detrimentum tantum priſtini decoris 'paſſus es (9). - - - - *Perhaps too you will ſay, that was* '*the cauſe that your brain diſtilled too much in your eyes* '*and weakened them. I am ſorry, as I ought to be, that* '*you have loſt a great part of your beauty by that ca-*'*lamity. For beauty chiefly exerts it's force and vi-*'*gour in the eyes. What would the Italians now ſay,* '*were they to ſee you with thoſe frightful running eyes.* '*They would find nothing more in you to commend. There-*'*fore, I do not wonder if you hate that Salmaſius, who* '*was the cauſe of ſo much labour and trouble to you,* '*which has occaſioned this diſorder of your body and mind,* '*and ſo much diminiſhed your former beauty.* Iſte jam 'lippulus vel cœculus potius, olim bellulus puſio (10). '- - - - - *That little fellow, now blear-eyed, or rather* '*half blind, but formerly a pretty minion.*' He expreſſes himſelf more plainly in another place (11). I do not know what Milton anſwered to this laſt ſlander, when he had occaſion to ſpeak to his friends concerning the poſthumous reply of Salmaſius: But I have heard ſay, that when he was informed his enemy boaſted that he had made him loſe his ſight, he anſwered, *and I have made him loſe his life.* This ſtory is very probable, ſince we find the ground of it in theſe two writers books as you may ſee. 'Sunt, *ſays Milton* (12), qui 'nos etiam necis ejus *(Salmaſii)* reos faciunt, illoſque 'noſtros nimis acriter ſtrictos aculeos, quos dum re-'pugnando altius ſibi infixit, dum quod præ manibus 'habebat opus vidit ſpiſſius procedere, tempus reſpon-'ſionis abiiſſe, operis gratiam periiſſe, recordatione 'amiſſæ famæ, exiſtimationis, principum denique fa-'voris, ob rem regiam male defenſam erga ſe immi-'nuti, triennali tandem mœſtitia & animi magis ægri-'tudine quam morbo confectum obiiſſe. - - - - - *Some* '*impute his* (Salmaſius's) *death to me, and to thoſe ſtings* '*I gave him that were too violently thruſt; which, by* '*reſiſting, he fixed deeper in himſelf, whilſt he ſaw the* '*work he had in hand proceed ſlowly, and the time of* '*anſwering paſt, and the merit of the work gone, re-*'*flecting on his loſt fame and reputation, and that the* '*favour of princes towards him was diminiſhed, for* '*having badly defended the royal cauſe; at laſt being ſpent* '*with continual grief for the ſpace of three years, he* '*died by a diſtemper of the mind rather than of the* '*body.*'

[*B*] *He was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge .... from whence he returned to his father's houſe.*] The author of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* affirms, upon a hearſay (13), that Milton being expelled the univerſity of Cambridge, for his miſdemeanors, forſook the country and retired into Italy. Milton denies all this, and gives another account, which is extreamly to his advantage. Now ſince neither Morus, in anſwering the book which contains this account, nor Salmaſius, in his reply, wherein are many defamatory ſtories againſt Milton, have ſaid nothing of this diſgraceful leaving of Cambridge, which was objected to him, we have reaſon to believe it is a fable; for certainly there muſt be, for ſuch kind of accuſations, ſome principles that cannot be denied, and which prove the falſity of the charge. And what principles are more worthy of this rank, than to ſee a man publickly accuſed of things which it is eaſy to prove, deny thoſe things publickly, while none of the adverſe party dares maintain the accuſation againſt him? Whatever evaſion men may find in metaphyſical ſubtleties to defend themſelves againſt this proof of falſhood, it muſt be granted, that, morally ſpeaking, it is a convincing one: ſeeing therefore Milton did produce ſuch a proof for himſelf, we may reckon as one of the lyes that were ſpread abroad againſt him, that which concerns his pretended expulſion from Cambridge.

[*C*] *He wrote upon Divorce.*] It appears by his ſixteenth letter written in the year 1654, that Aitzema had a mind to get that book of Milton tranſlated into Dutch, and that the author deſired rather to have it tranſlated into Latin, having experienced that the people were prejudiced againſt all opinions that were not common. He there informs us, that he had written three treatiſes upon this ſubject; whereof the firſt (14) was intituled, *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*; the ſecond (15) was intituled *Tetrachordon*, wherein the four principal paſſages of Scripture were explained which concern this matter; the third (16) was intituled *Colaſterion*, wherein he refutes a certain ſcribbler. It had been objected to Milton (17) that he had called the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST concerning Divorce, diabolical, as it is explained by the Fathers, by antient and modern divines, and by all the univerſities

(7) Fid. public. *pag.* 31.

(8) By the anſwer which Milton wrote to theſe words, *pag.* 84: it appears that theſe poems were publiſhed, in 1645, and that he was not ſatisfied with his Engraver.

(9) Salmaſ. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 15, 16.

(10) Ib. *p.* 19.

(11) Tu quem olim Itali pro femina habuerunt, cuiquam audeas, quod parum vir ſit, objicere? - - - *Dare you, whom the Italians formerly uſed as a woman, object to any one, that he is not a man?* Ibid. *pag.* 23.

(12) Milt. Defenſ. II, *pag.* 21.

(13) Ajunt hominem Cantabrigienſi Academia ob flagitia pulſum, dedecus & patriam fugiſſe, & in Italiam commigraſſe, *pag.* 8.

(14) Printed at London in 1644.

(15) Printed at London in 1645.

(16) Printed in 1645.

(17) In a preface of George Crantzius, Doctor of Divinity, prefixed to the ſecond Apology of Milton, of the Dutch Edition. 1654. See alſo *Clam. Reg. Sang. pag.* 8.

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Jews lived as to this matter; and that it would be in vain to cry liberty, liberty, in the public aſſemblies, if a man was a ſlave at home to that ſex which is inferiour to ours. That afterwards he wrote about the education of children, and laſtly about the liberty of the preſs; that a ſmall number of injudicious men, who moſt commonly are reſolved to ſuppreſs every thing that is not conſiſtent with popular opinions, may not determine by a final judgment, what ought, and what ought not to be printed. That after the ſentence of death was paſſed upon King Charles I, he wrote upon the general Theſis of the right of the people againſt tyrants [*D*], and made a collection of the opinions of ſeveral grave divines upon this ſubject, to put thoſe to ſilence who ſaid, that the doctrine of the Proteſtant churches was contrary to the late tranſactions at London. That after this, while he was writing a Hiſtory of England [*E*], the council of ſtate which was then eſtabliſhed by authority of parliament, having a mind to make uſe of his pen, ordered him to confute the *Icon Baſilike*, which went under the name of the deceaſed king. That he intituled his confutation *Iconoclaſtes* (*b*). That being appointed to refute a book which Salmaſius had publiſhed againſt the the parliament of England, he engaged in that work though he had almoſt loſt one eye (*c*), and the Phyſicians foretold it as a thing certain, that he would loſe the other if he engaged in it (*d*). This is what he tells us of himſelf: and we may add, that he became, in effect, blind about this time, and that his anſwer to Salmaſius's book made him talked of over all the world (*e*) [*F*]. He anſwered ſome time after a book intituled *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad*

(*b*) I have the French verſion of it made from the ſecond edition in Engliſh, and printed at London in the year 1652.

(*c*) Defenſio, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 35.

(*d*) See the remark [*A*].

(*e*) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 95.

ties and churches of England, Holland, and France; and that for his own part he pretended, that Divorce ought to be allowed, even when a contrariety of humours is the only ground of it. To this he anſwers only theſe two things (18). Firſt, that the ſenſe given, by the generality of interpreters, to the words of Scripture, whereby they are made to ſignify, that after a divorce made in a caſe of neceſſity, it is not lawful to proceed to a ſecond marriage, might very well be called a diabolical doctrine. II. That it is not true, that all the Fathers, the antient and modern Divines, and all the univerſities, &c. are agreed about this matter, and that he has ſhown in his *Tetrachordon*, that his doctrine was the ſame with that of ſome of the Fathers, of Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Eraſmus. See his ſecond Apology, p. 58. It is remarkable that Milton, who tells us ſo many particulars of his life, ſays nothing of his marriage. Nevertheleſs Salmaſius had heard ſome ſay that he was married, and not only ſo, but that he had divorced his wife at a year's end, becauſe ſhe was of a bad temper (19). In another place he ſuggeſts, that jealouſy, or even horns, were concerned in the matter (20). Milton therefore was not ſo diſintereſted in his pleading for Divorce and Polygamy as Lyſerus (21); his perſonal intereſt moved him to do ſo (22).

(18) Defenſio pro ſe, *pag.* 40, Edit. Lond. 1655, in 12mo.

(19) Uxorem ſuam poſt annum à nuptiis dicitur res ſuas ſibi habere juſſiſſe ob graves tantum mores. *Salmaſ. Reſp. ad Milton. pag.* 253. See alſo *pag.* 3.

(20) Si Eunuchi omnes fuiſſent qui domum tuam frequentabant, uxorem fortaſſe non repudiaſſes. - - - *If they had been all eunuchs that frequented your houſe, perhaps you would not have divorced your wife.* Ibid. *pag.* 23.

(21) *See the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettres, *April* 1685.

(22) See, below, the remark [*L*].

[*D*] *He wrote upon the general Theſis about the right of the people againſt tyrants.*] This is probably the book he mentions in his ſecond Apology (23), where he ſays, 'Id ſuſius docui in eo libri qui noſtro idiomate 'tenor five *tenura regum & magiſtratuum* inſcriptus 'eſt .... Illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre. Paræo, citantur ipſa verbatim loca, 'ex illo denique Knoxo quem *unum* me *Scotum* ais *innuere, quemque hac in re reformatos omnes præſertim 'Gallos illa ætate condemnaſſe.* Atqui ille contra, quod 'ibi narratur, ſe illam doctrinam nominatim à Calvino, ſummiſque aliis ea tempeſtate Theologis, quibuſcum familiariter conſueverat, hauſiſſe affirmat. - - - 'I have ſhewn it more fully in that book, which, according to our idiom, is intituled,* The Tenure of the kings 'and magiſtrates .... *There the very places are quoted 'verbatim, from Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, 'Martyr, Paræus, and laſtly from that Knox, whom, 'you ſay,* I inſinuate to be a Scotch-man, and whom 'all the Reformed at that time, eſpecially the French, 'condemned in this matter. *But he, on the other hand, 'in that place affirms, he had that doctrine particularly 'from Calvin, and other great Divines of that age, with 'whom he had been intimately acquainted.*' As to what the author of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* accuſes Milton of (24) his having writ to the Parliamentarians to determine them in a point about which they were in doubt, I mean the death of the king, Milton denies it, and pretends that he never wrote upon thoſe queſtions till after the death of that monarch.

(23) *Pag.* 101.

(24) *Pag.* 9.

[*E*] *While he was writing an hiſtory of England.*] He was, according to Salmaſius, (25), a little School-Maſter in London; 'Ludi trivialis magiſter Londi-'nenſis; ludimagiſter in ſchola triviali Londinenſi, de 'pedaneo magiſtro Secretarius Parlamenti rebellis factus. 'From being a petty School-Maſter in London, he was 'made Secretary to the Rebel-Parliament.' But ſince in the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, which gives a ſhort account of his adventures, it is not ſaid that he was a School-maſter, and beſides it is probable, that he durſt not have related, very particularly, the ſeveral conditions and employments of his life, without ſaying any thing of his being a School-Maſter, if he had been really ſo, it ſeems that Salmaſius was but ill ſerved by his ſpies. Nevertheleſs we muſt not altogether truſt to theſe probabilities: We ſhall ſee (26), hereafter that there was ſome ground for what he ſaid.

(25) Reſp. *pag.* 1, 3, 14.

(26) In the remark [*K*].

[*F*] *His anſwer to .... Salmaſius, made him talked of over all the world.*] I believe that all the books in proſe, which Milton publiſhed before the confutation of Salmaſius, were in Engliſh; yet it appears by this confutation, that he was very ready at the Latin tongue. It cannot be denied that his ſtile is ſmooth, lively, and florid, and that he dextrouſly and ingeniouſly defended the cauſe of the anti-royaliſts; but without offering here to give my opinion about the matter, I think it may be ſaid, that the manner in which he managed this great ſubject, appears to be very bad, becauſe he did not obſerve any decent gravity. He is every minute, I do not ſay throwing out cutting jokes againſt Salmaſius, for this would not ſpoil his work, and might ſerve very much to get the laugh on his ſide; but he every where acts the part of a droll and buffoon. This fault reigns more viſibly in his two anſwers to Mr Morus, which are ſtuffed with quibbles and over-ſtretched jeſts: and here, the character of the author appears without diſguiſe; he was one of thoſe ſatirical wits, who pleaſe themſelves very much in gathering up all the reports which are ſpread abroad to the diſadvantage of any perſon, and in inviting his enemies to write all the ſlanders they know about him; but much more do they pleaſe themſelves in inſerting theſe calumnies in the firſt book they publiſh againſt him. His anſwer to Salmaſius was burnt at Paris and at Toulouſe, by the hand of the hangman (27), which ſerved only to procure him more readers. It was not the parliament of Paris, as is affirmed in the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, which condemned his book to the fire, but the civil judge. Milton did not ſuffer this miſtake of his adverſary to paſs unobſerved (28). He boaſted that queen Chriſtina, as he pretends, ſo highly eſteemed this book of his, that ſhe even deſpiſed Salmaſius, who was then at her court (29). It is certain, that this book was read with great eagerneſs, as Mr Ziegler, who ſpeaks of it with an extreme contempt, aſſures us in the preface to his *Exercitationes ad Regicidium Anglorum*. The anonymous author, who publiſhed an apology, *Pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alios Miltoni Angli) defenſionem deſtructivam regis & populi Anglicani* (30), complains very heavily of the unequal fate of Salmaſius and Milton. It has not been poſſible, ſays he, without a thouſand difficulties, to procure an edition of Salmaſius's book; but that of Milton has been printed ſeveral times. 'Quod ornatiſſimus Salmaſius ad ruen-'dum

(27) Defenſ. II, *pag.* 93.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ib. *pag.* 8, 52, 96.

(30) I make uſe of the edition of Antwerp 1651, in 12mo.

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ad Cælum, which he aſcribed to Mr Morus, although it was Peter du Moulin, the ſon, that wrote it. As this anſwer defamed Mr Morus horribly, he would not let it paſs without a reply: But Milton wrote a ſecond anſwer no leſs virulent than the former. He lived very quietly under the uſurpation of Cromwell, and by a good fortune, which was very extraordinary, he was not diſturbed nor called to an account after the reſtoration of Charles II, but was ſuffered to live peaceably at his houſe, though no writer did ever more inſult a crowned head, than he did king Charles I, and his baniſhed family. His impunity did not proceed from the good nature of Charles II, but from his not being excepted out of the general pardon. Some of his Latin letters were printed in the year 1674 at London, and ſome orations which he ſpoke in Latin when he was ſchool-boy. The Latin letters which were printed in 1676 (*f*), and had been written by the uſurpers of England to ſeveral princes, were drawn up by him. He loved Poetry [*G*], and many of his poems both in Latin and Engliſh have been publiſhed either in his life-time, or after his death. Patin has vented a great many lies [*H*].

(*f*) They were reprinted at Leipſic in 1690.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary, there has been publiſhed (g) at London the life of John Milton, written in Engliſh by Mr Toland. I have cauſed ſeveral extracts of it to be done into Latin which will afford me a pretty long ſupplement to this article. Milton was born a gentleman [*I*], and had an education ſuitable to that rank (*b*). He had an inſatiable paſſion for learning, inſomuch, that from the age of twelve years, he was wont to ſit up till midnight, and neither the weakneſs of his ſight, nor the frequent pains

(*g*) In the year 1699, prefixed to the works of John Milton in folio, and by it ſelf in 8vo.

(*b*) So I am told the words in Engliſh uſed, by Mr Toland, ſignify, *a gentleman by his education and family*. But as Milton, who ought to know better than any body elſe the quality of his own family, only ſays, *Defenſ. II, pag. m.* 60, that he was deſcended *genere honeſto, of an honourable family*, I do not know whether the Engliſh word *gentleman*, has not a larger ſignification than the word *gentilhomme*.

'dum jus & honorem Caroli Britanniæ Monarchæ,
'Sceleratorum manibus interfecti, prudenter ſcripſerat,
'unâ tantum impreſſione, idque, magnâ cum diffi-
'cultate in lucem erupit: tanto odio hiſce ultimis
'temporibus, veritatem mundus perſequitur. Sed quod
'ſceleſtiſſimus Miltonus, ad lacerandam famam Regis
'defuncti, & ſubvertendum in ſubditos dominium hæ-
'reditarium, invidioſe elaboravit, illius tot ſunt exem-
'plaria, ut neſcio cui lectorem remitterem, ſic men-
'daciorum & convitiorum amore flagrant homines;
'volumine in decimo ſexto perditiſſimi pretii, uſus
'ſum (31). - - - - *What the excellent Salmaſius had in-*
'*geniouſly wrote, in defence of the right and honour of*
'*Charles King of Great Britain, who was murdered by*
'*the hands of miſcreants, was printed but once, and*
'*that not without great difficulty; ſo much does the*
'*world hate truth in theſe latter times. But as to what*
'*the execrable Milton maliciouſly wrote to aſperſe the*
'*memory of the deceaſed king, and overturn his hereditary*
'*dominion over his ſubjects, there are ſo many*
'*editions of it, that I know not which of them to refer*
'*my reader to, ſo much are men in love with lies and*
'*calumnies; I have made uſe of a volume in 16mo of*
'*a very ſmall price.*'

(31) In Monito ad Lectorem.

[*G*] *He loved Poetry.*] Salmaſius having ſaid (32), that ſome who knew Milton thoroughly, did very ſeriouſly maintain, that he underſtood not Latin, that he was not capable of writing in Latin, adds, that for his own part he is of quite another opinion, and that Milton being a Poet, might alſo be an Orator. Whereupon he ſcoffs at his Poems, in which he ſays the laws of quantity are violated; and this he proves by examples; and concludes, that although the author had not told at what age he wrote them, it had been eaſy to perceive, that they were the work of a ſchool-boy. But Milton, ſays he, is anſwerable for theſe faults of his youth, ſince he printed them a few years ago at London. By the ſecond letter of Milton it appears, that he publiſhed ſome Latin verſes in the year 1628, and by the tenth, which is dated April 21, 1647, that he lately publiſhed a collection of Engliſh and Latin Poems. That collection came out in the year 1645. This would not ſavour very much of a man who gave no credit to falſe reports concerning Milton, if Salmaſius were rigorouſly dealt with. He ſays, that in the opinion of many people Milton did not write the Apology for the people of England, and that he only lent his name to the book of a French ſchool-maſter, who taught children at London (33). All this is a fable which I am glad to relate, that authors may learn to give no credit to calumnies, wherewith people fill their heads againſt their antagoniſts. Some think to make their court by this means to a man, and occaſion his publiſhing an hundred impertinencies. I do not place in this rank the four thouſand livres *per ann.* which Milton got by writing for the parliament, if we may believe Salmaſius (34); for it is very probable, that Cromwell amply rewarded him. For the reſt, Milton has written two Poems in blank verſe; one upon the temptation of Eve; the other upon the temptation of JESUS CHRIST. The firſt is intituled, *Paradiſe Loſt*; the ſecond, *Paradiſe Regained*. The former paſſes for one of the beſt pieces of Poetry that ever was ſeen in Engliſh. The famous Poet Dryden made a play out of it, which was extreamly applauded. The other is not near ſo good, which made ſome wags ſay, that Milton is eaſily found in Paradiſe loſt, but not in Paradiſe regained. Theſe Poems were tranſlated into Latin verſe, and publiſhed in the year 1690, by William Hog, a Scotchman.

(32) Reſp. *pag.* 4, 5.

(33) Eam & multi negant illam anſtorem debere agnoſcere niſi ſolo titulo, conſcriptam enim eſſe à hujusmagiſtro quodam Gallo de trivio qui Londini pueros nihil ſapere docet, *pag.* 4.

(34) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 16.

The ſame Dryden admiring *Paradiſe Loſt*, declared, that Greece, Italy, and England, have produced three Poets in different ages, Homer, Virgil, and Milton; that the firſt excelled in ſublimity of thought, and the ſecond in majeſty; and that nature not being able to advance further, framed the third by a concurrence of the perfections of the other two. This is the ſubject of an epigram of Mr Dryden (35), inſerted by Mr Toland, at p. 129 of the life of Milton.

(35) It is in Engliſh.

Three Poets, in three diſtant ages born,
Greece, Italy, *and* England, *did adorn:*
The Firſt *in loftineſs of thought ſurpaſs'd;*
The Next *in majeſty; in both the laſt.*
The force of nature cou'd no further go,
To make a Third, *ſhe join'd the former* Two.

[*H*] *Patin vented many lies.*] 'Mr Mothe de la Vayer,
'who is juſt gone out, has brought me one of his
'books lately written, and tells me, that Milton's
'book againſt the late king of England was burnt by
'the hand of the hangman; that Milton is a pri-
'ſoner, and like to be hanged; that Milton writ this
'book only in Engliſh; and that one called Peter du
'Moulin, the ſon of Peter, miniſter of Sedan, who
'had put it in good Latin, is in danger of his life (36).'
Mind the perſon who vented this news to Guy Patin. It was not a ſorry hackney news-monger, it was the preceptor to the king's brother; it was the French Cato, a man very learned: he honeſtly believed, that Du Moulin run the hazard of his life for having tranſlated Milton's book into Latin. And yet this du Moulin was one of the confeſſors of the royal party; he wrote againſt the rebels, and his fidelity was quickly rewarded by Charles II.

(36) Patin, letter 187, *Tom. II, pag.* 135. It is dated July 13. 1660.

[*I*] *He was born a gentleman.*] John Milton, his father, deſcended from the family of the Miltons, which was conſiderable in Oxfordſhire, was the ſon of a Roman Catholic, and was diſinherited becauſe he turned Proteſtant. Chriſtopher Milton, his other ſon, ſtudied the law, and had no great genius. He was ſuperſtitious, and adhered to the royal party; but yet they ſuffered him to live in obſcurity after the royal family was reſtored. But king James II, intending that the judges ſhould declare him to be above the laws of the kingdom, created him a ſerjeant at law, and baron of the Exchequer, and after that judge of the Common-pleas. Theſe employments came quickly after to an end by the death of him who was poſſeſſed of them (37).

(37) Taken from the Latin Extracts of the Life of Milton, written by Mr Toland in Engliſh.

[*K*] *He*

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pains in his head, were capable of abating his ſtudious inclination. He was ſent to Cambridge at fifteen years of age, and in the ſame year he paraphraſed ſome Pſalms in Engliſh verſe. He wrote at ſeventeen years of age ſeveral pieces of Poetry, ſome in his mother-tongue, and others in Latin, and all of them of ſuch a character and beauty as was much above his age. He took his degree of Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, and returned to his father's houſe. Thoſe who have ſaid, that he returned thither, having been expelled the univerſity of Cambridge for ſome crime, or at leaſt that he was full of reſentment, becauſe he could not get any preferment there, have maliciouſly wreſted ſome verſes contained in a Latin elegy which he addreſſed to his good friend Charles Diodati. Upon the ſame ground it was given out, that he ſpent his time with ladies of pleaſure at London, and went every day to a play. His journey to Italy procured him the friendſhip of the fineſt wits, and the moſt famous learned men that were in that country (*i*). He underſtood the Italian tongue ſo well, that he deſigned to write a Grammar of it, and made very good Italian verſes. He intended to have gone into Sicily and Greece, but being informed of the beginning of the troubles in England, he did not think fit to ſpend his time in travelling for pleaſure, while his countrymen were bearing arms in defence of their liberty. He returned therefore into his own country, and as he paſſed thro' Geneva, he contracted an acquaintance with ſome conſiderable people there, who informed him afterwards of the adventures of Alexander Morus, againſt whom he had occaſion to write. He arrived in England at the time of King Charles Iſt's ſecond expedition into Scotland, and becauſe he was entruſted to be a guardian to his own nephews (*k*), he reſolved to be their tutor, and taught alſo ſome other youths [*K*]. He married in 1643, Mary Powell, the daughter of a juſtice of peace in Oxfordſhire. It was not long before this young woman took a diſlike to him [*L*]: whereupon ſhe left him at a month's end, and plainly declared, ſhe would not return to him at all. Whereupon he took his meaſures accordingly, and after he had publiſhed a book about divorce, he prepared for a ſecond marriage; but ſhe thought better of it, and deſired him ſo earneſtly to take her back again, that he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed on. After this reconciliation, within

(*i*) *Such as* Carlo Dati, Gaddi, Freſcobaldi, Francini, Bonmattei, Coltellini, Chimentelli, John Baptiſt Manſo.

(*k*) His ſiſter's ſons.

[*K*] *He became tutor to his nephews, and . . . . ſome other youths.*] This is the foundation of what was ſaid above (38). I thought that Salmaſius had been miſinformed by his ſpies, but now I know that he is not to be blamed, but only for giving an odious turn to what he ſaid, that Milton was a petty ſchool-maſter. Mr Toland confeſſes, that Milton being intreated to do the ſame ſervice to ſome of his friends children, as he did to his nephews, that is, to teach them the Languages, Hiſtory, Geography, &c. granted them this favour. It is true therefore, that he kept a ſchool in his houſe, and tho', properly ſpeaking, he could not be called a ſchool-maſter, as the expreſſions of his enemy inſinuate; he was in truth a tutor, and acted the part of a ſchool-maſter. But this was no juſt occaſion of inſulting him, even tho' his poverty had reduced him to that painful taſk, provided he acquitted himſelf of it faithfully, and like an able maſter. Conſult his Hiſtorian upon this.

(38) In the remark [*E*].

[*L*] *It was not long before this young woman took a diſlike to him.*] Several conjectures are alledged as to the cauſe of her quick return to her father's houſe. She had been educated in pomp and pleaſure, and that was probably the cauſe why ſhe could not like Milton's Philoſophical way of living. Perhaps alſo the perſon of her huſband was diſagreeable to her; or ſhe being of a royaliſt family, could not endure the republican principles of Milton: and it is not impoſſible but her father might expect ſome preferment from the king by diſſolving the knot of this marriage. However it be, his daughter returned to his houſe a month after the celebration of the marriage, upon pretence of ſpending the reſt of the ſummer in the country. Her huſband conſented to it, upon condition that ſhe ſhould return at Michaelmas; and becauſe ſhe did not return at that time, he wrote her ſeveral letters, to which ſhe did not vouchſafe to give any anſwer; but at laſt ſhe declared in plain terms, that ſhe would not return at all, and ſent back the meſſenger from Milton with contempt. At this he was ſo angry, that he reſolved never to own her more for his wife; and to ſhow the public the juſtice of this deſign, he publiſhed a book about Divorce in the year 1644. The reaſons which he there propoſes, to prove that marriages ought not to be indiſſoluble, may be ſuſpected, as coming from one intereſted in the cauſe; but his Hiſtorian obſerves, that this cannot weaken them, for otherwiſe this muſt be a prejudice againſt the apologies of the primitive Chriſtians, ſince they were written by perſons who groaned under the rigor of perſecution. He adds, that to judge right of the advantages of a temperate country, a man ſhould ſpend part of his life in climates that are either too hot or too cold; and that, in like manner, no man can ſo exactly give the reaſons which favour a good cauſe, as he that has experienced the inconveniences of a bad one. Thoſe who treat of a matter in which they are not perſonally concerned, produce nothing but the conceits of their fancy, and do nothing but amuſe themſelves at their leiſure hours, or, which is worſe, they declaim without that ſtrength and vigor which experience inſpires. From whence we muſt conclude, that thoſe who never tried the inconveniences of marriage, are infinitely leſs fit than Milton to lay down and maintain the arguments againſt the tyranny of the indiſſolubility of the marriage-bond. It might have been thought, that the treatiſes he publiſhed about Divorce were either the effect of his reſentment, or of a deſire to diſplay his wit in maintaining ſuch a paradox, rather than the effect of real perſuaſion. But to prevent any ſuch judgment of him, he reſolved to ſhow that he was in good earneſt, and to put in practice his own hypotheſis (39). To this end he courted a young woman of great wit, and very handſome. But being one day at a friend's houſe, whom he went often to ſee, all on a ſudden his wife came in and threw herſelf at his knees, and, with tears in her eyes, acknowledged her fault, and begged his pardon. He was at firſt inflexible, and one would have thought, that he would be inexorable; but this hard heartedneſs was quickly ſoftened. His natural generoſity, and the interceſſion of his friends, ſoon brought him to a reconciliation, and to forget all that was paſt. He retained no reſentment in his mind. He received into his houſe the father, mother, brothers, and ſiſters of his wife, when the royal party was falling in pieces, and protected and maintained all this kindred till they ſaw better times (40). Is there not therefore ſufficient reaſon to reckon him among good huſbands, and to make him a proof of the remark which ſo many people have made, that there is no man more kind than a huſband is to his ſpouſe who has offended, and even diſgraced him? He had upon his hands, not only the reſentment of a huſband, but alſo the intereſt of an author: he was, as I may ſay, tied up by his writings: his doctrine of Divorce ſupported by his replies, obliged him to keep to his reſolution. Add to all this, that he felt new flames for

(39) *Viz.* That a huſband may not only part with his wife, but alſo marry another.

(40) Taken from the Extracts of Milton's Life.

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within a year, he had a daughter by her, and after that many other children [*M*]. This wife dying in child-bed, he married another (*l*), who died after the same manner at a year's end. He continued a widower for some years, and married not again till after the restoration of Charles II and the amnesty which he obtained from that monarch. He had offended him, as by other books, so by that which is intituled *Iconoclastes*, which is the refutation of a book attributed to Charles I. He maintained, that this monarch was not the author of it. Time has shown that he maintained this upon good grounds [*N*]. He lay concealed when Charles II was called home again, and

(*l*) Captain Woodcock's daughter.

for a young lady of a charming beauty and wit; and yet two or three tears of his wife overcame him, and he consented to every thing she had a mind to. His former resolution, never to see her more, his obligation as an author, his new amours, every thing submitted to the victorious force of *peccavi*, spoken by a crying wife. See the margin (41).

(41) Those who have a mind to see part of Milton's reasons for divorce, need only read the abstract of his Life in the journal of Mr de Beauval, for February 1699, *pag.* 81, &c.

[*M*] *He had by her a daughter . . . . and after that many other children.*] A son who died in the year 1652, and three daughters who served him as readers. He taught them to pronounce exactly Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, French, and Spanish; and as he had occasion for a book, one of them read it to him. And because they did not understand the meaning of what they read, this exercise was very unpleasant to them, he perceived it by their murmuring; and foreseeing that for the future this task would become more and more tedious to them, he excused them from it, and taught them such things as were more suitable to their condition and sex (42).

(42) Taken from the extracts of Milton's Life.

[*N*] *He maintained that Charles I was not the author of* Icon Basilike: *and time has shown, that he maintained this upon good grounds.*] Perhaps there never happened any thing more singular than this, in what concerns the history of books. The dispute that was raised about this matter of fact, has been very fruitful in books. The parties thinking that this point would be attended with several notable consequences, grew hot, and used all manner of industry in their discussions. This warrants me to give a particular account of this affair. I begin with the book itself, whose title is Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ. It has been translated from English into divers languages. The Sieur Porrée translated it into French, and added to it a very long preface, and dedicated his translation to the king of England, Charles II. I make use of the Paris edition by Lewis Vendosme, 1649, in 12mo. Milton, who refuted this book, supposed that some friends of Charles I, were the true authors of it, and that they published it on purpose to render the conduct of the Parliamentarians more odious. I have a French version of his answer in 12mo: and the title runs thus: 'ΕΙΚΩΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, *Ou Reponse*, &c. that is, An answer to a 'book intituled, ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: or, the 'portraicture of his sacred majesty during his solitude 'and sufferings. By Mr JOHN MILTON. 'Translated from the second English edition, enlar-'ged and revised by the author. To which are ad-'ded divers pieces mentioned in the foresaid Answer, 'for the greater convenience of the reader. At Lon-'don, by William du-Gard, a Printer to the council 'of State, in the year 1652. And are to be sold by 'Nicolas Bourne, at the south-gate of the Old-Ex-'change.' I will here set down a passage of the answer of Milton to *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, which concerns the order that the king gave upon the scaffold to the bishop of London, which was to acquaint his son, that he would never have him punish the authors of his death. This bishop being pressed by the judges to declare what the king had recommended to him, confessed at last what it was. Whereupon Milton made this remark. 'O magis, regemne di-'cam pietatis, an' Episcopum rimarum plenum! qui 'rem tam secreto in pegmate suæ fidei commissam ut 'effutiret, tam facile expugnari potuit At ô taciturne! jampridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia præcepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Basilica, quem 'librum ideo scriptum satis apparet, ut omni cum diligentia nobis vel invitis secretum illud, qua ostentatione simulatum erat, eadem paulo post evulgare-'tur. Sed video plane decrevisse vos Carolum quem-'dam absolutissimum, si non Stuartum hunc, at saltem 'hyperboreum aliquem & fabulosum, fucatis quibus-'libet coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtru-'dere: ita fabellam hanc velut acroama quoddam, 'diverbiis & sententiolis pulchre distinctam, nescio 'quem ethologum imitatus, ad inescandas vulgi aures 'putide concinnasti (43). - - - - *Oh! which shall I* 'say, *that the king was more pious, or the bishop more* 'a blab! *that could be so easily prevailed on to discover* 'what had been entrusted to him in such a secret man-'ner upon the scaffold. But O thou silent man! Charles 'had some time before given this very order, among o-'thers, to his son, in that* Icon Basilike, *which appears* 'evidently to have been writ on purpose, that his secret 'might a little after be industriously divulged to us, 'even against our wills, with the same parade, as it 'had been counterfeited. But I plainly see you determi-'ned to obtrude upon the ignorant a Charles, that was 'absolutely perfect; if not this Stuart, at least some hy-'perborean and fictitious person, drawn in false colours; 'you have so affectedly forged this story like a romance, 'beautifully intermixed with quaint sayings and phrases. 'in imitation of some buffoon, with design to captivate 'the ears of the vulgar.' The opinion of this writer made no impression in foreign countries: every body there was persuaded that king Charles I. wrote the book which bears his name. Which did so much honour to his memory, and appeared so fit to make him be looked upon as a true martyr; that it was thought that Milton, endeavouring to rob him of it, did only use the trick of Lawyers, who deny every thing that is too favourable to the contrary party. Those of the Cromwellians, who remained in England, agreed to Milton's judgment: but their opinion was suspected for the reason I have just now given. All the partizans of the cause of Charles I. opposed this opinion very warmly; and because their believing that this prince was the true author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, was a thing that favoured the interest of their cause, they might have been suspected as well as the others of using the artifice of Lawyers. Nevertheless their opinion prevailed in England, and could not be combated by matters of fact, till at last some things happened which have destroyed it. Here follows the beginning and progress of that affair, according to the narrative of Mr Toland.

(43) Milt. Defens. II, *pag. m.* 86.

In the year 1686, Mr Millington happening to sell the late lord Anglesey's library by auction, put up an *Icon Basilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leisure to turn over the leaves, when to his great surprize he perceived written with the same noble lord's own hand the following Memorandum. *King Charles II and the duke of York, did both (in the last sessions of parliament, 1675, when I shewed them in the Lord's house the written copy of this book, wherein are some corrections and alterations written with the late king Charles the first's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr Gauden bishop of Exeter: Which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own hand.*

ANGLESEY.

After this particular came to be known, there was much discourse about it, and some asked Dr Walker about this matter, because they knew he had been well acquainted with that bishop of Exeter. He owned to them what he knew of it, and being provoked and much offended by Dr Hollingworth, he published, for his own justification, a narrative relating to this book. He declared that Dr Gauden communicated to him the whole project of that affair, and some chapters of the *Icon Basilike* and the plan of some others: he related the evasion which this doctor made use of, when he told him he did not approve of this way of deceiving the public. He told several other facts and, particularly these three, which he said he had from Dr Gauden. I. That the bishop of Salisbury took upon him to write two chapters of that book. II. That Dr Gauden sent to the king in the isle of Wight by the marquis of Hertford, a copy of the *Icon Basilike*. III. That the duke of York knew very well, that

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and did not ſhow himſelf till after the amneſty was proclaimed. He obtained a pardon, and was only puniſhed by being excluded from all public offices. Some have thought that this moderation proceeded rather from the king's forgetfulneſs than his clemency. But others ſay, that Milton had friends in the houſe of commons and the privy council, who interceeded for him. He did not finiſh his great Poem, Paradiſe Loſt, without many interruptions; for his poetical vein did not happily flow at all times, but only in the ſpring and autumn. He publiſhed his Hiſtory of England (*m*) in the year 1670. It comes down to William the conqueror, but we have it not altogether according to the author's original; for the licencers of books expunged ſeveral paſſages out of it, wherein he expoſed in a lively manner the ſuperſtition, pride, and craft, of the antient clergy,

(*m*) It is in Engliſh.

Dr Gauden was the author of it. He added, that the ſon of this doctor, his wife, and Mr Gifford, who tranſcribed this book, did firmly believe it had been compoſed in the place where they lived. He affirmed that it was the common opinion of the family that Dr Gauden wrote it; and that the family always ſpoke of him as the author of it, whether he were preſent or abſent, and that he never denied it. I paſs by ſeveral other proofs and circumſtances which are in the account of Dr Walker.

His narrative was ſome time after confirmed in ſuch a manner as paſt for a full demonſtration of the impoſture: which happened thus. A merchant of London, called Arthur North, a man of very good credit, and a member of the church of England, having married a ſiſter of the wife of Charles Gauden, ſon to the doctor, after the death of his brother-in-law, had the management of the widow's affairs. He found among the papers of the deceaſed a bundle, which only concerned the affair of the *Icon Baſilike*. The widow of Dr Gauden had left this packet with her ſon John Gauden, whom of all her children ſhe loved moſt tenderly, and he left it to his brother Charles. In this bundle there was found, I. A letter of ſecretary Nicholas, written to Dr Gauden. II. The copy of a letter which this doctor wrote to chancellor Hyde, wherein, among other ſervices he had done, he mentions one that was truly royal, and worthy of a royal reward, ſince he deſigned by it to ſtrengthen and encourage the king's friends, and to deteſt and convert his enemies. III. The copy of a letter which he wrote to the duke of York, ſtrongly repreſenting the good ſervices he had done. IV. A letter written with chancellor Hyde's own hand, dated March 13, 1661, wherein the chancellor declares, that he is ſorry for his importunity, and excuſes himſelf that he cannot as yet do him ſervice. The concluſion of this letter is remarkable, which is in theſe words: 'The particular you men-'tion has indeed been imparted to me as a ſecret; 'I am ſorry I ever knew it: and when it ceaſes to 'be a ſecret, it will pleaſe none but Mr Milton.' The ſame bundle contains, among other papers, a long narrative written by Dr Gauden's wife. This relation proves irrefragably, that her huſband was the author of *Icon Baſilike*: it contains a full confirmation of Dr Walker's account, and moſt of the facts above related, with ſeveral other circumſtances very curious and extraordinary. This narrative being tranſcribed from the original, in the preſence of ſome perſons of learning and integrity, was printed in a book intituled, *Truth brought to light*. Theſe are the means by which this impoſture was fully diſcovered. This great ſecret which had been contrived with much artifice, and which the perſons concerned to conceal it, had improved ſo dextrouſly, happened to be diſcovered by very inconſiderable and caſual incidents. If Dr Gauden had not been diſappointed of the biſhopric of Wincheſter, he had not inſiſted ſo much upon the ſervice he had done by writing this book. His widow would not have written a narrative if ſhe had been gratified with one half year's rent after her huſband's death. The two princes, the ſons of Charles I, laid open the ſecret by a caſual ſurprize, when my lord Angelſey ſhowed them ſome writing of the king their father. And if another than Millington had ſold that lord's books, the declaration which was then made by thoſe two princes had never been known. And if Dr Hollingworth had not by his indiſcreet zeal provoked Dr Walker, he had never publiſhed his account; and if he had never publiſhed it, the papers of Mr North which compleat the irrefragable proofs of this matter of fact, had never been made uſe of for the diſcovery (44).

(44) Taken from the Latin extracts of Milton's Life.

Note, that in all this, I neither ought nor can be conſidered but as a meer tranſlator of the Latin extracts which I cauſed to be made from the Engliſh book I quote. Note alſo, that this paſſage of the Life of Milton has been oppoſed; for Mr Wagſtaff publiſhed ſome obſervations to weaken the teſtimony of my lord Angleſey, the narrative of Dr Walker, and the papers of Mr North: but Mr Toland has refuted them all in his Amyntor, wherein he has further diſcuſſed all the teſtimonies that are alledged to prove that Charles I was the author of the *Icon Baſilike*. I have been told that as to both theſe parts of his apology (45), he has omitted nothing that was neceſſary to maintain the full evidence of his proofs, and all the ſtrength they appeared to have, before any one wrote againſt them. This is all that I can ſay, having never read any thing that was written againſt him, nor what was replied by him, and not being able to underſtand it for all thoſe books are in Engliſh.

(45) That is to ſay, the anſwer to the objections of Mr Wagſtaff, and the anſwer to the direct proofs alledged by the partizans of king Charles.

I will conclude this remark with a thing that Mr Milton made a great noiſe about, and which was renewed in the laſt diſpute about the *Icon Baſilike*. Which is this, that the prayer king Charles I. *delivered to Dr Juxton, immediately before his death, intituled* a prayer in the time of captivity, *which is printed at the end of the beſt editions of his book* (46), is perfectly like a prayer which is found in a romance, I mean in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. This will appear by the parallel which Milton placed at the end of his Anſwer (47) after the following manner.

(46) Milton, in his *Iconoclaſtes*. *pag. m.* 24.

(47) That is to ſay of his *Iconoclaſtes*.

The prayer of king Charles, ſtiled, a prayer in time of captivity.

O powerful and eternal GOD, *to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon my miſery with thine eye of mercy, and let thine infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy juſtice. But yet, my GOD, if in thy wiſdom this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable* tranſgreſſions; *if this* ungrateful *bondage be fitteſt for my over-high deſires; if the pride of my not enough humble heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy will, and* chearfully *embrace what ſorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving O Lord, be accepted of thee, ſince it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodneſs, which is thy ſelf, thou wilt ſuffer ſome beam of thy*

The prayer of Pamela, taken word for word from the Arcadia of the counteſs of Pembroke, p. 248.

O all-ſeeing light and eternal life of all things, to whom nothing is either ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon my miſery with thine eye of mercy, and let thine infinite power vouchafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not mine unjuſt enemy the miniſter of thy juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy wiſdom this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable *folly*; if this *low* bondage be fitteſt for my over high deſires; if the pride of my not enough humble heart be thus to be broken, O Lord I yield unto thy will, and *joyfully* embrace what ſorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer. Only thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, ſince even that proceeds from thee

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clergy, which they imagined might be applied to the modern clergy. The laſt book which he publiſhed, is a treatiſe *of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt means that may be uſed to prevent the growth of Popery*. I ſhall ſet down a paſſage out of it [O]. Thoſe who ſay that poverty forced him to ſell his library, are groſsly miſtaken; for he did not ſell it upon that account, but becauſe he believed he could make more money of it than his heirs could do; and it is certain he left a conſiderable ſum behind him (*n*). The Gout was the diſeaſe that troubled him moſt, and he died of it without great pain in the the year 1674, being ſixty ſix years old. He was a man of an agreeable converſation, of a mild and equal temper, extraordinarily ſober, and who

(*n*) 1500 *l.* beſides other things.

thy majeſty ſo to ſhine in my mind, that I, who in my greateſt afflictions acknowledge it my nobleſt title to be thy creature, may ſtill depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to my deſtruction; and if it be thy will, that they more and more vex me with puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve thee without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble confidence which may beſt pleaſe thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy eternal kingdom, thro' the merits of thy ſon, our alone ſaviour, JESUS CHRIST, Amen.

thee) let me crave even by the noble title, which in my greateſt affliction I may give my ſelf, that I am thy creature, and by thy goodneſs, which is thy ſelf, that thou wilt ſuffer ſome beams of thy majeſty to ſhine into my mind, that it may ſtill depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow, of my virtue. Let their power prevail, but prevail not to deſtruction. Let my greatneſs be their prey. Let my pain be the ſweetneſs of their revenge: let them, (if ſo it ſeem good unto thee) vex me with more and more puniſhment; but, O Lord, let never their wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may carry a pure mind in a pure body. *And paſſing a while*; and O Moſt Gracious Lord, *ſaid ſhe*, whatever becomes of me, preſerve the virtuous Muſidorus.

[O] *I ſhall ſet down a paſſage out of his book on true religion*, &c.] This I do, to the end, that the principles of this writer may be known, which is as neceſſary as any other thing in the articles of of an hiſtorical dictionary concerning authors. 'It is 'a human frailty to err, *ſays he*, and no man is in-'fallible here on earth. But ſo long as all the Lu-'therans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, Socinians, and Ar-'minians, profeſs to ſet the word of God only before 'them as the rule of faith and obedience; and uſe all 'diligence and ſincerity of heart by reading, by learn-'ing, by ſtudy, by prayer for illumination of the 'holy Spirit, to underſtand this rule and obey it, 'they have done whatever man can do: God will aſ-'ſuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job 'good and pious men, tho' much miſtaken (as there 'it appears) in ſome points of doctrine. But ſome 'will ſay, with Chriſtians it is otherwiſe, whom 'God has promiſed by his ſpirit to teach all things. 'True, all things abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation: but 'the hotteſt diſputes among Proteſtants, calmly and 'charitably inquired into, will be found leſs than ſuch. 'the Lutheran holds conſubſtantiation; an error indeed, 'but not mortal. The Calviniſt is taxed with pre-'deſtination, and to make God the author of ſin; 'not with any diſhonourable thoughts of GOD, but, 'it may be, over zealouſly aſſerting his abſolute pow-'er, not without plea from Scripture. The Anabap-'tiſt is accuſed of denying infants their right to bap-'tiſm; they ſay again, that they deny nothing but 'what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and 'Socinian are charged to diſpute againſt the Trinity; yet 'they affirm that they believe the FATHER, SON, 'and HOLY GHOST, according to Scripture and the 'Apoſtolic Creed. As for the terms of *Trinity, Tri-unity, Conſſentiality, Tripersonality*, and the like, they 'reject them as ſcholaſtic notions not to be found in 'Scripture, which, according to a general Proteſtant 'maxim, is ſufficiently clear, ſupplying the moſt 'fit and proper words for explaining the do-'ctrines it contains. The Arminian laſtly is con-'demned for ſetting up free will againſt free grace; 'but that imputation he diſclaims in all his writings, 'and grounds himſelf largely upon Scripture only. 'It cannot be denied that the authors, or late revivers, 'of all theſe ſects, or opinions, were learned, worthy, 'zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives 'written, and the fame of their many eminent and 'learned followers, perfect and powerful in the Scrip-'tures, holy and unblamable in their lives: and it 'cannot be imagined, that GOD would deſert ſuch 'painful and zealous labourers in his church, and often 'times great ſufferers for their conſcience, to damna-'ble errors and a reprobate ſenſe, who had ſo often 'implored the aſſiſtance of his ſpirit; but rather, 'having made no man infallible, that he has pardoned 'their errors, and accepts their pious endeavours, ſin-'cerely ſearching all things according to the rule of 'Scripture, with ſuch guidance and direction as they 'can obtain of God by prayer. What Proteſtant then, 'who himſelf maintains the ſame principles, and diſ-'avows all implicit faith, would perſecute, and not 'rather charitably tolerate ſuch men as theſe, unleſs 'he means to abjure the principles of his own reli-'gion? If it be aſked how far they ſhould be tolerated? 'I anſwer, doubtleſs equally, as being all Proteſtants; 'that is, on all occaſions to be permitted to give 'an account of their faith, either by arguing, preach-'ing in their ſeveral aſſemblies, public writing, and 'the freedom of printing (48).' After this Milton ſhows, that Popery ought to be wholly deprived of the benefit of a toleration, not as it is a religion, but as it is a tyrannical faction which oppreſſes all others. He ſhows alſo, that the moſt effectual means of hindering it's increaſe in England, is to tolerate all ſorts of Proteſtants, and in general all other ſects whoſe principles neither countenance vice nor ſedition.

(48) Milton, in his treatiſe of True Religion, Hereſy, &c. as cited by Mr Toland, in his Life of Milton, *pag.* 144, *&* *ſeq.* in 8vo.

By this ſpecimen of Milton's doctrine, it plainly appears, that no man was more zealous for a toleration than he; for thoſe who do not exclude Popery from it, and conſequently limit it much leſs than he does, are not, as one might think, his moſt faithful followers. The latter by an exceſſive fondneſs of toleration, are not for tolerating in the leaſt the perſecuting ſects: and ſince Popery has been time out of mind the ſect which perſecutes moſt, and inceſſantly torments both the body and ſoul of other Chriſtians whereſoever it can do it, the moſt zealous advocates for toleration do chiefly deſign it's excluſion. They pretend to reaſon conſequentially, and they do not underſtand, how the edict of the emperor of China can agree with that high wiſdom for which he is commended. I mean the edict for a toleration which he has granted to the Chriſtians, of which a Jeſuit has given us a fine hiſtory (49). They think that a wiſe prince ſhould not have allowed the Pope's miſſionaries, and their new converts, liberty of conſcience, before he knew their methods of making converts and how their predeceſſors have made uſe of them. If he had inquired into them, as a good Politician would have done, he would never have allowed the miſſionaries what he granted them; for he would have known that they pretend to be the people whom JESUS CHRIST has appointed to *compel to come in*, that is, to baniſh, impriſon, torture, kill, and dragoon, all thoſe who refuſe to be converts to the goſpel, and to dethrone the princes who oppoſe it's progreſs. We do not ſee how the emperor of China could clear himſelf from an inexcuſable indiſcretion, if having known this, he had nevertheleſs granted ſuch an edict (50). We muſt therefore believe for his honour, that he knew nothing of it, and he is to blame for that very thing, that he did not ſufficiently inform himſelf of what he ought to have known. In all probability he will not live long enough to have ground to repent of his

WHETHER the emperor of China acted a wiſe part in granting the Roman Catholicks an edict of toleration.

(49) Father *Charles le Gobien*: his book was printed at Paris in the year 1698, in 12mo. I have quoted ſomething out of it before, citat. (33) of the article BRACHMANS.

(50) See the Philoſophical Commentary on the words *Compel them to come in*, *Part* i, *pag.* 81, *&* *ſeq.*

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who delighted infinitely in Muſic. The ſect which pleaſed him moſt in his youth was that of the Puritans; but in his middle age he was beſt pleaſed with the Independants and Anabaptiſts, becauſe they allowed more liberty to every private perſon, and in his opinion ſeemed to come neareſt to the primitive Chriſtians: but in the latter part of his life, he ſeparated himſelf from all communions, and did not frequent any Chriſtian aſſembly, nor made uſe of their peculiar rites in his family. As for the reſt, he expreſſed the profoundeſt reverence to God as well in deeds as words (o). Therē was an edition of all his works (p) at London in the year 1699, in three volumes in folio. The two firſt contain what he wrote in Engliſh, and the third his Latin treatiſes. You will ſee, in the remark [N], the parallel which Milton made between a prayer that is in king Charles the firſt's book, and a prayer that is found in the famous romance intituled *The counteſs of* Pembroke's Arcadia.

(o) Taken from the Latin extracts of Milton's Life by Mr Toland, in Engliſh. I have been told by thoſe who underſtand Engliſh, that it is well writ, and intermixed with very curious reflexions. See the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Feb.* 1699, *pag.* 78, & *ſeq.*

(p) Except his poems.

his neglect: but we cannot anſwer, that his poſterity will not curſe his memory; for they may poſſibly find themſelves obliged ſooner than we think, to ſtruggle with dangerous ſeditions, excited by the followers of a new religion, and to cut their throats to ſave their own. Poſſibly they may be forced to play the ſame fly game that thoſe of Japan played before (51). Do not think the miſſionaries will fall out among themſelves, when they are to put in practice the doctrine of compelling, of rebelling, and dragooning. The Thomiſts, the Scotiſts, and the Moliniſts, will then forget all their differences, and jointly concur to execute the command, *compel them to come in.* All Europe at this time (52) rings with their diſputes; they accuſe one another at Rome; the congregation of cardinals, the Sorbonne, princes, and authors, are in a ferment upon that account. And it is very ſtrange, that the diviſions of the miſſionaries, their diſputes, their *devouring one another*, which cannot be unknown to the new Chriſtians of the Levant, ſhould ſuffer them to make the great progreſs they boaſt of (53). There would be no miſunderſtanding, if the only queſtion among them was how to oppreſs and torment the idolaters of China. But let us break off this ſubject, which diſturbs the tranquillity of a writer, and that of many a reader. They are ſufficiently vexed, that they cannot read over a Gazette without finding accounts in it of multitudes perſecuted in France, in the Palatinate, &c.

But to return to Milton, I muſt ſay, that it would be a hard matter for me to point out the reaſons why he ſeparated from all Chriſtian communions: his own Hiſtorian leaves the queſtion undecided, whether it was on account of an infinite number of diſputes among them, void of all charity; or by reaſon of a ſpirit of tyranny, and an inclination to perſecution he obſerved in them, which he looked on as a piece of Popery inſeparably annexed to all ſects; or whether from an opinion, that one may be a good man without ſubſcribing to the confeſſions of any ſect, and that all ſects had in ſome meaſure corrupted the laws of JESUS CHRIST (54).

(54) Taken from the extracts of Milton's Life, by Mr Toland.

(51) Compare what has been ſaid above, remark [E] of the article JAPAN.

(52) I write this in November 1700.

(53) See the Supplement to the Philoſophical Commentary on the ſame words, *pag.* 117, & *ſeq.*

MINUTOLI (a). The moſt famous perſons of the family Minutoli of Lucca, which removed thither from Florence about the year 1300, after having enjoyed all the dignities of the republic of Florence, are thoſe that follow, not to ſpeak of the Antianato and office of Gonfaloniere, which was common to them.

(a) Memoir concerning the houſe Minutoli. See the advertiſements on the ſecond edition.

JAMES MINUTOLI, born in the year 1434, and ſon to FRANCIS MINUTOLI Senator, and Margaret Balbani, who was alſo of a very noble family, became very learned in the Civil and Canon Law, &c. Being gone to Rome, Pope Pius II made him abbreviator of the apoſtolic letters in the year 1460; and Pope Paul II having made him one of the commiſſaries of the Papal army in the war of the holy ſee againſt Robert Malateſta, lord of Rimini, he behaved himſelf ſo prudently and courageouſly in that office, that he brought all Umbria into ſubjection, and eſpecially Spoleto and Citta di Caſtello: which gave occaſion to the learned Antonius Campanus to ſpeak of him thus, in one of his letters to Gentil of Urbino, 'Audio Minutulum 'noſtrum cooptatum eſſe Collegio tuorum: id ſi eſt, pugnacem Collegam accepiſti, '& qui jampridem didicit tueri communem dignitatem, nam picena illa fuga non 'pugna fuit, & ipſe inter primipilos dimicans eâ die virum ſe præbuit. ——— *I hear* 'our friend Minutoli is taken into your college; *if it be ſo, you have got a ſtout colleague,* 'and who learned long ſince to defend the common dignity; *for that affair of Ancona was a* 'flight and not a fight, *and he himſelf ſhewed he was a man of courage that day, fighting* 'amongſt the firſt captains.'

Sed quò poſt pugnam victricia moverit arma!
Quâ victis pacem conditione dedit
Anne Faventinis etiam nunc finibus inſtat?
Aut fractis illis altera bella parat?

But whither mov'd he his victorious arms!
What terms of peace did he the conquer'd give?
Faenza's frontiers does he now approach?
Or them ſubdu'd, another war prepare?

After the war of Rimini he was made ſecretary of the apoſtolic penitentiary, and count of the ſacred palace of St John de Lateran by Paul II.

The emperour Frederic III, careſſed him much, and honoured him with the title of count Palatine, which at that time was a conſiderable dignity.

In the pontificate of Sixtus IV, he was made governor of Spoleto; and having done ſeveral ſervices to the holy ſee, Sixtus thought that he ought to recompenſe him for it by giving him the biſhopric of Nocera in Umbria, and in a little time after he ſent him

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with the cardinal legate, John la Balue, to Lewis XI king of France, who had ſuch an eſteem for him that he made him his agent with the Popes, and got him to be tranſlated from the biſhopric of Nocera to that of Agde in Languedoc: and in the ſame year, 1481, he was ſent, with the king's ambaſſadors, to perſuade the ſenate of Venice to join in the pacification of Italy, which had been juſt reſolved upon at Rome. The king mereover rewarded him for it by giving him a rich abbey in Poitiers, and by allowing him to enjoy the archbiſhopric of Cambray. He died in France very much regretted. There are ſeveral of his Latin letters in the collection of thoſe of the cardinal of Pavia James Amannati Picolomini, to whom he gave an account by way of journal of the ſucceſs of the war of Rimini, becauſe this cardinal had deſired memoirs for the Hiſtory of his own time, which he had begun to write. The brothers Sammarthani mention him in their *Gallia Chriſtiana*; but they have not ſpelt his name right in the catalogue of the biſhops of Agde, where he is called *Jacobus de Munitolis Lucenſis*, inſtead of *de Minutolis*.

FRANCIS MINUTOLI, nephew to this biſhop, did ſuch ſignal ſervices to the republic of Piſa, that he was admitted into the number of it's noble families in the year 1496.

JOHN BAPTIST MINUTOLI, ſon to this Francis and Angela Micheli, wrote ſeveral letters in Latin, which are to be found in a collection made by John Michael Brutus, under the title of *Epiſtolæ Clarorum Virorum*. There are ſome in it written by Dennis Lambinus, Angelus Bargæus, and others, and one in particular by John Michael Brutus, which is an elogy on and apology for commerce, in order to convince the ſaid John Baptiſt, that it would be no diſparagement to his nobility, if he ſhould overcome his repugnance to trade, to which they would have perſuaded him, after the example of the Bonviſi, Arnolfini, Micheli, and ſeveral others, who were not reckoned the leſs noblemen for carrying on a great trade: and this learned letter might deſerve a place in the Code of Merchants, as proper to do them a great deal of honour.

PAULINUS MINUTOLI, ſon of Paul and Angela Poggi, become an eccleſiaſtic among the canons of St John de Lateran, and obtained by degrees all the dignities of his order, whereof Pope Alexander VII made him at laſt abbot-general. It was he that left the fine library at Lucca in the monaſtery of St Fredian, where his memory has been honoured with a buſt of marble and the following inſcription; it gives him the name of Jerom, which he took when he entered into the order.

DOMINO *HIERONYMO MINUTOLO*
NOBILI LUCENSI.

Ob eximias dotes ad cuncta Lateranenſis
Congregationis munera evecto
Iiſdemque ſtrenuè perfuncto, Denique
Alexandri VII Pontif. Max.
Providentiâ Abbati Generali,
Quòd Domus hujus ſplendori
Alumnorum utilitati conſulens
Ipſe univerſalis literaturæ
Vivens promptuarium
Bibliothecam erexerit annuiſque
Reditibus communierit,
Domino Joanne Santino Præſide,
P. P. P. P.
Vixit annos 63. *Obiit totius*
Urbis mœrore 1667.

NICHOLAS MINUTOLI, brother of the former, embraced likewiſe a religious life in the congregation of the Olivetani, of the order of St Benedict, where he took the name of *Dominicus*. He became abbot of St Pontianus of Lucca, and afterwards general of his order, in the viſitation of which he received diverſe honours throughout Italy, and principally at Naples, where the noblemen that had titles of honour and were of the name Minutoli in that kingdom, owning him for their kinſman, got the chief of the nobility and people to go and meet him in a body. The elogium on his adminiſtration during his generalſhip you will find at large in the IVth Tome of *Italia Regnante* by Sieur Leti, with this title.

Reverendiſſimi Patris D. Dominici Minutoli Lucenſis Congregationis Olivetanæ
Abbatis Generalis Illuſtris in benedictione Memoria.

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A pretty remarkable paſſage is related there upon the ſubject of his works: before his generalſhip, one of his predeceſſors having appointed him to write ſomething upon the bull *In Cœna Domini*, the commentary he compoſed upon it made a large book *in folio*, which was printed, not under the name of the author, but that of the abbot who had ordered him to write: ſo that when the author made a preſent of one of the copies to his brother, to put it in his library of St Fredian, the brother refuſed to accept it, unleſs the true author would make himſelf known; which he did by writing extempore theſe ſix verſes on the back ſide of the firſt page.

Hunc ego conſcripſi librum, tulit alter honores,
Veſte mihi tantùm & nomine conſimilis:
Nam mihi Luca eſt Patria, Frater ſum illius à quo
Nobilis erecta hæc Bibliotheca fuit.
Ipſe dedi librum, retulit pro munere Frater
Quod placuit libris adnumerare ſuis.

This book I wrote, another reap'd the fame
Like me in habit only and in name.
For Lucca is my native place, and he
Who did erect this noble library
My brother is: by adding to his own
This book I gave, his gratitude is ſhown.

Two volumes only appeared under his name, printed at Venice and intituled: *Affetti di devotione che devono ſentir li ſacerdoti avanti e doppo la celebratione, cavati dalli Evangelii correnti*; but he left ſeveral manuſcripts which would be well worth the publiſhing.

JOHN PHILIP MINUTOLI, brother of the two forgoing, having followed the profeſſion of a ſoldier, was made general of the Militia of Ranucius II, duke of Parma, who committed to his charge his fortreſs of Placenza, where, after he had commanded ſeveral years, he died in the year 1675 much lamented by the duke, who made one that was a prince of Parma his ſucceſſor.

FRANCIS MINUTOLI, ſon to that John Baptiſt of whom we have ſpoken, married Anne Antelminelli, the laſt heireſs of the famous houſe of the Antelminelli, of which was Caſtrucius Caſtracani, who became chief of the Gibelines and prince of Lucca.

ANTHONY III MINUTOLI, was a Phyſician of note, to whom *Reinerus Solenander*, Phyſician to the dukes of Cleves, wrote ſome letters, which we find in his works intituled *Conſilia Medica*.

JAMES V MINUTOLI, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the practice of Phyſic, turned Jeſuit and became confeſſor to Pope Gregory XV, who placed an entire confidence in him, and left upon his account a rich legacy to the ſociety.

BONAVENTURE II MINUTOLI, ſon of MARC ANTHONY II and Catherine del Portico, was treaſurer-general to Ranucius I duke of Parma.

BERNARDINUS IV MINUTOLI, ſon to FRANCIS IV and Mary Bottini, being Apoſtolic Protonotary and prior of St Paulinus and St Donatus at Lucca, died twenty years ago in great reputation for his ſanctity, having contracted the diſtemper whereof he died, at the ſame time as a couſin-german of his of the houſe of Spada and knight of Malta did, from the ſtench of the ſick perſons whom they daily viſited and ſerved in the hoſpitals and priſons, employing all their income to relieve them.

CHARLES MINUTOLI, brother of the ſaid Bernardinus, and who has been ſeveral times already Gonfaloniere, is ſtill alive, father of ten ſons ſome of which are already Monks.

VINCENT II MINUTOLI, ſon to PAULINUS III and Laura Cenami, coming to Geneva in the year 1594, and there embracing the Proteſtant religion, ſoon after married Suſanna daughter of Michael Burlamachi and Clara Calandrini, which produced the branch of the Minutoli that is now ſettled at Geneva, of which is

VINCENT III MINUTOLI, ſon of PAUL II and Magdalen des Perrot of Paris.

The Minutoli of Lucca made likewiſe a branch three hundred years ago at Meſſina, the chief of which is now Don JOHN MINUTOLI Baron of Calari. This branch has produced ſeveral prelates, and ſeveral knights of Malta. It wears the ſame arms as thoſe of Lucca, which are partly, 1, Or, charged with an half eagle ſable, crowned, armed, and becquée Or, and 2, Argent charged with three ſtakes gules, and for the creſt an unicorn naiſſant, pattée, and membrée Or: whereas the Minutoli of Naples wear gules, a lion rampant, Or, vairé azure and argent, and charged with a ducal coronet.

Their origin is ſo ancient that it is not known. Some derive it from the family Capece, which, having incurred the diſpleaſure of the houſe of Anjou for their fidelity to the kings of the Suabian branch and particularly to Conradin, were obliged to depart the

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kingdom, after the defeat of the latter, to avoid the reſentment of king Charles I, who had vowed their utter deſtruction: ſo that they ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of Italy, where, it is pretended, they changed their name and arms, ſome calling themſelves Aprani, others Sconditi, others Guindazzi, others Zurli, others Piſcicelli, others Galeoti, others Minutoli, &c; after which the Pope, not being able to bear the diſperſion and deſolation of ſuch a family, reconciled them with the houſe of Anjou. But ſeveral maintain that thoſe names exiſted at Naples, not only before the coming of the Angevins, but alſo in the time of the Suabians, Normans, and even the Greek emperors, and eſpecially the name of the Minutoli, as they prove by authentic acts both in the archives and ſeveral monaſteries, of Naples. Now, whether they were only ſirnames of the houſe Capece, or families independent of it, it is certain the Minutoli were in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate in the reign of Charles I, of Anjou, that we find he knighted twenty eight lords of that name, and he particularly loved CONSTANTIN and ROGER Minutoli, making the former general of his croſs-bow men, and giving him the barony of Urſimarſo in Calabria, and allowing the latter to put a coronet of Gold in his coat of arms.

To ſee how fruitful this family has been in illuſtrious perſons, both in the church and in the army, one need only go to their chapel called the chapel ſo St Anaſtaſia, which is in the cathedral on the right hand as you go in where one may ſee paintings in freſco, ſtatues, and relievos, of forty remarkable perſons, with the enſigns of their great employments Eccleſiaſtical and Military, from the year 1062 to the year 1466: the reſt of the family, who died ſince and could not be placed there, having been put in other chapels and churches founded by their anceſtors, and of which they had the right of patronage.

The Eccleſiaſtics are

JOHN MINUTULUS, cardinalis Stæ. Mariæ Tranſtiberinæ anno 1062.

PHILIPPUS MINUTULUS, archbiſhop of Salerno 1273. He died in the year 1303, and this epitaph was made on him:

Magnanimus, ſapiens, prudens, famaque ſerenus
Philippus Præſul morum dulcedine plenus
Minutulus Patriæ decus & flos alta propago
Hîc filet, hîc tegitur, jacet hîc probitatis imago.

The prelate, Philip Minutol by name,
His country's glory, and of ſpotleſs fame,
Brave, wiſe and prudent, affable and juſt,
Here lies at reſt, and covered with the duſt.

URSUS MINUTULUS, archbiſhop of Salerno, who died in the year 1327 with this inſcription on his tomb:

Hoc jacet in tumulo Dominus *Minutulus Urſus*
Pontificalis apex quem profert linea rurſus
Virtutum Vitis Philippi vera propago,
Pontificum gemma & cuncta probitatis imago,
Parthenope natum, Salernum Pontificatum
Flentque tale datum, Moritur ſuper omnia gratum.
Parthenopéque tibi Salernum Praeſulis hujus
Commendat corpus animam Deus accipe cujus.

Urſus Minutol lies within this ſhrine
Glory of biſhops, ſprung from virtue's line,
True branch of Philip, that moſt noble vine
At Naples born, he to Salerno went
To be archbiſhop; now they both lament.
Parthenope to thee, Salerno, ſends
His body, and to GOD his ſoul commends.

HENRICUS MINUTULUS, archbiſhop of Trani, then of Naples, and afterwards cardinal biſhop of Tuſculum and after that Sabinum. He died at Bologna the ſeventeenth of June in the year 1412, and his body was carried to Naples. It was he who built the beautiful portal of the cathedral church adorned with ſo many fine relievo's, and where people ſo much admire that the two principal pillars and the architrave of porphyry conſiſt only of three pieces. It is before this portal we ſee the cardinal in marble kneeling, and in the architrave this inſcription is cut.

Nullius

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Nullius in longum & ſine Schemate tempus honoris
Porta fui rutilans nunc janua plena decoris
Me meus & Sacrae quondam Minutulus *Aulae*
Excoluit propriis Henricus *ſumptibus hujus*
Praeſul, Apoſtolicae nunc conſtans cardo columnae.
Cui precor incolumem vitam poſt fata perennem.
Hoc opus exactum mille currentibus annis
Quo quater & centum ſeptem Verbum caro factum eſt;

Which ſhews it was built in the year 1407.

PETRUS MINUTULUS, biſhop of Rapallo, in the year 1470.

PETRUS MINUTULUS, biſhop of Abruzzo, and prince of Teramo, 1478.

There is moreover a great number of laymen, who were very famous both at court and in the army. Campanile reckons up thirty of them, who had been viceroys or governors of provinces.

By the chappel before mentioned, there is a marble tomb of John Baptiſt Minutoli with his ſtatue and this epitaph:

Joanni Baptiſtæ Capyccio Minutolo Equiti pietate & magnanimitate inſigni qui quòd in ſe videret *Henrici Capyccii Minutuli Cardinalis Ampliſſimi* lineam deſinere, legatis raro Charitatis exemplo vicies mille Ducatis ad reliquæ Familiæ perpetuam utilitatem & decus inſtitutoque ſuorum bonorum hærede Hoſpitali D. Mariae Annuntiatæ, in crucis tandem ſe humili Sacello, condi voluit. *Beatrix Torella* Mater infelix ſuperſtes, *Julia Caracciola* viro Incomparabili amoris monumentum P. Obiit anno Domini 1586 ætatis ſuæ LV. —— *Beatrice Torella, the unfortunate ſurviving mother, and Julia Caracciola as a monument of her love to her incomparable huſband erected this to John Baptiſt Capyccius Minutoli knight, famous for his piety and magnanimity, who ſeeing the line of his eminency the cardinal Henry Capyccius Minutoli to end in himſelf, and having bequeathed twenty thouſand ducats, a rare inſtance of charity for the perpetual uſe of the remaining family, and appointed the Hoſpital of the Annunciation heir to his eſtate, ordered that he ſhould be buried in the mean chapel of the croſs. He died in the year* 1586, *in the fifty fifth year of his age.*

In the church of St Demetrius, where of the family Minutoli has the patronage, is to be ſeen the following inſcription:

Ædicula Nobiliſſimæ Gentis Minutulæ ante annos C D extructa, dotata Divis'que Simeoni & Demetrio dicata. Demum cum in anno M. & D. ad ſucceſſores Scipionis Andreæ filii perveniſſet ad prolatandum Templum hoc areamque diruta P. P. Congregationis Oratorii grati animi ergo ſacellum intra Templum eidem familiæ conceſſerunt *Horatius Minutulus* Hieroſolymitani Ordinis jus vetuſtate exoletum, ac ferè amiſſum reſtituit & monumentum hoc gentilitiæ pietatis P. C. Anno MDCXIV. —— *The chapel of the moſt noble family Minutoli, built above four hundred years, endowed and dedicated to St Simeon and St Demetrius. At length, in the year one thouſand five hundred, when it came to the ſucceſſors of Scipio the ſon of Andrew, being pulled down in order to enlarge this church and porch, the fathers of the congregation of the Oratory, out of gratitude, granted to the ſame family a chapel within the church. Horace Minutoli of the order of Jeruſalem reſtored the right, through length of time forgotten and almoſt loſt, and erected this monument of hereditary piety in the year MDCXIV.*

They were always with their kings in councils and expeditions. They have poſſeſſed and do ſtill poſſeſs great eſtates and great fiefs. They are allied to all the beſt families of the kingdom, as among others to thoſe of Sanſeverino, Aquino, Caſtriote, Brancace, of Capua, Loffredo, Filanghieri, Filomarini, Pignatelli, Rota, Revertera, del Tufo, Caraffo, Caraccioli, there having been twenty reciprocal marriages of the two laſt with the houſe Minutoli.

LIVIA MINUTOLI, daughter to ANDREW and Lucretia de Vulcano, was married to Don Lewis de Silva of the dukes of Paſtrano, knight of the order of St James and commander of the caſtle of Capuana. When ſhe became a widow, the emperor Charles V choſe her upon the account of her virtue and good ſenſe for the education of Margaret of Auſtria his daughter; and by her prudent conduct ſhe got into great favour with his Imperial Majeſty. We find her epitaph at Naples in the chapel belonging to the family of Silva, which ſhe had cauſed to be added to the ſee of Capuana, to which belongs that of the Minutoli.

Livia Minutula Conjux Loyſii Alphonſi Sylvæ Luſitani & Chriſti Equitis, Arciſque Capuanæ Præfecti hanc ſibi & ſuis elegit ſepulturam, anno Salutis 1536.

In the cathedral, behind the great altar, there is a marble monument of Mariella Minutoli married to Giles Safirera Viceroy of Naples for king Alphonſus:

Hic jacet Corpus Mariellæ Minutulæ uxoris Domini Ægidii Safireræ Viceregis Sereniſſimi Domini Domini Alphonſi Dei gratiâ Aragonum & Siciliæ Regis &c, in regno Neapolitano, quæ obiit die 3 *Menſis Novembris anno Domini* 1430.

Thoſe who would deſire a fuller account of the poſts and actions of the perſons of this family, of which there are ſtill at Naples three branches, viz. that of DON ANTONY MINUTOLI, that of FRANCIS MARIA MINUTOLI duke of Valentino, huſband to Diana Caraffa, and that of the princes of Ruoid,

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may read what has been lately written of them by the count Biaggio Aldimari in his Hiſtory of the noble families of Naples, wherein he has followed, digeſted, and enlarged what had been writ of them by Philibert Campanile.

MYRRHA, the mother of Adonis, and daughter of Cinyras [*A*] king of Cyprus or of Aſſyria, fell in love with her father, and never reſted till ſhe had lain with him. Her nurſe, whom ſhe had made her confident, contrived the means of ſatisfying her paſſion; ſhe took her opportunity during the feaſt of Ceres, while the queen was for nine days to abſtain from her huſband's bed [*B*], and made this prince believe that a beautiful young maid longed to grant him the laſt favour, without being ſeen. The propoſal was accepted; the young Myrrha was introduced by night to her father's chamber. When the ſport was pretty well over, he had a deſire to ſee the maid he had enjoyed ſo long; he cauſed a light to be brought, and found he had lain with his own daughter (*a*). Cinyras, took his ſword to kill her. Myrrha ran away, and eſcaped into the country of the Sabeans, where ſhe was transformed into a tree which yields myrrh. The child ſhe had conceived grew nevertheleſs, and came out of the trunk of this tree [*C*] when her time of delivery came. The Naiades took care of it; it was the moſt beautiful boy in the world: in a word, it was Adonis, of whom I have ſpoken in his proper place (*b*). Some authors ſay, that Myrrha did not conceive this paſſion of herſelf; but that the misfortune proceeded from a higher cauſe, to wit, the wrath of ſome offended deity [*D*]. Thus you ſee how the Pagans repreſented their gods, under the idea of beings which puniſhes one crime, by inducing the offender to commit another. Ovid has not followed theſe authors in this particular caſe of Myrrha; on the contrary he declares that Cupid cleared himſelf of it (*c*), and lays all the blame on the infernal furies. They who think that Myrrha was the wife of Cham, the ſon of Noah [*E*], take the ſtory a little too high.

(*a*) Cum tandem Cinyras avidus cognoſcere amantem,
Poſt tot concubitus illato lumine vidit
Et ſcelus & natam. *Ovid. Metam. lib. X, ver.* 472.

(*b*) Ex Ovidio Metam. *lib. X. See alſo Plutarch in his Parallels, pag. m.* 310. *citing the Metamorphoſes of Theodorus.* Servius, in Eclog. X, Virg.

(*c*) *See the remark* [*D*].

[*A*] *The daughter of Cinyras.*] Antoninus Liberalis (1) calls her Smyrna, and ſays ſhe was the daughter of Theias and the nymph Orithya and born upon mount Libanus: but, according to others, ſhe was the daughof Cinyras and Cenchreis. Ovid was of this opinion, and I wonder Meziriac (2) ſhould deny it as to Cenchreis. This Poet obſerves, I. that the mother of Myrrha was the wife of Cinyras, when Myrrha was in love with her father:

(1) Cap. xxxiv.

(2) Comment. on Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 397.

- - - Conataque ſæpe fateri,
Sæpe tenet vocem, pudibundaque veſtibus ora
Texit, & O, dixit felicem CONJUGE MATREM!

- - - *And would have oft confeſs'd,*
As oft by ſhame with-held, ſhe hid her head,
And cried, O mother, happy in thy bed.

SEWELL.

II. That the nurſe of Myrrha took her opportunity when Cinyras lay alone, his wife Cenchreis being buſied with other women in the myſteries of Ceres:

- - - Turba Cenchreis in illa
Regis abeſt conjux, arcanaque ſacra frequentat.
Ergo legitima vacuus dum conjuge lectus.

The queen among the reſt her lord forſakes,
And one in this enjoin'd devotion makes.

SEWELL.

Is not this to ſay, that Cenchreis was the mother of Myrrha?

[*B*] *The queen was for nine days to abſtain from her huſband's bed.*] What prodigious difference between thoſe times and ours! for ſince the nurſe took this critical opportunity, it is an argument, that the king lay with his wife all other nights in the year, as regularly as the meaneſt citizen. In our days any month in the year would be as proper a time for this nurſe, had ſhe ſuch a trick to play.

[*C*] *The child however . . . . . came out of the trunk of this tree,*] Some (3) ſay, that the daughter of Cinyras was changed into a tree while her father purſued her with ſword in hand in order to kill her. They add, that the cut he gave that tree made it bring forth Adonis. Others (4) ſay that Myrrha was delivered of the fruit of her womb, after her inceſt had been detected; and that Jupiter afterwards changed her into a tree, on her earneſt prayer, that ſhe might not have a being among the living or the dead.

(3) Hygin. *cap. citato.* Fulgent. Mythol. *lib. iii, cap. viii.*

(4) Anton. Liberal. *cap. xxxiv.*

[*D*] *Several authors ſay that this misfortune proceeded from the wrath of ſome offended deity.*] Some (5) ſay, that the anger of the Sun was the cauſe of this inceſtuous paſſion. Others (6) have recourſe to Venus who was incenſed, that Cenchreis the mother of Myrrha, ſhould prefer the beauty of her daughter to that of this goddeſs; or at Myrrha's ſaying as ſhe combed her head, that her hair was finer than that of Venus (7). All theſe accounts are full of impiety; it was playing with the Divine Nature, and taking a greater freedom than an honeſt Hiſtorian would do with the reputation of the worſt men, unleſs he had convincing proofs. See the margin (8), and take notice that Ovid has cleared Cupid, and lays all the fault of Myrrha on the Furies:

(5) Servius in Eclog. X. Virg.

(6) Hygin. *cap. xviii.*

(7) Schol. Theocriti in Eidyll. I.

(8) Compare the article ALCINOE, and the article EGIALEA, at the remark [*C*].

Ipſe negat nocuiſſe tibi ſua tela Cupido
Myrrha, faceſque ſuas à crimine vindicat iſto.
Stipite te ſtygio tumidiſque adflavit Echidnis
E tribus una ſoror (9).

(9) Ovid. Metam. lib. X, ver. 311.

Myrrha, thy wound the god of love diſclaims,
And from ſuch horrors vindicates his flames.
A brand from Hell ſtirr'd up thy lawleſs pains,
And furies ſwell'd with viper's blood thy veins.

SEWELL.

[*E*] *Some think that Myrrha was the wife of Cham, the ſon of Noah.*] They ſuppoſe (10), that the wife of Cham accompanied by Adonis *the youngeſt of her family,* was the firſt who ſaw the nakedneſs of Noah, and that ſhe ſpoke of it to Cham, *who told it again to his brothers.* Now ſince in the ſtile of the Hebrews, *to ſee or diſcover the nakedneſs of any one* (11), ſignifies two things, either the ſimple ſight or the enjoyment, it happened that Myrrha, who only ſaw her father's nakedneſs, came under the ſcandal of having proceeded to the laſt act. This explication is confirmed (12) by a paſſage, wherein we read, that the nurſe of Myrrha found Cinyras drunk.

(10) *See the* Bibliotheque Univerſ. *Tom. iii, pag.* 8.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 21.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 20.

Nacta gravem vino Cinyram male ſedula nutrix (13).

(13) Ovid. Metam. lib. X, ver. 438.

Robb'd of his conſort and with wine oppreſs'd,
To Cinyras th' officious beldame preſs'd.

SEWELL.

But ſince ſome authors ſay Myrrha made her father drunk, that ſhe might lie with him, it would ſeem more proper to take her for one of the daughters of Lot, than for one of the daughters-in-law of Noah, if the other circumſtances could be reconciled with this conjecture.

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MODREVIUS (ANDREAS FRICIUS) secretary to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, gained great esteem by his learning and his writings. He reliſhed betimes what they called the new opinions (a), and tho' he carried himſelf diſcreetly, yet he was ſuſpected by the Catholics, and at laſt detected ſo far, that they looked upon him as an apoſtate [A]. By a letter (b) he had writ to John Laſki in the year 1536, it appears that he was no enemy to the Lutherans. His treatiſe *de Eccleſia*, deſigned to be the fourth book of his work *de Republica emendanda*, which he ſent to be printed at Cracow in the year 1551, met with cenſors who put a ſtop to the impreſſion for two or three years (c). He publiſhed it afterwards with an apology explaining thoſe points at which ſome took offence. He was to go to Trent with the ambaſſadors of Poland, but this nomination was changed (d). The Anti-Trinitarians of Poland have placed him in the catalogue of their authors. We ſhall ſee below the titles of his principal books [B], with

(a) Staniſlas Lubieniecius, Hiſt. Reformat. Polon. *lib. i, cap. v, pag.* 18.

(b) It is the ixth, of the firſt century in the collection of letters publiſhed by *Simon Abbes Gabbema.*

(c) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory, and the preface to the fourth book *de Republica emendanda.*

(d) Modrevius, Præfat. *lib. iv,* de Repub. emendanda, *pag.* 193. Edit. Baſil. 1554, *in fol.*

[A] *The Catholics looked on him as an apoſtate.*] See after what manner Simon Starovolſcius ſpeaks of him: 'Regius Secretarius, ſeu mavis lutulenti illius ſubulci 'Lutheri, cujus nefariis dogmatibus imbutus, infeſta-'bat eccleſiæ portas, dicendo quæ non oportuit, ſcri-'bendo quæ non licuit, & agendo quæ non decuit '(1). *The king's ſecretary, or if you will, of that dirty* '*ſwine-herd Luther, with whoſe impious doctrines he* '*was tainted, infeſted the gates of the church, by ſpeak-*'*ing what he ought not, by writing what was not* '*lawful, and acting what was not becoming.*' It appears from a Preface of Modrevius, that Pius V ordered him to be puniſhed; for thus he complains to this Pope: 'Non abs re mihi facere viſus 'ſum, ſi ipſe ad te has controverſias deferrem, tibi-'que hunc librum dicarem, qui occaſionem præberet 'tibi eas dijudicandi: ſimulque ſtudia mea exilia tibi 'commendaret. De quibus tu videris ſiniſtram opi-'nionem concepiſſe: ac propter ea iis, penes quos 'eſt poteſtas, edixiſſe, ut me de poſſeſſiunculis 'meis dejicerent: fortunis everterent: ac extorrem 'facerent domo, foro, penatibus, congreſſu hominum. 'Hoccine eſt præmium bene meritorum? Hoccine hu-'manum factum ſanctiſſime Pater (2). - - - - - *I think* '*it will not be improper to bring theſe controverſies before* '*you, and dedicate this book to you, which may give you* '*an opportunity to judge of them, and at the ſame time* '*recommend to you my poor ſtudies. About which you* '*ſeem to have conceived an ill opinion: and therefore* '*have ordered thoſe, in whoſe power it is, to turn me* '*out of my ſmall poſſeſſions, to ſeize on my goods, to* '*drive me from my country, my houſe, and the ſociety of* '*men. Is this agreeable to humanity, moſt holy father?*' Pope Paul IV, adds he, had diſpatched the like orders to the Biſhop of Vladiſlaw, but recalled them when he heard my reaſons. 'Non ſum oblitus, à Paulo 'Papa ejus nominis quarto ſimile edictum in me ſcrip-'tum fuiſſe ad Joannem Droievium Epiſcopum Wla-'diſlaviæ. Cui quidem Papæ reſcripſi ego libro illi 'dicato de ordinibus eccleſiæ. In quo rationem illi 'reddidi vitæ, & actionum mearum: ſimulque cauſas 'oſtendi quamobrem in me non debuerit eſſe immitis '& adeo ferox. Aſſenſus eſt ille orationi noſtræ non 'obſcure, nec ullam deinceps perniciem nobis machi-'natus eſt. Droievius quoque nihil in me cogitavit, 'quam quod virum bonum & optimum principem 'deceret (3). - - - - - *I have not forgot that the like or-*'*der againſt me, was ſent by Pope Paul the* IVth, *to* '*John Droievius, biſhop of Vladiſlaw. To which Pope* '*I wrote again, in the book dedicated to him concern-*'*ing the orders of the church. In this book I gave him* '*an account of my life and practice, and at the ſame* '*time ſhewed him ſome reaſons why he ought not to be* '*unmerciful and ſo cruel to me. He granted my re-*'*queſt, and never afterwards intended any miſchief* '*againſt me. Droievius alſo did nothing but what* '*became a good man and an excellent prince.*' I am perſuaded, that neither this Preface of Modrevius, nor the treatiſe which follows it, would have moved Pius V, to recal his order, and that the condition of the author was no better after he wrote this book, than while he was compoſing it. He informs us that he wrote it in the midſt of a thouſand troubles, often forced to change his lodgings, and diſtracted with the apprehenſions of loſing all he had. 'Par-'tim labores domeſtici, partim cura liberorum, par-'tim negotia civilia, maxime autem frequens curſitatio 'domicilii quærendi cauſa me ſibi vendicarunt (4). 'Hæc ſcripſi ſolicitus de bonis meis patriis avitiſque, 'de quibus periclitor authoritatis tuæ prætextu quæ 'abs te tanquam fulmen quoddam vulnificum vibrata 'eſt (5). *Partly domeſtic troubles, partly the care of* '*my children, partly my affairs, but eſpecially the fre-*'*quent changing of my lodgings, take up my whole time.* '*Theſe things I have writ, being apprehenſive of loſing* '*my paternal eſtate, under the pretence of your authority,* '*which, like a fatal thunderbolt, is thrown out againſt* '*me.*'

(1) Simon Starovolſcius, in centum Polonorum Elogiis, *pag.* 81.

(2) Modrevius, in Præfat. Sylvæ tertiæ, *pag.* 152, 153.

(3) Id. ib. *pag.* 154, 155.

(4) Id. in 2 Præfat. Sylvæ III, *pag.* 157.

(5) Id. in fine Sylvæ III, *pag.* 216.

[B] *We ſhall ſee . . . . the titles of his principal books.*] His five books *de Republica emendanda*, whereof the firſt treats *de Moribus*, the ſecond *de Legibus*, the third *de Bello*, the fourth *de Eccleſia*, and the fifth *de Scbola*, were printed at Cracow in the year 1551, if we believe the abridger of Geſner (6), but we muſt not rely on him (7). They were reprinted at Baſil by Oporin in 8vo, and in fol. in the year 1554, with two dialogues of the ſame author, *de utraque ſpecie Euchariſtiæ à Laicis ſumenda*, and an explication of the words of St Paul (8). *It is good for a man not to touch a woman.* There was publiſhed at Baſil in 1562, in 4to, another collection of his pieces, which contains three book, *De peccato originis, de libero arbitrio, de providentia & prædeſtinatione*; three books, *De Mediatore, quibus acceſſit narratio ſimplex rei novæ & ejuſdem peſſimi exempli: ſimul & querela de injuriis, & expoſtulatio cum Staniſlao Orichovio Roxolano* (9). He wrote another book by order of the king, his maſter, to compoſe the differences which reigned in Poland concerning the Trinity. It is divided into four *Sylvæ*. The firſt is dated in December 1565, and treats *de tribus Perſonis & una Eſſentia Dei.* The ſecond is of the ſame date, and treats *de neceſſitate conventus habendi ad ſedandas religionis controverſias.* The third is dated in June 1568, and treats *de Jeſu Chriſto filio Dei, & hominis eodemque Deo & Domino noſtro.* The fourth is dated in June 1569, and treats *de Humouſio & de iis quæ huc pertinent.* Theſe four *Sylvæ*, together with an Appendix upon the queſtion, *Quomodo unio divinæ & humanæ naturæ Chriſti facta ſit in perſona non in natura, cum tamen eadem prorſus res ſint natura & perſona in Domino noſtro*, were printed at Racovia in 1590 (10). The abridger of Geſner mentions this laſt work in the year 1583, as a book not printed, and which contained only three *Sylvæ*, whereof the laſt treated of Infant Baptiſm (11). The firſt of theſe three facts is true, the two others are falſe. Note, that Modrevius had ſent his *Sylvæ* to be printed by Oporin at Baſil, who was to ſend copies of them to the Catholic, Lutheran, and Calviniſt, univerſities (12). But Trecius having a mind to hinder the publication of this book, deſired Oporin to ſhow him the manuſcript, and having once got it into his hands would never reſtore it (13). The author complained of this to the Palatine of Cracow, and earneſtly ſollicited that the Plagiary ſhould be obliged to reſtore it. This he could not obtain, and ſo was obliged to compoſe the work over again. *Tandem potentiæ Palatini Trecio patrocinantis cedere: poſtremo ſcrinia ſua excutere & rejecta omnia mora, opus illud ex adverſariis & chartis fere rejectaneis denuo moliri, & abſolvere, antequam mors eum occuparet. Atque ita tandem præſtantiſſimum illud, licet mole perexiguum Sylvarum opus, ab interitu vindicatum habemus* (14). The author of this Latin ſuppoſes, that Trecius ſerved him thus, becauſe Modrevius gave more force to the arguments of the Anti-Trinitarians, than to thoſe of the Trinitarians. *Ille prædam petitam in caſſes ſuos nactus & inibi argumenta veritatis reſponſionibus, exceptionibus & objectionibus Trinitariorum longe fortiora animadvertens, Baſilea protinus exceſſit, evaſit, erupit, & librum Fricianum bona fide ſibi commodatum abſtulit & ſic editionem libri ſufflaminavit* (15). Zanchius had ſeen the firſt of theſe four *Sylvæ* in manuſcript, and finding it dangerous, anſwered it in his book *de tribus Elohim.* He does not point out the author, but by the

(6) Epitome Bibl. Geſneri, *pag. m.* 43.

(7) There were only the three firſt printed at that time. See the preface of the fourth.

(8) 1 Epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. vii.

(9) Epit. Geſn. ibid.

(10) Bibl. Antitrinit. *pag.* 56.

(11) Epitome Geſn. ubi ſupra.

(12) Modrev. Præf. Sylvæ IV.

(13) Staniſl. Lubieniecius, Hiſtor. Reform. Polonicæ, *lib. iii, cap. ix, pag.* 221.

(14) Id. ib. *pag.* 222. *See alſo* Biblioth. Antitrin. *pag.* 38.

(15) Id. ib. *pag.* 221.

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with some particulars concerning them. Grotius reckons him among the reconcilers of religions (*e*)

(*e*) Grotius, in Consultat. Cassandri.

the name of Mediator, and he has an esteem for him, as appears by his epistle dedicatory to Edmund Grindal (16). The sceptical manner of Modrevius's examining the mysteries, displeased both Catholics and Protestants. However, it is true, that he was obliged to use this method in obedience to the command he had received from the king of Poland. He had been charged with the drawing up a state of the case, as mediator of the argeement (17). It behoved him faithfully to represent the arguments on both sides, and divest himself of all prejudice. He had heard Dudithius say one thing, which to him appeared very solid, that a man who had espoused either side, for or against the Trinity, was not fit for an arbiter or judge between those who deny, and those who believe it. ' Is negabat eum qui alterutri seu de Trinitate seu de quavis re alia sententiæ adhæresceat, medium se inter ' partes ipsas inferre, controversiamque dirimere atque ' sedare posse. Neutri parti addictum esse oportere ' qui vel partes ipsas in concordiam reducere vellet ' æqualitate decernendi, vel secundum partem alteram ' decernere quod justum & legibus consonum esse judicaret. Qui ad eum modum neuter non esset, eum ' partes judicem capere non solere, & ab alio datum ' ejurare consuesse: nimirum quem ex opinione imbibita pendentem verisimile esset vel tacita reprehensione contrarium sentientes condemnasse. Nam ut ' pius esset & eruditus qui & dissereret & judicaret, ' fieri tamen posse ut opinione præjudicata nitens falsum ' judicaret (18).------ *He denied that he who adhered to either opinion, whether about the Trinity or ' any thing else, could be a mediator between the contending parties, or decide and settle the controversy. He ' said, he ought to espouse neither side, who would ' bring the parties to an agreement by an impartial ' judgment, or determine on one side, what he thought ' just and agreeable to the laws. That parties were not ' wont to take him for a judge, who was not thus neutral, ' and commonly rejected him if appointed by another: because it is likely, his imbibed opinion would byass him ' tacitly to condemn those of a contrary sentiment. For ' though he were both pious and learned, yet possibly ' he might judge wrong by relying on his prejudiced opinion.*' This notion of Dudithius is very consonant to custom, for where is the man who would chuse for arbitrators or judges of his differences, those he knows are persuaded he is in the wrong? It is even true, that such men are scarce capable of pronouncing an equitable sentence. It is a misfortune, that such a rule as this cannot take place in the disputes of religion; but the state of things is such, that these disputes must necessarily be determined in the very church where they grow, which inevitably makes the same persons judges and parties. It would be to no purpose to murmur at this, for necessity has no law. Note, by the way, one of the reasons which frustrates the endeavours of all mediators in religion, and renders them odious. If they are believed to be perfectly neuters, they are detested as irreligious men; if they are thought to incline more to one side, they are suspected and odious to one of the parties, and do not fully satisfy the other: They will have all or nothing.

(16) See the preface of the publisher of the four Sylvæ.

(17) See the Epistle Dedicatory of his first Sylva.

(18) Modrevius, Præfat. Sylvæ I.

As for the rest, his books *de Republica emendanda* are much esteemed: They have given the author a rank amongst the most judicious writers upon Politics. ' Gravioribus politicis haud dubie annumerandus est, ' egregie enim disputat, magnaque libertate in vulgares errores politicos invehiter (19).----- *He is undoubtedly to be reckoned amongst the most considerable Po- ' liticians, for he reasons excellently, and with great ' freedom inveighs against popular errors in Politics.*' I add to this a passage of the oration Cunæus made to shew that the university of Leyden had reason to punish a scholar with death, who had killed a townsman. The prince Janutius Radziwil, who studied then at Leyden, had declaimed sharply against the judges: ' Novit illustrissimus Princeps Razevilius, *it ' is Cunæus speaks* (20), noverunt omnes qui ejus studiis præsunt quam sint pulcra & luculenta ea quæ de ' cede cujuscunque hominis in regno Poloniæ ultimo ' supplicio punienda scripsit vir amplissimus & rerum ' civilium ac Reipublicæ regundæ gnarissimus Andreas ' Fricius Modrevius ad Sigismundum secundum Polo- ' niæ regem.----- *The most illustrious Prince Radzi- ' wil, and all who have the direction of his studies ' know, how finely and excellently that great man and ' skillful Politician, Andreas Fricius Modrevius, wrote to ' Sigismund the second, king of Poland, about punishing ' with death the murder of any person in the kingdom of ' Poland.*' Modrevius, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his Book *de Republica emendanda*, makes mention of a book, in which he largely explains the necessity of punishing murderers with death. This tract is intituled *Lacisius*, and consists of four orations, which have been added to the volume *de Republica emendanda*, in the Basil edition 1559.

(19) Joh. Andreas Bosius, Dissertat. Hagogica de comparanda Prudentia civili, *pag. m.* 361.

(20) Cunæus, Orat. XVII, *pag.* 341, *Edit. Lipf.* 1693. This oration was delivered the eleventh of February 1632.

I desire I may be permitted not to blot out a thing I had written before I could consult the book *de Republica emendanda*. It is this; ' It was doubtless for ' this book, that Modrevius received the praises contained in the *Bibliotheque* of the Anti-Trinitarians (21). ' This doubtless was that book of his which was translated into French, High-Dutch, and Spanish. I ' could speak more positively, if I had the preface in ' my hands, a piece of which is recited in that *Bibliotheque*. Sandius, who cites it, is inexcusable ' for leaving us in suspence. He ought to have used ' a parenthesis to fix the indeterminate meaning of ' these words of Modrevius, *est qui laudando librum ' meum dicat*, &c. I am persuaded they are very clear ' in the original: What goes before them, does, no ' doubt, explain which is the book in question. But ' when they are cut off from the context, they become obscure. It was Sandius's duty to have remedied it, and this is a good caution to those who cite ' authors, and an answer to such as pretend, that I ' make too long citations. I only do it, that what I ' cite may be clearly understood.' They who know how to judge of things will own that I might have left this in the state I found it, after I had seen, by reading Modrevius, that the Book in question is that *de Republica emendanda*.

(21) *At the 27th pag* ex Præfatione Sylvæ tertiæ Modrevii.

MOLIERE, a famous Comedian. See POQUELIN.

MOLIONIDES; thus they call two brothers who have a good share in the fabulous History. They were the sons of Actor and Molione [*A*], the name of one was Eurytus, and that of the other Creatus. Some pretend, that Actor was only the supposed, and Neptune their real father (*a*). Others will have it quite contrary that, Actor was the real and Neptune the supposed father (*b*). We may see under the word Actor, that he whom I here speak of reigned in Elis jointly with Augias. The Molionides were the bravest men of their time; it was to them Augias gave the command of his troops, when he understood that Hercules was coming to attack him. A distemper having seized Hercules in the beginning of the expedition, he was glad to make peace with the Molionides; but they being afterwards informed of his indisposition, made use of the opportunity; surprized his army, and killed a great number of his men. Some time after Hercules played them a trick; he laid an ambush for them at Cleone, when they were deputed by the Eleans to assist at the general sacrifices of Greece, during the celebration of the Isthmian Games, and slew them. This we learn from Apollodorus (*c*). Pausanias ascribes this heroe's bad

(*a*) Scholiast. Homeri in Iliad. lib. xi, ver. 749, 750.

(*b*) Apollod. Bibl. lib. ii.

(*c*) Ibid. *See also* Pind. Olymp. Od. X.

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bad ſucceſs neither to his diſtemper, nor to the treachery of the Molionides, but to their valour alone (*d*), and the neceſſity which forced him to deliver himſelf from ſuch enemies by ſo baſe a way. He cauſed them, as I ſaid, to be killed at Cleone, when they were going to aſſiſt at the Iſthmian Games. Molione, their mother, laboured ſo induſtriouſly to diſcover the authors of the murther, that ſhe found them out; but the Argians would not deliver up Hercules (*e*) to the Eleans. The latter deſired the Corinthians to exclude the Argians for the future from the Iſthmian Games, as infractors of the ſacred laws obſerved in them: but they could not obtain it. Whereupon Molione imprecated a curſe on all the Eleans, who ſhould be preſent at this ſight; which made ſuch an impreſſion on them, that even in Pauſanias's time the champions of this nation never appeared at the Iſthmian games. The Molionides had married the two daughters of Dexamenus king of Olene (*f*). Each left a ſon; that of Eurytus was called Talpius, and that of Cteatus, Amphimachus. They reigned after Augias's death jointly with his ſon Agaſthenes. Furthermore, the fables ſay, that the Molionides were two coachmen, who had two heads, four hands, and four feet, and only one body betwixt them; one held the reins, and the other the whip; they kept up a prefect good underſtanding, ſo that Hercules could never conquer them but by artifice. This emblem was probably deſigned to repreſent the power of concord (*g*). Some have ſaid, that theſe two brothers came into the world in a ſilver egg [*B*]. I do not know whether Suidas's two Molons were taken from the Molionides [*C*].

(*d*) Ἀτε γὰρ καὶ τολμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τοῦ Ἄκτορος τῶν παίδων ἀνδρὶ ζόντων, ἐτρέπετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Herculis enim auxilia ab Actoris filiis audacia & ætate vigentibus facile rejiciebantur. - - - - *For the auxiliaries of Hercules were eaſily routed by the ſons of Actor, who were young and courageous.* Pauſan. *lib. v, pag. m.* 148.

(*e*) He lived then at Tirynthus.

(*f*) Idem, *pag.* 149.

(*g*) See Plutarch at the beginning of his *Treatiſe of brotherly love*, & *Adr. Junius, Adag. xxxi, cent. v.*

[*A*] *They were the ſons of Actor and Molione.*] It is commonly believed, with Pauſanias, that they were called Molionides from their mother (1). Homer's ſcholiaſt does not think, that they were called Μολίονε for this reaſon in the 749th verſe of the eleventh book of the Iliad, but ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν μάχην μολύνσεως. He goes upon a principle which Euſtathius enforces on another occaſion; to wit, that Homer deſcribes no body by names borrowed from the mothers.

(1) Καλεμένων ἀπὸ Μολίονης τῆς μητέρος. Pauſan. in Arcad. *pag.* 248.

[*B*] *Some have ſaid, that theſe two brothers came into the world in a ſilver egg.*] See the verſes of Ibicus cited by Athenæus (2), but take notice that Dalechamp's tranſlation is neither free from faults of omiſſion, nor commiſſion. It does not expreſs the τέκνα Μολίονας of the original, and it tranſlates κ]ανόν]α by *interfecerunt*, inſtead of *interfectorem*.

(2) Athen. *lib. ii, cap. xvi.*

[*C*] *I do not know whether Suidas's two Molons were taken from the Molionides.*] This author having ſaid, that Molon is a proper name, cites a paſſage of Ariſtophanes (3), which ſhews there was an old ſaying, by way of proverb, *As little as Molon*. This might be ſaid by the rule of contraries, or by an irony, as when country people ſay, *As nimble as a cow:* but Suidas takes the thing literally; he ſays theſe words were applied to men of a low ſtature, and that there were two Molons who were jugglers and robbers. Eraſmus (4) has followed Suidas's explication; but he makes him ſay, that one of theſe two Molons was a juggler, and the other a robber. Suidas does not ſay ſo, ; he makes not that diſtinction ; and far from favouring Eraſmus's conjecture, which is, that theſe two Molons were of a dwarfiſh ſtature, known to every body, he oppugns it in ſome ſort by the word λωποδύται, which ſignifies thoſe who rob upon the high-way ; thoſe who riſle and ſtrip people, which little fellows dare hardly venture on ; it is rather the buſineſs of a huge thundring villain. Adrian Junius (5), who underſtood Greek very well, has taken Ariſtophanes's proverb in an ironical ſenſe ; ſo that Molon, according to him, is a man of a gigantic ſtature. I believe he has more reaſon on his ſide than Suidas. Mr Hofman (6) ſays, that according to Didymus, there were two Molons, one a juggler of an exceſſive ſtature, the other a pilferer of cloths, *fur veſtiarius*, and a very little fellow.

(3) In Ranis, Act. I, Sc. II.

(4) Adag. lvii, Chil. iii, cent. v.

(5) Adag. xxxi, cent. v.

(6) In the firſt volume, *pag.* 1047.

MOLSA (FRANCIS MARIA) one of the good Poets of the XVIth century, was of Modena. His Latin and Italian verſes brought him into ſuch reputation, that if it had been ever ſo little ſeconded by a prudent conduct, he might have riſen to a great fortune; but he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that the patrons of wit could never advance him, how much ſoever diſpoſed in his favour (*a*). He was ſo debauched, that he ſlighted thoſe precautions which are abſolutely neceſſary, in order to avoid the utmoſt contempt [*A*]. He added vileneſs and impudence to his debaucheries, ſo that we need not wonder he died of the Pox (*b*). He had one favourable opportunity of ſhewing he was a good Orator, and that his Proſe was equal to his Poetry. Seeing the Roman people full of indignation againſt Lorenzo de Medicis, who had cut off the heads of ſeveral ancient ſtatues; he charged him with this outrageous act, and thereupon made an oration ſo ſtrong that it filled him with confuſion and deſpair [*B*]. He did not die in the year 1548

(*a*) See the remark [*A*].

(*b*) Ab illa (*Venere*) meritum pudendo contactu miſerabilis morbi quo periret venenum hauſit. *Paul. Jovius, Elog. cap. xiv, pag. m.* 244.

[*A*] *He was ſo debauched that he ſlighted thoſe precautions which are abſolutely neceſſary, in order to avoid the utmoſt contempt.*] The prodigious corruption reigning in the world does not hinder people even of little virtue from conceiving a contempt and averſion, for ſuch as obſerve no decency in the purſuit of unlawful pleaſures. Hence Molſa loſt his reputation, and ſtopped the current of his fortune; which would not have happened, if his debaucheries had been managed with more diſcretion. Let us hear Paul Jovius. ‘ Latinis Elegiis, & Etruſcis rythmis pari gratia ludendo ‘ Muſas exercuit : tanta quidem omnium commendatione, ut per triginta annos, qui Romæ Mecœnatis ‘ nomen tulêre, inſigni liberalitate, ſtudioque adjutum ‘ adipiſcendis honoribus efferre contenderint : præ‘ gravante ſemper ejus Genio, quum redivivis toties ‘ amoribus occupatus, par ingenio ſubſtra‘ heret, neque habitu, vel inceſſu, ullove nobili com‘ mercio carminum famam tueretur ; fœde prodigus, ‘ honeſtique neſcius pudoris, neglectum rerum omnium ‘ ad innoxiæ libertatis nomen revocabat uſque adeo ‘ ſupine, ut ſummæ laudis, & clarioris fortunæ cer‘ tiſſimam ſpem facile corruperit (1). - - - *He exerciſed* ‘ *his muſe with equal grace in Latin elegies and Italian* ‘ *verſes, and indeed with ſuch applauſe from every* ‘ *body, that the patrons of wit at Rome for thirty* ‘ *years endeavoured, by their great liberality and intereſt, to get him advanced. But being always ſwayed* ‘ *by his natural inclination, he gave himſelf up to un*‘ *lawful pleaſures, and neglected thoſe ſtudies that were* ‘ *ſuitable to his genius, and did not maintain the repu*‘ *tation of his poems, either by his habit, gait, or* ‘ *any creditable company. He was ſhamefully, prodigal* ‘ *and impudent, and ſo unconcerned about the character* ‘ *of innocence and decency, that he effectually fruſtated* ‘ *the certain hopes of a great name and illuſtrious for*‘ *tune.*’

(1) Paul. Jovius, in Elogiis, *cap. civ, p. m.* 243.

[*B*] *He made a ſpeech of ſuch energy againſt L. de Medicis, that he filled him with confuſion and deſpair.*] It was believed that Lorenzo de Medicis, was ſo ſtruck

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1548 (c), as Thuanus affirms, but in February 1544 [C], and left a ſon who was father of

(c) Thuan. lib. 4, circa finem.

ſtruck at the infamy with which that oration branded him, that to efface it, he reſolved to reſtore the city of Florence to it's liberty, by the aſſaſſination of Alexander de Medicis, his near relation (2). *Sempiternam ingenii laudem retulit* (Molſa) *non à jucundo tantum carmine, quo laſciviſſe videtur, ſed pedeſtri etiam gravique facundia, qua Laurentium Medicem, neſaria libidine antiquis ſtatuis noctu illuſtria capita detrahentem, apud Romanos ab ea injuria dolore percitos accuſavit. Ea enim perſcripta oratione, Laurentium uſque adeo pudore, & metu perennis probri conſternatum ferunt, ut atroci animo, quo inuſtam ignominiæ notam novitate facinoris obſcuraret, interficiendi Principis, amicique ſingularis immane conſilium ſuſceperit; ſcilicet ut Diis invitis patriæ libertas pararetur* (3).

(2) He committed it in the year 1537.

(3) Jovius, tibi ſupra, pag. 244.

[C] *He did not die in the year* 1548, *as Thuanus affirms, but in February* 1544.] I had for ever, perhaps, been ignorant of this error of Thuanus, if I had not by chance light upon the volume of Luke Contile's letters. In which I met with one to Bernardo Spina, dated from Modena the 14th of February, 1543 (4). Contile there tells him he had ſeen Molſa that morning, and found him ſeized with an incurable diſtemper. It was a dropſy, which had not only ſwelled his legs, as uſual, but his very head. Trifon kept always by his bed-ſide, and diverted the patient the beſt he could. *Sta ſempre al capezzal del letto il buon Trifone, & burla, & giamba co'l Molza, & io me ne piglio ſpaſſo, & perche in ſomma lo tengon per morto, voglio verderne il fine, perche io, come mi rallegrai della ſua vita, voglio dolermi della ſua morte* (5). Theſe Italian words give us to underſtand, that Contile had a mind to ſee his end, which every body judged to be near at hand. Nor were they miſtaken; for we learn by a letter he wrote from Milan the twenty firſt of February, 1543, to Claudio Tolomei, that he had aſſiſted at Molſa's funeral: *Havrete ſaputa la morte dell' unico Molza. io gionſi à tempo di vederlo vivo & mi fu lecito d' accompagnarlo al ſepolcro morto* (6). I did not doubt on reading theſe particulars, that Thuanus had been miſtaken, nevertheleſs I was willing to have good evidence, and therefore addreſſed myſelf to Mr de la Monnoie, who was pleaſed to write me ſeveral particulars concerning Molſa; it will be a ſatisfaction to my reader to ſee them in this place (7), 'Molza did 'not die in 1548, but in 1544. This is proved by 'three letters of Annibal Caro, his intimate friend; 'the firſt written from Rome to Molza ſick at Modena, 'is of the ſecond of January 1544, the ſecond of the 'eleventh of February the ſame year, being an 'anſwer to that which it appears Molza had written 'to him, and the third of the ſixth of March following, in which he ſends an account to Varchi of 'the death of Molza as a thing that had lately happened: Con le lagrime à gli occhi, *theſe are the 'words he begins with*, vi dico che'l noſtro da ben 'Molza è morto, è per lo graviſſimo dolore ch'io ne 'ſento, non ne poſſo dir altro - - - - - - *With tears 'in my eyes I acquaint you with the death of our good 'friend Molza, and becauſe of the exceſſive ſorrow I 'feel on that account, I can ſay no more.* . . . . This 'Molza was a man of good natural parts, which he 'perfected by ſtudy. He added learning to politeneſs, 'the knowledge of Greek, and as Lilius Gyraldus 'ſays, of Hebrew too, to that of Latin, and his 'own tongue. He ſucceeded in proſe, in verſe, in 'the grave and comic ſtile: ſo that going far beyond the judgment his country-man Sadolet had 'made of him, that he might excel in any kind of 'compoſition, which he would apply himſelf entirely to, he excelled in all, without confining himſelf to any one. Father Rapin looks upon him as 'a pattern of Latin elegy among the Moderns. His 'character was that of Tibullus, upon which you 'may ſee Bartholomew Riccius *de imitatione*. His 'pieces would, perhaps, have been more correct, if 'death had not prevented him. . . . It is hard to excuſe 'him with reſpect to his licentious life, without admitting that corrupt morality, upon the principles 'whereof he perſuaded himſelf, that provided he abſtained from great crimes, ſuch as atheiſm, theft, murder, and all kinds of violence, he might, with an innocent liberty, taſte ſenſual pleaſures. Taking the 'matter thus, he was purer than ſnow, and no life 'was more irreproachable than his. He flatters himſelf, 'that ſome hereafter, taking a thorow view of it, 'would propoſe it for an example, and that this will 'be the ſubject of his panegyric:

Tum faciles memoret mores, & puriter acta
Percurrat vitæ tempora quæque meæ,

'ſays he, in that fine elegy he made a few days before his death. His prediction met with a ſpeedy 'accompliſhment. Paul Panſa, a good Latin Poet, 'preceptor to the famous John Lewis de Fieſque, 'gave him ſuch praiſes as he deſired.

Hoc-ne meret *probitas?* hoc-ne meret *pietas?*
Is this the reward of probity?
Is this the reward of piety?

'ſays he; and four verſes after,

Quid prodeſt vixiſſe *pium*, aut odiſſe profanum
Vulgus, & à *ſævis* abſtinuiſſe malis?
What, tho' he pious liv'd, tho' he diſdain'd
Th' ignorant mob, and violence refrain'd.

'What is more, Schraderus and Swertius mention a 'glorious inſcription conſecrated to his memory in 'the cathedral of Modena in theſe words: Si animarum auctio fieret, Franciſcum Molzam licitarentur Virtutes, Patria, & Catharina ejus uxor, 'quæ illi & ſibi vivens hoc poſuit - - - - - - *Were 'there to be an auction of ſouls, the price of Francis 'Molza would be enhanſed by virtue, his country, and 'Catharine his wife, who in her life-time erected 'this monument for him and herſelf.* . . . . Guidiccione, 'afterwards biſhop of Foſſombrona, has ſpoken no leſs 'honourably of Molza's virtue. Datemi novelle del 'Molza, *ſays he in a letter to Tolomei*, ch'io lo deſidero fuor di miſura, cioè ſe egli vuol fare povero 'il mondo, e ricchi i cieli con la ſua anima, perche 'intendo che egli è infermo d' una acuta febre. - - - - *Send me ſome news about Molza; I deſire extremely to 'know, whether he will make the world poor, and 'Heaven rich with his ſoul, for I hear he is ill of an 'acute fever.* Paul Jovius, who after all blamed him 'only for not preſerving a decorum, ſhould not have 'been ignorant, that he, whoſe conduct he cenſured, 'had been parallelled even for his morals with himſelf, and a great many worthy gentlemen his co-'temporaries, by Longolius in his ſecond defence. 'Quid hic Paulum Jovium commemorem? Angelum 'Colotium, Antonium Maroſticum? Quid Marium 'Molzam, Hieronymum Nigrum, M. Antonium 'Flaminium, Georgium Sauromanum, viros tum 'ab omni elegantiore doctrina inſtructiſſimos, tum 'ingenua animorum probitate optimos, atque totius 'vitæ innocentia integerrimos? - - - *Why ſhould I mention here Paul Jovius? Angelus Colotius, Antonius 'Maroſticus? Or Marius Molza, Hieronymus Niger, 'M. Antonius Flaminius, and Georgius Sauromanus, 'men endued with excellent learning, great uprightneſs 'of heart, and innocence of life?* Yet Molza was then 'in the height of his debauchery. He had a miſtreſs 'named Furnia, whom he paſſionately loved, even 'to the calling himſelf Furnius, and perhaps it was 'from her he took the diſeaſe he died of. We have 'a letter of the ſame Longolius to Furnius Marius 'Molza, wherein are theſe curious words: Cujus 'quidem rei me primum ſuis literis certiorem fecit 'Flavius Chryſolinus, deinde Q. Lælius Maximus, 'quem Quinti prænomen ſecutum eſſe arbitror, quod 'Quintiæ alicujus, ut tu Furniæ, conſuetudine iſtic 'teneatur. - - - - *Whereof Flavius Chryſolinus firſt informed me by his letters, and afterwards Q. Lælius 'Maximus, which name of Quintus I ſuppoſe he took, 'becauſe he had a miſtreſs called Quintia, as you have 'one called Furnia.* She quickly after turned com-'mon proſtitute. This is another particular we learn from 'Longolius. Nam de agreſti illâ, *ſays he, book iv, writing to Flaminius*, in quam ſe abſtruſurum eſſe Furnius 'Molſa affimaret, ſpeluncâ, factus ſum à Briſſone noſtro 'certior. Ac de Furnio quidem non valde ſum miratus, vult enim Furniam ſuam imitari, quam ſeſe in 'recentem iſtum luparum furnum jam abdidiſſe intelligo. - - - - *For as to that wild cave, in which Furnius 'Molza ſaid he would ſhut himſelf up, I have been informed*

(4) Obſerve, that both here, and in the paſſage of cent. (6), it muſt be 1544, and not 1543: I ſhall take notice below, that perhaps Contile followed the date of thoſe who do not begin the year with the month of January. It may be too, that the date of the year was not in the original of this letter, and that having been added when it was printed they put 1543, inſtead of 1544.

(5) Luca Contile, Lettere, *lib. i, fol.* 85, *Edit. of Pavia* 1564, *in* 8vo.

(6) Id. ib. *fol.* 86.

(7) La Monnoie, MS letter.

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other things, that he died so much like a Christian, that it could not be douted but his soul went directly to Heaven [F].

‘ sotti confessi di non haverne tocco anchor fundo,
‘ si vede pure, che s'è distese piu a dentro, che
‘ nessun' altro (25). - - - - *But to shew what a competent*
‘ *judge he is in this cause (as the Lawyers say) I shall*
‘ *only tell you, that besides being a great Poet, he was*
‘ *a very great Natural Philosopher, and spent more time*
‘ *in searching out secrets of the nature of figs, than En-*
‘ *dymion in observing the motions of the moon. And if*
‘ *the latter was therefore looked upon by the moon to be*
‘ *a lover: the former was called by the world father,*
‘ *as if every one had been his son. And as Albertus*
‘ *was named Magnus, for having discovered the secrets*
‘ *of the women, he was called* divino *and* perfecto, *for*
‘ *having revealed the secrets of figs: and it must be*
‘ *confessed that he has gone further than any body else.*’

(25) Ibid.

I mention these particulars only to shew what judgment was made of Molza. We may further infer from them that there reigned a great licentiousnes among the Italian Poets of that age. They vyed with one another in exercising their wits on subjects which bore a double meaning; Mr Menage might have added the famous Bembo to the examples he has cited (26), who chose an herb for his subject, the very name of which discovered the drift and design of his poem. I will explain my self in the words of another writer. *There was one Petrus Matthæus, a doctor of both laws, who, in the year* 1587, *made a collection of several Latin poems of the Italian Poets . . . . Amongst these finest pieces were the most obscene; Bembo's Priapus, where he exercises all his wit, speaking of the herb which is called in Latin* Mentha *(mint) upon the affinity between this word and the Latin Mentula; and also the Siphilis of Fracastor, in which he describes the origine and progress of the pox, &c* (27).

(26) Above, citation (22).

(27) Pasquier, Catechism of the Jesuites, *lib. iii, cap. ix, pag. m.* 378.

[F] *It was said . . . . it could not be doubted but that his soul went directly to Heaven.*] Contile makes use of this among other reasons, to comfort those who were afflicted at the death of this fine wit. He had first alledged the reasons, why they ought to lament him, and afterwards turns the tables thus: ‘ Debbano adunque i suoi parenti e amici piangerlo con
‘ dolore intenso. Non debbano poi dolersene, perche hanno conosciuto, che quella era la sua hora
‘ nella quale mostro tanto zelo christiano, che dicono à
‘ viva voce esser lui salito in cielo. era la sua hora
‘ parimenti inquanto alla età, la quale stanca di questa vita, hà mostro il suo determinato fine, fuggendo il pericolo delle morti subbitane, le quali succedono quasi sempre à quella età. So che voi in prima fronte vi dorrete di quello honorato amico, dipoi non vi dorrete, ma restarete contento di quel
‘ fine, che certifica la salute di quell' anima, che in
‘ questa vita valse tanto (28). - - - *His relations and*
‘ *friends ought therefore to lament him with great sorrow.*
‘ *They ought not afterwards to be grieved at it, because*
‘ *they knew what his latter end was, in which he shewed so much Christian zeal, that they say he went directly to Heaven. His last hour was suitable to his age,*
‘ *which being weary of this world shewed his end to*
‘ *be determined, shunning the danger of sudden deaths,*
‘ *which commonly succeed that age. Tho' at first you*
‘ *will lament this honoured friend, afterwards you will*
‘ *not lament, but remain satisfied with that end, which*
‘ *certifies the salvation of his soul, which was of such*
‘ *value in this life.*’ To consider this man's morals, one would think he needed several years stay in Purgatory, notwithstanding the good dispositions he shewed at his death.

(28) Luca Contile, Lettere, *lib. i, fol.* 26 *verso.*

MOLSA (TARQUINIA) grand-daughter to the preceding, was one of the most eminent ladies of her age. Her wit and learning, joined to the gracefulness of her person, were supported by an uncommon virtue [A]. Having lost her husband, without having had any children (a), she never would marry a second, tho' she was still very young. The sorrow she expressed for him did justly found a parallel between her and Artemisia [B]. Her father finding that she was born with a talent for the sciences, caused her to be instructed by the best masters that could be found [C]. She was in great

(a) Hilarion de Coste, Elog. des Dames illustres, *Tom. ii, pag.* 800. *He translates the Elogy of this lady composed by Peter Paul de Ribera.*

[A] *Her wit and learning, joined to the gracefulness of her person, were supported by an uncommon virtue.*] Francis Patricius, one of the learnedest persons of that time, is my authority; here is what he says in one of his letters to her, after having specified the things she understood. ‘ His tot tantisque ingenii ornamentis comites sese addiderunt nobilitas generis, pulchritudo eximia, mores animi insignes, pudicitia
‘ singularis (1). - - - - *Besides so many and so great ornaments of the mind, she was of an antient family,*
‘ *of singular beauty, of an excellent temper, and uncommon virtue.*’ A canon of Lateran has drawn out this elogy to a greater length. *She was naturally agreeable,* says he (2), *and exceeding beautiful, so that when she was somewhat advanced in years, her face, her genteel manner, and graceful behaviour, confirmed the saying of Euripides, that not only the spring, but also the autumn of true beauties is agreeable: and yet the perfections of her mind did very much surpass those of her body, having equalled the most eminent persons in virtue and learning. Nor has she come behind any of her sex in chastity and modesty, virtues she always made profession of, with so much the more glory and advantage, as she was honoured with the visits of the most accomplished persons of several countries* (3), *who bearing of her rare virtues and endowments, had a mind to satisfy their curiosity, and came from far to see and discourse her, as the wonder of her age. This kind of vanity, which so easily intoxicates the minds of the female sex, had never been able to affect her's; on the contrary, she shunned, with great prudence and modesty, all occasions which might betray her into a reliss of it, preferring a retired life to the condition her extraordinary qualities might have raised her to; the temper she had happily found, savoured neither of confidence of her self, nor contempt of others.* These are the words of the Minime Hilarion de Coste, translated from the Italian of a canon of Lateran. Add to them a citation which I am just going to give from the same Monk.

(1) Franciscus Patricius, in Epist. Dedicat. tertii Tomi Discussionum Peripateticarum.

(2) Peter Paul de Ribera, ubi infra, *citat.* (7), *according to the version of* Hilarion de Coste, Elog. des Dames Illustres, *Tom. ii, pag.* 800.

(3) *Let us confirm this by the words of* Francis Patricius, *ubi supra.* Elegantes ac docti viri quique non cives tantum tui, sed quotquot Italia, quotquot Europa protulit, Mutinam visunt, ut te Mutinæ visant, ut mirentur, ut colant, cerebrum Jovis pene supremi alteram Minervam. - - - - *Polite and learned men, not only of your own country, but throughout all Italy and Europe, come to Modena to see you, to admire and adore another Minerva the offspring of Jupiter's brain.*

[B] *She deserved to be compared with Artemisia.*] This I say of her upon the authority of a great Philosopher: ‘ Proh dolor! *says he* (4), postquam maritus tuus Paulus Porrinus, virorum optimus ad superos migravit, Musas omnis ac Gratias, luctu ac
‘ tenebris obduxisti. Artemisiam alteram te factam
‘ dolemus. Fuit quidem ille tibi maritus incomparabilis. Sed & tu uxor illi incomparibilis & admiranda. Da locum prudentiæ, ac fortitudini tuæ, da
‘ finem lachrymis - - - - - *Alas! when your husband,*
‘ *Paulus Porrinus, the best of men, departed this life, you overwhelmed all the Muses and Graces with sorrow*
‘ *and darkness. We lament you, as another Artemisia.*
‘ *He indeed was an incomparable husband to you. But*
‘ *you was likewise an admirable and incomparable wife*
‘ *to him. Give place to your prudence and fortitude, and*
‘ *put an end to your tears.*’ The Epistle Dedicatory from whence I have taken these words has no date; but the book, in which it is found, was printed at Basil, in the year 1581.

(4) Francis Patricius, ibid.

[C] *Her father . . . . caused her to be instructed by the best masters that could be found.*] ‘ (5) Camillus Molza,
‘ Knight of the order of St James of Spain, and son
‘ to the great Francis Maria Molza of Modena, an
‘ Orator, and an excellent Latin and Italian Poet . . . .
‘ observing from her youth the force and excellency
‘ of her genius sent her with her brothers to learn the
‘ rudiments of Grammar. John Politiano, a native
‘ of Modena, admirably skilled in all the sciences, a
‘ man of great virtue and piety, was her master. She
‘ learned the *Belles Lettres*, as also to write well, and
‘ compose correctly, under the care of Lazaro Labadini, a famous Grammarian of those times, which
‘ she elegantly reduced to practice in her compositions
‘ in prose, and Latin verse. She acquired great knowledge in Aristotles Rhetoric, under Camillo Corcapani.

(5) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, *pag.* 799, 800, *& seq.*

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great eſteem at the court of the duke of Ferrara: In a word, her merit was ſo illuſtrious, that the city of Rome preſented her with a privilege, of which there never had been a precedent, to wit, that of the freedom of the city of Rome [*D*]. You will find theſe things in the remarks.

'The Mathematician Antony Guarini, taught her the 'doctrine of the Sphere. She learnt the art of Poetry 'under Francis Patricio a famous Philoſopher; Logic, 'and all the parts of Philoſophy, under P. Latoni, as 'alſo the entire and perfect knowlege of the Greek 'tongue. Rabbi Abraham taught her the principles 'of the Hebrew tongue: this Rabbi's grandfather 'had been a Hebrew maſter to her grandfather, the 'Great Molza, ſo that by her own induſtry, and the 'inclination to ſtudy, which theſe great men obſerved 'in her, ſhe made ſo extraordinary a progreſs, that the 'ſubtleſt queſtions in Divinity were no difficulty at 'all to her. John Maria Barbier, a man of great 'learning and judgment, perfected her in the purity of 'the Tuſcan tongue; ſhe compoſed not only ſeveral 'fluent and elegant Poems in it, but alſo ſeveral let-'ters, and other works eſteemed by the politeſt and 'and moſt learned men of Italy. She has mixed a-'bundance of tranſlations from books, Greek and 'Latin, with her own productions, and has ſo hap-'pily and ſo properly expreſſed the thoughts of her 'authors, that her readers have doubted whether ſhe 'had not a more perfect knowledge of thoſe tongues 'than of her own. She began to learn Muſic to en-'tertain and unbend her mind from her more ſerious 'ſtudies; ſo that ſhe excelled by far all the ladies, who 'had ſung with the greateſt applauſe, and raviſhed all 'their hearers. The way of managing her voice, which 'ſhe had acquired by the true rules of good books and 'of the beſt maſters, many of which had the lauda-'ble ambition to ſhow her ſomething curious in that 'art, was admirable. Amongſt others of theſe maſters 'were Giaches d'Uuerto, Luſaſco Luſachi, and Horatio 'called *of the Violin*, on which inſtrument, as well as 'on the Lute, Tarquinia uſed to play a part, joining 'another with her own voice, and that with ſo much 'art and ſkill, that nothing ſeemed to be wanting, ſo 'ſo that Alphonſo II, duke of Ferrara (6), a moſt 'judicious prince, and who had an extreme paſſion 'for all fine and good accompliſhments, was raviſhed 'with admiration, finding more perfections in this 'lady, than had been reported of her. A little after 'ſhe inſtituted that famous Concert of Ladies which has 'done her ſo much honour, and who after her huſ-'band's death, always invited her to their company, 'that by her preſence ſhe might perfect the choir of 'Muſic, which ſhe had ſo happily begun.' Theſe words of Hilarian de Coſte, are tranſlated from the Italian of a regular Canon of St John of Lateran (7). He does not clearly enough ſignify what Patricius taught this lady: and therefore I rectify his narration by the words of Patricius himſelf, who tells us he taught her the Greek tongue, and read Plato to her. All he has ſaid in praiſe of Tarquinia, with reſpect to her learning is worth relating, and may ſerve for a Supplement to Ribera's narration. 'Non tu, *ſays he* (8), 'ut aliæ ſolent, ſummis labris libros attigiſti. Tu non 'modo Hetruſcam politiſſimam linguam, ſed Latinam, 'ſed Græcam, optime calles. Tu in hac non modo 'Hiſtoricos atque oratores, ſed & Philoſophos, ſed & 'Platonem ipſum, Jovis eloquium æmulantem, ſed & 'Poetas quoſlibet, ſed & Pindarum, ſine hæſitatione 'ulla & legis & intelligis. Hanc tu, quod omnium 'hominum admirationem vincat, in Platone, tribus 'mentibus me prælegente edidiciſti. Tu in Latina 'omnium generum carmina pangis, in Hetruſca poema-'ta condis, quam ſalita, Jupiter, atque arguta! Tu 'logicas omnes ſpinas demetiſti. Tu moralem Philo-'ſophiam, Plutarchicam, Ariſtotelicam, Platonicamque 'ebibiſti. Tu magnos profectus in Phyſiologia feceiſti. 'Tu Theologiam catholicam, toto pectore hauſiſti. 'Quid Muſicen omnis generis referam? In qua te om-'nis non modo Muſicorum, ſed & Muſaram chorus & 'admiratur, & ſtupet. Te ne virorum quidem ullus in 'muſica præſtantiſſimorum, non modo non ſuperat, ſed 'nec adæquat. Cum ad hendecachordum canis cum 'acutam gravemque eodem utramque tempore, alteram 'ad lyram pulſas, alteram cantas, Gratiæ te omnes or-'nant, circumſtant, ſtupeſcuntque. Quas utinam poſſem 'ita exprimere, ut qui hæc legeret, te audire putaret. 'Sed Dii boni, quæ eloquentia? quæ argutiæ? qui ſales? 'quæ jucunditas in converſando? quæ humanitas? quæ 'urbanitas? Longe meritò judicioſiſſimus Benedictus 'Manzolius civis tuus, & Epiſcopus Regienſis te, non 'ſolum patri tuo Camillo viro eloquentiſſimo, ſed 'etiam avo tuo, viro uſquequaque magno Franciſco 'Mario Molziæ audet præferra. - - - - - *You have not 'ſuperficially read books as other ladies uſe to do. You 'have not only a perfect knowlege of the Tuſcan tongue in 'its greateſt purity, but likewiſe of the Latin and Greek. 'In the laſt of which you can read and underſtand not only 'Hiſtorians and Orators, but alſo Philoſophers and Plato 'himſelf, Jove's rival in eloquence, and likewiſe the 'Poets of any kind, even Pindar, and that without any 'difficulty. And what ſurpaſſes the admiration of all, 'you learned this language by my reading Plato to you, 'in three months time. In Latin you compoſe verſes of 'all ſorts, and in Tuſcan you write Poems, good God! 'how full of wit and ingenuity! You can ſolve all the 'difficulties in Logic. You are a perfect miſtreſs of the 'Ethics of Plutarch, Ariſtotle, and Plato. You have made 'vaſt proficiency in Phyſics, and have wholly exhauſted 'Catholic Divinity. What need I mention Muſic of 'every kind? In regard to which, the whole band, not 'only of Muſicians but likewiſe of the Muſes, look on you 'with admiration and aſtoniſhment. The moſt skillful 'man in Muſick is ſo far from excelling, that he does 'not ſo much as equal you. When you ſing to the Lute, 'when you perform Baſs and Tenor at the ſame time, 'the one on the Lyre and the other with your voice; 'all the Graces adorn, ſurround, and admire you. Which 'I wiſh I were able ſo to expreſs, that thoſe who read 'this might imagine they heard you. But, Lord! 'what wit, what ſpirit, what agreeableneſs in conver-'ſation, what ſweetneſs of temper, what politeneſs of 'behaviour? The moſt judicious Benedictus Manzolus 'your countryman, and Biſhop of Reggio, very juſtly pre-'fers you, not only to your moſt eloquent father Camillus, 'but alſo to your grandfather Francis Marius Molza, a 'great man in every reſpect.'*

[*D*] *The city of Rome preſented her . . . . . with the Roman freedom.*] '(9) All the world has given 'an univerſal applauſe to her merit, but particularly 'the ſenate and people of Rome, by an authentic 'teſtimonial and acknowledgment, having in a de-'cree of the ſenate, (wherein mention is made of all 'her qualities and perfections) honoured her with the 'title of *Only Perſon*, giving her the privilege of a 'a Roman citizen, and for her ſake to all the family 'of Molza, as you will ſee by the words of the grant 'or patent . . . . . Quod Fabius Matheus Franciſcus 'Soricius Equ. Dominicus Coccia Conſ. de Tarquinia 'Molſa Mutinenſe Camilli filia Civitate Romana do-'nanda ad Senatum retulere S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita 'fieri cenſuit. Etſi novum atque inuſitatum eſt in 'civium numerum à Senatu fœminas cooptari, quarum 'virtus, ac fama domeſticorum parietum finibus con-'tineri cum debeat, raro publicis in negotiis uſui Rei-'publicæ eſſe ſolet; tamen ſi aliqua inter eas unquam 'extiterit, quæ non ſolum ceteras ordinis, ſed viros 'etiam virtutibus pene omnibus ſupergrediatur, æquum 'eſt, ut novo exemplo, noviſque inuſitatiſque meritis, 'novi itidem honores inuſitatique perſolvantur. Cum 'itaque Tarquinia Molza Mutinæ antiquiſſima ac flo-'rentiſſimi Populi Romania Colonia, Camillo Patre in 'equitum ordinem D Jacobi ab Hiſpaniæ Regibus, in-'ſtitutum, ob merita ac nobilitatem adjecto genita, ce-'lebres illas Romanas Heroinas æmuletur, virtutibuſ-'que exprimat, ut ei nihil præter patriam Romanam 'deeſſe videatur, ne hoc unum ad abſolutam ejus glo-'riam deſiderari poſſit, Senatus Populuſque Romanus 'Civitate donandum cenſuit, &c. - - - - - *As Fabius 'Matheus Franciſcus Soricius, knight, and Dominicus 'Coccia, conſul, have propoſed to the ſenate to grant the 'freedom of the city of Rome to Tarquinia Molſa, of Mo-'dena, the daughter of Camillus. The ſenate and people 'of Rome have thus decreed. Though it be new and un-'common for the ſenate to admit women into the number 'of citizens, whoſe excellencies and fame, as they ought 'to be confined to family affairs, are ſeldom of ſervice to 'the Common-wealth in public matters; yet if there be 'any among them that not only ſurpaſſes the reſt of her 'own ſex, but even men in almoſt all virtues, it is rea-'ſonable that by a new example, new and unuſual honours 'ſhould be paid to new and unuſual merit. Since there-'fore Tarquinia Molza, a native of Modena, a moſt an-'cient*

(6) *Confirm this by theſe words of Patricius, ubi ſupra, citat.* (3). Quanti te ſereniſſimus Alphonſus Actilius II Princeps noſter? Quanti te principes mulieres Lucretia atque Leonora, ſorores eius faciunt? - - - *How much does his moſt ſerene highneſs Alphonſus of Eſte II our prince? How much do the princeſſes Lucretia, and Leonora his ſiſters, eſteem you?*

(7) Called Peter Paul de Ribera de Valencia. *He has written the Elogy of our Tarquinia in the fourteenth book of a work intituled,* Le Glorie immortali de' Trionfi, & Heroiche imprese d'ottocento quaranta cinque Donne illuſtri antiche, e moderne, dottate di conditioni e ſcienze ſegnalate: Cioè in ſacra Scrittura, Theologia, Profetia, Filoſofia, Retorica, Grammatica, Medicina, Aſtrologia, Leggi Civili, Pittura, Muſica, Armi, & in altre virtu principali.

(8) Patricius, ubi ſupra.

(9) Hilarion de Coſte, *Tom. ii, pag.* 802, 803.

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'cient and flouriſhing colony of the people of Rome, and 'daughter of Camillus, who for his merits and nobility 'was made knight of the order of St James, inſtituted 'by the kings of Spain, imitates, and, by her virtues, 'reſembles thoſe famous Roman heroines, ſo that ſhe ſeems 'to want in nothing except her not being born in Rome, that 'this alone might not be wanting to compleat her glory, 'the ſenate and people of Rome have decreed to preſent 'her with the freedom, &c. Ribera has only put theſe 'Latin words in Tarquinia Molza's Elogy, and all 'the patent in Italian, wherein are related all the qua- 'lities and ſtudies of this heroine, the nobility of 'her family, and the deeds of her anceſtors which I 'have ſpoken of above. The decree was made in 'the Capitol the eighth of December MDC. Curtio 'Martolo being for the time chancellor of the ſenate, 'and of the Roman people, Angelo Foſco being chan- 'cellor of the ſenate and people.

MONANTHEUIL (HENRY DE) in Latin *Monantholius* [*A*], a native of Reims in Champagne, was king's profeſſor of Mathematics at Paris, in the year 1577 (*a*) [*B*]. He was alſo dean of the faculty of Phyſic at Paris (*b*). He had been educated under Ramus in the college of Prele, and was a very zealous ſtickler for the Philoſophy of this new founder of a ſect. Thuanus, who informs us of this paticular (*c*), makes an honourable mention of Monantheuil, who had taught him Arithmetic and Geometry. He had been preceptor to the learned Peter de Lamoignon (*d*), whoſe Epitaph Theodore Beza has written in Latin verſe. He publiſhed at Paris, in 1599, his Latin tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Mechanics (*e*) [*C*], and added to it a very learned commentary. Death prevented his finiſhing a large work of Mathematics, upon which he had laboured a long time, and which was to be intituled *Heptatechnon Mathematicum.* We ſhall take notice of his other works in the remarks. He was one of du Vair's, the keeper of the ſeals, particular friends, and is the *Muſæus* mentioned by du Vair in his book of Conſtancy. He had a ſon called THIERRI DE MONANTHEUIL who was advocate in the parliament of Paris, and compoſed a book intituled *de Puncto* [*D*], which he dedicated to his father. This Thierri died at Paris in 1621, being fifty years of age. His ſiſter CATHARINE was married to Jerome Goulu, as we have already obſerved (*f*). See Mr Menage (*g*).

(*a*) Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, *pag.* 567.

(*b*) Menage, Remarques ſur la Vie de P. Aurault, *pag.* 254.

(*c*) Thuan. de Vita ſua, *lib. i.*

(*d*) *Uncle to the firſt preſident de Lamoignon.* Menage, ibid.

(*e*) Voſſius, de Scient. Mathem. *pag.* 306.

(*f*) Above, remark [*A*] of the article GOULU (JEROME).

(*g*) Ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *In Latin* Monantholius.] This is doubtleſs his true Latin name; but becauſe Voſſius, I know not why, calls him Monatholius, Mr Moreri has not only omitted his French name, which he ought to have given, but has alſo put him under a Latin name, ſomewhat diſguiſed, I mean that of Monatholius. He has added nothing to the ſhort account, which he found of him in Voſſius.

[*B*] *He was the king's profeſſor . . . in the year* 1577.] I could eaſily believe he entered upon this profeſſion in 1574, being at that time a profeſſor of Phyſic; I could eaſily believe this, I ſay, from the title of the oration inſerted by du Verdier Vau Privas, in the ſupplement to the epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque. *Henrici Monantholii Rhemi Scholarum Medicinæ Profeſſoris, oratio pro Mathematicis artibus, Pariſiis habita, ibidemque excuſa* in 4to. *apud Dionyſium à Prato* 1574. But this other title of an oration at the 367th page of the ſecond part of Thuanus's catalogue might keep me in ſuſpence, *Henrici Monantholii Oratio pro ſuo in regiam Cathedram ritu* 8. *Pariſ.* 1585.

[*C*] *He publiſhed . . . his Latin tranſlation of Ariſtole's Mechanics.*] When I find on one hand, that the Sieur Konig (1), upon Cardan's teſtimony, tells us of one Francis Monantholius author of a book intituled *Ludus iatromathematicus*, and on the other, that Henry de Monantheuil wrote a book called *Ludus iatromathematicus, Muſis factus ad averruncandum tres Academiæ pernicioſiſimos hoſtes, πόλεμον, λιμὸν, λοιμὸν* (2), I am ſomewhat diſpoſed to believe, that here are two authors made of one, and that the Petrus Monatholius, mentioned immediately after, as an author who publiſhed Commentaries at Paris upon Ariſtotle's Rhetoric, in the year 1599, is a new multiplication of the ſame writer, and a miſtaking of his Rhetoric for a treatiſe of Mechanics. However, I venture not to determine the point, not having a library ſufficiently furniſhed at my command.

(1) Biblioth. *pag.* 548.

(2) *See* Lindeniut renovat. *pag.* 397.

[*D*] *THIERRI . . . . his ſon . . . . wrote a book intituled* de Puncto.] Monantheuil, the father, had writ upon the ſame ſubject: ſee in Thuanus's catalogue this title, *Henr. Monantholii de Puncto primo Geometriæ principio* 4. *Ludg. Bat. Commel* 1600. The Oxford catalogue does not mention this treatiſe; but we find it in a Panegyric, Henrico IV Galliarum Regi dictus, printed at Paris in 1594, and an *Admonitio ad Jac. Peletarium de augulo contactus*, printed at Paris 1581.

MONARDES (NICHOLAS) a Phyſician of Seville, flouriſhed in the XVIth century, and came into great reputation by his practice (*a*), and by the books he publiſhed [*A*]. Some think he died in the year 1588. But it is more probable he died in

(*a*) See the remark.

[*A*] *He acquired a great reputation . . . . by the books he publiſhed.*] The book intituled *De ſecanda vena in pleuritide inter Græcos & Arabes Concordia*, was printed at Seville in the year 1539 in 4to. His treatiſe *De roſa & partibus ejus; de ſucci roſarum temperatura; de roſis perſicis ſeu Alexandrinis; de malis, citris, aurantiis, & limoniis*, was printed at Antwerp in the year 1565, in 8vo (1). The Spaniſh book wherein he explained the virtues of American drugs: *de las drogas de las Indias*, was extreamly uſeful to mankind, for it contained remedies for many diſeaſes. It alſo got Monardes a deal of glory. Let us hear what he ſays upon it. *Quæ* (prima pars) *ſuperioribus annis tam felicibus auſpiciis in publicum prodiit, ut inde hominum vita tot morborum periculis objecta multiplicia eademque præſentanea remedia ſibi paraverit, atque ego bonorum judicio non mediocrem eruditionis & diligentiæ laudem reportaverim* (2). Thus he ſpeaks concerning the firſt part of this work in an Epiſtle dedicatory to Pope Gregory XIII (3). He adds, that the deſire of promoting the public good, weighed much more with him, than the applauſes he received in compoſing a ſecond part, and he obſerves that it was of vaſt ſervice to the public. *Poſtea non tam auræ popularis (quamquam ea ſecundiſſime afflabat) ſuavitate illectus, quam communis utilitatis amore commotus alterum ejuſdem argumenti Syntagma concinnavi: in quo innumera medicamenta quæ hactenus intra naturæ arcana delituerant, magno humanæ ſalutis emolumento in lucem produxi* (4). Note, that before he publiſhed any thing on this ſubject, he was acquainted by a long experience with the ſovereign virtues of the American medicines. *Quum rerum medicinalium ab occidentali uſque India, ad nos convectarum utilitates adeo mirabiles ut ægrotos quamplurimos pæne jam deploratos ſanaverint, aſſidua medendi periclitatione atque longinqui temporis uſu percepiſſem; eas res . . . . via ac ratione tractare conſtitui* (5). Obſerve alſo, that Don Nicolas Antonio ought to have told us, that the two firſt parts of this work were printed one after another. This he did not know; for he would have us believe they were publiſhed both together, and that the firſt edition was in the year 1569 in 8vo. *De las drogas de las Indias*, ſays he (6), *duobus tomis, qui primum editi ſunt ab authore anno* 1569. What he adds is not more exact, 'Poſtea adjuncto tertio, unum 'ex tribus majoris formæ volumen publicavit anno '1580, 4to. - - - - *Afterwards having added a third,*

(1) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. *Tom. ii, pag.* 122.

(2) Nicol. Monardes, Epiſt. Dedicat.

(3) It is before the edition of Seville, 1574.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra.

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(f) Nicol. Antonius, in Biblioth. Scriptor. Hiſpan. *Tom. ii, pag.* 122.

in 1578 (*b*). We ſhall ſhew in the remark, that the editions of his books have not been rightly told by Don Nicholas Antonio.

'*he publiſhed one of the three volumes in a larger ſize, in the year* 1580, *in* 4to.' It is certain that the third part was printed, with the two others in 4to, in 1574, at Seville, by Alonzo Eſcrivano. I have this edition: it is dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. And it was to oblige this Pope, that the author publiſhed it in this manner. 'Quæ meorum ſtudiorum monumenta quum 'ejuſcemodi Genium habuerint, ut ſanctitati tuæ ſum- 'me placuerint, eaque Romam ex ultima Hiſpania de- 'ferenda curaveris, operæ pretium me tibi facturum 'exiſtimavi, ſi utramque hujus operis partem conjun- 'gerem, ac nunc primum tua potiſſimum cauſſa ter- 'tiam adjicerem (7). - - - - *Since the fruits of my ſtudies* (7) Nicol. Monardus, ubi ſupra. '*are of ſuch a nature as to pleaſe your Holineſs, and* 'that you cauſed them to be brought to Rome from 'the remoteſt part of Spain, I thought it would oblige 'you, if I ſhould join both parts of this work together, '*and now for the firſt time add a third, chiefly on* 'your account.' He added to it three dialogues; the firſt, *de la piedra Bezaar, y de la yerva Eſcuerçonera:* The ſecond, *de la nieve y del bever frio:* The third, *de las grandezas del Hierro, y de ſus virtudes medicinales.* The two firſt had been publiſhed before (8), but not the third. Nicolas Antonio did not know of any other edition of the third than that of the year 1580. All theſe Spaniſh works of our Monardes have been tranſlated into Latin by Cluſius, and into Italian by Annibal Brigantus. The ſame Cluſius hath alſo tranſlated into Latin Monardes's three books, *De varios ſeceretos y experiencias de Medicina.* Thoſe of American drugs were tranſlated into Engliſh by I know not whom, and into French by Anthony Colin, ſworn Apothecary to the town of Lyons. The *Lindenius renovatus* does not mark the year of any Spaniſh edition.

(8) *That* De la piedra Bezaar, &c, *at Seville,* 1569, *in* 8*vo: that* De la nieve, &c, *at Seville,* 1571, *in* 8*vo.* Nicol. Anton. ubi ſupra.

MONIMA, wife to Mithridates, ſmote the heart of this prince from the firſt moment he ſaw her. It was in the town of Stratonicea, ſoon after the great advantages obtained by him over the Roman Generals Oppius, Manius, &c. He thought this young woman ſo handſome, that he ſecured her perſon, and put her into his ſeraglio (*a*). Others ſay, that ſhe was of Miletus, and that Mithridates never could obtain the laſt favour, but by taking the fair way, that is, by marrying her. He attacked her by ſtrong ſollicitations; he made her a preſent at one time of fifteen thouſand crowns, but all in vain, he was forced to come to a marriage contract; nor would ſhe ever bed with him, till he had fairly ſigned it, and adorned her with the royal diadem and title of Queen (*b*) [*A*]. This conduct made her famous throughout all Greece. Her condition after all was nothing but meer ſhew; the ſolid part of happineſs was wanting. The poor Monima often regretted her native country and made a ſad end [*B*]; for Mithridates being overcome by Lucullus, and fearing leſt his wives, ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, ordered them all to be put to death. He had given the government of Epheſus to Philopœmen Monima's father (*c*). It cannot be doubted but that his paſſion for this beautiful perſon was conſtant; ſeeing after his death there were found amongſt his papers ſome wanton letters which had paſſed between them (*d*).

(*a*) Appian. in Mithridaticis, *pag. m.* 123.

(*b*) Plutarch. in Lucul. *pag.* 503. *A.*

(*c*) Appian, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 134.

(*d*) Plut. in Pompejo, *pag.* 639.

[*A*] *Mithridates . . . . did not lie with her . . . . till he had adorned her . . . . . with the title of Queen.*] Ταύτης ὁ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι τῆ Βασιλέως πειρῶντος αὐτὴν. καὶ μυρίας πενταπισχιλίας χρυσοῦς προπέμψαντος, ἀνέσχεε, μέχρις ὁ γάμων ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι καὶ διάδημα πέμψας αὐτῆ, βασίλισσαν ἀνεγόρευσεν. *Erat hujus celebre inter Græcos nomen, quod quum eam Rex attentaret, & quindecim millia aureorum miſiſſet, eatenus fuerit reniſa, dum ſponſaliis factis miſſoque diademate appellavit reginam* (1).

(1) Plutarch. in Luculio, pag. 503, *A.*

[*B*] *The ſolid part of happineſs was wanting: ſhe regretted . . . . her native country, and made a ſad end.*] All this Plutarch tells us in the place, where he relates how Mithridates, flying from Lucullus, ſent Bacchides, one of his eunuchs, to his ſiſters and wives, with orders to put them to death. 'The poor lady, '*ſays he* (2), *ſpeaking of our Monima,* ever ſince this 'barbarous king had married her, lived in great diſ- 'content, continually deploring her unfortunate beau- 'ty, which inſtead of a huſband, had procured her a 'maſter, and inſtead of that conjugal ſociety, which 'was befitting a lady of honour, had given her a 'guard and garriſon of Barbarians, who kept her as 'a priſoner, far from the ſweet country of Greece, in 'a place where ſhe had only the dream and ſhadow 'of the happineſs ſhe hoped for; and, on the con- 'trary, had really loſt the ſubſtance, which before 'ſhe enjoyed in her native country: and when this 'Bacchilides came to them, and had laid before them 'the king's command, that they might chuſe that 'way of dying, which each thought the eaſieſt, and 'leaſt painful, ſhe ſnatched her royal diadem off 'her head, and tying it about her neck, hanged her ſelf 'therewith; but the wreath not being ſtrong enough, 'immediately broke, whereupon ſhe cried out, O! 'curſed and unfortunate ſtring, wilt thou not do me, at 'leaſt, this one ſad piece of ſervice? At which words, 'ſhe threw it upon the ground, and ſpit upon it, and 'then ſtretched out her fine neck that Bacchilides 'might cut her throat.'

(2) Id. ib.

(*a*) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Biblioth. Franc. *pag.* 729.

MONIN (JOHN EDWARD DU) a native of Guy, *in the county of Burgundy* (*a*), publiſhed a great many Poems [*A*], in the reign of Henry III. He has been placed in the catalogue of extraordinary wits [*B*]. He was killed at twenty ſix years of age (*b*). It

(*b*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He publiſhed a great many Poems.*] Here is the catalogue of them, as we find it in Du Verdier's Bibliotheque (1): 'A Philoſophical compariſon of the 'ſun and moon with our ſoul and intellect, according 'to Merc. Triſmegiſtus, and ſome Platoniſts. Toge- 'ther with ſome Poetical diſcourſes and ſonnets; the 'whole printed at the end of the Latin verſion he 'has made of the Week of William de Saluſte, Sieur 'du Bartas, which he intituled, *Ber ſithias ſive mun- 'di creatio,* publiſhed at Paris in 8vo, by Hilary le 'Bouc, 1579. The new works of John Edward du 'Monyn, Philoſophical Poet, containing Diſcourſes, 'Hymns, Odes, Amours, Counter-amours, Eclogues, 'Elegies, Anagrams, and Epigrams, printed at Paris 'in 12mo, by John Parent in 1582. *Uranologia,* 'or the Heavens; containing, beſides the ordinary 'doctrine of the ſphere, ſeveral fine diſcourſes, printed 'at Paris in 12mo, by William Julian, 1583. *Miſ- 'cellaneorum Poeticorum libri. Pariſiis* 8vo.' Claude du Verdier (2), ſon to him who has furniſhed me with this paſſage, has cenſured our du Monin in ſeveral things, and Father Leſcalopier obſerves, with reſpect to du Bartas's Latin tranſlation, 'Moninus . . . nimis 'incultus Poëta viſus eſt, interpreſque parum fidus (3). '*Monin - - - ſeems to be a very unpoliſhed Poet, and an* 'unfaithful tranſlator.'

(1) Du Verdier, *pag.* 729.

(2) *See his book intituled,* In Autores pene omnes, antiquos potiſſimum, Cenſio.

(3) Leſcalop. in Cicer. de Natur. Deorum, *pag.* 236.

[*B*] *He has been placed in the catalogue of extraordinary wits.*] Gabriel Naudé deſigning to prove (4) that Picus, count of Mirandola, was not the only perſon who had made a prodigious progreſs in learning in his youth, ſays, (5) that Paul de la Scala *maintained in the year* 1553 *at Bologne, one thouſand five hundred forty-three concluſions*

(4) Naudé, Apologie des grans Hommes, *pag.* 499. *See alſo his* Syntagma de Studio liberali, *pag. m.* 87, *and his* Dialogue of Maſcurat, *pag.* 468.

(5) Ib. *p.* 503.

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It is said, that du Perron was accused of being an accomplice in his murther [C], and that he was forced to sue for his pardon. I think d'Aubigné has been guilty of an anachronism in speaking of du Monin [D].

conclusions upon all sorts of subjects, and this before he had attained to the age of two and twenty years. He produces afterwards the examples of Postel, Gesner, Erasmus, Agrippa, and Maldonat, 'and last of all, 'that of this Edward du Monin, who, we may say, 'was compounded only of fire and spirit, since he 'had acquired before the twenty-sixth year of his 'age, in which he was killed, the knowledge of the 'Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, tongues, 'and of Philosophy, Physic, Mathematics, and Divini-'ty, with such facility in the Poetry of all these 'languages, that he translated into Latin verse du Bar-'tas's work of the Creation, in less than fifty days, 'and saw printed before his death five or six con-'siderable volumes of his Poems, which were high-'ly commended by the finest wits of the last age, 'Fumeus, du Perron, Goulu, Auratus, Morel, Baif, and 'du Bartas.'

[C] *Du Perron was accused of being an accomplice in this murther.*] This I find in a book of Gisbert Voëtius, in the place where he relates the progress of cardinal du Perron's fortune. 'Perronus, *says he* (6), si 'cum illo *(Plesseo Mornæo)* comparetur, quis qua-'lisve fuerit, judicent illi qui virum propius norunt; 'Ministri reformati filium fuisse constat, cui nomen 'Perroni fuit inditum à vico ejusdem nominis in quo 'Genevæ habitaverat pater, priusquam in Norman-'diam veniret. A patre initio fuisse educatum in spem 'Ministerii, sed à D. de Matignon, cui carmina quæ-'dam obtulerat inductum fuisse ut Lutetiam se confer-'ret, ubi fortunæ lautioris poëtæ spes esset sub Hen-'rico III ibi innotuisse, & cum aliis nonnullis postu-'latum fuisse cædis Eduardi du Monin, etiam poëtæ, 'qui versibus suis eum perstrinxerat, adeo ut literas 'gratiæ, quas vocant, à Rege obtinuerit; cui a lectio-'nibus fuit, donec oratione apud eum habita, qua pro-'babat Deum esse, (7) obtulit se die sequenti contra-'rium probaturum, si Regi adlubescret. Quam ob 'caussam jussus aula excedere, paulatim tamen se non-'nullis insinuavit, maxime Cardinali Vindocinensi. Et 'tandem se immiscuit iis qui Regem Henricum IV ad 'religionis mutationem pertraxerunt, unde ei ad Epis-'copatum primo, deinde ad Cardinalatum patuit via. '---- *Who or what sort of man Du Perron was, if 'compared with Du Plessis Mornai, let those judge who 'knew him best: it is certain, he was the son of a Re-'formed minister, and had the name of Du Perron 'given him from a street so called at Geneva, where his 'father had lived, before he went into Normandy. That 'he was at first educated by his father, with a view to 'the ministry, but was persuaded by Mr de Matignon, to 'whom he had presented some verses, to go to Paris, 'where a Poet might hope to advance his fortune under Hen-'ry III; that there he became noted, and with some 'others was accused of murdering Edward du Monin, who 'was also a Poet, and had handled him severely in his 'poems, so that he was obliged to get letters of pardon, 'as they call them, from the king; to whom he used to 'read lectures, till one day after he had made a speech 'before him, in which he proved there was a GOD; 'he offered, if the king pleased, to prove the contrary 'the next day. For which reason he was ordered to 'leave the court; however, by degrees, he insinuated 'himself into the favour of some, and particularly the 'cardinal de Vendosme. And at last joined himself to 'those who induced king Henry IV to change his re-'ligion, by which means he came first to be made a 'bishop, and afterwards a cardinal.' Note, that he cites no body, and yet he was very fond of making citations.

(6) Gisbert Voëtius, Desper. Causa Papatus, *pag.* 677, 678.

(7) See the Journal of Henry III, *ad diem* 25 *Nov.* 1583, and the Epistle Dedicatory to the Confession of Sancy.

[D] *I think d'Aubigné has been guilty of an anachronism in speaking of du Monin.*] He says (8), that du Monin, whom the king named the *Poet of the Light Horse*, played a lady a malicious trick, who had desired him to write an elegy upon the disturbance the coaches caused in the streets. He excused himself, and telling her, *He was going to Lyons, concealing that he was going to surrender himself to the duke of Savoy* (9), *she desired him to get her a suit of tapestry wove in emblems. He discharged his commission, and got her a set representing four triumphs, each of which consisted of three pieces; the first was the triumph of impiety; the second of ignorance; the third of cowardice; the fourth of beggery* (10). *The embroidery of the grotesque work, adds the author, is a writing in cypher, which no body understood: But du Monin, who having nothing more to fear, since he had passed the mount du Chat, sent the explication and account of it all at length to the* little knight.' The lady, whom d'Aubigné designed to ridicule, is doubtless the Sieur de la Verenne's wife, he supposes she had told du Monin, that the king had taken from Madam a suit of tapestry, worth a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to give it the duchess, and that it would be *more becoming his majesty, now she was dead, to make a present of it to Monsieur* (11), *than to make himself the heir of the deceased.* The duchess here mentioned is Gabriela d'Estrée, mistress to Henry IV, who died in the year 1599. D'Aubigné must therefore imagine, that du Monin was alive that year. But how can this hypothesis be reconciled with what we have seen above (12), that he was killed in the reign of Henry III, at twenty-six (13) years of age, and that his chief works were printed before the year 1584 (14)? He was still living that year, as la Croix du Main assures us (15). Either d'Aubigné perplexes and confounds times, or else he speaks of another du Monin.

(8) D'Aubigné, in the fourth book of the baron *de Feneste, cap.* xvi, *pag. m.* 285.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 286.

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 288.

(11) We are by this word to understand the husband of the lady who spoke to Du Monin.

(12) In the remark [C].

(13) In the remark [B].

(14) In the remark [A].

(15) Pag. 221, of his *Bibliotheque.*

MONSERRAT MONTANNES (MICHAEL) lived in the XVIIth century. He was a Spaniard, who forsook the church of Rome to go over to the Protestant communion, and published some small pieces of controversy. I have seen one of them (*a*), intituled *Aviso sobre los Abusos de la Iglesia Romana.* He shews in it that he had read the Scripture much, for he cites it at every turn. He concludes his book by exhorting his nation to convert themselves, by describing the disorders which the vows of celibacy caused in Spain [A]. He observes, among other things, that the confessors allow the Nuns a most criminal remedy for incontinence, when they declare they burn (*b*). All this is followed by a great number of scripture passages in praise of marriage. He had printed another tract in the year 1631 (*c*).

(*a*) Printed at the Hague in 1633, it was approved by Henry Arnold minister of Delft.

(*b*) Y a las encerradas Monias, sus Confessores les conseden que tengan su viril de barro para sus concupicentias por que dizen que se queman, y assi las remediam con este grand pecado. *Aviso, &c. pag.* 126.

(*c*) At the Hague, with the approbation of the same Arnold. It is written in Spanish with this title, *That the Pope is Anti-Christ.*

[A] *He describes the disorders which the vows of celibacy caused in Spain.*] He affirms, that the secular and regular clergy walk abroad well armed, and fight so desperately when they are attacked, that the officers of Justice are afraid of them. *Quanto al voto, bien sabeys lo que los religiozos y clerigos hazen, que salen de sus casas con espada y broquel, que la misma justicia y corxetes temen de encontranse con ellos, por que dan golpes dezatinados por causa del gran ardor libidinoso, y tambien por no ser presos y conocidos. Y muchos Canonigos, por mas modestia, se van a los partidos, despues de los maytines a purgarse con las rameras, para poder dormir. Los demas de la Clerecia tienen sus desguaceros y concubinas y muchos hijos dellas* (1).

(1) *Monserrate Montannes, pag.* 126. I copy him word for word, and the very errors of the press, that may be in it.

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MONSTRELET (ENGUERRAND DE) author of a Chronicle of France, which has often been printed [*A*], and which reaches from the year 1400 to 1467, lived in the XVth century. He *deſcended from a noble and ancient Family* (*a*), and was governor of the town of Cambray. As that town ſtood neuter betwixt the French, the Engliſh, and Burgundians, he enjoyed all the repoſe that an Hiſtorian could deſire, and the opportunity of hearing the relations of all ſides. Some ſay, that he wrote *with the more fidelity, as he was in a place, where nothing obliged him to ſeek the friendſhip of one party, or fear the hatred of the other* (*b*); but it is more certain, that he ſhewed himſelf a little too partial to the houſe of Burgundy [*B*]. He kept a correſpondence with the heralds, with the agents, and with other perſons, that *were conſiderable for their ſtation*, and helped out his *intelligence by the publick reports* (*c*). He has *enriched his Hiſtory with edicts, the letters of kings and princes, remarkable ſayings, articles of peace, and of truces, capitulations of towns, challenges, ſummons*, &c (*d*). I do not know the year of his birth, nor that of his death.

(*a*) Bullart, Academ. des Sciens *Tom. i, pag.* 129.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Id. ib.

(*d*) Id. ib.

[*A*] *His Chronicle has often been printed* (*a*).] I know no older edition than that of the year 1512 at Paris (1). There was another in the ſame city in the year 1572. The latter was reviſed and corrected *by the copy in the king's library* (2). Du Cheſne ſpeaks of an edition of Paris 1603 (3). Add to theſe the edition of the Louvre.

(1) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 75.

(2) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. *pag.* 277.

(3) Du Cheſne, Biblioth. des Hiſtor. de France, *pag.* m. 50.

[(§ *a*) Monſtrelet paſſes for an injudicious Hiſtorian, and Rabelais, L. III. Ch. xxiv, cenſures him as an idle talker, who, in the very beginning of his hiſtory, had tranſgreſſed the rules preſcribed to Hiſtorians by Lucian. As for the reſt, of all the editions of Monſtrelet, thoſe wherein Dennis Sauvage had a hand are the worſt, becauſe of the liberty he took in changing many words and phraſes, whereof he has not always given the ſenſe. At the end of theſe interpolated editions, are ſome additions, printed under the title of *a Continuation* of Monſtrelet. REM. CRIT.]

[*B*] *He ſhewed himſelf a little too partial to the houſe of Burgundy.*] Spondanus calls him *Burgundi fautorem* (4), *a favourer of the houſe of Burgundy*; tho' in another place (5) he owns he is a ſincere writer, and very exact in ſetting down the times. La Popeliniere makes him ſuſpected, for thus he ſpeaks: *Enguerrand de Monſtrelet collecting the moſt notable tranſactions in France after Froiſſard, has hardly ſhewn himſelf a better or more judicious writer, tho' ſomewhat truer, and leſs paſſionate* (6). As he had juſt accuſed Froiſſard of extreme partiality for the Engliſh againſt the French, he does not pretend that we ſhould reckon Monſtrelet very impartial. An Hiſtorian who is ſomewhat leſs prepoſſeſſed than another who is ſo to exceſs, is none of the faithfulleſt. He adds, that Monſtrelet continued his hiſtory to Lewis XII, and places him in the year 1500. I believe he is miſtaken as to this laſt date; and I am ſure, that Monſtrelet's Chronicle is not carried further down than the five or ſix firſt years of the reign of Lewis XI, for it ends at the funeral of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. La Popeliniere made uſe of an edition, to which the Bookſellers had added ſupplements, as far as Lewis XII. This was the occaſion of his error.

(4) Spondan. ad ann. 1415. num. 32, *pag.* m. 753.

(5) Id. ad ann. 1467, *num.* 2.

(6) La Popeliniere, Hiſtoire des Hiſtoires, *livr. viii, pag.* 435.

MONTAIGU (JOHN DE) high-ſteward of France under Charles VI, had the misfortune to diſpleaſe the duke of Burgundy, who abuſed the authority he had obtained in the kingdom to ſuch a degree of violence, that he cauſed him to be beheaded the ſeventeenth of October 1409 (*a*). Some ſay, that the memory of this high-ſteward was juſtified three years after [*A*], when the power of his oppreſſor was at an end, and that his bones were honourably interred by a public order. Francis I. made a reflexion upon this, which gave occaſion to a very judicious anſwer. We ſhall ſee it below [*B*]. Conſult the Continuation of the Menagiana (*b*).

(*a*) And not the ſeventh of October 1408, as Moreri affirms. According to him this man had been arreſted, tried, put to the queſtion, ſentenced to loſe his head, and actually beheaded all in one day.

(*b*) Pag. 87, 88, Edit. of Holl.

[*A*] *Some ſay, that his memory . . . . . was juſtified three years after.*] Mr Menage denies it: theſe are his words which are full of curious particulars: ‘ (1) James ‘ du Breuil, in his Paris Antiquities, at the chapter ‘ concerning the foundation of the Celeſtines of Marcoucy, has written that John de Montaigu's corps ‘ was carried to Monfaucon, in a ſack filled with ‘ ſpices; and that all the time it was at Monfaucon, ‘ the celeſtines of Marcoucy daily gave a certain ſum ‘ to the executioner of Paris to look after it, and ‘ that four years after his execution, his memory ‘ having been vindicated at the ſollicitation of Vidame de Laonnois, his ſon, ſon-in-law to the conſtable d'Albret, his eſtate was reſtored to his heirs. ‘ It is true, the body of John de Montaigu was ‘ taken down from the gallows the twenty-ſeventh of ‘ September 1412, after it had hung ſome years at Monfaucon. But what du Breuil ſays of the ſack filled ‘ with ſpices, and the executioner's having a charge ‘ of his body, is a fable. Nor is it true, that his ‘ memory had been vindicated. As for his eſtate, ‘ tho' he had been condemned without the knowledge ‘ of Charles VI, yet this prince granted the forfeiture ‘ of it to Lewis duke of Guienne, the dauphin. But ‘ it is certain, (as I have learned from Mr Perron (2), ‘ who has been particularly curious about the life of ‘ John de Montaigu) that his eſtate was at laſt reſtored ‘ to his heirs.’

(1) Menage, Hiſtoire de Sablé, *livr. x, chap.* v, *pag.* 271.

(2) He has publiſhed a book intitled, L'Anaſtaſe de Marcouſſy, ou Recherches curieuſes de ſon origine, progrès, & agrandiſſement. *Journal des Sçavans, of the thirteenth of June* 1695, *ſpeaks of it.*

[*B*] *Francis I . . . . gave occaſion to a very judicious anſwer.*] I will give it in Stephen Paſquier's words. ‘ The ſame king, *ſays he, ſpeaking of Francis I* (3), paſſing by the Celeſtines of Marcoucy, and aſking ſome ‘ of the Monks within, Who founded that monaſtery? ‘ was anſwered, that it was John de Montaigu, high ſteward of France, in the reign of Charles VI. This lord ‘ had been hanged on a gibbet at Paris, at the inſtance of ‘ the duke of Burgundy, who then domineered over all ‘ France. King Francis, as it was his uſual way, always ‘ to hold ſome profitable, diſcourſe ſaid to the company, that he greatly wondered, how he who had ‘ ſo long governed the king, his maſter, ſhould be ‘ condemned to death; conſidering, that after ſome ‘ years, his bones were honourably interred in this ‘ place, by a decree of juſtice: from whence it was ‘ eaſy to conclude, that the judges had paſſed an unrighteous ſentence. Upon which a monk anſwered the king pretty bluntly, that his majeſty was ‘ in ſome meaſure miſtaken, for the Sieur de Montaigu's trial was not by judges, but by commiſſioners; meaning, in his rough way, that commiſſioners packed to the humour of a lord whoſe power ‘ was then exorbitant, ſeldom preſerved in their judgments the conſcience of good judges. Whether this ‘ was ſpoken by the monk from meer ſimplicity, or ‘ an artful deſign, it gave occaſion of laughter, how ‘ much ſoever it ought to have turned to edification: ‘ for, to ſay truth, commiſſioners, tho' they are not ‘ corrupted, yet are ever ſuſpected by all ſober perſons, and moſt people think that ſuch judges are ‘ choſen to the liking of thoſe who cauſe them to be ‘ delegated, only to obtain ſome advantageous decree, ‘ or to execute ſome projected revenge under the maſk ‘ of juſtice. Which the parliament having taken into conſideration, to prevent ſcandal, and the oppreſſion ‘ of the people, which commonly happen on all ſuch ‘ occaſions, upon a preſident's ſpeech in our own ‘ time, it was by a ſolemn oath decreed, that no counſellor of that court ſhould ever accept or act in any ‘ ſuch commiſſion, unleſs all the commiſſioners were ‘ taken from the ſame body, and not picked here ‘ and there out of ſeveral courts. Which however is ‘ not giving the diſeaſe an intire cure, but only ſome ‘ abatement (4). Theſe good conſiderations are but ill ‘ obſerved.

(3) Paſquier, Recherches de la France, *livr. vi, chap.* viii, *pag.* m. 471.

(4) See the article GRANDIER, remark [*F*].

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MONTAUBAN, a city of Guienne in Querci, upon the river Tarn, is famous on ſeveral accounts. A Gentleman of note (*a*) has already communicated to me ſome very good memoirs concerning this town; but as he has given me a promiſe of others much larger, and more exact, I ſhall defer this article, in hopes of putting it one time or other into the beſt condition. I only touch upon one thing, which is ſomewhat extraordinary, it relates to a ſmall book, which the abbot de la Roque has inſerted in his Memoirs of the Church [*A*].

(*a*) Mr YSARN, heretofore minister of Montauban, now of Amſterdam. His merit is well known, even by good books publiſhed by him.

[*A*] *A ſmall book, which the abbot de la Roque has inſerted in his Memoirs of the Church.*] The title of it is, *Montauban juſtified, or an anſwer to the faithful of the P. R. R. who aſk, 1. Whether Salvation may be had in the Roman church. 2. Whether it be lawful for any temporal advantages, and particularly in times of affliction, to change one's religion, by J. D. B. and J. L. J. miniſters of the Holy Goſpel.* To ſhew upon what occaſion this work was publiſhed, we muſt know that there happened a popular tumult at Montauban about the year 1661. Soldiers were ſent thither ſome months after, and quartered for the moſt part in the Proteſtants houſes; and as they were ſuffered to commit diſorders, and live at diſcretion, and a great many had billets upon the ſame houſe, their landlords began to apprehend that they ſhould ſoon be reduced to beggary. On the other hand, all the inhabitants who turned Catholics, were eaſed of quartering; which induced a great many burghers of Montauban to embrace this religion (1). This gave occaſion to the book we ſpeak of, wherein the author undertook the apology of the inhabitants, who rather choſe to go to maſs, than to ſee their families ruined. It was eaſy to diſcover in this writing, the trace of a miſſionary's pen; and yet the abbot de la Roque, ſeveral years after, inſerted it intire in his Memoir of the Church (2) as the work of a good Proteſtant. He advances with a moſt egregious confidence, that this book was publiſhed by two miniſters of Upper Guienne, in the face of all their churches, and all their brethren; whilſt none of the party was at the pains to undeceive the public, as to the point which theſe two Divines had advanced, that the Huguenots might without ſcruple of conſcience turn Catholics, *&c.* With the ſame aſſurance, he affirms that this work pacifyed the troubles and diſturbances in their conſciences and families, when ſeveral inhabitants of Montauban abjured the Proteſtant religion, to be freed from quartering ſoldiers: for which reaſon, adds he, I inſert it intire in my Memoirs, as well becauſe it is a curious piece, as becauſe it is very ſcarce, there being hardly a copy of it to be found. This conduct is the effect either of groſs ignorance, or inexcuſable fraud. No Proteſtant ever took the book of *Montauban juſtified* to be written by a miniſter. Father Meynier, a great cavilling perſecutor, was ſuſpected to be the author of it; as alſo of an oration, which had been ſpread ſome time before (3), and which Mr Euſtache, miniſter of Montpellier, anſwered by a little book intituled *the Orator Tertullus convicted.* The ſuſpicion was well grounded; for Alegambe's continuator aſcribes the book we ſpeak of to the Jeſuit Meynier. Could the abbot de la Roque be ignorant of this fact? And were not there ſufficient marks of impoſture in this whole work? As for the reſt, it is ſo full of paſſages of Proteſtant authors, wherein the true church is acknowledged to be diſperſed in ſeveral communions without excepting the Romiſh, that it is ſtrange Mr Nicole ſhould look upon Mr Jurieu's ſyſtem as a new thing.

(1) Moſt of them returned to the Proteſtant religion as ſoon as the ſtorm was over.

(2) Publiſhed at Paris in the year 1690.

(3) It bore the title of *Harangue des Sages de la R. P. R. à la Reine.* See, above, remark [*A*], of the article EUSTACHE.

MONTECATINUS (ANTONY) a native of Ferrara, flouriſhed in the XVIth century. He read public lectures upon ſeveral ſubjects in his own country, and afterwards was made firſt profeſſor of Philoſophy there. He was very particularly favoured by Alphonſus II, duke of Ferrara, who deputed him to the courts of Rome and France, and honoured him with ſeveral other employments [*A*]. He died at Ferrara in 1599, being ſixty three years of age (*a*). We have ſeveral volumes of his compoſing [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Agoſtino Superbi da Ferrara, *pag.* 83, 84, dell' Apparato de gli Huomini illuſtri della Citta di Ferrara.

[*A*] *The duke of Ferrara . . . . honoured him with ſeveral . . . . employments.*] This is what was put in Montecatinus's epitaph, as it is recited by Agoſtino Superbi (1). 'Alfonſo II Duci ſereniſſimo aures, 'conſilia, operam fideliter præſtitit. Legationes pro 'illo ad Regem Gall. Ad ſummos Pont. perfecit. 'Urbem Regii rexit; non ſemel univerſam ditionem 'Conſiliarius pro dux adminiſtravit. Ferrariæ tribu-'natum geſſit. - - - - *He was a faithful confident, coun-'ſellor, and ſervant, to the moſt ſerene duke Alphonſus II. 'He was deputed by him to the court of France and 'Rome. He was governor of the city of Regio, and 'frequently had the whole adminiſtration of affairs un-'der the duke. He was chief magiſtrate of Ferrara.*'

(1) *In his* Apparatus to the Illuſtrious Perſons of Ferrara, *pag.* 84.

[*B*] *We have ſeveral volumes of his compoſing.*] He publiſhed at Ferrara in 1587, a Commentary upon the firſt book of Ariſtotle's Politics. It is one volume in folio, dedicated to cardinal Ruſticucci, and printed by Victorio Baldino, Printer to the duke. At the beginning, there are twenty two tables, containing an analyſis of Ariſtotle's entire work of Politics. He made ſuch another commentary on the ſecond book of the ſame work of Ariſtotle, which was printed at Ferrara by Benedict Mammarellus in the year 1594, in folio with this title, *Ariſtotelis Politicorum, hoc eſt, civilium librorum liber ſecundus, ab Antonio Montecatino in Latinam linguam converſus, & partitionibus, reſolutionibus, ſcholiis illuſtratus.* He dedicated it to cardinal Peter Aldobrandino, nephew to Thomas Aldobrandino, who tranſlated Diogenes Laërtius; he ſays that a diſcourſe he had had at Rome with this tranſlator, twenty eight years before, determined him to dedicate his book to this young cardinal. The year does not appear in the date of the Epiſtle dedicatory, but doubtleſs we are to underſtand the year 1594. He adds three other treatiſes to this volume, namely, *Platonis libri decem de Republica, & Antonii Montecatini in eos partitiones, & quaſi paraphraſis quædam: Platonis libri duodecim de legibus, vel de legumlatione & Epinomis, & leges quæ in libris illis ſparſim ſunt diffuſæ, ab Antonio Montecatino in epitomen & ordinem quemdam redactæ: quinque veterum rerumpublicarum Hippodamiæ, Laconicæ, Creticæ, Carthaginienſis, Athenienſis contra quas Ariſtoteles in poſteriori parte ſecundi politici diſputavit, antiqua fragmenta.* His Commentary upon the third book of Ariſtotle's Politics, was printed at Ferarra in the year 1597, in folio, by Victorio Baldino. He had in 1591 printed (2) his Commentary there *in octavum librum phyſicæ Ariſtotelis.* I do not know the year of the impreſſion of his Commentary *in primam partem libri tertii Ariſtotelis de anima.* Let us ſee whether Naudé ſpeaks advantageouſly of this author. 'Ad Platonem quod attinit, *ſays he* '(3), tres, quos noverim, commentatores ſolummodo 'nactus eſt, Antonium nempe Montecatinum qui li-'bros de republica Platonis & Ariſtotelis diexodicis 'notis, tabulis, diſtinctionibus explicare conatus, nun-'quam neque ſibi, neque lectori ſuo ſatisfecit - - - '*As to Plato, there are only three commentators upon 'him, that I know of, viz. Antonius Montecatinus, who, 'by endeavouring to explain the books of Plato's and 'Ariſtotle's Republic, with large notes, tables, and di-'viſions, could never ſatisfy himſelf nor his reader.*'

(2) In folio.

(3) Naudæus, Bibliogr. Polit. *pag.* m. 27.

MONTFLEURI, a famous Comedian, who was for a long time admired on the theatre of the Hôtel of Burgundy, left one ſon, who did not follow the profeſſion of a Comedian, but wrote ſeveral plays which were well received. They were all collected

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together in the year 1705, twenty years after the death of the author. They are in two volumes, and in number fourteen (*a*)

(*a*) *Taken from the* Mercure Galant, *of Aug.* 1705, *pag.* 324.

MONTGAILLARD (BERNARD DE) known by the name of the *Little Feuillant* [*A*] in the times of the League, ſon of Bertrand de Percin lord of Montgaillard [*B*], was born in the year 1563. He became a Feuillant in the year 1579, and immediately fell to preaching, tho' he had not ſtudied Divinity. He preached at Rieux, at Rhodez, and Toulouſe, with ſuch ſucceſs, that theſe words of Scripture were applied to him, *bleſſed is the womb that bare thee.* The court of France was no leſs charmed with his ſermons, than the province of Languedoc. He went to Paris, when king Henry III invited the order of the Feuillants thither; and had not preached twice, before this prince and the queen-mother appointed him to preach the ſermon at the Auguſtines, the day that the knights of the Holy Ghoſt were inſtalled. He ſucceeded admirably in this ſermon, and came off with no leſs reputation in preaching at the Louvre, and elſe-where; which made the king deſire that he ſhould preach all the Lent, in the royal pariſh of St Germain de Lauxerrois. Theſe ſermons, and thoſe he preached at St Severine, got him the reputation of the moſt famous preacher, that *had been known at Paris in the memory of man, ſo many talents he had for the pulpit, and eſpecially for moving and maſtering the paſſions, and ſubduing ſouls.* Some devout women, and amongſt others Dame Acarie, choſe him for their only director [*C*]. He exerciſed ſo many acts of mortification amongſt the Feuillants, that the Pope commanded him to quit that order, to prevent the ſhortning his life. Having eſpouſed the intereſts of the League with too much heat [*D*], he retired into the Netherlands, where he was in great eſteem. He ſpoke ſome funeral *orations* (*a*) by order of the archduke Albert, and afterwards that of this prince in the year 1622 (*b*). He was then abbot of Orval. He died of a dropſy in that abbey the eighth of June 1628. *He had always deſired to be buried under a gutter, and it was only to avoid the charge of*

(*a*) That of the archduke Erneſt, brother of the archduke Albert, and that of the empreſs their mother.

(*b*) The archduke died the thirteenth of July 1621. His funeral was ſolemnized the twelfth of March following; the abbot d'Orval preached the ſermon.

[*A*] *He was known . . . . by the name of the* Little Feuillant.] This would induce us to believe, that he was a very little man, and yet he was of a middle ſtature; but the name was given him, when he firſt began to be known at Paris. He was then very little, and tho' he was twenty years old, he had not done growing (1). This name ſtuck by him, even when a riper age had put him out of the number of little men. This account comes to me from the ſame hand which ſent the body of the article, I am indebted for both to the curious and learned author of the notes upon Sancy's Confeſſion, and the Catholicon of Spain.

(1) Compare what has been ſaid in the article MARETS (SAMUEL DES-) remark [*A*].

(2) The two letters he wrote on that ſubject were inſerted in the *Lettre Paſtorale* of Mr Juries of the firſt of March 1688. He wrote them to count d'Uſſon (brother of Mr de Bonrepaux, ambaſſador of France, to Denmark and Holland) who commanded the troops in thoſe parts, and who was made lieutenant-general in the year 1696. You will find one of theſe letters, with ſeveral reflexions in praiſe of this prelate's conduct, in the preface to a very good book, which was printed in the year 1689, intituled, *L'Impiété des Communions forcées.* Mr Le Page, who is the author of it, and who had been minister at Dieppe, died minister of the Walloon church at Rotterdam, the nineteenth of November 1701.

[*B*] *He was ſon of Bertrand de Percin lord of Montgaillard.*] And of Antoinette du Vaillet, both of noble and ancient families in the city of Toulouſe. The family of Montgaillard ſtill ſubſiſts in ſplendor. The biſhop of St Pons, ſo well known by his writings, and ſo much eſteemed by the Proteſtants, for his openly diſapproving the violence that was done the Reformed, by forcing them to communicate (2), is of this family.

[*C*] *Some devout women and . . . . Dame Acarie choſe him for their only director.*] She was wife to the Sieur Acarie, maſter of accompts. He was called, *ironically, the lacquey of the League; becauſe, being lame of a leg, he was one of thoſe who went and came, and beſtirred himſelf with the greateſt zeal for the intereſts of the party; he was the huſband of the Bleſſed Mary of the incarnation, by whoſe good example he profited little* (3). The author of the new notes upon the Catholicon, has communicated to me a reflexion he has made. As this furious leaguer's wife, ſays he, was under the direction of the Little Feuillant, ſhe was far from diſapproving the League: It was not therefore on this account, that her huſband profited ill by her example. The better to know this woman, we muſt read what follows: *Mary Alais* (§ *a*), *this man's wife, was a devotee* †, *known at preſent by the name of the Bleſſed Mary of the Incarnation: in her widowhood ſhe retired to the houſe of the Beguines, called the chapel of St Avoye; which is a houſe for widows, where ſhe was made ſuperior* ‡.' Her Life is printed at Paris by Thierry (4).

(3) *Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue, livr. i, pag.* 57. He cites the Notes on the Catholicon; that is, the Notes of the edition of 1677. But theſe Notes ſay only that he was called *Lacquey ironically, becauſe he was lame.* This is a bad reaſon: what *Maimbourg* ſupplies is more probable; but he ſhould not have mentioned the circumſtance of lameneſs as one part of the reaſon why he was called Lacquey.

† Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue, *livr. i, in* 1584.

‡ Bonfons, Antiq. of Paris, *fol.* 165. Edition of 1605. (4) Notes upon the Catholicon, *pag.* 478, *Edit. of Holland* 1696.

[(§ *a*) This paſſage, which concerns me, ought to be rectified, at leaſt with reference to what we read in p. 400 of the *Catholicon d'Eſpagne*, Edit. of 1699. Dame Acarie and Mary Alais are two very different perſons. REM. CRIT. [of Mr le Duchat.]

[*D*] *Having eſpouſed the intereſts of the League with too much heat.*] The author of the Notes upon the Confeſſion of Sancy informs me, that this part of the life of the Little Feuillant is very ſlightly touched, in the book, the extracts of which he has communicated to me. Wretched law of panegyric, which permits the ſuppreſſing the infamy of thoſe who are to be praiſed! but in vain are they ſuppreſſed in this book; they are to be found elſewhere. Here is a paſſage from the Catholicon, where a proceſſion of the League is deſcribed. 'Amongſt others there were ſix Capuchins, having each a helmet on his head, with a plume of feathers on the top, they were dreſſed out in coats of maile, with ſwords by their ſides, girt on over their habits; one carrying a lance, another a croſs, a third a javelin, a fourth an arquebuſs, a fifth a croſs-bow, all covered with ruſt out of a Catholic humility: the reſt had pikes, which they often brandiſhed for want of better paſtime, except one lame Feuillant ‡, who, being armed cap-a-pee, made himſelf way with a back ſword and a battle-ax at his girdle, his breviary ſlung behind him, and drew the eyes of all the ſpectators, whilſt ſtanding on one foot, he flouriſhed his ſword before the ladies (5).' I have put in the margin the note of the edition of 1677. The author of the new Notes has obſerved at the 308th page, that *this action of Brother Bernard de Montgaillard is very true*, but that it was not done in the proceſſion for the ſtates of the League in 1593, as the author of the Catholicon ſuppoſes, but *at the muſter of the Eccleſiaſtics and Monks at the ſiege of Paris in the year* 1590. He refers us to Thuanus, whoſe words I am going to cite: 'Omnium oculos in ſe convertebat Bernardus è Foliaceno ordine adhuc juvenis nuper Henrico III Rege concionibus notus apud populum, qui altero pede claudus nuſquam certo loco conſiſtens, ſed huc illuc curſitans, modo in fronte, modo in agminis tergo latum enſem ambabus manibus rotabat, & claudicationis vitium gladiatoria mobilitate emendabat (6). - - - - *Bernard, a Feuillant, well known among the people for his ſermons when very young, in the time of Henry III, drew the eyes of all upon himſelf, becauſe, tho' lame of one foot, he was continually running up and down, ſometimes in the front, ſometimes in the rear, and never ſtood ſtill, flouriſhing a back-ſword with both his hands, and reſtifying the defect of lameneſs by the motions of a Gladiator.*' Mr Maimbourg

‡ This was brother Bernard, called the Little Feuillant, who afterwards retired into Flanders, where he lived a long time, and enjoyed an abbey.

(5) Catholicon, *pag.* 15.

(6) Thuan. *lib. xcviii, circa fin. pag. m.* 359, *ad ann.* 1590.

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of affectation, that he at last consented, that which go from the great dormitory to the chu the great miracles are recounted in it, w him [*E*]. No body will offer to deny but report [*F*]: but they affirm that it was all tempt upon the life of Henry the Great (c

(c) *Taken from the* Memoir *communicated to me by the author of* Catholicon d'Espagne. *He had it from a book, the title whereof he fo* Clairevaux: vive representation de la vie exemplaire & religeux trej de l'Abbaye d'Orval, de l'Ordre de Cisteaux, au païs de Luxembourg de l'incomparable Sainct Bernard Abbé de Clairevaux, & du grand L nellemént trois jours durant, en l'Eglise d'Orval les 10, 11, & 1: André Valladier, Docteur en Theologie, Conseiller, Aumosnier, Royale de Sainct Arnould de Metz, de l'Ordre de Sainct Benoist. I

Maimbourg will tell us, what share this Monk had in the horrible crimes of the Leaguers (7): 'The preachers, 'the most famous whereof were the curates Pelletier, 'Boucher, Guincestre, Pigenat, and Aubry, Father 'Bernard de Montgaillard, sirnamed the Little Feuil- 'lant, and the famous Franciscan Feuardent, preach- 'ing in the parishes of Paris, during the festival of 'Christmas, changed their sermons into invectives, a- 'gainst the sacred person of the king, &c. . . . (8). 'The duchess was received at Paris with all imagi- 'nable honour, and an incredible joy of the people, 'who reverenced her as the mother of two holy 'martyrs; and the Little Feuillant preaching * one 'day before her, forgat himself so far, as to say, turn- 'ing about to her, but addressing his words to the 'late duke of Guise, *O holy and glorious martyr of God, 'blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that 'thou hast sucked!*' Nor was he content to be a trumpe- ter of sedition in the pulpit, but suborned an assassin to murther Henry IV. See the remark [*G*].

(7) Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, *livr. iii, pag.* 295.

(8) Id. ib. *pag.* 305.

* Journal de Henri III.

[*E*] *The great miracles are recounted in it, which God had wrought for him and by him.*] He was cured twice by a miracle, at the intercession of the Holy Virgin, his protectress. The first of these miracles, 'was wrought at Paris about the year 1589 by Roze 'bishop of Senlis, who, at the sollicitation of the pro- 'vincial of the Jesuits, consented at last to touch this 'man's tongue, whose speech had been taken away 'by a mortal catarrh; so that upon pronouncing the 'word *Effata*, by the holy Roze, followed with the 'hymn *Ave maris stella*, sung by Messieurs de 'Mayenne and Nemours, with the Monks of the 'convent, when they came to the words *ut vi- 'dentes Jesum*, the dying person (for whom the 'prayer *Egredere anima Christiana* had already been 'said), repeated *Jesum*, spoke afterwards, and 'preached the Sunday following, the second day after 'the miracle. The other adventure is of the year '1619; at which time F. Bernard being almost given 'over, having had a stoppage of urine for fourteen 'days, the Virgin of Montaigu, to whom nine days 'devotion had been made in his behalf, delivered, 'him of twenty two pounds of water, and a stone, 'which he voided at the same time (9).' Moreover, this Monk's panegyric is stuffed with 'revelations, 'contemplations, and extasies, which were so fre- 'quent with the deceased, that they destroyed his 'appetite for eating and drinking, and he would 'have died of them, if he had not himself prevailed 'with God, that he might be delivered from any 'violent degrees in this kind. . . . . Scarce had he 'expired, when a Dropsy, of which he died, gave 'occasion to a miracle. As he was prodigiously 'swelled up, his body could not be got into the 'leaden coffin designed for him. And, in the mean 'time, whilst they were making it wider, a Monk 'took that opportunity to kiss once more his poor 'abbot: at that moment he perceived to issue from 'the face of the dead, so divine and miraculous an 'odour, that he seemed to him to be perfectly re- 'vived in body and soul. . . . . A Religious of great 'merit and quality, having always had the profoundest 'veneration for the holy abbot, spake to him in his 'sleep, Sure you are happy; to which he answered, 'Yes, I am happy. His panegyrist was besides so 'persuaded, that he had not passed through the fire 'of Purgatory; that, during the three masses, which 'he celebrated to his memory, during the three days 'of his obsequies, it never came once into his thoughts 'to pray to God for his soul (10).' By these samples, the reader may easily judge, that our panegyrist has

(9) *From the* Memoir *communicated by the author of the* Notes on the Confession of Sancy.

(10) Ibid.

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print of him [*H*]. Nor ought we to forget that Juſtus Lipſius has much extolled this monk's piety and eloquence (*d*).

(*d*) See the ſeventy ninth letter of the century of *Lipſius. ad Germanos & Gallos.*

' after a long impriſonment, he was forbidden, by a ' decree, to come within ten leagues of the king's ' perſon; theſe are horrible deſigns for church-men to ' be guilty of.' This paſſage is found in the 228th leaf of the firſt tome of the *Chronologie Novenaire* of Peter Victor Cayet, under the year 1589, and was ſhewn me by the author of the new Notes upon the *Catholicon*. The Little Feuillant's panegyriſt inſiſts but ſlightly on the years of the League: he ſpeaks of them in a rambling manner, and ſhews every thing on the faireſt ſide; he declares in general, that this Monk ' had the glory of being the moſt power- ' ful, the moſt thundering, and zealous, as well as the ' moſt ſincere and diſintereſted inſtrument in bringing ' Henry IV into the pale of the church. It is true, ' he inſinuates, that he was accuſed of being an ac- ' complice in ſome conſpiracies againſt this prince's ' life, but adds, that this prince cleared him by his ' ambaſſadors to Clement VIII, to whom they were ' alſo ordered to ſignify Henry IV's eſteem for Father ' Bernard (12).' This needed a citation of ſome printed book of undoubted authority.

(12) From the Memoir communicated by the author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of Sancy.

[*H*] *We muſt ſay a word or two of a print of him.*] ' Our abbot's panegyriſt tells us, that he always lay ' upon a plank, and that a joint-ſtool ſerved him for ' a pillow. But to make himſelf amends, it appears ' he took his eaſe in the day-time; for his print re- ' preſents him ſeated in a fine eaſy-chair, filled with ' a noble cuſhion, which ſeems to be ſtuffed with the ' fineſt downe. Before his eyes is placed a picture ' of the Virgin Mary, to whom the holy abbot ad- ' dreſſes theſe words, which flow from his pen: ' O Domina mea, quid hic facio? educ è carcere ' animam meam, ad confitendum nomini tuo. - - - - ' *O my lady, what do I here? bring my ſoul out of* ' *priſon, that I may confeſs thy name.* At a diſtance ' is ſeen a heap of volumes on fire (13), and by the ' ſequel of the book, we find they are the volumes ' compoſed by the Little Feuillant, which this abbot ' himſelf ſet fire to out of humility, upon recover- ' ing from a fit of ſickneſs, ſeeing one of his Monks, ' whom he had commanded to do it, expreſs a re- ' luctance thereto. On one ſide of him is a lamb, ' which the book ſays had appeared to him, after he ' heard a voice, juſt before the raiſing ſome calumnies ' againſt him in Flanders, cry out thrice in one night, ' *have a care.* At his feet are four mitres, that of ' the biſhopric of Angers, which a little after the ' arrival of the Feuillants at Paris, Henry III of- ' fered him by Meſſ. *de Monthelon* and *Miron*, coun- ' ſellors in the court, and which he refuſed; thoſe of ' the biſhopric of Pamiez, and of the famous abbey ' of Marimond, which he alſo refuſed, and even ' employed his intereſt to get them beſtowed on others; ' and that of the abbey of Nizelle, which the arch- ' duke gave him, that he might always be near him, ' but which he kept no longer, than the firſt vacancy ' of the great and opulent abbey of Orval (14).'

(13) The only piece which appeared under his name, is the funeral oration on archduke Albert.

(14) Taken from the *Memoir* of the author of the *Notes upon the Confeſſion de Sancy.*

MONT-JOSIEU (*a*) (LEWIS DE), in Latin *Demontjoſius* or *Demontjoſus*, a gentleman of the country of Roüergue in the XVIth century, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and publiſhed ſome books [*A*]. He taught the king's brother (*b*), and the duke de Joieuſe (*c*), the Mathematics, and accompained the latter to Rome in the year 1583 (*d*). He wrote a book there which ſhewed he was an excellent Antiquary [*B*]. Being returned to France, he applied himſelf to illuſtrate the Mechanics of the ancients, and to render them uſeful to the public. He took upon him to cleanſe the city of Paris from all dirt and naſtineſs; but this undertaking almoſt ruined him. Another misfortune much greater followed it, for he married a very bad wife who was the cauſe of his death. He would have executed many more things than he did, had fortune been more favourable to him. He was of a ſweet and affable temper, and had a genius altogether fit for the liberal arts. This is the elogium Thuanus gives him.

(*a*) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. *pag.* 806, *calls him* Montjouziou.

(*b*) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 497.

(*c*) Id. ib. *pag.* 296.

(*d*) Thuan. *lib. lxxviii, pag.* 478.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome books.*] We find this liſt of them in Du Verdier Vau-privas (1): *Traité des Semaines de Daniel, & des paroles du prophete Ezechiel*, printed at Paris in the year 1582. Item, *Traité de la nouvelle Coſmographie*, in which he ſhews the errors of Aſtronomers as to triplicities and ſigns. *Item*, two books *de la Doctrine de Platon, & de l'Explication des Nombres Platoniques*; an excellent and very learned work. He wrote alſo in Latin a moſt uſeful book, *De re Nummaria & Ponderibus*. Item, *les Preceptes de Rhétorique*; put exactly in a table, by a ſingular method. There wants in this liſt the chief work of this author; is that which I am going to ſpeak of, and which was not printed till after the *Bibliotheque Françoiſe* of Du Verdier Vau-privas was publiſhed.

(1) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 806.

[*B*] ... *wrote a book, which ſhewed he was an excellent Antiquary.*] This book is intituled, *Gallus Romæ Hoſpes*, and was printed at Rome, in the year 1585, in 4to, and dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. Thuanus ſpeaks of it thus: ' Ludovicus Demontioſius rara rei antiquariæ ' doctrina inſignis, ... Romæ hoſpes multa ad urbis ' terrarum olim dominæ illuſtrationem, atque interdum ' plura, quam multi Romani Cives, paucorum menſium, ' quo in ea fuit, ſpatio contulit, V Libellis Sixto V in- ' ſcriptis, in quibus de Obeliſcis, Jano Bifronte, Sep- ' tizonio, Pantheo, Symmetria templorum, Caryati- ' dibus, quas Gallus Italos docuit, de Sculptura vete- ' rum, cælatura, Sculptura gemmarum, pictura, foro ' Romano, aliiſque urbis locis non aliis ſcripta, & ' recentiorum pleroſque errores notat (2). - - - *Lewis* ' *de Montjoſieu, famous for his ſingular knowledge in* ' *antiquities ..... a ſtranger at Rome, has, during the* ' *ſpace of a few months he was there, contributed much,* ' *and even more than many Roman citizens, to the illu-* ' *ſtration of the city which was formerly miſtreſs of the* ' *world, by the five books he dedicated to Sixtus V,* ' *wherein he gives an account of what was omitted by* ' *others, and ſhews moſt of the errors of the Moderns,* ' *concerning the Obeliſks, Janus Bifrons, Septizonium,* ' *Pantheon, Symmetry of the Temples, Caryatides, which* ' *a Frenchman taught the Italians, the Sculpture of the* ' *Antients, Carving, the Sculpture of Gems, Painting,* ' *the Forum Romanum, and other places of the city.*' There is in this work a treatiſe *de Pictura & Sculptura Antiquorum*, which was re-printed at Amſterdam in the year 1649, with Vitruvius.

(2) Thuan. *lib.* lxxviii. *pag. m.* 478.

MONTMAUR (*a*) (PETER DE) profeſſor of the Greek tongue in the college royal of Paris, in the reign of Lewis XIII, was reckoned the greateſt paraſite of his time [*A*], and made himſelf ſo odious to the wits; that they employed againſt him all the

(*a*) I have found its name ſpelt different ways in printed books, Monmor, Monmaur, Mommaur, Montmor. *I have followed that which he himſelf uſed.*

[*A*] *He was reckoned the greateſt paraſite of his time.*] I will only cite four verſes of Mr Boileau.

Tandis que Pelletier, croté juſqu'à l'échine,
S'en va chercher ſon pain de cuiſine en cuiſine,
Sçavant en ce metier, ſi cher aux beaux Eſprits,
Dont Monmaur autrefois fit leçon dans Paris (1).

While Colletet, a vot'ry of the Nine,
Thinks himſelf happy, if he's ſure to dine.
Thoſe leſſons which at Paris Montmaur read,
Still ſtand him and his brother wits, inſtead,
And get them oft a meal in time of need.

(1) Boileau, Sat. I, ver. 77.

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the art and ſtrokes of the moſt virulent ſatire [*B*]. the Jeſuits of Bourdeaux, (*b*), and as he had an ex of his progreſs that they prevailed with him to Rome, where he taught Grammar for three ye afterwards diſmiſſed, on account of his weakly at Avignon, and got a great deal of money tha not finding his account at the bar (*c*), he bet ſhare in the favours which cardinal Richelieu t the moſt childiſh part of that art, I mean anagr [*C*]. He ſucceeded Goulu in the royal prof Theſe are the true facts I thought I might bo Menage, and intermixed with many ingenious able to diſcover in it his native country, but if we muſt ſuppoſe him born in Querci; this would of his birth [*D*]. I have read in the Memoirs

(*b*) Menage, in Vita Gargilii Mamurræ, *pag.* m. 10.

(*c*) Id. ib. *pag.* 11.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Id. ib. *pag.* 12.

(*f*) Id. ib. *pag.* 15.

(*g*) Id. ib. *pag.* 17.

[*B*] *He made himſelf ſo odious to the wits, that they employed againſt him all the ſtrokes of the moſt virulent ſatire.*] The commentary on this text ſhall be taken from the Valeſiana. *The profeſſor Montmaur loved to live well at another's expence. He was admitted to the houſes of all the great men, who kept open table, by the help of ſome Greek and Latin ſentences, the coin in which he always paid for his ordinary. After he had eat and drank plentifully, to divert his hoſts, he fell to ſlandering all the learned both living and dead, and not one of them could eſcape his laſh. Moſt of the learned thought themſelves obliged to ſet him forth as he deſerved, and to do him juſtice. Mr Menage was the firſt who ſounded, as I may ſay, the alarm againſt him. He compoſed his life in Latin, and at the end of this piece, in a ſmall epigram of five verſes* (2), *he exhorted all the learned to take arms againſt this common enemy. I* (3) *was not willing to be one of the laſt, that ſhould engage in ſo pleaſant a war; I printed two Latin pieces of this profeſſor, one in proſe, and the other in verſe, with notes: and tho' theſe two pieces together contain but eight pages, I divided them into two tomes. I added afterwards his life, written by Mr Menage, and all the Latin and French verſes I could collect from ſeveral hands, to which I joined ſome Latin epigrams, that I had made upon him. As every one took fictitious names, I did the like, taking that of* Quintus Januarius Fronto, *Theſe three names fitted me perfectly well*; Quintus, *becauſe I was the fifth brother*; Januarius, *becauſe I was born in* January; *and* Fronto, *becauſe I have a large and high forehead. This book was printed at Paris, in* 1643, *in* 4to, *with this title,* Petri Monmauri Græcarum Literarum Profeſſoris Regii Opera in duos Tomos diviſa, iterùm edita & notis nunc primùm illuſtrata à Quinto Januario Frontone. *It is very ſcarce* (4).

(2) *You will find it below, in remark* [*I*].

(3) *That is to ſay,* Hadrian de Valois.

(4) Valeſiana, *pag.* 36. *& ſeq. Dutch Edit.*

As ſcarce as it is, I have ſeen one copy of it. Mr Simon de Valhebert (5) did me the favour to ſend it me. The ridicule, to which poor Montmaur was expoſed, would touch the moſt ſtupid. For they give as the firſt tome of his works, a piece, intituled, *Nemeſis in maledicos calumniatoris Buſbequii Manes, ob convicia ab eo temerè, malignè, falsò, & contra jus gentium Epiſtolæ XLII inſerta adverſus Auguſta Galliæ Parlamenta*, which only contains two pages. In this there is nothing but proſe; but the ſecond volume contains a mixture of proſe and verſe. The proſe conſiſts in a letter of three pages, *amiciſſimo, doctiſſimo, & ſupra ſæculi fidem & morem candido D. D.* Maigne, Ducis Frontiaci μακαρίτυ *præceptori*. The reſt is of the ſame length, and conſiſts of an elegy, the title whereof is almoſt as long as the piece itſelf; which is this: *Epicedion Generoſiſſ. & Illuſtriſſ. Principis* Eleonori Aurelianensis Ducis Frontiaci, *quem XXXV vulneribus confoſſum in obſidione Montiſpeſſulani fortiter & ſtrenuè dimicantem acerba & immatura mors oppreſſit annos natum XVII, paucis ante diebus quam pax firmaretur. Et matris mæſtiſſimæ Illuſtriſſ. Princip.* Annæ Nomparis Calmontiæ *Proſopopœia*. This had been printed in the year 1622, ten years before the ſhort invective againſt *Buſbequius*. I have ſeen alſo, by the favour of Mr Simon de Valhebert, a book in 12mo, printed in Germany (6) in the year 1665. It is intituled *Epulum paraſiticum, quod eruditi conditores, inſtructoreſque* Car. Feramuſius, Ægid. Menagius, Jo. Franciſcus Saracenus, Nic. Rigaltius, & Jo. Lud. Balſacius *hilarem epulantibus in modum* Macrino Paraſitogram-

(5) Abbé Bignon's library-keeper. See, above, citat. (60), of the article Esop.

(6) At Nuremberg.

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he was made tutor to the Mareſchal de Praſlin's eldeſt ſon [*E*]. I ſhall relate a curious paſſage, which will at once ſhew his own romancing, and the falſity of a ſtory publiſhed againſt him [*F*]. It may, in my opinion, be ſaid without any danger of miſtake, that this

Tu, MEMMI, decus Aonidum immortale Sororum,
Qui famam ingentem meritis ſuperantibus imples,
Tu deſperatis reſtas ſpes unica rebus.
Et Muſas quòd doctus amas, quòd Pallade Græcâ
Inſignis, mediis clarum caput inſeris aſtris,
Macrinum pateris bonus, & miſereris egeni
Tabentiſque fame, nullo miſerante, Sophiſtæ.
Græca etenim cùm verba ſonat, licet ore Cadurco,
Illa placent, feris didicit quæ Græculus annis.
Ecce tibi properatus adeſt, & Κοίραvε χαῖρε
Ingeminans, menſæ optatum ſortitur honorem (14).

(14) Menagii Miſcellan. pag. 11, 12, *libri edititi.*

Memmius, immortal honour of the Nine,
Whoſe merit anſwers to thy mighty fame,
Thou art the only refuge in diſtreſs.
Thy love of learning, and thy wiſdom great
Up to the ſkies thy reputation raiſe.
That wretched Sophiſt, poor and hunger-ſtarv'd
Macrin, whom none laments, thy bounty ſhares.
The little Greek, which very late he learnt,
Tho' ſpoke in Querci-tone, gives thee delight.
Here he comes, gingling Κοίραvε χαῖρε
(Your ſervant Sir) and gets an hearty meal.

But the anonymous author of the Hiſtory of the life and death of the great Mogor (15), expreſſes himſelf more clearly, and poſitively affirms, that Montmaur was born at Cahors, and that his mother was a noted proſtitute. I miſtruſted theſe ſatirical writings, and applied my ſelf for better information to Mr Simon de Valhebert, who I thought might have heard Mr Menage mention ſeveral particulars, and might be furniſhed with ſeveral pamphlets about Montmaur at the Abbé Bignon's. He was pleaſed to inform me of this particular, amongſt other things (16), that this *profeſſor was a native of the pariſh of Betaille, in the lower Limouſin.* I have ſince read a poem of Balzac, which ſhews that the province of Limouſin was his native country.

(15) It is in the collection of *Illuſtrat. de Valeſ.*

(16) Which he had learned of Mr Baluſe.

Ne jactet nimis Auratum, cunaſque Mureti:
Nobilis hunc quoque tam claris natalibus, aſper
Eduxit pago Lemovix; dein magna Tholoſa
Civem habuit, propriumque tenet nunc maxima rerum,
Haud cedens Dominæ formoſa Lutetia Romæ (17).

(17) Balzac, at pag. 162, of the Barbon.

We may obſerve, by the way, that thoſe who have ſatirically written his life, ſend him firſt to Bourdeaux, without mentioning his journey to Toulouſe: But Balzac ſends him directly from Limouſin to Toulouſe, and then to Paris.

[*E*] *He was made tutor to the mareſchal de Praſlin's eldeſt ſon in* 1617.] The abbot de Marolles obſerves, that the three ſons of the duke of Nevers, had but 'one tutor called G. G. of Orleans, a man of no ge-'nius, who yet was preferred before many, and a-'mongſt others before Peter Montmaur, ſirnamed 'the Grecian, who ſucceeded the other as tu-'tor to the eldeſt ſon of the mareſchal de Praſlin.' What Mr Menage ſays, that he was ſirnamed the Grecian ironically, is only a ſatirical pleaſantry. *Sed quod fidem omnem ſuperat, Græcè tunc neſciebat, GRÆCUS enim ea tempeſtate per antiphraſim, quod minime Græcus eſſet, ab Invidis ac Malevolis vocabatur* (18).

(18) Menagius, in Vita Gargilii Mamurræ, pag. 26.

[*F*] *I ſhall relate a paſſage . . . . which will ſhew his own romancing, and the falſity of a ſtory publiſhed againſt him.*] I have read this ſtory in a book, ſcarce known out of the country where it was printed. This encourages me to give it entire. There is no need of tranſlating it, it will ſuffice to obſerve on their behalf, who underſtand not Latin, that our Montmaur having told the chancellor, that ſuch and ſuch things were to be found in ſuch and ſuch authors, had the confuſion of not being able to prove it, when the books were laid upon the table. *Mommorius Græcarum literarum Profeſſor Regius, ſolus ſui ordinis eques, & apud Urbis Proceres inexhauſtæ dictionis, eruditionis, ac memoriæ, ideoque gratus menſarum aſſecla, coram Illuſtriſſimo Cancellario, (is repente me acciri juſſum, & curru ſuo humaniter acceptum, in villulam amici, paulò ultra ſuburbia, exſpatiatum duxerat) multos authores laudavit, Græcos & Latinos, ad locum quemdam D. Pauli, ubi ad beſtiarios & damnatos alluditur. Ego ſubdubitavi de fide laudantis, alioſque quiderant, in meam ſententiam adduxi, nonniſi conſultis libris ei credendum. Poſtridie, ubi diluxit, ſcripſi ad unum è familiaribus & domeſticis Illuſtriſſimi Cancellarii, me animi causâ, domum veſperi reverſum adiiſſe authores ab eo citatos, nil eorum quæ dixerat, reperiiſſe: Non credideram fore, ut id reſciret Dominus, aut porrò ſuâ curâ dignum duceret. Biduo pòſt ad ſolitum prandium ivit Mommorius, multis jociis ſuper menſam exagitatus eſt, tanquam falſi ſuſpectus, aut planè reus. Illico homo miræ confidentiæ partes agere, velut in ſcena, cavillari, vociferari, vix exſpectare dum è menſa ſurgeretur, appellare ſingulos & univerſos. Præſertim Illuſtriſſimam Matronam, quæ ad latus viri erat, ut, quæ teſtis & conſcia objectorum fuiſſet, ſuo de Accuſatore triumpho intereſſe vellet: & cedo, inquit, libros, Heſychium, Manilii Aſtronomica, Strabonem, alios qui cum ſat citò reperiri non poſſent à novo nomenclatore, quamvis in refertiſſima Bibliotheca, mittitur confeſtim ſervus à pedibus meos poſtulatum, mox etiam currus, qui me adveheret. Adventu meo non parva expectatio omnium, quorſum res evaderet, nam, tametſi hominis hiſtrioniam ſatis intelligebant, ob ingentem tamen fiduciam, vel à me ipſo vera dicere prope credebatur. Itum eſt in cubiculum ſuperius, prolato omni librorum inſtrumento, ſedit Illuſtriſſ. Cancellarius tamquam ſupremus judex, aſſidebant duo Libellorum Supplicum Ex-magiſtri, Conſiſtoriani Comites, aliquot Abbates, & viri honeſti complures utrimque: Totam controverſiam expoſuit diſertè & dilucidè Heros ille maximus, laudatâ nonnihil etiam modeſtiâ meâ, tum juſſit Mommorium ex libris, quorum jam copia fieret, ſuas authoritates petere. Ibi noſter tergiverſari, aliena concionari, verborum diverticula quærere, conceſſo ſemel quod petierat, mox aliud requirens, eas editiones parum commodas cauſari, nec interim de ſententia decedere, nec manus dare; cum urgeretur à Cancellario, nihilominus comperendinationem petere. Seſqui-horam ferme tenuit ea declinatio, donec pronuntiatum eſt, falſi manifeſtum eſſe, & ſoluta riſu concione, Bataviæ Ex-legatus ad ignem, ex tempore hos vernaculos recitavit à ſe factos.*

Mommor, c'eſt fait de ta memoire,
Tu bronches ſous le vieux Bourbon,
Tous les Autheurs te font faux-bond,
Si tu n'as recours au Grimoire (19).

Thy mem'ry, Montmaur, is undone,
Thou ſtumbleſt under old Bourbon,
All authors fail, as to quotation,
Without thy book of conjuration.

(19) Nicolaus Borbonius, Epiſtola V ad Claudium Memmium, Avauxiam, *pag.* 471. *It is to be found at the latter end of Charles Ogier's book, intitled,* Iter Danicum, Suecicum, Polonicum, *printed at Paris* 1656, *in* 8vo.

Nicholas Bourbon's letter, from whence I take this ſtory, is dated the third of November, 1637. The thing happened five or ſix days before (20). Montmaur was not therefore forbid the chancellor's houſe, at the time that his life was ſatirically written by Mr Menage in the year 1636 (21). It is therefore probable, that the words I am going to cite are a pure fiction, or founded on a falſe report. 'Mamurram 'è Convivio propter neſcio quid infandum Magnus 'Nomophylax turpiter ejecit: quo infortunii genere 'acerbius homini Paraſito accidere nullum poteſt. A-'riſtippum quidem Dionyſius olim conſputavit, ac 'poſtremus ut accumberet juſſit: ſed tamen ut accum-'beret juſſit, nec cenâ, ut Mamurra, privatus eſt A 'riſtippus (22). - - - - *The great judge turned Mamurra* 'ſhamefully from table upon the account of ſome horrible 'thing, I do not know what: than which no kind of diſ-'grace could happen more grievous to the paraſite. Diony-'ſius indeed formerly ſpit in the face of Ariſtippus, and 'ordered him to ſit the loweſt at table; but yet he al-'lowed him to ſit at table, and Ariſtippus was not de-'prived, as Mamurra, of a dinner.' Mr Feramus, who wrote a poem againſt Montmaur, before Mr Menage publiſhed the life of Gargilius Mamurra (23), ſuppoſes in ſeveral places, that the chancellor had forbid this profeſſor his houſe. He expreſſes this admirably well.

(20) Dies erat Simoni & Judæ Apoſt. Sacer. *Ibid. pag.* 473.

(21) The Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Life of Gargilius Mamurra, is dated from Angers the twentieth of October 1636.

(22) Menagius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 22.

(23) This appears from the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Life of Mamurra.

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this man was not near so contemptible as he is represented. He loved good eating too well, he went to dine with great men oftener than he ought to have done; he talked to them I do not doubt, with too great ostentation; but if his happy memory, if his reading, if his ready wit, had not recommended him [G], would he have had such access to the chancellor, to the president de Mesmes, and to some other persons eminent for their rank, their good judgment and learning? Let us beware how we take the satirical descriptions of his person and actions, for a faithful picture. The best Poets and wits of his time gave each other the word, conspired against him, and endeavoured to outdo one another in turning him into ridicule, so that they have invented numberless untruths of him. We must therefore look on what they have said as pieces of wit, meer romances, and not as an historical narration [H]. Balzac lifted with so much zeal in this kind of crusade, that he vouchsafed to descend from the altitudes of his gravity,

Sed plurimus hæret
Claras ante domos atque alta Palatia magni
SEGUERII, cum fortunæ, fortisque recordans
(Qua licuit quondam divinæ accumbere mensæ)
In vetitas audax irrumpere cogitat ædes.
Ah! quoties votis precibusque, & supplice fletu
Admitti petiit. sed inexorabilis ille
Janitor, Helvetiæ duris de rupibus ortus,
Arcet ab ingressu, prohibetque, & jussa minatur
Verbera, & offensi Domini pro crimine pœnas,
Intentans fustem, sumptamque iratior hastam,
Ni cedat procul & retro vestigia vertat (24).

(24) Miscellan. Menag. pag. 9. libri adoptivi. See also pag. 16, 19.

- - - - *But, he oft repairs*
Before the gates of great SEQUERIUS' *house,*
And thinking on the noble cheer, which he
Was wont before to have, intends to rush
Into the house which he had been forbid.
How oft, alas! with humble suits and tears
Did he admittance beg; but all in vain.
The cruel porter, bred of hardest rocks,
Denies access, and threatens him with blows
As he was bid, and to revenge the crime
Of that affront his master had receiv'd.
At last enrag'd, he takes a club and pike
To knock him down, unless he will be gone.

[G] *If his happy memory, if his reading, if his ready wit, had not recommended him.*] See what Mr Menage was forced to confess: 'Cum felici adeo Mamurra esset 'memoria, ut legentis modo, cuncta quæ olim in 'libris didicerat, posset referre, memorem illum 'convivam MEMMIUS non oderat (25). - - - - *As* 'Mamurra *had such a happy memory, that he could re-* 'peat, *like one reading, all he had learned formerly in* 'books, MEMMIUS *did not dislike him for his guest.*' In all probability, Montmaur created himself many enemies by the excellence of his memory. It made him bear the sway in all companies, or rather it set him up as a tyrant over them. He who can tell whatever he has read, and assumes magisterial airs, rolling a torrent of literature from his lips, with the greatest ease, silences and stuns other learned men in conversation. They look little and meer dwarfs by him: they cannot hinder his engrossing the whole discourse, nor dare they attempt it: they sometimes suspect he is in the wrong, but have not the assurance to contradict him, distrusting their own memory, and dreading his, even in things, which they fancy he mistakes. We have seen above, that the learned Nicolas Bourbon, though full of doubts as to some citations of Montmaur's, yet durst not attack him, till he had at leisure consulted his library. If you add to this, that Montmaur was apt to slander, and full of vanity, you will easily conceive, that he must needs be hated. A haughty beauty, who obscures and eclipses all others in the circle, is an odious object to the ladies. The learned are little better disposed in like cases. They who saw they were not able to make head against this professor with their tongue, had recourse to the pen, and strove which should defame him most with their writing.

(25) *Menag. in Vita Mamurræ, pag.* 19. Compare with this the beginning of the passage of *Nicolas Bourbon*, quoted above, citation (19).

I have heard say, that an advocate, the son of a tipstaff in one of the courts, made an agreement one day with some of his friends, to mortify Montmaur, who was to dine with the president de Mesmes. The conspirators met betimes at the president's. The advocate and his friends had agreed not to let this professor have a word of the discourse, but relieve each other, and the moment one had done speaking, another was to take up the discourse. Montmaur no sooner appeared in the room, but the advocate cried out, *war, war.* You degenerate mightily, says Montmaur, your father never cried any thing but *peace, peace* (26). This was a thunder-stroke, that disconcerted the whole plot. The advocate was so dashed, that he had not a word to say all dinner-time. I believe Montmaur by his talkativeness and confidence easily disengaged himself from the snares that were laid for him. I do not know whether it was by accident or design, but as he dined one day with the chancellor Seguier, the servant spilt a dish of soop on him as he was taking it away. He kept his temper to a wonder, and looking at the chancellor (whom he suspected to have been the author of this trick) he told him: *Summum jus, summa injura,* by which extempore allusion, he turned all the laughter on his own side (27). It was an ingenious turn, but the humour of it cannot be expressed in English. It was a pun, as the chancellor of France is the chief judge, and the word *jus* in Latin signifies two things, *justice* and *soop.*

(26) This is the employment of the tip-staff, while the court sits.

(27) See the continuation of *Menagiana, pag.* 201, *Edit. Hal.*

Note, that a great many blamed Mr Menage for composing so satirical a piece upon Montmaur (28); but he excused himself by this among other reasons, that he did not pretend to give the description of any particular parasite, but the character of a parasite in general by touches of invention. This was justifying himself by a lie (29). *Non parasitum unum aliquem, non assentatorem, sed omnes parasitos, omnes assentatores sub Mamurræ fictis conquisitisque vitiis deformati personam, describere mihi mens fuit* (30). I do not think Mr Menage ever wrote any thing wherein learning, wit, and fineness of language, have been better mixed than in this. Mr Simon de Valhebert writes to me, that he has a piece by him which *seemed to be Mr Menage's: It is exactly the style of his Requête des Dictionaries:* Written in a hand which he does not know, *but with some corrections in Mr Menage's hand,* and intituled, *The petition of Petrus Montmaur, king's professor in the Greek tongue, to the parliament.* It contains above three hundred verses, *wherein his History seems to be very well written, and these verses are of the same measure with those of his Requête des Dictionaires.* I have observed, that Mr Menage has not espoused the story, which is found in some pieces of the collection de Hadrien de Valois, to wit, that Montmaur gave the porter of the college of Boncour such a stroke over the head with a billet, that the fellow died of it. See the following remark.

(28) Næ igitur in nos iniqui fuere qui hunc nobis de Mamurra ludum .... velut atrox & fastigiosum facinus objecerunt. *Menag. sub fin, Epist. Dedicat. Vitæ Mamurræ.*

(29) *Mr Menage spoke against his conscience; and Mr de Balzac too, when he said in the preface to his Barbon, that* the notion he formed to himself was general, and had no particular object... It was a ghost and phantom of my own making, an artificial man that I had formed and organized. And consequently not being of the same species as other men, and not having one relation in the world; no body could interest themselves in it's behalf, nor take offence at it's infamy.

[H] *We must look on what they have said as pieces of wit .... and not as an historical narration.*] But what shall we say to the fact just before mentioned? One would think the most virulent satirist incapable of publishing such a falshood, as that a man is actually in prison for murder. And yet some of Montmaur's adversaries affirmed, he was imprisoned for a crime of this nature. Did they ground themselves on any reality? It were infinitely more hazardous to affirm than deny it; especially when we take notice, that most of the satirists were silent as to this murder, which yet was the most favourable handle imaginable for rendering Montmaur, as they proposed, the horror and execration of the public. However, let us see the accusation:

(30) Menagius, sub fin. Epist. Dedicat. Vitæ Mamurræ.

Quoy qui ce soit, le Parasite,
Est mieux traité qu'il ne merite:

On

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gravity, and give his thoughts an air of pleaſantry: which was much a harder taſk upon him, than it would have been for Scarron to write in the ſerious and bombaſt ſtyle. He did more, he ſounded the alarm; he animated his friends to take pen in hand, and to furniſh their quota [*I*]. It is pretty remarkable, that the members of the Faculty of

On ne luy peut faire d'ennuy;
Metamorphoſer ſa perſonne
En Loup, en Porc, en une Tonne,
C'eſt encor trop d'honneur pour luy.
Qu'il le ſoit en une Marmite,
En Tournebroche ou Leichefrite,
En Perroquet, en un Corbeau;
C'eſt une grace très-viſible
Le bien façonner n'eſt poſſible
Qu'aux pieds delicate d'un Bourreau.
Auſſi ce Meſſer Cicofante,
Pour monſtrer que c'eſt ſon attente,
Fit l'autre jour un joly tour,
Caſſant d'une buſche flottée
La lourde caboche efvantée
Du gros Janitor de Boncour.
Mais ce grand chercheur de lippée
N'euſt pluſtoſt fait cette équipée,
Qu'il ſe vit abſous du peché:
Car il receut telle mornifle
Sur ſon gras muzeau qui renifle,
Que ſon œil en reſta poché.
Et qui pis eſt, Dame Juſtice
Pour chaſtier ſon malefice,
Grippant ce Cuiſtre en triſte arroy,
Les pieds nuds, un torchon en teſte,
Conduiſit cette malle beſte
Dans la noire maiſon du Roy.
Tous ſes compagnons de cuiſine,
Et ceux qui craignent la famine,
S'oppoſent à ſa liberté,
Crians par tout que ſa preſence
Sans doute affamera la France,
Et qu'elle a cauſé la cherté (31).

(31) The hiſtorical Elegy of the Sieur Gomor, in the collection of Hadrian de Valois.

The following Latin is ſuch another quibble (32).

Horatii Gentilis Peruſini in MAMURRAM, ob cæſum ab eo Collegii Harcurtii (33) *Janitorem.*

(32) In the ſame collection, at the end of the *Orbilius Muſca* of Serrafin.

(33) According to the preceding paſſage, it ſhould be *the college of Boncour*, and not *Harcourt*, as likewiſe according to the author of a Latin Ode to *Balzac*, which is in the collection of *Hadrien de Valois*, and which ſays, that Montmaur, guilty of the murder of this porter, eſcaped the gallows only by bribing the judges.

CÆDE nocens, hominiſque reus Mamurra perempti
Emiſſus vinclis eſt, Genovefa, tuis.
Et potuit reperire vades, quia plurima crimen
Elevat hoc ratio, nil graviuſque meret.
Janitor occiſus nimirum haud penditur aſſis,
Nec propter dabitur talio vile caput:
Cumque illi Mamurra petitum ſtipite grandi
Comminuit cerebrum, perdiderat proprium.

On MAMURRA, for killing the porter of the college of Harcourt, by Horatius of Peruſia.

Mamurra's free, who was confin'd
With horrid murder being charg'd.
But he with eaſe could ſureties find
By which he might have been enlarg'd.
For many reaſons at that time
Could be produc'd in his excuſe,
Which did extenuate his crime
Deſerving no ſevere abuſe.
The murder'd porter was not worth,
A pin, nor retaliation,
And when Mamurr his brains daſh'd forth,
He had entirely loſt his own.

[*I*] *Balzac liſted himſelf . . . . was willing . . . . to deſcend from the altitudes of his gravity . . . . and animated his friends to take pen in hand, and to furniſh their quota.*] He was not the firſt who preached up this Cruſade: that honour is due to Mamurra's hiſtorian; as we have ſeen above (34). This Hiſtorian concludes his book with an epigram, in which by his exhortations and imprecations, he invites the whole world to come in to the war againſt Montmaur.

Quiſquis legerit hæc, poeta fiat:
Et de Cenipeta mihi jocoſos
Scribat Gargilio repente verſus.
Qui non ſcripſerit, inter eruditos
Inſulſiſſimus ambulet patronos.

Who e're reads this, ſtraight let him be
Employ'd in works of Poetry;
Againſt that ſtinking paraſite
Gargilius, let him quickly write.
May he who will not be concern'd
Be reckon'd aſs among the learn'd.

(34) In the remark [*B*], at the paſſage of the *Valeſiana*. To which join this paſſage of *Furetiere, pag.* 101, of the *Nouvelle Allegorique*: the moſt unhappy of all was *Montmort*, captain of the *Alluſions*, and who had alſo a regiment maintained by the *Equivokes*. He was delivered over to *Menage*, a ſtrict and ſevere judge, who examined his life from the beginning to the end, and canvaſſed every action. After having convicted him of ſeveral crimes, he condemned him to ſuffer death by *poetical arms*, being firſt toſſed in a blanket as uſual. He was even the firſt who ſhot at him; afterwards all the reſt of the learned went in file, &c.

Here you ſee the concluſion of the Hiſtory of Mamurra. It may therefore be ſaid with a great deal of reaſon, that Mr Menage rang the alarm-bell, and by another metaphor, that he beat up for volunteers. Mr Balzac failed not to liſt himſelf, and exhort his friends to take up arms. He ſerved both in the infantry and cavalry. The Barbon (35), a work in proſe which he ſent to Mr Menage, was accompanied with two poems, one of which is intituled, *Indignatio in Theonem Ludimagiſtrum Ex-Jeſuitam laudatorem ineptiſſimum Eminentiſſimi Cardinalis Valetæ* (36); the other is a letter to Mr Boiſrobert, in which he intreats him to attack Montmaur, and to approve his inviting Mr Feramus to the ſame enterprize.

(35) It was printed at Paris in 8vo, in the year 1648.

(36) It is in the collection which *Hadrian de Valois*, publiſhed in 1643.

Nec ſolum tibi Semidei dicantur, at ipſe
Therſites, ipſe antiquo qui dictus Homero,
Ore animoque canis; pridem cui ſenſus Honeſti eſt,
Extinctuſque in fronte pudor. Fœdiſſima longas
Beſtia det pœnas. Deſcende ad probra Latini
Nominis, ac turpes Mamurra interprete Graios,
Pollutumque notis omni ex Auctore volumen.
Monſtra refer verborum, alio quæ vexit ab orbe,
Terribiles Griphos, &c (37).
- - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -
Hîc docto te Marte potens, Ferrame, vocamus,
Ante alios: (ea vota meo ſint grata Metello)
Cum tot tela volent, tot in unum tela parentur,
Otia agas, tuaque arma neges communibus armis?
Vana pium-ne putet deformi parcere Monſtro,
Relligio? Tu-ne invictos torquebis Iambos
In caput alterius? Vivet-ne obſcœnus amator,
Atque hoſtis Muſarum, omnis temerator Honeſti,
Pindi terta lues? Peſtem tamen ille minorem
Scaligeri Tullique cliens, & Cæſare læſo
Conſpicuus Sæclis, nigro devovit Averno:
Nec tales Verona tulit ſine vindice chartas (38).

(37) Balzac, *pag.* 160, 161, of the *Barbon*.

(38) Id. ib. *pag.* 165.

Not only demigods deſcribe, do thou
Therſites too ſet forth, by Homer call'd
In mouth and mind a dog, and who long ſince
All ſenſe of ſhame and honeſty has loſt.
Let th' filthy beaſt long puniſhment endure,
Deſcend to thoſe, who of the Latin name
The ſcandal are, and to thoſe ſhameful Greeks
Interpreted by Mamurr, and that book.
Which is with notes from every author ſtain'd.
Relate the monſtrous words that he has brought
From another world, hideous Gryphi, &c.
- - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -
Here we, Ferramus, chiefly thee invite,

of Arts in the univerſity of Paris, did not come in to the aſſiſtance of their brother Peter Montmaur. It is a ſign he could not gain the love either of the regents of the college, or of the wits. What a ſtrange hurly-burly had there been, if theſe regents had made a counter-league in his favour, and obliged themſelves to bend all their Grammar and Rhetoric, in proſe and verſe, againſt his perſecutors. There were ſome men of merit, who condemned the bitter invectives of the latter. The paſſages I ſhall mention on this head,

In learned war moſt potent (and I pray
This may to my Metellus grateful be)
Whilſt darts ſo many fly, and are prepar'd
Againſt one ſingle foe, can'ſt thou ſit ſtill
And help deny in ſuch a common cauſe?
To ſpare an ugly monſter can'ſt thou think
Religion bids? or at another's head
Invincible Iambics wilt thou fling?
A lover vile ſhall we permit to live,
An enemy to virtue, and the muſe,
Peſt of Pindus? And yet a leſſer plague
Verona's Poet to black Avernus damn'd.

Conſidering the methods theſe gentlemen took to ſtrengthen their league, and raiſe the whole poſſe of the Republic of Learning, one would think the queſtion was, not how to make Barbarians raiſe the ſiege of Parnaſſus, when determined to give up the Muſes to the ſoldiers diſcretion; but how to re-take it from theſe uncircumciſed, and reſtore to their liberty the chaſte daughters of memory, detained in the dark dungeons of a ſacrilegious, impure, and abominable, nation.

There were thoſe who cenſured ſomething in theſe verſes of Balzac. They taxed them with inhumanity and obſcurity. The obſcurity conſiſted in the words, which deſign the Poet Catullus. We have ſeen above (39) what Balzac anſwered; and you may ſee in his diſcourſes, his anſwer to the charge of inhumanity. He there ſhews, how unjuſt it is to ſay that he is more inhuman to the new Mamurra, than Catullus was to his enemies. 'I have meant, *ſays* 'he (40), only a ſimple Poetical curſe, or at 'moſt a ſimple death; for in good Latin to 'devote to Hell, or Avernus, means no more than 'death; and hemlock, a halter, or the ſword, may give 'it. But the vindictive Catullus exceeds theſe com- 'mon puniſhments: he ſpeaks of the greateſt and 'moſt cruel torments: He condemns his bad Poet to 'be burnt alive, as a Sorcerer or Atheiſt.

(39) In the remark [K] of the article CATULLUS.

(40) Balzac, Entret. xvii, *pag.* m. 204.

Infelicibus uſtulanda flammis.

And lower,

Et vos interea venite in ignem.

Others blamed him for meddling with a kind of compoſition which they did not think him fit for. Conſider, pray, theſe words of Mr Gueret: 'Men have, 'beſides, that diſtempered fancy to pretend to ſucceed 'in every thing: they are not willing to be reckoned 'of a ſtinted genius: as there is hardly any Poet but 'extends his juriſdiction from the epigram up to the 'epic poem, ſo there is no Orator who from pane- 'gyric does not deſcend to the billet-doux .... Scar- 'ron, whom nature had framed intirely burleſque, and 'whoſe mind and body ſeemed deſignedly turned for 'this character, had yet the boldneſs to attempt a 'tragedy, and would doubtleſs have finiſhed it, if 'death had not prevented the temerity of his enter- 'prize: in fine, Balzac himſelf has followed this bad 'example, and not content with the glory of the ſub- 'lime ſtyle, would fain have ſhewn by the Barbon, 'that he was no leſs fit for raillery: but he was much 'miſtaken on this head; the niceſt judges diſapprov- 'ed his taſte, and his Barbon has only ſpoiled his 'other works. Let us always follow our genius, and 'never wander out of our own province, nor envy 'others a glory for which we our ſelves are not for- 'med (41).' Mr de Balzac had received much more agreeable news about his Barbon, for they informed him, that this work met with great ſucceſs, and was admired at Paris. See this beginning of one of his letters to Mr Menage. *Bene eſt, abunde eſt, plus ſat eſt etiam mihi. Quæ ſcripſi ego olim, municipalis ille & Orator & Hiſtoricus, probata nuper ſunt Lutetiæ Pariſiorum. In ampliſſimo orbis Terrarum theatro Barbo meus* Saltavit & Placuit (42). In my opinion Mr Gueret's judgment is not the moſt equitable. The Barbon I confeſs, is of too ſerious a ſtyle: the raillery has not all that eaſy and gay turn which others would have given it; but his ridicule on pedantry is expreſſed happily and to the life by many ſingular characters.

(41) Gueret, Guerre des Auteurs, *pag.* m. 137, 138.

(42) Balzac, Epiſt. Select. *pag.* m. 182.

If any one would ſee an excuſe for the ſharpneſs of Balzac's reſentment, let him conſult Feramus's poem where we may read that Montmaur not only exerciſed his ſlandering faculty againſt the Scaligers, the Salmaſius's, and the Grotius's, but alſo treated Mr de Balzac with the laſt contempt.

Te quoque BALZACI, noſtræ decus addite genti,
Urbe vetat, patriâque jubet torpeſcere villâ,
Indecorem Regique tuo nova condere Regna
Quærere & effecto Virtutes Principe dignas (43).

Thee Balzac too, an honour to our tribe,
From city he debars, and to remain
Stupid in thy own native village bids,
To found new kingdoms for thy king to ſeek
Thoſe virtues, which the fab'lous prince become.

(43) Feramus, apud Menagium in libro adoptivo, *pag.* 14.

Here you ſee that the affront was perſonal, and that the public cauſe was not the only one he had to defend. I have ſome ſuſpicion, that the paſſage I have cited in the article DESBARREAUX (44) concerns our Montmaur. That would be ſtill a ſtronger proof of the violence of Balzac's reſentment.

(44) Citat. (20).

[K] *There were ſome men of merit who condemned the outrages of Montmaur's perſecutors.*] Three authorities will ſuffice on this head. I ſhall firſt cite Mr Couſin: 'Amongſt the poems, *ſays he* (45), that 'Mr Menage compoſed at that time, there were two 'which made a great noiſe. One was the metamor- 'phoſis of the paraſite-Pedant into a parrot. Under 'this name he meant a profeſſor of the Greek tongue, 'againſt whom ſeveral other Poets had bitterly inveigh- 'ed, reviling him in ſport and merriment, with in- 'jurious and inhuman ſatires. The other was the famous *Requête des Dictionaries.*' Thus he ſpeaks in his pretended elogy of Mr Menage, where you may pleaſe to obſerve, that he ſays nothing of the Life of Mamurra, which is a much more conſiderable work, than the Metamorphoſis he has cited. But I wonder leſs at his ſilence, than at Mr Menage's friends, who have prefixed an abridgment of his Life to the Continuation of the Menagiana. They ſay nothing of this Life of Mamurra.

(45) Journal des Sçavans, *of the eleventh of Auguſt* 1692, *pag.* 542, *Edit. of Holl.*

My ſecond witneſs, his fictitious name, is Vigneul-Marville. We will tranſcribe a part of his diſcourſe (46). 'The profeſſor Montmaur was not ſo deſpicable a 'man as moſt believed him. He was an excellent 'genius, and had great talents. The Greek and La- 'tin tongues were, as it were natural to him. He 'had read all the good authors of antiquity; and 'being favoured by a prodigious memory, joined to 'a great vivacity, he made the juſteſt applications of 'whatever he had obſerved moſt curious. It is true, 'there was generally a touch of ill nature in them, 'which provoked the fury of thoſe who were the 'objects of his wit: by theſe talents he eaſily intro- 'duced himſelf to perſons of quality, who loved the 'recreations of Parnaſſus. His avarice ruined him; 'for he had an eſtate which he made no uſe of; and 'he was too great an admirer of good eating. He 'uſed to tell his friends; gentlemen, do you find diſhes 'and wine, and I will find ſalt. And the truth is, 'he ſcattered it about plentifully, at the good tables 'which

(46) Vigneul Marville, Mélange d'Hiſtoire & de Litérature, *pag.* 86, *de la 1 Edit. de Rouen.*

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head, contain things that will explain this article. Montmaur lodged in the college of Boncour, and this circumſtance furniſhed matter of raillery [L]. He died in the year 1648

' which he frequented. His ſatirical humour had ' no bounds, he was a Lucian all over. But he ' chiefly exerciſed it upon the bad Poets. . . . . Ne- ' ver were ſo many ſatires in proſe and verſe written ' againſt any one man, as againſt Montmaur. Every ' body ſpent his whole ſtock this way upon him. En- ' tire collections are ſtill extant of them. The beſt ' are thoſe of Mr Menage. Montmaur's friends ad- ' viſed him to print his witiciſms upon theſe trouble- ' ſome writers: but the love of quiet tied up his ' hands, and he was contented to laugh at thoſe tri- ' fles and deſpiſe them. One of his friends having ' told him, that Mr Menage had metamorphoſed him ' into a parrot: very well, ſaid he, I ſhall not want ' wine then to cheer my heart, nor a beak to defend ' me; and as this metamorphoſis was much praiſed, ' no wonder, added he, that ſuch a great prater as ' Mr Menage ſhould make a good parrot. Mont- ' maur took much more to heart Meſſ. Dupuy re- ' fuſing him admittance into their cloſet, which was ' the center of the fineſt gentlemen of Paris. Theſe ' gentlemen, of a gravity like that of Cato, took the ' ſciences by the moſt ſerious handle, and could not ' eaſily bear thoſe who were only (as one may ſay) ' the Punchinello's of learning. They did not un- ' derſtand raillery: It was ſafer committing a ſoleciſm ' in the face of a whole univerſity, than de- ' ſcending to humour and drollery in their pre- ' ſence (47).'

(47) L. ii. pag. 88.

My third witneſs is Vavaſſor. He has not named Montmaur, but deſcribes him in ſo clear a manner, that we may be ſure he is the man he means. He gives him no encomium; he charges him with ſome very great and odious faults; but otherwiſe does him juſtice as to his learning, and condemns not only the authors who ſo virulently abuſed him, but even the magiſtrates who permitted ſuch licentiouſneſs. He afterwards makes a reflexion that is judicious enough; to wit, that by a juſt judgment of GOD it often happens, that princes and their miniſters who neglect to puniſh the boldneſs of ſatiriſts and libellers, are puniſhed ſoon or late for their unconcernedneſs, in the ſame kind, and expoſed to the fury of ſlandrous tongues. I give but a rough draught of this Jeſuit's thoughts. He has very nobly expreſſed them in a work which is hardly now to be met with in the Bookſellers ſhops. And therefore I ſhall be excuſed if I ſet down his own words. *Vidimus quemdam nuper non expertem literarum, ſed cui nihil placeret, nec pulcrum videretur, niſi quod eſſet ſuum. Hunc propter ipſius odioſiſſimos mores, nemo tum poeta ſive ſcriptor alius nefas duxit conſcindere omnibus probris. Quanctiam non recte nec ratione, mea quidem ſententia, & peſſimo exemplo. Non enim, ſi dignus is contumelia; perboneſti, graves & literati viri digni tamen, qui contumeliam inferrent. Et erant alioquin in iſto, quæ amare poſſes ſine moribus, memoria, cognitio ſermonis Græci, varietas aliqua doctrinæ & copia; unde diſcerent nonnihil etiam periti, quamvis hominem non probarent. Sed valuit nimirum maledicentia, grata cunctis, etiam iis, qui nequi ſibi maledici, neque maledicere ipſi aliis velint. Atque hanc, ut a me ante dictum eſt, maledicentiam vetant, natura, ratio, mos, diſciplina, jura, leges: ubique gentium ac terrarum, atque in omni memoria pœnæ maledicis graves propoſitæ, crimen tamen impunitum perſæpe & olim fuit, & nunc eſt, & erit, vel veterno & ſocordia, vel prævaricatione eorum, a quibus oporterit pro officio vindicari. Ac multa peccant principes, & in his illud, quod tantam petulantiam, ita ut meretur, quantumque poſſunt, non coerceant, nec populo caveant ſatis, nec privatos conſervent ab injuria. Interim nutu divini numinis & providentia quid ſit? Ne ab iſtis quidem abſtinetur tam lente ferentibus probra in alios: immo linguas hominum magis infeſtas habent, miuſque ſermones effugiunt obtrectatorum: & audire plerumque coguntur ipſi, quæ nolint, quia de aliis patiantur dici, quæ non debeant* (48).

(48) Franciſcus Vavaſſor, de Epigrammate, cap. x, pag. 98, 99. This book was printed at Paris in 1672, in 8vo.

Thus I have given you the three authorities I promiſed. If we barely conſider the formal and expreſs declarations, the Jeſuit Vavaſſeur paſſes the ſevereſt ſentence on our gentleman's adverſaries: but if we conſider the force of the expreſſions, Vigneul Marville is the ſevereſt judge, for declaring that *Montmaur was an excellent wit*, who had read all the good authors of antiquity, *and who had great talents*, a profound underſtanding of Greek and Latin, *a prodigious memory joined with a great vivacity*, &c. He charges the ſatires that were made on him, with extream injuſtice. All his conceſſions in favour of Montmaur, are as ſo many ſtrokes with a rod of iron on the heads of theſe ſatiriſts, ſince they all conſpire to make this profeſſor paſs for the moſt ignorant blockhead in nature: and note, that the praiſes he has given him, ought to have the more weight, becauſe he has not concealed his faults. What he obſerves of his inſenſibility is ſurprizing, and I know not what could have been imagined wiſer, than to laugh, as Montmaur did, at the writings of his enemies. But it is prodigious, that a man of ſo much reading, wit, and memory, ſhould write nothing on that occaſion, or hardly ever publiſh a book in all his life. We muſt believe, that the fire of his wit required the preſence of living objects, and that his vaſt memory ſunk in a great meaſure, when he was to compoſe in ſolitude, and in the ſhade of a cloſet (49). We muſt believe I ſay, that Montmaur found by experience, as ſeveral others do, that it is infinitely eaſier to diſcourſe off-hand, than to write a good book. The way to make this profeſſor's knowledge uſeful to the public, would have been to give him a judicious diſciple, who ſhould conſtantly have attended him, and collected whatever he had heard him ſay. In that caſe we ſhould have had a Montmauriana, which perhaps would have been a good book. I believe there were ſome who diſapproved that contempt which our Montmaur expreſſed for the ſatires made upon him, and who could have wiſhed he had demanded juſtice of the courts; for his adverſaries not content to accuſe him of ignorance, and of being a vain trifler in anagrams, and ſilly puns, charges of which the public juſtice takes no cognizance, *nihil hæc ad edictum prætoris*; reflected on him as a baſtard and murderer, as we have ſeen above (50), and here is a paſſage charging him with forgery and ſodomy.

(49) Compare what has been ſaid above, remark [B] of the article CRE-MONIN.

(50) In the remarks [D] and [H].

J'adis dans un fameux procez,
Dont il eut un honteux ſuccez,
Il appella d'une Sentence,
Qui n'eſpargnoit que la potence,
Quand de tout point il eut eſté
Convaincu d'une fauſſeté:
Car il imitoit de nature
Toute ſorte de ſignature,
Et gagna tout en jugement
Quand il ne tint qu'à ſon ſerment.
Il eut d'autres vices encore
Que je tairay, car je l'honnore.
L'on dit que ſon valet un jour
L'accuſa de la ſale amour,
Imputant à ce Paraſite
Le crime d'eſtre Sodomite (51).

(51) Hiſtoire de la Vie & de la Mort du grand Mogor, pag. 25, 26, in the collection of Hadrian de Valois.

This exceeds raillery: A man is anſwerable for ſuch an accuſation in a court of juſtice. The *actio injuriarum* lies againſt him in this caſe (52), and the accuſed may plead the law of the Code, *ſi quis famoſum*, according to which the defamer, who does not produce good proofs, is puniſhed as a ſlanderer.

(52) Compare with this theſe words of Horace, Epiſt. I, ver. 152, lib. ii. Quin etiam lex Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam Deſcribi.

[L] *He lodged in the college of Boncour, and this furniſhed matter of raillery.*] Let us prove this fact from Mr Menage's Words.

Quâ collis Genovefa tuus ſupereminet Urbem,
Stat Becodina domus, docti celeberrima quondam
Atria Gallandi, ſummo Rectore juventæ.
. . . . . .
Quâ exiguo conduxerat ære penates
Gargilius (53).

(53) Menag. Miſcell. pag. 7, 8.

And by theſe fine verſes of Feramus,

Quâ poſuit ſtabiles Pariſina Academia ſedes
In monte excelſo, mons eminet altior, illic

Exiguâ

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1648 [*M*]. He publiſhed ſomething againſt Buſbequius (*b*). It is ſaid he had five thouſand livres *per ann.* and was very covetous (*i*).

(*b*) Buſbequium mortuum nec reſponſurum invaſit. - - - *He fell upon Buſbequius who was dead and could not anſwer him.* Menag. in Vita Mamurræ, *pag.* 30. *See the remark* [*B*]. (*i*) Suite du Menagiana, *pag.* 200, *Dutch Edit.*

Exiguâ parvos habitat mercede penates.
Non illuc ſtudia, & docti vicinia Phœbi
Pellexere hominem, ſed ut hinc toti incubet Urbi,
Majoreſque alto ſpeculetur vertice fumos,
In tua jejunus ruiturus prandia, MEMMI,
Vel famoſa tuæ, BONELLI, fercula menſæ,
Seu veſtras, HANE QUINE, dapes tantâ arte paratas.
Et quicumque alij menſâ præſtatis opimâ
Luculli illuſtres, Mæcenateſque beati (54).

(54) Feramus, in Macrini Paraſitogrammatici ἡμιάρᾳ, init. apud Menagium ibid. in libro adoptivo, *pag.* 7.

You ſee they pretend that he lodged in this college, the better to diſcover the ſmoke of the kitchens of Paris, it being the higheſt part of the town. But if it was convenient on this ſcore, it was very inconvenient in another reſpect, by being at too great a diſtance from the houſes where the paraſite uſed to dine. This put him to the expence of keeping a horſe. Mr Menage talks very pleaſantly upon it. 'Verum 'cum ſummo in cacumine montis Genovefani tunc 'temporis habitaret, ut hinc ſcilicet culinarum fumos, 'ex quibus auguria captabat, commodius proſpicere 'poſſet; atque adeo horum omnium quos aſſiduè cole- 'bat, ab ejus tugurio domus longè diſtarent: ne ad * *Biretus, in Vita Ronſ.* 'illorum cœnas ac prandia tardius accederet, Equum 'ſibi comparavit: qui quoniam Becodiana in Schola, '* quam *Parnaſum Pariſienſem* Ronſardus vocare ſole- (55) Menagius, in Vita Mamurræ, *pag. m.* 20. 'bat, ſtabulabatur, *Pegaſus* eſt appellatus; de quo Car- 'men eſt SPESSEI (55). - - - - *But as he then lived 'on the top of Mount Genevieve, that from thence he 'might the more conveniently obſerve the ſmoke of the 'kitchens, from which he took his omens: and as the 'houſes he daily frequented were a great way off from 'his own cottage; that he might not come too late to 'dinner or ſupper, he bought an horſe, which being 'ſtabled in the college of Bancour, called by Ronſard 'the* Parnaſſus of Paris, *was named* Pegaſus: where- 'upon *SPESSEUS wrote a poem.*' The thought in the beginning of this paſſage is pleaſant enough; to wit, that Montmaur, in conſulting the auguries, did not wait for the appearance of vultures, or any other kind of birds, but was attentive to the ſmoak of the kitchens only. He ſhould conſequently have ſaid (56), that Montmaur having an opinion of the augural art, applied himſelf chiefly to Capnomancy (57). Theſe gentlemens raillery is become a common-place to all who would characteriſe a paraſite. A paraſite ſay they, going out of his lodgings, without knowing where he ſhall dine, guides his ſteps through the ſtreets of Paris by the ſmoak of the kitchens, and this ſmoak is his compaſs and polar ſtar, *&c.*

(56) That is, in the place where Mr Menage gives a liſt of the arts and ſciences which Mamurra had a mind to underſtand.

(57) That is the the art of divination by ſmoke.

[*M*] *Montmaur died in the year* 1648.] This I look on as unqueſtionable, though I have not found it in any author, for Mr Simon de Valhebert has been pleaſed to inform me, that he was told ſo by the abbot Gallois, who conſulting the regiſters of the college royal, found that Montmaur in the year 1623, obtained the reverſion of the place of Profeſſor of the Greek tongue, after Jerome Goulu (58), that he died in the year 1648, and was ſucceeded by James Pigis.

(58) A Pariſian who died in the year 1639.

MONTPENSIER (THE DUCHESS OF) favourite to Catherine de Medicis. See LONGWIC.

MOPSUS. There are two perſons principally of this name in the books of the ancients. One was ſon to Ampycus and Chloris; the other was the ſon of Tireſias, according to ſome, or of Manto daughter to Tireſias, according to others (*a*). We ſhall ſay ſomething of each. MOPSUS, the ſon of Ampycus, was inſtructed by Apollo in augury, and became very conſiderable by means of this art during the expedition of the Argonauts (*b*). He was ſirnamed Titareſian (*c*), from the place of his birth, a village in the country of the Lapithæ in Theſſaly. However his own country was not the ſcene where he accquired moſt honour, but that of Africa. He landed there, having loſt his way in his return from Colchos, and died by the bite of a ſerpent (*d*). They ſay he was buried near Teuchira one of the towns of the Pentapolis (*e*) [*A*], and honoured with a temple in the province of Cyrene [*B*], which became famous for an oracle. The firſt inſtitution of which is attributed to Battus the Cyrenean (*f*). Ammianus Marcellinus tells us (*g*) that the heroical manes of Mopſus, buried in Africa, aſſwaged ſeveral kinds of pain, and commonly cured them. This Hiſtorian is guilty of an error in this point which

(*a*) Hygin. *cap. xiv*, Scholiaſt. Apollon. *in lib. i, ver.* 65.

(*b*) Hygin. ibid. Apollon. Argonaut. *lib. i, ver.* 65. Valer. Flaccus, Argon. *lib. i, ver.* 383, & paſſim alibi. Statius, Theb. *lib. iii, ver.* 521.

(*c*) Apollon. ibid. Heſiod. in Scuto.

(*d*) Apollon. *lib. i, verſ.* 80, & *lib. iv, ver.* 1520.

(*e*) Lycophron. Caſſand. *ver.* 877. Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. *lib. i.*

(*f*) Clem. Alex. ibid.

(*g*) *Lib. xiv, cap. viii.*

[*A*] *Teuchira, one of the towns of the Pentapolis.*] Here I have followed the opinion of the learned Valeſius (1), who has proved from Lycophron, that Mopſus was buried near Teuchira. However, I muſt ingenuouſly own, that in examining the paſſage of this obſcure Poet, I could not think but that our Argonaut's tomb was rather characterized in it, with regard to Auſigda upon the river Ciniphas, than with regard to Teuchira. Now this river is not far from Pentapolis (2). Beſides I own I cannot conceive, why Valeſius pretends, that if Mopſus had been buried in Pentapolis, Ammianus Marcellinus ought not to have mentioned *the ſhoar of Africa, and the Punic glebe* (3); he may eaſily be juſtified by their authority, who ſay that Mopſus died in Africa, amongſt which are Tertullian and Apuleius, to whom we may join Apollonius and Seneca (4) who make him die in Libya. This reaſoning ſuppoſes, that Pentapolis was not a part of Africa; but I cannot imagine, conſidering how many great men have maintained the contrary, why Ammianus Marcellinus ſhould not be permitted to do the ſame: he ſometimes runs into poetical phraſes, wherein the general name is preferred before the particular. After all, in Lycophron's Caſſandra, we ſee that the coaſt of Teuchira is called the manſions inhabited by Atlas. Is not this intended to ſignify in general the coaſts of Africa?

(1) Henric. Valeſius, in Marcel. *pag.* 41.

(2) *See* Mela, *lib. i, cap. vii.*

(3) Quod ſi ita eſt male hic Africæ littus, & ceſpitem Punicum poſuit Marcellinus. *Valeſ. ubi ſupra.*

(4) See the remark [*E*].

[*B*] *He was honoured with a temple in the province of Cyrene.*] If we had rather have the teſtimony of a heathen, than that of Clemens Alexandrinus, we need only read theſe words of Apuleius: 'Tantum 'eos Deos appellant qui ex eodem numero juſte ac 'prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine 'poſtea ab hominibus proditi fanis & cerimoniis vulgo 'advertuntur, ut in Bœotia Amphiaraus, IN AFRICA 'MOPSUS, in Ægypto Oſiris, alius alibi gentium '(5). - - - - *They only call thoſe gods, who having led 'a juſt and prudent life, are afterwards reported by men 'to be deities, and are honoured with temples and cere- 'monies, as Amphiaraus in Bœotia,* MOPSUS IN A- 'FRICA, *Oſiris in Ægypt, and others elſewhere.*' Lutatius, the Scholiaſt of the Poet Statius, ſays, in ſpeaking of the ſame Mopſus: 'In tantum magnus fuit in 'augurali peritia ut poſt mortem templa ei dicata ſint, 'à quorum adytis ſæpe homines reſponſa accipiunt. '- - - - - *He was ſo famous for his ſkill in Divination, 'that*

(5) Apul. de Deo Socratis.

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which is common to him with ſome other authors [C]. As to the other MOPSUS, I find that the ſame Strabo, who makes him the ſon of Tireſias at the end of the ninth book, makes him the ſon of Apollo and Manto in his thirteenth and fourteenth books. And that Pauſanias (b) makes him the ſon of Manto and Rhacius, the head of a colony which paſſed from the Iſle of Crete into Aſia. Nothing of all this can be eaſily reconciled with his being king of Argos, or with the national epithet of Argian which has been given him [D]. All who mention him, make him a great maſter in the art of Divination. It is ſaid that he broke the heart of Calchas, the famous Calchas who was ſuper-intendant of the augurs, during the long war of Troy, that he fairly broke his heart in a diſpute between them which was the beſt Diviner [E]. Calchas went on foot from Troy to Claros, in company of Amphilochus, and to try Mopſus's ability he aſked him, ſhewing him a big-bellied ſow, how many young ſhe carried, he anſwered three, one of which was a ſow-pig. The thing proved true. Mopſus aſked Calchas in his turn, how many figs there were on ſuch a fig-tree. Calchas could not tell, and died of grief (i). No body, ever ſo little verſed in books, will wonder, that this ſtory ſhould be differently related; for to judge of things by experience, there is a fatality in this which humane nature cannot avoid. There are authors then who ſay (k), that it was Calchas aſked the number of figs (l), and that Mopſus anſwered ten thouſand, and that they might all, one only excepted, be contained in a certain meaſure which he named. This anſwer, found exactly true upon trial, made Calchas die of vexation. Others will have it, that Calchas bid him tell how many young ones the ſow went with, and that the truth of his anſwer to this queſtion was that only which broke his heart, ſo that there was no

(b) *Lib. vii, pag. m. 207.*

(i) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag. m. 442.* Lycophr. *ver. 425.*

(k) Strabo, ibid.

(l) Servius, in Eclog. VI, Virgil. *ver. 72. Grounding himſelf on the Poet* Euphorion, *ſays they were apples.*

(6) In the body of this article.

(7) In Statium, *Tom. ii, pag. 818.*

(8) In Eclog. VI, *ver. 72.*

(9) *Lloyd who adheres againſt thoſe who confound the two Mopſus's, quod Argonautica expeditio generatione integra belloin Trojanum antecellit. - - - that the expedition of the Argonauts preceded the Trojan war a whole generation;* & Barth. ubi ſupra, *who aſſerts, that the Argonautarum vates attingere minime potuit tempora à reditu Trojæ. - - - the augur of the Argonauts could not reach to the time of the Trojan war.* Calviſius maintains the contrary, *ed. ann. mundi 2727.*

(10) In Tertull. de Anima, *cap. alvi.*

(11) In Ammian. Marcell. *lib. xiv, pag. 40, 41.*

(12) This is the epithet *Strabo* gives him.

(13) See Apollodorus, Bibl. *lib. iii, pag. m. 209.*

'*that after his death temples were dedicated to him, 'from which men often received Oracles.*' We have already ſeen (6) Marcellinus's teſtimony.

[C] *Ammianus Marcellinus commits a fault which is common to him with ſome other authors.*] It is his confounding Mopſus the Argonaut with the ſon or grandſon of Tireſias. Barthius (7) obſerves, that even the ancient writers put one for the other, and he expreſsly accuſes Servius to have done it: but he does him wrong, ſince Servius (8) ſpeaks only of Mopſus in general. The charge would be much juſter againſt Ammianus Marcellinus, from whom Barthius cites that paſſage, as a good proof of theſe two things: I. That Mopſus's tomb was in Africa. II. That it was not poſſible for Strabo to have ſeen it in Cilicia. He leaves us to judge which of theſe two ancient authors is miſtaken, and does not perceive Ammianus Marcellinus's error in the paſſage he cites. Valeſius is the perſon who obſerves it. The thing is plain. This hiſtorian ſays on one hand, that the city of Mopſus was the place or habitation of Mopſus the Diviner; and on the other, that this Mopſus having been driven on the coaſt of Africa, in his return from the conqueſt of the Golden Fleece, died there, and that his tomb wrought miracles. He who gave his name to Mopſueſtia, and he that founded ſeveral towns in Cilicia, are doubtleſs the ſame Mopſus, now the latter was cotemporary with Calchas and Amphilochus, and flouriſhed after the Trojan war; it was not he therefore who went with the Argonauts. Clemens Alexandrinus has not taken notice of this, ſince, as Valeſius obſerves, he thought the Mopſus, who flouriſhed at the time of the Trojan war, had been in this expedition. I do not object to him what others might do (9), that great age, which this ſuppoſition would infer; but he ought to have remembered, that this perſon loſt his life in his return from Colchos. Pamelius (10) takes him for the Argonaut who gave out oracles in Cilicia. We ſhall preſently ſee a ſlip or two of Meurſius. They diſtinguiſh in Calepin three Mopſus's. I. The Augur, who founded the town of Phaſelus upon the confines of Pamphylia. II. The Lapithyte, the ſon of Ampycus. III. He who diſputed againſt Calchas.

[D] *The national epithet of Argian was given him.*] Valeſius (11), to diſtinguiſh our two Mopſus's, names the firſt *Lapithum* (12), or *Theſſalum*, and the latter *Argivum*. But whem I conſider that Tireſias was a Theban, and think on the fierce and bloody war which the Argians made twice upon the Thebans, during the life of Tireſias, we cannot ſee how he could have a ſon, who, for diſtinction's ſake, ſhould be called the Argian. If Manto was a prieſteſs of Delphos, and Apollo begat Mopſus upon her, why ſhould this Mopſus be called an Argian? Or why, if he ſprung from the marriage which ſhe contracted with Rhacius in Aſia, ſhould he bear this title? There would be leſs difficulty in this, were he her ſon by Alcmeon (13). However, Cicero affirms, he was king of Argos: 'Amphilochus & Mopſus Argivorum Reges fuerunt, ſed 'iidem Augures, iique urbes in ora maritima Ciliciæ 'Græcas condidere (14). - - - *Amphilochus and Mopſus 'were kings of the Argives, and, at the ſame time, Au- 'gurs, and built Grecian cities on the ſea-coaſt of Cilicia.*' If ever Meziriac's Commentary on Apollodorus comes out, which I rather wiſh than expect, we ſhall learn many things about the two Mopſus's (15).

(14) Cicero, de Divinat. *lib. i, cap. xl.*

(15) See his Commentary on Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag. 911.*

[E] *It is ſaid that he broke the heart of Calchas . . . in a diſpute which was the beſt Diviner.*] Moreri's continuators have been guilty of ſeveral faults in relating this diſpute. I. They have repreſented Mopſus as the aggreſſor, which they ought not to have done, ſince he does not appear ſo in any of the different relations, which Strabo has given. II. They ought not to have cited Heſiod, without adding, that what he has ſaid upon this head, is to be met with in Strabo. This addition is neceſſary as often as we cite an author whoſe work is loſt, and is known only from the citations of others. III. They ought not to have cited Heſiod on any account, ſince they do not relate the matter as he does. They ſay, that Mopſus put the Queſtion to Chalcas about the number of figs. Whereas Heſiod ſays it was Calchas aſked Mopſus that queſtion. They were doubtleſs deceived by Charles Stephens after Mr Lloyd and Hofman. 'Dolore contabuit quod propoſita ſibi à Mopſo 'caprifico (ut refert Heſiodus) aut (ut Pherecydes, ma- 'vult) ſue gravida, conjicere not potuiſſet, quot in illa 'ficus eſſent, quotve hæc utero ſuculas gereret: quos 'tamen Mopſus ſine ullo errore divinavit (16). - - - *He 'pined away with grief, becauſe a queſtion being put to 'him by Mopſus about a figtree, (as Heſiod ſays) or (as 'Pherecydes will have it) a big-bellied ſow, he could not 'tell how many figs were on the former, nor how many young 'the latter carried, which, however, Mopſus divined 'right.*' IV. They ought not to have cited the firſt book of the Iliad, which has nothing of what they ſay. I am leſs ſurpriſed at all this, than at the ſtrange miſtake of Meurſius. This learned man (17) imagines, that Mopſus was worſted in this diſpute, if we be decided by Seneca the Tragedian. *Seneca Mopſum inferiorem factum vult in Medea:*

(16) Car. Steph. in voce Calchas, *pag. m. 546.*

Omnibus verax ſibi falſus uni
Concidit Mopſus, caruitque Thebis
Ille qui verè cecinit futura.

(17) Comment. in Lycophron. *pag. 206.*

Firſt, he does not ſpeak in this place of Mopſus Calchas's antagoniſt, but of Mopſus the Argonaut. Secondly, Seneca ſays no more than this, that Mopſus with all his prophetical ſkill, died in the expedition. I will ſet you down the whole paſſage, ſince it is not free from falſhood on another ſcore.

Ite nunc ſortes, perarate Pontum
Sorte timenda.
Idmonem, quamvis bene fata noſſet,
Condidit ſerpens Libycis arenis.
Omnibus verax, ſibi falſus uni
Concidit

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no need of Mopſus's propoſing a queſtion in his turn, which Calchas could not reſolve. There are ſome who maintain that all this happened not at Claros, but in Cilicia (*m*). Mopſus loſt his life in another kind of conteſt [*F*], for it is ſaid (*n*) that he and Amphilochus ſet out together from Troy, and built the town of Mallus in Cilicia. That Amphilochus left him there to go to Argos: that miſſing his aim he came back again to Mopſus, who would have no more to do with him: that they fought a duel in which both of them fell, and that their tombs, which were ſhewn at Margaſa near the river Pyramus, were ſo ſituated, that one of them could not be ſeen from the other. It is certain that Cilicia was not the leaſt theatre of Mopſus's actions: he built ſeveral towns in it (*o*), that which was called Mopſueſtia (*p*) had a particular relation to his perſon: Cilicia was principally the place where he was worſhipped as a God, and where he gave out oracles (*q*). Plutarch tells a ſtory of them, which confounded the incredulity of the Epicureans (*r*).

(*m*) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 464.

(*n*) Id. ib. & Lycophr. *ver.* 439.

(*o*) Cicero, *lib. i,* de Divinat. Pompon. Mela, *lib. i, cap. xiv,* & ibi Iſac. Voſſius.

(*p*) Μόψου ἱδρύα, quaſi lares Mopſi. *See* Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 465. Mopſueſtia vatis illius domicilium Mopſi, *ſays* Ammianus Marcellinus, *lib. xiv. St Jerome calls it,* Mopſi viculum. *See* Berkelius, in Stephan. *pag.* 567, & Photius, Biblioth. *num.* 176, *pag.* 392.

(*q*) Tertull. de Anima, *cap. xlvi.* Origines, *lib. iii,* contra Celſum. Euſeb. de laudibus Conſtant.

(*r*) De Oracul. defectu.

Note, that Mopſus's applying himſelf to Divination did not hinder his begetting children. He had three daughters, Rhode, Meliade, and Pamphylia. Their names were given to ſome countries (*s*).

(*s*) Photius, Bibl. *num.* 176, *pag.* 392, ex Theopompo.

Concidit Mopſus, caruitque Thebis
Ille què veri cecinit futura.

Here are three examples of the ſad Fate of the moſt famous ſooth-ſayers. The laſt is that of Tireſias, who died a fugitive, and baniſhed from Thebes. The firſt is that of Idmon, who died in Africa by the bite of a ſerpent; the other is that of Mopſus, of whom Seneca is content to ſay, in an indefinite manner, that he died. But here he takes one for the other: he attributes to Idmon what does not belong to him; for Mopſus was he who died in Africa of the bite of a ſerpent. Beſides Apollonius, whom I have cited, obſerve how Hyginus ſpeaks of him (18). 'Mopſus 'Ampyci filius ab ſerpentis morſu in Africa obiit.--- '*Mopſus the ſon of Ampycus died in Africa by the bite of* '*a ſerpent.*' I am not ignorant what ſtrains are given to this paſſage, and how many different ways of pointing it the Critics have invented. Rhodiginus (19) doubtleſs applauded himſelf on having put a point after *condidit,* and taking *ſerpens* for a participle. But I do not believe any judicious perſon thinks this more likely than ſaying, that the Latin Poet was under a miſtake. Do not we ſee the beſt hiſtorians confound facts which are near their own time, and ſuch as are no leſs remarkable, than the death of the ſooth-ſayer of an army could be in the imagination of a tragic Poet? Did Gruterus (20) who refers the *caruit Thebis* to Mopſus, think, that Mopſus was a Lapithyte? He changes I know not how many preter-tenſes into futures: he will have it that Seneca tranſgreſſed againſt hiſtory; but not that the temptation of crouding many great examples of morality into a chorus, has made him have recourſe to the aſylum of a prolepſis, or confound his Chronology. I can beſides all this maintain, that Seneca's words are no proof of what Valeſius alledges them for, I mean Mopſus's death in Africa. The paſſages he produces from Tertullian and Apuleius, only prove that Mopſus was honoured as a God in that country; but he ought to have alledged ſomething more expreſs from his authors, before he offered them as witneſſes of a man's deceaſe in ſuch or ſuch a place.

(18) Fabula xiv, *pag. m.* 46, 47.

(19) Antiq. Lect. *lib. xxix, cap. xv.*

(20) Apud Senecam Scriverii, *pag.* 237.

[*F*] *Mopſus loſt his life in another kind of conteſt.*] This by no means reſpecting Chalchas, I ſhall venture to ſay, that Strabo's tranſlator has not rendered theſe words right, ὃ μόνον δὲ τὴν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ἔσεν μεμυθεύκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Neque de divinatione duntaxat eos contendiſſe fabulantur, ſed etiam de imperio (21) ------ *And it is reported, they not only contended about divination, but likewiſe about command.*' This *eos* neceſſarily refers to Calchas and Mopſus; we muſt therefore expect to ſee them diſpute for command, yet nothing of this appears by the ſequel; it is Mopſus and Amphilochus that fall out. Strabo has expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner as not to have any ſhare in this ſmall cenſure.

(21) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 464.

MORGUES (MATTHEW DE) Sieur de St Germain, preacher in ordinary to Lewis XIII, and firſt almoner to Mary de Medicis, this king's mother, made himſelf very much known by ſeveral libels he publiſhed againſt cardinal Richelieu. He was born in Vellai in Languedoc (*a*), and was of a family which had been praiſed by Lewis Pulci preceptor to Leo X (*b*). He turned Jeſuit, and taught ſome claſſes at Avignon in the college of the ſociety (*c*). He quitted this profeſſion ſome time after, and dextrouſly leaping over the walls of the college (*d*), he capitulated at liberty, and made up the buſineſs as well as he could [*A*]. He employed in his juſtification a kind of dilemma, which was retorted upon him [*B*]. He preached in Paris with great ſucceſs

(*a*) Matthieu de Morgues, Lettre de change proteſtée, *pag. m.* 946.

(*b*) Id. ib. *pag.* 947.

(*c*) Prémiere Lettre de change de Sabin à Nicoleon, *pag.* 711, *of the* Pieces pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire, *Edit.* 1643, *in* 4*to.*

(*d*) Ibid. *pag.* 713.

[*A*] *He leaped over the walls of the Jeſuits college at Avignon . . . . and made up the buſineſs as well as he could.*] What he advances on this ſubject, is inconſiſtent with what was objected to him. This objection imports, *That he became a prieſt in a ſtate of apoſtacy, before he had by any diſpenſation diſengaged himſelf from the bonds which ſtill tied him by one end, to an order he had deſerted* (1). *Many,* continue they, *may have heard cardinal Spada ſay ſometimes as much, before whom you ſtood crying a long time to ſee if you could move him to ſome compaſſion.* Now hear what he anſwered to an author, who called him an apoſtate Jeſuit: *He whom you accuſe, declares he was very young when he entered into the ſociety, and that he neither quitted it out of levity, nor libertiniſm. He might have married after his retreat, if he pleaſed, or have choſen any other profeſſion than that he took, being in no ſacred orders, nor of an age to take them* (2). Does not this imply, that he quitted the Jeſuits before he had made any vow? How then could he be tied to their order by one end? Note, that he anſwers nothing, to what was ſaid of his teaching ſome claſſes in the Jeſuits college at Avignon. We muſt therefore believe the accuſation true. Whence it follows, that he diſguiſes things, in ſaying, he was free to marry when he left the ſociety.

(1) Prémiere Lettre de change de Sabin à Nicoleon, *pag.* 716, *of the* Recueil des Pieces pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire, *Edit.* 1643, *in* 4*to.*

(2) Morgues, Reparties ſur la Réponſe à la Remonſtrance, *pag.* 7.

[*B*] *He employed a kind of dilemma which was retorted upon him.*] 'He tells us, that if the Jeſuits 'be men of probity, he ought to be praiſed for 'having kept good company; if not, he deſerves no 'reproach for having left them. But it is true, they 'are men of probity, and it were wrong not to 'have continued with them,' ſuppoſing either that 'a man left them to turn libertine, or that he could 'not leave them with a good conſcience, or that 'they themſelves could not juſtly diſpenſe with one 'who had not made profeſſion againſt them (3).' This is his anſwer: let us ſee what was replied to him: 'Your argument reſembles thoſe daggers 'which were antiently made uſe of in tragedies: it 'enters into itſelf without giving the leaſt wound. I 'turn it againſt you, and ſay; if the Jeſuits are 'wicked, you deſerve blame for having kept ill com'pany; if good, you cannot deny, but you are to 'blame in having left them. There is nothing to 'be ſaid againſt this.' But it is true, they are men of probity, ſay you. 'This has always been 'my opinion; but it has not always been your's.

(3) Id. ib. *pag.* 8.

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ſucceſs [C], and in the year 1613, was appointed preacher to queen Margaret (e). He was afterwards preferred to be preacher to the king in the year 1615, in Father Portugais's place, and in the year 1620, was preacher to the queen-mother. He had the cure of Notre-Dame des Vertus near Paris. They who writ againſt him accuſed him of having ſold this cure, but he denied it [D]. He was named to the biſhopric of Toulon by Lewis XIII, but never could obtain his bulls. He gave his anſwer to the reproaches, which were made him on this occaſion, the beſt turn that could poſſibly be given it [E]. He retired to his father's houſe upon the confinement of Mary de Medicis. Cardinal Richelieu who had taken meaſures to make him priſoner in that retreat [F], failed of his aim;

(e) Matthieu de Morgues, Reparties ſur la Réſponſe à la Remonſtrance au Roi, *pag.* 7.

'You did not ſpeak in this manner, when having 'weighed the Jeſuits and Huguenots in a balance, 'you equally condemned them to depart the king-'dom. Your diſcourſe is ſtill to be ſeen in print (4).' Let us add to this another paſſage, which more diſtinctly informs us, that he hated the ſociety he had left. 'Tell us of what order was that young monk 'of your claſs, whom you got to hold your writings 'a top of the wall while you leaped down; for it is 'not certain, whether he was a Carmelite, or a 'Jacobin..... Tell us, what was the true reaſon 'of that ſentence, by which, in one of your books, 'you have ſince condemned thoſe whom you de-'ſerted, to be baniſhed France? Who ſays, that it 'was only the vexation of ſeeing one of the ſociety 'at the king's ear, who did not much recommend 'your preaching to his majeſty? who pretends, that 'it was only out of pure ſpite to him? But it is moſt 'certain, that another of their enemies having aſked 'you, why baniſhing miniſters and Jeſuits together, 'you would ſend theſe good Fathers into a better 'country than their fellow-exiles, to whom, however, 'you wiſhed much leſs harm? You anſwered, it was, 'that finding themſelves in a better condition, they 'ſhould think leſs of returning into the country 'from which you expelled them (5).' Some pages before he had been taxed with writing a book *againſt a Jeſuit, which he could not defend before the king in the Louvre* (6), and had been reminded (7), *that of the three words of which he compoſed his fine title, the two firſt were borrowed from Rome, and the third from Athens.*

(4) Première Lettre de change de Sabin à Nicolas, *pag.* 716.

(5) Ib. *pag.* 730.

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 710.

(7) Because he had blamed his adverſary for taking the name of Cleonville, half Greek, half Latin.

[C] *He preached in Paris with great ſucceſs.*] He affirms in a ſmall piece, publiſhed in the year 1631, that he had preached two thouſand times in the capital city of the kingdom (8), and ſays elſewhere (9), that there was not a pariſh in this great city, but he had preached in. *All the court*, adds he (10), *valued my ſermons; the Doctors, Bachelors, Regulars, and the moſt celebrated Lawyers of Paris enquired after them: many of the curious have filled their table-books with them, and a great number of citizens of good ſenſe have found great ſatisfaction in them.*

(8) Morgues, Reparties à la Réponſe, *pag.* m. 11.

(9) Id. Lettre de change proteſtée, *pag.* 925. 926.

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 940.

[D] *His enemies accuſed him of having ſold this cure, but he denied it.*] John Sirmond, under the falſe name of Sabin, addreſſes him after this manner (11): *You underſtand not ſo much as the two languages, which common uſe makes moſt familiar to well-bred men. And therefore I look upon it, as a kind of ſpiritual prodigality in that honeſt man, who to recompenſe that little, you were capable of teaching thoſe children, he had committed to your inſtruction, gave you this cure* (12), *which you ſold after a few years, to go and put off your bad French near the table of the late queen Margaret.* Note, that it is obſerved (13) he had been curate of Aubervilliers. Let us ſee how he defends himſelf againſt the charge of ſelling his cure of Nôtre-Dame des Vertus. *I reſigned it*, ſays he (14), *into the hands of the deceaſed Mr Galemant, firſt director to the Carmelite Nuns in France. It was not poſſible to commit Simony with a ſaint, who did ſo many miracles in his life, and after his death, that they talk of canonizing him. Thus, in order to thruſt me into hell, Sabin would drag a bleſſed ſaint out of Paradiſe. The truth is, queen Margaret de Valois took me from that place, where the great reſort of people, kept a continual noiſe, enemy to the neceſſary repoſe of a man of letters. The cardinal de Joyeuſe commanded me, from that princeſs, to reſign the benefice into the hands of Mr de Galemant, who had been his great vicar at Rohan: he reſigned it preſently after, to the Fathers of the oratory, who poſſeſs it ſtill, and who know I never had any recompence for it.*

(11) Première, Lettre de change de Sabin, *pag.* 725.

(12) In *pag.* 714, he had been reproached with *ſelling his cure of Notre-Dame des Vertus.*

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 729.

(14) Morgues, Lettre de change proteſtée, *pag.* 923, 924.

[E] *He gave his anſwer to the reproaches made him upon the refuſal of the bulls, the beſt turn that could poſſibly be given it.*] One of his adverſaries publiſhed this (15): 'He is a renegado Jeſuit, who in his con-'verſation commonly inveighed againſt the power of the 'Pope, under pretence of defending the privileges of 'the Gallican church, by that means ſowing, as much 'as he could, the ſeeds of diviſion between the church 'and ſtate..... The moſt intimate friend he ever 'had was Fancan, a man notorious for his impiety, 'a reputed Atheiſt; and who was convicted of hav-'ing always favoured the intereſts of Hereſy, both 'within and without the kingdom. This kind of 'converſation and company got him ſo ill a repu-'tation, that the king having, at the recommenda-'tion of ſome, who did not thoroughly know the 'man, nominated him to the biſhopric of Toulon 'ſome years ago, he could not procure teſtimonials 'from men of worth, ſufficient to induce his holineſs 'to grant him his bulls; ſo that he has been forced 'to quit his biſhopric.' I paſs over Matthew de Morgues's anſwer concerning his intimacy with Fancan (16), and only relate what concerns the re-fuſal of the bulls. 'He whom he accuſes, aſſures 'him he never entered into a diſpute either for or 'againſt the privileges of the Gallican church. Nor 'was that the thing which ſtopped his bulls, but 'the ill offices of the cardinal, who was per-ſuaded by two malicious men, that the dignity of 'a biſhop, would render more conſiderable with the 'queen, a perſon whom they had always kept at a 'diſtance from her, becauſe they were jealous of his 'capacity and courage. If Mulot did once fall out 'with the cardinal, he would lay open his manage-'ment with the late Mr Herbault, ſecretary of 'ſtate; and if the biſhop of Mande du Pleſſis were 'alive, and would ſpeak the truth, we ſhould know 'all the tricks the cardinal played in this affair. 'His holineſs knew the malice; and one of the 'wiſeſt gentlemen of France can witneſs, what the 'Pope ſaid upon this ſubject in granting the bulls, 'which were demanded, when leave was deſired to 'require a free gift from the biſhopric upon other 'conſiderations (17).' He anſwered much the ſame to the Sieur Sirmond. 'Sabin ſays alſo, that the bulls 'for the biſhopric of Toulon were refuſed me: he 'is miſtaken. Cardinal Richelieu has retarded them 'by his artifices, but has not been able to get them 'refuſed. His holineſs is too juſt to deny me the 'recompence of the ſervices I have done the church 'theſe twenty years, and the king too generous to 'ſuffer his nomination to be condemned. Some, 'againſt the rules of charity, ſtruck in with the 'cardinal who oppoſed me: but the difficulty was 'removed, when, of my own accord, I begged of 'the king, that he would permit me to recommend 'a biſhop: which his majeſty granted with regret. 'I kept a part of the revenue, which the revenge of 'the cardinal has deprived me of, becauſe I defended 'the reputation of the princeſs, who has given him 'an hundred times more (18).' He does not diſown his friendſhip and intimacy with Mr Servin, Gillot, and Derivaux, *thoſe true Frenchmen, worthy magiſtrates, and uncorrupt judges* (19).

(15) Réſponſe au Libelle intitulé très-humble, &c. Remonſtrance au Roi, *pag.* 560, *of the* Recueil des Pieces.

(16) It is to be found at the eleventh and twelfth pages of his *Reparties.*

(17) Morgues, Reparties, *pag.* 10.

(18) Idem, Lettre de change proteſtée, *pag.* 924, 925.

(19) Id. ib. *pag.* 925.

I relate theſe things, only to ſhew the ſpirit which advanced or retarded promotions at that time. I believe theſe baſe intrigues will laſt as long as the world.

[F] *Cardinal Richelieu had taken meaſures to make him priſoner in that retreat.*] Cardinal Richelieu *diſpatched a commiſſion to the Sieur de Machault, intendant of Languedoc, to ſeize the perſon of Matthew de Morgues.* The intendant charged the provoſt of Niſmes, and that of Vellai with the execution of it, and wrote 'to the judge Mage of Puy, and ſome lords, to aſ-'ſiſt the king's officers in taking him. *The commiſ-'ſion was* to take St Germain dead or alive, to ſeize all 'his

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aim; for St Germain made his escape before having left Compiegne (*f*), and designing to manded him to answer a writing, intituled which the honour of this princess had been trea 1631 the answer she desired [G], and afterw of the cardinal Richelieu (g). The worst was, this cardinal's praises [H]. This gave his e weapons. He followed Mary de Medicis ou

(*f*) Ibid. *pag.* 5.

(*g*) Du Chatelet, Sirmond, Balzac, Dupleix, *&c.*

'his papers, without making an inventory of them, 'and send them to Beaucaire; whilst the prisoner 'should be conducted to Mande, to be put into the 'hands of the bishop (20).' The author believes that this prelate, who had been valet to the cardinal, would have got him *strangled or poisoned without noise.* He had notice of the design *the night before* the intended execution, quitted his father's house, and found a retreat *in the wildest country of France, where he was concealed for six weeks, with all manner of inconveniencies to his health. . . . . What was cruellest,* says he, *in all this proceeding, was the affliction which the sight of the provost and archers* gave my father and mother, who were very old, for I was *the youngest of eight children, and had grey hairs.* He pretends that the cardinal designed to dispatch him, to prevent his writing a History. 'This good lord, *says he* (21), 'well knew that St Germain was not a man of the 'times, that GOD had given him a little sense to ob- 'serve how things were managed, that his soul was 'just enough not to suffer innocence to be over- 'whelmed without a sigh, and that his courage was 'not so mean as to forsake his mistress in her suf- 'ferings. The cardinal was jealous of these qualities, 'which are not for his turn: he suspected what was 'not, but what might be. . . . . He resolved to impri- 'son a man, who did nothing that could justly dis- 'please him, but who one day might give a true 'history of the times, and frankly declare what he 'had known good in the queen's conduct, and evil in 'the cardinal's.'

(20) Id. Repartie, *pag.* 4.

(21) Id. id. *pag.* 3, 4.

It is very probable the cardinal dreaded St Germain's pen, and had some suspicion of the libels it would produce, and which afterwards sadly mortified his Eminence. We see that in all the negotiations for recalling the queen-mother, he stipulated that St Germain, who *by defamatory libels, had omitted nothing to rob him of his reputation,* should be delivered up to the king (22). This great man had the weakness to be extreamly vexed by satires, as I have related elsewhere (23).

(22) See the Life of cardinal Richelieu, *Tom. ii, pag.* 162, 175, *Dutch Edit.* 1694.

(23) In the article GRANDIER, in the text, between the remarks [D] and [E].

[G] *He published in* 1631 *the answer she desired.*] It is intituled, *True and wholesome advices of Francis Loyal, concerning the calumnies and blasphemies of the Sieur des Montagnes, or an examination of a libel, intituled, a defence of the king and his ministers.* It is one of the principal tracts of the collection of pieces in defence of the queen-mother, which has been so often reprinted.

[H] *He had before published books full of this cardinal's praises.*] The author of the answer to his remonstrance to the king (24), cites several passages of them, to convict him of a contradiction, which might destroy all his credit. An extract also of a letter, which he wrote the seventh of June 1627, to the cardinal, was alledged (25), in which he promised him a perpetual and inviolable adherence, founded on the remembrance of the great benefits he had received, and on his admiration of the eminent qualities of this minister. This was somewhat puzzling to our de Morgues, let us see what he says in his own justification. In the first place he supposed that his adversaries represented him as a satirical author, from the books he had written before his rupture with the cardinal. But this was not their thought, they only insisted on the books he published for the queen-mother, after she was at variance with this minister. He might so easily have understood their meaning, that there is ground enough to suspect him of insincerity in this point. In the second place he pretended, that the cardinal's ill designs did not shew themselves, till after the persecution stirred up against the queen-mother. Let us cite his own words to each of these points.

(24) It is in the collection of Mr du Chatelet.

(25) Ibid. *pag. m.* 560, 561.

St Germain never writ any thing but two pieces concerning public affairs, one by command of the cardinal,

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France, till after the death of the cardinal. He forced Father Sirmond's nephew, one of his principal antagoniſts, to quit the field [*I*], and, as he had foretold during his diſgrace (*b*), he obtained the royal privilege to publiſh his books. He lived to the year 1670 (*i*). He lodged a long time at the Incurables, in the ſuburbs of St Germain, and died there being eighty eight years of age (*k*). He preached there every year the penegyric of St Joſeph [*K*]. He boaſted much of the Hiſtory he had written of Lewis XIII, and ſaid he would enjoin his heirs to print it after his death. Patin has ſpoken more than once of this work [*L*]. Balzac treats Matthew de Morgues very ill in the firſt letter

(*b*) See the remark [*I*].

(*i*) Patin, Lettre DXXX, *pag.* 580, *Tom. iii.*

(*k*) Id. ib. *pag.* 579.

' and treatiſes, which might give him an inſight in-
' to foreign affairs; and for a great number of curio-
' ſities (30), and ingenious inventions, which he was
' fond of, and received with thanks, but which were
' followed the next, or even the ſame, day, by ill
' offices with the queen, and eſpecially with his ho-
' lineſs's nuncio; to whom he ſignified, that St Ger-
' main was author of *the Divine without paſſion*, in
' which he himſelf was ſtruck at under covert expreſ-
' ſions, tho' the cardinal had added, with his own
' hand, the paſſage that could offend him. This is
' the coin in which he has paid the pen, which
' is called Mercenary.' This is not only curious,
but even highly probable. The cardinal had ſuch diſtant views, ſo much ambition, and ſo many enemies to deal with, ſo many ambuſhes to prevent and to lay; that he was forced to ſpread his ſnares every where, and always have two ſtrings to his bow.

(30) *Add to this these words of the Lettre de change proteſtée, pag.* 941: *Cardinal Richelieu, whom all his flatterers hold for the moſt learned, and the ſtrict genius of the time, has written employed and experienced more, in odd and curious matters, in Latin, in French, in proſe and verſe.*

[*I*] *He made . . . . . Father Sirmond's nephew quit the field.*] This I find in the hiſtory of the French academy. ' Mr Sirmond . . . . wrote ſeveral pieces
' for the cardinal, upon the affairs of the time, and
' moſt of them under feigned names. The abbot de
' St Germain, who was a writer of the oppoſite ſide,
' uſed him very ill in the piece which he intituled
' the *Chimerical Embaſſador*. He writ an anſwer to
' it, which is inſerted in Mr du Chaſtelet's collection.
' The abbot de St Germain replied, and treated him
' ſtill more injuriouſly, which obliged him to write
' a new piece in his defence. But cardinal Riche-
' lieu and king Lewis XIII happening to die in this
' juncture, he could never obtain, under the regency,
' a licence to print this book. This troubled him
' mightily, and ſeeing at the ſame time his enemy
' returned to court, and the favour veering to the op-
' poſite ſide, he retired into Auvergne, where he
' died being about ſixty years old (31).' This Mr Sirmond was a member of the French academy, and you ſee he had the mortification to be forced to yield to a rebel-writer, who had not only uſed him ill, but even attacked the whole body of the academy, which had almoſt the ſame deſtiny as Sirmond; for it found no redreſs, it ſaw the triumph of it's cenſor, and the works of this haughty critic printed with the royal licence. Mr Pelliſſon ſupplies me with proofs, ' The
' firſt that wrote againſt the academy, *ſays he* (32),
' was the abbot of St Germain, who was then at
' Bruſſels, accompanying the queen-mother, Mary de
' Medicis, in her exile. As he never left inveighing
' in his writings, and that with the greateſt animo-
' ſity againſt every action of cardinal Richelieu, he
' fell upon the French Academy in a very injurious
' manner, confounding it with that other academy,
' which the Gazetteer Renaudot had erected in the
' office of intelligence; whether he deſigned this mi-
' ſtake, or whether he was actually miſinformed of
' what paſſed in Paris. The academy would not anſwer
' him by a book on purpoſe; but Mr du Chaſtelet,
' who was a member of it, and whoſe pen the car-
' dinal made uſe of to anſwer moſt of theſe Bruſſel
' libels, was deſired, upon an offer firſt made to the
' aſſembly by himſelf, to add a few lines on this
' head; which were afterwards read, and approved
' by the ſociety *. The pieces of the abbot de
' St Germain againſt cardinal Richelieu, have been
' ſince printed at Paris (33) in two volumes, after
' the death of the late king Lewis XIII: Mr du
' Chaſtelet's anſwers were part of a work, which he
' had not finiſhed, being prevented by death, and
' which has never been printed.'

(31) Pelliſſon, Hiſtoire de l'Acad. Françoiſe, *pag.* m. 305.

(32) Id. ib. *pag.* 67, *& ſeq.*

* *Reg.* 9. & 30. *Juillet* 1635.

[*K*] *He preached there every year the panegyric of St Joſeph.*] This I learn from a moſt ingenious criticiſm, which is a continuation of Parnaſſus Reformed, and is intituled, *The war between the antient and modern authors.* Mr Gueret there ſuppoſes that upon the arrival of abbot de Morgues at Parnaſſus, cardinal Richelieu and Balzac would oppoſe *his taking a place among the Hiſtorians*; and that his Eminence made the following ſpeech. *Behold, behold, here is the man, who alone has attempted to diſturb the glory of my miniſtry; behold the only pen, which I was never able to gain, and yet I now have met with him, after whom I have ſometimes marched entire legions in vain, and the purſuit of whom has made me loſe more than one campaign. I well knew, continued he, that I ſhould catch him in one world or the other; it is but fit he ſhould now pay for all the damage he has done me, it is fit I revenge my ſelf of that invincible malignity, which neither the fear of puniſhments nor the hopes of rewards could correct in him; and if the god, which preſides here, does not do me juſtice, I will quickly make him him ſenſible, that I have not ſpent all my force againſt Rochelle* (34).' He ſuppoſes that this abbot ' with an un-
' daunted look, and above all fear, only ſhook his
' head, and looking upon his Eminence, your haughty
' carriage, *ſays he*, is out of date; you have no armies
' here to back it, the day of your reign is over,
' and I have this advantage of you, that truth
' marches by my ſide, and that I am in a place, where
' you hold no other rank, than that of an author
' (35). Mr Gueret *adds* (36) *that the abbot eſcaped the* ' ſtorm, that was intended to be raiſed againſt him
' but there enſued a great conteſt, what place he
' ſhould hold, whether among the Hiſtorians or the
' libellers during the wars. Each ſide offered very
' ſtrong arguments on this head, and the diſpute had
' never been ended, if he himſelf, tired out with this
' troubleſome formality, had not bethought him of
' gaining a little riſing ground which joined to Par-
' naſſus, where all the learned of his character and
' profeſſion, place themſelves out of the way, that they
' may have no fellowſhip with the reſt, whom they
' term profane. Biroüat, who firſt deſcryed him,
' ran forward to meet his friend, and after ſeveral
' mutual embraces, you renounce then, ſays he to
' him, the panegyric of St Joſeph, and this good
' ſaint has loſt in you, one of the moſt zealous of his
' adorers, and his preacher in ordinary **.'

(34) Guerre des Auteurs, *pag.* 104. *Dutch Edit.*

(35) Id. ib. *pag.* 106.

(36) Id. ib. *pag.* 109.

** Every year he preached at the Incurables on the feſtival of St Joſeph.

If I have collected more particulars than the text of this remark required, it was by the way of an introduction, which informs us, what the opinion of a fine wit had been of our Matthew de Morgues.

[*L*] *Patin has ſpoken more than once of his Hiſtory of Lewis XIII.*] Here is an extract of his 351ſt letter, dated the twentieth of March 1665. ' Yeſterday, being the feſtival of St Joſeph, Mr Mat-
' thew de Morgues, who is eighty two years of age,
' preached the ſermon at the Incurables, where he
' lives, in honour of St Joſeph, before the queen's
' majeſty: he is the author of the pamphlets pub-
' liſhed at Bruſſels againſt cardinal Richelieu, in vin-
' dication of the queen-mother, whoſe almoner he
' was: he is a learned great man, and has by him a
' juſt hiſtory of the late king Lewis XIII, which he
' does not deſign for the preſs till after his death;
' he has got ſix manuſcript copies of it, which he
' has committed to ſix of his beſt friends, who will
' not fail to execute his intentions in due time (37)'. Let us ſee alſo what he has ſaid in the 458th letter. ' It is probable this Hiſtory (38) will be confuted
' by that which we are promiſed by Mr Matthew
' de Morgues, Sieur de St Germain, who begins from
' the birth of Lewis XIII, and continues it to his
' death: this gentleman will not ſuffer his Hiſtory
' to be printed in his own life-time, but he tells me
' he has put it into the hands of thoſe who will
' be faithful to him: you muſt know he is eighty
' four years old; I am far from wiſhing his death,
' and I ſhould be very ſorry for it, yet I ſhould be glad
' to ſee this Hiſtory, whereof I have heard him tell
' ſome very notable particulars and ſurprizing truths, both

(37) Patin, Lettre cccli, *pag.* 39. *Tom. iii.*

(38) That of cardinal Richelieu, by Father le Moine.

(37) Matthieu de Morgues *hoped for it; for in the preface of the collection of his works, which he published at Antwerp, he has theſe words*, I hope that my writings one day will be printed at Paris very correctly under the licence of the great ſeal.

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letter of the eighth book (*l*). *To crown his inconſtancy*, ſays he, *of a deſerter, as we have known him from more than a dozen parties, he muſt, for his laſt trade, turn paraſite to the Spaniards, and ſecretary to the diſaffected French at their court.* Note, that he was not diſpoſed towards cardinal Mazarin, as he had been towards cardinal Richelieu; for if we may believe the Patiniana, he wrote *the libel intituled* Bons Avis ſur pluſieurs mauvais avis. *It is a defence of cardinal Mazarin*, to which it is thought Mr le Laboureur *wrote an anſwer for the prince of Condé. Both theſe pieces are good for nothing* (*m*).

(*l*) In the edition in folio. It is dated the fifteenth of July 1625; but it ought to be 1635.

(*m*) Patiniana, *pag.* 107, Edit. Paris 1701.

‘ both to cardinal Richelieu's diſhonour, and in defence ‘ of the queen-mother (39). *This man, ſays he, in another place* (40) ‘ knows moſt of the court in- ‘ trigues for ſixty years paſt, part of which he has ‘ been an eye witneſs to, having lived in the fa- ‘ mily of the queen-mother: the Hiſtory he has writ- ‘ ten will be very curious, and will bring to light ‘ ſeveral memoirs hitherto concealed, and very ſad ‘ truths concerning the miniſtry of this cardinal, who ‘ ruled France moſt cruelly, *& in virga ferrea*, and ‘ with a rod of iron.’ Here you ſee two men, one of which was not fit to write, the other not the beſt diſpoſed to read the Hiſtory of cardinal Richelieu impartially. Patin hated all abuſe of ſovereign power; reaſon and nature endued him with this paſſion, which threw him into an exceſſive averſion for the cardinal; he gave credit to all the ſlanders an Hiſtorian could invent of him, and therefore could not judge as he ought to do, of the merit of this Hiſtory: for to paſs an equitable judgment, a man muſt be entirely free from affection or hatred. With much more reaſon muſt we ſay, that Matthew de Morgues was wholly unqualified to write the Hiſtory in queſtion. He had been perſecuted by his Eminence; he hated him mortally; he would conſequently have miſrepreſented matters, every thing muſt have appeared criminal to him; and if any thing had looked fair in his own eyes, he would have ſuppreſſed or tarniſhed it's luſtre. It is certain, that they who have had to do with the cardinal, have left us wretched pictures of him; ſome have ſaid too much good, and others too much ill; ſome meant to acknowledge, or to obtain, his favours, and others to revenge themſelves for his injuries; they all wanted that diſintereſtedneſs, which is eſſential to a good Hiſtorian; they either hoped, or feared, or hated (41). Matthew de Morgues would however have had this advantage, that moſt readers would have given a ſpecious name to the licence he had taken. You will find above (42), in a paſſage of Tacitus, the confirmation of what I have ſaid. It muſt be owned, that we are naturally more inclined to ſuſpect the Hiſtorians who praiſe, than thoſe who blame. See the remark [*A*] of the article of the marſhal de MARILLAC.

(39) Patin, Lettre ccccl viii, *pag.* 345, *Tom. iii.*

(40) Idem, Lettre dxxix, *pag.* 574, of the ſame volume.

(41) Statui res geſtas populi Romani . . . paucis- ſimis ea magis quod mihi à ſpe metu, partibus Reip. animus liber erat. - - - - *I reſolved to write the tranſactions of the Roman people . . . . ſo much the rather as I was not engaged to any party, and was perfectly free from the influence of hope or fear.* Salluſtius, in Procem. Bell. Catilin.

(42) In the article MARILLAC (Lewis de), citat. (14).

MORINUS (John Baptist) Phyſician and royal profeſſor of mathematics at Paris, was born the twenty third of February 1583, at Ville Franche in Beaujolois. He went through his courſe of Philoſophy at Aix in Provence, afterwards ſtudied Phyſic at Avignon, and was admitted Doctor there in that Faculty in the year 1613. The year following he went to Paris, and was entertained in Claude Dormi biſhop of Boulogne's family, who ſent him to make diſcoveries about the nature of metals in the mines of Hungary. He went down into the very deepeſt pits, and thinking he had diſcovered that the earth is divided like the air into three regions; he wrote a treatiſe on this ſubject [*A*]. Upon his return to his prelate, who entertained a Scotch Aſtrologer, he began to reliſh Judicial Aſtrology [*B*], and by the rules of his art calculated the events of the year 1617. He found that the biſhop of Boulogne was threatend either with death or impriſonment, and failed not to acquaint him with it. The prelate only laughed at it (*a*), but meddling ſoon after in ſome intrigues of ſtate, and miſtaking the right ſide, he was treated as a rebel, and caſt into priſon. Morinus was entertained by the duke of Luxemburg, brother to the conſtable de Luines, in the year 1621 [*C*], and lived in his

(*a*) And yet he was infatuated with Aſtrology. *Morin. Aſtrolog. Gall. lib. xxiii, pag.* 648.

[*A*] *He wrote a treatiſe on this ſubject.*] It was the firſt he publiſhed; it came out in the year 1619, under the title of *Mundi ſublunaris Anatomia*. They who have written his life, pretend that he proved by ſo many ſolid arguments, that the bowels of the earth are divided into three regions, that he gave a vogue to this opinion, without ſupporting it by the authority of any antient Philoſophers (1). An opinion has a vogue, when it finds followers, and this is all I mean by it. As for the reſt, this work was dedicated to Mr du Vair, keeper of the ſeals (2), who had been patron to our Morinus at Aix in Provence, when he was firſt preſident there, and who was alſo his diſciple in the Mathematics in the year 1608. Finding how well qualified Morinus was for the ſciences, he encouraged him to reſume his ſtudies. Morinus himſelf relates this. ‘ Anno quippe 1608, illuſtriſſimus D. ‘ Du Vair, Senatus Aquenſis Protopræſes, fuit meus ‘ in Mathematicis diſcipulus; qui obſervata mei inge- ‘ nii ad ſcientias aptitudine, tam validè mihi perſuaſit ‘ ſtudia mea per decennium intermiſſa repetere, ut ‘ anno 1609, Aquis Sextiis ingreſſus ſim Philoſophiæ ‘ curſum, ſub D. Marco Antonio, tunc temporis ‘ Philoſopho celeberrimo; & anno 1611, curſum Medicinæ ſub Profeſſoribus Regiis Fontano & Merindolo, viris etiam librorum editione famoſis (3). - - - ‘ *For in the year* 1608, *the moſt illuſtrious Mr du Vair,* ‘ *firſt preſident of the parliament at Aix, was my ſcholar* ‘ *in Mathematics, who, obſerving my capacity for* ‘ *the ſciences, ſo powerfully perſuaded me to reſume my* ‘ *ſtudies, which had been diſcontinued for ten years, that,* ‘ *in the year* 1609, *I entered upon a courſe of Philoſophy* ‘ *at Aix, under Mr Marc Antony, a very famous Phi-* ‘ *loſopher at that time: and in the year* 1611, *a courſe* ‘ *of Phyſic under the royal profeſſors, Fontaine and Me-* ‘ *rindol, who were likewiſe famous by the books they* ‘ *have publiſhed.*’

(1) Ut enim tres in regiones aër diſtinctus eſt, ſic etiam triplex regio in terræ viſceribus animadverti poteſt ſumma, media, infima, & id quidem validiſſimis rationum momentis adeo ſtabilivit, edito hujus argumenti ad annum 1619 libello, ut hæc ſententia etſi nulla Philoſophorum veterum authoritate fulciatur, ſuos tamen habeat ſectatores. *Vita Jo. Bapt. Morini, pag.* 3, *num.* 16.

(2) Vincentius Panurgus, in Epiſtola de tribus Impoſtoribus, *pag.* 14.

(3) Morinus, in Defenſione ſuæ Diſſertationis de atomis, & vacuo, *pag.* 5.

[*B*] *His prelate entertained a Scotch Aſtrologer; he began to reliſh Judicial Aſtrology.*] His name was Daviſon, he renounced Aſtrology, applied himſelf to Phyſic, and became very famous by his works, and by the courſe of Chemiſtry, which he publickly taught in the royal garden of Paris (4). He was invited into Poland (5), and had the honour to be firſt Phyſician to the queen (6). One thing I muſt not forget, which is very remarkable, that Daviſon grew out of conceit with Aſtrology, becauſe of the uncertainty of this art, and betook himſelf to Phyſic. Morinus, on the contrary for a like reaſon, was diſguſted with Phyſic, and applied himſelf to Aſtrology, and both with ſuch ſucceſs, that they deſerve to be ranked among the famous men of that age. *Eſt vero quod in ipſo* (Daviſſono) *ac Morino non leviter admiremur, artium nempe quas profitebantur factam ab utroque veluti permutationem: Aſtrologiam Scotus, ſcientiam alter Medicam ſectabatur; uterque proceſſu temporis, poſt experimenta complura in arte propria, nil ſubeſſe certi deprehendit, unde animus amborum fluctuans, in quo pedem figeret, non inveniebat. Tædet itaque hunc & illum aberrantis plerumque judicii, Medicus ergo in Aſtrologum vertitur, & in Medicum Aſtrologus, tam ſecundo exitu ut beati tranſfugæ, inter hujus ætatis viros inſignes annumerari mereantur* (7).

(4) It was printed at Paris in the year 1635.

(5) Vita Morini, *pag.* 4, *num.* 21.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

[*C*] *Morinus was entertained by the Duke of Luxemburg . . . . in the year* 1621.] They who have given us his life leave a chaſm here, which betrays their want

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his family eight years. As ſoon as he heard of the death of Sainclair (*b*), royal profeſſor of Mathematics, he put in for his place and carried it. He took the oath of profeſſor in February 1630. He was adviſed to marry his predeceſſor's widow; but the firſt viſit he made her, he found ſhe was juſt going to be buried [*D*]. From that time he took a firm reſolution never to marry, and kept it all his life. He made himſelf many friends. He had acceſs to great men, and even to cardinal Richelieu [*E*]: and he obtained

(*b*) He died the twenty ninth of June 1629.

want of judgment. They ſay, the impriſonment of the biſhop of Boulogne had left Morinus deſtitute of ſupport, if he had not been entertained by that duke in 1621; and they had juſt before ſaid that this biſhop was impriſoned in 1617. What became then of Morinus in this interval of four years? This ought at leaſt to have been ſhewn. Let us fill up this chaſm by a paſſage of Morinus himſelf, who tells us, that after his prelate's fall, he lived with the abbot de la Bretonniere, as Phyſician in ordinary, till he was entertained by the conſtable's brother during the ſiege of Montauban. 'Manſi, *ſays he*, (8) apud Epiſcopum 4 an-'nis, tum ſolicitatus à reverendiſſimo D. de la Breton-'niere ſancti Ebrulphi in Normania Abbatis optimi, 'me cum ipſo durante gravi peſte Pariſienſi in Nor-'maniam contuli, ejus Medicus ordinarius. Anno 'autem 1621, dum Rex obſideret Montem Albanum, 'vocatus fui in Aulam ab illuſtriſſimo mihique valde 'amico Domino Ludovico Tronſono, Regi à ſanctio-'ribus Conſiliis & ſecretis, ut eſſem Medicus ordi-'narius Ducis à Luxemburgo, quod ægrè tulit opti-'mus Abbas. - - - - *I continued with the biſhop four* '*years, and then being ſollicited by the very reverend Mr* '*de la Bretonniere, the excellent abbot of St Evroul in* '*Normandy, I went with him into Normandy as his* '*Phyſician in ordinary, during the time of the great plague* '*at Paris. But in the year* 1621, *whilſt the king be-*'*ſieged Montauban, I was called to court by my good* '*friend the moſt illuſtrious Mr Lewis Tronſon, privy-coun-*'*ſellor to the king, that I might be Phyſician in ordinary* '*to the duke of Luxemburg, which the good abbot took* '*ill.*' He often complains of this duke's ingratitude, and ſays, it was the reaſon of his quitting him; and as he was taking his leave, he threatened him with a diſeaſe, which carried him off in two years (9).

(8) Merin. in Defenſ. ſuæ Diſſertationis de atomis, *pag.* 106, 107.

(9) Quem devorum hii conatus deterere ob ſummam eos ingratitudinem, præſertim illi ante diſceſſum mortalem lethalem intra biennium ex ipso etiam eventus eſt. *Morin. Aſtrolog. Gallica, lib. xxiii, pag.* 398.

[*D*] *He had been adviſed to marry his predeceſſor's widow . . . . . He found ſhe was juſt going to be buried.*] Morinus governed himſelf by the ſtars; and finding they did not adviſe him to marry, he reſolved to live a bachelor. However, the perſuaſions of his friends ſhook him in ſuch a manner, that he thought on matrimony in good earneſt, the rather, becauſe Sainclair's widow was reputed rich, and a favourable occaſion offered of ſucceeding, not only to this profeſſor's chair, but alſo to his bed and caſh. He was going to pay his devoirs to the widow, and to make the firſt overture of his deſign. But ſeeing the door of the houſe in mourning, and underſtanding from the neighbours that the gentlewoman was juſt going to be buried, he was ſeized with an extream aſtoniſhment, and immediately ſet a fixed reſolution never to marry. No doubt this confirmed the good opinion he had conceived of Aſtrology; 'Hoc honore magiſterioque pol-'lentem familiares amici conjugio propoſito ſtabilire 'firmius voluerunt: vivebat anteceſſoris conjux memo-'rati modo Sanclari, non abjicienda quidem illa 'plane, & quam opibus non contemnendis inſtru-'ctam popularis fama jactabat, par eſt, inquiunt 'ut quemadmodum Sanclari cathedræ, ſic & ejuſdem 'opibus ducta ipſius uxore ſuccedas: conſilio iſtiuſ-'modi ſæpius repetito Morinus tandem acquievit, 'Dominamque inviſere ea mente conſtituit, & pro-'cum gerere prima vice: propior factus ædibus ni-'gra veſte videt limen obſeptum, docentque vicini 'Sanclari conjugem eſſe mox ad tumulum efferen-'dam. Id audiens quantum obſtupuerit, cogitate: 'tum vero de cœlibatu perpetuo conſilium ſibi quon-'dam ducibus aſtris injectum, certiſſimum fore decre-'vit, omnibuſque in poſterum renunciare nuptiis, & 'quicquid vitæ reliquum eſſet in doctrinis ac librorum 'ſeu lectione, ſeu ſcriptione placido tenore tranſigere, 'atque in amicorum convictu ſuaviſſime conſenescere. 'Hoc fixum apud ſe ratumque nunquam poſtea vio-'lavit. Quid enim libero lectulo jucundius? numquid 'uni conjugi moleſtiarum plerumque ſeminario tot 'amicos tamque illuſtres anteferret? (10)- - - - *And he* '*determined to ſpend the remainder of his life quietly in* '*ſtudy, in reading and writing books, and in the agree-*'*able converſation of friends. This firm and fixed reſo-*'*lution he never afterwards broke. For what could be* '*more comfortable to him than a free bed? Should he* '*not prefer ſo many, and ſuch illuſtrious friends, to a wife,* '*who is commonly the ſource of trouble and vexation?*' All this is worthy of a profeſſor of Mathematics. His friends had been often forced to return to the charge in perſuading him to marry; they backed and ſupported the motives of duty in the caſe, by thoſe of intereſt; and when at laſt they had gotten his conſent, he prepared for his firſt viſit with ſo much tranquillity, that the Lady had time enough to die before ſhe received it. He was ſo little inquiſitive about his miſtreſs, that he heard nothing of her ſickneſs, before he knew ſhe was going to the grave; nor did he know that, but by coming himſelf to the place, to make the firſt declaration of love. This has much of the Philoſopher in it.

(10) Vita Morini, *pag.* 6, num. 32.

The ſcheme of his nativity preſaged him nothing but misfortunes from the female ſex (11). He confeſſes that in the year 1605, he received two dangerous wounds on account of a woman (12), and that next to the grace of GOD, he owes to Aſtrology the happineſs of ſtopping the fatal conſequences of his conſtellation: for having diſcovered the influence of a certain ſtar in the exaltation of Venus, which was found in his horoſcope, he took ſpecial care of himſelf, being apprized from whence all the misfortunes came, which he had gone through on account of women. *Tot mala, infortunia, magnaque vitæ pericula mihi propter mulieres acciderunt in juventute, ut jam illa recogitando ſtupeam, multoque plura & forſan deteriora mihi acciderent, niſi Deus Opt. Max. mei miſertus fuiſſet, ab eiſque me liberaſſet, & Aſtrologia circa* 35 *meæ nativitatis annum quo huic ſcientiæ cœpi, infauſtæ & mihi per experientiam periculoſæ illius conſtitutionis monuiſſet* (13).

(11) See the remark [*O*].

(12) Die nona Julii 1605, duo periculoſiſſima vulnera propter famoſam mulierem . . . . *He received on the ninth of July* 1605, *two very dangerous wounds, upon the account of a famous woman.* Morin. Aſtrolog. Gall. *lib. xxiii, pag.* 617. It is likely he takes the word *famoſus* here in a bad ſenſe.

[*E*] *He had acceſs to great men, and even to cardinal Richelieu.*] The author of Morinus's life, ſpeaks of it in theſe terms (14): 'Richelieus Cardinalis im-'menſus ille genius, judicio nunquam, ubi quempiam 'pertentaſſet, errante, dignum ea exiſtimatione Mori-'num duxit, ut ipſum ad ſecretius Muſæum admit-'teret, deque negotiis momenti graviſſimi conſuleret. '- - - *Cardinal Richelieu, that vaſt genius, who was* '*never miſtaken in forming a judgment of any man,* '*thought Morinus ſo deſerving, that he admitted him* '*to his ſecret councils, and conſulted him in matters of* '*the greateſt moment.*' This is a very mangled ſtory, and ſuch as panegyriſts uſually give: we do not find in it the cardinal's change to Morinus, nor this Aſtrologer's furious rage againſt the cardinal. Let us ſupply this omiſſion. Morinus being poſſeſſed with the falſe notion, that he had found out the true ſcience of longitudes, and that the cardinal did him a very great injuſtice by refuſing him the recompence which ſuch a diſcovery deſerved (15); conceived an extream indignation, and a moſt lively reſentment againſt him, which laſted as long as he lived. He went no more to wait on his Eminence, and it was only out of love to Mr Chavigny, his patron, and for the glory of Aſtrology, that he made a prognoſtication which the cardinal deſired of him. 'Priuſquam Pariſiis diſce-'deret (16) optavit ſcire quid de ſua valetudine atque 'vita ſentirem eo in itinere, non quidem per ſe (quem 'ab annis 4, non videram ob denegatam mihi re-'munerationem ſcientiæ longitudinum à me in-'ventæ (17), utcunque ſuo ſcripto eam mihi pollici-'tus fuiſſet) ſed interpoſito Magnate ſibi fidiſſimo, '& mihi amico, ſcilicet illuſtriſſimo D. Comite de 'Chavigny, qui ad tertiam uſque vicem meum ea de-'re judicium petiit, quod libenter recuſaſſem ſi potu-'iſſem: at ipſius Magnatis obſtrictus beneficiis, & 'pro honore Aſtrologiæ tandem reſpondi Cardina-'lem eo in itinere cum vitæ periculo ægrotatu-'rum (18). - - - - *Before he left Paris, he deſired to* '*know what I thought concerning his health and life in* '*that journey, not indeed directly himſelf (for I had* '*not ſeen him for four years, becauſe he refuſed me the* '*recompence, tho' promiſed under his own hand, for find-*'*ing*

(13) Id. ib.

(14) *Pag.* 6, *num.* 33.

(15) See the remark [*H*], at the end.

(16) This relates to his journey to Rouſillon in 1642.

(17) Teſtantur quidem omnes Aſtronomi me ſcientiam illam perfecte demonſtraſſe, ſed Cardinalis Richelius perfidia & proditione Commiſſariorum meorum me promiſſo præmio iniquè fraudavit. *Morin. ubi ſupra, lib. xxiv, pag.* 687.

(18) Morin, ibid. *lib. xxiii, pag.* 613.

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obtained from cardinal Mazarin a penſion o
duly paid him. He was conſulted as to futur
that his figures frequently indicated what cam
in his predictions concerning a ſecretary of

' *ing the ſcience of Longitudes), but by the moſt noble and*
' *illuſtrious count de Chavigny, his confident, and my*
' *good friend, who aſked me three times to give my opi-*
' *nion in that matter, which I would fain have de-*
' *clined if I could: but having obligations to this noble-*
' *man, and for the honour of Aſtrology, at laſt I an-*
' *ſwered, that the cardinal would be ſeized with a dan-*
' *gerous illneſs in that journey.*' He ſpeaks diſadvan-
tagiouſly of his Eminence in his books, and imputes
to him all the misfortunes of Europe, and eſpecially
the war between France and Spain in 1635. ' Qui
' bellis per totam Europam excitatis pluribus homi-
' num millionibus ferro, flamma, fame, peſte aliiſ-
(19) Id. ib. ' que modis cauſa mortis extitit (19). - - - *Who, by*
' *ſtirring up wars throughout all Europe, was the cauſe*
' *of the death of many millions, by ſword, famine, pe-*
' *ſtilence, and other ways.* . . . Pluribus per totam Eu-
' ropam ferro, flammis, ſanguine, fame, peſte, & ca-
' daveribus horridam, idem contra Cardinalem depre-
' cantibus, quod olim Brutus poſt cladem Philippicam
' noctu aſtra intuens contra Antonium, ex Apiano,

* Ib. *pag.* 647. Jupiter ut ferias qui horum eſt cauſa malorum *.

' *Many, over all Europe, which is become frightful to*
' *look at, by reaſon of the ſword, fire, blood, famine,*
' *peſtilence, and dead carcaſſes, imprecate the ſame curſe*
' *upon the cardinal, which Brutus formerly after the*
' *overthrow of Philippi, liſting up his eyes to the ſtars*
' *by night, imprecated upon Antonius from Appian,*

O Jove, ſtrike the man, who is the author of all
theſe calamities.

He obſerves that the cardinal declared this war with-
out conſulting either the ſtates of the kingdom, or the
parliaments. *Galliâ bellis civilibus, & extraneis ad-*
huc vigentibus, admodum attenuatâ, Cardinalis Riche-
lius, inconſultis Regni comitiis, aut Senatibus, ſed ſponte
propria, horrendum bellum inter Reges Galliæ & Hiſpa-
niæ declaravit, quod adhuc perdurat, quamvis omnia
paſſim ad extremam deſolationem redacta conſpician-
(20) Id. in Diſ- *tur* (20). See what Mr Bernier anſwered, who ac-
ſertat. de atomis cuſed him of ingratitude, and of ſpeaking evil of the
& vacuo, *pag.* perſon of Lewis XIII, and even of invalidating the
31. royal authority: ' An-ne, quamtumve ſit crimen
' publicè efferre, non poſſe Chriſtianiſſimum Regem
' indicere bellum, inconſultis comitiis, aut Senatibus,
' diſceptare meum non eſt . . . . verum jus belli indi-
' cendi abſtuliſſe Regi, ut illud transferres in Cardi-
' nalem Richelium, non video qui poſſit id crimen à
' publicis ac Regiis animadverſoribus tolerari. Prætereo
' quam injurius, & ingratus ſis adverſus tantum Car-
' dinalem, à quo tot bona accepiſti, & cui maledicere
' tamen tam privatim quam publicè non deſinis, eo
' dumtaxat nomine, quod exſatiare immenſam tuam
' aviditatem noluerit, dum, ob tuam illam chimæram
' longitudinum inventarum, contendiſti tibi ab illo
' deberi montes aureos. Nempe hoc loco illi attribuis
(21) Berner. A- ' non modo uſurpatam tyrannice authoritatem, *&c* (21).
natom. ridiculi ' - - - *Whether it be, or how great a crime it be, openly*
muris, *pag.* 192, ' *to publiſh, that the moſt Chriſtian king cannot declare*
193. ' *war without conſulting the ſtates of the kingdom, or*
' *the parliaments, it is not my buſineſs to diſpute* . . . . .
' *but to take the right of declaring war from the*
' *king, in order to transfer it to cardinal Richelieu, is*
' *a crime of ſuch a nature, that I do not ſee how it can*
' *be tolerated by the public magiſtrate, who derives his*
' *authority from the king. I paſs by your injuſtice and*
' *ingratitude to the cardinal, from whom you have re-*
' *ceived ſo many favours, and whom notwithſtanding*
' *you are continually reviling, both in public and private,*
' *only forſooth becauſe he would not gratify your immenſe*
' *avarice, whilſt you pretended he owed you mountains of*
' *gold for that whimſical notion of your's of having found*
' *out the Longitude. For here you charge him not only*
' *with an uſurped tyrannical authority*, &c.'

[F] *It is pretended, that his figures indicated what came to paſs.*] His firſt eſſay was that of foretelling the impriſonment of the biſhop of Boulogne; but his maſter-piece this way, and what gave him a mighty

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Aſtrological oracles [G]. He publiſhed a great number of books [H], but had not the

without ſtaying till her nativity was rectified. *Cur amabo ſiderum ille adeo peritus, & per ea rerum futurarum acerrimus indagator, Dominam ſuam* Mariam Mediceam *maritam de ipſo quam optime nulla opitulatione ab ſtellis obtenta juvit? Sic ajunt æmuli: nonne ſæpius exaggerant iidem de ſuis faticanis aſtrologis conqueſta eſt, ſe tanquam à præſtigiatoribus deceptam in tot calamitatum incidiſſe voragines, unde emergere nequiverit! Enimvero quidnam iſti caperatæ fronte Cenſores dicturi ſunt, ubi audierunt Reginæ hujus nativitatem nunquam à* Morino *exploratam fuiſſe? cum tamen paucis ante diebus quam ad exteros ſe fuga reciperet, id ipſum fieri juſſerit, aſtrologo autem* Morino *non admonito re infecta diſceſſiſſe* (33). We ſhall ſpeak below of his predictions againſt Gaſſendus. I am very ſure the moſt incredulous cannot but be pleaſed with the paſſages which I have here related; becauſe they ſhow how the greateſt ſtateſmen ſuffer themſelves to be infatuated with judicial Aſtrology, and that even in the XVIIth century they have not been exempt from this folly, at the courts of the greateſt princes in Europe (34). Queen Chriſtina wanted to ſee Morin the firſt time ſhe had been at Paris, and declared ſhe took him to be the ableſt Aſtrologer in the world (35). It is a ſign ſhe had employed him in ſome figures, or had taken the pains to conſider thoſe he had erected. I obſerve that the miſtake of ſix days in the death of Lewis the Juſt, ſeems nothing, when we conſider it only in a general view; but when we know the circumſtances of it as related by Gaſſendus, we cannot forbear ſaying, that it was one of the greateſt mortifications an Aſtrologer could receive.

(33) Ib. pag. 15, num. 76.

(34) See the following remark.

(35) Quo primum vice Lutetiam venit Morinum ad videndum accerſi juſſit, quem in Aſtrologicis omnium perfpicaciſſimum palam & clare teſtata eſt. *Vita Morini*, pag. 16, num. 80.

Gaſſendus ſays, that Morinus paid him a viſit the twenty ninth of April 1643, and told him, I remember you confeſſed to me five or ſix months ago, that if I could notify the day on which a great perſon ſhould die, on whoſe nativity I had taken much pains, and who was then indiſpoſed, you will look on it as a convincing proof, both of my capacity, and of the excellence of my art. I now come to acquaint you that the king will die upon the eighth of May next. Gaſſendus has not forgot to obſerve, that Morinus had given him no anſwer concerning this great perſon, who was ill at that time, and who died ſoon after (36). He obſerves alſo, that about the end of April 1643, the Phyſicians declared, that Lewis XIII would die in a ſhort time, but as to the day of his death, there was a diſagreement among them. Morinus declared to Gaſſendus, that the third of May would be extreamly dangerous to this monarch, who however ſhould linger out five days longer and no more. Gaſſendus, without dwelling on the conſideration, that this prognoſtic was made at a time when there was no hopes of the king's recovery, waited for the event as a thing that might be of ſome conſequence, with reſpect to Aſtrology, ſince he had no reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſymptoms obſerved by the Phyſicians, ſerved as a foundation to Morinus's prediction, and knew withal, that this Aſtrologer had ſtudied the nativity of Lewis XIII, with infinite application, and boaſted that he had by it diſcovered the days of each particular incident in the courſe of this monarch's life. If therefore this art had any kind of certainty, it muſt be in relation to the laſt day of the king's life. And obſerve Gaſſendus was informed, that Morinus had told others, that, by the rules of Aſtrology, the king was in danger of dying not only the eighth of May, and ſome days preceding, but alſo on the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of the ſame month. He ſaid nothing of the fourteenth, which yet was the day of his death (37). Thus we manifeſtly ſee, that his pretended ſcience was illuſive, and that the miſtake of ſix days is in this caſe a deciſive blow.

(36) This was undoubtedly cardinal Richelieu.

(37) *I take this from the 128th and 129th pages of Mr Bernier's Anatomia ridiculi morin; but it is a paſſage which Mr Bernier owns from Gaſſendus's Apology, Adverſus animadverſiones Jo. Morini.*

[G] *He was not fortunate in his predictions concerning a ſecretary of ſtate .... who depended much on his Aſtrological oracles.*] I mean the count de Chavigni, and ſhall give an inſtance of his credulity with relation to Aſtrology. Having determined to go into Provence in the year 1646, he deſired to have Morinus along with him; but as this Aſtrologer never undertook any thing without the approbation of the ſtars, he would not venture upon this journey, except they promiſed him good ſucceſs. He therefore deſired time to conſult them, and after that, promiſed to accompany his Mecenas (38). He deſired he would leave it to him to chuſe a propitious hour for their departure, and aſſured him, that experience would teach him, how material a thing it is to ſet out in an enterprize under a favourable diſpoſition of the ſtars (39). Mr de Chavigny would conteſt no ſuch point with him, but aſſured him of his entire ſubmiſſion. Morinus found, that the beſt time to ſet out would be upon the ninth of May, nine minutes after four in the morning, and deſired that every thing might be ready that moment. The orders of the ſecretary were ſo punctual and ſo well executed, that every thing was accordingly ready at that inſtant. He had four good dials in his garden, on which they obſerved for half an hour together, the approach of the critical minute, and took coach precisely at the time when the ſhadow on the dial had reached this minute. They arrived happily at Antibes: and when Mr Chavigny, who was count of it, was about to return to Paris, he was informed by his Aſtrologer, that it was requiſite to conſult the Heavens about the hour of their departure. He was no leſs tractable now than he had been the firſt time, he ordered every thing to be got ready with ſuch exactneſs, that he and his retinue were on horſeback preciſely at twenty ſeven minutes after four in the morning of the ſecond of July. 'Fuerunt rurſus omnia pro diſceſſu parata ad 'ipſum momentum, expectavitque mecum illuſtriſſi- 'mus Dominus in ſuo cubiculo, feneſtris ad Orientem 'apertis donec ſolem ortum conſpexit, tuncque ſine 'more conſcendit equum cum toto comitatu (40). .... '*All things were again got ready againſt the moment 'prefixed, and the moſt noble count and I waited in his 'bed-chamber, the windows towards the eaſt being open, 'till he ſaw the ſun riſen, and then immediately he took 'horſe with all his retinue.*' Their return was very proſperous, the maſter, and ſervants, and horſes, arrived all in good health, notwithſtanding the heat of the ſeaſon. But when he came to Paris, he diſcovered ſome intrigues of the cabinet againſt his fortune. He was accuſed among other things, of having taken an Aſtrologer with him to conſult about the deſtiny of the king, the queen, and cardinal Mazarin, &c. (41). Finding that his adverſaries had made him greatly ſuſpected, he twice deſired Morinus to tell him whether the ſtars threatned him with any misfortune. Morinus anſwered him they did not, and adviſed him to wait on the cardinal; but precautioned him, that all hours were not alike propitious, and that he would chooſe him one by the rules of Aſtrology. He choſe him an hour in which the tenth houſe, which is that of dignities, went very well (42). Chavigny followed his directions, and was very well received by the cardinal (43). I only relate all theſe things to ſhew the weakneſs of thoſe who ſometimes ſit at the helm. The deſtiny of nations and kingdoms is in their hands, whilſt their own depends upon the caprices and viſions of an Aſtrologer. Their paſſions and ideas have commonly a greater ſhare in the government, than the will of the monarch, becauſe they dextrouſly infuſe into him whatever they have a mind to. And thus whilſt they are managed by the counſels of an Aſtrologer, may it not be ſaid, that the happineſs and miſery of the people depend on this Aſtrologer? This ſecretary of ſtate was named in the year 1645, for the embaſſy to Munſter (44). It is probable he would have taken Morinus along with him, to know the critical minute when this or that memorial ought to be preſented, or this or that anſwer given. Would not this have been hazarding a thouſand good opportunities of advancing the general peace ſo neceſſary to all Europe? Morinus made ſuch account of the doctrine of elections (45), that he believed, there was nothing more uſeful to kings, or their firſt miniſters, than a council of three Aſtrologers who ſhould have the ſchemes of nativity, not only of all the neighbouring princes, but alſo of all the great men of the court (46). By this means, ſaid he, we ſhould know the favourable conjuncture to begin a war, what confederate prince would act firſt, and what generals ought to be choſen. We ſhould not give the chief directions, as is uſually done, to an unſucceſsful prince; we ſhould not take the year that is moſt adverſe to him, and moſt propitious to the prince, his enemy; we ſhould not chuſe unfortunate generals: and what I have ſaid, adds he, of war, ought to be applied to the marriages of kings, embaſſies, &c.

(38) Morin. Aſtrolog. Gallica, lib. xxvii, cap. vii.

(39) Illuſtriſſimum Dominum . . . ab Aſtrologia non alienum rogavi, ut ipſi placeret me diem & horam ad proficiſcendum fortunatam eligere, ſeque expertorum quanti eſſet momenti ſuſcepta ſub congruo cœli ſtatu inchoare; *Ibid. pag.* 778.

(40) Ibid. *pag.* 782.

(41) Ibid. *pag.* 783.

(42) Ibid. *pag.* 784.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid. *pag.* 779. This nomination was revoked.

(45) Thus the Aſtrologers call the choice of the times, according to the aſpects of the planets, and the poſition of the Heavens.

(46) Morin. Ibid. *cap. iii, pag.* 773.

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the ſatisfaction to ſee his favourite work printed

Let us now come to the falſities of his predictions concerning the count de Chavigny.

He had foretold that lord ſhould have a fit of ſickneſs, but ſaid nothing of his impriſonment: Yet Mr de Chavigny continued in good health, but was made a priſoner. Now ſee how they excuſe this Aſtrologer: They pretend that he foreſaw both the impriſonment and and the ſickneſs, and was more inclined to determine for the former, but did quite the contrary, becauſe Mr de Chavigny had declared, that he would laugh at any prediction of impriſonment. 'Ultimum 'quod infimulant Chavignii carcer eſt, quæ ſolum fuit 'erroris interceptio: cum enim in annua ipſius revo- 'lutione ex aſtris & morbum & carcerem colligeret, & 'ad carcerem prædicendum proclivior fuiſſet Aſtrologus, 'ægritudine tamen rem decidit. Namque & ipſe Cha- 'vignius hujus forte qui carceris eſſet, metus diſſimu- 'lator, aut tale nihil ſibi metuens (ſe quippe apud au- 'lam gratioſiſſimum eſſe confidebat) carcerem ſibi fru- 'ſtra intentari dixerat; vates itaque noſter arti ſuæ 'non ſatis credulus hac vice hallucinatus eſt (47) - - - 'For Mr de Chavigny believed he was in very great 'favour at court: and therefore our Aſtrologer diſtruſt- 'ing a little his own art, was for this time miſtaken.' A poor excuſe! He was likewiſe reproached with being deceived about the marriage of this lord's daughter. I relate Mr Bernier's words ſomewhat at length, becauſe they let us ſee the impoſtures of this ſort of people: 'Illis (quos habere amicos vultis & à quibus mag- 'nam mercedem ſperatis) ſcilicet omnia fauſta, ac vi- 'tam præcipue longævam pollicemini; nam aliqua 'quidem hiſce, illiſque temporibus occurſura pericula; 'ſed benignos eſſe ſiderum aſpectus, qui malignis po- 'tentiores, illa ſuperanda præmonſtrent. Quamquam 'ne ſic quidem defugere odium, ac infamiam poteſtis; 'cum loquuti ad gratiam, & juxta inania veſtra placita, 'ſpe inani illos lactatis, quâ ſe deluſos dum ſentiunt, 'mirum quibus vos, artemque veſtram diris devoveant. 'Id vero, ut tibi imprimis contingat, familiare eſt, cui 'publicitùs exprobrata ſunt innumera prope, & nota 'publicè exempla, ut circa filiam illuſtris Comitis Chia- 'vinii; ut circa filium illuſtris Præſidis Gobelini; ut 'circa Præfectum ærarii Bullonium; ut circa illum, cu- 'jus cauſâ cæſus fuſtibus, litem intentaſti coram Judice 'ſanctæ Genovefæ. (48) - - - - For, to thoſe (whom you 'would make your friends, and from whom you expect great 'rewards) you progneſticate every thing fortunate, and 'eſpecially long life; and though they will meet with ſome 'dangers in theſe times, yet the aſpects of the ſtars being 'kind and more powerful than thoſe that are unkind, ſhew 'that they will overcome them. But not even thus can 'you eſcape hatred and infamy; for as you ſpeak according 'to the favour of your own ſilly imaginations, you feed 'them with vain hopes, whereby when they find them- 'ſelves deluded, they damn you and your art both to the 'pit of hell. But this commonly happens to you in parti- 'cular, who are reproached with a thouſand notorious 'inſtances, as with regard to the count de Chavigny's 'daughter, the illuſtrious preſident Gobelin's ſon, the trea- 'ſurer Buillon, and him upon whoſe account being cud- 'gelled, you entered an action before the judge of St Ge- 'nevieve.'

(47) Vita Morini, *pag.* 16, *num.* 79.

(48) Berner. Anatomia ridic. muris, *pag.* 138. Morin. Defenſ. Diſſert. *pag.* 121, *anſwering Bernier, denies what concerns the daughter of Mr de Chavigni.*

[*H*] *He publiſhed a great number of books.*] Since I have already ſpoken of the firſt (49), I ſhall here begin with the ſecond. It was printed in the year 1623, under the title of *Aſtronomicarum domorum cabala detecta*. In 1624 (50), not being able to anſwer by word of mouth (as he had prepared for it) the Theſes which Antony Villon (51) would maintain, he anſwered them in writing. This Villon, who commonly went by the name of the Philoſophical Soldier, had poſted up theſes againſt Ariſtotle's doctrine, which were to be defended at the late queen Magaret's palace. The aſſembly was very numerous, when the firſt preſident ſent an order to Villon and his two companions, not to maintain their propoſitions. There was afterward a decree of parliament againſt them, and againſt their theſes. See the French Mercury (52), where you will find an abſtract of Morinus's treatiſe againſt the doctrine of thoſe Innovators. It is ſaid in his life (53), that this book got him the reputation of an able Chemiſt, and a ſubtle Philoſopher, and upon this occaſion we are told a thing which is worth relating. Morinus had applied himſelf to Chemical

(49) In the remark [*A*].

(50) See his Life, *pag.* 9, *num.* 38.

(51) *He was of Provence.* Vinc. Panurgus, de tribus Impoſtoribus, *pag.* 57.

(52) *Tom.* x, *pag.* 504, and the following, *ad ann.* 1624.

(53) *Pag.* 9, *num.* 38.

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and did not come out till after his death. I ſpeak of his *Aſtrologia Gallica* (c). He had among other adverſaries the famous Gaſſendus [*I*]. He died at Paris the ſixth of November

(c) See the remark [*K*].

'tia conſecutus eſt (65). - - - - *At laſt, the reward he obtained from the king and his privy-council, ſhewed, that his labour was not loſt as on barren ground, for having humbly preſented to them a petition in the year 1645, he obtained a yearly penſion of two thouſand livres upon the abbey of Royaumont.*' Let us not omit his Aſtrological notes againſt the marquis de Villennes (66), nor his Confutation of the Preadamites (67). This marquis pretended to Aſtrology, and was willing the public ſhould know it; for he got a book on this ſubject printed, which is aſcribed to Ptolomy (68). About four years after Morinus attacked him with a little too much heat, as the writer of his life confeſſes (69), excuſing him however on his great zeal for the truth (70). I am indebted to Mr Clement, who ſo well deſerves the place he is in (71) on account of his learning and obliging temper; I am, I ſay, indebted to him for a catalogue of John Baptiſt Morinus's works, wherein I have found ſome treatiſes not mentioned by the writer of his life: Here are two of this nature. *Ad auſtrales & boreales aſtrologos pro aſtrologia reſtituenda epiſtolæ* (72). Letters written to the Sieur Morinus, approving his diſcovery of the Longitude, and his anſwer to Herigone (73).

I ſhall lengthen out this note to give more light to Morinus's pretenſions about the Longitude. He maintained (74) with the greateſt aſſurance, that the commiſſioners named by the cardinal ſtarted a thouſand cavils upon him the day of the experiment; but that he came off ſo happily as to force them to own to the aſſembly, that his demonſtrations were good. Ten days after, continues he, the Sieurs Paſchal, Mydorge, Beaugrand, Boulenger, and Herigone (75) met by order of the cardinal to examine this doctrine a-new upon the four points, which his Eminence preſcribed them. They gave a judgment quite contrary to their firſt declaration, and ſhewed it the cardinal, who commanded them to publiſh it. Morinus appealed from them to the moſt famous Aſtronomers of Europe, and obtained their deciſion, condemning the ſecond ſentence of the commiſſioners. ' Ab illis commiſſariis ' proditus, & à Cardinali Richelio fraudatus promiſſo ' præmio, de illa ſecunda ſententia provocavi ad celebriores Europæ Aſtronomos quibus ſcripſi librumque ' meum tranſmiſi, qui omnes ſuis ad me reſponſis primam ſententiam approbarunt, ſecundum vero falſitatis & iniquitatis unanimiter condemnarunt (76). - - - ' *Being betrayed by thoſe commiſſioners, and deprived by cardinal Richelieu of the promiſed reward, I appealed from the ſecond ſentence to the moſt eminent Aſtronomers of Europe, to whom I wrote and tranſmitted my book, all of whom, in their anſwers to me, approved the the firſt ſentence, but condemned the ſecond as falſe and unjuſt.*' This did him no kindneſs as long as the cardinal lived, but was not uſeleſs after his death; for Morinus addreſſing himſelf to the king's council, and publiſhing a long narrative, obtained juſtice by a penſion of two thouſand livres. He made it appear, that the commiſſioners had betrayed their conſcience to pleaſe the cardinal. I relate this, as I find it in his own book; but I give little credit to it. *Poſtulationem meam narratoriam quanta potui arte compoſui, ut evidentiſſime pateret injuſtitia in me perpetrata à Cardinali Richelio, quem conſtabat excitaſſe Commiſſarios meos ut ſuam in me ſecundam ferrent ſententiam primæ ac veræ prorſus contrariam* (77). He eſpecially meant the Sieur Herigone, and wrote violently againſt him. He denies that he had ever been his diſciple. ' Fallitur ' dum ait Herigonum fuiſſe meum in Mathematicis ' præceptorem. Nam dum in illum ſcripſi, quod ' fuiſſet ignarus, perfidus & proditor Judex in mea ' Longitudinum cauſa: pro ſua defenſione mihi reſpondens inania, non oblitus fuiſſet mihi exprobrare, ' quod ejus fuiſſem diſcipulus ingratiſſimus (78). - - - - ' *He is miſtaken, in ſaying that Herigone had been my maſter in Mathematics. For having ſaid in my book againſt him, he was an ignorant, falſe, and perfidious judge in my cauſe of the Longitude: in his frivolous anſwer by way of defence, he would not have forgot to upbraid me with having been his ungrateful diſciple.*'

[*I*] *He had amongſt other adverſaries the famous Gaſſendus.*] The original of the diſpute was this. In the year 1642, Gaſſendus printed two letters which he had written to Peter du Puy, *de motu impreſſo à motore tranſlato*. Here he ſtrongly combats the objections of thoſe, who ſay the earth does not move: Morinus was one of them, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Copernican ſyſtem. He therefore believed himſelf the perſon attacked, and complained, that Gaſſendus, violating the the laws of their antient friendſhip, became the aggreſſor. In a word, he took pen in hand and publiſhed a book againſt Gaſſendus in 1643 (79). Gaſſendus confuted it the ſame year, without any heat, but with much ſtrength of reaſon (80). He did not publiſh this book, and even engaged to ſuppreſs it, when he was reconciled to Morinus by the mediation of the baron of Tourves (81). It was printed for all this in 1649, with a violent preface compoſed by Neuré, the author's friend. Gaſſendus excuſed himſelf upon it to Morinus and proteſted he knew nothing of the printing of his work (82). His letter was publiſhed by Morinus who joined it to a book which he printed. Gaſſendus writ him another letter, complaining of his having publiſhed the former. But Morinus printed alſo a fragment of this ſecond letter, together with a new libel. Hereupon Gaſſendus broke off all correſpondence with him, and would take no more notice of the writings of ſuch an adverſary: but his friends took the thing in another manner; they publiſhed his ſecond letter entire, and reſolved to ſtrike this Aſtrologer home. Accordingly, when his Diſſertation came out *de atomis & vacuo*, publiſhed at Paris in 1650, againſt Epicurus's Philoſophy, which Gaſſendus had put out (83), they handled it unmercifully. Bernier publiſhed a book (84) intituled, *Anatomia ridiculi muris*, which was followed two years after by the *Favilla ridiculi muris*, in which he quite demoliſhes the apology which Morinus printed (85) for his Diſſertation. This enraged him to that degree, that he put out (86) a book with this title; *Vincentii Panurgi epiſtola de tribus impoſtoribus*. Theſe three impoſtors were Gaſſendus, Bernier, and Neuré.

He was chiefly expoſed on his preſuming to foretel that Gaſſendus ſhould be ſeized with a mortal diſtemper in the year 1650, and that the effects of it ſhould appear, either at the end of July, or the beginning of Auguſt. This Aſtrological prediction was falſe, and drew on the author a terrible peal of reproaches and inſults. ' Qua providentia factum dicam, ' *they are Mr Bernier's words* (87), ò rerum bonarum ' inaniſſime, futiliſſimeque Morine! ut ultro mihi præ' bueris anſam, quam captare ab aliquot elapſis men' ſibus geſtiebam (neque ego ſolus, ſed multi etiam ' alii, quibus veritas cordi eſt) ut propalarem, ſcilicet ' mendaciloquium illud inſigne, quo in æternum op' probrium tuæ damnatæ aſtrologiæ auſus es ſecure at' que impudenter prædicere ter, & publicis etiam ſcrip' tis evulgare, *Gaſſendum mortali morbo laboraturum, & vim morbi extremam, ex qua deberet ejus mors conſequi, futuram in ipſomet Julii, Auguſtique confinio ſuperioris anni milleſimi ſexenteſimi quinquageſimi.* - - - - ' *By what providence ſhall I ſay it happened, O Morinus, thou vaineſt and ſilliеſt of mortals! that of your own accord you ſhould give me the handle I was deſirous to take theſe ſeveral months paſt (and not only I, but many others too, who love the truth) to publiſh that notorious lie, whereby, to the eternal diſgrace of your condemned Aſtrology, you dared impudently to foretel three times, and even in writings to publiſh, that* Gaſſendus ' would be ſick, &c.' Morinus (88) anſwered, as all falſe prophets do, that he did not poſitively foretel Gaſſendus's death that year, but only warned him of a mortal danger, which might be avoided by good precautions. One of his antagoniſts was more exact than Mr Bernier, for he acknowledged the Aſtrologer's reſtrictions. ' Aſtrologus Morinus ad ſtabiliendam ' amplius ſuarum prædictionum certitudinem judicat ' ex aſtris ac divinat, ſed cum præcautionibus conſue' tis Almanachiſtarum quod D. Gaſſendus morietur an' no 1650 (89). - - - - - *Morinus the Aſtrologer, to con' firm the certainty of his predictions, judges and di' vines by the ſtars, but with the uſual precautions of ' Almanack-makers, that Gaſſendus will die in the year ' 1650.*' But notwithſtanding all his little precautions, this Aſtrologer deſerved to be expoſed as he was. I ſhall not relate all that Gaſſendus has obſerved

(65) Ibid. num. 54.

(66) See the *Mercure Galant*, Tom. i, where the academy of Ambignac is ſpoken of, and that for the month of February 1678, pag. 93.

(67) Refutatio compendioſa erroneæ ac deteſtandi libri de Præadamitis. *Vita Morin. pag.* 10, num. 45.

(68) Centiloquium Ptolemæo vulgò adſcriptum. *Ib.* num. 43.

(69) Si quid in eo eſt quod quiſpiam jure poſſit carpere, non diffitebor contra Authorem hunc nobilem calentis ingenii leves quaſdam inſultus haberi. *Ibid.*

(70) Præfervidi erat, neque ſat toleranti animi, ſed qui amore veritatis caleret ardentius. *Ibid.*

(71) At Paris in the king's library.

(72) Printed in the year 1628, in 8vo.

(73) Printed in 1635, in 4to.

(74) Morin. Aſtrologia Gall. *lib. xxiii, pag.* 623.

(75) They were ownmiſſioners in this cauſe.

(76) Morin. ubi ſupra.

(77) Id. ib.

(78) Morin. in Defenſ. Differt. *pag.* 107.

(79) *Intituléd*, Ake telluris fra-ctus.

(80) *His confutation is contained in the third letter of the treatiſe* de motu impreſſo à motore tranſlato, *Oper. Tom. iii, Edit. Lugdun.* 1658.

(81) Morin. in Defenſ. Diſſertat. *pag.* 21.

(82) Ibid. *See alſo the* Anatom. ridiculi muris, *pag.* 8.

(83) At Lyons in the year 1649, in three volumes in folio.

(84) At Paris in the year 1651.

(85) At Paris in the year 1651.

(86) At Paris in the year 1654.

(87) Bernerius, in Anatom. ridicali muris, *pag.* 127.

(88) Morin. in Defenſ. Diſſertat. *pag.* 114.

(89) Apud Morin. ibid. *pag.* 112.

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November 1656, and was buried in his par

(d) Taken from his Life, printed in Latin before his *Aſtr* printed in French, at Paris, i

ſerved upon it (90), but content my ſelf with theſe words of his abridger (91). 'Here I might particularly mention the ſcheme of the nativity of Mr Maridat (92), a member of the great council, in which we might ſee that the Aſtrologer John Baptiſt Morinus who erected it, has ſucceeded much like Noſtradamus in that of Mr Suffredy; but all this is ſo full of fooleries and impertinences, and falſe events, and ſmells ſo ſtrong of the juggler and gipſy, whoſe end is only to deceive and get a piece of money, that I can hardly think of it with patience. I ſhall only ſay to the eternal ſhame of this Aſtrologer, Morinus, that ſeeing Gaſſendus, who made a jeſt of his judicial Aſtrology, was infirm, and ſeized with a defluxion on his lungs, he was ſo impudent as to foretel, and publiſh to the world in a printed paper, that he ſhould die about the latter end of July, or the beginning of Auguſt, 1650; pretending hereby to erect a trophy to his Aſtrology; and yet Gaſſendus was never in better health than at that time, and ſo recovered his ſtrength, that on the fifth of February the next year (93) we walked I remember up the mountain of Toulon to make the experiment of a Vacuum.'

(90) Gaſſend. Phyſicæ, *Sect. II, lib. vi, pag.* 747, *Tom.* 1, *Operum.*

(91) Bernier, Abregé de la Philoſophie de Gaſſendi, *Tom. iv, pag.* 485, 486, *Edit. de* 1684.

(92) *See it in* Gaſſendus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 746, 747.

MORINUS's ſubterfuges when his prophecies proved falſe.

It is pleaſant enough to ſee how many evaſions Morinus made uſe of, when his predictions failed. He ſuppoſed, that the influences of the ſtars did not act neceſſarily, and that a wiſe man could over-rule them. 'Poteſt qui ſciens eſt (hoc eſt qui propria vel alterius 'ſcientia monitus eſt) multos ſtellarum effectus averſtere, ex Ptolomæo Aphor. 5. centiloquii. *Qui eſt ipſemet Aphoriſmus quem citat D. Thomas, dum ſuperius dixit* ſapiens dominabitur aſtris (94). - - - - *A wiſe man (that is, he who is warned by his own or another's knowledge) may avert many effects of the ſtars, according to the fifth aphoriſm of Ptolomy's Centiloquium.* Which is the very aphoriſm cited by S. Thomas, where he ſaid, the *wiſe will over-rule the ſtars.*' Applying this to his prediction againſt Gaſſendus, he obſerves that this Philoſopher avoided the blow by good and ſalutary precautions, by a regular diet, and moderate exerciſe, and by removing to Toulon where the air was more agreeable to his conſtitution (95). He adds, that perhaps the fear of the prediction made him pray to GOD more earneſtly to preſerve his health, and that his prayers being heard contradicted Aſtrology, which otherwiſe would not have been erroneous (96). 'Deinde etiamſi data 'prædictio mea Tabellioni, fuiſſet quò ad effectum ab 'Aſtris naturaliter inevitabilis, nonne Gaſſendus prædictionis meæ conſcius ex ſupra poſitis, potuiſſet ut 'Ezechias lib. 4. Reg. cap. 20. rogare DEUM ſecretò, quo ipſum à morbo vel morte liberaſſet ſupernaturaliter, ſicque deluſus & adhuc pro falſo propheta habitus fuiſſem? Nonne ægroti & nautæ in procella de vita naturaliter deſperantes votis liberantur . . . . His ergo omnibus ſupernaturaliter liberatis, nunquid Aſtrologus mortem eo tempore prædicens ex cauſis naturalibus, pro falſo Propheta erit habendus? Certe non magis quam Jonas, qui ex ipſius DEI verbo Ninivitis, & urbis & hominum univerſalem prædixit ſubverſionem; quæ tamen non eſt ſubſecuta, quod inſigni pœnitentiâ à Rege ad minimum pecus, ſibi precaverint adverſus iram DEI, qui illorum miſertus eſt (97). - - - - *And then, tho' my prediction had been naturally infallible with regard to the influence of the ſtars, might not Gaſſendus, being forewarned of it, have followed the example of Hezekiah,* 2 *Kings* xx. *and prayed to* GOD *in ſecret, that he would deliver him from death and diſeaſe in a ſupernatural way, and thus I ſhould have been deceived, and looked upon as a falſe prophet? Are not ſick perſons and mariners in a ſtorm, who naturally deſpair of life, ſometimes delivered by prayers . . . . All theſe then being in a ſupernatural way preſerved, muſt an Aſtrologer, who foretels death at that time from natural cauſes, be accounted a falſe prophet? Surely no more than Jonas, who, by the command of* GOD, *propheſied the utter deſtruction of the city and people of Nineveh, which however did not happen, becauſe, by a ſignal repentance, they all, from the king to the ſmalleſt of the cattle, guarded againſt the wrath of* GOD, *who took*

(93) That is to ſay, in the year 1650, which is the following year with regard to the time when Morinus publiſhed his prophecy, he publiſhed it in 1649. Mr Bernier, in abridging, forgot to remove this equivoque.

(94) Morin. in Defenſ. Differtat. *pag.* 114.

(95) Ibid. *pag.* 116, 117.

(96) Fortaſſis Gaſſendus mortem admodum metuens, nec omnino ſuæ conſidens rigidæ diætæ, DEUM precatus eſt, qui ipſum exaudivit. *Ib. pag.* 120.

(97) Ibid. *pag.* 119.

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What Guy Patin has said of him deserves relating [K]. He speaks of him as of a mad man; and it is certain there was a spice of madness in that head of his. Morinus was strangely perplexed about his saying, that Antichrist was born [L]. But as absurd as he was

as the sweetest consolation (102). III. That he was sordidly covetous, and set his schemes only to get money by them. He answers the first reproach by proving, that from the time he was admitted Physician, till he was made professor of Mathematics, he had lived either with the bishop of Boulogne, or the abbot of la Bretonniere, or the duke of Luxemburg (103). Observe, that he was but thirty years old when he was made Doctor of Physic. See the last remark (104). He confutes the second reproach, by maintaining, that if they enquire of his neighbours, and particularly of Mr Colletet, or of the judges of St Genevieve, or of the Fathers of the Christian doctrine, they will find that they never heard of this adventure (105). Lastly, he says, that he is not covetous, nor never was, and that the stars shew him to be as liberal as Gassendus is niggardly, according to the scheme of his nativity. He maintains, that his private lectures of Astrology had been worth to him an hundred thousand livres, if he would have taken all the scholars he might have had: But that he had always refused even those who were eminent for their quality: That he need only instance his nieces: GOD has provided for them, says he, by my labours and expences. I have put two of them into the convents of Ville-Franche; and as to the third who intends to marry, I have a thousand crowns in ready money for her portion when ever a match offers. *Nec curent amplius de pecuniis necessariis ad conjugia nepotularum mearum . . . Placuit enim DEO suam erga illas providentiam exercere meis laboribus atque expensis: duas enim feci Religiosas Francopoli, in Monasteriis B. Mariæ Visitationis, & Divæ Ursulinæ; & quia nubere vult tertia, ad hujus præsentaneam dotem, seorsim reposita sunt à me librarum tria millia. Quod abest à me dici vanitatis gratia: sed duntaxat ad repellendum à me tetrum illud avaritiæ sordidæ crimen, quod mihi imponit Anatomista murium. Etenim pro tenuitate mea etiam à puero fui semper liberalis; quippe tantum natus ad liberalitatem, quantum Gassendus ad avaritiam, ut ex utriusque figuris cœlestibus atque vitâ patebit, nullisque unquam peperci sumptibus pro veritatis & honoris mei defensione. Sique lucri & pecuniarum fuissem cupidus, plus quam centum millia librarum mihi comparassem Parisiis, ex privatis solum Astrologiæ lectionibus; sed nullos habere volui discipulos etiam Magnates, mihi qualem voluissem mercedem offerentes* (106). In another book (107) he acquaints the public, that he had married her as she desired, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the war. This is no such mighty matter, for he confesses his annual income was about four thousand livres (108). He acknowledges he was obliged to Astrology for this fortune: It was by that he got into the good graces of Mary de Medicis, who procured him the professorship (109).

[K] *What Guy Patin has said of him deserves relating.*] 'I hear that the *Astrologia Gallica* of the Sieur John 'Morinus a native of Ville-Franche in Beaujolois, formerly Doctor of Physic at Valence (110), the king's 'professor in Mathematics in our college royal, is 'at last printed at the Hague in Holland. I am 'told there are a great many abusive reflexions in it 'on the Physicians of Paris, and others who do not 'approve judicial Astrology, or Chemistry; and I do 'not wonder at it, for the man was mad: there are 'two volumes of it in folio. The queen of Poland 'has given two thousand crowns towards the charge 'of the edition, at the instance of a secretary of her's 'who is fond of Astrology. Thus you see how princes 'are cheated: if it were a good book that might 'be useful to the public, no Printer would have been 'found, nor any body else that would have undertaken 'it (111).' He had said in another letter (112), 'I have 'yet another death to tell you of. It is that of the Sieur 'Morinus of Beaujolois, king's professor in Mathema'tics. So that you see him dead at the year's end as 'well as Mr Gassendus: but there is no danger of 'their biting one another now; for one lies at St Ni'colas in the Fields, the other at St Stephen's on 'the Hill. One was a very sober man, the other 'crack-brained and half mad; but be it how it will, 'it is certain they will be upon the level in the 'other world in spite of all the Mathematics, and all 'the pretended judicial Astrology, which Morinus was 'bewitched with.' It is true, that Morinus's *Astrologia Gallica* was printed at the Hague in the year 1661. But it is only one volume in folio, divided into twenty six books. The author was thirty years about it: he hoped to have lived to see it out of the press (113); for he had already sent the fourteen first books to the Dutch Bookseller who was to print it, but death came and cut off that hope. There are two Epistles Dedicatory before this volume; one is the author's to Jesus Christ, the other is by an anonymous hand (114) to Louisa Mary de Gonzague, queen of Poland. This princess encouraged Morinus to this great labour, and paid the charges of the impression. *Authori animum ne tanto operi deesset, subsidium ut illud in publicum proferret, regali cura, regali munificentia addidisti* (115). When there was a talk of marrying her to some prince, Morinus declared, that this marriage would never take effect, and that she was destined to marry a monarch. This was one of his best predictions; and the author of his life makes the most of it. 'At quam omnibus suis partibus ab'solutum fuit vaticinium illud *Mariæ*, tunc Principi, 'nunc vero Reginæ Poloniæ ab *Morino* editum! de 'futuro ipsius conjugio cum illustrissimo Principe dide'batur rumor, quod quidem potissimum illi fuisset, 'ac plurimæ dignitatis: nihilominus tamen haud 'ineundum fore nostrer asseruit, cum Regem ei con'jugem astra pollicerentur (116). - - - - - *But how ex'actly accomplished was that prophecy of Morinus, with 'regard to Mary, then a princess, but now queen of Po'land! a report was spread that she was to be mar'ried to a most illustrious prince, which indeed would 'have been a very considerable and honourable match for 'her: Morinus however affirmed it would never happen, 'because the stars promised her a king for her husband.*' I could easily believe, that he had the assurance to give out this prediction: for besides that this princess was a royal match, and probably enough might marry a king; we must know, that Morinus, was naturally very fool-hardy, and had a great many back doors to creep out at, in case his prediction proved false (117). Besides this lady had great faith in Astrology, and it is to such that the Astrologers most confidently promise dignities. The abbot de Marolles, who perfectly knew her, deserves to be cited. 'Another time, *says 'he* (118), speaking against judicial Astrology at 'the princess's, who was very much inclined in fa'vour of it, because of the advantage and satisfaction 'there was in knowing futurities, I had against me 'not only her secretary, who was a man of sense, and 'versed in this science, and her first Physician Augu'stine Corade, who practises with so much success, 'but also the abbot of Belozane, and some others.' We need not wonder at her expences on a book, the author of which had flattered her with the hopes of a crown, which she actually obtained. It is possibly to this Astrological promise she alluded, when she gave the following answer. 'She was at the palace 'of Orleans, where as the abbot de la Riviere told 'her, he passionately desired to see her Monsieur's 'wife; she replied laughing, that Monsieur was not 'a king, and that she was destined to be a queen '(119).' The abbot de Marolles tells this, where he relates the visits she made after the ceremony of her marriage with the king of Poland.

[L] *He said that Antichrist was born.*] And even that he was immediately to appear, and in a little time to make all the conquests which tradition promises him. When Morinus was asked, how it was possible for Antichrist to seize on so many fortified towns in so short a time, he answered, that he would send an army of Magicians from the clouds, who should kill the soldiers and inhabitants. Almost half mankind, added he, are Magicians, as they assure us, who have been at the Devil's assembly; and all Magicians are military men. *Ecce enim jam fabula non es ob famosam illam non modo adventantis, sed etiam jam pro foribus existentis Antichristi prædictionem; de quadam ex te quæreretur, qui posset tam cito, ac ipse efferres, expugnare Antichristus tot arces munitissimas; Solitus fuisti*

(102) Ibid. pag. 103.

(103) Ibid. pag. 106, 107.

(104) Citat. (37).

(105) Ibid. pag. 108.

(106) Ibid. pag. 120.

(107) In Præfat. Astrolog. Gallic. pag. 31. See his words, Tertiam ad votum suum marito copulavi etiam difficillimis bellorum nostrorum temporibus.

(108) Ibid.

(109) Ibid.

(110) He should have said, at Avignon.

(111) Guy Patin, Letter cxxxiii. dated the eighteenth of February 1661, pag. 319, Tom. II.

(112) The eighth. It is dated the seventh of November 1656. See pag. 419, of the first Tome of Patin's Letters.

(113) Jam editionis hujus operis triginta annos integros accuratissimè limati stabat in procinctu, librosque quatuordecim priores ad Typographum Batavum transtulerat cum id meditantem mors oppressit. *Vita Morin. pag.* 12, *n.* 55.

(114) Who points out his name by these letters, G. T. D. G. V.

(115) Epist. Dedicat.

(116) Vita Morini, *pag.* 14, *num.* 72.

(117) See the remark [I] of this article.

(118) Memoires, *pag.* 148, ad ann. 1643.

(119) Memoires, 166. ad ann. 1645.

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was in moſt of his principles, he very well
Peripatetics are never to be undeceived, viz. th
forms, is exceeding impertinent [M]. We m
marks of Mr Des Cartes's eſteem [N]; and that

fuiſti excipere; cum ex relatu eorum, qui ex Sabbatis Magorum adveniunt, dimidia pene hominum pars in Magis ſit, ac Magi omnes milites ſint, qui Sathanæ nomen dedere, quique ab Antichriſto, tanquam ſummo Duce deducendi in militiam ſunt; fore, ut cum volet Antichriſtus expugnare urbes, quæ ſponteneam ſui deditionem non fecerint, eam Magorum nubem emittat ſurſum in aërem, quæ ſuperne irruens ſtragem tam civium, quam militum immanem edat (120). - - - *For the magicians* are liſted in the ſervice *of Satan, and are to be commanded by Antichriſt, as their chief-general.* The author of his Life makes three excuſes for him. 1. That he had read in a book of cardinal Cuſanius, that the oracles of Scripture fix the end of the world to the year 1675. In the ſecond place, that Alabaſter, a man excellently verſed in the Cabala and the Bible, had publiſhed the ſame thing. 3. That ſeveral poſſeſſed with the devil in ſeveral countries had declared to their exorciſts, that the beaſt of the Revelation was born, which the wickedneſs of the time made very credible. *Cardinalis* Cuſani *ſcriptoris minime contemnendi* conjecturam de ultimis temporibus *legerat, quo libro ad annum* 1675 *totius orbis terminus ac interitus ex literis aſtruitur inſpiratis. Idem ſcripſit Anglus* Alabaſter in tubarum ſpiraculis *libro edito, author, inquam, Orientis idiomata, & ſcripturas & Cabalam mirifice callens. Complurium exorciſmorum qui habentur excuſi volutarat* Morinus *hiſtorias, in quibus paſſim Energumeni in variis regionibus natam eſſe beſtiam proclamarunt, quod creditu facile nequitia temporis noſtri præſtat & ſuadet* (121). Three very fine reaſons!

(120) Bernerius, Anatomia ridiculi muris, *pag.* 185.

(121) Vita Morini, *pag.* 16, num. 77.

[M] *He very well underſtood. . . . that all the Peripatetics teach, concerning ſubſtantial forms, is exceeding impertinent.*] If we did not know it by experience, we ſhould hardly believe it poſſible for men of ſenſe, who ſpend all their life in philoſophizing, to maintain (122), that a ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, is nevertheleſs material, and ſubſiſts only dependently on matter; that it is produced from the power of matter without exiſting in it previouſly; that it is not compounded either of matter, or any other pre-exiſting thing, and that notwithſtanding it is not a created being: laſtly, that without the aſſiſtance of any knowledge to direct it in it's operations, it produces the machines of animals and plants. They ſtill maintain all theſe monſtrous doctrines, after having been confounded with the objections of a Father Maignan, of a Gaſſendus, &c. and this appears very wonderful to me. Morinus diſcovered all theſe abſurdities, and abandoned the Peripatetic ſect upon all theſe points. ‘ Quæ‘ ſtionem de ortu vel productione formarum ſubſtantialium ‘ eſſe totius Phyſices difficillimam; quæque maximorum ‘ Virorum ac præſertim Neotericorum ingenia torſit. ‘ Dum alii volunt eas educi de potentia materiæ, a‘ lii ipſas de novo creari, alii eas produci à corporibus ‘ cœleſtibus, alii eas eſſe tantùm quandam elementa‘ lium qualitatum proportionem; ſicque eas eſſe acci‘ dentales, & alii alia. Ego verò in Aſtrologia Gal‘ lica lib. 20. Qui inſcribitur, de actione univerſali ‘ corporum cœleſtium, ſectione 4. capite 7: om‘ nes haſce opiniones Rationis examini ſubjicio, ac ‘ evidenter probo nullas ipſarum eſſe poſſe veras: om‘ nium autem abſurdiſſimam, eſſe eductionem formæ ‘ de potentia materiæ (123). - - - - *The queſtion about* ‘ *the riſe and production of ſubſtantial forms is the moſt* ‘ *difficult in all the Phyſics, and which has puzzled* ‘ *the parts of the greateſt men, eſpecially the Neoterics.* ‘ *Whilſt ſome will have it that they are produced from* ‘ *the power of matter, others that they are created a*‘ *new, others that they are produced by the celeſtial bo*‘ *dies, others that they are only a certain proportion of* ‘ *elementary qualities, and conſequently are accidental;* ‘ *and others, other things. But in my* Aſtrologia Gal‘ lica, *lib.* 20, *intituled* de actione univerſali corpo‘ rum cœleſtium, *ſect.* 4. *cap.* 7, *I have examined all* ‘ *theſe opinions by the rules of right reaſon, and have* ‘ *evidently proved that none of them can be true; but* ‘ *that the moſt abſurd of all is the production of form* ‘ *from the power of matter.*’ The worſt of it is, he ſubſtituted in the room of theſe doctrines, an hypothe-

(122) See the remark of the article GORLÆUS (DAVID).

(123) Morinus, in Defenſ. Diſſert. *pag.* 66.

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ingenuous relation of ſeveral things which were to his own diſadvantage [O].

‘ hanc multis extraneis foliis, floribus, & fructibus in-
‘ ficient, ſi tantum planta generetur, & non potius
(127) Morin. in Defenſ. Differt. pag. 67. ‘ chymæra diverſarum genere rerum (127). - - - - -
‘ *Nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine, that the*
‘ *ſimilitude of flowers, leaves and fruits of the ſame tree,*
‘ *in colour, ſmell, taſte, and figure, ſhould proceed from*
‘ *the meer motion of atoms, from whence proceed their*
‘ *poſition and order. And among all the flowers, leaves,*
‘ *and fruits of an apple-tree, there never happens to be*
‘ *a flower, leaf, or fruit of a pear tree, or other plant*
‘ *from the motion of atoms. For unleſs this motion be*
‘ *regulated by ſome ſpecific knowledge, which cannot be*
‘ *conceived in atoms, it will only cauſe the fortuitous ſi-*
‘ *tuation and order of the atoms, which either will ne-*
‘ *ver produce any plant of a determinate ſpecies; or elſe*
‘ *will infect it with many heterogeneous leaves, flowers*
‘ *and fruits, if only a plant be generated, and not ra-*
‘ *ther a chimerical mixture of things of a different kind.*’

[N] *He received ſeveral marks of Mr Des Cartes's eſteem.*] He became acquainted with him in the year 1626 (128). Some time after he preſented him with his book of Longitudes, and was thanked for it in a moſt obliging letter from him (129). He ſent him objections concerning light, in the year 1638 (130). Theſe words of his letter are remarkable. ‘ I have ‘ ever been one of your favourers, who by my tem-
‘ per naturally hate and deteſt thoſe raſcally invidious
‘ men, who ſeeing ſome exalted genius, like a new
‘ ſtar, appear above them, inſtead of taking kindly
‘ his labours and new inventions, ſwell with envy
‘ againſt him, and have no other deſign but to eclipſe
‘ or extinguiſh his name, his glory and his merits;
‘ tho' they themſelves are retrieved by him from
‘ ignorance, and receive the knowledge of things
‘ from him gratis. I have paſſed through theſe trials,
‘ and know exactly what they are. Poſterity will
‘ reſent my misfortune, and ſpeaking of this iron age,
‘ will truly ſay, that fortune did not favour learned
‘ men. I wiſh however, ſhe may be more favoura-
‘ ble to you, than me.’ What pride and vanity is here! Mr Des Cartes anſwered the objections; Morinus replied (131), ‘ And we have this ſecond writing in-
‘ ſerted in the firſt tome of Mr Des Cartes's letters
‘ *, and followed by a new anſwer that Mr Des Cartes
‘ made to it in September, with a diſpatch which
‘ ſurprized him, but which let him know that he
‘ had a value for him. Morinus † pretended not to
‘ be entirely ſatisfied with this ſecond anſwer, and
‘ thence took an occaſion of making him a new re-
‘ ply ‡ in October, that he might have the honour
‘ of writing laſt. Mr Des Cartes, who was ever
‘ very free from the ambition of ſo falſe a glory, did
‘ by that mark perfectly diſcover Mr Morinus's cha-
‘ racter of mind. He would not refuſe him the ſa-
‘ tisfaction he propoſed to himſelf, ſince it coſt him
‘ ſo little. And * therefore writ to Father Merſenne,
‘ about the middle of November, that he would not
‘ give any farther anſwer to Mr Morinus, ſince he did
‘ not deſire it.’ It is certain Mr Des Cartes did not deſpiſe this man's objections. ‘ He judged them
‘ worth his notice as ſoon as he had received them,
‘ and preferable to thoſe of Mr Petit, as well for
‘ their ſolidity, as for the nature of the difficulties in
‘ them. He ** wrote more than once to Father
‘ Merſenne, to deſire him to let Morinus know from
‘ him, that he not only took his writing kindly, but
‘ that he was obliged to him for his objections, as being
‘ very proper to make him ſearch for truth with greater
‘ application; and †† that he would not fail to an-
‘ ſwer them in the moſt punctual and civil manner,
‘ and as ſoon as poſſible (132).’ Let us not end this remark without relating a thing which may edify the readers, as much as the haughty complaints of the royal profeſſor in Mathematics muſt have ſcandalized them. We have ſeen that Morinus ‘ had finiſhed his
‘ objections by . . . . complaints of the misfortune he
‘ was under from the practices of his ſpiteful ene-
‘ mies, wiſhing that fortune might be more favoura-
‘ ble to him than ſhe had commonly been to the ge-
‘ nerality of the learned. Mr Des Cartes, who could
‘ hardly reliſh this language, was harder put to it to
‘ anſwer this concluſion than all the reſt ††. *I no*
‘ *ways pretend, ſaid he to him on this ſubject, to de-*
‘ *ſerve the civilities you expreſs to me at the end of*
‘ *your writing, and yet it would not become me to confute*
‘ *them. Therefore I can only ſay, that I condole with*
‘ *you on the blindneſs of fortune, in that ſhe does not ſuf-*
‘ *ficiently acknowledge your merit. But as for my own*
‘ *particular, I thank God ſhe has never yet done me ei-*
‘ *ther good or ill: and I know not for the future, whether*
‘ *I ought rather to deſire her favours, or to fear them.*
‘ *For as it does not ſeem honeſt to borrow any thing*
‘ *which a man cannot return with intereſt, I ſhould*
‘ *think it a great burthen upon me to find my ſelf in-*
‘ *debted to the public* (133).’ Here you ſee what ought to be the language of a true Philoſopher. Mr Des Cartes would have merited this title by that one quality he here ſpeaks of. But as for Morinus, he diſgraced Philoſophy by his murmurs againſt the injuſtice of his time. He manifeſted a ſoul that was mercenary and greedy of penſions and rewards. A ſham Philoſopher! a ſham ſcholar!

(133) Baillet, ubi ſupra, pag. 356.

[O] *He gave an ingenuous account of ſeveral things to his diſadvantage.*] He ſays (134), that his mother, on her death-bed, diſinherited him, and denied him her bleſſing. She was ſomewhat recovered from this averſion to him; the prieſts and relations repreſented to her, that her will would be null, and that ſhe would beſides run a great riſk of damnation, ſo ſhe conſented to give him her bleſſing, and leave him a legacy though the ſmalleſt that could be. He pretends, that the cauſe of this hatred, was his having ſaid to his elder brother, when their father and mother were both ſick, that he had rather have his father than his mother live, if one of them muſt needs die. The mother died two days after, in the diſpoſition of mind juſt now mentioned againſt her ſon. Here you ſee a fact not much to the honour either of the mother or ſon; but nothing coſt an Aſtrologer too dear, when he can aſſign the reaſons of it by his principles. This is Morinus's caſe; he finds (135) in the ſcheme of his nativity, that his mother was to hate him. He finds he was to be often impriſoned, and confeſſes that in his youth he found himſelf very near to this misfortune, upon the account of his whoring, and vindictive temper (136). The malignant influence of ſome planets in his nativity having been corrected by the favourable aſpect of ſome others, the priſon was changed into an evil of another kind, which had ſome affinity to a captive ſtate; for from the age of ſixteen to forty ſix, Morinus was always under ſome maſter. He ſerved no leſs than ſixteen ſucceſſively; he lived with notaries, with writing-maſters (137), with preſidents, biſhops, abbots, and at laſt with the duke of Luxemburg. The reaſon of his changing his ſervice ſo often, was, that he quarrelled with the miſtreſs of the houſe, or ſome unforeſeen accident happened, or the maſters were guilty of intolerable ingratitude. *Quod autem per carceres feri non potuit per ſervitutem effecit, cumulus ille Planetarum in duodecima domo . . . eſt enim ſervitus . . . ſpecies quædam incarcerationis quod homo in aliena domo non liber, ſed alteri mancipatus vivere teneatur. Siquidem ab anno* 16 *ad* 46 *vita mea fuit perpetua ſervitus, domineſque habui* 16 *quos omnes deſerehqui vel ob jurgia cum dominabus, quarum imperium cum ferre nollem odia paſſus ſum . . . vel ob caſus repentinos, vel ob dominorum intolerabilem ingratitudinem* (138.) He finds the cauſe of all theſe events in the ſcheme of his nativity; his wranglings with the miſtreſs, the ingratitude of his maſters, the mean condition of ſome, the middle ſtate of others, and the high dignity of a third ſort. No ſtars hit truer, tho' to his coſt, than thoſe that threatened him on the ſcore of women (139). I have already mentioned (140) two wounds he received for a woman of pleaſure. This, perhaps, was in a houſe of ill fame. I reckon as nothing the violence offered him by ſome ſoldiers, who, at the inſtigation of ſome whores, entered his houſe (141). An honeſt man is not ſecure from ſuch affronts: let us alledge nothing that is ambiguous. He confeſſes (142), that having had the honour to be known to kings and queens, to princes and cardinals, and the principal men of the kingdom, there were at moſt but five perſons of high rank who loved him, or did him any good; whether becauſe of his ſkill, or the candour of his nature, or by ſympathy; and that, on the contrary, envy and antipathy had expoſed him to the hatred of ſo many people, that

(134) In Aſtrologia Gallica, *lib. xvii, pag.* 398.

(135) Ubi ſupra.

(136) Parumque abfuit quin in mea juventute verificatum fuerit ob vindictæ & libidinis paſſiones. *Ibid.*

(137) This is doubtleſs the ground of the reproach mentioned before, citation (101).

(138) Morin ubi ſupra.

(139) Propter ☽ & ♀ in duodecima quæ mihi ex parte mulierum multa mala damna vitæque pericula pepererunt. - - - *Becauſe of the Moon and Venus in the twelfth houſe, which on the ſcore of women procured me many calamities and dangers of my life.* Id. ib.

(140) In the remark [D], citation (12).

(141) Ib. *lib. xxiii, pag.* 649.

(142) Ib. *lib. xvii, pag.* 398.

(128) See Mr Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, *Tom. i, pag.* 138.

(129) It is the fifty eighth of the firſt volume of Des Cartes. See the Life of Des Cartes by Mr Baillet, *Tom. i, pag.* 265.

(130) See the fifty eighth letter of the ſame volume.

(131) Baillet, ib. *pag.* 357.

* *Pag.* 221, *Tom. i.*

† *Pag.* 234, *Tom. i.*

‡ This writing is to be found in the firſt volume of the letters of Mr Des Cartes, *pag.* 242.

* *Pag.* 416, *Tom. ii.*

** *Tom. iii, of the Letters, pag.* 390.

†† *Pag.* 396, *Tom. iii, & pag.* 360.

(132) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. i, pag.* 355.

‡‡ *Pag.* 219, 220, *Tom. i.*

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that it frighted him to think of it. *Horret memoria referre quot inimicos habuerim vel ob invidiam, vel ob antipathiam* (143). To ſay no more, can we conceive a greater piece of folly than that of a man, who complains he had been the object of envy, and boaſts of being beloved by great men, for the ſake of his learning? His greateſt accuſers on the topic of vanity, and a mercenary temper, are his own books. He boaſts, in one of his anſwers, that he had maintained a perpetual war for ſeventeen years together, againſt fifteen Mathematicians or Philoſophers, and had forced them all to a diſhonourable retreat. He ſays, that in the year 1636, his fame was ſpread almoſt over all Europe (144). At every turn he tells us of his pretended demonſtration of the Longitude, as a thing publickly acknowledged by the moſt famous Mathe-

(143) Ibid. pag. 398, 399.

(144) Tunc vero nominis mei fama per totam ferme Europam diffuſa eſt. *Ibid. lib. xxiii, pag.* 649.

MORINUS (SIMON) a fanatic, burnt a diſordered a long time [*A*]. He affirmed (*a*), *mation of the church, and that all nations ſhould* that *this great renovation was to be accompliſhed in his ſtate of glory, incorporated in Morinus his to which he was deſtined, he was to be attended participated in the glorious ſtate of JESU champions of glory.* The Sieur John Des-Mar his diſciple, and thereby diſcovered this horr

(*a*) See the preface of the *Lettres Viſionaires.*

[*A*] *His mind had been diſordered a long time.*] See the book intituled, *Thoughts of Simon Morinus*; it was printed in the year 1647. It has neither the name of the Printer, nor place where it was printed. The author was in priſon at Paris for the errors of the Enthuſiaſts, when Gaſſendus's friends writ againſt the Aſtrologer John Baptiſt Morinus, whom they reproached with either being the brother or relation of this priſoner. The Aſtrologer will have this to be the ſecond of their lies. *Secunda* (impoſtura) *dum aſſerit quendam Simonem Morinum in carceribus Archiepiſcopatus hujuſce aſſervatum, ob illuminatorum doctrinam quam profitetur, eſſe meum conſanguineum ſive fratrem* (1).

(1) Jo. Baptiſta Morinus, in Defenſione ſuæ Diſſertationis de atomis & vacuo, *pag.* 105. *This book was printed in the year* 1650.

[*B*] *Des-Mareſts . . . . feigned himſelf his diſciple, and diſcovered his Enthuſiaſm.*] He himſelf was a great Enthuſiaſt (2), and waited for a wonderful and holy revolution; but imagining it would not happen the way that Morinus declared, nor in that of another viſionary, named Charpy de Sainte Croix (3), he took it in his head to oppoſe them both. Charpy pretended, that all theſe wonders were to be brought about by a certain lieutenant of JESUS CHRIST, of the race of Judah, to whom he applied the cleareſt prophecies of the Meſſiah (4)' We have ſeen, in the body of this article, Morinus's pretenſion, and here follows that of the Sieur Des-Mareſts. I relate it in the words of an author, who makes uſe of the preſent tenſe; 'The Sieur Des-Mareſts teaches with them, that it is true, the world is about to be reformed, that all ſects ſhall be united to the Catholic religion; but that all this muſt be done by the great prophet Eliachim Michael, which is no other than the Sieur Des-Mareſts of Sorlin, and by an army of a hundred forty four thouſand victims, or humble ſouls, which he is to muſter, and give up to the king, that they may execute this great enterprize under his command, according to the lights which the Sieur Des-Mareſts is divinely inſpired with. It is very plain, that this laſt prophet could not agree with the two others, and that he had in his viſions wherewithal to deſtroy theirs. For, as we have ſeen one mad-man, who fancied himſelf GOD the Father, confute, in a convincing manner, another mad-man, who fancied himſelf GOD the Son, becauſe, ſaid he, I, who am GOD the Father, know very well that I have not begotten you: ſo the Sieur Des-Mareſts could, with the greateſt eaſe, prove to himſelf, that Morinus's and Charpy's notions were falſe. Charpy, ſaid he, imagines that the world muſt be reformed by a lieutenant of JESUS CHRIST joined with the Jews: and Morinus ſays, this will be by JESUS CHRIST himſelf incorporated in him, and accompanied by the combatants of glory. Now I am very certain that they are both miſtaken, ſince it is by myſelf, Des-Mareſts of St Sorlin, Eliacim Michael, and by my victims that all this muſt be wrought.

(2) See his article above.

(3) He is author of a book intituled, *L'ancienne nouveauté de l'Ecriture Sainte*, which Mr Arnaud confuted. The *Journal des Sçavans*, of the firſt of March 1666, makes mention of this confutation. This viſionary renounced his errors. See the *Queſtion curieuſe ſi Mr Arnaud eſt héretique?* pag. 147, Edit. 1695.

(4) Preface to the *Lettres Viſionaries, pag. m.* 226.

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ſome followers. I have heard ſay, I. That he had promiſed to riſe again on the third day, and that hereupon a great mob got together at the place where he was burnt (*b*). II. That the firſt preſident Lamoignon aſked him, whether it was any where written, that the great prophet, or new Meſſias, ſhould be burnt, and Morinus being already condemned, cited this verſe of the ſixteenth Pſalm, *Igne me examinaſti, & non eſt inventa in me iniquitas. Thou haſt tried me by fire, and no iniquity was found in me.* The author whom I cite in the remarks obſerves, that the XVIIth century was fruitful in Fanatics [*C*]. I have juſt received a moſt curious Memoir concerning our Morinus [*D*].

(*b*) It was at the Greve.

Since the ſecond edition I have learned ſome circumſtances of his trial, which will ſerve for a ſupplement and corrective to his article [*E*].

' *and according to* GOD: by which he ſhewed, that ' he only ſubmitted to what ſhould be commanded ' him on the part of GOD, and according to ' GOD... (9). This was not the laſt of the Sieur ' Des-Mareſts diſguiſes. He held ſeveral other con- ' ferences with Morinus in the ſame ſpirit of diſſimula- ' lation and deceit. He wrote to him ſeveral letters ' as his diſciple, he received ſeveral from him as ' from his maſter. He ſuffered this Fanatic, and theſe ' abuſed gentlewomen, to conſider him as being entirely ' of their cabal. And at laſt proceeded to that pro- ' digious extravagance, which I am going to relate in ' his own words. *To hinder Morinus and his wife, who ' was tormented by her Devil upon his account, from ' ſuſpecting him, he reſolved to give him a declaration, by ' the firſt letter he writ to him, that he acknowledged ' him for the Son of Man, and for the Son of GOD in ' him, knowing well that Morinus was the ſon of a man, ' and that the Son of GOD was in him, as every where ' elſe. This letter,* ſays he, *of the firſt of February,* ' 1662, *was ſo acceptable to Morinus, that to make him an ' acknowledgement for that declaration, which he believed ' very expreſs, he writ an anſwer to him the ſecond of ' February, by which he gave him, as by a great grace, ' the title of his forerunner, calling him a true John ' Baptiſt riſen again.*'

(9) Ibid. pag. 208.

The Janſeniſt whom I copy, does afterwards confute this treachery of the Sieur Des-Mareſts, by the principles of St Auguſtin. He ſays almoſt the ſame things, which Mr Arnold has ſince obſerved, in complaining of the impoſture of a falſe Arnold, by which a profeſſor of Douay was drawn into a ſnare.

[*C*] *The author whom I cite.... obſerves that the XVIIth century was fruitful in Fanatics.*] See the words of this author (10): ' Our age, which has been as ' fruitful as any other in extraordinary things, has ' particularly been ſo in Fanatics: and it looks as if ' mens heads were turned I know not how, this way, ' and that they had a natural biaſs towards it; for, ' as in contagious diſeaſes, we commonly ſee all other ' diſtempers degenerate into plagues and carbuncles, ' ſo we have frequently ſeen in this age irregular ' devotions, and ſuch as are built upon human ' caprice, degenerate into fanatical illuſions. The ' ſtory of the hermits of Caen has been celebrated all ' over the kingdom; and if they had made a due en- ' quiry into the ſociety of the Holy Sacrament, they ' might perhaps have diſcovered a great many things ' of this nature.' He afterwards ſets forth the viſions of Charpy de St Croix, of Morinus, and Des-Mareſts. If he had added thoſe which at the ſame time were vented in Holland (11), he would have much ſtrengthened his poſition. The cloſe of this age does not belie the other parts of it, *dignum patella operculum, - - - like cup, like cover.*

(10) *Preface of the Letters Provinciales*, pag. 225.

(11) See the remark [*I*] of the article MARETS (SAMUEL DES).

[*D*] *I have juſt received a moſt curious memoir concerning our Morin* (12).] Here are ſome paſſages of it in the words of the original: ' Simon Morinus was a ' native of Aumale, and had heretofore been com- ' miſſioner to Mr Charron, extraordinary-treaſurer ' for the war. He was a man of no letters, and ' groſsly ignorant, who, pretending to ſpirituality, fell ' into great errors. He was not content to publiſh ' them in private to ſeveral perſons, who looked on ' him as a mad-man, but ſet forth part of them in a ' book which he printed ſecretly in 1647, in 8vo, ' under the title of Morinus's thoughts, dedicated to ' the king: It is a mixture of viſions and nonſenſe, ' which include the principal errors ſince condemned ' in the Quietiſts, except that he carries them further ' than any other has done; for he formally teaches, ' that the greateſt ſins do not deſtroy grace, but ſerve, ' on the contrary, to humble human pride. He ap- ' plies the words of St Paul, which are commonly un- ' derſtood of temptations to the higheſt enormities. ' He ſays, that in every ſect and nation, GOD has ' his elect, which are true members of the church. ' That among the means of depriving themſelves of ' all property and preſumption, a director may forbid ' his penitent from coming to maſs on holy-days, or ' to the communion, *&c.* order him the commu- ' nion without confeſſion, forbid what is commanded, ' and command what is forbidden.

(12) It was communicated to the Bookſeller by the abbot R.

' That GOD permitted that Peter ſhould deny him ' to humble his preſumption; that his deſire of ' dying for JESUS CHRIST, was not a perfect ' virtue; nor his denial, a vice deſtructive of virtue; ' that he denied him with his lips, and not with his ' heart.

' He denies that St Peter's ſin was a ſin unto ' death.

' He ſays, that St Paul was not only in the in- ' firmity of the fleſh, but that he ought to be ſo, ' and ſubmit to it, and that he had given way to ' the temptations of the fleſh.

' That frequent communion is profitable only to ' beginners, becauſe JESUS CHRIST is much bet- ' ter found on the bread of croſſes, than under the ' milk of bread.

' That one may eat before the communion, not ' only for infirmities ſake, but by advice of the dire- ' ctor, in order to mortify himſelf.

' That every fall preceded by fear, and followed by ' pleaſure, is not a ſin, but a teſtimony of our weake- ' neſs, which ought to humble us.

' This is pretty nigh the tenour of this Fanatic's ' doctrine, which is void of any principles.

' He printed with theſe thoughts ſome hymns, the ' ſtile of which is pitiful..... He was for ſome ' time in priſon, and releaſed as a viſionary, till ' 1661. At which time Des Mareſts St Sorlin, who ' had had great intimacy with him, and pretended, ' as he himſelf confeſſes in his writings, to own him ' for the Son of Man, raiſed from the dead; informed ' againſt him, and became his accuſer... Upon this ' occaſion he was tried, and condemned to be burnt a- ' live; which was executed in March 1663. It is ſaid ' that he had ſome diſciples, who were ſent to the gal- ' lies; and the late Mr de Neuré ſaid that he had ' ſeen one of them at Marſeilles, who believed Mo- ' rinus was riſen from the dead. But they who knew ' Mr de Neuré, knew there was no great depen- ' dance on the ſtories he told, when they tended to ' Libertiniſm. For he repreſented this man, as fully ' convinced of Morinus's reſurrection, This man died ' with conſtancy enough, and it was then ſaid, that ' the judges had been very rigorous, and that it had ' been enough to have confined him in a mad-houſe. ' They defended themſelves by the numerous im- ' pieties, which he had owned for his opinions, and ' which he maintained, not indeed with wit, but ' however in cold blood, and with great obſtinacy.

[*E*] *I have learned ſome particulars of his trial, which may ſerve by way of ſupplement, and corrective to his article.*] ' The fourteenth of the ſame month ' (of March 1663) one named Simon Morinus, a na- ' tive of Richemont near Aumale *, by a decree of the ' court of parliament, after having made the *amande ho- ' norable* in his ſhirt with a rope about his neck, and ' a torch in his hand, before the principal gate of ' the church of Noſtre Dame, to which he was car- ' ried in a cart, and from thence to the place de ' Greve, and there tied to a ſtake in order to be ' burnt alive, with his book intituled *Thoughts of Mo- ' rinus*, and all his writings and his proceſs, and after- ' wards his aſhes were ſcattered in the air, as a pu- ' niſhment for having taken the title of SON of ' GOD; and his accomplices were condemned to be ' preſent at his execution, and then to be galley-ſlaves ' for ever, having firſt been whipt by the hands of the ' hangman,

* His ſentence ſays alſo that he was of Richemont near Aumale.

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' hangman, and branded with the mark of flower-
' de-luces on the right and left ſhoulder.' *This is what we are told by Francis Collatet, ſon of William, in his abridgment of the Annals of Paris, printed in* 1664 *in* 12*mo at the* 452*d page. For a fuller information as to what concerns Morinus, I ſhall add what has been extracted from the ſentence of death paſſed upon him: he was condemned the ſeventh of March, but the execution was put off till the fourteenth, in order to confront him and his accomplices, and to endeavour to diſcover more of them. Francis Rondon, curate of la Madeleine les Amiens, who had committed, as the ſentence ſays,* wicked and enormous acts; *Marin Thouret, prieſt, and John Poictou, ſchoolmaſter, were preſent at the execution, and from thence ſent to the Gallies. Margaret Langlois, widow of the late Claude Nadot, called Malherbe, was whipped at the foot of the ſtake. Joan Homatier, wife of the ſaid Simon Morinus, and Claude Morinus their ſon, were acquitted and ſet at liberty* (13).

(13) Memoir, manuſcript communicated by Mr Lancelot.

MORISON (ROBERT) a Phyſician and profeſſor of Botany at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen in 1620. He took his maſter of arts degree in 1638, and a little after taught Philoſophy in that Univerſity. He ſtudied Mathematics at the ſame time, and afterwards applied himſelf to Botany, and his father and mother being deſirous to have him a Divine, he learned Hebrew, and compoſed even a Hebrew Grammar for his own uſe. But his inclination for Botanical knowledge was ſo ſtrong, that they were obliged to let him turn all his ſtudies that way. He had made a great progreſs in it, when the civil wars forced him to leave his country, which however he did not do before he had ſignalized both his zeal for the royal cauſe, and his courage in a battle fought upon a bridge (*a*) betwixt the inhabitants of Aberdeen, and the Preſbyterian forces. He there received a dangerous wound in his head. As ſoon as he was cured of it, he went to France, and ſettling in Paris, applied himſelf with great diligence to Botany and Anatomy. He took his doctor of Phyſic's degree at Angers in 1648, and as he had the reputation of an excellent Botaniſt, he was ſent for by the duke of Orleans, who, in the year 1650, gave him the direction of the royal garden of Blois. He continued in this employ till the death of this prince, and then went over into England in Auguſt 1660. Charles II, to whom the duke of Orleans had preſented him at Blois in the month of February of the ſame year, called him to London, and gave him the title of his Phyſician, and of Regius profeſſor in Botany, with a penſion of two hundred pounds ſterling. The *Præludium Botanicum*, which he publiſhed at London in 1669, made him ſo eſteemed, that the univerſity of Oxford invited him to the profeſſorſhip in Botany; he accepted it, with the approbation of the king, and diſcharged the duties of it with wonderful application and ability. He died at London in 1683, in the ſixty third year of his age. The public has ſeen a very conſiderable part of the works he compoſed [*A*], wherein he followed a method entirely new, which has been very much commended by good judges (*b*).

(*a*) Ad pontem fluminis Deæ. - - - *At the bridge of the river Dee.* Vita Rob. Moriſoni. *The Dee, is a river near whoſe mouth Aberdeen is ſituated.*

(*b*) *Taken from his Life before the third part of* Plantarum Hiſtoria Oxonienſis univerſalis.

[*A*] *The public has ſeen a . . . . part of the works he compoſed.*] Being in the ſervice of Gaſton of France, duke of Orleans, he brought into the garden of Blois 250 plants, never before deſcribed, and invented a new method of explaining Botany. He communicated it to this prince, who encouraged him to undertake a hiſtory of plants upon this plan, and promiſed to ſupply the expences, and to leave him all the profit. That prince's death prevented the execution of this deſign. But when Moriſon had a penſion from the king of England, he thought more than ever of this great work. I have mentioned (1) the *Præludium Botanicum*, which he publiſhed in 1669. I add that, in 1672, he publiſhed the ninth ſection of the ſecond part of his Hiſtory of Plants. The univerſity of Oxford contributed largely to the charge of printing this book, which the author gave as a ſpecimen of his great work. He was ſo encouraged by the praiſes and exhortations written to him, that he publiſhed in 1680, the ſecond part of his Hiſtory of Plants. It is a large volume in folio, intituled, *Plantarum hiſtoriæ Univerſalis Oxonienſis, pars ſecunda, ſeu Herbarum, Diſtributio nova per tabulas cognationis & affinitatis ex libro naturæ obſervata & detecta.* This work was much eſteemed: we may ſee what commendations Mr Herman (2) gives it in the preface to his *Hortus Lugduno-Batavus*. Some blamed that part of this volume intituled, *Hallucinationes Caſpari Bauhini*, &c. They thought there was ſomething of pride in the liberty he had taken to cenſure writers, who had done ſuch great ſervices to Botany. Our author, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this great volume, laboured diligently on a continuation, but died before he could put the laſt hand to the third part. It was neceſſary therefore to put it under the care of ſome other perſon. Jacob Bobart (3) was pitched upon, a moſt able Botaniſt, and excellently verſed in the method he had learned from Moriſon. It is by his labour, this third part has at laſt ſeen the light in 1699. It is in folio. We do not know what became of the firſt (4).

(1) In the body of the article.

(2) Profeſſor of Phyſic and Botany at Leyden.

(3) He is director of the Phyſic garden of the univerſity of Oxford.

(4) Taken from the Life of Moriſon, prefixed to the third part of his Hiſtory of Plants.

MORLIN (JOACHIM) a riged follower of Luther [*A*], was born in 1514. He diſcharged the ſacerdotal function in ſeveral places (*a*), and particularly at Arnſtadt, from whence the magiſtrates expelled him in 1543 (*b*), not being able to bear his too flaming zeal [*B*]. He was called to a profeſſorſhip at Konigſberg in Pruſſia, and it was there

(*a*) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 456.

(*b*) Seckendorf, Hiſt. Lutheran. *lib. iii, pag.* 468, *num.* 9. *See alſo* Micrælius, Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *pag.* 771.

[*A*] *A rigid follower of Luther.*] This I learn from Melchior Adam. ' Fuit Lutheri ſectator & acer ' doctrinæ ejus in toto miniſterio ſuo cuſtos . . . . in ' articulo de Cœna ſententiam Lutheri retinuit, quod ' Chriſti corpus in, ſub, aut cum pane ſit (1). - - - - ' *He was a follower and ſtrenuous defender of Luther,* ' *in the whole courſe of his miniſtry, ... he maintained Luther's opinion as to the Euchariſt, that the body of Chriſt was in, under, or with, the bread.*'

[*B*] *His too flaming zeal.*] Melanchthon, who undoubtedly knew him, repreſents him of too fiery a temper, and too much addicted to diſputing. Having heard that Heſhuſius was returning to Roſtock, with deſign to be preſent at the diſpute of Bremen, he thought that Morlin was the author of all this managment. I often foretold, adds he, that he would excite more tempeſts than he would ever be able to lay. ' Cogitavi horum conſilio-
' rum architectum eſſe Morlinum, & is habet ſocios ha-
' rum technarum artifices. Scribam Davidi Chytræo ne
' inſtituant diſputationem theatricam, quæ non parvos
' motus excitatura ſit, ſi procedat. Tibi etiam hor-
' tator ſum, ut ſi te in certamen vocabunt poſtules ti-
' bi quoque concedi ut accerſas Petrum Martyrem,
' me, & alios quoſdam amicos. Novi geneſim Mor-
' lini: & ſæpe ei prædixi, eum moturum, quæ ſedare
' non poterit (2). - - - *I am perſuaded, Morlin is at*
' *the*

(1) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. *pag.* 457.

(2) Philipp. Melanch. Epiſt. ad Albertum Hardenbergium, apud Melchior. Adam ibid.

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there he oppoſed Oſiander, who maintained a new doctrine about Juſtification. He impugned that novelty with extream heat both in his writings and ſermons; but was born down by the credit of his adverſary, who got him expelled out of Pruſſia in 1552, notwithſtanding the interceſſions of the people (c). He retired to Brunſwic, where he was colleague to the famous Chemnitius. He entered into the diſputes of the times [C], and was at almoſt all the conferences, where the queſtions concerning Free-will, and the neceſſity of good works, &c. were diſcuſſed. He returned into Pruſſia 1566, and was there made biſhop of the province of Sambia by Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland, and by Albert, duke of Pruſſia, who was no longer infatuated with his Oſiander. He continued in that poſt all the reſt of his life, and died in 1571, being cut for the ſtone againſt the advice of his Phyſicians. He publiſhed ſeveral books (d) [D], and left a ſon as great a lover of Theological diſputes as himſelf [E]. I forgot to ſay, that when he was admitted Doctor of Divinity at Wittemberg in the year 1540, a queſtion drawn up by Luther was propoſed to him, concerning the uſe of church-revenues [F].

(c) Etſi plebs ad principem pro eo ſupplex intercederet. *Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra.*

(d) Taken from Melch. ubi ſupra.

' *the bottom of all this contrivance, and has ſome aſſo-*
' *ciates, who are ſkilled in theſe artifices. I will write*
' *to David Chytræus to prevent a public diſputation,*
' *which will raiſe great diſturbances, if it proceeds. I*
' *would adviſe you alſo, if they ſhould challenge you in-*
' *to the controverſy, to demand the liberty of calling in*
' *Peter Martyr, myſelf, and ſome other friends. I know*
' *Morlin's temper; and have often foretold him, he*
' *would raiſe what he could not lay.*'

[C] *He entred into the diſputes of the times.*] The author cited in the preceding notes, might well ſay, there was hardly any age wherein the diſputes of Divines were more frequent than in the time of our Morlin. Let us paſs by the great diſputes between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants; and only conſider Lutheraniſm. Good God! what diviſions were not ſeen among the Divines of that party; and with what heat and virulence maintained? All the fiery ſpirits Africa and Aſia ever produced, were but phlegm in compariſon to theſe German doctors. It is ſaid, that our Morlin oppoſed the burial of thoſe who attended the ſermons of Andrew Oſiander, and would never be perſuaded to baptize their children. ' Dogma *Oſiandri* quantopere deteſtentur qui ' confeſſionis Auguſtanæ cenſeri volunt, cum ex Wit-' tenbergenſium Doctorum cenſura, tum ex Matthiæ ' Flacci, & Joachimi Merlini non ſcriptis magis quam ' factis, abunde cuivis perſpicere licet. Nam quo lo-' co Merlinus habuerit eos, qui cum gregis ſui eſſent, ' Oſiandri ſermones audiebant, obſcurum non eſt. Nec ' ſepultura mortuos dignabatur, nec infantes eorum ' ut baptizaret, adduci potuit (3). - - - *How much the* ' *doctrine of Oſiander was deteſted by thoſe who declar-* ' *ed themſelves of the Augſburgh confeſſion, may be abun-* ' *dantly diſcovered, both from the cenſure of the Wittem-* ' *berg doctors, and from the practices as well as writ-* ' *ings of Matthias Flaccus, and Joachim Morlinus.* ' *For the behaviour of Morlinus to thoſe of his flock, who* ' *attended the ſermons of Oſiander, is ſufficiently known.* ' *He refuſed them the rites of burial, and their chil-* ' *dren thoſe of baptiſm.*' Can there ever be a prepoſſeſſion more extravagant, or a zeal more furious than this? What is wonderful is, that Lutheraniſm ſhould ſtand it's ground in the midſt of ſo many violent diſputes. It is a contradiction to the maxim, *Concordiâ res parvæ creſcunt; diſcordiâ maximæ dilabuntur* (4). We might hence draw a proof of God's particular providence; for, according to the courſe of human affairs, it ſeems neceſſary to admit the truth of our Saviour's maxim in the goſpel, *Every kingdom divided againſt itſelf is brought to deſolation, and every city or houſe divided againſt itſelf ſhall not ſtand* (5): In whatever caſe therefore this does not happen, we ought to ſuppoſe the finger of GOD. This way of reaſoning is very ſpecious, and very probable: but let us obſerve by the way, that JESUS CHRIST has not alledged this maxim, as univerſally true in a metaphyſical, but in a moral ſenſe; and I am even of opinion he urged it only *ad hominem* againſt the Jews. The growth of the Roman commonwealth in the midſt of violent and continual diviſions, is as remarkable an exception to this general rule, as the preſervation of Lutheraniſm amidſt the ſchiſms which diſtracted it, and which furniſhed ſo much matter to the common enemy to inſult and reproach it. Let us return to our Morlin, and relate what Melchior Adam ſays of him: ' Brunſvigæ dùm eccleſiaſten agit, ' variæ, ut *nullum ferè ſeculum feracius fuit Theologi-* ' *carum rixarum, quàm ſuperius*, excitatæ fuerunt, ſu-' per variis capitibus religionis controverſiæ, utpote ' *de neceſſitate bonorum operum: de libertate voluntatis* ' *humanæ: de Adiaphoris: de particula ſola in enun-* ' *ciatione illa:* Fide juſtificamur: & de aliis. Harum ' cauſa pleriſque conventibus actionibuſque inſtitutis ' interfuit Morlinus (6). - - - - *While he was miniſter* ' *at Brunſwic, no age being more fruitful of Theologi-* ' *cal controverſies than the paſt, ſeveral diſputes were* ' *raiſed on various articles of religion, as* on the ne-' ceſſity of good works, on free-will, on things in-' different, on juſtification by faith alone; *and ſome* ' *others.* Morlin was preſent at moſt of the meetings ' and tranſactions theſe occaſioned.

(3) Hoſius, de expreſſo verbo Dei, apud Prateolum, Elencho Hæret. pag. m. 512.

(4) Salluſt. de Bello Jugurth. pag. m. 214.

(5) St Matthew chap. xii, ver. 25.

(6) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. pag. 456.

[D] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Melchior Adam gives theſe titles of them. *Pſalmorum Davidis enarratio. Catechiſmus Germanicus. Poſtilla & explicatio ſummaria Evangeliorum dominicalium. Refutatio mendacii Theologorum Heidelbergenſium, de Luthero. De vocatione Miniſtrorum, & quatenus magiſtratui ſas ſit eos ab officio removere. Defenſio adverſus accuſationem novorum Wittembergenſium Theologorum. De peccato originis contra Manichæorum deliria. Epiſtola ad Oſiandrum.* Mr de Seckendorf (7) ſpeaks of a book publiſhed by our Morlin in 1565, which contains ſeveral particulars at large, which Luther uttered in the preſence of ſome perſons a little before his death.

(7) Seckendorf, Hiſt. Lutheran. *lib. iii, pag.* 693.

[E] *He left a ſon as great a lover as himſelf of Theological diſputes.*] He was called MARC JEROM MORLINUS. He joined with Wigandus's faction, againſt Heſhuſius in the diſpute *de abſtracto* (8).

8) Micrælius, Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *pag.* 771.

[F] *A queſtion was propoſed to him . . . . concerning the uſe of church-revenues.*] Mr de Seckendorf has inſerted in his Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm (9), the queſtion as it was propoſed. It was aſked, whether the revenues, which were deſigned for the maintenance of the miniſters of the Goſpel and for ſchools, ought to be taken away from thoſe who oppoſe the Goſpel, that is the monks and Romiſh clergy (10). He who propoſed the queſtion, added the reaſons of his doubts. On the one hand, ſays he, the miniſters of the goſpel have no right to force any body, nor can eſtates be taken away from impious men without committing violence. On the other hand, we know that St Auguſtin maintained, that the emperor was in the right to give the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the Donatiſts to the Orthodox. The magiſtrates are obliged to take care, that every body ſhould enjoy what belongs to him. But the revenues in queſtion do not belong to impious canons, but to the true church; and therefore Orthodox magiſtrates ought to treat theſe impious men as robbers (11). If they do not, the good paſtors and poor ſcholars muſt ſtarve. If Morlinus had liked to anſwer agreeably to the ſentiment of Luther, he might eaſily have decided that queſtion; for it appeared plainly Luther was of opinion, that the revenues of the Romiſh church ought to be applied to the maintenance of miniſters and ſchools.

(9) *Lib. iii, pag.* 313, *num.* 10.

(10) Ei *(Morlino)* ut moris eſt, quæſtio propoſita fuit per ephebum à Luthero conſcripta, his verbis, utrum reditus donati Eccleſiis ad Evangelii Miniſtros alendos, &c. *Ibid.*

(11) Hi reditus non ſunt impiorum Canonicorum, ſed ſunt veræ Eccleſiæ. Quare Magiſtratus Eccleſiæ debet etiam partem ſumere de impiis tanquam prædonibus. *Ibid.*

MORUS (ALEXANDER), one of the greateſt preachers of his age among the Reformed, was the ſon of a Scotchman, who was principal of a college which the Proteſtants had at Caſtres in Languedoc. He was born in 1616, in that city, and being of a very quick apprehenſion, the progreſs of his ſtudies was very ſwift. When he was ſcarce twenty

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twenty years old (a), he was ſent to Geneva, there to continue his ſtudies in Theology; and finding that the Greek profeſſor's place, then vacant, was to be diſputed for, and that the curators of the academy by their programma had invited ſtrangers as well as citizens to enter the liſts; he ſtood for it among ſeveral other competitors, Miniſters, Advocates, and Phyſicians, who were almoſt all of them twice his age; and was ſo much admired for his fine and eloquent manner of turning every ſubject in this learned trial, that he obtained the prize (b). Having diſcharged this office about three years, he ſucceeded Spanheim in thoſe of Divinity profeſſor in the academy and miniſter in the church of Geneva, which, on being called to Leyden (c), he had quitted (d). As he was a very celebrated preacher, and had added to this talent a great ſtock of learning (e), it is not to be wondred at if all his colleagues were not his friends. But it muſt be confeſſed, there were many other things which created him trouble; for beſides his manners, which in all places where he had lived, were a ſubject of ſlander in regard to his love of women, his beſt friends allowed he was both very imprudent and impatient [A]. However there were two parties formed in Geneva; one for, and the other againſt him. And doubtleſs the firſt of theſe parties was compoſed not only of ſuch as had an eſteem and friendſhip for Mr Morus, but of others alſo, who, without any real love or eſteem for him, ſaw their enemies at the head of the contrary party. Every day afforded inſtances of this kind. I know not how Mr Morus procured the favour of Salmaſius; but it is certain that the latter drew the other into the United Provinces. Some pretend it was to mortify Mr Spanheim [B] who had been at variance with Mr Morus at Geneva. At firſt Salmaſius endeavoured to procure him a profeſſorſhip in Divinity at Harderwic (f), but this not ſucceeding, he got him called to Middelburg. Mr Morus accepting the call

(a) Alex. Mori Fides publica, *pag.* 225.

(b) See the Life of Stephen le Clerc, one of the competitors, printed at Amſterdam 1685, before the *Quæſtiones Sacræ of David le Clerc, &c.*

(c) He went thither in 1642.

(d) Mori Fides publica, *pag.* 226.

(e) See what *Tanaquillus Faber* wrote to him *Epiſtolar. lib. i, pag.* 219.

(f) See the remark [C].

[A] *His friends allowed he was both very imprudent and impatient.*] It is owned in a preface (1), written in behalf of Mr Morus, that his too warm temper, his too great liberty of ſpeech, and his too earneſt deſire of riſing above others, had often given room to thoſe continual enmities which reigned betwixt him and his rivals. The author adds, that he had never heard Mr Spanheim ſay any thing worſe againſt Morus than that he was proud: he ſays alſo, that in the judgment of Salmaſius, Mr Morus truſted too much to his falſe friends, and was indolent, but otherwiſe had a fine genius and univerſal capacity. Mr Diodati in a letter (2), he wrote in favour of Mr Morus to Salmaſius confeſſes, that this miniſter 'aimed at nothing more than making an innocent defence, but that he did this with a warmth and vigour which had often been prejudicial to thoſe who had attacked him. . . . . That he was good natured, without fraud or malice, free and generous . . . . . warm and very ſenſible of affronts, but eaſily reconciled; one who never was the aggreſſor, but had terrible weapons to defend himſelf withal. I ſcarce ever knew any one, *continues he*, who had reaſon to boaſt of attacking him. *Conſcia virtus*, and if you add to it, *genus irritabile vatum*, furniſh him a compleat ſuit of armour againſt his aſſailants.' I beg leave to make a ſhort reflexion upon the illuſions, occaſioned by friendſhip. Here you ſee that Mr Diodati, from a tender reſpect for Mr Morus, reckons that as nothing, which is indeed a capital and moſt unbecoming vice in a miniſter; I mean a vindictive ſpirit in the higheſt degree, and extreme pride and paſſion. It is in effect blackening a miniſter, and diveſting him entirely of the ſpirit of the Goſpel, which ought to be inſeparable from his character, to confeſs what Mr Diodati has here ſaid of him; and yet he thought this abated but little from the praiſes he plentifully beſtowed upon his friend. He excuſes, as well as he can, this vindictive humour of Mr Morus. *The importunity*, ſays he (3), *of his enemies ſeemed to deſerve that they ſhould be ſeverely rebuked now and then, to teach them to be quiet.*' I every day meet with ſuch who have the ſame blind ſide, with reſpect to a miniſter they have conceived an opinion of, under the cover of his great abilities, they ſpeak of his very *Iſmaeliſm* (4) almoſt with commendation. *He is a dangerous enemy*, ſay they, *he has teeth and nails, and woe to them who provoke him* (5) as if they were deſcribing, after the heathen manner a colonel of dragoons, or as if a miniſter of the Goſpel were a knight of the Thiſtle, armed with a threatning device, *Nemo me impune laceſſit: nul ne s'y frotte* (6).

Qui me commorit, (melius non tangere, clamo)
Flebit & inſignis tota cantabitur urbe (7).

Take warning, urge me not, or in lampoon
Your name ſhall ſhine, a jeſt to all the town.

It is hard to believe, that ſuch miniſters are attached to religion by any other ties than thoſe of vanity; and becauſe it furniſhes them with a pretence of ſetting up for petty tyrants. Once more, examine all the depravities to which human nature is ſubject, and you will find none more oppoſite to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, than the violence that appears in the quarrels of ſome of theſe gentlemen. This ſhews that in all their proceedings, they have a mind to make known their power, ſo that no perſon for the future may preſume to reſiſt them. Without having read Homer, they put in practice the words of Agamemnon, much better than any text of Scripture.

Ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον
Αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας· ὄφρ' ἕυ εἰδῇς
Ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν, συγέη δὲ καὶ ἄλλος
Ἴσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι, καὶ ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην.

Ego autem abducam Briſeïda pulchram-genas,
Ipſe profectus ad tentorium, tuum præmium: ut bene intelligas
Quanto potentior ſum te: timeat autem & alius
Æqualem ſe mihi dicere, & comparari contra (8).

But then prepare, imperious prince! prepare,
Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair:
Ev'n in thy tent I'll ſeize the blooming prize,
Thy lov'd Briſeïs with the radiant eyes.
Hence ſhalt thou prove my might, and curſe the hour,
Thou ſtood'ſt a rival of imperial pow'r;
And hence to all our hoſt it ſhall be known,
That kings are ſubject to the gods alone.

POPE.

(1) Before the ſecond apology of Milton, *Edit. Hagæ Comit.* 1654. George Crantzius, Doctor of Divinity, is the author of this preface.

(2) *Produced in the* Fides publica, *pag.* 111, *&c.*

(3) Fides publica, *pag.* 114.

(4) *Milton, Defenſ. pro ſe, pag.* 134, produces a letter, which ſays of Mr Morus what was propheſied of Iſmaël, that *his hand would be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him.*

(5) Δυσμενέων παῖδες τῷ σφ μένει ἀντιάασιν. *See* Homer. Iliad. *lib. vi, ver.* 127.

(6) *It was that of a king of Navarre. See* Bouhours, Entret. des Deviſes, *pag. m.* 463, 464.

(7) Horat. Sat. I, lib. II, ver. 45.

(8) Hom. Iliad. lib. I, ver. 184.

See Milton at p. 44, and 190, of his Reply. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes, where it is confeſſed, that Morus, *among all his good Qualities, had ſome which did him no honour*; that *he was imprudent, imperious, ſatirical, contemptuous*, and that *he ſcarce allowed any thing good but his own works, and the praiſes of his admirers* (9).

[B] *Some pretend it was to mortify Mr Spanheim.*] Sorbiere ſhall be my voucher, who writes thus to Mr Patin (10). *I can only tell you of Mr Spanheim, what was publiſhed at the time of his death, that Salmaſius had killed him, and that Morus was the dagger. The ſtory is long, but to give it you in a few words, I ſhall only ſay, that Salmaſius hated the late Spanheim from an emulation of wit and reputation in the ſchools; that to mortify him, he cauſed Morus to be ſent for into Holland, tho' he knew him only by name, becauſe he was the ſcourge and averſion of his colleague: That the doctor moved Heaven and earth to hinder his coming, and died when he received*

(9) Hiſt. de l'Edit de Nantes, *Tom. iii, pag.* 454.

(10) Sorbiere, Lettre lxiv, *pag.* 442.

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call left Geneva in 1649, and carried a good teſtimonial of his Orthodoxy [C]. He preſented himſelf before the ſynod of the Walloon churches aſſembled at Maeſtricht (g), preached with the the applauſe of the whole auditory, and then went to take poſſeſſion of the Divinity profeſſorſhip in the illuſtrious ſchool of Middelburg, and of the paſtorſhip of the church of the ſame city. The magiſtrates of Amſterdam, at his arrival in Holland, offered him the Hiſtory-profeſſorſhip (b), which was become vacant in their illuſtrious ſchool by the death of Voſſius; but not being able to draw him from the engagements he was under to the city of Middelburg, they ſent for David Blondel: and yet three years after, hearing that Mr Morus was offered a Divinity profeſſorſhip in France, they renewed their offers to him. He then accepted this employment, and diſcharged it with great ability. He diſappeared for ſome time, taking a journey into Italy that proved pretty long [D], which it is ſaid he had no cauſe to repent [E]. During this journey he wrote a fine Poem (i), on the defeat of the Turkiſh fleet by the Venetians. This Poem procured him a chain of gold, which the republic of Venice preſented him. He returned to diſcharge his office, and after having weathered ſome ſtorms in the Walloon ſynods [F], he went into France, to be miniſter of the church at Paris, where a great many people wiſhed for him: ſeveral others oppoſed him, and appeared at ſome provincial ſynods, and afterwards at the national ſynod of Loudun (k), with bags full of papers againſt Mr Morus. All their accuſations were eluded or found null [G]; for he was admitted miniſter of the

(g) Fid. publica, pag. 157.

(b) Ibid. pag. 213.

(i) See it's encomium in the letters of *Tanaquillus Faber, lib. ii, pag.* 157.

(k) It began the tenth of November 1659, and ended the tenth of January 1660.

received the news that his adverſary was on his journey. . . . . . To this he joins a ſhort Elogy on Mr Sphanheim, and then, concerning Mr Morus, he adds, *I cannot give my judgment of him without being thought partial, becauſe he has been my intimate friend ever ſince we were ſchool-fellows, that is, for above five and twenty years, and I engaged in his battles againſt Father Jarrige: but it is certain, and confeſſed by all the world, that he has a lively genius, vaſt thoughts, that he ſhines and makes a great figure.*

The letter which Mr Sphanheim wrote to Voſſius in March 1648 (11) deſerves to be conſidered, and may ſerve for a confirmation of ſome things which Mr Sorbiere, has juſt ſaid. We there meet with this particular, that Mr Godefroy (12) had not given ſo advantageous and glorious a teſtimony to Mr Morus, but out of hatred to Mr Spanheim. The latter threatned to publiſh all the tranſactions at Geneva relating to the good teſtimonials Morus had obtained there, and what had been his manner of life and behaviour in that city. I find in the ſame letter, that Mr Morus proteſted upon oath to the magiſtrates of Geneva, that he had not any thought of Mr Spanheim in the oration hereafter mentioned (13).

(11) It is the occaſion with of thoſe which were written to Voſſius.

(12) Profeſſor of the civil-law at Geneva.

(13) In the remark [L].

[C] *He left Geneva, and carried a good teſtimonial of his Orthodoxy.*] This teſtimonial was given him by the church of Geneva, January 25, 1648. It is at full length in Latin and French in the *Fides publica* of Mr Morus (14), where we alſo find, the enemies of this miniſter to fruſtrate the good intentions of Salmaſius, who had a mind to ſettle him as profeſſor of Divinity in Guelderland, had given out that Mr Morus was a pernicious Heretic, who not only believed, that, according to the intention of God, JESUS CHRIST ſuffered equally for all men; and that the ſin of Adam is not imputed to us; but alſo that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that we are not bound to believe he is. Upon this occaſion the church of Geneva gave the perſon accuſed a teſtimonial ſo full of praiſes, that it looked rather like a rhetorical panegyric than a ſentence of abſolution. Mr Morus appeared in it whiter than ſnow in all reſpects, both as to life and doctrine. They affirm, that his moſt inveterate enemies can object nothing to him that deſerves any cenſure (15). Yet we ſhall ſhow hereafter (16), that Milton received ſeveral memoirs from Geneva, which blacken our Morus terribly.

(14) *Pag.* m. 81.

(15) Si vitæ integritatem ſpectes, hinc te niveus morum candor retrahit, illinc admirabilis & ſibi ſemper conſtans innocentia. Apoſtolus vult Epiſcopum eſſe ἀνεπίλημπτον. Nihil utique illi vel ab inſenſiſſimis hoſtibus & livoris felle maligno turgentibus meritò objici poteſt, quod juſtæ ſit reprehenſionis obnoxium.

(16) In the remark [M], citation (30).

[D] *He diſappeared, taking a journey into Italy which proved pretty long.*] We find in a Latin oration which he ſpoke at Amſterdam, after his return from Italy, the reaſon why he returned no ſooner. He there mentions ſeveral dangers he had met with. For the reſt, they who ſay he undertook this Journey without acquainting his ſuperiors with it, are not much in the wrong; for the leave given him at Amſterdam the twentieth of December 1654, was only for a journey into France, for three or four months. But upon his return he appeared before the ſynod of Leyden in May 1656, and ſaid he ſaw great probability of advancing the glory of God in Italy, by the preaching of the Goſpel; and was thanked for his good advice.

[E] *He had no reaſon to repent his journey into Italy.*] It is reported, that falling dangerouſly ill at Florence, he ſaid ſo many fine things to the Phyſician who attended him, that this Phyſician was wholly ſtruck with admiration of him, and giving an account of it to the Great Duke, raiſed his curioſity to ſee this learned ſtranger: ſo that Mr Morus, being recovered, was introduced to an audience of his highneſs, and ſo charmed him with his diſcourſe, that he afterwards received ſeveral marks of his particular favour and eſteem. Others will have it, that Mr Morus was known to this prince before he fell ill. This is what we find in a ſmall book juſt publiſhed (17). 'The great duke 'of Tuſcany received Mr Morus very graciouſly in his 'dominions and capital city; he favoured him with 'his friendſhip and eſteem; he ſent him his own Phy- 'ſician when he was ſick at Florence; and made him 'rich preſents, worthy both of him that gave, and of 'him that received them . . . . . It is ſaid, that the 'Phyſician whom the duke ſent, to viſit and take 'care of him in his illneſs, was ſo ſurpriſed, in 'the converſation he had with him, to hear him rea- 'ſon with ſuch force, judgment, and penetration, on 'all the ſciences, and particularly that of Phyſic, 'that he owned, how able ſoever he himſelf was in 'his own profeſſion, his patient knew more of it 'than he did, who had beſtowed all his thoughts and 'ſtudies on that ſcience.'

(17) Panégyrique de Mr Morus, *primed at Amſterdam* 1695, *pag.* 14.

[F] *After he had weathered ſome ſtorms in the Walloon ſynods.*] In effect, the ſynod of Tergou ſummoned him in April 1659, to anſwer certain articles exhibited againſt him. He went to Tergou, but did not think fit to appear before the ſynod, and only acquainted them, that he no longer depended on any church but that of France, to which he had engaged himſelf. This did not prevent his condemnation as he had expected; for the ſynod declared him incapable of exerciſing the Miniſtry in that country, to the edification of the people, or of receiving the communion in it (18). The ſynod of Nimeguen confirmed this cenſure in September 1659 (19), notwithſtanding the letters of the church of Paris, concerning the admiſſion of Mr Morus into their church, accompanied with an act of the ſynod of Aï, dated May 8, 1659, ratifying this admiſſion. Mr De Thuanus, who was then ambaſſador of France at the Hague, took part in favour of Mr Morus, by preſenting a long memorial to the States-General, who, by an act of April 6, 1660, communicated to the ſynod of Haerlem, ordered informations to be laid before them, of all which had paſſed in this affair. The ſynod deputed three paſtors and two elders to the States, to give them the account which they deſired. And here I think the matter reſted.

(18) *Theſe are the words of the Synod, article xxvii:* The aſſembly declares, that the ſaid Alexander Morus is incapable of exerciſing any function of the holy miniſtry of the Goſpel among us, or of partaking of the Lord's holy ſupper, till by a ſincere repentance of his ſins, and a blameleſs converſation he makes a reparation as well for the ſcandals he has given us, *&c.*

(19) The aſſembly has judged, that the former aſſembly had ſufficient reaſons to pronounce this ſentence; and therefore the preſent Synod has approved, ratified, and confirmed a-new the xxviith article of the former Synod. *Acts of the Synod of Nimeguen of the month of September* 1659. *Art. xxi.*

[G] *All their accuſations were eluded or found null.*] We ſhall relate what is found on this ſubject, in the Hiſtory of the edict of Nantes. The king's commiſſioner to the national ſynod of Loudun, 'did not oppoſe the 'reading of the informations ſent from Holland a- 'gainſt Alexander Morus, whoſe miniſtry was then de- 'ſired by the church of Paris. He even was of opi- 'nion that in their judgment they ought to have regard 'to theſe acts, and to ground their reſolutions upon 'them: but he cauſed to be inſerted in the decree of 'the ſynod a kind of proteſt, importing that judgment 'ſhould be given according to the liberties of the edict, 'the laws of diſcipline, and cuſtoms of the king- 'dom, without being ſubject to any foreign authority,

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the church of Paris. Mr Daillé who had ſerved him with all his intereſt in ſeveral ſynods [*H*], ſoon after repented what he had done; for there aroſe a violent quarrel between them, which produced a thouſand partialities in the flock. In general, Mr Morus in the midſt of the applauſes which his inimitable way of preaching [*I*] procured from an extraordinary croud of auditors, had the mortification at Paris to ſee his reputation attacked by perſons of merit, who accuſed him a-new to the ſynods [*K*], from

' juriſdiction, or deciſion; or remitting the party ac-
' cuſed to the juriſdiction or judgment of others out
' of the kingdom, contrary to the ordinances and edicts,
' to the prejudice and diſadvantage of the king's ſub-
' jects. By this means the commiſſioner decided the
' affair rather than the ſynod, becauſe the proceſs not
' being finiſhed in the country where the accuſation
' was firſt brought, and the proteſt of the commiſ-
' ſioner hindering Morus being remitted thither, to
' juſtify himſelf upon the place, there were not ſuf-
' ficient informations to convict him: he was therefore
' abſolved and his vocation confirmed. But it would
' be difficult to ſay, whether this vocation did more
' hurt or good, becauſe it made ſuch a diviſion in the
' conſiſtory and in the church, that what one of the par-
' ties called edification, the other called ſcandal: ſo that
' there appeared great exceſſes on one ſide, and paſſion
' on the other; too ſtrict an inquiry to deſtroy Morus,
' and too violent proceedings to ſupport him. A pro-
' vincial ſynod of the province of Berry ended the
' affair by the king's permiſſion, and was accuſed of
' being ſomething too partial in favour of the ac-
' cuſed, and of taking a little too much pleaſure in
' mortifying a conſiſtory ſo famous as that of Charen-
' ton, which by the merits and capacity of the mem-
' bers who compoſed it, was then as it were the ora-
' cle of all the churches, (20).

(20) Hiſt. of the Edict of Nantes, *Tom. iii, livr. v, pag.* 315, *ad ann.* 1659.

[*H*] *Mr Daillé ..... had ſerved him with all his intereſt in ſeveral ſynods.*] I think myſelf obliged to ſet down here the inſults which Mr Daillé's adverſaries offered him upon this occaſion, and the anſwer he gave them in his own juſtification; for this is a part of Mr Morus's adventures. Here then is what Mr Cottiby, formerly miniſter of Poitiers, objected to Mr Daillé (21). ' That which ſurprizes me moſt, is to
' ſee my ſelf accuſed by you, Sir, for whom I might
' have hoped for the greateſt protection and ſupport,
' if by misfortune I ſhould have happened to com-
' mit any fault, which ſhould oblige me to appear be-
' fore theſe tribunals, in which you generally hold ſo
' eminent a place; for what might I not reaſonably
' expect from a man, who, in the perſon of one of
' his brethren, is the declared defender and advocate
' of one of the impureſt lives in the world, and who,
' after he had pleaded his cauſe in a provincial ſy-
' nod of the iſle of France, was hardy enough in a
' national ſynod, whereof he was the head, (a worthy
' head of ſuch a body!) to patronize him openly, I
' will not ſay againſt the faithful memoirs of the mi-
' niſters of Rohan, of Caen and Lyons, but which
' is more aſtoniſhing, againſt a multitude of accuſa-
' tions from ſome entire provinces, and all this by I
' know not how many turns, much leſs innocent
' than thoſe of the tongue.' Father Adam made him almoſt the ſame reproaches, whom Mr Daillé thus anſwered (22): ' Wherefore would you have me con-
' demn him, and judge him unworthy of thoſe cha-
' ritable offices which we owe our neighbour in caſe
' of need; I who have heard him, and not only
' heard him, but, after an exact enquiry into the
' cauſe with all the diligence and application I was
' capable of, have been convinced of his innocence? If
' theſe little kindneſſes had been even owing only to
' my own conſcience, the teſtimony of this would ſuf-
' ficiently juſtify me againſt thoſe violences and ſtrange
' calumnies, with which your proſelyte inveighs a-
' gainſt me in this place. But both you and he do
' me the more wrong in blaming my conduct in this
' affair, as I did him thoſe offices you reproach me
' with, not properly from my own private opinion,
' but by the order of my ſuperiors; firſt by order of
' the conſiſtory of my own church, which entruſted
' me and the other deputies with this affair, in this
' ſynod of the iſle of France mentioned by your pro-
' ſelyte, which was held at Ferté by Juare in 1657;
' and then two years after, not only by order of my
' own conſiſtory and church, but alſo by that of the
' whole ſynod of theſe provinces held at Aï in Cham-
' pagne, in 1659. I have done good as well as I
' was able, what the aſſemblies, on which I depend,
' expreſsly enjoined and commanded; and what my own
' conſcience, far from being ſhocked at, approved as juſt
' and reaſonable. What crime have I committed in all
' this? Certainly if the defendant were even as guil-
' ty, as I believe him innocent, yet it is evident I
' could not be to blame for the two judgments by
' which he has been acquitted; for I have defended a
' cauſe which I did, and ſtill do believe to be very
' juſt. I neither had, nor could have any vote in
' the ſentence given; for I acted as advocate and
' not as judge. Beſides, I muſt add, that I acted
' neither as the one, nor as the other in the national
' ſynod, which made the laſt decree about this affair;
' for this defendant himſelf being preſent there, pleaded
' his own cauſe in five or ſix full hearings, with ſo
' much force and evidence, that thanks be to GOD
' he had no need of any other aſſiſtance.' See below the remark [*M*] towards the end.

(21) Cottiby, Reply to Mr Daillé, *pag.* 17.

(22) Daillé, Reply to F. Adam, *Part iii, pag.* 154.

[*I*] *His inimitable manner of preaching.*] It conſiſted in certain flights of imagination, which contained ingenious alluſions, and I know not what air of paradox very proper to ſurprize the hearer, and engage his conſtant attention. But his manner of delivery was what was moſt taking. Hence it came to paſs, that his ſermons in writing were not near ſo much admired; and that the greateſt part of thoſe who endeavour to imitate him, only make themſelves ridiculous. The deſire of following his method, which began to corrupt many of the young miniſters, obliged the ſynod of the iſle of France in the year 1675, to make an act which was read in the pulpit of Charenton and elſewhere, forbidding all flights of imagination, and playing with words, *&c.* in expounding the word of GOD. It will not be diſagreeable in this place to ſee the opinion of an Hiſtorian, who is, beyond compariſon, a better judge than my ſelf. *He was,* ſays he ſpeaking of Morus (23), *extremely followed by the people, and they who leaſt knew why he deſerved admiration, were yet his moſt paſſionate admirers. It is a diſpute among perſons of good judgment, whether his excellency lay in any thing ſolid, or only in ſhew, whether it deſerved to be called a flaſh of lightning, or a ſteady light. But even thoſe who gave ſentence againſt him, could not but hear him, with great pleaſure, and feel in themſelves the ſame paſſions, which he raiſed in others. Some have thought that he had much leſs learning than is commonly imagined: But none doubt his capacity of diſplaying to the beſt advantage that which he was maſter of, and of giving a luſtre to any thing he expoſed to the judgment of the public. However, never did any man receive more flattering applauſes than he, nor could that which was ſaid of another be better applied to any man than him; that if he did not deſerve the advantageous character given of him, at leaſt he diſabled his hearers from giving him a bad one.* He had ſaid p. 316, *that Morus's method did not pleaſe all the world, and that they who affected to imitate him, had ſeldom or never ſucceeded.*

(23) Hiſt. of the Edict of Nantes, *Tom. iii, livr. vii, pag.* 433.

[*K*] *He was accuſed a-new to the ſynods.*] It may be ſaid, Mr Morus did not live at quiet in the church of Paris; for after the month of September 1661, complaints were brought againſt him before the conſiſtory, which came to nothing, and perhaps the reaſon was becauſe he aſked leave to go to England in December 1661. He returned in the month of June 1662. And then the complaints being immediately renewed, the conſiſtory ordered that he ſhould be heard; but that, in the mean time, he ſhould forbear preaching. His partizans would make him preach in ſpite of the conſiſtory, and to that end ſeized upon all the avenues to the pulpit, and would not ſuffer Mr Daillé's ſon to get up into it, which cauſed ſo terrible a commotion, that there was no preaching that Sunday morning. Some maſters of families had recourſe to the parliament, which upon July 27, 1662, ordered a conference to be held upon it. This aſſembly ſuſpended Mr Morus for a year. The ſynod of the iſle of France confirmed and even aggravated

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from which he was saved only as by fire. His death, which was very edifying, and the marks of piety which he discovered in his last sickness, blotted out the remembrance of what might have been irregular in his behaviour. He died at Paris, in the house of the duchess of Rohan, in the month of September 1670. He was never married. We shall see below the titles of his works [*L*].

I shall say something of his quarrel with John Milton [*M*]: and observe, that there are some things in the *Menagiana* very much to his honour, and others to his disadvantage [*N*]. One

gravated the suspension; but that of the province of Berry, to which this minister appealed, restored him to his office (24). This kind of appeals were allowed by the regulations of the national synods.

[*L*] *We shall see below the titles of his works.*] There is a treatise of his, *de Gratia & Libero arbitrio*; another, *de Scriptura sacra sive de causa Dei*; a commentary on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; notes, *ad loca quædam novi fœderis*; an answer to Milton, intituled, *Alexandri Mori fides publica*; Orations and Poems in Latin. Some fragments of his sermons have been printed since his death, and even some entire sermons (25). We shall add one word concerning his orations. He spoke three of them at Geneva, which are very fine. The Latin of them is rather learned than elegant: He affected uncommon phrases, and such significations of words as are almost without example. Of these three orations, one is a panegyric upon Calvin; another is intituled *de Pace*, wherein he severely condemns, without naming any body, Amyraldus and Spanheim, who were at open war about universal grace. He gives them their due. This was a home reprimand, and rejoiced his very heart. Let us also say a word about his Latin Poems. That which he made on the birth of our Saviour was much esteemed, and so was that which was a thanksgiving to GOD after a great sickness. Mr Perachon, who was then a Protestant, translated them into French verse, and published them at Paris in the year 16 . . . . . I do not remember, that I ever saw any other French verses of Mr Morus's, except the answer he made on the same rhimes to a sonnet which Corras addressed to him after his abjuration.

[*M*] *His quarrel with John Milton.*] The occasion of the quarrel was this; in 1652, Mr Morus published a book of Peter du Moulin the son (26), at the Hague, and dedicated it, in the Printer's name (27), to the king of Great Britain. This book which is intituled, *Regii sanguinis clamor ad cælum adversus parricidas Anglicanos*, is a bitter invective against the parliamentarians, and Milton in particular is extremely ill treated in it. The epistle dedicatory gives him no better usage, but he is abused much more furiously in some verses at the latter end of the book. Milton, who had let several violent books published against the parliamentarians pass without any reply, could not contain when he saw this, in which he was personally concerned, as well by the vast elogiums given in it to Salmasius, as by the terrible reproaches heaped upon himself. He answered it therefore, and supposed, either sincerely or craftily, that he might have the greater advantage against the person whom he refuted, that Morus was the author (28) of this book. He treats him as a dog, or rather as a goat; for he accuses him of a thousand leud actions, and particularly of having debauched a maid-servant at Geneva, and of having kept her since she had a husband, and of having got with child a chamber-maid of Salmasius's wife under promise of marriage. He accuses him of being convicted of several heresies at Geneva, and of having shamefully abjured them with his mouth, but not with his heart. He accuses him of having been deprived at Geneva of his salary for eight or ten months, and of his offices of professor and minister, on account of a charge brought against him for adultery, &c. the issue whereof was, that he must have been condemned, if he had not avoided the definitive sentence, by declaring he would quit the city. He accuses him also of being forbidden the exercise of the ministry by the magistrates of Amsterdam. In fine, he defames him after the cruelest manner in the world, intermixing the stories he tells of him with a parcel of buffoon jests. Mr Morus defended himself by a long list of testimonials, of his orthodoxy and good life, which the consistories, the universities, the synods, and the magistrates of the places where he had lived, had given him. He made it appear, that the judges as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, which took cognizance of the pretensions of the chamber-maid of Salmasius's wife, had declared them null, and clearly acquitted him in this affair, notwithstanding the contrivances of this lady who had employed all her craft against him (29). He makes it appear by the authentic certificates of the magistrates of Amsterdam, of the Walloon consistory, and of the curators of the illustrious school of the same city, that he was never prohibited the exercise of his ministry. I am not ignorant that some exceptions may be alledged against his certificates of a good life, and that it is a little strange, that those which Morus obtained at Geneva should be so different from the testimony of public fame: for after all, it is certain, that Milton received memoirs from Geneva, and that he produced (30) a letter written from that town, which assures, that all the world admired how he came to be so faithfully informed about the conduct of Mr Morus. He was not silenced by his certificates; for he says (31) in particular as to those of Geneva, that they were given before those who accused Mr Morus of adultery had formally prosecuted him. Besides, it is well known, that the greatest storm this minister met with at Geneva, was raised after his obtaining the testimonials of January 25, 1648; and a certain person has published (32), that the magistrates of that city cancelled the act of deposition against Mr Morus decreed against him by the consistory, and commanded the consistory to give this minister a testimonial of good life. But after all, there are infinitely more exceptions to be made to the defamatory reports, which such an author as Milton is capable of collecting, than against these certificates and testimonials. So that upon the whole, I should be of opinion, that considering those certificates which have been produced by his adversary, and the inconveniences justly to be apprehended, if such accusations as are uncertain and without judicial proof, should be preferred before justifications drawn up in due form, that he should be stigmatized as a public calumniator, except as to those facts in which he can defend himself by the help of some authentic acts. I should think in particular, that the distich he has inserted in the London Gazette, ought to be declared a diabolical silly jest. That distich is in these words, for I cannot think Mr Colomiés (33) meant any other.

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia (34) *Mori,*
Quis benè moratam morigeramque neget?

Milton's hatred was inveterate enough, as appears by a letter (35) he wrote when Mr Morus's affair was depending before the synod of Loudon. He was of opinion, that if they should decree even nothing more than the deposing this minister, that synod would meet with what no other had ever done, that is, with a happy issue. *Synodo interea protestantium Laodunensi* (36), *propediem, ut scribis, convocandæ, precor id quod nulli adhuc Synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc satis futurum si nihil aliud decreverit quàm ejiciendum esse Morum.* This letter is dated December 20, 1659. The synod had already sat near two months, and yet Mr Milton speaks of it as an assembly which was to meet, which shows, that he had very little correspondence in France. In another letter (37) he speaks yet more harshly of Mr Morus's call to Charenton, but without naming him.

[*N*] *There are some things in the* Menagiana *which are very much to his honour, and others to his advantage.*] 'Mr Morus declared some time before his death, that no one had tempted him 'to change his religion so much as I. The 'duchess of Aiguillon ordered me to offer him, in her 'name, a pension of four thousand livres, I communicated

(24) All this is related at large in the *History of the Edict of Nantes*, at the end of the seventh book of the third Tome.

(25) At the Hague in 1685. See the *Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettres*, for the month of March, 1685, *pag.* 333, of the second edition. Eighteen of his sermons have been printed on the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, at Amsterdam in 1691.

(26) See Daillé, Reply to F. Adam, *Part* II, *pag.* 127. *Colomiés, Biblioth. Choisi. pag.* 19.

(27) There were some copies to which Mr Morus had put his name, as Milton says, *Defens. pro se, pag.* 23, 25.

(28) The Oxford catalogue ascribes it to Morus.

(29) Illa mihi graviter jamdudum infensa . . . nihil intentatum reliquit ut me in nassam infaustissimi matrimonii compingeret. Quod ubi sensit innotuisse vulgo, me vero palam vehementissimeque reluctari, *Acberontea moveba*, inquit, *& perdam ipsum*, quâ sæpe formulâ utitur. *Morus, Fides publica, pag.* 190.

(30) Milton, Defens. pro se, *pag.* 132.

(31) Ibid. *pag.* 92, 141.

(32) Ludov. Molinæus, Paræneſis ad ædificat. *pag.* 433.

(33) Biblioth. Choisie, *pag.* 19.

(34) Thus he called the chamber-maid of Salmasius's wife. Mr Morus, without telling what her name was, denies that Milton called her by her right name. See *Milton. Defens. pro se, pag.* 164.

(35) It is the xxixth.

(36) *He should have said* Julio-dunensi, *or* Lausdunensi, *&c.*

(37) It is the xxivth, and dated the first of August 1657.

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One of his last panegyrists relates a fact which is false [O].

The opinion which Mr Chevreau has given of the character of Mr Morus, is very agreeable to that of several other good judges, and proves at the same time, that those things which are written to a person himself, are sometimes very different from those which are said of him, in letters addressed to others (l) [P]. I shall not pass over in silence, that the illustrious Huetius gives very great elogiums to Mr Morus in some Latin Poems which he inscribed to him. See p. 30, and 77, of the poems of this learned prelate, of the Utrecht edition 1700 (m).

(l) See, above, the remark [M] of the article GROTIUS.

(m) It is the fourth; his *Notes on the Anthologia* are joined to it.

'nicated this affair to Mr Perefix, then archbishop of 'Paris by abbot Gaudin, and Mr Perefix spoke of it 'to the king. His majesty said, that it was not a 'proper time, and that it would do an injury to Mr 'Morus, because he was then at variance with his 'brethren. Mr Morus occasioned divisions wherever 'he lived: this he did in Holland and elsewhere, 'and even at Paris. I compare him to Helen, who 'kindled a war wherever she came (38) . . . Marshal 'Grammont having been, by the king's order, to visit 'the minister Morus in his last sickness, was asked 'by his majesty at his return how he found him. 'Sire, says the marshal, I saw him die; he died a 'good Huguenot: But what I think him most to be 'pitied for is, that he died in a religion which is 'now as much out of fashion, as a high-crowned-'hat (39).

(38) Menagiana, *pag.* 153, of the second edition of Holland.

(39) Suite du Menagiana, *pag.* 82.

[O] *One of his last panegyrists relates a fact which is not true.*] 'The Sorbonne one day were all surprized (40), 'by an accident which did great honour to Mr 'Morus, and made all their doctors blush, and 'was esteemed a sort of inchantment. A certain 'person whose face was altogether unknown to them, 'and whom they took at first sight for some coun-'try priest, being present at their disputes, desired 'the professor, who presided in that assembly, to give 'him leave to propose some arguments. Which be-'ing granted, he acquitted himself so well, that he 'soon gained the esteem of all the doctors: and as this 'new antagonist urged his arguments with a surprizing force, and beyond what could be expected 'from him, their esteem was changed into admi-'ration. But when they saw that this powerful 'enemy pushed them too hard, and that they 'could stand against the force of his reasons no lon-'ger, all their admiration and esteem was changed 'into anger and indignation; and the dispute grew 'so hot, that if he had not wisely got out of so dan-'gerous a place, he had reason to apprehend some 'mischief. But he imitated JESUS CHRIST our great 'master, when he went out of the temple to avoid 'the snares of the Pharisees, whom he had confound-'ed. In like manner our Morus, after he had stopped 'the mouths of the Pharisees of these latter ages, a-'mused them with soft words, went out of their 'synagogue, and so left them. After he had made 'his escape, they ordered one of their scholars to fol-'low him at a distance, and watch where he went 'in, and afterwards enquire what kind of man this 'was who knew more than all the Sorbonne together: 'which being observed by him whom they so much 'desired to know, he turned about to him who fol-'lowed him, and said only these two words *memento Mori*; from whence those who sent him pre-'sently concluded, that he who had given them so 'much trouble, was that famous man who was one 'of the pillars of the church of Charenton, and the 'terror of the Romish church (41).' This is what I find in a book published about a year ago, well worth reading. It is now five and twenty years since I told this story in the presence of a doctor of Divinity, curate of R. . . . . a man of wit, and well versed in the customs of his religion. I was persuaded of the truth of the fact, for I had heard it told upon several occasions by men of good sense; and at the age I was then of, I scarce distrusted any thing that came from such persons. The doctor answered me, it is a very good story, and the conclusion is very ingenious; but assure your self it is a romance, for they who propose arguments against the theses that are maintained in the Sorbonne, are always such persons as are well known, and graduates in the Faculty, and obliged to wear the habits or robes belonging to their degree. Had the author of this story known thus much, he would have changed his scene.

(41) Panégyrique d'Alexandre Morus, *printed at Amsterdam by John du Fresne*, 1695, *pag.* 14, 15, 16.

[P] *The opinion of Mr Chevreau. . . . . is very agreeable . . . . and proves at the same time, that those things which are written to a person himself, are sometimes very different from those which are said of him in letters addressed to others.*] Read the two letters which he wrote to Morus himself in 1660 (42), the one in French, and the other in Latin, and compare them with this passage of his letter to Tanaquil Faber: 'You know there are some who natu-'rally love incense from what hand soever it comes, 'who demand it as a debt, and who are so accu-'stomed to it, that it is impossible to please, unless 'one has always a censer in his hand. This is a fail-'ing that deserves to be pitied; but it is a human fail-'ing; besides, that the profound erudition of our 'friend (43) in polite learning, his exact knowledge 'of the Greek, and of all the oriental languages, 'do justly render him considerable and distinguish 'him from so many others who resemble him only 'in his defects. That which pleased me in the fre-'quent conversations we had together, was, that he 'always told me sincerely he thought himself infi-'nitely inferior to Mr Daillé, whom he believed 'to be a more solid Divine than your Calvin. But 'withal, a certain student, whom you know, lately 'assured me, that Mr Morus was preferred before 'Mr Daillé by a general consent, that his flights of 'imagination please people much more by their no-'velty, than the eloquence of Mr Daillé, who was 'fit to be his master (44). . . . What I fear is, that 'he will be intoxicated by these extraordinary applauses 'that he has not the power to offer the least vio-'lence to his free humour, and that he will give way 'to his inclination . . . . without any regard for his 'character, his reputation, or his fortune (45). 'Mr Morus, says he, in another letter (46), has a 'deal of wit and learning, but little religion and judg-'ment. He is, ambitious, restless, changeable, bold, 'presumptuous, and wavering. He understands Latin 'Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, but does not understand 'human life.'

(42) Oeuvres mêlées de Mr Chevreau, *pag.* 40, & 50.

(43) That is to say, Mr *Morus*.

(44) Chevreau, *ubi supra, pag.* 48.

(45) Ibid. *pag.* 49.

(46) Ibid. *pag.* 409.

MOSYNIANS, or MOSYNOECIANS (a). Thus certain Mountaineers were called, who lived in trees (b) or in wooden towers (c) in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea (d). Their customs were so opposite to those of other nations, that those things which others do privately in their houses, they did in public vew; and what others do in public, they did in their private dwellings (e). They did not except the act of generation from this prepostrous rule [A]. Their highest wooden tower was the habitation of their king, a miserable prince; for he was obliged to determine all their differences as judge, and

(a) *That is to say*, inhabiting towers. *See* Apollonius, Argon. *lib. ii, ver.* 1020, *& seq. and* Strabo, ubi infra.

(b) Strabo, *lib. xii, pag.* 378.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Pomponius Mela, *lib. i, cap. xix, &* Dionysius Periegetes, *ver.* 766.

(e) Apollon. Argon. *lib. ii, ver.* 1020, *& seq.*

[A] *They did not except the act of generation from this prepostererous rule.*] Apollonius was in the right to compare them to swine, since they were not ashamed to do this act before the eyes of their neighbours.

Οὐδ' εὐνῆς αἰδὼς ἐπεδήμιος, ἀλλὰ σύες ὡς
Φορβάδες, οὐδ' ἠβαιὸν ἀτυζόμενοι παρεόντας,
Μίσγονται χαμάδις ξυνῇ φιλότητι γυναικῶν.

Nec eos in populo pudet cœtus Venerii: sed, in vicem porcorum
Gregalium, nihil quicquam reveriti arbitros

Humi

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and if he happened to give a wrong judgment, they impriſoned him immediately, and ſtarved him to death (*f*) [*B*]. Their kingdom was elective, and they always kept their prince in chains and under a ſtrong guard (*g*). They lived upon acorns and the fleſh of wild beaſts, and laid ambuſhes for travellers (*h*), and treated ſtrangers very ill (*i*). They marked themſelves all over the bodies (*k*). Conſult Xenophon in the fifth book of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger. He has there given a long account of their manner of arming and feeding themſelves, &c. He ſays, that when alone they talked, laughed, and danced, as if they had been in company.

(*h*) Strabo, *lib.* xii, *pag.* 378.

(*i*) Pomp. Mela, *lib.* i, *cap.* xix.

(*k*) Id. ib.

(f) Taken from Athenæus, ibid.

(g) Pomponius Mela, *lib.* i, *cap.* 19. See also Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* xiv, *cap.* xxxi.

Humi & in propatulo commiſcent cum uxoribus corpora (1).

(1) Apoll. Argon. *lib.* iv, *ver.* 1025, *pag. m.* 245, 244.

The ſcholiaſt obſerves, that we muſt not underſtand this as if they lay in public with all women indifferently, but each with his own wife. Pomponius Mela makes no ſuch diſtinction. 'Propatulo veſcuntur, *ſays he* (2), PROMISCUE concumbunt & palam. - - - *They eat abroad, and their Venery is* PROMISCUOUS *and public.*' I know not what ground the ſcholiaſt had for this diſtinction. Perhaps he had a mind to make uſe of the maxim, that in doubtful matters we ſhould always embrace the more favourable opinion, and paſs *in mitiorem* the mildeſt ſentence. But the phraſes of Apollonius ſeem very clear againſt this exception, and do plainly confirm the authority of Pomponius Mela; as Diodorus Siculus has alſo done (3). Note, that we find in Xenophon, that the Moſynœcians, with whom he made an alliance had a great mind to lie with the wenches who followed the camp of the Grecians, and that publickly according to their own cuſtom (4). For the reſt, this monſtrous immodeſty has been known in other nations (5).

(2) Pomponius Mela, *lib.* i, *cap.* xx, *pag. m.* 22.

(3) Diod. Siculus, *lib.* xiv, *cap.* xxxi.

(4) Xenophon, de Expedit. Cyri, *lib.* v, *pag. m.* 259.

(5) See the remark [*D*] of the article HIPPARCHIA.

[*B*] *They impriſoned him immediately, and ſtarved him to death.*] We ſhall give the very words of Apollonius.

- - Ἦν γάρ τω τὶ θεμιστεύων ἀλίτηται,
Διμῷ μεν' κεῖν' ἦμαρ ἐνικλείσαντες ἔχουσιν.

- - Nam ſi quid alicubi in jure dicundo deliret,
Ipſum eodem die in cuſtodiam datum ſuffocant inedia (6).

(6) Apollon. Argon. *lib.* ii, *ver.* 1032.

But in his judgment ſhou'd he chance to ſwerve,
The ſelf ſame day ſees him ſhut up to ſtarve.

Pintianus accuſes Pomponius Mela of not rightly underſtanding the meaning of Apollonius; he pretends, that what this Greek Poet ſays is, that the Moſynœcians ſhut up their king the ſame day he gave the unjuſt ſentence, and condemned him to die of hunger. Pomponius Mela only ſays, that upon his giving any unjuſt ſentence, they condemned him to faſt a whole day. 'Reges ſuffragio deligunt, vinculiſque & arctiſſima cuſtodia tenent: atque ubi culpam prave quid imperando meruere, inedia diei totius afficiunt (7). - - - - - *They elect their kings by vote, and keep them in chains, and under the ſtricteſt confinement, and ſhould they offend by decreeing any thing unjuſt, they deprive them of ſuſtenance for one whole day.*' Pintianus builds upon the teſtimony of two authors quoted by the ſcholiaſt, and on that of Nicolas Damaſcenus, which he had met with in the collections, of Stobæus. 'Mela verba illa *ad famem illo die*, pro *illius diei* accepit. At Apollonii enarratores contra intelligunt, eo ipſo die quo contra jus pronunciaverit in carcerem trudi, quoad fame perreat, citantque ſuæ expoſitionis aſſertores Ephorum & Nymphodorum. Addo ego aſtipulari interpretibus Apollonii, Nicolaum de moribus gentium, referente Joanne Stobæo (8). - - - - *Mela underſtood the words* 'hunger in that day *to mean* of that day. *But the commentators of Apollonius underſtand it quite contrary, that their king on that very day, that he pronounced the unjuſt ſentence was impriſoned till he died of hunger, and ground their expoſition on the authorities of Ephorus, and Nymphodorus. I add, that of the ſame opinion with the commentators of Apollonius, is Nicolaus in his piece on the cuſtoms of nations, preſerved in Stobæus's collections.*' This is the intire paſſage of the ſcholiaſt: Ἱστορεῖ Ἔφορος καὶ Νυμφόδωρος περὶ τούτων, ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀδικόν τι κρίναντα. ἐγκλείσασι καὶ λιμαγχονῆσαι. *Ephorus and Nymphodorus on this ſubject relate, that they ſhut up and ſtarve their king to death on giving a falſe judgment.* I have related this on purpoſe to ſhow, that the critic has ſtrained his authority a little too far; for it is not true, that the ſcholiaſt gave the explication of Pintianus to the words of the text, and afterwards proved it by the authority of Euphorus and Nymphodorus; for he barely cites what theſe two authors ſay. I am however of Pintianus's opinion, and find that Iſaac Voſſius has refuted it wretchedly. He ſuppoſes, that the Moſynœcians condemned their king for ſlighter faults to faſt a day, and that for greater faults they condemned him to die of hunger (9). He gives this as the true ſenſe of the words of Apollonius, and maintains they were well interpreted by Pomponius Mela (10). 'Interpretatio Melæ, *adds he*, ut facilior ita quoque melior. - - - - *Mela's interpretation, as it is moſt natural, is alſo moſt accurate.*' This is very ſtrange indeed! That Apollonius ſhould mean to inform us of the diſtinction this people made between the ſmall and the greater faults of their prince, that for the former the prince was to faſt a whole day, and for the latter to be famiſhed to death; and yet that there ſhould not be the leaſt phraſe or word in his relation which inſinuates any ſuch diſtinction. That Pomponius Mela ſhall be ſaid to have given the ſenſe of Apollonius faithfully, and yet that he ſhall not mention a word of the puniſhment of the greater faults; that he ſhall dwell on terms the leaſt diſadvantageous to the nation, which Apollonius meant to decry, and be wholly ſilent with regard to facts which might render it the moſt odious; in a word, that there ſhall not be in any of his expreſſions the leaſt footſtep of the diſtinction in queſtion. Who can ever digeſt this? What does Iſaac Voſſius take his readers to be? A thouſand ſuch faults might be found in the beſt writers, by any who would take the trouble of giving their works a critical examination.

(7) Pompon. Mela, ubi ſupra.

(8) Pintianus, Caſtigat. in Pomponium Melam, *pag. m.* 37.

(9) Iſaacus Voſſius in Melam, *pag. m.* 104.

(10) Hic quidem videtur ſenſus eſſe verborum Apollonii quæ recte interpretatus eſt Mela, licet contrarium exiſtiment Pintianus aliique viri magni. *Id. ib.*

Note, it muſt be granted, that Apollonius has expreſſed himſelf very confuſedly, which gave occaſion to Pomponius Mela's miſtake. I am ſurpriſed Diodorus Siculus ſhould ſay nothing of this law, when he obſerves, that theſe Barbarians kept their prince ſhut up all his life-time in the tower of their capital (11).

(11) Locus iſte aliorum caſtellorum veluti caput & primaria regionis arx, fuit: in cuius parte editiſſima rex aulam habebat. Patrius autem hic mos pro lege erat, ut per totam inibi vitam rex ſubſiſtens mandata populis inde diſtribueret. *Diodor. Siculus, lib.* xiv, *cap.* xxxi, *pag. m.* 592.

MOTHE LE VAYER (FRANCIS DE LA). See VAYER

MOTTE, or MOTHE (LA) a town in Lorrain. Moreri deſcribes the ſituation of it, and ſays that it was taken by the French in 1634 [*A*], and that it has ſince been ruined.

[*A*] *It was taken by the French in* 1634.] This is a particular account. Lewis XIII ordered the marſhal de la Force, 'who had always ſome troops on the 'frontiers of Lorrain; to reduce all thoſe places under his obedience, which had not yet ſubmitted. La 'Motte being the ſtrongeſt place was firſt attacked, 'and alone gave the marſhal more trouble than all 'the reſt; although, for want of a ſufficient garriſon, 'as well as ammunition and proviſions, and the 'accidents of the ſeaſon in thoſe parts being ſo favo'rable to the king as to make it impoſſible to throw 'in any ſuccours, it did not defend itſelf ſo long as it

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ruined. This is too general, and a more particular account is not unneceſſary. We ſhall ſay therefore that this place was reſtored to the duke of Lorrain by a treaty of peace in 1641; but as this prince did not execute that treaty, cardinal Richelieu had a ſtrong deſire to have taken la Motte away from him: but he did not however ſucceed in it, for the French troops which blocked it up were forced to retire [B]. It was not afterwards reſolved in earneſt to reduce it till 1645. Cardinal Mazarin ordered his nephew Magalotti to beſiege it, who attacked it with great vigour, but the place held out the longer becauſe it was believed he would not obſerve the articles of the capitulation he ſhould grant [C]. The Marquis de Villeroi, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, obliged the governor to capitulate: he promiſed among other things that it ſhould be neither raſed nor diſmantled; but this article was not obſerved: the reſentment of the queen-mother prevailed over the obligation of keeping his word [D].

'it otherwiſe might have done, being the ſtrongeſt 'place in all Lorrain, both for it's ſituation on a 'rock, which made the approaches very difficult, and 'for it's not being commanded by eminences on any 'ſide. It was ſurrendered however at the end of three 'months, after Mr d'Iche, the governor who defended 'it, was taken off by a cannon ball (1).'

(1) Memoirs of the marquis de Beauvau, *pag.* 55.

[B] *The French troops which blocked it up, were forced to retire.*] 'The king's forces being employed 'in ſeveral places againſt Spain, all that Mr du 'Hallier could do with the few troops left with him, 'was to form a ſort of blockade, in hopes to ſtarve it, 'knowing it was not well ſupplied with proviſions: 'but the duke did not give him time enough, for ap- 'prehending the extremities of the beſieged, he raiſed 'the ſiege of Tanes which he had attacked, to come to 'its relief, and forced Mr du Hallier, after ſome ſkir- 'miſhes to retire with the loſs of his baggage, hav- 'ing before ſent his cannon to Chaumont for greater 'ſecurity (2).'

(2) Ib. *pag.* 79.

[C] *It was believed that Magalotti, would not obſerve the capitulation he ſhould grant.*] Here follows the reaſon the marquis de Beauvau gives for it. *Magalotti having made himſelf maſter of the counterſcarp, luckily found ſo many veins in the rock that he was very ſoon able to ſpring a mine, under one of the baſtions, but his good fortune did not laſt long; for having reduced the beſieged, either to ſtand an aſſault or to capitulate; Clicot, that his honour might be irreproachable, tho' he ſaw himſelf without any probability of ſuccours, and apprehending alſo that Magalotti would not obſerve any capitulation he might grant, as he had ſworn he would not in a rage he had been in on account of the ſevere reflexions thrown out during the ſiege againſt the queen-mother, the cardinal, and himſelf, reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity* (3).

(3) Ib. *pag.* 85.

[D] *The reſentment of the queen-mother prevailed over the obligation of keeping his word.*] We now come to ſee what was the cauſe of this princeſs's indignation, and what alſo were it's conſequences. 'The capitu- 'lation was exactly obſerved as to the garriſon and 'effects of the duke; but the fortifications, and the 'whole town, not excepting even the church, were ſo 'intirely raſed that there is not now the leaſt mark 'of them remaining: the queen-mother having ſo 'deeply reſented the ſcandalous reflexions thrown out 'againſt her, that ſhe rather choſe to forfeit her word 'than loſe her revenge..... Behold the end of 'la Mothe, which, for ſituation, and the ſtrength of 'it's ramparts cut out of a rock, ſeemed impregnable, 'and the materials of this unfortunate place, as a ſort 'of juſt ſatisfaction for the damages it had done the 'neighbouring villages, by incurſions and robberies, 'were made uſe of for their reparation (4).'

(4) Ib. *pag.* 87.

The marquis de Beauvau juſtly blames this reſentment of the queen-mother. *It is ſurprizing*, ſays he (5), *that ſo great and virtuous a princeſs, who had been always ſo eminently religious, and naturally generous, ſhould be ſo little able to bear abuſes, ſo common to the inſolence of ſoldiers, which are never capable of wounding reputation: and that to revenge herſelf for an injury more imaginary than real, ſhe ſhould chooſe to run the hazard of blaſting her honour by a breach of faith, and of ruining a great many innocent perſons by the deſtruction of a whole town, the ruins of which can never be ſo far concealed from poſterity, as to bury this action in oblivion.* Her majeſty had much better have deſpiſed thoſe reflexions of the ſoldiers, and have imitated Catherine de Medicis (6). But if to make an example of them, ſhe was reſolved by all means to puniſh this place which had given way to this exceſs of rage and brutality, ſhe ſhould not have admitted it to capitulate, ſhe ſhould have taken it by ſtorm, or obliged it to ſurrender at diſcretion, coſt what it would; and then, without breach of public faith, ſhe had been at liberty to have taken the vengeance ſhe deſired.

(5) Ibid.

(6) *See the* Diſſertation on defamatory libels, *num.* XIII, *at the end of this* Dictionary.

MOTTE-AIGRON (JAMES DE LA) became famous in the quality of an author during the famous conteſt betwixt Balzac, and Father Goulu, general of the Feuillant Monks. He wrote a preface to Balzac's Letters, and was commiſſioned, jointly with Mr Vaugelas [A], to carry to Father Goulu a copy of Balzac's Apology, in which he treated a certain young Feuillant very harſhly. As Father Goulu took the ſending of this copy for a challenge (a), he immediately ſet himſelf to write againſt Balzac in a very outrageous manner, and ſpent ſome of his ſmall ſhot upon Mr Motte-Aigron; among others theſe following, that *he was the ſon of a very honeſt Apothecary, and that he commonly lived at Balzac's table* (b). It is pretended, that this was in ſome meaſure violating the laws of Hoſpitality, ſince Father Goulu had more than once lodged at Mr Motte-Aigron's father's (c): but, on the other ſide, it may be a proof, that he knew things from the firſt hand. Be that as it will, he touched his adverſary to the quick, and occaſioned the public to be informed ſoon after, in the dedication of a book, that the pretended Apothecary of Father Goulu was Abraham Aigron, Eſq; counſellor to the king, and judge of the taxes for Angoulême. This epiſtle dedicatory is not ill written (d); but being in Latin, and prefixed to the anſwer which Motte-Aigron wrote in French to Father Goulu, there is an affectation in it which only ſerves to beget a diſlike of the grand elogiums which the author very liberally beſtows on his father, and which he turns in ſuch a manner, as might moſt effectually remove all ſuſpicion of Pharmacy. Not ſatisfied with this preamble, he informs us in the body of the book (e), that his *great-grandfather having accompanied*

(a) Preface to the ſecond part of the *Lettres de Phyllarque, and the firſt letter of the ſecond part.*

(b) Lettre XIII de Phyllarque, *Part i.*

(c) La Motte-Aigron, Réponſe à Phyllarque, *pag.* 318, 322. *See the article* GOULU (JOHN), remark [N].

(d) See among the letters of Balzac, that which he wrote in 1622 to la Motte-Aigron, where he compliments him highly, eſpecially on his fine Latin, in a manuſcript work.

(e) *Pag.* 306, 307.

[A] *Jointly with Mr Vaugelas.*] Father Goulu in the preface to the ſecond part of his Letters, ſays, that he who accompanied Motte-Aigron was the prior of Chives; (there are ſome letters to this prior among thoſe of Balzac) but Motte-Aigron informs us (1), that he who went with him to viſit Father Goulu was Mr Vaugelas.

(1) Réponſe à Phyllarque, *pag.* 299.

[B] *Malleville*

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accompanied Henry II, in his expedition to Germany, was one of the chief captains which the king left in Mets, and one of those who defended that place with the greatest bravery against Charles V. He adds, that his great-grandmother, Catherine de la Barde, was *of as noble a family as any in her country, and that his great-uncle by the mother's side, had the honour to be secretary of state, and prime minister to Margaret wife of Henry d' Albret king of Navarre.* Father Goulu had already changed his note, for before the publishing of this book he had said, *that Mr* La Motte-Aigron *was too much a gentleman to deny*, &c (*f*). Let who will consider whether this amounts to a full recantation. I do not think it is. And I have been told it was true, that the father of Mr Motte-Aigron had been an Apothecary, but mended his condition by buying the place of a commissioner of the taxes, and at last became mayor of Coignac in Angoumois. Mr Malleville has given a hint of this in an epigram which was not inserted in the collection of his poems [*B*]. I never could discover what became of our author [*C*], after the publishing his answer in 1628, or what became of the design he seemed to have, after he had humbled the general of the Feuillants, of retrieving the fruits of his labours which a fire had destroyed. These were pieces relating to the History of Spain, and some other subjects (*g*). It belongs to those who shall write the Bibliotheque of Angoumois, to inform us of them.

(*f*) Preface to the second part of the *Lettres de Phyllarque.*

(*g*) See his Epistle Dedicatory.

I saw some days ago a book, which affirms that the pains Motte-Aigron took in writing against Phyllarchus, and in favour of Balzac, laid the foundation of a misunderstanding between him and the latter; because Balzac would fain have been thought the true author of the work which was to appear under the name of Motte-Aigron [*D*].

[*B*] *Malleville . . . . in an epigram which was not inserted in the collection of his poems.*] Sorel having observed, that Motte-Aigron *to show the intelligent reader where he was pinched, and to create a great opinion of his family, dedicated his book to his father in a Latin epistle with very high titles*, adds these words: *If it were proper in this place, we should set down the epigram Mr Malleville made upon that occasion; but certain persons in office in France being concerned in it, it would look like insulting their misfortunes at the present juncture* (2). As for me who know not what this juncture might mean, and am satisfied, however, that it must be by this time entirely over, I shall make no scruple to set down that epigram, which is as follows:

(2) Bibliotheque Françoise, *pag.* 132, *of the second Edit.*

Objet du mepris de Goulu,
Que ton insolence est publique,
Depuis que ton pere est Elu,
Et qu'il a fermé sa boutique:
Mais bien que cette qualité,
Si l'on en croit ta vanité,
N'en trouve point qui la seconde;
Il n'en est pourtant pas ainsi:
C'est un beau titre en l' autre monde;
Mais on s'en moque en celui-ci.

In vain you thus publish, to humour your pride,
And to claim Father Goulu's respect,
That your Sire, all his gallipots laying aside,
*Is preferr'd to be one of th' * elect:*
For as high as you value the name of this place,
It will scarce your gentility show;
We allow it in Heaven a title of Grace,
But no title of honour below.

*The French word *Elu, elect*, signifies an officer of taxes.

Since the writing of this article, I have happened on a book (3) where these Verses are to be found.

(3) Menagiana, *pag.* 132, *of the first Dutch Edit.*

[*C*] *I never could discover what became of our author.*] I only find by a letter of Balzac, dated July 29, 1634 (4), that Motte-Aigron was married at Rochelle, that he had some place in the government, and that there had been some quarrel between them two. The Menagiana (5) informs us, that he was a counsellor in the presidial court of Rochelle.

(4) It is the xxxiith of the fifth book, edition in folio.

(5) *Pag.* 131.

[*D*] *Balzac would fain have been thought the true author of the work, which was to appear under the name of Motte-Aigron.*] You will see the particulars of all this in these words of Javersac (6): 'This does not hinder my being sensible how highly he has offended me by his request, and manner of proceeding: which however, I thought, the less strange, after considering in what manner he had treated Mr Motte-Aigron, who has always followed his fortunes with the fondness of a brother. The obligation of a thousand good offices, which his amiable frankness had rendred him, from the first beginning of their innocent acquaintance, to this present hour, were not so considerable with him as his own vanity. After they had communicated to one another their design of writing against Phyllarchus, and Balzac had taken to himself the largest field and most matter, as being the more barren of invention, as well as more interested than the other; he was not satisfied with having above a year's time and liberty to advance his work, while his friend was all that while forced to attend his judges, on account of an arrest which has proved very honourable to him. He would needs for several reasons suppress a book, which, after this suit was over, his friend had leisure enough to send to the press. He does well, in order to monopolize the title of Eloquent, to hinder all others from writing, that in order to be a Nonsuch, there may be no others with whom to compare him. I believe he would be for going as far as that crafty Master Poet who put to death the most ingenious of his scholars, for fear they should excel him in his art. He is so jealous of the reputation, even of his friends, that he never would rightly confess, that Mr Motte-Aigron wrote the preface to his Letters he being unwilling to admit any partner in glory: and even at this day I am certain, that, by an ungrateful and vain imposture, he endeavours obliquely to insinuate, that the book which is now expected, has only its name from Mr Motte-Aigron as godfather, but that he himself is the true father. Which I know to be so much the more false, as I know it to be most true that Mr Motte-Aigron has broke off all correspondence with Mr Balzac, and rejoices in being disobliged by him, to have a just reason to shun him, and grow wise at the cost of his Apologist (7), whose reputation he has blasted, which was esteemed much greater than his own.' Mr Motte-Aigron's preface may serve for some proof of this account; thus he begins it: *The intelligence I receive from several hands, that though this book is not extraordinary, yet some would assign it another master according to their fancy, obliges me to inform you, that this adventure is wholly my own, and there is nothing here of a Roger who fights under the arms of Leo. Though I cannot indeed sufficiently commend the complaisance of those who suffer children to be fathered upon them, and am even ravished with their good nature; yet I do not find I have generosity enough to be of their opinion, nor can I endure that any one should make books for me. I cannot so far command my fancy, as to persuade my self, that a work of this kind is really mine; nor should I make more conscience of taking another man's goods, than of receiving benefits of this nature* (8). The conclusion of this preface is of the same strain with the beginning, for it contains what follows: *But to return to what concerns me, although it be very true, that I have not led my life, in such a manner as to be without friends, and among them, even some who understand the art of writing, yet be it known to you, that as to what concerns the composing this work, they are as much strangers to me, as they who live in the furthermost parts of the world; or, as those were formerly who passed in the opinion of some for the authors of the preface* (9), *which I have ordered to be reprinted at the end*

(7) See the remark [*D*] of the article BALZAC.

(8) La Motte-Aigron, *Advertissement to the readers, in his* Réponse à Phyllarque. *See the remark* [*D*] *of the article* BALZAC.

(9) That is to say, the preface to Balzac's Letters.

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end of this discourse. This is spoke like a man of honour: none but the meanest spirited creatures would pass for the authors of a book they never had wrote. It is a fine excuse indeed, to say their love of praise is so ardent, that when they cannot procure it by issue of their own, they are for attaining it by adopting that of others; when this love of praise itself, is a sure sign of a mean spirit. The Custodinos of a bishopric have less of the poltron than the Custodinos of a book. These latter are guilty of wilful cuckoldom; let them say as much as they please, that it is only a cuckoldom in the commonwealth of wit, it is nevertheless a blot, it is a shameful thing.

(a) At Paris by Antony Joallin, in 16mo, with the king's licence.

MOUGNE (ROBERTA) published in 1616 (a) a book intituled, *The Closet of a Christian widow, containing prayers and meditations upon divers subjects of the holy Scripture*, and dedicated it *to the most prudent and virtuous lady Benigne de Rabutin, baroness of Huban, lady of Espeville and Brinon.* She informs us in the epistle dedicatory, dated at Blois July the seventh 1615, that she had been a *widow twenty six years.* After this epistle we find a sonnet *to Madamoiselle du Chesne Belon my mother, upon her Closet of a Christian widow.* Nicolas Vignier, a minister of the Holy Gospel, is author of this sonnet, and informs us, that *the immortal pen* of the husband of our *Mougne describes in his learned writings the virtues of that woman.* She was of the reformed religion, and shows in her book a judicious piety, nursed at the breast of the word of God. The lady Rabutin, whom she calls *a rare patron of piety, chastity, and charity, and a pattern to all Christian widows*, was also of the reformed religion.

MOULIN (PETER DU) one of the most famous ministers that the Protestants of France ever had, was born. . . . . .

. . . . . .

It is to be observed that he did not believe the story of Pope Joan [*A*].

[*A*] *He did not believe the story of Pope Joan.*] Sarravius tells us so in a passage which I have given elsewhere (1), and which contains an argument drawn from hence, that Mr du Moulin, who was a person so fit to rally, had never made mention of the She-pope, tho it was a subject that might have furnished him with matter enough for raillery. I shall bring another proof. The Jesuit Petra Sancta published, in 1634, some notes upon a letter of du Moulin to Balzac, and added to it the refutation of some things, which this Minister had said touching the ceremonial of Rome with regard to the Pope's inauguration. He had not forgot to mention the close-stool. The Jesuit took this opportunity of refuting, in a few words, the story of the She-pope. Du Moulin made a reply to him (2), and bestowed a whole chapter (3) in justifying, what he had affirmed concerning the ceremonies of the Popes inauguration; but said not a word, either of the close-stool, or of the She-pope. This evidently proves that he believed nothing of the matter; for had he believed it, he could not possibly avoid disputing on this occasion. Rivertus a partisan of the tradition of the She-pope, did not forget to have a push in answering this same piece of Petra Sancta (4).

(1) In the remark [*L*] of the article BLONDEL (DAVID), towards the end.

(2) *His book is intituled*, Hyperaspistes five Defensio veritatis accersus calumnias, &c. *it is printed at Geneva* 1656 *in* 8vo.

(3) It is the twenty second, of the first book

(4) See the third tome of his works, *pag.* 587.

MUCIA, the wife of Pompey, was the third daughter of Quintus Mutius Scevola (*a*), and the sister of Quintus Metellus Celer [*A*]. She committed adultery with so little reserve, that her husband was forced to dismiss her, although she had brought him three children (*b*). It was while he was gaining so much glory in the war against Mithridates, that Mucia prostituted her self. When he first heared this ill news, he was not much moved at it; but as he came nearer Italy, he considered more seriously the consequence of this dishonour, and was so touched with it, that he sent his wife a bill of divorce (*c*). It has been observed that providence intended this as a counterpoise to the glory he had just acquired [*B*]. He complained of Julius Cesar as the corrupter of Mucia [*C*], and

(a) Asconius Pedianus, in Argum. Orat. Ciceronis pro Scauro, *pag. m.* 170.

(b) See the words of Suetonius in the remark [*C*].

(c) Plut. in Pompeio, *pag.* 641.

[*A*] *She was the sister of Quintus Metellus Celer.*] Cicero informs us of this in a letter he wrote to Metellus. 'Egi cum Claudia, *says he* (1), uxore tua, & 'cum vestra sorore Mucia, cujus erga me studium pro 'Cn. Pompeii necessitudine multus in rebus perspexe-'ram, ut eum (2) ab illa injuria deterrerent. - - - - - '*I made interest with Claudia your wife, and with your* '*sister Mucia, whose regard for me on the score of my* '*friendship with Pompey, I had on many occasions ex-*'*perienced, in hopes that they might have diverted him* '*from this injustice.* This passage shows, that Q. Metellus Celer, and Q. Metellus Nepos were brothers to Mucia, that is according to Manutius (3), either her cousin-germans, or her brothers by the mother's side. The last opinion seems to me most probable. I believe the mother of Mucia married Quintus Mutius Scevola, after having had by Quintus Metellus Nepos the two brothers I have been mentioning. See, below, a passage of Dion.

(1) Cicero, Epist. ii, *lib. v*, ad Famil. *pag.* 229, 230.

(2) That is to say, Quintus Metellus Nepos, brother of him to whom Cicero writes.

(3) Manutius, in Cicero, Epist. ii, *lib. v*, ad Famil.

[*B*] *It has been observed, that Providence intended this as a counterpoise to the glory Pompey had just acquired.*] Plutarch has made this observation, *So certainly did he expect*, says he (4), speaking of Pompey, *to have been honoured at his return into Italy, the most of any man in the world, and to have been welcomed home by his wife and children, with all imaginable duty: but God, who always chuses to checquer the greatest and most remarkable instances of good fortune, with some mixture of ill, laid wait for him by the way, and in his own family formed an ambuscade of sorrow to greet his return; for his wife Mucia, during his absence had dishonoured his bed: however, whilst he was at a great distance, he gave little heed to the report; but when he drew nearer to Italy, and had by that means, I imagine, more leisure to deliberate on this ill news, he then sent a declaration to her, that he renounced and repudiated her as his wife, without writing at the same time, or ever afterwards speaking a syllable of the reason of his so doing it; but the cause is mentioned in Cicero's Epistles.* Hence we learn, that Plutarch's memory was rather great than faithful. He remembered that Cicero had writ something about the divorce of Mucia, and that not without commending Pompey's conduct. Upon the credit of his memory, and without ever consulting Cicero's Letters, he affirmed, that they contained the causes of this divorce: but there he was mistaken, and if we had all the authors he has cited, we should find him very often guilty of the like faults. All that Cicero says is this: *Divortium Muciæ vehementèr probatur* (5) - - - - - *Divorcing Mucia is highly to be commended.* This is in a letter written in the year of Pompey's triumph; that is in the year of Rome 692.

(4) Plutarch in the Life of Pompey, *pag.* 641.

(5) Cicero, epist. xii, *lib.* ad Att. *cum*, 67.

[*C*] *He complained of Julius Cæsar as the debaucher of Mucia.*] Suetonius having named several ladies Cæsar had loved, ends with Mucia and expresses himself thus: 'Etiam Cn. Pompeji Muciam. Nam certè 'Pompejo & à Curionibus patre & filio, & à mul-'tis exprobratum est quòd cujus caussa post tres liberos 'exc-

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and was wont, not without ſighing to call him his Ægyſthus, in alluſion to the galant of Clytemneſtra, the wife of Agamemnon; and yet for all this he joined with him ſome time after. The views of his ambition obliterated ſo juſt a reſentment [D]. This occaſioned him ſome ſevere reflexions (d). Mucia quickly found another huſband; ſhe became the wife of Marcus Scaurus, and had children by him. Pompey was a little diſguſted at this new huſband: he took it ill that any one ſhould pay ſo little reſpect to his judgment [E]. Auguſtus made uſe of this Mucia, to prevail upon Sextus Pompeius, her ſon, not to join with Marc Antony againſt him, but rather with him againſt Marc Antony (e). No doubt he had a very great regard for her, ſince after the battle of Actium he gave Marcus Scaurus, this lady's ſon, his life (f), and uſed him with all this clemency purely on Mucia's account. This ſhows us that moſt great lords in all ages have looked upon cuckoldom as a diſgrace only among citizens, and that the ladies who have only loſt their good name, have met with little loſs in reſpect to their fortune and intereſt. I ſhall obſerve by the way that Pompey was not happy in his marriages. [F].

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) Dio, *lib.* xlviii, *pag. m.* 418, *ad ann.* 714.

(f) Id. *lib. li, pag.* 508.

' exegiſſet uxorem, & quem gemens Ægyſthum appel-
' lare conſueſſet, ejus poſtea filiam potentiæ cupiditate
' in matrimonium recipiſſet. - - - - *Alſo Mucia the wife*
' *of Pompey. For it is certain Pompey was upbraided*
' *both by the Curio's, father and ſon, and many others, for*
' *taking to wife, out of thirſt of power, the daughter*
' *of him, on whoſe account he had divorced a former,*
' *after bringing him three children, and whom he, ſighing,*
' *uſed to call his Ægyſthus.*'

[D] *The views of his ambition obliterated ſo juſt a reſentment.*] Men of the greateſt courage act upon ſeveral occations like the greateſt cowards. They forget the moſt ſtinging reproaches, provided their ambitious deſigns may find their account in a reconciliation. Pompey, at his return from the war of Mithridates, was deſirous of having all his conduct approved, and lands diſtributed to his ſoldiers (6). This ſhewed he had vaſt deſigns in view. He got two perſons choſen conſuls, from whom he expected the greateſt favour: but he was miſtaken; the one, Afranius, was better at dancing than any thing elſe; the other, Metellus Celer, reſenting the divorce of his ſiſter Mucia, oppoſed him in all things and in all places (7). Thus Pompey obtaining nothing, and finding his credit declining, formed a league with Craſſus and Cæſar, which was the curſed ſource of the overthrow of the ſtate. Behold the chain of almoſt all the greateſt revolutions. Trace them to their original, and you find them generally ſpring from adultery. If Mucia had been chaſt Cæſar had not lain with her, nor had Pompey divorced her: if he had not divorced her, Metellus Celer had continued his friend, if he had been his friend, Pompey would never have formed an aſſociation with Craſſus and Cæſar; a fatal aſſociation! as Cato wiſely foretold (8). New marriages were projected the better to cement the league. Cæſar who had promiſed his daughter to Servilius Cepio, broke his word, and gave her to Pompey, and fed Servilius with hopes of Pompey's daughter, although ſhe was deſigned for the ſon of Sylla . . . Piſo's daughter was married to Cæſar, which procured Piſo the conſulſhip. Then it was that Cato could not refrain exclaiming againſt this ſort of pimping, this baſe traffic of dignities, bought by marriages. Ἐντᾶυθα δὴ καὶ σρόδρα μαρτυρόμενος Κάτωνα, καὶ βοῶντα, ἐκ ἀνεκὸν εἶναι, γάμοις διαμασχοτευομένης τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ διὰ γυναίων εἰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλας ἀνθισαγόντων. *Quo tempore palàm teſtatus eſt Cato, clamavitque rem indignam eſſe, ut addiceretur nuptiarum lenociniis imperium, ac per mulieres mutuo ſe ad provincias, imperia, exercitus proveherent* (9).

(6) Dio, ubi infra.

(7) Μέτελλος δὲ ὁμοῦ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεστέρητο, καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα ἀντιπράξειν. Metellus vero Pompeio iratus quòd ejus ſororem, ſuſceptis etiam ex eo liberis nuntium remiſiſſet, in omnibus ei actionibus obſtitit. *Dio, lib. xxxvii, pag.* 58, *ad ann.* 693.

(8) Plutarch. in Cæſare, *pag.* 713. *See alſo in* Pompeio, *pag.* 644.

(9) Id. ib. *pag.* 714. *A.*

[E] *Pompey took it ill that any one ſhould pay ſo little reſpect to his judgment.*] He made Scaurus feel the effects of his indignation when he was accuſed of extortion in the year of Rome 699 (10). Scaurus had a great confidence in Pompey's good offices (11). He had a ſon who was brother by the mother's ſide to Pompey's ſons; this was the foundation of his hope. But he was deceived, for Pompey did him no ſervice at all. He did not ſo much regard the relation of conſanguinity between his ſons, and thoſe of the perſon accuſed, as the affront put upon him by Scaurus's expreſſing a great eſteem for a woman he had diſgraced. I ſay nothing here but what I have read in an antient Writer, and what is probable enough. ' In eo judi-
' cio neque Pompejus propenſum adjutorium præbuit,
' (videbatur enim apud animum ejus non minus offen-
' ſionis contraxiſſe, quod judicium ejus in Mutiam
' crimine impudicitiæ ab eo dimiſſam, levius feciſſe exi-
' ſtimaretur, cum eam ipſe probaſſet, quam gratiæ ac-
' quiſiſſe neceſſitudinis jure, quod ex eadem uterque
' liberos haberet) neque Cato ab æquitate ea, qua &
' vitam ejus, & magiſtratum illum decebat, quoquam
' deflexit (12). - - - - *In that judgment neither did Pom-*
' *pey ſhew any partial favour (for with him Scaurus*
' *ſeemed to have become rather an object of diſpleaſure,*
' *by paying ſo little regard to his divorcement of Mucia*
' *for adultery as to eſteem her a proper wife, than of fa-*
' *vour by the ties of relation, from their having each of*
' *them children by the ſame woman) nor did Cato deviate*
' *in the leaſt from that equity which had adorned his*
' *whole life, and ſo well became his office.*

(10) Aſconius Pedianus, in Argum. Orat. Cicer. pro Scauro, *pag.* 168.

(11) Id. ib. *pag.* 170.

(12) Id. ib.

[F] *Pompey was not very happy in his marriages.*] He had five wives. The firſt was called Antiſtia. He divorced her much againſt his will, to comply with Sylla the dictator, who would have him marry Æmilia the daughter of Scaurus and of Metella, who was then the wife of Sylla. Æmilia was married to another, and big with child: for which reaſon Pompey took her to wife in pure obedience to the imperious will of the dictator. He did not in his own mind approve the forcing away Æmilia big with child from her own huſband, and the obliging him ſo cruelly and infamouſly to divorce Antiſtia (13), whoſe father had been killed only on ſuſpicion of his favouring the party of Sylla for the ſake of Pompey. The mother of Antiſtia killed herſelf upon hearing the tragical end of her huſband. Pompey did not live long with Æmilia, for ſhe died in her lying in of that child, which ſhe was big of when ſhe married Pompey (14). He afterwards married Mucia, and after her divorce, Julia, the daughter of Cæſar, who was to have been married to Cepio in a few days (15). Whether he really loved, or was tenderly beloved by her, he never would ſtir from her: he amuſed himſelf in carrying her about from place to place, and ſhowing her the fineſt ſeats in Italy, without concerning himſelf in buſineſs. Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαλάσσετο τῷ τῆς κόρης ἔρωτι καὶ προσεῖχεν ἐκείνῃ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνδιημέρευεν ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ κήποις, ἠμέλει δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραττομένων. *Brevi tamen ipſe quoque uxoris juvenculæ emollitus eſt amore, ac ferè aſſiduus cum ea ruri, & in hortis egit. Poſtmiſit etiam negotia forenſia* (16). This effeminate life did him hurt, and expoſed him to calumny. But it did not laſt long. One day, at an aſſembly of the people, a murder happened to be committed near him, and ſome of the blood having ſtained the cloaths he had on, he was obliged to put on others. Julia happening to ſee them all bloody in the hands of his ſervants, was ſo affected, that ſhe fell into a ſwoon, and miſcarried. Some time after ſhe was big with child again, and died in child-birth of a daughter (17), which lived but a few days (18). At laſt he married Cornelia; and tho' ſhe was a perſon of great merit, he had the mortification to hear, that this marriage was much condemned. The following quotation from Plutarch, is very curious: ' No ſooner did Pompey return into the
' city, but he married Cornelia the daughter of Me-
' tellus Scipio, not a virgin, but the new fallen
' widow of Publius Craſſus the ſon, who was killed
' by the Parthians, and who was her firſt huſband.
' This lady had a great many charms to make her be-
' loved, beſides thoſe of her beauty, for ſhe was
' finely accompliſhed in letters, played well upon the
' lyre, was ſkilled in Geometry, and took great
' pleaſure in hearing diſcourſes of Philoſophy, not
' without great benefit and improvement: but what
' is above all, nothing of this made her vain or aſ-
' ſuming, as young ladies commonly are with ſuch

(13) Ἐξελαυνομένης τῆς Ἀντιστίας ἀτίμως καὶ οἰκτρῶς. Expellitur Antiſtia ignominioſe miſereque. *Plut. in Pompeio, pag.* 613. *B.*

(14) Taken from Plutarch, ibid.

(15) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 644.

(16) Id. ib. *pag.* 647. *B*, and *pag.* 644. *F.*

(17) Ex. Plut. ibid. *pag.* 647.

(18) Id. in Cæſare, *pag.* 719. *C.*

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parts and qualifications. Beſides, ſhe was the daughter of one who was unexceptionable both for the nobility of his family, and integrity of his life: yet this marriage was condemned by ſome as unequal in years; for Cornelia was young enough to have made a properer wife for Pompey's ſon: and the wiſer ſort thought this a neglect of the public, at a time of ſuch great confuſions; for the remedy of which he was applied to as the Phyſician, and the whole is put under his ſole protection; and yet he entertained himſelf with celebrating nuptials and feſtivals, when he ought rather to have conſidered his conſulſhip as a public calamity, which would never have been conferred on him ſingly in ſo extraordinary a manner, contrary to cuſtom and the laws, had his country been in a flouriſhing ſtate (19).' This illuſtrious lady repented ſhe did not execute the reſolution ſhe had taken to kill herſelf upon the loſs of her firſt huſband (20). She repented, I ſay, when ſhe ſaw Pompey in a wretched condition on the coaſt of Mitylene, after the battle of Pharſalia. She had been left in this city during the war, and there received ſuch good news of the battle of Dyrrachium (21), that ſhe thought it deciſive, and expected to hear of nothing after but her huſband's purſuing Cæſar. The loſſes of the enemy were magnified to flatter and pleaſe her according to cuſtom. Judge of her affliction, when ſhe ſaw her huſband flying for refuge to the iſle of Leſbos in a borrowed ſhip (22). She was his faithful companion in his flight, even to Egypt (23), and having collected his aſhes, ſhe buried them on mount Albanus (24). But this fidelity proved accidentally to be his deſtruction; for if ſhe had not accompanied him, he had fled into Parthia, and not into Egypt, where he was murdered. It is affirmed, that the only thing which made him change his deſign of going towards the Euphrates, was the fear of diſhonour to which the beauty and youth of Cornelia might expoſe her among a laſcivious people. He was ſo nice upon this head, that he could not bear even the moſt groundleſs ſurmiſe. This ſhows that he was not over happy in his laſt marriage, and that a young and beautiful wife is not at all convenient for a traveller (25). Be that as it will, the following paſſage of Plutarch will not be diſagreeable. *Theophanes the Leſbian thought it madneſs to ſlight Egypt, which was not above three days ſailing . . . . and to throw himſelf into the hands of the Parthians, and . . . . to expoſe a*

(19) Id. in Pompeio, *pag.* 648.

(20) Id. ib. *pag.* 659. *A.*

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 658.

(22) Id. ib. *pag.* 652.

(23) Id. ib. *pag.* 659, *& ſeq.*

(24) Id. ib. *pag.* 662.

(25) See the remark [*G*] of the article SARA.

MUNUZA, (*a*), a valiant Mooriſh c
the Saracens, who had juſt then conquered S
entered into a ſecret alliance with Eudo d
conquerors. He complained that they trea
which perhaps was only a pretence for cov
another much more powerful. He was paſ
tain [*B*], and knew very well, that he c

(*a*) Others call him *Munioz*. Roderic de Toledo calls him *Muniz*.

[*A*] *A Mooriſh captain.*] Auguſtin Curio (1) ſpeaks of two Gothic captains, ſubjects of the king of Spain, who favoured the Saracens, one of which was called Mugnuza, and the other Mugnos: the latter lord of Cerdaigne, *Cerdaniæ Regulus*, obtained of the Saracens the government of the neighbouring places; and as he knew the country, and alſo was very cruel, he did much damage to the Spaniards (2), who from the mountains and woods, in which they ſheltered, made incurſions upon the Saracens. Having made ſome complaints, that the treaty made by his mediation with Eudo his father-in-law, was not obſerved; he was beſieged by Abderama; but eſcaped, and was afterwards taken and beheaded: thus, ſays my author (3), did theſe traytors to their country quickly periſh! What contradictions are here in this Hiſtory! Some ſay, that Munuza was a Mahometan Moor, who rebelled againſt his Calif; others, that he was a Spaniard and a Chriſtian, who went over to a party of the Saracens, and continued faithful to them, except as to ſome complaints. Roderic of Toledo (4) ſays, that Muniz, ſon-in-law of Eudo, put ſeveral Chriſtians to death, and burnt the biſhop Anambaldus.

(1) Hiſtor. Sarracen. *lib. i, pag. m.* 81.

(2) Contra quos exercitum duxit Mugnoces vir immaniſſimus, qui quod regionum & locorum peritus eſſet, magnis eos cladibus afflixit. *Auguſt. Curio, Hiſt. Sarracen. lib. i, pag. m.* 88.

(3) *Lib. ii, pag.* 112.

(4) Hiſt. Arab. *cap. xiii.*

(5) Abrég. Chronol. *Tom. i, pag. m.* 192. *Moreri has copied this fault.*

(6) Audigier, Origine des Françoiſe, *Tom. ii, pag.* 244.

(7) Oihenart, *pag.* 191, *ſays* Momerana.

[*B*] *He was in love . . . with the princeſs of Aquitain.*] She was the daughter of Eudo: but I confeſs, I do not know her name, altho' I have read in Mezerai (5), that her name was Lampagia, and in another author (6), that ſhe was called Menina, or Numerana (7). What keeps me in ſuſpence as to Lampa-

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princeſs, and by promiſing to enter into a war againſt the Saracens, in order to prevent their giving Eudo duke of Aquitain any diverſion, while he was attacking Charles Martel. Love therefore was the great principle of the revolt of Munuza. He was the ugliеſt man in the world; on the contrary, the daughter of Eudo was a very great beauty. Beſides, he was a Mahometan, whereas the princeſs was a zealous Chriſtian. Yet all could not hinder her being given to him: the ambition of the father prevailed over the averſion of the daughter. Munuza was as good as his word, he took up arms as ſoon as the marriage was concluded; but with ill ſucceſs. Abderama the governor of Spain (*b*) puſhed him ſo briſkly, that he was forced to ſhut himſelf up in Puycerda. Munuza had ſome hopes of holding out here, as Don Pelagius had done in the mountains of Aſturia; but beginning to want water, and finding himſelf odious to the inhabitants, he quitted this poſt, and endeavoured by ways which he thought unknown, to retire with his wife to the duke of Aquitain. He was cloſely purſued, and found his condition ſo wretched, that he fell into deſpair, and threw himſelf headlong from the top of the mountains (*c*), that he might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. His head was brought to Abderama. His wife was alſo carried to him [C]; but Abderama thinking her too beautiful for himſelf, ſent her to the Caliph (*d*). He choſe rather to make this preſent to his ſovereign in favour of his ambition, than to keep her for his own private pleaſures. There is no doubt but he diſcovered the alliance between Munuza and Eudo and that among other motives, he deſigned to chaſtiſe the father in law who had been the promoter of this ſon-in-law's rebellion. Accordingly we find that no one was more alarmed than Eudo at this expedition of Abderama, and that no one ſuffered ſo much by it as he, which may ſerve

(*b*) The Caliph Iſcam had given him this government.

(*c*) In 731.

(*d*) *See the* Hiſtory of France by Cordemoi, *Tom. i, pag.* 403.

nuza. Let us now conſider the other names given her. They pretend that ſhe was called Menina, or Numerana (10), and endeavour to prove it from monuments in Biſcay, upon the credit of which Garibai relates that Eudo had a daughter called Menina, or Numerana, who was the wife of Froila king of the Aſturias. To make ſomething of this proof, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the princeſs of Aquitain, with whom the governor of Cerdaigne fell in love, was married a ſecond time to Froila, king of the Aſturias. And this is what they ſuppoſe (11). *She was married twice; the firſt time to Munioz king of Cerdaigne, a Saracen revolted againſt Iſcan Miramolin, who, under the conduct of Abdirama, his lieutenant-general in Spain, and of Froila king of the Aſturias, then in alliance with Miramolin, defeated Munioz, who was left among the dead in the field of battle, in* 737 (12), *and left behind him this beautiful widow in the power of Abdirama, who deſigned her for the ſeraglio of Iſcan . . . . . But king Froila being paſſionately in love with her, Miramolin, very honourably ſent her back to him, and Froila married her . . . . The French and Spaniſh authors have therefore falſly aſſigned two daughters to Eudo; one by the name of Menina, married to Froila, the other by the name of Numerana, married to Munioz; it being certain that this was one and the ſame perſon, who was married ſucceſſively to theſe two kings, whoſe name had ſuffered ſome little variation in the Spaniſh and Mooriſh idioms, but is in reality the ſame perſon.* This ſuppoſition is founded only upon theſe words of Sebaſtian of Salamanca. ‘ Nuninam quandam adoleſcentulam è ‘ Waſconum præda ſibi ſervari præcipiens (Froila) ‘ poſtea eam in regale conjugium copulans (13). . . . ‘ *Froila having given orders to reſerve for himſelf a* ‘ *certain young maid taken among the Gaſcon captives,* ‘ *afterwards, made her his queen.*’ But who does not perceive the weakneſs of this proof? In the firſt place, the wife of a governor of Cerdaigne, a Moor by nation, could not be a part of the booty taken from the Gaſcons. In the ſecond place, the wife of this governor was delivered up to Abderama, who ſent her to his Calif. She was not therefore the Nunina of Sebaſtian of Salamanca; for ſince Froila gave order, that this Nunina ſhould be ſet a part for himſelf, it is plain, that Abderama had not the diſpoſal of her. Nay it is even to be preſumed, that if he had been preſent in the action wherein this Nunina was taken priſoner, Froila could have given no commands as to this part of the booty. In the third place, if theſe words, *Froila commanded, that a certain young maid, who was found among the booty, taken from the Gaſcons, ſhould be kept for himſelf, and afterwards married her,* could be explained after this manner, *Froila became paſſionately in love with the widow of the governor of Cerdania, who was fallen under the power of Abderama, and had been ſent to Miramolin, by whom ſhe was ſent back very honourably, and Froila married her.* If, I ſay, theſe kind of explications were once allowed, there is nothing but what may be found in any words, nor would it be at all difficult to prove black to be white. I do not here aſk, whether it is probable, that any author would deſcribe the daughter of a duke of Aquitain, the widow of a governor of a province, who was become head of a party, and the fineſt princeſs of her time, in the ſtyle of *quandam adoleſcentulam è Waſconum præda, - - - a certain young maid among the Gaſcon priſoners.* I do not aſk this, I ſay, how reaſonable ſoever it may ſeem, for I fear I ſhould be anſwered, that the authors of theſe times wrote in a very ſimple and careleſs manner. I have ſeveral other proofs beſides this againſt the ſuppoſitions of Mr Audigier. For without making much ado, one need only conſider the words immediately preceding thoſe which he cites (14), to demonſtrate the falſhood of his imaginations; ‘ Vaſcones rebellantes ſuperavit ‘ atque edomuit, Nuninam quandam adoleſcentulam ‘ ex Vaſconum præda ſibi ſervari præcipiens, *&c.* - - ‘ *He defeated and reduced the rebellious Gaſcons, com-* ‘ *manding Nunina, a certain young maid among the booty* ‘ *taken from the Gaſcons, to be reſerved for himſelf,* &c.’ It is manifeſt, that this booty was taken, not when the governor of Cerdaigne threw himſelf headlong from the top of the mountains, but when the king of the Aſturias puniſhed the rebellion of ſome of his own ſubjects. Now ſince this king of the Aſturias, as to himſelf, could have no rebellious ſubjects beyond the Pyrenean mountains, it is plain the Gaſcons, whom he overcame, were not under the obedience of Eudo the duke of Aquitain: How then could the daughter of Eudo be a part of the booty? The learned Ambroſius Morales (15) has ſhown, that the Gaſcons mentioned in this paſſage of Sebaſtian of Salamanca, are the inhabitants of Alava, *Alavanſes.* Let us conclude, I. That it is not at all probable, this beautiful widow ever ſaw Europe again, after ſhe ſet foot in the ſeraglio of Calif Iſcam. He would never have cared to part with ſo ſweet a morſel in favour of Froila, whoſe alliance with Miramolin I take to be very doubtful. II. That the daughter of Eudo, wife to Froila, king of Aſturias, mentioned in the monuments of Garibai, is different from her who was married to Munuza. III. That the Nunina whom Froila ordered to be kept for him, and whom he afterwards married, is not the ſame with Menina or Numerana, the daughter of Eudo, who was the wife of Froila, according to the monuments of Garibai. IV. That without giving ourſelves too much trouble to reconcile Garibai and Sebaſtian of Salamanca, it will be beſt to ſay, that one of the two was miſtaken, and in all caſes to prefer the latter before the former. Catel obſerves (16), that *the name* of the daughter of Eudo married to Munios lord of Cerdaigne, is not known.

[C] *His wife was alſo carried to Abderama.*] Here are two expreſs paſſages to this purpoſe (17), the firſt of Roderic of Toledo, the ſecond of Iſidorus of Badajos. ‘ Viri exercitus caput Muniz præcipitio ‘ jam

(10) Audigier, *ubi ſuprà, pag.* 243.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) See the following remark.

(13) Oihenart, *Not. Vaſcon, pag.* 191, *ſays, that in the manuſcript of the collection of Navarre at Paris, it is* Munam, *and in the printed edition* Munniminam.

(14) He has cited the paſſage entire, *pag.* 224.

(15) *Lib. xiii, cap. xvii, & xxv, apud Oihenart. pag.* 192.

(16) Hiſt. du Languedoc, *pag.* 525.

(17) Cited by Audigier, *Tom. ii, pag.* 220. He attributes, at *pag.* 243, to Iſidore of Badajos, what he had attributed to Roderic of Toledo, at *pag.* 220.

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serve to refute those who accuse him of having observed (e).

(e) In the remark [I] of the article ABDERAMA.

' jam colliſum cæde ſecunda detruncant, & cum fi-
' lia Eudonis regi ſuo læti præſentant. Abdiramen
' autem de rebellis interitu jucundatus, ejus uxorem,
' cum eſſet pulcherrima, ſummo regi trans maria ho-
' norificè deſtinavit. . . . . *Muniz being dead by throw-*
' *ing himſelf down headlong, the ſoldiers of the army,*
' *as it were killing him over again, cut his head off*
' *from his body, and joyfully preſented it, together with*
' *the daughter of Eudo, to their king. But Abdiramus be-*
' *ing ſufficiently pleaſed with the death of that rebel,*
' *honourably appointed the wife, as ſhe was ſo perfect a*
' *beauty, to be carried over ſea as a preſent to the great*
' *Caliph.*' Let us now hear Iſidorus of Badajos ; ' Cu-
' jus caput ubi eum jacentem repererunt trucidant, &
' regi una cum filia Eudonis memorati ducis præſen-
' tant, quam ille maria tranſvectans ſublimi principi
' procurat honorificè deſtinandam. - - - - *Whoſe head,*

MUSAC, a gentleman of Burgundy, con
printed at Paris in 1629. It is divided into
I ſhall give ſome extracts of it, which may ſe
diſpute between Balzac and Father Goulu [A

[A] *I ſhall give ſome extracts of it which may ſerve for a ſupplement to the Hiſtory of the diſpute between Balzac, and Father Goulu.*] The perſons engaged in this academical conference are eight. Some of them ſpeak for or againſt Balzac, others for or againſt Father Goulu ; and laſtly, one acts the part of a judge. We find at pag. 47, that *the judicious Valentine, who has raiſed the tomb of the French orator, and followed the Thraſo ſtep by ſtep, examining the Apology* (1) *page after page, has found a great many faults in it.* We ſhall ſee in what manner ſome books which Balzac was about to publiſh were ſpoken of: it is the ſureſt way in the world to make them appear bad, though they were ever ſo good: becauſe in the event they muſt fall infinitely ſhort of the idea given of them. Neither the friends nor the enemies of an author can do him a greater diſſervice, than by proclaiming his works, under ſo pompous a character. It is ſuffocating the child under pretence of careſſing it.

(1) That is, the Apology of Balzac, written by the prior Ogier.

' He will make it appear, if he has but leiſure
' and others patience, that he can ſucceed as well in
' long as in ſhort performances, and that he is ſo
' great a maſter of the weapons of Eloquence, as to
' handle both the long ſword and dagger with equal
' dexterity. This will be found, when they are pro-
' duced on the ſtage of the world. This prince at
' whoſe appearance the glory of all others muſt va-
' niſh, in the ſame manner as the ſtars fade away at
' the riſing of the ſun. This admirable retirement,
' which will eclipſe the luſtre of Plato's commonwealth.
' This dreadful judgment which in imitation of the fi-
' nal one will examine all the univerſe, and render
' to every one according to his works ; and this in-
' comparable Hiſtory where, as in a magic glaſs,
' will appear the moſt ſecret actions of human Life,
' and which will ſerve for a moral and political rule
' to be moſt certainly depended on by all poſterity as
' an invariable principle (2).' This ſame raillery has been expreſſed in other terms: ' All the world waits
' with very great impatience, to ſee quickly the works
' of the author of the letter, ſwell with this grand piece,
' which he has ſpoken of ſo much, and promiſed ſo
' long, and expects that he will diſplay the top-gal-
' lant ſail of his incomparable eloquence, and ſtrain
' all the ſtrings of his wit to diſcover the whole ſtrength
' of his learning, this retirement or hermitage where
' will be admitted, more pieces than in Plato's com-
' monwealth. This prince, an inimitable work, a
' fragment of which being publiſhed by way of ſpe-
' cimen, has been taken all to pieces by Phyllarchus,
' will ſhew whether he will be able to maintain
' the empire of wit, or whether his reign will not
' be as ſhort as that of the king of Bohemia. This
' terrible judgment of the living and dead (if we may
' be allowed to uſe this expreſſion without blaſphemy,
' and without invading the office of the Son of God,
' to whom the Father has committed all judgment)
' this judgment which muſt ſurpaſs that of the an-
' gel Michael, and even of the archangel, if he

(2) Conférence Academique, *pag.* 194.

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(9) Conf. Academique, pag. 58.

of this work, when he gave the particulars of that famous quarrel (*a*).

(*a*) *In his* Bibliotheque Françoiſe, *pag.* 120, *& ſeq.*

(10) In imitation of the like judgment, at the end of the third Eclogue of Virgil, *Et cornile tua ferant &c.*

Eſlevez noſtre langue au plus haut de ſa gloire
Et conſacrez vos noms au Temple de Mémoire (9).

You both deſerve the Heifer (10) *as your prize,*
Both equal in this learned exerciſe,

Both noble warriours in words we own.
Go hand in hand, grac'd with the laurel crown,
Compleat the glories of our tongue, and Fame
Shall in her temple eternize your name.

MUSCULUS (WOLFGANG) one of the moſt famous Divines of the XVIth century, was born at Dieuze in Lorrain September 8, 1497. His father, who was a Cooper by trade, finding he had an inclination to learning, deſigned him for a ſcholar; but the young man muſt be forced to provide his own ſubſiſtence, that is, to beg his bread by ſinging from door to door. He ſung one evening at Veſpers in a convent of Benedictins (*a*) with ſuch ſucceſs, that they offered him gratis the habit of the order. He accepted the propoſal, and was then but fifteen years of age. He applied himſelf hard to his ſtudies, and became a very good preacher. He approved Luther's opinions, and maintained them vigorouſly on all occaſions; which made a great impreſſion upon ſeveral of his brother friers, for the greateſt part of the Benedictins of this convent quitted the habit. On the other hand he made himſelf a great many enemies, and was expoſed to ſeveral dangers; but at laſt delivered himſelf out of theſe difficulties, by making an open profeſſion of Lutheraniſm. He eſcaped to Straſburg towards the end of the year 1527, and there married publickly, on the twenty ſeventh of December of the ſame year, Margaret Barth, to whom he was contracted before he quitted the monaſtery. Having nothing to ſubſiſt upon, he placed his wife as a ſervant to a miniſter's family, and bound himſelf apprentice to a Weaver, who turned him away about two months after (*b*). He had reſolved to earn his livelihood by working at the fortifications of Straſburg (*c*); but the evening before he was to begin this drudgery, he was informed that the magiſtrates deſigned him to preach every Sunday in the village of Dorliſheim. He was very glad of this, and diſcharged the office with great care; it did not oblige him to reſidence, for he went from Straſburg every Saturday, and returned on Monday. He lodged the reſt of his time at Martin Bucer's houſe [*A*]. Some months after his affairs took another turn, for it was thought neceſſary he ſhould reſide; accordingly he removed to Dorliſheim, and there ſuffered extreme poverty with great conſtancy [*B*]. He was recalled to Straſburg at a year's end, to ſerve as miniſter in the principal church. Having diſcharged this office about two years he was called to Augſburg, and began to preach there January 22d 1531. The duties of the miniſtry there incumbent on him, were very painful during the firſt years; for he had not only the Roman Catholics to diſpute with, but alſo the Anabaptiſts. He oppoſed thoſe who were of opinion, that the latter ſhould be put to death, and by degrees obtained of the magiſtrates, that Popery ſhould be wholly baniſhed [*C*]. He ſerved the church of Augſburg till ſuch time as the magiſtrates were ſo

(*a*) In the country of Lutzelſtein.

(*b*) The reaſon of this was becauſe Muſculus would be always diſputing with an Anabaptiſt miniſter who lodged with this Weaver.

(*c*) Compare above, remark [*I*] of the article JUNIUS (FRANCIS).

[*A*] *He lodged the reſt of the time at Martin Bucer's houſe.*] There he got his board by tranſcribing; for Bucer's hand was ſo bad, that the Printers could not read it; and he himſelf was often puzzled to make it out. But Muſculus who could read it with eaſe, tranſcribed it in a wonderful good hand, and by this means did Martin Bucer a great deal of ſervice, who was at that time employed on ſeveral works for the preſs. I ſhall repeat the words of Melchior Adam, which mention ſome particulars. 'Adeò ma-'lè pingebat Bucerus; ut quæ ſcriberet, à Typogra-'phis, imò ab ipſomet ſæpè Bucero, difficillimè le-'gerentur: Muſculus verò ea legebat expeditiſſimè, '& pingebat elegantiſſimè. Deſcripſit itaque ei 'cum alia plura, tùm verò potiſſimum explicationem 'Zephaniæ Prophetæ, quæ extat, in cujus fronte e-'jus leguntur carmina, & *Pſalterium* illud totum, 'quod ſub *Aretii Felini* nomine in lucem edidit (1). '- - - - *Bucer's writing was ſo very bad, that the* 'Printers, *and even he himſelf, could hardly read it:* 'But *Muſculus read it eaſily, and copied it elegantly.* 'He *tranſcribed therefore for him, among many other* 'things, *his Expoſition of the prophet Zephaniah, which* 'is *in print, and in the beginning of which are to* 'be *ſeen his verſes, and that whole Pſalter, which he* 'publiſhed *under the name of Aretius Felinus.*' Eraſmus, Lipſius, and ſeveral other great authors, had the ſame defect as Martin Bucer; and there were very few learned men who could write ſo well as Muſculus. This was much more rare in the XVIth than in the XVIIth century.

(1) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. Germ. pag. 374.

[*B*] *He removed to Dorliſheim and there endured extreme poverty with great conſtancy.*] He had no houſehold goods, but a little bed which he had brought from his convent. His pariſhoners were ſo charitable as to offer him neceſſary utenſils; but he lay on a little ſtraw ſpread upon the floor (2). The Hiſtorian obſerves, that his wife was then about to be brought to bed (3), and it is from hence Mr Baillet takes occaſion to ſay, *That the Proteſtants reckon it amongſt the moſt heroical mortifications of Muſculus, that he lay on the hard ground, and had the generoſity to reſign to his wife the bed he brought from his convent, when ſhe came to want it for her delivery* (4). He ſerved a year in the church of this village, without receiving one farthing of his penſion. At laſt the magiſtrates of Straſburg took pity on him, and aſſigned him ſomething out of their public treaſury. 'Annum totum 'in illa eccleſia docuit, cum ne teruncium quidem 'à quoquam ſtipendii loco acciperet, nec etiam pe-'teret; ſed in ſumma paupertate patientiſſimè & tran-'quillè viveret. Quo minus autem illi ſtipendium 'ſolveretur; in cauſa erat Abbas Cœnobii *Hohenforſt*, 'qui cum omnes illius eccleſiæ decimas, & cenſus an-'nuos colligeret; miniſtro tamen evangelii ſtipendium 'pendere recuſabat; tandem verò Argentinenſes ut ipſius 'penuriam ſublevarent, aliquam illi pecuniæ ſummam, 'è publico ærario benignè numerarunt (5). - - - - *He* 'taught *a whole year in that church, while he nei-*'ther *received nor ſollicited one farthing of a ſalary from* 'any *one; but lived patiently and quietly in the great-*'eſt *poverty. The non-payment of his ſtipend was ow-*'ing *to the abbot of Hohenforſt, who collected all the* 'tithes, *and annual revenues of that church, and refu-*'ſed *to pay the miniſter; but at laſt the Straſburghers,* 'to *relieve his neceſſities, generouſly ordered him a ſum* 'out *of their public treaſury.*'

(2) Parum autem ſtraminis ſolo inſtratum illi pro lectica erat. *Id. ib.*

(3) Cum uxor ejus jam partui vicina eſſet. *Id. ib.*

(4) Baillet, Artic. XI, §. II, *of his* Anti.

(5) Melch. Adam, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He obtained . . . . of the magiſtrates of Augſburg, that Popery might be wholly baniſhed.*] Muſculus was at firſt a miniſter of the church of the Holy Croſs. The Catholics who ſtill poſſeſſed the church of Notre Dame, and ſeveral others better than that, and the greateſt part of the convents, uſed all their endeavours, not only to maintain their poſſeſſion, but alſo to expel the Lutherans. They were ſtrongly oppoſed by all the miniſters; but the zeal of Muſculus was much greater than that of his

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so weak as to receive the *Interim* in the year 1548. Then he quitted this city, and retired into Swisserland. His wife and eight children followed him some weeks after; he went to meet them at Constance the thirtieth of July, and having waited at Zurich till some convenient call should offer, he was at last invited in the year 1549 by the lords of Berne to be professor of Divinity. He accepted it with much pleasure, and discharged the duty of the place with all possible diligence; and to testify his acknowledgment to the city of Berne, he always refused the employments which were offered him in other places [D]. He confined himself to Theological lectures, and would not accept of a preacher's place which was offered him [E]. He died at Berne August 30, 1563 (d). He was a very laborious and very learned man, and published a great many books [F]. He was also employed in some Ecclesiastical deputations, of very great importance [G]. He made himself

(d) *Taken from* Melchior Adam, in Vita Musculi, *pag.* 367, *& seq.* Vitar. Theolog. *All that he has said, is taken from the Life of Musculus, written by Abraham Musculus his son. It is prefixed to the* Synopsis festalium Concionum Wolfgangi Musculi, *Edit. of Basil,* 1599, *in* 8vo.

his colleagues. Hence it came to pass that the Catholics chiefly hated him. He did so much by his sollicitations, that, on the twenty second of July 1534, the senate and people of Augsburg absolutely forbad them to preach in any part of the city, and left them only eight places where they were permitted to say mass: they abolished it every where else, together with the images: and at last the great council on the seventeenth of January 1537, expelled all the priests and monks, and purged these eight places of idolatry, and consecrated them to the service of the Protestants. Upon this Musculus was made minister of the church which had been consecrated to the holy Virgin. He began to preach there July 15, 1537, and continued to do so quietly till the thirtieth of July 1547 (6). But from that day, to the time of his quitting Augsburg, his ministry was exposed to great troubles. Charles V, having made his public entry into that city, caused the church of Notre Dame to be restored to the Catholics. Musculus preached in the other churches with his usual zeal and freedom. He was watched, he was accused to the emperor as a seditious and calumniating preacher. Michael Sidonius, suffragan to the archbishop of Mentz, went often to hear his sermons, and took notes of them in his table-book. The senate fearing least this minister should be affronted, appointed three men to guard him constantly to church, and home again. There were often tumults at his door; the domestics of the cardinal of Augsburg raised mobs there, which committed a thousand insolences, and broke Musculus's windows with stones, The Spaniards and priests laid snares for him, and bore him down with slanders and clamour (7). Thus the things of this world rise and fall. Every one has his turn.

(6) Ib. *p.* 377.

(7) *Taken from* Melch. Adam. ubi supra, *pag.* 380, 381.

[D] *He always refused the employments which were offered him in other places.*] Three attemps were made to bring him over to England, and chiefly after the death of Martin Bucer. The city of Augsburg having recovered it's former liberty in 1552, reckoned him amongst the number of it's banished ministers whom it recalled. The Strasburghers, the electors Palatine Otho Henry, and Frederic, and the landgrave of Hesse, often sollicited him to come and exercise the duties of his function in their churches and universities, and promised him great pensions. He excused himself among other reasons, chiefly because he had a mind to consecrate the rest of his life to the service of the republic of Berne, who had so kindly received him in the time of his exile (8). This conduct is very commendable, and there are not many who have the resolution to follow it.

(8) Ex eodem, ibid. *pag.* 384, 385.

[E] *He confined himself to Theological lectures, and would not accept of a preacher's place which was offered him.*] This shows that Thuanus ought not to have said, that he exercised the office of pastor at Berne, *Pastoris munere defungens* (9).

(9) Thuan. *lib.* xxxv, (*and not* 36, *as Konig cites*) sub fin. *pag. m.* 716.

[F] *He published a great many books.*] He began with translations out of Greek into Latin. The first work of this nature which he published (10), was St Chrysostome's Commentary upon the epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. He published (11) afterwards the second tome of the works of St Basil, and then the Scholia of the same Father upon the Psalms, and several treatises of St Athanasius and St Cyril; the Ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius: and Polybius. The principal books of his own composing are these: two sermons, *de Missa Papistica*, preached at the time of the Diet at Ratisbon in 1541, which were printed at Wittemberg, and then at Augsburg, *cum additione de externis Missæ abusibus.* Cochlæus wrote against this book in 1544, and this occasioned the Anti-Cochlæus (12), which Musculus published in Latin and High Dutch the same year at Augsburg. He published five years after four dialogues under the name of Eutychius Myon, and with the title of Proscerus (13), upon this question, whether a Protestant can hold external communion with Popish superstitions? They were translated into French at London, and published unper the title of, Le Temporiseur, *The Temporiser*, by V. Poullain, in the year 1550, in 12mo. Note, that the word *Proscerus* is an allusion to the Greek word πρόσκαιρος, *Temporarius.* His Commentary on the Psalms was printed in 1550; that upon Genesis in 1554; one upon the epistle of St Paul to the Romans in 1555; and another upon Genesis in 1557: one upon the epistle to the Corinthians in 1559; and one upon the epistles of St Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians in 1561. His commentary upon the epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, and upon the first chapters of the first to Timothy, was after his death published by his heirs. His commonplaces are a work which employed him ten years, and were published by him in 1560 (14). A certain writer observes, that in it he has discovered the sordid abuses in the rates of the Romish Chancery. This observation would be lost by a bare translation, we shall therefore give it in the original. 'Minimè 'ridiculus hic MUSCULUS Papistis habetur, præ- 'cipuè cum turpissimam illam Nundinationem, Taxa- 'rum scilicet Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, id est scelerum 'omnium & blasphemiarum thesaurum toti Mundo in 'Locis suis Communibus aperuerit, quo facto crassi 'illi Romani Elephanti, insatiabiles ventres, furere 'videntur, non secus ac si ipsorum in probosci das, mu- 'res, ad rabiem uique eosdem vexantes, irrepsissent. 'Magnus igitur MUSCULUS existimandus, qui in 'Romani Plutonis Purgatoriique Regis auream Ca- 'meram atque Adyta penetravit (15). - - - *This MUS- 'CULUS is not looked upon by the Papists as in the 'least contemptible, especially when he lays open to all the 'world in his common-places that most abominable trade, 'the bank of the taxations of the Apostolical Chancery, 'that is of all degrees of wickedness and blasphemy; the 'discovery of which has set those monstrous Romish ele- 'phants, those insatiable brutes, into such a rage, as if 'some mice had got into their trunks, and made them 'quite mad. MUSCULUS, therefore, ought to be 'very much esteemed, for having penetrated into the 'the treasury and cabinet of the Romish Pluto, the 'king of purgatory.'* I pass over the books which Musculus wrote in the German tongue; but shall add, that he wrote all this vast number of volumes with his own hand, and never had any Amanuensis (16), and that if his works were very useful to the Protestants in those days, as doubtless they were, they are no longer so now: they have not been read this great while, tho' perhaps that is owing to too refined a taste, and too great a fondness for more fashionable performances. The works of Musculus and other Divines of those days, are given away almost for nothing at all auctions of Libraries.

(12) *See M.* Baillet, ubi supra.

(13) Epit. Bibloth. Gesneri, *pag. m.* 825.

(14) *Ex Melch. Adam. ubi supra, pag.* 383. I wonder *Melch. Adam*, takes no notice of the Commentary of Musculus on the gospel of St Matthew, and on that of St John.

(15) Jac. Verheiden, in Effigiebus & Elogiis præstantium Theologorum, *pag.* 101.

(16) Melch. Adam, ubi supra *pag.* 383.

[G] *He was employed in some Ecclesiastical deputations of very great importance.*] He was deputed, together with Boniface Lycosthenes, by the senate of Augsburg in 1536, to the synod which was to be held at Eisenac, where he was to treat of the re-union of Protestants as to the doctrine of the Lord's-supper. There was nothing done at Eisenac: Luther wrote to the Divines who were met there, that his health would not permit him to undertake a long journey, and therefore desired them to come a little nearer. They therefore left Eisenac, and advanced as far as Wittemberg, and there prepared and concluded a Concordat. Musculus,

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himself a pretty good master of the Greek and Hebrew Languages, tho' he began very late to study them [*H*]. We shall take notice of some judgments which have been passed on his writings [*I*]. It is observed, that he renounced the doctrine of Zuinglius, in the Concordat of Wittemberg, and embraced it again after he retired from Augsburg (*e*). See the remark [*G*]. We must not mistake him for ANDREW MUSCULUS a Lutheran author, and professor of Divinity at Frankfort upon the Oder, and superintendant-general of the churches of the March of Brandenburg in the XVIth century. He was born at Schneberg

(*e*) Micrælius, Synt. Hist. Eccl. *pag.* 781, *Edit.* 1699.

culus, and several others, tho' fully persuaded of the falshood of Luther's doctrine about the real presence, yet consented to the articles of agreement, by which they quitted those clear and distinct explications they had hitherto made use of. They had some good reasons for this condescension, for they hoped, they should, by this means, to the great benefit of the church and state, put an end to a considerable controversy, and restore peace which had been so long wished for: but the event making it appear to them, that all these turnings and windings of words did not at all satisfy the obstinate, but misled the simple, and gave room for thinking that the followers of the figurative sense had changed their opinions, they resumed their first expressions, explained themselves fully and clearly, and openly declared their sentiments. You see I am relating a very nice affair, and if I did not shew that I faithfully translate the very words of the author of the life of Musculus, I might be exposed to the censure of some readers. To prevent their malice, I shall transcribe the original Latin. *Quibus autem rationibus, cùm ipse* (Musculus) *tùm alii multi boni viri, impulsi sint; ut, cum in hac causa crassam quorundam sententiam minimè amplecterentur, in hanc tamen concordiam consentirent, deque sua, qua hactenus, docuerant, perspicuitate nonnihil decederent, prudentes viri facilè intelligunt. Nimirum quod persuasum hoc illis esset, facturos se id summo cum ecclesiæ & Reip. bono. Sic enim solum grævem & malè consultam illam de hac causa controversiam tolli, ecclesiis diu desideratam pacem restitui, & Respub. etiam firmius conjungi & consociari posse. Postquam verò, rerum eventu edocti, his quasi fucis verborum pertinacioribus non satis fieri, simpliciores verò in errorem abduci, seque apud omnes bonos in suspicionem mutatæ sententiæ venire cernerent, ad priſtinam suam perspicuitatem reverſi, & palàm quid sentirent, professi sunt* (17). Can they who preach up with a declamatory air the necessity of putting an end to controversies by indeterminate, ambiguous, and intricate, forms of expression, wherein each party may find their own account, produce many treaties of peace in religion concluded by this method? Was not that done at Wittemburg which they think so useful (18)? We have just now seen, that the fruits of it were but of a short duration.

(17) Id. ib. *pag.* 379.

(18) Compare this with the above remark [*B*], of the article BUCER.

Musculus was deputed from the senate of Augsburg to assist at the conferences held between the Protestant and Catholic Divines during the Diet of Worms, and during that of Ratisbon in 1540, and 1541. He was one of the secretaries at the conference of Ratisbon, between Melanchthon and Eccius, and drew up the acts of it (19). The inhabitants of Donawert having embraced the Reformation in 1544, intreated those of Augsburg to send them a Divine, who might form a church among them, and lay the foundations of the true faith. Musculus was made choice of for this office, and preached his first sermon December 28, to those new converts, and afterwards preached to them the word of GOD every day for three months together (20).

(19) Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 379, 380.

(20) Id. ib.

[*H*] *He made himself master of the Greek and Hebrew languages, tho' he began very late to study them.*] He began to study Hebrew when he was minister of Strasburg, being then full two or three and thirty years of age. He is said to have made a very swift progress in this language. 'Tantam brevi ejus linguæ 'cognitionem sibi comparavit: ut non sacra solùm 'Biblia; sed & Rabinorum obscurissimos commenta-'rios, & Chaldaicos etiam interpretes, perfectè intel-'ligeret (21). - - - - *He very soon made such a proficiency in the knowledge of this tongue, that he not only perfectly well understood the sacred writings, but also the most obscure Rabinical commentaries, and Chaldaic interpreters.*' It is added (22), that while he was minister at Augsburg he learned Arabic pretty well, without the help of any master. He was forty years old when he began to study the Greek tongue. Xystus Betuleius, first regent in the college of Augsburg, taught him the first rules of it (23). It is to be wondered at, that Musculus beginning so late to study the Greek tongue, should acquire so great a knowledge of it.

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 376.

(22) Id. ib. *pag.* 378.

(23) Id. ib.

[*I*] *We shall take notice of some judgments which were passed on his writings.*] Huetius commends his translations in some respects, but does not think him learned enough either in Greek or Latin. 'Wolffgangus 'Musculus, vir bonus, sed Græcæ linguæ notitiâ im-'paratus, neque Latinâ valdè instructus, brevitate '& nitore, simplicitate etiam ac fide commendatur: 'nam *& ea quæ intelligebat, & ea quæ non intelligebat, uti poterat, expressit: nihil videas illum studio 'prætermittere, nihil alienum substituere* *: cæteroquin 'halucinatur sæpe, utpote earum artium rudis, quas 'qui colunt, eruditi appellantur (24). - - - *Wolfgangus 'Musculus, a very good man, but not very knowing 'either in Greek or Latin, is commended for his shortness, clearness, simplicity, and faithfulness: for* he 'has expressed both those things which he did understand, and those which he did not understand, 'as well as possible; you find nothing escapes his intention, nothing is substituted that is foreign, *but 'he makes frequent mistakes, for want of a greater 'knowledge in learning.*' You would do well to consult the whole passage of Casaubon which Huetius pointed at, there you will find a parallel between Perotus and Musculus, as to their translation of Polybius. Let us see what has been said of another version of this minister. 'Musculus, a Protestant, undertook a 'new translation of the history of Eusebius, which 'he performed happily enough: he adheres very 'much to the letter, and has translated the text with 'great clearness and brevity: but he did not always 'rightly understand his author, and there are several 'faults in his version (25).' He is thought in his commentary upon the Psalms, 'to have shown much more 'modesty, and also more respect for antiquity, than 'the greatest part of other Protestants . . . . that the 'method he followed . . . . is very exact . . . . . that 'it may be said, this author knew the true way of 'explaining Scripture, but had not all the helps which 'were necessary to succeed in it to perfection, for want 'of being sufficiently versed in languages and critical 'learning. He examines, however, without prepos-'session the antient Greek and Latin translations, and 'had a knowledge sufficient to discover that the points, 'which are at this day in the Hebrew text, were not in 'it at the time of the Septuagint and of St Jerome (26).' You will see elsewhere (27) what opinion some have of his Commentary upon the gospel of St John, and upon the epistle to the Romans. Baudouin observes, that Musculus published in his common-places several things which should have moderated Calvin's spirit as to the punishing of Heretics, but that they rather inflamed it the more; insomuch, that, writing upon Zacharias, he carried this doctrine so far, that he seems as if he were for putting the sword into the hand of private persons, in order to take away the lives of Heretics (28). I do not warrant this to be matter of fact, but I relate it only to shew my readers, that it is thought Musculus disapproved the punishment of Servetus. Some think, that, by a fault very common to disputants, he took so much care to avoid one extreme, that he came too near the other; as when in opposing the Anabaptists, he runs down more than he ought the pastoral authority. See the passages which Mr Crenius has collected upon this subject (29).

* *Casaub. Præfat. ad Polyb.*

(24) Huet. de claris Interpret. *pag. m.* 225.

(25) Du Pin, Bibl. oth. *Tom. ii, pag.* 4. *col.* 1, *Edit. of Holland.*

(26) Father Simon, Critical History of the New Testament, *book iii, ch. xiv, pag. m.* 438.

(27) *Idem*, Critical History of the Commentators on the New Testament, *ch.* 50, *pag.* 749, and the following.

(28) *See* Fr. Balduini, Responsio altera ad Jo. Calvinum.

(29) Crenius, Animadvers. *Part vii, pag.* 149, *& seq. See also pag.* 148.

Note, that Father Simon pretends, that Musculus in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Romans observes a neutrality between the different methods of explaining predestination. 'He recites upon the 'places which are most intricate, the expositions of 'the antient commentators, and does not seem forward to give any decision of his own. For which 'reason upon these words of chap. ix. Itaque non 'volenti

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Schneberg in Misnia, and died in 1580 (*f*). He of the Ubiquity, and explained it after a very bold number of books (*g*), and being persuaded that Germany, and that the end of the world was ne with the assurance of one who pretends to have and New Testament. The Romish controversi this subject, one thing which they have sufficien

(*f*) Ex Micræl. ibid.

(*g*) See the Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheque, *pag.* 46, 47.

' volentis neque currentis, *&c. - - - So then, it is not*
' *of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth*, &c.
' he gives an abridgment of the various interpreta-
' tions he had read, without declaring himself at the
' same time for any side. He endeavours to recon-
' cile grace with free-will, by attributing to each of
' them what is its due. Ab hujusmodi contentionibus,
' *says he*, nos libenter abstinemus, credentes homini
' quidem esse voluntatem & conatum, sed quatenus
' ad velle & currere divinitus, vel ex gratia, vel ex
' indignatione Dei fuerit motus. - - - *I am willing to*
' *avoid entring into this kind of disputes, being of opinion,*
' *that there is actually in man a will and an endea-*
' *vour; but as to the heavenly willing and running,*
' *this must arise no doubt from the grace or displeasure of*
' *GOD.* He condemns notwithstanding the opinion
' of those who, with the Greek Fathers, have re-
' course to the prescience of GOD, and thinks that
' this cannot be reconciled with the judgment of St
' Paul: Hæc sententia plèna aliena est à Paulo, qui
' omnia tribuit miserentis Dei liberæ voluntati & gra-
' tiæ (30). - - - *This opinion is plainly contrary to that*
' *of St Paul, who ascribes every thing to the free-will*
' *and grace of a merciful GOD.*' I do not understand the moderation of this minister; for the Latin passage which Mr Simon mentions, contains in effect whatsoever is most rigid in Calvin's hypothesis. They who oppose free-will with the greatest strictness, never denied but that the soul of man wills or inclines this or that way, so far as it is moved by GOD.

(30) Father Simon, Critical History of the Commentators of the New Testament, *chap.* 50, *pag.* 750.

[*K*] *Andrew Musculus .... was a zealous promoter of the doctrine of the Ubiquity, and explained it after a very bold manner.*] Hospinian observes, that this doctrine was invented by Brentius, and that James Andreas added to it the hypothesis of the *majestatic body of JESUS CHRIST*; but withal, that it appeared Eutychian, and Monophysitical, or asserting only one nature in CHRIST, even in the judgment of many of the Lutherans, and that in effect it is plainly refuted by that article of the Apostle's Creed, *He ascended into Heaven.* For which reason, adds he, Andrew Musculus coming to the relief of James Andreas, at so hard a pinch, maintained, that the Ascension of JESUS CHRIST was nothing more than a cessation of the visibility of his body. He asserted, that this body was still in the clouds where the Apostles lost sight of it, and that, according to the style of Scripture, and the propriety of the words Ascending and Descending, no change of place ought to be imagined in the Ascension of JESUS CHRIST. I shall give you the words of Hospinian something more largely, because in the relation of such paradoxes, the more a writer abridges, the more danger he runs of imposing upon his reader. ' Idcirco Jacobo Andreæ
' succenturiatus est in gravi isto periculo *Andreas Mus-*
' *culus*, qui ascensionem Christi in cœlos dixit esse
' *disparentiam, & evanescentiam* duntaxat carnis Christi
' in his nubibus, ubi adhuc sit, & versetur, sed non
' visibili modo, forma, & eo conversationis genere,
' quo ante ascensionem & mortem conversatus est cum
' suis Apostolis. Sic enim Sectione 3. Articulorum
' Marchiticorum, Articulo 6. scribit; *Constare ex Spi-*
' *ritus sancti Grammatica, & vocabuli Descendere vel*
' *Ascendere proprietate, Filii hominis ascensionem in cœlum*
' *nihil aliud esse, quàm visibilem disparentiam, ac ut*
' *propriissimè loquitur Lucas Actor.* 1. *Subductionem per*
' *nubem ex oculis Apostolorum, discessionem ex hac mor-*
' *tali hominum vita, transmigrationem ex visibili con-*
' *versatione hominum, evanescentiam ex oculis hominum*
' *palpabilis & visibilis hujus vitæ conversationis, in-*
' *gressum in cœlum, regnum Dei Patris gloriosum.* Et
' Artic. 7. *Hanc*, dicit, *ascensionem non factum esse mo-*
' *tione Physicâ de loco in locum*, &c (31). - - - *Therefore,*
' James Andreas *in this extremity was relieved by* An-
' drew Musculus, *who affirmed, that the Ascension of*
' *CHRIST into Heaven was nothing more than a*
' *vanishing or disappearing of the body of CHRIST in*
' *those Clouds where it yet remains to this day, tho' not*
' *in that visible manner and form, nor with that sort*
' *of conversation which he used with his disciples before*

(31) Hospin. Histor. Sacrament. *Part* ii, *pag.* 492, *ad ann.* 1561.

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affinity with them by marriage. An Iriſh Jeſuit having given this title, *Quam infamis ſit ubivis conditio Miniſtrorum*, to one of the chapters of his *Britannomachia Miniſtrorum* (36), alledges in the firſt place the following paſſage of Andrew Muſculus, and cites the twenty ſeventh page of the treatiſe of Prophecy. 'Ut jam 'quis prædicantem agere velit, præoptaret, ſcio, nun- 'quam ſe in lucem hanc prodiiſſe. Parentes quoque 'in primo lavacro aquis ſuffocatum eſſe mallent. Quod 'ſi etiam aliqui ex noſtris liberis prædicantes fieri for- 'taſſe cuperent, infamiæ & turpitudinis metu adſpi- 'rare non poſſunt. Uſu venit etiam, cùm quis juve- 'nis virginem aliquam ſibi in matrimonio locari poſ- 'cit; ut eum parentes virginis aut etiam virgo ipſa, 'ſciſcitentur, utrùm prædicans fieri cogitet. Habe- 'mus etiam (quod multò magis horrendum eſt auditu) 'eorum exempla, qui ne repudiarentur, hac lege & 'conditione matrimonium contraxerunt, ut ſe prædi- 'cantes nunquam fore jurejurando promitterent. - - - - '*So that he who would become a preacher, had better, 'to my knowledge, wiſh he had never been born. His 'parents alſo ought to chuſe rather to have ſeen him 'drowned in the water he was baptized in. But if 'ſome of our children ſhould be deſirous perhaps of com- 'ing into that order, they will be prevented from aſpir- 'ing to it by the fear of infamy and diſgrace. It is 'even now become a cuſtom, that if any young man of- 'fers to court a young woman for his wife, the parents, 'or perhaps the very young woman herſelf, will immediate- 'ly aſk if he has any thoughts of the Miniſtry. Nay, (what 'is much more horrid to relate) we have alſo examples 'of ſome, who for fear they ſhould be refuſed, have conſent- 'ed to marry upon this agreement and condition, that 'they ſhould promiſe upon oath never to become preachers.*' He ſays afterwards, that Downham at p. 67, of his ſermons makes the ſame complaint as to England. I believe this Downham had in view the firſt times of the reformation under queen Elizabeth; for Sanders relates, that the *new preachers were at the beginning ſo negligent or unhappy in chooſing their wives, that they met with leud women and adultreſſes, which gave ſcandal to the meaner ſort of their own ſect, and was the ſport of the Catholics. Queen Elizabeth put forth a proclamation that the biſhops and prieſts ſhould take no woman in marriage that was not of good and honeſt reputation in the judgment of ſome; but*, adds he, *this did not remedy the evil, becauſe, on the one hand, many could no more live without wives, than they could without bread, to uſe their own expreſſions; and, on the other, they could find no man either among the Catholics or the Heretics themſelves, who would give his daughter in marriage to a preacher; for it was counted a ſcandalous thing to be the wife of a prieſt, and according to the laws of the kingdom, ſuch marriages are no better than adulteries, and ſuch women have no place allowed them according to the rank or degree of their huſbands, which is directly contrary to the nature of true marriage. Queen Elizabeth*, ſays he, *does not admit the wives of prieſts into her court: women of quality will not converſe with them; they are not called archbiſhops wives, and their huſbands ſhould keep them at home, as inſtruments and veſſels of their uncleanneſs and neceſſities* (37). All the world knows that Sanders wrote this book with ſo much rancour and paſſion, that he deſerves very little credit. But things are in all reſpects changed much for the better ſince thoſe days, as to the article we are now upon: and as to the paſſage of Andreas Muſculus, it is plain his adverſaries have miſrepreſented it. It is eaſy to conjecture that this Lutheran doctor, being big with this hypotheſis, that Germany was going to feel the ſcourge of Divine juſtice, contained in a prophecy of Jeſus Chriſt, exaggerated the contempt that was ſhown to the word of God, and declaimed too vehemently againſt the want of a due reſpect to his miniſters. Being heated with theſe ideas, he repreſented in hyperbolical figures the averſion the people had to the miniſtry; as if a father ſhould rather chooſe to ſee his ſon die in the cradle, than ſee him a preacher; and as if the parents of a young maid, and the young maid herſelf ſhould carefully aſk him who fought her in marriage, *have you any thoughts of being a miniſter?* In fine, as if to prevent a refuſal in courting a maid a man muſt proteſt upon oath, that he never would enter into holy orders. The enemies of the Proteſtants have not failed to make an advantage of theſe exaggerations (38). But to allow them to make the moſt of it, it may be truly ſaid, that the Proteſtants of France have given no occaſion to ſuch a reproach: they have always obſerved a very good and laudable cuſtom of honouring and reſpecting their paſtors; and it is certain, that they who were miniſters of the goſpel, married to more advantage, than if they had been laymen.

(36) The tenth section of the fifth chapter of the third book of Henry Etti-Sinenſis, *pag.* 342.

(37) Sanders, Hiſtory of the Schiſm of England, *pag.* 238.

(38) *See the* Hypocriſis Marci Antonii de Dominis detecta auctore Fideli Annoſo Veramentano Theologo, *pag.* 87, *where this paſſage of Muſculus is quoted. See alſo* Juſtus Calvinus, in Analyſi Tertulliani de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret. *cap. xli, num.* 5, *pag. m.* 132, & *Sylveſter Petra Sanctæ* Not. in Epiſt. Molinæi ad Balſacium, *cap. i, where they ſpeak of the contempt of the miniſtry.*

MUSSO (CORNELIO) biſhop of Bitonto, one of the greateſt preachers of his age, was born at Placentia in Italy, in the month of April 1511. He dedicated himſelf to the order of St Francis, to fullfil a vow of his mother [*A*], and when he was nine years old entered into a monaſtery of that order at Placentia. The vivacity of his wit, the ſtrength of his memory, and his great qualifications for preaching [*B*], induced Father James Roſa of Candazzo to take him for his diſciple. He carried him to Carpi and other places and made him ſtudy under good maſters. The young man went very well through his Claſſical learning, and preached ſo eloquently, that he ſoon acquired a great reputation, and the friendſhip of Leonello Pio of Carpi (*a*) who ſent him to Venice with letters of recommendation, to give him an opportunity of preaching before the ſenate, and to obtain a ſettlement in the univerſity of Padua. This affair proved very ſucceſsful.

(*a*) He had a ſon who became a cardinal.

[*A*] *He dedicated himſelf to the order of St Francis, to fullfil a vow of his mother.*] Note firſt, that he was born upon Wedneſday in Eaſter week. His mother, by a ſtrict obſervance of the faſts of Lent, had impaired her health, ſo that it was thought ſhe could not out-live the pains of child-birth. In this weak condition ſhe implored help from on High, and had recourſe to the interceſſion of the holy Virgin, and to that of St Francis, and having a particular devotion for this ſaint, ſhe made a vow, that if her pains went off, and ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon, ſhe would conſecrate him to God as a member of his ſeraphic order. As ſoon as ſhe had made this vow ſhe found herſelf relieved, and was brought to bed of our Cornelio. He was named Nicolas after his grandfather by the father's ſide; but being entred into a religious order, would be called Fra. Cornelio, becauſe his mother's name was Cornelia. He knew of the vow ſhe had made when ſhe was in labour of him, and thought very much of it after her death, and it was this conſideration which engaged him to become a monk (1).

[*B*] *The ſtrength of his memory, and his great qualifications for preaching.*] After he had heard a ſermon he was perfect maſter of it, and could repeat it ſo readily, that one would have thought he had made it. This deſerved admiration. 'Si ſcopri di ſpirito 'coſi gentile, e dotato di memoria coſi eccellente, 'ch' era di gran maraviglia, e di ſtupore à tutti, in- 'tanto che ſtando egli ad udir le prediche che ſi fa- 'cevano tal' hora nella Chieſa, le apprendeva coſi 'bene e le recitava poi con prontezza tale che pa- 'reano veramente coſe ſue (2). - - - - *He diſcovered ſo 'fine a genius, and was endowed with ſo excellent a me- 'mory, that he was greatly admired, and wondered at 'by every body, inſomuch that as he ſtood to hear the ſer- 'mons which were preached in the church at the u- 'ſual hour, he remembered them ſo perfectly, and repeat- 'ed them afterwards with ſo much readineſs that they 'ſeemed to be his own.*' When he was made to repeat ſuch ſermons, he would perfectly imitate the way and geſtures of the preacher. They tried him this way more than once before the preacher in ordinary to the Conventual Franciſcans, who was very much ſurprized to find himſelf ſo well imitated. 'Queſto commoſſe di 'modo il figlivolo, che oltre il farle vedere più volte 'iſperienza delle ſue prediche, ch' egli recitava in re- 'fettorio, l'immitava talmente con i movimenti e co'. 'geſti, che parea fuſſe ſtato nel predicar aſſiduamente, 'ammaeſtrato e eſſercitato da lui (3). - - - - *The youth 'could act him in ſuch a manner, as he made appear by 'frequent*

(1) Taken from his Life written by Don Giuſeppe Moſo.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

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ſucceſsful. Cornelio Muſſo, little and lean as he was [C], was admired for his ſermons; and Peter Zeno, Lewis and James Cornaro, eſpouſed him with ſo much zeal, that they procured him an honourable poſt in the convent of the Franciſcans of Padua; where, without neglecting the art of Rhetoric, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, under the famous Zimara, and to that of Divinity under Father Simonetta. He took the degree of Bachelor, and read lectures, and held diſputations which got him the reputation of an uncommon genius. He preached a courſe of Lent-ſermons at Padua with great applauſe, He maintained theſes for ſeveral days together, and was at laſt promoted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, as a reward of his merit. Peter Bembo, who was afterwards a cardinal, honoured him with his friendſhip, and gave him good advice as to Rhetoric, and concerning the Latin and Italian ſtyle. Lampridius (*b*) inſtructed him in the Greek tongue, and others in the Hebrew and Chaldee, for the underſtanding of the text of Scripture. He was appointed to preach a whole Lent in the convent of his order at Venice. He performed the ſame office in the moſt illuſtrious pulpits in Italy, and particularly at Milan, where he was much eſteemed by the duke (*c*). He was made profeſſor in ordinary of Metaphyſics in the univerſity of Pavia, and had this prince ſeveral times for his auditor. This univerſity being diſperſed after the death of that duke, by the confuſions of war, he was called to Bologna, to be profeſſor of Metaphyſics, and had a greater ſalary ſettled upon him, than was ever before given to any Regular; but ſeveral cities contending with one another to have him for their Lent-preacher (*d*), his academical lectures were diſpenſed with during that ſeaſon. However to make amends, he was obliged to read lectures upon the Scripture on the feſtival days at other times of the year. The epiſtles of St Paul were the ſubject of theſe lectures. A competitor ſtarted up who by explaining the ſame epiſtle after a heterodox manner raiſed great tumults, for he drew after him a great many followers. Cardinal Campegio, biſhop of Bologna, was obliged to employ his authority, to put a ſtop to this diſorder, by expelling the innovators, and impoſing upon this competitor the penance of a public recantation. From this time he conceived a particular eſteem for Cornelio Muſſo, and preſented him to Paul III, who kept him at Rome to preach at St Laurence *in Damazo*, and to live in quality of Theologer with the cardinal, his grandſon. Not long after, Ochinus, who had preached in this church, retired from Rome, after he had diſputed with our Cornelio, who convicted him of being a falſe brother. The new preacher of St Lawrence drew a great crowd to his auditory, and being about four years after promoted to the biſhopric of Bertinoro, he did not diſcontinue his preaching, except when he was deſired to read lectures upon the Epiſtles of St Paul in the ſame church. They were very well reliſhed, and as the Pope had a mind to hear him ſometimes, but could not, with convenience, out of the Apoſtolical palace, he took him from theſe public exerciſes, and gave him another office, which was to preach in Latin upon the goſpel for the day, in his Holineſs's chamber, or at his table, and immediately after to maintain a diſpute, and anſwer the objections which ſhould be propoſed to him. There was an extraordinary concourſe of Eccleſiaſtics regular and ſecular at theſe exerciſes: ſome cardinals and ſeveral prelates were preſent at them: The Pope himſelf propoſed ſometimes both anſwers and objections; and being very well ſatisfied of the ability of Muſſo, he promoted him to the biſhopric of Bitonto (*e*), and ſent him to the council as a proper perſon to diſpute among the reſt of the learned Divines upon any matters which might offer [D]. The article about Juſtification paſſed through the

(*b*) Lampridio Maeſtro, in quei tempi delli illuſtriſſimi Signori Gonzaghi. *Gioſeppo Muſſo, ubi infra, citation (b).*

(*c*) This was Francis Sforza.

(*d*) Accio che poteſſe predicare e ſodisfare alle Cittadi, che a gara l'una dell' altra un' anno ò due avanti lo ricercavano ſempre. *Id. ib.*

(*e*) By exchange for that of Bertinoro.

(4) Hinc factum ut funebribus cujuſpiam encomiis inopinato dicendis, vel ſanctorum facta ſtatis diebus præpropero patrum ſuorum monitu celebrandis præter Muſſum ſufficeret nemo. *Imperialis in Muſæo Hiſtor. pag.* 68.

(5) Gioſeppe, in the Life of Cornelio Muſſo.

'*frequent tryals of his ſermons, that he repeated them in* '*the hall at dinner time, and imitated him ſo exactly in* '*all his motions and geſtures, as tho' he had been conſtantly brought up under him, and inſtructed in his way* '*of preaching.*' It was eaſy for ſuch a young man to become a good orator. He had nothing more to do than propoſe to himſelf for a model the action of ſome great maſter. Note, that Muſſo had the talent of declaiming without much preparation. A funeral oration, a panegyric upon a ſaint, coſt him but a very little time: whenever his ſuperiors had occaſion for ſuch extemporary diſcourſes they addreſſed themſelves to him (4).

[C] *Little and lean as he was.*] The firſt time he was ſeen in the pulpit at Venice, the audience expected nothing from one of his little figure; but they were undeceived as ſoon as they began to hear his voice. 'Quivi invitati li primi ſenatori di Vinegia, lo fece ſalire in pulpito, ove veduto da loro coſi giovanetto, 'di picciola ſtatura, languido e eſtenuato nell' aſpetto, ogn' uno fra ſe ſteſſo faceva giudicio ch' egli 'non haveſſe nè ſcienza, nè forze, per negocio tale, 'ma udita c'hebbero la voce, e che furono ſentiti i 'ſuoi alti concetti, con quella ſingular' attione naturale datagli da Dio, tutti all' hora l'eſaltarono (5). '- - - - - *The principal ſenators of Venice, being invited to hear him, he mounted the pulpit, where appearing to them ſo very young, of a diminutive ſtature, and of a ſickly and thin viſage, they all immediately judged that he could neither have learning, nor ſpirits, for* '*ſuch an undertaking, but as ſoon as they heard his voice* '*and obſerved his ſublime conceptions, and the extraordinary natural abilities God had endowed him with,* '*they give him great commendations.*' There are ſome preachers who may be compared to the nightingale; ſuch as tho' meagre and ſmall, have yet ſo ſounding a voice, that they make all the vaults of a church reſound; ſo that one who hears without ſeeing them, would think they were perſons of a gigantic ſtature. Look at them and you are as much ſurpriſed as if you were to compare the ſmallneſs of a nightingale with the ſtrength of it's notes. There is, if I am not miſtaken, a fable to this purpoſe, and I remember the obſervation of a Lacedemonian, who having plucked off the feathers of a nightingale, defined it to be a thing which was nothing but voice (6). How happy a forerunner in favour of him who ſpeaks in public is a good mein! it diſpoſes the aſſembly to give great attention, and engages their approbation before he opens his mouth. He has not occaſion for half the eloquence which is neceſſary to procure applauſe to a preacher of a mean aſpect. This is a high encomium on the action and ſentiments of our Muſſo. Therefore this remark will not be thought uſeleſs. It deſerves to be remembred, that he is called the *Chryſoſtom of the Italians*, as Mr Drelincourt obſerves (7).

(6) Plut. in Laconicis apophth. *pag.* 233. *A.*

(7) *Drelincourt, Demandes à l'Evêque de Belley. pag. m.* 37. He cites a ſermon of the biſhop of Bitonto on the *Magnificat*, in which the preacher invokes the virgin in these words of Terence, *Lucina, Lucina ſer ſpem. - - - Help ob Lu-*

[D] *Paul III ſent him to the council as a proper perſon to diſpute among the reſt of the learned Divines upon all matters which might offer.*] Let us here collect all Muſſo's tranſactions at the council of Trent. He was one

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the hands of Muſſo; it was he who digeſted it, and explained it with very great diligence and application. The council being tranſlated from Trent to Bologna, was at laſt interrupted. Paul III died. Julius III ſucceeded him, who ſhewed a great deal of kindneſs to the biſhop of Bitonto, and made choice of him for his domeſtic prelate and aſſiſtant. He would not part with him to go to the council till he was informed by the legate, that the preſence of ſo learned a biſhop was abſolutely neceſſary. After the council was broke up, Muſſo went to ſee his biſhopric, and reſided upon it till the inauguration of Pius IV: then he made a journey to Rome, and was again employed by that Pope after the ſame manner as he had been under Julius III, and Paul III; for Pius IV appointed him to preach, and to maintain diſputes at his table. He remembered, that when he was *in minoribus*, he had often diſputed with him in the ſame place, under the papacy of Paul III. Some time after (*f*) he ſent him with his nephew into Germany, which gave him an opportunity of procuring himſelf a great reputation at the court of Ferdinand. He was afterwards employed at Rome in the affairs of the Inquiſition, and in the examination of matters which were treated of at Trent. This prelate departed from Rome after the concluſion of the council, and retired to Bitonto, where he applied himſelf to the reformation of abuſes, and to all the functions of a good biſhop. He had a mind to eſtabliſh a ſeminary, but was forced by the oppoſition raiſed againſt it to give over that deſign. After a reſidence of ten years, he reſolved to go and pay his duty to Pius V, then to viſit his native country, and afterwards to take a journey to Venice, in order to put ſome books in the preſs. He arrived at Rome after Gregory XIII, had ſucceeded Pius V. The new Pope detained him for his aſſiſtant, and would not ſuffer him to continue his journey till the opening of the Jubilee. Muſſo did not live ſo long: he died at Rome January 9, 1574, near ſixty three years old (*g*). He is very much commended for his

(*f*) In 1560.

(*g*) And not 64, as Moreri has it after Ghilini.

one of the firſt who went thither: the legates found only the biſhop of Cava at Trent, but were quickly followed by Thomas Campeggio biſhop of Feltro, and by Cornelio Muſſo (8). This latter preached in Latin at the opening of the council (9). His ſermon, the ſubſtance of which you will find in Father Paul (10), was criticiſed (11). Palavicin has much ado to anſwer and confute this criticiſm, altho' he employs all his learning to do it (12). A ſet of people more troubleſome than cenſurers of a ſermon aroſe againſt the biſhop of Bitonto; for his creditors, I mean thoſe who had penſions out of his biſhopric, proſecuted him in the moſt rigorous manner, of which this account is given by Father Paul: 'In the congregation of the 'fifth of March 1546, the biſhop of Bitonto, who 'had been lately cited to Rome by the auditor, at 'the requeſt of his penſioners, who endeavoured 'to force him by an excommunication, according 'to the ſtile of that court, to pay what was 'owing to them, complained of this way of proceed-'ing, and ſaid, that the demands of his penſioners were 'juſt; but that he was not to be blamed, becauſe he 'could not live at the council, and pay his penſions: 'ſo that he muſt either be diſcharged, or be ſupported 'with an equivalent ſum †. The poor prelates inte-'reſted themſelves for him, looking upon it as a com-'mon cauſe; and ſome ſpoke out plainly, that it was 'an affront to the council, that an officer of the court 'of Rome ſhould proceed by cenſures againſt a biſhop 'who aſſiſted at it: that after ſuch an extravagant 'proceeding the world would have reaſon to ſay, that 'the council was not free: that to vindicate their ho-'nour, they ought to cite the auditor to Trent, or at 'leaſt to give ſuch a demonſtration of their reſent-'ment againſt him as might ſecure the dignity of the 'council. Others ſet themſelves to ſpeak againſt 'penſions, and ſaid, it was very juſt, that the rich 'churches ſhould relieve the poor ones, but in a 'way of charity, and not by conſtraint, nor ſo as to 'deprive themſelves of neceſſaries; and that St Paul 'has taught the ſame thing ‡: that it was unjuſt the 'poor biſhops ſhould be forced by cenſures to re-'trench themſelves of neceſſaries to accommodate the 'rich; and that this abuſe deſerved very well to be 'provided againſt by the council, and the antient 'uſage re-eſtabliſhed. But the legates conſidering 'whither ſuch juſt complaints might tend, put an 'end to them, by promiſing that they would write to 'Rome, to ſtop the proceedings againſt the biſhop, 'and to grant him wherewithal to ſubſiſt at the coun-'cil (13).' Palavicin affirms (14), that the acts of this ſeſſion take no notice of theſe complaints, or of theſe reflexions of the prelates; and he adds, that they would have been ill grounded, ſince it would be very unjuſt to diſpenſe with the payment of debts, under the pretence of aſſiſting at a council. He does not deny that Muſſo being cited before the auditor, repreſented modeſtly to the legates his neceſſities, and deſired their aſſiſtance. He obtained his requeſt. They recommended him to the Pope, who, for that time, readily conſented to relieve him with a preſent of a hundred pieces of gold.

(8) Palavicin, Hiſt. del Concilio, lib. v, cap. viii, num. 9, ad ann. 1545.

(9) Id. ib. cap. xviii, num. 9.

(10) Fra-Paolo, Hiſt. du Concile de Trente, lib. ii, pag. m. 121, ad ann. 1545.

(11) Id. ib. pag. 122.

(12) Palavic. ubi ſupra, cap. xviii.

† Out of 600 crowns which his biſhopric was worth, he paid 200 in penſions.

‡ Veſtra abundantia illorum inopiam ſuppleat. 2 Cor. viii. Unuſquiſque prout deſtinavit in corde ſuo, non ex triſtitia, aut ex neceſſitate. Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus. 2 Cor. ix.

(13) F. Paul, ubi ſupra, pag. 140, 141.

(14) Palavic. lib. xv, cap. xvii, num. 4, pag. m. 636.

It is obſerved (15), that this biſhop vigorouſly maintained, that the Scripture and traditions deſerved an equal reſpect; but at laſt relaxed, and propoſed, that inſtead of an *equal reſpect*, it ſhould be ſaid, *a like reſpect*; but his propoſition was rejected. Palavicini blames his conceſſion. 'Ben è di maraviglia, 'ſays he, che il Muſſo havendo per sè la bontà della 'cauſa, la forza della ragione, e'l numero de'ſeguaci, 'ſi ritiraſſe nella vegnente congregazione, dalla ſen-'tenza felicemente difeſa è proponeſſe che in luogo 'd' *uguale*, ſi poneſſe, *ſimigliante*: Il che non ſorti 'approvazione. - - - *It is much to be wondered at, that* '*Muſſo having on his ſide the juſtice of the cauſe, the* '*force of the argument, and the number of followers,* '*ſhould yet, in the next congregation, relinquiſh an opi-*'*nion ſo ſucceſsfully defended, and propoſe inſtead of* equal '*to put* like: *which did not meet with approbation.*' This prelate was more orthodox as to the matter of Reſidence, for he maintained, by many arguments, that it was *jure divino* (16). He practiſed this doctrine tolerably well. 'Finito ultimamente, e chiuſo 'il ſacro Concilio, e deſiderando eſſo Monſignore di 'ritornar alla ſua Chieſa, far la rezidenza, e mettere 'in obſervanza il ſacro Concilio, anzi quello ch' egli 'haveva ſempre predicato al mondo, mantenuto nel 'medeſimo ſacro Concilio, e perſuaſo à ſua Beatitu-'dine in materia della reſidenza, con dire ſpeſſo, ubi 'oves, ibi paſtor; ibi paſtor ubi oves . . . chiefe licenza à 'ſua Beatitudine, e l'hebbe, coſi parti per Bitonto (17). '*At laſt the ſacred council being at an end, and broke* '*up, and our biſhop deſiring to return to his church, to* '*perform reſidence, and put in practice the rules laid* '*down by the council, according to what he had always* '*preached to the world, and maintained in the ſame* '*council, and perſuaded his Holineſs as to the obligation* '*to reſidence, by frequently repeating*, ubi oves, ibi 'paſtor; ubi paſtor, ibi oves, *where the ſheep are,* '*there ought to be the ſhepherd*; *where the ſhepherd is,* '*there ought to be the ſheep* . . . . *he aſked leave of his* '*Holineſs, and having obtained it, ſet out accordingly for* '*Bitonto.*' His explications of the doctrine of Juſtification were applauded in the council (18). He rejected the rigid hypotheſes as to the point of Predeſtination (19), and made an apology for the court of Rome againſt thoſe who aſcribed the abuſes in the elections of biſhops, and thoſe in the plurality of benefices to the Popes (20). In a word, he was regarded as the right-hand of the council (21). He and the archbiſhop

(15) Id. ib. cap. xiv, num. 3, pag. 639.

(16) Ib. lib. viii, cap. vi, num. 7, pag. 709.

(17) Gloſeppe Muſſo, ubi ſupra.

(18) Palavicin. ubi ſupra, lib. viii, cap. iv, num. 14.

(19) Fra-Paolo, lib. ii, pag. 195.

(20) Id. ib. pag. 231, 232.

(21) Palavicini, ubi ſupra, lib. viii, cap. vii, num. 4, pag. 780.

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his chaſtity, his ſobriety [E], his forgetting of injuries [F], his devotion, &c. He compoſed ſeveral books, ſome of which have been publiſhed (b) [G].

(b) Taken from his Life, written in Italian by *Gioſeppe Muſſo, ſua creatura.* It is printed before the *Prediche Quadrageſimali, &c. di Cornelio Muſſo.* I make uſe of the Venice edition in 1603.

archbiſhop of Matera were the two to whom the diſpatches from the legates gave the greateſt commendations (22).

(22) Id. ib.

The following paſſage contains both an error and an omiſſion. ‘ Inde Bertinori, mox Bitonti antiſtes ‘ electus: Germaniam ad ſuadendum Ferdinando Impe- ‘ ratori concilium tranſmiſſus: ad id porro Tridenti ‘ illa totius orbis celebritate initum Julii tertii, mox ‘ Pii quarti Pontificum nutu bis profectus, diſputatoris, ‘ arbitri, examinatoris ſuſceptam acriter provinciam ‘ exercuit (23). - - - *Being then made biſhop firſt of Ber-* ‘ *tinoro, and afterwards, of Bitonto, he was ſent to* ‘ *Germany, to recommend the holding a council to the* ‘ *emperor Ferdinand, and went himſelf twice to that* ‘ *which met at Trent with ſuch univerſal ſolemnity, the* ‘ *firſt time by the order of Pope Julius III; and the* ‘ *ſecond, by that of Pope Pius IV, where he diſcharged* ‘ *the office he had undertaken of diſputant, arbiter, and* ‘ *examiner, with great abilities.*’ Muſſo was ſent to the council by Paul III, and was not ſent thither by Pius IV. He has not therefore ſaid that which he ſhould have ſaid, but has ſaid that which he ſhould not have ſaid. If you would have another error, you need only conſider, that it is ſuppoſed here he was ſent to Germany before Julius III deputed him to the council, which is palpably falſe; for it was Pius IV who ſent him to the court of Ferdinand.

(23) Imperia in, ubi ſupra.

[E] *He is extreamly commended for his chaſtity, his ſobriety.*] It is pretended that he never knew a woman. ‘ Poſcia egli viſſe caſtiſſimo, e continentiſſimo in tutto ‘ il tempo ſuo, e ſi tiene che di quella integrità virgi- ‘ nale, che nacque, ſi moriſſe ancora, poiche non ſi ‘ ſcorſe mai in eſſo nè detto, ne fatto men c'honeſto in ‘ tutta la vita ſua, di che n'hanno fatto fede quelli che ‘ l'hanno ſervito dalla gioventu ſino alla ſua morte. ‘ Nel mangiare, è nel bere fu molto ſobrio, poiche ‘ bevea piu acqua che vino, e di una ò di due ſorte ‘ ſole di cibi, e quelli ſemplici, ſi contentava (24). - - - ‘ *Since he lived the moſt chaſte and continent, during his* ‘ *whole life, inſomuch that he carried the ſame unſpotted* ‘ *virginity out of the world, which he brought into it,* ‘ *ſince he never once either in word or deed tranſgreſſed* ‘ *the rules of virtue as long as he lived, as is teſtified* ‘ *by thoſe who attended him from his infancy to his death.* ‘ *In eating and drinking he was extreamly ſober, ſince* ‘ *he drank more water than wine, and contented him-* ‘ *ſelf with only two ſorts of meat, and thoſe the moſt* ‘ *ſimple.*’

(24) Gioſeppe Muſſo, ubi ſupra.

[F] - - - - *his forgetting of injuries.*] He was expoſed to the perſecution and calumnies of envious men, yet never ſhowed the leaſt reſentment. ‘ Come anco pa- ‘ tientiſſimo, e modeſtiſſimo in ſupportar le peſecu- ‘ tioni e le calumnie de' ſuoi emuli e adverſarii che ‘ gli erano fatte, rendendo à ciaſcuno ſempre bene per ‘ male, e pregando il ſignore che a loro perdo- ‘ naſſe (25). - - - - - *As alſo the moſt patient and modeſt* ‘ *in ſuffering the perſecutions and calumnies of envious men,* ‘ *and his adverſaries, always returning to every one of* ‘ *them good for evil, and praying to GOD to forgive* ‘ *them.*’ His calumniators, who endeavoured to oppreſs him, did not ſucceed in their deſign; on the contrary, all the confuſion they intended fell upon themſelves (26). Yet they put a ſtop to the advancement of his fortune; they prevented his attaining the dignities (§ α) which he had reaſon to promiſe himſelf (27). If we knew all the particulars of theſe proceedings, we ſhould the better underſtand how far it is to be wondered at, that ſuch a man obtained as a reward of ſo great labours nothing more than the biſhopric of Bitonto.

(25) Id. ib.

(26) *See* Ghilini, Teatro, *Part* 1, *pag.* 39.

(27) Communi literatorum ſito livoris tetrea expertus aculeos deſtinata ſibi honorum faſtigia non attigit. *Imperialis, ubi ſupra.*

[(§ α) Particularly to that of cardinal, which was refuſed the biſhop of Bitonto by the Pope, it having been whiſpered in his ear, that this biſhop was a baſtard. See the notes on the Confeſſion of Sanci, edition of 1699, pag. 431. REM. CRIT.]

[G] *He compoſed ſeveral works, ſome of which have been publiſhed*]. His treatiſe *de Viſitatione & de modo Viſitandi*, was printed under the title of *Synodus Bitontina*. The author who informs me of this, adds, that the three books *de Deo, & de Divina Hiſtoria*, would ſoon be printed (28). I find in Ghilini (29), that there are five books of Cornelio Muſſo, *de Hiſtoria Divina*. But the principal works of this prelate are his ſermons. Several volumes of them were publiſhed after his death. ‘ Scriſſe molti volumi di prediche, ‘ chiamati quadrageſimali, oltre quelle ſtravaganti che ‘ vanno fuori di diverſe materie e ſoggetti (30). - - - - ‘ *He wrote a great many volumes of ſermons, called* ‘ *Lent-ſermons, beſides thoſe which he publiſhed on dif-* ‘ *ferent ſubjects and occaſions.*’ There is prefixed to the firſt volume a diſcourſe of Bernardin Tomitano, concerning the beauty, the method, and the character, of the ſermons of our Cornelio. The *Prediche Quadrageſimali, the Lent-ſermons*, were dedicated to cardinal Farneſe, in 1586, by Gioſeppe Muſſo. You may ſee in Moreri, that Gabriel Chapuis publiſhed a French tranſlation of the ſermons of this prelate in 1584.

(28) Gioſeppe Muſſo, ubi ſupra.

(29) Ghilini, Teatro, *Part* 1, *pag.* 40.

(30) Gioſeppe Muſſo, ubi ſupra.

MUSTAPHA, emperor of the Turks ſucceeded his brother Achmet, who died November the fifteenth 1617 (a). The people ſoon found their miſtake in thinking him more capable of reigning than Oſman the ſon of Achmet. They therefore depoſed him two months after, and placed Oſman upon the throne of his father. We ſhall ſee elſewhere (b) how Muſtapha was reſtored, and then depoſed a ſecond time.

(a) Mercure François, *Tom.* v, ad ann. 1617, *pag.* m. 185.

(b) In the article OSMAN.

MUSURUS (MARC), a native of Candia, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the learned men who appeared in Italy towards the beginning of the XVIth century. He taught Greek in the univerſity of Padua with great reputation, and with ſo much application in the diſcharge of his office, that he ſcarce miſſed reading public lectures four days in a year (a). He read them commonly at ſeven a clock in a morning. He was admirably ſkilled in the Latin tongue, which had ſcarce ever been obſerved before of any Greek tranſplanted into the Weſt (b), and he ſtudied Philoſophy with extraordinary application. This is what is ſaid of him by one who knew him perſonally [A]. Some ſay,

(a) Eraſm. Epiſt. V, *lib. xxiii, pag.* 1209.

(b) Id. ib.

[A] *One who knew him perſonally.*] It is Eraſmus I mean; and I am perſuaded a great many will read here with pleaſure what he ſays of Muſurus. ‘ Patavii ‘ neminem vidi celebrem, mortuos tantum comme- ‘ moro, præter *Raphaëlem Regium* hominem admodum ‘ natu grandem, ſed cruda viro viridiſque ſenectus. ‘ Erat tum, ut opinor, non minor annis ſeptuaginta, ‘ & tamen nulla fuit hyems tam aſpera quin ille mane ‘ hora ſeptima adiret *M. Muſurum Græcè* profitentem, ‘ qui toto anno vix quatuor intermittebat dies quin ‘ publicè profiteretur. Juvenes hyemis rigorem ferre ‘ non poterant, illum ſenem nec pudor nec hyems ‘ abigebat ab auditorio. *Muſurus* autem ante ſenectu- ‘ tem periit, poſteaquam ex benignitate *Leonis* cœ- ‘ perat eſſe Archiepiſcopus, vir natione *Græcus*, nimi- ‘ rum *Cretenſis*, ſed *Latinæ* linguæ uſque ad miracu- ‘ lum doctus, quod vix ulli *Græco* contigit præter ‘ *Theodorum Gazam*, & *Joannem Laſcarem* qui adhuc ‘ in vivis eſt. Deinde totius Philoſophiæ non tan- ‘ tùm ſtudioſiſſimus, vir ſummis rebus natus, ſi licuiſ- ‘ ſet ſupereſſe (1). - - - *At Padua I ſaw nobody of note,* ‘ *I ſpeak only of thoſe who are now dead, but Raphaël* ‘ *Regius, a man of great age, yet vigorous and ſtrong.* ‘ *He was then, I imagine, not leſs than ſeventy years* ‘ *old, and yet the ſevereſt winter did not hinder him from* ‘ *attending Muſurus, who read Greek lectures every* ‘ *morning*

(1) Eraſm. Epiſt. v, *lib. xxiii, pag.* 1209.

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say, that the desire of preferment induced him to go to Rome [B], to make his court to Leo X. His journey was not unsuccessful, since he obtained of this Pope the archbishopric of Malvazia in the Morea, but he was scarce dignified with this high title, when he died at Rome in the Autumn of the year 1517 (c). It was of a Dropsy, if we may believe Paul Jovius (d), who adds, that his grief at not being promoted to a cardinal's hat, threw him into a languishing distemper. They add, that he was a good Poet, and that the elogium of Plato, which he wrote in Greek verse, and prefixed to the works of this Philosopher, was received with great applause, and looked on as a piece which equalled the best Poems of antiquity. The same Paul Jovius pretends, that the league which made war against the Venetians, obliged Musurus to quit his professor's place, and to keep himself retired in his study. This is not relating matters accurately (e). Mr Varillas has a very pleasant story upon our Musurus (f); but till he produces sufficient proof of the account he has given, almost all his fine flourishes ought to esteemed no better than a romance [C]. We shall make some

(c) Paulus Bombasius, Epist. ad Erasmum xxiii, lib. ii, inter Erasmianas.

(d) In Elog. cap. xxx.

(e) See the remark [B].

(f) Anecdotes de Florence, pag. 180, 181, 182.

'morning at seven a-clock, without omitting that office 'four times all the year round. The young scholars could 'not bear the coldness of the winter, but neither the 'cold, nor the ill opinion some might have of it, could 'keep this old man from his auditory. But Musurus 'died before he arrived at old age, after having been 'just made an archbishop, by the favour of Pope Leo, 'being a Grecian by birth, namely a Cretan, but sur- 'prizingly skilled in the Latin tongue, which scarce 'ever happened to any other Grecian, except Theodore 'Gaza, and John Lascaris, who is yet alive. Besides 'this, he was not only a great Philosopher, but qualified 'for the highest attainments, if he had lived.' The letter from whence I take these words, was written in 1524. Erasmus says something in it of the father of Marc Musurus, a good old man, who knew only his mother-tongue (2). It is something strange, and very much to the honour of our Greek professor, that so learned a man as Raphaël Regius should frequent all his lectures at seventy years of age. If all the elogiums, which Musurus has received from Cœlius Rhodiginus in an epistle dedicatory (3), be true, it would be unjust to deny him the title of a very great man.

(2) Quodam die cum domi ipsius essemus et adesset pater seniculus, qui nihil nisi Græce sciebat. Id. ib.

(3) Before the fourteenth book of his Antiquæ Lectiones.

I am going to cite an author who ascribes to him great reading, a prodigious memory, a great penetration, an admirable clearness, and an exceeding tenderness for his father. 'Nihil erat tam reconditum, 'quod non aperiret, nec tam involutum quod non 'expediret Musurus, vere Musarum custos & antistes. 'Omnia legerat, excusserat omnia. Schemata lo- 'quutionum, fabulas, historias, ritus veteres ad un- 'guem callebat. Hanc tam consummatam eruditio- 'nem etiam insignis pietas commendabat, dum pa- 'trem Græculum jam grandævum amanter seduloque 'foveret (4). - - - - *There was nothing so difficult which* 'he did not comprehend, nothing so obscure which he did 'not clear up, being truly the patron and protector of the 'Muses. The phrases, the fables, the histories, the rites 'of the Antients, he had at his fingers end. This con- 'summate knowledge was also set off with as remark- 'able a piety, while he treated his poor Grecian father 'with the most tender instances of filial duty.'

(4) Bert. Rhenan. in Vita Erasmi, pag. m. 33 34.

[B] *The design of preferment induced him to go to Rome.*] According to Paul Jovius (5), it was the war which forced him to quit his professorship at Padua, when a formidable league was entered into against the republic of Venice (6). He must therefore have left Padua in 1509. Paul Jovius would have Musurus, after this retreat, to live quietly in his study, till he went to Rome, whither Leo X, attracted by rewards the most celebrated genius's. But as I find in a letter written to Erasmus in 1518, that the senate of Venice had given public notice, that at the end of two months they would chuse a professor of the Greek tongue in the room of Marc Musurus (7), I am very much tempted to reject what Paul Jovius says; for I think it by no means probable, that, after the Venetians had in 1509, repulsed the emperor Maximilian who had besieged Padua, and their affairs were settled again in a pretty good condition, they should not think of filling the Greek professor's chair till 1518. But the following passage of Aldus Manutius informs us, that Paul Jovius did not speak with exactness. It shews, that Musurus read lectures in Venice upon the antient Greek authors, at the time when he was invited by Leo X. 'Hæc autem à nobis præstari tibi potuerunt 'suasore adjutoreque M. Musuro, quem nuper heroi- 'carum literarum decus Venetiis propagantem Græciæ 'priscis autoribus partim illustri juventuti enarrandis 'non sine laude, partim emendatione castigationeque 'in pristinum nitorem quoad ejus fieri poterat, resti- 'tuendis, Leo X Pont. Opt. Max. sponte sua nihil 'tale cogitantem admirabili consensu sacrosanctо- 'rum Cardinalium in Archiepiscopalem dignitatem 'evexit (8). - - - *But these we might have performed for* 'you by the persuasion and assistance of Musurus, who 'as he was promoting learning at Venice, partly by ex- 'plaining to the young illustrious students the antient 'Greek authors, not without great applause, and partly 'restoring them to their original purity, as far as was 'possible, with his corrections and emendations, was ad- 'vanced to the archiepiscopal dignity, which he never 'had once dreamt of, by the sole act of Leo X, with 'the unanimous consent of the sacred college of cardinals.' Aldus Manutius owns there the assistance he had received from Musurus, for the edition of Pausanias. I shall add by the way, that at the beginning of this edition, there is a Greek letter of Musurus to John Lascaris, which Mr Perrault might have made an advantage of, for it refutes those who admire only the antients.

(5) Jovius, in Elogiis, cap. xxx.

(6) Seva conjuratione externarum gentium afflictis bello Venetis inde exturbatus. Id. ib.

(7) Scias in Senatu Veneto sanctum esse, atque etiam præconio publicatum, eligendum esse successorem Marco Musuro, qui publice Græces literas auditores docet, stipendiumque centenorum aureorum decretum. Epist. Erasm. xxviii, lib. x, pag. 530.

(8) Aldus Manutius, Præfat. in Pausaniam.

To rectify this account of Paul Jovius, we ought to suppose, that Marc Musurus, at his leaving Padua, retired to Venice, and there read lectures till such time as he went to Rome. We ought also to affirm, that the successor, whom the senate of Venice intended to appoint in his place in 1518, was to fill not the professor's chair at Padua, but that at Venice. We shall see hereafter (9) in a passage of Pierius Valerianus, that Musurus taught first at Padua, and afterwards at Venice. He taught at Venice in 1513 and in 1514, as we learn from Aldus Manutius in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Athenæus.

(9) In the remark [F].

[C] *All the fine flourishes in Varillas's story on him, ought to be esteemed no better than a romance.*] He informs us, that Musurus had already signalized himself in Candia by his criticisms upon the Greek authors when the Republic of Venice gave him a professor's chair at Padua; *That the number of his auditors in this last place was so great, that it was found necessary to enlarge the public school, and to give Musurus leave to teach Grammar in the morning and Poetry in the afternoon, to satisfy those who were desirous of hearing him explain those two liberal arts: that he continued professor till the war dispersed his hearers, and obliged himself to provide for his own security: that he retired to Rome, where he wrote* a poem (10), which was thought too excellent to be his performance: *that it was therefore rather suspected he had found it in some ancient manuscript, and published it under his own name:* that this *suspicion was founded on an impossibility that any author should in those days compose a work, in which the stile and beauty of the Greek poetry in the age of Alexander the Great were retrieved in their highest degree of perfection:* That Musurus himself helped to confirm this opinion, *for he would write nothing more of that kind left by some inferior or less finished piece, he might be in danger of forfeiting the high reputation he had obtained all of a sudden, and beyond his expectation: that he contented himself to make it appear, by explaining to his Roman auditories the most beautiful passages of Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, and Anacreon, that he was able to imitate them, since he understood so perfectly the turn and delicacy of their verse: and to lead so unexceptionable a life, that this suspicion of fraud was insensibly forgotten: that he was in this situation when Leo X, was chosen Pope*: that he experienced the earliest liberalities of this

(10) It was the Elogy of Plato.

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ſome reflexions upon his narrative [D], an Supplement to Moreri [E]. Muſurus ha unfortunate learned men [F]; but he is there that dignities appeared to him an unſupporta we differ from other authors who ſpeak of hi

this Pope, and was promoted to the archbiſhopric of Raguſa: that he preſently ſet about *canvaſſing to be made a cardinal: that he quitted his books to ſtudy intrigues: that he became ſo great a maſter this way, that the Pope, aſtoniſhed at this change, uſed to teize, and rally him: that he perſiſted however in this way, and took ſuch new meaſures with thoſe whom he ſaw in greateſt favour at court, that they aſſured him of a cardinal's hat the firſt promotion; but that the Pope took a pleaſure in diſappointing them, purely to have the opportunity of laughing to ſee what part Muſurus would act next: that Muſurus did not fail to furniſh his houſe, to increaſe his train, and even prepare his intended ſpeech of thanks:* that not being included in the promotion *of thirty one, who were added to the ſacred college, his virtue proved too weak to digeſt the affront he thought he had received: that he complained of it as a contempt ſhewn to the whole Greek nation in his perſon, and that, to carry his reſentment as far as it could poſſible go, he fell ſick of a Dropſy and died.*

[D] *We ſhall make ſome reflexions upon his narrative.*] In the firſt place I can hardly imagine, that if it had been neceſſary to enlarge the public ſchool, to make room for a greater number of auditors, Eraſmus, who could not be ignorant of this, ſhould ſay nothing of it in the paſſage above cited (11), where he tells us at what hour, and with what exactneſs, Muſurus read his lectures; how great was the diligence of an old man of ſeventy years of age to be preſent at them, and how much it exceeded that of the young ſtudents during the cold weather. II. I have already ſaid (12), that Muſurus quitting Padua, when the Venetian ſtate was ravaged by the enemy in 1509, did not wholly withdraw himſelf from the ſervice of the republic of Venice. I add, that, according to Paul Jovius, he wrote his panegyric upon Plato before he went to Rome. Where then has Mr Varillas found that this poem was written at Rome? III. If this poem be only one of the epigrams printed before the works of Plato, as Voſſius (13) and Mr Baillet (14) affirm: it is an exaggeration beyond all the bounds of true Rhetoric, to ſay ſo much as Mr Varillas has ſaid of it. He had better have tranſlated Paul Jovius litterally; an author who does not much ſtand in need of a paraphraſe, he himſelf being a paraphraſt upon his own thoughts, ſo greatly does he love to ſpin them out in a great number of affected words. Now ſee what he ſays of this elogium of Plato: 'Extat id 'poëma, & in limine operum Platonis legitur, com-'mendatione publica cum antiquis elegantia comparan-'dum (15). - - - - *That poem is extant, and to be 'met with at the head of Plato's works, and is pub-'lickly commended as comparable for elegance with thoſe 'of antiquity.*' But once more, if this poem be nothing but an epigram, what can be more childiſh than the remark of Paul Jovius, that the war did not reduce Muſurus to ſuch a ſtate of idleneſs, but that he made verſes in the praiſe of Plato (16). It is indeed a fine proof that a profeſſor who has been forced to quit his place, has not wholly given himſelf to idleneſs to ſay that he has made an epigram. I ſhall not conceal what Voſſius has declared, that it was believed, Leo X promoted Muſurus to the archbiſhopric, chiefly on account of this epigram (17). Conſider the exhortation which I ſhall make below (18). IV. It is a poor way of proving one's innocence as to the ſtealing of other men's thoughts to alledge, that he leads a good life; it never was obſerved that a plagiary is leſs regular, with reſpect to morality than they who cite their authors, and ſcorn to adorn themſelves in borrowed feathers. It is doubtleſs a breach of morals, and an actual ſin to pirate authors; but it is a ſin of ſuch a nature, as prevails neither more nor leſs in one who is ſenſual and debauched, than in one who is chaſte and ſober. V. Muſurus did not obtain the mitre till 1517: and therefore it is not true, that he experienced the earlieſt liberalities of Leo X, who was made Pope in 1513. VI. He was not promoted to the archbiſhopric of Raguſa, but to that of Malvaſia in the Morea. *Ar-*

(11) In the remark [A], citation (1).

(12) In the remark [B].

(13) Voſſius, de Poët. Græc. *pag.* 84.

(14) *Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, num.* 1248. There is nothing of Muſurus in the edition of Plato at Francfort in 1602, tranſlated by Ficinus, nor in that of 1578, of Henry Stephens, tranſlated by de Serres.

(15) Jovius, Elogior. *cap. xxx.*

(16) Inde exturbatus ita tranquillum otium quæſivit, ut Græco carmine divi Platonis laudes decantaret. *Id. ib.*

(17) Voſſius, de Poëtis Græcis, *pag.* 84. *Konig in relating this, puts Leo XI, by miſtake for Leo X.*

(18) In the remark [G].

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Greek verſes, and ſome prefaces in proſe [G]. The public is indebted to him for the firſt edition of Ariſtophanes and for that of Athenæus [H]. We ſhall mention the judgment Eraſmus has given of him [I]. Andreas Schottus ought not to have aſcribed to him the *Magnum Etymologicum* [K]. Paulus Freherus has committed a groſs miſtake

' *by Leo X, on account of his learning, to the archiepiſcopal honour, and received into friendſhip by Julius the brother of that Pope, then cardinal prieſt, and now Pope, and highly reſpected by all, yet languiſhed under I know not what inward chagrin, as one who not only did not reliſh the dignity and advantage of that ſtation of life, which in the opinion of men is eſteemed the moſt honourable, but even looked upon it as diſagreeable and unfortunate to him who was uſed to delight ſo much in the moſt perfect freedom, ſo that falling from thence into a lingring diſtemper, the cauſe of which could not be diſcovered by the Phyſicians, after having long laboured under the ſecret anxieties of his mind, and the grievous ſenſe of his misfortunes, he expired.*'

[G] *He publiſhed only a ſmall number of Greek verſes, and ſome prefaces in proſe.*] Theſe words of Geſner appear to me remarkable: ' Marcus Muſurus Cretenſis ' ſcripſit Epigrammata aliquot, præcipuè in Græcos ' libros per Nicolaum Blaſtum Venetiis impreſſos circa ' annum 1500, quibus ipſe opinor corrigendis præfuit: ' item præfationes aliquas proſa, ut in Etymologicon ' Græcum, &c (25). - - - *Marc Muſurus, the Cretan,* (25) Geſner. in Bibliot. fol. 495, verſo. ' *wrote ſome epigrams, eſpecially on thoſe Greek books, printed by Nicolas Blaſtus at Venice about the year* 1500, ' *for which I believe he corrected the preſs; alſo ſome prefaces in proſe, as that before the* Etymologicon ' Græcum, &c.' They appear to me remarkable for two reaſons; becauſe they give me an opportunity to exhort thoſe who have the advantage of proper libraries, to ſatisfy us in the firſt place, whether the epigram upon Plato is to be found among the others which Muſurus publiſhed towards the year 1500; in the ſecond place, whether he was corrector of Blaſtus's Printing-preſs at Venice, as Geſner believed. Paul Jovius, and ſome others, would very juſtly deſerve to be laughed at, if it ſhould appear that this epigram preceded the famous league of Cambray againſt the republic of Venice.

I was in hopes that the exhortation juſt now mentioned might have procured me all the information I wanted; and yet no body has had the goodneſs to give me any aſſiſtance: however I have found ſomething to my purpoſe in the book of Mr Chevillier. There I find that our Muſurus was really corrector of the Printing-preſs (26), and *that it was he who corrected the great* Etymologicon, *which was printed at Venice, in folio in* 1499, *by Zachary Calliergus, at the expence of Nicolas Blaſtus* (27). I find there alſo, ' that *Aldus* ' *Manutius, by whom he was employed to correct the* ' *Greek manuſcrips, and reviſe the printed ſheets, inſerted his elogy in theſe words in the Greek Plato of* ' 1513. Muſurus Cretenſis, magno Vir judicio, magnâ doctrinâ, qui hos Platonis Libros accuratè recognovit, cum antiquiſſimis conferens Exemplaribus, ut ' unà mecum, quod ſemper facit, multum adjumenti ' afferret & Græcis & noſtris hominibus. - - - - *Muſurus, the Cretan, a man of ſound judgment, and great learning, who accurately corrected theſe books of Plato, having compared them with the moſt ancient copies, that together with me, as he makes it his conſtant buſineſs, he may give all poſſible aſſiſtance both to his countrymen and mine.*' I was ſtill at a loſs as to the ' poem wherein Muſurus has given Plato's elogium, but am ſet right by the good offices of Mr Villemandi (28), who has taken the pains to conſult the copy in the library at Leyden. He has aſſured to me, that the Plato printed at Venice, *in ædibus Aldi & Andreæ Soceri*, in 1513, contains after the Epiſtle Dedicatory (29) a Greek poem of two hundred hexameter and pentameter verſes, which take up four pages, compoſed by Muſurus, and is an elogium of Plato. We may conclude from hence, that Voſſius ought not to have called it an epigram: however, it is certain that Paul Jovius has drawn a ridiculous proof from it of the authors not being idle after his departure from Padua. Philip Munckerus publiſhed this poem of Muſurus at Amſterdam, in 1681, *cum verſione latina & elegantiſſima Zenobii Acciaioli metaphraſi poëtica.* It contains forty pages in 4to.

(26) See, above, citation (28) of the article LASCARIS (John).

(27) Chevillier, Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, *pag.* 194.

(28) *Who is mentioned above, cita.* (4) *of the article* ARRIANA; *and in the* Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, *Octob.* 1685; *Art. V. & Auguſt* 1686, *Art. VI.*

(29) Addreſſed to Leo X.

[H] *The public is indebted to him for the firſt edition . . . . . of Athenæus.*] We have already obſerved in it's proper place (30), that Caſaubon found this edition very defective: yet Aldus Manucius who printed it greatly commends the care of Muſurus. Thus he ſpeaks; ' Muſurus noſter libros hos ſic accurate recenſuit col- ' latos & cum multis exemplaribus, & cum epitome, ut ' infinitis pene in locis eos emendaverit, carminaque quæ ' veluti proſa in aliis legebantur, in ſua metra reſtituerit. ' Adde quod primus & ſecundus liber, qui in aliis dee- ' rant, ex epitome additi ſunt cum bona parte tertii libri: ' erat enim hic ſine capite, quo factum eſt, ut iidem ferè ' hi exiſtimari poſſint, qui erant integri, quoniam ea ' eſt materia, ut non multa ſubtrahi ex eis potuerint ' (31). - - - - - *Our Muſurus corrected theſe books ſo accurately, by collating them both with a great many copies, and alſo with the epitome, that he has reſtified almoſt an infinite number of paſſages in them, and reſtored the verſes to their meaſure, which were read for proſe in other editions. Beſides this, he has added from the Epitome the firſt and ſecond book, which were wholly wanting in others, and a great part of the third, the beginning of which was wanting, ſo that by this care, they may all be thought to be very near- by the ſame with the complete originals, for the ſubject is ſuch that it is eaſy to ſee there cannot be much wanting.*'

(30) *Above, remark* [D] *of the article* ATHENÆUS.

(31) Aldus, in Præfat. Athenæi.

[I] *The judgment which Eraſmus has given of him.*] See what I have already cited (32) out of one of his letters; and add to it what here follows: ' M. Muſurum propius novi, virum inſigniter eruditum in ' omni diſciplinarum genere, in carmine ſubobſcurum ' & affectatum: oratione proſa præter unam alteramve præfationem nihil, quod ſciam, reliquit. Mirabar hominem Græcum tantum ſcire Latine. Et ' hunc fortuna retraxit à Muſis, dum Leonis favore ' Romam accitus incipit Archiepiſcopus eſſe, fato ' præreptus eſt (33). - - - - *Muſurus was my intimate acquaintance, a man eminently ſkilled in all kinds of learning, in his poetry ſomething obſcure and affected; in proſe he left nothing that I know of beſides a preface or two. I have wondred that a Grecian could become ſo great a maſter of Latin. It is preferment interrupted his commerce with the Muſes, and being called to Rome by the favour of Leo as he was juſt made an archbiſhop he died.*' Theſe words incline us to believe, that Muſurus renounced the profeſſion of letters from the time that Leo X, did him the favour to invite him to Rome; yet it is certain that he was profeſſor at Rome, as appears by theſe verſes:

(32) *Above, remark* [A].

(33) Eraſm. in Ciceroniano.

Ce mien Pere (34) Angevin, gentilhomme de race,
L'un des premiers François qui les Muſes embraſſe,
D'ignorance ennemi, deſireux de ſçavoir,
Paſſant torrens & mons juſqu'à Rome alla voir
Musure Candiot: qu'il ouït pour apprendre
Le Grec des vieux auteurs, & pour docte s'y rendre:
Où ſi bien travailla, que dedans quelques ans
Il ſe fit admirer, & des plus ſufiſans.

(34) *It is Antony de Baif who ſpeaks of Lazarus de Baif, his father, in a letter to Charles IX; prefixed to his works printed at Paris in* 1573, *in* 8vo.

My Sire, in Anjou born, of no mean race,
Among French ſcholars ſought an early place,
Sworn foe to Ignorance, and Learning's friend,
Where rapid ſtreams, and Alpine hills defend
The tedious way, he bent his ſtudious courſe,
And trac'd the Muſes up to Rome their ſource:
Where great Musurus *from the chair explain'd,*
Each noble thought in Grecian works contain'd;
Where ſuch a pupil, under ſuch a guide,
Soon with the foremoſt ſons of ſcience vy'd.

[K] *Andreas Scottus ought not to have aſcribed to him the* Etymologicum magnum.] It is Mr Menage (35) who has taken notice of this miſtake, and refuted it by obſerving that Euſtathius has cited this *Etymologicum.* This very well deſerved the parentheſis I am now going to quote. ' Auctor magni Etymologi- ' ci quiſquis tandem ille ſit (Nicam eſſe ſcribit amicus ' noſter Iſaacus Voſſius in notis ad Pomponium Me- ' lam: quod an verum ſit neſcio: certe falſum eſſe ' ſcio,

(35) Notis ad Diog. Laërtium, *lib. iii, num.* 7, *pag.* 141.

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miſtake [*L*].

‘ ſcio, quod vir doctiſſimus Andreas Schottus, in præ-
‘ fatione ad proverbia Græcorum, exiſtimabat auctorem
‘ hujus libri eſſe Marcum Muſurum, ſiquidem ab Eu-
‘ ſtathio Magnum Etymologicum laudatur) Auctor, in-
‘ quam Etymologici conditorem Academiæ, & Aca-
‘ demum & Ecademum fuiſſe dictum ſcribit. - - - - -
‘ *The author of the great* Etymologicon, *whoever he is,*
‘ *(our friend Iſaac Voſſius, in his notes on Mela, ſays*
‘ *it was Nicas, which whether it be true I know not,*
‘ *but I am ſure what the learned Andreas Schottus ſug-*
‘ *geſted in his preface to the Greek proverbs is falſe, that*
‘ *Marc Muſurus was author of this work, becauſe the*
‘ Etymologicum magnum *is quoted by Euſtathius) the*

(*a*) And not *Henry* as in *Konig.*

MUTIUS (HULDRIC) (*a*) profeſſor at I
birth (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral works, the m
miſtaken, is a Hiſtory of Germany [*A*], whi

(*b*) In Villario Stocken proxime Epiſcopicellam urbem Turgoviæ Helv
- - - - - *Born in the village Stocken near Biſchoffzell, a town in Turgou*
Michael Hertzius, in Biblioth. Germanica, *num.* 40.

[*A*] *He publiſhed . . . . a Hiſtory of Germany . . . . Mr du Pleſſis Mornai quotes ſome paſſages of it, ... which may ſerve for a ſupplement to the article of Gregory VII.*] The title of it is, *de Germanorum prima origine, moribus, inſtitutis, legibus, & memorabilibus pace & bello geſtis omnibus omnium ſæculorum uſque ad nenſem Auguſti anni trigeſimi noni ſupra milleſimum quingenteſimum, libri Chronici XXXI, ex probatioribus Germanicis ſcriptoribus in latinam linguam tralati* (1). Mr du Pleſſis Mornai undertaking to prove that the ordinance of Gregory VII, on the celibacy of prieſts, was very ill obſerved in Germany, relates among other things what follows. ‘ Huldricus Mutius, who treats ‘ of this hiſtory at large, in his fifteenth book, col- ‘ lected from the moſt approved authors of the Ger- ‘ man Hiſtory, tells us; that the biſhop of Conſtance ‘ not being willing to impoſe this ordinance, Pope ‘ Gregory diſcharged his clergy from their oath to ‘ that biſhop †: *That biſhop however,* ſays he, *as* ‘ *ſeveral affirm, was an enemy to the fornicating prieſts* ‘ *tho' a protector of the married ones:* that the archbi- ‘ ſhop of Mentz was of the ſame opinion, but diſſem- ‘ bled it for fear of the Pope: that the clergy defend- ‘ ed themſelves on the authority of the goſpel, that of ‘ the apoſtle, and God's inſtitution; and even ſub- ‘ mitted themſelves to the judgment of the church, from ‘ which they would never depart; *Modo non apertè contra* ‘ *Domini inſtitutionem faciat; provided ſhe did not in* ‘ *any thing apparently derogate from the Inſtitution of our* ‘ *Lord.* The Pope on the contrary threatened them ‘ with his excommunication: *Animabus Sathanæ tra-* ‘ *ditis, corpora ſuplicio afficienda, poteſtati ſæculari tra-* ‘ *diturum; that after having delivered over their ſouls* ‘ *to Satan, he would deliver over their bodies to be pu-* ‘ *niſhed by the ſecular arm.* He goes on that, *Quo* ‘ *quiſque vir melior aut ſacerdos ſanctior, hoc pluribus* ‘ *vehementius repugnabat; That the beſt and moſt pious a-* ‘ *mong the prieſts were they who formed the ſtrongeſt* ‘ *oppoſition.* So far were the holy miniſters of the ‘ church in thoſe days from thinking this law capa- ‘ ble of adding to their ſanctity! and to come to the ‘ ſucceſs of this council ‡; *That a great many oppoſed* ‘ *and diſputed very loudly againſt the determination of* ‘ *the ſee of Rome: ſome however, though but few, whe-* ‘ *ther it was out of fear of being obliged to ſtarve if* ‘ *they were to loſe their cures, or whether it was from* ‘ *a deſire of getting rid of wives they did not at all love,* ‘ *and obtaining concubines in their room, anſwered, that*

(1) Geſner. in Biblioth. *folio* 342.

† *P. Huldricus Mutius, lib. xv, pag.* 132. Sunt authores qui dicunt Epiſcopum illum Conſtantienſem omnino infenſos habuiſſe ſcortatores, patrocinatumque conjugio Sacerdotum.

‡ *Item, pag.* 133. Quidam audacioris ſpiritus contra ſententiam Romanæ ſedis, multis magna voce diſſerebant: Nonnulli, pauci tamen, vel timentes famem, ſi eſſent Sacerdotia relinquenda, vel alioqui non amantes uxores, libenter uxores concubinis commutantes, reſponderunt ſe Eccleſiaſticis conſtitutionibus ſacro-ſanctæ Synodi obtemperaturos. Horum quidam poſtea clam uſi ſunt uxoribus ſuis, retinuereque ſic uxores & ſacerdotia. Ii vero qui ſuas uxores non amabant, vel cum ancillis ſuis, vel cum adulteris mulieribus, quas multas ipſi fecerunt, vel cum vulgari immunda meretricum turba conſuetudinem habuerunt loco uxorum. Ii autem qui contra præſtitam fidem uxoribus, & adverſus Dei conſtitutionem, putabant ſalva conſcientia, Dei præcepto deſpecto, hominum conſtitutionibus obſequi non licere, nihil aliud reſponderunt quàm ſententias ex Scriptura, & diſputando, moleſti Apoſtolico Legato fuerunt, qui occluſerat aures ſuas ad eorum argumenta. Itaque mandatum eſt illis, ut relictis ſuis quibus præerant Eccleſiis aliò ſe conferrent, ne turbarent eos qui in eorum locum eſſent mittendi. Si quis aliter faceret, excommunicationem animæ & corporis interitum præſentiſſimum expectaret. Sed ſacerdotum illius Eccleſiæ major pars (neſcio qua fiducia) obdurata, domum reverſa, apud plebem ſuam cauſam ex ſuggeſtu, contra Pontificem Romanum egerunt, & quod diu alius ab alio audierat de matrimonio ex Biblia, finguli plebem ſuam docebant, refellentes opinionem Domini Papæ, quam odioſiſſimis nominibus appellabant. Hæcque prædicarant quamprimum veniebant domum per aliquot dies, continuis quatuor aut quinque horis: nam ſciebant illis non diu fore locum concionandi, niſi populum pararent, ut novam è Roma venientem opinionem non admitterent.

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in folio. Mr du Pleſſis Mornai quotes ſome paſſages of it which I ſhall produce below, becauſe they may ſerve as a ſupplement to a remark in the article of Gregory VII (c).

(c) It is the remark [C].

‘ council holden at Rome ††, *they watched their un-*
‘ *married prieſts; and if they found them guilty of for-*
‘ *nication, they convicted them with proofs out of Scrip-*
‘ *ture, and the Papal Conſtitutions, and accuſed them*
‘ *publickly before the people, requiring a compariſon to*
‘ *be made between a Fornicator, entertaining a common*
‘ *whore, a member of Satan, and a perſon living chaſt-*
‘ *ly in marriage, bringing up and inſtructing his chil-*
‘ *dren, according to God's holy religion. In ſhort the*
‘ *weſtern church was at this time greatly diſturbed, and*
‘ *Heaven and Earth confounded together. And this diſ-*
‘ *cord was the cauſe of great numbers going over to the*
‘ *eaſtern church.*’

†† *Ibid.* Sacerdotes non uxoratos obſervabant, deprehenſos in fornicatione ſententiâ ex Bullis & Pontificum conſtitutionibus confutabant, & arcuſabant palam eorum populo, conferre jubebant, ſcortatorem meretricis Sathanæque membrum, & maritum caſte viventem, & liberos juxta Dei inſtitutionem educantem. Brevitèr, erat magna illo tempore in Eccleſia Occidentali turbatio, cœlum miſceretur terræ. Atque hæc diſcordia fecit ut multi Orientali Eccleſiæ accederent.

Pronto Ducæus (*Fronton du Duc*), in anſwer to this book of du Pleſſis, has contented himſelf with this general remark. *We pay no manner of regard to what du Pleſſis has heaped up here out of the hiſtory of Hulric Mutius, who is known to have been a Proteſtant by religion, a German by nation, and an impudent liver by profeſſion, and yet he cannot deny but that the emperor at laſt complied with the Pope's opinion; and convening a council at Mentz, gave all poſſible encouragement to the ſeverity of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and ordering the recuſants to be condemned, reſtored the peace of Germany, and the holy celibacy of the church* *; *which is quite contrary to what du Pleſſis would make us believe of a certain emperor* (3).

* Cæſar Rotta reverſus in Concilio Moguntiæ habito, ubi qui Sacerdotum conjugia ſolvere volebant, acceſſit, aliis qui ei opinioni reſiſterent condemnatis: ſic pacem in Germaniam conſtituram. *Eſtienneus de Continentiâ, lib. 1, cap. xii, de Mutio.*

(3) Fronton du Duc, *Refutation de la prétendue Verification de Sieur du Pleſſis, pag.* 542.

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N.

NANNIUS (a) (JOHN) a famous Dominican Monk, commonly called Annius Viterbienſis, was promoted to the office of maſter of the ſacred palace in the year 1499. He died on the thirteenth of November 1502, at the age of ſeventy years (b). The city of Viterbo was ſo proud of being the place of his nativity, that in the year 1618 they repaired his epitaph (c). He was a perſon who wanted not learning for the times he lived in: he underſtood even the oriental languages (d), and wrote commentaries on the Scripture (e). He was a long time profeſſor of Divinity: but nothing contributed ſo much to his being talked of, as his publiſhing ſome very ancient authors whoſe works were ſuppoſed to have been loſt [A]. It is true, the learned in general have but little valued this publication [B], as finding all thoſe pieces to be only ſuppoſititious; the world is now more convinced of it than ever; and although there aroſe from time to time certain authors who have vindicated him [C], yet even the Dominicans for the moſt part acknowledge theſe works to be ſpurious. They content themſelves

(a) *He is ſo named in his epitaph.* Altamura, in Bibliotheca Dominican. *pag.* 223.

(b) *He was not therefore born in the year* 1437, *as Moreri aſſures us, after* Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 609.

(c) Altamura, ubi ſupra.

(d) Leand. Albert. in Deſcript. Italiæ, *pag.* m. 115.

(e) *See the catalogue of them in the* Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque.

[A] *His publiſhing ſome very antient authors, whoſe works were ſuppoſed to be loſt.*] Here follows a catalogue of the pieces contained in this collection of Annius: *Archilochi de temporibus Epitome lib. I. Xenophontis de Æquivocis lib. I. Beroſi Babylonici de Antiquitatibus Italiæ ac totius orbis lib. V. Manethonis Ægypti ſupplementa ad Beroſum lib. I. Metaſthenis Perſæ, de judicio temporum, & Annalibus Perſarum lib. I. Philonis Hebræi de temporibus lib. II. Joannis Annii de primis temporibus, & quatuor ac viginti regibus Hiſpaniæ, & ejus antiquitate lib. I. Ejuſdem de antiquitate & rebus Etruriæ lib. I. Ejuſdem Commentarirum in Propertium de Vertumno ſive Jano lib. I. Q. Fabii Pictoris de aureo ſæculo, & origine urbis Romæ lib. II. Myrſili Leſbii de origine Italiæ, ac Turrheniæ lib I. M. Catonis fragmenta de originibus lib. I. Antonini Pii Cæſaris Auguſti Itinerarium lib. I. C. Sempronii de Chorographia ſive deſcriptione Italiæ lib. I. Joannis Annii de Etbruſca ſimul & Italica Chronographia lib. I. Ejuſdem Quæſtiones de Thuſcia lib. I. Cl. Marii Aretii, Patricii Syracuſani de ſitu inſulæ Siciliæ lib. I. Ejuſdem Dialogus in quo Hiſpania deſcribitur.* The firſt edition of this work was publiſhed at Rome by Eucharius Silber in 1498. The ſecond was printed at Venice in the ſame year by Bernardino Veneto; but it has not the commentaries of John Annius. It paſſed afterwards thro' a great many other editions, in different places: I make uſe of that of Antwerp, printed in 1552 in 8vo. The author dedicated thoſe books to Ferdinand and Iſabella; becauſe, as he tells them, they were diſcovered at the time their majeſties ſubdued the kingdom of Granada. He pretends to have found them at Mantua, when he was there with his patron Paul de Campo Fulgoſo cardinal of St Sixtus (1). For the reſt, this work is not divided into twenty-ſeven books, as Moreri aſſerts, but into ſeventeen. This miſtake, however, may not be Moreri's, but his Printers.

(1) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his* Queſtions: *it is at pag.* 594, *edition of Antwerp* 1552, *in* 8vo.

[B] *The learned in general have but little valued this publication.*] The article Annius of Viterbo in Voſſius, is very well filled, and Mr Moreri has not a little profited by it. From whence it comes, that we find in his Dictionary ſo ample and curious an account of this Dominican. We there alſo meet with the names of ſeveral learned men who have confuted him; but it is much better to have recourſe to Voſſius himſelf, who has alſo named ſome other Critics, and quoted their words. Pineda alſo names ſeveral others (2). Andrew Schot has inſerted in one of his books (3) two learned digreſſions. The firſt, is a ſhort account of the antiquities of Antwerp, publiſhed by Goropius Becanus. The ſecond is a tranſlation of the cenſure which Gaſpar Barreiros publiſhed upon Annius. This was firſt publiſhed by its author at Rome in Latin (4), and afterwards in his mother-tongue, which was the Portugueſe. This cenſure was inſerted, according to the Latin edition, in Annius's collection printed in Germany by the Commelins; but Andrew Schot has given it us from the Portugueſe edition, which he himſelf tranſlated into Latin. Don Nicolas Antonio did not know that Gaſpar Barreiros had publiſhed this cenſure in Latin; he ſpeaks only of the Portugueſe edition (5). Barreiros and Goropius Becanus clearly demonſtrate the forgery of Annius. La Popeliniere has alſo written againſt this author (6), but I know not whether his work was ever publiſhed. The learned Onuphrius Panvinius, declared openly againſt theſe writings (7); and there appeared at Bologna, in the year 1638, a letter of John Baptiſt Agucchi, wherein theſe pretended antient authors are ſtrongly refuted. Father Noris has quoted (8) a perſon (9), who had lately written againſt this work of Annius. I think Volaterranus and Sabellicus were the firſt who declared they looked upon theſe authors to be ſpurious.

(2) *Lib. vii,* de Solomone, *cap. xxvii, num.* 4, apud Theophil. Raynaud. de malis & bonis Libris, *num.* 269, *pag. m.* 164.

(3) *Intituled,* Hiſpaniæ Bibliotheca. *See there, pag.* 354, *& ſeq.*

(4) Schottus, in Hiſpaniæ Bibliotheca, *pag.* 355.

(5) *Printed in the year* 1557. *See the* Bibliotheca Hiſpan. Script. *of* Nicolas Antonio, *Tom. i, pag.* 398.

(6) The Hiſtory of Hiſtories, *pag.* 209.

(7) In Antiquitatibus Veronenſibus.

[C] *There aroſe from time to time certain authors who have vindicated him.*] When I ſay the greateſt part of the learned have looked upon theſe pieces, publiſhed by Annius, as ſpurious, I do not pretend to deny, but that ſome very celebrated authors have eſteemed them genuine. Voſſius (10) names among theſe laſt Leander Alberti, Nauclerus, Driedo, Valerius Anſelmus, Joannes Lucidus, Medina, and Sixtus Senenſis. If we believe Altamura (11), Pineda ought alſo to be joined with them: but Theophilus Raynaud (12) reckons him among thoſe that have rejected the writers of Annius. I find that Albert Krantz, and even Sigonius have eſteemed theſe writers genuine. Here follows a paſſage of Sigonius:

'Quibus Epitomis *(Catonis)* merito tantam ego tribuo auctoritatem, quantam incorruptis veteribus monumentis merito tribuenda eſt (13). - - - *To which epitomes* (of Cato) *I attribute as great an authority, as is juſtly due to the genuine remains of the Antients.*'

An Italian Dominican, named Tomaſo Mazza, publiſhed a folio (14) at Verona in the year 1673, whoſe title is, *Apologia per Frate Gioanni Annio Viterbeſe.* His chief deſign is to prove, that if there were any fraud in that matter, it ought not to be imputed to Annius: but he goes farther, and maintains thoſe writings to be genuine, and endeavours to anſwer all the objections againſt them. This apology having been criticized, Father Macedo fell upon the Critic, not with a deſign to maintain, that the Beroſus, *&c.* publiſhed by Annius, was the true Beroſus, but to ſhow that Annius had not forged thoſe manuſcripts (15). A more modern apologiſt pretends to prove both the one and the other: his name is Didimus Rapaligerus Livianus. He publiſhed at Verona in the year 1678, a work in folio, intituled, *I Gothi illuſtrati, overo Iſtoria de i Gothi*

(8) In Cenotaph. Piſanis, *pag.* 5. *This work was printed in the year* 1681.

(9) *His name is* Francis Sparaverius, *he is a native of Perusa.*

(10) De Hiſt. Latinis, *pag.* 609.

(11) In Bibliotheca Dominic.

(12) De malis & bonis Libris, *pag.* 164.

(13) Sigonius, de antiquo Jure Italiæ, *lib.* i, *cap. xxv, fol. m.* 54, *verſo.*

(14) *The* Italian Journal *of the twenty eighth of February* 1674 *mentions it.*

(15) *See the* Italian Journal *of the twenty firſt of January* 1675.

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themſelves with affirming, that their Annius acted a ſincere part in them, and was no impoſtor [D], as he is commonly ſtigmatized. A perſon who had ſeen him ſaid he was not in his ſenſes (f).

(f) Staligerana, Voce Annius.

(16) See the eighth Italian journal of the year 1678, pag. 130.

Gothi antichi (16). In which he collects all the reaſons he can, to prove that the writers which Annius publiſhed are genuine, and that they were not however counterfeited by this Dominican. It is very well known, ſays he, that Berоſus was given him at Genoa, by Father George of Armenia a Dominican; and that he found all the reſt, except Manetho, at one Mr Williams's of Mantua. So that, tho' we know not whence he had Manetho, yet ought we not to believe he forged it: his candour with regard to the others ought to ſecure him againſt cenſure in this reſpect. As he had been accuſed of trumping up marble tables, pretending them to be antique, tho' he himſelf had forged them, this author defends him, and proves that accuſation to be calumnious; ſince ſome of theſe tables had been diſcovered before Annius's birth, and others by perſons who preſented them to Pope Alexander VI. 'E tacciato per impoſtore d'alcune tavole di 'marmo dalle quali diede in luce la ſpiegazione. Se 'pero ſi deve ponderare la verita, con ſodi argomenti 'queſt' Autore libera dall' impoſture de ſuoi Auver- 'ſarii Annio, con provar evidentemente eſſer le due 'tavole da lui chiamate Libiſcille dal luogo, ove fu- 'rono trovate, ſtate diſſepellite molto tempo avanti 'che Annio naſceſſe . . . E in quanto alle due Cibe- 'larie, e la Longobarica, furono da altri trovate e 'preſentate ad Aleſſandro VI, per tacere dell' Oſiria- 'na che avanti che naſceſſe Annio, fu reſa alla 'luce (17). - - - *He is accuſed of forging ſome tables of 'marble, whereof he has publiſhed an explanation. If 'therefore the truth deſerves examining, this author clears 'Annius by ſubſtantial arguments from his adverſaries 'charge of impoſture, proving beyond contradiction, that 'two of theſe tables called Libiſcillæ, from the place 'where they were found, had been dug up a long time 'before Annius was born. . . . And as to thoſe two 'called Cibelariæ, and that called Longobarica, they 'were diſcovered by others and preſented to Alexander VI, 'to ſay nothing of that called Oſiriana, which was 'brought before the time of Annius.'*

(17) Giornale VIII, de Letterati 1678, pag. 221.

[D] *The Dominicans . . . . . content themſelves, with affirming, that Annius was no impoſtor.*] I have juſt been mentioning ſome authors who undertook to defend him, and I refer my reader to the appendix of Altamura (18), where he will meet with the names of ſeveral other apologiſts. I was ſurprized to find there, that Altamura was not acquainted with any author before *Petrus à Valleclauſa* who had accuſed Annius of Viterbo of impoſture. We muſt not forget, that this *Petrus à Valleclauſa*, author of a book, *De immunitate Cyriacorum à cenſuris*, is no other than Theophilus Raynaud. Now it is certain, that before him an infinite number of authors had accuſed Annius of impoſture. See in Moreri the paſſage of Antonius Auguſtinus. What is moſt to be admired is, that in a book, where Theophilus Raynaud was not in ſo ill an humour with the Dominicans, as when he concealed himſelf under the name of *Petrus à Valleclauſa*, he declares, that conſidering John Annius, was a Dominican, he was inclinable to believe him innocent (19). Let us conclude with the words of a Lutheran, who believed the authors publiſhed by Annius to be genuine; and, that if there were any faults to be found in them, they were not to be imputed to this Monk, but to the ignorance or inſincerity of the tranſcribers and tranſlators. 'Quod enim, *ſays he* (20), per Deum 'immortalem, prodigium fuerit clauſtralem illum & mi- 'nimè tam profunde doctum Monachum talia commi- 'niſci poſſe? Ais multa ineſſe ficta, minime pro iis acto- 'ribus. Nec nos negamus interpolatos univerſos illos 'auctores, ruptos, fractos, minime bona aut fide aut 'intelligentia tranſlatos; tamen antiquitus ex legiti- 'mis veriſque auctoribus excerptos, talia argumenta 'ſunt, ut quæ contra afferuntur omnia evaneſcant. 'Vel unum Catonem mihi vide. Cenſe, recenſe, 'damna etiam ut libet, videbis tamen veri illius Cato- 'nis, & fateberis etiam, ingenium ſtilumque hic ſu- 'pereſſe, quos mentiri aut fingere non fuit talium ho- 'minum. - - - *For what a prodigy muſt it be in GOD's 'name, for a cloiſtered and not over-learned Monk to 'be capable of contriving ſuch pieces. You ſay, they 'diſcover many marks of forgery, no way reconcileable to 'thoſe authors. Nor do we deny, but that they are all 'of them interpolated, caſtrated, imperfect, and neither 'tranſlated with fidelity nor judgment: and yet, that 'they were antiently extracted from thoſe true and legiti- 'mate authors, there are ſuch arguments as can admit 'of no contradiction. To inſtance only in Cato. Ex- 'amine it again and again, condemn it as you will, 'yet you muſt ſee and confeſs that it diſcovers the wit 'and ſtile of the true Cato, which are not to be imitated 'or counterfeited by ſuch ſort of perſons.*

(19) Fortaſſis tamen ab alio quo piam impoſitum eſt ipſi Annio, quem doli expertem fuiſſe malo exiſtimare, cum Religioſum inſtitutum Prædicatorum ſit profeſſus. *Th. Raynaudus, de malis ac bonis Libris, num.* 269, *pag.* 164.

(20) Barthius, in Animadverſionibus ad Gallum, *pag.* 62.

(18) Append. Bibliothecæ Dominic. *pag.* 527.

NAOGEORGUS (a) (THOMAS) a native of Straubingen in Bavaria, lived in the XVI century. He compoſed a great many Latin verſes [A], which did not pleaſe the Roman Catholics, becauſe they deſcribed their irregularities in a ſatirical manner. A doctor of the Sorbonne (b), who, in the year 1670, publiſhed ſome treatiſes againſt the rejoycings of the Twelfth-Day, obſerves that Naogeorgus had not omitted to reproach the Catholics with the ſuperſtitions and exceſſes of that feaſt. The German name of this author was *Kirchmaier* (c). He was a perſon who underſtood Greek indifferently well [B]. He was born in the year 1511, and died in the year 1578, or thereabouts (d).

(a) And not Naogeorgius, as Borrichius calls him; nor Neogeorgius, as he is named by Konig.

(b) John Deſhyons, dean and theologal of Sens, pag. 139, 241, 242, quoting the fourth book of Regnum Papiſticum.

(c) Epitome Bibliothecæ Geſneri.

(d) Baillet, Judgment on the Poets, *num.* 1323.

One

[A] *He compoſed a great many Latin verſes.*] The moſt famous of his poems was that intituled *Bellum Papiſticum*. He publiſhed it in the year 1553, and dedicated it to Philip landgrave of Heſſe. It is in hexameter verſe, and divided into four books. The author reſided at Baſil when he printed it. He compoſed alſo ſome tragedies which may be ſtiled controverſial. Such is that intituled *Pammachius*, which he dedicated to Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury; the prologue of which begins with theſe four verſes:

Quid adferamus ſi vacat cognoſcere
Spectatores, paucis exponam ſingula:
Pammachium, qui Romanus eſt Epiſcopus,
Evangelicæ doctrinæ cepit tædium.

Of our intended feaſt, Sirs, by your leave,
We beg you'll firſt a bill of fare receive.
Pammachius, biſhop of Rome's pamper'd ſte,
Is ſurfeited with Chriſtianity.

It came out in the year 1537: ſuch another is this following (1), *Incendia, ſive Pyrgopolinices Tragœdia, nefanda quorundam Papiſtarum facinora exponens.* His Mercator (2) is of the ſame kind (§ *a*), whoſe title runs thus, *Mercator, ſeu Judicium in qua* (tragœdia) *in conſpectu ponuntur Apoſtolica & Papiſtica doctrina, quantum utraque in conſcientiæ certamine valeat & efficiat, & quis utriuſque futurus ſit exitus.* He compoſed five books of ſatires, *An abridgment of Eccleſiaſtical Tenets*, and ſome other poems (3).

(1) Publiſhed at Wittemberg in the year 1538.

(2) Publiſhed in the year 1539.

(3) See Bottrichius de Poëtis, *pag.* 134; or rather the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque.

[(§ *a*) There is a tranſlation of this poem in French verſe, of which Criſpin is perhaps the author. The title of it is, Le Marchand converti, *The Merchant converted*, and among other editions, there is one in 16mo by Francis Foreſt, 1591. REM. CRIT.]

[B] *He underſtood Greek indifferently well.*] He tranſlated into Latin ſeveral pieces of Plutarch, and Dion Chryſoſtom, and the letters of Syneſius.

[C] *One*

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One of his dramatic pieces was represented at Heidelberg under so benign a constellation, that it was pretended the Heavens declared in its favour [C]. This particular deserves to be related.

[C] *One of his dramatic pieces was represented, ... and it was pretended that the Heavens declared in its favour.*] This dramatic piece of Naogeorgus is intituled *Haman*. It was represented at Heidelberg on the twenty-fourth of August. The scholars maintained by the Elector (4) were the actors in it. A theatre was erected in a court of the monastery of the Franciscans. There was so great an appearance of much rain, when the first actor was preparing to begin his part, that it was thought it could not be played: but all of a sudden the sky cleared up, the sun appeared, and so continued, not for a moment, but during all the time of the representation. 'Ibi subito qui post nubila latuerat sol, quasi ad spectaculum invitatus ridens prorupit, nec usque dum ludi exacti essent vel minimæ nubeculæ locum concessit (5). - - - *Then all at once the sun, who had concealed himself in the clouds, as tho' he had been invited to the entertainment, shone out with a chearful countenance, and would not admit of the least shadow of a cloud so long as the performance lasted.*' But the play was no sooner over than the air began to be gloomy again; and so remained for great part of the winter (6). Mr. Fabricius, professor at Heidelberg, relates this in a dissertation, wherein he maintains that a good use may be made of stage-plays. This observation he opposed to a certain popular notion, that whenever plays are acted, there always suddenly arises a tempest. 'Quoniam nuper inaudivi te nescio quas jactare observationes de tempestatibus quoties Comœdiæ edebantur ex improviso obortis, operæ pretium fuerit brevem tibi narrare historiolam qua & imaginaria tua experientia confutetur, & quid olim hic factum sit edocearis. - - - *Because, I have lately heard you pretend I know not what observations of the sudden rising of tempests as often as any plays are acted, it will be worth while to produce a short historical fact, which will both confute your imaginary experience, and inform you of what happened here some time ago.*' This remark is useful as it shews us that those who condemn any practice, are used to suppose that the celestial prodigies declare in their favour. This they easily make people believe, and thereby keep their minds in slavish subjection. The shortest course will always be to put them upon making good their assertions, or else to oppose them with contrary observations.

(4) *It was Frederic the Pious.*

(5) Joannes Ludovicus Fabricius, de Ludis Scenicis, *pag.* 101.

(6) Ipsa vero hora qua spectatores domum redierant, redierunt & nimbi, nec ab illo die (erat autem XXIV Augusti) in adultam usque hiemem cessarunt. *Id. ib.*

NAPLES (JOAN I. QUEEN OF) descended from Charles of Anjou brother to St Lewis [A] king of France, succeeded king Robert her grandfather in the year 1343. She was already married to her cousin Andrew, son of Charles king of Hungary [B]. They reigned together for the space of three years (a), at the end of which it is pretended that she caused him to be strangled; and, if we believe scandalous reports, the cause was his not being man enough to satisfy that princess [C]. She was soon married again.

(a) Felinus Sandeus, Epitome de Regibus Siciliæ, *pag.* 34. *See the remark* [D].

[A] *She was descended from Charles of Anjou, brother to St Lewis.*] Charles of Anjou, created king of Naples and Sicily by the Pope in the year 1266, did not obtain the peaceable possession of that kingdom till he had defeated Manfred (1) and Conradin (2). He died in the year 1285. Charles, the lame, his son, succeeded him, and married Mary of Hungary, sister and heiress of Uladislaus IV, king of Hungary. From this marriage came several children. The eldest, known by the name of Charles Martel, was king of Hungary: the second, named Robert, was king of Naples: the third, named Philip, founded the branch of the princes of Taranto: and the fourth, named John, founded that of the dukes of Durazzo. Robert king of Naples was father of Charles duke of Calabria, who died the tenth of November 1328, and had two daughters, namely Joan, who is the subject of this article, and Mary married to Charles of Durazzo her cousin. Robert was therefore grand-father to Joan, he made her his heir, and died at Naples the nineteenth of January in the year 1343 (3). Pandolphus Collenuccio is mistaken, when he says, that Charles duke of Calabria, left three daughters (4). Tomaso Costo has corrected this mistake in his supplements to the history of that author (5).

(1) The twenty sixth of February 1266. *Anselme, Hist. Genealog. pag.* 336.

(2) The twenty third of August 1268. *Id. ib.*

(3) *Taken from Father Anselm's* Genealogical History of the House of France, *chap. xiv.*

(4) Pandolphe Collenuccio, Hist. del Regno di Napoli, *lib. v, fol. m.* 82. *verso.*

(5) Tomaso Costo, Cittadino Napoletano, Annotazioni e Supplementi, *fol. m.* 111.

[B] *She was already married to Andrew son of Charles king of Hungary.*] Here we have another mistake of Collennuccio: he pretends, that Joan married Andrew after the death of Robert, and that in obedience to the will of her deceased grandfather (6). He should have said that Robert, a little after the death of the duke of Calabria, thought of marrying his grand-daughter to one of the sons of Charobert king of Hungary, his Nephew. The proposal he made to the king of Hungary was accepted. Charobert set out for the kingdom of Naples in the year 1333, with Andrew his second son, aged about seven years. The nuptials were solemnized at Naples with great pomp on the twenty fixth of September 1333. The year following the king of Hungary returned to his dominions, leaving his son at Naples with king Robert (7). I never could yet find, in what year the marriage was consummated: perhaps, this happened too early, which might probably be the cause of that weakness which was so fatal to the husband. I have read in an Italian author, that he was but seven years old when he married the princess Joan: but I find in Father Anselm (8), that he was born the thirtieth of November 1327. He could not therefore be full six years old at the time of his marriage. There is a great deal of probability that he consummated it too early, and that having an Italian wife, something elder than himself, and consequently more ripe for marriage, he could not be able to perform the duties of matrimony without weakening himself; which gave occasion to those reproaches of effeminacy we shall take notice of in the following remark. Spondanus says, that it is reported that queen Joan began to dispise her husband, because being but nineteen years of age, he could not content her. 'Sunt porro qui dicant Joannam in contemptum viri devenisse, tum ob barbaros mores Hungariæ, tum ob ignaviam, & quod usu Veneris libidini ejus non sufficeret adolescens tunc annorum undeviginti (9). - - - - *There are some also who affirm Joan's contempt of her husband, to have risen both from some of his barbarous Hungarian customs, and from his inactivity and inability to answer her desires, tho' he was then a youth of nineteen years of age.*' If she complained of him when he was nineteen years old (10), could she be satisfied with him when he was but fifteen? However it be, they lived together on very ill terms in the year 1343. The queen of Hungary, the mother of Andrew, made a journey to Italy this same year, and returned much dissatisfied with the behaviour of her daughter-in-law, and the unfortunate condition in which she found her son. 'Elizabeth Regina mater Ludovici visitavit fe- (11) Felinus Sa
'dem Apostolicam, transivit per Apuliam, cui fuit ob- deus, Epitome
'vius Andreas filius suus cum Johanna Regina con- Regibus Sicilia
'forte sua: & ex Neapoli veniens fuit valde honorata pag. 69. Spo
'etiam a populo Romano. Ex Neapoli rediit in Hun- danus speaks of
'garian male contenta de moribus Johannæ nurus suæ, this journey, a
'quam vidit male tractare Andræam filium suum in ann. 1343, n
'regno Apuliæ (11). - - - - - *Queen Elizabeth, the mo- 6, quoting Th
'ther of Lewis, made a visit to the Apostolical See, she ref. part III, c
'passed through Apulia, where she was met by Andrew iv. Benfin.
'her son with queen Joan his consort; and going from Dec. 10.
'Naples to Rome, she was received in this place with (12) Brantom
'great honours. She returned thro' Naples to Hungary, Lives of Illus
'not at all pleased with the conduct of Joan her daughter- trious Women
'in-law, who she found behaved very ill to her son pag. 347.
'Andrew in the kingdom of Apulia.

(7) Tomaso Costo, Annotaz. e Supplementi, *fol.* 108 *verso. He quotes Michael Ricci, and the two Johns Villani, the Neapolitan, and the Florentine.*

(8) Hist. Genealog. de la Maison de France, *pag.* 343.

(9) Spondanus, ad ann. 1345, num. 4.

(10) Note, he never arrived at this age.

[C] *. . . it is pretended that she caused him to be strangled . . . because he was not man enough to satisfy her.*] Let us see how Brantome relates this (12) 'Joan the eldest (13) He shou
'daughter (13) of king Robert . . . had for her first hus- have said gra
'band Andrew, her first cousin (14); of whom, after daughter.
'having reigned some time together, she began (14) He is n
'to grow tired: and being both of them in the taken, he sh
have said the
were second
cousins.

'city

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again [*D*], and took for her husband Lewis son of Philip prince of Taranto (*b*). But she did not peaceably enjoy the pleasures of her second marriage: for Lewis king of Hungary, resolving to revenge the death of his brother, marched into the kingdom of Naples with a considerable army in the year 1348, and forced the queen to retire for safety into Provence (*c*), where she sold Avignon to the Pope for a very inconsiderable sum (*d*). Her husband, who followed her, did not observe a necessary moderation in his caresses [*E*], for he thereby destroyed his health, and died very soon, if we may believe Collenuccio. But it is certain this author is too hasty; for the second marriage of Joan lasted fifteen years. She was recalled into her kingdom as soon as the king of Hungary who had subdued it in few days, was returned home (*e*), after his having caused to be hanged Charles of Durazzo, the principal promoter of the tragical end of Andrew, and who was violently suspected to be the queen's galant (*f*). This princess, accompanied by her husband, re-entered Naples in the month of August 1348, and recovered part of her towns; but the king of Hungary returning in the year 1350, distressed her. The Pope ended this war to the advantage of Joan: for he obliged the king of Hungary to leave her in quiet possession of her dominions. Both she and her husband were afterwards crowned at

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Tomaso Costo, *in his Supplements to* Collenuccio, *fol.* 113, *&c.*

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Boche's Hist. of Provence.

(*f*) Era stato consapevole & consentiente alla morte d' Andreasso, e era opinione che ancor' egli havesse havuto comercio venereo con la Regina. *Pandolfo Collenuccio, Historia del Regno di Napoli, lib. v, fol. m.* 83.

'city of Aversa, she sent for him one night, under 'pretence of wanting to consult him about some affairs 'which had newly happened; and as he was going to 'her, and passing under a beam, he was taken and 'hanged up to the same, by order of the queen. 'It is the opinion of several, that this was occasioned 'by his not being able to satisfy her inordinate lust, 'though he was young, brisk, and in good health. 'It has also been reported, both at Naples and elsewhere, that the same lady making one day a gold 'string of more than ordinary size, her husband Andrew asked her what she was making it for; she answered, to hang him with. It seems she made so 'little account of him, that she cared not what she 'said to him; whilst he, poor easy man, took no 'notice of her threats; tho' the event proved she was 'as good as her word.' Montagne, speaking against those who so much complain that wives are not satisfied with their husbands, says, among other things, (15): *Inconstancy is, perhaps, more pardonable in them than in us: they may alledge, as well as we, a common inclination to variety and novelty, and even in the second place, more than we can, that they are forced to purchase a pig in a poke. Joan queen of Naples, caused her first husband, Andrew, to be strangled at the grates of her window, with a gold and silk string twisted with her own hand, because in the matrimonial exercise, she did not find his shape, beauty, youth, and disposition, answer the expectation she had conceived of them.* A little after he quotes some verses out of Martial, which are applicable to this princess (16); yet he does not say all that a modern author seems to ascribe to him. These are the words of this modern (17). 'Andrew king 'of Naples .... never saw either the rising or setting 'of the sun: that planet always found him in bed: he 'went to bed betimes, and alway rose very late: his 'wife also had but little kindness for him, because 'he could not satisfy her, says Michael Montagne, book 'III.' Note, Bramtome has only translated *Pandolphus Collenuccio*, whose words are these: 'La cagione per 'molti si dice che fu, perche detto Andreasso, ancor che 'fusse molto giovene, non era si bene sufficiente alle 'opere veneree, come lo sfrenato appetito della Regina haveria voluto (18).---*The reason assigned by many 'was, that this same Andrew, though he was very 'young, yet he was not so well provided for venereal encounters, as the queen's loose inclinations expected to 'have found him.*' Tomaso Costo (19) observes, that Collenuccio is too little versed in affairs to deserve any credit. He adds, I. That Villani the Florentine, has not related the story of the death of Andrew, but on the report of an Hungarian, who was then in the service of that unfortunate prince; II. That Petrarch has given a description exceedingly disadvantageous to the Hungarian barons, who governed the kingdom under Andrew. III. If we join this with the hatred they had for queen Joan, we shall easily conceive how much the relation of Villani may be suspected of falsity. IV. That Boccace has not said that this queen had any hand in that execution. 'Il Boccacio ne' casi 'de gli huomini illustri da tutta la colpa a congiurati, e niente alla Reina (20). - - - - *Boccace, in his 'Misfortunes of Illustrious Men, charges the whole guilt on 'the conspirators, and nothing at all on the queen.*' Mr Mezerai seems to me to have made choice of a much more probable medium. 'Andrew not being much 'in the good graces of Joan, and having caused himself to be crowned king by the Pope, as pretending 'the kingdom belonged to him; some conspirators 'took him away from her in the night-time, and 'hanged him at a window. Charles prince of Durazzo, who was also of the blood of the kings of 'Sicily, and had married Mary the sister of Joan, 'was the adviser and author of this infamous action. 'Joan her self was not wholly innocent. She might 'express as much sorrow as she pleased, but her tears 'and lamentations were not such strong proofs of her 'innocence; as her subsequent marriage with Lewis 'her cousin-german, a fine prince, and agreeable to 'her appetite, was of her guilt (21).'

(11) Montagne's Essays, *book iii, chap. v.*

(16) Deinde experta latus, mediloque simillima loro
Inguina, nec lassa flare coacta manu;
Deserit imbelles thalamos molleque maritum.
Martial. Epigr. LVII, lib. viii.

(17) Cæsar de Rochefort, Dictionaire General & Curieux, *pag.* 130, *col.* 1.

(18) Collenuccio, *lib. v, fol.* 82, *vers. Edition of Venice* 1601. in 4to.

(19) Annotaz. e Scriptem. *fol.* 111.

(20) Ibid.

[*D*] *She was soon married again.*] King Andrew was strangled the eighteenth of September 1346. Queen Joan was big with child, and brought to bed of a son the twenty-sixth of December following (22). She married her second husband the twentieth of August 1347 (23). This is according to the calculation of Tomaso Costo. He does not make the queen's widowhood continue a full year: but it is necessary to observe, that he has falsely set down the year of king Andrew's death, and it is a matter of great wonder, that in cases of this nature, Historians are not more exact as to the circumstance of time. Villani (24) assures us, that king Andrew was strangled the eighteenth of September 1346. They who pretend that this prince was nineteen years old (25), and that he lived three years with his wife after the death of Robert (26), ought to suppose that he died in the year 1346. It is nevertheless certain, he was murdered in the year 1345. This is a demonstrative proof of it. Queen Joan his widow, some few days before her lying-in, requested the Pope to stand godfather to her child (27), to which his Holiness returned a favourable answer (28), dated from Avignon the first day of February, in the fourth year of his pontificat. Now he was created Pope the seventh of May 1342. His answer therefore must have been dated the first of February 1346; and consequently this princess, who was brought to bed on Christmas-day, as appears by another letter from the same Pope (29), was brought to bed the twenty-fifth of December 1345: her husband therefore could not be murdered in 1346. See the Acts and the Lives of the Popes who resided at Avignon; which Mr Baluze has published and embellished with very fine notes.

(21) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, *Tom. iii, pag.* 30.

(22) He died an infant in Hungary, whither king Lewis, brother of Andrew, had sent him. *Tomaso Costo, ibid. fol.* 112 *verso.*

(23) Taken from Tomaso Costo, ibid. *fol.* 112.

(24) Apud Tomaso, ubi supra, *fol.* 111.

(25) See, above, citation (9), the passage of Spondanus.

(26) See *Felinus Sandeus* quoted in the body of this article.

(27) See the Lives of those Popes who have resided at Avignon, published by Mr Baluze; printed at Paris in 1693, *Tom. ii, pag.* 689.

[*E*] *Her second husband .... did not observe a necessary moderation in his caresses.*] 'She afterwards married, and 'that very quickly, one of her cousins, son of the prince 'of Taranto, with whom she had been in love during 'her husband's life: she used him well, and lived 'with him three years in great affection; but he died 'wholly exhausted, as it was thought, by his excess 'five and too frequent engaging with the queen in 'venereal combats (30)'. The author from whom I have these words, declares himself an apologist for the queen on this head; and this is the turn he gives it (31): *As for her cousin, son of the prince of Taranto, who died by exhausting himself in her service, it was no fault of her's, since it is impossible to prevent a man from getting drunk with his own wine: and if this wine must afterwards necessarily inspire a hot fit, the liquor is not to blame, but the drinker of it. I make no doubt but the great beauty of this queen, her air, her majesty, her behaviour,*

(28) It is related by Mr Baluze, ibid.

(29) It is given ibid. *pag.* 690.

(30) Brantome, Vies des Dames Illustres, *pag.* 348, 349.

(31) Id. lib. *pag.* 353.

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at Naples on Whitſunday 1352 (g). Having loſt her huſband in the year 1362, ſhe quickly married again to the Infant of Majorca, whoſe head ſhe cauſed to be cut off as ſoon as ſhe came to know he had a miſtreſs [F]. At length in the year 1376, ſhe married again to a German prince; with whom ſhe lived very happily; but Charles of Durazzo, general of the Hungarian troops, conquered and took him priſoner: ſoon after which ſhe was forced to ſurrender herſelf. Some ſay ſhe was hanged [G], and others that ſhe was ſtifled with a cuſhion. This happened in the year 1382 (b) [H] She.

(g) Id. ib.

(b) Mezerai, Abrég. Chronol. *Tom. iii, pag.* 119.

behaviour, her charms and allurements, her bewitching embraces, and ſoft touches, might make this young man endeavour at performing more than nature would allow: but ſtill this effort was owing to himſelf, and not to her; for in theſe caſes a man is not to be forced, not even with a cudgel, as one may ſay, for all muſt come from the humour of the perſon himſelf, from his ability, his own act, and, above all, from the ardency of his paſſion. And ſuppoſe it were not ſo, how could he die better, than in the ſervice of his queen and lady, in ſhowing the heighth of his affection for her, ſince he neither ſpared pains, vigour, nor exceſs to content her, and to give her pleaſure fell a ſacrifice to love on the amorous field of battle, her bed, where he had ſo valiantly fought and expoſed his life under the banner of Venus. We read how Medor and Claridan, when they ſo furiouſly aſſaulted the camp of Charlemagne, killed a certain lord, Albert, in his tent, in the arms of his miſtreſs, where he had been entertained that night, nor could e'er a one of them forbear envying him ſo delicious a death: how much more then ought this prince to be envied, who died ſo happily in the ſervice of his queen, his wife and couſin. Collenuccio obſerves, that Lewis did not enjoy above three years, the royalty he acquired by his marriage. 'Da 'tre anni ſtette il Re Lodovico Tarentino in ſignoria, 'e eſtenuato per lo inordinato e frequente uſo delle 'coſe veneree con la Regina, che di quella ſola era 'vaga, finalmente mori; ne molto ſtette la Regina 'poi la ſua morte, che preſe il terzo marito, chia- 'mato Giacomo Tarraconeſe infante di Majorica, il 'quale era tenuto il più leggiadro e bell' huomo, che 'in quel tempo ſi trovaſſe (32). - - - - *Lewis of Tarento* 'continued king three years, and then died quite emaciated, 'by his inordinate and too frequent commerce with the 'queen, who was infinitely fond of him: nor did ſhe 'ſtay long after his death without taking a third huſband, 'called James of Tarragon, Infant of Majorca, who 'was eſteemed the genteeleſt and handſomeſt man in his 'time.' But Tomaſo Coſto ſhows, on this ſubject, the malice or ignorance of the author juſt mentioned (33). Lewis married Queen Joan in the year 1347: he was crowned with her at Naples in 1352, and he did not die till the year 1362: and there happened in his reign a great many conſiderable affairs wherein he acquitted himſelf like a brave prince, the particulars of them you may find in Tomaſo Coſto.

(32) Collenuccio, *lib. v, fol.* 83, *verſo.*

(33) Tomaſo Coſto, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 115, *& ſeq.*

[F] *She cauſed the head of her third huſband to be cut off, as ſoon as ſhe knew he had a miſtreſs.*] Collenuccio does not affirm this poſitively; he contents himſelf with ſaying, it is the opinion of ſome Hiſtorians. 'Mori queſto Giacomo infra pochi anni, chi ſcrive 'per morte naturale, e chi dice che la regina li fece 'tagliar la teſta per havere uſato con un' altra femina. 'Come ſi ſia egli mori, e la regina tolſe il quarto 'marito (34). - - - - - *This James died in a few years,* 'ſome ſay of a natural death, others that the queen had 'his head cut off, for having kept company with another 'woman. However it be, as ſoon as he was dead, the 'queen took a fourth huſband.' Let us ſee what Brantome ſays (35) 'She married afterwards, for her third 'huſband one James of Tarencen (36), Infant of Majorca, who was one of the moſt prudent and handſomeſt perſons that country had produced: yet ſhe 'would not ſuffer him to aſſume the title of king, but 'made him content himſelf with that of duke of Calabria; for ſhe had not a mind to part with the ſupreme authority, nor could endure any rival in it: 'but both exerciſed it, and made him feel it, for 'being informed of his familiarities with another woman, unhappy as he was, ſince he could not enjoy 'a finer than his queen, ſhe cauſed his head to be ſtruck 'off; and ſo he died.' The beſt is, that though Brantome was perſuaded the queen had not put her third huſband to death (37); yet he has made a long apology for the ſuppoſed murther. *As for her third huſband,* ſays he (38), *the Infant of Majorca, whom ſhe cauſed to be beheaded for violating her bed, and forſaking her for another woman, though ſome hiſtorians ſay he died a natural death; ſuppoſing it be true, had ſhe not reaſon to puniſh the adultery, ſince he had no more right or authority to commit it againſt her, than ſhe had againſt him? For the law of God is equally binding to both, and no leſs ſevere to the huſband than the wife: Moreover, if he had ſurpriſed her in ſuch an act, what would he not have done to her? I appeal to the jealous, and ſuch perſons as are nice in that particular. Although he was not abſolute king, nor had any power, but what he derived from her, yet I do not doubt but in ſuch a caſe he would have murthered her; and therefore ſhe was in the right to uſe her royal and abſolute authority, in executing that juſtice on him, which ſhe herſelf muſt have ſuffered, had ſhe been the offender. And if we ſhould lay aſide all theſe reaſons, what judge could be ſo favourable, as not to condemn this unfortunate delinquent, for violating his faith to the moſt beautiful queen and greateſt princeſs in her time; and to forſake her for another, who was not in the leaſt particular to be compared with her? Wretch that he was, like one who might drink his fill out of a clear and pure fountain, yet chooſes to quench his thirſt in a naſty and muddy pond.*

(34) Collenuccio, *lib. v, fol.* 83, *verſo.*

(35) Brantome, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 349.

(36) The Italian words of Collenuccio, *chiamato Giacomo Tarraconeſe*, ſhould have been rendered *called James of Tarragona*, that is, *of Arragon.*

(37) He relates, as a fact, which he believes, what Froiſſard ſays concerning the natural death of the infant of Majorca.

(38) Brantome, ibid. *pag.* 355.

[G] *Some ſay ſhe was hanged.*] Charles Durazzo, having made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, and of the perſon of queen Joan, informed the king of Hungary of the ſtate of affairs, and deſired to know his pleaſure, what he ſhould do with the queen. The king of Hungary, 'ſent to Charles two of his barons to con- 'gratulate him upon his victory: and to let him know 'his pleaſure was, he ſhould carry the queen to the 'place where ſhe had ſtrangled her huſband Andrew; 'and there, in the ſame place, and after the ſame manner, to cauſe her to be hanged and ſtrangled; which 'was accordingly done: and her dead body, being carried to the nunnery of St Clara at Naples, after it had 'remained there three days, was buried; and the two 'barons having ſeen this execution performed, returned to carry the news to their maſter. Afterwards was beheaded Mary, the queen's ſecond ſiſter, 'a leud woman, and charged with having a hand in 'the death of Andrew. This Mary, was wife to Robert of Artois, and beloved by Boccace, who flouriſhed 'at that time: upon whom he wrote thoſe two excel- 'lent books in his mother-tongue, intituled, *Flam- 'metta* and *Philocopo* (39).' This is the tranſlation which Brantome gives of the Italian of Collenuccio: but Tomaſo Coſto obſerves, I. That Collenuccio is the only author who ſays the queen was hanged (40). II. That the name of the earl of Artois's wife was Joan, and not Mary; III. That ſhe was niece, and not ſiſter to this queen; IV. That ſhe who was celebrated, and beloved by Boccace, was neither niece nor ſiſter to Joan, but natural daughter of king Robert. 'La Maria per cui ſcriſſe il Boccac. fu figliovola ba- 'ſtarda del Re Ruberto avanti ch'ei fuſſe Re: vedilo 'chiaramente eſpreſſo nel principio del Filocopo (41). *'That Mary of whom Boccace writes, was the baſtard- 'daughter of king Robert, before he was king: You 'may find this clearly expreſſed in the beginning of the 'Filocopo.'*

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 351.

(40) In quanto al morire della Reina Giovanna chi dice ch' ell' fu ſtrangulata, e chi affogata: ma impercara le dice ſolo il Collenuccio. *Tomaſo Coſto, ubi ſupra, fol.* 121.

(41) Tomaſo Coſto, ubi ſupra.

[H] *This happened in the year* 1382.] This cannot be denied: it is therefore a little ſtrange her obſequies were not celebrated in Avignon, by order of the Pope, before the fifth of May 1385; and that the notification of her death was not ſent to the inhabitants of Marſeilles by the ſame Pope before that time. Mr Baluze had reaſon to wonder at this. I inſert the extract which he gives us of the journal of John Le Fevre, biſhop of Chartres, with his obſervation upon it. 'The fifth day the Pope cauſed a maſs of ſolemn Re- 'quiem to be ſaid for Joan queen of Sicily, put to death 'by Charles de Durazzo. The maſs was ſaid by the 'cardinal of Coſenza; who, at the ſame time, preached 'an excellent ſermon upon the occaſion. The king was 'preſent, and was afterwards conducted home by the 'cardinals of Coſenza and Ambrun. Sed mirum eſt 'tum

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She was about fifty eight years of age. There are ſome Hiſtorians who give her great commendations, and deny moſt of the facts I have been relating. See her Elogium in one of the books of Father Maimbourg (*i*). Conſult alſo Brantome who has done all he could to excuſe her [*I*], though he faithfully relates the ſatirical reports which were ſpread of her: he makes mention of a book wherein ſhe is compared to Mary Stuart queen of Scotland [*K*]; nor has he forgot to inſert the ſhort, but thundering, anſwer ſhe received from the king of Hungary [*L*]. No great ſtreſs ought to be laid on the favourable ſentence it is pretended ſhe obtained of the Pope [*M*]; for if ſhe obtained it of Clement

(*i*) Schiſm of the Weſt. *Lib. ii, pag.* 150, *Edit. of Holland.*

' tum primum in his regionibus auditum nuntium de ' morte iſtius Reginæ quam conſtat anno ſaltem mille- ' ſimo CCCLXXXII. occiſam fuiſſe die XXII. menſis ' Maji. Et tamen primum auditum hinc liquet, quod ' paulo poſt verba quæ mox deſcripſimus ex diario ' Epiſcopi Carnotenſis ſequitur: - - - *But it is ſurpri- ' zing that this ſhould be the firſt account in theſe parts of ' the death of that queen, who was undoubtedly put to ' death on the twenty-ſecond of May, in the year, at the ' lateſt,* 1382. *And yet that this was the firſt account is ' evident from hence, that a little after the words I have ' quoted out of the journal of the biſhop of Chartres, there ' follows: alſo it was determined to ſend a ſolemn meſ- ' ſage to Marſeilles to ſignify the death of the queen; and ' that there ſhould be a ſermon* (42).'

(42) Stephanus Baluzius, in Notis ad Vitas Paparum Avenionenſium, *pag.* 1257, 1258.

[*I*] *Brantome has done all he could to excuſe her.*] See (43) what he ſays concerning the death of the ſecond and third huſband; and add to it what he obſerves concerning that of the firſt, and her many marriages. *For as to reproaching her with having four huſbands, and on that account to believe her unchaſte, it cannot be, we ought by no means to do it, ſince marriage is good and holy, having been ordained of GOD: and farther, it was much better for her to marry than to burn, or what is worſe, to proſtitute and abandon herſelf to firſt one, and then another, as a great many queens, princeſſes, and Ladies of quality have done, and ſtill do, both maids and widows, who are continually purſuing amours and intrigues with thoſe in their kingdom they like beſt, in preference to matrimony, chuſing to ſly this allowed and holy ordinance, rather than whoredom, tho' prohibited; which queen Joan never practiſed; for how much ſoever ſhe might burn with a deſire after the fleſh, yet ſhe always ſatiſfied it lawfully with her huſbands. As for Andrew, her huſband, whom ſhe put to death, it was ſaid, he was a drunken, malicious, and dangerous Hungarian, while he acted the part of a ſimple and weak man, as ſuch ſort of people are ſooner inclined to be, than thoſe of greater ability and reputation, and that he would have murdered her, to ſecure the throne to himſelf; but ſhe was before-hand with him, and did that kindneſs for him, which he had deſigned for her, as the law of nature allows, that it is better to get the ſtart than to be overtaken, and eſpecially in matters where life is concerned* (44).

(43) Above, remark [*E*], citation (31); and remark [*F*], citation (38).

(44) Brantome, ubi ſupra, pag. 352, 353.

[*K*] *Brantome makes mention of a book, wherein ſhe is compared to Mary Stuart.*] ' I have ſeen a book printed ' in England, intituled, *A Defence of the lawful Sen- ' tence, and moſt juſt Execution of the deceaſed Mary ' Stuart, late queen of Scotland.* In this book there ' are ſeveral compariſons made between queen Joan of ' Naples, and the queen of Scotland, as well in re- ' gard to their lives, manners, and amours, as to ' the manner of their deaths. They are to be ſeen ' painted by the ſame Crayon, ſo that nothing is ſo ' like as theſe two, according to this author (45).' He gives an abſtract of the parallel of theſe two queens, which is divided into twelve heads.

(45) Ibid. *pag.* 380.

[*L*] *The . . . . anſwer ſhe received from the king of Hungary.*] It was this: ' Thy former diſorderly life, ' the ſovereignty of thy kingdom, which thou haſt ' always kept to thy ſelf, thy not proſecuting the ' murderers of thy huſband, thy marrying ſoon af- ' ter to another man, together with the excuſe thou ' afterwards ſenteſt me, are to me plain indications ' that thou wert an acceſſary and accomplice in thy ' huſband's murder (46).' They who have a mind to ſee it in the Latin, may read what follows: *Johanna, inordinata vita præcedens; retentio poteſtatis in regno; neglecta vindicta: vir alter ſuſceptus; & excuſatio ſub- ſequens; necis viri tui te probant fuiſſe participem & conſortem* (47).

(46) Id. ib. *pag.* 348.

(47) Felinus Sandeus, de Regibus Siciliæ, *pag.* 35. Collenuccio, *lib. v, fol.* 83.

[*M*] *The favourable ſentence . . . . ſhe obtained of the Pope.*] We ſhall cite the words of Father Maimbourg; ' As to the death of her firſt huſband, Andrew ' of Hungary, which many have imputed to her, ' ſhe has fully acquitted herſelf of it, as well by ' the ſevere juſtice ſhe made the murderers undergo, ' not one of whom offered to accuſe her while under ' the greateſt torments, as by her eloquent apology ' which ſhe made in a full conſiſtory before Pope ' Clement VI, all the ambaſſadors from the Chriſtian ' princes being preſent, with that energy and force, ' that the holy Father afterwards declared her, in an au- ' thentic act, not only innocent of that crime, but that ' there could not be the leaſt ſuſpicion of her having ' any hand in it (48).' This Hiſtorian quotes nobody as to this particular fact. Obſerve that Brantome, who copies from Froiſſard the harangue which this queen made to the Pope (49), with the Pope's anſwer, ſays not a word of the ſentence of abſolution. I ſhall give you the reaſon preſently; he contents himſelf with ſaying (50), that the Pope engaged himſelf to protect the heir of this princeſs. Obſerve likewiſe, that the harangue, which Froiſſard puts into the mouth of queen Joan, contains divers falſities. I. That Joan was daughter to Robert. II. That ſhe was not married to Andrew of Hungary, till after the death of Robert. III. That ſhe had never a child by that prince. IV. That Andrew died young at Aix in Provence. V. That her ſecond huſband became a priſoner to the king of Hungary, and died in that kingdom, being carried thither by that king. And, VI. That the daughter which ſhe had by her ſecond huſband, and whom ſhe married to the earl of Artois, died in priſon with her huſband; and that afterwards queen Joan, and her fourth huſband, Otho of Brunſwic, entered into a treaty of peace, whereby they recovered their liberty, and the kingdom of Naples, by giving up Apulia and Calabria to prince Charles of Durazzo, their conqueror. All theſe are very great falſities, as may appear by what I have already ſaid in my former remarks, and what I am going to ſay. The two daughters which queen Joan had by her ſecond huſband, died infants. The wife of the earl of Artois was niece to this queen, being the daughter of Charles of Durazzo, whom the king of Hungary put to death, and of Mary ſiſter of Joan. This Mary had been a long time dead, when her ſiſter was ſtrangled, ſo that Mr Mezarai is miſtaken, when he aſſures us, that queen Joan and her ſiſter Mary, ſurrendered themſelves to Charles of Durazzo, who ordered them both to be ſtrangled in priſon (51). The earl of Artois, and Joan his wife, died the twentieth of July 1387, as their epitaph (52) ſhows, and conſequently they muſt have ſurvived queen Joan. It is alſo falſe, that this queen enjoyed either her liberty or kingdom, after ſhe had ſurrendered herſelf to the duke of Durazzo. We muſt conclude therefore, that her harangue to Pope Clement, is a mere forgery of Froiſſard; and that Brantome laid a ſnare for us, into which he fell firſt himſelf, when he ſays, *Let us then believe Froiſſard, who has made this queen confeſs herſelf to the Pope, and who has been curious to collect her own words, pronounced from her own mouth, by which he plainly deſigned to make her life known* (53), we ſhall conclude by relating what he ſays preſently after: *I do not ſay but Froiſſard touches on ſome paſſages of her life, as the death of Andrew, and ſome other little matters, as her amours, and the like; but however ſhe was by no means ſo wicked and debauched as that fine fooliſh Neapolitan Hiſtorian would make her.*

(48) Maimbourg, Schiſm of the Weſt. *Lib. ii, pag.* 151, 152, *ad ann.* 1382.

(49) She humbled herſelf greatly before Pope Clement at Fondi, confeſſing herſelf to him, and diſcovering to him all her exploits and tricks fairly and without reſerve. (Theſe words raiſe a great many wanton ideas). Froiſſard makes uſe of theſe very words, and diſcovered her ſecrets to him, and afterwards began her harangue; which I ſhall deliver in the ſame terms as the author preſents them, without altering them. *Brantome, ubi ſupra, pag.* 359.

(50) Ibid. *pag.* 363.

(51) Mezerai, Chronol. Abridg. *Tom. iii, pag.* 119. Brantome *is in the ſame error: ſee, above, remark* [*G*], *citation* (39).

(52) *It is to be ſeen in a chapel of the church of St Laurence at Naples, in theſe words:* Hic jacent corpora Illuſtrium Dominorum Domini Roberti de Artois, & Domine Johanne Duracii, conjugum, qui obierunt anno Domini MCCCLXXXVII, die XX menſ. Julii. *Tomaſo Coſto, Annotaz. & Supplem. fol.* 121.

The better to comprehend the confuſed relation of Froiſſard; we muſt obſerve that he ſuppoſes queen Joan went to wait on the Pope at Fondi; and that it was there ſhe made him that harangue. But it is certain Clement VII left Italy in the year 1379, to go and reſide at Avignon. How then could queen Joan make an harangue to him at Fondi, after ſhe was made a priſoner, which was in the year 1381. For the reſt, it is not to be wondered at, that we ſhould not find the ſentence of abſolution in Froiſſard, ſince it is plain, he pretended only to ſpeak of ſuch matters as paſſed

(53) Brantome, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 363.

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ment VI, it may be objected ſhe gave him A obtained it of Clement VII, it may be ſaid l for the good reputation of thoſe princes wl neither condemn her himſelf not ſuffer her t Pope did not treat her ſo kindly, he declai crimes (*k*), and principally for taking the with whom Boccace was in love [*N*], as they are miſtaken; and that Froiſſard has following article may be ſeen who were th revenged in Hungary, if we may believe

(*k*) *In the year* 1379. Per ſententia privè del regno di Napoli la Regina Giovanna per molti delitti, e maſſimamente per haver preſtato luogo e favore alla ſciſma, & havere preſtato obedientia a Clemente VI. *Collenuccio, ubi ſupra, fol.* 84, *verſo.*

paſſed between Clement VII, and queen Joan. Now it was by Clement VI that ſhe was abſolved, as you may find hereafter: but all this is very confuſed. Brantome ſays, we may read in the hiſtory of Anjou, that in the great *ſchiſm of the church . . . among other princes who declared for Clement, were the king of France, his brothers, and good queen Joan . . . . who went to viſit Pope Clement; by whom, and all the Cardinals, ſhe was honourably received . . . . And that after ſhe had remained ſome time at his Holineſs's court, ſhe requeſted he would be pleaſed to hear her confeſſion, and abſolve her from her ſins, which the good Pope willingly and kindly granted, as it is certain ſo very agreeable a requeſt was not to be denied to one who ſo highly deſerved a ſecret, auricular, and ocular, confeſſion, and a penance light and eaſy to be born. After this confeſſion made in preſence of his Holineſs, and the ſacred college of cardinals, the ſaid queen . . . . . remonſtrated the many ill turns, and inſtances of ingratitude ſhe had met with from her nephew Charles of Durazzo; and that he had many times ſought her life to enjoy her kingdom. She therefore deſiring to obſerve the laſt will of her father and grandfather, did, in preſence of all the nobility there aſſembled, reſign and yield up into the hands of his Holineſs, as well her kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, as her duchies of Apulia, Calabria and the earldom of Provence. All this agrees with the words of Froiſſard. The Pope having accepted this, thro' the ill advice of his council, ſhe adopted Lewis of Anjou for her ſon; to whom were given charters and authentic letters; but the Pope, however, had a deed of conveyance of the county of Avignon from her to himſelf . . . . This being done, the queen took her leave of his Holineſs, and returned to her kingdom, where Charles of Durazzo, having ſome time after taken her priſoner, cauſed her to be ſecretly ſtifled between two feather-beds, being informed of the adoption ſhe had made* (54). If this relation were to be allowed, it would incline one to believe, that the fact which Father Maimbourg ſpeaks of, belongs to the pontificate of Clement VII, and not to that of Clement VI. But I would not adviſe any body to rely either on the account Brantome has taken from Froiſſard, or that which he borrows from the hiſtory of Anjou. It is impoſſible to reconcile them, they are full of confuſion and uncertainty: let us therefore hold to what I am going to ſay. It is certain that queen Joan having made her apology, in the year 1348, before the Pope and cardinals, was declared innocent of the murder of her huſband (55), yet this declaration was but ſlightly expreſſed, and there is great probability it proceeded from the paſſion the Pope had to acquire Avignon. In ſhort, the ſame affair having been brought in queſtion in three years after, the queen was obliged to confeſs ſhe had been induced by witchcraft not to love her huſband, which gave encouragement to ſeveral perſons to conſpire againſt him. The judges being remarkably inclined to mercy, declared that ſhe ought not to be eſteemed guilty of this unhappy enchantment, nor of it's conſequences. When recourſe is had to ſuch ſort of contrivances in accuſations of this nature, it is a ſign the criminal has but a very bad cauſe. It is plain, the Pope, who was choſen judge in this matter, had a mind to preſerve to her, at all events, the kingdom of Naples, which he could not have done, unleſs he had found her innocent; for the truce he had mediated between her and the king of Hungary, in the year 1350, imported, that if Joan were found guilty, ſhe ſhould ſurrender her kingdom to that monarch, and that he ſhould quit all pretenſions to it, if ſhe were declared innocent (56). Conſider well this whole paſſage of Spondanus. ' Cum remiſſa ex pacto Cauſa Johannæ Re- ' ginæ ad judicium Sedis Apoſtolicæ, ægre inveniretur ' modus aſſerendæ ejus innocentiæ, nec tamen juſtum

(54) Ibid. *pag.* 365, *&c.*

(55) *See* Spondanus, ad ann. 1348, *num.* 3. *He quotes John Villani, lib. xii, cap. cxiv.* Matthew Villani, *cap. xviii, and* Summonte, *lib. iii, cap. iv.*

(56) Spondanus, ad ann. 1350, *num.* 6, *pag.* 505. *He quotes Matthew Villani, lib. i, cap. lxxxix, xci, & ſeq.*

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falls into some errors [O]. To conclude, the barbarity committed upon the unhappy Andrew, was a plain indication he had rendered himself odious to others besides his wife [P].

'authors, poets, and courtiers; to boast those favours 'they have never enjoyed, tho' I have known some Poets, 'who have had favours conferred on them (63), which 'I design to speak of hereafter.'

(63) See the Continuation of the General Criticism upon Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, Letter xxvii, pag. 590, & seq.

[O] *When Brantome speaks of* the revenging of the death of Joan, *he falls into some errors.*] This is what he says, 'also God, the just avenger of innocent 'deaths, revenged her's, both upon the Hungarian, 'and upon Charles of Durazzo, whom Margaret, 'eldest sister of queen Joan, and grand-daughter of 'king Robert, whilst he was at Buda, where the 'queen invited him to a banquet, with much dissem-'bled kindness, during his drinking a glass of wine, 'caused to be struck in the nape of the neck with a 'hatchet, which thus dispatched him (64).' The confusion in this sentence, does not prevent our seeing clearly, that Brantome affirms four things: 1. That Charles Durazzo was killed by order of the queen of Hungary. 2. That this queen's name was Margaret. 3. That she was eldest sister to queen Joan. 4. That she was grand-daughter to king Robert. Now these are four falsities; besides, in the last, Brantome contradicts himself (65). When Charles of Durazzo went into Hungary, after he had put queen Joan to death he there found these two queens, namely, the widow and daughter of the deceased king Lewis. Now the widow's name was Elizabeth, daughter of the king of Bosnia, and the daughter's Mary (66). They had both consented, that Charles should be crowned king of Hungary; but some time after, the widow gave orders to have him murdered. 'Fu coronato in 'Alba Regale di volonta della Regina Isabetta, & 'del Re Maria sua figliovola, le quali ogni loro ra-'gione li rinuntiarono; ma poi andato a Buda, e con 'finte blanditie della Regina invitato ad un convito, 'mentre bevea li fu dato d'una secure nella coppa per 'ordinatione della Regina, e fu morto dell' anno 1386, 'a di 3 di Giugno (67). - - - *He was crowned in Stul 'Weissenburg, or Alba Regalis, by the consent of queen 'Elizabeth, and of king Mary, her daughter, who 'both of them renounced all their right to him; but 'afterwards going to Buda, and being invited to an 'entertainment by the dissembled kindness of the queen, 'while he was drinking he received a blow of a hatchet 'on his neck, of which he died the third day of June, 'in the year* 1386.' This is what we learn from the author, whom Brantome follows. From whence we may infer another falsity of Brantome; for it was by no means to revenge the death of Joan, that the queen of Hungary caused Charles of Durazzo to be murdered. She proposed only to gratify her own ambition, and that of king Mary. Let us observe by the way, that Urban VI, who had many ill offices done him on the part of Charles, and who, for that reason, excommunicated and deposed him in the year 1385, was wonderfully pleased with the news of his death. It is said he contemplated with a great deal of pleasure, the instrument just newly stained with the blood of that prince (68). His death did not long remain unrevenged; for a lord of his party having surprized the two queens in the country, caused queen Elizabeth to be thrown into the river (69). It is an error to believe the world grows every day worse and worse (70); since, it is certain, the age, wherein we live (71) has not been able to furnish us in the West a series of enormities in a few years, comparable to those which were committed, between the years 1345 and 1390.

(64) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 364, 365.

(65) He had said, that queen Joan was daughter of king Robert.

(66) It was she whom the Hungarians called king Mary. *Collenuccio, lib. v, fol.* 88, *verso.*

(67) Collenuccio, *ibid. fol.* 89.

(68) Exultasse ferunt Urbanum ad nuncium mortis, cultrumque quo ictus fuerat ad se delatum, recenti sanguine rubentem, saevissimæ confectissimæ. *Papirii, apud Pithœum Scriptores de Regibus Siciliæ, pag.* 36.

(69) Maimbourg, Schism of the West. *Lib. iii, pag.* 223. *Hegesippus Thuringus and Bonfinius.*

(70) Rampalea composed a discourse in opposition to this crime.

(71) That is to say, the XVIIth.

[P] *Andrew . . . . . had rendered himself odious to others besides his wife.*] There are some Historians, who say, that his threatning to punish severely some lords of his court, who had ill behaved themselves; to punish them, I say, severely, as soon as he should be crowned, caused those offenders to conspire against him. *Occasio autem hujus sceleris specialiter fuisse dicitur, quia ipse, tanquam virtuosus & audax, verbo & facto monstrabat se velle punire aliquos quos videbat criminosos & malè se habentes, quam primum per coronationem plenum dominium dicti regni ad ipsum pervenisset. De quo malè sibi conscii & merito formidantes cogitaverunt adversus eum modo præmisso sibi ipsis præcavere* (72). But these conspirators must needs have been animated by a personal hatred, besides the desire of preventing their own punishment, by their proceeding to such a heighth of inhumanity. They tormented him barbarously in all his members, and were so far from sparing those we forbear to name, that they exercised their greatest cruelties upon them. The informations Clement VI, caused to be exhibited against the murderers, contain so many barbarous particulars, that they cannot be read without horror. 'Statim cùm 'per eos vocatus venit ad gayphum vel deambulato-'rium quod est ante cameram, aliqui posuerunt ma-'nus ad os, ut clamare non posset, & ita impresserunt 'illos ganteletos ferreos circa os ejus, quod etiam 'vestigia & characteres apparebant post mortem. Alii 'vero funem in collo posuerunt ut strangularent eum, 'sicut etiam characteres post mortem ostendebant. 'Alii vero receperunt eum per genitalia, & adeo 'traxerunt quod multi qui dicebant se vidisse retule-'runt mihi quod transcendebant genua. Alii capillos 'de capite evulserunt. Alii eum in pratum trahendo 'projecerunt. Alii dicunt quod cum fune cum qua 'eum strangulaverant eum quasi suspensum in pratum 'projecerunt. Alii super cum cum genibus ascende-'runt, & eum usque ad compassionem cordis oppres-'serunt. Et audivi quod etiam de hoc vestigia exte-'rius apparebant. Fuit etiam nobis dictum quod vo-'lebant eum projicere in puteum profundum, sicut 'projectus fuerat ille sanctus Jeremias in foveam, & 'postea dicere quod iverat extra regnum de consilio 'aliquorum fidelium sibi, qui disposuerunt postea ca-'pere & mittere Regi Ungariæ captivos ac si scirent 'ubi esset. Et perfecissent, nisi nutrix dicti Regis 'ociùs occurrisset (73). - - - - *As soon as he was come, 'according to their message, as far as the gallery leading 'to the chamber, some clapped their hands before his 'mouth to prevent his crying out, and pressed his face 'so hard with their steel gauntlets, that the marks and 'impressions of them remained visible after his death. 'Others put a rope about his neck, and strangled him; 'the marks of which, were also to be seen after his 'death. Others laid hold of his genitals, and pulled 'them with such violence, that, as I have been in-'formed by several who say they saw them, they hung 'down below his knees. Others tore the hair from his 'head. Others dragged him out and threw him into a 'field. Others say, that he was thrown into the field 'with the rope he was strangled with, as if he had 'been hung up. Others got upon him with their knees, 'and bruised his breast with all their force. And I 'have heard, there also appeared external marks of this 'violence. It has been likewise reported to us, that they 'intended to have thrown him into a deep well, as the 'prophet Jeremiah was into a pit; and afterwards, to 'give out that he was gone out of the kingdom by the 'advice of his favourites, who they determined afterwards 'to take and send captives to the king of Hungary, as 'if they had known where he was. And that they had 'executed this design, if the nurse of the said king had 'not surprized them.'

(72) Prima Vita Clementis VI, *pag.* 246, *Edit. Baluzianæ* 1693.

(73) Clem. VI, in Collatione facta contra interfectores Andreæ, apud Baluzium, Notis ad Vitas Paparum Avenionensium, *pag.* 860.

NAPLES (JOAN II QUEEN OF) descended from Charles of Anjou, brother of St Lewis [A], was the daughter of Charles of Durazzo, who caused queen Joan I, to be

HISTORY of the Branch of Durazzo.

[A] *She was descended from Charles of Anjou, brother of St Lewis.*] The relation was thus. She was daughter of Charles of Durazzo the third of that name, who was son of Lewis of Durazzo, count of Gravina, whose father was John of Durazzo, brother of Robert king of Naples, and son of Charles the Lame, son and successor of Charles of Anjou, brother of St Lewis (1). It is easy to apprehend by this Genealogical account, that John of Durazzo, brother of Robert, founded the branch of Durazzo: he died the fifth of April 1335, leaving three sons, Charles, Lewis, and Robert.

(1) See Father Anselme's Genealogical History of the House of France, *pag.* 354, &c.

Charles married Mary sister of Joan, the first of that name, queen of Naples: he was both adviser and actor

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(e) *Corrafi Father Anſelme*, Hiſt. Geneal. de la Maiſon de France, *pag.* 358, *who calls him* duke of Auſtraſia.

be put to death. She was born in 1371, and
the year 1403. She became a widow in 1406 (*b*).
dying without lawful iſſue in 1414, ſhe ſucce
following was married to James of Bourbon.
her ſcandalous life, deprived her both of he

actor in the death of king Andrew (2). *He was made lieutenant-general, and governour of the kingdom of Naples*, when Joan retired into Provence, *upon the coming of Lewis king of Hungary into Italy* (3). He was not able to oppoſe the Hungarians, but was vanquiſhed, taken, and beheaded (4). Others (5) ſay, that he made no reſiſtance but went over with other lords, to pay homage to the king of Hungary; and, that the king having convicted him of the death of Andrew, firſt put him to death, and afterwards hanged him. The greateſt evidence againſt him was a letter he had written to the count of Artois: 'Dicendo al Duca 'di Durazzo che gli moſtraſſe il luogo, dovè fu 'morto ſuo fratello. E benche il Duca negaſſe di 'ſaperlo il Re lo convinſe con moſtrargli una lettera 'ſcritta da eſſō Duca a Carlo d'Artois, intorno al 'trattato della detta morte, e chiamandolo traditore 'lo fece in quell' inſtante occidere e buttar dal me-'deſimo verone, ond'era ſtato buttato Andrea (6). '- - - - - *The king commanding the duke of Durazzo, to 'ſhew him the place where his brother was killed, which 'the duke pretending to be ignorant of, he convicted him 'by producing a letter under his own hand to Charles of 'Artois, containing the particulars of that murder, and 'calling him traitor, ordered him that inſtant to be put 'to death, and expoſed in the very ſame place where An-'drew had been thrown.*' Charles of Durazzo left no ſon, whatever Collenuccio pretends, but only four daughters.

(2) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, *Tom. iii, pag.* 30.

(3) Anſelme, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 355.

(4) Collenuccio, *lib. v, fol.* 83.

(5) Tomaſo Coſto, *in his Supplements to* Collenuccio, *fol.* 112, *verſo, who quotes Matthew Villani.*

(6) Id. ib.

Lewis of Durazzo, his brother, count of Gravina, *was impriſoned in the caſtle dell' Ovo at Naples, by order of queen Joan I, on a ſuſpicion ſhe had, that he intended to invade her dominions, and had poiſon given him of which he died in the year* 1362. *He was buried in the monaſtery of the Nuns of Santa Croce at Naples. Some place his death in the month of June, and others on the twenty-ſecond of July* (7). He left one ſon named Charles, who retired to the court of Lewis king of Hungary; to whom he did very great ſervices, being general of his army againſt the Venetians. He happily ended that war, which procured him the honourable ſirname, *de la Pace*. It was he who was ſent to Naples to expel queen Joan, when the king of Hungary was ſollicited by Pope Urban to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Charles *was under infinite obligations* to this *queen; ſhe had brought him up tenderly in her court, as her own ſon; ſhe had married him to the princeſs Margaret her niece; ſhe deſigned him for her ſucceſſor, and even at that very time had his children with her. Yet the execrable ambition of reigning made him ungrateful, and broke thro' all thoſe ties.* He was *crowned king of Sicily at Rome, in the beginning of the year* 1381. *He afterwards marched for Naples; where, having been received without reſiſtance, he beſieged the queen in the caſtle dell' Ovo, and forced her at laſt to ſurrender herſelf, after having defeated and taken, Otho of Brunſwic, her huſband, and* cauſed her *to be ſtrangled in priſon in the year* 1382 (8). In the mean time Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles V, king of France, had been adopted by queen Joan, and crowned at Avignon by Pope Clement VII. The news of the tragical death of this queen, did not hinder him from leading a fine army into the kingdom of Naples, to drive Charles thence; but he was ſo unfortunate, that famine deſtroyed his troops, and he died of grief in the year 1384 (9). Charles, by this means, remained in quiet poſſeſſion of that kingdom. He afterwards fell out with the Pope; but having been invited by the Hungarians, who were diſſatisfied with the government of the daughter and widow of their king, he went into Hungary, and was crowned by the archbiſhop of Gran. He was ſoon after taken off by the contrivance of the queen-dowager, as has before been ſaid (10). His ſon, Ladiſlaus, ſucceeded him, and vanquiſhed Lewis II, duke of Anjou, who endeavoured to maintain his father's right. This Ladiſlaus was a brave and bold prince, and had he lived longer might have done great things. He died the ſixteenth of Auguſt in the year 1414, aged thirty-eight years (11). We ſhall ſee hereafter (12), how he was put to

(7) Father Anſelme, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 356, 357.

(8) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, *Tom. iii, pag.* 118.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 128.

(10) In the remark [*O*] of the foregoing article.

(11) Anſelme, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 359.

(12) In the remark [*E*], in the paſſage of Mezerai.

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But he was not politic enough to maintain himself against the stratagems of this princess [C]: for she got the better of him, and prosecuted her advantage so closely, that she obliged him to return to France, where he turned Monk (c). The queen having rid her self of such a husband, soon found her self involved in new troubles; for she had so far disobliged the brave Sforza of Cotignola, that he sollicited Lewis of Anjou to make a conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and he put himself at the head of the malecontents. Pope Martin V favoured Lewis of Anjou, who laid siege to Naples both by sea and land, and had certainly made himself master of it, had not Alphonsus of Arragon sent a powerful succour to the queen. He gave her this assistance on account of her having promised to adopt him. She was as good as her word; but she was so ill treated by this ungrateful prince that she revoked her adoption, and transferred it to Lewis of Anjou (d). This prince reduced all the cities which held for Alphonsus, and behaved himself so well towards the queen, that when he died in the month of November 1434 (e), the grief she conceived for the loss of him was the occasion of her own death not long after (f) [D]. She appointed for her heir Renatus of Anjou (g), who had not a force sufficient to possess himself of the kingdom. And therefore left his descendants only a bare title. He was better qualified to make a quiet state happy, than to reduce a rebellious one; and spent more time in painting than in preparing for an expedition [E]. The true

(c) Brantome, in his Lives of Illustrious Women, *pag.* 388, & *seq.* rallies him severely.

(d) See Father Maimbourg's History of the great Schism, *lib. vi.*

(e) And not 1431, as Mezerai says in his Chronological Abridgment, *ad hunc ann.*

(f) The second of February 1435.

(g) He was brother of Lewis.

queen was married to a very handsome and virtuous knight of the blood royal of France, and of the house of Bourbon, both by name and arms, called Messire James of Bourbon, Count de la Marche (18). The latter says, 'elesse Giacomo di Narbona Provenzale, Conte della 'Marca, e di stirpe regale di Francia ancor' egli (19). '---*She pitched upon James of Narbonne in Provence,* 'count de la Marche, and also of the blood royal of 'France.' They both speak of the same man, and draw his character in a very plain manner; all the difference consists in this, the Italian author makes him of Provence, and calls him James of Narbonne. He was certainly mistaken in the first respect; but as to the last, I believe it is only an error of the press, in putting *Narbona* for *Borbone*. If the Printer of Collenuccio did not make this mistake, it might very probably be found in the authors which Collenuccio copied, and that either thro' the negligence of the Transcribers or Printers. We must not quit this subject without rectifying two mistakes of Mezerai. *Although Joan,* says he (20), *was first married to James of Bourbon, son of John count de la Marche, yet was she nevertheless governed by the counsels of Pandolfo Alopo, and Mutio Sforza, the stock of the Sforza's dukes of Milan, who were said to be her friends.* This is to suppose, 1. That Joan had never been married before she was wife to James of Bourbon; and, 2. That she married another husband, after she had lost this. Now these suppositions are false. If I were to take notice of the incorrectness of his stile, I should make a third remark on this Historian; for the order of his words would incline us to believe, that the Sforza's dukes of Milan were esteemed friends of queen Joan.

(18) Olivier de la Marche, Memoires, *lib. i, cap. i, pag. m.* 76.

(19) Collenuccio, *ubi supra, fol.* 93, *vers.*

(20) Mezerai, History of France, *Tom. ii, pag.* 627.

[C] *He was not politic enough to maintain himself against the stratagems of this princess.*] 'She played 'her part so well, that one Giulio Cesare of Capua, 'who had formerly offended her, to make his peace, 'offered to kill her husband James; she, not less 'crafty than malicious, took hold of this occasion, 'as well to revenge herself on Giulio, as to regain 'the confidence of her husband, and to recover her 'former liberty. Seeming therefore to hearken to 'the proposal, she bid him consider well the business, 'and do it discreetly and safely, and put him off for 'eight days. In the mean while, acquainting the 'king with the whole matter, she concealed him 'with some of his most faithful domestics well 'armed in her closet; and the eighth day being 'come, she ordered Giulio to come privately into 'her chamber, where she made him repeat to her 'loud enough to be heard, his whole contrivance, 'and the manner of executing it; all which James 'having understood rushed out upon him, and had 'him publickly beheaded, and at the same time took 'occasion from hence to express the highest opinion 'and regard for the queen, as the most loyal of 'wives. *Così si pigliano le volpe,* says the Italian 'proverb, *This is the way to catch the fox.* Soon after therefore he set the queen at liberty, and gave 'her leave to keep her court as formely, and enjoy 'herself, and govern every thing at her pleasure; 'by which means, being one day at a banquet pre-'pared for him on purpose; she seeing her opportu-'nity, contrived the matter so well, by the assistance 'of her friends and accomplices, that she grew the 'strongest, and, with great acclamations of the people, 'and of some of the grandees, she caused the French 'officers to be seized, put to death and plundered, 'and the king her husband to be imprisoned in the 'castle dell' Ovo, where he found means to embark 'in a Genoese ship, which happened to be then in 'in the port; and was hired to carry him to Taranto, 'where the queen ordered him to be besieged, but 'he not being able to hold out long against her sur-'rendered it, and got away into France, where he 'turned Monk, and passed the remainder of his days 'in a monastery (21).'

(21) Brantome, Dames Illustres, *pag.* 386.

[D] *The grief she conceived at the loss of Lewis of Anjou, deprived her of life.*] Her concern was the more afflicting, in that she had not answered by a like treatment, the respect he had all along paid her (22).

(22) Sero nimis exiguæ tam patientis & obsequentis filii habitæ curæ, mortisque ei summâ ingratitudine conciliatæ ingentibus gemitibus sese incusavit. *Spondan. ad ann.* 1434, *num.* 16.

[E] *Renatus of Anjou . . . . spent more time in Painting, than in preparing for an expedition.*] See what an Italian author says on this head. 'Qualis avorum memoria Renatus Neapolitanus Rex fuit. Hic enim 'pictura maxime delectabatur, & ob ejus studium res 'maximas conficere negligebat. Illum & familiares, '& propinqui reguli admonebant, è dignitate regia 'non esse dies noctesque in pingendo consumere, semperque tabellas contemplari, & de figuratione corporum disceptare. Ad quos respondebat se 'non minus pictorem quam Regem natum esse. 'At quàm melius consuluisset sibi & posteris 'suis, si tantam curam non egisset artis illius 'pulcerrimæ quidem, sed Regibus nunquam admodum 'necessariæ, profecto ex illo regio solio non excidisset, 'nec privatus in Galliam Narbonensem navigasset (23).

(23) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice Legato post eriore de Exilio.

'-----*Like what Renatus, king of Naples, was in* 'the memory of our ancestors. For he was mostly delight-'ed with Painting, and for the sake of that neglected 'matters of the greatest consequence. His friends and 'neighbouring princes advised him that it was below 'the regal dignity to waste the day and night in Painting, 'and to be always contemplating pictures, and disputing a-'bout the proportion of figures. To whom he answered 'that he was as much born a Painter as a King. But 'how much better would he have consulted both him-'self and his posterity, if he had bestowed less application 'upon an art which is very engaging indeed in itself, 'but very unnecessary to kings; he certainly would never 'have lost his crown, nor have sailed in a private sta-'tion into Provence.' Let us add to this testimony another of a French Historian. 'He spent his time 'in drawing pictures so excellent * that they are yet 'to be seen in the city of Aix. He was painting a 'partridge when news was brought him of the loss of 'the kingdom of Naples, yet would not give over 'his work; so much pleasure did he take in it (24).' Balzac, having said that Lewis XIII, did not misspend his time in exercises unbecoming a king, adds these words (25): *I do not doubt but he had read with a great deal of indignation the story of king Renatus, last earl of Provence, who was found finishing the picture of a partridge, by the person who brought him news of the loss of his kingdom of Sicily; and I likewise assure my self that if Selim, emperor of the Turks, had not in that picture*

* Michael de Montagne in his Essays, book ii, chap. xvii, upon presumption, says, that being at Bar le Duc, he saw a picture which Renatus king of Sicily had drawn of himself, presented to king Francis II.

(24) Matthew's History of Lewis XI, *lib. ix, pag. m.* 503.

(25) Balzac, in his Prince, *ch.* 126, *pag. m.* 88, 89.

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true succeſſor of this princeſs was Alphonſus of A article. None deny but the queen diſhonoure Brantome vindicates her very poorly [G].

** This was the battle he gained over Iſmaël king of Perſia.

picture he drew and made public, repreſented a battle ** *he had gained, this king would not eaſily have pardoned him the diſcovering to the world that he was a Painter.* Mr de Scuderi obſerves, that Selim ſent this battle, *painted with his own hand, to the Venetians, who preſerve it to this day in their treaſury* (26). This employment of Selim did no injury to his memory, becauſe it did not hinder him from conquering; but a like application diſhonoured the good king Renatus, who loſt almoſt all his dominions. 'A certain 'Painter having ſeen a picture of this king Renatus at Aix, ſaid, after having admired it, that it 'was a great pity Renatus was a king, and that he 'had not been a Painter by profeſſion (27). Note the inhabitants of Provence were very happy under this painting king (28), who lived a long time (29).

(26) Scuderi, Illuſtre Baſſa, *Tom. i, pag.* 326.

(27) Le Pays, Nouvelles Oeuvres. *Part ii, livr. i, Letter xxxv, pag. m.* 71, 72.

(28) See Matthew, Hiſt. of Lewis XI, *pag.* 503; and Ruffi, Hiſtory of Marſeilles, *Tom. i, pag.* 269, & *ſeq.*

(29) He died in the year 1480.

[*F*] *No body will deny but this queen diſhonoured herſelf greatly by her laſciviouſneſs.*] Let us alledge firſt, the words of Pandolfo Collenuccio: *Fama Laſcio di ſe inſtabile e impudica, dicendoſi di lei, che nella inſtabilita ſola fu ſtabile, e che ſempre era ſtata innamorata, havendo in piu modi e con molti la ſua laſcivia macchiata; ma ſopra tutto con Pandolfello Alopo, e Urbano Auriglia, e M. Giovanni Caracciolo gran Siniſcalco, tutti tre Gentilhuomini, e molto deſtri, virtuoſi, e coſtumati; ma ſopra ogni coſa di perſona e effigie belliſſima* (30). Brantome (31) has tranſlated this after the following manner. 'Now the hiſtory of Naples ſays, this queen 'left behind her the character of a woman of great 'lewdneſs and inconſtancy; inſomuch, that it was 'ſaid of her, that ſhe was conſtant in nothing but in 'inconſtancy, and that ſhe was always in love with 'ſome body or other, indulging herſelf in carnal plea'ſures with various perſons, and in various ways.' Thus far Brantome: Collenuccio concludes thus, 'but 'above all, with Pandolf Alopo, Urban Auriglia, and 'John Caracciolo high-ſteward, all three gentlemen, 'and of great abilities, virtues, and accompliſhments, 'but more particularly remarkable for their handſome'neſs.' Collenuccio is ſo well known for partiality againſt the houſe of Anjou, that not only the French Hiſtorians, but alſo ſome Italians (32) have cenſured his virulency and calumnies, and principally in regard to queen Joan, the firſt of that name. But they paſs over and even follow his account of Joan II. Is not this a plain ſign that the irregularities of the former are doubtful, and that thoſe of the latter are inconteſtable? The paſſage I am going to quote is very curious: As Ladiſlaus '(33) was very much given 'to women, and exceedingly hated for his cruelties; 'he was this year poiſoned after a baſe manner, receiving his death from the very ſource of pleaſure and 'life. A Phyſician perceiving his familiarity with his 'daughter, gave her a poyſonous drug to rub herſelf withal, which ſhe thought was a philtre to raiſe a greater deſire in her lover, but it proved the cauſe 'of both their deaths (34). The king's ſiſter Joan II, 'relict of William of Auſtria, ſucceeded him. She 'was then four and forty years old; and yet this age 'far from abating her paſſions, had inflamed them to 'the greateſt degree.' See what I quote from Spondanus (35); and alſo obſerve, that tho' the Jeſuit Maimbourg played ſo much the panegyriſt and apologiſt in favour of the firſt Joan, yet he confeſſes of this, that *ſhe diſhonoured her reign by her exceeding ſcandalous life; and that ſhe at length abandoned both her perſon and kingdom to John Caracciolo, whom, of all her favourites, ſhe loved moſt tenderly* (36).

(30) Collenuccio, *lib. ult. ſub fin. fol.* 100, *verſo.*

(31) Dames Illuſtres, *pag.* 395.

(32) Tomaſo Coſto, Summonte, *&c.*

(33) Mezerai, Chronolog. Abridg. *Tom. iii, pag.* 190, in the year 1414. See alſo his great Hiſtory, *Tom. ii, pag.* 627.

(34) *Collenuccio* relates this at large, *lib. ult. fol.* 93, and *Brantome* after him, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 404.

(35) In the remark [*H*], citation (45).

(36) Maimbourg, Hiſtory of the great Schiſm of the Weſt. *Book vi, pag. m.* 284.

[*G*] . . . . *Brantome vindicates her very poorly.*] Theſe are his words: 'The hiſtory of Naples ſays, that 'this queen . . . . . was always in love with ſome 'body or other, indulging herſelf in carnal pleaſures, 'with various perſons, and in various ways; 'but as to this it is the moſt excuſable and inconſiderable fault a great and fair princeſs can be guilty 'of, whereas that is the moſt ſhocking, when ſhe is 'wicked, revengeful, and tyrannical, as ſome are, to 'the very great damage of their poor ſubjects, who 'ſuffer little or nothing from their amours; which 'is an argument I have known publickly urged by 'a certain great man (37).' It is much after the

(37) Brantome, Dames Illuſtres, *pag.* 395.

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ſhe was liberal to the church, and that ſhe permitted Capiſtran to oppreſs the Jews [*H*]. I have elſewhere (*b*) ſpoken of Caracciolo, one of her galants. What Brantome has ſaid of her is taken from Collenuccio. I muſt here add a word or two concerning Bartolomeo Coglione [*I*].

(*b*) Above, in the article of the firſt CARACCIOLO.

A Civilian who lived at that time, made this quibble in Italian againſt the firſt Joan. She has been, ſays he (39), not the *Regina*, but the *Rovina* (40), of the kingdom of Naples, there was alſo a prophetic verſe made on the ſecond Joan, importing that ſhe ſhould be the deſtruction of her country. *Della quale un verſo profetico per il reame ſi diceva:*

Ultima Durazzi fiet Deſtructio Regni (41).

Of whom was made this prophetical verſe, which was current in that kingdom.

Under the conduct of this royal whore,
Durazza's realm ſhall fall to riſe no more.

This Civilian was for the Salique law: he was not for admitting women to the throne (42) All things duly weighed and conſidered, one ſhould be obliged to confeſs that the laws which permit kingdoms to fall to the diſtaff, have not been wiſely eſtabliſhed. It is not that women have leſs wit or leſs capacity than men: there have been ſome who have reigned with ſo much glory, and who have aſcended the throne, with ſuch courage, wiſdom, and ability, that the greateſt of kings have ſcarce deſerved to be compared with them: but then it happens accidentally that thoſe ſtates which obſerve not the Salique law, are expoſed to ſeveral inconveniences for want of it; of which this is not the leaſt, that he who marries the heireſs of the crown, is almoſt always at variance both with his ſubjects and with his queen. They, for the moſt part, look upon him only as the huſband of their queen and not their king, while ſhe is not diſpleaſed to have them do ſo, but even ſometimes refuſes to allow him the title of king. It is from hence that infinite diſorders aroſe in the kingdom of Naples, during the reign of the two Joans. Conſult the Hiſtory of England under the reign of queen Mary, wife of Philip II. The father and grand-father of this latter under-went a like tryal, the one in Spain, and the other in the Low-Countries.

Father le Moyne furniſhes me with a ſupplement: he has refuted by very good arguments the looſe morality of Taſſo: he ſuppoſes that this famous Poet being in love with the princeſs Eleonora d'Eſt, ſacrificed the intereſts of virtue to thoſe of his paſſion, in maintaining that chaſtity was not neceſſary to any but women of low rank (43). This wicked Philoſophy was vigorouſly attacked, and among other remarks on it with this. 'The honour of the public is inſeparable from that of private perſons, contrary to this new morality of Taſſo. Immodeſty is not only more baſe and odious in perſons of figure: but alſo more contagious and of more dangerous conſequence. An ill example is like an infected air, which is always to be dreaded, from what quarter ſoever it comes, and by what wind ſoever it is ſpread. But it is attended with a more ſubtle poiſon, and a more penetrating malignity when it comes from great families; when it is blown from a mouth of authority; when it is propagated in rich and golden robes: and if at this very day princeſſes, and thoſe who approach their quality, ſhould declare for Taſſo's wicked doctrine; to morrow every body would believe it honourable to copy after their amours, and the licentiouſneſs of theſe ladies would come into faſhion, as well as their cloaths and head-dreſſes (44).'

[*H*] *It was perhaps to attone for her leudneſs, that ſhe was ſo kind to the church, and that ſhe permitted . . . . . to oppreſs the Jews.*] Spondanus ſays thus much expreſsly, in relation to the ſmall pomp ſhe ordered for her own funeral. 'Sepulta eſt, *ſays he* (45), 'in Eccleſiâ Virginis Annunciatæ ignobili ſepulturâ, 'ut ipſa juſſerat, in pœnitentiam luxurioſæ vitæ quâ 'vehementer infamata eſt. - - - - *She was buried in 'the church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 'without any pomp, as ſhe herſelf had commanded, by 'way of penance for her proſligate life, which had been 'extremely ſcandalous.*' See what he adds in reſpect to the care ſhe took of the concerns of religion. 'Inter vitia quibus fœdata eſt, egit & multa pia opera, 'tam in Eccleſiarum quàm in ſtatus regni utilitatem, 'quæ Summontius Neapolitanus enumerat. Inter quæ 'fuit, quod poteſtatem fecit Fr. Joanni Capiſtrano inſigni Ordinis S. Franciſci profeſſori, interdicendi Judæis uſuras & alia ab Eccleſia prohibita; & cogendi ferre ſignum Thau, ut dignoſcerentur à Chriſtianis (46). - - - - *Among her many vices, ſhe alſo did 'a great many pious works, as well for the benefit 'of the church as the ſtate, which are enumerated by 'Summontius a Neopolitan. Among which one was her 'impowering John Capiſtran, an eminent monk of the 'order of St Francis, to prohibit the Jews, their uſury 'and other practices condemned by the church, and to ob'lige them to be marked with a Thau, to diſtinguiſh 'them from Chriſtians.*' So furious a zealot as was this Franciſcan, being appointed inſpector of the conduct of the Jews, and who made them wear the letter Thau, to diſtinguiſh them, was like enough to make them undergo a great many troubles.

[*I*] *I muſt here add a word or two concerning Bartolomeo Coglione.*] He was one of the moſt celebrated captains of his time. 'He was born in the neighbourhood of 'Bergamo, and his family had been entirely deſtroyed 'in the quarrel between the Guelphs and Gibelins. 'He had begged till he was eighteen years old, when, 'coming to Naples, and no body daring to diſpute with 'him the prize in wreſtling or running, by reaſon of his 'prodigious ſtrength, and incomparable agility, queen 'Joan II, who valued men only for their vigour, 'made him her minion: but he was quickly weary 'of this infamous employment, and ſtealing from the 'court, went to learn the exerciſe of arms, under 'the famous Braccio (47).' It will not be amiſs to acquaint the reader, that this ſtory is to be met with among the Elogies of Paul Jovius, ſince the bare authority of the French Hiſtorian would not be ſufficient to hinder us from doubting the truth of it. See the words of the original he has made uſe of. 'Fuit 'coleo corporis ſtatura erecta atque habili, adeoque 'formoſus atque agilis ut Regina Joanna, ingenio pro'caci mulier, avidaque virorum fortium Coleonis amore 'caperetur, quum ea ſpectante cunctos in palæſtra 'jactuque ferrei vectis & ſaltu curſuque certantes cum 'magno ſpectantium plauſu ſuperaret (48). - - - - *Cog'lione was of a very ſtrait and ſtout habit of body, 'and ſo handſome and nimble, that queen Joan, a diſ'ſolute woman and fond of ſtrong men fell in love with 'him, when ſhe ſaw him exceed every body in wreſtling, 'caſting the iron bar, leaping, and running, to the great 'ſatisfaction of the ſpectators.*' You may know by this the nature of this queen. During the ſolemnity of publick games, ſhe ſpies an adventurer of a good figure and complexion, who bore away the prize of of wreſtling, running and jumping, from all thoſe who contended with him, and who threw the javelin farther than all of them. She enquires no farther of him, but immediately chuſes him for her favourite. To her therefore may be applied the fable of the mare, related in the *Mercure Galant* of the year 1673, which, if I remember right, concludes with this moral.

Maintes conois qui trompent à leur mine,
Et ſont du goût de la jument:
Il n'importe qui ni comment,
Pourveu qu'il ait bon rable & bonne échine.

Truſt no features tho' ever ſo fine,
But follow the taſte of the mare,
Do but chuſe a ſtrong back and ſtout chine,
This only will anſwer your care.

(39) Collenuccio, *Hiſt. fol.* 86.

(40) This is to ſay, not the *Regina*, but the *Ruina*.

(41) Collenuccio, *Hiſt. fol.* 92, *verſo.*

(42) Pontedera cita due verſi latini del ſeſſo governo. *Femina regnat, &c. Væ tibi terra cui femina præeſt!* Et *Fœmineo regni ſtat mobile regno.* I cui verſi in vulgar noſtro ſuonano coſi, 'La vulva regge, ohime grida le lingue, 'Il feminil governo verſo il regno 'eſtinguе.' *Hiſt. fol.* 86, *verſo.*

(43) Father Le Moyne, Galer. des Femmes fortes, *pag.* m. 192.

(44) Id. ibi. *pag.* 193.

(45) Spondanus, *annal.* 1435, *num.* 3, *pag.* 811. He had ſaid in the year 1414, *num.* 6, *pag.* 734. Sororem regnorum ejus Joannam ejus nominis Secundam, Guillelmi Andegavi, annum agentem 44, ſic amante cuiuſdam Petrotalli Aversi Neapolitani conſilio formâ juvenis a multo tempore infamis,

(46) Id. ib. *ad ann.* 1435, *num.* 3.

(47) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, *pag.* 35.

(48) Jovius, Elogior. Virorum bellica virtute illuſtrium, *lib. iii, pag.* m. 237.

NAPLES (ALPHONSO I, KING OF) by his valour and conduct joined the kingdom of Naples to the dominions he inherited from his father Ferdinand king of Arragon, who died in the year 1416. Joan II, queen of Naples, being beſieged in her capital

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capital city by Lewis of Anjou, had recourſe to c
for her ſucceſſor, in caſe he ſhould deliver her fr
juſt then ſignalized himſelf in Sardinia, did not
dizing himſelf; he ſent his fleet to Naples, raiſec
by the queen in September 1420. This frien
her adopted ſon, did not laſt long; for the ado
ſome great quarrels, which were at laſt conver
of Anjou, was adopted by the queen, and Alph
embarked at Naples, in October 1423, and toc
of his was owing to the good counſel which had
he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the harbour, and to
the inhabitants time to recover out of their firſt
of Anjou got the upper-hand again at Naples;
great conſideration, and beſides was ſurrounded
ſupplant one another, and whoſe paſſions were
faction of Arragon recovered its ground again w
then found himſelf earneſtly ſollicited to return.
1434, and queen Joan followed him ſome f
favoured Alphonſo, although the people of Na
Anjou king, for he was no formidable rival. I
But notwithſtanding all theſe favourable appearar
unſucceſsful. He firſt beſieged Gaeta, but was
with the Genoeſe (*a*), who were come to relieve
there are ſome people over whom misfortune ha
for them even in the midſt of adverſity (*b*). Th
of Alphonſo's advancement to the throne of N
priſoner Alphonſo was, did not content himſelf
furniſhed him with troops for the conqueſt of th
the work of a day: the preſence of Renatus o
time; but at laſt the city of Naples fell into t
and thus the difference was decided. This prin
manner of the antient Romans, the twenty-ſixth
of Eugenius IV very favourable to him. He
as fortune had forborn declaring for him, b
ſentence againſt France, Eugenius did not prete
diately acknowledged Alphonſo to be the law
in conſideration of a certain annual tribute. T
reputation, and gave him an opportunity to
ſtates of Italy, feel the force of his victorious
by all the princes who were under apprehenſior
ſo many charms in Italy, that he had no thou
a prince of great accompliſhments, and a ver
great lover of letters and learned men [*B*], an

(*a*) The fifth of Auguſt 1435.

(*b*) *See* Jovian. Pontanus, de Principe, *fol. m.* 62.

(*c*) He arrived at Naples in the month of May 1438.

(*d*) Victrix cauſa Diis placuit; Sed victa Catoni. *Lucan. lib. i, ver.* 128.

(*e*) Princeps ſua ætate clariſſimus, nulli veterum poſthabendus, Hiſpanæ gentis lumen decuſque perpetuum. *Mariana, lib. xxii, cap. xviii. See Varillas's* Hiſtory of Charles VIII, *lib. ii, pag.* 178, *Edit. of Holland.*

[*A*] *France was very unfortunate at that time.*] If we might be permitted to ſpeak of Fortune as the the Heathens did, who, for want of evidence which we now have, never rightly underſtood that word to mean a direction of the moſt wiſe and juſt hand of Providence, we ſhould be apt to accuſe her of too great partiality towards Spain, in oppoſition to France; for it is impoſſible to read the hiſtory of the XVth and XVIth centuries, with regard to the affairs of Italy, without obſerving the aſcendant and ſuperiority the former had over the latter; which is enough, even at this day, to cover the French with confuſion and to ſwell the Spaniards with pride. In all this management, the finger of God is moſt evidently to be admired. He is the common Father of all people, and thoſe temporal bleſſings he affords one nation in one century, he deprives them of in another. The XVth and XVIth centuries gave a turn to Spain to be uppermoſt, and the XVIIth, to be undermoſt. The aſcendant and ſuperiority of France was reſerved for that century. I only explain and paraphraſe on the Text of Mariana (1): ‘ Sic fortuna ludit in rebus humanis: ſic nos noſtraque verſamur. Aragonio nimirum cœlum viam ad regnum ‘ ſtruebat cui nihil eſt arduum. . . . . Multum ei familiæ (*Andegavenſi*) ſuperi per hæc tempora adverſati videntur, Gallorum genti infenſi, ac Aragoniis propitii. Sed eſt fere ut aliarum rerum ſic felicitatis orbis: per varias gentes atque familias inerrat, nulli propria (2). - - - - *Thus Fortune diverts herſelf with human affairs: thus do we with our appurtinences take our turns. The Arragonian, for inſtance, had his way to the throne paved by Heaven, to which nothing is difficult. The Gods ſeem to have been at this time on ill*

(1) Mariana, *lib. xxi, cap. vii.*

(2) *Conſer quæ Horatius, Od. XXIX, lib. iii.* Fortuna ſævo læta negotio & Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax, Tranſmutat incertos honores, Nunc mihi nunc alii benigna. *Fortune but ſports with human pain, To ſtop her game is all in vain. While ſhe revolves her various wheel, Now you, now I, by favours ſeal.*

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him on that account [C]. He died at Naples the twenty-seventh of June 1458, aged sixty-four years (f), leaving his dominions in Spain to his brother, and the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, his natural son (g). What Mr Moreri says is not true, 'that 'Antony of Palermo wrote a very compleat History of king Alphonso, intituled, *De 'Factis & Dictis Alphonsi Regis:*' for the work which bears this title is only a collection of judicious repartees, witty sayings, and some extraordinary actions of this prince: and altho' the circumstances wherein he is mentioned to have said or done those things, may inform us of several particulars of his life, yet such a work cannot properly be called the complete *History of this king*. Paul Jovius is guilty of a strange negligence, he was ignorant that Alphonso was eldest son of Ferdinand king of Arragon [D], and that he had

(f) Jovius Pontan. de Bell. Neapol. *lib. i.*

(g) Taken from Mariana's History of Spain.

'hormita, Georgio Trapezuntio immortali laude viris. 'Bartholomæum Faccium cujus extant de rebus Al- 'fonsi commentarii, mense Novembri superiori (6) 'extinctum tulit ægerrimè. - - - *He admired learning; 'and had such a fondness for learned men, that he put 'himself again under their tuition, tho' in the decline 'of his age. He was very intimate with Laurentius 'Valla, Antonius Panhormita, Georgius Trapezuntius, 'men of immortal fame. He lamented extremely the 'death of Bartholomæus Faccius, in the month of No- 'vember last past, whose Commentaries on the transf- 'actions of Alphonso are now extant.*' Philelphus having brought him his satires, returned loaden with presents, and honoured with the order of knighthood. *Philelphum Poëtam ad se satyras diutissime evigilatas deferentem illasque canentem ac prope agentem, non prius quàm militiæ honore decoratum præmiisque auctum remisit* (7). He held a correspondence by letters with Leonard Aretin, and endeavoured to bring him to his court: but the old age and bad health of that learned man, would not permit him to accept of those offers. Poggius, a Florentine, translated the Cyropædia of Xenophon, by king Alphonso's order, and was considerably rewarded for it. In a word, this prince invited from the most remote countries, a great number of learned Divines, and advanced some of them to the most considerable employments. His court was full of all sorts of learned men, who all shared in his liberality. He was at the expence (8) of maintaining a great number of scholars in their studies (9), who were of a promising genius, but in mean circumstances. I had almost forgot Bracellius, who was one of the learned men of his court, and has left a History of the wars of this monarch (10).

[C] . . . . *and many extraordinary things are related of him on that account.*] During an indisposition he laboured under at Capua, every one strove to bring him such things as they thought might divert him. Antonius Panormita (11) made choice of books, and among others of Quintus Curtius. This prince listened with so much pleasure to the History of Alexander the Great, that he almost intirely recovered the very first day it was read to him, to the great surprize of the Physicians. He continued this exercise thrice every day, till such time as Panormita had read the book thro': and then rallied the Physicians, bantering their Avicenna, and infinitely commending Quintus Curtius. Having heard, that there was to be seen near Formium, the tomb of Cicero, with an epitaph in antique characters, he could not rest for joy till he had seen it: but immediately hastened to the place, and tore away the bushes that grew about the sepulchre with his own hands: but instead of the name of Cicero, he found that of one M. Vitruvius. *Quod rex ut primum accepit lætitia pene perditus ire nihil cunctatus est, & sentibus rubisque primo tumulum purgans, mox legere inceptans, non M. Tulli, sed M. Vitruvii epigramma esse comperit* (12). At the siege of Gaeta, when he was told there were no more of those large stones, with which he loaded his mortars, to be found, except at an old country seat, which, according to antient tradition, had once been Cicero's; he answered, he would rather chuse to let his artillery remain useless, than to profane any thing that had belonged to so great a man (13). We shall see elsewhere (14) the respect he had for Livy, and the honour he paid to the remains of that great author, and to the country of Ovid (15). He collected with great care the medals of the Roman emperors, and above all those of Julius Cæsar, preserving them almost as carefully as reliques in a cabinet of ivory (16). He always carried with him in his travels, Cæsar's Commentaries, and never passed a day without reading some part of them attentively (17). He took for his device, *An open Book* (18). His soldiers were so well acquainted with his passion for books, that whenever they plundered any place, they strove who should first carry him all those they could meet with (19). One day, upon mention made of the loss of some things of value, he protested he had rather lose his jewels, how much soever the world might esteem them, than the meanest of his books (20). He always caused several to be laid by his bed-side; and whenever he waked, would order one of them to be given to him to read (21). He would sometimes go on foot to the lectures of professors, though never so distant from his palace (22). He esteemed that day lost which he had spent without reading (23); and would not suffer the time set apart for reading to be any otherwise employed, let whatever business happen. 'Antonio poetæ incredibili 'quadam voluptate operam dabat, aliquid ex prisco- 'rum annalibus referenti, quinetiam veterum ab eo 'scriptorum lectiones singulis diebus audiebat, ac licet 'multis magnisque interim gravaretur curis, nunquam 'tamen passus est horam libro dictam à negociis auferri (24). - - - - *He attended to Antony the Poet with in- 'credible pleasure, while he read to him something out 'of the Annals of the Antients, nor did he pass a day 'without hearing a lecture from him out of some old 'author; and tho' affairs of state might happen to in- 'terfere, yet he would never permit any appointment 'made for books, to be interrupted by business.*' He had read the Bible, with the Glosses and Commentaries upon it, fourteen times, and could repeat a great part of it by heart (25). Finding one day the door of his library locked, and not having patience to wait his library-keeper's return, he took some instruments himself to break open the lock; and being asked by one of his attendants with some surprize, *If his majesty would condescend to do that with his own hands?* He answered him with this other question, *What! do you think GOD and Nature has given hands to kings for nothing* (26)? He read with so much attention, that he did not not seem to be sensible, that they either danced before him, or played upon the Music (27). The following particular will shew with what pleasure and attention he could listen to a piece of oratory. Jannot Manetti envoy from Florence, making him one day a learned and long harangue, the king not only kept his eyes all along fixed upon him, but also continued so fixed and immoveable that he did not so much as drive away a flie which had placed itself on his nose at the very beginning of the speech: the orator could not forbear admiring at his patience; but as soon as he had done speaking Alphonso drove away the flie, which he had suffered to be at rest during all that long discourse (28). Such a thing at this time of day would be esteemed ridiculous; and I imagine, there might be some persons, who, at that time, treated this as such.

[D] *Paul Jovius was ignorant, that Alphonso was the eldest son of Ferdinand king of Arragon.*] This is what Mariana observes in express terms; I shall repeat his words, because they contain something relating to the life of our Alphonso. 'Interea, *says 'he* (29), Valentiæ Rex Aragonius Alfonsi MAJORIS 'filii nuptias insigni celebrabat apparatu . . . Sponsam 'è Castella Sanctius Rogius deduxit . . . . nuptiæ con- 'fectæ pridie Idus Junii. - - - *The king of Arragon cele- 'brated the nuptials of his ELDEST son Alphonso at Va- 'lencia with great pomp . . Sanctius Regius conducted the 'bride from Castile . . . the marriage was consummated 'on the twelfth day of June.*' In the following chapter he speaks after this manner. 'Alfonsum NATU 'MAXIMUM regni hæredem scripsit. - - - - *He ap- 'pointed his ELDEST SON Alphonso successor to his 'dominions.*'

(7) That is to say, in 1457.

(8) Anton. Panormit. de Dict. & Fact. Alphonsi, *lib. iii, num.* 11.

(9) Ibid. *lib. ii, pas sim.*

(10) Ibid. *num.* 52.

(11) Et qui bellorum ejus Historiam non illepide perscripsit Bracellius Ligur. *Jovius, Elog. lib. iii.*

(12) *See his book, de Dictis & Factis Alphonsi, lib. i, num.* 43.

(12) Ib. *lib. i, num.* 47.

(13) Ib. *num.* 48.

(14) In the article TITUS LIVIUS.

(15) In the article of that Poet.

(16) Id. Anton. Panormit. de Dictis & Factis Alphonsi, *lib. ii, num.* 12.

(17) Ib. *num.* 13.

(18) Ib. *num.* 14.

(19) Ib. *num.* 15.

(20) Id. *lib. iv, num.* 34.

(21) Cum libris sub sponda solitum dormire regem scimus experrectum illos cum lumine poscere ac lectitare. *Ibid. num.* 31.

(22) Ib. *lib. i, num.* 39.

(23) Diem illam in qua nihil legeret se perdidisse dicebat. Sed & cum audisset Vespasianum Cæsarem (*he should have said* Titum) eam diem se perdidisse solitum dicere in qua nihil quicquam alicui donasset, egisse gratias rex dicitur immortali Jesu Christo, quod eo modo nec diem ipse perdidisset. *Ib. num.* 16.

(24) Jovian. Pontanus, de Principe, *fol. m.* 63.

(25) Panorm. ubi supra, *lib. i, num.* 17. Graziani, de Cæsibus Viror. *pag.* 19, *says* quadragies, *forty times: but he is mistaken.*

(26) Panorm. ibid. *num.* 37.

(27) Id. *lib. iv, num.* 15.

(28) Ib. *lib. i, num.* 46.

(29) Mariana, *lib. xx, cap. xvii, ad ann.* 1415, *pag.* 223, *Edit. Mogunt.* 1619, *in* 4to.

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had been married [*E*], and had reigned a good deal longer than two and twenty years. Mr Varillas, without doubt, intended to ſpeak of this prince in the preface to his Anecdotes, though he has falſely deſcribed him in point of Chronology. What he ſays of him is very curious [*F*]. It is not true that our Alphonſo ſent ſuccours to Scanderbeg for

' *dominions.*' The words of Antonius Panormitanus deſerve alſo a place here, becauſe they contain a very remarkable particular. ' Ferdinandus pater & ipſe ' inclytus rex, moriens Alphonſum filium iis pene ' verbis allocutus fertur: *optime fili, quoniam regna* ' *quæcunque dum Deo placuit obtinui, ad te* ÆTATIS ' PRÆROGATIVA *deferri & ſcio & volo, optarim* ' *eas modo terras quas ea parte Hiſpaniæ quam Caſtellam* ' *vocitant habemus, Joanni fratri tuo, ſi modo per te* ' *liceat, reliquere. Quod ne moleſtè feras abs te peto, &* ' *ſi pateris etiam rogo.*' Ferdinand deſires to leave ſome lands to his younger ſon, and entreats in a manner Alphonſo to conſent to it: Alphonſo anſwers like a hero, that if ſuch is his father's pleaſure he conſents with all his heart, that his brother ſhall inherit the crown; and that, for his part, he does not pretend to ſucceed to it any otherwiſe than thro' grace and favour. *Ego, mi pater ac domine, ſatis intelligo iſthæc regna & tua ferè omnia ad me quidem pertinere, ſed non aliter quam beneficio tuo. Idcirco & pluris ſemper voluntatem tuam & feci & facturus ſum, quam ætatis privilegium. Imo vero ſi pro tua ſingulari prudentia regnis ita demum proſpicis iri conſultum, ſi Joannem regni ſucceſſorem reliqueris, nihil recuſo, quin ipſum vel ad omnia inſtituas hæredem: non aliter (mihi credas velim) voluntati per me tuæ uſque ad poſtremum ſpiritum parebitur, quam divinæ* (30). Muſt it not be acknowledged, that Paul Jovius took a great deal of care to inform himſelf of all particulars relating to thoſe whoſe elogies he compoſed. ' Ad ' magnum imperium novumque regnum .... vehe- ' mentiſſimè contendebat, poſtquam ipſum naturæ jus ' ad Joannem fratrem majorem natu paterni Tarraco- ' nenſis imperii hæreditatem detuliſſet (31). --- *After* ' *he had reſigned to his elder brother John what was in-* ' *deed his birthright, and paternal inheritance, the king-* ' *dom of Arragon, he puſhed his way with all poſſible* ' *expedition to new and very conſiderable dominions.*' I ſhould not be backward to believe, that it appeared to him a nobler thing for a younger ſon to become a king, than for one king to conquer the kingdom of another.

[*E*] .... *and that he had been married.*] We have already quoted Mariana on this head; and here is a ſecond teſtimony, which will inform us that Alphonſo had met with an excellent wife. ' Acceperat ali- ' quando à Maria ſingularis exempli uxore literas quas ' cum ſemel atque iterum attentiſſimè perlegiſſet, mox ' inquit, *inſtitueram olim nihil de uxore extra thalamum* ' *dicere, ne benedicens uxorius aut immodeſtior haberer.* ' *At nunc mihi prorſus mutandum conſilium, & quidvis* ' *homines obloquantur quocunque in trivio cuique ob-* ' *vio, ſine modo & modeſtia de uxoris virtute atque* ' *conſtantia prædicandum* (32).' He once reſolved never to ſpeak any thing of the merit of his wife, leſt he might be thought too fond of her, a thing perſons of his rank have no great reaſon to fear; but after having read a letter he had received from her, he changed his mind, and reſolved to publiſh her virtues on all occaſions. This deſign was both juſt and honourable, but then he ſhould have remembered her in his will, where he never once mentioned her; which has given occaſion to ſay, he would have divorced her, in order that he might marry his miſtreſs. *Reginæ nulla mentio: fama fuit & magni viri teſtantur ea repudiata Lucretiam Alaniam pellicem ducere cogitaſſe* (33). This miſtreſs was in hopes the Pope would have conſented to her marriage, and therefore took a journey on purpoſe to Rome, with the equipage of a queen, but ſhe did not obtain her deſire (34). Others ſay only, that Alphonſo would have married her if his queen had died. This Lucretia was a fair Neopolitan, who knew ſo well how to cajole the good old king, that he granted every thing ſhe requeſted. ' Hæc eſt illa Lucretia, cujus ' per orbem terrarum amores fuere quàm notiſſimi. ' Eam Alphonſus adamatam propter formæ qua præ- ' ſtabat excellentiam, ſuaviſſimis etiam puellæ illecebris ' ſenex ipſe delinitus, divitiis, opibus, authoritate ita ' extulerat, ut plerique arbitrarentur, ſi Maria vita ' exceſſiſſet, legitimæ uxoris eam loco habiturum (35). ' --- *This is that Lucretia, whoſe amours were ſo no-* ' *torious to all the world. Alphonſo doated on her for* ' *her beauty, and ſhe ſoothed the old man in ſuch a manner* ' *by her bewitching behaviour, that he advanced her to* ' *ſuch height of riches, grandeur, and power, as to* ' *make moſt people believe he would certainly have mar-* ' *ried her, in caſe his wife Mary had died.*' I do not well know by what woman Alphonſo had thoſe two daughters, who were married advantageouſly by their father, one to the duke of Ferrara, and the other to the duke of Seſſa (36). Mariana agrees that Alphonſo was guilty of incontinence (37). Ferdinand, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Naples, was a natural ſon he had in Spain (38), and who had no great reaſon to be pleaſed with Lucretia, the laſt miſtreſs of Alphonſo, becauſe ſhe embraced the faction of Anjou (39). I repeat it again, is it not ſtrange that Paul Jovius ſhould ſpeak of the celibacy of this prince? ' In cælibatu ſingularem eamque paucis incompertam ' liberi & tranquilli animi felicitatem repoſuit, ſic ut ' eum nunquam pœnituerit connubia rejeciſſe, quum ' filium Ferdinandum regiæ indolis ex nobili concu- ' bina in ſpem regni ſuſcepiſſet (40). --- *He found in* ' *a ſingle life the particular ſatisfaction of a free and* ' *eaſy mind, known but to few, ſo that he never repented* ' *of his having declined matrimony, when he had brought* ' *up Ferdinand, a ſon of a very noble diſpoſition, whom* ' *he had by a miſtreſs of quality, with a deſign to make* ' *him his ſucceſſor.*' Antonio Maria Gratiani has been almoſt as much miſtaken as Paul Jovius. He believed Alphonſo ſoon became a widower. ' Ex uxore quam ' juvenis duxit Caſtellæ Regis propinqui ſui filia libe- ' ros non tulit, eaque brevi amiſſa cælebs inde per- ' manſit (41). --- *He had no children by the daughter* ' *of the king of Caſtile his neighbour, whom he married* ' *in his youth, but loſing her ſhortly after, he remained* ' *a widower all the reſt of his life.*'

[*F*] *What Mr Varillas ſays of him is very curious.*] ' There never was a king ſo concerned about what ' ſhould be ſaid of him after his death, as the laſt ' Alphonſo, who wore the crown of Naples. He ' not only laboured to win battles, and to perform ' ſuch actions as border upon the romantic, but alſo ' made it his buſineſs to find out ſuch pens as were able ' to record and embelliſh them. There was not a writer ' of any note, whom he did not attempt to gain or ' corrupt, and all thoſe who were famous, received ' from him penſions or preſents in whatſoever country ' of Europe their birth or fortune had fixed them. ' And yet there never was any monarch whoſe faults ' have been more particularized than his. The leaſt ' of his foibles is not unknown, and one may read as ' long as one will in Pontanus, Panormitanus, Bene- ' dicti, and in ſixty-four other Hiſtorians, that he poſ- ' ſeſſed all the great qualities which can form a hero, ' yet people will not believe it, but rather chuſe to ' rely on Bernardino Cerico, who allows him only very ' common abilities, tho' this Cerico was otherwiſe ' but a very pitiful Hiſtorian (42).' I cannot perſuade myſelf that this relates to the laſt Alphonſo, who was ſon of Fardinand the baſtard; for on the one hand his reign was ſo ſhort (43), that it could not allow him time to make all thoſe enquiries for writers which Mr Varillas ſpeaks of; and on the other, this prince was ſo notoriouſly vitious, and deſtitute of thoſe great qualities, which cover or counter-balance great vices, that he was not a ſubject proper for ſo many flattering Hiſtorians to diſplay for an hero. It muſt therefore be Alphonſo the grand-father, who is to be looked upon as the perſon deſcribed in ſuch ſort of hiſtories. See what Mr Varillas has ſaid (44) of the laſt Alphonſo, after having given a terrible account of the life of Ferdinand. ' It remains only to be obſerved that his ſon, ' Alphonſo II, imitated, and even ſurpaſſed, him, by ' uſing leſs precaution to conceal his vices: he read ' no ſort of laws, either divine or human; nor had he ' any other claim to be called a Chriſtian, but becauſe ' he had been baptized: the raviſhing ladies of the ' greateſt quality and virtue, paſſed with him for ga- ' lantry: he called violence and extortion the prero- ' gatives of royalty; and it is believed, for certain, ' that it was he who adviſed his father to maſſacre ' the

(30) Anton. Panormitanus, de Dictis & Factis Alphonſi, *lib. ii, num.* 30.

(31) Jovius, Elog. bellica virt. illuſtr. *lib. iii.*

(32) Panormit. ubi ſupra, *lib. ii, num.* 39.

(33) Mariana, *lib. xxii, cap. xviii.*

(34) Mariana, ibid.

(35) Pontanus, de Bello Neapolit. *lib. ii, fol. m.* 145, *verſo.*

(36) Gratianus, de Caſibus Virorum illuſtrium, *pag.* 23.

(37) Id maxime intemperantiæ vitium in Alphonſi moribus accuſare licet. *Mariana, ubi ſupra.*

(38) Alfonſo mortuo Ferdinandus ſuccevit quem hæredem in regno Neopolitano Pater inſtituerat natum Valentiæ in Hiſpania citeriore, atque ex muliere ſuſceptum quam Valentiæ cum ageret in deliciis habuiſſet. *Pontanus, ibid. lib. i, fol.* 108.

(39) Id. *fol.* 145

(40) Jovius, in Elogiis, ubi ſupra.

(41) Gratian. ubi ſupra.

(42) Varillas, Preface to the Anecdotes of Florence.

(43) It laſted bout a year.

(44) In the L of Charles VI *lib. iv, par. 2 Edit. of Holl*

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for the ſiege of Belgrade; and if he did once ſend him word that the Italians were not leſs formidable as gueſts than as enemies, it was not however at the time of that ſiege [G]. He had more of the character of a great king than a good huſband; and in his old age he kept a miſtreſs, whom he would have married [H], if he could have obtained his point in divorcing his wife.

I have juſt met with a fact which ſeems to me very curious, and informs us of the cauſe of the miſunderſtanding between Alphonſo and his queen [I]. It is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of his deſcendants [K], and of the pretenſions of the houſe of Trimouille [L].

'the ſenators of Naples in the church of St Leonard.' Would any one ſay of ſuch a prince, as Mr Varillas does of him he ſpeaks of in the preface to his Anecdotes, that an Hiſtorian, who was no flatterer, *has particularized his faults*, has informed us of *the leaſt of his foibles*, and has only allowed *him very common abilities*? Without doubt the author of the Anecdotes intended to ſpeak of the king of Naples, treated of in this article; but then he ſhould not have deſcribed him by theſe words, *the laſt Alphonſo who wore the crown of Naples*; for if Alphonſo II, his grandſon, ſhould be reckoned as a cypher, then there could have been but one Alphonſo king of Naples, and conſequently it would be needleſs to call him the *laſt*.

[G] *It was not however at the time of that ſiege.*] The moſt ignorant of my readers will be apt to gueſs there may be Hiſtorians who affirm what I deny in the text of this remark: but as every one is not able to diſcover thoſe Hiſtorians, it would be neceſſary for me to point them out. See then what I find in a quotation out of Barlet, in the Hiſtory of Mahomet II (45). 'Scanderbeg undertook the ſiege of 'Belgrade, a city of Albania, which the Turks had 'taken from him. The better to ſucceed in his deſign, he beſought the aſſiſtance of Alphonſo king 'of Naples, the moſt zealous of his allies, and ſent 'an expreſs to deſire of him, among other things, 'Miners and Engineers, telling him, by way of mirth, 'and with the freedom of an old friend, that the 'Albanian ſoldiers were only fit to fight with men, 'but that he very well knew the Italians were able 'to force ſtone-walls. Alphonſo ſent him a ſupply 'of men, money, and artillery, adding, by way of 'anſwer, agreeably enough, that the Italians who were 'come to join him, were not only qualified to engage 'with men and walls, but alſo to make conqueſts of 'the ladies of Albania; and therefore adviſed him to 'let his countrymen take care they did not entertain 'domeſtic conquerors, inſtead of foreign friends. Scanderbeg ſhewed this anſwer to his army, and laughed 'heartily at it as well as his ſoldiers. But he repented 'his having beſieged Belgrade, and never was any 'enterprize of his ſo unfortunate.' It is plain, here muſt be one prince, or one time miſtaken for another; for in 1465, when this letter is ſaid to have been ſent, there was no king of Naples of the name of Alphonſo.

(45) By Mr Guillet, *Tom. ii, pag.* 83, *ad ann.* 1465. He quotes Barlet. *lib. vii, & viii.*

(46) In the remark [E], citation (33).

(47) Antonius Panormitanus *diſcharged this office to king Alphonſo: now he values himſelf for it in article* 41, *of his fourth book.* Ab ore Alphonſi nunquam omnino verbum obſcenum excidiſſe ſcimus, nunquam interiora membrorum ejus quempiam vidiſſe.

(48) In the 4th page we read theſe words; *Le ſerment & contraint à leur honte coutume de revoler ce voyageux ſecret de mariage*; quod reſte facium ſic appetet ſciri, ut tamen erubeſcat videri. *And at the fourth page ibid.* Si la loy divine defend à la femme de ne jetter les yeux ou les mains perſuadantes aux parties où la honte de ſon mary ſe cache, à moindre raiſon doit il eſtre permis à l'inthimée de divulguer qu'elle n'ait ce reſſentiment de celles de ſon eſpoux. *Non eſſe* (ſays Quintilian) *ſatisfactionem cuique ſuorum adeo injicitur, ut omnes non habeat aliquod ſecretum.*

(49) Panorm. *lib. iv, num.* 8. *que à las Damas ſuele quitar el juicio, y à los Principes darle en lo concerniente à ſu imperio* (50). Donna Juana of Caſtile, adds he, loſt her prudence by giving way to a jealouſy of her huſband, Don Philip, one of the firſt gentlemen in the world. The queen, Donna Maria of Arragon, was a woman of extraordinary judgment, yet a like jealouſy made her commit a thouſand extravagancies. She cauſed Donna Margarita de Ixar, one of her maids of honour, and who was ſuppoſed to be the mother of Ferdinand I, king of Naples, to be ſtrangled; as alſo Lopez de Concut, whom ſhe ſuſpected to be manager of the amours of her huſband king Alphonſo V, and by this ſtep occaſioned that king to go from her to Naples, where he died without ever ſeeing her more (51). This therefore furniſhes us with a reaſon why he made no mention of her in his will. We muſt conclude, that the reciprocal diſguſt to each other muſt have been very great, ſince it could make him rather abandon his kingdom of Arragon, than live with his wife; and her to chuſe rather to have no part in the crown of Naples than to go home to her huſband. It was very fortunate for Alphonſo, to find in Italy what might make him amends for the dominions he quitted on the other ſide of the Pyrenees; but, perhaps, if he had not met with ſo good a reception at Naples, he would rather have choſen to turn knight-errant all the reſt of his days, than ever think of reigning in Arragon with his queen. The neceſſity of living under the bonds of wedlock is ſometimes ſo irkſome, that a man to free himſelf from them would go to the end of the world.

(50) Vitriari, *Notes upon* Philip de Comines, *chap. i, letter E; pag.* 2.

(51) Le hizo irſe à Napoles, y morir ſin jamas verla. *Id. ibi. pag.* 3.

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet & gracialem Oceanum (52).

(52) Juven. Sat. II, ver. 1.

To ſhun this plague, with all my ſoul,
I'd fly far as the icy pole.

[K] *It is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of his deſcendants.*] Ferdinand I, his natural ſon, ſucceeded him, and was married twice, firſt to Iſabella of Clermont, and afterwards to Joan ſiſter to the king of Spain. The children by his firſt wife were Alphonſo duke of Calabria; Frederic prince of Altamura; John who was a cardinal; Francis duke of St Angelo; Donna Beatrix wife of Matthias king of Hungary; and Donna Leonora ducheſs of Ferrara. He had only one daughter by his ſecond wife, namely, Donna Giovanna, who was married to king Ferdinard II, his nephew. He had likewiſe ſome natural children, and reigned thirty five years, dying in the beginning of the year 1494, aged ſeventy-one years.

Alphonſo II, duke of Calabria, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him, and married Hippolita Maria, daughter of Francis Sforza duke of Milan, by whom he had two ſons and one daughter, Don Ferdinand, Don Pietro, and Donna Iſabella ducheſs of Milan. His three natural children were Don Alphonſo duke of Biſegli, Don Cæſar, and Donna Sancia wife of Geofrey Borgia. The fear he was under on account of Charles VIII of France, made him reſign his dominions to his eldeſt ſon Ferdinand. He did not reign above a year.

(53) *Taken from* Tomaſo Coſto, *in his book, intituled*, Nomi delle Provincie citta .... del regno di Napoli, de Reche vi regnarono con le lor diſcendenze figurate in alberi, &c.

Ferdinand II ſucceeded by the abdication of his father Alphonſo II, and was driven out of his kingdom by the French; he was re-eſtabliſhed at laſt by the aſſiſtance of the Great Captain; but died ſoon after in 1495. He left no children: he had married his aunt Donna Giovanna.

Frederic ſon of Ferdinard I, ſucceeded Ferdinand II, and was deprived of his dominions in the year 1501, without ever being able, either he, or any of his children, to recover them (53).

(54) It is commonly ſpelt thus, in conformity to the pronunciation; but the true and antient Orthography is *Tremoille*.

[I] *The cauſe of the miſunderſtanding between Alphonſo and his queen.*] Don John Vitrian, who has added a great many notes to his Spaniſh tranſlation of the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, maintains, that a very jealous humour in ladies turns their heads, and is of very great ſervice to kings. *Paſſion es eſta de los celos y ſoſpechas,*

[L] ... *and of the pretenſions of the houſe of Trimouille* (54).] To ſhew the foundation of theſe, I need only produce

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produce the extract of a memoir, which informs us of the fate of king Frederic and his family.

(55) A Memoir containing the right of Mr de la Tremoille to the kingdom of Naples, *pag.* 2, & *seq.*

'(55) This prince, after having reigned some years, 'had the misfortune to find Lewis XII of France, and 'Ferdinand king of Arragon, firnamed the Catholic, 'entered into a confederacy to dispossess him: their 'armies invaded his kingdom, made themselves 'masters of it, and divided it.

'The king seeing himself dethroned, chose rather 'to trust to Lewis XII, whose probity was universally 'known, than to Ferdinand the Catholic; and retired 1504. 'into France, where he died.

'Frederic was twice married, first to Anne of Savoy, 1478. 'daughter of Amadeus IX, duke of Savoy and of 'Yolande of France, sister of Lewis XI. By this first 'marriage he had only Charlotte of Arragon, who, 'in her father's life-time, and during his peaceable 'possession of the kingdom of Naples, was married in 1500. 'France to Guy XVI, count of Laval, one of the 'greatest lords of Europe, and one of the most illu-'strious families.

'King Frederic married for his second wife Isabella 'de Beaux, by whom he had three sons, Alphonso, 'Cæsar, and Ferdinand; and two daughters, Isabella, 'and Julia. Of these five children there were but 'two married, namely, Ferdinand and Julia: this 'last to George Marquis of Montferrat, but she died 1533. 'the very day her nuptials were to have been con-'summated.

'Ferdinand duke of Calabria, defended the city of 'Taranto against the Spaniards, who took it after a 'long siege; and, notwithstanding the capitulation, 'which gave this prince leave to retire whither he 'pleased, they carried him into Spain, and forced him to 'marry two old princesses: the first, Mencia de Men-'doza, widow of Henry of Nassau; and the second, 'Germaine de Foix, relict of Ferdinand the Catholic. 'He had no children by either of these two wives, 'and died in 1559.

'Alphonso, called the infant of Arragon, came 1512. 'from Naples into France; where, after having re- 1515. 'ceived the honours due to his birth, he died with-'out issue, as well as Cæsar and Isabella.

'Of all the children of the unfortunate Frederic, last 'king of Naples, there was not one except Charlotte 'of Arragon, his daughter, by the first venter, who 'left any posterity: she had by Guy XVI, count of 'Laval, one son, who was killed in a fight at Bicoque 1522. 'without having ever been married; and two daugh-'ters, Catharine, and Anne of Laval.

'Catherine was married to Claudius de Rieux, who 'took the name of Laval, and whose family has been 'entirely extinct by the decease of Guy XX, count of 'Laval, dying without having ever been married, in 'the year 1605.

'Anne of Laval, second daughter of Charlotte of 'Arragon and of Guy XVI, was married to Francis 1521. 'de la Tremoille, son of Charles de la Tremoille, 'prince of Talmond, killed at the battle of Marignan, 'and grand-son of Lewis II de la Tremoille, killed 'at that of Pavia.

'It is certain, that the daughters and their descen-'dants succeed to the kingdom of Naples; and there-'fore Mr de la Tremoille has an unquestionable right 'to that kingdom, as descendant in a right-line from 'Frederic of Arragon, last king of Naples; and that 'with so much the more reason, because by Charlotte 'of Arragon's marriage-contract with Guy XVI, 'count of Laval, that princess had expresly reserved 'to herself and her heirs, all the right to the succes-'sion of king Frederic, and his children, for want of 'heirs male. It was on this foundation, the house of 'Tremoille thought proper to send their plenipoten-'tiaries to the congress of Munster and Nimeguen, 1678. 'to set forth their right, and desire justice from the 1678. 'mediators: which having been refused them, they 'entered their protests.' This is what I have taken from a Memoir printed in France, with the necessary proofs. It was shown to the mediators at the peace of Nimeguen in the year 1678, and of Rysvick in the year 1697, by Monsieur Sanguiniere, counsellor of the Chatelet at Paris, and deputy from the duke of Tremouille. You may see, in the beginning of the fourth tome of *the Acts and Memoirs of the Negotiation of the peace of Nimeguen* (56), all that relates to the commission of this envoy.

(56) Printed at the Hague, by Adrian Moetjens in the year 1680.

NARNI, an Italian Capuchin, and a great preacher, flourished at the beginning of the XVIIth century. Some think Balzac spoke of him in the passage which will be seen below [*A*]. He had admired him in the pulpit, but did not so when his sermons were printed (*a*): see the judicious criticisms he has made on the sermons of this Capuchin (*b*). I have elsewhere said (*c*) that they have been published in French; and that d'Ablancourt, who translated them, has yielded the whole honour and profit of them to Father du Bosc. I have also (*d*) said that our Narni and Balzac's father were like one another. I have just now consulted an author, who tells me the name of this monk was Jerom Mautini of Narni (*e*); that, after having made himself famous in several cities of Italy, and even at Rome itself, he was made choice of to preach before the Pope and cardinals; and that he had all the qualifications required in an excellent preacher, a good figure, fine languague, great purity of manners, and so vehement a zeal in censuring the vices of mankind, that he rendered himself odious to impenitent sinners. When he saw he could gain

(a) Balzac, letter xxvii, book iii, *to Chapelain.*

(b) Ibid.

(c) Above, remark [*A*] of the article DU BOSC (N). See *Colomiés, Bibliotb. Choisie, pag.* 171.

(d) Above, citation (*e*), of the article BALZAC (JOHN LEWIS).

(e) It is the na of his country Narni is a city Italy.

[*A*] *Some think that Balzac spoke of him in the passage which will be seen below.*] 'And when that excellent 'Capuchin of Pope Gregory, preaching one day at 'Rome, concerning the obligation of residence, struck 'so great a terror into thirty or forty bishops who 'heard him, that they all hurried away to their re-'spective dioceses. And when at another time, he 'converted a whole city with one of his Lent-sermons; 'and that the people going out of the church cryed 'out Mercy, as they passed through the streets; and 'that it was computed two thousand crowns were ex-'pended in the holy-week in cords for discipline; 'though these are no very dear sort of goods; pray 'tell me, did this poor Christian Philosopher fall short 'of any thing essential to Monarchy, and of that per-'fect submission it requires from it's subjects? Did not 'he triumph in his rags, and tattered cloaths? Was 'not his mean condition full of grandeur, and envi-'roned with majesty. Was not he lord, and almost a 'tyrant over those who gave him alms (1)?' It is a great fault to describe people by such indeterminate characters. There were fifteen Popes of the name of Gregory; how therefore should one guess in what time this *Capuchin of Pope Gregory* performed such wonderful exploits by his eloquence? Ought not Balzac, who intended no doubt to write not only for the time present, but for that to come, to have managed matters so, that after his death his readers might understand who the persons were whom he had commended? Father Rapin has avoided this fault. '(2) We are 'told of a certain Capuchin, says he, named Philip (3) 'de Narni, who, under the pontificate of Gregory XV, 'preached at Rome with so much force, action, and 'zeal, that he never spoke in public, but he made the 'people cry out Mercy, all thro' the streets, as they 'went home from his sermon (4). It is also said, that 'as he was one day preaching before the Pope, con-'cerning the obligation of bishops to residence, he 'so frightned, by the vehemence of his discourse, thir-'ty bishops who were his auditors, that they hurried 'away next morning to their respective dioceses.'

(1) Balzac, Miscellaneous Works, discourse VI, intituled, *Paraphrase ou de la grande Eloquence, pag. m.* 164.

(2) Rapin, R flexions on th Eloquence of Pulpit, *num.* of the first c tion, *pag.* 1 and *num.* 18, *pag.* 83, *Du Edit.* 1686.

(3) Nicius E thræus, *call Jerom.*

Peter de St Romuald seems to make a wrong use of the testimony of Balzac, for he applies it not to Father Narni but to another Capuchin. Nay, he does worse, he falsifies it, and pretends to find things in it which are really not there. This will easily be discovered, and needs nothing more than comparing the words of Balzac, with these following. 'About this time Fa-'ther Alphonso le Loup, a Capuchin, and a native of 'the city of Medina Sidonia, died. It was said of

(4) Balzac i this only of Lent-sermo and does no mention it's ing preache Rome.

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gain nothing upon the corruption of his auditors [B], he reſolved to appear no more in the pulpit; and having obtained leave for that purpoſe, he ſhut himſelf up in a cell, where he applied himſelf to writ the Hiſtory of the Capuchins: but the granting him this diſpenſation was ſoon repented of, and he was forced to reſume his function of a preacher. He appeared again in the pulpit, and had the ſame uneaſineſs as before; to ſee the fruitleſſneſs of his cenſures and exhortations; and that people came to hear him only to gratify their curioſity. His ill ſtate of health, procured him at laſt an entire diſcharge. As his good life had raiſed his reputation, no leſs than his eloquence, he was interred with greater pomp than had ever been before beſtowed on any monk of his order. His ſermons were printed as ſoon as he was dead but did not at all come up to the expectation of the public [C]: which had entertained too advantageous a notion of them. This turned very much to their prejudice, and beſides they were deſtitute of the advantages of action. This is what I have learnt from Nicius Erythræus (f).

(f) In Pinacoth. I, pag. 135, 136.

‘ Father Tollet a Jeſuit, that he taught well, and of ‘ Panigarolus, another great preacher, that he pleaſed; ‘ but of this Capuchin, that he touched the heart, and ‘ that very juſtly, for Balzac aſſures us in his Miſ- ‘ cellaneous Works, that having preached one day be- ‘ fore Pope Gregory, concerning the reſidence of bi- ‘ ſhops, he ſtruck ſuch a terror into thirty or forty ‘ biſhops, his auditors, that they hurried away the next ‘ morning to their reſpective dioceſes: as likewiſe that ‘ upon his preaching at Salamanca, the chief univer- ‘ ſity in Spain, eight hundred ſcholars renounced all ‘ the honours, riches, and pleaſures of this world, to ‘ profeſs a religious life in ſeveral orders, and eſpecial- ‘ ly in that of St Francis (5).’

(5) Peter de St Romuald, Abridgment of the Chronological Treaſury, *Tom. iii, pag.* m. 385, *ad ann.* 1600.

[B] *He could gain nothing upon the corruption of his auditors.*] This is very different from the relation Balzac has publiſhed, and which you have juſt now read. I leave it to thoſe who have leiſure to reconcile theſe matters, I ſhall content my ſelf with producing the following paſſage of my voucher. ‘ Vitio- ‘ rum incuſatio & querela ita acris ac vehemens, ut ‘ iis, qui eiſdem adhæreſcerent, cum nollent extrahi ‘ gravis & moleſta accideret: quamobrem ille, cum ‘ intelligeret aliquando, ſe operam perdere, & ſurdis, ‘ ut dicitur, fabulam canere, valetudinis excuſatione, ‘ eo ſe munere abdicandi & in ſolitudinem aliquam ‘ abeundi poteſtatem ſibi fieri poſtulavit: qua impe- ‘ trata, totum ſe ad hiſtoriam ſui ordinis ſcribendam ‘ contulit: ſed rurſus, ad eandem provinciam revoca- ‘ tus, cum, non minore libertate, in corruptos eorum ‘ mores, apud quos diceret, inveheretur; ita ab ali- ‘ quibus audiebatur, ut qui delectationem ex eo quæ- ‘ rere, non autem vitiorum, quibus laborabant, me- ‘ dicinam aliquam petere, aut oblatam accipere velle, ‘ fixum ac deliberatum haberent. Itaque in perpetuum ‘ (præſertim infirma valetudine cum eſſet,) ejus vaca- ‘ tionem muneris obtinuit (6). - - - - *He reproved and* ‘ *complained of vice with ſo much ſharpneſs and vehemence* ‘ *that he became diſagreeable and troubleſome to thoſe* ‘ *who were ſo far gone in it, as to reſolve not to be re-* ‘ *formed: when therefore he came to underſtand, that* ‘ *his labour was all loſt, and that he was only preach-* ‘ *ing to the winds, he deſired leave, under pretence of* ‘ *ill health, to quit that function, and to retire into* ‘ *ſolitude: which having obtained he applied himſelf* ‘ *wholly to write the hiſtory of his order: but being* ‘ *again called to the office of preaching, and inveighing* ‘ *with as great freedom as before againſt the corrupt* ‘ *manners of his auditors, he found the attention of ſome* ‘ *of them, was only grounded on the view of being pleaſ-* ‘ *ed with his diſcourſe, without any deſire to ſeek a reme-* ‘ *dy for their vices, or accepting one when offered, againſt* ‘ *both which they appeared obſtinately fixed and deter-* ‘ *mined.*’ A great many people will give more credit to Nicius Erythræus than to Balzac.

(6) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. I, *pag.* 136.

[C] *His ſermons were printed, but did not come up to the expectation of the public.*] I have obſerved the ſame thing with regard to Mr Morus (7), to whom we may apply this paſſage of Nicius Erythræus, as well as to Father Narni: ‘ Liber ejus concionum, ſi- ‘ mul ac diem obiit, ſtatim impreſſus apparuit; cui ‘ nihil tam obfuit, quam expectatio, quæ de ejus in- ‘ genio & eloquentia habebatur; quæ efficiebat, ut ‘ omnia quantumvis magna, minora expectatione vi- ‘ derentur. In quo etiam factum eſt palam, quanta ‘ in actione vis inſit, & quam jure primas illi Demoſt- ‘ henes, ſecundas, & tertias dederit, cum ea deficiente ‘ oratio eadem alia eſſe exiſtimetur (8). - - - - - *His* ‘ *ſermons, which were printed, immediately after his* ‘ *death, laboured under no diſadvantage ſo great as the* ‘ *high opinion which had been conceived of his wit and* ‘ *eloquence, for this made every thing, how fine ſoever* ‘ *in itſelf, fall ſhort of expectation. Hence alſo it is* ‘ *evident, how much depends upon the force of action,* ‘ *and how juſtly Demoſthenes has aſcribed to it the firſt* ‘ *ſecond, and third parts of Oratory, when without it* ‘ *the ſame oration ſhall appear quite different.*’

(7) Above, remark [I] of the article MORUS.

(8) Nic. Erythr. ubi ſupra.

NAVAGIERO (Andrew), in Latin *Naugerius*, a noble Venetian, was one of the illuſtrious men in the XVI century. He rendered himſelf conſiderable, not only by his eloquence and learning, but alſo by the ſervices he did his country in affairs of ſtate. He ſtudied the Latin tongue under Marcus Antonius Sabellicus at Venice, and the Greek under Marcus Muſurus at Padua (a). He propoſed for his model the ſtyle of Cicero, and by his funeral orations on Bartholomew d' Alviano, and on the Doge Leonard Loredano, he diſcovered himſelf to be an exellent Orator. He met with no leſs ſucceſs in Latin, and Italian poetry. His taſte for epigram was very different from that of Martial (b). I have taken notice elſewhere (c), of the averſion he had againſt that antient poet. He had no leſs averſion againſt Statius [A]. It is pretended that a too cloſe application to the ſtudy of the antients ſomething diſordered his head, and that he prevented the ill conſequences of this diſorder by going to the wars with Bartholomew d'Alviano; for he broke off by this means his attachment to books. It

(a) Jovius, in Elogiis doctorum Virorum, *cap. lxxviii, pag.* m. 180.

(b) Ex eodem, ibid.

(c) In the remark [C] of the article OVID.

[A] *He had no leſs averſion againſt Statius.*] Having read in an aſſembly of the Poets, ſome poems of his called Sylvæ, they told him the ſtyle was very much after the manner of Statius. This ſo diſturbed him, that he threw them into the fire, as ſoon as he got home; and his fancy being warmed at the ſight of this ſpectacle, he compoſed ſome extemporary verſes in Latin. Which excellently well expreſſed his indignation. He read it to the next poetical aſſembly (1). Famianus Strada relates it (2): *Cum Sylvas aliquot ab ſe conſcriptas legiſſet, ut ſolebat, in Concilio Poetarum, audiſſetque Statiano Charakteri ſimiles videri, iratus ſibi, quod à Martiale fugiens, alio declinaſſet à Virgilio, cum primùm domum ſe recepit, protinus in Sylvas conjecit ignem; ejuſque calore ſuccenſus, Verſiculos propè extemporarios fudit, quos in eodem Conventu, qui proxime coactus eſt, ſub Ruſtici Acmonis perſonâ recitavit in hunc modum:*

(1) Strada, Prolusione V, *lib. ii, pag.* m. 335.

(2) Ibid.

Has, Vulcane, dicat Sylvas tibi villicus Acmon,
Tu ſacris illas ignibus ure, Pater.
Creſcebant ducta è Stati propagine Sylvis,
Jamque erat ipſa bonis frugibus umbra nocens.

Ure

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It is added, that this remedy did not reſtore to him that ſtrength he had occaſion for, to diſcharge an employment the republic had conferred on him with a very great ſalary. It was that of compoſing a Hiſtory of Venice. Others ſay he began it very happily, but quitted it upon finding that the reſearches it required were too troubleſome and fatiguing (*d*). Others aſſure us (*e*) that he continued it, and that having begun it from the irruption of Charles VIII into Italy, he brought it down to his own time: but that not being able to put the finiſhing hand to it, he gave order, a little before his death, that it ſhould be burnt, together with his other works; for not having leiſure to reviſe them, he was afraid they might not anſwer what his character had given the world reaſon to expect from him [*B*]. He was ambaſſador from the republic to the emperor Charles V; and was ſcarce returned from this long embaſſy, when he was diſpatched to the court of Francis I. He performed this journey with great expedition; but ſoon after his arrival, was ſeized with a ſpotted fever, and died of it in a few days. This happened at Blois, the eighth day of May 1529. He was but forty-ſix years of age. Francis I. ordered him a magnificent funeral. His corps was carried to Venice, and buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. BARTHOLOMEW and PETER NAVAGIERO, his brothers, were his heirs (*f*). BERNARD NAVAGIERO, the ſon of Bartholomew, is, if I miſtake not, the Cardinal Navagiero, whoſe article you will find in Moreri (*g*). You will there alſo meet with one ANDREW NAVAGERO *eſteemed for his capacity and eloquence, who died in* 1516, *on his return from an embaſſy into Spain.* I believe he has pretended to deſcribe the ſame perſon, whoſe article I here give, and conſequently has committed a great miſtake in the time of his death. Vianoli obſerves, that the funeral oration of *Andrea Gritti*, Doge of Venice, who died the ſeventeenth of December 1538, was pronounced by *Bernardo Navagiero apice degl' ingegni eruditi di quei tempi* (*b*). - - - - *The top wit of his time.* Nothing can more fully demonſtrate the eſteem Andrew Navagiero met with among the learned in Italy, than what is to be found concerning him in Pierius Valerianus (*i*).

(*d*) Ex Jovio, in Elogiis doctor. Virorum, *cap. lxxviii, pag.* 180.

(*e*) Fracaſtor. de Morbis contagioſis, *lib. ii, pag. m.* 158. *See the remark* [*B*].

(*f*) Ibid. *pag.* 156, *& ſeq.*

(*g*) *At the word* Navagero.

(*b*) Vianoli, dell' Hiſtoria Veneta, *Tom. ii, pag.* 191.

(*i*) Pierius Valerianus, de Litterat. Infelicitate, *lib. ii, init.*

Ure ſimul Sylvas, terra ſimul igne ſoluta,
Fertilior largo fœnore meſſis eat.
Ure iſtas, Phrygio nuper mihi conſita colle,
Fac, Pater, à flammis tuta ſit illa tuis.

Vulcan to thy dread fire, ſo will the Fates,
His Sylvæ, ruſtic Acmon dedicates.
From Statius's, their ill ſtarr'd birth they drew,
And thence luxuriant and unfruitful grew.
But may thy flames, while they devour the ſpoil,
For kinder harveſts warm the barren ſoil.
Rage on my Sylvæ, but oh! ſpare the crop,
Which late I choſe to plant on Ida's top.

This is giving a great looſe to prejudice.

[*B*] *He gave order . . . . that his hiſtory ſhould be burnt, together with his other works; for . . . . he was afraid they might not anſwer what his character had given the world reaſon to expect from him.*] Fracaſtorius, his friend (3) and admirer, acquaints us with all theſe particulars. *Vir ſummi ingenii*, ſays he (4), *ſummique etiam ſpiritus, aſſiduis Patriæ occupationibus diſtentus, ut nullum ferè ſpatium Literarum ſtudiis ſupereſſet, ut qui ſe ipſum probè noſceret, quæ feciſſet, cum non eſſe hujuſmodi putaret, ut evulgari citra ſui nominis jacturam poſſent, dum tantæ exiſtimationi, quanta jam ipſe apud omnes eruditos omnium ferè Nationum agebat, utpote nec polita ſatis, nec unquam recognita, non uſquequaque reſponderent, quæcumque apud ſe habuit, paulo ante mortem igne delevit. Quare ejus Libri de Venatione duo pulcherrimi, in Bartholomæi Liviani gratiam Heroico Carmine eleganter ſcripti, & unus de ſitu Orbis eodem ſtylo confectus, quos alias legimus, periere: atque ut omittam Laudationem illam, quam in funere Catharinæ Cypriæ Reginæ, Marci Cornelii Senatoris ampliſſimi filiæ, de Veneta Corneliorum Gente nobiliſſima, ad Leonardum Lauretanum, Venetiarum Principem & Senatum publice habuit, & alia multa, quæ eodem igne concremata ſunt, quo piaculo dixerim luculentiſſimam Hiſtoriam, ab ingreſſu Caroli VIII, Gallorum Regis, in Italiam, ad ea uſque tempora tot vigiliis, tantoque labore ampliſſimorum Decemvirum juſſu deductam concidiſſe.* He adds that nothing could be preſerved, but two funeral orations (5), and ſome verſes, of which ſome copies had been taken. Theſe were printed at Venice in 1530 in folio, as we learn from Geſner (6). See in the remark [*M*] of the article BEMBUS, a confirmation of what relates to the burning the works of our *Naugerius.*

(3) *See* Fracaſtorius's *dialogue, intituled,* Naugerius, ſive de Poetica.

(4) Fracaſt. de Morbis contagioſis, *pag. m.* 157.

NAVARRE (MARGARET DE VALOIS QUEEN OF) ſiſter to Francis I, was born in the city of Angouleſme the eleventh of April 1492 (*a*). She was a princeſs of extraordinary merit, and much admired for her virtue, piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She was educated at the court of king Lewis XII, with very particular care, and married to the duke of Alençon in the month of December 1509 (*b*). She became a widow in April 1525 (*c*). Her affection to her brother king Francis I, was extraordinary. She went into Spain, when he was priſoner there, and did him all the good offices a kind and prudent ſiſter was capable of [*A*]. She was very ſerviceable to

(*a*) Anſelme, Hiſt. Geneal. *pag.* 183.

(*b*) Hilarion de Coſte, Elogy of Illuſtrious Ladies, *Tom. ii, pag.* 269.

(*c*) Id. ib.

[*A*] *She did Francis I, all the ſervices a kind and prudent ſiſter was capable of.*] Brantome's words will ſerve for a comment on this text. 'When the king 'was ſo very ill in Spain, being a priſoner there, ſhe 'went to viſit him, as a kind ſiſter and friend, with 'the leave and paſſ-port of the emperor; and found 'her brother in ſo wretched a condition, that had 'ſhe not come he had died; becauſe ſhe underſtood 'his temper and conſtitution better than all his Phy'ſicians could do, and cauſed him to be treated accor'dingly, which entirely recovered him: ſo that the 'king would often ſay, that without her he muſt have 'died; and that he was ſo much obliged to her for 'it, that he ſhould for ever acknowledge it, and love 'her (as he did) to his dying-day: and ſhe ſo well 'returned this love, that in his laſt ſickneſs, I have 'heard, ſhe ſpoke to this purpoſe. Should the cou'rier, who brings me the news of the king my bro'ther's recovery, be never ſo tired, haraſſed, and dir'ty, I would embrace and kiſs him as the fineſt prince 'and gentleman of France: and ſhould he want a bed 'and not be able to find one to repoſe himſelf, I would 'give him mine, and gladly lie on the hard ground 'for the ſake of the good news he would bring: 'but, when ſhe heard of his death, ſhe fell into ſo 'great lamentations, and ſuch an extreme of ſorrow, 'that ſhe never after recovered it, nor took any far'ther care of her affairs; as I have heard from my 'relations. At the time of her being in Spain, ſhe 'ſpoke ſo courageouſly and handſomely to the

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to him in the affairs of government [*B*]. He had alſo an inexpreſſible friendſhip and regard for her; whereof he gave proofs even before the recovery of his liberty [*C*]. He married her in 1527 to Henry d'Albret II, king of Navarre, and gave him great advantages in the marriage contract [*D*]. She diligently applied her ſelf in conjunction with her huſband to all the meaſures which were capable of raiſing their dominions to a more flouriſhing condition [*E*], and there was a time when ſhe would gladly have introduced into them the reformation of the clergy. She very much inclined to what they called the new opinions, and protected thoſe who were perſecuted on that account [*F*]. She wrote a book which was cenſured by the Sorbonne, and found herſelf

' emperor, concerning his ill treatment of the king her ' brother, that he was amazed at her . . . . Theſe ' words pronounced ſo gravely, and with ſo much ' paſſion, brought the emperor to conſider the matter ' ſo well, that he moderated himſelf, and viſited the ' king, and promiſed him a great many fine things, ' which, he did not however perform for that time. ' But if this queen ſpoke ſo well to the emperor, ſhe ' did much more ſo to thoſe of his council, where ' ſhe had audience, and where ſhe triumphed with ' her fine ſpeaking, and graceful manner in which ſhe ' was not wanting (1). . . . . She prevailed ſo far at ' laſt, that her arguments were allowed to be good ' and to the purpoſe; and ſhe continued in great e- ' ſteem with the emperor, his council and court (2).

(1) Brantome, Memoirs of Illuſtrious Ladies, *pag.* 313, 314.

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 5.

[*B*] . . . *ſhe was very ſerviceable to him in the affairs of government.*] We ſhall here again make uſe of the words of Brantome. ' Such was her diſcourſe, ' that the embaſſadors, who addreſſed her, were ex- ' tremely taken with it, and gave a high character ' of it to their countrymen at their return, and by ' this ſhe became a good aſſiſtant to the king her bro- ' ther; for they always waited on her after their ' principal audience, and frequently, when he had ' affairs of importance, he referred them intirely to ' her determination, ſhe ſo well knowing how to ' entertain and engage them with her fine ſpeeches, ' and being very artful and dextrous in pumping out ' their ſecrets: theſe qualifications the king would ' often ſay, made her of great uſe to him, in the ' eaſing his affairs. So that I have heard there ' was an emulation between the two ſiſters, who ſhould ' ſerve their brother beſt; the one, the queen of Hun- ' gary, her brother the emperor, the other her bro- ' ther king Francis; but the former by war and force, ' the latter by the activity of her fine wit and compli- ' ſance (3).' Add to this, another paſſage in the ſame author. *During the impriſonment of the king her brother, ſhe was greatly aſſiſtant to the regent her mother in governing the kingdom, in keeping the princes, and grandees, eaſy, and gaining upon the nobility; for ſhe was of a very eaſy acceſs, and won the hearts of all people by the fine accompliſhments ſhe was miſtreſs of* (4).

(3) Id. ib. *pag.* 312.

(4) Id. ib. *pag.* 316.

[*C*] *Francis I, gave her proofs of his friendſhip for her . . . . even before the recovery of his liberty.*] He ſubſtituted her after his mother *to be regent and governeſs of Dauphiné . . . . . with the ſame honours and powers as he declares in theſe words*, in his edict made at Madrid in November 1525. ' And if it happen that ' our ſaid lady and mother by ſickneſs, and indiſpo- ' ſition, or other impediment, or by death (which ' God of his mercy and goodneſs prevent), ſhall not ' be able to exerciſe the ſaid command, with reſpect ' to our ſaid ſon, and other children: WEE, in that ' caſe, will and ordain, that our moſt dear, moſt be- ' loved and only ſiſter, Margaret of France, ducheſs ' of Alençon and Berry, ſhall, in all things reſpect- ' ing the ſaid command, ſucceed in the room of our ' ſaid lady and mother; and do all that is above-ſaid, ' and have the like power, command and authority, as ' our lady and mother aforeſaid (5).'

(5) Hilarion de Coſte, Eloge des Dames Illuſtres, *Tom. ii, pag.* 271.

[*D*] *And gave him great advantages in the marriage contract.*] ' By the treaty of this marriage, concluded ' in the caſtle of St Germain en Laye, king Francis, ' promiſed and agreed, that he would demand the empe- ' ror to reſtore to this prince his kingdom of Na- ' varre, with it's antient juriſdictions; and, upon his re- ' fuſal, furniſh him with a ſufficient army to make ' himſelf maſter of it. Beſides this, the king gave ' him for her portion, the duchies of Alençon and Ber- ' ry, and the county of Armagnac, intailing this fine ' county on his deſcendants, whether males or females ' proceeding from this marriage (6).'

(6) Id. ib.

[*E*] *She applied herſelf . . . . to all the meaſures which were capable of raiſing their dominions to a more flouriſhing condition.*] Let us go on with the words of the Minim, who has furniſhed us with the commentary on the two preceding remarks. *This new married couple deliberated . . . . how to put Bearn in a quite different condition from what it then was. This country, naturally good and fruitful . . . . lying in a bad ſtate, uncultivated and barren, through the negligence of it's inhabitants, quickly changed it's face by their management. They invited huſbandmen out of all the provinces of France, who occupied, improved, and rendered the lands fruitful: they cauſed the towns to be adorned and fortified; ſeats and caſtles to be built; that of Pau, amongſt others, with the fineſt gardens which were then in Europe. After having fitted up a handſome place of reſidence, they gave order about laws and good government; they eſtabliſhed, for the differences of their ſubjects, a court to determine them without appeal; and they reformed the common law of Oleron* (7), *which was made uſe of in that country, and which, ſince it's laſt reformation in* 1288, *had been greatly corrupted. By their converſation and court they civilized the people. And to guard themſelves againſt a new uſurpation from Spain, they covered themſelves with Navarrins, a town upon one of the Gaves, which they fortified with ſtrong ramparts, baſtions, and half-moons, according to the art then in uſe* (8). This is one of the fineſt encomiums, that can be given on this queen of Navarre.

(7) The original has it *le Fort d'Oleron*; it ſhould be *le Fors*. The word is derived from the Latin *Forum*: where the courts were kept in Rome.

[*F*] *She very much inclined to . . . the new opinions, and protected thoſe that were perſecuted for them.*] Neither Catholic nor Proteſtant writers diſpute this point, both ſides confeſs it. The teſtimony of Beza ſhall be firſt alledged: I take it from the place where he relates the firſt perſecution which the reformed ſuffered in France, which was that of Meaux in 1523. *And ſuch was the iſſue of this perſecution, that the biſhop of Meaux deſiſted from going any farther: Martial publicly retracted . . . . . Fabri* (9) *retired to Blois, and from thence at laſt to Nerac in the duchy of Albret by the favour of the king's only ſiſter, afterwards queen of Navarre, a princeſs of excellent underſtanding, and at that time raiſed up by God, to break, as much as was poſſible for her, the cruel deſigns of Antony Duprat, chancellor of France, and others who incenſed the king againſt thoſe they called Heretics* (10). The ſame author having given an account of ſome perſons who ſuffered martyrdom and carried on his narrative to the year 1533, procedes thus (11): ' During theſe tranſactions, Mar- ' garet queen of Navarre, only ſiſter to king Francis, ' did all that was poſſible for her to mollify the king ' her brother; wherein ſhe did not wholly loſe her la- ' bour, making uſe of William Parui, doctor of the ' Sorbonne, biſhop of Senlis, and confeſſor to the ' king; who, to gratify her, and not out of any true zeal ' he had for religion, printed the Primmer in French, ' after having firſt ſtruck out ſome part of that which ' was moſt ſuperſtitious. After this impreſſion ſhe ' herſelf publiſhed a tract of her own in French rhime, ' called *The Mirrour of the Sinful Soul*, which was com- ' poſed in a ſtrain very unuſual in the church of Rome, ' there being no mention made in it either of male ' or female ſaints, or of merits, or of any other pur- ' gatory, than the blood of JESUS CHRIST; and even ' the prayer, commonly called *Salve Regina*, is there ' applied in French to the perſon of JESUS CHRIST ' . . . . . (12). The queen of Navarre, purſuing her ' point, had ſucceeded ſo well that Paris was furniſhed ' with three excellent preachers (13), declaring the ' truth with a boldneſs ſomething greater than uſual.

(8) Hilarion de Coſte, ubi ſupra, *Tom. ii, pag.* 272, 273.

(9) *That is* James Faber Stapulenſis.

(10) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. *book i, pag.* 5.

(11) Id. ib. *pag.* 13.

(12) Id. ib. *pag.* 14.

(13) Viz. Gerard Rouſſel, doctor of the Sorbonne, and Bertault and Courault Auguſtin monks.

We ſhall now ſee all this more particularly in the following account of Florimond de Remond (14): *The queen of Navarre, a good, but too eaſy, a princeſs, lends an ear to them, receives their books, at firſt by the hands of her ladies, cauſes the Latin prayers of the church to be tranſlated into French, by the biſhop of Senlis, the king's confeſſor. She talks to him of the Lutherans, and diſcourſes*

(14) Flor. de Remond, Hiſtory of the Birth and Progreſs of Hereſy, *book viii, chap. iii, pag.* m. 848.

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herſelf expoſed to the indignation of the Divines [G], ſo that the king, her brother, was forced to employ his authority to reſtrain their inſolence. She had taken ſuch meaſures, as would perhaps have induced him to favour the Reformation (d), if the extravagance of ſome hot-headed people, who poſted up ſome placarts in the year 1534, had not exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, as to make him become afterwards a violent perſecutor of Lutheraniſm (e). She was obliged from that time to act with caution, and to conduct herſelf in ſuch manner as the Calviniſts have highly condemned, and which gave occaſion

(d) See Beza, Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Churches, *book 1, pag.* 15.

(e) n: of fi vi

diſcourſes with him of the articles of their religion, hoping to make him more ſoft and complying; out of commiſeration ſhe opens her houſes to ſuch as were baniſhed and proſcribed, and commands that they ſhould be their retreat and ſanctuary. This is particularly obſerved by all the Hiſtorians of both parties, that this princeſs was the ſole cauſe, without deſigning any ill, of the preſervation of the French Lutherans, and that the church, which afterwards took the name of Reformed, was not ſtifled in the cradle: for beſides that ſhe lent an ear to their diſcourſes, which at firſt were ſpecious, and not ſo bold as afterwards; ſhe, with a good intention, maintained a great many of them in ſchools at her own expence, not only in France, but alſo in Germany. She took a wonderful care to preſerve and ſecure thoſe that were in danger for the Proteſtant religion, and to ſuccour the Refugees at Straſburg and Geneva. Thither ſhe ſent to the learned, at one time, a benefaction of four thouſand livres . . . (15). I have read in the private regiſters of our parliament (16), *that coming into court as governeſs, in the abſence of the king her huſband, ſhe made it her earneſt requeſt, that the court would releaſe one Andrew Melancthon, accuſed of Hereſy, and priſoner in the court-goal, which Philip Melancthon, ſhe ſaid, counſellor to the duke of Saxony, had ſtrongly ſollicited of her by his letters: this Andrew was he, who under the pretence of teaching ſchool, came to propagate his kinſman's doctrine in the Agenois; ſettling in the town of Tonneins, where he ſo ſucceſsfully ſowed his Hereſy, according to the Auſburg confeſſion, that the roots of it could never ſince be extirpated. In ſhort, this good-natured princeſs had nothing more at heart for thoſe nine or ten years, than to procure the eſcape of ſuch as the king expoſed to the rigour of juſtice. She frequently talked to him of it, and by little touches endeavoured to impreſs on his ſoul ſome pity for the Lutherans.* This Hiſtorian gives alſo this account (17).

(15) Id. ib. *pag.* 849.

(16) That is, the parliament of Bourdeaux.

(17) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 849.

'Rouſſel being returned from his travels, and received 'at Bern by this good princeſs, and entertained in 'her houſhold, pleaſed her with his diſcourſes on the 'Proteſtant religion. He perſuades her to read the 'Bible, then rudely turned into French; which ſhe 'did with ſo much pleaſure, that ſhe compoſed a 'tragi-comical tranſlation of almoſt all the New-'Teſtament, which ſhe cauſed to be repreſented in 'the hall before the king her huſband; having for that 'end obtained the beſt Comedians who were then in 'Italy. And as theſe buffoons are only to make 'ſport, and, like apes, to be pleaſant imitators of the 'humours and deſires of their maſters; ſo they, per-'ceiving the queen's inclination, intermingled in their 'playing ſeveral ſtanzas and roundelays upon the ſub-'ject of Eccleſiaſtics. Some poor Monk or Friar had 'always ſome part in the comedy or farce. It ſeemed 'they could not be merry without laughing at GOD, 'and his miniſters. But theſe laughings will be turned 'into tears. The king her huſband, a prince as good-'natured as the queen, went from the comedy to 'ſermons, which they called exhortations, which 'were delivered in his chamber, both by Rouſſel, and 'a fugitive Carmelite of Tarbe, called Solon. Theſe 'ſermons, particularly thoſe of Solon, who was more 'ſharp and violent than his companion, abounded 'with abuſes againſt the Pope and church-men. A 'brave and courageous monk, who, before he died, 'diſpatched five wives. They mingled ſome appear-'ance of piety and devotion, with an oſtentation of 'the true underſtanding of the Goſpel. This occa-'ſioned the Cardinals de Foix (18) and Gramont, 'being no longer able to bear theſe extraordinary 'proceedings of the king, who went to church only 'for form ſake, to retire from his court. But, as 'from the comedies in his hall, he was led to the ex-'hortations in his chamber; ſo from theſe prayers 'he was made to deſcend to the manducations in the 'cave, or at leaſt in the ſecret places of the mint; which 'is upon the deſcent of the terras of the caſtle of Pau. 'This was the name they then gave their ceremonies, 'which at preſent they call the Supper.' He added (19), *that Francis I, being informed of this fine trade which was driven at Pau*, was angry, and ſent for his ſiſter; that ſhe *came to him, conducted by the lord de Burie, governour of Guienne, who was ſeized with the ſame folly:* that at her *coming* the king reprimanded her, tho' he *loved her infinitely*; that ſhe anſwered *like a Catholic*; that ſhe nevertheleſs propoſed to the king the introduction of a reformed Maſs, which was called *the Maſs in ſeven points*; that ſhe cauſed him to hear the ſermons of three Lutheran preachers; that at her requeſt Rouſſel, one of them, who had been put in priſon, was releaſed; that the king was *ſomething ſhaken upon the propoſal of* a Maſs of ſeven points (20), and had it not been for the placarts, it was to be feared his ſiſter's addreſs would have made a great progreſs.

(18) *Florimond* is here miſtaken; there was no Cardinal de Foix: others ſay the Cardinal d'Armagnac. See *Hilarion de Coſte, ubi ſupra, pag.* 273.

(19) Florimond de Remond, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 849.

[G] *She wrote a book which was cenſured by the Sorbonne, and found herſelf expoſed to the indignation of the Divines.*] This book was intituled, *The Mirrour of the ſinful Soul*, and was printed in 1533. I have ſpoken of it above (21). The contents of it 'exceamly provoked the Sorbonne, and eſpecially Beda, 'and others of his humour; ſo that they could not 'forbear attacking her in their ſermons; and in 'particular, a comedy was acted in the college of Na-'varre, wherein ſhe was transformed into a Fury of 'Hell; what is more, they condemned her book: of 'which, ſhe having complained to the king her brother, 'ſome of the actors of this comedy were impriſoned; 'and the king demanding upon what reaſons the con-'demnation of this book was founded, the univerſity, 'who then had Nicolas Cop for their rector, expreſsly 'diſowned the cenſure of the Sorbonne; which, in 'ſome meaſure abated the fury of our maſters, and 'greatly ſtrengthened the ſmall number of the Faithful. 'At that time alſo John Calvin, upon his return from 'his ſtudies of the Law, came to Paris, where he 'greatly promoted the work of the LORD, not only 'by teaching the truth, but alſo by oppoſing Heretics, 'whom the Devil endeavoured to thruſt into the 'church, particularly that wretched monſter Michael 'Servetus, who, among other blaſphemies, denied the 'Holy Trinity, and the Eternity of the SON of GOD; 'which Servetus having appointed to diſpute with 'Calvin at a certain day and hour, durſt not however 'appear. It was then alſo that he firſt repulſed the 'Libertines, who, in our time, have renewed the 'abominable ſect of the Carpocratians, removing all 'diſtinction between good and evil. It happened at the 'ſame time, that it being the cuſtom of the univer-'ſity of Paris to aſſemble at All-Saints in the church 'of the Mathurins, where the rector is to harangue; 'Cop, whom we have before-mentioned, ſpoke 'an oration, which had been made for him by Calvin, 'in a quite different ſtile from what was uſual. This 'being reported to the parliament, the rector was ſent 'for with a deſign to detain him, and ſerjeants were 'alſo ſent to the college of Forteret, where Calvin 'then reſided (22).' This we learn from Beza. You will find a fine account of this, with all the particular circumſtances, in a letter written by Calvin to Francis Daniel in 1533 (23). There, among other things, you will find, that after the ſatisfaction, which was made by the rector of the univerſity, the king commanded that the biſhop of Paris ſhould appoint the preachers in the pariſhes. This was in order to hinder the Sorboniſts from continuing to manage them, according to their caprices, and to make choice of the moſt outrageous preachers. *Allatum eſt regium diploma, quo Pariſienſi Epiſcopo permittitur præficere quos velit ſingulis parochiis concionatores, qui prius pro libidine illorum eligebantur, ut quiſque erat clamoſiſſimus & ſtolido furore præditus quem illi zelum vocant* (24). We have ſeen in another place (25), the furious inſolence with which a guardian of the Franciſcans preached againſt this queen.

[H] *She*

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occasion to the Papists to say that she perfectly renounced her errors [*H*]. There are proofs

[*H*] *She conducted herself in such a manner, as the Calvinists have highly condemned, and which gave occasion to the Papists to say that she perfectly renounced her errors.*] Beza, relating the consequences of the rigorous prosecution to which the Faithful were exposed, after the affair of the placarts, says, 'that the greatest misfortune was, that most of the grandees began to suit themselves to the humour of the king; and by degrees grew such strangers to the study of the Scriptures, that at last they became worse than all others; nay, even the queen of Navarre began to behave her self in a quite different manner, falling into Idolatry like the rest; not that she approved such superstitions in her heart, but because Ruffi, and others like him, persuaded her they were indifferent things: the consequence of which was such, that at last she was blinded with a spirit of error, having admitted into her house two desperate Libertines, Quintin and Pocques, whose blasphemies and errors, with an ample confutation of them, are to be seen in John Calvin's works (26).' He speaks more favourably of her in his Icones; for having, in a few words represented the good services she had done the Reformed, he contents himself to add, that she a little eclipsed her glory by her credulity in her later years. *Quamvis ipsius gloriæ nonnullam in ultima tandem ipsius ætate credulitas labem asperserit* (27). Many are persuaded, that in complaisance to the king her brother, she observed all the externals of Popery, with an exactness which deceived this great monarch. Read the following passage: *The constable of Montmorenci discoursing . . one day with the king, made no difficulty or scruple to tell him, that if he would quite exterminate the Heretics of this kingdom, he must begin with his court, and with his nearest relations, naming the queen his sister; to which the king answered, Let us not speak of that; she loves me too much; she will never believe but what I believe, nor take up a religion to the prejudice of my state* (28). Brantome had been saying (29), that this queen was suspected *of Lutheranism, but out of respect and love to the king her brother, who loved her entirely, and always called her his darling, she never made any profession or appearance of it; and if she believed it, she always kept it to herself with very great secrecy, because the king violently hated it, declaring that this, and every new sect, tended more to the destruction of kingdoms, monarchies, and dominions, than to the edification of souls.* Others believe, that it was not possible for Francis I, to be ignorant the queen of Navarre was a Lutheran in her heart; her attachments to the party, and the protection she gave the fugitives for this cause, were not such things as could be concealed from the king of France: he only seemed not to know them, and was satisfied with the exterior of a princess whom he loved and was not willing to make uneasy. But if she inwardly adhered to the Roman communion, it was not however till towards the conclusion of her life; for it is certain that Roussel (30), whom she made bishop of Oleron, was nothing less than a Papist (31), tho' he did not come to an open rupture. However it be, let us see what a Catholic writer says of the end of this queen. *But not*, says he (32), *to obscure the honour and glory of so great a princess . . . . it is certain that some years before her death, she acknowledged her error, and withdrew from the precipice from which she was falling, resuming her former piety and catholic devotion, protesting to her death, that she had never departed from it; that what she had done for them, proceeded more from compassion, than any ill-will to the antient religion of her fathers . . . . Lying upon her death-bed, she received the body of her Creator, and resigned her soul, embracing the cross she had upon her bed, as I have heard it related by Giles Caillau, a good Franciscan, who gave her the extreme unction, and assisted her in her last moments. The lady de Riberac, a good and virtuous woman, of the family of Candalle, who was educated with her, told me, that Calvin . . . . frequently exhorted her, both by letters and messages, to maintain the truth; and that she desired him to come to her, to make her see and acknowledge her error, and to place her in the way of salvation.* Hilarion de Coste says, 'that in her later years she frequented the sacraments of confession, and of the altar, in the church of the White-Friers at Paris, where . . . . she confessed to Francis le Picard . . . . doctor of Divinity . . . communicated from the hand of this holy person, after having heard his mass and sermon (33). He adds, that she built, and founded *at her own expence, towards the conclusion of her life* *, *churches and hospitals, among others that of the red-coat boys at Paris, for the maintenance and education of orphans, whom she ordered to be called* the Children of GOD the FATHER. Here is yet a stronger testimony: 'She died a good Christian and Catholic, against the opinion of many: but as for my own part, I can affirm myself, being a little boy in her court, with my grand-mother and mother, never to have seen her do any contrary act; so that when she retired into a nunnery, in Augoumois, after the death of the king her brother, which was called Tusson, where she performed her quarantine, and resided a whole summer, and built a fine house, she was often seen to do the office of the abbess, and to chant with the nuns at their masses and vespers (34).'

From all this we may infer, that Mezerai did not much examine things, when he writ (35), that the queen of Navarre, being censured by the king her brother, in 1535 (36), *protested to him, that she would never more depart from the Catholic religion, and even declared herself an enemy to it's opposers; nevertheless, towards the end of her days, in* 1549, *she seemed to repent of her repentance, and desired Calvin by letters, to come and instruct and comfort her.* Such strange falsehoods raise great prejudices against this author; and if ever his histories should happen to be criticised by some able pen, I am certain it will be wondered, how they came to be so much esteemed. We shall observe, by the by, two other faults of his. He says, that after the recantation of Briçonnet (37), James le Fevre retired to Nerac to queen Margaret (38), and that Roussel was bishop of Oleron at the time she was reprimanded by Francis I (39). All this is false. Briçonnet recanted in 1523, and our Margaret was not married till 1527 to the king of Navarre, lord of Nerac: Roussel was not made bishop till a long time after the reprimand here in question.

Beza's words, which we have seen at the beginning of this remark, greatly want to be explained. He gives us plainly to understand, that the queen of Navarre suffered her mind to be corrupted by two wretched libertines, whose illusions and blasphemies Calvin confuted. This should not have been so expressed; for Beza himself has owned, in another book, that this queen did not follow the mystical doctrines of these men (40); and that she was deceived no farther by them, than to believe them honest men. What he there says rectifies the former passage, and stands in need of a farther softening; for the term of fascinating or bewitching is too strong on this occasion. 'Offensa est isto libro in Libertinos edito Navarrena, quod ab illius horrendæ sectæ Antesignanis duobus Quintino & Pocqueso, quos nominatim Calvinus arguerat, (rem pene incredibilem) eo usque fuisset fascinata, ut quum alioquin illorum mysterium non teneret, pro bonis viris illos haberet, ac proinde sese quodammodo per eorum latus confossam arbitraretur (41).--*The queen of Navarre was displeased at this book published against the libertines, because she was so incredibly bewitched with Quintin and Pocques, two ringleaders of that horrid sect, whom Calvin had confuted by name, that tho' she did not profess their opinions, yet she took them to be good men, and therefore, in some measure, thought herself wounded through their sides.*' He ought not to have made it such a wonder, that this queen, tho' not conforming to the spiritualities of these devotees, and mystical people, believed them however to be honest men, sincerely convinced within themselves of the truth of what they delivered, and possessed with a true desire of serving GOD, according to the best of their understanding. Her charity induced her to protect them, and it was not difficult for her to make a good use of their maxims, which tended to quicken the inward man. It was much less to be wondered that she was provoked against Calvin, who with that cutting stile, peculiar to him, had severely handled the persons, whom she had protected and maintained. She complained to him of it, and he wrote a respectful letter to her to justify his conduct (42). Note, that at the time he wrote to her, that is, on the twentieth of April, 1545, she was still acknowledged as the

(33) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, *pag.* 275.

* *I. Du Breuil in his Antiquities of Paris.*

(34) Brantome, ubi supra, *pag.* 318.

(35) Mezerai, Chronological Abridgment, *Tom. vi, pag.* 409.

(36) He should have said in 1533.

(37) Bishop of Meaux.

(38) Mezerai, ubi supra, *pag.* 406.

(39) Id. ib. *pag.* 408.

(40) It is thus I interpret these words, *illorum mysterium non teneret*, in the passage of Beza, cited below, citation (41). Those who would have them signify, that she did not discover their hypocrisy, seem to me to be mistaken; and if they would have them mean, that she understood nothing of the jargon of these Fanatics, they come up to my sense of them.

(41) Beza, in Vita Calvini, *ad ann.* 1544.

(42) It is Calvin's sixty-second Letter.

(26) Beza, ubi supra, *pag.* 22.

(27) Idem, in Icones, *folio* T ij.

(28) Brantome, Illustrious Ladies, *pag.* 310.

(29) Id. ib. *pag.* 309.

(30) The same whom Beza calls Ruffi.

(31) See Florimond de Remond, ubi supra, *pag.* 850, 851.

(32) Id. ib. *ch.* xv. *pag.* 855, 856.

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proofs that she took a very great pleasure in reac
mortification from her husband, and did not lov
curiosity which induced her to an attentive observa
her ideas concerning the nature of the soul w
phical [L]; though there have been some very
who have thought no better than she upon that im
is a book after the taste of Boccace's novels, ha

the protectress of the Reformed. 'Cum acceptis illis 'literis statim ad hanc responsionem me contulerim, 'qua eo tibi nomine à me satisfactum curarem, ne 'quid de eo affectu remitteres, quem erga pios hactenus 'abunde præ te tulisti & reipsa exhibuisti (43). - - - - 'When immediately on the receipt of those letters, I dis- 'patched this answer, that I might give you full satis- 'faction on this account, lest you should abate any thing 'of that zeal, which hitherto you have made profession 'of, and in reality expressed.'

(43) Calvin. Epist. 62, pag. m. 151.

[I] There are proofs that she took very great pleasure in reading the Bible.] See in the remark [F] (44) of this article, the words of Florimond de Remond, and in the remark [O] of the article Marot, what was written to Catherine de Medicis, and confirm all this with the testimony of Peter Olhagaray. Bern, says he (45), was the sanctuary of the persecuted, and king Henry would not permit them to be disturbed. James Faber Stapulensis, the light of his time, as his Philosophical writings witness, was very welcome there, and received an honourable pension from Margaret, that learned queen, the greatest in the world; that happy instrument, who retrieved king Francis, her brother, from prison, and is always attentive to reading, particularly the holy Scriptures; which our Elias (46), in his collection declares to have observed of her, in her city of Appamyers, where he received this grave advice from that brave and wise princess: that he should never let pass a day, without applying some part of an attentive reading of some pages of this holy book, which, watering our souls with a celestial liquor, serves us, says she, for faithful preservatives against all sorts of mischiefs and temptations of the Devil. The author relates Bertrand Elias's words; which I doubt not a great many readers will be glad to meet with. Cujus etiam manibus sanctissimum illud veteris novique Test. volumen, quod Bibliam appellant, nunquam vel raro exit, semper divinis ut verè Christianam decet intenta libellis: nihil unquam nisi divinum cogitat, suadetque adeo ut ipse etiam meminerim me aliquando ab ea cum Appamyam venisset humanissime submonitum, jussumque partem aliquam vel veteris vel Novi Testamenti maximo affectu, orationis instar quotidie legere, quo sane, ut ipsa ajebat, nosque etiam postea experti sumus, nostra mens à vitio averteretur, & ad virtutes facilius accederet (47).

(44) Citat. (17).

(45) Peter Olhagaray, History of Foix, Bearn, and Navarre, pag. 502.

(46) This is an author who has writ the History of the affairs of Foix in Latin.

(47) Elias, folio 103, quoted by Olhagaray, ibid.

[K] She met with some mortifications from her husband, and did not love to hear any mention of death.] Hilarion de Coste says (48), that Henry II, king of Navarre, 'having been informed, that there was used in 'his wife's chamber some form of prayer and instruction contrary to that of his fathers, entered it, 'with a resolution to punish the minister, but finding 'they had contrived his escape, the weight of his anger fell upon the queen, to whom he gave a box 'of the ear, saying to her, Madam, you want to be 'too knowing, and immediately gave advice of it to 'king Francis.' Brantome having given some instances of matrimonial discord betwixt princes, adds this (49): 'And lately king Henry d'Albret with queen 'Margaret of Valois, as I have it from good hands, 'who treated her very ill, and would have done still 'worse, had it not been for king Francis her brother, 'who spoke home and rough to him, and charged 'him with threatnings to honour the queen his sister 'in regard to the rank she bore.' Note, by the way, what little reliance there is upon an epitaph. That of this princess says in great characters, that her husband lived, with her in the most perfect unity, CONCORDISSIMUS. I have said something elsewhere (50) concerning falsities of this kind.

(48) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, pag. 274. He cites P. Matthieu.

(49) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 242.

(50) In the remark [G] of the article HERLICIUS.

As for the other part of the text of this remark, I am going to cite a passage out of Brantome: 'this 'queen used to reply, to those who discoursed to her 'of death and happiness, all this is true, but we re- 'main such a long time dead in the earth, before we 'come at it: insomuch that I have heard my mo- 'ther say, who was one of her ladies, and my grand-

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surprizing. She died in the month of December 1549 [*M*], and was honoured with an infinite number of panegyrics (*f*). Out of four children, which she had by her second marriage, one son and three daughters, only one daughter survived her. (*g*). I speak of her in the following article. The two others were born before their time, and died on the day of their birth. The son died at the age of two months (*b*). I design a remark for what concerns this queen's writings [*N*], and I will not forget the base attempt

(*g*) Hilarion de Coste, ibid. *pag.* 272.

(*b*) Id. ib.

curiosity, and humbly submitted herself to the light of revelation.

[*M*] *She died in the month of December* 1549.] These words are from Brantome (55), and he adds that *she died in Bearn in the castle Dandaus* (56), and that *she took her illness looking at a comet, which then appeared upon the death of Pope Paul III, and she herself was of that opinion, but possibly it appeared for her and immediately her mouth was a little distorted, which her Physician, Mr d'Escuranis, seeing, had her removed and put to bed, and took care of her, for it proved a catarrh, and she died within eight days after* (57). Brantome is mistaken as to the place, but does not mention the day. She died in Bigorre and not in Bearn. Olhagaray calls the place Eudos (58), and others Odos (59). *Odosii Bigerronum decessit. - - - She died at Odos in Bigorre*, says Thuanus (60). *Fato functa est Odosii Tarbellorum. - - - She died at Odos in Guienne*, says Scevola Sammarthanus (61). Thuanus's words have not been well translated by du Rier, nor Sammarthanus by Mr Teissier. The former makes it *Ortez in Bigorre* the latter *Tarbes in Gascogne* (62). Peter de St Romuald is the most mistaken of all, for he will have it that this queen died in Bretagne (63). I believe Spondanus, who was of those parts, is more to be relied on, than all the other writers as to the name of the castle where she died. He calls it Audos. *Apud Audossium castrum in Bigerronibus vitam finivit* (64). - - - - - *She departed this life at Audos in Bigorre.* I have said elsewhere (65) that the Parisians pronounce the dipthong *au* like *o*; which might perhaps deceive Thuanus. There is some variation, as to the day of her death. Father Labbe has fixed the twenty fourth of December (66) : du Tillet the fourteenth (67). Thuanus the twenty first. This last is the account we must hold to, it being the date in queen Margaret's epitaph. It is there also said that she lived fifty nine years, but this cannot agree with the Historians, who all say she was born in April 1492.

[*N*] *I design a remark for what concerns this queen's writings.*] She composed several works of poetry ; the titles whereof we have in du Verdier Vau-Privas (68). They were collected into one body by John de la Haye, her Valet de Chambre, and published in the year 1547, under the title of *Marguerites de la Marguerites des Princesses, tres illustre Royne de Navarre.* Du Verdier gives this title very exactly ; but he has made some gross mistakes upon other points ; for he says that this queen's *poetical works, were collected and put together after her decease, by the diligence of Simon Sylvius, called de la Haye, her Valet de Chambre, who printed them in* 8vo *at Lyons, by John de Tournes* 1547. I have seen this edition, and observed that the privilege granted by the parliament to J. Sylvius, called de la Haye, is of the year 1546. This then is one mistake of du Verdier Vau-Privas to call him Simon, whose name was John : but this is not so gross as the following. He pretends that a book printed in 1547, came out after the death of the queen of Navarre. If he had read the epistle before the book (69), he would have known that this queen was still alive, when John de la Haye, the author of this epistle, printed Margaret de Valois's Poems. Mr Moreri has committed some errors. He says, that this queen published amongst other works, ' *La Marguerite des Marguerites*, which contained some ' poems and several other Comedies. *The Mirrour of* ' *a sinful Soul. The Triumph of the Lamb. The Hep-* ' *tameron.*' There is nothing exact in this. This title, *la Marguerite des Marguerites* is false : the true one is *Marguerites* (70) *de la Marguerite des Princesses.* Pasquier (71), and a great many other writers, have been guilty of the same fault. These words, *contained some poems and several other comedies*, are quite wrong : and I wonder Moreri's revisors have not yet perceived it. There is no opposition betwixt poems and comedies ; for comedies are generally in verse, and there were hardly any other seen among the French in that age. He should not then have made a distinction between the queen of Navarre's poems and comedies. Much less ought he to have said *other comedies* ; since this supposes, that other pieces had been specified which were comedies ; which had not been done. But the most considerable mistake is to say, that *the Mirrour of the Sinful Soul*, and *the Triumph of the Lamb*, are two different works from the pretended *Marguerite des Marguerites.* When one of them is the first work which appears in that collection intituled *Marguerites de la Marguerite*, &c : and the other is to be met with from folio 182 verso, to folio 212 in the same collection (72). Note, that du Verdier Vau-Privas, by saying that Simon Sylvius collected the poems of the queen of Navarre, has occasioned another error in Mr Moreri ; for this made him believe that Simeon Bosius (73), whose learned notes we have upon Cicero's epistles to Atticus, was called *de la Haye*, and had been Valet de Chambre to Margaret queen of Navarre. He might have avoided this mistake, had he considered, I. That this princess's Valet de Chambre was old (74) when he published the Marguerites, &c. II. That Simeon Bosius died young, as Sammarthanus, cited by Mr Moreri, informs us. Note, that there was printed at Pau in 1552 in 4to, an eclogue which had not appeared in the collection of the Marguerites ; and which was composed by the same queen (75). Dr Silvestre in 1693, sent me from London a copy of the *Tombeau de Marguerite Royne de Navarre*, &c. Some body had written in it, that this princess was the author of a book, intituled, *the pious Meditations of a Christian Soul*, which was translated into English by queen Elizabeth, and printed at London in 8vo, in 1548.

We shall now speak of the Heptameron, and first cite Brantome : ' She wrote in her gay hours a book, ' intituled *The Novels of the queen of Navarre*, in a ' stile so soft and flowing, and so full of excellent lan- ' guage and fine reasoning, that I have heard say the ' queen-mother, and the duchess of Savoy, when they ' were young, undertook to write novels separately, ' in imitation of this queen of Navarre, well knowing ' that she was writing some ; but when they had seen ' her's, they were so disgusted with their own, which ' were not to compare to them, that they threw them ' into the fire, and would not publish them . . . She ' composed most of these novels in her litter, as she ' travelled ; for her hours of retirement were employ- ' ed in affairs of importance. I have heard this account ' also from my grand-mother, who always went with ' her in her litter, as her lady of honour, and held ' her standish for her ; and she wrote them down as ' quick and as readily, or rather more so, than if they ' had been dictated to her (76).' This confutes the uncertainties of la Croix du Maine : you will find them at the end of the following passage. *The Heptameron*, says he (77), *or the queen of Navarre's seven days, is a book full of various histories, for the most part fabulous, in imitation of John Boccace, a Florentine. This book has been methodized by Claude Gruget of Paris, and intituled the Heptameron, or the history of Fortunate Lovers ; Novels of the most illustrious and excellent princess Margaret de Valois queen of Navarre, &c. Printed at Paris by Giles Robinot in the year* 1567 (78). *I question whether this princess composed this book ; forasmuch as it is full of bold discourses, and tickliſh expressions.* If la Croix du Maine had read the epistle dedicatory of Claude Gruget's edition, he could not have formed the least doubt ; for this Gruget, addressing himself to Jane d'Albret, only daughter to queen Margaret, declares, that he had restored the book of this queen's novels to it's first state ; because the first edition *had, as it were, totally transformed it, and omitted or concealed the name of this princess. Wherefore*, adds he, *to make it worthy of it's author, as soon as it was published, I collected from all parts, the manuscripts which could be recovered, and collated them with my copy ; and I have taken care to reduce them to the true order, in which she wrote them. Since that, by the king's permission, and your consent, they have been put to the press to be published,*

(72) In the Paris edition by Stephen Grouleau 1552, in 16mo.

(73) See Moreri in the article BOIS (SIMEON DU).

(74) This appears by the Epistle Dedicatory.

(75) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Françoise, *pag.* 844.

(76) Brantome, Dames Illustres, *pag.* 320, 321.

(77) La Croix du Maine, French Biblioth. *pag.* 309.

(78) When he speaks of Claude Gruget, *pag.* 58, he only mentions the edition of 1561, by Giles Robinot. And note, that du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Biblioth. Françoise, pag.* 844, only quotes the edition of 1578, by the same, in 4to.

(*f*) Hilarion de Coste, Eloges Historiques, Tom. II, part. 2. pag. 268. Thuan. lib. VI, pag. 117.

(55) Brantome, ubi supra, *pag.* 318.

(56) I believe, that Brantome had writ d'Audaux, or rather d'Audos ; and that the translators or Printers have corrupted this word.

(57) Id. ib. *pag.* 318.

(58) Olhagaray, ubi supra, *pag.* 603.

(59) Hilarion de Coste, ubi supra, *pag.* 275.

(60) Thuan. *lib.* VI, *pag.* 117.

(61) Sammarth. Eleg. *lib.* I, *pag.* m. 28.

(62) See Mr Teissier, Eloges, *Tom.* I, *pag.* 17, & 19, *Edit.* 1696.

(63) St Romuald, Accidement of the Treas. of Chron. *ad ann.* 1549, *pag. m.* 306.

(64) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1549, *num.* 6.

(65) Above, remark [*A*] of the article LOGNAC.

(66) Labbe, Chron. Tom. II, *pag.* 761.

(67) Du Tillet, Chronicle of the Kings of France, abridged, *pag. m.* 190.

(68) In *pag.* 843, 844, of his French Biblioth.

(69) It is addressed to Madam, the princess of Navarre, daughter to queen Margaret.

(70) It must be observed, that Marguerite is the name of a flower-de-luce ; and thus, by metaphor, Rich collection, consisting of a rich and studied stile, were formerly called *Marguerites.*

(71) In the Searches of France, *book* VIII, *ch.* 3, *pag. m.* 614.

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attempt of admiral de Bonnivet [O]. It wc
here, that the *Hiſtory of Margaret de Valois que*
(i) According to the Paris edition. at Amſterdam (i), in two volumes in 12mo,
romantic chimeras from the beginning to th
It had been much better that the perſon, whc
fables, had employed it in giving the true and
Such an Hiſtory had been more for the hono
(k) The conſtable de Bourbon. heroine of a romance in love with a prince (k),
and to whom ſhe never was married. There i

as they ought. Such a preſent, continues he, *will not be new to you, you will only recognize it, as your mother's heireſs: however I perſuade my ſelf, that it will be acceptable to you to ſee it by this ſecond impreſſion reſtored to it's primitive ſtate: for (as I have heard) the firſt diſpleaſed you; not but that he who undertook it was a learned man, and had taken pains in it; and, as is eaſy to believe, would not have thus diſguiſed it without ſome reaſon for it; yet his labour proved diſagreeable.* Theſe paſſages of Claude Gruget's epiſtle dedicatory may ſerve for two purpoſes: they acquaint us with ſomething of the hiſtory of the Heptameron, and invincibly confute all thoſe who believe the queen of Navarre, did not compoſe theſe novels. Would any one have ventured to talk to the princeſs, her daughter, as he does in the epiſtle dedicatory, if this book had been ſuppoſititious, or if the liberty had been taken to add to it thoughts or expreſſions too free and licentious? Thuanus does not doubt, but that queen Margaret was the author of this work; he does not think it becoming the gravity and later conduct of this heroine; but he excuſes her upon the time and youth in which ſhe writ it. *Ejus nomine & fabellarum volumen imitatione Joa. Bocatii editum circumfertur, ſi tempora & juvenilem ætatem, in qua ſcriptum eſt, reſpicias, non prorſus damnandum, certe gravitate tantæ heroinæ, & extrema vita minus dignum* (79). The Sieur Sorel denies that this princeſs was the author of the Heptameron. I relate his words, becauſe they contain a bad reaſoning, which ought to be refuted. 'We have the novels of the queen of Navarre; in which there is a ſtory of a gentleman, 'who lay with his mother, and afterwards married 'the daughter that he had by her, who was at 'once his ſiſter, his wife, and his daughter. There 'are alſo in it a great many execrable ſtories of prieſts 'and Franciſcans; all which things never had exiſtence, but were the inventions of a Huguenot, who 'was the author of the book (80).' The argument this writer alledges, has two great defects. In the firſt place it proves too much; for if it were juſt, we muſt ſay that Boccace, and ſeveral other Italians, who have written novels, and filled them with an hundred bad actions of the Monks, were Lutherans. In the ſecond place; if it were peculiar to a Huguenot to write ſuch ſtories, the queen of Navarre might do it; for ſhe was a good friend to the party, ſecretly at leaſt, for a great many years together.

(79) Thuan. *lib. vi, pag.* 117, *col.* 2. *D.*

(80) Sorel, Remarks upon the thirteenth book of the Extravagant Shepherd, *pag.* 720.

Note, that the Heptameron was grown very ſcarce; which cauſed the Bookſellers of Amſterdam to reprint it in 1698. They publiſhed two editions of it, one by that of Claude Gruget, the other metamorphoſed into new French: the latter will pleaſe foreigners, who only underſtand the modern language, and many ignorant and lazy Frenchmen, who care not to be at the pains of informing themſelves, how they ſpoke in the reign of Francis I. I ſhall ſay ſomething elſewhere (81) againſt the falſe and ſhameful delicacy of theſe people. The other edition is the only one which will be uſed by Frenchmen of good taſte and Judgment.

(81) In the remark [E] of the article OSSAT.

But we ſhall not conclude without making a more conſiderable obſervation. Behold here a prudent, very virtuous, and moſt pious queen, who nevertheleſs compoſes a book of ſtories pretty free and ſmutty, and yet would have the world to know her to be the author. How many ladies are there actually plunged in the diſorders of a filthy gallantry, who would not, for all the world, write in that ſtrain? What they write, and even what they ſpeak, has the air of an extraordinary modeſty: one would ſay, their imagination durſt not approach within a hundred leagues of obſcenity; diſcourſes never ſo little free, which a man ſhould offer in their preſence, would put them to the bluſh, and make them aſſume a gravity, which would have all the appearances of an extream indignation. It is not impoſſible but they might be inwardly ſhocked,

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invented by the writer (*l*), than in the generoſity, wherewith our Margaret de Valois actually protected ſeveral perſons of merit preſecuted for the ſake of religion [*P*].

(*l*) Note, that, according to the ordinary courſe of human actions, virtue is compatible with the love of a maid for a man, though ſhe knows not whether ſhe ſhall ever be married to him. But according to the idea of perfection, ſuch a love is contrary to virtue. It ought not then to be found in a lady formed at pleaſure to ſerve for a model of perfection. This is what the writers of romances cannot conform to, for they take it for a rule, that love is the ſoul of their works.

queen of Navarre's novels, but he adds, he will not publiſh the name of the princeſs, whom this favourite had endeavoured to ſurprize.

[*P*] *The generoſity wherewith our Margaret . . . protected ſeveral perſons of merit perſecuted for the ſake of religion.*] I do not examine whether Florimond de Remond has it from good authority, that ſhe proteſted at her death, that *what ſhe had done for* the followers of the new opinions, *proceeded rather from compaſſion, than from any ill will to the antient religion of her fathers* (92). But granting her proteſtation to be ſincere, I maintain, there was ſomething more heroical in her compaſſion and generoſity, than there would have been, had ſhe been perſuaded that the fugitives ſhe protected were orthodox. For a princeſs, or any other woman, to do good to thoſe, whom ſhe takes to be the houſhold of faith, is no extraordinary thing, but the common effect of a moderate piety. But for a queen to grant her protection to people perſecuted for opinions which ſhe believes to be falſe; to open a ſanctuary to them, to preſerve them from the flames prepared for them, to furniſh them with a ſubſiſtence, liberally to relieve the troubles and inconveniencies of their exile, is an heroical magnanimity, which has hardly any precedent: it is the effect of a ſuperiority of reaſon and genius, which very few can reach to: it is the knowing how to pity the misfortune of thoſe who err, and admire at the ſame time their conſtancy to the dictates of their conſcience: it is the knowing how to do juſtice to their good intentions, and to the zeal they expreſs for the truth in general: it is the knowing that they are miſtaken in the hypotheſis, but that in the theſis they conform to the immutable and eternal laws of order, which require us to love the truth, and to ſacrifice to that love the temporal conveniencies and pleaſures of life: it is, in a word, the knowing how to diſtinguiſh in one and the ſame perſon, his oppoſition to particular truths which he does not know, and his love for truth in general; a love which he evidences by his great zeal for the doctrines he believes to be true. Such was the judicious diſtinction the queen of Navarre was able to make. It is difficult for all ſorts of perſons to arrive at this ſcience; but more eſpecially difficult for a princeſs like her, who had been educated in the communion of Rome, where nothing has been talked of for many ages, but faggots and gibbets for thoſe who err. Family prejudices ſtrongly fortified all the obſtacles which education had laid in the way of this princeſs; for ſhe entirely loved the king her brother, an implacable perſecutor of thoſe they called Heretics, a people whom he cauſed to be burnt without mercy, wherever the indefatigable vigilance of informers diſcovered them. I cannot conceive by what method this queen of Navarre raiſed herſelf to ſo high a pitch of equity, reaſon, and good ſenſe: it was not through an indifference as to religion, ſince it is certain ſhe had a great degree of piety, and ſtudied the Scriptures with a ſingular application. It muſt therefore be the excellency of her genius, and the greatneſs of her ſoul, that diſcovered a path to her, which ſcarce any one knows. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that ſhe needed only conſult the primitive and general ideas of order, which moſt clearly ſhow, that involuntary errors hinder not a man who entirely loves God, as he has been able to diſcover him after all poſſible enquiries, from being reckoned a ſervant of the true God, and that we ought to reſpect in him the rights of the true God. But I might immediately anſwer, that this maxim is of itſelf ſubject to great diſputes; ſo far is it from being clear and evident. Beſides, that theſe primitive ideas hardly ever appear to our underſtanding without limitations and modifications, which obſcure them a hundred ways, according to the different prejudices contracted by education. The ſpirit of party, the attachment to a ſect, and even zeal for orthodoxy, produce a kind of ferment in the humours of our body; and hence the medium through which reaſon ought to behold thoſe primitive ideas, is clouded and obſcured. Theſe are infirmities which will attend our reaſon, as long as it ſhall depend on the miniſtry of organs. It is the ſame thing to it, as the low and middle region of the air, the ſeat of vapours and meteors. There are but very few perſons who can elevate themſelves above theſe clouds, and place themſelves in a true ſerenity (93). If any one could do it, we muſt ſay of him what Virgil did of Daphnis:

(92) Flor. de Remond, Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, *lib.* 8, *cap.* 12, *pag.* m. 856.

(93) Munita tenere Edita doctrina ſapientum templa ſerena. *Lucret. lib. II, ver.* 7.

Candidus inſuetum miratur lumen (94) Olympi,
Sub pedibuſque videt nubes & ſidera Daphnis (95).

(94) *Moſt editions ſay* limen.

Daphnis, the gueſt of Heav'n, with wondring eyes,
Views in the milky-way the ſtarry ſkies:
And far beneath him, from the ſhining ſphere,
Beholds the moving clouds, and rolling year.
DRYDEN.

(95) Virgil. Eclog. V, ver. 56.

And he would not have ſo much the appearance of a man, as of an immortal Being, placed upon a mountain (96) above the region of winds and clouds, *&c.* There is almoſt as much neceſſity for being above the paſſions to come to the knowledge of ſome kind of truths, as to act virtuouſly. Now we know that this mountain is the emblem of a good man, whom no paſſion can withdraw from the paths of juſtice.

(96) *That of Olympus. See* Apuleius, in Libro de Mundo, *pag. m.* 73, *and Homer's verſes, which he cites.*

- - - - - - Sed ut altus Olympi
Vertex, qui ſpatio ventos hiemeſque relinquit,
Perpetuum nulla temeratus nube ſerenum,
Celſior exſurgit pluviis, auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, & rauca tonitrua calcat:
Sic patiens animus per tanta negotia liber
Emergit, ſimiliſque ſui; juſtique tenorem
Flectere non odium cogit, non gratia ſuadet (97).

(97) Claudian. de Mallii Theod. Conſulatu, *pag. m.* 6, *col.* 2.

But as Olympus' towring ſummit knows,
Nor diſcompoſing ſtorms, nor hoary ſnows,
And in ſuperior region is ſeen
Far above clouds, eternally ſerene;
While at it's ſteady foot the ruſhing rain,
And rattling thunder ſpend their force in vain:
So the juſt man, diſdaining all controul,
In perfect peace preſerves his conſtant ſoul;
Always himſelf, enjoys his ſeat above,
Nor chill'd by hatred, nor inflam'd by love.

I think I have given a fine view of the queen of Navarre's heroiſm.

NAVARRE (JOAN D'ALBRET QUEEN OF) daughter of the preceding queen was one of the moſt illuſtrious princeſſes of her age. She was not yet eleven years of age when Francis I, married her to the duke of Cleves (*a*). This marriage, celebrated at Chatelleraud with an extraordinary pomp [*A*], the fifteenth of July 1540 (*b*), was declared null ſome time after. And indeed it had been concluded in oppoſition to the proteſtations of the young lady, and againſt the conſent of Henry d'Albret, and Margaret de

(*a*) Spond. *ad ann.* 1541, *num.* 5.

(*b*) Olhagaray, Hiſtory of Foix, Bearn, and Navarre, *pag.* 504. Spondanus is miſtaken about a year: he hath placed this marriage in June 1541.

[*A*] *Her marriage was celebrated with an extraordinary pomp.*] Spondanus obſerves that the coronation of Charles V, did not coſt ſo much as this wedding; and he juſtly condemns the laviſh humour of Francis I, in regard to theſe vain magnificences (1). William Paradin has deſcribed the *juſts* which were performed at that time, and the *triumphal palaces, and after the antique manner, in which were armed knights, who ſtood each*

(1) Spond. *ad ann.* 1541, *num.* 5.

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de Valois her father and mother [B]. She was married at Moulins in October 1548, to Antony de Bourbon, duke of Vendome. *They had in the three or four first years of their marriage, two sons who both died in the cradle by extraordinary accidents* (c) [C]. She found herself with child again the third time in the year 1553, being in Picardy with her husband, who was governour of that province, and commanded an army against Charles V (d). As soon as Henry d'Albret her father, understood that she was with child he *recalled her home to him* (e). She departed from Compiegne the fifteenth of November, and arrived at Pau the fourth of December, and was brought to bed of a son (f) the thirteenth of the same month (g). She discovered under the pains of childbirth an extraordinary courage and resolution [D]. She became queen of Navarre, by the death of her father, the twenty fifth of May 1555 (h), and had, as well as her husband, much indulgence for the reformed religion (i); and it is very probable, they would not have been backward in professing it publickly, if the menaces of the king of France, and those which cardinal d'Armagnac alarmed them with of the Pope's indignation, had not restrained them (k). The design of preventing the ill intentions of Henry II, obliged them to make a journey to the court of France in 1558 (l). They passed through Rochelle, and there happened an adventure, during their stay there, which is very curious [E]. It

(c) Perefixe, Hist. of Henry the Great, *pag. m.* 13.

(d) Id. ib. *pag.* 14.

(e) Id. ib. *pag.* 15.

(f) Who was afterwards Henry IV, king of France.

(g) Perefixe, ubi supra.

(h) Olhagaray, ubi supra, *pag.* 508.

(i) See the remark [G].

(k) Olhagaray, ubi supra, *pag.* 517.

(l) Id. ib.

each of them in honour of their ladies, &c (2). See also William du Bellai's Memoirs (3).

(2) William Paradin, Hist. of our Time, *book iv, pag. m.* 406, *& seq.*

(3) In book viii, *ad ann.* 1540, *pag. m.* 909.

[B] . . . . . *was declared null some time after. And indeed it had been concluded in opposition to the protestations of the young lady, against the consent of . . . . . her father and mother.*] Olhagaray (4) tells us, that Francis I, caused Joan d'Albret to be educated at Plessis in Tours, and suffered her not *to go from thence*; for he feared that her father would marry her to Philip the son of the emperor. He adds, that she was tired to death in this place, and filled *her chamber with complaints*, and and sighs: *Which king Francis hearing, married her to the duke of Cleves, without the consent either of her father or mother . . . . Upon which she protested, and caused her protest to be made in form, in the presence of John Sieur d' Abere*, &c. . . . *Hence this forced marriage*, continues this author, *produced no other fruit than ceremonies . . . . and our prince Henry* (5) *caused this marriage to be condemned, together with the form which had been used, by the Pope's authority; so that quickly after, on an Easter-day, it was declared null, in the cathedral-church of Tours, and both parties were left at liberty to marry whom they pleased. Whereupon the duke of Cleves married the daughter of Ferdinand king of the Romans, the emperor's brother.* Note, by the way, an error of Spondanus: he will have Joan to be disengaged from her contract, only because the duke of Cleves had married Ferdinand's daughter.

(4) Olhagaray, Hist. of Foix, Bearn, and Navarre, *pag.* 503, 504.

(5) That is, the king of Navarre, father to the bride.

Brantome relates a fact, which proves, that the queen of Navarre, the bride's mother, was present at the marriage: the thing is curious. 'The day on 'which Madam the princess of Navarre was mar- 'ried to the duke of Cleves at Chastelleraud, as she 'was to be led to church, being so heavily laden 'with jewels, and cloth of gold and silver, that by 'reason of the weakness of her body she could not 'walk, the king commanded the constable to take 'his little niece in his arms, and carry her to the 'church; at which the whole court was very much 'surprized, as being an office not suitable or honou- 'rable enough in such a ceremony for the constable, 'and which might have been given to some other: 'wherewith the queen of Navarre seemed not at all 'displeased; and said, there is a man who would ruin 'me with the king my brother (6), who serves, at 'present, to carry my daughter to church. I have 'this story from the person I have mentioned; 'and also that the constable was much displeased with 'this office, and greatly mortified to be made such a 'spectacle to all the company; and said, there is an 'end of my favour, farewel to it; as it happened: 'for after the entertainment, and the wedding-dinner, 'he was dismissed, and departed immediately. I 'have this also from my brother, who was then 'page at court, who saw this mysterious transaction, 'and remembered it very well; for he had a very 'happy memory (7).'

(6) See the remark [H] of the foregoing article, citat. (28).

(7) Brantome, Memoirs of Illustrious Ladies, *pag.* 311.

[C] *She had two sons, who both died in the cradle by extraordinary accidents.*] 'The first was stifled with 'heat, because his governess, who was chilly, kept 'him too hot. The second lost his life by the foolery 'of a nurse; for one day, as she and a gentleman 'were playing with the child, and throwing it one 'to another, they let it fall to the ground, from which 'accident it languished, and died (8).

(8) Perefixe, Hist. of Henry the Great, *pag. m.* 13.

[D] *She discovered an extraordinary courage and resolution.*] The king of Navarre her father promised to put his will into her hands, as soon as she should be delivered, *but upon condition that in her delivery she should sing a song*; to the end, says he, that you may not bring me a crying and ill-humoured child. *The princess promised him she would, and had so much courage, that, in spite of the great pain she suffered she kept her word, and sung in her Bearnish language as soon as she heard him enter her chamber* [illegible]. These are the words of the song. *Noste Donne deou cap deou pon, adjouda mi en aqueste houre*; that is, *Our lady at the end of the bridge, assist me at this hour* (10).

(9) Id. ib. *pag.* 16.

(10) Hilar. de Coste, Eloges of Illustrious Ladies, *Tom. i, pag.* 614. He cites A. Favin in his History of Navarre.

[E] *During their stay at Rochelle, there happened an adventure, which is very curious.*] Mr Vincent has found in Peter Pacteau's journal a large account of the *Magnificent Reception* the Rochellers gave the king and queen of Navarre in 1558. He has there also met with these very words: 'whilst the king of Navarre was 'in this city, the word of God was ministered to us 'in St Bartholomew's church by his preacher Mr Da- 'vid, who was a wise and good preacher (11).' But here follows the adventure mentioned in this remark. 'Whilst the king and queen of Navarre staid at Ro- 'chelle, there came a company of comedians. One 'day that they had a notable Comedy to represent '(as they had publickly given out) the king and queen 'came with their court; and there was also an ex- 'traordinary affluence of people: they represented a 'woman a-dying, who fetched deep sighs and groans, 'and demanded immediately to be confessed. The 'curate of the parish was sent for; he came with all 'his equipage, and did all he could; but the sick wo- 'man continued still in great uneasiness, saying she was 'not well confessed. Other Ecclesiastics came after the 'curate, and had no better success than he. After them 'came the Monks of the several orders in their turn, and 'spared neither for relics nor indulgences, executed in 'due form, whereof they had sack-fulls, and which they 'read one by one to the sick, who, for her last re- 'medy, was cloathed in St Francis's habit. All this 'operated nothing towards the giving her conscience 'any repose; she said, lamenting herself, that none of 'them all understood the business of confession. Here- 'upon one of her acquaintance came upon the stage, 'and looking about on all sides, as having a secret 'to tell, which he would not have any body to hear, 'he acquainted the sick person, that he knew one 'who would confess her as he ought, and restore her 'to her health; but that appearing in public being 'prejudicial to him, he only came out by night: the 'sick woman prayed and pressed he should be sent for. 'After having waited some time, this person came 'in an ordinary habit, and approaching her bed-side, 'he spoke to her without letting those present hear 'what he said; they only observed by the woman's 'gestures that she appeared to be very well satisfied. 'At last he drew a little book out of his pocket, which 'he gave her saying aloud, that this book contained 'infallible receipts against her distemper, and that if 'she would use it, she should in a few days find her 'health perfectly restored. When the man was 'gone, the woman arose found and entirely cured; 'and, having taken two or three turns upon the 'stage, she told the spectators, that this unknown

(11) Philip Vincent, Enquiries into the Beginning and Progress of the Reformation in the town of Rochelle, *pag.* 31.

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It is remarkable that queen Joan ſhewed her ſelf more luke-warm than her huſband [F], both whilſt, they were at the court of France, and after they returned to their dominions; but that at laſt he totally renounced Calviniſm, and became its perſecutor; and that ſhe made open profeſſion of it, and declared herſelf it's protectreſs [G], with all imaginable

'perſon had done what was impoſſible for all the reſt; 'and that it muſt be confeſſed his book contained admirable receipts, as might be ſeen from the ſpeedy 'effect ſhe had found from it; that if any of them 'was ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, ſhe would adviſe them to have recourſe to this book; which ſhe 'would gladly lend them, but admoniſhing them with'al, that in touching it, they would find it ſomewhat 'hot; and that there proceeded an ill ſcent from it, 'favouring of the faggot: that, for the reſt, if the aſſiſtants deſired to know her name who ſpoke, and 'the name of the book, thoſe were riddles, which 'ſhe left to their own ſolution. The king and queen 'of Navarre ſhewed that they were pleaſed with this 'comedy, and ſo did all the court; and after their 'example a great number of the ſpectators, many of 'whom were already diſguſted with the Romiſh reli'gion. They did not find it difficult to diſcover that 'this ſick perſon was truth; That the firſt who had 'not well confeſſed her, were ſuch as took the title of 'doctors and paſtors; and who, inſtead of confeſſing 'the truth of GOD, held it in unrighteouſneſs: that 'this laſt comer was one of the pretended Heretics, 'who, by the ſeverity of the times, were obliged to 'hide themſelves; and who alone, when they were 'called, duly confeſſed the truth, which they had un'derſtood: laſtly, that the hot book, which ſmelt 'of the faggot, was the New Teſtament, which they 'were forbidden to have and read in the vulgar tongue, 'upon peril of being burnt. But that which ſo well 'pleaſed ſome, as much diſpleaſed others. Eſpecially 'the eccleſiaſtics were offended, and went to make 'their complaints to the king of Navarre himſelf, and 'afterwards to the magiſtrates of the town, who al'ready talked of drawing up an information. So that 'the Comedians thought it their beſt way to depart 'as ſilently and as ſuddenly as poſſible; and they 'would not have come off ſo, had it not appeared 'that they belonged to this prince, and to his queen '(12).' See the margin (13).

We muſt ſay a word or two of the preacher David, who followed the court of Navarre in their progreſs to Paris. He was a monk who came into Guienne with the mareſchal de St Andre in 1555, when this mareſchal *came to conſult that excellent Phyſician Julius Cæſar de l'Eſcale* [Scaliger] (14), *about his health*. This Monk's ſermons *awakened the minds of many, who began to meet ſecretly*. This cauſed the biſhop of Agen *to force him to be gone: but God made uſe of this abſence for the benefit of the city of Nerac, where preaching was allowed in the great hall of the caſtle, by the king and queen of Navarre, who began to have ſome reliſh, which, from hence took ſuch root in that country (though there was no mention as yet of any ſettled miniſter) that it could never ſince be extirpated* (15). You ſee here that in the year 1555, the king and queen of Navarre clearly manifeſted their inclination to the Reformation. We ſhall ſee divers facts of this nature in the remark [G].

[F] *She ſhewed herſelf more luke-warm than her huſband.*] Brantome relates (16) that the king of Navarre cauſed his miniſter David to preach in the towns *he paſſed through*; and that *he brought him to the court which was then at Fontainbleau*; and that king Henry did not like his bringing with him this miniſter. *The queen of Navarre at that time*, continues Brantome (17), *who was young, handſome and a moſt worthy princeſs, and who loved a dance as well as a ſermon, was not pleaſed with this novelty of religion, not ſo much as has been ſaid; and this I have from good hands, that ſhe remonſtrated one day to the king her huſband, and roundly told him, that if he had a mind to ruin himſelf, and have his eſtates confiſcated, ſhe would not loſe her's, nor the little which remained to her of the kings her predeceſſors dominions, who for hereſy had loſt the kingdom of Navarre.* Theodore Beza agrees well enough with this. See his words in the following remark (18).

[G] *She declared herſelf the protectreſs of Calviniſm.*] We ſhall here give a ſhort account of the progreſs the Proteſtant religion made in Bearn under this queen. We have ſeen (19) what was done at Nerac in 1555 I find that in 1557 (20) the Sieur de St Martin went to Geneva to provide a miniſter (21) *for the king of Navarre's court, to preach to all the houſhold*. The court of France having notice of it, threatened the king of Navarre to make war upon him (22) if he continued *to give the Proteſtants liberty to preach publickly in Bearn*. This *made him deſire in a very obliging manner, the miniſter Boiſnormand to retire elſewhere*. The miniſter retired, but he *continued to preach ſome time after, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the courtiers at Mazeres les Pau, one of the moſt antient families of Bearn, and moſt faithful to the Proteſtant intereſt*. The king and queen of Navarre going into France in the year 1558 took with them Peter David; *and made him generally preach in a prieſt's habit without a ſurplice* (23). We have ſeen above that he preached at Rochelle; and it appears by the prayer (24) at the beginning and end of his ſermon, that his language was that of a miniſter. This king having ſeen Henry II at Fontainebleau, returned to Paris (25) and *took courage, ſo as to appear in ſome meetings amongſt people of mean condition. Which is more, it happening that two miniſters of Paris were ſurprized in their chamber; one of whom was diſmiſſed by the ſerjeants, upon dropping ſome crowns into their hands; the other named Antony Chandieu . . . was impriſoned in the Chaſtelet: this king went himſelf the next day to own him as one of his family, and brought him off ſafe and ſound* (26). He aſſiſted at the public field-aſſemblies of the *Pre aux Clercs*, where David's pſalms were ſung (27). The cardinals of Bourbon and Lorrain, having promiſed a large benefice to Peter David, he undertook to reſtore his maſter and miſtreſs to the Roman communion more firmly than ever. This coming to his maſter's ears, he turned him a-drift (28). When this prince left Bearn with this queen, he put his ſon under the direction of Suſanne de Bourbon wife of John d'Albret, and under that of Lewis d'Albret biſhop of Leſcar (29). *the abſence of the* king and queen, *by the protection of the regents tho' Roman Catholics, encouraged the Proteſtants: inſomuch that they held conſiderable aſſemblies in the country, by the permiſſion of the governors; a thing, ſays the original, very remarkable. That by means of a child, a biſhop, and a woman, the principal foundations of religion were laid in Bearn. This news was ſpread every where; the king of Navarre pretended to be ſorry, though he had given his conſent; ſo that he permitted, that George Cardinal d'Armagnac ſhould come to Bearn, and made him lieutenant-general with his highneſs the prince. Being arrived there, he was ſo far from hindring the pretenſions of the Proteſtants by a conference, which he ſaid he would hold at Bearn; that, on the contrary, they reſolved amongſt themſelves not to give way to the violence of their lieutenant, who began with impriſoning Henry de Barran, their miniſter, who had been a Dominican, but reſerved, without any injury, to be preſented to the king at his return; who commanded him to go on with the faithful exerciſe of the office, which God had given him* (30). The king of Navarre was retired from the French court, much diſcontented; and that, amongſt other reaſons, becauſe no care was taken of his intereſts at the treaty of Cateau. He returned to Paris after the death of Henry II. It is true, he did not uſe that haſte, which the conſtable of Montmorenci adviſed him to: he arrived a little too late, and could not maintain his privileges during the minority of Francis II. Let us hear Theodore Beza: 'at laſt he ſet 'out on his journey, and made wonderful promiſes to the 'miniſters of the churches, through which he paſſed, 'who remonſtrated his duty to him, both as to the ſtate 'in general, and to the poor churches, which he knew to 'have been ſo long ill treated, by thoſe who abuſed the 'late kings: but upon his coming to court, though he 'was very ſufficiently attended to have aſſumed the 'authority due to his rank; in which he would have 'been aſſiſted with the countenance and principal forces 'of the kingdom; yet ſuffering himſelf to be governed by 'two of his train, namely the Sieur d'Eſcars, and the biſhop of Mande, who were dealt with by his enemies, 'after he had ſuffered a thouſand indignities, he ſeemed 'not ſo much as to reſent them; and after he had aſſiſted at the coronation of the king at Reims the 'eighteenth of September the ſame year, he was ſent 'back

(12) Id. ib. *pag.* 36, & *ſeq.*

(13) Mr Vincent, *ibid. p.* 42, conjectures that Joan d'Albret calling to mind the *outrage done* to the queen, her mother, (ſee, above, citation (12) of the preceding article), was *willing, in her turn alſo to make uſe of the liberty of the ſtage, to cauſe ſuch things to be told, as the Romiſh doctors had juſtly diſproved*; but by what was ſaid above, citation (17) of the preceding article, it appears that ſhe only imitated her mother in making uſe of like comedies.

(14) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *book ii, pag.* 102.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Brantome, Life of French Captains, *Tom. iii, pag. m.* 237.

(17) Ib. *p.* 238.

(18) Citation (36).

(19) In the remark [E], citation (15).

(20) Olhagaray, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 517.

(21) *Named* Francis le Guay, *otherwiſe* Beaumont (*Beza calls him* Boiſnormand) *and commonly* La Pierre. *Id. ib.*

(22) Id. ib. *See alſo pag.* 362.

(23) Beza, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 1054.

(24) You will find them in Mr Vincent's book, *pag.* 31, & *ſeq.*

(25) Beza, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 1404.

(26) Id. ib.

(27) Above, citation (114) of the article MAROT.

(28) Beza, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 103.

(29) Olhagaray, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 518.

(30) Id. ib.

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dominions, but alſo aboliſhed Popery, and ſeized the effects of the Eccleſiaſtics (q) and applied them for the ſupport of miniſters and ſchools (r). The Pope cited her to Rome in 1563, *and cauſed the citation to be fixed on the gates of St Peter, and thoſe of the Inquiſition, declaring that if ſhe did not appear, all her lands and lordſhips ſhould be confiſcated, and that her perſon would incur all the pains appointed for Heretics*; but the court of France thought this procedure ſo contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church, that they cauſed the citation to be revoked (s). This queen met with much diſobedience from her Catholic ſubjects; they frequently rebelled, and it is even ſaid, that they formed a horrid conſpiracy to put her and her children into the hands of the king of Spain [K], who would have delivered them up to the Inquiſition; but ſhe defeated all their conſpiracies, and never complied nor abated any thing of the prerogatives of ſovereign authority. She left her dominions in 1568, in order to go and join the chiefs of the Proteſtant religion. She had a conference at Cognac with the prince of Condé, her brother-in-law, and preſented *to him her ſon the prince of Navarre, whom ſhe devoted, as young as he was, to the defence of the cauſe, with her rings and jewels, which were afterwards mortgaged to raiſe money for the charges of the army, and ſhe wrote to foreign princes; and, retiring to Rochelle, ſhe ſent to the queen of England, an ample account of the deſolations of France, and it's great miſeries, praying her to have compaſſion on ſo many people, unjuſtly oppreſſed in the midſt of the Kingdom of France, and to believe, that ſhe was not induced to take up arms, but upon great and extreme neceſſity. She wrote to her by the Sieur de Chaſtelier the fifteenth of October* 1568 (t). The Chatholics of Bearn took advantage of her abſence; and, with the ſuccours they received from Charles IX, they ſeized on the greateſt part of the country; but the count de Montgomery, whom ſhe ſent thither, re-took the places, and fully reſtored the queen's authority. He put ſome leaders of the rebellion to death, though they had obtained the promiſe of their lives in their capitulation. The queen would not have that article of the capitulation obſerved, in which, without doubt, ſhe was to blame, and gave occaſion to Monluc to make a great ſlaughter at Mont de Marſan [L]. If any thing could excuſe her, it would

(q) Gramond. Hiſtor. Galliæ, *lib. vi, pag. m.* 316.

(r) Mezerai, Abridgment of the Hiſtory of France, *Tom. vi, pag. m.* 425.

(s) Spond. *ad ann.* 1563, *num.* 50, *pag. m.* 652.

(t) Olhagaray, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 578.

being purſued by the Sieur de Monluc, who had undertaken to arreſt her at Nerac; of which being adverti ſed, ſhe gave advice of it to her ſubjects of Bearn, who, under the conduct of the Sieur d'Audaux went to receive her upon the bank of the river Garonne (68). Theodore Beza tells a circumſtance, which ſhews Monluc's animoſity, and is expreſſed in terms that ſavour more of the ſoldier, than a reaſonable gentleman. I will cite the hiſtorian's words ſomewhat at large, becauſe they contain a fine elogy upon this queen (69). *GOD raiſed up to the poor people, afflicted for the ſake of his name . . . . . three ladies, amongſt others, whoſe memory ought to be precious for ever for their great charities. One* (70), *and the firſt of them, was the queen of Navarre, verifying in effect the ſaying of the prophet, that queens ſhould be the nurſing-mothers of the church of GOD, though at that time ſhe was menaced and terrified, as much a queen as ſhe was, all manner of ways, ſo far as to let her underſtand that ſhe ſhould be divorced by the Pope, deprived of her kingdom and eſtates, and condemned at leaſt to perpetual impriſonment. What is more: Monluc, puffed up with the victory obtained againſt Duras, and, forgetting that he was a little muſhroom, ſtarted up of a ſudden, had the aſſurance to ſay publickly, that he hoped when he had made an end in Guienne, the king would command him to go to Bearn, where he had a great deſire to try, whether it was as good to lie with queens, as with other women; a ſaying truly becoming ſuch a man, but wholly unworthy of ſuch a queen and princeſs, whom GOD reſerved from that time for the preſervation of his poor children, and for yet greater things, as ſhe ſhewed afterwards, even to the time of her death; being very juſtly to be eſteemd a precious jewel in the world, and one of the moſt accompliſhed queens and princeſſes, in good ſenſe, piety, and all extraordinary virtues, that ever was ſeen.* Olhagaray relates (71), that in 1568, the cardinal de Lorrain *ordered Loſſec, that if he could not perſwade the* queen of Navarre, *to come to* France, *he ſhould uſe force, and take the prince her ſon from her; in which the Sieur de Monluc was to aſſiſt him.* This deſign miſcarried: the queen having received the ſacrament the ſixth of September, *paſſed the river Garonne, the eighth . . . . .* (72) *under the noſe of the Sieur de Monluc, whom ſhe knew how to lull aſleep, accompanied only with fifty gentlemen, and almoſt all her own domeſtics. And this old and ſkillful warriour formed his troops at Villenabe d'Agenois les Toneins.* See in Monluc's Memoirs (73) how he excuſes himſelf for not hindering her paſſing this river.

(68) Olhagaray, ibid. *pag.* 530.

(69) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. ix, pag.* 795, 796, *ad ann.* 1562.

(70) The other two were Madam d'Affier, daughter to Meſſire Galliot, grand-maſter of the artillery of France, and mother of the Sieur de Curſol; and the third Madam de Biron. *Id. ib. pag.* 796.

(71) Olhagaray, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 574.

(72) Id. ib. *pag.* 575.

(73) Monluc's Memoirs, *Tom. ii, pag. m.* 242, *& ſeq.*

[K] *It is ſaid that her Catholic ſubjects . . . . formed a horrible conſpiracy to put her . . . . into the hands of the king Spain.*] The author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes (74) delivers this fact as very certain, and applies it to the year 1564. Thuanus relates all the particulars of it very circumſtantially (75). Spondanus looks upon it as a thing ſomewhat doubtful, or rather as a fable, invented by the Huguenots (76). He ſays (77) nevertheleſs, that he had ſeen letters written by the king of France to Monluc, which ſhewed that this monarch had an account, that the king of Spain made certain offers to the ſubjects of the queen of Navarre, from which it might be concluded, that there was ſome conſpiracy on the anvil. This hiſtorian had been ſaying, that the king of Spain being advertiſed by the court of France of what the Pope had done againſt the queen of Navarre, anſwered, he was ſo far from approving this conduct of the court of Rome, that he offered his protection and aſſiſtance againſt all who ſhould ſeize Joan d'Albret's dominions. This anſwer of Philip II was communicated by Catherine de Medicis to the queen of Navarre; who, in conſequence thereof, ſent a gentleman to thank his Catholic majeſty, and to deſire the continuance of his friendſhip. Spondanus declares, that he ſaw the letters of theſe two queens (78) and he concludes with theſe words, *Quam dubia ſunt Regum Conſilia! How hard is it to judge of the conduct of kings!* Here you ſee one of them offers to oppoſe who ſhould attack the queen of Navarre; and in the mean time the court of France is informed, that he is contriving ſomething againſt her dominions.

(74) *At pag.* 35, *of the firſt Tom.*

(75) Thuan. *lib. xxxvi, pag.* 728.

(76) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1564, *num.* 8.

(77) Id. *ad ann.* 1563, *num.* 51.

(78) Videtur de his literis eorundem Reginarum, & Navarræ quidem propria ejus manu ſcriptas quæ id diſerte teſtentur. Spondan. *ibid.*

[L] *The queen would not have that article of the capitulation obſerved; in which, without doubt, ſhe was to blame, and gave occaſion to Monluc to make a great ſlaughter at Mont de Marſan.*] If I had only read this fact in the libel of the furious Lewis Dorleans, I ſhould not believe it; for this author has added to it a calumny ſo manifeſtly falſe, as to render himſelf unworthy of all credit. He affirms in the ſame page, where he alledges this action of Montgomery, that the queen of Navarre was perfectly inhuman. *What honour,* ſays (79), *did ſhe do to the memory of king Henry d'Albret, her father, in ſuffering his tomb at Caſtelgeloux to be broken open? and after the Huguenots had plundered it of that golden collar wherewith it was buried, to leave his body to be devoured by dogs? Who knows not in that country, that the Catholics gathered up her father's bones, and buried them ſecretly, to preſerve them from the barbarity of his cruel daughter, and her pretended Reformers?*

(79) Advertiſement of the Engliſh Catholics, *pag. m.* 53.

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would be to say, that at this time, the violation of capitulations was so frequent, that it was looked upon only as a sort of diversion. There are two things in this princess's life, which are a sort of prodigy; the one is, that she had a sufficient courage to abolish the mass in her dominions; the other is, that she so well succeeded in it that the regulations she made against Popery, subsisted either in the whole or in part till Lewis the thirteenth's personal expedition to Bearn in 1620. I believe indeed that an Amazon, the brave Penthesilea (*u*), would have ventured to have abolished a religion she believed to be false; but in those ages they did not know, what our Joan d'Albret could not be ignorant of. They did not know, that the people, whose altars are destroyed, have directors of their conscience, who encourage them to rebellion, and find an hundred ways to conspire against the lives of kings. If it be strange that the queen of Navarre was so undaunted as not to fear such dangers, which she was perfectly acquainted with; it is still more surprizing that she maintained herself surrounded as she was by two powerful princes, the king of Spain on the one hand and the king of France on the other, both possessed with such a cruelty against the Sectaries, as has but few examples, both animated and pushed on by the strong sollicitations of the court of Rome (*x*). But if she had all the necessary vigour to quell the seditions of her subjects, and to triumph over the forces sent to their assistance by the court of France, she had not a sufficient foresight to discover the treachery which was contrived against her, under the specious proposal of the marriage of the prince, her son, with the sister of Charles IX. She consented to it, and came to Paris, where she was poisoned, as it is believed (*y*), while she was making preparations for the marriage. She died the tenth of June 1572 in the forty-fourth year of her age (*z*). That death could not but be very seasonable to this princess, who would have been inconsolable, had she seen the Paris massacre on St Bartholomew's day, and heard the reproaches which would have been cast on her, for being the innocent cause of the loss of so many brave people, by the misfortune of her falling into the snare. She could not have found much comfort in the answer she might have made, that it was not probable, the wickedness of Catherine de Medicis would run such lengths, or that Charles IX, whose passion had no bounds, should be capable of so long, so profound, and artful, a dissimulation; and that after all, the treachery could not be very discoverable (*aa*), since the wise admiral de Coligni was likewise deceived by it. The virtue of this queen was very great; and had we no other testimony of it than her desire to draw her future daughter-in-law immediately out of the corruption of the court of France [*M*], we must conceive a very high opinion of it. Her last will contained some things which displayed the generosity of her soul, as well as her prudence and ardent zeal for the religion she professed (*bb*). I will examine below (*cc*) what Moreri says, that *she composed several pieces both in prose and verse*. She left a son, of whom I have spoken in his place (*dd*), and a daughter, who perfectly imitated her example in virtue and religion; for her conduct was most prudent and regular in

(*u*) Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet. *Virgil. Æneid. lib. i, ver.* 494.

(*x*) *See* Spond. *ad ann.* 1568, *num.* 26.

(*y*) *See d'Aubigné, Tom. ii, book i, chap. ii, pag. m.* 531, *and* Olhagaray, ubi *supra, pag.* 627.

(*z*) Thuan. *lib. li, pag.* 1058.

(*aa*) Mezerai, *Abr. Chron. Tom. v, pag. m.* 149, pretends, that if God had not blinded the eyes of the Protestants, they would easily have perceived the knives which were sharpened to cut their throats.

(*bb*) Vide Thuanum, *lib. li, pag.* 1058.

(*cc*) In the remark [*Q*], at the end.

(*dd*) In the article HENRY IV.

Reformers? This is the answer that Mr du Plessis has given to that passage of the English Catholic: King Henry d'Albret *was buried at Lescar in Bearn, with his predecessors, where his body and his tomb are still entire; and thereby judge either of the ignorance, or the notorious malice of the petitioner* (80). Notwithstanding this, I must say, that Lewis Dorleans does not lie, in what he immediately relates concerning the murder of Montgomery's prisoners; for if he had misrepresented that matter, he would have been confuted by du Plessis, as well as in the other falsehoods which he has asserted. But it is certain, that du Plessis observed a profound silence in this particular; and we find that Thuanus expressly notes, that the capitulation obtained by Terride imported, that the garrison should have their lives, and particularly Sainte Colombe, and others, who were afterwards put to death (81). La Popeliniere (82), a Protestant Historian makes the same confession without exception or reserve. D'Aubigné makes use of some shifts and evasions (83), but it is easy to perceive, that he does not believe they will avail any thing. I have found in Thuanus a gross mistake in Geography, which I shall occasionally take notice of. He says (84), that Montgomery having crossed the county of Foix, passed the Garonne at St Gaudens, and a little after, the Ariege, and made great marches towards Bigorre. We need only cast our eyes upon the meanest map of France, to see plainly, that Montgomery could not pass the Garonne till after he had passed the Ariege. Here is Monluc's passage, which will serve me for a proof of this fact (85). 'Hereupon arrived 'Monsieur de Savignac, and captain Fabien, and some 'other gentlemen with them, to tell me, that the 'garrison (86) would surrender, and to see whether I 'would give them quarter, and capitulate with them: 'perceiving Monsieur de Savignac, and captain Fabien 'had a mind to save Favas, and to act honourably 'by him, as he had the reputation of a good soldier, 'I told them they might make what capitulation they 'thought fit, I would sign it, tho' I had a great de- 'sire to dispatch them out of the way. For this 'reason, when they were gone, I sent after them a 'gentleman, with secret orders to the soldiers, and 'some captains, that as they were parlying, they should 'be sure to enter on one side or other, and put all 'to the sword: for the death of those gentlemen 'was to be revenged, who had been so miserably 'massacred at Navarreins; because, contrary to the 'faith of capitulation, they had stabbed the Sieur de 'Sainte Colombe, and seven or eight others, who 'had yielded at Orthez, upon condition of life, when 'Monsieur de Terride was taken. This execution 'was made upon pretence that they were the queen of 'Navarre's subjects.' The thing succeeded very nearly according to Monluc's desire. The soldiers scaling the walls on one side, whilst they were parlying on the other, entered, *and put all to the sword they could meet with* (87).

(87) Monluc, ibid. *pag.* 371.

[*M*] *Her desire to draw her future daughter-in-law out of the corruption of the court of France.*] Here is an extract of a letter she writ to her son, whilst she was at the court of France, to marry him with Margaret de Valois. 'She is handsome and prudent, and 'of a good mien, but bred in the most cursed and cor- 'rupt company in the world; for I see nobody with- 'out a tincture of it. Your cousin, the marchioness, 'is so changed by it, that she has no appearance of 'religion . . . This messenger will tell you how licen- 'tious the king is; it is great pity. I would not 'for any thing in the world that you should make 'any stay here. You see the reason why I desire you 'to marry, and that you and your wife should get 'out of this corruption: for, tho' I believed it very 'great, I find it still greater. The men here do not importune

(80) Du Plessis Mornai's Memoirs, *Tom. i, pag.* 638.

(81) Capitibus interTerridam & Montgomerium pactaque comprehensis Sancolombus, & VI, alii torquati equites, qui vita salva dimitti debebant. *Thuan. lib. xlv, pag.* 913, *ed. i. D.*

(82) See his History of the Troubles, *book viii, fol. m.* 244.

(83) In Tome I, of his History, *book v, ch. xiv, pag. m.* 420.

(84) Thuan. ubi *supra.*

(85) Monluc's Memoirs, *Tom. ii, book viii, pag.* 369, 370.

(86) That is, of the castle Mont de Marsan.

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in the midſt of the bad examples of that time; and no match with the condition of going to maſs was ever agreeable to her [N]. Henry IV, her brother, who had a moſt particular affection and eſteem for her, in vain exhorted her to turn Catholic. He married her to the duke of Bar, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lorrain in 1599. She found no great ſatisfaction in that alliance [O], and was forced to go and receive the ſacrament out of the

'importune the women, but the women importune 'the men (88).' Mr Jurieu (89) uſes theſe words (90) to ſhew the corruption of the court of France at that time.

[N] *No match, with the condition of going to maſs, was ever agreeable to her daughter.*] There are very few princeſſes who had more offers than Madam Catherine de Navarre, only ſiſter of Henry IV. Here follows a long detail upon this ſubject; I have it from a perſon of good authority, for he was miniſter to this princeſs. He ſays, that there were great difficulties in the negotiation of the duke of Bar's marriage, both becauſe ſhe would not *depart* from the religion ſhe was bred in, and becauſe *ſhe could not prevail with herſelf to go out of France* (91). *And indeed*, continues he (92), 'to 'ſay the truth, ſhe had been courted by many great 'princes; to whom, for one or other of theſe two 'cauſes, or for both together, ſhe would not give 'her conſent. Firſt, to trace this as high as poſſible, 'as ſoon as ſhe was born, which was the ſeventh of 'February, 1558, there was a talk of marrying her 'to Francis, who was afterwards duke of Alençon, 'and earl of Flanders; and that by the kings their 'fathers, Henry II, moſt Chriſtian king of France, 'and Anthony I, moſt Faithful * king of Navarre ... 'Which Francis endeavoured to bring to effect, by 'ſolliciting Catherine's conſent, in the year 1582: 'but the difficulty was then too great in point of reli- 'gion, there being at that time an attempt made on 'the king of Navarre, her brother, to reduce him to 'the Catholic religion, by force of arms. Alſo before 'this, king Henry III returning to Poland, had 'thoughts of her: and it is believed, that if ſhe had 'been on her journey to Lyons at his return, and the 'king had ſeen her, he would infallibly have married 'her; but the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, 'repreſented her as a dwarf, and crooked, which was 'very falſe; for ſhe was of a middle ſize, and finely 'ſhaped: it is true, ſhe had one leg a little ſhorter than 'the other (which is a mark of the family of Albret, 'and was obſervable in Alain Sire d'Albret, father of 'king Dom Joüan, great-grand-father of this princeſs 'Catherine). The queen-mother, did that ill office 'to her god-daughter to prejudice the king of Na- 'varre .... This great match failing, the duke of 'Lorrain (who was afterwards her father-in-law) would 'have married her with the king's conſent, but found 'the king of Navarre very much averſe to it. Upon 'her departing from court, after the king of Navarre, 'her bother, ſhe was much loved by the late prince 'of Condé. King Philip of Spain ſent alſo in the 'year 1580 to ſee her; promiſed the king of Na- 'varre great advantages on his part, ſo far as to ad- 'viſe him to make himſelf king of Gaſcogny, to 'which purpoſe he would aſſiſt him with men and 'and money; and even kept for a long time eight 'hundred thouſand ducats in Ochagavy, a village of 'the upper Navarre, above Roncevaux, if the ſaid 'king of Navarre would have accepted them to make 'war againſt France. This failing, the duke of 'Savoy, in 1583, ſent twice to her, with a promiſe 'no ways to diſturb her religion: his agent arrived 'at Vifezenſac in Bigorre; from whence, being re- 'fuſed, he went to Spain, and there concluded a 'match between the infanta Catherine Michelle and 'this duke. In 1586, the king of Scotland ſent 'Mr Melvin, a Scotchman, the Sieur de Iſle Groſſlot, 'a Frenchman, and the Sieur de Barthas, with ſuch 'importunity, that the queen of England wrote to her 'in theſe terms; *That if ſhe would come over into 'her iſland, for her ſake*, (addreſſing her by the ſtile of 'her ſiſter of France, as a lucky omen) *ſhe would, 'in her life-time, ſecure her being queen of England after 'her deceaſe*. The prince of Anhalt coming to the 'aſſiſtance of the king, her brother, upon his ad- 'vancement to the crown of France, deſired her him- 'ſelf in perſon; but, by reaſon of the war, which 'was ſo very general in France, he returned as he 'came, not without diſcontent. During theſe ſame 'wars, two princes of the blood fought her likewiſe, 'the count of Soiſſons (93), and the duke of Mont- 'penſier (94); but the nearneſs of relation, the diffe- 'rence of religion, and the unſettled poſture of af- 'fairs, would not ſuffer their inclinations to take ef- 'fect.' The ſame Hiſtorian relates, that after the ceremony of the marriage, the princeſs Catherine (95) *ſhewed all poſſible ſatisfaction .... coming to that which ſhe was uſed to ſay*, Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur hora (96). *For this lady underſtood Latin very well; and remembered this Latin verſe, the rather becauſe ſome people had ſaid*, ſhe would never be married: *others one day had placed a hemeſtich oppoſite to another, which ſhe had written with her own hand in her houſe of Caſtelbeziat at Pau (which the queen her mother had built on purpoſe for her) namely, upon a certain commotion happening there, during theſe latter wars: finding herſelf obliged to go to her brother, (which the Bearnois did not eaſily conſent to) ſhe wrote theſe words*, Quo me fata vocant. *Immediately waſhing her hands to ſit down to the table, ſhe found the verſe filled up thus*, Ne quo te fata vocarent. *Now this was an ambiguity by way of antiperiſtaſis, to diſſuade her from her journey, yet they who did it got nothing by it, for ſhe was fully reſolved to go into France to her brother, when he ſhould order it.*

If we may believe Clement VIII, what I have ſaid is liable to ſome exception: there was a time when the princeſs Catherine was ready to change her religion, provided ſhe could have the huſband ſhe had a mind to. We will quote a paſſage out of the 348th letter of cardinal d'Oſſat, written from Rome the ſixteenth of June, 1603. 'One of the greateſt objections which 'he (97) put to me, was, that when that mar- 'riage (98) was in treaty, Madam, the king's ſiſter, 'cauſed his Holineſs to be told, that in caſe he would 'uſe his intereſt with the king to get her married to 'the count of Soiſſons, ſhe would be a Catholic: from 'whence his Holineſs ſaid he had good reaſon to judge, 'that it was not conſcience which kept her to her 'ſect, but a certain oſtentation and preſumption, 'which ſhe had, that the holy See, and all things 'elſe, ought to accommodate themſelves to her de- 'ſires. And becauſe that objection was put very 'home, I waved it, and made uſe of it, to ſhew him, 'that the princeſs would be ſo much the eaſier to 'convert; the hopes of which I had reckoned as one 'of the ten cauſes of the diſpenſation which we 'deſired (99).'

[O] ... *ſhe found no great ſatisfaction in that alliance.*] If ſhe was a good Huguenot, her huſband was as zealous a Papiſt. This different zeal for religion had made them very indifferent as to the propoſals of marriage, and had raiſed ſome difficulties which had ſpun out this affair *for above two years together ..... Both the parties were uneaſy to be ſacrificed by their relations to the intereſts of ſtate, againſt the ſentiments of their conſcience* (100). The huſband's zeal abated for the firſt ſix months of the marriage; but then it grew ſo warm, that the duke of Bar looked upon the conjugal act as a great ſin, and religiouſly abſtained from it. Let us make uſe of Mr Mezerai's expreſſions (101): 'he ſuffered his confeſſor to raiſe ſo 'many ſcruples in his conſcience, that he ſeparated 'himſelf from her company, and took the opportunity 'of the Jubilee to go and aſk the Pope's abſolution, 'and diſpenſation for the future. The Pope flatly re- 'fuſed him this laſt point, without Catherine's con- 'verſion; and for the other, he put his ſcrupulous 'conſcience ſo much upon the rack, that he promiſed 'to return to his wife no more but to divorce her, 'unleſs ſhe turned Catholic. By means of this pro- 'teſtation he was ſecretly reſtored to the communion of 'the Faithful; for in order to be received into it pub- 'lickly, the fault being public, he muſt have undergone 'penance for the ſame. A ſharp word or two from 'the king would have obliged the court of Rome to 'remove all thoſe difficlties, and ſuffer the huſband to 'return to his wife: for want of this reſolution the 'poor princeſs remained a widow for ſome time in the 'midſt of marriage.' Can any thing be more tyran- nical than the yoke ſo many Chriſtians have ſuffered to be impoſed upon them by the court of Rome? Here is a prince married by the duke, his father, to a lady authorized by her ſuperiours: the marriage is ſolemnly celebrated,

(88) Le Laboureur, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 903, 904.

(89) Jurieu, Apology for the Reformation, *Tom. i, pag.* 413, 414. *He cites* le Laboureur's Additions, *book iii.*

(90) He hath changed ſome words, but without changing the ſenſe: this is nevertheleſs a want of exactneſs.

(91) Cayet, Septennial Chronology of the Hiſtory of the Peace, *fol.* 50, *verſo, ad ann.* 1598.

(92) Id. ib. *fol.* 51.

* *Moſt Faithful* is a title given to the kings of Navarre, as *Moſt Chriſtian* is to the kings of France.

(93) See, above, the remark [L] of the article CAYET.

(94) See the Memoirs of Du Pleſſis, *Tom. ii, pag.* 295.

(95) Cayet, Chronologie Septenaire, *fol.* 63, *ad ann.* 1599.

(96) It is a verſe of Horace, Epiſt. IV, *lib. i, ver.* 14. See in the New Letters againſt Maimbourg's Calviniſm, *pag.* 663, what was ſaid of a marriage ſhewn at a diſtance, and as the empire was ſhewn to Galba, by theſe words, *& tu Galba quandoque deguſtabis imperium.*

(97) That is, Clement VIII.

(98) That is, the marriage of the duke of Bar, and the princeſs Catherine.

(99) Lettres du Cardinal d'Oſſat, *Tom. ii, pag.* 625.

(100) Mezerai, Chron. Abridgment, *Tom. vi, pag.* 194.

(101) Id. ib. *pag.* 222.

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the city of Nanci, *and was allowed only preaching and prayers in her houſe for her ſelf and domeſtics* (*ee*). She died in the beginning of the year 1604, with the falſe opinion of her being with child. The duke of Lorrain, and the duke of Bar, *conjured her in the extremity of her ſickneſs to think of her ſalvation; but ſhe told them, that ſhe was reſolved to die as ſhe had lived*; and ſo ſhe departed not, at the laſt moment of her life, from the conſtancy ſhe had always ſhewn for her religion, which had reſiſted the ſtrongeſt temptations, and the moſt obſtinate importunities in the world. She had had for her preceptor the ſon of Salmonius Macrinus (*ff*), and underſtood the Latin tongue very well. (*gg*) Du Verdier Vau-Privas (*hh*) calls her a *princeſs of a high ſpirit: ſhe began ſo early*, adds he, *to imitate* thoſe two learned *queens of Navarre*, Margaret of France, and Joan d'Albret, *grand-mother and mother . . . to produce at one and the ſame time both the flowers and the fruit which the Muſes ſow, that ſhe compoſed garlands of them of all the colours that could be required, when ſhe was ſcarce twelve years of age: nay (which is more wonderful) ſhe made verſes in her ſleep, as it is affirmed in an ode made on that occaſion, and addreſſed to her Excellency by one of her preceptors.* He recites ſome ſtanzas of it. We ſhall examine a thought of Scaliger [*P*]. It is a baſe falſehood to ſay, as has been done in a public work, that queen Joan d'Albret contracted a marriage of conſcience with a man, whoſe name is not told; and that d'Aubigné the Hiſtorian was the fruit of that marriage [*Q*]. It is ſaid, that in ſome tapeſtry, which ſhe wrought with her own hands, ſhe

(*ee*) Matthieu, Hiſtory of the Peace, *Tom. ii, pag. m.* 677, *ad ann.* 1604.

(*ff*) Sammarth. Elog. *lib. i, pag. m.* 21.

(*gg*) See the remark [*N*], citation (95).

(*hh*) Biblioth. Françoiſe, *pag.* 144.

celebrated, and bleſſed by an archbiſhop; and yet you ſee the huſband go to Rome ſix months after, only to beg pardon for having ventured to enjoy his wife, and leave to do it for the future: he obtained favour upon very harſh conditions on the firſt point, but the ſecond was rigorouſly and abſolutely denied him. See in the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes (102) the whole train of diſcontents and diſguſts which the princeſs Catherine was obliged to put up with. It had been much better if thoſe who foretold, that ſhe would never be married, had proved true prophets: the anſwer ſhe made them that this time coming, when it was leaſt thought on, would occaſion a moſt agreeable ſurprize (103), was not ſo juſt as ingenious. This maxim could not be better applied, generally ſpeaking; for commonly an old maid, who is paſt all hopes of marriage, receives with joy the news of a huſband: ſhe receives, I ſay, the news with ſo much the more joy, as being unexpected. But the particular fate of the princeſs Catherine contradicted the general rule.

(102) Hiſt. of the Edict of Nantes, *Tom. i, pag.* 268, *&c.*

(103) See, above, the citations (95) and (96).

For the reſt, I ſhould be deſirous to know, whether her huſband would have been expoſed to the ſame ſcruples with reſpect to the enjoyments of a handſome concubine, and whether his confeſſor would have been able to govern him in the caſe of adultery, as magiſterially as he governed him in a marriage contracted with an heretical wife. We ſeldom find, that a confeſſor's authority has the ſame effect with reſpect to the gallantries of princes, as was obſerved in the conduct of the duke of Bar. Not but that the miſtreſſes of princes are very liable to be diſcharged, but the confeſſors are very rarely the cauſe of it. Diſguſt, the diſcovery of an unfaithful conduct, or of ſome intrigue, the charms of a new object, commonly produce all the diſgraces of a miſtreſs.

Since the printing of what I have been ſaying, I have diſcovered a thing which confirms the ſuſpicions I had, and which I durſt not declare. It ſeemed to me that the duke of Bar, acted not ſo much out of a ſcruple of conſcience, as out of a deſire he had to be unmarried, becauſe he was grown weary of his wife. This was his true motive, as I have learned from the new edition of cardinal D'Oſſat's letters. That duke's confeſſor inſiſted on the alternative either of a diſpenſation, or of an order to ſend the ducheſs back again (104). Now Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie comments on it thus: 'the duke of Bar covered with the veil of religion and conſcience, the diſlike he had for his wife, whom he did not love, nor was beloved by her. And as he durſt not ſend her back for fear of drawing upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of the king, his brother-in-law; he endeavoured cunningly to engage the Pope to command him to divorce her, that he might lay all the odium on him, and be at liberty to marry another princeſs. But the Pope was wiſer and more cunning than either the duke of Bar, or the Franciſcan, his confeſſor, who, according to the uſual ſaying of his Holineſs would catch a ſerpent with another man's hand (105)'. This author has given a more ample account of it in the life of cardinal D'Oſſat (106), and refutes Mezerai, who, as we have ſeen before, did not believe that the affair of the diſpenſation was ſo difficult.

(104) Letters of Cardinal d'Oſſat, *Tom. ii, pag.* 221, *Paris edition* 1698.

(105) Amelot de la Houſſaie, Notes on the 247th Letter of cardinal d'Oſſat, *pag.* 251, *Tom. ii.* See alſo *pag.* 273, of the ſame tome.

(106) *Pag.* 30, 31.

[*P*] *We will examine a thought of Scaliger.*] 'Madam 'Catherine, ſiſter to king Henry IV, was very vain; 'ſhe deceived me, I did not think ſhe would have 'been ſo conſtant in her religion as ſhe proved to 'be (107)'. Theſe are Scaliger's words; his diſtruſt was founded upon his having obſerved this lady to be conceited with her grandeur, and entertaining high and lofty thoughts; and it is certain, this might give ſome reaſon to conclude that ſhe would turn to that ſide, where moſt worldy grandeur and advantages appeared; that is to ſay, that ſhe would imitate Henry IV, who, in caſe ſhe would have abjured her religion, would have raiſed her to the higheſt pitch of glory, and have married her to the greateſt advantage in the world; but finding her to perſiſt in Calviniſm, he was obliged, by maxims of ſtate, to neglect her (108). However, as there are different kinds of vanity, or of fondneſs of grandeur, Scaliger's argument might be turned to a quite contrary ſenſe. There are ſome proud and ambitious people, who, to ſatisfy their vanity, ſtoop to an hundred mean actions; but there are others who find no readier way to gratify their paſſion, than to appear inflexible, whatever ill conſequence their ſtiffneſs may draw after it. It is not unuſual to ſee perſons of quality very virtuous, and very zealous for their religion, and at the ſame time ſo jealous of their rank, and ſo fond of receiving a great deal of honour, that they are always upon their punctilios on that account. Madam de Turenne is an example of it. Her virtue and piety are not more memorable, than her exact precautions to preſerve the privileges of highneſs, and the precedence ſhe pretended to above the ducheſſes. Madam Catherine de Navarre might very well be ſeized with this kind of infatuation, as virtuous and pious as ſhe was. How could ſhe, who was deſcended from ſo many kings, who was the only daughter of a queen adored by the Proteſtants, who was ſiſter to their leader, afterwards king of France, forbear aſſuming a ſtrain of grandeur and loftineſs, which Scaliger, and ſeveral others, thought too vain? It ſhould not however have been concluded, as a thing certain, that ſhe would change her religion; for beſides the conſiſtency of this character with a ſtrong perſwaſion of the truth of her party, and an averſion to a religion which perſecuted that ſhe profeſſed, an averſion which, to take it right, very frequently makes up three fourths of the love we have for our religion: beſides this, I ſay, is not pride ſometimes the cauſe of our doing nothing which may expoſe us to the reproaches of inconſtancy? I ſay this, without eſpouſing the narration of Peter Victor Cayet (109): *Madam Catherine . . . . . would not change the pretended reformed religion, in which ſhe was bred, for the ſake, as ſhe ſaid, of her deceaſed mother queen Joan of Navarre, to whom ſhe owed her life and the original of her actions: this was one of the cauſes that moſt ſtrongly retained her in that religion, as ſhe many times declared. Beſides, ſhe was apprehenſive of being accuſed of levity in her age, as ſhe ſaid, if ſhe changed her religion, having returned to this, after ſhe had been for ſome time a Catholic.*

(107) Scaligerana, *pag. m.* 46.

(108) See the Hiſtory of the Edict of Nantes, *Tom. i, pag.* 267.

(109) Cayet, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 62.

[*Q*] *It is a baſe falſehood to ſay . . . . . that queen Joan d'Albret contracted a marriage of conſcience . . . . whereof d'Aubigné, the Hiſtorian, was the fruit.*] I have read

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she affected to shew the monuments of that liberty, which she esteemed herself to have acquired by shaking off the yoke of the Pope [R]. We will conclude with the words of Peter Matthieu (ii): 'She would have the safety of conscience preferred before the assurances 'of honours, grandeur, and life itself; and was used to say to those of her party, 'that arms ought never to be laid down, but upon these three conditions, either of a 'safe peace, or an entire victory, or an honourable death (k k).

(ii) Matthieu, Ibid. *Tom. i, pag. m. 198, ad ann.* 1599.

(k k) Here follows Peter Matthieu's marginal note, *Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, caused twelve medals to be struck at Rochelle with this inscription*, Safe Peace. Intire Victory. Honourable Death. *See the Journal of Trevoux, Jan.* 1702, *Art. XI, pag.* 122, *Edit. of France.*

read in a book printed more than once (110), that *a Genealogist had orders to make Madam de Maintenon descend from Joan d'Albret queen of Navarre, who, after the death of the king her husband, married secretly to one of her gentlemen, who was, as is pretended, the father of Mr d'Aubigné, grand-father of Madam de Maintenon.* To confute this story undeniably, we need only attend to these two points of Chronology; one is, that the king of Navarre, Joan d'Albret's husband, died not till November 1562: the other, that Mr d'Aubigné was born in 1550, as appears by his epitaph (111), which every one may read in the Cloister of St Peter's church at Geneva. He made this epitaph himself a little before his death, at eighty years of age, and died the twenty-ninth of April 1630; whence it follows, that he was born in 1550. He says so himself in express words, at the beginning of his History (112). It is not therefore possible that he should be the son of Joan d'Albret, and of a man married to this queen after the death of Antony king of Navarre. There is in the Mercure Galant for the month of September 1688, a Genealogy of the d'Aubignés. If you consult it, you will find no shadow nor foot-step of this pretended extraction, related by the author, whom I am confuting. If, in his excuse, it should be said, that it ought to be Margaret instead of Joan, this would be as gross a mistake; for Margaret queen of Navarre, Joan's mother, died (113) before the king her husband, and before d'Aubigné was born. If we take the thing by another handle, and suppose him to be the natural son of the king of Navarre, Joan's father, this could not be confuted by Chronological arguments, since it is certain this prince died not till 1555, and that he had a mistress (114). But it might be overthrown, by what d'Aubigné has written concerning his father (115).

(110) Galantries of the Kings of France, *Tom. ii, pag.* 293. *Brussels Edit.* 1694, *and pag.* 84, *of the Cologne edition* 1695.

(111) It is in Spon's History of Geneva, *pag.* 504, 505, of the Utrecht edition 1685.

(112) In the middle of the XVIth century, the year from which both the book and the author take their birth. *D'Aubigné, pag.* 1.

(113) In December 1549.

(114) Mr de Perefixe, Hist. of Henry IV, *pag. m.* 15, *observes, that in* 1553, Joan d'Albret had a great desire to see her father's will, because it had been told her, that it was made to her disadvantage in favour of a lady, the good man had been in love with.

(115) See his History, in the places marked in the table, under the word *Aubigné, the author's father.*

Having confuted the falsities inserted in the Galantries of the kings of France, it is necessary to touch upon a sort of tradition, which makes Joan d'Albret to be clandestinely re-married, but not without the approbation of her ministers; to whom she confessed, as it is said, that she could not contain. I never heard this affirmed but by such as had no sort of proof to alledge: This made me one day ask an advocate, very well versed in the Historians of the XVIth century, whether he had met with any thing relating to this fact in the libels spread about by the Catholics against this queen of Navarre: he answered, he had not; but that he had not read all the pieces of that kind, nor the greatest part of them; but otherwise, he found nothing in it improbable, nor injurious to the memory and honour of Joan d'Albret; that continence and incontinence, being rather qualities of constitution, than of morality, it was not the acknowledgment of a vice, to confess she was incontinent, and resolved only to make use of lawful remedies; that such a resolution joins chastity and incontinence together; and whereas many ministers of that time, the better to manage their disputes against the vow of celibacy, had treated of continence as of a very particular, and even extraordinary, grace of the spirit of GOD, it was no more a shame for the queen of Navarre to acknowledge her incontinence, than for a primitive Christian to confess he had not the gift of tongues or prophecy; and that, lastly, it was to the glory of this princess to have had so tender a conscience, as not to suffer her to satisfy the necessities of nature by ways which the word of GOD prohibits. I answered him if he had no other reasons to alledge, he could not deliver me from my doubts; and that I only consulted him to know whether he had any printed or manuscript authorities; and that since he had none, it was to no purpose to talk any more upon the subject. I have not from that time found any light, and I confess, that, in composing this article, I have not been able to consult any work, in which Joan d'Albret's actions are censured. However it be I much doubt the truth of that tradition, or rather believe it to be false.

I have found no foot-step of it in Mr le Laboureur, who is one of the French Historiographers best acquainted with such sort of particulars. He knew that this queen made *an extempore stanza the twenty first of May* 1566, *when she went to see Robert Stephens's press* (116). He gives it thus:

(116) Le Laboureur, Additions to Castelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 901.

Art singulier, d'icy aux derniers ans,
Representez aux enfans de ma race,
Que j'ai suivi des craignans Dieu la trace,
Afin qu'ils soient les mesmes pas suivans.

Egregious art! thou wonder of our age!
Shew my descendants in thy printed page,
How boldly in religion's path I trod,
That they from me might learn to fear their GOD.

He also gives us the sonnet, which Robert Stephens (117) *who was a Protestant, made in answer to it in the name of the press.* He has likewise published at length a long letter this lady wrote to the prince, her son, the eighth of March 1572 (118). I have cited some part of it in the remark [M]. He observes *that, among other languages, she spoke Latin and Spanish* (119). But he says nothing of this clandestine marriage. For the rest I doubt not but this stanza, and the letter he has inserted in his book, were the occasion of Mr Moreri's saying, that Joan d'Albret *composed several pieces in prose and in verse.* This is making an author of her and misleading us; for the letters that a prince writes, let them be never so fine, are not looked upon as the composition of an author (120), unless they receive the form of a book, designed for the Republic of letters.

(117) This could not be Robert Stephens, Henry's father, but Henry's brother.

(118) Addit. à Castelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 902, *& seq.*

(119) Ibid. *pag.* 901.

(120) Confer above, remark [C] of the article CHARLES V.

[R] *It is said that in some tapestry . . . . she affected to shew the monuments of that liberty, which she esteemed herself to have acquired by shaking off the yoke of the Pope.*] I have no other commentary to give besides the words of a Jesuit. *As she naturally had a fine, curious, and intelligent mind, says he,* (121), *she desired to shew not only with her pen in printed books, which are intituled the Tales of queen Joan* (122), *the liberty which she pretended to take according to her own belief; but also with the point of her needle on canvas and in tapestry; for as she very much loved devices, she wrought with her own hand fine and large pieces of tapestry, among which was a suit of hangings of a dozen or fifteen pieces, which were called* THE PRISONS OPENED; *by which she gave us to understand that she had broken the Pope's bonds, and shook off his yoke of captivity. In the middle of every piece is a story of the Old Testament which favours of liberty; as the deliverance of Susannah; the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt; the setting Joseph at liberty,* &c. *And at all the corners are broken chains, shackles, racks, and gibbets, and over them in great letters, these words of the third chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians,* UBI SPIRITUS IBI LIBERTAS. *And to shew yet more fully the aversion, she had conceived against the Catholic religion, and particularly against the sacrifice of the mass, having a fine and excellent piece of tapestry, made by her mother Margaret, before she had suffered herself to be cajolled by the ministers, in which was perfectly well wrought the sacrifice of the mass, and a priest, who held out the holy Host to the people, she took out the square in which was this history; and instead of the priest, with her own hand, substituted a fox, who, turning to the people, and making an horrible grimace with his paws and throat, delivered these words,* DOMINUS VOBISCUM. The same thing is found in the continuator of Florimond de Remond (123) at the fifth and sixth pages of the ninth book.

(121) Garasse, Curious Doctrin *pag.* 225, 226.

(122) I believe that it is a fal ty, and that Joan d'Albret queen of Navar is mistaken for Margaret de V lois, sister of Francis I.

(123) Claud Malingre, C ral History the Progress Fall of Mo Heresy.

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NAVARRE (MARGARET DE VALOIS QUEEN OF) daughter-in-law to the preceding, and daughter to Henry II, was born the fourteenth of May 1552 [*A*]. She was a princeſs of infinitely more wit and beauty than virtue. Her violent zeal for Popery, whereof ſhe gave very ſtrong proofs from her infancy [*B*], was of no ſervice to her, as to good morals. She was married to the king of Navarre the eighteenth of Auguſt 1572, a few days before the horrid maſſacre on St Bartholomew's day. They attempted ſoon after to diſſolve this marriage; for they who had formed the conſpiracy of butchering the Proteſtants, were diſpleaſed at the the ſaving the lives of the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé (*a*): they found by this that they *had failed in their principal deſign, which was not ſo much againſt the Huguenots as the princes of the blood*; *and knowing that* the king of Navarre, being married to Charles the ninth's *ſiſter, no body would attempt any thing againſt him, they contrived another plot*, and perſuaded Catherine de Medicis that the princeſs Margaret *ought to be unmarried* (*b*). This deſign miſcarried by the anſwer the new bride made when ſhe was aſked, whether her marriage had been conſummated [*C*]. Her

(*a*) Memoirs of queen Margaret, *pag.* 66, *Paris edition* 1628.

(*b*) Ib. *pag.* 67.

[*A*] *She was born the fourteenth of May* 1552.] Hilarion de Coſte, citing du Tillet, makes this her birth-day: and ſo does Father Labbe, Father Anſelme, and many others. There is reaſon therefore to believe that ſhe was above ſeven years old in June 1559, and yet ſhe affirms (1); that ſhe was *but about four or five* when ſhe made a repartee to the king her father, who held *her in his lap to make her prattle*, a few days *before that fatal blow which gave him his death* (2). She ſuppoſes the ſame thing when ſhe ſays, that in 1561, at the time of the conference of Poiſſi, ſhe was but *ſeven or eight years old* (3). It is very ſtrange that a daughter of a king of France ſhould be miſtaken two years in the account of her age: can princeſſes be ignorant of what every body knows, when their birth-days are noted in the almanacks, in the copper-cuts of the picture-ſellers, and in adundance of common books; or dare they make themſelves younger than they are? this little piece of coquetry may be of uſe to citizens daughters, who cannot eaſily be contradicted; but it can be of none to the daughters of kings. It ſeems however, that our queen of Navarre was ſo uſed to leſſen her age, that by habit ſhe obſerved the ſame ſtile in compoſing her Memoirs.

(1) Memoirs of queen Margaret, *p.* 5, 7.

(2) He received this blow in a tournament the tenth of June 1559.

(3) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 12.

[*B*] *She gave very ſtrong proofs of her zeal to Popery from her infancy.*] The particulars ſhe gives us of it are very curious, and contain a ſample of the whimſical inconſtancy of Henry III. Never man had more averſion for the Huguenots than this monarch, and yet he had zealouſly imbibed their notions, and endeavoured to make them reliſhed by others. Our Margaret thinks (4) that among her *childiſh actions*, there were ſome, *as worthy to be recorded, as that of the childhood of Themiſtocles* (5) *and of Alexander; the one expoſing himſelf in the midſt of the ſtreet to the horſes feet of a carman, who would not ſtop at his requeſt; the other deſpiſing the honour of the prize at the race, if he did not diſpute it with kings.* To prove this, ſhe alledges amongſt other things, the *reſiſtance I made*, ſays ſhe (6), 'to preſerve 'my religion at the time of the conference of Poiſſi, 'when all the court was infected with Hereſy, to the 'imperious perſuaſions of many court lords and la'dies, and even of my brother of Anjou (7), who 'was afterwards king of France, whoſe infancy could 'not eſcape the contagion of wretched Huguenotiſm, 'who importuned me continually to change my reli'gion, often throwing my Primmer into the fire, 'and inſtead of it giving me the Huguenots pſalms and 'prayers, and forcing me to take them; which, as 'ſoon as I had received, I immediately gave to Ma'dam de Curton, my governeſs, whom GOD of his 'mercy to me had been pleaſed to preſerve a Catho'lic, who took me often to the good man, cardinal 'de Tournon, who adviſed and encouraged me to ſuf'fer all things for the maintenance of my religion, 'and ſupplyed me with a primmer and beads, inſtead 'of thoſe my brother of Anjou had burnt. And his 'other particular friends, who had endeavoured to 'ruin me, finding them about me, paſſionately re'proached me, ſaying, it was folly and childhood 'made me do ſo; that it was plain I had no un'derſtanding; that all people of ſenſe, of whatever 'age or ſex, upon hearing charity preached had forſa'ken the corruptions of this bigottry: but that I was 'as fooliſh as my governeſs. And my brother of 'Anjou adding threatnings, ſaid, the queen, my mo'ther, would have me whipped. This he ſaid of 'his own head, for the queen, my mother, knew not 'of the error he was fallen into. As ſoon as ſhe 'underſtood it, ſhe ſeverely reprimanded him and his 'governors; and cauſing them to be inſtructed, con'ſtrained them to reſume the true, holy, and antient re'ligion of our fathers, from which ſhe had never 'once departed. I anſwered theſe his menaces, melt'ing into tears, as the age of ſeven or eight years 'which I was then of is but tender, that he might 'cauſe me to be whipped, and killed, if he pleaſed; 'that I would ſuffer all that could be inflicted on me, 'rather than damn myſelf.' Add, that, by reaſon of the difference of religion, ſhe was very much averſe to the marrying Henry IV. We ſhall prove this by a very curious paſſage: I take it from a letter written to this prince. *She told me*, it is Joan d'Albret who ſpeaks concerning our Margaret, *that when theſe propoſals were ſet on foot, it was known that ſhe was a Catholic, and a zealous one. I told her that thoſe who had engaged in it, did not ſay ſo; and that the buſineſs of religion was repreſented very eaſy, and that ſhe herſelf had ſome affection for it; that otherwiſe I ſhould not have proceeded ſo far, and I deſired her to conſider of it. At other times that I ſpoke to her, ſhe did not anſwer me ſo abſolutely, nor ſo roughly. I believe ſhe ſpeaks as ſhe is prompted, and alſo that the declarations that have been made to us, concerning her liking to the Proteſtant religion, were only to make us agree to it* (8).

(4) Ib. *pag.* 7.

(5) *It is of Alcibiades, and not of Themiſtocles, that this was ſaid. See* Plutarch in Alcibiade, *pag.* 192. *D.*

(6) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 9, *&c.*

(7) See the remark [*B*] of the article CLAUDE DE FRANCE.

(8) Le Labourer, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 904.

[*C*] *The anſwer the new bride made when ſhe was aſked whether her marriage had been conſummated.*] We ſhall make uſe of queen, Margaret's own relation. 'They would perſuade the queen, my mother, that 'I ought to be unmarried. With this reſolution, as 'I was one holy-day at her levee, where we were to 'perform our Eaſter devotions, ſhe preſſed me upon 'oath to tell her the truth; and aſked me whether 'the king, my huſband, was a man, ſaying, if he was 'not, ſhe had it in her power to unmarry me. I 'beſeeched her to believe, that I was not ſufficiently 'ſkilled to give her an anſwer. (For I could then ſay, 'as that Roman lady, whom her huſband chid for 'not acquainting him with his ſtinking breath; that 'ſhe thought all men had the ſame, having never come 'near any other than himſelf.) But be it as it would, 'I would abide where ſhe had placed me; very much 'apprehending, that the deſign of taking me away, 'was to do him an ill turn (9).' It is not probable, that this princeſs could ſincerely hold ſuch diſcourſe. She was above twenty years old; ſhe had been bred in a court every way corrupt, and particularly in the article of immodeſty (10). Obſerve how a man of wit (11) characterizes this court, *Saint André . . . maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis, is of ſo traſtable a virtue, that the prince of Joinville will teach her nothing new in marrying her. This is not a thing*, continued he, *which ought to ſurprize you; ſhe is handſome, educated amongſt the great ones, where example is ſome ſort of authority; ſhe is almoſt ſixteen years of age: this is an age, in which the honour of a maid begins to enjoy it's rights: we ſee even very few who carry their continence ſo far; and good ſenſe will not ſuffer you to wonder at a thing that cuſtom has rendered ſo familiar. But, couſin, here is ſomething that ought to ſurprize you*, &c. Judge whether our Margaret was like to remain in an ignorance, which the chaſteſt of all the veſtals, and the holieſt of all the nuns, in the moſt ſimple and innocent ages, could hardly boaſt, conſult what has been ſaid above (12). But to prove that her account is unfaithful, and that ſhe has retrenched ſeveral circumſtances; it is ſufficient to ſay, that her

(9) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 67, 68.

(10) See, above, the remark [*M*] of the preceding article.

(11) The author of a romance, intituled, *The Prince of Condé, pag.* 32, *Holl. Edit.* 1681.

(12) Remark [*A*] of the article GONZAGUA (LADY).

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Her anſwer is very different from the calumnies that are to be met with in printed books [D]. She was advertiſed by a Catholic gentleman named Mioſſans (c), that her huſband, and her brother, the duke of Alençon, deſigned to eſcape, and put themſelves at the head of ſome troops, whilſt the court, who had accompained the duke of Anjou king of Poland as far as Beaumont, were on their return to Paris. She diſcovered this deſign to Catherine de Medicis, and Charles IX, and made them promiſe to be contented with preventing their eſcape without doing any injury to theſe two princes. They kept their word with her till the conſpiracy was known, for which *la Mole and the count de Coconas* loſt their lives; but after this diſcovery they arreſted them, *and commiſſioners were deputed to try them* (d). Margaret *drew up in writing what* her huſband *was to anſwer*. She was at very ill terms with Henry III, and at very good with her other brother the duke of Alençon. This duke and the king of Navarre were in love with Madam de Sauve, which very much weakned the union there was between them. Buſſy, the duke's favourite, grew ſuſpected of being Margaret's galant, and this princeſs was

(c) Ib. *pag.* 69.

(d) Ib. *pag.* 74.

her mother was not a woman to be ſatisfied with ſo ambiguous and oblique an anſwer. Catherine de Medicis being reſolved to diſſolve the marriage, in caſe it had not been conſummated, would have put, or cauſed to have been put, a ſecond queſtion, which would have capacitated her daughter to explain the matter, and ſufficiently inſtructed her for it, in ſpite of that profound and very extraordinary ignorance ſhe intrenched herſelf in. She would have taught her the definition of a man, not by the attributes of a rational creature, as in the books of Philoſophers, but by the particular attributes, belonging to the individual or ſpecifical relation of a huſband; and afterwards would have exactly compared with this definition, all the paſſages which had happened in her nuptial-bed. You ſay, you do not underſtand what a man is, be it ſo; but you very well remember whether, *&c.* Has the king of Navarre, *&c?* anſwer ay, or no. Thus Catherine de Medicis would have preſſed, or cauſed to have been preſſed this pretended ignorant lady; and, though her daughter had continued to declare that ſhe did not know how the affair in queſtion could be known by ſuch ſigns or marks, yet ſhe would not have failed to reſolve the queſtion, and give full ſatisfaction to the queen-mother. But as lame as her narration is, we may infer from it, that Catherine de Medicis was fully convinced by her daughter's anſwer, that there was not the leaſt ground to commence a proceſs of impotence againſt her ſon-in-law. I do not think that any one ever ventured to ſay, that the marriage was not conſummated; and yet this reaſon would have been one of the ſtrongeſt among thoſe that were ſo carefully collected, when they proceeded to declare the marriage null. Let us here ſet down a paſſage of the *Satirical Divorce*. *This manifeſto* (it is Henry IV, who is made to ſpeak) (13), *will one day inform the lovers of truth what I was willing to conceal, out of modeſty to our holy Father, and cardinal Joyeuſe, his commiſſioner, deputed to hear me upon the ſubject of our divorce; not having on the twenty two articles of his interrogatory anſwered any thing that might look like ſcandal or diſhonour, unleſs perhaps on that wherein he enquired, whether ever, during the marriage, we had any commerce together: to which I anſwered, conſtrained by truth, that we were both ſo young, when we were married, and ſo laſcivious, that it was impoſſible to forbear.* That which is ſaid of Margaret's conſtitution very well agrees with the hiſtory of her adventures. Now there is nothing more proper than that ſort of complexion to awaken a certain curioſity, which very ſoon expels the ignorance ſhe pretended to boaſt of: it is a curioſity which has ſuch ſudden effects as to amaze the whole world. Read theſe words of the count de Buſſi: *you have heard of the paſſion of . . . . for her huſband when ſhe married him. This they ſay is much changed. The little lady can no longer bear him. It is ſaid in her excuſe:* that which appears of the man, is not the man. *And this makes every body inquiſitive, how a young maid of thirteen or fourteen years of age, came to learn what was requiſite to make a man, to be a man* (14).

(13) Satirical Divorce, among the pieces printed with the Journal of Henry III, *pag. m.* 206, 207.

(14) Buſſi, Letter 316, of the fourth part, *pag.* 421, of the Holl. Edit.

[D] *Her anſwer was very different from the calumnies that are to be met with in printed books.*] What a vaſt difference there is betwixt Margaret's own relation of her conduct, and what others have publiſhed of it. She pretends to the ignorance of a child, upon the theory of marriage; and might have been impoſed upon, according to her own ſtory, and ſhe never the wiſer. But caſt your eyes a little upon theſe words of the Satirical Divorce; in which, as I have already ſaid, Henry IV, is introduced ſpeaking. 'I 'was not able to avoid my misfortune, tho' king 'Charles, who reigned at that time, who well knew 'his ſiſter's temper, gave me ſome intimation of it 'under this prophecy, when aſſuring the Huguenots 'of a pretended peace, to allure and deceive them, 'he proteſted with a thouſand oaths, that he gave not 'his Marget for a wife only to the king of Navarre, 'but to all the Heretics of his kingdom. Oh the prophecy, too full of truth and worthy a holy and 'divine inſpiration! If it had been general inſtead of 'particular, and in the room of the Huguenots only: 'had comprehended all mankind; for there is no 'ſort nor quality of men in all France, with whom 'this wretch has not exerciſed her laſciviouſneſs; no-'thing comes amiſs to her pleaſures, and ſhe values 'not age, greatneſs, nor extraction, provided her luſts 'be ſatisfied and ſatiated; and never ſince ſhe was e-'leven years old, has ſhe denied any body: at which 'age Antragues and Charins (for they both of them 'thought they had firſt obtained this favour,) had 'the firſt-fruits of her heat; which augmenting daily, 'and they being unable to extinguiſh it, tho' Antra-'gues made an effort, which afterwards ſhortened his 'life, ſhe caſt her eye on Martigues, and fixed it 'there ſo long, as to liſt him under her banner, and 'they were both ſo public in it, that it was the com-'mon diſcourſe and converſation of all the ſoldiers 'in the army, where Martigues was known as 'well as his valour, as colonel of foot (15).' It is added, that after Martigues's *death, the duke of Guiſe was obliged to go through her hands, by the mediation of Madam de Carnavalet, a young, brave, and ambitious prince, who already beginning to build that machine, which being too ſuddenly ſhaken, will fall upon him, expected from his laſcivious embraces to have procured a marriage, and thereby fortified his pretences and deſigns, having dexterouſly broke off her treaty of marriage with the king of Portugal, already far advanced . . . . She quickly after added her young brothers to her ſalacious conqueſts; one of whom, namely Francis, continued this inceſt all his life; and Henry grew ſo out of conceit with her, that he could never love her afterwards, having at length perceived, that years, inſtead of cooling her deſires, augmented her fury, and that, being moveable as Mercury, ſhe ſhook at the leaſt object that approached her. Here is a virgin for you! which my relations and the public good obliged me to take for good and virtuous, to the great mortification of herſelf and her favourites; amongſt whom Antragues, as the marſhal de Retz formerly told me, was like to dye of grief, or of a loſs of blood, which the violence of his anguiſh to ſee us married forced out in ſeveral places* (16). If you would ſee another teſtimony, read the firſt dialogue of Euſebius Philadelphus Coſmopolita, where you will find this paſſage at the forty-fourth page of the Edinburgh edition 1574 (17). *Hereupon the king pretended to be vexed with ſo many delays, blaſpheming and raging, ſwore, that he would have the marriage conſummated without more ado: that if cardinal de Bourbon would not marry them, he would lead them himſelf to a Huguenot, meaning to have them married by a miniſter; and that, by Chriſt, he would not have his Marget (for ſo he called his ſiſter) kept any longer in this languiſhing condition:*

Ali. The good lady took care not to ſtay ſo long: her brother very well knew that he had her maidenhead.

(15) Satirical Divorce, *pag.* 123.

(16) Ibid. *pag.* 190.

(17) Reveille-matin des François & de leurs voiſins, *pag.* 4. the two laſt are Publiſhers *Alike*, and the Hiſtorio-pher.

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was obliged to send away Mademoiselle de Torigni her confident [*E*]. She took this very heinously, as what might bring a great *scandal on her reputation* (*e*), and declared her resentment to her husband, who for his part had but little regard for her (*f*). *They neither lay together, nor conversed with each other.* She knew the resolution her husband and brother had taken to depart from court. Her brother was the first who made his escape (*g*): her husband did the same soon after without taking leave of his wife (*b*). Henry III, imagining that she would go and join them, or that if she was left at liberty at court, she would be their spy, arrested her. She received very obliging letters from her husband, and some civilities from the king her brother, who was obliged to act in that manner, because the duke of Alençon would not disarm, unless she was satisfied. She accompanied the queen, her mother, to the conferences, that were held near Sens, and where was concluded (*i*) the treaty of peace with the duke of Alençon. After this she desired to retire to the king her husband, who earnestly demanded her, but Henry III, refused to give her leave (*k*). Under the false pretence of an indisposition she took a journey to the Spaw waters, in order to favour the design that had been put into the duke of Alençon's head of getting himself elected sovereign of the Netherlands. Being returned into France, she testified afresh her desire to go to her husband. It was consented to at last, and the queen, her mother, conducted her to the king of Navarre (*l*). Who came to receive them at la Reolle (*m*), and paid great regard to his wife during the stay of Catherine de Medicis in Gascogny (*n*). They attended her as far as Castelnaudarri, on her return; and afterwards went to reside at Pau in Bearn, where they quickly fell out, both on account of Margaret's pressing her husband to disgrace a secretary, and also on account of the Galantries he engaged in [*F*]. The reason of her demanding this secretary's

(*e*) Ib. *pag.* 119.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) In 1576.
(*b*) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 129.
(*i*) In 1576.
(*k*) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 157, 162.
(*l*) In the year 1578.
(*m*) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 313.
(*n*) Ib. *pag.* 315.

Hist. I did not know that; but I have heard say, that she was ready to lye-in, when the queen was at Xainctes.

Ali. It is so, I assure you.

[*E*] *She was obliged to send away Mademoiselle de Torigni her confident.*] Le Guast, Henry the third's favourite, represented to him, *that he ought not to suffer young princesses to have maids, with whom they had such a particular friendship* (18), and so fully convinced him of that maxim, that this prince declared to the king of Navarre, *that he would never love him him more*, if Mrs Torigni was not removed *the next day* (19). The king of Navarre was therefore forced to desire his wife, and even *to command her* to dismiss this maid. The queen of Navarre did not obey without the greatest reluctance. Mrs Torigni *departed the same day*, and retired to her cousin, Mr Chastelas (20). The king, some time after, *to give* his sister *the cruellest mortification imaginable*, sent some people to Chastelas's house, *under pretence of taking Mrs Torigni, and bringing* her to court, *to drown her in a river hard by* (21): but some gentlemen, who went to join the duke of Alençon, delivered her (22). We may affirm, generally speaking, that the principle which Guast reasoned upon, is good; for princesses could never succeed in any intrigue of galantry, if they had not their chamber-confidents: and it is a ground of suspicion to see much intimacy between them and their waiting-maids. A great lady desires to be waited on in form, and is uneasy, and chides, if the the least punctillio be wanting. This is the way to be little beloved by her domestics. Liberality itself is not a very certain means of procuring their affection, unless it be attended with caresses and civilities. But a lady seldom stoops so low, unless in some certain cases of necessity, in which she has occasion for the discretion and mediation of her women. Caresses are not then spared; opening the heart to them, and treating them with respect and familiarity then dispose these inferiors to love their superiors, *Facinus quos inquinat, æquat* (23), - - - *An ill design levels the undertakers.* Those ladies must be excepted from this rule, who, by a prudent conduct, have obtained an unexceptionable reputation: but as our queen of Navarre was none of those, it cannot be thought strange, that her intimacy with Mrs Torigni were suspected by Henry III. It is a point of nice policy in a king to place about his children not such persons as aspire to be confidents, but such as are contented with being honest spies. And therefore such people are generally made use of, and others removed who answer not those intentions. Once more, Henry III would not have been to blame in following the counsel which was given him, if he had only aimed at reforming his sister, and removing from her some evil instruments; but the violence he used was inexcusable: he would have drowned the confident; and from thence it may be suspected that his motives were criminal. He was willing to satisfy his jealousy; he was enraged that his brother possessed the heart of queen Margaret. Common fame makes them both to love her criminally, and to have been beloved by her one after the other; but, that at last, she gave the preference to the younger, and not to the right of eldership: a right, that loose women pay very little regard to (24).

(18) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 117.
(19) Ibid. *pag.* 118.
(20) Ibid. *pag.* 119.
(21) Ibid. *pag.* 131.
(22) Ibid. *pag.* 135.
(23) Lucan. Phars. lib. V, ver. 290.

[*F*] *She and her husband fell out . . . on account of the galantries he engaged in.*] The passion he had for Dayelle, maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis (25), did not embroil him with his wife. But when queen Catherine was gone, he began to seek out Rebours, *who was a malicious young creature that could not abide Margaret, but did her all the ill offices she could* with her husband (26). She remained sick at Pau, when the king of Navarre left it; and, as with this prince, it was, *out of sight, out of mind, he began to engage with Mrs Fosseuse* (27). The Duke of Alençon also fell in love with her (28). *This had like to have excited* the king of Navarre *to break* with his wife: for he believed, that *she did good offices to her brother against him*; which, when *she understood, she was so importunate with her brother* to desist, that he spoke no more to Fosseuse. The later, to remove from the king of Navarre, whom she extreamly loved, his jealousy of the duke of Alençon, *gave herself up so entirely to oblige him in every thing he desired, that she had the misfortune* to prove with child. *Finding herself in this condition, she quite altered her behaviour to me*, (it is queen Margaret who speaks) (29); *and whereas she used to appear without any reserve, and to do me all the good offices she could with my husband, she began to conceal herself from me, and do me as many bad offices as good ones she had before done. She so possessed the king, my husband, that in a little time I perceived him quite altered. He grew out of humour, and reserved, and my presence was no longer so agreeable to him, as it had been for the four or five happy years I had spent with him in Gascogny, whilst Fosseuse behaved herself there with honour.* She relates afterwards, that Fosseuse put it into the king of Navarre's head, *for a cloak to her big belly, or at least to get rid of it, to go to the hot-well waters at Bearn.* This prince *earnestly pressed his* queen *to go thither*, telling her, *that his daughter (for so he called Fosseuse) had occasion to drink the waters for a disorder she had in her stomach, and that there was no probability she would go thither without her mistress, and that this would occasion suspicion where there was no reason for it.* All that he could obtain, was, *that two of her companions should go with her, Rebours, and Villesavin, and the governess. They went with her; and I,* says queen Margaret (30), *staid at Baviere* (31). *I heard every day from Rebours, (who was a corrupt and deceitful creature, that he had loved, and only desired to exclude Fosseuse, in hopes to succeed her in the favour of the king my husband) that Fosseuse did me all the ill offices she could, commonly abusing me, and persuading herself that if she had a son, and could make away with me, she should marry the king . . . . At a month or five weeks end, we returned*

(24) The author of the romance, intituled, *The Prince of Condé*, supposes, *pag.* 120, that this prince being beloved by the mareschal de St André's lady, who had refused the heart of the king of Navarre, the king told that lady, *I plainly see that the being my younger brother by seven or eight years, is a considerable recommendation to your favour.*
(25) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 314.
(26) Ib. *p.* 321.
(27) Ib. *p.* 322.
(28) Ib. *p.* 346.
(29) Ib. *p.* 347.
(30) Ib. *p.* 350.
(31) It should be at Bagnieres.

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ſecretary's diſgrace, deſerves to be known, and
extravagance of thoſe who allow no toleration
Proteſtants, and proved not very advantageous t
wife obtained, that the city of Nerac, where f
that no hoſtilities ſhould be committed within three lea

returned to Nerac, where finding that every body talked of Foſſeuſe's being with child, and that it was not only the common converſation in our court, but all round the country; I was reſolved to try if I could ſuppreſs this rumour, and ſpeak with her about it (32) The queen made her the offer of her aſſiſtance, and to *do her the office of a mother* (33), that is, to remove her to ſome remote lodging; and whilſt the king ſhould go a hunting another way, *not to ſtir from her till ſhe was delivered. She, inſtead of thanking me, with an extream arrogance ſaid, ſhe would make all thoſe liars, who had reported it; that for ſome time I had not loved her, and only ſought a pretence to ruin her: And, ſpeaking as high as I had ſpoke low to her, ſhe flies in a paſſion from my cloſet, and went to fetch thither the king my huſband; ſo that he was very angry with me for what I had mentioned to his daughter, ſaying, ſhe ſhould make all her accuſers liars; and kept his countenance with me a long time, even for ſome months, till the time of her delivery. As ſhe was taken in the morning at break of day, lying in the chamber of the maids of honour, ſhe ſent for my Phyſician, and deſired him to go and acquaint the king my huſband; which he did. We lay in the ſame chamber, in different beds, according to our cuſtom. As the Phyſician told him this news, he was in great trouble, not knowing what to do, fearing on the one hand that ſhe would be diſcovered, and on the other, that ſhe would be ill aſſiſted, for he loved her very much. He reſolved at laſt to confeſs the whole to me, and prayed me to go to her aſſiſtance* (34) . . . *I told him . . . that I would go, and do as much for her as if ſhe was my daughter; that in the mean time he ſhould go a hunting, and carry all the people abroad, that no body might hear of it. I quickly got her removed out of the maid's chamber, into a diſtant one, with my Phyſician and women to aſſiſt her, and had her well taken care of. As GOD would have it, ſhe brought only a daughter, and that ſtill-born. Being delivered, ſhe was carried back to her chamber; where, tho' all poſſible diſcretion was uſed, the report could not be prevented from being ſpread all over the caſtle. The king my huſband returning from hunting, went to ſee her, as he uſed to do. She deſired him that I would come and viſit her as I uſed to do all my maids when they were ſick, thinking by that means to ſtifle the report. The king coming into my chamber, found me laid upon the bed, being weary with riſing ſo early, and with the pains I had taken to aſſiſt her. He deſired me to riſe and go and ſee her. I told him, that I had done this when ſhe had occaſion for my help, but that at preſent there was nothing more to do for her; that if I went, I ſhould rather diſcover than conceal the matter, and that all the world would point at me; he was very angry with me, and what diſpleaſed me moſt was, that I thought I did not deſerve this recompence for what I had done in the morning. She often put him into ſuch humours as theſe againſt me* (35).

(32) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 352.

(33) Ib. *p.* 353.

(34) Ib. *p.* 354.

(35) Ib. *p.* 356.

We have ſeen elſewhere (36), that Andromache, the valiant Hector's wife, was ſo complaiſant and obliging, as to give ſuck to her huſband's baſtards. But here you ſee a queen of Navarre, who was almoſt as good-natured; ſhe almoſt did the office of Midwife to her huſband's miſtreſſes. We muſt confeſs, that thoſe who have ſo much blamed this prince's conjugal patience, ſhould have conſidered that he of all men leaſt deſerved a faithful ſpouſe, and that his conduct would have been able to ſpoil the beſt diſpoſitions to virtue in his wife. A certain author has ſaid, *that in the ordinary cauſes of ſeparation, the blame is laid upon the wife, but that the huſband is often the cauſe of the wife's being to blame* (37). This may be ſaid in part of Henry IV. How little is he in this place of queen Margaret's Memoirs! He is here much more little, than he is great on ſome other occaſions. For a king, for the leader of a great party, making head againſt the Guiſes, and the whole court of France, to go away to the bath with a young lady he has got with child; to be angry with his wife, who was willing to inform herſelf of this big belly, the better to conceal it; to cry it is a calumny againſt a maid, whoſe innocence time would diſcover; to go a little while after, and humbly entreat his wife to aſſiſt

(36) Above, citation (1) of the article ANDROMACHE.

(37) Amuſemens ſerieux & comiques, *pag.* 56, *Amſterdam Edit.* 1699.

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condition that the king her husband was not in the town (o). This exception caused the marshal de Biron to cannonade the town one day when the king of Navarre came into it. This extremely displeased the queen of Navarre [*H*]. She met with yet farther mortifications from that time till the journey she made to the court of France in 1582. It is with this journey she ends the Memoirs she has left us of her life, and from which I have taken what we have just now seen. There was reason to say, that she addressed them to Brantome [*I*], and not to Charles de Vivonne, Baron de la Chastaigneraye, or to Monsieur de Rendan. It is a work which deserves to be read, containing some things very curious; and it is to be wished that it had extended to the last years of the author's life. A great many omissions are to be found in it, but could it be expected that queen Margaret would confess such things as might stain her reputation? Those acknowledgments are reserved for the tribunal of confession; they are not designed for History. We need not wonder then not to find in her work any shadow of the galantries, in which she engaged both herself, and her maids of honour, in order to oppose Catherine de Medicis by way of countermine (p). But to resume the thread of our narration, I must take notice, that in leaving the court of France in 1583, she received a cruel affront by order of king Henry III [*K*]. It may be very justly said, that

(o) Ibid. *pag.* 332.

(p) See the remark [*O*] of the article HENRY IV.

and the most reasonable reflexion that could offer itself, was the only one she never once made. She ought, above all things, to have considered from thence, how blameable the injustice of her grand-father, her father, and her brothers, had been, in their barbarous edicts against the Protestants; and this is what, without doubt, she was far from thinking on. It is even very probable, that the Catholics of Bearn, who had been beaten and imprisoned, persisted in believing, that it was just to persecute the Huguenots, and to deprive them of the exercise of their religion; for it is likely, they said, the court of France is orthodox, and that of Navarre heretical; the former therefore ought to persecute, and not the latter (39). But they might be answered, go, and state your fine arguments to the Sieur du Pin, he will only convert the propositions: the court of Navarre is orthodox, that of France is heretical; the former therefore ought to forbid going to mass, and the latter ought to permit going to sermons. Wretched persecutors! Your disease must needs be extravagant, which cannot be cured by retaliation.

(39) See the Philosophical Commentary upon Compel them to come in, Part I, *pag.* 187, & *seq.* & Part III, *pag.* 122, & *seq.*

[*H*] *The marshal de Biron cannonaded the town .... This displeased the queen of Navarre.*] I would make no comment upon these words, did I not find here an occasion to shew, that the best Historians deceive us. This is the queen of Navarre's account: *The marshal de Biron discharged seven or eight vollies of cannon upon the town, one whereof reached even to the castle; which having done, he retires, sending me a trumpeter to excuse himself to me, saying, that if I had been alone he would not for all the world have done this; but that I knew it had been concluded in the neutrality,* &c (40). Margaret was not satisfied with these excuses, but answered the trumpeter, that she was highly affronted with the marshal de Biron's conduct, and that she would complain of it to the king (41). The duke of Alençon went into Guienne some time after, and having ended the civil war, induced the marshal de Biron *to take the command of his army in Flanders* (42). He reconciled the king of Navarre and the marshal de Biron, and would have this marshal at the *first interview* give queen Margaret satisfaction *by a modest excuse for what was done at Nerac, and commanded* this queen *to treat him with all the rude and contemptuous expressions she could think of. I executed this passionate command of my brother*, says she, *with the discretion requisite in such cases, as very well knowing that he would one day be sorry for it, since he might have great expectations from the assistance of so brave a gentleman.* This is the rule by which we ought to compare the accounts of other Historians, which can be true only in proportion to their conformity with this of queen Margaret; for she knew the affair better than any body, and could have no manner of reason to disguise it. Let us see what Brantome says: 'For the greater bravado, the 'marshal discharged some vollies of cannon against 'the town; so that the queen who had run thither, 'and stood upon the walls for her diversion, had 'like to have had her share of them; for a ball hap'pened to fall hard by her, which extreamly pro'voked her, both for the little respect the marshal 'had shewn her, to come to brave her in her own 'town, and because he was commanded by the king 'not to commit hostilities within five leagues round 'the place where the queen of Navarre was, which he 'did not then observe; for which she conceived such 'a resentment and enmity against the marshal, that 'she resolved to resent it, and to be revenged of him. 'A year and a half after, she came to court, where 'the marshal was, whom the king had re-called 'from Guienne, for fear of new commotions; for 'the king of Navarre threatened to arm, if he did not 'remove him. The queen of Navarre still resenting the 'marshal's affront, paid him no respect, but treated 'him with contempt, every where villifying him, 'and reciting the injury he had done her. At last 'the marshal, fearing the fury and hatred of the 'daughter and sister of the kings, his masters, and 'knowing the temper of this princess, bethought him'self of waiting on her, and begging her pardon, ac'knowledging and repenting of what he had done, 'which, as she was of a generous temper, she did not 'refuse, but received him into her favour and friend'ship, and forgave all that was past (43).' The first fault of this author is the saying, that the queen of Navarre ran the risk of her life upon the ramparts: she would not have omitted a circumstance of this nature had it been true. The second fault is, to extend to five leagues what was but three. The third is a fault of omission, charging Biron with having most injustly exceeded his orders. He did nothing but what he might do, conformably to the instructions he had received from Henry III. For the neutrality granted the queen of Naverre had no place, but in her husband's absence. Brantome's last error is a fault of Chronology: the marshal de Biron made his peace in Guienne. It is therefore false that queen Margeret used him ill at the court of France eighteen months after; and that he then pacified her by his humiliation. Mezerai is mistaken in two things. The marshal de Biron, says he (44), *discharged some vollies of canon against the walls, upon which the queen was beholding the skirmish, which so offended this princess, that she never afterwards pardoned him.*

(40) Queen Margaret's Memoirs, *pag.* 336.

(41) Ibid. *pag.* 338.

(42) Ibid. *pag.* 343.

(43) Brantome, Memoirs of Illustrious Ladies, *pag.* 264, 265.

(44) Mezerai, Chron. Abridgment, *Tom. v, pag.* 246, *ad ann.* 1580. He says, *pag.* 493, *Tom. iii*, of his great history, that a canon-ball fell at the feet of this princess within the distance of a yard.

[*I*] *The memoirs she left us of her life ..... she addressed them to Brantome.*] Auger de Mauleon, Sieur de Granier, published them at Paris, in 1628, in 8vo (45). There were some other editions of them afterwards. He affirms, in the preface, that the baron de la Chastaigneraye is the person, queen Margeret addressed them to; and that those who *believe they were addressed to Mr Rendan*, have no probable grounds for their opinion. Mr Colomiés has very plainly proved (46), that they were addressed to Mr Peter de Bourdeille, abbot de Brantome. You will see his reasons in Moreri's Dictionary.

(45) See Colomiés, *Bibliotheque Choisie, pag.* 173, of the second edition.

[*K*] *She received a barbarous affront, by the order of king Henry III.*] It is thus Mezerai relates it: 'The 'king ..... banished from her presence two 'ladies her confidents, writing to the king of Na'varre with his own hand, that *he had expelled them 'as most pernicious vermin, and not to be suffered 'near a lady of such extraction:* And some days after 'he commanded her to return to her husband, with'out permitting her to come to take leave of him. His 'hatred went still much farther: he sent after her a cap'tain of guards, with sixty archers, who having stop'ped her retinue beyond Palaiseau, and rummaged her 'litter, so as to make her pull off her mask, he seized 'her gentleman of the horse, her Physician and Apothe'cary, whilst Larchant went to seize those two ladies 'upon another road. He caused all these persons to be

(46) Idem, Historical Miscellanies, *pag.* 86, & *seq.*

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that her husband had so little delicacy upon the point of domestic honour, that he was not content to shut his eyes, but proceeded even to the approbation of his wife's galantries. *The practice she made of love was not at all concealed; pretending by this, that a public profession bespoke some virtue, and that secrecy was the sign of vice.* Henry IV *quickly learned to caress his wife's galants, and she to caress her husband's mistresses* (*q*). But if he was blameable in a thousand instances for this base complaisance, he discovered, upon the occasion we are now speaking of, a great deal of spirit and sensibility. He pressingly required of Henry III, either that his wife should receive satisfaction for the affront given, or that he might be at liberty not to receive her [*L*]. He obtained neither of these two demands,

(q) D'Aubigné, Universal Hist. *Tom. ii, book iv, chap. v, pag.* 988, 989, *ad ann.* 1579.

' be brought to him in the abbey of Ferrieres, near ' Montargis, separated them into different chambers, ' questioned each of them apart concerning the life, ' morals, and conversation, of his sister, and would ' have their depositions in writing; upon his depart- ' ing from thence, he sent some to the Bastile, who ' were examined before the provost-lieutenant, and let ' his sister go (47).' Varillas (48) has related this adventure with all the same circumstances, as Mezerai. I am surprized that a Hugenot Historian, who lived in that time, and could let nothing of this nature escape, has given a much shorter account, than that which may be read at the beginning of this remark. Consider, I pray, the Sieur d'Aubigné's brevity, and the little agreement between his narration and that of others, in respect to the circumstances of place. *The queen of Navarre*, says he (49), *returning to court with the queen, her mother* (50), *it happened that her restless spirit remained not long without offending the king her brother, and his minions; combining at court, with those who defamed this prince, imputing to him most filthy pleasures, in which, it seemed, the ladies were concerned. Hereupon this princess received some affronts; the last of which was, that Salern, captain of the guards, made her unmask at St James's gate, as she left Paris, to return to Gascogny, with her husband; with whom, at the same time, she was at very ill terms.*

(47) Mezerai, Hist. of France, *Tom. iii, pag.* 546, 547.

(48) Varillas, Hist. of Henry III, *book vii, pag.* 232, 233, *Holl. Edit. ad ann.* 1584, wherein he is mistaken, for the thing happened in August 1583. See the Memoirs of du Plessis Mornai, *Tom. i, pag.* 275.

(49) D'Aubigné, Universal Hist. *Tom. ii, book v, ch. iii, pag.* 1083.

(50) D'Aubigné is mistaken, Margaret went thither alone, and without her mother. See her Memoirs towards the end. It is true her mother came to meet her.

[*L*] *Henry IV pressingly required of Henry III, either that his wife should receive satisfaction for the affront given her, or that he might be at liberty not to receive her.*] See what d'Aubigné relates immediately after the passage I have just quoted (51). ' The king of ' Navarre, taking advice of his council in that affair, ' they all unanimously agreed, that he ought to re- ' sent it; and for that end to send and demand of ' the king a notable satisfaction, with a clause some- ' thing bidding defiance, or at least a separation of ' friendship in case of refusal: all advised this, and ' all refused the execution, except Aubigné; who, ' after he had remonstrated how he was accused of ' having saved his master, and of some free writings ' and offensive discourses; and that what might be ' born with from another, would become mortally ' odious in his mouth; yet perceiving the passion of ' this offended prince, he resolved to undertake the ' journey. He finds the king at St Germains, who, ' having given the messenger all the appearances of ' terror, heard him harangue upon the consequences ' attending the injuries of princes: how this act of ' infamy had been played before the most magnifi- ' cent company, and upon the most exalted stage in ' Christendom ..... However, at last, not ' upon the refusal of justice, but upon the delay which ' bespoke a refusal, the messenger renounced the ' honour of the king's alliance and friendship.' He afterwards relates the menaces contained in the king's answer, the vigorous reply he made to them (52), his answer in the same strain to the queen-mother, and the diligence wherewith he returned, and prevented the assassins of the court of France. This being so, it cannot be denied, that Henry IV, expressed his indignation with all the resolution of a brave and magnanimous prince. But we are going to see another account, where he does not show so bold a resolution, ' (53) The king of Navarre having received this ' news (54) at Nerac, concluded that he ought not to ' receive her (55), till he knew the cause of this af- ' front, which being offered and received at noon-day, ' could not be dissembled: in order, therefore, to ' have it fully explained or repaired, he resolved to ' send Mr du Plessis to the king, who was gone to ' Lyons, whither he went after him, riding post. ' This negotiation, so thorny and full of precipices on ' all sides, where the honour of a husband and wife ' were concerned, of such a quality; and between ' two kings, one his master, and the other his prince, ' is found entire in his Memoirs: but this is the sum ' of it. Having represented to the king the heinous- ' ness of the fact, he demanded two things, in the ' name of the king of Navarre. One was, *that he ' would please to declare the cause of his displeasure, ' which had carried him to such indignities against his ' wife, who had the honour to be his sister; since the ' meanest woman in the world meets with no attempt ' against her honour, till she has first lost it, which he ' could not believe, suspending, in the mean time, his judg- ' ment with his usual prudence and moderation. The ' other was, that at least, as the head of the family, ' he would do justice; and, as a good master, advise him ' what was to be done in so perplexed an affair.* The ' king shuffled, and perhaps finding himself guilty of ' too much precipitation, was willing to throw the ' cause upon the ladies abovementioned, whom he ac- ' cused of a bad life: but Mr du Plessis replied to him, ' *that it was not his business to plead their cause, that ' the king his master did not do him so much wrong, as ' to send him in their favour: that the question was con- ' cerning the queen his sister, if she had committed a ' fault deserving such an affront, he demanded justice ' on her; if not, he desired him to do her justice upon ' those, who were the authors of this ill advice to ' the dishonour of the royal family, and his own . . .* (56). ' That he was commanded, in brief, to tell his ma- ' jesty, that he had done too much or too little; Too ' much, if the fault was less than extreme; Too ' little, if esteeming her to deserve the loss of honour, ' he suffered her to survive it. *To this the king an- ' swered*, that he was obliged to the king of Navarre ' for the steps he had taken; that he had a mother ' and a brother interested in this affair, as well as ' himself, to whom he would communicate it ..... ' Mr du Plessis plainly perceived, that he could draw ' nothing more from him: but there remained one ' scruple, that, in the mean time, the queen, his sister, ' continued her journey. Upon which he said: *But ' what will Christendom say, Sir, if the king of Na- ' varre receives her, embraces her without scruple, thus ' returned to him stained and dishonoured?* To which ' the king replied, *What? but that he will receive ' the sister of his king; what can he do less? But ' of a just and equitable king*, says Mr du Plessis, *who ' would not require this obedience from such a subject at ' the expence of his honour and courage.* Hereupon the ' king resolved to write to the queen, his mother, ' that she should cause her to stay by the way in some ' town.' The issue of all this was, that Bellievre deputed to the king of Navarre, obliged him, at last, to receive his wife, without giving any satisfaction at all to his demands. Read the letter which was written to Mr de Montagne (57), by Mr du Plessis Mornai, in 1584. It begins thus: ' Sir, we have heard Mr de ' Bellievre. To tell the truth, he has proposed no ' other satisfaction for the indignity done to the queen ' of Navarre, than the authority (58) and liberty ' which a king has over his subjects. A reason, as ' you know, that has more vinegar than oil in it, ' and very improper for so sensible a wound, and in ' so nervous a part: and I know not whether I may ' venture to say, little suitable to the grandeur of our ' French princes, who have always tempered their ' sovereign power with a gracious equity, and have ' never disposed of the honour of the least of their ' subjects, but with their approbation. However, the ' king of Navarre has resolved to shew, that he ' chose rather to give the king satisfaction than him- ' self. And to this purpose he is determined to make ' his honour submit under the respect to his com- ' mands: being come to a resolution to visit and re- ' ceive the queen, his wife, at his house at Nerac (59).

(51) Ubi supra.

(52) He relates it also in Sanci's Catholic Confession, *book ii, ch. vii, pag.* 447, *Edit.* 1699.

(53) Mr du Plessis Mornai's Life, *pag.* 71.

(54) That is, that queen Margaret had received the affront mentioned in the preceding remark.

(55) That is to say, the queen his wife.

(56) Vie de Du Plessis Mornai, *pag.* 72.

(57) Michael de Montagne, author of the Essays.

(58) There is an error of the press in this passage of the French.

(59) Du Plessis Mornai's Memoirs, *Tom. pag.* 297, 29

But

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demands, but was obliged to receive Margaret in Nerac with all her disgrace [M]. Henry IV being some time after excommunicated by Pope Sixtus, she made use of this pretence to leave him, and make war upon him (r). She *possessed herself of the Agenois, which was given her in dowry* (s); but she found very little satisfaction in that war, and was obliged to leave Agen precipitately [N], and to fly into Auvergne, where she

(r) Mezerai, Hist. of France, *Tom. iii, pag.* 596.

(s) Ibid.

But behold here a very perplexing riddle. D'Aubigné positively affirms, that he was the only person employed to demand reparation for this insult, all the others having refused to undertake such a commission. Du Plessis Mornai, affirms as strongly, that he was the only person sent to the court of France on this affair. D'Aubigné makes no mention of du Plessis, nor du Plessis of d'Aubigné; but contents himself with saying, that the king of Navarre *spoke first of sending the Sieur de Frontenac* (60). It cannot be supposed that there are two affairs in question; for though we may speak in the plural number of affronts received by queen Margaret, it can by no means be pretended, that d'Aubigné demanded satisfaction for an affront before or after that, which obliged the king of Navarre to depute Mr du Plessis. Both these authors, who relate their commission, have in view the action of the captain of the guards, who stopped queen Margaret's litter, *&c.* He is called *Saliers* in the life of du Plessis (61), and *Salern* in the history of d'Aubigné (62). This shews that they mean the same man; but that, by an error of the press, or by some little slip of memory, his name is differently written or ended. I confess, that, according to Mr du Plessis, the exploit of this captain of the guards, happened four leagues from Paris (63), between Palaiseau and St Cler (64), and, according to d'Aubigné, at St James's gate. I confess also, that in d'Aubigné's account, the complaint and demand of satisfaction was made to the king at St Germains, but at Lyons, according to du Plessis. And yet I cannot conceive, that on this occasion the king of Navarre sent two deputies to Henry III, since Mr du Plessis affirms, that he was the only person charged with this negotiation. If I were to distrust either the memory or probity of one of these two, it would be Mr du Plessis I should suspect. However, I will not determine to the prejudice of the other. I chuse rather to suspend my judgment (65), and I am not sufficiently satisfied in my conjectures to give them a place here. For the rest, I am not the first that has been perplexed with the account of this adventure (66). Note, that d'Aubigné, when he published the second edition of his book (67), might have known what is related contrary to his narrative in du Plessis's Memoirs (68).

(60) Ibid. *pag.* 273.

(61) *Ib. pag.* 71.

(62) *Ib. pag.* 1083.

(63) Du Plessis's Life, *pag.* 71.

(64) Du Plessis's Memoirs, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 275.

(65) See, below, remark [R].

(66) See the Notes upon Sanci's Catholic Confession, *book* ii, *chap.* xvi, *pag.* 409, *Edit.* 1699.

(67) In 1626.

(68) Printed in 1624.

[M] *He was obliged to receive Margaret in Nerac with all her disgrace.*] Here we may apply to the king of Navarre, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus. ---- Mountains in labour will bring forth a mouse.* If it be true that he sent a challenge to the king of France, as is related above by d'Aubigné (69); but if the matter be reduced to the terms of Mr du Plessis's negotiation, the fall will appear much less inglorious. The ill state of his affairs did not permit him to be so unseasonably haughty. Bellievre, deputed from Henry III, spoke with so much the more loftiness, as the garrisons placed round about Nerac made him believe the king of Navarre durst refuse him nothing. This prince therefore was forced to submit whether he would or no: and to ask, as a favour, that at least the garrisons might be sent away, here follows the sequel of the passage we have seen above (70), I mean the words of the letter from Mr du Plessis Mornai: 'Resolving to visit and receive the queen, his wife, in his 'house at Nerac, on condition only, that the garrisons 'might be removed which were placed round about, 'both that this reception might have no appearance 'of force, and for the security of their stay. You 'know whether it be civil to receive her in a borrowed house, or incivil to demand liberty in his own. 'Mr de Bellievre notwithstanding made a very great 'difficulty of it: hereupon, this day, Mr de Clervant was dispatched to the queen of Navarre; and 'from thence will proceed to their majesties, who, in 'my opinion, considering the matter past, and considering in it the person of the king of Navarre, will 'not refuse him so trifling a circumstance, since in a 'thing of such importance he has granted the principal. Judge in what streights these people put us. 'We had reduced the matter almost to the best point 'that could be hoped for; and now they stand upon 'a meer trifle, and would make us lose all our 'credit, if our sincerity towards our master was not 'very well known (71).' Let us therefore excuse for this once the king of Navarre, and not suffer this particular passage of his life to lye under the censure related by a modern Historian: *The malicious*, says he (72), 'spared not his domestic affairs. They highly 'blamed his conduct in abandoning queen Margaret 'to her gallanting humour; *more patient than the emperor Claudius*, said they, *he suffered this new Messalina, known to be his lawful wife, to dishonour him 'publickly. Had he a mind, at his own cost, to teach 'those, whose wives he debauched, to become contented 'cuckolds?*' If he had with marks of esteem received his wife, dishonoured by the public affront the king her brother had put upon her, we might reasonably accuse him of the most cowardly tameness: but he took not that method; he plainly gave her to understand, that he despised her; and this was one of the motives that induced her to break with him. Read these words of Mr du Plessis's Life: *Queen Margaret, whether she could not bear to be* despised, *or whether she returned to her old practices, threw herself into Agen, and there made war for the League* (73). After all, it must be remembered, that there are princes, who are much more at a loss than other men, what resolution to take when they are dignified with horns. It is a very difficult part to act: patience and impatience are equally the object of laughter; and it is not easy to find a just medium between the severity of Henry VIII, and the good-nature of Henry IV. Let every one in cases of this nature, remember the old maxim,

(69) In the remark [L].

(70) In the remark [L], citation (59).

(71) Du Plessis's Memoirs, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 298.

(72) Le Vassor, Hist. of Lewis XIII, *book* i, *pag.* 54.

(73) Du Plessis's Life, *pag.* 90.

Il est bien aisé de rependre,
Mais mal aisé de faire mieux.

'Tis easy to find a fault,
But difficult to do better.

[N] *Being obliged to leave Agen precipitately.*] 'She 'was very ill served there, by means of Madam de 'Duras, who had a great command over her, and 'under her name authorized heavy exactions and contributions: the people of the town were exasperated 'with them, and, under-hand, contrived their liberty, 'and the means of expelling both their lady and her 'garrisons; upon which discontent, the marshal de 'Matignon took occasion to make an attempt upon 'the town; as the king, being acquainted with the 'opportunity, commanded him, with great joy, to 'oppress his sister, whom he did not love, with more 'and more mortifications: wherefore the enterprize 'which miscarried the first time, was so dextrously 'managed the second, by the said marshal and the 'inhabitants, that the town was taken and forced in 'such a manner, and with that suddenness and alarm, 'that all this unfortunate queen could do, was to get 'behind a gentleman, and Madam de Duras behind 'another, and to save themselves by flight, riding 'twelve leagues the first day, and as many the next, 'and to escape into the strongest fortress of France, 'which is Carlat (74).' Queen Margaret observes, in the beginning of her Memoirs, *that this account of* Brantome is wrong; but we do not know how she would have rectified it. Let us see how the author of the Satirical Divorce makes Henry IV speak: *She suffered herself again to be carried away by her lasciviousness and excessive leudness, leaving me without saying a word, and going to Agen, a town opposite to my interest, to set up her trade there, and to continue her disorderly life with greater liberty: but the inhabitants presaging as ill success from so ill a life, occasioned her to depart in so much haste, that she could scarce find a horse that would carry double, to take her up behind,*

(74) Brantome, Illustrious Ladies, *pag.* 254, 255.

nor

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she *consumed the rest of her youth in adventures more becoming a woman, who had abandoned her husband, than a daughter of France* (*t*). Lignerac, conducted her *with some gentlemen in great disorder*, to the town of Carlat, where his brother was Chastelain (*u*). Henry III took such measures that the inhabitants prepared to betray her (*x*). She had some notice of it and escaped; but she was taken by the marquis of Canillac, and caried to the castle of Usson. He fell in love with her, and suffered himself to be so bewitched with her fine discourses, that she secured the place to herself, and expelled him thence (*y*). In this fortress she lived a recluse till she came to the court of France in 1605. She had been sollicited to consent to the dissolution of her marriage; but she refused it, during the life of the duchess of Beaufort (*z*); but afterwards she gave her consent, and herself began the process by a petition presented for this purpose to Pope Clement VIII. The best reason she alledged was the want of consent, and that was good for nothing; for besides, that this was declaring that she was guilty of a horrid perjury in Notre-Dame church at Paris, where cardinal de Bourbon performed the nuptial ceremonies (*aa*), she manifestly contradicted what she has written in her Memoirs. We there find (*bb*) that she rejected the proposal of a divorce; and that she had nothing more at heart than to testifie her affection, regard, and obedience to her husband, even so far as to be present at the delivery of his mistresses (*cc*), to assist them to her utmost, and to take all possible care of him when his excesses with other women cast him into a fainting fit (*dd*). Her marriage having been declared null, Henry IV married Mary de Medicis. He, and his second wife, gave our Margaret a very honourable reception in 1605. *She was first lodged in the castle of Boulogne, and afterwards in the palace of Sens, which she quitted to go and live in the suburbs of St Germains, where she built a palace answerable to the majesty of the kings she was descended from* (*ee*). She there led a life full of variety; it was a mixture of galantry, devotion, and study [O]. She died the twenty-seventh of March 1615. It is impossible to forbear condemning her panegyrists, who have boldly suppressed her faults and ill actions, notwithstanding they were so very notorious; and I think the Historian, Scipio du Pleix, has not deserved all the censures, which were cast on him for speaking of this queen's bastards. But this I shall examine in another place (*ff*), this article being too long already. I will not conclude without saying, that the wife and famous Pibrac was her chancellor and galant [P].

(*t*) Ib. *pag.* 598. See the article USSON.

(*u*) Id. ib.

(*x*) Brantome, Illustrious Ladies, *pag.* 255.

(*y*) Id. ib. See also d'Aubigne, *Tom. iii, book v, chap. iv.*

(*z*) D'Aubigné, ibid.

(*aa*) Memoirs of queen Margaret, *pag.* 49.

(*bb*) Ib. *pag.* 68. See the remark [C] at the beginning.

(*cc*) See the remark [F].

(*dd*) Memoirs, ubi supra, *pag.* 115.

(*ee*) Hilarion de Coste, Elogies of Illustrious Ladies, *Tom. ii, pag.* 306.

(*ff*) In the article USSON, where I relate many things which have been said of this queen's ill morals.

I am

nor hackney or post-horses for half her maids; many of whom followed one after another, some without masks, some without aprons, and some without both; all in so wretched a condition, that they rather resembled the whores of foot-soldiers in the rout of a camp, than the attendants of a noble house. She was accompanied by some gentlemen unequipped, who half without boots, half on foot, conducted her under the guard of Lignerac, to the mountains of Auvergne into Carlat, where Marze (75), *his brother, was governor, a strong fort, but more resembling a den of thieves, than the habitation of a princess, the daughter, sister, and wife, of a king* (76). There are some circumstances in the Scaligerana, which are not in the Satirical Divorce: (77) *She got behind a gentleman without a pillion. She chafed off the skin of her thighs, which disordered her for a month with a fever. The Physician, who took care of her, is at present with the king, she ordered him to be lashed. . . . . She was forced to borrow a smock of a servant-maid in a neighbouring place, until she came to Usson, at the entrance into Auvergne* (78). Observe, by the by, that too much liberty is taken in the General and Curious Dictionary; for it is there affirmed, that Scaliger says, the Physician, who had this princess in cure, when she had chafed off her skin, *was lashed for speaking too freely* (79). These last words are not in my edition of the Scaligerana; and I do not believe they are to be met with in others, or that Cæsar de Rochefort had any grounds to add them of his own head, though it is probable that Scaliger had such a meaning. We are by no means to cite an author according to our probable imaginations of what he meant to say, but according to what he has said; for otherwise things would be quickly multiplied and falsified; before this came to a fourth or fifth hand, it would import, that the Physician had said this and that, he had made a draught, and a kind of a topographical map.

(75) Others call him Marie.

(76) Satirical Divorce, *pag. m.* 196, 197.

(77) Scaligerana, *at the word* Navarræ, *pag. m.* 166.

(78) Scaliger is mistaken, she went not to Usson till after she had staid a considerable time at Carlat.

(79) Cæsar de Rochefort, General and Curious Dictionary, *pag.* 415, *col.* 1.

[O] *She there led a life full of variety; it was a mixture of galantry, devotion, and study.*] Mezerai relates (80), that queen Margaret, *engaging very deeply in intrigues to discover the secret practices of the count d'Auvergne, gave frequent intelligences of them to the king, so that at last he resolved to comply with her request*, that she might come to Paris. She arrived there in August, 1605, 'and had the castle of Madrid, in the forest of Bou-'logne, assigned her for her lodgings. She lived 'there six weeks, afterwards she removed to the pa-'lace of Sens: but there an unfortunate accident hap-'pening to one of her minions, who was killed at 'the boot of her coach, by a young gentleman, en-'raged that this spark had ruined his family with 'this princess (§ *a*): she quitted that unfortunate 'palace, and bought another in the suburbs of St Ger-'main, near the river, and the Pré aux Clercs, where 'she began great designs of building and gardening. 'Here it was she kept her little court the rest of her 'days, mixing together with an odd variety, pleasures, 'and devotion, the love of letters, and the love of va-'nity, Christian charity, and injustice: for as she prided 'herself in being seen frequently at church, entertain-'ing learned men, and giving the tenth of her reve-'nues to the Monks, she gloried in having still some 'galantry, inventing new diversions, and never pay-'ing her debts.'

(80) Mezerai, Chronological Abridgment, *Tom. vi, pag.* 316.

[(§ *a*) The name of this minion was *Datte*, and young Vermond killed him, by the express command of the king, say some memoirs against all probability, which are in manuscript in the king's library, and some of them in the royal libraries at Berlin. The queen of Navarre lamented him under the name of *Atys*, in some verses contained in those Memoirs, where, in the same volume intituled *Memoirs of State under Henry IV*, may be met with some other verses she had made before that, under the same name of *Atys*, on the death of Aubiac, one of her galants who was hanged at Aigue-Perse. REM. CRIT.]

[P] *The wife and famous Pibrac was her chancellor and galant.*] See the remark [O] of the article HENRY IV. I have read in Thuanus (81), that, in 1582, Pibrac communicated to him a draught of the answer he designed to make to a smart letter, which he had received from the queen of Navarre: in which this princess reproached him, among other things, with being too much addicted to love, and presuming to cast his eyes even upon her. Pibrac recited his intended answer, with so much heat to Thuanus, that he gave occasion to believe that Margarets reproach was well grounded (82). Trust after this those venerable magistrates, who compose moral stanza's so grave and sententious, that Cato himself would be proud of being the author of them. Here is a passage of queen Margaret's Memoirs (83): *Monsieur de Pibrac played a double game, telling* this princess, *that she ought not to suffer herself to be braved by such an inconsiderable man as he was* (84), *and that whatever came*

(81) Thuan. Vita sua, *lib. pag. m.* 1180.

(82) Addo ac ratis verbis, t taque contes & affectus v mentia, ut M garitæ exp tioni filium stituret. *L*

(83) Mem queen Marg *pag.* 321.

(84) That i say, the k du Pin, of w we have sp in the rem [G].

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I am now enabled to clear up the difficulties which occur in the relations I have given, concerning the affront ſhe received, and the ſatisfaction that was demanded (*gg*) [*Q*]. I ſhall make ſome reflexions on the true account which has been communicated to me [*R*].

(*gg*) See, above, the remarks [*K*], [*L*], and [*M*].

came on it, ſhe muſt get him to be removed; and telling the king of Navarre, that there was no probability that ſhe would deprive him of the ſervice of a man, who was ſo neceſſary to him. Which he *did to induce* her, *by her diſcontents, to return into France, where he was fixed in his place of preſident and counſellor to the king.* We muſt add, that as he loved the queen, he could not reſolve to return to Paris without her.

[*Q*] *I am now enabled to clear up the difficulties which occur in the relations I have given, concerning the affront ſhe received, and the ſatisfaction demanded.*] I have had communicated to me ſome extracts (85) of a ſpeech of Pibrac †, which will adjuſt the whole train of this affair in very perfect order. Pibrac delivered this ſpeech to Henry III, to ſhew, by a particular account of the conduct of the king of Navarre, that there was no room to complain of him. Theſe are the facts he mentions:

I. That in 1582, queen Margaret made a journey to the court of France, and that the king of Navarre accompanied her, till he left her in the hands of the queen-mother, who came to meet them half way.

II. That during her ſtay at court, king Henry III ſent one of his wardrobe to the king of Navarre, to acquaint him that Margaret's behaviour had given him ſome uneaſineſs. He wrote to him with his own hand, the fifth of Auguſt, 1583, and informed him, that he had removed from about her the ladies de Duras, and de Bethune, as *very pernicious vermin* ‡.

III. That the king of Navarre having received this letter as he was hunting at Saintefoi, on the Dordonne, made choice of Pibrac to diſpatch him to the court of France. He inſtructed him to ſay, that he would come himſelf to meet his wife as far as Poitou, and named the ladies who ſhould be placed about her.

IV. That Pibrac did not ſet out, becauſe news immediately came of the affair that happened two leagues *beyond Bourg la Reine*, that is to ſay, the affront put upon queen Margaret when Soler ‡, *who commanded a regiment of the guards* *, ſtopped her litter.

V. That the king of Navarre ſent the Sieur du Pleſſis to the king, to know the cauſe of this inſult, and to demand ſatisfaction for it.

VI. That the Sieur du Pleſſis, who was entruſted to ſpeak only to the king himſelf, was ſent back with very great civilities; ſatisfaction being promiſed him, and aſſurance given him that a proper perſon ſhould be ſent to the king of Navarre, who ſhould carry him ſuch an anſwer, as ſhould make him entirely eaſy.

VII. That the king of Navarre, not hearing any thing of this deputy, was diſpleaſed, and ſent to forbid his wife to come any farther, till ſatisfaction ſhould be given. He diſpatched *one of his* attendants to the king, and upon this ſecond meſſage Mr de Bellievre was ſent to him.

VIII. That at the ſame time marſhal de Matignon put a garriſon into Bazas, and ſome other places near Nerac, where the king of Navarre reſided; that this prince complained of it, and inſiſted that the negotiation concerning his wife ſhould be ſuſpended, till thoſe appearances of force were removed; that he ſent a third meſſenger to the court of France, named Diolet; and that he acquainted Mr de Bellievre, who had retired to Bourdeaux, that he was ready to *give him audience.*

IX. That Mr de Bellievre preſented himſelf, and maintained, before him, that no indignity had been offered to the queen, and that his maſter was not at all obliged to give an account to the king of Navarre of the inquiry he had made, that it was his good pleaſure, and, in a word, that he was the king of the king of Navarre.

X. That the king of Navarre replied, that he was ready to take his wife again, and to receive her at Nerac; but on condition that the garriſons ſhould be removed, which were placed in the neighbouring towns; that this was neceſſary as well for his ſecurity, as to prevent it's being ſaid, that he received his wife only by force.

XI. That Monſieur de Bellievre declared to him, that this could not be done, and that the king would be obeyed; that the king of Navarre might receive his wife in what place he pleaſed, if Nerac did not ſeem ſafe for him in the midſt of thoſe garriſons.

XII. That the king of Navarre, uneaſy at this treatment, ſent Pibrac to Henry III, as his fourth meſſenger, who rendered an exact account of the manner in which every thing had been tranſacted, from the beginning of the affair, to Bellievre's negotiation. This is the ſubject of his ſpeech. He demands juſtice in terms both ſtrong and ſubmiſſive at the ſame time.

[*R*] *I ſhall make ſome reflexions on the true account which has been communicated to me.*] It is a little ſtrange that Pibrac, who gives the names of the firſt and third meſſenger, ſhould not give that of the ſecond. It is very probable that d'Aubigné was the perſon whom Pibrac does not name: we may ſay, therefore, that d'Aubigné does not advance an untruth, in ſpeaking of his own deputation; but he is not to be excuſed for ſpeaking of that only. To judge of the affair by his account, there could be none but himſelf who carried the complaints of the king of Navarre to Henry III, and yet they had been already carried by du Pleſſis, and ſo they were afterwards by two other envoys. Mr du Pleſſis is more excuſable in ſpeaking only of his own deputation: for in the firſt place he does not give an univerſal hiſtory, as d'Aubigné has done, but only the Memoirs of his life; and in the ſecond place, it was not he himſelf who reduced them into order, and put the finiſhing hand to them. Perhaps if he had publiſhed them himſelf, he would have given us this paſſage more at large, in order to make this part of the domeſtic hiſtory of the king of Navarre the better underſtood. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that he would have done well to have beſtowed a few paragraphs on the other deputations, in his firſt compoſing this chapter.

We muſt remark alſo, that Pibrac ſays nothing of Clervant, who was diſpatched to the queen of Navarre after the declarations of Bellievre, and was after that to go to the court of France, to demand the removal of the garriſons (86). It is certain that he negotiated this affair; for Mr du Pleſſis aſſures us, in a letter of the twentieth of February, 1584, that being at the palace of the queen-mother, he ſaluted the duke of Alençon, who aſked him, *if the queen of Navarre was with* her huſband? his anſwer was, *that they waited the return of Mr de Clervant* (87). The queen-mother, imagining, that du Pleſſis was come *on the affairs of the queen of Navarre*, told him, *that ſhe was very ſure* the king of Navarre *would receive entire ſatisfaction from the diſpatch of Mr de Clervant* (88). It cannot be ſaid that Pibrac meant him, when he ſpeaks of a ſecond meſſenger without naming him: it is too evident that the ſecond meſſenger ſet out before the arrival of Bellievre, and that Clervant was not diſpatched till after Bellievre had executed his commiſſion. It is probable that he was diſpatched after Pibrac; and if ſo, there is no reaſon to wonder at the ſilence of the latter.

(85) Mr Marais, advocate to the parliament of Paris, was ſo kind to communicate them; the marginal notes that accompany this remark [*Q*] are his.

† It is to be met with in a collection of pleadings, harangues, and remonſtrances, of the moſt illuſtrious and famous Politicians of our time; printed at Paris by Adrian Tiſſane, in 1618, in 12mo.

‡ Note, that this letter of Henry III, made no mention of the inſult committed againſt the queen of Navarre: the author of the *Note on the Confeſſion of Sancy*, is miſtaken in affirming it.

‡ So Pibrac names him.

* He was not therefore a captain of the guards, but rather the colonel of the regiment of the guards.

(86) See, above, remark [*M*].

(87) Mémoir. de Du Pleſſis, *Tom. i, pag.* 306.

(88) Ibid. *pag.* 307.

NAUCRATIS, a city of Egypt upon the Nile. Some authors have placed it upon the moſt weſtern branch of that river [*A*]; but every one is not of their opinion [*B*]. It

[*A*] *Some authors have placed it upon the moſt weſtern branch of that river.*] This branch was that which was called *Oſtium Canopicum*, the mouth of Canopus, near which Alexander the Great built the city of Alexandria. It is plain, that Herodotus has placed Naucratis upon this branch of the Nile. See in the body of the article what I cite from the 179th chapter of his ſecond book. Salmaſius embraces this opinion (1).

(1) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plin. in Solin. *pag.* 476.

[*B*] *Every one is not of their opinion.*] Indeed Pliny (2) obſerves that the branch of the Nile, which, by reaſon of the city Naucratis, was called *Naucraticum*, came

(2) Plin. *lib.* v, *cap.* x.

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It was a colony of Mileſians [C], if we will believe Strabo. He is not the only one who has affirmed it (a); but he is not conſiſtent with himſelf; and there are a great many arguments to be urged againſt his opinion. Diodorus Siculus does not agree with him

(a) Euſebius, Stephanus Byzantin. *and* Suidas *alſo affirm it.*

came immediately after that of Canopus. *Naucratis, unde oſtium quidam Naucratiticum nominant, quod alii Heracleoticum, Canopico, cui PROXIMUM eſt, præferentes.* Let there be a fault, if you pleaſe, in the word *præferentes*, it will ſtill be true, that, according to Pliny, the mouth of Naucratis, and that of Canopus, are not the ſame. Tacitus (3) is perfectly of this opinion; for, after having ſpoken of the mouth of Canopus, he adds, 'Inde proximum 'amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum 'apud ſe & antiquiſſimum perhibent. - - - - - - *That 'branch of the river next to this, was dedicated to Her-'cules, whom the inhabitants pretend to have been born 'amongſt them, and to be extremely antient.*' Dionyſius Periegetes affirms the ſame thing (4). But let us ſee a little what Strabo ſays. He obſerves (5), that the Bolbitic mouth is next to that of Canopus; and that the Sebennytic comes immediately after the Bolbitic. In this he agrees with Pliny, *proximo Alexandriæ Canopico*, ſays this latter (6), *deinde Bolbitino, Sebennytico*; from whence we may infer, by the by, that, according to Pliny, *Heracleoticum, Bolbitinum, Naucratiticum oſtium*, are one and the ſame branch of the Nile. Strabo adds, that the Mileſians entred with thirty ſail into the Bolbitic mouth, at the time of Pſammitichus and Cyaxares, the former king of Egypt, the latter king of the Medes; and that making a deſcent, they built what was called the Mileſians Wall, Μιλησιων τεῖχος, a place between the Bolbitic and Sebennytic mouths. Another time, continues he, they ſet ſail towards Saïs, and having obtained a naval victory againſt Inarus, they built the city of Naucratis, a little above Schedia. The city of Saïs, was, according to him, farther from the Bolbitic branch, than the city Sebennys. It ſeems therefore, that ſince they built Naucratis, after their conducting their fleet towards Saïs, Naucratis muſt be imagined pretty near Saïs; and this would not only refute thoſe, who ſay that Naucratis was built upon the moſt weſtern branch of the Nile, but alſo thoſe who place it upon the ſecond branch, reckoning from weſt to eaſt. But we muſt not fix the true ſituation of Naucratis by the place where the Mileſians ſet ſail, and vanquiſhed Inarus, ſince Strabo explains himſelf, and gives us another rule. They built, ſays he, Naucratis a little above Schedia. The queſtion at preſent is, concerning the poſition of Schedia. Salmaſius (7) places it upon the mouth of Canopus, but he is miſtaken; for Strabo has placed a canal betwixt this mouth and Schedia; and conſequently a town might have been built above Schedia, upon the ſecond branch of the Nile. The diſtance of Alexandria from Schedia, was about twelve or fifteen of our leagues (8). See another paſſage of Strabo (9), which deſerves to be obſerved. They who went up the Nile from Schedia to Memphis, found, on the right, Hermopolis, Momemphis, &c. with ſome canals leading to the lake Mareotis; on their left they found Naucratis upon the river, in the Delta itſelf, and Saïs at ſome diſtance from the Nile. This you ſee is deciſive againſt the poſition of Naucratis upon the moſt weſtern branch of this river. I do not think Salmaſius ever conſidered this paſſage of Strabo. Nor has he well conſidered the other, but has ill inferred from it, that Naucratis was where Herodotus placed it; namely, upon Canopus, the moſt weſtern mouth of the Nile. What he adds, that this Canopic mouth, and the Herculean, are the ſame in Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, only ſerves the better to convince us of the confuſion in which the antient writers have left Geography; ſome ſaying one thing, and others affirming the quite contrary. This is moſt commonly the fruit we reap, after having laboured hard to reconcile theſe people; we bring their wanderings and darkneſs more into view.

(3) Annal. *lib. ii, cap. lx.*

(4) Heracleoticum nominat quod Canopico proximum fuit, ut Dionyſius Periegetes cenſuit teſte Euſtathio ad illius verſum 13. *Harduin. in Plinium, Tom. i, pag.* 563.

(5) *Lib. xvii, pag.* 551.

(6) *Lib. v, cap. x.*

(7) Exercit. Plin. *pag.* 476.

(8) Of four ſchœni, according to *Strabo*; now one ſchœnus, according to *Herodotus, lib. ii, cap. vi*, contained 60 ſtadia; eight ſtadia a mile. See *Strabo, lib. xvii, pag.* 553, who obſerves, that this meaſure varied according to the different places.

(9) *Lib. xvii, pag.* 552.

(10) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. clxxviii.*

(11) He began his reign forty-two years after the death of Pſammitichus. *Helvic. Chron.*

[C] *It was a colony of Mileſians.*] Here is a proof of what I have been obſerving. Herodotus is ſo far from ſaying with Strabo, that the Mileſians built Naucratis after their naval victory over Inarus, that he obſerves (10), that king Amaſis (11), out of his great favour to the Greeks, conſented that ſuch of this nation as pleaſed, might live at Naucratis; and that thoſe who had a more rambling humour, and loved rather to ſail up and down, might build temples in certain places. This Hiſtorian adds, that, in purſuance of this grant, many Grecian cities built a temple at the common charge, and that the Mileſians, in particular, built that of Apollo. He inſinuates that the places, where theſe temples were, became ſo many magazines or ſtore-houſes, for the merchandizes of the Grecians, and that thus they abridged the privileges Naucratis enjoyed of being the ſole trading city of Egypt. I do not think it eaſy to reconcile with this paſſage of Herodotus, that which I have cited from Strabo in the preceding remark. It would be much if this Geographer could be reconciled with himſelf. He ſpeaks (12) of two expeditions of the Mileſians. The conſequences of the firſt were the building in Egypt a city called the Mileſians Wall. The conſequences of the ſecond were the building the city Naucratis. He does not reckon the years which intervened between theſe two enterprizes: but he places the firſt under Pſammitichus, and the ſecond under Inarus; and he makes Pſammitichus cotemporary with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. It follows from hence, that the Mileſians made their firſt expedition into Egypt, between the XXXVIIth and XLth Olympiad; for that is the time wherein the reigns of theſe two princes concur (13); and perhaps this expedition ſhould not be diſtinguiſhed from that mentioned by Herodotus (14), when he tells us, that Pſammitichus having taken the Ionians and Carians, who landed in his country, into his ſervice, by their means overcame all the other kings of Egypt; after which he gave lands to theſe foreigners, who had ſo well ſerved him. It is true, they were placed pretty far from the eſtabliſhment of Strabo's Mileſians (15). As for the expedition made in Inarus's time, it muſt fall about the LXXXth Olympiad, being the time in which the Egyptians elected him their king, in order to deliver themſelves from the ſevere yoke of the Perſians. Now if Naucratis was not built till the Mileſians had conquered Inarus, this city muſt have been founded after Xerxes's expedition: whence comes it then, that Strabo (16) relates, that Charaxus, Sappho's brother, traded in Leſbian wine at Naucratis? Did not Strabo know, that Alcæus and Sappho flouriſhed at the ſame time; that is, 150 years, more or leſs, before the reign of Inarus? It muſt therefore be confeſſed, that this Geographer's account of Naucratis is indigeſted, and very doubtful. I ſhould rather believe what Euſebius ſays of it, namely, that it was built towards the end of the VIth Olympiad, at the ſame time as Rome. I find that Athenæus (17) upon the teſtimony of an author, a native of Naucratis, relates, that in the XXIIId Olympiad, Heroſtratus, a merchant of that city, was wont to trade by ſea into ſeveral countries. This does not beſpeak a city built but the other day. Scaliger, who depends rather on Strabo than Euſebius, accuſes the latter of a prodigious Anachroniſm (18); he finds an *hiatus* of about 150 years betwixt the year of the foundation of Naucratis, according to Euſebius, and the year that this town was actually built; for he believes that the Mileſians built it towards the end of Pſammitichus's reign, or the beginning of Cyaxares's. He cites Strabo, without ſeeming to have taken notice of the victory obtained over Inarus: he therefore draws a falſe conſequence from his citation, ſince it is manifeſt, that if Naucratis was not built till after the defeat of Inarus, cotemporary with Artaxerxes Longimanus, it is impoſſible that Scaliger has rightly fixed the time when this city was founded. Salmaſius takes this Inarus of Strabo for a city (19). Upon this foot the Mileſians might have built Naucratis, at the time which Scaliger has fixed. But where ſhall we find the city Inarus? What Geographers have ſpoken of it? We muſt not ſay, that this city was perfectly obſcure; for Strabo, in that caſe, would not have barely named it: when we ſay briefly, that conquerors have taken ſuch, or ſuch a town, we ſuppoſe it to be known.

(12) *Lib. xvii, pag. m.* 551.

(13) See Helvicus in his Chronological Tables.

(14) *Lib. ii, cap. liii.*

(15) A little above the town of Bubaſtus, upon the channel of Peluſium, which is the moſt oriental mouth of the Nile. *Herod. ibid. cap. clvi.* See what ſhall be cited from Diodorus Siculus in the remark [D].

(16) *Lib. xvii, pag.* 556.

(17) *Lib. xv, pag.* 675.

(18) Μέγα χάσμα ἀναγκαῖον φανεῖται. Scalig. Euſeb. Chron. *pag.* 74.

(19) Expugna Inaro cond derunt Naucrat *Salmaſ. Exer in Solin. pag.* 476.

[D] *Diodorus*

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him [D]. What is moſt certain is, that Naucratis was a very famous city. Herodotus ſays (b) that it was antiently the only trading city in Egypt; and that to preſerve this privilege, no merchant-ſhip was ſuffered to unlade in any other port. All who put into any other mouth of the Nile, were obliged to ſwear it was againſt their intention, and to ſet ſail for the mouth of Canopus in the ſame veſſel. That if they could not arrive there by reaſon of contrary winds, they unloaded their effects in barges, which they brought up the Nile, through all the windings of that river, quite to Naucratis. It is not a little ſtep towards the proving the great wealth of that city, and the mighty courſe of foreigners, to obſerve, as Herodotus does, that the courtezans there took great care to appear charming (c). Though this Hiſtorian confutes thoſe who have ſaid, that Rhodope, by her proſtitutions, got money enough to build one of the principal pyramids of Egypt; yet he owns ſhe acquired immenſe ſums, and clearly enough inſinuates, that ſhe got the greateſt part of her wealth at Naucratis. Athenæus accuſes him of confounding this Rhodope with Dorica. It was the latter, according to Athenæus, who had Sappho's brother for her galant; but, according to Herodotus, ſhe that was beloved by Sappho's brother, was called Rhodope. Let them diſpute it out. Athenæus ſeems to draw an advantage from this, that Naucratis, his native place, had produced moſt famous and moſt handſome ladies of pleaſure (d). He forgets not to mention Archidice (e), who, as Herodotus relates (f), was very famous throughout all Greece. She ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from her, who had a ſuit with her galant. I have ſpoken elſewhere (g) of what the courtezan Lamia thought of the judgment, which was given in that cauſe. This city pretended to have a great ſhare in the protection and favour of Venus (h), and boaſted of poſſeſſing a miraculous image of this goddeſs, which was conſecrated in her temple, after it had done a great miracle in a violent ſtorm. The ſtory was to be found in a book compoſed by Polycharmus, concerning the goddeſs Venus. If we had this book, we might ſee very probably many things, of which ſome ſtories of our legendaries would ſeem only a copy; and if we had the work of Apollonius Rhodius concerning the foundation of Naucratis, it would be eaſy to make a long and curious article concerning this city. Origen (i) has obſerved, that the god Serapis was particularly adored there, though antiently they worſhiped other gods. Athenæus (k) relates ſome cuſtoms that were practiſed there. He is not the only author who was born in this city. Polycharmus (l), Julius Pollux (m), Lyceas (n), and, according to ſome, Philiſtus (o) and Ariſtophanes (p) were born there alſo. Philiſtus had compoſed ſomething concerning this city (q). It drew infinitely more wealth from its Potters ware and nitre [E], than from its ingenious men, though theſe have moſt contributed to its glory.

(b) Lib. ii, cap. clxxix.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Ἐνδέξους δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Naucratis ἑταίρους γενέσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. Gaudent autem quidam modo in Naucrate proſtibula fieri gratioſa. *Herod. lib. ii, cap. clxxv.*

(d) Ἐνδέξους δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Naucratis ἑταίρους γενέσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. Celebres quoque meretrices & inſigni forma tulit Naucratis. *Athen. lib. xiii, cap. viii, pag. 596.*

(e) Herod. lib. ii, cap. cxxxv.

(f) In the article LAMIA, a courtezan, remark [K].

(g) Athen. lib. xv, cap. vi, pag. 676.

(h) Contra Celſum, lib. v, pag. m. 257.

(i) Pag. 149, 150, 675.

(k) Athen. pag. 675.

(l) Philoſtr. de Sophiſt. lib. ii, Suidas.

(m) Athen. pag. 616.

(n) Suidas.

(o) Helicdorus Athenienſis, apud Athenæum, lib. vi, pag. 229.

(p) Suidas.

[D] *Diodorus Siculus does not agree with him.*] He tells us (20), that Pſammitichus, one of the twelve princes who governed Egypt for fifteen years, was obliged, in order to maintain himſelf againſt his partners, to take ſtrangers into his pay; by whoſe means he gained a battle, which ſubjected to him the whole kingdom. Theſe ſtrangers were Arabians, or Carians, or Ionians. From that time ſtrangers were had in great eſteem with him, whether they liſted for ſoldiers, or came only to ſee Egypt. He made an alliance with the Athenians, and with ſome other Grecian nations; and was the firſt who permitted foreigners to traffic in Egypt: for, under the preceding reigns, all ſtrangers, who landed in this country, were either murdered or made ſlaves. Now, according to Athenæus, the city Naucratis was already conſiderable in the XXIIId Olympiad: it is therefore impoſſible, according to Diodorus's hypotheſis, that it ſhould have been built by Mileſians, ſince, according to that hypotheſis, no ſtranger could ſafely land in Egypt, before the reign of Pſammitichus; that is to ſay, before the XXXth Olympiad, more or leſs (21). Judge whether Euſebius could find his account in this hypotheſis; he who would have Naucratis to have been built by the Mileſians in the VIth Olympiad. There is nothing but confuſion in all this.

(20) Lib. ii, cap. ii.

(21) Helvicus begins this reign in the ſecond year of the XXVIIth Olympiad, and doubtleſs excludes not the time that Pſammitichus reigned with his aſſociates.

[E] *It drew . . . wealth from it's Potters ware and nitre.*] The paſſage where Athenæus (22) ſpeaks of theſe Potters wares, has not been well tranſlated. Πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτει κεραμεῖς, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ πλησίον τῶν κεραμείων πύλη Κεραμικὴ καλεῖται. His meaning is, that there were a great number of Potters at Naucratis, and that the gate of the city, which was called Ceramic, took it's name from it's neighbourhood to the Potteries. Inſtead of this ſenſe, it is turned thus, that the arm of the Nile, in the neighbourhood of theſe Potteries, was called the Ceramic mouth. Dalechamp (23) has been ſo fond of this verſion, as to make uſe of it to change the word *Canopicum*, in a paſſage of Pliny, into that of *Ceramicum*. It ſhould be read, ſays he, *Naucratis, unde oſtium quidam Naucraticum nominant, quod alii Ceramicum, &c (non Canopicum)*. If there was any change to be made, it ſhould not have been *Canopicum*, but *Heracleoticum*, which ought to be changed into *Ceramicum* (24). But, as Salmaſius very well obſerves (25), Athæneus does not ſay, that the mouth of the Nile, upon which Naucratis was built, was called *Ceramicum*, I ſhall take notice, by the by, that there was in Athens a fine ſtreet called *Ceramica*, and a ſuburb which went by the ſame name (26); the ſtreet ſtill retains it's antient name, which it took from a hero named Ceramus, the ſon of Bacchus and Ariadne: but the ſuburb was called ſo from the great quantity of earthen pots made there. They paſſed through it to go to the academy. As to what concerns the nitre of Naucratis, I ſhall content myſelf with citing Pliny (27).

(22) *Lib. xi, pag. 480.*

(23) Not. in Athen. *ad pag.* 480.

(24) Salmaſ. in Exercit. Plin. *pag.* 476.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Taken from Guillet, Old and New Athens, *pag. m.* 212, 268.

(27) Nitrariæ Ægypti circa Naucratim & Memphim tantùm ſolebant eſſe, circa Memphim deteriores. *Plin. lib. xxxi, cap. x.*

NAUSICAA or NAUSICAE, daughter of Alcinous king of the Phæacians, in the iſle of Corcyra (a), appears with great luſtre in Homer's Odyſſes. The Poet has been very liberal of his favours to her, and repreſented her as a goddeſs both in body and ſoul (b), and woud have his hero, after his ſhipwreck, receive from her the firſt aſſiſtance he wanted. Naked, as he was born, he was laid upon the earth in a place, where the thick branches of two trees ſecured him from the eyes of the paſſengers; and he ſlept very quietly by the favour of Minerva, when the cries of ſome maids awaked him.

(a) Now Corfu.

(b) Ἀθανάτῃσι φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη. Immortalibus indole & forma ſimilis. *Homer. Odyſſ. lib. vi, ver.* 16.

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him. They were Nauſicaa, and her maids, who were playing at Tennis [*A*], while the linen, they had waſhed and hung out, was drying in the ſun. Ulyſſes firſt of all covered his privy parts with leaves, and then went to ſee what was the matter. The ſight of him put all thoſe poor girls to flight, except Nauſicaa, who had received from Mercury, by inſpiration, the courage to ſtand her ground and hear what the naked man had to ſay to her. Ulyſſes, fearing to diſpleaſe her if he ſhould embrace her knees, made his complement to her at a little diſtance, telling her, that, ſeeing her ſo beautiful, he did not know whether ſhe were a goddeſs, or a woman; that her father, mother, and brothers, were happy in her; but yet much happier would he be who ſhould marry her: and after a prelude ſo handſomely concerted, implored her aſſiſtance, eſpecially in relation to his nakedneſs, praying the gods to make her as happy as ſhe could wiſh in a huſband, children, and domeſtic concord. Nauſicaa anſwered, like a young lady of quality, calling back her ſervants, and commanding them to give the man meat and drink, and to waſh his body. Immediately they led him to the bath, and brought him both cloaths and oil, bidding him to waſh himſelf in the river; but he deſired them to retire at a little diſtance, being aſhamed to appear naked before ſo many young women. Upon this they retired. He waſhed and rubbed himſelf all over, and then dreſſed himſelf, and went to Nauſicaa, who was ſo well pleaſed with him, that ſhe told her ſervants ſhe ſhould be charmed with ſuch a man for her huſband. After he had eaten with all the ravenous precipitation of a perſon, who had faſted a long while (*c*), ſhe told him he muſt go with her ſervants to a certain place near the city, and wait there till ſhe ſhould have entered her father's palace with all her attendants. She gave him her reaſons for this very frankly; which were, that ſhe would give no occaſion for tattling to any ſlanderers, of whom that city was full, and who would not fail to ſay in caſe they ſaw him go in with her ſervants, that ſhe had been to ſeek him for a huſband; upon which they would make a hundred malicious jeſts in prejudice to her reputation, and that ſo much the more, as ſhe herſelf ſhould be provoked againſt another, who, without the conſent of either father or mother, and before marriage, ſhould lie with a man. Ulyſſes, in obedience to theſe remonſtrances, waited at the place appointed him; from whence he was afterwards inviſibly conducted by Minerva to the palace of Alcinous [*B*], who received him very graciouſly. He there again ſaw Nauſicaa, who deſired him to remember at his return home, that ſhe had ſaved his life. He anſwered he would every day pay his vows to her as to a goddeſs (*d*). It will be ſeen below, why I have enlarged upon this epiſode of Homer [*C*]. There is in the cabinet of the Sieur Nigri at Bologna, an exceeding rare medal of this heroine (*e*).

There are ſome grave authors (*f*) who affirm that Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes, was married to our Nauſicaa, and that he had a ſon by her, whom ſome name Perſeptolis, and others Ptoliportus.

(*c*) Ἦτοι ὁ πῖνε καὶ ἤσθιε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, Ἄρτα λίως· δηρὸν γὰρ ἐδητύος ἦεν ἄτασθος. Atque ipſe bibebat & edebat prudens divinus Ulyſſes, rapaciter; jampridem enim cibum non guſtaverat. *Id. ib. ver.* 249.

(*d*) Τῷ κέν τοι καὶεἰθε θεῷ ὡς εὐχετοῴμην, αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα. Sic enim tibi etiam illic velut Deo vota faciam ſemper diebus omnibus. *Odyſſ. viii, ver.* 467.

(*e*) Spon's Voyage, *Tom. i, pag.* 99, *Edit. Holl.* There is a print of it in Wheeler's Travels.

(*f*) Ariſtoteles de Republ. Ithacenſi; & Hellanicus, apud Euſtath. in Odyſſ. *lib. xvi*; Dictys Cretenſis, *lib. vi, pag. m.* 204.

[*A*] *Nauſicaa and her maids, who were playing at Tennis.*] You ſee that Homer is contented with making Nauſicaa divert herſelf at this play with her attendants; but Anagallis, a Grammarian, has made her the inventor of it (1). It is true, that Athenæus contradicts her, and ſuppoſes, that being herſelf of Corcyra, ſhe was willing to pay a compliment to Nauſicaa her country-woman (2). It is true alſo, that it ſeems to be rather the invention of a dance, than of Tennis, that is aſcribed to her: but theſe things lie too deeply concealed in the obſcurity of antient times.

(1) Suidas, in Ἀναγαλλίς, & in Ὀρχηστής.

(2) Athen. *lib. i, cap. xi: he calls her* Agallis.

[*B*] *He was . . . conducted by Minerva to the palace of Alcinous.*] This is what neither Charles Stephens, Mr Lloyd, nor Mr Hoffman have taken any notice of; for they all make Nauſicaa introduce Ulyſſes to Alcinous. There has been more care taken in Calepin; for inſtead of ſaying with others, *In Regiam patris ſui eum perduxit, - - - She introduced him into his father's palace,* it is there ſaid, *In Regiam Patris ſui ire juſſit, - - - - ſhe commanded him to go into her father's palace.* The two verſes of Martial which are quoted,

Si mihi Nauſicaë patrios concederet hortos,
Alcinoo poſſem dicere malo meos,

Nauſicaë's gardens I ſhou'd, like a clown,
Refuſe, and cry, I've finer of my own.

are not in the ſecond book, as that quotation ſays; but in the thirty-firſt epigram of the twelfth book, where Martial commends the gardens of his wife. I have obſerved, in another place (3), an error much groſſer than this.

(3) In the remark [C] of the article ALCINOUS.

[*C*] *It will be ſeen below, why I have enlarged upon this epiſode.*] It is to give ſuch a demonſtration, as may be underſtood by every capacity, of Homer's ſimplicity, and of the difference there is between the character of his age, and that of ours.

NAUSITHOUS, king of the Phæacians. See the article ALCINOUS.

NAZIANZEN (GREGORY) one of the moſt celebrated fathers of the church, in the IVth century. I could make a very long article of him; but I muſt then repeat what ſome great authors (*a*), have ſaid before me, whoſe works are in every body's hands, and ſtill retain the grace of novelty. I ſhall be very ſhort. An error has been commited in Chronology by one who cenſured Gregory Nazianzen for writing againſt the emperor Julian [*A*]. Some over-nice critics pretend that he has corrupted the

(*a*) Mr du Pin in his New Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, *Tom. ii, pag.* 201, *& ſeq. Edit. of Holland*; and Mr Le Clerc, in the beginning of the eighteenth Tome of *Bibliotheque Univerſelle.*

[*A*] *An error in Chronology has been committed by one who cenſured Gregory Nazianzen, for writing againſt the emperor Julian.*] It was Cunæus, profeſſor in the univerſity of Leyden, who committed this error. Theſe are his words (1): 'Fuit profectò, fuit Græ-'corum quorundam, qui eâ tempeſtate Eccleſiam rexere, 'magna

(1) Cunæus, Præfat. in Juliani Cæſares *pag. m.* 119.

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the purity of the Greek tongue and given occaſion to the barbariſm of the Latin Divines [*B*]. They alſo complain that his Greek verſes were ſubſtituted for the inſtruction of youth, in the room of the antient Pagan Poetry, which was burnt at the inſtigation of the prieſts [*C*].

' magna imprudentia. Etenim, uti cauſæ ſuæ ſervirent, ' principem Chriſtianis infeſtum laceſſebant, quem tole- ' rare latius fuiſſet. Sunt in hominum manibus ora- ' tiones eorum, in quibus, tanquam in ſcena, palam ' eum omnibus ludibrium fecere, & faciem illius, ' formamque corporis, atque geſtus, tum alia fortuita, ' quæ vulgus & imperitiſſimus quiſque notat, traxerunt ' in culpam. Qui viri, ſi meminiſſent temporum, ' quibus nati erant, ſanè neceſſitati, quæ pertinax ' regnum tenet, fine contumacia paruiſſent, &, quod ' magnæ prudentiæ eſt, obſequio mitigaſſent imperia. ' *There were indeed, it muſt be owned, ſome Greeks who* ' *then ruled the church, very much to blame for their im-* ' *prudence. For, in order to ſerve their cauſe, they abuſed* ' *a prince who was an enemy to Chriſtianity, when it* ' *would have been much better to have born with him.* ' *We have their ſpeeches ſtill left, in which they have* ' *expoſed him, as it were, on a ſtage, to univerſal* ' *ridicule, and have reflected upon his aſpect, the ſhape* ' *of his body, his geſtures, and other accidental matters,* ' *of which the vulgar, and every ignorant perſon, is apt to* ' *take notice. Theſe men, if they had remembered the* ' *times they were born in, would certainly have obeyed,* ' *without reflexion, the neceſſity of a ſevere reign, and* ' *what is always the part of great prudence, they would* ' *have rendered it the leſs ſo by their ſubmiſſion.*' This was animadverted on in a book which appeared in 1690. ' A famous profeſſor, as is there ſaid (2), ' has been guilty of falſifying Hiſtory, by accuſing ' thoſe prelates of very great imprudence, whoſe in- ' vectives againſt Julian are ſtill extant. They had ' much better, ſays he, have complied with the neceſ- ' ſity of the times, by an humble ſubmiſſion, and have ' born with the ſeverity of that prince againſt the ' Chriſtians, than to have exaſperated him yet more ' by their writings. Now is not this ſuppoſing that ' St Gregory Nazianzen, and St Cyril, the only two ' whom Cunæus could ſpeak of, publiſhed their In- ' vectives during the life of that emperor; which is ' however a very apparent falſity; for St Gregory did ' not write his till after the death of Julian, and ' St Cyril did not live till a conſiderable time after the ' deceaſe of that prince. Where was then the great ' imprudence of theſe two prelates?' Petavius in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to his edition of the works of Julian, is very angry with this Cunæus, and reproaches him, among other things, with the error in Chronology before-mentioned. See what he ſays, after having copied the Latin words of Cunæus which I cited: ' Hæc ille non ſolum imprudenter talibus de viris, ſed ' etiam imperite. Etenim Græci illi Patres, quos im- ' prudentiæ arguit: quorumque contra Julianum extа- ' re orationes aſſerit, ſunt omnino duo. Gregorius ' Nazianzenus, & Cyrillus; quorum alter haud paucis ' poſt Juliani obitum annis vixit, ac ſcripſit, alter æ- ' qualis quidem fuit illius. Sed eo mortuo σηλιτευ- ' τικὸς, illos duos conſcripſit, ex quibus, cæteriſque ' fide dignioribus liquet; fuiſſe Imperatorem iſtum mul- ' tis, veriſque vitiis præditum, *&c.* - - - - *He has thus* ' *cenſured thoſe great men not only imprudently but igno-* ' *rantly. For thoſe Greek fathers, whom he taxes with* ' *indiſcretion: and whoſe, declamations againſt Julian* ' *he affirms to be yet extant, are but two. Gregory Na-* ' *zianzen and St Cyril, one of whom neither wrote nor* ' *lived till many years after Julian's death; the other* ' *was cotemporary indeed with him, but did not compoſe* ' *thoſe two invectives till after his death, from which, as* ' *well as from other writings leſs liable to exception, it is* ' *plain that this emperor was actually guilty of many real* ' *vices.*' It is poſſible Cunæus might have replied to the other ſarcaſtic complaints of Father Patavius, but he muſt have been obliged to own himſelf in the wrong in regard to this.

(2) An Important Advice to the Refugees, *pag.* 43, 44.

[*B*] *Some critics . . . . pretend that he has corrupted the purity of the Greek tongue, and given occaſion to the barbariſm of the Latin Divines.*] I have read this complaint in a work of Alcyonius. You will find there a fine encomium upon St Gregory; but which concludes with theſe words (3). ' Utinam incorruptam ' Græcæ linguæ integritatem ſervaſſet in tanta rerum ' ſilva & tam magna librorum vi, certe ſanctiſſimum ' illum pontificem omni laude cumulatum judicarem ' . . . . ex illius maxime ſcriptis barbariem irrepſiſſe ' in Theologiam Latinam arbitror. Nam veteres no- ' ſtri interpretes mediocris literaturæ, nullius fere ju- ' dicii homines, cum animadverterent Theologum hunc ' frequenter uſurpare voces quaſdam novas eaſque non ' ſatis apte fictas, neceſſe ſibi eſſe crediderunt illas la- ' tine reddere, atque hunc in modum ſordida barba- ' rie eſt lingua Latina infuſcata. - - - - *It were to be* ' *wiſhed that he had preſerved the purity of the Greek* ' *tongue incorrupt, in ſo large a field of matter, and in* ' *ſo great a number of books, this would have made* ' *me judge that moſt holy Father, worthy of all poſſible* ' *praiſe . . . . from his writings principally in my opinion,* ' *has that barbariſm crept into our Latin Divinity. For* ' *our antient interpreters, being men of little learning,* ' *and ſcarce any judgment, obſerving this Father fre-* ' *quently to make uſe of new terms, and thoſe not very well* ' *adapted, thought it neceſſary for them to be rendered* ' *into Latin, and by this means it happened that the* ' *Latin tongue became ſo much defiled with impure ex-* ' *preſſions.*' It is the cardinal John de Medicis who here ſpeaks.

(3) Petr. Alcyonius, in Medice Legato priore, *fol. ciij, verſo.*

[*C*] . . . *and alſo complain that his Greek verſes were ſubſtituted in the room of the antient Pagan poetry, burnt at the inſtigation of the prieſts.*] Let us continue to hear the ſame John de Medicis. ' Audiebam etiam ' puer ex Demetrio Chalcondyla Græcarum rerum ' peritiſſimo, ſacerdotes Græcos tanta floruiſſe auc- ' toritate apud Cæſares Byzantios, ut integra illorum gra- ' tia complura de veteribus Græcis poemata combuſ- ' ſerint in primiſque ea ubi amores, turpes luſus, & ' nequitiæ amantum continebantur, atque ita Menan- ' dri, Diphili, Apollodori, Philemonis, Alexis fabel- ' las, & Saphûs, Erinnæ, Anacreontis, Mimnermi, ' Bionis, Alcmanis, Alcæi carmina intercidiſſe. Tum ' pro his ſubſtituta Nazianzeni noſtri poemata, quæ ' etſi excitant animos noſtrorum hominum ad flagran- ' tiorem religionis cultum, non tamen verborum atti- ' corum proprietatem & græcæ linguæ elegantiam e- ' docent. Turpiter quidem Sacerdotes iſti in veteres ' Græcos malevoli fuerunt, ſed integritatis, probitatis, ' & religionis maximum dedere teſtimonium (4). ' - - - - - *I was informed even while I was a* ' *boy, by Demetrius Chalcondylas, that the Greek* ' *prieſts had ſo much influence over the Conſtantinopolitan* ' *emperors, that they obtained leave from them to burn* ' *a great many antient Greek poems, eſpecially ſuch as* ' *were of the amorous kind, and deſcribed the looſe enter-* ' *tainment and ſtratagems of lovers, and ſo came the* ' *plays of Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon,* ' *and Alexis, and the verſes of Sapho, Erinna, Anacre-* ' *on, Mimnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcæus, to be loſt.* ' *Then in the room of theſe were ſubſtituted the poems of* ' *our Nazianzen, which tho' they excite the preſent age* ' *to greater zeal in religious worſhip, yet do not teach the* ' *true propriety and elegance of the Greek language.* ' *Thoſe prieſts have indeed given a ſhameful inſtance of* ' *their malice againſt the antient Greeks, at the ſame* ' *time that they produce ſo great a teſtimony of their up-* ' *rightneſs, probity, and devotion.*'

(4) Id. ib.

NEMESIUS, a Chriſtian Philoſopher, author of a book *De natura hominis* [*A*]. It is pretended that he was biſhop of Emeſa a city of Phœnicia, and that he lived towards

(1) See concerning this author, who was a native of Caſſel in Flanders, the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, of Valerius Andreas, *pag.* 678, and Moreri, at the word *Ellebodius*.

[*A*] *He is author of a book,* De natura hominis.] The firſt edition is that of Antwerp by Plantin, in 1565, in 8vo. Nicaſius Ellebodius Caſletanus (1), who procured it, added it to his Latin verſion; his Epiſtle Dedicatory to Antony Perrenot, Cardinal, is in Greek and dated at Padua. In it he treats with the utmoſt contempt

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towards the end of the IVth century: others make him flouriſh a century after (*a*). He eſpouſed the errors of Origen concerning the pre-exiſtence of the ſoul, and the article of Free-will, and diſputed againſt the fatality of the Stoics with great force. Some have been of opinion that St Gregory Nyſſenus was the true author of the work which goes under the name of Nemeſius, but their arguments are of no great weight (*b*).

(*a*) See du Pin, *Bibliotb. Tom. iii, Part ii, p.* 280, *Edit. of Holland.*

(*b*) *See* Theoph. Raynaud, Erotem. de malis ac bonis Libris, *num.* 339, *pag. m.* 150.

contempt the Latin verſion which Georgius Valla had made of it, and had been printed at Lyons by Gryphius in the year 1538. This work was inſerted in the *Auctarium* of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* in the year 1624, and is in all the following editions of the ſame Bibliotheca. It was printed ſeparately at Oxford in Greek and Latin, in the year 1671, in 8vo with notes.

NEPHES OGLI. This name among the Turks ſignifies, *The ſon of the* HOLY GHOST, and is given to certain perſons, born after an extraordinary manner, I mean of a virgin-mother. There are, it is ſaid, ſome Turkiſh virgins who live in ſuch retirement, that they never ſee a man. They go but very rarely to the moſques; and when they do, they tarry there from nine at night till mid-night, and join to their prayers ſuch contorſions of body, and howlings, that they exhauſt all their ſtrength and oftentimes happen to fall down to the ground in a ſwoon. If they find themſelves with child from that time, they give out they are ſo by the grace of the HOLY GHOST; and upon this account the children, they bring forth, are called *Nephes Ogli* (*a*). They are looked upon as a ſort of people who have the gift of miracles [*A*].

(*a*) Georgiewitz, *cap. i.* Ita mihi narratum eſt, *ſays he*, à pediſſequis earum, *nam nec ipſe vidi, nec aliquis virorum eorundem huic ſpectaculo intereſſe potuit.*

[*A*] *They are looked upon as a ſort of people who have the gift of miracles.*] A monk, who lived a long while in Turkey, aſſures us, that it was ſaid, there was always two or three of theſe Nephes Ogli's in the city of Bruſczia (1), whoſe hair, and pieces of their habits, cured all ſorts of maladies. 'Dicuntur tales, 'adds he (2), prodigioſè naſci, id eſt ſine virili ſemine, & per conſequens tota eorum vita & actio ſupernaturalis & mirabilis credenda eſt. - - - *Such are* 'ſaid to be born after a miraculous manner, that it with-'out human ſeed, and by conſequence their whole life and 'behaviour is to be thought ſupernatural and miraculous.'

(1) It was undoubtedly the city of Pruſa in Bithynia, the firſt ſeat of the Ottoman empire.

(2) Septemcaſtrenſis, de Moribus Turcorum, *pag.* 47, apud Hottinger. Hiſtor. Orient. *pag.* 295.

NERO (BERNARD DEL), a nobleman of Florence, was puniſhed with death in the year 1497, for not having diſcovered a plot which Peter de Medicis had contrived againſt the government (*a*) [*A*]. We ſhall ſee in the remark that the laws of the country ſubjected him to that puniſhment, and therefore Lewis XI, is not the firſt who made a like ordinance (*b*). Mr Varillas, much leſs to be credited than Guicciardin, ſuppoſes (*c*) that Bernard Nery (for ſo he calls him) was the chief director of the enterprize, and (*d*) that Savonarola was of opinion that the guilty perſons ought to be pardoned (*e*).

(*a*) Guicciardin, *lib. iii, fol. m.* 97.

(*b*) See rem. [*M*] of his article.

(*c*) Varillas, Anecdotes of Florence, *pag.* 212, *& ſeq.*

(*d*) Ib. *p.* 219.

(*e*) You will find quite the contrary, in remark [*F*] of the article SAVONAROLA.

[*A*] *He was puniſhed with death . . . . for not having diſcovered a plot . . . againſt the government.*] Every body may remember the fate of Mr de Thou (1), ſon of the Hiſtorian, and many people will not be pleaſed to ſee the parenthеſis of Guicciardin in the paſſage I cite. *When the conſpiracy of Peter de Medicis had been fully proved. They not only condemned to death Nicolas Ridolphi, Laurence Tornaboni, Janot Pucci, and John Cambi, who had ſollicited him to come, and whom Laurence for that purpoſe had ſupplied with money; but alſo Bernardin de Nero, whom they charged with nothing elſe but that having known this plot he had not diſcovered it, which fault (being of itſelf capital by the laws of the Florentines, and by the interpretation which the greateſt part of the Civilians gave to the common laws) was found to be ſo much the greater becauſe he was ſtandard-bearer, when Peter came before Florence: as if he had been obliged to diſcharge the office of a public rather than of a private perſon* (2).

(1) See remark [*M*] of the article LEWIS XI.

(2) Guicciardin, *lib. iii, fol. m.* 123.

NESTORIUS, biſhop of Conſtantinople, was depoſed as a Heretic, by the council of Epheſus, in the year 431. The reaſon of this was, that he maintained that the holy Virgin ought not to be called, the Mother of GOD. There are ſome people, who maintain, that the ſenſe in which he rejected this epithet is reaſonable and orthodox [*A*]; and that therefore this pretended Hereſiarch was condemned very unjuſtly. At

[*A*] *There are ſome people who maintain that the ſenſe in which he rejected this epithet is . . . . orthodox.*] This is the manner in which Neſtorius ſets forth his opinion in a letter he wrote to Celeſtin biſhop of Rome: he ſays 'that having met with ſome perſons at Con-'ſtantinople who corrupted the orthodox faith, he 'endeavoured to reclaim them by ways of lenity, al-'though their Hereſy came very near that of Arius 'and Apollinaris, becauſe they made the union of 'the two natures of JESUS CHRIST to degenerate in-'to confuſion and commixtion, holding the divine na-'ture to be born of Mary, and changing the body of 'CHRIST into his Deity: that upon this foundation 'they gave the Virgin-Mother of CHRIST the title 'of Mother of GOD; that this term, though it was 'improper, might be born with on account of the 'union of the word with the fleſh, did not they un-'derſtand it of the Deity, and ſuppoſe that the Virgin 'is the mother of the word of GOD, which is un-'warrantable (1).' In another letter (2) *he commends St Cyril for diſtinguiſhing the two natures in JESUS CHRIST; but he accuſes him afterwards of deſtroying this truth, and of rendering the Deity paſſible and mortal. He confeſſes the two natures are united, but denies, that, by reaſon of that union, the qualities that belong only to one of the two, can be attributed to the other, and he ſays, that as often as the holy Scripture ſpeaks of the paſſion and death of JESUS CHRIST, it is aſcribed to the Human nature and not to the Divine.* St Cyril acknowledges (3), that Neſtorius owns the word was incarnate, and that it was *in the womb of the Virgin* together with the man who was born of Mary; but he ſays, that this man *is not naturally God; and that it is the man only who died and roſe again. We own*, ſays St Cyril (4), *the word of GOD to be immortal, and life itſelf; but we believe at the ſame time he became fleſh, and that being united with a body animated with a rational ſoul, he has ſuffered in that body as is ſaid in the Scripture: and, becauſe his body has ſuffered, we ſay he has ſuffered likewiſe, although he be of an impaſſible nature; and becauſe his body was raiſed again, we ſay he was raiſed again alſo. But Neſtorius is not of this opinion; for he ſays it was the man who was raiſed again, and that it is the body of the man which is offered to us in the holy myſteries: we believe, on the contrary, that it is the fleſh and blood of the word which enlivens all things.*

(1) Du Pin, Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, *Tom. iii, Part ii, pag.* 287, *Dutch Edit.*

(2) This was the ſecond anſwer he made to St Cyril. See Du Pin, ibid.

(3) Du Pin, ibid. *pag.* 289.

(4) Du Pin, ibid.

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At leaſt it muſt be owned, that the proceedings of St Cyril, his adverſary, were altogether irregular. There never was a judgment more precipitate, nor more to be ſuſpected of paſſion, than that which was given by the council of Epheſus againſt our Neſtorius [B].

It is eaſy to comprehend that there was only a diſpute about words between them; for St Cyril did not pretend that the word, as word, had ſuffered death; he acknowledged that the word was of an impaſſible nature; but he would have it, that becauſe a human body, united to the word, died and roſe again, it might be ſaid the word died and roſe again. The conteſt therefore was only about a turn of phraſe; the diſpute did not concern the thing itſelf. Both Neſtorius and St Cyril agreed, that the word, as word, was not born of Mary, and did not die on the croſs; but that it was united with the fleſh, which was formed in the womb of the holy Virgin, and which had been crucified. They diſputed therefore, whether in conſequence of this doctrine, it might be allowable to uſe certain phraſes. Neſtorius would not conſent to it, becauſe he feared the conſequences of ſuch expreſſions. St Cyril would have it ſo, becauſe he apprehended the conſequences of rejecting thoſe phraſes. So that, to judge charitably, they were both orthodox, and animated with a true zeal; but they had the misfortune to explain themſelves ill, and not to underſtand one another. One who had been accuſtomed to give things an ill conſtruction, would perhaps ſay, that they did underſtand each other very well, but that finding themſelves once in the career, like two famous champions they would not own their conteſt was grounded on a triſle: this would have taken away all pretence for combating. They behaved like thoſe brave duelliſts in their expoſtulations, who, for fear of being ſuſpected of cowardice, will neither own their giving or putting up an affront. By giving ſatisfaction they might confeſs a ſort of deſire not to draw, and they might teſtify the ſame deſire by acquieſcing in the ſatisfaction. However it be, the whole doctrine of the hypoſtatic union, may be retained, and the title of *Mother of GOD*, be nevertheleſs rejected, not only becauſe it may furniſh Infidels with an occaſion of joking (5) as the primitive Chriſtians, though with greater reaſon, did upon Cybele, but becauſe in a rigorous ſenſe, it is not true that the holy Virgin is the mother of GOD. It is very poſſible for an angel to be united with a human body, at the time of conception, in ſuch a manner that this angel and this human body, may make a man juſt as the body and ſoul of Adam made one. The woman, who ſhould conceive and bear in her womb this body, to which this angel was united, would be the mother of the perſon which proceeds from the hypoſtatic union of this angel with this body; but ſhe would not be the mother of the angel. We cannot even ſay that Eve was the mother of the ſoul of Abel, though ſhe was the mother of Abel. Let us ſay the ſame of the holy Virgin: She was the mother of JESUS CHRIST, but not of the word; which, by uniting with a body, formed a whole, which is called JESUS CHRIST. To ſay therefore that the holy Virgin ought to be termed the mother of JESUS CHRIST, but not of GOD, is not an argument that one rejects the hypoſtatic union, but only that one prefers the exact language of the Philoſophers to that of the vulgar, and to the ſynecdoches (6) of Rhetoricians. I am of opinion however, that Neſtorius was blameable for oppoſing the torrent: he ought to have contented himſelf to make his adverſaries explain what they underſtood by the mother of GOD (7). St Cyril on his part was alſo very blameable for not being content with making the Neſtorians explain what they meant by the mother of CHRIST. They might have ſaved the church great troubles, if they would have underſtood each other: there needed nothing more than to give reciprocally a juſt definition of their terms. I remember upon this occaſion a chapter in the *Art of Thinking* (8) where it is ſhown, that a thouſand diſputes would ceaſe, would but the diſputants take the trouble of explaining what they mean by the terms they employ. As for the reſt, it ſeems to me, that the abuſes, in reſpect to the worſhip of the holy Virgin were equally to be feared, whether ſhe was called the mother of JESUS CHRIST, or the mother of GOD. For, doubtleſs, the moſt violent votaries did never believe that the word, as ſuch, received from the holy Virgin it's life and ſubſiſtence, in the ſame manner that children receive them from their mother. And it is certain, that by urging the conſequences of the title of mother of JESUS CHRIST, as much as thoſe of mother of GOD have been urged, one might with equal readineſs have introduced the worſhip of the holy Virgin, and the 'O felix puerpera Noſtra pians ſcelera Jure matris impera Redemptori, - - - *O bleſſed be thy delivery, expiating our ſins, by thy mother's right command our Redeemer.*' I ſhall ſpeak of this hereafter (9). This refutes thoſe who find in the conduct of Neſtorius ſomething which was capable of preventing idolatry (10) Here is a fact which may perſuade us, that, at the bottom, his opinion was orthodox; which is, that he offered (11) *to call the Virgin Mary the mother of GOD, provided the error of Apollinaris, maintained by St Cyril, was condemned.*

[B] *There never was a judgment more precipitate, or more ſuſpected of paſſion, than this . . . . againſt Neſtorius.*] But one ſeſſion was employed in citing Neſtorius, examining his writings and thoſe of St Cyril, hearing witneſſes, and depoſing him. He who preſided in this aſſembly was St Cyril, Neſtorius's adverſary. He made the council begin to act, without waiting for the oriental biſhops, or the Pope's legates; *and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſixty eight biſhops, who inſiſted upon the ſtaying for the arrival of John of Antioch, and of the eaſtern and weſtern biſhops* (12). Count Candidian, the emperor's commiſſioner, had alſo demanded that nothing ſhould be done before the arrival of the oriental biſhops alledging, *that the emperor his maſter's intent was, that a general council ſhould be held, and not particular and ſeparate aſſemblies* (13). But as his remonſtrances were not taken notice of, he retired, having firſt proteſted againſt the council. St Cyril, over-ruling all theſe proteſts and remonſtrances, opened the council, and in the firſt ſeſſion condemned and depoſed his antagoniſt, altho' he had promiſed to appear *as ſoon as all the biſhops ſhould be arrived.* All this ſhews, that the emperor did not write to St Cyril without being well informed of the matter, *that he looked upon him as the author of all this diſturbance.* It was not without reaſon that he reproached him *with diſturbing the church, with having a mind to divide the Imperial family, by writing ſeparately to the empreſſes, with meddling with what did not concern him, and with acting with too great authority and too little prudence* (14).

We ſhall make uſe of Monſieur du Pin's words to ſet forth the irregularities of St Cyril (15). *There are many objections made againſt the nature of this council, and the conduct obſerved in it. They ſay, it cannot paſs for any thing but a tumultuous and raſh aſſembly, where nothing reigned but faction and paſſion, and that it cannot be termed an Oecumenical Council. That St Cyril held it in ſpight of the commiſſioners the emperor ſent to convene it; that not only Neſtorius, and thoſe of his party, but alſo ſeveral other Catholic biſhops oppoſed it; that he reſolved not to wait for the oriental biſhops, tho' they were juſt upon their arrival, and had deſired that he ſhould ſtay for them; that he did not even wait for the coming of the Pope's legates, or of any of the weſtern biſhops; that his ſynod was only compoſed of Egyptian biſhops, and ſome others of Aſia, all entirely devoted to his will. That he alone did all and governed all, in that council. Tho' he was an enemy to Neſtorius, and had refuſed him for his judge, becauſe he looked on him as his enemy, had not Neſtorius the ſame reaſon to refuſe him? The manner in which he acted againſt Neſtorius, and the precipitation with which he cauſed him to be condemned, ſeem to make it plain, that he was animated by nothing but paſſion. He cited Neſtorius twice in one day: Neſtorius anſwered, that he was ready to come as ſoon as the biſhops of the Eaſt and Weſt ſhould arrive, and the council was full; that he did not refuſe to be judged, but did not care to be judged by his enemies only. Theſe excuſes appear reaſonable. St Chryſoſtome alledged no other for not appearing before the ſynod of Theophilus. Nevertheleſs St Cyril, in imitation of his uncle and predeceſſor Theophilus, received the accuſation, formed the proceſs, delivered his own opinion firſt againſt his enemy, and cauſed him to be condemned. This is what Iſidorus of Damiata reproached St Cyril with, acquainting him, 'that there were a great many who*

(5) *Might they not ſay, that according to the Chriſtians, God has a father, and a mother, a grand-father, and a grand-mother, a great grand-father, and a great grand-mother, and ſo go throughout all the degrees of parentage, both lineal and collateral? and then ſay with Cicero,* Si (Saturnus) eſt Deus, patrem quoque ejus, Cœlum, eſſe Deum confitendum eſt. Quod ſi ita eſt, Cœli quoque parentes Dii habendi ſunt; Æther, & Dies, eorumque fratres, & ſorores, qui à genealogis antiquis ſic nominantur, Amor. Dolus, &c. *De Natura Deor. lib. iii, cap. xvii, pag.* m. 625.

(6) This is a figure by which the name of the whole is given to the part, or the name of the part to the whole; that of the genus to the ſpecies, or of the ſpecies to the genus, &c.

(7) Neſtorius might have ſaid that the councils never made uſe of the term, Mother of God; but yet this term was in uſe, ſo that the people of Conſtantinople, being accuſtomed to hear it, were extremely diſpleaſed when the Neſtorians affirmed it ought not to be made uſe of. See *du Pin, ubi ſupra, pag.* 61.

(8) It is the 12th of the firſt part.

(9) In the remark [L].

(10) See the remark [H], citation (58).

(11) In a letter he wrote to the emperor, during the holding of the council of Epheſus. See *Du Pin,* ubi ſupra, *pag.* 297. Neſtorius had been already depoſed by the biſhops, who adhered to St Cyril; but the latter had alſo been depoſed by thoſe who adhered to John of Antioch.

(12) Du Pin, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 293. *He quotes* Collect. of Lupus, *chap. vii.*

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 292. *He quotes* Collect. of Lupus, *chap. ix.*

(14) Id. ib. *pag.* 294. *He quotes pag.* 1, Act. Conc. *cap. xxxi.*

(15) Id. ib. *pag.* 320, 321.

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Nevertheleſs St Cyril, who preſided in it, and was the ſoul of that tumultuous ſentence, has preſerved his rank and dignity [C], and has ever ſince, throughout all ſucceeding ages, been venerated as a great ſaint; whereas Neſtorius miſerably ſpent the remainder of his days, and his memory ſtill continues odious, they have not failed to ſay, that the manner of his death carried the marks of the Divine puniſhment and malediction [D]. His

'laughed both at him and the tragedy he acted at Ephe-'ſus; that it was publickly ſaid he ſought only to re-'venge himſelf upon his enemy; that he herein imitated 'his uncle Theophilus; and that, altho' there were a 'great difference between the parties accuſed, yet the 'conduct of the accuſers was the ſame; that he would 'have done better to have ſat down quietly, and not to 'have revenged himſelf for particular affronts, at the ex-'pence of the church in general, and by exciting an 'eternal diſcord amongſt it's members under a falſe pre-'tence of piety.' Theſe are the very words of Iſidorus of Damiata, which he ſpoke to him as a friend. Gennadius biſhop of Conſtantinople, compares likewiſe the conduct of St Cyril with that of Theophilus, and calls him the ſecond ſcourge of Alexandria. The manner after which this affair of Neſtorius was determined, ſeems to prove plainly, that it was paſſion only which influenced St Cyril, and the biſhops of his party; that they were reſolved, at what rate ſoever, to condemn Neſtorius, and that they apprehended nothing ſo much as the arrival of the oriental biſhops, for fear of not having then the power of doing what they pleaſed; for in the very firſt ſeſſion they cited Neſtorius twice, read the teſtimonies of the Fathers, the letters of St Cyril, with his twelve chapters, and the writings of Neſtorius, and gave all their opinions. Never was any affair determined with ſo much precipitation, ſince the leaſt of theſe matters required an intire ſeſſion. How could the twelve propoſitions of St Cyril be examined in ſo ſhort a time, which needed ſo many explanations, and which have cauſed ſo many diſputes? How could ſo many paſſages out of the ſermons of Neſtorius be compared with what preceded, and followed, to find out the true ſenſe? How could ſo ſhort a time be ſufficient to explain the opinions of the antient Fathers? All theſe matters required a long and ſerious examination of ſeveral days; but the biſhops of this council were ſo afraid of not finiſhing that matter in this one ſeſſion, that they remained ſhut up from morning till night, to judge that affair by themſelves, for fear if they ſhould delay it till next morning, things might take another turn. The ſentence they notified to Neſtorius, was directed in ſuch terms, as expreſs the paſſion which animated them, To Neſtorius, the new Judas. *Was it not enough to condemn and depoſe him, without inſulting over him yet further with injurious words? In concluſion; this council, very far from procuring peace, procured nothing but diſturbance, diviſions, and ſcandal to the church of CHRIST; and there never was a council of which might more truly be ſaid, what St Gregory Nazianzen obſerved of thoſe of his time; 'That he had never known any aſſemblies of 'biſhops conclude happily; that they had always rather 'increaſed the malady, than cured it* (16). *That the 'obſtinate heats, and deſire of conqueſt and dominion, 'which commonly reigned amongſt them, rendered them pre-'judicial; and that for the moſt part, thoſe who un-'dertook to judge others, were induced to it more out of 'ill-will, than out of any inclination they had to re-'form their errors.' This ſeems to ſuit with the council of Epheſus, more than with any other aſſembly of biſhops. The hiſtory of the troubles which followed this council ſufficiently demonſtrate it, and we may ſay that theſe troubles were not appeaſed, but by ceaſing to talk any more of what had been done in this council.* Monſieur du Pin has forgot nothing, in order to anſwer theſe objections; but the ſubject was ſo little favourable to him, that it may very juſtly be ſaid, his anſwers are weakneſs itſelf.

(16) Compare with this what has been ſaid of the aſſemblies of the ſtates-general of France in the remark [B], citation (6), of the article MARILLAC (CHARLES DE).

Why have we not a hiſtory of this council, written by a Father Paul! And what obſervations might there not be made in an hiſtorical comment on the words of St Gregory Nazianzen? for it ought not to be imagined, becauſe in other councils, there has not been ſo great a precipitation uſed as that of St Cyril, at the council of Epheſus; that therefore paſſion and caballing have had a leſs ſhare in them. It is highly neceſſary that the HOLY GHOST ſhould preſide in theſe aſſemblies, for without this all would be loſt. This extraordinary aſſiſtance, and much more powerful than uſual, ought to aſſure and perſuade us firmly, that the HOLY GHOST has done his work, amidſt the irregularities of human nature, and drawn from the darkneſs of paſſions the light of truth, not in all the councils, but in ſome only.

[C] *Cyril . . . . . preſerved his rank and dignity.*] We have ſeen in the preceding remark, that he did not wait for the arrival of the oriental biſhops, before he opened the council. They arrived five days after the depoſing of Neſtorius, and held a council, where John of Antioch preſided, and where St Cyril was depoſed. Each party deputed ſome perſons to the emperor, to give him an account of what had paſſed. The oriental biſhops ſent him a relation, wherein *they complained that the church of St John had been ſhut upon them; inſomuch that they were forced to ſay their prayers without doors, and that in their return they had been ill treated. They beſeeched the emperor to baniſh from Epheſus St Cyril and Memnon, the heads of that perſecution. A little after they diſpatched alſo count Irenæus with another information againſt St Cyril, concerning an act of violence they complained of, in having been hindred, by ſtones thrown at them, from entering the church of St Paul* (17). St Cyril's party deputed three biſhops to the emperor; whereas the orientials contented themſelves with deputing only count Irenæus, *who ſucceeded ſo well, that he perſuaded that prince, that the ſynod held by St Cyril, ought not to be eſteemed a lawful council, and had almoſt prevailed upon him to confirm the proceedings of the oriental biſhops, and to baniſh St Cyril. But John, the emperor's Phyſician, and St Cyril's friend, intervening, ſoon gave a change to the face of things, by gaining the majority of the miniſters; ſome of whom were of opinion, that what had been done on both ſides was lawful; the others thought, that the whole ought to be declared void, and that diſintereſted biſhops ſhould be convened to examine the grounds of the faith, and all that had paſſed at Epheſus. In this confuſion Theodoſius was of opinion to approve the depoſing of Neſtorius, St Cyril, and Memnon, on account of their factions . . . . And he ſent count John to execute that order and to re-unite all the biſhops in one ſynod, after having expelled Neſtorius, St Cyril, and Memnon* (18). The party of John of Antioch, acquieſced in the emperor's pleaſure (19); but the other party oppoſed it in ſuch a manner, that count John was obliged to commit *Neſtorius to the cuſtody of count Candidian, and St Cyril to that of count James,* and to write to the emperor, *that he found the minds of the biſhops ſo exaſperated againſt each other, that he ſaw no way to reconcile them* (20). The emperor ordered, that each party ſhould ſend him deputies; to whom he gave audience at Chalcedon, and ſeemed very favourable to the oriental biſhops (21); but he began *by degrees to turn againſt them . . . . His council had been entirely gained. Acacius of Beræa, in a letter to be found in the collection of Lupus, chap.* 41, *accuſes St Cyril of having changed the ſentiments of the court, by giving money to a certain ſcholaſtic eunuch: He ſays alſo that this eunuch dying, and leaving a great deal of money, the emperor found a memorandum which imported that he had received ſeveral pounds of gold from St Cyril, which had been paid him by Paul, St Cyril's nephew* (22). Mr *du Pin* obſerves, that *there is no reaſon to believe what Acacius of Beræa ſays, ſince he was not one of St Cyril's friends.* I confeſs it; But what better reaſon can be given for that ſudden change of the emperor? He acknowledged for orthodox the biſhops of both parties (23), and yet he declares (24), that *Neſtorius* (25) *had been juſtly condemned*; that St Cyril and Memnon ſhould continue in their ſees, and that all the other biſhops ſhould return alſo to their churches: he declares, I ſay, all this, after he had ſhown himſelf favourable to the oriental biſhops who had ſubmitted to his orders; whereas the party of St Cyril had haughtily refuſed to ſubmit to them. This proceeding looks very much like the effect of money given by St Cyril to the emperor's counſellors; and thus in ſome caſes a perſon is orthodox or heretical, according as he has or has not money to give.

(17) Du Pin, ubi ſupra, pag. 297.

(18) Ib. p. 301.

(19) Ib. p. 302.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ib. p. 303.

(22) Ib. p. 304.

(23) Ib. p. 305.

(24) Ibid.

(25) He had already received an order to retire to his monaſtery. *Ibid. pag.* 303.

[D] *They have not failed to ſay, that the manner of his death carried the marks of the Divine puniſhment and malediction.*]

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His ſect multiplied exceedingly, and ſtill ſubſiſts. It is very probable, that it owes its preſervation to the toleration given to it by the Mahometan princes [*E*]. Some ſay that other

malediction.] 'After the ſentence of the council, Neſtorius durſt not return any more to Conſtantinople, 'but retired to his old monaſtery at Antioch, whence 'he was taken four years after in 435, by the empe- 'ror's orders, and baniſhed to Oaſis. But the Barba- 'rians having taken and deſtroyed that city he was 'obliged to retire to Panopolis in Thebais, where he 'was not ſuffered to be long at quiet; he was ſo often 'obliged to remove from place to place, that he got 'his death in a journey by the misfortune of a fall. 'Evagrius, who relates theſe paſſages, taken out of 'Neſtorius's own letters, written during his exile, ſays, 'he had met with a certain author, who affirmed, 'that, before Neſtorius died, his tongue was eaten by 'worms, as a puniſhment for the blaſphemies he had 'uttered. But he does not ſupport that circumſtance, 'which might very well be the invention of this ano- 'nymous author; ſince it has ever been cuſtomary to (26) Ibid. *pag.* 62. 'ſuppoſe, that all heretics come to a tragical end (26).'

[*E*] *The toleration given to it by the Mahometan princes.*] I have ſaid ſomewhere (27) that they have always had more humanity for other religions, than the Chriſtians, and I have added, that the different communions in the Greek church, which have preſerved themſelves under their empire, would have ſoon been extirpated, if they had lived under Chriſtian kings, who had not been of the ſame belief. I ſhould have quoted upon that occaſion a Father of the Oratory, who is of the ſame opinion, but not having then his paſſage ready at hand, I referred the reciting of it to another place. This is a proper opportunity. 'It will 'be concluded alſo from thence with the ſame evi- 'dence, how neceſſary the Imperial laws were for the 'preſervation of the church, ſince Egypt, and the 'neighbouring provinces, have been ſo over-run and 'ſubjugated by the Eutychians, that they have never 'ſince been well reconciled, or re-united, to the Ca- 'tholic church (28). - - - - If the emperors had not 'ſupported the faith againſt the Eutychians, the whole 'world would have been over-run by them. They 'ſpread themſelves very much over the provinces of 'Africa and Æthiopia, and the countries moſt remote 'from the eaſt, for no other reaſon but becauſe the 'emperors of Conſtantinople were no longer maſters 'of them, or had never been ſo. I might ſay the 'ſame thing of the Neſtorians: as ſoon as they had 'been fulminated by the firſt council of Epheſus, the 'emperor, Theodoſius the younger, made very near 'the ſame edicts againſt them: they were exiled with 'Neſtorius into frightful ſolitudes; yet they multiply- 'ed prodigiouſly towards the eaſt and the north, the 'emperors not being able to purſue them beyond the 'limits of their empire. The Saracens or Mahome- 'tans a little after over-ran Africa and all Aſia, feiz- 'ing upon I know not how many provinces of the 'Roman empire; and through the favour of the Ma- 'hometan princes, all theſe heretics gave an incre- 'dible extent to their ſects. God preſerved the Ca- 'tholic faith only in the Roman empire; which was 'owing merely to the care and edicts of the Chriſtian 'and Catholic emperors. Without this aſſiſtance from 'Heaven, the Eutychians, Neſtorians, and Arians, not 'to mention ſo many other antient ſects, would doubt- 'leſs have eſtabliſhed themſelves in the greateſt part of 'the provinces of the Roman empire, as they did in 'thoſe which were out of its juriſdiction; and the 'followers of all the new ſects, which have ſprung up 'only within theſe hundred years, would not have 'been able to find a church, which they might firſt 'be born in, and afterwards ſeparate from. They 'muſt have come into the world among the Arians, 'Neſtorians, or Eutychians, and would have been in- 'fected with the ſame errors from their birth. They 'would have taken the word for a meer creature, with 'the Arians; Jesus Christ for a mere man, with 'the Neſtorians; and for them, as well as for the 'Eutychians, Jesus Christ would be God, but 'he would not be truly man. Why therefore do they 'quarrel with the Chriſtian emperors, or kings, and 'their ſevere laws, for the antient religion, ſince it is 'by their aſſiſtance only that the Divine Providence 'has delivered them from all theſe errors? They 'ought rather to give thanks to him who has not per- 'mitted that they ſhould be ſo far ſeparated from us, 'as the antient deſerters of the Catholic church are, 'who departed from it above a thouſand years ago, 'and are not yet altogether returned from their er- 'rors (29). - - - - We muſt not omit mentioning the 'cauſe of the long delay of the eaſtern ſects from re- 'turning to the Catholic church. It is, as we have 'already ſaid, their diſperſion into provinces and 'kingdoms, which now no longer belong to the 'Chriſtian empire; but to Arabian princes, to the 'kings of Perſia, the Moguls, and the Tartars. The 'Catholic biſhops; whether Greeks or Syrians, but 'chiefly the miſſionaries from the holy See, have all 'along made ſome converts, and ſome progreſſes a- 'mong them; but all theſe efforts having not been 'ſupported, by the power and favour of temporal 'princes, they could never obtain either much extent, 'or duration (30).'

(27) In the article of MAHOMET, remark [*AA*].

(28) Thomaſſin, Of the Unity of the Church, *Tom. i, Part ii, chap. ix, pag.* 374.

(29) Ibid. *pag.* 375, 376.

(30) Ibid. *pag.* 376, 377.

When I ſaid the Mahometans have been leſs rigorous to the Chriſtians, than theſe to the heretics, I was ſupported by the teſtimony of a miniſter (31). I now build upon that of a prieſt; and by this means my opinion will appear the more reaſonable, ſince it is confirmed by the teſtimonies of two witneſſes of ſo oppoſite a character. Theſe two evidences agree in another thing, which is a little ſcandalous; for they both confeſs, that if the Chriſtian princes had not employed the rigour of the laws againſt the enemies of the orthodox faith, falſe religions would have over-run the whole world. By this rule, when our Saviour promiſed he would maintain his church againſt the gates of hell, he only promiſed that he would raiſe up princes who ſhould ſubdue the enemies of the truth, by depriving them of their eſtates, thruſting them into priſons, baniſhing them, ſending them to the gallies, hanging them, *&c.* There is no doctrine, how abſurd ſoever, but by theſe means might brave all the infernal powers that would oppoſe it. This brings into my mind what has been ſaid of Mahomet the impoſtor: it is reported, that when he was upon his death-bed, he left his diſciples a prediction, which favours not at all of a falſe prophet, *My religion ſhall laſt as long as your victories* (32).

(31) See, above, citations (157), (158), of the article MAHOMET.

(32) Veritati maxime conſonum eſt Muhammedis morientis præſagium, quod Ludovicus Vives (*de Verit. Rel. lib. iv, in fine*) citat, tamdiu nempe legem ſuam duraturam, quamdiu victoriam ſuorum. Quod enim lex non in recti perſuaſione ſed violentia conſiſtat, victoriis ceſſantibus, legem quoque ceſſaturam [illegible] *Samuel Schultetus, in Eccleſiâ Mahammedanâ, pag.* 22.

Whether Heretics oppreſſed in the councils by the Imperial authority are obſtinate becauſe of that oppreſſion.

I cannot part with Lewis Thomaſſin before I aſk him upon what grounds he goes, when he ſays the Eutychian hereſy would have over-run all the world, had not the emperors ſupported the faith. What had this hereſy ſo charming? Did it favour the paſſions of the heart? Did it enervate the morality of the goſpel? Not at all: it was not upon the doctrine of morality that this heretic combated the Orthodox: he contended with them about a myſtery which reaſon cannot well comprehend; but he explained it after a manner leſs to be comprehended than that of the Orthodox, and manifeſtly abſurd. Perhaps it would be no miſtake to ſay, that the Eutychian hereſies found ſo many followers, only becauſe the proceedings of councils ſhocked an infinite number of perſons, and gave a very diſadvantageous preposſeſſion againſt the orthodox party. Father Thomaſſin ſuggeſts this thought: The Syrians, ſays he (33), the Jacobites, the Armenians, and all the Eutychian ſects, *would no longer call us Catholics, but invented for us the name of Melchites, that is to ſay, Royaliſts or Imperialiſts, as if it had not been the ancient faith of the church which the Catholics had defended, but that of the emperor; and as if it had been only the Imperial authority, and not that of the council of Chalcedon, compoſed of above ſix hundred biſhops, that had kept us in the faith and union of the Catholic church.* This ſhows that thoſe heretics had imprinted in their minds this ſtrong perſwaſion, that their patriarch had been oppreſſed by the factions which were formed againſt him at the Imperial court. We may paſs the like judgment on the ſect of Neſtorius. A vaſt number of people embraced it from the abhorrence they had of the injuſtice which they believed was done Neſtorius, by ſacrificing him to the credit of St Cyril. They could not perſwade themſelves that a cauſe, which triumphed by ſuch irregular ways, and through ſo unjuſt a partiality of the emperor, could have any right on its ſide. We ſhould ſee more clearly into this affair, if we had the relations of the Neſtorians, and thoſe of the other ſects; but we ſcarce know any thing of thoſe matters otherwiſe than from the report of a victorious party, and yet we know enough to judge, that the Imperial

(33) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 374.

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other infidel princes had already taken them under their protection to vex the Orthodox [F]. Something ſingular has happened in the Low-Countries ſince the year 1690 (a). Almoſt at the ſame time that the Jeſuits accuſed the Fathers of the Oratory at Mons of renewing Neſtorius's hereſy [G], a miniſter of Rotterdam brought the ſame accuſation againſt a miniſter of Utrecht [H]. The ſucceſs of both theſe accuſations has been

(a) I write this the tenth of February 1696.

Imperial power has always had too large a ſhare in the deciſions. See with what force Pighius falls upon the council of Conſtantinople (34), where Pope Honorius was condemned as a favourer of Monotheliſm: and conſider this apology. Pighius 'ſays nothing againſt 'this council, but what might have been ſaid againſt 'the firſt council of Nice, and againſt that of Chalce- 'don; all his objections being grounded on this, that 'the emperor Conſtantine aſſiſted at it with his officers, 'and that he there regulated the order and manner of 'proceeding. It cannot be denied but Conſtantine I, 'did the ſame at the council of Nice, and that in that 'of Chalcedon the emperor's commiſſioners attributed 'to themſelves more authority, and meddled more 'with affairs belonging to that council, than the em- 'peror himſelf did in this. So that it is impoſſible 'to reflect on this council, without reflecting at the 'ſame time on the others; and this is attempting to 'overthrow the moſt ſolid foundations, on which our 'faith is built, in order to maintain a pretended in- 'fallibility in the perſon of Honorius (35).'

(34) Held in the year 680. This is called the ſixth œcumenical council.

(35) Du Pin, Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, *Tom. vi, pag.* 67, *Edit. of Holland.*

[F] *To vex the Orthodox.*] It is ſaid that Coſroës, king of Perſia, having a mind to vex the emperor Heraclius, his inveterate enemy, deprived the Catholics of all the churches they had in his dominions, and gave them to the Neſtorians. It is added, that Heraclius finding the Neſtorians favoured by the king of Perſia, thought he ſhould mortify that prince by favouring the Heretics who were moſt oppoſite to theſe; and that it was on this account he ſet himſelf about cheriſhing Eutychianiſm, not directly, for he durſt not openly oppoſe the council of Chalcedon, but by approving Monotheliſm, which was one article among the errors of Eutyches. Read what follows: *Aumentò non poco l'Ereſia de' Monoteliti la ragione politica, che ne ſciſmi della Religione per ordinario vi aſſiſte, poſcia che ſendo Coſroe Re de' Perſi capital nemico di Eraclio, protegeva, e procurava di dilatare la fazzione de' Neſtoriani, e per far coſa di ſommo diſpetto ad Eraclio, levò à Cattolici le chieſe tutte della Perſia, e le diede à Neſtoriani, dal che ſtimolato l'Imperatore Eraclio per render pari diſguſto al Perſiano, ſi moſſe à tutto potere à fomentare la contraria Ereſia di Eutichete, non in quanto alla ſola natura di Chriſto, per non opporſi affatto al Concilio Calcedoneſe, che l'havea definito; mà benſì in quanto alla ſola volontà è operazione, errore parimente de gli Eutichiani* (36).

(36) *The IXth* Giornale de Letterati 1678, *pag.* 235, *in the abſtract of a poſthumous book of* John Baptiſta Tamagnini, *a Venetian, printed at Paris in* 1678, *and intituled,* Celebris Hiſtoria Monothelitarum atque Honorii controverſia ſcrutiniis octo comprehenſa.

[G] *The Jeſuits accuſed the Fathers of the Oratory of Mons of renewing Neſtorius's Hereſy,*] Upon their complaining *to the archbiſhop of Cambray of a great many calumnies which had been ſpread againſt them* (37), that prelate commiſſioned Monſieur Steyaert, doctor and profeſſor of Divinity at Louvain, *to enquire into the reports ſpread againſt their doctrine and conduct* (38). This doctor made a juridical return *by a liſt of forty articles of accuſation*; whereof the eighteenth was *this* (39), *That the Fathers of the Oratory would not allow the holy Virgin the title of the Mother of GOD, but only that of Mother of CHRIST* (40). Let us attend a little to the progreſs of this malicious ſlander. 'It is not to be doubted but it had it's riſe at Mons; 'but paſſing from thence to the Jeſuits at Liege, 'it was they who firſt made uſe of it, in order 'to hinder the Fathers of the Oratory from being 'admitted into that city. To oppoſe the reſo- 'lution of the chapter, who had agreed to receive 'them, theſe Jeſuits forged a Memorial againſt 'thoſe Fathers, which they feigned to have been 'brought to them by a perſon worthy of credit; and 'pretending to debate what they ſhould do in the 'matter, it was reſolved, that, not being able in con- 'ſcience to paſs by the informations it gave them, 'they ought immediately to acquaint the chapter with 'it. Hereupon Father Iſerin was ordered to put it, 'as he did, into the hands of the ſcholaſter .... 'They engaged the chapter and burgomaſters of Liege 'to write to the chief magiſtrates of Mons, as per- 'fectly acquainted with all thoſe facts (41).' The letter from the chapter imported, that a rumour had prevailed *that the Fathers of the Oratory, appointed to come to Liege .... made profeſſion of ſome particular and dangerous opinions, which they had taught in ſeveral propoſitions condemned by the holy church; that JESUS CHRIST did not die for all men; that the bleſſed Virgin Mary is the mother of CHRIST, but not of GOD* (42). Father Iſerin went ſoon after to Mons, *and ſollicited the anſwers which were required from the magiſtrates of Mons to the letters of the Chapter and Burgomaſters of Liege* (43). The anſwer to the burgomaſters contained, among other things, *as to the worſhip of the holy Virgin, the ſaid eccleſiaſtics have ſaid, that the Fathers of the Oratory were enemies to it, and the common report is ſuch* (44). It is not doubted, but the anſwer ſent to the chapter contained the ſame article (45). What followed upon it? Why, the chapter of Liege *revoked the permiſſion given to the Fathers of the Oratory to eſtabliſh themſelves in that city* (46). The impreſſion which *the calumnies of the Jeſuits Memorial, confirmed by the anſwer of the magiſtrates of Mons made upon them,* no doubt inclined the chapter to this alteration of opinion; and *there is a great deal of reaſon to believe that the article relating to the Divine motherhood of the holy Virgin, was, of all others, that which gave the greateſt horrour, and contributed moſt to incline them to the excluſion of thoſe Fathers* .... (47). *The Jeſuits had ſo violently accuſed the Fathers of the Oratory of Neſtorianiſm, that they omitted nothing which might confirm that calumny, and ſpread it amongſt the people, as well at Bruſſels as at Mons .... Father Coemans, a Jeſuit, preaching in Flemiſh* (48) *in the church of Sablon, during the octave of the dedication of that church, employed part of his ſermon to ſtir up the people againſt ſome pretended innovators; who, as he aſſured them, were then upon reviving the Hereſy of Neſtorius, which conſiſted in denying the holy Virgin to be the mother of GOD.* In the work I have quoted, may be ſeen very ample proofs of the care the Jeſuits have taken to decry the Fathers of the Oratory in Mons, as rank Neſtorians.

(37) Difficulties propoſed to Monſieur Steyaert, *Part i, pag.* 9. This book was printed in 1691,

(38) Ib. *pag.* 3.

(39) Ib. *p.* 48.

(40) Ibid. *pag.* 64, 68.

(41) Ib. *p.* 65.

(42) Ib. *pag.* 65, 66.

(43) Ib. *p.* 67.

(44) Ib. *p.* 49.

(45) Ib. *p.* 67.

(46) Ib. *p.* 68.

(47) Ib. *p.* 69.

(48) At Bruſſels in the year 1690.

[H] *A miniſter of Rotterdam brought the ſame accuſation againſt a miniſter of Utrecht.*] See the book intituled, *An Apology for the Sieur Saurin, miniſter of the Walloon church at Utrecht, againſt the accuſations of Monſieur Jurieu.* It was printed in 1692. There are to be found in it three articles of accuſation; the laſt of which contains four hereſies, namely, Pelagianiſm (49), Neſtorianiſm (50), the civil toleration of ſects (51), and the hereſy of the Sacramentarians (52). As our preſent ſubject relates only to the ſecond of theſe, I ſhall take no notice of the other three. Let us ſee therefore what the perſon accuſed anſwers as to Neſtorianiſm. He declares plainly that he condemns this hereſy; but that he firmly believes Neſtorius innocent of it. *In the aſſembly at the Hague, convened to examine Monſieur Jurieu's accuſation of Monſieur Jacquelot, I declared,* ſays he (53), *for Neſtorius againſt St Cyril; but I did not declare for Neſtorianiſm againſt the ſentiment of the church. I ſaid Neſtorius ſeemed to me more orthodox than St Cyril, becauſe the doctrine of the former appeared more conformable to ours, than that of the latter. It is plain, that if I err, it is an error in fact, and not in opinion* (54) .... *But, it will be ſaid, what intereſt can you have for thus maintaining the reputation of Neſtorius, in oppoſition to a Father, who has been acknowledged for a ſaint, and to a general council? To which I anſwer, the intereſt of truth and juſtice. I am verily perſuaded, that whoever ſhall read without prejudice what we have remaining of St Cyril's and Neſtorius's writings, will find the latter orthodox, and the former an Heretic, and an Eutychian, or at leaſt that he will agree it to be infinitely more eaſy to give an orthodox interpretation to the propoſitions of Neſtorius than to thoſe of St Cyril. I am neither the only one, nor the firſt of this opinion, and whenever it ſhall be neceſſary, I can produce ſome authors, both antient and modern* (55), *whoſe authority will at leaſt ſplit the difference between theſe two patriarchs. If Neſtorius then be orthodox, and St Cyril an Heretic, my zeal for the truth in general, obliges me not to conceal this in particular: we ought to call light light, and darkneſs darkneſs. Moreover, this is a truth from whence we may draw two great advantages againſt the church of Rome. The firſt is, that it annuls the authority of St Cyril, one of the chief introducers of idolatry into*

(49) The Apology of the Sieur Saurin, *pag.* 72.

(50) Ib. *p.* 78.

(51) Ib. *p.* 88.

(52) Ib. *p.* 92.

(53) Ib. *p.* 78.

(54) Ib. *p.* 79.

(55) See the article RODON

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been alike. The accuſations were ſet aſide, without the accuſers being cenſured [*I*]. It ſeems thoſe that were brought againſt a certain tranſlator of the Homilies of St Chryſoſtome in the year 1693 were better grounded; for he wrote a letter to the archbiſhop of Paris, *in which he acknowledged that through inadvertency he had committed ſome faults in his tranſlation, which, contrary to his intention, might ſtrike at the eſſential parts of religion. Wherefore he thought himſelf obliged to make a ſolemn recantation of them to ſecure the reputation of his faith; declaring that his errors are purely perſonal, and that they ought to*

into the Chriſtian church. The ſecond, that by convicting the Fathers of the council of Epheſus of the Eutychian hereſy, equally condemned by the Proteſtants and Papiſts, we undermine the foundation of Popery, which is the infallible authority of general councils. Juſtice and charity alſo oblige us to defend oppreſſed innocence, and to make it appear, that Neſtorius may have been condemned by a council without being guilty; and that our modern Divines may take the part of Neſtorius, rejecting the errors attributed to him (56) .... *As for what regards the intention of Neſtorius, I muſt judge it innocent, becauſe I can ſee no reaſon to judge it guilty. But Monſieur Jurieu has choſen, with a great many others, the ſtrongeſt ſide. Neſtorius had neither the majority nor authority for him; he was born down by the weight of St Cyril's cabal. We muſt then, for form-ſake, conclude he was an Heretic, whether he will or no, and go dive into his heart to find there ſome wicked intentions, whereof no foot-ſteps appear either in his words or actions.* This ſame author ſhows, in another book of his, that he is more againſt Neſtorius than his accuſer. *I have proved,* ſays he (57), *in my apology, that the title of* Mother of GOD *is agreeable to the holy Virgin, and that it is grounded on the word of GOD, and the nature of the myſtery; whereas Monſieur Jurieu, in his Paſtoral Letters, flies out with extream violence againſt this way of ſpeaking in the language of the church, looking upon it as the cauſe of the moſt criminal hereſy.* Some few pages after, he ſets down the paſſage out of thoſe Paſtoral Letters; which I ſhall ſet down after him, as well for the information of my reader, as to make it appear I have good authority for what I have ſaid of Neſtorius. *He was, without doubt, unadviſed, and, GOD forbid, we ſhould fall into the ſame error, if it be true, that he has aſcribed two perſons to JESUS CHRIST, as well as two natures. Neither do we deny, that the holy Virgin may, in a good ſenſe, be termed the* Mother of GOD, *ſince ſhe is mother of JESUS CHRIST, who is GOD. But it was, however, an unhappy temerity in the Fathers of the Vth century, to introduce new terms. The holy Virgin is no where in the New Teſtament called the* Mother of GOD, *but only the* mother of JESUS. *They ought to have ſtopped there. For this title of* Mother of GOD *has ſomething in it that ſhocks, and is repugnant to the idea of GOD, who cannot have a mother. And indeed GOD did not think fit to beſtow his bleſſing on the falſe wiſdom of thoſe Fathers. On the contrary, he has permitted the moſt extravagant and criminal of all the idolatries of Antichriſt, to take it's riſe from thence* (58). Let us conclude with the following words of Mr Saurin. 'The zealous and 'charitable Mr Jurieu, animated by his informing 'ſpirit, will needs have me examined upon this head. 'I am contented to be ſo; for I fear not to come to 'the touch as he does. I will not fly, as he has done, 'from ſeveral ſynods. I will not make uſe of a 'thouſand fetches, nor have recourſe to artifice, or 'violence to exempt myſelf from a law, impoſed on 'all the Faithful, eſpecially upon Divines, to give 'an account of their faith. I am for an anathema 'with all my heart, not againſt Neſtorius, but againſt 'Neſtorianiſm (59).' I ought not to omit, that before Monſieur Saurin obtained a teſtimony of his Orthodoxy from the ſynods, the public was very well ſatiſfied that he was an Anti-Neſtorian.

Conſult a letter which was printed at Amſterdam in 1701 (60), under the title of *The Scrupulous Proteſtant, or an Explanation of the fourth chapter* of the Adventures of Madonna; *by way of Anſwer to a Letter, written to the Author* (61) *by Mr Jurieu, concerning the Title of* Mother of GOD, *and the Reputation of Cyril of Alexandria, and the firſt Council of Epheſus.*

[*I*] *The accuſations were ſet aſide without the accuſer's being cenſured,* &c.] The proofs I ſhall bring, relate only to the Fathers of the Oratory. One of the articles in the liſt upon which Monſieur Steyaert had a commiſſion to make a juridical inqueſt, was, that theſe Fathers refuſed to give the holy Virgin the title of Mother of GOD. We have ſeen that this ſlander contributed very much towards hindering their obtaining at Liege, the eſtabliſhment that had been granted them. The accuſation in itſelf was one of the moſt important, according to the principles and practices of the Romiſh communion (62). It is natural therefore to expect, that the commiſſioner neglected nothing to diſcover the authors of this accuſation, and yet we are going to ſee he never once troubled his head about the matter. Obſerve how he was treated: 'The buſineſs 'was to know, whether the Fathers of 'the Oratory were new Neſtorians, who held, and 'taught thoſe under their inſtruction, that the holy 'Virgin was not mother of GOD, or whether they 'had been falſely charged with this hereſy, as well 'by public ſermons as reports ſpread abroad; and 'who were thoſe that ſo charged them with this ac'cuſation. What juridical proceedings have you ob'ſerved in making an enquiry, which might give the 'archbiſhop, who commiſſioned you, an occaſion to 'puniſh the Fathers of the Oratory, if they were con'victed of this damnable hereſy; or, in caſe they 'were found innocent, to make them reparation for the 'ſlander, from thoſe who had ſo falſely ſlandered 'them, and to ſubject their accuſers to canonical pe'nalties? But this enquiry you never made in any 'legal manner, becauſe you could find none guilty 'but the Jeſuits, and ſome magiſtrates of Mons, 'who had lent them their names, to confirm what 'the Jeſuits of Liege had made the chapter of that 'city believe, *that the Fathers of the Oratory in the 'Low-Countries, founded by cardinal de Berulle, held 'ſeveral opinions, diſallowed by the holy church; and, 'among others, that the holy Virgin is not the mother of 'GOD* (63).' The author names afterwards (64) a counſellor, who had been conſiderably concerned in the accuſation, and who *preſſed him to proceed againſt him, to the end he might be fully juſtified by the diſcovery of the firſt author of this defamation*; but it is objected to him, that notwithſtanding the many inſtances and requeſts repeated to him ſeveral times by this counſellor, he obſtinately refuſed to make any enquiry. Let us hear the Janſeniſt ſpeak (65). 'An accuſation of hereſy, and of an hereſy ſo impious, 'as that of Neſtorius, may be a good thing, and even 'neceſſary, providing it be true and well-grounded; 'whereas it muſt be abominable when it is falſe. Now 'being required by a man of honour to do him juſtice, 'upon an accuſation which had been fathered upon 'him, you told him that was not neceſſary, aſſuring 'him, *that there was not the leaſt foundation imaginable 'to charge the Fathers of the Oratory, nor their adhe'rents, on the point of the Neſtorian hereſy; and, that the 'report which had been raiſed, appeared to you altogether 'extravagant, none of their adverſaries having pre'ſumed to maintain, or attempted to prove what they 'aſſerted.* Why then was nothing of this to be found in the account you gave in of your charge (66)? 'Why was no mention made there, *that you had ac'knowledged, that the eighteenth article (which was, 'that the Fathers of the Oratory refuſed to give the holy 'Virgin the title of* Mother of GOD, *allowing her only 'that of* Mother of CHRIST) *is a manifeſt calumny a'gainſt thoſe Fathers; none of their adverſaries having 'dared to maintain, or attempted to prove, what they 'aſſerted?* You could not deny, but that there was a 'great noiſe about this Neſtorian hereſy, which was 'charged upon the Fathers of the Oratory: and tho' 'you was ſenſible this report was falſe, yet you con'tented yourſelf with only a verbal declaration to 'a private man, *that it ſeemed altogether extravagant 'to you.* Is it then a meer piece of extravagance, 'which deſerves only to be laughed at, and not a 'diabolical malice, that ought to be puniſhed, to 'ſpread abroad a report, that a congregation of 'prieſts believe a thing which they could not believe, 'without having loſt all ſenſe of religion (67)? .... 'There

(56) Ib. *p.* 82.

(57) Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 266.

(58) Jurieu, *cited by* Saurin, *ibid. pag.* 869. See the 16th Paſtoral Letter of the year 1687, *pag.* 364, *Edit. in* 12mo. In the fourth Paſtoral Letter of the following year, he ſpeaks more ſtrongly againſt thoſe who were for introducing the epithet of Mother of God.

(59) Saurin, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 795, 796.

(60) *It contains thirty-two pages in* 8vo. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Nov.* 1701, *pag.* 578, &c.

(61) His name is Mr *Renault.*

(62) See the Difficulties propoſed to Monſieur Steyaert, *Part* 1. *pag.* 106.

(63) Ib. *p.* 98.

(64) *Pag.* 99.

(65) Ibid. *pag.* 104.

(66) It is a Latin treatiſe of Monſieur Steyaert's, where he gives an account of his commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Cambray.

(67) Difficulties, &c. *pag.* 106, 107. See alſo the ſecond part of the Difficulties, *pag.* 161, 163, and elſewhere.

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to be attributed to none but himself (b) [K]. You will find at large in Moreri's Dictionary what relates to Neſtorius, and his followers; for which reaſon I ſhall ſay nothing of them. Conſult alſo Monſieur du Pin, who has met with ſome inconveniences in acting the part of an impartial hiſtorian [L]. I am willing to believe the encomium of Mother of GOD, has contributed to the extraordinary honours which have been paid to the holy Virgin; but it ſeems to me, that they might have fallen into the ſame worſhip, if no other title had been given her than that of mother of JESUS CHRIST [M].

(b) Beauval's Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *Nov.* 1693, *pag.* 138.

Divers

'There being thus found, a ſet of men ſo wicked, as, 'without any proof, to charge a thing ſo little credible, 'and ſo very ſcandalous, upon the Fathers of the Ora- 'tory, it was of the laſt importance for appeaſing the 'diſturbances in the city of Mons, and undeceiving the 'common people in the ill opinion they had been made 'to conceive of theſe Fathers, that the authors of this 'diabolical calumny ſhould be detected, to the end 'they might be puniſhed, purſuant to the canons; and 'that a ſtop might be thereby put to all future ſlanders, 'which occaſion the committing of ſo many ſins. 'Why then, being legally required to give an ac- 'count of what you had in charge, and which your 'duty obliged you to do, did you refuſe it? Why 'alſo, not being able to ſay any thing upon this ac- 'cuſation, the moſt important of all, but what would 'be to the advantage of the Fathers of the Oratory, 'and to the confuſion of the Jeſuits, did you chuſe to 'ſpeak nothing at all of it in your Memorial? See 'how great is your juſtice, and pretended exemption 'from all partiality, in that which ought to have been 'the chief point of your commiſſion.'

This author having thus preſſed hard the archbiſhop of Cambray's commiſſioner, and having ſhown, with the cleareſt evidence, the fraudulent manner in which this commiſſion was executed, points out the main ſpring of this unfairneſs. *Thoſe who know you better*, ſays he (68), *than the archbiſhop of Cambray, who choſe you for this employ, expected nothing elſe from you. They know your policy and love for your honour, make you act two different parts. You would think yourſelf diſhonoured, if in the poſt you are in, you did not maintain the ſound doctrine of your Faculty againſt the evil opinions of their adverſaries; and this is what you have done in ſeveral of your theſes. But the apprehenſion of bringing ſuch troubles upon yourſelf, as might diſturb your repoſe, makes you buckle to thoſe very perſons, whoſe opinions you condemn, leſt they ſhould injure your by their credit. Never did this cunning of your's ſhow itſelf more than on this occaſion. The Fathers of the Oratory had neither the power, nor the will to hurt you; and you could not do them juſtice without offending thoſe who would have had both, if you had not pleaſed them. You were in a manner under a neceſſity of abandoning the weaker ſide, that you might not diſoblige the ſtronger. You were obliged, to ſlight the proofs of the former's innocence, as you did, and to favour the latter, by diſſembling their horrible ſlanders and calumnies. This is to know how to live, according to the way of the world: but ought not you to apprehend this reproach of the GOD of Judges,* * uſque quo judicatis iniquitatem, & facies peccatorum ſumitis? *How long will ye judge unrighteouſly? How long will ye have regard to the power of ſinners, by making them appear innocent while they are moſt criminal? This is what that Hebraiſm,* facies peccatorum ſumere, *ſignifies: and it is this reſpect of perſons, which is ſo often, and ſo ſeverely condemned in the holy Scriptures; when, thro' timidity, or ſuch like conſiderations, the balance is made to incline to that ſide, which has the greater power, tho' the other has the better cauſe.*

(68) Ibid. *pag.* 107.

* Pſalm lxxxvii, ver. 2.

This picture repreſents a great many people. They are ſenſible of the wrong done by a falſe accuſer; they deteſt him, and whiſper all the ill imaginable of him in their friends ears; but yet, if it be in his power, either to hurt or diſſerve them, they will be ſure, in caſe of their being his judges, to pronounce no ſentence that may diſgrace him. They have a thouſand artifices of evading, a thouſand methods of embarraſſing and perplexing matters: which ſhows, that the influence of power over juſtice, is a malady almoſt incurable in mankind; and therefore men in power will never be afraid of ſpreading uſeful calumnies. You ſee how a ſlander, cunningly managed, has ſhut the gates of Liege againſt the Fathers of the Oratory.

Note, That the archbiſhop of Cambray, did by a definitive ſentence on the twelfth of November 1692, declare theſe pretended Neſtorians innocent; yet he condemned no perſon by name to make them reparation. See the ſixth chapter of the eighth tome of, *The Practical Morality of the Jeſuits.*

[K] *The tranſlator of the Homilies of St Chryſoſtome has declared, that his errors ought to be attributed to no body but himſelf.*] The author who recanted after this manner was Mr Fontaine, and *had formerly been ſecretary to Mr Arnaud and Mr de Sacy* (69). It was this gave occaſion to the Jeſuit, who publiſhed a book intituled, *Neſtorianiſm revived*, to confound the tranſlator of the Homilies of St Chryſoſtome, with the Gentlemen of Port-Royal; and that was the reaſon which induced this tranſlator to declare expreſsly, that there was no body guilty but himſelf.

(69) Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *for Nov.* 1693, *pag.* 138.

[L] *Monſieur du Pin, who ſuffered ſome inconveniences in acting the part of an impartial Hiſtorian.*] I am not very well acquainted with the particulars of the matters which were laid to his charge; and therefore I have only touched upon them by the by, but I refer my reader to one of our Journaliſts (70) who has mentioned ſome of them, and particularly the accuſation of his having too much favoured Neſtorius.

(70) Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *for Nov.* 1692, *pag.* 140, 141, 142; *and for May* 1693, *pag.* 526, 527, 528. See alſo in the Hiſtorical Mercury, *for June* 1693, *pag.* 660, *&ſeq.* The diſcourſe of Monſieur Lamoignon advocate-general, requiring the ſuppreſſion of Monſieur du Pin's book, which he obtained.

[M] *They might have fallen into the ſame worſhip, if no other title had been given her than that of Mother of JESUS CHRIST.*] I have already ſpoken of this in my firſt remark, but it will not be amiſs here to touch it over again. I believe, I may ſay, that the diſputes between Neſtorius and St Cyril, have not ſerved to augment the honours of the Holy Virgin but by accident. Theſe two prelates did not contend about any point of devotion: their quarrel had no relation to worſhip; and ſuppoſing, that, at that very time, the Holy Virgin had been invocated, Neſtorius did not pretend to alter that cuſtom, nor did St Cyril require it to be enlarged. The difference between them was about a ſpeculative opinion: one apprehended the confounding the two natures of JESUS CHRIST; and the other feared the human nature of our Saviour would be looked upon as a perſon. Worſhip had nothing to do in this matter: *Neſtorius, as infatuated as he ſeemed to be with his opinion, was ſo inclinable to grant the Holy Virgin the honours which were publickly paid her, that, in his diſgrace, he ſeemed diſpoſed to reſtore to her the title of* Mother of GOD, *rather than give occaſion of leſſening her worſhip by perſiſting in that refuſal* (71). Theſe are the words of a French prieſt, who wrote a treatiſe of the devotion due to the Holy Virgin, as rationally as any one of his profeſſion could do. He confeſſes Neſtorius required no diminution of her worſhip; and he might likewiſe have acknowledged, that this Heretic retained all the foundations of worſhip, which St Cyril would have: for the worſhip of the Holy Virgin can be founded only on a ſuppoſition that GOD had done all for her in Heaven, which an elected king could do for his mother on earth, if he ſhould declare and inſiſt that he would have her who gave him life, whatſoever might be her former condition, to be acknowledged for queen-mother, and that he would grant her whatſoever ſhe ſhould aſk of him. From that very minute ſhe would be raiſed to ſuch a degree, as ſhould place her above all princeſſes, ducheſſes, and other perſons of the kingdom, except the king; and her intereſt would have no bounds. The honours paid her would exceed all the ſubmiſſion paid to other ſubjects. No body would go about to amuſe himſelf with inquiries, whether ſhe were the real mother of the king's ſoul or not: it would be thought ſufficient to acknowledge her to be the king's mother, and in poſſeſſion of all the authority due to ſo high a rank. The application of this to Neſtorius is not very difficult. If, in rejecting the title of *Mother of GOD*, he retains that of Mother of CHRIST, he

(71) Baillet, Of the Devotion due to the holy Virgin, *pag.* 33 &

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Divers considerations incline me to believe the justness of this thought; for the more I enquire into the reasons that could favour the progress of the worship of the Virgin Mary, the more I find that there is in the nature and constitution of man a very strong disposition to produce that worship [N], and to increase it prodigiously, and from thence I conclude, that even without the assistance of those epithets, which have been very useful to it, it might have rooted itself deeper and deeper, and produced fruit in abundance. As

he retains all the foundations of worship; for, he will say, to be the Mother of JESUS CHRIST is the same thing as to be the mother of him, to whom *all power has been given both in Heaven and in Earth* (72), who reigns over all things, as well over angels as men: and consequently, if GOD has been pleased, that the mother of JESUS CHRIST should be invested with the quality of queen-mother and queen-regent, and that she should fully enjoy a maternal authority over her son: she must be above all other creatures; and, in a condition, to shower down on mankind whatever benefits she pleases. I cannot see, that St Cyril could place the worship of the holy Virgin upon a more solid foundation than this (73). It was not on account of the Divine nature, that JESUS CHRIST, on the day of his ascension, declared, that all power was given him; for, as he was GOD, he could acquire nothing, being in possession of all things from all eternity. It was then on account of his being man that he was established plenipotentiary: it was on his soul that GOD conferred that power, in as much as it was his pleasure that all the desires of his soul should be efficacious and operative: and consequently, to be assured of the universal authority of the holy Virgin, it is sufficient to believe, that the humanity of JESUS CHRIST refuses his mother nothing, and that it is as obedient to her as the best son could be. If the devotion of the Socinians should ever incline to festivals, processions, images, pilgrimages, &c. they would do the same for JESUS CHRIST, as the church of Rome practises towards his holy mother. It matters not that they do not believe him to be GOD; for it is enough, if he reigns with full power, and is the dispenser of all good things thro' the Divine institution. If Mr Baillet will but take the pains to reflect on what I have said, I am satisfied he will alter something in the following passage of his work. *When the church maintained the holy Virgin, at the council of Ephesus, in the quality of* Mother of GOD, *against the injustice of the heresiarch Nestorius, who endeavoured to rob her of that glorious title, it was no less her intention and view to preserve the foundation of the worship, which the Faithful paid to the holy Virgin, than to establish a belief of the unity of the person of CHRIST* (74). Perhaps, he would furnish me with views which I have not, and which would make me change my opinion. Now observe how, I believe, the disputes between Nestorius and St Cyril have by accident augmented the honours of the holy Virgin upon Earth. The title of *Mother of GOD*, contested for some time, and at length victorious, and confirmed by the canons of the councils, made more impression than it did before: it became a matter of great importance; the vanquished party was looked upon as impious, and the conquerors as the patrons of piety; the victory was boasted of, and this part of the faith fortified, as a breach, whence the enemy had been repulsed, and where he might give a second assault. Run thro' the whole History of the church, and you will find, that in all ages those disputes, which have not been victorious, have only served to redouble abuses. I have given the reason of it: and this puts me in mind of several cities, which, in order to preserve their privileges, have opposed burthensome edicts: they have only given a pretence to the sovereign for bridling them with citadels; which has rendered their condition yet worse than it was before. The author of the maxim, *Nunquam tentabis ut non perficias*, was no fool. See the margin (75).

To confirm what I have been saying, that those who attack old errors in religion, run the hazard of causing them, by accident, to take deeper root; I observe, that the followers of a false worship may be opposed, either during the hotteſt effort of their zeal, or when a lukewarm remissness has brought them to indifference (76). In the first case, is to be apprehended, what may happen, where one is opposed in the height of his fury. The resistance he meets with does but render him more furious.

Bacchæ bacchanti si velis advorsarier,
Ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet fæpius:
Si obsequare, unâ resolvas plagâ (77).

When the mad prieſteſs runs about the ſtreets,
And deals her blow to ev'ry one ſhe meets,
Take it in peace, and let the dame march on,
Her fury croſs'd will give you ten for one.

Hunc avus, hunc Athamas, hunc cætera turba suorum
Corripiunt dictis, frustraque inhibere laborant.
Acrior admonitu est; *irritaturque retenta*
Et crescit rabies, moderaminaque ipsa nocebant.
Sic ego torrentem, qua nil obstabat eunti,
Lenius, & modico strepitu decurrere vidi:
At, quacunque trabes, obstructaque saxa jacebant,
Spumeus, & fervens, & ab obice sævior ibat (78).

Thus did th' unhallow'd wretch thoſe rights profane
His friends diſſuade his blaſphemies in vain;
In vain his grandſire urg'd him to give o'er
His impious threats, the wretch but raves the more.
So have I ſeen a river gently glide,
In a ſmooth courſe, and inoffenſive tide;
But if with dams its current we reſtrain,
It bears down all before, and foams along the plain.

SEWELL.

In the second case the danger is of waking a sleeping dog, I mean of reviving a dying passion.

Consider a little the conduct of those husbands, whose conjugal love is almost extinguished. They possess their wives as if they possessed them not: they have for them a great deal of indifference, and it may be a great deal of aversion. But if any one should be for tempting them away, if they hear at their return home that they have eloped with some young galant, then they lose all manner of patience, are full of desires to recover them, and fill the air with complaints.

My poor wife, alas! what is become of her (79)?

Then they presently set the serjeants or bailiffs at work, and involve themselves in vexatious suits. There is no more lukewarmness nor indifference to be found in their behaviour. They took no notice of their wives while no body disputed the possession with them; now that is contested, they cannot live without them (80).

[N] *There is in the .... constitution of man a very strong disposition to produce that worship.*] The life of man is nothing but a scene of vicissitudes; but notwithstanding that inconstancy, there are certain things which being once introduced, grow up very fast, and go on for many ages, in a continual progress. This is what cannot be said of innovations, which tend to the reforming public abuses, or correcting immoralities. The laws made from time to time against luxury and gaming are of force only at first; they are quickly broke thro' and transgressed. Reformations in religion will sometimes last long in respect of speculative opinions; but, in regard to practical morality, they come speedily to their perfection, and to their full growth, and then succeeds as swift a relapse, and a state of corruption which requires a new reformation. The strict morals of the primitive Christians, their sobriety, their chastity, their humility, &c. appeared in their greatest lustre, during the lives of the apostles; but from that time they degenerated every day; so that, in the IVth century, there was no great difference between the morals of Christians, and those of other people. The Reformed in France, in the XVIth century, were at first very regular in their morals: they abstained from gaming, drinking, swearing, dancing, &c. The military laws, which the prince

(72) ... of ... Matthew, ... xxviii. ver. 18.

(73) ... Mary, ... de la ... la ... Vierge, p. 1. ... The rank which the ... Mother of God gives the holy Virgin ... which creatures not only ... with the part of salvation in the gives the ... is possessed of; but ... ask upon it a gift where she may intercede with her son, for all such as through the ... of that Divine Saviour are called to the future state of glory.

(74) Baillet, ibid. Pag. 3.

(75) Omittere priora invalida & aucta vires, eam hoc adjecui, ut illum fieret quo regitur imperes ... Tacit. Annal. L. iii. cap. liii.

(76) If I do not fix of the middle conditions between these two extreams, it is because every one may apply to them in proportion what I say of the extreams.

(77) Plautus in Amphit. Act. II. Sc. II. ver. 71.

(78) Ovid Metamor. lib. III. ver. 564.

(79) See the Memoirs of the duchess of Mazarin.

(80) *Among the remedies of love* Ovid, de Remedio Amoris, *ver.* 769, *does not forget this, viz. that a man ought to think that he has no rival.* At tu rivalem roli tibi fingere quemquam, Inque suo solam crede jacere toro. Acrius Hermionem, &c. *See the sequel above, remark* [G] *of the article* HELENA. *See also citat.* (143) *of the article* LUTHER.

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As for the reſt, I muſt not forget, that, ſince the firſt edition of my Dictionary, there has been publiſhed an Hiſtory of Neſtorianiſm (c) compoſed by Father Lewis Doucin (d), in a marginal note of which, may be ſeen (e) what I have ſaid above (f) concerning the miſunderſtanding of Neſtorius and St Cyril. To this the following remark is there ſubjoined, viz. *I ground myſelf upon the authority and teſtimony of Mr du Pin, doctor of the*

(c) Printed at Paris in 1698, in 4to.

(d) A Jeſuit.

(e) *Pag.* 551, 552.

(f) In this remark [A].

of Condé cauſed to be obſerved in the beginning of the civil wars, in the reign of Charles IX, were admirable (81). The ſoldiers were obliged to live in the greateſt regularity imaginable, and their leaſt faults were puniſhed ſeverely: but all theſe fine things were of ſhort duration, like children that die in their cradles (82), or plants, which ſhoot up prodigiouſly in a few days, and yet wither and die away before the end of the ſummer (83). It would be better for them to grow by little and little, after the manner of trees, which are deſigned by nature to be of long duration (84). The reaſon is eaſily given why a rigid diſcipline, and a great reformation of manners is like a ſtraw-fire, which quickly blazes, but as quickly loſes its force: it is becauſe too ſtrict an attachment to modeſty, temperance, and auſterity, is a violent ſtate: now, according to the Philoſophers maxim, ſuch a ſtate cannot be laſting, *nullum violentum durabile.* They (85) mean, by a violent ſtate, a ſtate contrary to the inclinations of nature, a place of exile, an external and ſuperior force, which detains a body out of its proper element, but which cannot prevent its tendency to return to it, and its continual reſiſting and weakening this external force, till at laſt it overpowers it, and then moves to the place, where its natural inclination carries it. Heavy bodies, thrown from the earth, which fall again when the impulſe which carries them becomes of leſs force than their own internal gravity, are made uſe of by the Philoſophers for an example to explain this doctrine. We may therefore compare the reformation of manners to the impulſe that carries a ſtone upwards. The paſſions, naturally implanted in mankind, continually oppoſe the practice of a ſevere morality, and are a gravity that will bring men quickly down to their primitive condition, ſhould any fit of zeal or reformation ſhoot them up towards Heaven.

(81) See Varillas's Hiſtory of Charles IX. *Tom. i. pag. m.* 163. *ad ann.* 1562.

(82) Compare this with citat. (13) of the article ALESIUS.

(83) Gourds for example.

(84) Creſcit occulto velut arbor ævo. *Horat. Od. XII, lib. i.*

(85) This is according to the doctrine of the ſchool-Philoſophers.

Naturam expellas furca tamen uſque recurret (86).

Strive to expel ſtrong nature, 'tis in vain,
With doubled force ſhe will return again,
And conquering riſe above the proud diſdain.

(86) Horat. Epiſt. X, lib. I, ver. 24.

From whence we muſt conclude, that the innovation, introduced into Chriſtianity, by eſtabliſhing the worſhip to the Virgin three or four hundred years more or leſs, after the aſcenſion of JESUS CHRIST (87), has been countenanced by the natural and mechanical diſpoſitions of mankind, ſince it has made a continual and prodigious progreſs, and ſtill ſubſiſts at this very time in all the full vigour it ever obtained. There is no conceiving that if it had not met with very great diſpoſitions in the human paſſions, it could have made ſuch progreſs, deſtitute as it was of all ſupport from Scripture and authentic tradition. This has moved ſome curious wits to enquire what thoſe natural modifications of the ſoul of man might be, which have favoured the innovations here ſpoken of; and this is the reſult of their enquiries.

(87) See Mr Baſnage's Hiſtory of the Church. *book xviii, chap. xi.*

CONJECTURES upon the cauſes of the progreſs of the worſhip of the holy Virgin.

In the affair of religion, there is nothing which better ſuits with the groſs genius of the people, than repreſenting Heaven to them as reſembling the earth. This was the reaſon, that the fancies and caprices of the Poets, concerning the marriage of the gods, their councils, their diviſions and intrigues, paſſed ſo eaſily upon the Greeks, and afterwards upon the Romans, for articles of faith. It was impoſſible to raiſe man to the gods; and therefore they were to be brought down to man; and thus was formed the point of contact and center of union. Had it been ſaid, that GOD governed the world by ſimple acts of his will; and that he was alone in Heaven: this would not have ſatisfied the imagination of the people, who have no example of ſuch a thing. But if you tell them, that a GOD aſſiſted with ſeveral other Divinities governs the world, that the court of Heaven is pompous and magnificent, that every one there has his poſt, and does not ſuffer another to encroach upon his employ, they will eaſily believe you; becauſe the mind of man is accuſtomed to the like ideas borrowed from what they daily ſee in the government of the ſtates, and the courts of great kings. Such courts are not without females: we there find a queen-mother, and a reigning queen whoſe authority is ſometimes equal to that of the king. Thus the people eaſily believed what was told them of Cybele and Juno; and becauſe amongſt men the power of a queen-dowager is generally leſs than that of the reigning queen; hence the worſhip of Cybele, mother of the gods, was eſteemed inferior to that of Juno, ſiſter and wife of Jupiter. This wife of Jupiter had abundance of temples under different titles (88). It is no wonder, ſince ſhe was conſidered as the queen of the world, and as a queen who intereſted herſelf in the government: and beſides it is the cuſtom to pay our reſpects to the ladies, with greater care and ceremony, than to men of equal quality (89).

(88) See Pauſania in the Index under the word Juno.

(89) See remark [M] of the article JUNO.

By ſuch prejudices as theſe the Chriſtians have been eaſily perſuaded, without any example, or command, or permiſſion of Scripture, without any authority of the tradition of the firſt ages, that the ſaints in heaven are continually employed as mediators betwixt GOD and man. We find in the courts of princes, and proportionally in thoſe of governors, and intendants, that nothing is done without the recommendation of a favourite, either of a ſecretary of ſtate, or a ſteward of the houſhold, or a lady in waiting, *&c.* We ſee innumerable inſtances of thoſe miſcarrying who neglect theſe interceſſors, and venture to apply directly to the head (90), and it is of abſolute neceſſity to make choice of ſome ſubaltern patrons. Nothing has contributed more than this to eſtabliſh the cuſtom of worſhipping the ſaints: all the arguments of a Proteſtant controverſiſt will hardly have the ſame weight with an Huguenot, as with a courtier; and in general all thoſe who are a little acquainted with the way of the world, will be affected with the parallel they hear made by their pariſh-prieſt betwixt the mediation of ſaints, and the recommendation of a great prince's officers. Popular notions do very well ſuit with a celeſtial court, where the angels, apoſtles, and martyrs, are perpetually employed in recommending terreſtrial affairs to GOD, in ſolliciting the diſpatch of a decree, and putting him in mind of this and that, as is uſually practiſed in the courts of princes.

(90) See the remark [E] of the article DASSOUCI.

But whilſt you only ſtock Heaven with ſaints and angels, maſculine ſollicitors and mediators, you do not compleat the popular ideas. Theſe require a queen as well as a king (91): a court without women is ſomething abſurd, and ſhocks the natural taſte with it's irregularities. Conſequently it was natural that the people ſhould applaud the new invention of a mother of JESUS CHRIST, eſtabliſhed in Heaven the queen of men and angels, and of all nature. This hypotheſis filled up the chaſm which was before apparent in the celeſtial court, and corrected all it's irregularity. From hence it muſt follow, that the peoples devotion would immediately flame out for this almighty and moſt merciful queen. It is a general and reaſonable pre-poſſeſſion, that women are more diſpoſed to charitable actions than men. They are incomparably more officious towards the poor, the ſick, and the priſoners; and if there be any favour to be begged, as the life of a deſerter, they are the perſons who ſollicit, and take upon them to ſoften thoſe in whoſe power it is to ſave him. A more certain ſucceſs was therefore to be expected from the invocation of the holy Virgin, than from any other. We need not wonder that the honours paid to her, exceed thoſe which the Heathens paid to Juno: for the dignity of queen-mother and reigning queen did not center in the perſon of Juno; and beſides ſhe was looked upon as proud, moroſe, and revengeful: whereas the holy Virgin was at once queen-mother and queen-conſort, free from all faults, and abounding with unſpeakable goodneſs. It is very well known, that courtiers grow cold and become diſcouraged when a queen has too much pride, and is too prone to puniſh. This is the

(91) Finally, a court without l dies is a court without a cou to ſpeak truth *Brantome Eloge of Francis I, Tom. i, of the Memoirs of th French Captain pag. m.* 281, 2

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the Faculty of Paris, who has indeed said many things of that kind, amongst others, that Nestorius, in his declaration, *published before the council of Ephesus,* gives a good sense to what he had advanced in his sermons. *But* that I *take no notice that all these things have been*

the reason that Juno could not have so many adorers, as she would have had, upon the persuasion of her being a goddess, purely beneficent. My reader already imagines with what zeal the people contributed to build chapels and altars to the holy Virgin, and to offer her jewels and ornaments of all sorts; for, according to the vulgar notions, these are things that please women, and this is the way that leads to their favour. Let us now take a view of a new device, which those liberalities and offerings have given rise to.

The monks and parish-priests perceiving that the devotion to the holy Virgin brought in a great revenue to their cloysters and churches; and that it increased in proportion, as the people were more strongly persuaded of the authority and goodness of this queen of the world, laboured with all their industry to enlarge the notion of this power and inclination to do good. The preachers made use of all the hyperboles and figures that Rhetoric could furnish. The legendaries made a collection of all sorts of miracles: the Poets engaged in the design; and annual prizes (92) were established, for those who made the finest poems in praise of the mother of GOD. What was at first an oratorical sally, or a poetical rapture, became afterwards an aphorism of devotion. The Divinity professors laid hold on these subjects, and were not the least concerned in corrupting them. It became a custom in all desperate diseases, and all other dangers which seemed inevitable, of making vows to our lady of such or such a place, as also when they desired children, or any other blessing. It happens every where, both amongst Infidels and Christians, that some patients, given over by their Physicians, recover from their distempers against all probability, and others by unforeseen incidents avoid misfortunes which were thought to be unavoidable. We see in all countries of the world, that women, who have been barren many years, at last conceive. The vows I am speaking of are a wonderful artifice; for if they effect not a deliverance, there are a thousand evasions; as that they were not made with a faith sufficiently fervent, *&c.* There is no register kept of those ill successes, and people are not allowed to attend to them. If the sick person recovers, if barren women happen to be with child, *&c.* this is attributed to the vow: the list of miracles is enlarged with it in the new edition; offerings are multiplied, and devotion spreads farther and farther. We have lately learned from the Gazettes, that the king of Spain, who was at the very point of death, towards the end of September 1700, escaped this danger; and because, amongst other objects of devotion, there was brought to him an image of our lady of Beelen, which has but very lately been in vogue, his recovery was ascribed to the efficacy of this image. If he had not relapsed some weeks after, and died the first of November following, this Notre-Dame had acquired a reputation that would have eclipsed the rest; for the preachers would have set off this miracle with all the circumstances which the conjuncture of public affairs might have furnished in abundance. These gentlemen have been the great promoters of this worship: it was they, I suppose, who first advanced, that JESUS CHRIST had reserved judgment to himself, and had left to his mother the whole distribution of graces: a sure method to bring over to the Virgin all the acts of the most tender devotion. This maxim is no longer a meer flight of a Rhetorician, grown warm in his pulpit; it is got into the books which are put into the hands of the votaries (93). Is any thing more likely to strengthen the worship of the holy Virgin, than to affirm that GOD gives her *an infinite number of signed blanks, that she may distribute as she pleases the things that appertain to GOD* (94). The world therefore is indebted to her for salvation and all other good things, and not to GOD; since it is she who chooses the persons, and puts them down with what gratification she thinks fit, in the void space of the grant. You will find an infinite number of such thoughts in the book I cite (95). The Heathens did not deal thus with Jupiter: they said that in regard to punishment he acted by the advice of the other gods; but that he consulted none of them in the case of benefits and rewards (96). This is a conduct which wise men have recommended to monarchs; and we see that worldly kings are the immediate authors of a pardon, but they appoint judges for the condemnation of criminals. Ἐγὼ δὲ φημι. ἀνδρὶ ἀρχοντι τὸ μὲν ἀναγκης δεόμενον, ἄλλοις προσακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν. τὸ δὲ τὰ ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι, δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. *Censeo itaque viro principi sic agendum, ut si quis eget coactione, hunc aliis puniendum tradat: cæterum cum præmia reddenda sunt his qui rem bene gesserunt, id per seipsum faciat* (97). When we call to mind, that the devotion to the Virgin is a fruitful source of gain to the churches and convents, we shall easily discover the reason that has occasioned a division so different from this, betwixt JESUS CHRIST and his holy mother, with respect to warrants of justice, and patents of grace (98). Nothing is more proper than this to make the holy Virgin the principal, and almost the sole, object of prayers and vows, and pilgrimages, and even of love and of gratitude, and of all the internal acts of piety. Let us once more consider the court of princes, the grand model of most religions. There are some princes who suffer themselves to be so engrossed by a favourite, that they bestow no place but upon his recommendation. Present a petition to them yourself; particularize all your services; humbly beg, but as a just recompence, the government of a town, and they will refuse it you. Let but the favourite speak for you the next day, and they will grant it you immediately. When things are reduced to this state in a court, much more pains are taken to gain the good graces of the favourite, than those of the monarch; and there is a good deal of reason for this conduct, prudence enjoins it. Nay I will go farther yet, and maintain, that both reason and justice require, that such as have obtained the government of a town, by the method I have been mentioning, should think themselves obliged for it not to the prince, their master, but to his favourite, and should reserve all their gratitude and friendship for the favourite as the true cause of their promotion. The prince is only a remote and indirect cause, an accidental, indefinite, and general, cause. He is the fountain of authority, but it is another who determines it, and applies it to the benefit and advantage of such and such persons. By this parallel you see, that, according to the hypothesis of those doctors, who say, that no favours are bestowed upon earth, but at the nomination and recommendation of the holy Virgin, it is to her, and not to GOD, that each private man owes his good fortune, and that it is for her and not for GOD he ought to have a suitable degree of love and gratitude. He could obtain nothing of GOD, if the Virgin did not interest herself in it: consequently it is she who ought to be the object of his devotion: this is founded on good sense, and the reasons of it are demonstrative (99). Is it to be wondered at after this, that the acts of religion have taken in the Romish church that turn which we find they have? Is not this a true discovery of their foundation? However it be, the worship of the holy Virgin is grown to such a prodigious height, and maintains itself to so great a degree, that the Jansenists, who would be offering their opinion upon this subject, have gained nothing by it: and for one man who conforms to their limitations, there are two thousand, literally speaking who follow, Father Crasset (100). Consider, I pray the obstacles, met with in the Sorbonne, when the book of a Spanish nun was censured there (101). The most proper means to put a stop to the mischief, would be to lay an interdict on panegyrics, and to oblige the votaries, who desire to testify their gratitude by their liberalities, to send them not to the Virgin's chapels, but to the hospitals. A preacher is not ignorant that his auditors have been often present at the panegyrics of our lady, and have read the finest sermons that have been published upon that subject. If therefore he would be heard and admired, he must take a new flight, and soar higher than all those who went before him; and this is a great cause of errors. The principal thing would be to forbid, under the pain of Simony, all those who

(92) There are some at Rouen, Caen, *&c.*

(93) See Mr Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, *lib. xviii, cap. xi. pag.* 1082; and Mr Arnauld, Objections proposed to Steyaert, *Part* 1, *pag.* 60.

(94) The Jesuit Giattini has said this in a sermon. See Mr Du Pin-court's reply to the bishop of Belley, *pag.* 374.

(95) See Mr Du Pin-court, *ibid.*

(96) See Seneca *Nat. Quæst. lib. ii, cap.* 42, 43. See the remark [K] of the article PERICLES.

(97) Xenophon in Hierone, *pag. m.* 584.

(98) Note, that it is pretended that the holy Virgin not only distributes all graces, but frequently diverts the acts of the justice of God; and thus she possesses her own dominion entire, and besides extends her authority to that which Jesus Christ has reserved to himself.

(99) Note, that a prince, who gives at the recommendation of a favourite, what he would refuse without this to a gentleman, does not give it to the gentleman, but to the favourite; therefore the gentleman's acknowment must be to the favourite and the prince has no pretensions but to the favourite's gratitude.

(100) I make use of this example, because the Jesuit Crasset is one of those who have most highly condemned the author of the *Virgin's wholesome Advice to her indiscreet Votaries.* See Mr Jurieu in his Preservative, *pag.* 108, *&* *seq.* and Mr Arnauld, in his Reflexions upon that Preservative, *pag.* 19.

(101) See the article AGREDA.

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been condemned in Mr du Pin, and that he himself has retracted them. I shall make an Observation hereupon [O]. It will not be improper to relate what a minister of Paris alledged against a bishop who seemed to accuse the Protestants of renewing the heresy of Nestorius [P], with respect to the epithet of Mother of GOD.

who serve privileged altars, and who preside over the worship, to receive so much as the value of a penny from any votary. This would be the way to dry up the sources of the legendaries, and preachers, and of pretended miracles: but is not this an impracticable method? *Hoc Opus, hic labor est.*

[O] *I will make an observation upon a note of Father Doucin.*] When I composed the article of Nestorius, I knew in general that Mr du Pin had been brought into trouble, among other reasons, for some things he had said concerning this heresiarch: but I knew nothing in particular, either concerning the propositions which had been condemned, or the recantations he had been forced to make. I scarce know any thing farther at present; all the informations I have met with are only from the note of Father Doucin. However, I shall say, that to destroy the consequences of this doctor of the Sorbonne's testimony, it is not sufficient to alledge his retractation; for there are some persons who retract for fear of being oppressed; and there are others who do so from their having been dazzled with some sort of reasonings, which are yet of less weight than the proofs of their first opinion. Upon supposition, that Mr du Pin has changed his opinion, it remains to be enquired, whether it was, from his having examined the controversy of Nestorianism, that he was convinced by internal proofs, of his being mistaken; or whether it was from his knowing in general, that Nestorius was condemned by a general council, that he thought it the duty of a good Roman Catholic to acquiesce in that, without giving any encouragement to dangerous and pernicious distinctions of fact and of right. In this last case, his retractation does not prevent his first opinion from being of some weight in favour of Nestorius: for we may conclude from it, that so able a Divine, who had examined the subject, must have been convinced by internal proofs, I mean proofs as the process affords, that he had been some such way misunderstood: but I confess, that this does not form so strong an objection as what Father Doucin relates, concerning the complaints of the antient disciples of Nestorius. They maintain, 'that the dispute betwixt this prelate and St Cyril, was only a 'dispute about words, and that the explication he 'gave to his first sermons was conformable to what 'we at present believe .... nay farther, they pro- 'duced several of his writings; in which he com- 'plains, that his propositions * *have been mutilated* '*and falsified*; that essential words have been suppres- 'sed, and others addded which were none of his own; 'that a sense has been foisted in quite contrary to his 'own; and that by these *detestable artifices Celestin,* '*and others*, that is, the Fathers of Ephesus, were sur- 'prized; that he makes no scruple to give Mary the 'title of *Mother of GOD*, provided it be not taken 'only in the sense of Arius and Apollinarius. † What 'Nestorius had said, was constantly repeated by Hella- 'dius, Theodoret, Ibas, Irenæus, and others; that 'a thousand falshoods had been fathered on Nestorius; 'that neither he, nor any one that they knew, had 'ever divided Christ, or acknowledged more than 'one only SON of GOD; that the term, ‡ *hypostatic* '*union*, had indeed been rejected as unknown to the an- 'tients, and as signifying a necessary and purely na- 'tural union betwixt the two natures; but that St Cy- 'ril himself had yielded to the force of his reasons, 'by suppressing this term, when the peace of the 'church was treated of (102).' It is certain, that to dis-engage Cyril from the burden this lays upon him we must have recourse to the infallibility of councils as to the determinations of matters of fact. See the observations that Father Doucin has advanced to maintain it, and to refute the distinctions of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal.

* Synodic. *cap. vi.*

† Synodic. *cap. iii, iv.*

‡ Oriental. Object. ad Cyril. Anathem. 3.

(102) Doucin, Hist. du Nestorianisme, *pag.* 552.

[P] *A minister of Paris answered a bishop who seemed to accuse the Protestants of renewing the heresy of Nestorius, with regard to the epithet of Mother of GOD.*] These are the words of Mr le Camus, bishop of Belley, addressing himself to Mr Drelincourt: 'You must 'give me leave, by the by, to tell you, that I never 'met with the term *Mother of GOD*, in your writers; 'that you yourself, who seem more favourable to this 'Divine Mother, studiously avoid it, as a rock; and 'that in the conferences and conversations I have had 'for thirty years with those of your confession, 'I have found such an aversion to this title, that 'they never make use of it; insomuch, that some of 'them being pressed, have denied it not without 'warmth; as if the Mother of CHRIST, and the 'Mother of GOD were two different things, and that 'CHRIST was not GOD; which shocks and strikes 'the foundation of the hypostatic union, and the 'communication of idioms: you may consider of it, 'if you please (103),' Mr Drelincourt answered (104), 1. That the belief of the Reformed churches is perfectly conformable to that of the antient church, with respect to the two natures of JESUS CHRIST in the unity of person: 2. That, *tho' this term*, Mother of GOD, *is not to be found in* Scripture; *the thing signified by it, is there very clearly expressed* (105): 3. That above ten years ago he had printed a little book, *concerning the honour due to the holy and blessed Virgin*; in which treatise are these words, *We make no scruple to say with the antients, that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of GOD* (106): 4. That the bishop of Belley having read this book, and yet nevertheless expressing himself in the manner he has done, has published *a thing, the contrary whereof is an evident truth* (107): 5. That none of the Protestant *doctrines* could be impugned *by this title of* Mother of GOD; and that *no man well instructed in their religion will refuse to give it to the Virgin Mary* (108). 6. 'That if this title of *Mother of GOD*, 'is not to be met with so frequently in our authors, 'as that of *Mother of JESUS*, it is not that they are 'so ignorant as to imagine that these are two different 'things, or two expressions which have not the same 'signification; or that they are so impious as not to 'believe, that JESUS CHRIST is GOD. But they 'use this method with religious prudence. They con- 'sider that, GOD be thanked, this kingdom is not 'afflicted with the Nestorian pest: and that there is no 'need at present of seeking precautions against an er- 'ror which is abolished. But that there are some per- 'sons who *deify* the Virgin Mary, and make her a '*goddess*: and that it is to be feared, that the things 'which are in themselves most true, most holy, and 'and innocent, may help to encourage them in their 'error (109).' Finally, that minister makes this declaration: *I protest before GOD, and his holy angels, that I firmly believe the holy Virgin to be the* Mother of GOD: *and that I am ready to sign this truth with my own blood. Nevertheless, I declare, with the greatest freedom, that, for fear of scandalizing ignorant persons, I do not delight to make use of these terms, without explaining them at the same time. For all are not capable of understanding what your and our schools mean by the* communication of idioms. *Instead of attributing to the person what belongs to the two natures, whether by mistake or gross ignorance, they ascribe to one of the natures what only agrees to the other. When they hear that the Virgin* is the mother of GOD, *they do not presently comprehend that she is not his mother, as he is GOD: but by a confused notion they imagine she is as properly the mother of his Divinity, as of his humanity. I have met with some of your communion, who conceive this title,* Mother of GOD, *in the grossest manner that can be imagined* (110).

This will serve to confirm what has been insinuated in the remark [A], concerning Nestorius's fear, that this epithet, of *Mother of GOD*, should be abused; and manifest at the same time the circumspections of the ministers, as well as their reasons.

(103) Le Camus, bishop of Belley, Answer to Drelincourt *pag.* 83.

(104) Drelincourt, Reply to the bishop of Belley's Answer, *pag.* 292.

(105) Id. ib. *pag.* 293.

(106) Id. ib. *pag.* 294.

(107) Ib. *p.* 295.

(108) Ib. *p.* 296.

(109) Drelinc. *pag.* 297.

(110) Ibid.

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NEVERS (JOHN OF BURGUNDY COUNT OF) in the XVth century, was very ill treated by the laſt duke of Burgundy, though he had the honour to be his relation [*A*]. This duke obliged him to renounce the duchies of Brabant and Limbourg, and the lands beyond the Meuſe, by a forced contract the twenty-ſecond of March 1465 (*a*). He degraded him alſo from the order of the Golden Fleece [*B*]. This count died at Nevers the twenty-fifth of September 1491 (*b*), at ſeventy-ſix years of age (*c*). He was born at Clameci the twenty-fifth of October 1415 (*d*). He came to inherit the county of Eu deſcended to him from his maternal uncle (*e*) in the year 1472 (*f*). He was thrice married, and left only two legitimate daughters, and three natural ſons (*g*) [*C*].

(*a*) Labbe, Tableaux Généal. *pag.* 263. Anſelme, Hiſtory of the Royal Family, *pag.* 218.

(*b*) Fabert, Hiſtory of the Dukes of Burgundy, *Tom. i, pag.* 155.

(*c*) Labbe, Tableaux Généal. *pag.* 263.

(*d*) Anſelme, ubi ſupra. (*e*) Charles of Artois, brother to Bonne of Artois, the mother of this count de Nevers. (*f*) Anſelme, ibid. (*g*) Labbe, ibid. *pag.* 264.

[*A*] *He was very ill treated by the laſt duke of Burgundy . . . his relation.*] He was the ſon of Philip of Burgundy, count de Nevers, de Rethel, and d'Etampes, who was killed at the battle of Azincourt in 1415, and whoſe father was Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, the ſon of king John. This Philip, count of Nevers, married, for his ſecond wife, the daughter of the count of Artois; by whom he had two ſons, Charles, and John (1). The former died without legitimate poſterity, the latter is the ſubject of this article. It is eaſy to perceive the degree of his relation to Charles the laſt duke of Burgundy, when we remember that Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, was great-grandfather to this Charles.

(1) Taken from Pontus Heuterus, lib. vi, Rerum Burgundicarum. See alſo Father Labbe, in his Tableaux Généalogiques, *pag.* 262.

[*B*] . . . . *he degraded him alſo from the order of the Golden Fleece.*] Peter Matthieu will preſently acquaint us with this important fact. *Philip de Crevecœur lord of Eſquerdes*, ſays he (2), *received the collar of the Golden Fleece, in the firſt ſolemnity of the order that the duke Charles performed at Bruges after the death of his father, when the count of Nevers was degraded with greater indignity than might reaſonably have been expected, with regard to his family, from a prince, his near relation.* His marginal note is more particular than the text; it is this: 'Duke Charles of Burgundy renewed the order of the Fleece the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth of May at Bruges, and cauſed the place to be painted black, where the arms of the count de Nevers were to be placed, with theſe words, which are to be found in a manuſcript chronicle in the king's library. *The count de Nevers, being ſummoned by the letters-patents of the moſt high and moſt excellent prince, and my redoubted lord the duke, ſealed with the ſeal of his order of the Fleece, to appear in perſon in the preſent chapter, there to anſwer upon his honour, concerning a caſe of Magic, and for abuſing the holy ſacraments of his church, has not preſented himſelf, nor appeared; but has made default. And to avoid the proceſs and ſentence of privation of the order from paſſing againſt him, has ſent back the collar; and for this cauſe has been, and is declared, expelled the order, and not invited to the offering.*' A modern Hiſtorian (3) affirms, that Philip the Good being *diſpleaſed to find* our count of Nevers in the party of Charles VII, king of France, cauſed him to *be razed out of the order of the* Fleece. Note, that this count was made a knight in the ninth chapter held at the Hague the twelfth of May 1456; and that the firſt chapter held by duke Charles, was the eleventh (4). It was held at Bruges in 1468 (5).

(2) Peter Matthieu, Hiſt. of Lewis XI, *book xi, pag. m.* 750.

(3) Fabert, Hiſt. of the Dukes of Burgundy, *Tom. i, pag.* 155.

(4) Gollut, Memoirs of Franche Comté, *pag.* 738.

(5) Id. ib. *pag.* 740.

[*C*] *He was thrice married, and left only two legitimate daughters, and three natural ſons.*] I. In the year 1435, he married Jacqueline d'Ailli, the daughter of Raoul, Vidame of Amiens, and lord of Pequigny, by whom he had one daughter, who was the wife of John duke of Cleves. II. In 1475, he married Paula de Bretagne, the daughter of John de Broſſe count de Penthieure, by whom he had one daughter, who was married to John d'Albret, Sire d'Orval. III. In 1480 he married Francis d'Albret, the daughter of Arnauld-Amanjeu Sire d'Orval (6), and ſiſter to this John (7). She had no children.

(6) Taken from Father Labbe, in his Tableaux Généal. *pag.* 263; and from Father Anſelme, *pag.* 218, & *ſeq.*

(7) Pontus Heuterus, ubi ſupra.

NEUFGERMAIN (LEWIS DE) a French Poet, a little crack-brained, to ſay no worſe of him, lived in the reign of Lewis XIII. He was a laughing-ſtock to the duke of Orleans, cardinal Richelieu, and the wits of that time. He ſtiled himſelf *Heteroclite Poet to Monſeigneur only brother to his majeſty* [*A*]. His darling method was to make verſes that ended with the ſyllablles of the names of thoſe whom he celebrated. This was a rack which forced him to ſet down a thouſand impertinencies, and ſuch ridiculous nonſenſe, that we need not wonder it ſhould be thought a diverſion to propoſe ſuch names to him as might gave him ſome exerciſe. I do not know however whether he might not be made uſe of to intermix ſome ſatirical touches amongſt his praiſes, I mean that ſome abler wits might ſometimes aſſiſt in the compoſition of his verſes. This conjecture ſeems to be probable with regard to thoſe he made for Mr Godeau and Mr Conrart. The one was neither of a mien nor perſon at all advantageous; the other did not underſtand Latin: it looks therefore as if there was ſomething of ſatire in their elogium, and as if an abler maſter than Neufgermain had a hand in it. I leave my readers to judge of it. They will find below the verſes I have been ſpeaking of [*B*]. There are hardly any among the works of Voiture, more ingenious than thoſe which

[*A*] *He ſtiled himſelf Heteroclite Poet to Monſeigneur.*] Let no one imagine that the wits, who by his means diverted the duke of Orleans, cardinal Richelieu, &c. gave him this title without his accepting it: it is certain he took it very ſeriouſly, and made it one of his titles in the front of his works. And, indeed, theſe are the words of the licence which he obtained of the king for the impreſſion of his poems in 1637. *Our well-beloved Lewis de Neufgermain, hath repreſented unto Us his deſire of publiſhing a ſecond impreſſion of the firſt part, and alſo the ſecond part of a book, intituled,* The Poems and Jokes of the Sieur de Neufgermain, Heteroclite Poet to our moſt dear and only brother the duke of Orleans; *but being afraid that others ſhould print it, which might turn to his prejudice, requeſting our letters-patent to this purpoſe*: for theſe cauſes, *we being willing to gratify the ſaid Neufgermain, have permitted, and do permit him,* &c.

[*B*] *They will find below the verſes I ſpeak of.*] We will firſt ſet down thoſe he made for Mr Conrart. He calls him Conrat; whether it was that the pronunciation of the Pariſians (1) made him miſtake the orthography of this name; or that the ſyllable *rat* ſeemed more favourable to him than that of *rart*.

(1) That is, of ſeveral Pariſians.

To Monſieur CONRAT.

The ſyllables of the name ending the verſes.

Ainſi que l'on parloit des rats de Taraſcon,
Quelqu'un me dit, tout mont peut engendrer un rat;
A quoy je reſpondis, excepté Helicon,
Car il eſt ſacro-ſainct, autre que Monferat (2),
Et c'eſt ſur Helicon que fut nourry Conrat.

(2) It ſhould be *Monferrat*. See, above, remark [*D*], of the article MARCA.

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which he compoſed to ridicule this heteroclite Poet [C]. Neufgermain's anſwer ſhews that he was quite diſabled [D]: the blow had ſtunned him. He never was ſo little maſter of what he ſaid as upon this occaſion.

Il ſçait parler latin, il ſçait parler gaſcon,
Grave, ſententieux, diſert, nunquam errat,
Juſques-là qu'il vainquit diſputant dans Macon
Un Docteur Maconnois, & l'envoya au grat (3)
Chercher ſon Calepin pour ſe prendre à Conrat.
S'il ne harangue en chaire, il harangue en Balcon;
Zelateur de vertu, contraire au ſcelerat,
Puis boit l'eau d'Hipocrene à plein broc ou flacon,
Aux vivans & defunct, fuſt-ce au grand-Amurat,
Ayant ſoif & ſans ſoif, cet excellent Conrat.
Il ſçait de quel genre eſt dans Deſpautere Icon,
Seigner, tater le poux, appliquer le cerat:
Si quelque belle il voit, il dit, ô bon bocon!
Ses beautez admirant, & ſon bel apparat,
Puis de ſes beaux diſcours les charme ce Conrat.
Plus qu'Orphée puiſſant, il peut ſans Lexicon
Arreſter de propos le ſoleil, dum migrat,
L'Aigle volant en l'air, le Duc & le Faucon,
Par terre le Lion, & l'eſcumant Verrat,
Baleines prendre en mer par ſes accens Conrat.
Dans un livre il fait voir qu'au pris d'un patacon
Les teſtes des proſcripts mit le Triomvirat:
Et comme il les joüoit à la chance & tricon,
Recompenſant celuy qui hæc attulerat,
Tant eſt ſcientieux & rare ce Conrat (4).

(3) *Furetiere*, at the word *Grat*, tells us, that *envoier au grat* (*ſend to the grat*), ſignifies to give a rebuff, to drive away, to ſend about one's buſineſs.

(4) Neufgermain, *Part ii, of his* Poëſies & Rencontres, *pag.* 102, 103.

Let us proceed to thoſe he made for Mr Godeau. I am perſuaded it will not be taken amiſs that I relate theſe two examples: for it was neceſſary to ſet down ſome, ſince otherwiſe in foreign countries ſcarce any one could have a juſt idea of the character of this heteroclite Poet.

To MONSIEUR GODEAU,
The ſyllables of the name ending the verſes.

La belle & gentille Margo,
Trouvée n'aguere au bord d'eau
Puiſſant, puiſa un eſcargo,
Dont elle fit ſi bon chaudeau,
Qu'il n'en reſta point à Godeau.
Dedans ſon lict en ſon gogo,
Encourtinée d'un rideau,
Remuans la gigue, ou gigo,
Chantoit un air en go, en d'eau,
En faveur de Monſieur Godeau.
Luy ſeul à trouvé le mugo
D'éloquence, proſe, & rondeau;
Car plus charmant qu'un Larigo,
Meinte fere marche en bedeau;
Portant maſſes devant Godeau.
Venus luy donna ſon mago,
Atlas luy offrit ſon fardeau,
Diane, Taïol & Rago,
Et le beau Phebus, ce blondeau,
Donna ſes chevaux (5) *à Godeau.*
D'un nom ſi divin, origo
Eſt, que liée d'un cordeau,
Diſoit un pie, ou margo,
Got eo, ſive God eo *,
Voyant marcher Monſieur Godeau.
Ses feſtins conſtent un lingo,
En Nectar, lapin, betoudeau,
Puis qu'enſemble à tirlarigo,
Boivent, mangeans le fexandeau,
Apollon, Minerve, & Godeau (6).

(5) Probably an error of the preſs inſtead of *chevaux*.

* Incedo Deus.

(6) Neufgermain, ibid. *pag.* 125, 126.

[C] *Thoſe which Voiture compoſed to ridicule this heteroclite Poet.*] He wrote, 1. A ballad *in favour of Neufgermain's works*. 2. An anſwer to the *complaints* (7) *of the conſonants, which have not the honour to enter into Neufgermain's name*. 3. A *requeſt to Monſieur de Puylaurens in the name of Neufgermain*. 4. Some *verſes in the way of Neufgermain to Monſieur d'Avaux, the letters of the name ending the verſes*. All theſe pieces are full of wit: the anſwer to the complaint of the conſonants was compoſed in the name of Jupiter. It is an excellent piece; and yet Mr de Girac found ſome faults in it, which Mr Coſtar could hardly apologize for with all his ſubtilties and collections.

(7) It is amongſt Voiture's poems. Mr Patris was the author of it.

[D] *Neufgermain's anſwer ſhews that he quite diſabled.*] Mr de Girac, amongſt other things, criticized, as a falſhood, what Jupiter affirmed concerning the vowels, that they were all of them in Neufgermain's name. This cannot be true, but by ſuppoſing the true ſpelling to be *Nœufgermain*. You will ſee preſently what ſtrange nonſenſe this heteroclite Poet built upon this fault of Voiture: ' (8) Take it which way you ' will, Mr de Voiture is ſtill to blame; for if he did ' not uſe an *o* in the word Neufgermain, he is out ' in his reckoning, ſince there wants a vowel; and ' if he did, he deſerves correction, ſince it ought not ' to be there, as Neufgermain himſelf urges againſt ' him.

(8) Girac, Anſwer to the Defence of Voiture's Works, §. *xxvi, pag.* 196.

Il bâtit en l'air des chaſteaux,
Par diphtongue il fait mots nouveaux;
Par oe de Nœufgermaniſe,
Et brouillant un nom glorieux
Bedelneufgermicopſautiſe (9).
Au mépris des hommes & Dieux.
Qui deut monſtrer qu'en ce beau nom
Toutes voyelles ſont ſi non
O, qui par ſa forme Spherique
Environnant cét Univers,
Rend le caractere d'Afrique
Confrere de celuy d'Anvers.

(9) Note, that in the Anſwer to the Complaint of the Conſonants, Jupiter declares, that this Poet's name ought to be *Bedelneufgermicopſaut*.

NEVIZAN (JOHN), an Italian Civilian, a native of Aſti, was diſciple of Francis Curtius, profeſſor in the Univerſity of Padua (*a*). He publiſhed among other works a treatiſe intituled, *Sylva Nuptialis* [*A*], in which he diſcovered an inclination to ſhew his parts

(*a*) Panzirol. de claris Legum Interpret. *cap. cliv.*

[*A*] *He publiſhed .... a Treatiſe, intituled,* Sylva Nuptialis.] Mr Marais, advocate in the parliament of Paris, was ſo obliging as to write me word that he has a Gothic edition of this work, printed at Paris by Kerver in the year 1521: that it cannot therefore be true, that Nevizan finiſhed it in the year 1522, as we are aſſured by Mr. Simon (1), who compoſed a little Bibliotheque of Civilians; that the title of this Paris edition contains what follows; ' Sylva nuptialis, bonis ' referta non modicis, nunc te lector obnixe rogat ut ' ſe aſpicias, deinde quod ſcriptum eſt legas, & proti- ' nus viſis opuſculi annotamentis, cum indice alpha- ' betico contentorum narrativo, lætaberis gaudio maxi- ' mo .... *The matrimonial collection, being completely furniſhed with choice materials, now earneſtly recommends itſelf to the reader's view, aſſuring him that if he will take the trouble to peruſe it with the annotations and alphabetical index of the contents, he will ſoon find it a moſt agreeable diverſion*;' that the author has collected all that is ſaid for and againſt women; that there are a great many original things in this book; that the author ſays, that GOD became man, and pardoned mankind, only becauſe the holy Virgin was handſome. *Imo Deus optimus maximus ob pulchræ & decoræ filiæ Jeruſalem immaculatam virginitatem generi humano ſibi infeſto pepercit & homo factus eſt*; that for this the counſels of Romanus are cited, with the page, line, and word; that theſe words are alſo to be found in it: ' Si mulieri non ſatisfit de ve- ' ſtibus & carnibus, ipſa ſatisfacit de cornibus; .... ' *If a woman is not ſatisfied in her carnal dues, and in fine cloaths, ſhe will ſoon ſatisfy herſelf by dignifying her huſband with horns*;' that God, if we believe Nevizan, did not caſt all the bad angels into Hell, but

(1) Counſellor in the prefidial court of Beauvais. See the 15th Journal of the Learned 1693, *pag. m.* 246; *and* 1695, *pag.* 270.

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parts on subjects of wit and humour, and also a stock of learning seasoned with diverting curiosities. He interwove with it large collections of slanders against the fair sex. Some say that the ladies of Piedmont, did not take it as a jest, and that they revenged themselves upon him very cruelly [*B*]. He was never married, but he kept a mistress, and had a son

sent some of them into womens bodies to make men mad. This compilation, adds Mr. Marais, abounds with such things as these.

I do not believe the Paris edition in 1521 to be the first (§ *a*), and I wonder that Gesner and his continuators have been so negligent with respect to the *Sylva Nuptialis*. They mention no edition nor any particulars concerning it; and yet it has been looked on as a most curious book, and several editions have been made of it. I have that of Lyons, *apud Antonium de Harsy* 1572 in 8*vo* (§ *β*). The whole title runs thus: *Sylvæ Nuptialis libri sex, in quibus ex dictis Moder. materia matrimonii, dotium, filiationis, adulterii, originis, successionis, & monitorialium plenissimè discutitur: una cum remediis ad sedandum factiones Guelphorum & Gibelinorum. Item modus judicandi & exequendi jussa principum. Ad hæc, de authoritatibus doctorum, privilegiisque miserabilium personarum. Quæ omnia ex quæstione, an nubendum sit, vel non, desumpta sunt. Joanne Nevizano Astensi, Jurisconsulto clarissimo, authore. Omnia multò quàm antehac castigatiora: indice etiam locupletissimo, ac argumentis in singulos libros additis, auctiora reddita.* The first thing we meet with after the title, is a letter of the Civilian Achilles Alionus to the author: it was written in 1522, and begins thus: ' Habuisti aliquot ante annos (2), Johannes Nevizane ' vir clarissime, tuis genialibus atque ingenialibus nup- ' tiis, in amœniflua illa tua Sylva, frequentes quot- ' quot palatum habent interioris hominis, literariis pa- ' bulis, ac versatili libri gerulæque mensæ addictum, ' atque eductum. Qui, postquam absumpta fames, & ' amor compressus edendi, ita ad unum hilaritus tibi ' applausere, ut Alcinoi Phæacum regis epulum à ' Smyrneo Marone illustratum, & Didonis convivium, ' à Nostrate Melesigene celebratum, longo postposue- ' rint intervallo. - - - - *Most learned Nevizan, you have had for constant readers of your matrimonial and anti- matrimonial lucubrations in your diverting Sylva, all who have any taste for a learned diet, and a table furnished out with variety, and yet portable about one in an agreeable book. And these after satisfying their appetite, and making a plentiful repast, have, to a man, applauded your entertainment with so much pleasure, as to prefer it very far before the feast of Alcinous, king of the Phæacians, sung by the Smyrnean Maro, or that of Dido celebrated by our Latin Homer.*' This letter informs us, that Nevizan had made several additions, which he resolved not to publish. Alionus advised him to change his resolution, and to give, as soon as possible, this new entertainment to curious readers; and assures him, that Gabriel de Laude, chancellor to the duke of Savoy, will be his patron, and drive into outer darkness, as not having the wedding-garment, all those, who shall shew their dislike of such a work. ' Est jam fama constans, te prioribus nuptiis ampliores ' ac longè ornatiores (si consummatis atque absolutis ' rebus accessio fieri potest) superconcinnasse: te tamen ' inaudito consilio atque insolenti ad eas neminem ad- ' missurum. . . . . Is (Gabriel Laudensis) tibi assertor ' ac vindex comparatus, si quem viderit tuis accuban- ' tem nuptiis, ex his quibus ob stomachi morositatem, ' etiam odoratissima pigmenta putere solent; tanquam ' non habentem indumentum nuptiale, in tenebras de- ' trudet exteriores. Et tunc te vel rigidi legant Catones. ' - - - - *There is a strong report that you have very much enlarged and adorned your former edition of the* Sylva ' Nuptialis, *if it be possible to add any thing to so compleat a work, and yet that by an unheard of and unprecedented determination you will communicate it to no body. . . . . He (Gabriel de Laude) will patronize and protect the impression, and if he find any readers of it, who, by the badness of their taste, are used to find fault with the nicest dainties, he will cast them into utter darkness, as wanting a nuptial garment. And then the most rigid Cato's may read you without offence.*' After this letter of Alionus comes the epistle dedicatory of the author to the chancellor of Savoy. We there find that Nevizan had resisted the pressing sollicitations of his friends, and refused them the publication of his supplements, and amongst other reasons which induced him to suppress them, this was none of the least, that by the ill reports which were spread concerning his book, a great many ladies (3) had been set against him. However he suffered himself to be prevailed on by Alionus's civilities. We shall recite the beginning of this epistle dedicatory; it may serve to let us into the history of the book: ' Petierunt à me, Cancellarie ' illustris, & propè quotidianis conviciis efflagitarunt ' plerique, ut lucubrationes & suppletiones quas ad ' Sylvam meam otiosiori studio gloméravi, in publi- ' cum ederem. Ingenuè fateor, repugnavi semper: ' adeo ut contra meos mores quibusdam sim visus ni- ' mis austerus. Non quòd me præteriret opus ipsum ' mutilum esse & mancum, quandoquidem impresso- ' rum incuria repentinè adeò emerserit, quòd fecit a- ' bortum: etsi aliqui, in Sylvam ne ligna feras, quia ' copiosa videretur, assererent. Ego tamen illam in- ' trospiciens cogebar dicere, quàm pauper Achaia no- ' stra est. Sed differebam, quia otium non daretur, &c. ' - - - - *I have been almost daily teized, and clamoured at, most illustrious Chancellor, by a great many persons to publish the supplemental lucubrations I have had the leizure to compose for my Sylva. I confess ingenuously I have always put them off, insomuch that some may think me disobliging, contrary to my natural disposition. Not that I am ignorant that the work itself is very defective and incomplete, which the hastiness of the press, and the suddeness of the edition, has been the occasion of: though some have asserted that my wood was so compleatly furnished, as to admit of no more sticks. However, I am forced to own, when I look into it my self, that my store is too scanty of materials. But I have delayed complying for want of leisure, &c.*' Of six books the work is composed of, the two first run upon the thesis, *That we ought not to marry*; and the two following upon the thesis, *That we ought to marry*. And therefore it cannot be said, that the author condemns marriage; he only relates the arguments *pro* and *con*.

[(§ *a*) I am of the same opinion with Mr Bayle, that the edition of the *Sylva Nuptialis* in 1521, was not the first, but not having met with one more antient, what I can say to the matter is, that if there be an older, it can go no farther backward at most than the year 1517, since in *lib.* i. *num.* 202, of this work, the author quotes from the Civilian *afflictus* or *de afflictis*, a form of summons dated the 17th of February in that year. Besides, it is not very certain, as Mr Simon, counsellor in the presidial of Beauvais pretends, that the *Sylva Nuptialis* in VI books, such as we now have it, was completed in 1522, since in *lib.* iv. *num.* 147, it appears that the author was then only upon the revision of that place of his work, some time after Christmas 1522, the day of the taking of Rhodes. Lastly, one remark to be made on this book, and which I had forgot, is that the errors of the press, so numerous in the new editions, among which is included that of 1545, are owing to the Printers mistaking the abbreviations of the Gothic editions. For example, *lib.* iv. *num.* 33. *pag.* 281, of the edition of Lyons 1545, the epitaph of the famous courtezan *Imperia* runs: *Impiæ meretricis - - - - - - Impia cognata*, in the room of *imperiæ meretricis - - - - imperia Cortisana*, as this place has been corrected, *Tom.* i. *pag.* 108, of the new *Menagiana* of the Paris edition. It is visible that so gross a mistake arises from the mistaking the abbreviations of this passage in the Gothic way of expressing it in former editions. REM. CRIT.]

[(§ *β*) My edition, which is of Lyons of the same year also in 8*vo* has: *apud Bartholomæum Vincentium*, which is an evident proof that these two Booksellers undertook it at their common expence. REM. CRIT.]

[*B*] *Some say that the ladies of Piedmont . . . revenged themselves upon him very cruelly.*] I have read this only in a work of Francis de Billon. It is a book that was printed at Paris in 1555, and intituled, *The impregnable fortress of the honour of the female sex*: we find in it these words (4): ' To return to my prisoners, the second ' is one Mr John Nevizan, (a Civilian, as it is ' said, but ill advised) who in the city of Turin, some ' years ago, discovered himself so mad as to meditate an ' attack, afterwards put in execution by him in a Latin book,

(2) This proves that Nevizan's book was printed some years before 1521.

(3) Accedebat quorundam finistra ad mulieres relatio, qui de bono opere & in commendationem matrimonii, excuso me, nonnullas earum concitasset. *Nevizan. Epist. Dedicat. I do not correct the faults of the edition I make use of.*

(4) Billon, Impregnable Fortress, *fol.* 27, *verso.*

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ſon by her, who was an advocate, and was deprived of all his eſtate [C], and to aggravate his misfortune, from his extreme poverty fell into madneſs. John Nevizan died in 1540. He had taken care to marry his miſtreſs (b).

(b) *Taken from* Panzirol. ubi ſupra, *cap. clv.*

' book, upon the honour of the fair ſex, herein vin-
' dicated, and eſpecially upon that of the Piedmonteze
' ladies, which book was intituled, *The foreſt of mar-*
' *riage*, intirely filled with matters of ſcandal. Which
' book, being found by the ladies of Turin to be a
' defamatory libel; its author (here a priſoner) was
' immediately ſeized, and by them ſhamefully driven
' away by ſtones. It is true, ſome time after he
' obtained his return from exile, by means of ſub-
' miſſion, and the *honorable Amende* which he made
' them on his knees. Theſe two Latin verſes being fix-
' ed on his forehead, for an apparent ſign of penance.'

Ruſticus eſt verè qui turpia dicit de muliere,
Nam ſcimus verè, quod omnes ſumus de muliere.

Who rails at women is a very clown,
For our deſcent from them we all muſt own.

' This Latin rhyme ought not to be thought ridicu-
' lous; for tho' it was not made upon one who was
' very prudent, yet it was at leaſt made by a man,
' who in regard to his great chaſtity was capable of
' an angelical mind; conſidering that after the affair
' beforementioned, he could never meet with a wo-
' man (though ever ſo old) who would make his bed
' for him; and the noiſe of it is not yet ceaſed in the
' country. Thus good Mr John received his juſt re-
' ward; for having taken the pains to ſlander the
' ladies.'

(5) Bonis omnibus ſpoliatus ad extremam inopiam ac demum infaniam pervenit. *Panzirol. de claris Legum Interpret. lib. ii, cap. clv, pag. m.* 332.

[C] *He had a ſon .... who was deprived of all his eſtate* (5).] Panzirolus informs me of this, as alſo that Nevizan had a great ſuit with Paul Viſca; that he died whilſt it was depending, and made the count de Montafia his heir. I doubt not but he was related to this count; for his mother was the daughter of Godfrey, lord of Montafia (6).

(6) Joannes Nevizanus Aſtenſis avum maternum habuit Gofredum Montafiæ dominum. *Ibid.* He cites Nevizan, *lib. iv.* Sylvæ Nuptial. *num.* 111.

NEWTON (ADAM) author of the Latin tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the council of Trent, compoſed by Father Paul, was a Scotchman. He taught the firſt claſs in the college of St Maixant in Poitou under the reign of Henry III, and then pretended to be a Catholic. He returned into his own country, and was preceptor to prince Henry the eldeſt ſon of James I, king of Great Britain. He died dean of Saliſbury (a).

(a) *Taken from the* Funeral Oration of Andrew Rivet, *compoſed by* John Henry Dauber.

NICAISE in Latin *Nicaſius* (CLAUDIUS), a native of Dijon, was very well known among the learned of the XVII century. He died in the month of October 1701, aged ſeventy-eight years. Thoſe who would be acquainted with ſome particulars of his life, his good qualities, and his writings, need only read the *Journal de Trevoux* (a), and the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (b).

(a) For the months of Jan. and Febr. 1702, *pag.* 40, *Edit. Amſterd.*

(b) For April 1702, *pag.* 471, Octob. 1703, Art. I, II.

NICOLLE (PETER), one of the fineſt pens in Europe, was born at Chartres in 1625. His family had been conſiderable there for a long time [A]. He adhered to the party of the Janſeniſts, and wrote ſeveral books in concert with Mr Arnauld (a), whoſe *faithful companion he was in the ten or twelve laſt years* of his retirement (b). It was he who tranſlated Mr Paſcal's Provincial Letters into Latin, and added to them a commentary [B]. He

(a) *See the book intituled,* A Curious Queſtion, whether Mr Arnauld be an Heretic, *pag.* 150, *& ſeq. Edit.* 1695.

(b) Ibid.

[A] *His family hath been conſiderable there.*] I prove it by the teſtimony of Mr. Deviſé. *I mention not,* ſays he (1), *the family of the Nicoles. Every body will tell you it is very antient at Chartres, and has furniſhed magiſtrates there for above two hundred years. At preſent its worthy head is lieutenant-general of that town.* A little before he had been ſpeaking of Mr Nicolle the father of him who is the ſubject of this article, and this is what he ſays of him (2). I am to tell you of the death of ' Mr Nicole, whom the city of Char-
' tres had choſen for its advocate. The men of let-
' ters will have a conſiderable loſs of him. Though
' he was of a very great age, he maintained the high
' reputation, his eloquent pieces had acquired him,
' with as great conſtancy as politeneſs. He had pro-
' cured himſelf the eſteem of many perſons of the no-
' bleſt extraction. He complimented in the name of
' the city their royal highneſſes, when they paſſed
' through Chartres, and always with an univerſal ap-
' plauſe. He was the father of the illuſtrious Mr
' Nicole, known to all the world for his learned and
' pious works, which he has publiſhed within theſe
' thirty years; among others for his *Perpetuity of the*
' *Faith*, and lately for his *Moral Eſſays*.'

(1) Deviſé, Mercure Galant, *for October* 1678, *pag.* 22, *Edit. of Holland.*

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 20.

[B] *It was he who tranſlated Mr Paſcal's Provincial Letters into Latin, and added to them a commentary.*] We ſhould ſay, *Letters to a Provincial*, and not *Provincial Letters*, if we choſe rather to conform to exactneſs, than to the caprice of cuſtom. But laying aſide Grammar, let us ſay hiſtorically, that Mr Nicolle, under the falſe name of Gullielmus Wendrockius, is the author of the Latin tranſlation of Mr Paſcal's letters againſt the Jeſuits; to which he ſubjoined a commentary. The doctor of the Sorbonne, who publiſhed the *Préjugez légitimes contre le Janſeniſme* in 1686 (3), did not know the time in which Mr Nicolle had publiſhed this verſion. This ignorance would have done him no injury, had he not grounded the reaſons of his conduct upon it: but making that uſe of it, he has been taken to taſk a little ſeverely. We will relate his words, and thoſe of his adverſary: ' Theſe gentlemen have
' newly compiled in their *Vendcrokius*, all their moſt
' ſubtile and enſnaring writings in defence of Janſeni-
' us; they have put them into Latin, and publiſhed
' them through all Europe, without fear of diſturbing
' that profound peace, for which they pretend to be
' great zealots, when they are written againſt. It is
' therefore juſt, that the children of light ſhould not
' ſuffer themſelves to be excelled in wiſdom by the
' children of darkneſs: they would doubtleſs be charge-
' able with a moſt criminal negligence, if they had
' leſs zeal for the defence of truth, than the enemies
' of the church have for the defence of errors (4).' Mr Arnaud anſwered him as follows; *If our Savoyard doctor had himſelf read the book, of which probably he ſpeaks only from ſome wretched memoir that has been given him, he would have known that the author does not call himſelf Vendcrokius, but Wendrockius; that it is not a compilation of what was moſt ſubtilly written in defence of Janſenius, but a Latin tranſlation of the Provincial Letters, with notes and diſſertations, wherein the greateſt principles of Chriſtian morality are explained, not only in an eloquent, but alſo in an edifying and ſolid manner: and that this book having been written and publiſhed above ten years before the peace, nothing is more ridiculous, than to ſuppoſe it to be NEWLY that theſe gentlemen* have compiled and publiſhed it thro' all Europe, without any fear of diſturbing the peace: *as if there was any danger of troubling the peace ten years before it was made. Nevertheleſs he triumphs, after ſo many falſhoods and impertinences, and draws this abuſive concluſion.* It is therefore juſt that the children of light ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be excelled in wiſdom by the children of darkneſs: They would doubtleſs be chargeable with a moſt criminal negligence, if they had leſs zeal for the defence of truth than the enemies of the church have for the defence of error. *We leave it to thoſe who have read Wendrock, and the Savoyard doctor,*

(3) See the News from the Republic of Letters, *June* 1686, *Art. III.*

(4) Préjugez légitimes contre le Janſeniſme, *Preſ. pag.* ††6.

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He did not follow Mr Arnauld when he left the kingdom in 1679, and he even consented, as it is said, to an accommodation with the Jesuits; which consisted in engaging to do nothing against them, but not to break with his old friends. One of his finest works is that intituled *Moral Essays*. What he wrote against the Protestants is very subtile; never were the objections against schism nor the difficulties of the method of enquiry urged with greater force: but many wise men are of opinion, that he had better have suppressed than published this; for besides that the Romish church is no gainer by it, since all the arguments of Mr Nicolle are retorted against her; his works, together with the answers made to them, may unhappily confirm in their evil dispositions all those who have a bias towards Scepticism [C], and who consider not with sufficient attention the

doctor, to give each of them the place they shall think in their conscience belongs to them, amongst the children of light, *or amongst the* children of darkness . . . . *What is certain, is, that the Savoyard doctor reckoning it a piece of prudence and zeal to have writ since the peace, without concerning himself whether he disturbed it or not, it is most false that he could be induced to this sort of* prudence, *by the example of Wendrock, who wrote a long time before the peace* (5). Father Honoratus Fabri, a famous Jesuit, answered this work of Mr Nicolle: His answer was printed under the fictitious name of Bernardus Stubrockius (6). He inserted it afterwards entire in a book intituled, *R. P. Honorati Fabri Societatis Jesu Theologi Apologeticus Doctrinæ moralis ejusdem Societatis* (7). This work of Strubrock was put into the index; and, what is very strange, that of Wendrock was not, though the Jesuits had endeavoured to get it put in, and the Provincial Letters had been put into it. This occasioned a Jansenist to say, that they were only put into the index, because they were in French, and without the name of the author, *&c.* These are his words (8): 'The general applause that 'was, and is still given to the Provincial Letters, and 'the fruit the church has reaped from them, no body, 'before that author, having so well discovered the 'pernicious degeneracy of the modern Casuists, are a 'just reason to believe they were only put into the ca'talogue of prohibited books, because they came out 'without the author's name, without approbation, or 'the place of the impression; or else because, being 'in the vulgar tongue, it was feared they might give 'occasion to the people to lessen their esteem for a 'celebrated society; and not because there was any 'bad doctrine or calumny to be found in them. It is 'plain that this must be so, since the same letters hav'ing been translated into Latin by William Wendrock, 'with notes, which justify the citations, though this 'book had been brought to the Inquisition at the same 'time with the *Apology of the Casuists*, as Father Fabri 'witnesseth in his *Notæ in Notas*, promising himself 'that Wendrock's book should not escape the censure: '*Nullus dubito*, (said he, speaking to Wendrock) *quin 'tuus in Catalogum Librorum prohibitorum referendus sit*: 'I do not doubt but your book will be soon in the 'catalogue of those that are prohibited: Yet he was 'found to be a false prophet, Wendrock's book hav'ing not been censured, whilst that Jesuit's *Notæ in 'Notas* were.' They confess in the new answer made to the Provincial Letters, that Wendrock's book met with wonderful success. *These letters, after the tenth, were not meer attacks; for Pascal was obliged to put himself on the defensive, because the Jesuits pretended to have convicted the Port-Royal of a great many impostures, about which it had not been honourable to be altogether silent. Mr Nicolle, under the name of Wendrock, came some time after to his assistance; or rather he was let loose by the party to compleat the rout of the Jesuits. He discharged that task with a high hand in the Latin commentaries which he added to his translation of the Provincial Letters: In which he treats the Jesuits as wretched creatures. All this succeeded beyond what could be expected* (9).

[C] *His works . . . . may confirm . . . . those who have a bias towards Scepticism.*] I have in view here only two works of Mr Nicolle: one is intituled, *Well-grounded prejudices against the Calvinists* (10); and the other, *The pretended Reformed convicted of Schism* (11). In the first I have an eye only to the fourteenth chapter, where the author pretends to shew, *That the way proposed by the Calvinists to instruct men in the truth, is ridiculous and impracticable*. He says there is no man who can reasonably be instructed this way, without being certain; 1. *Whether the Scripture passages, alledged to him, are taken from a canonical book*. 2. *Whether they agree with the original*. 3. *Whether there are not several ways of reading them which weaken their authority*. After this Mr Nicolle plays all the engines of his Rhetoric, to shew in particular the difficulties that are to be met with in the examination of these three points. He urges this much further in the other book, in which he pretends that they who left the Romish communion in the XVIth century, could not do it without extreme rashness, unless they had an exact knowledge of the reasons for and against it; and in general of all the objections which might be formed upon the passages of Scripture produced on both sides. He shews what it was their duty to do, in order to acquire a well-grounded certainty that they ought to leave the Romish church, and come over to the Protestants: and he introduces so many examinations into the enquiry which ought to lead to such a certainty, that every one of his readers must perceive, that among ten thousand persons, it would be hardly possible to find four capable of discharging this duty. What fruit has he reaped from so many meditations? An advantage which terminates in his own person; he has acquired the reputation of a subtile disputant, and of a Philosophical Divine, who is able to maintain any cause, let it be what it will, and to carry difficulties as far as they can possibly go. But he has done no service to his party: For Mr Claude, who has answered his first book, and Mr Jurieu, who has answered the second, have evidently demonstrated that a man is exposed to all the same difficulties in the Romish communion: and that, over and above all this, he must launch into the ocean of tradition, and run through all the ages of the church, the whole history of the councils, and also that of the dispute concerning the Pope's authority, inferior to councils, according to some, and superior to them, according to others: So that the way of authority, according to which the Roman Catholics profess to direct their steps, is the high road to Scepticism. A man who would be justly assured that he ought to submit to the authority of the church, is obliged to know, whether the Scripture will have it so. Behold him therefore exposed to all the examinations of Mr Nicolle (12). And he ought farther yet to know whether the doctrine of the Fathers, and of all the several ages of Christianity, is agreeable to the submission he would have. He must be strangely indefatigable, if he should not choose rather to doubt of every thing, than to engage in so many enquiries; and he must be very subtile, if after he has taken all the pains which this requires, he should at last discover the light. This is therefore the way to Scepticism (13). Mr Claude's answer to Mr Nicolle, intituled, *A defence of the reformation* (14), is a masterpiece. He has not only retorted very handsomely his adversary's objections, but has also directly cleared them up in such a manner as to edify pious souls, without furnishing the Libertines with arguments to insult religion. A great many persons would be glad we could say as much of Mr Nicolle's other adversary: but this cannot be done without gross flattery. He has not contented himself with teaching the Jews how to convict of extreme rashness those of their ancestors, who embraced the Gospel, and finally declared the synagogue to be no longer a true religion (15). He has hammered out for us I know not what ridiculous distinction of an enquiry of examination, and an inquiry of attention (16), as absurd at least as that of formal quantity in order to itself, and actual quantity in order to place; *Quantitas formalis in ordine ad se, & quantitas actualis in ordine ad locum*, with which the Romish schools ring: and he has granted that the Faithful do not embrace Orthodoxy, by evident proofs, but by proofs of sentiment, and that they discern truth by taste, and not by distinct ideas. This dispute has been carried

(5) Phantome, ou Jansenisme, *ubi supra, pag.* 4, *&c.* This book was printed in 1656.

(6) See the 4th Denunciation of the Philosophical Sun, at the end of the preface.

(7) Ib. *p.* 22.

(8) Difficulties proposed to Mr Steyaert, *Part* 2, *pag.* 40, 41.

(9) Answer to the Provincial Letters, or Dialogues between Cliander and Eudoxus, *pag.* 21, *edit.* Dutch *Edit.* 1696.

(10) Printed at Paris in 1671, and in Holland in 1683.

(11) Printed at Paris in 1684, and reprinted in Holland in the same year. See the News from the Republic of Letters, *Nov.* 1684, *Art.* I.

(12) See the same News, *&c.* ubi supra, *pag.* 888.

(13) *Mr Turretin, the son, maintained some fine theses at Leyden*, Author & respondens, *in* 1692, *intituled*, Pyrrhonismus Pontificius, five Theses Theologico-Historicæ de variationibus Pontificiorum circa Ecclesiæ infallibilitatem. *See also Mr de la Placette's book*, de Insanabili Romanæ Ecclesiæ Scepticismo. *Printed at Amsterdam in* 1696, *in* 4*to. The Leipsic Journalists give the extract of it in their month of June*, 1697, *pag.* 264, *& seq. It was printed in English at London, in* 1688.

(14) It was printed at Roüen in 1673, and in Holland in 1682.

(15) See the book of Mr Jurieu, intituled, *The True System of the Church*, printed at Dort in 1686, *chap. xiii, book ii, pag.* 333, *& seq.*

(16) Ibid. *chap. xxii, pag.* 402.

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the ſpirit and character of the Chriſtian religion. His treatiſe concerning the Unity of the Church

carried on: on the one hand Mr Peliſſon (17), and the author of the commentary on thoſe words, *Compel them to come in*, and Mr Papin (18) have written books to ſhew further and further the inſurmountable difficulties of the way of examination; and on the other ſide, ſome miniſters have made ſevere complaints againſt the anſwer to Mr Nicolle with regard to the foundation of faith. The author of this anſwer, inſtead of retracting or flinching in the leaſt, has explained himſelf a new with greater preciſeneſs. He has lately wrote a great book to maintain not only that the proofs of the Divinity of the Scripture are not evidently propoſed by the ſpirit of GOD, who converts us; and that it is not evident that GOD reveals ſuch and ſuch a myſtery in his word; but alſo that thoſe who lay the foundations of faith upon the evidence of teſtimony, teach a pernicious and moſt dangerous doctrine (19). There are a great many perſons of opinion, that this is bringing religion to the brink of a precipice, and that if the Celſus's and Porphyry's had found it in ſuch a ſituation, had they been to engage with Chriſtian doctors, who would have made them ſuch advances and conceſſions, it could never have been maintained againſt ſuch powerful enemies one quarter of an hour. I do not think them in the right, or that they have ſufficiently conſidered the nature of Chriſtianity. I do not know however what might be the conſequence of this diſpute between the two miniſters of Rotterdam and Utrecht: but it ſeems to me, that if we were now living in a time of a criſis, and at a conjuncture attended with a fermentation of humours, which have produced ſo many effects in divers ages, we ſhould have great changes to apprehend: *Deus omen avertat* (20).

There are ſome perſons perhaps who could wiſh the doctrine of the miniſter of Rotterdam were embraced by all doctors. They imagine that after this there would be no more diſputing, and that this would prove the true grave of controverſies: for as we do not diſpute concerning taſte, we ſhould not diſpute concerning religion, when all Divines ſhould reduce the analyſis of faith to taſte. I believe, one would ſay, I am in poſſeſſion of truth, becauſe I have the taſte and perception of it; and I alſo do the ſame, would another ſay. I do not pretend, would one ſay, to convince you by evident reaſons, I know you are able to elude all my proofs: nor I neither, would another ſay. My conſcience is convinced, would the latter ſay, it taſtes a thouſand comforts, tho' my underſtanding is not clearſighted in theſe matters: and it is the ſame with me, would the former ſay. I am perſuaded, would the firſt add, that the internal operation of the ſpirit of GOD, has led me to Orthodoxy; and ſo am I, would the ſecond affirm. Let us then diſpute no more, let us perſecute one another no more, would be their mutual reſolution. If I propoſe any objections which you cannot anſwer, I have no reaſon to hope to convert you: for ſince you do not pretend that evidence is the character of Theological truths, the obſcurity of your reaſons, and the weakneſs of your arguments will never ſeem to you a mark of falſhood. It would be in vain therefore for me to reduce you to ſilence. Your taſte would ſerve you in the room of a demonſtration; juſt the ſame thing as in the article of eatables, we truſt more to our palates, and the good effects they have upon our health, than to the ſpeculative arguments of a Cook or a Phyſician; though we are not able give any reaſon why theſe meats either pleaſe or ſtrengthen us. Let us therefore agree on all ſides not to diſturb one another, and let us content ourſelves with praying to GOD one for another. Behold the fruit that would ſpring from this doctrine, as ſome pretend, who call to mind a maxim of St Auſtin; which is, that the diſtinguiſhing truth and falſhood, being a very difficult thing, we ought not to be violent againſt thoſe that err. ' Illi in vos ' ſæviant, *ſays he* (21) *to the Manichees*, qui neſciunt ' cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quàm diffi- ' cile caveantur errores. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſ- ' ciunt quàm rarum & arduum ſit, carnalia phantaſ- ' mata piæ mentis ſerenitate ſuperare. Illi in vos ſæ- ' viant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate ſanetur o- ' culus interioris hominis, ut poſſit intueri ſolem ſuum ' .... Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt quibus ſuſ- ' piriis & gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacumque parte ' poſſit intelligi Deus. - - - - *Let them perſecute you,* ' *who know not with what labour truth is to be diſco-* ' *vered, and with what difficulty error is to be avoided.* ' *Let them perſecute you, who know not how rare and* ' *difficult it is to overcome the imaginations of the fleſh,* ' *by the ſerenity of a pious mind. Let them perſecute you,* ' *who know not how very hard it is to clear up the blind* ' *eyes of the inward man, ſo as to enable them to ſee their* ' *proper ſun. .... Let them perſecute you, who know* ' *not with how many ſighs and groans, and in how very* ' *imperfect a manner God is to be underſtood.*' This, I ſay, is the fruit which this doctrine might produce, if we believe ſome perſons; *Sed non ego credulus illis:* but I am in ſome doubt of it, when I conſider that the miniſter of Utrecht (22), whoſe opinion is that the Scripture contains an evident teſtimony of our myſteries, does not approve of the perſecution of Heretics; and, on the contrary, his adverſary, whoſe opinion is that we can alledge no good proofs (23) either of the Divinity of the Scripture to Infidels, or of the teſtimony of our myſteries to the Socinians, does highly approve of the magiſtrates perſecuting Heretics (24). What contradictions are theſe! we muſt depend upon nothing, at the ſame time that we ſuppoſe men will act according to their principles, and build their whole ſyſtem in conſequence of them. My meaning is not that the miniſter of Utrecht reaſons ill, in joining theſe two propoſitions together; one that there is in the Scripture, an evidence of teſtimony for ſuch as GOD enlightens, the other, that civil puniſhments ought not to be inflicted upon thoſe who do not believe the myſteries of the Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.* I fix the charge of inconſiſtency only upon his adverſary. It is manifeſt: for he who acknowledges, on one hand, that we can have no good proofs (25), that GOD clearly reveals the exiſtence of his myſteries in his word, muſt be very much in the wrong to pretend, that a man who does not believe them, deſerves to forfeit his eſtate, liberty, and country: for he has the lights of reaſon on his ſide, and you cannot deny but he acts reaſonably in refuſing to renounce this light, unleſs it appears to be evidently contradicted by the teſtimony of GOD. He is ready to ſacrifice his moſt diſtinct ideas, as ſoon as it ſhall clearly appear that the authority of GOD requires it. You own yourſelf incapable of making this appear to him; and confeſs that grace indeed may perſuade him it is ſo, but not diſcover it to him evidently. All therefore that reaſon and charity require of you is to pray to GOD for him (26); and by the ways of ſober inſtruction, to let him ſee that there is a greater degree of probability in your opinions, than in his own, If you cannot ſucceed this way let him enjoy his eſtate and country, and do not attempt to arm the ſecular power againſt him. Theſe are natural and clear conſequences, and yet the miniſter I am ſpeaking of ſeparates them from their premiſſes: ſo incomparably is he for the ſpirit of contradiction. For, to mention it by the by, was ever any thing more fantaſtical than to raiſe ſuch out-cries as he did againſt the Philoſophical commentator, and afterwards to adopt the whole foundation of his ſyſtem? it might be eaſily ſhewn, that his hypotheſes are the moſt proper that could be thought of to confirm thoſe of the Commentator (27): but this would carry me too far from Mr Nicolle; to whom I return.

Let it not be ſaid, that this author has ſufficiently gained his point, ſince his books have bred ſuch diſputes amongſt the miniſters of Holland. This is a chimerical advantage with regard to his communion; and has cauſed a real miſchief to Chriſtianity, in general by raiſing controverſies which demonſtrate, that neither by the way of authority, nor by that of examination (28), can a man chuſe his opinion with the ſatisfaction of aſſuring himſelf that he hath made a good uſe of his reaſon: for this good uſe conſiſts in ſuſpending his judgment, till the evidence of proofs ſhall preſent itſelf. Philoſophical minds would think it a great reproach to them eaſily to acquieſce in the belief of truths that ſhould be but obſcurely propoſed to them. They would not forgive themſelves for having paſſed a right judgment in a cauſe, before a ſevere examination of all the pleas of the contending parties. They give the contemptible term of *opiniators* to ſuch as engage on one ſide, without being as it were forced to it, by indiſputable arguments. They maintain, that this can produce nothing but a falſe ſcience, and they ſay, ' that ignorance is very much preferable ' to this falſe ſcience; which makes a man imagine ' he

(17) *In his* Reflexions on the Differences of Religion. *See the* News from the Republic of Letters, *July* 1686, *Art. I.*

(18) *A miniſter who turned Papiſt; ſee his book intituled,* The Toleration of Proteſtants, and the Authority of the Church. *Mr de Beauval ſpeaks of it in the* Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *Jan.* 1693, *Art. VII.*

(19) *See the book of Mr Jurieu, intituled,* The Defence of the Univerſal Doctrine of the Church .... againſt the Imputations and Objections of Mr Saurin, *printed at Rotterdam* 1695. *Mr Saurin is miniſter of the Walloon church at Utrecht.*

HOPES of certain perſons that religious diſputes and perſecutions would ceaſe, if, &c.

(20) I ſpoke thus in the firſt edition of this work, when this diſpute was not yet ended; but at the time of the ſecond edition, that is, in December 1700, I cannot ſay that it is no more now talked of than the controverſies of Flaccianiſm, which have been forgotten above theſe hundred years.

(21) Auguſtin. contra Epiſt. fundam. *cap. ii.*

(22) Mr Saurin.

(23) By good proofs are meant ſuch as lead to evidence.

(24) See his treatiſe concerning the Rights of two Sovereigns; and his eighth letter of the Peſture of Socinianiſm.

(25) See, above, citation (23).

(26) See the preface to the Supplement of the Philoſophical Commentary, where it is ſhewn, that the obſcurity of controverſies is an invincible argument for Toleration. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Jan.* 1693, *pag.* 209, *& ſeq.*

(27) The commentator has ſhewn in the preface to the fourth part, that with reſpect to the rights of an erring conſcience, Mr Jurieu, thinking to confute him, has confuted himſelf: this might be extended to other articles.

(28) His adverſary has renounced the method of examination, and his pretence to evident arguments.

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Church ſhews a maſterly hand, and yet he has not attacked his adverſary in the weakeſt parts [D]: which is a manifeſt proof that with all his penetration he did not diſcover them. He died at Paris the ſixteenth of November 1695, a few days after his treatiſe of the Quietiſts was publiſhed. He was a great proficient in polite learning. The *Delectus Epigrammatum*, which has been ſeveral times printed, and the learned preface accompanying

' he knows what he does not know. For, as St Auſtin ' has moſt judiciouſly obſerved, in the book concern- ' ing the uſefulneſs of belief, this diſpoſition of mind ' is very blameable for two reaſons: one is, that he ' who is falſely perſuaded he knows the truth, there- ' by renders himſelf incapable of deſiring to be taught ' it, the other is, that this preſumption and raſhneſs ' is a ſure ſign of an untoward mind. *Opinari, duas ' ob res turpiſſimum eſt: quod diſcere non poteſt qui ſibi ' jam ſe ſcire perſuaſit: & per ſe ipſa temeritas non be- ' ne affecti animi ſignum eſt.* For the word *opinari*, ' in the purity of the Latin tongue, ſignifies that diſ- ' poſition of mind, which too lightly aſſents to un- ' certain things, and ſo thinks it knows what it does ' not know; for which reaſon all the Philoſophers main- ' tained, *ſapientem nihil opinari. - - - That a wiſe man ' believed nothing haſtily*; and Cicero blaming himſelf ' for this fault, ſaid, he was *magnus opinator* (29).' ' *one greatly given to credulity.*' Not only the Philoſo- phers, but all the world in general muſt acknowlege this maxim, *that to avoid the imputation of raſhneſs, it is not ſufficient to ſpeak truth; but a man ought alſo to know that he ſpeaks truth. He who ſhould affirm, that the number of the ſands of the ſea is even, might ſpeak truth; but he could not avoid being certainly chargeable with raſhneſs* (30). Thus the book of Mr Nicolle, has ſerved only to confirm the irreſolution of men that are indifferent, and to furniſh new pretences to the Sceptics in religion. We might ſay perhaps of the firſt work that appeared upon theſe ſubjects, what the Antients ſaid of the firſt ſhip: would to God the tree that ſerved to build it were ſtill ſtanding! Cicero applies, that thought to reaſon: ' O utinam igitur, ut ' illa anus optat,

- - - - ne in nemore Pelio ſecuribus
Cæſa cecidiſſet abiegna ad terram trabes:

' ſic iſtam calliditatem hominibus dii ne dediſſent! ' qua perpauci bene utuntur; qui tamen ipſi ſæpe à ' male utentibus opprimuntur: innumerabiles autem ' improbe utuntur (31). - - - - *We might juſtly wiſh, ' as the old woman did,*

O that ſafe in the Pelian wood,
The fatal maſt might ſtill have ſtood.

' *That GOD had never given to men this ſubtilty, ' which few uſe as they ought, and even thoſe liable to ' be impoſed upon by others who make an ill uſe of it, ' and who are infinitely the greater number.*' But as things have two faces, there is ſome reaſon to hope, that well-turned minds will make an advantage of ſo unlucky a controverſy. They will learn to keep within due bounds, Des Cartes's maxim concerning the ſuſpenſion of our judgment (32). They will learn to diſtruſt natural light, and to have recourſe to the conduct of the ſpirit of GOD, ſince our reaſon is ſo imperfect. They will diſcover the neceſſity of adhering to the doctrine of grace, and how much GOD is pleaſed with our humility, ſince he had been willing to mortify us even in the poſſeſſion of his truths; having denied us the knowledge of them by the ways of a philoſophical enquiry, by which we arrive to the certain knowledge of ſome things.

[D] *He has not attacked his adverſary in the weakeſt parts.*] Mr Nicolle publiſhed a book in 1687, intituled, *Of the Unity of the Church, or the refutation of Mr Jurieu's New Syſtem* (33) In this he diſplayed his learning, wit, and eloquence; and, like an able man, took advantage of every thing he could find fault with in the particular opinions of the author of the New Syſtem: but he did not think fit to examine the powerful objections of this miniſter againſt the way of authority. This looks a little like artifice. It might be imagined that a leſs able writer had overlooked the importance of theſe objections, and had deſpiſed them from an ill-grounded pride. But ſuch a judgment as this could not be paſſed on Mr Nicolle; his underſtanding was too exact and penetrating not to comprehend the full extent of the objections which had been propoſed to him upon this article, whether by retortion or directly. It muſt be ſaid, therefore that his ſilence proceeded only from his being conſcious he ſhould ſink under the burden, if he undertook to anſwer them; he very well knew that theſe were inſuperable difficulties, and that his own reputation, and the intereſt of his church required he ſhould take no notice of them. From whence we may conclude, that there are every where a great many perſons who believe not all they make profeſſion of, or who remain perſuaded that their religion is good, tho' they are conſcious that upon ſome certain capital points their adverſaries objections are unanſwerable (34). However it be, Mr Nicolle did not anſwer the whole ſyſtem of Mr Jurieu. He made choice of ſuch parts as ſeemed eaſy to be refuted (35), and confined his views to theſe, excepting ſome objections which could not be ſeparated from them, and which by conſequence he was obliged to anſwer. It is not therefore to be wondered at that he ſhould obtain ſuch an advantage, and that his antagoniſt could not deprive him of it by his reply (36). But it muſt be thought a little ſtrange, that he ſhould not be aware of the greateſt fault in the book he refuted.

The deſign of this work was to prove, that the Proteſtants did not deſerve to be called Schiſmatics, and yet it is directly calculated to prove the contrary: for we are neceſſarily led to this by author's principles, *viz.* that the church of Rome did always belong to the true church. So that this author, in building his ſyſtem, has himſelf deſtroyed the end for which he built it. What could be a greater fault? Nor did he ſtop there, but laid down ſome aphoriſms and maxims, from which he drew certain conſequences manifeſtly proving that ſalvation may be obtained in all religions. This was a ſecond eſſential and capital fault, which Mr Nicolle did not perceive. See the book intituled *Janua Cælorum reſerata cunctis religionibus* (37). You will there find the demonſtration of what I have been juſt now ſaying, concerning the faults of this ſyſtem. The miniſters who have informed the ſynods againſt Mr Jurieu's falſe doctrine, have not forgotten to complain of ſome errors they found in his ſyſtem of the church (38), but they overlooked the principal of them: for example, they have taken no notice of this propoſition. *God cannot permit great ſocieties of Chriſtians to be involved in mortal errors, and to continue long in them; at leaſt, if we judge of things by experience, we ought not to believe this poſſible, ſince it has never yet happened* (39). This is overturning with one daſh of a pen, the whole fabric of Luther and Calvin: for ſince it is certain that all the doctrines of the Romiſh communion, with regard to which they thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the Reformation, have ſubſiſted for many ages; it evidently follows, that they are not mortal errors. Now they ought not to have ſeparated from that church, if none of it's errors were mortal. Larebonius (40) has proved this very largely. To ſee then the faults and blunders with which this ſyſtem abounds, you muſt not only read Mr Nicolle's anſwer, but alſo the *Janua Cælorum reſerata*.

Some will aſk, how it is poſſible, that this work ſhould contain ſo many imperfections, and yet be looked upon as the maſter-piece of its author? I refer you to a little book (41) that was printed in 1692, where you will find an anſwer to this queſtion. The author of this ſmall piece having deſcribed the ridiculous figure in which Larebonius had made this New Syſtem of the Church appear, propoſes himſelf the following objection: ' but why then has it been ' formerly owned that this book was the maſter- ' piece of this miniſter? We do not contradict it; ' we own ſtill, that this, of all his other books, is that ' in which he has moſt ſignalized the extent of his ima- ' gination and his great faculty of inventing proofs, ' and urging objections. All this may be found in ' a work, which is in other reſpects very faulty, ' and in which the author, dazzled with the great ' fright he had taken, has not obſerved that he ' went too far, that he paſſed into the enemy's camp, and

(29) Art of Thinking, *Part* 1, *chap.* iii, *pag.* m. 54, 55.

(30) Nicolle, Pretended Reformed convicted of Schiſm, *lib.* 1, *cap.* ii, *pag.* m. 15.

(31) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib.* iii, *cap.* xxx.

(32) Concerning the fatal effects of this maxim introduced into religion, ſee the New Letters of the author of the General Criticiſm, *pag.* 779, & *ſeq.* Mr Jurieu, True Syſtem of the Church, *pag.* 373, & *ſeq.* Jurieu from the Republic of Letters, *Nov.* 1684, *Art.* I. *pag.* 889; *and July* 1686, *Art.* I, *pag.* 745. See alſo the remarks of the article PELISSON.

(33) See the article COMENIUS, remark [N].

(34) See the remark [D] of the article PELISSON.

(35) He found ſome errors of fact, and ſome pitiful reaſonings in it.

(36) *The reply is intituled*, A treatiſe concerning the Unity of the Church, and the fundamental points; *at Rotterdam* 1688, *in* 8*vo.*

(37) Printed at Amſterdam 1692, in 4to. I have mentioned it in the remark [N] of the article COMENIUS.

(38) See Mr Saurin, Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, *pag.* 6, & *ſeq.*

(39) Jurieu, Syſtem of the Church, *pag.* 236.

(40) It is under this name the author of *Janua Cælorum reſerata*, has diſguiſed himſelf.

(41) *Intituled*, New Advice to the little author of little books.

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ing it are aſcribed to him [*E*]. For the reſt I ſhall enlarge (*c*) upon the conſequences of one of his books, becauſe ſome perſons of judgment have aſſured me that ſuch facts, accompanied with reflexions, belong to this Dictionary; and that they will furniſh agreeable varieties for the entertainment of the reader. This is the true reaſon why here, and on ſeveral other occaſions, I uſe this method.

(c) In the remark [*C*].

The ſupplement which I have to add to this article relates only to certain works of Mr Nicolle, which I had not mentioned [*F*].

' and loaded his edifice with more materials than the ' foundations could bear. In a word, there are ſome ' men who by turns afford two very different ſorts ' of admiration: one is, that having made ſo many ' high diſcoveries, they ſhould not be aware of ' a multitude of inconveniences, and contradictions ' that are obvious to the moſt ſtupid: and the other ' is, that while they want light for things ſo eaſy ' to be remarked, they ſhould yet have it for great ' diſcoveries. The miniſter I am ſpeaking of, might ' have contributed very uſefully to the conſtruction ' of a new ſyſtem; he might have invented a great ' many things, and afforded a great many views: but ' it muſt have required a man of judgment to ſeparate ' all the diſagreeing pieces, and, after a ſkillful choice, ' to connect the parts together (42).'

(42) Ibid. *pag.* 60, 61.

[*E*] *The* Delectus Epigrammatum . . . . . *with the learned preface is aſcribed to him.*] It is ' a col- ' lection of Latin epigrams, and Greek, Spaniſh and ' Italian ſentences, printed in 12mo, at Paris in 1659 ' (43).' At the head of it is placed (44) *a Latin diſſertation upon epigrams, which deſerves a place amongſt the beſt pieces written on the art of Poetry. It is a treatiſe concerning* Poetical Beauty; *wherein this author has undertaken to diſtinguiſh true and ſolid beauty from the falſe and apparent* . . . . . (45) *in his enquiry after this beauty he has confined himſelf to the epigrammatic kind. He treats of the excellencies of the epigram with great accuracy and judgment. He ſhews, that the number of excellent epigrams is much leſs than many imagine, and he boldly ranks amongſt the vicious, ſuch whoſe ſubject is falſe, fabulous, equivocal, hyperbolical, deciſive upon a conteſted point, foreign, accidental, far-fetched, ſhocking, diſhoneſt, ſordid, mean, and odious. He places in the ſame rank, thoſe that are virulent, verboſe, vulgar, and trivial, and ſuch as have childiſh, and ridiculous ſubtilties, or affected alluſions, and playing with words. Father Vavaſſeur hath cenſured ſeveral paſſages of this diſſertation, and has found fault not only with ſome of his ſentiments, but alſo with ſome expreſſions* (46) *in Latin*.* Mr Menage, ſpeaking of ſome critics who condemned the uſe of quibbles in verſe, adds, ' that it is ſaid, ' Mr Nicolle, or Mr Lancelot, was the firſt who ' publiſhed this notion againſt quibbles, in a collection ' of verſes and epigrams of the Antients (47).' Mr Menage therefore did not certainly know that Mr Nicolle was the author of the preface placed before this collection.

(43) Baillet, Judgments on the Poets, *Tom. i, num.* 1080.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) He has taxed him even with ſome ſoleciſms. The new Anſwer to the Provincial Letters, in the ſeventh dialogue, *pag. m.* 297, ſays, that Wendrock has now and then committed ſome very egregious ſoleciſms among thoſe fine Latin phraſes, which made thoſe who are not judges look upon him as the Cicero of his party.

* See Father Vavaſſeur, Treatiſe on the Epigram.

(47) Menagiana, *pag.* 301, 302, of the firſt edition of Holland.

Note, that the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, have publiſhed ſeveral books for the uſe of youth. It was principally with regard to their own ſcholars; for it is certain, they had ſome. *The Latin Method*; *the Greek Method*; *the Garden of Greek Roots*; *the Art of Thinking*; *the* Delectus Epigrammatum, *&c.* are works purpoſely compoſed by them for the inſtruction of ſome diſciples whoſe education they had undertaken. They had a war upon their hands with the Jeſuits on this ſubject: ſo that all the quarrels of theſe two parties did not turn upon the doctrine of grace, and on the corruptions of morality. We have ſeen that Father Vavaſſeur criticized Mr Nicolle on the nature of the epigram: he publiſhed a very fine treatiſe upon this ſubject; and we may be ſure his deſign was only to take an opportunity of cenſuring Mr Nicolle's Diſſertation: he well knew that it came from Port-Royal. Before him Father Labbe made it his buſineſs to contradict the grammatical works of theſe gentlemen who attacked him a little roughly in a Preface (48). If he is to be credited, they had ſeveral ſchools. *I was ſhewn*, ſays he, *at the ſame time a little book, intituled*, The Garden of Greek Roots, put into French, with a tract of Prepoſitions, and other undeclined Particles, and an alphabetical Collection of French words derived from the Greek Tongue, *and printed in the year* 1647, *by the care, as was ſaid, of ſome patriots of Janſeniſm, for the familiar inſtruction as well of the little ſchools, which they then had in three houſes about the abbey of Port-Royal in the Fields, as of thoſe which were diſperſed in ſeveral villages and caſtles in the neighbourhood of this great city, the capital of the kingdom, and elſewhere in the provinces. We have in this college of Clermont ſome ſcholars, who have learnt them there themſelves, and ſeen them taught their ſchool-fellows; as alſo in the college of one of the good cities of Picardy, which is not one of the moſt remote from Paris* (49). Some pages after he tells us, that the king had lately broke all their ſchools. I will relate his obſervation ſomewhat at large; in which we ſhall ſee the effects of prepoſſeſſion and hatred. Father Labbe imagined theſe gentlemen were capable of cauſing a thouſand diſorders, by this little collection of French words, derived from the Greek, which they had joined to the Garden of Greek Roots. He repreſented (50) to the French academy the heinouſs of this attempt, and inſiſted, that this ſect of new Helleniſts ought to be ſuppreſſed *I have called*, ſays he (51), *their deſign by the name of a ſect, becauſe what has been done by the preceding Helleniſts, produced no ill conſequences, nor occaſioned any great miſchief among our French youth: but the enterprize of thoſe* Port-Royaliſts, *who may take for their motto*, Legio nomen noſtrum eſt, - - - *Our name is legion, if it had met with all the ſucceſs they aimed at, would have directly ruined the Latin and French tongues, and under pretence of teaching their ſcholars Greek, would have thrown them into intolerable abſurdities and blunders, which muſt, in the end, have made us ridiculous and contemptible to foreigners, and to their lateſt poſterity. They have compoſed this famous collection after their rhiming roots, and their Greek and Latin methods, in order, that the youth whom they educated (not only, as we have before obſerved, in the three houſes adjacent to the Abbey of Port-Royal in the Fields, which we ſhall name when there is occaſion, and in many other little blind ſchools in ſome villages and caſtles in the country round about this great city of Paris, but alſo at a diſtance in ſeminaries and colleges of cities and provinces more remote) might draw, as out of a public fountain, and open to all their party, the firſt principles, and the moſt obſcure originals of the French tongue; learning by heart, with great diligence, the words they pretend to have been borrowed, and derived from the Greek by our anceſtors. But GOD has oppoſed their pernicious deſigns, by inſpiring our moſt Chriſtian monarch Lewis XIV with the reſolution of prohibiting and ſuppreſſing all the unlawful aſſemblies of this ſect, where our youth were inſtructed in the dangerous maxims of Janſeniſm, and ſucked from their cradle, as we may ſay, the milk of one of the moſt damnable hereſies, that ever attacked the church.* This is flying into a rage for a very trifle, and diſcovering in the conduct of his enemies a pernicious enterprize, which is nothing but a phantome. It is uſeful to collect examples of this wicked prepoſſeſſion.

(48) That of the Garden of Greek Roots.

(49) Labbe, preface to his Etymologies of ſeveral French words. This book was printed at Paris in 12°, in 1661.

(50) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his *Etymologies*.

(51) Ibid. Pref.

[*F*] *Certain works of Mr Nicolle, which I had not mentioned.*] ' The relation Mr de Marca had made, in ' his way, of all that had been done ſince the year ' 1653, in the aſſemblies of the biſhops on the ſubject ' of the five propoſitions, was no ſooner publiſhed in ' the name of the clergy; but Mr Nicolle, ſurprized ' to find in it a compilation of falſhoods and impoſtures, thought himſelf obliged to make them ' known, to prevent the world from being deceived ' by them (52).' This piece of Mr Nicolle was intituled, ' Belga Percontator: ſive Franciſci Profuturi ' Theologi Belgæ, ſuper Narratione rerum geſtarum ' in Conventu Cleri Gallicani circa Innocentii X Conſtitutionem, Scrupuli, iſtius Narrationis opifici Propoſiti, 25 Februarii 1657. - - *The Belgic Enquirer; or, the Scruples of Francis Profuturus, a Dutch Divine, on the relation of the Tranſactions in the Aſſembly of the Gallican Church, concerning the Conſtitution of Innocent X, propoſed to the Author of that Relation, February* 25, 1657. Some days after, appeared two ' Latin diſquiſitions of the ſame author, under the ' name of Paul Irenæus; in which he demonſtrated, ' that there was no ſuch thing as a Janſenian hereſy; ' and that it was a meer fiction made uſe of by the ' Jeſuits (53).' Theſe two diſquiſitions were followed by

(52) Hiſtory of Janſeniſm, *Tom. II, pag.* 329, Edition of Amſterdam 1700.

(53) Ibid. *pag.* 331.

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by four others in the same year (54). He wrote in 1662 against the Thesis in which the Jesuits of Paris had maintained, the twelfth of December 1661, *that the Pope had the same infallibility as* JESUS CHRIST, *to determine questions of fact as well as questions of right* (55). He shewed (56) 'how contrary 'this new opinion of the Jesuits was to the laws and 'customs of France. But this writing falling into 'the hands of one who stuffed it with impertinencies, 'and printed it with this title, *A Defence of the Liber-* 'ties of the Gallican Church against the Theses of the 'Jesuits of the college of Clermont of the twelfth of De- 'cember, 1661, this work was disowned and sup- 'pressed by the Jansenists, who substituted in it's 'room, the first of February, *the pernicious consequences* 'of the new heresy of the Jesuits against the king and 'the state: to which was added, *a refutation of the* 'cavils wherewith some Divines endeavour to elude the 'authority of the councils of Constance and Basil.' Note, that the eighteen letters concerning the imaginary heresy (57) which appeared in 1664, and 1665 (58), are ascribed to him.

Let us add a word or two of his posthumous works. The tenth tome of his Moral Essays was printed at the Hague in 1700, with an advertisement, *that the executors of this famous author have in their hands several of his writings not yet printed, and that they will take care to have them speedily published.* See Mr Bernard in his *News from the Republic of Letters* (59), and Mr de Beauval in his *History of the Works of the Learned* (60). I do not know whether they reckon amongst those writings the *interlineary glosi, and the Greek notes that Mr Nicolle wrote with his own hand on the Greek text of Lycophron* (61). But I believe, that they reckon the Treatise of Grace he composed some years before his death. It is affirmed in the History of the five Propositions (62), that he wrote it, *against the system of Jansenius, Mr Arnauld, and Father Q. . . . ; and that he confutes nothing in all this treatise, but* physical *necessity, that is, the inevitable and absolute necessity of doing the ill we do: and in order to confute it, he acknowledges in all sinners a sufficient grace, which delivers them from this necessity, by giving them a* physical *power, entire and absolute, of avoiding evil; without which power they could not be culpable for what they do; and by virtue whereof it may be truly said of the most obdurate, that they may abstain from evil; as it is true, that a man of honour, who is in his senses, may, if he pleases, in the face of the world, commit the greatest extravagances. This is the instance Mr Nicolle makes use of.* This treatise of Mr Nicolle, upon Grace, was printed in 1699, and re-printed the year following. It contains only 105 pages in 12mo. You will find the abstract of it in the Journal of Trevoux (63).

(54) Ibid. *pag.* 334, 371, 374, 375.

(55) Ibid. *Tom.* 2, *pag.* 3.

(56) Id. ib. *p.* 6.

(57) Ten of them are intituled *Les Imaginaires*, and eight of them *Les Visionnaires*.

(58) *See the* History of the five Propositions of Jansenism, *pag.* 293.

(59) August 1700, *pag.* 213, 214.

(60) August 1700, *pag.* 357, *& seq.*

(61) *See the preface of the* Telemacomanie, *pag. m.* 6.

(62) History of the five propositions, *pag.* 139, 140. *Edit. of Liege* 1695.

(63) *For the months of March and April* 1701, *pag.* 182, *& seq. of the Dutch edition.*

NIDHARD (*a*) (JOHN EVERARD), confessor to the queen, mother of Charles II, king of Spain, was born the eighth of December 1607, in the castle of Falkenstein in Austria [*A*]. 'He entred himself a Jesuit the fifth of October 1631, and having finished all his studies taught Morality, Philosophy, and the Canon-Law, in the university of Gratz. He would also have read School-Divinity, if the emperor Ferdinand III, had not sent for him to his court [*B*]. He was at first confessor to the arch-duchess Mary-Anne; and afterwards confessor and preceptor to the arch-duke Leopold (*b*). He followed this princess into Spain, when she went thither to be married to king Philip IV (*c*); for the emperor Ferdinand would not suffer her to change her confessor. the king of Spain had so great an esteem for this Jesuit, that he was desirous of procuring him a cardinal's hat in 1665; but Nidhard beseeched him not to have any thoughts of it. After the death of this prince he was honoured with the post of Inquisitor-general by the queen-mother (*d*), and he had a great share in the government. The party which was formed against him, which was headed by John of Austria natural son of Philip IV, was so potent, that notwithstanding the queen's protection, her confessor was forced to retire [*C*]. He left Madrid in the midst of the curses of the populace the twenty-fifth of February 1669 (*e*). The

(*a*) It is pronounced *Nitard*.

(*b*) Who was elected emperor in 1658.

(*c*) In 1650.

(*d*) *Taken from* Nathaniel Southwell Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, *pag.* 441, 442. See also the Epistle Dedicatory of that work.

(*e*) Bouhours, *ubi infra, pag.* 289, *& seq.*

[*A*] *He was born . . . . in the castle of Falkenstein.*] The Bibliographer of the Jesuits does not take any notice to us (1) of the religion of John Everard Nidhard's parents: he contents himself with telling us they were noble. There are accounts which affirm, that they were strict Lutherans. Madam d'Aunoi having said, that the ministers of state were disgusted, that the queen-mother (2) *had, without consulting them, disposed of a very important place* (3), *and in favour of a stranger* (4), *who was born, and bred up, till fourteen years of age, in the Lutheran Religion*, puts these words in the margin: 'Tho' it was true that he had been 'a Lutheran, and that it was objected to him, yet he 'stoutly denied it, because that would have excluded 'him from this post (5).' Father Southwell dedicating his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* to Cardinal Nidhard, speaks in a very different manner: 'Quando claræ memoriæ, *says he*, Genitor Eminentiæ 'vestræ à principibus Austriacis Commissarius Gene- 'ralis constitutus ad expellendos ex hæreditariis ipso- 'rum provinciis hæreticos (6), id ille ingenti animi 'fortitudine ac zelo præstitit, quantumvis non sine 'discrimine vitæ suæ, & jactura fortunarum non exi- 'gua. - - - - *When*, says he, *your Eminence's father, of illustrious memory, was constituted by the Austrian princes, their commissary, to expel the Heretics out of their hereditary dominions, he discharged that trust with great intrepidity and zeal, though not without the hazard of his life, and no small loss of his estate.*'

Father Baron relates that he had heard a credible person say, that our Nidhard had been a captain of horse, and that he was a man grown when he abjured Lutheranism, which he had imbibed in his infancy (7).

[*B*] *If the emperor Ferdinand III, had not sent for him to his court.*] Madam d'Aunoi does not speak in that manner: This is her account. 'Among several 'others whom the emperor appointed to attend the 'queen, his daughter, he chose Father John Everard 'Nidhard, a German Jesuit, for her confessor. His 'birth was obscure; and his wit was almost the only 'means of making his fortune: he was supple and 'complaisant; he studied the character of those he 'had occasion for, and never opposed their sentiments. 'He performed his studies in the Jesuits college at 'Vienna, where he took the habit of the order, and 'they sent him afterwards to some of their houses, 'which he governed very well. When he returned 'to Vienna, he began to make himself known, and a 'great many ladies of the court took him for their 'confessor: They omitted nothing to do him good 'offices with the emperor; and they spoke so advan- 'tageously of him, that he was pleased the queen 'should take him along with her (8).' There are, perhaps, some circumstances in this account which are not true; I leave the examination of it to the reader.

[*C*] *Notwithstanding the queen's protection, he was forced to retire.*] The accounts of the differences between Don John of Austria and the queen-regent, are so common in every body's hands, that I shall not give the particulars. Madam d'Aunoi, whose works have been so often printed, has spoke very exactly of them. It is pity the public cannot be persuaded that she deserves much credit. It has prevailed, as a general opinion, that her works are a mixture of fictions and truths, half romance, and half history; and there is no other way to distinguish fiction from true matter of fact, but by comparing her's with other books. It is an inconvenience which daily gets ground by the liberty that is taken to publish the secret amours, the secret history, *&c.* of such and such lords famous in History. Booksellers and authors do all they can to make it believed that these secret Histo- ries

(1) That is in the article of *John Everard Nidhard*; but you will find at the end of this remark what he says in his Epistle Dedicatory.

(2) Memoirs of the court of Spain, *Part i. pag.* 6. *Hol. Edit.*

(3) That of Inquisitor-general.

(4) That is of Father Nitard.

(5) Memoirs of the court of Spain. *Part i, pag.* 7.

(6) Note, that it may be pretended he does not contradict Madam d'Aunoi. For from Nitard's father's being commissioned to prosecute the Lutherans, it does not follow that he was not a Lutheran till 1621, when his son was fourteen years old.

(7) Vincent Baronius, Apolog. Ord. Pred. *Tom. i. pag.* 524.

(8) Memoirs of the court of Spain, *Part i, pag.* 2, 3.

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The queen *signed with a steddy countenance* the decree that had been brought her *ready drawn up for this expulsion* (*f*). We shall see, below, the contents of it [*D*], and the better to salve appearances she made a declaration the next day *by which her majesty gave the ministers of state to understand, that being no longer able to withstand her father-confessor's frequent importunities to retire: she had permitted him to go to Rome in the quality of embassador extraordinary, and she desired it might be known that he went thither with all the honours, pensions, and employs, that he before enjoyed* (*g*). He went to the court of Rome where he was ambassador extraordinary from Spain to Clement IX (*b*) [*E*]. In the following Pontificate he was ambassador ordinary from the same crown; and in order that the might be able to support that character with greater lustre, he was promoted to the dignity of archbishop (*i*). At last he obtained the cardinal's hat in 1672 (*k*) He published some books, and prepared some others for the press, which run all upon the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin (*l*) [*F*].

(*f*) Relation of the difference between Don John of Austria, and cardinal Nitard, *Tom. ii, pag.* 13. *Edit. of Cologne* 1677.

(*g*) *Father Nitard's Departure from Spain*, translated from the Spanish, by Father Bouhours. See his Opuscules, *pag* 292.

(*b*) Southwell, *ubi supra, pag.* 442.

(*i*) He was made titular archbishop of Edessa.

(*k*) *See the book intituled*, Memoirs of the Intrigues of the court of Rome, from 1669, to 16-6, *pag.* 130, *&c. seq. Paris Edit.* 1677.

(*l*) Southwell, *ubi supra.*

We ries have been taken from private manuscripts: they very well know, that love-intrigues, and such like adventures, please more when they are believed to be real, than when they are thought to be mere fables. From hence it is, that the new romances keep as far off as possible from the romantic way: but by this means true history is made extreamly obscure; and I believe the civil powers will at last be forced to give these new romancers their option; either to write pure history, or pure romance; or at least to use crotchets to separate the one from the other, truth from fiction (9).

(9) *Compare with this what is said in the* News from the Republic of Letters, *October* 1684, *Art. viii, of the catalogue of new books.*

[*D*] *We shall see, below, the contents of this decree of expulsion.*] The queen signed it (10), saying, 'she 'never had desired any thing but what was for the advantage of the state; and since this was of that 'nature, she would have it executed. This was done 'very honourably: for, to express her majesty's esteem 'for this Jesuit, the decree was drawn up in these 'terms: *John Everard Nitard, a Religious of the 'society of JESUS, my confessor, counsellor of state, 'and Inquisitor-general, having intreated me to permit 'him to retire out of the kingdom: though I am very 'well satisfied of his virtue, and of his other good qualities, as well as of his zeal and care for my service; 'yet having regard to his request, and for other considerations, I have given him the permission he desires to 'retire whither he shall think fit: but desiring he may do 'it with all the decency and honour that are due to his 'dignities, and especially to his merit, I have resolved to 'give him the title of embassador extraordinary from this 'court to Germany or Rome, which he shall chuse, without resigning any of his employs, or of the profits he 'draws from them. Madrid the twenty-fifth of February* 1669.

(10) Relation of the difference of John of Austria with cardinal Nitard, *Tom. ii. pag.* 13. *Edit. of Cologne* 1677.

THE QUEEN.

[*E*] *He went from thence to the court of Rome, where he was embassador extraordinary from Spain to Clement IX.*] As Father Southwell, whom I have followed, has passed lightly over the condition in which Father Nidhard at first found himself at Rome, what is wanting in his account, ought to be supplied. 'This 'Jesuit flattered himself that he should no sooner 'come to Rome but he would be made a cardi'nal; but for want of being provided with creden'tial letters for his embassy, he was extreamly out 'in his imagination. All that he could do was to 'send an account to Madrid of his arrival at Rome, 'and to desire letters, by virtue of which he might 'act. Many consultations were had on this account; 'and at last, as they knew his character, they sent him 'an order to procure a decision on the question of the 'Conception, and granted him an appointment of a'bout four thousand livres; with which he was made 'embassador capone. But the marquis of St Romain, 'who, in that conjuncture, was our embassador in 'ordinary to his holiness, judging the glory of this 'crown to be concerned in it, assisted him with all his 'power; and lent him his train and his equipage, that 'he might appear with some grandeur: but this hin'dered not the court of Rome from discovering very 'quickly what sort of man he was (11).' The Pope having a cardinal's hat to dispose of to the Spaniards, desired they *would nominate some persons worthy of it* (12). The council of state proposed three to him: the queen pretended to approve this choice, *and writ herself about it to the Pope, and the marquis of St Romain*; but by the same courier *she secretly desired the Pope to bestow the hat on Father Nitard.*

(11) Ibid. *p.* 112.

(12) Ibid. *p.* 113.

The Pope declared to this marquis, '(13) That Fa'ther Nitard had no hat to hope for; and that far'ther, he was instantly to be dismissed from his em'ploy of Inquisitor-general, in favour of Don Diego 'Sarmiento Valladares, president of Castile, who had 'been nominated to it; which Father Nitard would 'by no means hearken to. It is said, that the rea'son of his obstinacy proceeded from this; that Father 'Salinas, his confident in this kingdom, had sent 'word, that affairs were disposing in such a manner, 'that he might promise himself a very speedy return, 'and that he should have an apartment in the palace, 'with private stairs, by which he might, whenever 'he pleased, have admittance to the queen, and that 'he might govern the monarchy without any trouble; 'so that it would be most prudent for him not to 'part with his place of Inquisitor-general. This let'ter so agreeably flattered his imagination, that he 'resolved to follow that advice, being besides per'suaded, that he should quickly be a cardinal. But, 'in the interim, the marquis of St Romain signified 'his Holiness's order to him; so that the poor man, 'who flattered himself with being made a cardinal 'and regent of Spain, was so surprized with this 'sudden change, that he turned as cold as marble: 'It is said too, that he fell into a swoon, and was 'above an hour before he came to himself. It is af'firmed for certain, that the general of his order, 'seeing him deprived of all his employments, and that 'when he came to Rome, he had not paid that 'duty he owed to his reverence, ordered him to de'part from Rome immediately, and to retire into a 'neighbouring convent, called . . . . and that as soon 'as he was there he discharged all his domestics . . (14). 'This news (15) so surprized the queen, that it threw 'her into a Tertian Fever, which disordered her 'very much.'

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 116, 117.

(14) Ibid. *p.* 115.

(15) That is, that the cardinal's hat was given to Don Lewis Fernandez de Portocarrero dean of Toledo.

[*F*] *He prepared some books . . . . which run all upon the controversy concerning the immaculate conception.*] The author of the apology of the Nuns of Port-Royal, printed in 1665, drew a very merry parallel betwixt the conduct of Father Annat, in the affair of Jansenism, and that of Father Nidhard in the dispute concerning the immaculate conception. He shews many resemblances betwixt these two father-confessors, and the two affairs they prosecuted, one in France, the other in Spain. The only difference he finds is, that the Jesuit Nidhard (16), *did not appear altogether so violent as Father Annat* (17), *and exceeded him in subtilty.* The Jesuits having obtained *of her Catholic majesty an order to sollicit the definition of the immaculate conception at Rome, this proposal was seriously hearkened to at Rome, but they contented themselves with putting off the Spanish Jesuits, with a provisional bull.* 'It is expressly for'bidden by this bull, upon pain of excommunication, 'to accuse of mortal sin or heresy, such as did not 'hold the opinion of the immaculate conception: 'and hereby the Dominicans thought themselves safe 'from the insults of the Jesuits. But Father Nid'hard . . . . has quickly found the way of shaking 'off these fetters, and of setting himself at liberty 'to accuse the Dominicans of heresy and mortal sin. 'The Pope's injunction, says he, is only against those 'who do it *affirmatively*; but he has not forbidden to 'do it *problematically, and several other ways:* so that, 'when the Dominicans shall complain, that they are 'charged with heresy in a question not subject to it, 'the Jesuits will be clear, by saying they do not call 'them Heretics *affirmatively*, but *problematically, and 'several other ways.* Afterwards, lest the doctrine 'of

(16) Apology for the nuns of Port-Royal. *Part iv, in the preface.*

(17) Ibid. *fol.* †† 2, *verso.*

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We are told a pleaſant reaſon of the friendſhip the queen-mother of the king of Spain conceived for this Jeſuit [G].

' of the immaculate conception ſhould not be thought ' more certain after the Pope's bull, than it was be- ' fore, the good Father Nidhard, has, by his argu- ' ments, raiſed it to the higheſt point of human cer- ' tainty. He thought it was doing nothing, to main- ' tain, that it is morally certain, becauſe thereby it ' would not be abſolutely impoſſible but it might be ' falſe, which ſeems to him a great inconvenience. ' He therefore goes farther, and maintains in the ſe- ' cond place, that it is *phyſically certain*. One would ' think he might have fairly ſtopped there, and that there ' needed no more, than that it was as certain the Vir- ' gin was conceived without original ſin, as it is cer- ' tain the ſun ſhines. But Father Nidhard is not yet ' contented with this degree; he will have this opi- ' nion to be *metaphyſically certain*, that is, as certain as ' theſe firſt principles: every thing is, or is not: the ' whole is greater than one of its parts. What could ' be deſired after this? Yet Father Nidhard never- ' theleſs deſires ſomething more, becauſe there was ' nothing but what was natural in all this certainty; ' whereas he was willing it ſhould have ſomething ſu- ' pernatural. For which reaſon he eſtabliſhes a fourth ' degree, which he calls *infallible certainty*, pretend- ' ing that this doctrine was immediately derived from a ' propoſition of faith. But if you demand of this ' good Father the foundation of all theſe certainties ' *moral, phyſical, metaphyſical*, and *infallible*, which he ' aſcribes to this opinion; he will tell you in a ' word, *it reſts on the infallibility of the Pope, in the ' inſtitution of feaſts and fraternities*. From whence ' he concludes, that the Pope permitting or ordain- ' ing their inſtitution in honour of the immaculate ' conception, this doctrine muſt be certain in all theſe ' ways.' The Nuns apologiſt adds to this, that the Jeſuits *have diſtinguiſhed two things in this opinion; the* truth *and* piety, *or* laudability. *It is not material to faith, ſay they, that it be true, but it is material to faith that it be pious and laudable. And thus the Dominicans are Heretics, not becauſe they do not believe this opinion true, but becauſe they do not believe it pious.* Father Nidhard, coutinues he (18), *enforces as much as poſſible the new article of faith, concerning the* laudability *of the opinion of the* conception. He ſhews, *That the Dominicans were obliged to pronounce the formula* (19), *whatever private notions they had of this opinion. . . . . He ſuppoſes the Pope to have a right to confer upon opi- nions, the truth whereof he does not yet define, a certain degree, as he calls it, of* indubitability, *by forbidding the calling them in queſtion, directly or indirectly, and the teſtifying by any ſign, the leaſt doubt one might have about them. He ſuppoſes, that by the bull of the con- ception, tho' the truth of that opinion be not defined as a matter of faith, yet it is eſtabliſhed in this degree of in- dubitability.* The Pope, *ſays Father Nidhard*, will have this opinion to be indubitable. VULT illam eſſe indubitabilem, vult ut nemo dubitet. He will have every thing ſuppreſſed which might occa- ſion the leaſt doubt about this privilege of the holy Virgin. VULT taceri quodcunque in dubitationem poſſet Virginis privilegium revocare. *This foundation being laid, he adds, that the ſilence of the Dominicans, and their refuſal to pronounce this formula, brings this privilege in queſtion. Therefore, ſays he, the Dominicans are not only blameable when they ſpeak, but even by their ſilence they oppoſe the order of the Pope, ſince there is a* ſpeaking ſilence, *which gives as great offence as words themſelves.* Non tantùm loquentes culpantur Domini- cani, ſed etiam tacentes adverſus totam Pontificis diſ- poſitionem obloquuntur. Quapropter eſt loquens ſi- lentium quod non minus quàm vox ipſa producit ſcan- dalum. *From all which he concludes, that they commit a mortal ſin by this ſilence, and that they ought to be forced to pronounce this formulary.* It cannot be doubt- ed, ſays he, but that this ſilence violates the bull, and conſequently that he who violates the bull by his ſi- lence, is guilty of a mortal ſin. Laſtly, he under- takes to prove (20), ' that there is no lie in the ex- ' ternal pronunciation of the words of the formula- ' ry, tho' a man does not believe the contents of it. ' He who ſpeaks, ſays he, conformably to a proba- ' ble opinion, tho' he believes the contrary to be ' alſo probable, does not lie. Now, it is probable, ' that the Virgin was conceived without original ſin. ' And therefore the Dominicans may ſpeak conforma- ' bly to this opinion. But if their judgment cannot ' comply with the probability of the opinion of the ' immaculate conception; What is to be done? Would ' they not then be guilty of a lie? No, ſays Father ' Nidhard, becauſe it ſuffices to conform our affection ' to our words, without conforming to them our under- ' ſtanding, *etiam cum retentione proprii judicii.*'

(18) Ibid. fol. †† 3.

(19) That is to conform to the ſenſe of ſeveral Spaniſh preachers, who ſay at the beginning of their ſermons, praiſed be the holy Sacrament of the holy altar, and the pure and immacu- late conception of the Virgin mo- ther of God, con- ceived without o- riginal ſin, in the firſt inſtant of her being.

(20) Ibid. fol. †† 3 verſo.

I thought it would not be diſagreeable to the reader, to find here an analyſis of Father Nidhard's works upon the immaculate conception. See the margin (21).

(21) It is mani- feſt from this Analyſis, that Father Nidhard was very much ac- quainted with the moſt abſtract and ſubtile diſcuſſions of the ſchools.

But I muſt not paſs over in ſilence, that the Jacobin Vincent Baron, having imputed to this Jeſuit almoſt the ſame things which have been juſt now mentioned, retracted them in another work, printed in 1666, and made a moſt reſpectful ſatisfaction to this father-con- feſſor of the queen-mother of his Catholic majeſty. ' Lætor, *ſays he* (22), datum mihi occaſionem re- ' tractandi quæ temerè de illo ſcripſeram, & quam ' ex nimiâ credulitate religioſiſſimo viro intuli inju- ' riam ſanè atrocem, quâ poſſum, reſarciendi. - - - - - ' *I am very glad to meet with an opportunity of retract- ing what I had raſhly written concerning him, and of repairing by all means poſſible the intolerable injury I had done that moſt religious man by my too great cre- dulity.*' He confeſſes, 1. That he had not read the book that bore the name of Father Nidhard. 2. That he had truſted to the deceitful relation of a certain author, who pretended to have taken from a work printed at Doüay the interpretation this Jeſuit gave to the bull of Alexander VII, concerning the conception of the holy Virgin. 3. That he had ſought for the book in queſtion, amongſt the Bookſellers of Paris, and had ſollicited the Dominicans of Doüay to let him ſee a copy of it, but that he could never obtain it; and therefore his opinion is, that it is wrongfully imputed to Father Nidhard. He gives ſeveral reaſons for his opinion, which are not very convincing, and which I ſhall not give myſelf the trouble of examining. I will only re- late one thing, which ſhews, that the book which he will not have attributed to the queen-mother's con- feſſor, is the ſame from which the writer of Port- Royal has taken what we have ſeen above: ' Incide- ' ram in Authorem neſcio quem: is forte aliorum ' dictis, ſicut ego ipſe ejus lectione deceptus, quam ' citato loco adnotavi, Pontificii de Conceptione de- ' creti præpoſteram omninò interpretationem retulit ex ' libro hujus Authoris, ut narrabat, Duaci edito, aſ- ' citam Conceptionis Immaculatæ *Laudabilitatem* ex ' Pontificiis ſanctionibus, Catholicis indubitatam, con- ' tendebat ad certitudinem fidei proximam, per qua- ' tuor gradus ſuprà Moralem, ſuprà Phyſicarum dig- ' nitatum, & Metaphyſicarum demonſtrationum, imo ' ſupra principiorum per ſe notorum, & indemonſtra- ' bilium evidentiam arcanum Immaculatæ Concep- ' tionis proveniſſe: unde inferebat, quamvis ultima ' Alexandri VII Conſtitutione cautum ſit, ne ſecùs ' ſentientes damnentur, aut vexentur, aſſertive & fide ' certâ, poſſe tamen illis notam erroris inuri, & pœnas ' problematicè infligi (23). - - - - - *I have met with a certain author, who perhaps being deceived by the repreſentation of others, as I was by his, which I have taken notice of in the paſſage quoted, has given a very prepoſterous interpretation of the Pope's decree concerning the conception, from the book of this author, publiſhed, as he affirmed, at Doüay: it aſſerts, that the* laudability *aſcribed to the immaculate conception by the pontifical conſtitutions, and believed without ſcruple by the Catholics, amounts to a certainty next to faith, thro' four degrees, above moral certainty, above phyſi- cal dignities, and metaphyſical demonſtrations, even a- bove ſelf-evident principles; from whence it inferred, that tho' by the laſt bull of Alexander VII, it be de- creed, that thoſe who believed otherwiſe ſhould not be ſentenced or diſturbed, aſſertively, and by a determina- tion of faith, yet they may problematically be accuſed and puniſhed as Heretics.*'

(22) Vincent. Baron. Apolog. ordinis prædicat. *lib. iii. Art. ul- timo, pag.* 524, 525.

(23) Id. id. *pag.* 525.

[G] *We are told, a pleaſant reaſon of the friendſhip the queen-mother of Spain conceived for this Jeſuit.*] This is a ſtory I find in a letter of Mr Bourſault, and I re- late it without any alteration. ' Cardinal Nidhard roſe ' (24) by a method, which never before was taken, ' and perhaps never will be again, and paſſed from ' the ſociety of JESUS to that of the cardinals, which ' he

(24) That is, to his greatneſs.

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' he liked better. The late queen of Spain, mother ' to the preſent king, and ſiſter to the emperor, car- ' ried him along with her when ſhe went to be mar- ' ried to Philip IV. This princeſs, who in Germany ' enjoyed a great liberty, and was gratified with every ' thing ſhe deſired, did not find the ſame ſatisfaction ' in Spain. Every thing there is ſo exactly deter- ' mined, that their queens can neither eat nor drink ' but what is appointed by the general officer, to ' whom that care is committed; and if they are ' thirſty between meals, they are treated with a glaſs ' of water. It was difficult for her to conform to a ' manner of life ſo different from what ſhe had led: ' and Father Nidhard, who was a Jeſuit, *ergo* a man ' of addreſs, having obſerved it, brought her ma- ' jeſty every morning when he went to maſs, a bot- ' tle of the beſt wine he could meet with, which he ' committed to a truſty perſon, and which the queen ' had the pleaſure to drink of, as often as ſhe had ' occaſion. This Father's aſſiduity, in doing her this ' little ſervice, ſo ſtrongly affected her, that ſhe re- ' ſolved to recompenſe ſo great a zeal, if ever it lay ' in her power: and in effect, being declared regent ' after the king's death, ſhe raiſed him to ſo high a ' pitch, that Don John of Auſtria growing jealous of ' him, and the grandees of Spain demanding his re- ' moval, he could not be diſmiſſed but by making him ' a cardinal (25), and ambaſſador extraordinary at ' Rome; where he died (26).' What has been ſaid, that a great fortune is a great ſlavery, *magna ſervitus eſt magna fortuna* (27), is moſt remarkably veri- fied in a queen of Spain, who has been educated in France or Germany, or in any other country which allows the ſex liberty.

(25) Mr Bourfault is miſtaken in this; for Father Nidhard had not the hat till three years after his departure from the court of Spain.

(26) Bourfault, New Letters, *pag.* 378, 379. *Dutch Edit.* 1698.

(27) Seneca de Conſol. ad Polybium, *cap. xxvi, pag. m.* 722.

(*a*) Non humanarum modo literarum, ſed & philoſophiæ, & aſtrologiæ, & rei medicæ conſultiſſimus extitit. *Glandorp. Onom. pag.* 625. He has been copied by the author of the additions to Charles Stephens, and afterwards by Lloyd and Hoffman.

NIGIDIUS FIGULUS (PUBLIUS), one of the moſt learned men of antient Rome [*A*], flouriſhed at the ſame time with Cicero. He wrote ſeveral books upon various ſubjects [*B*]; but they were found ſo ſubtile and difficult, that they were neglected [*C*]. Some authors ſay he underſtood Phyſic perfectly well (*a*): I do not find any proofs of it. The other things they ſay of him are atteſted by the antients, as that he was a good Humaniſt, a good Philoſopher [*D*], and a great Aſtrologer

[*A*] *One of the moſt learned men of antient Rome.*] Aulus Gellius has expreſſed this elogy ſeveral ways: He ſays in one place, ' P. Nigidius homo in omnium ' bonarum artium diſciplinis egregius (1) - - - - *P. Nigidius, a man eminently endowed with univerſal knowledge:*' in another, ' Verba ſunt hæc ipſa P. Nigidii, hominis in ſtudiis bonarum artium præcellentis (2) - - - *Theſe are the words of P. Nigidius, a man of excellent taſte in all uſeful arts*;' or, ' In diſciplinis doctrinarum omnium præcellentis (3) - - - *Excellent in all branches of learning:*' in another place, ' P. Nigidius homo impenſe doctus non minus ' arguto ſubtilique ἐτύμῳ interpretatur (4). - - - *P. Nigidius, a man exceedingly learned, gives a no leſs curious and ingenious etymology.*' He ſays ſomewhere, that next to Varro, he was the moſt learned man in Rome (5); but in another place he affirms it without exception (6). Servius has ſo divided the pre-eminence betwixt theſe two, as to give it to Varro in Divine ſubjects, and to Nigidius in human learning. Both of them, adds he, have writ upon both theſe ſubjects. *Nigidius Figulus ſolus poſt Varronem: licet Varro præcellat in Theologia, hic in communibus litteris: nam uterque utrumque ſcripſerunt* (7). I ſhall cite other elogies in the following remarks.

(1) Aulus Gellius Noct. Attic. *lib x, cap. xi.* Macrob. Saturn. *lib. vi, cap. viii. pag. m.* 565, uſes the ſame words, citing Nigidius.

(2) Id. Aulus Gellius, *lib. xi, cap. xi.*

(3) Id. *lib. xiii, cap. xxiv.*

(4) Id. *lib. xiii, cap. x.*

(5) Nigidius Figulus homo, ut ego arbitror, juxta M. Varronem doctiſſimus. *Id lib. iv, cap. ix.*

(6) P. Nigidius civitatis Romanæ doctiſſimus. *Id. lib. xvii, cap. vii.*

(7) Servius in Virgil. Æn. lib. X. ver. 175.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral books upon various ſubjects.*] He wrote ſome *de Augurio privato*: *de Animalibus*: *de Extis*: *de Vento*: Aulus Gellius has ſometimes cited them, but not ſo often as the great work of Grammar I ſhall ſpeak of preſently. Macrobius (8) cites Nigidius's nineteenth book *de Diis*, who had alſo written *de Sphæra barbarica & græcanica*, as Servius affirms (9). Pliny has often cited Nigidius, and tho' he does not mention the title of the books, yet we know he means thoſe *de Animalibus*, except in one place (10), where, according to all appearance he had in view a work of Aſtronomy, the ſame perhaps out of which the Commentator upon Aratus has cited ſeveral paſſages. The book *de Animalibus* has been honourably mentioned by Sammonicus Serenus: ' Quod ' ait Plinius de acipenſeris ſquamis, id verum eſſe ' maximus rerum naturalium indagator Nigidius Figulus oſtendit, in cujus libro de animalibus quarto ita ' poſitum eſt (11). - - - *What Pliny ſays of the ſcales of the ſturgeon, is ſhewn to be true by Nigidius Figulus, the moſt curious enquirer into Natural Hiſtory, in whoſe fourth book of Animals it is ſo affirmed.*' The Commentary upon Cicero's epiſtles in Grævius's edition (12) furniſhes a note aſcribed to Paulus Manutius (13). This note is very learned, but yet erroneous in giving as for Macrobius's words, thoſe that he has cited from Sammonicus; and the author ſhould not have conjectured that Nigidius has written *de Deis*, nor have quoted for it only Arnobius (14); for we have expreſs teſtimonies of this fact (15). It is ſaid in the ſame note, that Donatus affirms, that Nigidius had explained Terence's Comedies: *interpretatus eſt Comœdias Terentii teſte Donato.* But Rutgerſius thinks, that all that Donatus cites from Nigidius, was taken from his Commentaries on Grammar (16). Note, that Rutgerſius (17) has collected all the fragments he could find of Nigidius; and has alſo publiſhed a Greek tranſlation of a treatiſe of this author, done by John Laurentius of Philadelphia. It is a kind of Almanack, containing preſages of thunder for each particular day.

(8) Macrob. Saturn. *lib. iii. cap. iv. pag. m.* 391.

(9) Servius in Georg. lib. I, ver. 19, 43, 218.

(10) Plin. *lib. vi. circa fin.*

(11) Sammonicus Serenus apud Macrobium Saturn. *lib. ii, cap. xii. pag. m.* 364.

(12) Page 217 of the firſt volume *ad Familiares.*

(13) There is at the end of the Note, P. *Manutius in argum. ep.*

(14) Arnobius *lib. iii. pag. m.* 119, 123, 124. cites Nigidius for things relating to the Heathen deities.

(15) That of Servius in *Eclog. iv. ver. x.* that of *Macrob. Saturn. lib. iii, cap. iv.* and that of *Nonius Marcellus* at the word *obſcundamter*, and at the word *liba.*

(16) Janus Rutgerſius Variar. Lect. *lib. iii. pag.* 269.

(17) Ibid. *pag.* 246, *& ſeq.*

[*C*] *They were found ſo . . . . difficult that they were neglected.*] The words of Aulus Gellius are remarkable: ' Ætas M. Ciceronis & C. Cæſaris præſtanti ' facundia viros paucos habuit: doctrinarum autem ' multiformium variarumque artium, quibus humanitas erudita eſt, columina habuit M. Varronem & P. ' Nigidium. Sed Varronis quidem monumenta rerum ' ac diſciplinarum, quæ per litteras condidit, in propatulo frequentique uſu feruntur. Nigidianæ autem ' commentationes non proinde in vulgus exeunt: & ' obſcuritas ſubtilitaſque earum tamquam parum utilis ' derelicta eſt, ſicuti ſunt quæ paulo ante legimus in ' commentariis ejus quos grammaticos inſcripſit (18). ' . . . . *The age of Cicero and Cæſar produced few inſtances of extraordinary eloquence: but for the many various arts and ſciences regarding human literature, the great ornaments of it were M. Varro & P. Nigidius. The remains of Varro's writings on theſe ſubjects are indeed every where to be met with, and in frequent uſe. But the works of Nigidius are not ſo public: their obſcurity and ſubtilty as being of very little uſe makes them neglected; as are thoſe which we have a little before read in the commentaries which he has intituled grammatical.*' Here you ſee an example in favour of the maxim, *qui non vult intelligi debet negligi.* I ſhould eaſily believe that this diſcouraging and dark ſubtilty might belong in a more particular manner to his treatiſe of Grammar, divided into a great many books (19).

(18) Aulus Gellius, *lib. xix, cap. xiv.*

(19) Nonius Marcellus, at the word *uxurire*, has cited the thirtieth if we believe Rutgerſius *pag.* 265. But my edition, which is that of Paris 1614, has 25. *Gellius lib. x, cap. v.* has cited the 29.

[*D*] *He was a good Philoſopher.*] This cannot be better proved than by theſe words of Cicero: ' Multa ' ſunt nobis & in academicis conſcripta contra phyſicos, & ſæpe cum P. Nigidio, Carneadeo more & ' modo diſputata. Fuit enim vir ille quum cæteris ' artibus, quæ quidem dignæ libero eſſent, ornatus ' omnibus; tum acer inveſtigator, & diligens earum ' rerum, quæ à natura involutæ videntur. Denique ' ſic judico, poſt illos nobiles Pythagoreos, quorum ' diſciplina extincta eſt quodammodo, quum aliquot ' ſecula in Italia, Siciliaque viguiſſent, hunc extitiſſe ' qui illam renovaret (20). . . . . *There are a great many things wrote by me and in the academies, againſt Natural Philoſophers, which have alſo very often been debated with Nigidius in the way and manner of Carneades. For he was a man not only adorned with all other branches of learning becoming a liberal mind, but alſo a diligent and penetrating enquirer into the moſt obſcure myſteries of nature. In ſhort, according to my judgment, after thoſe illuſtrious Pythagoreans whoſe doctrines were in ſome meaſure extinct, tho' they had prevailed for ſome ages in Italy and Sicily, it is to him we owe the reſtoration of them.*' Here we learn, that Nigidius was the reſtorer of Pythagoriſm, and that he delighted

(20) Cicero de univerſitate init. *fol. m.* 379. *B.*

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Astrologer [E]. This hindered not his concerning himself in government (b), and advancing himself to great offices in the Republic; for he was Prætor (c), and senator (d). He seconded

(b) See the remark [F].

(c) Vives in August. de Civit. Dei, lib. v, cap. iii. Glandorp. ubi supra.

(d) Dio, lib. xlv, circ. init.

to treat things after the manner of the Academics: He discussed them *pro* and *con*, but determined little. Let us note here a fault of *la Popeliniere: It is also said that Nigidius renewed in Sicily and Italy the lost sect of the Pythagoreans* (21). This is mistaking Cicero, who yet said plain enough, not that Nigidius restored this sect in Sicily and Italy; but that it formerly had flourished in Italy and Sicily. Note, that Eusebius has given Nigidius the titles of Pythagorean Philosopher and Magician; 'Nigidius Figulus Pythagoricus & 'Magus in exilio moritur (22). . . . . *Nigidius Figulus 'a Pythagorean and Magician died in exile.*' Dion will presently inform us of something in regard to the latter; and Apuleius, whom I shall also cite, will give us a farther account.

21) La Popeliniere, Hist. of Histories, book v, pag. 302.

22) Euseb. in Chron. num. 1973.

[E] . . . . *and a great Astrologer.*] He was so perfect in the knowledge of the stars, and so successful in erecting figures, that he was suspected of being a Magician. I think Dion's words will bear this sense (23). Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος βουλευτὴς παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο, ἀρτια γαρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τήν τε τῦ κόλπε διακόσμησιν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφορὰς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἑαυτὰς γιγνόμενοι, καὶ ὅσα συμμίγνυντες ἀλλήλοις ἔν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διασάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσι, διέγνω· καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καί αἰτίαν, ὡς τινὰς ἀπορρήτως διαιρεῖς ποιήσων, ἔσχεν. Infanti recens edito Nigidius Figulus senator statim imperium vaticinatus est, qui ea tempestate omnem cœli descriptionem, siderumque differentias, & eorum proprietates, quasque coituum, intervallorumve suorum ratione effectiones ea edunt, adeo callebat, ut arcanis studiis eum uti crederetur. . . . . *To the new born infant Nigidius Figulus, a senator, presently foretold the empire, who at that time so well understood every description of the heavens, the differences and properties of the stars, and the effects they produce by their distances and conjunctions, that he was believed to deal in the Magic art.* The new born child, to whom he predicted the monarchy, was the emperor Augustus. This historian reports, that Nigidius meeting Octavius, asked him why he came so late to the senate. Because my wife, said he, is brought to bed of a boy. You have given us a master, immediately cried out Nigidius. This exclamation troubled Octavius to that degree, as even to make him resolve to kill his son; but the Astrologer diverted him from it, by telling him it was impossible to execute his design. It is not possible, said he, for the child to suffer any thing like it (24). I do not believe that Dion relates the thing exactly; for it is not the custom of great Astrologers to predict before they have erected their schemes of nativity. Now this is a work of application. You will answer, that as there are some who perform the rules of Arithmetic by the sole strength of memory (25), or play at Chess without men, why may not an Astrologer erect within himself the scheme of a nativity without any sensible object? To which I reply, in the first place, that such Arithmeticians, or Chess-players, are very rare; and, in the second place, that all these effects of imagination require time, and a recollection of mind, and cannot be done *extempore*, as Nigidius gave his answer, if we believe Dion. Let us say then that the historian maims his narration, and confounds the circumstances: we must suppose, that Nigidius, finding by Octavius's answer the moment of the birth, contemplated on this figure, or erected it at his leisure, and afterwards made the prediction. Suetonius permits us to believe that this was not done in such great haste. 'Quo natus est die (*Augustus*) *says he*, cum de Catilinæ conjuratione ageretur in curia, & Octavius ob 'uxoris puerperium serius adfuisset, nota ac vulgata 'res est, P. Nigidium comperta moræ causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse, dominum 'terrarum orbi natum (26). . . . . *On the same day 'Augustus was born, the senate being debating on 'Cataline's conspiracy, and Octavius coming thither late, 'on account of his wife being brought to bed, it is a common and known story, that Nigidius being told the reason of his coming no sooner, and the time of the birth, 'foretold that the child was born to be emperor of the 'world.*'

(23) Dio, lib. xlv, init. pag. m. 306.

(24) Ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐςι τοιοῦτόν τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. Quod ei infanti tale quid evenire impossibile foret. Id. ib.

(25) See the Journal of the Learned of the twenty first of November 1678, pag. 416, Dutch Edit.

(26) Sueton. in Augusto, cap. xciv.

The objection I have started against Dion would have less force, if he had considered Nigidius as a Magician; for in that case it might be said, that his Dæmon instantly revealed to him the destiny of Augustus. And therefore it must be observed, that I principally insist upon Dion's observing, that Nigidius, a great Astrologer, only delivered his prediction the same instant in which he knew that Octavius's son was born at such an hour. But I ought not to pass over in silence, that what is told of magical operations, supposes almost always some application of the Magician to certain ceremonies; without which it is not pretended he discovers futurities. I might therefore attack Dion's account also on that side.

I do not enter into the question whether Nigidius, erecting at his leisure the figure of the nativity of Octavius's son, actually predicted that he would be emperor. This question would draw on another: viz. how a great astrologer can discover such events. This is the order to be observed: we must first of all agree upon the fact, and afterwards seek for the causes; for it is mispending our time to examine how it is possible for certain things to be produced, which there is room to doubt whether ever they existed (27). If we were once well assured, that on the very day Augustus was born, his exaltation to the empire was predicted by Nigidius, it would be very reasonable to enquire how such a prediction could be made, and to seek for a good answer to this question. It is true, this enquiry does not seem to admit any possibility of an answer; for, in the first place, it would be absurd to say, that the knowledge of the influence of the stars can reveal futurities. 2. It seems unworthy of God to reveal himself to a man, who only prepares himself for this favour, by the ridiculous labour of erecting a figure. 3. It does not seem possible for an angel to reveal such casual events; for if he could foresee them by his natural science, there could be no free-will; all our thoughts would be as mechanical as the motions of bodies; and if he foresaw them by an infused science, God would have revealed them to him for no other purpose than to make a Prophet of a wretched Astrologer, which seems altogether inconsistent with the wisdom of God. If therefore it was true, that Augustus's elevation was foretold the day of his birth, the fact ought not to be disputed, much less the possibility of predictions; for there is nothing more foolish than to contradict experience by arguments *ab impossibili:* When the fact is agreed, after having attempted to discover its cause, we must fairly confess, that the manner or foundation of Nigidius's prediction exceeds the reach of our understanding, and that it is inexplicable. We are not reduced to these terms: *Suetonius's nota ac vulgata res est*, is no very strong proof: he does not say that this was divulged before Augustus was emperor. If he had said, I have read public and authentic acts, dated on his birth-day, which testify that Nigidius had made this prediction, he had alledged a considerable proof; but he is contented to say, that it was given out that Nigidius had done it. I do not doubt of it: I am certain that after Augustus was settled on the throne, there were spread infinite stories of the predictions of his greatness. Nigidius could not be forgotten, who was the most famous Astrologer of his time. He was brought into the party; and his discourse with Octavius was circumstantiated. All the city rung with it; orators, poets, and even historians, mentioned it. Suetonius found monuments of it: he has spoken of it as of a thing manifest; but the worst is he has forgotten the dates, the most essential thing of all. It is thus historians are to be pressed: give us uncontroverted proofs, that the Astrologer's prediction was current, when there was yet no probability of its accomplishment. We shall presently see that Lucan, going only upon probability, says a great many fine things of Nigidius's gift of prophecy.

Here is another proof of Nigidius's great reputation in regard to Astrology. Lucan reckons him among those who presaged the miseries of the Roman people, when the rupture was upon the point of breaking out between Cæsar and Pompey: He attributes to him abundance of speculations hereupon.

REFLEXION on what is said of Nigidius's prediction concerning Augustus's being emperor.

(27) Divers Thoughts upon Comets, num. 49.

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seconded Cicero with great prudence in defeating Catiline's conspiracy, and did him great services in the time of his adversity [F]. He engaged himself in Pompey's interest against Cæsar (e), which reduced him to the condition of an exile all the rest of his life, for he died in his exile (f). Cicero, who had always a very great esteem for him (g), wrote a fine letter of consolation to him, in the 707th year of Rome. It is the thirteenth of the fourth book *ad Familiares*. We find in St Austin the reason of his surname *Figulus* [G]. Some Critics, without any great foundation, affirm, that Nigidius wrote annals [H]. A certain

(e) See Cicero, Epist. xiii, *lib.* iv, ad Familiares.

(f) Euseb. in Chron. *ad ann.* 4, *Olymp.* 183, *that is, in* 709 *year of Rome.*

(g) See the remark [F].

At Figulus, cui cura Deos, secretaque cœli
Nosse fuit, quem non stellarum Ægyptia Memphis
Æquaret visu, numerisque moventibus astra,
Aut hic errat (ait) nulla cum lege per ævum
Mundus, & incerto discurrunt sidera motu:
Aut, si fata movent, orbi, generique paratur
Humano matura lues, &c (28).

(28) Lucan. Pharf. lib. I, ver. 639.

But Figulus exclaims (to science bred,
And in the Gods mysterious secrets read;
Whom nor Egyptian Memphis' sons excell'd,
Nor with more skill the rolling orbs beheld:
Well could he judge the labours of the sphere,
And calculate the just revolving year.)
The stars (he cries) are in confusion hurl'd,
And wand'ring error quite misguides the world;
Or if the laws of nature yet remain,
Some swift destruction now the Fates ordain, &c.

(29) In the remark [G].

Add to this the passage which I shall relate (29) from St Austin.

What Apuleius reports is considerable. He says, that he has read in Varro, that the Trallians informed themselves, by Magic art of the events of the Mithridatic war; and that a child, who beheld the image of Mercury in the water, repeated a hundred and sixty verses, which contained all that was to come to pass; and that Fabius, having lost five hundred Denarii, went to consult Nigidius, who, by the power of inchantments, made little boys tell where the purse was buried that contained some of them, and how the rest were distributed, and that Cato the Philosopher had one of them: it is added, that Cato confessed he had received one of a servant. *Itemque Fabium, cum quingentos denarios perdidisset, ad Nigidium consultum venisse: ab eo pueros carmine instinctos indicasse ubi locorum defossa esset crumena, cum parte eorum, cæteri ut forent distributi: unum etiam denarium ex eo numero habere M. Catonem philosophum, quem se à pedisequo in stipem Apollinis accepisse Cato confessus est* (30). I would fain know whether Varro gave his judgment upon all these stories; for he was a man whose learning was incomparably greater than his credulity.

(30) Apuleius, in Apologia, *pag. m.* 301.

[F] *He seconded Cicero . . . . in defeating Cataline's conspiracy, and did him great services in the time of his adversity.*] The letter he received from Cicero in his exile contains these words: 'Careo cum familiarissimis 'multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis, aut distraxit 'fuga, tum omnibus amicis quorum benevolentiam 'nobis conciliarat per me quondam, TE SOCIO, de- 'fensa respublica (31). - - - *I am not only at a loss for* 'many of my most intimate acquaintance, of whom either 'death or flight have deprived me, but also for all those 'friends whom I had gained by defending the common- 'wealth in conjunction with your self.' Corradus's note upon this passage tells us, that Nigidius had drawn up the interrogatories that were ordered to be put to the informers of the conspiracy (32). The letter I have cited ends thus: 'Ego quæ pertinere ad te intelligam 'studiosissime omnia diligentissimeque curabo: tuorum- 'que tristissimo meo tempore meritorum erga me me- 'moriam conservabo. - - - *I shall take a very particular care of every thing wherein I can find you to be* 'concerned; *and shall never forget your favours to me* 'in the time of my adversity.' Plutarch observes, that Cicero was animated against the conspirators by Terentia his wife, by Quintus his brother, and by Publius Nigidius, his companion in Philosophy, and his ordinary counsellor in the affairs of state. Ἡ δὲ Τερεντία . . . . . παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνδρείας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόιντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἑταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος, ᾧ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐχρῶντο πράξεις. *Terentia . . . . in conjuratos incendit: Quintus item ejus frater & in philosophia socius P. Nigidius, cujus fere gravissimis in negotiis publicis utebatur consilio* (33). Add to this the passage of Plutarch (34), in which Cicero owns that he concerted with the Philosopher Nigidius, the most important deliberations, that saved the republic in his consulship. Aulus Gellius had reason to say, that Nigidius was much respected by Cicero for his sense and learning; but he ought also to have said, he was so for his services. 'Verba sunt hæc ipsa P. 'Nigidii, hominis in studiis bonarum artium præcel- 'lentis: quem M. Cicero ingenii doctrinarumque no- 'mine summe reveritus est (35). - - - *These are the* 'very words of Nigidius, a man eminent for universal 'knowledge; and who was most highly esteemed by M. 'Cicero for his great parts and learning.' Note, that when Cicero went to govern Cilicia, Nigidius waited for him at Ephesus, Nigidius, I say, who was returning to Rome, after his discharge of a public employ in that country. These two friends met with great pleasure, and had long philosophical conferences with Cratippus, a most famous Peripatetic. I observe this as a proof of Nigidius's intimacy with Cicero, and as an instance of his being employed in state-affairs. 'Nigidius quum me in Ciliciam proficiscentem Ephesi 'expectavisset, Romam ex legatione ipse decedens, 'venisset que eodem Mitylenis me salutandi, & visendi 'causa Cratippus, peripateticorum omnium, quos qui- 'dem ego audierim, meo judicio, facile princeps, per- 'libenter & Nigidium vidi, & cognovi Cratippum. 'At primum quidem tempus salutationibus, reliquum 'percontatione consumpsimus (36). - - - - *As Nigidius* 'waited for me at Ephesus, on my way to Cilicia, being 'himself returning to Rome from his embassy, and Cra- 'tippus was also come thither from Mitylene to make me 'a visit, who, in my judgment, is the most learned of all 'the Peripatetics I ever yet conversed with, it was doub- 'ly agreeable to me to meet with my friend, and to be- 'come acquainted with Cratippus. The first part of our 'time was taken up in salutations, the remainder in 'philosophical subjects.'

(31) Cicero, Epist. xiii, *lib.* iv, ad Familiares, *pag.* 218, *Græv. Edit.*

(32) Quippe qui indicum dicta, interrogata, responsa perscripseris. *Corrad. in hunc locum Cicer.*

(33) Plut. in Vita Cicer. *pag.* 870, *D.*

(34) Id. an seni sit gerenda Resp. 797. *D.*

(35) *Aulus Gellius, lib. xi, cap. xi, where he relates the difference Nigidius made betwixt* mentiri & mendacium dicere. *Nonius Marcellus voce* mentiri, *pag. m.* 445, *relating the same difference gives the same elogy,* Mentiri & mendacium dicere quemadmodum differt P. Nigidius studiis bonarum artium præcellentissimus manifestissime separavit.

(36) Cicero, de Universitate, *initio, fol. m.* 379. *B.*

[G] *We find in St Austin the reason of his surname Figulus.*] St Austin, confuting Astrology by the argument of the different fate of two twins, proposes Nigidius's answer to this difficulty. This Astrologer maintained, that the motion of the Heavens, is so rapid, that though there is but a small interval betwixt the birth of the first and second of the twins, yet they are born under celestial points very different from each other: and to prove it, he turned with all his strength a Potter's wheel, and made two marks on it whilst it turned: it was thought that the marks were made upon the same part of the wheel; but when it rested, they appeared to be at a good distance from one another. This was the reason of his being surnamed the Potter, *Figulus*. These are the words of St Austin (37): *Frustra itaque assertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac quæstione turbatum, unde & Figulus appellatus est. Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit intorsisset, currente illa bis numero de atramento tanquam uno ejus loco summa celeritate percussit: deinde inventa sunt signa, quæ fixerat desistente motu, non parvo intervallo in rotæ illius extremitate distantia. Sic, inquit, in tanta cœli rapacitate, etiam si alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur, quanta rotam bis ipse percussit, in cœli spatio plurimum est. Hinc sunt, inquit, quæcunque dissimillima perhibentur in moribus, casibusque geminorum. Hoc figmentum fragilius est quam vasa quæ illa rotatione figuntur.* St Austin had reason to think this answer as fragil as a Potter's vessels. He solidly confutes it. See also his commentators (38).

(37) August. de Civit. Dei, *lib.* v, *cap.* iii.

(38) Ludovicus Vives, & Leonard. Coquæus.

[H] *Some Critics affirm . . . . that Nigidius wrote annals.*] You will find some fragments of his amongst those which Riccobon has collected from the antient historians, and which he pretends Livy has followed. Vossius declares, that he is not of this Critic's opinion, but that he ought however to be so, if what la Popeliniere affirms was true, that Nigidius composed annals

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certain obſcure author fathers on him a treatiſe concerning the Remedies of Love [*I*]. I ſhall ſum up in one ſingle remark the miſtakes of Mr Moreri, and thoſe of ſome other authors [*K*]; but I will ſet down here a ſtrange blunder of Father Rapin. He ſays in the thirteenth paragraph of his Reflexions upon Philoſophy, that Nigidius was baniſhed by Auguſtus for the crime of Magic. I do not by this pretend to deny that he paſſed for a Magician. See the paſſage of Apuleius at the end of the remark [*E*].

(39) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *lib.* i, *cap.* xii, *pag.* 50.

(40) La Popeliniere, Hiſtory of Hiſtories, *lib.* v, *pag.* 301.

(41) In the remark [*D*].

(42) In the paſſages above cited, remark [*F*].

(43) In the laſt remark.

nals (39). La Popeliniere is of no authority here, ſince he has committed ſo many faults in a few lines. *Paul. Nigidius Figulus*, ſays he (40), *was in no leſs eſteem in his time for learning than Varro. But the confuſion and obſcurity of his writings prevented their being preſerved and recommended to poſterity; which is the reaſon theſe annals came not down to us.* He adds what I have already confuted (41). What dependance is there upon a man, who thinks that *Paulus* was a prænomen in antient Rome, and knows not that Nigidius's prænomen was Publius? Plutarch has given it him twice at full length (42). I queſtion much whether Aulus Gellius has been rightly underſtood. He inſinuates that Nigidius became obſcure by his ſubtilty: his little grammatical punctillios were not underſtood, and were thought uſeleſs; and therefore his writings were ſuffered to be loſt. There is no likelihood that his books *de Animalibus* periſhed on this account. They doubtleſs contained many curious reſearches, and eaſy to be underſtood This we may be aſſured of from what remains of them. There is yet much more reaſon for us to believe, that if he had written annals, they would have been found intelligible. Therefore let us reject what la Popeliniere has ſaid. We ſhall ſee, by and by, the origin of theſe pretended annals (43).

[*I*] *A certain obſcure author fathers on him a treatiſe concerning the Remedies of Love.*] A judicious reader reaps advantage from every thing; for which reaſon I do not think this remark uſeleſs: it proves by an example in print, that there are no lies, tho' ever ſo groſs, extravagant, and fooliſh, but that ſome authors will make no ſcruple to relate them ſeriouſly. The caſe is this: 'Nigidius, Ovid, and Samocratius, have 'compoſed a great many volumes, and ſerious writ-'tings, concerning the remedy of love; but the jeſt 'is, that they could invent many remedies for 'others, but could find out none for themſelves: 'becauſe they all three died, proſecuted, and de-'ſtroyed, not for the crimes they committed at 'Rome, but for their amours at Capua. Now let 'Nigidius tell his diſcoveries, and Ovid his thoughts, 'and Samocratius ſay what he pleaſes; the beſt 'remedy at laſt will be to avoid converſations, and 'to ſhun the occaſions (44); for in the caſe of Love, 'we ſhall obſerve but very few who ſtand their 'ground to continue exempt from its chains, where-'as thoſe who fly, may preſerve their liberty (45)'. You will find in the margin the name and titles of him who has ſaid this, and alſo the title of his book. I can tell you that he publiſhed it at London, but not in what year: he dedicated it to Charles prince of Wales, the only ſon of the king of England; from whence you may certainly conclude, that he lived in the reign of James I. Is it not a pity that a paſſage, which ends with ſo very good a reflexion, ſhould contain ſuch abſurdities? For the reſt, this conjunction of Nigidius with Ovid, puts me in mind that Pierius Valerianus aſcribes to them jointly the ſame poem. 'Ovidius eo volumine quod 'Halieuticon inſcribitur, quod opus olim à Nigidio 'elucubratum ajunt (46). - - - - *Ovid in that volume 'which he intitles Halieuticon, which work is ſaid 'to have been formerly compoſed by Nigidius.*'

(44) Confer remark [*N*] of the article FONTEVRAUD.

(45) Francis Vollerert, Sieur de Florizel, counſeller, notary, and ſecretary to the king, the houſe, and crown of France, *pag.* 83, of *The Meadow of Miſcellaneous Flowers.*

(46) Pierius Valerianus, Hieroglyph. *lib.* xxx, apud Rutgerſ. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 289.

[*K*] *The miſtakes of Mr Moreri, and thoſe of ſome other authors.*] He is miſtaken in ſaying that Nigidius was baniſhed for being ſuſpected to be a Magician; for it is certain his exile was occaſioned only from his not daring to return to Rome, after Cæſar was maſter. He had followed Pompey, and not being able to obtain his pardon, he was afraid of being ſacrificed to Cæſar's reſentment. This was the whole of his exile. The fact is notorious to any one that reads Cicero's thirteenth letter of his fourth book *ad Familiares*. Glandorpius (47) does not faithfully report the thought of Aulus Gellius: he makes him ſay, that the obſcurity and ſublimity of Nigidius's writings were the reaſon of their being unknown. He adds that ſome quote the twenty-fourth book of Nigidius's Compoſitions of Grammar. This is an error. If he means that none but that is cited, he is miſtaken. If he would tell us that the work contained at leaſt twenty-four books; he is equally miſtaken. Aulus Gellius has cited the twenty-ninth. Theſe words of Glandorpius, *citantur . . . . præterea de annalibus*, contain an error of the preſs; which probably was the cauſe that ſeveral moderns have made Nigidius an annaliſt: it ſhould be *de Animalibus*, and not *de Annalibus*. Laſtly, Glandorpius ſays, that Cicero, in his ſecond Philippic, obſerves, that Nigidius died in exile. I do not think this is to be met with in that oration. We can only infer from another book of Cicero (48) that Nigidius was dead. What Glandorpius has ſaid of Nigidius, has been inſerted word for word in Charles Stephens's Dictionary; and after this Mr Lloyd has altered nothing from Stephens, nor Hofman in this article from Lloyd. So true it is, that if you cut not off the thread of generations, theſe faults multiply from book to book ſucceſſively without ceaſing.

(47) Glandorp. Onomaſt. *pag.* 625.

(48) That *de Univerſitate*, in the beginning.

NIHUSIUS (BARTHOLD) obtained repute by his works in the XVIIth century [*A*]; and I do not know whether he may not very properly be called a *famous convert, and a famous converter* (*a*). He was born at Wolpe in the duke of Brunſwick's territories in 1589, and having ſtudied ſome time in the colleges of Verden and Goſlar, he went to the univerſity of Helmſtad about the year 1607. As he was but ill furniſhed with money he was obliged to ſeek a maſter for his ſubſiſtance. He entered into the ſervice of Cornelius Martinus, who read Logic (*b*). He continued there four years, and made a progreſs in the ſciences; for his maſter did not ſo fully employ him, but that he left him ſome hours for ſtudy (*c*), and even took the pains to inſtruct him. The youth, obtaining favour by his good qualities and wit, was recomended to the biſhop of Oſnabrug, and obtained a penſion from him. To teſtify his gratitude, he wrote verſes upon this prelate's birth-day; but as he was no Poet, he made uſe of a borrowed Poem, and

(*a*) See the remark [*B*] of the article LAMBECIUS.

(*b*) Tenuis & inops, & ut vitam tolerare poſſet . . . Cornelio Martino Antverpio, Logices Doctori, famulitium ſuum addixit. *Calixtus, De Arte Nova, pag.* m. 6.

(*c*) Quibus (*diſciplinis*) inter domeſtica miniſteria, ſub tanto hero & magiſtro quantus Cornelius erat, fatis feliciter imbuebatur. *Ibid. pag.* 7.

[*A*] *He obtained repute by his works.*] Theſe are ſuch as have come to my knowledge. *Proſphonematicus ad Senatores Brunſwigios & Luneburgicos de Conrado Horneo*, Cologne 1646, in 8vo. *Moroſophus, ſeu Vedelius in ſuo* Rationali *prorſus irrationalis*, ibidem. *Synacticus*, ibidem. *Epiſtola de cruce ad Thomam Bartholinum*, ibidem 1647. *Hypodigma quo diluuntur nonnulla contra Catholicos diſputata in Cornelii Martini tractatu de analyſi logica*, ibidem 1648, *in* 8vo. *Programmata duo ad Proteſtantium Academicos*, Moguntiæ 1655, *in* 8vo. *Annotationes de communione Orientalium ſub ſpecie unica, in* 4*to*. This work was printed at Cologne in 1648, at the end of Leo Allatius's book, *De perpetua conſenſione Eccleſiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis*, the edition of which was procured by Nihuſius. He alſo procured the publication of Allatius's *Symmicta* at Cologne in 1653 in 8vo, and of ſome other pieces of the ſame author at Cologne in 1645; amongſt others a treatiſe, intituled, *Confutatio fabulæ de Joanna Papiſſa ex monumentis Græcis*; to which he added ſomething. In 1658 was publiſhed

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and publiſhed it in his own name [B]. His patron's liberality did not prevent his being reduced to ſtraits, though he taught in private the richeſt ſcholars, after he had taken his maſter's degree in Philoſophy in 1612. He wavered betwixt the ſtudy of Phyſic and Divinity, becauſe he feared a very powerful faction, which oppoſed all thoſe who had been diſciples of Martinus and Caſelius [C]. He experienced the ill will of this faction, when he was to maintain metaphyſical theſes 1614. He met with a terrible affront, which began to diſguſt him againſt the Lutheran church. Two years after he was made Tutor to two gentlemen, whom he brought to the univerſity of Iëna. He afterwards obtained the like employ at the court of Weimar (d). He had there a good ſalary, and made an honourable figure: nevertheleſs he retired from thence without ſaying a word to any perſon and came to Cologne, where he turned Catholic about the year 1622. His firſt employ was the direction of the college of Proſelytes [D]. He wrote ſome letters of controverſy to Horneius and Calixtus (e), in which he laid the whole ſtreſs upon the neceſſity there is that Chriſtians ſhould have a judge to determine diſputes *viva voce* infallibly; for the Scripture being a law, which can only ſpeak by the interpretation that is given to it, and controverſies being founded upon the different interpretations that are given to the Scripture; there is a neceſſity, ſaid he, either that the diſputes of Chriſtians ſhould never have an end, or that there ſhould be a ſpeaking authority in the church, to which all private perſons ſhould be obliged to ſubmit (f). He placed this authority in the perſon of the Pope; and when the bad life of many Popes was objected to

(d) According to Voſſius, *Epiſt. CCCLXXX. pag.* 349. He was preceptor to the famous duke of Weimar, who commanded under Guſtavus.

(e) Famous Divines at Helmſtad.

(f) See the article MAIMBOURG, remark [D].

liſhed a book in 8vo, with this title; *Bart. Nihuſii Tractatus Chorographicus de nonnullis Aſiæ Provinciis ad Tygrim, Euphratem, & Mediterraneum ac rubrum mare* (1). I ſhall ſpeak below of his new method of controverſy.

(1) The Sieur Witte, *in Diario, ad ann.* 1657, makes mention of ſome tracts of Logic by Nihuſius.

[B] *He made uſe of a borrowed poem, and publiſhed it in his own name.*] The biſhop of Oſnabrug, who contributed to his maintenance, entered into his 43d year the firſt of July 1610. He was called Philip Sigiſmund, and was of the houſe of Brunſwic. Calixtus made this poem for Nihuſius. 'Natalem ejus prin-'cipis quadrageſimum tertium carmine celebrare vo-'luit. Sed quum aridiore eſſet venâ, quàm ut quic-'quam inde poſſet elicere, meam qualemcunque ope-'ram commodavi, carmenque confeci, quod ipſius no-'mine typis deſcriptum Principique oblatum fuit (2). '.... *He had a mind to celebrate the birth-day of this* '*Prince, on his entering into his* 43*d year, with a piece* '*of poetry. But having no genius for poetry, I lent him* '*my aſſiſtance, ſuch as it was, and compoſed a Poem,* '*which was printed and preſented to the prince in his* '*name.*' Calixtus tells this himſelf.

(2) Georgius Calixtus, in Digreſſione de Arte nova, *pag.* 7.

[C] *A faction .... which oppoſed all thoſe who had been diſciples of Martinus and Caſelius.*] This faction conſiſted of ſome perſons, who would not allow a Divine to be either a good Humaniſt or good Philoſopher: and therefore they prevented the admiſſion of ſuch to eccleſiaſtical preferments, who had ſtudied Humanity under Caſelius, and Philoſophy under Martinus. This not a little puzzled young Nihuſius; he durſt not ſtudy Divinity, fearing to meet with this faction in his way to Church-preferment. His caution was ſo great, that when he maintained a theſis, dedicated to the biſhop of Oſnabrug, and accompanied with ſome Greek verſes in praiſe of the reſpondent, he would not permit the author of this elogy to inſert the name of Martinus. He was afraid, leſt the praiſes of this Philoſopher ſhould provoke theſe gentlemen. He therefore rather choſe to be ungrateful, than expoſe himſelf to the ill-offices of thoſe, who might one time or other oppoſe his little fortune. Calixtus blames him very juſtly, for this ſelf-intereſted conduct, and declares this was courting the favour of a certain party, which men of worth and honour choſe rather to diſoblige. 'Quod vereretur ne id ſibi apud μισο-'λόγους καὶ μισοσόφους inſcitiæ patronos fraudi eſſet. 'Tanta erat ejus ſive puſillanimitas, ſive creſcendi 'cupiditas, ut nomen viri eximii, è cujus domo & 'diſciplinâ prodiiſſe gloriæ verti oportebat, taceri 'mallet, quam abjicere qualemcumque ſpem iis pla-'cendi, quibus ut diſplicerent rectæ & præſtantes ani-'mæ totâ vitâ ſeſe adlaboraſſe nunquam diffitebun-'tur (3)..... *Becauſe he was fearful this might do him* '*ſome injury among the decriers of Learning and Philo-*'*ſophy, thoſe patrons of ignorance. Such was his mean-*'*neſs of ſpirit, or his earneſtneſs to make his fortune,* '*that he choſe rather to avoid mentioning the name of* '*that great man, to whom he ought to have gloried in* '*having been a pupil, than forfeit his views in pleaſing* '*thoſe, whoſe diſpleaſure all upright and ingenuous minds* '*will always own to have been the point they have* '*aimed at.*' He obſerves, that there are always to be found more or leſs of theſe capricious men, who oppoſe the advancement of youth, unleſs they ſtudy under ſuch or ſuch maſters. 'Non deerant tunc (quam-'quam vix unquam deſunt, niſi quod alio atque alio 'tempore plus minuſve poſſunt) qui accuratiora lite-'rarum & philoſophiæ ſtudia odiſſent, & cum Theo-'logiâ conjungi nollent, ne in aliis admirari, quæ in 'ſe defiderarent, cogerentur. Et quum inter illos 'unus primario loco ſederet, iis qui è ſummorum vi-'rorum Caſelii & Cornelii diſciplinâ prodierant, adi-'tus ad officia & dignitatem muneris eccleſiaſtici vel 'omnino intercludebat, vel difficillimum ſaltem redde-'bat. Quæ res hominem meticuloſum adeo terruit, 'ut ſacra Theologiæ ſtudia animo diffidente & vacil-'lante tractaret (4)..... *There were not wanting at* '*that time, (nor indeed are they at any time, tho' their* '*power may happen to be greater at one time than ano-*'*ther) thoſe who had an averſion to the politer ſtudies* '*of Humanity and Philoſophy, and oppoſed their being* '*joined with Divinity, that they might not be obliged to* '*admire thoſe talents in others, which were wanting* '*in themſelves. And as there was one of this claſs in a* '*very high ſtation, the way to eccleſiaſtical preferments* '*and dignities was either quite ſtopped, or rendered very* '*difficult to all thoſe who had been educated under thoſe* '*great men, Caſelius and Martinus. Which ſo terrified* '*a man of his timorous diſpoſition, as to make him pur-*'*ſue his Theological ſtudies with great diffidence and in-*'*conſtancy.*' The unfortunate Nihuſius loſt all his advances; his policy did him no ſervice: the faction which he had ſo carefully courted, gave him notwithſtanding a ſevere mortification, which had unlucky conſequences; for from that time he became diſguſted againſt Lutheraniſm. 'Anno 1614, inſignis ei 'illata erat injuria diſputaturo è lumine naturæ prin-'cipiiſque philoſophicis de Deo. Quam tamen è fon-'te, quem digito ante indicavimus, manaſſe, & intel-'ligentibus ac bonis omnibus, non minus quam ipſi, 'doluiſſe, nunquam potuit ignorare. Et hæc, niſi 'vehementer fallor, animum ejus à reformatâ religione 'primùm cœpit abalienare (5)..... *In the year* 1614, *being about to diſpute concerning the Deity from the light* '*of nature, and the principles of Philoſophy, he met with* '*a very high affront, which he could not be ignorant of* '*having proceeded from the ſame ſpring before mentioned,* '*to the great concern of all learned and good men, as* '*well as of himſelf. And this, if I am not greatly* '*miſtaken, was the firſt occaſion of alienating his mind* '*from the Proteſtant religion.*'

(3) Ib. *pag.* 9.

(4) Ib. *pag.* 8.

(5) Ib. *pag.* 12.

[D] *He had .... the direction of the college of Proſelytes.*] They educated in this college, at the charge of the Arch-fraternity of the Holy Croſs, the young people who turned Catholics; but then it was neceſſary that one of their fraternity ſhould have a hand in their converſion (6). The duke of Bavaria was then the head of this fraternity: Albert of Auſtria had been in that ſtation before him, and Cardinal de Zollern, biſhop of Oſnabrug, had firſt of all enjoyed this dignity. 'Mihi id negatum hactenus, ut pote cujus 'curæ ac ſollicitudine perpetuæ demandatum Colle-'gium,

(6) Ita tamen ut nemo in Collegium illud ſive Seminarium recipiatur, niſi ab aliquo Archifraternitatis iſtius membro in viam ſalutis adductus. *Nihuſius, Epiſt. ad Nicolaum Granium Helmſtadii Phyſices Profeſſorem, apud Calixtum, ibid. pag.* 16.

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to him, he had the confidence to retort this objection againſt the authors of the Scripture [E]. The letter he wrote to Calixtus has been printed more than once. That celebrated profeſſor, unwilling to anſwer him in writing, undertook to refute him in his auditory; of which he gave notice to the ſtudents, by a written paper poſted up. This paper was printed without the author's knowledge in 1625; and being very ſevere did extremly incenſe Nihuſius, who returned ſome time after into the country of Brunſwic to be director of a convent of nuns (g). He was made abbot of Ilfeld in 1629, after that monaſtery had being juſt then taken from the houſe of Brunſwic who had made a ſchool of it; in which Michael Neander, and his ſucceſſours, had educated very good ſcholars. The next year he publiſhed a book in High-Dutch, in which he violently inveighed againſt Calixtus: and at laſt, in 1633, his darling work came to light. It was a new method to confound the Heretics (b) [F], which was very learnedly refuted by Calixtus. Nihuſius knew ſo well how

(g) Monialibus Cœnobii Haldenſlebienſis præpoſitus eſt. *Calixtus, ubi ſupra, pag.* 26.

(b) Taken from *Calixtus* in his digreſſion *de Arte nova.*

'gium, ubi ſelecti omnium Facultatum ſtudioſi, ad 'fidem catholicam converſi, jamque à ſuis omni ope 'deſtituti, aluntur atque ad altiora diriguntur, & qui-'dem ſumptu Archifraternitatis Sanctæ Crucis, cujus (7) Id. ib. 'caput hodie Elector Bavariæ, &c (7). .... *This is* 'what I have not hitherto been able to obtain, as being 'intruſted with the care and concerns of the college, 'where the choice ſtudents in every faculty who are con-'verted to the Catholic faith, and now deprived of all 'ſubſiſtence elſewhere, are maintained and encouraged to 'make farther advances, and this at the expence of 'the archfraternity of the Holy Croſs, whoſe preſent 'head, the duke of Bavaria, &c.' Theſe words are taken from a letter of Nihuſius. By this we perceive with what vigilance the church of Rome has for a long time minded the buſineſs of converſions.

[E] *He had the confidence to retort this objection againſt the authors of the Scripture.*] A curſed effect of prepoſſeſſion! A man who is once engaged in an hypotheſis, and has made it his darling, ſpares nothing ſacred or profane to maintain it, and get clear of an objection. He will rather have the Scripture ſuffer, than be found without reply; and, provided his opinions be ſecured from inſults, he is little concerned about the ſacred writers ſuffering in their credit: he endeavours to ſave himſelf at their coſt; and oppoſes them to the breach, that they may be trampled on, before the enemy comes at him, or that the reſpect for them may prevent his being attacked. He makes uſe of the ſtratagem that was ſo advantageous to the Spaniards, when they re-took Maeſtricht in 1576. They placed the women of Wich (8) before their ſoldiers, ſo that the inhabitants of Maeſtricht durſt not fire upon the Spaniards: For they feared they ſhould kill their relations, or at leaſt their country-women (9). However it be, when Nihuſius was to anſwer Calixtus, who ſaid it became not the Divine Wiſdom to eſtabliſh religion upon the authority of ſuch wretches as the Popes had been for whole ages, he urged that the authors of the Bible were very wicked men, either bare-facedly, as David, or perhaps ſecretly. 'Objeceram ego, non eſſe probabile nec divinæ pro-'videntiæ, quæ ſuaviter omnia diſponat & gubernet, 'conſentaneum, certitudinem univerſæ doctrinæ quæ 'ad pietatem Deique cultum faciat, ab auctoritate & 'arbitrio hominum impiorum & flagitioſorum, qua-'les aliquando integris ſeculis (audiatur de decimo te-'ſtis Baronius) Romani Pontifices fuerint, ſuſpendere: 'ab auctoritate inquam & arbitrio hominum, quos ipſi 'eorum clientes an patroni, & inter hos princeps Ba-'ronius, *monſtra horrenda, apoſtaticos, fures & latro-'nes, vitâ turpiſſimos, moribus perditiſſimos, uſquequaque 'fœdiſſimos* ex re & vero proclament. Ut hoc telum 'declinet, de auctoribus Sacræ Scripturæ idem pro-'nunciat. *Scripturæ*, inquit, *conditæ à meris homini-'bus, & partim apertè, ut erat David, partim forſan 'etiam occultè facinoroſis* (10). .... *I had objected, that 'it was not probable, nor agreeable to the Divine Pro-'vidence, which governs and diſpoſes all things in the 'moſt beautiful regularity, to found the certainty of the 'whole ſyſtem of knowledge, relating to piety and the 'worſhip of God, upon the authority and decrees of im-'pious and wicked men, ſuch as the Popes of Rome have 'been for whole ages, I appeal to Baronius himſelf, as a 'witneſs againſt the tenth; upon the authority, I ſay, 'and decrees of men, whoſe very advocates or patrons, 'and among theſe Baronius in the firſt place, cry out up-'on with reaſon and truth,* as horrid monſters, apoſtates, thieves, and robbers, moſt ſcandalous in their 'lives, moſt abandoned in their morals, and every 'way moſt abominable. *To defend himſelf from this 'blow, he declares the ſame thing of the authors of ſa-'cred Scripture.* The Scriptures, *ſays he*, are compoſ-'ed by mere men, either openly, as David, or per-'haps privately wicked.' It was no difficult taſk for the profeſſor of Helmſtad to confound him, upon ſo falſe and deteſtable a retortion (11). There is a great deal of difference between a holy man who commits heinous ſins, of which he ſpeedily repents, and thoſe who continue all their lives in a ſinful courſe.

(11) Ib. p. 20.

[F] *He publiſhed .... a new method to confound the Heretics.*] It was printed at Hildeſheim, with this title: *Ars nova dicto ſacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi è Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum, detecta nonnihil & ſuggeſta Theologis Helmſtetenſibus, Georgio Calixto præſertim & Conrado Hornejo.* Calixtus did not write a book on purpoſe to refute it; he contented himſelf with anſwering it by way of digreſſion, in a work he had then in the preſs, namely, an Epitome of Moral Divinity, which was publiſhed in 1634. This digreſſion was printed apart by the Frankfort Bookſellers in 1652, in a volume of 344 pages in 4to. The author addreſſes himſelf to the profeſſors of the Roman Catholic univerſities in Germany, and all along treats them very civilly. He obſerves (12) that Nihuſius was not the firſt who had invented methods of controverſy; and ſays, that Renatus Benoit, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, propoſed a particular method of that kind in 1565 (13). He adds, that this doctor grew milder afterwards, and publiſhed a French book at Caen (14), to ſhew that the Proteſtants could not be convicted of hereſy, either as to their doctrine or their worſhip; and that the council of Trent, which condemned them, was not clear of faults, neither has it been received in the kingdom. Calixtus does not doubt but this book was written by Renatus Benoit; for, ſays he, Thuanus (15) tells us, that Henry IV, being at laſt reſolved to go to maſs, had a mind to be inſtructed by that doctor; who, coming to the king, had like to have loſt his benefice (16), as being a favourer of the ſectaries, and one who had preached what was contrary to the Faith (17). Theſe reaſons appear to me not to be of ſufficient force to make me believe that Renatus Benoit was the author of the book printed at Caen. Had he been the author of it, he had never kept his living of St Euſtache, till the king's abjuration. The doctors of the Sorbonne, who moved to have him excommunicated, when he went from Paris to wait on the king of Navarre, would have inſiſted chiefly upon this book, and not upon certain things alledged to have been delivered by him in the pulpit. I believe therefore, that, by a trick familiar to the writers in thoſe days, ſome author, who was either a good Huguenot, or, out of policy, engaged in the intereſt of Henry IV, publiſhed that book in Benoit's name. This, I very well know, is not the opinion of the author of the eleventh volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*; for he poſitively aſcribes it to the curate of St Euſtache (18). To turn to the hiſtory of methods:

(12) Ibid. pag. 126.

(13) *In a book intituled,* Stromata in univerſum Organum Biblicum, ſeu Panoplia adverſus omnes nunc viventes Hæreſes.

(14) In the year 1590.

(15) Thuan. *lib. cvii.*

(16) He was curate of St Euſtache.

(17) Thuan. *lib. cviii.*

(18) See pag. 546, of Tome xi, of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle.* In the ſubſequent pages you will find the title, and the abſtract of the pretended book of Renatus Benoit.

Calixtus obſerves (19), 1. That about forty years after Renatus Benoit had publiſhed his Method, Father Gonteri the Jeſuit appeared with his. He was followed by Father Arnoux, and Father Francis Veron, both Jeſuits. 2. That Vedelius (20) is perſuaded that cardinal du Perron drew the plan of theſe Jeſuits method; which conſiſts in obliging the Proteſtants to prove what they teach in oppoſition to the council of Trent, not by the aſſiſtance of conſequences, but by expreſs words of Scripture. 3. That he cannot perſuade himſelf (21) that this cardinal approved that method, ſince it differs ſo widely from that we meet with in his controverſy with king James. 4. That in 1605, Antony Faber,

(19) Calixt. ibid. *pag.* 129.

(20) In Rationali Theologico.

(21) Calixt. ibid. *pag.* 130.

(8) It is that part of the town which is beyond the bridge.

(9) Captas quas potuêre, loci mulieres ante fore ſtatuunt objiciuntque: atque eo promoto velu-ti vallo ſubeunt pontem mulſebriter cyperati, ſclopos ſubter earum brachia axillaſque in hoſtem colli-mantes. In quos dum explodere ſeva trepidant, ne conſanguineas affinesve, popu-lares certe ſuas, antequam Hiſpa-nos, impeterent, audiunt, &c. *Strada, de Bello Belgico, Decad. i, lib. viii, pag.* m. 103. *See alſo* Valerius Maximus, *lib. v, cap. i, num.* 5.

(10) Calixt. ubi ſupra, pag. 19.

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how to improve his interest, that he came to b
gan of the archbishopric of Mentz (*i*). In the
March 1657 (*k*). He had made himself frie
the edition of some books composed beyond
you, that, being driven from his abbey by
continued several years (*m*) [*G*]. In that co
and among other things told him, that the p
munion of Rome, was his observing that
nothing by demonstration [*H*].

(*i*) Tuldenus, Part iii, Histor. pag. 165, apud Konig, *Biblioth. vet. & nova*, *pag.* 577.

(*k*) Id. ib. apud eundem, ibid.

Faber, publishing a Code, prefixed to it a new method of overthrowing the Heretics. 'Codex Antonii Fabri Sebusiani, Senatoris & Consiliarii Sabaudici, quem à suo nomine Fabrianum inscripsit, bonum factum existimans, si in vestibulo voluminis hæreticos, quos vocat, insigni & majore, quam Jurisconsulto-rum captus esse solet, audaciâ conficeret. Cui conatui primum librum impendit; eliso tamen, ut accepimus, alterius Jurisconsulti, Jacobi videlicet Lectii, operâ & opposito scripto (22). - - - *The Code of Antony Faber of Breſſe, a ſenator and counſellor of Savoy, which, from his own name, he intituled* Codex Fabrianus, *eſteeming it a good work, to attack in the beginning of the volume thoſe he calls Heretics, with greater violence than is uſually to be met with from the capacity of Civilians. Upon this undertaking he ſpends the firſt book; fifling at the ſame time, as I have been informed, the work and oppoſite writings of another Civilian, namely, James Lectius.*' Every plaintiff, said he, is obliged to bring proof, whether he insists on the negative or the affirmative: this is the maxim of Law; and he is more especially obliged to it, when he disturbs those who are in the peaceable possession of the estate for which he sues. This Civilian concludes, that the Protestants are bound to prove all that they deny; and in case of failure of good proof, ought to be non-suited. This is the whole of Nihusius's invention, and is nothing more than the method of prescription. 'Primum & præcipuum caput artis Nihusianæ, aut potiùs Fabrianæ, hoc ipsum est, probationem omnium eorum, quæ Pontificii hodie affirmant, declinare & à se alienam dicere, atque adeo nihil eorum, quæ de Pontificis principatu & infallibilitate, de sacrificio Christi in Missâ quâ speciem & substantiam iterando, de statuis adorandis, de purgatorio, septem sacramentis, indulgentiis & plurimis similibus adferunt, vel è Scripturâ, vel è traditione Ecclesiasticâ probare velle: nempe quia ipsi sint in possessione suorum dogmatum; quin, ait, se & majores suos, cum quibus & nostri aliquando fecerint, ab aliquot seculis in possessione fuisse, suasque adeo de religione opiniones sive sententias usucepisse, vel, ut recentiores loquuntur, præscripsisse. Se igitur & suos non teneri ad probationem eorum, quæ ipsi doceant & affirment, sed probationis, & quidem prævalidæ vicem esse, quod affirment: nos verò teneri, ut quæ negamus, demonstremus, & quidem demonstremus è Scripturâ, id est, Scripturam continere negantes, ipsorum affirmantibus oppositas (23). - - - *The principal and fundamental point of Nihusius's, or rather, Faber's method, is this, to decline, and to deny, their having any thing to do with the proof of all thoſe things which the modern Catholics affirm, and therefore not to undertake the proving, either from Scripture, or from the tradition of the church, any of thoſe things which they maintain concerning the Pope's primacy, infallibility, the ſacrifice of CHRIST in the maſs ſpecifically and ſubſtantially repeated, the adoration of images, Purgatory, the ſeven ſacraments, indulgences, and ſeveral others of the like nature: and for this reaſon, becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of theſe their doctrines; for he ſays that they, and their anceſtors, with whom ours alſo formerly joined, have enjoyed this poſſeſſion for ſome centuries, and therefore have gained a right to their religious doctrines and opinions, or, as the moderns expreſs themſelves, have obtained a preſcription-right. That therefore they, and ſuch as remain with them, are not under any obligation of proving theſe things, which they teach and maintain; but that it is incumbent upon us to demonſtrate what we deny, and to demonſtrate it from Scripture, that is, to ſhew that the Scripture contains the direct negatives to thoſe propoſitions which they maintain in the affirmative.*' Thus far has Dr Calixtus carried the history of these methods. See the sequel or continuation of it in

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 156.

(23) Ibid. *pag.* 159, 160.

I

Nicolas Ritterſhuſius being charged with ſtealing things from Nihuſius, returned an anſwer that deſerves conſideration [*I*]. The author of *Memorabilia Eccleſiaſtica Sæculi Decimi*

diſputare. Eligere ſuos Lutheranos, vel etiam Calvinianos, & quoſvis alios, poſſe, ubi maximè exiſtiment ſuæ Eccleſiæ cauſam triumphare. Si unum viderit argumentum, velle redire ad eos, unde malum pedem extulerit. Sin diſputando intelligant, nihil ſolidi crepare, quicquid hactenus obtenditur, æquum videri, ut redeamus ad Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſinum (31). His ſtrongeſt argument was this: Tell me, Mr Voſſius, why your father quitted the church of Rome? give me one juſt reaſon for it. Voſſius inſiſted on the difference that was to be met with between that church and the primitive church; but after ſeveral diſcourſes he fixed upon this: the doctors of the church of Rome interpret Scripture in ſuch a manner, that they put upon it a ſenſe manifeſtly forced, and ſometimes contradictory, and, in general, widely different from the doctrine of the antient Fathers; and not content with this, they put to death thoſe who will not adopt ſuch interpretations: there was juſt reaſon therefore to come to a rupture with ſuch interpreters of the word of God, and to form new aſſemblies, as well for obtaining a worſhip agreeable to one's conſcience, as for preſerving a life that may be ſerviceable to one's country, church, and family (32). *Illo igitur poſcente cauſam juſtam, cur parens meus à Romana abierit Eccleſia, reſpondi multa, de veteris, præſentis Romanæ Eccleſiæ diſcrimine. Sed tandem in eo pedem figebamus; Romanæ Eccleſiæ Doctoribus, ita ſcripturas interpretantibus, ut manifeſta iis vis fiat, planaque abeant à primorum ſeculorum Doctoribus, imo interdum (ut in tranſubſtantiationis dogmate) ſenſus interpretationi reclamet, manifeſtaque ſit contradictio: nec ſolum ſic interpretantibus, ſed etiam, niſi ſimpliciter* (33) *interpreteris, ferro te, & flamma perdere paratis: jure ab ejuſmodi Doctoribus receditur, ac ſeorſim cultus Dei celebratur, partim conſcientiæ ſtudio, partim vitæ conſervandæ, quam Patriæ, Eccleſiæ, Familiæ, & amicis conducibilem exiſtimamus.* Tho' Voſſius's anſwer was highly reaſonable, he did not entirely rely upon it; for he deſired his good friend Grotius to examine the caſe, and communicate his thoughts to him. 'Si valetudo, ſi otium tibi, ſi res etiam 'tuæ ſic ferant, ut hujuſmodi tractes, quod arbitror: 'quæſo paucis ſaltem perſcribe, quid tibi de hac re 'videatur, & quam potiſſimum viam, cum iſtiuſmodi 'hominibus inſiſtendam putes. - - - - *If your health, if 'your leiſure, if your affairs, will permit you to conſider 'this opinion of mine; I beg you will write to me in as 'few words as you pleaſe, what you think of the matter, 'and which is the beſt way of dealing with this ſort of 'perſons.*' All the anſwer that was given him was, that he very well juſtified the ſeparation of the Proteſtants (34).

It is plain, that Nihuſius reaſoned thus: When we find ourſelves by birth and education in a certain communion, the inconveniencies we therein undergo are not a warantable reaſon for quitting it, unleſs we can be gainers by the change; that is, remove to another where we may be eaſier. For to what purpoſe ſhould we abandon the communion that gave us being and education, if in ſo doing we only change the diſtemper? Let us put this caſe to the trial; I agree to it: let us imitate thoſe poor patients, who, when weary of the bed, think they ſhall be much better by being ſet in an eaſy chair. Let us leave the church of Rome, and embrace Proteſtantiſm; but then as theſe ſick perſons are no ſooner undeceived, in finding the eaſy chair of no ſervice to them, but they go to bed again: ſo ought we to reſume the profeſſion of Popery, as ſoon as we find that the Proteſtant doctors do not remove our difficulties. They alledge nothing to us but diſputable reaſons, nothing that is convincing, nothing that is demonſtrative: they prove, and they object; but both their proofs and their objections are anſwered: they reply, and meet with replies again. There is no end of this. To what purpoſe then ſhould we form a ſchiſm? Did we meet with any thing in the church we were born in, that is more inconvenient? We there wanted demonſtrations; we had nothing offered to us that could fix our mind upon a foundation of certainty; we ſtill found objections againſt all the doctrines, and all the replies, *in infinitum*. This was our great diſadvantage; and we meet with the ſame among the Proteſtants: we ought not therefore to ſtay among them. Let us return to that body that has on it's ſide the advantage of poſſeſſion; and if we muſt be ill lodged, is it not better to be ſo in our own country, and in our father's houſe, than in the inns of foreign countries? Beſides, the controverſy is attended with more inconveniencies on the Proteſtant ſide, than on the Popiſh. The latter has all it's enemies before it; the ſame arms that ſerve it for attacking and repulſing one, are of uſe for attacking and repulſing others. But the Proteſtants have enemies both before and behind them; they are like a ſhip engaged between two fires; Popery attacks them one ſide, and Socinianiſm on the other. The arms they make uſe of againſt Popery, do them hurt inſtead of doing them ſervice in their controverſy with the Socinian; for this Heretic turns upon them all the arguments they make uſe of againſt the church of Rome: ſo that a Proteſtant, coming off from the attack of a Papiſt, and preparing to attack a Socinian, is obliged to change his armour, or at leaſt part of it. Theſe, without doubt, were the chimera's with which Nihuſius fed himſelf; and which influenced him to think, that in order to convince the Proteſtants that they had done wrong in abandoning the church of Rome, it was ſufficient to aſk of them a demonſtrative proof of their belief: a proof, I ſay, that admits of no reply, any more than a mathematical demonſtration. He knew very well they would never take him at his word. Moſt Divines agree, that the controverſies of religion cannot be carried to that height of evidence. A famous miniſter has lately informed us that to aſſert, that the holy Spirit gives us an evident knowledge of the truths of religion, is not only a dangerous error, but a doctrine hitherto rejected by the Proteſtants (35). He maintains, that a faithful ſoul embraces theſe truths, without the evidence of reaſon, and even without knowing that it is evident that God has revealed them; and he ſays, that they are pernicious innovators, who aſſert, that at leaſt the holy Spirit makes us ſee evidently the teſtimony which God has given to theſe truths. I am very ſure, that Nihuſius did not expect to have a demonſtrative argument offered him. What did he think of, then, when he promiſed to return to Lutheraniſm upon that condition? Did he act the part of a grave man? Had he been a man of reaſon, he would fully have acquieſced in the anſwer that Voſſius gave him, which is very judicious, and very ſolid. But we muſt confeſs, that Nihuſius did not always ground his thoughts upon chimera's. He made a bad application of a good principle, which is this, *We ought not to depart from the place where we are, if the change be uſeleſs.* The miniſter I have been now mentioning, makes uſe of that axiom. He is a rigid Predeſtinarian, and a great Particulariſt, and groans under a load of objections, to which his ſyſtem is expoſed; but he does not change his hypotheſis, becauſe he finds none that relieves him from the oppreſſion. He would find nothing to ſatisfy his reaſon in the hypotheſis of the Moliniſts, nor in the other looſe ways of explaining grace; ſo chooſes to continue where he is, rather than take another ſituation that would not cure him (36). This is wiſely judged.

[*I*] *N. Ritterſhuſius . . . . returned an anſwer that deſerves conſideration.*] His place obliging him to harangue at the promotion or graduation of a doctor, he choſe for the ſubject of his ſpeech the voyage of Hanno. He was charged with copying a letter that Nihuſius had writ upon this matter (37). He returned for anſwer, that this letter had ſerved him for a guide nineteen years before; but that he lay under no obligation to cite Nihuſius: for, added he, I do not make uſe of Nihuſius's words: I quote the expreſſions of the authors whom I have conſulted, and do accordingly mention their names; only two indeed I have made uſe of, without the opportunity of peruſing them. 'Tu Nihuſii ne ſemel quidem mentionem facis. Fateor, nec cauſa fuit, cur allegarem cujus verbis non 'utor, ſed ſemper auctorum quos ille citat, & illa 'ipſa verba non ex Nihuſio, ſed ex ipſis auctoribus exſcripſi, excepto Hieronymo & Tranſylvano anonymo. 'Illum ad manus non habui, hunc vidêre nunquam 'contigit (38). - - - - *You never once ſo much as mention 'Nihuſius's name. I confeſs it, nor was there any reaſon 'for me to mention a perſon whoſe words I make no uſe 'of, but always thoſe of the authors he quotes, and I have*

(31) Idem, Epiſt. ccxxviii, pag. 240.

(32) Id. ib.

(33) We ought to read *ſimiliter*. Several ſuch faults are ſlipped into Voſſius's Letters. They miſtook his manuſcript, and your correctors commonly mind nothing but the orthography. They let one word paſs for another, provided it does not mar the ſenſe, ſo as to make it manifeſtly abſurd.

(34) Diſceſſionis cauſa quæ abs te redditur optima eſt, non potuiſſe vivi ſub tali Dominatu, neque integras nationes aut magnas Nationum partes ideo debuiſſe à conventibus abſtinere. *Grotius, Epiſt. ccxxxix, primæ partis, pag.* 122.

PARAPHRASE upon the ſentiments of Nihuſius.

(35) The queſtion of right is, whether Mr Saurin is in the right, when he ſays, *faith obtains it's certainty by the way of evidence, eſpecially in the article of the Divinity of the Scriptures.* The queſtion of fact, is, whether Mr Saurin's opinion is the opinion of the whole Reformed church; and whether that of Mr Jurieu is new and peculiar to himſelf and to Mr de Beaulieu, his maſter and profeſſor. Upon the firſt queſtion, it is no wonder that Mr Saurin is miſtaken. There are groſſer errors than that, tho' ſcarce any more dangerous; but upon the queſtion of fact, we can never wonder enough, that a man, who ſets up for an author ſhould fall into ſuch an error, as to call that *a new opinion, a budding error*, which is as antient as the world, and of equal extent with the Chriſtian religion; and which, till this our age, was never attacked by any but Heretics. *Jurieu, Défenſe de la Doctrine univerſelle de l'Egliſe contre les imputations de Mr Saurin, pag.* 3, of the Rotterdam edition in 1695.

(36) *See the book intituled*, Jugement ſur les Méthodes rigides & relâchées d'expliquer la Providence & la Grace, *pag.* 23.

(37) Thomaſius, de Plagio Literario, *pag.* 239.

(38) Nicol. Ritterſhuſius, Epiſt. ad Georgium Richterum, *pag.* 206, Epiſtolarum Richterianarum. *See* Thomaſius, ibid. *pag.* 73, and 240.

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Decimi Septimi, has not given the right time when Nihusius published a new notion upon the invocation of saints [*K*].

'*have transcribed them from those authors themselves,*
'*except only Hieronymus and an anonymous Transylvanian.*
'*The first I had not by me, the last I never happened to*
'*meet with.*' We must own, that this justification is very fair in some respects. An author who goes to the spring-head, and compares all the passages that others have alledged, becomes a lawful possessor. He is not obliged to cite any but the original writings which he has consulted; it would be a piece of injustice to call him a plagiary, upon pretence that he relates the same things with others. But after all, I am of opinion, that honour, equity, and gratitude, demand an acknowledgement of the obligations we are under to those who have directed us to the sources. When an author therefore is convinced in conscience; that, if he had not read the dissertations of some Moderns, who have quoted antient authors, he had not known to whom he could have applied in order to procure the original authorities; he would do very well to make a public acknowledgment of the good offices done him by these Moderns. Having once done this in a preface, he may cite, upon his own bottom, the Antients he has consulted, and act the part of a true proprietor. I must observe here, by the by, that writers, who religiously cite the chapters and pages, in regard to every thing they borrow from others, have more honesty than policy: they neglect the interests of vain-glory; they deprive themselves of the pleasure of being cited; for by this means they render it so easy to verify them, that every writer will turn to the respective places when he has occasion for the same proofs, or to mention the same matters of fact, that are contained in their books; after which he contents himself with citing the antient author. Whereas, if they brought in curious things, without saying from what particular place they have them, and only mention the names of their authors, others would scarce dare to vent the same things any otherwise than under their authority, at least except writers of the first rank. They would see their names in the margins of many books; and that honour would be for a long time paid them. How many authors do this day pay this honour to Alexander ab Alexandro, and to Cælius Rhodiginus, who practised the politics we are now speaking of?

A REFLEXION upon a certain way of quoting.

[*K*] *The author of the* Memorabilia - - - *has not given the right time when Nihusius published a new notion upon the invocation of saints.*] He says, that about the year 1614, Nihusius, a new Papist, coined a new error, *viz.* that the saints departed, live still in respect of their bodies; and therefore are to be adored in their relics. *Novum cudit ac protudit Errorem, dum conatu magno quidem sed irrito, probare nititur:* Sanctos hac vita defunctos, non esse mortuos vel quoad corpus, vel quoad reliquias seu exuvias corporis. *Formata enim quæstione:* '*An adorandi sint Sancti suis in reliquiis? affirmat,*
'*quia, inquit, Sancti in exuviis corporum non sunt mor-*
'*tui, sed omnino vivunt adhuc* (39).' The consequence, that this proselyte drew from his hypothesis, went a great way; for, not contented to prove from thence, that the saints merit our adoration, he found a sort of Atheism in the opinion opposite to his own, and pretended that they, who deny the bodies of the saints to be living, destroy, at the bottom, the resurrection. *Quoniam itaque Sancti suis in corporibus adhuc vivunt, certatim nos illuc agglomeremur, & adoremus amorosissimè, spem resurrectionis nostræ simul quasi satiantes, & mortis metum puerilem abjicientes, nequaquam verò superbè quicquam ejus respuentes, hæreseos ac atheismi pars est, opinio illa feralis & luctuosa, de mortuis ac non viventibus Sanctorum corporibus, utpote resurrectionem impiè negans in recessu* (40). My author does not inform me whether these words are taken from a didactic piece, or from an oration; but, I imagine, Nihusius spoke these words in some declamation. We are referred to two authors who refuted him (41); one named Himmelius, and the other David Christianus. The latter is cited by my author when he speaks of the death of Nihusius in 1657, and when he relates that about 1614 he was brought over to the communion of Rome, by the Jesuit Martinus Becanus, and that he taught, that the saints in paradise live still in their bodies: a thought which he called a divine oracle, and a clear light into a profound mystery, and a sublimer Philosophy touching sleeping and waking, than that of Aristotle and the other Philosophers. David Christianus owns, that it was a new oracle, not prophetical, but poetical, and so subtile that it was unknown to all the Fathers, and was neither understood by Aristotle, nor Scaliger, nor any of the most penetrating Philosophers, unless perhaps by Rodolphus Goclenius, who somewhere affirms, that certain portions of life remain in dead bodies, of which GOD will form a new body at the resurrection. *Oraculum novum hoc est, sed non Propheticum, Poëticum autem ac Nihusianum, tam subtile, ut nulli vel S. S. Patrum, vel Lutheranorum, vel Pontificiorum, visum fuerit; nec intellectum vel ab Aristotele, vel Scaligero, vel à quovis alio, acutissimo etiam Philosopho, nisi forsan à Rodolpho Goclenio, alicubi asserente: in humano corpore demortuo quasdam adhuc vitæ reliquias superesse, ex quibus in resurrectione novum corpus formandum sit* (42). Here by the way, we may take notice of a notion of Goclenius, that is very fantastical and singular: but it is good to be informed of such notions, that we may have a fuller view of the extent of the whims and visions of the human mind. From what I have set forth in this remark, we may conclude, that Nihusius was one of those lively presumptuous men, who easily suffer themselves to be dazzled by the false lustre of a paradox, and labour with eargerness to communicate to all the world their own prepossessions. They magnify the ideas of small things; and recommend them with such warmth, as if they were treating of a matter of the last importance; the true reverse of the Roman Poet, who said,

(39) Andreas Carolus, Memor. Ecclesiast. Sæculi XVII, *lib. ii, cap. xviii, pag.* 352, *ad ann.* 1614.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Himmelius in Tractatu de Natura invocationis Religiosæ, *pag.* 120, 125, seq. confer disput. inauguralem Dn. Davidis Christiani, de R. Pontificis Infallib. & S. S. Canonisatione, *pag.* 66. seq. *Id. ib. pag.* 353.

(42) David Christianus, ubi supra, apud Andream Carolum ibid. *lib. vi, cap. li, pag.* 165, *ad ann.* 1657.

Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis ut mihi nugis
Pagina turgescat, dare pondus idonea fumo (43).

(43) Persius, Sat. V, ver. 19.

'Tis not indeed my talent to engage
In lofty trifles, or to swell my page
With wind and noise. - - - - -

DRYDEN.

By this sign we may distinguish those who enter the lists riding in the chariot of vanity,

Quos tulit in scenam ventoso gloria curru (44).

(44) Horat. Epist. I, lib. II, ver. 177.

To discover the Chronological error of the author of the *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica*, we need only call to mind, that Nihusius did not abjure Lutheranism till about the year 1622.

NYMPHODORUS of Amphipolis, the author of a book which has been twice cited by Clemens Alexandrinus [*A*], and now lost, flourished we know not when. The scholiast upon Apollonius has cited the same work to prove, that the Tibarenians (*a*), as soon as their wives were brought to bed, went to bed themselves, and made their wives wait on them in every thing after the same manner as women in child-bed are waited

(*a*) A people that lived near the Euxine sea. See that article.

[*A*] *Author of a piece which has been twice cited by Clemens Alexandrinus.*] Νυμφόδωρος ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἐν τρίτῳ νομίμων Ἀσίας. Nymphodorus Amphipolitanus in tertio de legibus Asiæ (1). - - - - *Nymphodorus of Amphipolis in his third book of the Asian laws.* Νυμφόδωρος ἐν νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς. Nymphodorus in libro de legibus barbaricis (2). - - - *Nymphodorus in his book of Barbarian laws.* We cannot reasonably doubt, but that both these passages relate to the same author; but, it is not so certain, that they refer to the same book. I believe, however, with Vossius, that the Treatise of the Laws of Asia, compiled by Nymphodorus, differed no otherwise from the books of the laws of the Barbarians, than only as a part from

(1) Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. lib. i, pag. 322.

(2) Id. in Admonit. ad Gentes, pag. 43.

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waited on in other countries. Politian is very much miſtaken upon the words of this ſcholiaſt [B].

from the whole (3). This work was not ſmall; for the ſcholiaſt upon Sophocles (4) has cited the thirteenth book of it.

(3) Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Græcis, lib. iii, pag. 393.

(4) Schol. Soph. in Oedip. Colon.

[B] *Politian is much miſtaken upon the words of Apollonius's ſcholiaſt.*] Ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Τιβαρήνων χῇ αἱ γυναῖκες ὅταν τέκωσι, τημελοῦσι τὸς ἀνδρας ὥσπερ λεχὼς· ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νυμφόδωρος ἔν τισι νόμοις (5). *In the country of the Tibarenians, the women, as ſoon as they are delivered, nurſe their huſbands, as tho' they had been delivered. As Nymphodorus relates in ſome laws.* Theſe are the words of the ſcholiaſt upon Apollonius. Now Politian's words are theſe. 'Addunt Interpretes Apollonii ſcriptum id etiam à Nymphodoro in 'Tiſinomis (6). --- *The Commentators on Apollonius 'add, that this is aſſerted by Nymphodorus in his Tiſ-'nomis.*' According to this, Nymphodorus muſt have writ a book, intituled, *Tiſinomi*. But nothing is more ridiculous than that ſuppoſition. The occaſion of Politian's miſtake was undoubtedly this: His manuſcript of the ſcholiaſt made but one word of τισι and νόμοις; for if the tranſcribers had parted theſe two words; he would readily have ſeen that they ſignify *in quibuſdam legibus, --- in ſome laws*; and ſo would not have fallen into the miſtake that he has been ſo often charged with. Note, That Rutgerſius diſliking ἔν τισι νόμοις, ſuppoſes, that it ſhould be read ἐν τοῖς νόμοις (7). His conjecture is ſo likely, that we may very well take it to be juſt: but he is wrong, when he ſays, that Politian's error was followed by John Hartungus; for all that can be laid to Hartungus's charge is, that he made uſe of the reading, ἔν τισι νόμοις (8), which reading is rational enough, and has been adopted by Hoelzlinus in his edition of Apollonius, publiſhed ſince the work of Rutgerſius. Let us obſerve, by the way, that Hartungus, who has diſcovered ſo many falſe quotations, has made one of the ſame kind himſelf in the place I have been now citing. He there affirms, that Cælius Rhodiginus relates, upon the teſtimony of the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius, the fooliſh cuſtom of the Tibarenians. This is not true; Rhodiginus only cites Nymphodorus (9).

(5) Scholiaſtes Apollonii in lib. ii, Argonaut. ver. 1012.

(6) Angelus Politianus, Epiſt. XVI, lib. i, fol. m. 26.

(7) Rutgerſius, Variar. Lection. *lib. iv, cap. xx, pag.* 443.

(8) Joh. Hartungus, Locorum Memorabilium, Decuria I, *cap. ix, pag.* 68, *Tom. ii.* Theſauri Gruteri.

(9) Cælius Rhodigin. Antiq. Lection. *lib. xviii, cap. xxx, pag. m.* 1023.

NIPHUS (AUGUSTIN) one of the moſt celebrated Philoſophers of the XVIth century, was born at Jopoli in Calabria, and not at Seſſa in the Terra di Lavoro, though he very conſtantly gives himſelf the epithet *Sueſſanus* [A]. Finding himſelf ill uſed at home upon his father's ſecond marriage (a), he left the houſe, and went away to Naples, where he had the good fortune to pleaſe one of the inhabitants of Seſſa, who placed him among his own children. He ſtudied with them, and accompanying them to Padua, he applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Returning afterwards to Seſſa, and Naples, and being informed that his father after waſting all his ſubſtance was departed this life, he thought no more of Jopoli, the place of his birth, but took a wife in the town of Seſſa, and taught Philoſophy in Naples for ſeveral years (b). He engaged ſo ſtrongly in the dangerous opinions of Nicoletus Vernias, his profeſſor in Philoſophy at Padua, that having the aſſurance to write upon that ſubject in the year 1491, he brought himſelf into ſuch ill terms, with the monks, that it was very near coſting him his life [B]. This profeſſor Vernias maintained with great warmth the opinion of Averrhoës on the unity of the intellect (c) [C], ſo that the lower claſs of Philoſophers every where gave out, that he had propagated this error almoſt over all Italy (d). Niphus having laid this ſtorm by the aſſiſtance of the biſhop of Padua, and by ſome corrections of his work *de Intellectu & Dæmonibus*, printed in the year 1492, publiſhed ſucceſſively ſeveral other books, which gave him ſo great a reputation, that the moſt famous univerſities made him the offer of a profeſſorſhip in Philoſophy

(a) He might ſay with the ſhepherd in Virgil, Eccl. III, ver. 33. *Eſt mihi namque domi pater eſt injuſta noverca.*

(b) Gabriel Barrius, in Antiquit. Calabriæ, apud Naudæum, in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 16.

(c) See the remark [E] of the article AVERRHOES.

(d) See, below, the remark [C], citat. (9).

[A] *He very conſtantly gives himſelf the addition of* Sueſſanus.] Upon this we may obſerve, that having ſaid in one of his books, that he was born in Calabria, he ſuppreſſed this paſſage in the ſecond edition. *Ipſe in Sinueſſanorum* (1) *gratiam quòd apud eos aliquando degerit, uxoremque duxerit, Sinueſſanum* (2) *ſe ſcribebat. Quamquam ſæpius in Gymnaſia palam Calabrum ſe eſſe fateatur, & in Epiſtola quæ eſt ad Joannem Arenarum Principem, in Commentario ſuper Peri Hermenias, ſe Calabrum eſſe teſtatur, id quod tamen in ſecunda operis editione ſublatum fuit* (3). This ſhews, that he preferred Seſſa, his adopted place, before Jopoli, his native place. Paul Jovius had but a confuſed notion of the native place of Auguſtin Niphus: he makes him a native of Seſſa, and originally of Trophea (vulgarly Tropea) in Calabria (4). Jerome Marafioti, who publiſhed in Italian the Antiquities of Calabria in the 1601, pretends that Niphus performed the principal part of his ſtudies at Tropea (5). His grand-children, and ſeveral of his relations, adds he, are yet living in a country village not far diſtant from that town.

(1) It ſhould be *Sueſſanorum*.

(2) It ſhould be *Sueſſanum*.

(3) Gabriel Barrius, in Antiq. Calabriæ, apud Naudæum, in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 16.

(4) Jovius, in Elogiis, *cap. xcii, pag. m.* 215.

(5) Apud Naudæum, ibid. *pag.* 17.

[B] *He brought himſelf into ſuch ill terms with the monks, that it was very near coſting him his life.*] This was by a book on the Intellect, and on Dæmons. He therein maintained, that there is but one intellect, and that there are no other ſubſtances diſtinct from matter, but the intelligences which move the Heavens. He brought himſelf into great trouble and danger upon this ſcore, and had very probably loſt his life, if Petrus Barocius, biſhop of Padua, had not diverted the ſtorm. From hence it is, that Tiberius Ruffilianus introduces Philoſophy repreſenting to Leo X, that ſhe has ſaved from the flames Auguſtin Niphus, and Pomponacius. Niphus was obliged to ſuppreſs certain paſſages in his work, when he cauſed it to be printed in the year 1492 (6). *Voluit etiam* Niphus *ingenium ſuum in hac præceptoris ſui ſententia, qua explicanda, qua ſtabilienda periclitari; verùm hanc ob rem, aut certò propter negatas à ſe diſtinctas à motricibus cœlorum intelligentiis, ſubſtantias omnes à materia ſeparatas, oppido cucullatos Patres contra ſe in caput, & nominis famam vehementiſſimè commovit; à quibus ſe explicare haud facili negotio potuiſſet, niſi eum ab ancipiti illo diſcrimine celeriter eximiſſet, Petrus Barocius Epiſcopus Patavinus . . . . . quæ* (dica hæreſeos Auguſtino Nipho inuſta) *non ita de nihilo fuit, quin Tyberius Ruffilianus Calaber Philoſophiam inducat, in oratione quam habet ad Leonem X. dicentem*, Nec longo pòſt tempore Sueſſam (7) noſtrum fidiſſimum alumnum, ac Pomponatium mediis ex ignibus eripuimus (8).

(6) Naudæus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 28.

(7) I think it ſhould be read *Sueſſanum*.

(8) Naud. ibid. *pag.* 27, 28.

[C] *This profeſſor Vernias maintained, with great warmth, the opinion of Averrhoës on the unity of the intellect.*] Naudæus is my author. 'Nicoletus Vernias opinionem Averrois de unico Intellectu, confirmare argumentis, eo uſque validis & numeroſis conſueverat, ut omnes plebei & minuti Philoſophi, quemadmodum Riccobonus libro 6. de Gymnaſio Patavino ſcribit, dictarent in vulgus, eum totam pene Italiam in hunc pernicioſum errorem compuliſſe (9). --- *Nicolet Vernias uſed to confirm the opinion of Averrhoës with ſo many and powerful arguments that all the lower claſs of Philoſophers, as Riccobonus writes in his ſixth book*, de Gymnaſio Patavino, *reported it among the common people, that he had drawn almoſt all Italy into that dangerous error.*' The biſhop of Padua, whom I have named, engaged this Vernias by his gentle remonſtances to write an orthodox book. This piece treats of the immortality of the ſoul, and was printed in the year 1499. The author therein maintains, not the unity of the ſoul of all mankind, as he had done very obſtinately for thirty years together, but the multiplication of ſouls, according to the multitude of bodies.

(9) Id. ib. *pag.* 27.

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Philoſophy with a conſiderable ſalary [D]. H
him, and permitted him to bear, in his eſcutch
and alſo created him a count Palatine. The l
be met with (e); but it does not appear from t
of Medicis: though it is certain that this fa
accordingly made public uſe of it (f). He w
in the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, whether
immortal (g). He was very much careſſed b
ſexes, to which his talent of diverting them witl
contributed. He had a very clumſy air, and u
he ſpoke with a good grace, and eſpecially
was ſurprizing to obſerve how very much he d
ſpeaking. He was of an amorous diſpoſitio
age by the extravagances of his paſſion for

(e) See them in *Naudæus*, at the head of the *Opuſcula* of Niphus, which he cauſed to be printed at Paris in 1645.

(f) *See* Naud. in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 24, 25.

(g) See remark [B] of the article POMPONATIUS.

Qui (Petrus Barocius Epiſcopus Patavinus) *Nicoletum quoque amicè poſteà compulit, ut edito de animæ immortalitate libello, eam non unicam eſſe, quemadmodum totos annos triginta pertinaciſſimè docuerat, ſed multiplicem, & pro ratione corporum diviſam, oſtenderet* (10).

(10) Id. ib. *pag.* 28.

[D] *The moſt famous univerſities made him the offer of a Profeſſorſhip in Philoſophy with a conſiderable ſalary.*] According to Paul Jovius, he taught in almoſt all the univerſities of Italy on very advantageous terms, at the ſame time that Achillinus and Pomponacius flouriſhed (11). Theſe two Profeſſors taught Philoſophy in Padua, and if we believe Gauricus they had Auguſtin Niphus for their colleague (12). However he is not named in the Catalogue of the Profeſſors of Padua publiſhed by Riccobon. But Niphus intimates himſelf, that he taught in that univerſity. ‘ Ceſſantibus enim his turbulentiis, *ſays he* (13), quas ‘ ocyſſimè ceſſandas arbitror, adſum qui Patavii ubi ‘ mea ſedes ſemper parata eſt, aut ſicubi boni Principes ‘ florere ſtatuent ſtudia, bonas artes, profiteri polliceor. ‘ - - - - *For as ſoon as this ſtorm ſhall be blown over*, ſays ‘ he, *as I expect it very ſhortly will, I promiſe to come and ‘ teach ſtudents, either at Padua, where I have a chair ‘ always prepared for me, or whereſoever encouraging ‘ princes deſire to have learning flouriſh.*’ It is certain at leaſt that he had the offer both at Padua and Bologna of a ſalary of a thouſand gold crowns a year, which was the ſum appointed him in the univerſity of Piſa. He tells us this himſelf. ‘ Præceptores qui ‘ has (*artes & ſcientias*) diſcipulos docent, pecunias ‘ multas accumulare cernimus: nos primi à Bononien- ‘ ſibus, à Venetis, ſi in eorum Gymnaſiis philoſophi- ‘ am docere vellemus, millenarium aureorum nume- ‘ rum pro mercede ſingulis annis acciperemus, ſicuti à ‘ Florentinis accepimus, Piſis philoſophiam profeſſis ‘ (14). - - - - *We ſee thoſe who teach ſtudents theſe ‘* (arts and ſciences) *heap up great riches: I am the ‘ firſt who have had ſo large a ſalary as a thouſand ‘ gold crowns a year offered me by the Bononians and Ve- ‘ netians, if I would agree to teach in their univerſities, ‘ as I had the ſame actually paid me by the Florentines ‘ for teaching Philoſophy in their univerſity of Piſa.*’ Note that he was Profeſſor at Piſa about the year 1520 (15). The Preface to his *Dilucidationes Metaphyſicæ*, a work which he began to compoſe at Salernum, about the year 1507, informs us, that while he was obliged upon account of public misfortunes to teach in his native country (16), he was invited to Salerno by Robert de Sanſeverino, who had a deſire to make that univerſity flouriſh. He accepted the Philoſophy profeſſorſhip, and during his exerciſe of it he received orders from that prince to explain all Ariſtotle's works (17). I obſerve this, that the reader may know the time of his being Profeſſor at Salerno. It is ſaid that he was called to Rome by Leo X, to teach Philoſophy in the college della Sapienza (18). It may be doubted whether ever he taught in the univerſity of Bologne, ſince he does not appear in the liſt given by Alidoſius of the Profeſſors of that univerſity.

(11) Quum in omnibus ferè Italiæ gymnaſiis, Achillino, & Pomponatio florentibus, opima ſtipendia meruiſſet. *Jovius, ubi ſupra.*

(12) Gauricus, in Themate natalitio Pomponatii, apub Naudæum in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 31.

(13) Niphus, in Dilucidation. Metaphyſ. apud Naudæum, ibid.

(14) Niphus, de Divitiis, *pag.* 83, *Edit. Pariſ.* 1645.

(15) *See* Naud. in Jud. de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 29.

(16) That is, at Seſſa.

(17) *See* Naud. in Jud. de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 29, 30.

(18) Opmer. in Chron. apud Naud. ibid. *pag.* 30.

[E] *He had .... an ungenteel appearance; but yet for all that, he ſpoke with a good grace, and eſpecially when he inclined to be merry.*] This is what Paul Jovius informs us. ‘ Erat ingenio fertili, *ſays he* (19), ada- ‘ perto, liberali, ſermone autem Campanum pingue ‘ quoddam reſonanti maximè libero, & ad ſerendas ‘ fabulas in ſuggeſtu, coronaque ad voluptatem aurium ‘ perjucundo; ſed vel toto ore ſubagreſti, & penitus ‘ infaceto ita ſe ad urbanos jocos componebat, ut valde

(19) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

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this in another place (*b*). His wife was named Angelella, he mentions her in ſeveral places of his works, and relates an uncommon inſtance of her affection for him [G]. He had children by her as we ſhall ſee below (*i*). He died of a diſtemper in his throat which he contracted by a cold he catched in travelling in the night [*H*]. Paul Jovius informs us that it was the ſame night on which Alexander de Medicis duke of Florence was aſſaſſinated, that is the ſixth of January 1537; but Naudæus proves that Niphus was ſtill living in the year 1545 [*I*]. He endeavours to excuſe his errors, and obſcenities,

(*b*) See the remark [C] of the article ARRAGON (JANE OF).

(*i*) In the following article.

afterwards to ſuch a degree as to carry him to public extravagances (24). The exceſſes of our Philoſopher may be ſeen in theſe verſes of Latomus:

(24) Amare cœpit Claram Viſcontiam amore ferum, qui magis converſationum eſſe ſolet quàm libidinis: cum tamen ipſe continentiſſimus foret, & cùm paſſim in colloquiis cum ea quotidie verſaretur, tanto amore affectus eſt tandem ut uſque ad inſanias aperti ſſimas deveniret. *Id. ib.*

Apagete vos, Philoſophiam qui tetricam
Putatis: & boni indignam
Leporis, ebriæ horridamque Cypridis.
Quid? Niphus an non melleus,
Perplexa ſuetus inter enthymemata,
Et ſyllogiſmos frigidos
Narrare ſuaves, Atticaſque fabulas:
Multumque riſum ſpargere?
At quàm venuſtum hoc: ſeptuagenarium
Quod undulatis paſſibus,
Ex curioſo, flexuoſoque capite
Saltare coram cerneres
Modò Dorium, modò Phrygium, vel Lydium:
Amore faucium gravi?
Tractare ſic philoſophiam inviſam, arbitror
Summi fuiſſe philoſophi (25).

(25) Latomus, apud Jovium in Elogiis, *cap. xcii, pag.* 217.

Away ye fools, who think Philoſophy
Too grave for jokes and wanton venery.
What, does not florid Niphus think it beſt,
Amidſt dry ſyllogiſms to crack a jeſt;
With crabbed moods to mix a pleaſant ſtory,
To entertain his laughing auditory?
How wondrous pleaſant muſt it be to ſee
This great Philoſopher at ſeventy,
Inſpir'd by love with ſhaking head advance,
And trembling knees to grace the airy dance?
Much like a grave Profeſſor muſt he look,
Who thus his learned character forſook.

The Italians have preſerved by tradition ſeveral ſtories relating to the amorous follies of old Auguſtin Niphus. Naudæus had heard them; but beſides that he was not aſſured they were true, however probable they might be, he thought it neither conſiſtent with charity nor juſtice to publiſh them. I quote his words with ſo much the more pleaſure, as they give an example of what ought to be done, with regard to ſuch ſtories as are grounded only upon hear-ſay. 'Amoribus præſertim indulſit (Niphus) quos cum puellis honorariis quarumdam Heroïnarum, quibus cum familiariter verſabatur, tam liberè, adeoque intemperanter exercuit, ut non modò virginibus illis quas obſequio ſuo demereri ſtudebat, ſed omnibus qui tanti nominis Philoſophum, à petulcis illis & laſcivientibus puellis ita deludi faſcinarique videbant, ludos de ſe maximos faceret. Et hercle, niſi vellem ejus pudori per me nihil detractum iri, poſſem hic multa ridicula recenſere, quæ licèt incertis rumoribus per Italiam de illo ferantur, adeò tamen moribus amantium proxima ſunt, ut nullo negotio vera quoque cenſeri poſſunt: ſed abſit, ut privati cubiculi ſecreta, & dulces illas nequitias, ineptiaſve, quas ſibi quiſque pro diræ libidinis modo fingit ad libitum, è latebris quas faventes habuerunt, in odioſam lucem proferam. Adde quòd tam alienum eſt à natura mea, rebus certis & exploratis, dubios rumores miſcere, ut nequidem in aliqua ludicra narratione, & oblectationis tantùm de cauſa, facere illud ullo modo vellem (26). - - - - *He (Niphus) gave himſelf up more particularly to amours, which he purſued with ſuch eagerneſs and extravagance among certain maids of honour belonging to ſome great ladies, with whom he had the liberty of converſing, that he made himſelf the jeſt not only of the young girls themſelves, whom he took ſo much pains in endeavouring to pleaſe, but alſo to all others who ſaw a Philoſopher of his great reputation enſnared and made a fool of by a company of frolickſome wanton girls, And indeed, if I was not reſolved to have no hand in detracting any thing from his gravity, I could take this opportunity to recount a great many ridiculous ſtories, which, tho' they are reported all over Italy, upon no better evidence than hear-ſay, are yet ſo natural to the conduct of a lover, that they may very eaſily be ſuppoſed to be true: but far be it from me to drag out of their favourite lurking holes, thoſe ſweet ſins and follies which every one indulges at pleaſure, in proportion to his curſed luſt, and to expoſe them to a diſagreeable light. Beſides that it is ſo contrary to my diſpoſition to mix doubtful reports with certain and evident facts, that I would not do it in the leaſt degree ſo much as in a merry ſtory, intended purely for diverſion.*' There are ſome perſons perhaps who have commended his ſilence for the reaſon contained in theſe four verſes of Malherbe:

(26) Naudæus, in Judicio de Niphо, *pag.* 31, 32.

Sieroit-il bien à mes écrits
D'ennuier les races futures
Des ridicules avantures
D'un amoureux en cheveux gris (27).

(27) Malherbe, Poëſ. *pag.* 85, *Edit. of* Menage, *Paris* 1666.

My writings might, in ſuch a caſe,
Bring ſcandal on ſome future race,
Should they without reſerve diſcover
The follies of a gray-beard lover.

[G] *He relates an uncommon inſtance of his wife's affection for him.*] While he was compoſing a work intituled, *Theſſerologium Aſtronomicum*, he ſhut himſelf up ſo cloſely among his books that he ſaw no body. His wife imagined he was grown melancholy, and vainly tried ſeveral ways to cure him. She at laſt fancied that the pleaſures of Love would prove an effectual remedy; for this reaſon ſhe ſent into his ſtudy to him all alone a handſome girl that ſhe had been very jealous of, and hated heartily upon that account. She begged of her earneſtly to refuſe him nothing he ſhould deſire, not even the laſt favour. Niphus took no notice of her; upon which his wife betook herſelf to her prayers and tears: which laſted till he had finiſhed his book. After which he reſumed his uſual gaiety, and ſaw company as before. The good woman alſo recovered her good humour, *ipſa quoque è mortuis in vitam rediit* (28).

(28) Niphus, de Amore, *cap. cii, pag.* 428.

[*H*] *He died of a diſtemper in his throat, which he contracted by a cold he catched in travelling in the night.*] Paul. Jovius is my author for this. 'Periit in patria nocturno itinere refrigeratus, quum ſero è Sinueſſa rediiſſet, obortis ſcilicet tonſillis quæ fauces obſederant (29). . . . . *He died in his own country by a cold he got upon the road in the night, as he was returning late from Seſſa, the glands of his throat ſwelling and ſtopping up the paſſage.*' Since, according to Paul Jovius, Seſſa was Niphus's country, how could he ſay that in returning too late from Seſſa, he contracted a diſtemper which carried him off in his own country? This queſtion will only let us ſee that the author has not been ſufficiently exact in his account; but it is eaſy to clear up the difficulty. He meant, without doubt, that Niphus having ſtaid too late at Seſſa, returned in the night to a country houſe he had not far from that place. This houſe was undoubtedly that which he called *Niphanum*, from whence he dated ſeveral Books. It is not ſo eaſy to prove that Paul Jovius has truly related the place of his death; for Leander Albertus affirms, that Niphus died at Salerno, where he had taught Philoſophy a long time (30). He continued there in the year 1534, as appears from the date of his treatiſe *de Re Aulica*. He dedicated his book *de Rege & Tyranno*, printed at Naples the ſame year, to Ferdinand de Sanſeverino, prince of Salerno.

(29) Jovius, in Elog. *cap. xcii, pag.* 217.

(30) Obiit annis ſuperioribus Salerni qua in urbe diu regali illius præmiis honeſtiſſimis philoſophiam docuerat. *Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. m.* 244.

[*I*] *Naudæus proves that Niphus was ſtill living in the year* 1545 (31).] For he ſays, that Niphus dedicated

(31) Naudæus, in Jud. de Niphо, *pag.* 34.

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ſcenities [K], and commends him (k) for havin
of a deluge which the Aſtrologers had given ou
very great alarm all over Europe (l). He r
treated him with a great deal of reſpect, anc
no better authority for ſaying that Niphus rece
than he has for adding, that Niphus died of a di
at his ſecond wedding (m), what he ſays of it is r
of ſome miſtakes in Moreri's Dictionary [M]

(k) Naudæus, in Judicio, de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 43, 53.

(l) See the remark [B] of the article STOEFLER.

dicated his Book *de Animalibus* to Paul III, in the year 1545. He concludes from thence, that the author was then 70 years of age, and he grounds this upon a very probable ſuppoſition, that he muſt be 21 years of age at the time of the diſpute mentioned above (32), and which belongs to the year 1491. He might have found a more direct proof in the epiſtle dedicatory of a Book written by this Philoſopher in 1534, in which he declares himſelf to be 66 years old (33). I am ſurpriſed Naudæus ſhould not cenſure Paul Jovius in relation to the time of Niphus's death.

(32) In the remark [B].

(33) Nec mirentur qui hunc legerint librum, Philoſophum ſenex ſexagenarium & pene capularem eum puellæ dicaſſe. *Niphus, Epiſt. Dedicat. Libri* de Re aulica, *pag. m.* 238.

[K] *Naudæus endeavours to excuſe his errors and obſcenities.*] He lays the fault of them upon the licentiouſneſs of that age, and demonſtrates by examples that before the decrees of the Council of Trent concerning the examining and cenſuring of Books, an extreme liberty uſed to be taken in maintaining erroneous propoſitions, and in publiſhing tales and ſatires without any regard to chaſte ears. He confeſſes that Niphus made an ill uſe of this cuſtom in the writings he compoſed for the polite part of the world, and even in ſome philoſophical treatiſes, but not in ſo very looſe a manner as ſome other authors. ‘ Eum (*Sermonem* ‘ *Niphi*) talem eſſe (*inæqualem & immundum*) nullus ‘ unquam inficias ire poterit, cui lectæ fuerint jucundæ ‘ illæ narrationes, quas ſub finem libri de viro aulico ‘ creberrimas juxta, fœdiſſimaſque attulit. Neque ‘ tantùm iſtis uſus eſt, cùm Aulici ſui urbanitatem per ‘ ejuſmodi facetias urbaniorem reddere ſatagit; ſed in- ‘ terdum etiam in Porticu & Academia, cùm adverſus ‘ viros graviſſimos diſputat, in dicteria quædam pro- ‘ rumpit, neque loco, neque tempori ſatis convenien- ‘ tia; eaſque hiſtorias refert, quas ob rerum fœtidarum ‘ mentionem, nemo vel inter lixas & ruſticos, abſque ‘ honoris præfatione referre vellet (34) . . . . . (35) Phi- ‘ lologis præſertim adeò familiaris erat ſermonum ob- ‘ ſcœniſſimorum licentia, ut qui *Bocatium, Pogium,* ‘ *Aretinum, Caſam, Caſtalionem, Pacificum Aſculanum,* ‘ *Julium Grotum, Puccium, Ludovicum Cinthium, Phi-* ‘ *lelphum, Codrum, Septabinam, Mazzuccium Francum,* ‘ & id genus alios (36) legerit, impudentiam tunc, ‘ malitiam, fœditatem, impietatem, virus ſuum omne ‘ plenis buccis, aut potiùs pleno jure, ſive in Deum, ‘ ſive in ejus Miniſtros, aut publicas, privataſque per- ‘ ſonas, & in omnem denique honeſtatem aut verecun- ‘ diam effudiſſe, fateri cogatur. Unde nihil mihi, aut ‘ aliis mirum videri debet, ſi cùm hi mores, hæc tem- ‘ pora vivente *Nipho* fuerint, ipſe etiam, qui petulanti ‘ ſplene cachinno factus à natura fuerat, qui cum He- ‘ roïnis & Principibus viris continuò vivebat, quem ſa- ‘ gaces puellæ, miris illecebris in ſui amorem pellicie- ‘ bant, ſui ſæculi moribus, & inſtitutis, longè tamen ‘ quàm cæteri parciùs, uſus fuerit; quandoquidem ſi ‘ aliter feciſſet, paratum ejus nomini, & gloriæ exiti- ‘ um erat, quod viris Academicis nimia ſtoliditas, & ‘ rerum civilium ignorantia, ſuique potiſſimum incuria ‘ afferre ſolet. - - - - *That it* (the diſcourſe of *Niphus*) ‘ *was ſuch* (impure and obſcene) *none can deny, who* ‘ *have read thoſe merry ſtories which he has added, no* ‘ *leſs numerous than ſmutty, towards the end of his book* ‘ *on the Courtier. Nor has he introduced theſe only, when* ‘ *he attempts to ſet off his Courtier to greater advantage* ‘ *by pleaſantries, but ſometimes alſo in the Schools and* ‘ *Univerſity, when he is diſputing againſt perſons of the* ‘ *greateſt gravity, he breaks out into little jeſts neither* ‘ *becoming the place nor occaſion; and tells ſuch ſtories,* ‘ *as no Porter would repeat without apologizing for their* ‘ *immodeſty. . . . . Thoſe who ſtudied polite learning were* ‘ *ſo uſed to this licentious obſcenity in their diſcourſes, that* ‘ *whoever will read* Boccace, Poggius, Aretine, Caſa,

(34) Naud. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 54.

(35) Id. ib. *pag.* 56.

(36) See the words of Mr *Magliabechi*, in the remark [E] of the article VAYER.

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NIPHUS (FABIUS) grandſon of the preceding, was the ſon, if I am not miſtaken, of that JAMES NIPHUS, to whom Auguſtin, his father, dedicated his book *de Divitiis* in the year 1531. He was learned and eloquent, but of a ſpirit a little too fretful, and he took occaſion from every thing to complain of his ill fortune. He publiſhed a *Proœmium Mathematicum* at Paris in the year 1569, at the ſame time that he taught the Mathematics to two youths who were brothers, Peter Alexander, and Albret Delbene. He dedicated it to John Cavalcante, uncle by the mother's ſide to his two pupils, and gives him an account of the misfortunes he had ſuffered (a) [A]. He ſucceeded Nicolas Curtius in the ſecond profeſſorſhip of Practical Phyſic at Padua, in the year 1575; and having been impriſoned ſome months after upon ſuſpicion of Lutheraniſm (b), he found means to eſcape, and retired to Vienna in Auſtria [B]. He went afterwards into England, and there proved very unfortunate. From thence he came to Holland, and there alſo met with misfortunes [C]. I do not know whether he ſucceeded or not in the expectation he had of defeating the proſecutions of his enemies by the protection of the States. I have not been able to trace this beyond an Epiſtle Dedicatory where this expectation is expreſſed. Naudæus conjectures that he retired into the Spaniſh Netherlands, and that he there abjured Calviniſm, and married a wife by whom he had FERDINAND NIPHUS, who printed at Louvain, in 1644, Caramuel's *Severa Methodus diſputandi*, to which he added a letter wherein he calls himſelf great-grand-ſon of Auguſtin Niphus. Mr Moreri, who knew no more of all theſe things, than what he had read in Naudæus, has changed into affirmations, what the other had only delivered with a *perhaps*. This is a very ill example, and a very common fault. He has copied ſome miſtakes from the ſame

(a) Naudæus, in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 36, 37.

(b) Riccobonus, de Gymnaſio Patavino, *lib. iii, cap. xxxix*, apud Naudæum, ibid.

[A] *He gave an account to John Cavalcante of the misfortunes he had ſuffered.*] He teſtifies his gratitude for the good offices he had done him. *Tu enim*, Cavalcantium nempe ſic alloquitur, *cùm in tantas rerum anguſtias atque aſperitates, quadam fortunæ amentia incidiſſem, ut penè de ſalute deſperandum putarem, non tantùm hac rerum mearum offenſione doluiſti, verùm etiam neque ſumptibus, neque amicis, in mea adverſitate lenienda, te conceſſurum confirmaſti* (1).

(1) Apud Naudæum, in Jud. de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 37.

[B] *He found means to eſcape, and retired to Vienna in Auſtria.*] This is a circumſtance which I have met with in a letter of Languetus, dated from that place the 15th of March 1576. Languetus wrote it to his maſter the elector of Saxony, and informed him among other things, that this grandſon of Niphus would be glad to accept of an employ in the public ſchools of that elector. He added, that tho' he was a young man, yet he ſpoke very well, being very well verſed in the impoſtures of the Romiſh church, but not ſufficiently inſtructed in the true religion, which made him wiſh to be eſtabliſhed in ſome place where he might have an opportunity of coming to a more perfect knowledge of it. The envy of his colleagues who found him commended by the ſcholars, inſtigated them to accuſe him to the Inquiſition for an heretic: he was impriſoned, but ſome young Germans reſcued him, and he went from thence to Vienna. He had taught Philoſophy in France and Italy, and had been crowded with auditors before he was made Profeſſor in Phyſic at Padua. This is the intire paſſage of Languet. *Venit huc ex Italia Marcus Antonius Niphus, nepos illius Auguſtini Niphi, qui patrum noſtrorum ætate fuit valde celebris in Scholis Italicis. Hic Marcus Antonius per aliquot annos docuit Philoſophiam in Gallia & Italia cum maximo auditorum concurſu, & tandem factus eſt Patavii artis medicæ Profeſſor. Quoniam autem magno applauſu audiebatur a Studioſis adoleſcentibus, quidam ex Profeſſoribus metuentes, ne præ ipſo in contemptum venirent, eum tanquam de Religione Pontificia non bene ſentientem detulerunt ad Inquiſitionem, à qua eſt conjectus in carcerem, ex quo opera quorundam adoleſcentum Germanorum evaſit, & huc ſe contulit. Contraxi hic cum eo notitiam, & cum viderem eum eſſe moderato ingenio, & nihil eſſe in eo illius arrogantiæ, qua raro carent Itali, & ex aliorum ſermonibus ſcirem, ipſum eſſe inſigniter doctum, percontatus ſum ex eo, ſi forte vocaretur in aliquam ex ſcholis publicis Veſtræ Celſitudinis, an eſſet conditionem acceptaturus. A qua re cum viderem eum non abhorrere, promiſi ipſi me id Veſtræ Celſitudini indicaturum a qua humiliter peto, ut mihi ſignificare dignetur, quæ ſit ſua in ea re voluntas. Eſt adhuc Juvenis & valde facundus. Intelligit quidem impoſturas Religionis Pontificiæ, ſed in puriore Religione nondum eſt ſatis inſtitutus, quare cupit venire ad ea loca ubi poſſit inſtitui* (2). If Naudæus had known any thing of this letter of Languetus, he would have found no fault with the account of Riccobon (3), but would have owned that our Niphus ſucceeded Curtius in the year 1575. Languetus's calling the Niphus he was ſpeaking of Marcus Antonius, ought to be no pretence for imagining that he was any other than the Fabius Niphus of this article. The argument which Naudæus founds upon Niphus's complaining while he was at Paris in 1569, of the dangers to which he had been expoſed (4) is of no weight: for it is not at all neceſſary to refer this, as Naudæus does, to his being impriſoned in Padua (5); he was a man who met with troubles where-ever he went, and without doubt his evil genius had croſſed him in ſome thing or other before he retired into France. We muſt remember that, according to Languetus, he had taught Philoſophy before he was promoted to the Profeſſorſhip in Phyſic at Padua.

(2) Languetus, Epiſt. lxvii, ad Elect. Auguſt. *Part ii, pag.* 166.

(3) Naudæus, ubi ſupra.

(4) See the preceding remark.

(5) Ipſe . . . tam expreſſe calamitates ſuas enumerat, ut dubitari non poſſit, quin de Patavinis intelligendæ ſint. *Naudæus, ubi ſupra.*

By the way I ſhall take notice of another miſtake of Naudæus. He ſays (6), that Niphus had retired into France, upon the ſame account that Peter Martyr had retired into England, and Simeo Simonius into Germany. It is certain that Peter Martyr took refuge in Switzerland, and ſettled at Straſburg, and did not go into England, till ſome years afterwards by accident, that is, upon his being invited thither to aſſiſt in the new Reformation under the reign of Edward VI. And as to what relates to Simonius, I am very well aſſured that he did not make choice of Germany for his firſt retreat. He was profeſſor at Geneva, before he exerciſed that office at Heidelberg. See his article.

(6) Ibid.

[C] *He was very unfortunate in England, and . . . met alſo with misfortunes in Holland.*] It is Gabriel Naudæus, who informs me of this: I have not the book from whence he takes it. ' In *Angliam* & demum in *Ollandiam* trajecit; cum tamen utrobique, reflantibus fortunæ ventis agitatus, non aliter quam ſi quartâ Lunâ natus fuiſſet, quacumque tandem ſe reciperet, illic etiam gravi ſemper aliquo infortunio mactaretur, ſic enim ille in præfatione Ophini ſui ad conſociatarum Belgii provinciarum Ordines: *Equidem cum in Angliam nullo meo crimine, ſed nefario quorundam ſcelere, magna calamitate oppreſſus eſſem, ejuſque calamitatis reliquiæ, quaſi procellæ ad vos me detuliſſent, ecce veſtræ virtutis, & humanitatis non inanis ſpes effulſit.* Ac paulò poſt, *Cumque injuſte in mearum rerum, quaſi in fractarum navium reliquias, nonnulli impetum feciſſent, Senatus veſtris auſpiciis conſtitutus, ſingulari virtute obſtitit, meque in integrum, quantum in eo erit, reſtitutum iri, non inanem mihi ſpem oſtentavit* (7). - - - *He paſſed over into England and afterwards into Holland, in both which places he was ſo ruffled by the ſtorms of fortune, as if he had been born under ſuch an unlucky planet, that wherever he ſhould go, he muſt meet with misfortunes, for ſo in the preface to his Ophinus he expreſſes himſelf to the States-General of the United Provinces.* Indeed when I found myſelf under great troubles in England, not for any crime of my own, but thro' the wickedneſs of others, the concluſion of which drove me, like a ſort of tempeſt, into your provinces, behold I conceived no ſmall hopes from your goodneſs and humanity. *And a little after*, And when ſome perſons very injuſtly made an attack upon the remain-' der

(7) Ibid.

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same author [D], and has advanced without any proof at all (c) that Fabius Niphus *taught some time at Leyden.*

(c) That is, without having read it in *Naudæus.*

'der of my fortunes, as a sort of shipwreck, your 'senate with singular goodness has interposed, and 'given me great expectation of being fully relieved, as 'far as their power shall extend.' Naudæus supposes that the *Ophinus seu de cœlesti animarum progenie Dialogus* (8) was not printed at Leyden till 1617. Yet the Oxford Catalogue takes notice of it as printed at Leyden in 1599 in 4to.

(8) It is *Divinatio* in the *Oxford Catalogue.*

[D] *Moreri . . . has copied some mistakes of Naudæus.*] He has said, I. that Niphus professor in Physic at Padua, being expelled from thence came to Paris, and went into England. II. That the work intituled *Ophinum*, he should have said *Ophinus* (9) was not published till 1617. Note, that the author there calls himself *Fabius à Nipho.*

(9) Mr ought t given it title, an said that *brevit* (

NONIUS (a) (PETER), in Spanish *Nunnes*, a learned Portuguese, and one of the greatest Mathematicians of the XVIth century, was born at Alcaçar [A]. He was præceptor to Don Henry (b) son of king Emanuel, and taught the Mathematics in the university of Conimbra (c). He published some pieces which procured him a great reputation [B]. He set the greatest value on his treatise of Algebra, which he had composed in Portuguese, but translated it into Castillan, when he was resolved upon making it public (d); for he considered that the Castillan language was more generally known than the Portuguese, and that consequently his book would be of less use if he should leave it in its original form. He dedicated it to his former pupil prince Henry the cardinal infant. His epistle dedicatory is dated from Lisbon the first of December 1564. He was then principal *Cosmographer to the king of Portugal, and mathematical professor in the university of Coymbra.* This work is intituled *Libro de Algebra en Arithmetica y Geometria*, and contains 341 pages in the edition of Antwerp 1567 in 8vo. Nonius died in 1577 at eighty years of age, and left only one daughter (e). I have no where read except in Thuanus, that he was a Physician by profession.

(a) And not *Nonnius*, as in *Moreri*; or *Nonnus* as in Mr *Teissier.*

(b) Who was a cardinal, and reigned after the death of Don Sebastian.

(c) Thuanus, *lib. xliv, pag. m.* 204.

(d) See the Epistle Dedicatory of that book.

(e) Thuanus, *lib. lxiv, pag.* 204.

[A] *He was born at Alcaçar.*] Thuanus says that Alcaçar is a village, *Vicus* (1). Mr Baudrand (2) gives it the title of *Pagus*; but Resendius, a Portuguese author, calls it a town, tho' he owns it no otherwise considerable than for being the native place of Nonius. *Salacia est*, says he (3), *quæ à Saracenis nomine mutato, nunc* Alcassar Salis (4) *vocatur, urbs nostro tempore non admodum clara, nisi civem haberet* Petrum Nonium *Mathematicum cumprimis nobilem.* The antient name of this place was *Salacia* (5), and it was formerly a town of note: it is mentioned by Pomponius Mela and Pliny. Joachim Vadianus has not rightly understood what they say of it. Resendius proves him guilty of a very gross blunder (6).

(1) Thuanus, *lib. lxiv, pag. m.* 204.

(2) In Lexico Geograph. Voce Salacia.

(3) Resendius, Commentar. in Vincentium, *pag.* 78, *Tom. ii*, Operum.

(4) *Vulgarly* Alcaçar de Sal.

(5) This shews why Petrus Nonius is firnamed *Salacienſis.*

(6) Resend. ubi supra.

[B] *He published some pieces which procured him a great reputation.*] His book *De arte navigandi* was received so much the more favourably, as it served the grand designs projected at the court of the king, his master, to carry on the maritime expeditions into the East (7). Furetiere's Dictionary (8) remarks, that Peter Nonius was *the first who in* 1530, *invented the angles of forty five degrees made with each meridian, and* which *he calls* rhumbs *in his language*, and which *he calculates by spherical triangles.* Simon Stevinus (9) has shewn that Nonius, whom he acknowledges on other accounts to be scarce inferior to the very greatest Mathematicians, is sometimes mistaken in his calculation of Loxodromics. This learned Portuguese has explained a great many problems, and particularly the mechanical problem of Aristotle on the motion of vessels by oars (10). His notes, *in Theoricas Planetarum Purbachii*, upon Purbachius's Theory of the Planets, are very much to be esteemed; for he there explains several things which had either not been taken notice of, or not been rightly understood (11). He published in 1542 a treatise *de Crepusculis*, on the Twilight, which he dedicated to John III, king of Portugal, and added to it what Alhazen an Arabic author had composed on the same subject. We must not forget that he corrected several mathematical mistakes of Orontius Finæus.

(7) *See* Andrew Schot, Biblioth. Hispan. *pag.* 477.

(8) *At the word* Loxodromies.

(9) In Appendice Loxodromiarum, apud Vossium de Scient. Mathem. *pag. m.* 300.

(10) Sch ubi supra sius, de Mather 299.

(11) Id. 191.

This is the judgment of Father Dechales: 'In the 'year 1530, Petrus Nonius, a celebrated Portuguese 'Mathematician, upon occasion of some doubts pro- 'posed to him by Mortinus Alphonsus Sosa, wrote a 'treatise of Navigation, divided into two books. In 'the first, he answers some of these doubts; for exam- 'ple, whence it happens that the sun being in the e- 'quator, rises in the eastern rhumb, according to 'which however if we steer the ship, we shall never 'arrive at this circle, but describe a parallel; and in 'his answer, he explains the nature of Loxodromic 'lines. In the second book, he treats of rules and 'instruments proper for Navigation, particularly sea- 'charts, and instruments which serve to find the ele- 'vation of the pole. Obscurity is the character of this 'author: which makes him of little use to his rea- 'ders (12).

(12) Cla Francis Dechales *face to b* Navigati

NORADIN, the son of Sanguin, Sultan of Aleppo and of Nineveh [A], surpassed his father in every thing, though he had been the best accomplished and most puissant prince among the Turks in his time (a). Sanguin being killed by some of his eunuchs, while he laid siege to Cologembar upon the Euphrates, in 1143 (b), Noradin divided his paternal inheritance with his brother (c); by virtue of which division he became Sultan of Aleppo, and in a little time one of the most powerful princes in all Asia. He had nothing of the Turk or Barbarian, but the name; and was possessed of all the qualities of a great general. He was equally prudent, bold, and successful; the most vigilant man in the world, and the readiest to lay hold of all opportunities that might offer for putting in execution a brave action. He was not destitute of the qualities of a man of honour: he had a great share of probity and even piety in the way of his false religion. One of his first exploits was the defeat of Joscelin de Courtenai, count of Edessa, whose troops he so routed, that Joscelin had much ado to escape to Samosata where he arrived almost all alone. The greatest part of his territories fell under the sovereignty of Noradin, who afterwards made a great many other conquests, when the Crusade, to which St Bernard had predicted so much success, miscarried in a dismal manner in the siege of Damascus, anno 1148,

(a) Towards the middle of the XIIth century.

(b) And not in 1145, as *Maimbourg* has it, *Tom. i*, of the *Crusades, pag.* 305, Dutch Edition.

(c) He was the elder brother, and his name was *Cotebedein.*

[A] *Sultan of Aleppo and of Nineveh.*] But not of Egypt, as Mr Huber has affirmed (1). Mr Perizonius has taken notice of this fault (2).

(1) Histor. Civilis, *Tom. i, pag.* 475.

(2) Perizonius, in Specimine Errorum, *pag.* 129.

[B] *Syra-*

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1148, and returned with the greateſt diſgrace to Europe. Noradin knew very well how to improve ſo favourable an opportunity. He invaded the principality of Antioch with a powerful army; gained a victory over prince Raimond, who was killed there; made himſelf maſter of the fortreſs of Harenc, and moſt of the other places of that principality; took the count of Edeſſa above-mentioned in an ambuſcade, and put him to death in irons at Aleppo; diſlodged the Greeks from that whole country, into whoſe hands the counteſs, and Baudouin king of Jeruſalem, had reſigned it, in order for them to protect it; and conquered the city and territory of Damaſcus. Baudouin made a very vigorous oppoſition to ſtop this conqueror's progreſs, and even defeated him more than once; and that in ſuch a manner as to make him admired by his enemy: for we are aſſured, that when Baudouin was poiſoned by his Phyſician at thirty-two years of age (*d*), Noradin would never take advantage of the conſternation raiſed all over his kingdom by his death, but ſaid with equal modeſty and greatneſs of ſoul, that *it behoved him to condole with them, and bear a ſhare in ſo juſt a mourning, ſince they lamented the death of a prince who had not left his equal in the world.* Some time after he made himſelf maſter of the city of Paneas. In a word, he poſſeſſed almoſt all Syria and Meſopotamia, and extended his conqueſts even beyond Cilicia to the ſtates of the Sultan of Iconium, whom he had defeated in battle. Fortune preſented to him a fair opportunity of carrying his arms into Egypt, when Sanar, Sultan of that kingdom, being diſpoſſeſſed by Dorgan, applied to him for protection. Accordingly he ſent into Egypt a numerous army, under the command of Syracon, general of his forces [*B*]. Amauri, king of Jeruſalem, very indiſcreetly [*C*] aſſiſted Dorgan, who had promiſed him a large tribute. Syracon, amidſt many viciſſitudes, was obliged to quit Egypt twice, but at laſt carried it, after having cauſed Sanar to be aſſaſſinated, and got himſelf to be made Sultan in his room, by the calif of Grand Cairo. Noradin, whoſe creature he was, ſuffered all this. This new Sultan died that ſame year [*D*], leaving for his ſucceſſor the great Saladin his nephew [*E*]. Noradin died likewiſe in 1173. His widow married Saladin, and his ſon was diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the ſame Saladin (*e*).

(*d*) In 1163.

(*e*) *Guill. Tyrius, & alii, apud* Maimbourg, Hiſtory of the Cruſades, *Tom. i, ii.*

[*B*] *Syracon general of his forces.*] Father Maimbourg (3), ſays, he was a little man, and that his merit raiſed him to the higheſt poſt in the kingdom, notwithſtanding the obſcurity of his birth, and his being a ſlave: but Calviſius (4) aſſures us he was Noradin's brother.

(3) Cruſades, *Tom. ii, pag.* 46.

(4) *Ad ann.* 1169.

[*C*] *Very indiſcreetly.*] I have made uſe of this expreſſion out of reſpect to a great many perſons, who attribute to this the loſs of Jeruſalem. The grounds they go upon, are, that Saladin, who expelled the Chriſtians from thence, found them and the Saracens linked together, by reaſon of the wars that his predeceſſor, Syracon, carried on in Egypt againſt king Amauri. However we muſt not forget that this young prince met with ſucceſs in the beginning of theſe wars. I find ſome Hiſtorians make him the cauſe of a more preſent evil: for they ſay, his expedition to Egypt occaſioned Noradin's invaſion of Antioch. I mean that invaſion in which Boemond, prince of Antioch, and Raimond count of Tripoli were defeated, and taken priſoners by Noradin. Cluverius puts this invaſion after Syracon's expedition (5), but Calviſius places it 1165, and the expedition in 1168 (6).

(5) Jo. Cluverius, Hiſtor. Epitome.

(6) Vide Calviſium, *ad ann.* 1169.

[*D*] *Died that ſame year.*] Father Maimbourg places his death in 1168; but Calviſius more juſtly places it in 1170.

(7) *Ad ann.* 1170.

[*E*] *His nephew.*] Or rather his grand-ſon; *Nepos ex filio*, as Calviſius aſſures us (7).

NULLY (*a*): STEPHEN DE NULLY, firſt preſident of the court of Aids at Paris, was the ſon of CHARLES DE NULLY and of Anne de Paris.

(*a*) An article communicated by Mr *Marais*, and cited at the end of remark [*C*] of the article PLACE (PETER DE LA.)

CHARLES DE NULLY was at firſt lay-counſellor to the parliament of Paris, he was admitted there the tenth of October 1541.

The twenty third of July 1543 he was promoted to the office of maſter of requeſts (1) and received the ſame day by the parliament. I have ſeen the extract of his admiſſion. At that time there were but few maſters of requeſt, and thoſe offices were conferred only upon perſons of note.

(1) He had the office of preſident Oliver.

In the year 1544, he was named Plenipotentiary for king Francis I, at the peace of Creſpy, together with marſhal d'Annebault, and Gilbert Bayard, Sieur de la Fond ſecretary of State and comptroller-general of the wars. Charles de Nully was the ſecond of the three. The treaty was ſigned the eighteenth of September 1544; and the ſame day king Francis I, wrote him a letter under his ſignet, wherein his majeſty commanded him to notify to the parliament the concluſion of the peace.

During the conferences it happened that a Spaniſh Jacobin, of the noble family of the Guſmans, who was plenipotentiary for Charles V, ſpoke too haughtily againſt France: Charles de Nully gave him a box on the ear, and by this action which appeared too violent, he was diſappointed of the office of chancellor which had been deſigned for him, cardinal de Tournon having remonſtrated that ſuch a ſpirit would not be at all agreeable to the head of the law.

In 1547, he was one of the eight maſters of requeſts who aſſiſted at the funeral ceremonies of Francis I.

In 1548, the reſolution he had ſhewn at the treaty of Creſpy, occaſioned his being pitched upon by Henry II, to go and arraign the whole city of Bourdeaux, which had rebelled ſo far as to aſſaſſinate the Sieur de Monneins, one of the king's officers and lieutenant of the province. The conſtable Montmorency went thither with an army, and entered the city by the breach. Two days after Charles de Nully began the proceſs on his part, and pronounced that famous judgment againſt the rebels, by which the city was declared guilty of rebellion, its privileges forfeited, the parliament ſuſpended, the

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the bells taken away, the jurates and an hundred burgeſſes condemned to dig up with their nails the body of the Sieur de Monneins, and ſeveral other remaining particulars which may be met with in every Hiſtory.

Here follows what Thuanus ſays of him under the year 1548, Libr. V.

'Tertiâ die a *Stephano* Nullio Libellorum ſupplicum Magiſtro de ſeditione quæſtio 'habita eſt. Is, a Mommorantio in eam rem cum aliis a rege delectis judicibus 'adductus alioqui magnae authoritatis vir ſed vehemens & iracundus & qui in pacis 'ad Crepiacum factæ negotio, Dominicano Monacho cujus mutuâ operâ Cæſar & 'Franciſcus utebantur arrogantius utquidem ipſi videbatur loquenti injurioſe manus 'intulerit, quo facto ampliſſimâ Cancellarii dignitate quæ ultrò deferebatur indignus 'habitus eſt, monente Turnonio nequaquam ſummo Magiſtratui impotens & violentum 'ingenium convenire. - - - - *On the third day began the proceſs for ſedition, before Stephen 'Nully, maſter of requeſts. He was brought thither for that purpoſe by Montmorency with 'other judges appointed by the king; and was, in other reſpects, a perſon of great merit, 'but warm and paſſionate, and who during the treaty of peace at Creſpy, by ſtriking a Domi- 'nican Monk, employed both by the emperor and king Francis, for ſpeaking as he thought 'too arrogantly, had been judged unworthy of the high dignity of Chancellor, which before 'that accident was deſigned for him without being aſked, cardinal de Tournon having intimated 'that ſo haſty and violent a diſpoſition would by no means become a chief magiſtrate.'*

Thuanus, and, after him, Mezerai, have been miſtaken in calling him Stephen inſtead of Charles. They both of them agree that he who went to Bourdeaux was at the treaty of Creſpy: now it was Charles de Nully moſt certainly who was plenipotentiary at that peace, and beſides there never was a Stephen de Nully maſter of requeſts, except the preſident who was not ſo till 1571.

Blanchard, in his book of maſter of requeſts p. 278, calls him Charles. He dates his admiſſion on the twenty-third of July 1543; but he makes another miſtake, for he calls him Milly inſtead of Nully, in which it was eaſy for him to be deceived by the joining and the number of letters. Nor did this miſtake come afterwards from him; for in the editions of the treaty of Creſpy, I have ſeen Milly put inſtead of Nully, and it was certainly Nully who was at that treaty on the part of Francis I, as Thuanus and Mezerai both agree, and as it is yet more evident from the king's letter under his ſignet which I have ſeen in the original.

The twenty-third of October 1549, Charles de Nully died: he was interred in the church of the Holy Innocents, and by an extract from the parliament regiſter it appears that his relations deſired the court to be preſent at his funeral, and that their petition was granted.

He left his widow, Anne de Paris, in poſſeſſion of the eſtate of Neuilly upon Marne, three leagues from Paris, and this eſtate afterwards deſcended to the preſident de Nully, his ſon, as being his mother's jointure: there is nothing to be met with concerning the birth of the preſident, and there is no other proof beſides this circumſtance of the jointure, that he was the ſon of Charles.

The preſident was named STEPHEN: he was firſt counſellor in the parliament of Bretagne, his commiſſion is dated the twelfth of April 1559.

Afterwards he was attorney to the king in the chaſtelet of Paris, and provoſt of the merchants in that city.

In 1569, king Charles IX having removed all the officers of the Proteſtant religion, Mr de la Place, firſt preſident of the court of Aids, was turned out of his place, and Mr de Nully put in his room and admitted the laſt day of February 1569.

In 1571, Mr de la Place was reſtored by the Edict of Pacification; and to make Mr de Nully amends, the king gave him the place of maſter of requeſts: the commiſſion is dated the ſeventeenth of April 1571.

In 1572 happened the maſſacre on St Bartholomew's day. Mr de la Place was murthered, and Mr de Nully entred a ſecond time on the poſt of firſt preſident of the court of Aids: the ſecond commiſſion was dated the ſecond of September 1572, eight days after St Bartholomew's day.

The league was formed: the preſident de Nully was one the the moſt violent leaguers. He was preſent among the eſtates of Blois in 1588. The cardinal and duke of Guiſe were there aſſaſſinated: the preſident de Nully was arreſted, and conducted to Amboiſe, from whence he was delivered by paying a thouſand crowns ranſom which he borrowed.

After the death of Henry III, the preſident de Nully continued always firſt preſident of the court of Aids. The duke de Mayenne made him ſecond preſident *à Mortier* at the erection of his parliament by virtue of letters patents, whereof I have ſent a copy (2). But he gave him letters of diſpenſation for the holding thoſe two offices together: ſome of them were dated the ſeventh of December 1593, and others in preceding years.

(2) This copy may be ſeen above, remark [Q] of the article of the third duke of GUISE.

The duke de Mayenne made him alſo library-keeper to the king, after the death of Mr Amiot grand Almoner and biſhop of Auxerre.

It is to be obſerved, that he took alſo the title of counſellor of ſtate, and that his warrant for it had been given him by Henry III.

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In 1594 Paris was reduced, but we do not find that he continued to exerciſe his office of firſt preſident, nor do we know when he quitted it. He was ſtill living in 1606; for he was preſent at the marriage of his ſon James de Nully, Eſq; lord of Neuilly, in the ſame year.

From JAMES DE NULLY deſcended PETER DE NULLY, Eſq; lord of Neuilly, who married Dame Mary le Bert.

And from this Peter de Nully iſſued another Peter de Nully now living, who, upon his being proſecuted in the Heralds-office, proved all theſe titles of dignity to belong to his family, and was ſupported in his claim of Nobility with honour and diſtinction.

The family of de Nully bears Gules a croſs flower-de-luce or cantoned between four billets or alſo, with two ſwans for ſupporters. Theſe arms may be ſeen in the arched roof of the church of St John en Greve where ſome of their anceſtors have been interred.

The ſame arms are alſo to be met with on the tomb of Foulques curate of Neuilly upon the Marne, that great man mentioned in every chronicle, who in the XIIth century having preached the Croiſade under the orders of St Bernard, and of Pope Innocent III, returned to die in his cure (3). He is buried in the church of Neuilly, and on his tomb, which is a work of that age, are engraved the arms of Nully, probably becauſe ſome perſon of that family had attended him in that holy expedition, and that they were then in poſſeſſion of that lordſhip.

(3) Geoffroy de Ville Hardouin, publiſhed by Mr du Cange.

NUMANTINA, wife of Plautius Silvanus whom I mention elſewhere (*a*), was accuſed of having occaſioned her huſband's diſtraction by Divinations, or Witchcraft [*A*], but declared innocent. She lived under the emperor Tiberius, and had been divorced by her huſband.

(*a*) In the article URGULANIA.

[*A*] *She was accuſed of having occaſioned her huſband's diſtraction by Divinations and Witchcraft.*] This is the true ſenſe of the words of Tacitus: *Mox Numantina prior uxor ejus accuſata injeciſſe carminibus & veneficiis vecordiam marito, inſons judicatur* (1). A French Phyſician (2) has quite miſunderſtood it; for he pretends that Numantina *was accuſed of having rendered her huſband impotent and bewitched, by the ſole pronouncing of ſome words*, and he proves from this example the vulgar notion, that there are *certain words* which prevent *a man's enjoying a woman. . . . . Daily experience*, adds he, *of thoſe who are codpiece tied*, confirms this. Since he would cite Tacitus, he ought to have examined him with a little more attention.

(1) Tacit. Annal. *lib. vi, cap. xxii, ad ann.* 777.

(2) John de Renou, *lib. i, of his* Inſtitutions Pharmaceutiques, *cap. xiii, pag.* 23, Edition of Lyons 1637.

N. B. A tranſpoſition of certain monoſyllables, occaſioned by an accident, having perplexed the ſenſe of a paſſage in the 198th page of this volume, at line the ſixth from the top of the ſecond column, the reader is deſired to correct it after the following manner, *viz.*

I came to Paris the ſame year, where *I was alſo admitted advocate, and where I pleaded for ſeveral years. In* 1634, *the parliament of Paris* held *their extraordinary ſeſſions at Poitiers, where I pleaded alſo. And this made Mr Coſtar ſay, that as there* were *ſerjeants ſerving warrants through all the kingdom,* &c.

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O.

OBSEQUENS (JULIUS) a Latin writer, whose country is unknown, as well as the age he lived in. It is only conjectured that he lived some time before the reign of Honorius. Scaliger insinuates (*a*) that he lived before the time, in which St Jerome, composed his supplements to Eusebius's Chronicon (*b*). Frisius is grossly mistaken [*A*]. We are no less at a loss as to the religion of Obsequens; but the fragments we have remaining of his Collection of Prodigies ought to perswade as that he was a Heathen. This work was chiefly a list of the prodigies inserted by Livy in his History [*B*]. What we have left of it begins with the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caïus Lælius, that is, about the year of Rome 561 [*C*]: we have several editions of it [*D*]. Lycosthenes has endeavoured to supply what is lost of the original. Mr Moreri's quotation is wretched [*E*].

(*a*) Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. *num.* 1886, *pag. m.* 147.

(*b*) He composed them in the reign of Valens the emperor: now Valens died in 379.

(1) Joh. Jacobus Frisius, in sua Bibliotheca apud Schefferum, in Præfat. in Jul. Obsequentem.

[*A*] *Frisius is grosly mistaken* (1).] He has said, that this Obsequens lived in the time of Panetius and Polybius, 240 years before CHRIST. This cannot be, since Obsequens makes mention of Augustus.

[*B*] *His work was . . . . a list of the prodigies inserted by Livy in his History.*] This we are convinced of by two reasons. 1. This collection ends at the 743d year of Rome, as Livy's Decades do. 2. The author frequently makes use of the same terms with that Historian.

(2) Balth. Bonifac. de Script. Hist. Rom. *Note, that Zeiller in* Historicis, *Part i, pag.* 55, *in quoting him, puts* 55 *instead of* 505.

[*C*] *That is, about the year of Rome* 561.] Some authors place this consulate in that year, others in 563. No body would dare to fix it in 505, and yet Beatus Rhenanus has said in the title of his book, that what we have of Obsequens begins with the year of Rome 505. Balthasar Bonifacius has copied after him the same error (2). The learned Schefferus was not ignorant that these two authors had said this (3), and yet he does not censure them at all, nor give the least notice of their mistake. We likewise meet with it in the Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca.

(3) See what he says after his preface, and the first of his remarks.

[*D*] *We have several editions of it.*] These are the editions mentioned by Schefferus (4). Aldus Manutius was the first who published this work; he printed it at Venice in 1508 (5). Beatus Rhenanus reprinted it six years after at Strasburg, with some other tracts. Asulanus, father-in-law to Aldus Manutius, published a new edition of it in 1518. Some time after Robert Stephens published another at Paris. John Oporin printed it at Basil in 1552, with the Supplements of Lycosthenes, who was then corrector and director of Oporin's Printing-house (6). Care was taking to distinguish by asterisks what was added by Lycosthenes. The following year John de Tournes, Printer at Lyons, copied this edition of Oporin's, and carefully observed all the asterisks. But since Vossius (7) speaks of an edition by John de Tournes, where Lycosthenes's additions were confounded with the work of Obsequens, without any mark of distinction, there is room to believe that this Printer was more careless in an after edition. This carelessness has been the occasion of great mistakes. The phrases of Lycosthenes have been cited as of an antient author; his authority has been alledged as that of an antient writer (8). This disorder is remedied in Mr Schefferus's edition (9); in which, what belongs properly to Obsequens is printed in a Roman letter, and Lycosthenes's Supplements in Italic. We shall give an instance of these mistakes: Alexander ab Alexandro affirms, that when Tarquin was expelled Rome, a dog spoke, and a serpent barked (10). Tiraquellus who has discovered the originals from whence this author had made his extracts, observes, that Livy said no more, than that a serpent fell from a wooden statue (11). Julius Obsequens, adds he, relates the same prodigy, and has all that Alexander ab Alexandro has said upon this head. But it is Lycosthenes, and not Alexander ab Alexandro that says a dog spoke and a serpent barked. Doubtless he took this prodigy from Alexander ab Alexandro; and thus by a strange reciprocation the copier is made use of as a proof for the original. Is not this what the schools call *mutua causalitas? - - - - where two things are made the causes of each other.*

(4) In the preface to his edition.

(5) From the manuscript that Jocundus of Verona had given him.

(6) Vossius, de Hist. Latinis, *pag.* 711.

(7) Id. ib.

(8) See Vossius, ibid.

(9) At Amsterdam 1679, in 8vo.

(10) Satis constat . . . canem locutum fuisse, serpentemque ipsius statuæ. *Alex. ab Alexandro, Genial. Dier. lib. iii, cap. xv, pag. m.* 735.

(11) Tiraquellus. Not. in hunc locum Alex. ab Alexandro.

[*E*] *Mr Moreri's quotation upon this head is a very sorry one.*] He cites *Sebastian, Conrad.* in Quæst. p. 41. This would make one believe that there are two authors, one of whom is called Sebastian, and the other Conrad, who will furnish us with a great many particulars relating to Julius Obsequens, if we do but take the pains to consult them. But these authors are not yet born. If he had cited Sebastian Corradus, he had still led us into an error; for that author gives us only the bare name of Obsequens. He cannot be quoted for any other end than to shew us, that he was of the opinion, that Orosius lived before Obsequens. This is the only use that Vossius makes of the citation of Corradus (12).

(12) Sebastianus Corradus, in quæstura sua, *pag.* 41. Videtur in alia fuisse sententia (*quam quæ statuit antiquiorem Obsequentem Orosio*) quia utrumque nominans Orosium præmittit. *Vossius, ubi supra.*

(*a*) Spond. *ad ann.* 1547, *num.* 22.

(*b*) Id. *ad ann.* 1525, *num.* 27.

(*c*) See the remark [*D*] towards the end.

OCHINUS (BERNARDIN) was one of the Ecclesiastics of Italy who fled their country in the XVIth century, in order to embrace the Protestant religion. He was of Sienna. He had been first a Franciscan, and then a Capuchin (*a*). He continued in the order of Capuchins from 1534 to 1542 (*b*). They who say he was the founder of the order, or one of the four who first engaged in it, are mistaken [*A*]; but it is true that he was elected general of the order. I do not believe he was the Pope's confessor (*c*), as some have affirmed. He observed the rules

[*A*] *They who say he was the founder* of the order of the Capuchins . . . *are mistaken.*] Zachary Boverius proves it by authorities and arguments (1). Among other things, he says it is certain the order of the Capuchins commenced in 1525, and above three hundred persons had embraced it before Ochinus entered into it in 1534. Mr Varillas (2) makes use of these reasons to confute the bishop of Amelia (3) who affirms the same thing with Theodore Beza (4) that Ochinus was the founder of that order. You have this passage of Mr Varillas in the Supplement to Moreri.

(1) In his Annals of the Capuchins, *apud Spondan. ad ann.* 1525, *num.* 27.

(2) Hist. of Heresy, *book xvii, pag.* 59, *Dutch Edit.*

(3) *Antonius Maria Graziani*, History of ecclesiastical Commentaries, *lib. ii, cap. ix.*

(4) Bernardinus ille Ochinus maximi prius in Italia nominis monachus, & Capucinorum (quos vocant) Ordinis auctor. *Beza, in Iconibus, in Petro Martyre.*

[*B*] *He*

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rules of his order with wonderful auſterity [B], and preached with incomparable zeal [C]; and probably he thought of nothing leſs than quitting his habit and his church, when the converſation of a Spaniſh Civilian (d), who had taken a liking to Luther's doctrine in Germany, raiſed ſome doubts in his mind. It was at Naples that he converſed with this Civilian, and began to preach up doctrines which appeared very new [D]. He became ſuſpected, and was ſummoned before the court of Rome (e). He ſet out upon his journey thither, but at Florence he met with his good friend, Peter Martyr [E], to whom he communicated the advices he had received of the danger he ſhould incur by ſurrendring himſelf to the diſcretion of the Pope. After a mature examination of the matter, they both reſolved to retire to a place of ſafety. Ochinus ſet out firſt, and took the road to Geneva; two days after Martyr began his journey and went for Switzerland (f). A continuator of Baronius aſſures us, that Ochinus carried along with him a woman who followed him to Geneva, and that he married her publickly in order to give an authentic proof of his renunciation of Popery (g). But if we were to judge of this fact, by ſome others related by

(d) His name was *Johannes Valdeſius*.

(e) Spond. ubi ſupra.

(f) Joſias Simler, in Vita Petri Martyris, apud Melch. Adam. *pag.* 36.

(g) Spondan. ubi ſupra.

[B] *He obſerved the rules of his order with wonderful auſterity.*] The biſhop of Amelia in the chapter above cited of the Hiſtory of cardinal Commendon, obſerves, that Ochinus was reſpected as a ſaint, and practiſed very exactly the externals of mortifications. *His age*, ſays he, *his auſtere way of life, his rough Capuchin habit, his beard that hung down below his breaſt, his grey hair, his pale meagre countenance, a certain appearance of infirmity and weakneſs that was very artfully affected, and a general opinion of his ſanctity, occaſioned his being looked upon as an extraordinary man .... Not only the common people, but great lords and ſovereign princes reverenced him as a ſaint. When he came to their houſes, they met him and received him with all the honour and affection imaginable; and at his departure re-conducted him in like manner. For his own part, he made uſe of all the artifices poſſible to confirm them in their good opinion of him. In his travels he always walked on foot; and, though he was infirm both as to years and conſtitution, he was never ſeen on horſeback. When princes forced him to lodge with them, the magnificence of palaces, the Luxury of dreſs, and all the pomp of the age, could never make him abate of his poverty, nor of the auſterity of his profeſſion. At feaſts he never eat but of one diſh, and that always the ſimpleſt and moſt common, and ſcarce ever taſted of wine. He was frequently preſſed to lie in ſoft and rich beds, for the more convenient refreſhing of himſelf after the fatigue of his travels; but he would only ſpread his cloak, and lay himſelf down upon the ground. The reputation he acquired, and the honour and reſpect he met with through all Italy, are incredible.*

[C] *He preached with incomparable zeal.*] Let us once more hear the biſhop of Amelia. *We may juſtly ſay* (5) *he had ſome knowledge; but he applied himſelf more to eloquence and the beauty of words, than to learning and the force of reaſoning. He underſtood little of Latin; but when he ſpoke in his mother-tongue, he explained himſelf, with ſo much grace, politeneſs, and fluency, that the ſoftneſs and purity of his diſcourſes raviſhed all his hearers. When he was to preach any where* (it is the biſhop of Amelia who ſtill ſpeaks) *the people flocked thither; whole cities came to hear him: there was no church large enough to contain the multitude. The women were generally more numerous than the men. When he was to paſs through any city, an infinite number of people went to meet him, and receive his inſtructions.* Bzovius has comprehended a great encomium in few words: 'In tanta tum erat exiſtimatione '*(Ochinus)* ut unus optimus totius Italiæ concionator 'haberetur, ut qui admirabili quadam cum actione, 'tum linguæ facundia auditorum animos quocunque 'vellet raperent, ac tanto magis quod vita doctrinæ 'reſonaret (6). - - - - - - *Ochinus was at that time in ſo great eſteem, as to be reputed the very beſt preacher in all Italy, being able to affect the minds of his auditors juſt as he pleaſed, with his admirable action and eloquence, and ſo much the more as his life was agreeable to his doctrine.*'

(5) Mr Varillas, in his Hiſtory of Herely, book xxiii, *pag.* 59, 60, has paraphraſed this and the preceding paſſage with his uſual liberty.

(6) Bzovius, *ad ann.* 1542, *num.* 34.

(7) Supplem. ad Sleidan. *lib.* xv, apud Spondanum, *ad ann.* 1547, *num.* 22.

(8) Eos ſeminatis ab impio Ochino dam ante aliquot annos publice concionaretur in Eccleſia Metropolitana falſis dogmatibus attribuat, quibus à mentibus & linguis hominum iis infectorum refecandis, Prorex Inquiſitionis remedium afferre voluerit. *Spond. ibid.*

[D] *It was at Naples ..... that he began to preach up doctrines which appeared very new.*] Tomaſo Coſto (7), who wrote the Hiſtory of the troubles in Naples, occaſioned by attempting to erect the Tribunal of the Inquiſition in that kingdom, pretends that Ochinus's ſermons had ſown the ſeeds of theſe commotions (8). The biſhop of Amelia does not ſay, that this Capuchin was perverted by any heretic who came from Germany, John Valdes for inſtance; he will have it that vanity ruined him, and that the mortification of not being promoted to a cardinal's cap, moved him to *drop very artfully ſome words and ſentiments in his ſermons, that tended to run down or leſſen the authority of the holy See* (9). Bzovius ſays in general that Ochinus let fall ſome grating expreſſions in a ſermon, *quod pro concione quadam ſecus dicta effudiſſet* (10); and the comment that has been made upon his words is this. They pretend that on Palm-Sunday he preached before the Pope, and cenſured his pride and pomp in a very lively manner by making a parallel between JESUS CHRIST and him. They add, that when the ſermon was over, one of the cardinals gave Ochinus notice of the Pope's reſentment, and adviſed him to fly immediately. *Nimirum (prout alii ſcripto conſignarunt) quod in dominica palmarum faſtum Papæ Romani in ipſius præſentia ex ſuggeſtu acriter perſtrinxerit (facta comparatione Domini Jeſu in pauperi ſtatu Hieroſolymam ingredientis) & Pontificum Romanorum vitam. Qua concione finita unus Cardinalium Papam offenſum eſſe ipſi ſignificat, atque ut protinus præſenti periculo fuga ſeſe eripiat ſuadet* (11). Some ſay he propoſed his cenſures of the pride and pomp of the papal court, only as objections ſtarted by the Heretics; but that having ſpent the whole time of his ſermon in ſtating them, he concluded without confuting them. The author to whom I owe this remark tells us, that Ochinus was the Pope's confeſſor and preacher. *Fuit is patria Senenſis, conditione monachus, & Pontifici Rom. à ſacris concionibus & confeſſionibus. Is ob parrhæſiam qua motus in auribus ſummi Pontificis & totius Aulæ Romanæ Pontificiam arrogantiam & tyrannidem antichriſtianam, velut ex mente Lutheranorum, non addita objectionum, poſtquam eis ſtudio præſtitutam horam impendit, ſolutione, Italia cedere ..... neceſſe habuit* (12). I relate theſe ſeveral things without pretending to warrant them to be true; for inſtance, I have read in the great work of the learned Mr Seckendorf (13), that there were printed in Germany twenty ſermons which Ochinus had preached in his monk's habit; in which he came very little ſhort of the pure doctrine of the Proteſtants, upon juſtification, good works, confeſſion, ſatisfaction, indulgences, purgatory, and other points. One doubt remains, namely, whether theſe ſermons were printed in Germany, exactly as they were preached in Italy. But be that as it will, they were printed at Newburg in 4to in 1545, being tranſlated into Latin by Joſeph Hochſteter.

(9) Ant. Maria Gratiani, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 205, *according to Mr* Flechier's *tranſlation, printed at Paris in* 12mo.

(10) *Ad ann.* 1542, *num.* 34, *apud* Bibliothec. Anti-Trinitariorum, *pag.* 3.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Staniſlaus Lubieniecius, Hiſt. Reformat. Polonicæ, *lib. ii, cap. v, pag. m.* 110. *See likewiſe the* Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum, *pag.* 2.

(13) In Hiſt. Lutheran. Supplem. Indicis I.

[E] *At Florence he met with Peter Martyr, his good friend.*] I believe it muſt be ſo; for nothing could tempt Peter Martyr to give a falſe account of the circumſtance of the place. He has therefore given us a faithful relation of it in the Memoirs from which his life has been written. And for that reaſon Joſias Simler, who compiled that life, is more to be credited than the biſhop of Amelia, who tells us, 1, That Ochinus was at Verona *when the Pope's orders were ſignified to him.* 2. That Matthew Giberti biſhop of Verona adviſed him to go and juſtify himſelf. 3. That Ochinus, who complied with his advice with ſome reluctancy, *advanced as far as Bologna where cardinal Gaſpar Contarini was at that time legate.* 4. That this legate being ſo ill, that he could not adviſe with him upon his affairs, Ochinus reſolved to betake himſelf

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by the ſame author, we ſhould not believe that he made uſe of good authorities [F]. Ochinus's flight made the Pope extremely uneaſy [G]. Ochinus did not fix at Geneva, but went to Augſburg, where he publiſhed ſome ſermons. He and Peter Martyr made a voyage to England in 1547 (b). Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury had invited them both, when, upon the death of Henry VIII, he ſaw every thing prepared for a Reformation (i). But the change of religion which happened in that country after the death of king Edward, obliged theſe two doctors to depart from thence. So they repaſſed the ſea in 1553, and retired to Straſburg (k) [H]. Ochinus was at Baſil in 1555 [I]; but he was called to Zurich the ſame year to be miniſter of an

(b) Sleidan. *lib. xix. fol. m.* 538, *verſo.*

(i) Simler, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 40.

(k) Sleiden, *lib. xxv, fol.* 721, *verſo.*

to flight; and *that very night threw off his monk's habit, put on a ſecular one, and fled towards the Heretics* (14). Mr Varillas, who pretends that Ochinus, before his departure from Verona, conſulted Peter Martyr by letters, hath probably invented that circumſtance. This we may reject as a falſity; ſince there is no room to doubt, but that theſe two men did, in a perſonal interview at Florence, concert their retreat towards the Proteſtants.

(14) Hiſt. of Cardinal Commendon, *pag.* 205, & *ſeq.*

FAULTS in Spondanus.

[F] *We ſhould not believe that he made uſe of good authorities.*] In effect, Spondanus gives us a very ſorry recital of the adventures of Ochinus (15). He makes him in the firſt place an Arian, who durſt not diſcover his Arianiſm in a city that had put to death Michael Servetus. We have quoted Sleidan, who, in matters of this nature, ought to paſs for unexceptionable evidence all the world over: we have quoted him I ſay, upon the aſſurance he gives us that Ochinus went from Geneva to Augſburg before his voyage to England. Now this voyage was in 1547; ſo that he could not depart Geneva upon the account of the puniſhment of Servetus: for that Heretic was not burnt till 1553. Spondanus adds, that Ochinus concealing his ſentiments, for the reaſon above-mentioned, left Geneva, either of his own accord, or elſe becauſe, as ſome ſay, Calvin got him expelled (16). But if Calvin had been the author of his expulſion, he would not have given him the good character that we find he did in 1550 (17); for he muſt have cauſed him to be expelled before the year 1547, in which Peter Martyr and Ochinus went to England. The Annaliſt continues thus; Ochinus leaving Geneva retired to Zurich, and ſoon after was likewiſe forced to depart from thence in the ſame manner. He met with the like reception at Baſil: then he went to England in company with Martyr; and leaving that kingdom in the reign of queen Mary, retired to Germany, and afterwards to Poland, and to Tranſilvania. Now, here are a great many miſtakes. A man that was forced to leave England in the reign of a Roman Catholic queen, muſt doubtleſs have gone thither while the government was under a Proteſtant. Ochinus muſt therefore have gone to England in the reign of Edward; but before he went to England, he had left Geneva, according to Spondanus, for fear of undergoing the ſame fate with Servetus; his leaving Geneva therefore at the ſooneſt could not be before 1553. Then, how could he be in England in the reign of Edward; ſince that prince died in July 1553, and Servetus was not burnt till October in the ſame year? The Annaliſt does here betray a very great degree of negligence. Beſides, it is falſe that Ochinus was expelled Zurich and Baſil, before he went from England in the reign of Mary. He was not forced out of Zurich till 1563. He compoſed in Poland, ſays Spondanus, a Dialogue againſt the ſect of the Gods of the Earth, (meaning the Switzerland and Geneva Clergy) and after that ſome other dialogues, full of Atheiſm; in which he not only vindicated Polygamy, but alſo attacked the holy Scriptures, the Divinity of our Saviour, the Trinity, and even the Deity. This is no more exact than the former. The dialogues he ſpeaks of were the occaſion of his expulſion out of Switzerland, and his retiring to Poland. Therefore he did not compile them in Poland. They contain, without doubt, ſeveral errors, but no impieties; and it is not true, that Ochinus, one of the interlocutors, always owns himſelf baffled by the adverſary he brings in (18). Bzovius has committed errors of the like nature. He would have it, that Ochinus being forced to depart from Cracow, fled to Tranſylvania, and there compoſed dialogues, and that theſe dialogues were afterwards tranſlated into Latin by Caſtalio (19). Here are three errors. For 1. Theſe dialogues were compoſed before the author went to Poland. 2. He did not go from Poland to Tranſylvania. 3. Caſtalio was dead before Ochinus left Poland.

(15) *Ad ann.* 1547, *num.* 22.

(16) Cum non auderet eam ibi profiteri ubi Servetus illam igne luiſſet, ſive ſponte, ſive ut quidam habent, à Calvino pulſus. *Ibid.*

(17) Quos hac noſtra ætate monachos habuit Germania, qui vel doctrina vel ſanctitate cum Luthero, Bucero, Oecolampadio, & ſimilibus conferre ſe niſi nimis impudenter audeant? Quos Itali Bernardino Ochino & Petro Vermilio opponent? *Calvin. de Scandalis, Opuſculor. pag.* 96.

(18) Ita ſe iis gerens, ut quamvis omnia Catholica dogmata defendere præ ſe ferret, demum ſe tamen adverſarii argumentis victum profiteretur. *Spond. ibid.*

(19) Bzovius, ad ann. 1542, n. 30, pag. 88.

[G] *His flight made the Pope extreamly uneaſy.*] He was ſo greatly incenſed upon it, that he had once a mind to diſcharge his anger upon the whole order of the Capuchins; he had a great mind to have aboliſhed that order, and it was with difficulty that he was appeaſed, even after he knew that the offence was only perſonal. *Cujus apoſtaſia adeo animus Pontificis perculſus eſt, ut de extinguendo univerſo Ordine tractaverit, vixque placari potuerit cognita Ordinis innocentia* (20). Mr Varillas (21) could not believe this, becauſe he imagined that Paul III .... *was a better Politician than to give Ochinus the opportunity of boaſting that the Catholics had ſo great a regard to him, as to revenge upon the whole order the loſs they ſuſtained in his perſon.* This author's incredulity is more excuſable than the liberty he has taken of paraphraſing upon Spondanus; for we cannot doubt his having that author before him, when he ſpoke of Ochinus. Conſider but well the words of Spondanus juſt now cited. Can any one find there that the Pope's anger was occaſioned by Ochinus's imprudence in putting into his writings *the greateſt affronts imaginable upon the religion he was about to renounce, and the moſt virulent reflexions upon the holy See in general, and the perſon of Paul III in particular?* And yet Mr Varillas has found all theſe things in them. I do not deny but that Spondanus has obſerved (22) that this monk's apology was full of outrages againſt the holy See and the Catholic church.

(20) Spondanus, ad ann. 1547, n. 22.

(21) Hiſtory of Hereſy, *book xvii, pag.* 64.

(22) *I quote his words in remark* [Q] *citat.* (3).

[H] *Peter Martyr and he retired to Straſburg.*] We ſhall here meet with an Hiſtorian, whoſe exactneſs is no greater than that of Spondanus; I mean Father Maimbourg. He pretends that Ochinus being expelled from England, deſerted Peter Martyr, and retired into Poland, in order to have the liberty of profeſſing Arianiſm (23). *It was there*, ſays he, *that he compoſed his dialogues, ſtuffed with a thouſand execrable blaſphemies againſt JESUS CHRIST, and the Holy Ghoſt: But having had the impudence to preach up Polygamy, and to dedicate a book in vindication of it to king Sigiſmund Auguſtus, he was forced to leave Poland, the people there riſing up againſt him.* Ochinus continued in Switzerland about ten years after his return from England, and would gladly have ended his days there, if they would have ſuffered him to ſtay, upon the recantation he offered: which ſhews, that the free profeſſion of Arianiſm in Poland was not much in his view. This author's ſecond fault conſiſts in going further than he ought to do, in characteriſing the errors with which Ochinus's dialogues are interſperſed. In fine, he knew not that this book of Polygamy was written before his journey to Poland. I doubt very much whether Ochinus dedicated any treatiſe upon that ſubject to king Sigiſmund. The biſhop of Amelia would not have forgot ſuch a notable circumſtance; the Socinians could not have been ſo great ſtrangers to it; they know nothing of that book, but what they read in Bzovius, that Ochinus wrote it in Poland, and dedicated it to the king (24). I ſay once more, I make no doubt but that Bzovius upon that head, delivers a falſity; and I do not believe that Ochinus ever preached up Polygamy. If I am not miſtaken, he contented himſelf with writing his thoughts of it; and if he had preached that doctrine in Poland, the biſhop of Amelia, who was then upon the ſpot, muſt needs have perfectly known it, and would certainly have fully publiſhed it.

(23) Maimbourg, Hiſtory of Arianiſm, *Tom. III, pag.* 353, *Dutch Edit.*

(24) Liber de Polygamia in Polonia conſcriptus, Sigiſmundo II Regi Poloniæ dedicatus, teſte Bzovio ſub ann. 1542, n. 30. *Bibliot. Anti-Trin. p.* 5

[I] *Ochinus was at Baſil in* 1555.] This appears by the letters of Olympia Fulvia Morata. *Salutem dic meis verbis tuæ familiæ & D. Bernardino Ocello quem in Chriſto valde diligo.* This is the concluſion of a letter

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an Italian church formed there. This church consisted of some refugees of Locarno (*l*), who could not obtain the liberty of professing the Reformation in their own country, by reason of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Swiss-Cantons. Ochinus readily subscribed the Confession of Faith of the church of Zurich, and found there Bullinger who proved a very good friend to him (*m*). He officiated in the Italian church at Zurich till 1563. At that time the magistrates expelled him by reason of some dialogues printed by him; which contained among other errors that of Polygamy [*K*]. He retired to Basil, and entreated the ministers and professors of the place to sollicit leave from the magistrates for his staying there. Some put questions to him upon the doctrine of these dialogues; and he made answer that upon these points he was of the same opinion with them; nay, he agreed to the proposal made to him, of giving a clear and precise declaration of his faith: this he agreed to, upon condition of obtaining leave for himself and his children to pass the winter at Basil. But the magistrates having heard his demands, and the report of the doctors, with reference to his doctrine, ordered him to be gone immediately; and resolved to take into consideration at some other time the dialogues themselves, and the dishonour he had done their city, in causing them to be printed there (*n*). Andreas Dudithius complained to Theodore Beza of their severity to that old man [*L*], whom they forced to go and seek for shelter, wherever he could find it, in the hardest season

(*l*) This is one of the four bailiwics that the Swiss possess in Italy.

(*m*) Josias Simlerus, in Vita Bullingeri, *fol.* 28, *verso.*

(*n*) Id. ib. *fol.* 38, *verso*, & 39.

letter she wrote from Heidelberg to Curio, the seventh of May, 1555 (25). Curio lived at Basil, and writ her an answer, dated the twenty-fixth of August following, in which he acquaints her that he had executed her commission. *Two nomine salutavi . . . . Bernardinum Ocellum senem doctissimum & sanctissimum* (26). We read in another letter (27): *Audio Bernardinum Ocellum Senensem virum sincere Christianum ex Anglia Genevam profugisse.* This letter is not dated in 1555, as they would have it in the Bibliotheca of the Unitarians (28), but in 1554.

(25) *Lib. ii. pag.* m. 168. The date of the year is not there; but Curio's Answer, dated Aug. 26, 1555, shews, that I have added the right year.

(26) Curio, ibid. pag. 169.

(27) Pag. 178.

(28) Pag. 3.

[*K*] *His dialogues . . . . contain, among other errors, that of Polygamy.*] This work consists of thirty dialogues, the twenty-first of which is that which treats of Polygamy. Ochinus wrote, and published them in Italian; and Castalio translated them into Latin, and printed them at Basil in 1563. Some of the senators of Zurich, were informed by letters from foreign countries, that Ochinus had published a book containing heretical doctrines, particularly that of Polygamy. This occasioned the senate to send for the ministers; who declared, that when they heard that Ochinus had some works in the press, which it would have been much better for him to have suppressed, they went and exhorted him to remember the promise he had made not to publish any thing without the approbation of the synod. They added, 1. That as soon as they knew his book was actually printed, they charged him with a contempt of their remonstrance. 2. That he pleaded, by way of excuse, that his book was gone to the press before their first admonition. 3. That tho' he argues *pro* and *con* upon the subject of Polygamy, it is evident he approves it (29). 4. That they had received letters, highly complaining of his other dialogues, and that they intended to enter into a strict examination of the whole work. They exhorted the author, in a particular manner, both before and after the sentence of the senate, to give an orthodox explanation of his sentiments; but they could not in the least prevail with him. The sentence ran thus (30): 'Quoniam Ochinus contra Leges & Edicta Magistratuum librum publicasset quem satius erat supprimi (31) & cujus nomine Ecclesia & Respublica male audit, ideo se velle & jubere ut quam primum ex urbe & agro Tigurino discedat. - - - - *Forasmuch as Ochinus, contrary to the laws and edicts of the magistrates, had published a book, which it would have been much better to have suppressed, and on the account of which, both the church and state have been reflected on, therefore they will and command, that he do immediately depart out of the city and dominions of Zurich.*'

(29) Quod dialogum de Polygamia stinet, disputan in utramque partem, sed ita ut facile appareat quonam ipse inclinet, præsertim cum ita concludat, & moneat eum qui plures ducere vellet, ut si non possit se continere & una contentus esse, sequatur instinctum spiritus in hac re. *Simlerus, in Vita Bullingeri, fol.* 39.

(30) Id. ib.

(31) Would they talk after this rate of that book, if it were such as Father Maimbourg represents it, who, unquestionedly never saw it? See the remark [*P*] at the end.

[*L*] *Andreas Dudithius complained . . . . of their severity to the old man.*] Since this is not a book of controversy, I hope it will not be taken amiss, if I say that Beza does not give a very fair answer to Dudithius: he seeks only some turns of wit, and endeavours to throw dust in his eyes. 'Ochinum præterea 'narras indicta causa, hyeme acri, decursa jam ætate 'senem cum uxore & liberis Tiguro ejectum. - - - - '*You also tell me, that without any trial, Ochinus was 'expelled Zurich in the depth of winter, and the decline 'of old age, together with his wife and children.*' Thus it is that Beza has repeated the objection (32). This renders the sentence of Zurich odious upon three accounts: 1. Because the cause was not tried. 2. Because no regard was had to the rigour of the season. 3. Because of their having expoled to the inconveniences of the winter a man incumbered with years, and with a family. Upon the first head Beza makes answer, that it is a false and scandalous reflexion upon a just and pious senate, to offer to say, that the cause of Ochinus was not tried: that, it is true, they did not narrowly examine every thing, ; but that was the effect of their great clemency (33). Upon the second, that Ochinus had not a day's journey to travel (34). Upon the third, that the more aged he was, the more criminal he was (35), and besides, that his wife was dead. Now the first answer is very lame; for it is certain, the senate of Zurich condemned Ochinus, not only without hearing him, but without ordering an examination of his dialogues. The ministers, consulted by the senate, answered positively upon nothing but the article of Polygamy; they said in general, that they had received letters, complaining of his dialogues, and promised to inquire maturely into the matter: but what did the senate do in the mean time? Why, they enjoined Ochinus to depart out of the city, and out of the canton forthwith. Simlerus, who, as a Zurich professor, was more interested than Theodore Beza to set the affair in a favourable light, relates the thing exactly in the manner I have done. To say, that if every thing was not narrowly inquired into, it was the effect of a very great clemency, is a poor pretence, which all the judges in the world may equally make use of, when they condemn any one party without giving him a hearing. Nor is the third answer better than the first: it runs counter to the maxims of common sense, and the general practice of mankind. Regard is had to age, even in criminal cases; and if two men be sentenced to be put to the torture, one of seventy, the other of forty years of age, it would be ordered more moderate to the former than to the latter. So that our Ochinus's great age served to expose the sentence very much, but not to excuse it. If Beza would have made a right use of his wit, he should have owned Dudithius's plea of age, and made answer, that, in effect, the magistrates of Zurich had a regard to Ochinus's years, in only banishing him; which they would not have been content with had he been a young man. This is what he ought to have replied, and not to have had recourse to a maxim, which asserts, that the more aged Heretics are, the more unworthy are they of the clemency of their judges. The second answer is not sincere; for it supposes that all Ochinus's trouble consisted in travelling five or six leagues. That pretence might pass for good, if he could have found a retreat in the neighbourhood; but we have seen that he could not obtain leave to pass the winter there. Beza knew this very well; he was not ignorant that Dudithius could have enforced this objection by the usage Ochinus met with at Basil. So that upon the whole we cannot admit this answer to Dudithius to be a just one. Dudithius's design was only to tax the Protestants beyond the Rhine with severity to their Heretics: and among other instances, he brings that of the city of Zurich to Ochinus, in banishing him in the middle of the winter. The answer given is, that his exile expoled him only to the fatigue of travelling five or six leagues. Why then Ochinus

COMPARISON of Dudithius's objection, with the answer of Theodore Beza.

(32) Beza, Epist. prima Oper. Tom. i., *Pag.* 190.

(33) Delatus ad Magistratum, pro eo quod severam pœnam pro tantis sceleribus meretur, non sane indicta causa (quod qui dicunt magnam justo & pio Magistratui injuriam faciunt) sed non ad vivum resectis omnibus, ut cum illo quam clementissime ageretur, justus est è Tigurinorum agro facessere. *Ibid.*

(34) At hyems erat: nempe longa fuit non unius integri diei via. *Ibid.*

(35) At senex erat: tanto nocentior veterator. *Ibid.*

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ſeaſon of the the year. Ochinus was then ſev to Poland, but the Nuncio Commendon qui by virtue of an edict granted him againſt a retired to divers places. Ochinus went to M Plague ſwept away not only him, but his wife, if we give credit to the Hiſtory of Cardinal of his death are variouſly related [O], and a he embraced after his departure from Switzerla after preaching openly the hereſy of Macedor attacked the myſtery of the Trinity. The Ant of their authors. He writ ſeveral books; a Bibliotheca [P]: but they have forgot to p

(o) The Life of Cardinal Commendon, by Antonius Maria Gratiani, *lib. ii, cap. ix.*

Ochinus muſt have found a ſanctuary at the end of the five or ſix leagues; for if inſtead of having ſhelter there, he, on the contrary, met with another good Proteſtant ſenate who expelled him, Dudithius's objection, taken from the ſeaſon of the year, remains in full force, with reference to his aim, which was to ſhew, that Ochinus is a remarkable inſtance of the ſevere temper of the Reformed. It is morally impoſſible, but that Beza muſt have known all this; and yet he choſe rather to give ſuch an anſwer than to ſay nothing. He took took care not to ſeem as if he knew any thing of what was done at Baſil (36): the ſmall extent of the canton of Zurich furniſhed him with a ſpark of fire, a little point of wit; and he made uſe of it, in hopes, no doubt, to dazzle his readers with it.

(36) I mean the banishing of Ochinus; for he owns that the tenets of this Heretic were condemned there. *Baſileam igitur venit, ubi quum itidem ſuos errores damnatos videret, tandem ad ſuos ſive Tritheïtas, ſive Arrianos, ſive Samoſatenianos ſe contulit.* Would not one be apt to gather from theſe words that he left Baſil of his own accord? and yet he was ordered to depart that city. Can the ſuppreſſing of this matter of fact be fair or ſincere?

[M] *Ochinus was then ſeventy-ſix years of age.*] Peter Perna aſſures us of it in his letter to Czechovicius. This letter I never read, I have only ſeen it quoted (37). At this rate, Gratiani muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that Ochinus turned Heretic at ſixty years of age; *without conſidering*, ſays he (38), *either his age, or his profeſſion, or his vow of continence, being a Prieſt, a Capuchin, and ſixty years of age, he inſtantly married a young girl.* Ochinus left his cloiſter, and retired to Geneva in 1542; at which time he was not ſixty, but about fifty-five years of age, if it be true that he was but ſeventy-ſix in 1563, when he was baniſhed Zurich.

(37) Anno 1563 natus annos 76 (teſte Petro Perna in Epiſtola ad Czechovicium) à Tigurinis pulſus eſt. *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. pag.* 3.

(38) Life of Cardinal Commendon, *pag.* 208.

[N] *The plague ſwept away not only him, but his wife . . . . if we are to believe the hiſtory of cardinal Commendon.*] I make uſe of this caution, becauſe he is miſtaken as to the wife. Ochinus was a widower when he was baniſhed Zurich; and it is by no means probable that he married again. It is Theodore Beza informs me of his being a widower: he even enters into the inſcrutable judgments of Providence, and aſſures us, in a Theological ſtyle, that the Divine juſtice purſuing that wretch in his family, before his impiety was made public, his wife broke her neck. This is one part of Dudithius's objection. *At uxorem & liberos habebat*; to which Beza anſwers thus (39). *De uxore falſum eſt, quod ex bono Alciato ſive quovis alio cognoviſti. Fregerat enim collum horrendo Dei judicio domi impium ſenem perſequente, priuſquam foras productum eſſet ipſius ſcelus.* Staniſlaus Lubienietſki (40) gives us the following account of the latter part of Ochinus's life. Ochinus retired into Moravia, and into Poland, where he was ſtill within the reach of John Calvin's letters. He returned from Poland to Moravia, upon the edict of king Sigiſmund, who, in 1564, baniſhed all thoſe who were called Tritheiſts, Arians, &c. Some gentlemen endeavoured to perſuade Ochinus to ſtay, but he anſwered them, that he was bound to obey the magiſtrates, and that he would obey them, even tho' he were reduced to the neceſſity of being devoured by the wolves in the woods. While he was upon the road, he was ſeized with the Plague at Pinczow; where he met with many charitable offices from one of the bretheren, named Philippovius. His two ſons and his daughter (41) died of the Plague. But he recovered himſelf, and continuing his journey towards Moravia, died three weeks after at Slavonia (42). Theſe are all the circumſtances we have from Lubienietſki. I cannot find in any good author that Ochinus was ever in Tranſylvania: for Father Maimbourg, who affirms that he was, is not a ſufficient witneſs of it. *He was forced*, ſays he (43), *to quit Poland . . . . and after wandring ſome time in Tranſylvania, he retired at laſt, oppreſſed with miſery and poverty, to a village, where he died of the Plague, abandoned by all the world.* Some quote the biſhop of

(39) Oper. *Tom. III, pag.* 190.

(40) Hiſt. Reformat. Polonicæ, *lib. ii, cap. iv, pag.* 110. *See likewiſe* Budzinius, Hiſtor. Eccleſiar. Polonicar. MS. *cap. xxvi, apud* Biblioth. Anti-Trin. *pag.* 3.

(41) Gratiani *ſays, on the contrary*, his two daughters and his ſon.

(42) As I take it, we ought to read *Slaucovia.*

(43) Hiſtory of Arianiſm, *Tom. iii, pag.* 352.

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published for changing his religion [Q]. He inscribed it to the Pope; and filled it full of things altogether injurious to Popery. This piece met with an answer. The public acknowledgement he made is remarkable: he confessed in a preface, that if he could have continued to preach the truth, as he had done for some time, without the hazard of his life, he would never have quitted the habit of his order (q); but that finding he had not courage enough to expose himself to martyrdom (r), he had fled to the Protestants. They do him wrong who assure us, that he was the author of the book *de tribus Impostoribus* [R]. It is said that he promised the cardinal de Lorrain to convince the Protestant churches of twice twelve errors [S]. I find that authors have oftentimes exaggerated what relates to Ochinus [T]. Mr Varillas has

Seckendorf, in Supplementis Indicis I, Historiæ Lutheran.

(r) Cum se ad mortem sponte obeundam non satis firmum esse deprehenderet. *In eadem Præfatione.*

necessity. He turns and winds all ways imaginable in order to find an out-let, and meeting with none, he concludes every time with a fervent prayer to GOD, that he would be pleased to deliver him from those abysses. However, in the sequel of the work, he attempts to furnish out-lets from this prison; but he concludes, that the only way is to say with Socrates, *unum scio quod nihil scio.* We ought to be silent, says he, and to think, that in points of that nature, GOD requires of us, neither the affirmative, nor the negative. The title of the last chapter is this: *Qua via ex omnibus supradictis Labyrinthis cito exiri possit, quæ docta ignorantiæ via vocatur.* De Aubigné mentions a book of Ochinus, which he represents as a very curious piece. His words are these (52): first, *that the service should be in French, provided some jests were taken out, that would set the people a laughing; as to begin the mass by an, &, and other absurdites, which are handsomely and subtilly written by Bernard Ochinus in his treatise* della Nativita della Missa: *as for the ornaments, that the most ridiculous should be laid aside; and as for the rest, it should be answered,* says Ochinus, *that it is the LORD's Supper disguised, which turned a nun,* per parer più santa, - - - *in order to be more holy.* To speak properly, I fancy he ought to have said not *treatise* but *sermon della Nativita della Missa*; for in running over Ochinus's twelve sermons upon the LORD's Supper (53), I find the title of the seventh runs thus, *Missæ tragœdia, ac primum quomodo concepta, nata, baptizata fuerit, - - - The Tragedy of the Mass, and first how it was conceived, born, and baptized.* The title of the eighth is, *Quemadmodum nutrita educataque fuerit Missa, adoleveritque, & ornata, ditataque ad summam dignitatem præstantiamque pervenerit. - - - How it was maintained, educated, and brought up to it's dignity and splendor.* The title of the ninth is, *Missæ accusatio ejusdemque responsio, & adversus eam acta. - - - The Accusation and Defence of the Mass, with the whole Trial.* The title of the tenth is, *Sententia à Deo contra Missam lata. - - - - The Sentence pronounced by GOD against the Mass.* This dramatic way of preaching savours too much of the genius of the Italians. Sleidan observes, that, in 1549, there appeared a bloody satire against Paul III, which was not composed by Ochinus, tho' his name was put in the title. He gives an abstract of it: *Prius quam decederet libellus exiit Italicus vehemens in illum atque gravis, titulo quidem Bernardini Ochini, sed ab aliis, ut creditur, compositus cum præfatione ad Ascanium Columnam quem ille profligarat* (54). I have already taken notice of the thirty dialogues which were the cause of Ochinus's banishment: but I must add here, that Mr Simon speaks of them very much to the purpose (55). He owns, that the author does not openly declare his Anti-trinitarian Heresies: *he does not there declare himself altogether an Unitarian; he only states the arguments* pro *and* con . . . . In the dialogue of the Trinity *he produces at length the arguments of the Catholics, and of the Anti-Trinitarians; those of the latter he pushes very far, under pretence of answering them* (56). Bullinger assures us (57), that these dialogues were burnt in a considerable city.

(52) Confession Catholique de Sancy, *book ii, chap. ii, pag.* 390, 391. See likewise, *chap. vi, of the first book, pag.* 346.

(53) Translated into Latin, and printed at Basil, with the Labyrinths of the same author.

(54) Sleidan, *Hist. lib. xxi, fol. m.* 602, *vers.*

(55) He is mistaken in dating Ochinus's call to Zurich from the year 1562, and in attributing the Life of Bullinger to Melchior Adam; for that Life was written by Josias Simler.

(56) Simon, Histoire Critique des Commentat. du Nouv. Testam. *chap. lv, pag.* 831.

(57) Apud Boxhorn. Histor. Universf. *pag.* 74, *ad ann.* 1552.

(58) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1547, *num.* 22.

[Q] *The apology he published for changing his religion.*] One of the continuators of Baronius speaks of it in this manner: 'Genevam appulsus apologiam de fuga sua 'ad Pontificem scripsit, maledicentiis & calumiis in 'sedem Apostolicam & Ecclesiam Catholicam Rom. 'refertissimam (58). - - - - *Being arrived at Geneva, he 'wrote an apology to the Pope for his flight, stuffed with 'reflexions and calumnies against the Apostolical See, and 'Catholic church of Rome.*' Cardinal John Peter Caraffa, who was afterwards Pope by the name of Paul IV, wrote an answer to Ochinus, which was inserted in the history of the Theatins. 'Contra Ochini apologiam nonnulli stylum acuerunt; inter quos Joannes 'Petrus Caraffa Cardinalis Theatinus, qui deinde fuit 'Paulus Papa IV paræneticam egregiam scripsit epi'stolam, quam Joannes Baptista Acerrarum Episcopus 'Historiæ Theatinorum inseruit (59). - - - - *Some 'took up their pen against the apology of Ochinus: among 'whom John Peter Craffa, cardinal of the order of 'the Theatins, who was afterwards Pope Paul IV, 'wrote an admirable Exhortatory Epistle, which John 'Baptista, bishop of Acerra, inserted in the history of the 'Theatins.*'

(59) Id. ib. See likewise Varillas's History of Heresy, *book xvii, pag. m.* 64.

[R] *They do him wrong who assure us that he was the author of the book* de tribus Impostoribus.] He who wrote the notes upon the *Religio Medici* does not affirm it; he only doubts of it, 'nescio an Bernardinus 'Ochinus . . . . an alius hujus auctor sit (60). - - - *I 'know not whether Bernardus Ochinus . . . or some other 'person was the author of it.*' Micrælius also proceeds no further (61), but Scavenius affirms it. See what Rhodius says upon this head (62) towards the end of Placcius's book *de Scriptoribus Anonymis.* Among other things he declares, he does not know that ever any objection was raised against the other twenty-nine dialogues of Ochinus. It is strange that so learned a man as he should say so. I have already (63) produced several instances which evince the contrary.

(60) In Sect. xix, pag. m. 126.

(61) Syntagm. Hist. Eccles. pag. m. 863.

(62) Pag. 33.

(63) See the remarks [F], [H], and [K].

[S] *It is said that he promised the cardinal de Lorrain to convince the Protestant churches of . . . . errors.*] The matter of fact, as we have it from Simlerus, is this (64); Ochinus met the cardinal upon the road to Schaffhousen, and told him he was so unhappy as to be banished for a book, which he had writ with intent to vindicate, against the objections of the adversaries, thirty difficult points of faith he had met with in the Reformed religion. He presented the cardinal with some copies of his Dialogues, and prayed him to read them. *We shall consider them,* replied the cardinal, *and if they do not please us, we shall throw them into the fire.* Ochinus added, that he would engage to convince the Reformed churches of twenty-four errors. *Throw twenty of them aside,* replied the cardinal, *and the remainder will be but too many.* Beza relates the same fact, and gives it for certain; but he carries the number of false doctrines much higher, which Ochinus promised to refute. This cardinal despised a monk, who relapsed so often into apostacy. *Vix Basilea egresso (quod narro scito me non ut rumorem incertum, sed ut certam historiam narrare) occurrit Lotharingus Cardinalis ex Italia rediens, cui sese operamque suam omnem obtulit, pollicitus sese centum errores istorum inter quos tamdiu hæsisset hæreticorum demonstraturum. Sprevit hominem toties apostatam Cardinalis* (65).

(64) In Vita Bullingeri, *ol.* 40.

(65) Beza, ubi supra.

[T] *Authors have oftentimes exaggerated what relates to Ochinus.*] Besides what I have hinted in other remarks (66), I shall add here, that they do not faithfully represent his doctrine, when they say, with Gratiani, that *he endeavoured to prove by examples, and by arguments taken from Scripture and Politics, that it was proper every one should endeavour to people the world, and beget a numerous family; and that it is not only allowable, but a duty incumbent upon Christians to marry as many wives as they please* (67). If you read the beginning of his dialogue *de Polygamia,* you will find the state of the question to be this: *A man who wishes for children, and is married to a wife barren, sickly, and with whom he cannot agree, may he marry another wife without a divorce from the first?* Ochinus supposes that he is consulted upon this case of conscience; he declares himself on the negative side: and, after putting into the mouth of the person, who consults him, the most plausible arguments for a plurality of wives, and faintly returned some pretty good answers, concludes with advising him to have recourse to prayer; and assuring him, that, if he prays with faith to GOD for the gift of continence, he will obtain it; and in fine,

(66) The above remarks [F] and [H].

(67) Life of Cardinal Commendon, *pag.* 211.

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(s) Orat. III, pag. 91, 92, Edit. 1696. See likewise, pag. 505.

has told a great many falſities of this Ex- always done him juſtice [X]. Palearius (s) l monk.

fine, by telling him, that, if GOD does not grant him continence, nor the faith that is neceſſary for praying for it with ſucceſs, he may, without ſin, follow the inſtinct which he will certainly know to come from GOD. Now, does this amount to a poſitive aſſertion, that the Goſpel commands *Chriſtians to marry as many wives as they pleaſe?* Doubtleſs Ochinus is in an error, and introduces Enthuſiaſm; but ſtill we muſt do juſtice to all the world, and own that there is a great deal of unfairneſs in the writings that mention his doctrine.

[U] *Mr Varillas tells a great many falſities relating to this Ex-Capuchin.*] We ſhall draw them up in diſtinct articles.

I. I do not doubt but his whole account of quarrels between Calvin and Ochinus is a romance, that he has either invented or ſtole: but I will warrant for truth that he is in error, when he affirms (68), that, at Geneva, Ochinus *writ againſt the Trinity, and renewed the hereſy of the Arians .... and that he publiſhed upon that ſubject an hundred extravagances, in libels compoſed by him in Italian, and tranſlated by his friends into Latin.* This I can demonſtrate to be falſe. Ochinus left Geneva before 1547, as we are aſſured by the words of Sleidan quoted above. Calvin ſpeaks of him with an encomium in a book (69) he publiſhed in 1550. He was not therefore at that time apprized of thoſe horrible hereſies of Ochinus; and beſide, would an unfrocked Capuchin who had been known to adhere to Tritheiſm or Arianiſm, have been ſent into England in 1547? But we need no other proof againſt Varillas, than the paſſages of Beza, which teſtify, that Ochinus concealed for a long time the hereſies he entertained in his mind, and that they were not diſcovered till the impreſſion of his dialogues. Now this impreſſion was not before 1562. 'Sceleratus hypocrita 'Arianorum clandeſtinus fautor, polygamiæ defenſor, 'omnium Chriſtianæ religionis dogmatum irriſor, 'quum eo tandem audaciæ erupiſſet ut ſua portenta in 'publicum ederet (juſto ſanè Dei judicio ne LATERE 'diutius tantum malum poſſet) delatus ad Magiſtratum '... juſſus eſt è Tigurinorum agro faceſſere (70). --- '*This wicked hypocrite, the ſecret favourer of Arianiſm, 'the patron of Polygamy, the burleſquer of all the doctrines 'of the Chriſtian religion, when he had attained to that 'pitch of inſolence as to publiſh his monſtrous opinions (by 'the juſt judgment indeed of GOD, that ſo great a de- 'gree of wickedneſs might no longer* LIE CONCEALED), *'being carried before a magiſtrate ...., was commanded 'to depart out of the canton of Zurich.*' It is with theſe words that Beza begins his anſwer to Dudithius's complaints. This paſſage evidently proves, that the opinions of Ochinus were not diſcovered till his dialogues were printed. The friendſhip Bullinger (71) had for him till this edition, is another inconteſtable evidence of the ſame fact. Beza ſeldom mentions Ochinus, without taking notice that he was a long time a hypocrite. 'Favit etiam illis, ſed NIMIUM SERO de- 'tectus, Bernardinus ille Ochinus, impuriſſimus hypo- 'crita (72). ------ *One favourer of theirs, but diſ- 'covered too late, was that Bernardinus Ochinus, a 'moſt abominable hypocrite.*' When he ſays that Peter Martyr made a voyage to England, in 1547, and that Ochinus accompanied him, he adds (73), 'Maxi- 'mi prius in Italia nominis monachus & Capucino- 'rum (quos vocant) ordinis auctor, idemque quod 'MULTIS demum POST annis patefecit, ſceleratus 'hypocrita. - - - - *A monk, formerly of great reputation 'in Italy, and founder of the Capuchins (as they are called), 'and who a great* MANY YEARS *after appeared to 'be a wicked hypocrite.*'

II. Another fiction is this: 'It is aſtoniſhing that 'Calvin contented himſelf with cauſing him to be ex- 'pelled Geneva, and did not put him into the hands 'of juſtice to be burnt, as he ſince did Servetus for 'the ſame crime (74).' Mr Varillas enquires into the reaſons of ſuch different conduct, and alledges two or three for it; after which he adds, that Ochinus *was baniſhed Geneva by a decree of the ſenate, and retired to Baſil.* A man muſt have had a great deal of leiſure time upon his hands when he ſearches after reaſons for a chimera. He ſhould firſt have proved the fact, and

(68) Hiſt. of Hereſy, *book xvii, pag. m.* 65.

(69) That *de Scandalis.*

(70) Beza, ubi ſupra.

(71) See his Life done by Joſias Simlerus, *fol.* 28 *verſo*, 39 *verſo.*

(72) Epiſt. lxxxi, Operum, *Tom. iii, pag.* 295.

(73) In Iconibus, in Petro Martyre.

(74) Varillas, ubi ſupra.

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In the firſt edition of this article there was nothing ſaid againſt Florimond de Remond. Yet he is a writer who has not been exact with reſpect to Ochinus [*Y*]. It was on his authority that Bzovius ſaid, that the wife of this Monk was forced to turn laundreſs for bread [*Z*]. But he has enriched himſelf more amply with the ſpoils of the Annaliſt of the Capuchins. He borrows from him a long narration of the apoſtacy and pretended martyrdom of our Ochinus [*AA*]. This deſerves to be conſidered.

diſciples behind him, any more than Lyſerus. VI. It is falſe, that Ochinus retired from Germany to Tranſylvania; and yet falſer, that he made that retreat, becauſe he *could not find means in Germany to ſatisfy his ambition and vanity.* After having been baniſhed from Zurich, he fled to Baſil, from whence he was likewiſe baniſhed. He would have met with the ſame uſage in all the cities of the world where the miniſters had any intereſt: ſo that he had no choice left; the only way he had left was to march towards Poland, and throw himſelf into the arms of the heretics in that part of the world. If GOD has not been merciful to him, thoſe who were ſo zealous in baniſhing him and promoting his exile, are accountable for the loſs of his ſoul. VII. He ſhould not have quoted *Pratolus V. Polig.* for he ſays not a word of Ochinus in that place.

[*Y*] *Florimond de Remond . . . . has not been exact upon the head of Ochinus.*] He ſays (82) that this Monk quitted Geneva, and retired to Zurich, from whence he was ſoon after baniſhed as well as from Baſil; *of which Dudithius complains in his letter to Beza.* This man, adds he, being expelled Switzerland, went from thence to Germany, and after that to Poland. *He wrote a book of Polygamy, dedicated to king Sigiſmund II. That doctrine was preached by him at Cracow, as Reſcius the Polander informs us. All the female ſex in that country, took the alarm, as hot as the Roman dames of old, when deceived by young Papyrius. So that poor Ochinus, whom they charged with having left his wife at Geneva, though indeed ſhe had died of her fall, was conſtrained to fly the city, and retire to Tranſylvania. He publiſhed ſome dialogues, that have ſince appeared in divers languages. Caſtalio tranſlated them into Latin.* All this is full of anachroniſms and falſities; of which any one may be convinced by reading what I have ſaid, either againſt Spondanus or againſt Varillas, or againſt the other copiers of Florimond de Remond, who is the purveyor-general of the Roman catholic writers, who ſpeak of the reformers of the XVIth century.

(82) Flor. de Remond, Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, *book iii, ch.* 9, *pag.* m. 293, 294.

[*Z*] . . . . *It was from him that Bzovius ſaid, that the wife of this Monk was . . . a laundreſs.*] There is nothing that Florimond de Remond loves ſo much as to banter Monks wives. Let us ſee how he expreſſes himſelf upon the ſubject now before us. *Their arrival at Zurich and Baſil,* ſays he (83), ſpeaking of *Peter Martyr and Bernardin Ochinus, gave ſome ground of ſuſpicion. The people ſurpriſed to ſee theſe two preachers, whoſe names rung all over Italy, feared they might be ſly Sinons that came creeping into their cities, with intent to form ſome treacherous deſign, and to ſeduce the ſouls they had reformed. They were freed from this their jealouſy by Bernardin Ochinus's bringing along with him a handſome young Italian wench, whom he had debauched under a promiſe of marriage; and by his habit, for inſtead of his former hairy garment he was dreſſed like a ſoldier. To enter into an indiſſoluble contract with hereſy, he gave his hand to that girl, and married her. This is the Gordian knot which attaches to this party thoſe whom the tranſports of pride and luſt eject out of convents. This Ochinus ſojourned ſome time at Geneva, with his wife, who was ſoon after forced to earn her bread by mean and abject ſervices; for neither the one nor the other had brought with them much money. This was Madam Ochinus the laundreſs . . . . .* (84) *Martyr had brought along with him* (85) *his Nun to alleviate his watchings and fatigues. He had not done like Ochinus, who, weary of his laundreſs, had made away with her: for, though Beza ſays ſhe broke her neck, calling to witneſs Alciatus, that other Arian who did ſo much miſchief in Poland, it was not without the ſuſpicion of Ochinus's having accelerated her end, which they would not inquire narrowly into, becauſe he had not yet declared himſelf an Arian, but behaved himſelf as a good brother in CHRIST.* This is what Florimond has the aſſurance to ſay, without the allegation of any one proof, great or ſmall, and without citing any author whatſoever. This ſaves me the trouble of any farther criticiſm.

(83) Id. ib. *pag.* 293.

(84) Id. ib. *pag.* 296, 297.

(85) That is, when he went to England.

Bzovius (86) has copied faithfully, and word for word, almoſt ſix pages (87) of the hiſtory of Peter Martyr and of Benardin Ochinus out of Florimond de Remond (88). He has not forgot the paſſage which imports, *That Martyr was poſſeſſed with the ſame paſſion with Luther, transferring his devotions upon theſe Nuns, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who throw off their monaſtic habit: And conſequently has ſighed ever ſince for theſe cloyſtered laſſes, who by the help of their veils the better preſerve the beauty of their Complexion.* But, he has not copied, which I wonder at, this other paſſage (89), though Peter Martyr 'was already very much 'in years, yet not being able to bridle his luſt, he 'went to Geneva to meet a Nun, whom the ſame 'paſſion had drawn out of her convent; namely, 'Catherine Meranda, one who was recommended to 'him, and whom accordingly he married. He would 'have no other but the ſpoil of monaſteries . . . . 'Brentius attacked him very roughly; and Martyr 'nettled at the boldneſs of Brentius, who had uſed 'him with no great meaſure of Chriſtianity, was pre'paring a reply, when, worn out with the ſervices he 'was obliged to perform for his new Nun, he ſicken'ed and died in the ſame city of Zurich.'

(86) Bzovius, Annal. *Tom. xx, pag.* 87, *& ſeq. ad ann.* 1542. He cites the author, whom he copies.

(87) That is, in the edition in quarto, of Florimond de Remond.

(88) Flor. de Remond, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 293.

(89) Id. ib. *pag.* 297.

As for the reſt, if it was true that Ochinus paſſed the Alps with the woman who was afterwards his wife; we ought to judge charitably, that he only carried her along with him to Switzerland; becauſe he was apprehenſive ſhe would not meet with an opportunity of getting out of Babylon. For he muſt have been guilty of too much folly and forecaſt, if he had thought it neceſſary to provide againſt the want of women in a reformed country. That ſcarcity is not to be feared there, any more than in any other climates; and he muſt have been perſwaded that in caſe marriage ſhould be neceſſary for him at the age of fifty-five, either to ſatisfy the deſire of nature, or to undeceive thoſe who might ſuſpect that he ſtill maintained the validity of his monaſtic vows, he would meet with officious perſons enough to procure him a wife. I believe we have no example of any converted Monk who continued a bachelor for want of finding a woman that he might marry.

[*AA*] *Bzovius borrows from the Annaliſt of the Capuchins, a long narration of the apoſtacy, and pretended martyrdom of Ochinus.*] I ſhall here confine myſelf to what concerns his martyrdom. Bzovius repeating the very words of Zecharias Boverius, the author of the Annals of the Capuchins, relates, that Ochinus living at Geneva fell ill, and was troubled with great remorſes, which obliged him to ſend privately for a neighbouring curate; to whom he confeſſed his ſins, and deſired to be re-united to the boſom of the Catholic church, as repenting of his departure from it, and of his having preached hereſy about fifteen years (90). The curate adminiſtered to him the ſacrament of repentance; and repreſented to him that he ought to make a public recantation of his hereſies. Ochinus promiſed to do it as ſoon as he ſhould recover; or if he did not recover, to make a free declaration of his converſion to his diſciples and viſiters. Upon this condition he was abſolved and re-united to the church. He deſired to communicate; but the Prieſt finding it hazardous to carry the Viaticum to him, comforted him with theſe words of St Auguſtin, *crede & manducaſti, believe and you have eaten it.* The ſick man quickly declared his converſion to the diſciples who came to ſee him, and earneſtly exhorted them to follow his example in quitting the hereſies he had taught them. They thought at firſt he was light-headed; but finding afterwards that he was in earneſt, they gave notice of it to the magiſtrates. The magiſtrates enjoined them to obſerve whether he perſiſted in thoſe ſentiments, and if he did, to kill him. The diſciples executed their orders: for after hearing the fine diſcourſes he made to them concerning repentance, they ſtabbed him in his bed. Others affirm, that, by virtue of a decree of the magiſtrates, he was dragged out of the city and ſtoned (91). The Annaliſt of the Capuchins alledges

(90) Obſerve this date; it would prove that Ochinus was killed at Geneva in 1557, or thereabouts; and we can prove, that he was expelled Zurich in 1563.

(91) Quare mox illi arreptis pugionibus quos occultos geſtabant in lecto jacentem & manus ad Cœlos tendentem confodiunt. Alii vero eum Magiſtratus edicto extra Urbem raptatum, lapidibuſque obrutum fuiſſe tradunt. *Bzovius, ad ann.* 1542, *num.* 68, *pag.* 96.

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alledges the testimony of seven persons, whose names and stations he sets down. The first of these seven witnesses is a Doge of Venice; and the rest are persons considerable, either by birth or by the offices they bore in monasteries. But not one of them affirms any thing otherwise than upon hear-say. To these testimonies the Annalist adds, what Theodore Beza owned (92), that at last Ochinus discovered himself to be a great hypocrite (93); but, as Theophilus Raynaud (94) has very well proved by a letter of Theodore

(92) Beza, in Iconibus, in Petro Martyre.

(93) Bzovius, *ad ann.* 1542, *num.* 70, *& seq.*

(94) Theoph. Raynaud, in Syntagm. de Libris propriis, *num.* 23, *pag.* 42. Apopompæi.

OCTAVIA, grand-niece of Julius Cæs one of the most illustrious ladies of antient R Marcellus, who was consul in the year 704 Perusian war. Soon after his death she marri friends having desired this marriage (*b*) as a the peace which was just concluded betwee virtuous lady was very well qualified for produ gave himself up so entirely to his passion for with him to hearken to reason. Before he fe were very serviceable (*c*). He left her in Ita at Tarentum in the year 717, and returned out, in order to meet him; and perceiving she would stop at Athens, she accordingly imposed upon her. Upon this she returned t husband's house, though Augustus desired it. every thing just as if she had been perfectly treated the children of Marc Antony and F and continued to educate them with equal vi mitted, upon any account in the world the a to become the cause of a civil war (*g*); a obedience to his orders she removed from his because she saw she should be looked upon this her excellent conduct she did her h will (*i*); for the people observing that

(*a*) She was the daughter of Caius Octavius, and of Atia, the daughter of Atius Balbus, and Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar.

(*b*) Plut. in Antonio, *pag.* 929.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*].

(*d*) Plut. in Antonio, *pag.* 932.

(*e*) Ib. *p.* 940.

(*f*) Ib. *p.* 941.

(*g*) Ib. *p.* 940.

(*h*) Ib. *p.* 942.

(*i*) See the remark [*B*], citation (8).

[*A*] *Soon after her first husband's death she married Marc Antony.*] The Roman laws prohibited widows to marry during the first ten months of their widowhood; but Octavia had a dispensation from that rule by a decree of the senate (1). This the publick good required; for there was but too much reason to fear that Marc Antony and Augustus would quarrel for ever, and perpetuate the civil war, unless peace were established between them by some good mediator; and no expedient appeared so proper to form this happy mediation, as the marriage of Marc Antony with Octavia. Upon this account the marriage was hastened, without even waiting till Octavia was brought to bed (2). Every thing was hoped for from her prudence and beauty. Τουτον ἅπαντες εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν γάμον, ἐλπίζοντες τὴν Ὀκταβίαν, ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσούτῳ σημνότητα καὶ νῦν ἔχουσαν, εἰς ταυτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παραγενομένην, καὶ σερχθεῖσαν, ὡς εἰκὸς, τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πάντων πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς σωτερίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. Has nuptias suaserunt omnes, quòd Octaviam sperarent, quæ excellentiæ formæ gravitatem & prudentiam habebat adjunctam, ubi Antonio conjuncta esset, atque ut talis fœmina haud dubiè ab eo adamata, omnium rerum ipsis salutem & concordiam allaturam (3). ---- *All agreed in promoting this marriage, out of a perswasion, that Octavia, who was as prudent and grave as she was beautiful, by being married to Antony, must needs be beloved by him for those admirable qualities, and consequently conclude a general and lasting peace.* This marriage was consummated in the year 714 (4). Three years after they saw the accomplishment of the hopes they had conceived. Augustus waged war with the son of Pompey, and wanted succours from Antony. Antony came from the East to Italy, with a much greater intent to inform himself of the state of affairs, and to take advantage of this juncture, than to second Augustus. Their correspondence grew colder and colder every day: they complained one of another, and their jealousies were like to have run higher; but Octavia dexterously struck in to reconcile them, and compassed her end (5). Plutarch is much more circumstantial in his account of this than Dion: he relates, that after these Triumviri had made peace with

(1) Plut. in Anton. *pag.* 929, 930.

(2) Dio, *lib. xlviii, pag. m.* 429, *ad ann.* 714.

(3) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 929, F.

(4) 713 according to Calvisius.

(5) See Dio, *lib. xlix, sub fin.*

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Cleopatra [B], conceived a very great indignation and contempt for him. This war, as every one knows, ended in the entire ruin of Marc Antony. Fortune ſeemed to promiſe Octavia the higheſt pitch of human felicity. She had a very deſerving ſon, who married the daughter of Auguſtus, and was looked upon as the preſumptive heir of the empire. But he died in the flower of his age [C]; which proved ſo ſevere a blow

[B] *They conceived great indignation againſt Antony, upon finding that he preferred to her ſuch a woman as Cleopatra.*] Thoſe who had ſeen Cleopatra deplored, above all others, Marc Antony's infatuation, becauſe they found her neither ſo young nor ſo handſome as Octavia. He therefore diſcovered a great deal of folly in not giving the preference to Octavia, who infinitely ſurpaſſed the other in virtue and wiſdom. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ᾤκτειρον οὐκ ἐκείνην ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες, ὅτε κάλλει τῆς Ὀκταβίας ὅτε ὥρᾳ διαφέρουσαν. *Populum vero Romanum miſerebat non ita illius* (Octaviæ) *ut Antonii, atque impenſius eos qui Cleopatram viderant, neque forma Octaviæ neque ætatis flore præcellentem* (7). The high eſteem they had for Octavia, who did all the good offices ſhe could to her huſband's children and friends, without reſenting his affronts, did Marc Antony a great deal of harm; inſomuch, that, contrary to her intention, this illuſtrious lady expoſed him extremely to the hatred of the Romans. Ἄκουσα δὲ ἐβλαπτε διὰ τοῦτων Ἀντώνιον· ἐμισεῖτο γὰρ ἀδίκων γυναῖκα τοιαύτην. *Enim vero biſce rebus offecit invita Antonio. Invidia namque flagrabat, quod talem fœminam violaret* (8). Accordingly it is ſaid that Auguſtus conſented to Octavia's voyage to her huſband, only out of hopes that he would put ſome great affront upon her; and he knew very well that ſuch an affront would paſs for a ſufficient ground for renewing the war. To this, we may add, that he did not doubt but it would complete the indignation of the people of Rome againſt Marc Antony. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ βαλομένης Ὀκταβίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐπέτρεψε Καῖσαρ, ὡς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν οὐκ ἐκείνῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιυβρισθεῖσα καὶ καταμελη θεῖσα, πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῆ παρασχοί. *Romæ inſtituenti ad Antonium navigare Octaviæ annuit Cæſar, non, ut plerique tradunt, quo illi indulgeret: verum quo contumelia affecta deſpectaque colorem præberet bello movendo honeſtum* (9). Whatever good opinion Cleopatra might have of her own charms, ſhe was extremely apprehenſive of thoſe of Octavia; and for that reaſon had recourſe to the deepeſt artifices to hinder Marc Antony from ſuffering her to come near him. Αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν Ὀκταβίαν ὁμόσε χωρῆσαν αὐτῇ, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δυνάμει προσκτησαμένη τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ θηραπεύειν Ἀντώνιον. ἄναχος γένηται, καὶ κρατήσῃ παντάπασι τῆς ἀνδρὸς, ἐᾶν αὐτὴ προσεποιεῖτο τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. *At Cleopatra conferre ſecum pedem animadvertens Octaviam, veritaque ne cum gravitate morum & Cæſaris potentia placidam adjungens conſuetudinem & Antonii obſervantiam, inſuperabilis eſſet & ſemel potiretur viro, deperire ſimulabat ſe Antonii amore* (10). She made her galant believe that ſhe could not live if he left her: ſhe took care to repreſent to him, that it was enough for Octavia to be a lawful wife, while Cleopatra, the queen of ſo great a people, bore only the name of his concubine: a name which ſhe could willingly bear (11), provided that Marc Antony's abſence might not throw her into deſpair. Ὀκταβίαν μὲν .... τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα καρπᾶσθαι· Κλεοπάτραν δὲ, τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύσαν, ἐρωμένην, Ἀντωνίῳ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτο μὴ φεύγειν μεδ' ἁπαξίαν ἕως ὁρᾶν ἐκεῖνον ἕξεσι καὶ συζῆν, ἀπελαυνομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περιβιώσεσθαι. *Octaviam enim .... nomine frui uxoris. Cleopatram vero, tam multorum Reginam mortalium, pellicem Antonii nominari: neque eam hoc defugere vel dedignari nomen quoad aſpicere illum & una liceat vivere: quo ſi orbaretur non ducturam ultra ſpiritum* (12). Marc Antony's friends adviſed him to ſend Cleopatra back to Egypt, ſhe having followed him to Epheſus when every thing was preparing for the laſt rupture: but ſhe fearing that Octavia would once more reconcile her brother to her huſband (13), found out a man who perſuaded Antony to carry her along with him wherever he went. Her emulation was ſo ſtrong, that, coming to Athens, where Octavia had been received with very diſtinguiſhing marks of honour, ſhe was very liberal to the people in hopes to obtain the like (14).

[C] *Her ſon died in the flower of his age.*] His name was Marcus Claudius Marcellus; and his elogy is inſerted in the Æneid with ſo much ſkill, and ſo admirably well turned, that no reader can be ſo ſtupid as not to be moved with it. I have read it above a hundred times, and always with tranſports of admiration: and now that I read it once more in tranſcribing it here, I think it finer than it ever appeared to me before. Several excellent judges have aſſured me that they are of the ſame mind. I doubt not therefore but I ſhall be pardoned for giving it here entire.

Atque hic Æneas (unâ namque ire videbat
Egregium formâ juvenem, & fulgentibus armis;
Sed frons læta parùm, & dejecto lumina vultu)
Quis, pater, ille virum qui ſic comitatur euntem?
Filius? anne aliquis magnâ de ſtirpe nepotum?
Quis ſtrepitus circa comitum! quantum inſtar in ipſo eſt!
Sed nox atra caput triſti circumvolat umbrâ.
Tùm pater Anchiſes lacrymis ingreſſus obortis:
O nate, ingentem luctum ne quære tuorum:
Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata; neque ultra
Eſſe ſinent: nimium vobis Romana propago
Viſa potens, Superi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent.
Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum umulum præterlabêre recentem!
Nec puer Iliacâ quiſquam de gente Latinos
In tantum ſpe tollet avos: nec Romula quondam
Ullo ſe tantum tellus jactabit alumno.
Heu pietas! heu priſca fides! invictaque bello
Dextera! non illi quiſquam ſe impunè tuliſſet
Obvius armato; ſeu cùm pedes iret in hoſtem;
Seu ſpumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu miſerande puer! ſi qua fata aſpera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis:
Purpureos ſpargam flores, animamque nepotis
His ſaltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere (15).

Æneas, here, beheld, of form Divine,
A godlike youth, in glitt'ring armour ſhine:
With great Marcellus keeping equal pace;
But gloomy were his eyes, dejected was his face.
He ſaw and wond'ring aſk'd his airy guide,
What, and of whence was he, who preſs'd the hero's ſide?
His ſon, or one of his illuſtrious name?
How like the former, and almoſt the ſame!
Obſerve the crowds that compaſs him around:
All gaze, and all admire, and raiſe a ſhouting ſound.
But bov'ring miſts around his brows are ſpread,
And night, with ſable ſhades involves his head.
Seek not to know (the ghoſt replied with tears)
The ſorrows of thy ſons, in future years.
This youth (the bliſsful viſion of a day)
Shall juſt be ſhewn on earth, and ſnatch'd away.
The gods too high had raiſed the Roman ſtate,
Were but their gifts as permanent as great.
What groans of men ſhall fill the Martian field!
How fierce a blaze his flaming Pile ſhall yield!
What fun'ral pomp, ſhall floating Tiber ſee,
When riſing from his bed, he views the ſad ſolemnity!
No youth ſhall equal hopes of glory give:
No youth afford ſo great a cauſe to grieve.

The

(7) Ib. p. 942. D.

(8) Ib. p. 941.

(9) Ib. p. 940, B.

(10) Ibid. C.

(11) Compare what Heloïſa ſaid above, in the remark [U] of her article.

(12) Plut. ibid. pag. 942, D.

(13) Φοβηθεῖσα τὰς διὰ Ὀκταβίας πάλιν αὖθις διαλύσεις. Novam interprete Octavia timens reconciliationem. *Id. ib. pag.* 941. F.

(14) Ib. p. 942, C.

(15) Virgil. Æneid. lib. VI, ver. 860, & ſeq.

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blow to the mother, that ſhe remained ever ſ up entirely to ſolitude, and to a terrible melan the year 744 (*k*), leaving two daughters by advantageouſly (*l*). They who ſay ſhe had are miſtaken.

(*k*) Dio, *lib. liv, pag.* 625.

(*l*) See the article ANTONIA.

The Trojan honour, and the Roman boaſt;
Admir'd when living, and ador'd when loſt!
Mirror of antient faith in early youth!
Undaunted worth, inviolable truth!
No foe unpuniſh'd in the fighting field,
Shall dare thee foot to foot, with ſword and ſhield.
Much leſs, in arms, oppoſe thy matchleſs force,
When thy ſharp ſpurs ſhall urge thy foaming horſe.
Ah! cou'dſt thou break through fate's ſevere decree,
A new Marcellus ſhall ariſe in thee!
Full canifters of fragant lilies bring,
Mix'd with the purple roſes of the ſpring;
Let me with fun'ral flowers his body ſtrow,
This gift which parents to their children owe,
This unavailing gift I may at leaſt beſtow.

DRYDEN.

The recital of theſe verſes made the Emperor and Octavia melt into tears; and Virgil was obliged to acquaint them that he was come to the end of the book, otherwiſe they would have ſtopped his reading. He was liberally rewarded for them (16). Others ſay, Octavia ſwooned away at the words, *Tu Marcellus eris*, and was brought to herſelf again with great difficulty. She ordered the Poet a good ſum for each verſe (17). Marcellus died in the 731ſt year of Rome (18). All authors agree that he was very young; but few give his exact age. Propertius indeed has done it (19), and he allots him twenty years of age, in which point he is more to be credited than Servius, who makes him but eighteen (20). Glandorp is miſtaken in affirming that Servius makes him twenty-three (21). In another place (22), without citing any author, he aſſerts, that Marcellus died at the age of twenty-four.

(16) Et conſtat hunc librum tanta pronuntiatione Auguſto & Octaviæ eſſe recitatum, ut fletu nimio imperarent ſilentium: niſi Virgilius finem eſſe dixiſſet, qui pro hoc ære gravi donatus eſt, id eſt, maſſis. *Servius, in Virgil. Æn. lib. vi, ver.* 862.

(17) Tres omnino libros recitavit, ſecundum videlicet, quartum & ſextum; ſed hunc præcipue ob Octaviam, quæ cum recitationi intereſſet, ad illos de filio ſuo verſus, *Tu Marcellus eris*, defeciſſe fertur, atque ægrè reſocillata, dena ſeſtertia pro ſingulo verſu Virgilio dari juſſit. *Donatus, in Vita Virgilii.*

(18) Dio, *lib. liii, circa fin.*

(19) Propert. Eleg. XVII, *lib. iii.*

(20) Servius, ubi ſupra.

(21) Glandorp. Onomaſt. *pag.* 233.

(22) Ib. *p.* 434.

(23) This does not agree with what I have mentioned in the preceding remark.

[*D*] *She remained ever after inconſolable.*] The circumſtances of her affliction were, in my opinion, well worth the notice of all Hiſtorians who have occaſion to mention her and her ſon: for they have a character of ſingularity which has all the appearance of ſomething very extraordinary. Octavia became ſuch a man-hater that ſhe courted nothing but ſolitude; the very glory of her brother was a trouble to her. The being a mother was enough to make one become the object of her indignation. She kept no picture of her ſon, and would not ſuffer any one to ſpeak of him, rejecting all the verſes that were made upon him (23). Seneca is the only author who informs us of theſe circumſtances. He is ſo very particular upon this ſubject that it will not be improper to tranſcribe his words. 'Octavia Marcellum, cui & avunculus & ſocer 'incumbere cœperat, in quem onus imperii reclinare: 'adoleſcentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem; 'ſed & frugalitatis continentiæque in illis aut annis 'aut opibus non mediocriter admirandum; patientem 'laborum, voluptatibus alienum; quantumcumque im- 'ponere illi avunculus, & (ut ita dicam) inædificare 'voluiſſet, laturum. Benè legerat nulli ceſſura pon- 'deri fundamenta. Nullum finem, per omne vitæ 'ſuæ tempus, flendi gemendique fecit: nec ullas admi- 'ſit voces, ſalutare aliquid afferentes: ne avocari 'quidem ſe paſſa eſt. Intenta in unam rem, & 'toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qua- 'lis in funere: non dico non auſa conſurgere, ſed al- 'levari recuſans: ſecundam orbitatem judicans, lacri- 'mas omittere. Nullam habere imaginem filii cariſ- 'ſimi voluit, nullam ſibi fieri de illo mentionem. O- 'derat omnes matres, & in Liviam maximè furebat: 'quia videbatur ad illius filium tranſiſſe, ſibi promiſ- 'ſa felicitas. Tenebris & ſolitudini familiariſſima; 'ne ad fratrem quidem reſpiciens, carmina celebran- 'dæ Marcelli memoriæ compoſita, alioſque ſtudiorum 'honores rejecit, & aures ſuas adverſus omne ſolatium 'clauſit, à ſolemnibus officiis ſeducta, & ipſam mag- 'nitudinis fraternæ nimis circumlucentem fortunam 'exoſa, defodit ſe, & abdidit. Affidentibus liberis, 'nepotibus, lugubrem veſtem non depoſuit; non ſine 'contumeliâ omnium ſuorum, quibus ſalvis orba ſibi

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Cicero's anſwer to an objection of Marc Antony againſt Octavius, and grounded upon his mother's being born in Aricia (34). Suetonius's evidence is poſitive againſt Plutarch: 'Decedens Macedonia (*C. Octavius*) prius 'quam profiteri ſe candidatum conſulatus poſſet, 'morte obiit repentina, ſuperſtitibus liberis, Octavia 'majore, quam ex Ancharia, & Octavia minore, item 'Auguſto, quos ex Atia tulerat (35). - - - *Caius Octavius departing from Macedonia, before he could declare himſelf candidate for the conſulſhip died ſuddenly, leaving behind him Octavia the elder, his daughter by Ancharia, and Octavia the younger, and Auguſtus, his children by Atia.*' See Mr Perizonius, who has ſet all theſe arguments in a clear light, in order to ſhew the error of Plutarch, adopted by Antonius Auguſtinus, by Juſtus Lipſius, and ſome other learned men (36). The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, has inſiſted at large upon this criticiſm, in giving an abſtract of Perizonius's book. But he has made a conſiderable miſtake in ſaying that Marcellus's wife was *the daughter of Aricina* (37). This expreſſion imports, that Aricina was the name of that lady's family, which is very falſe, it being only an epithet given her in regard to her native country Aricia. The learned Manutius pretends, that the mother of Octavia was not born in that place, and wonders how ſhe came to be deſcribed by that addition. 'Miror autem Aricinam Atiam eſſe dictam, cum nec ipſa nec pater 'ejus Balbus Ariciæ natus eſſet, fuit enim, Suetonio 'teſte, paterna ſtirpe Aricinus (38). - - - - *I am ſurprized that Atia ſhould be called an Arician, when neither ſhe nor her father Balbus was born in Aricia, for he was, if we believe Suetonius, an Arician by the father's ſide.*' But he is under a great miſtake; for if Atius and his daughter had not been of Aricia, Cicero would not have overlooked ſuch a fair plea to diſprove Marc Antony, who upbraided Octavia's mother with being born in that place. He was too well verſed in the art of refuting, and too dexterous in taking advantage of the leaſt circumſtances, to ſuffer his adverſary to run away with a falſity of this nature. Since therefore he grants the matter of fact, and only refutes the conſequence which Marc Antony drew from it, we need not doubt but that Manutius in this place has made a very falſe remark. But it may be aſked what ſhall we do with the paſſage of Suetonius? I anſwer, that Suetonius's phraſe in this place is of a piece with a way of ſpeaking uſual among the French writers. They ſay that ſuch a one is *originaire* (originally) of ſuch a place (39); by which expreſſion they mean, that not only his anceſtors, but himſelf was born there. I own indeed that in this latter ſenſe the expreſſion is not very exact. *Originaire*, in the politeſt authors, relates only to the country of one's father or grand-father, *&c.* But whoever told us that Suetonius was a nice obſerver of exactneſs in his ſtyle?

Perizonius has very juſtly cenſured Triſtan, who thought, that the mother of Marcellus, Auguſtus's ſon-in-law, was never married to Marc Antony. This thought he grounded upon the words of Seneca, touching that lady's affliction upon the death of her dear ſon. *All that is here ſaid of Octavia*, (it is Triſtan that ſpeaks (40) after rehearſing the paſſage of Seneca) *can by no means, as I take it, be underſtood of her, of the two Octavia's, Auguſtus's ſiſters, who had Antony for her ſecond huſband. For that ſingular and ſavage way of living, of a woman who drowned her days in tears; and ſtifled the ſplendor and luſtre of her family in darkneſs, in retirement, and in flying ſociety and day-light as much as poſſible, covering that continual ſorrow with deep mourning, can never ſuit with what is ſaid of her marriage with Marc Antony, and what followed thereupon, of the diſtinguiſhing love and honour, ſhewn her by Auguſtus, of the marks of honour paid to her elſewhere, particularly at Corinth, where, as Pauſanias informs us, in his Corinthiaca, a temple was built to her honour; of the reputation ſhe had juſtly merited, for being a courageous, virtuous, and conſtant lady, and for having brought up the ſeven children of Marc Antony, which he had by her and by Cleopatra* (41), *as if they had been all her own, notwithſtanding his caſting her off; and in fine, of all the other honourable circumſtances relating to her, recorded by hiſtorians.* He believes therefore, that of Auguſtus's two ſiſters, the eldeſt married Marcellus, and fell into the affliction mentioned by Seneca; and the youngeſt married Marc Antony. This is a falſe notion, and only raiſing ſcruples from nothing: for if he had but called to mind, that the marriage of Octavia with Marc Antony happened about ſeventeen years before the death of young Marcellus, he had found no difficulty in reconciling Seneca with the other authors (42). In the *Journal des Savans* (43) there is a learned *diſſertation upon the true degree of conſanguinity between Auguſtus and Octavia*. It was communicated to the journaliſt by a learned Antiquary (44), and a very honeſt gentleman. In that diſſertation he ſets the truth in a clear light, but he is a little out in his ſtating Triſtan's objection. *Marcellus's Octavia*, ſays he (45), *whom Suetonius calls the younger Octavia* (†), *had been already propoſed for a wife to Pompey by her great uncle; ſo that ſhe was twice looked upon as an inſtrument of reconciliation. And this furniſhes us with an anſwer to the objection of ſome moderns, who finding in Seneca* (‡) *that Marcellus's widow was inconſolable upon the death of her huſband, will not allow her being married a ſecond time to Marc Antony: for we very well know that perſons of that rank are commonly victims of ſtate. Octavia, notwithſtanding her mourning, was forced to conſent to this ſecond marriage for the public good, and for her brother's intereſt; and it is very probable that on Marc Antony's ſide, it was pure Politics that moved him to marry a lady, whoſe extraction he had decried. And accordingly we ſee he threw her off ſoon after, to give himſelf intirely to Cleopatra.* You ſee plainly he ſuppoſes that Triſtan quoted Seneca, to prove that this lady was inconſolable upon the death of her huſband. And yet he neither does, nor can, quote him for any thing elſe than to ſhew her extreme affliction for the death of her ſon. You ſee likewiſe, he ſuppoſes that Octavia doing violence to herſelf, married Marc Antony in the midſt of the affliction repreſented by Seneca. But if you conſult Seneca, you will ſee how groundleſs that ſuppoſition is.

(34) Ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæſaris filio: cujus etiam naturalis pater, ſi vita ſuppeditaſſet, Conſul factus eſſet. Arician mater. *Ibid. pag.* 781.

(35) Sueton. in Auguſt. *cap.* iv.

(36) Jacob. Perizonius, Animadverſ. Hiſtoric. *pag.* 116, *& ſeq.*

(37) Nouv. de la Repub. des Lett. ubi ſupra.

(38) Paulus Manutius, in Cicer. Philipp. III, *pag.* m. 782.

(39) Moreri often makes uſe of this expreſſion.

(40) Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. *vol. i, pag.* 54.

(41) Why does not Triſtan take notice of the children of Marc Antony and Fulvia, which Octavia brought up? how comes he to be ignorant of what Plutarch ſays *in Antonio, pag.* 955, that of the ſeven children left by Marc Antony, including the two daughters he had by Octavia, the eldeſt was put to death by Auguſtus, and the other ſix were brought up by Octavia?

(42) *See* Perizonius, Animadv. Hiſt. *pag.* 120; *and the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettres, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 598.

(43) Of the 21ſt of January 1686, *pag.* 25, *& ſeq. of the Dutch edition.*

(44) Mr Rainſſant, Phyſician of Rheims, keeper of the medals in the king's cloſet.

(45) Journal des Sçavans, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 27, 28.

† Sueton. Jul. 27.

‡ Senec. Conſ. ad Marc.

OCTAVIA, the daughter of Claudius the emperor, and of Meſſalina, was born in the 795th year of Rome [*A*]. She was betrothed very young to Lucius Silanus; but that contract was broke by the ambitious artifices of Agrippina, who had a mind ſhe ſhould be married to her ſon Nero. Some pretence or other was neceſſary to be made uſe of, and that ſhe was not without. Vitellius, a dexterous courtier, and a great flatterer, undertook the management of that affair, and invented ſpecious accuſations [*B*], by virtue of which he got Silanus diveſted of the Senatorial dignity. Soon

[*A*] *She was born in the 795th year of Rome.*] If we believe Tacitus; but there is ſome reaſon to think he is miſtaken. He ſays (1), that ſhe was in the twentieth year of her age when ſhe was put to death, and that ſhe was put to death in the conſulſhip of P. Marius, and L. Aſinius; that is, in the year of Rome 815. This ſhews therefore that ſhe was born in the year 795. But ſince he has placed (2) her marriage with Nero, under the conſulſhip of D. Junius and Q. Haterius, that is in the year of Rome 806, we muſt conclude ſhe was then at leaſt twelve years of age; and conſequently was born in 794. Add to this, that her father betrothed her to Silanus in the firſt year of his reign (3), that is in the year of Rome 793, and that Suetonius informs us that Britannicus was born after her (4). Now Britannicus was born the twentieth day of his father's reign (5).

[*B*] *Vitellius, a dexterous courtier . . . . invented ſpecious accuſations.*] One of the happieſt qualities of a courtier is to foreſee at ſome diſtance, who they are for whom fortune is preparing her moſt conſiderable favours: for the ſervices done them before-hand, while they are upon the execution of their ſcheme of grandeur, inſpire them with much more gratitude, than thoſe which are done after the actual poſſeſſion of authority. It was Vitellius's talent to foreſee the advancement

(1) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xvi, cap. lxvi.*

(2) *Ib. lib. xii, cap. lviii.*

(3) Dio, *lib. lx, pag.* 668, apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. *Tom. i, pag.* 1019.

(4) Sueton. in Claud. *cap. xxvii.*

(5) Ibid.

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Soon after Octavia was betrothed to Agrippina's
as ſoon as he arrived at ſixteen years of age
him, ſhe *paſſed into another family by a feigned ad*
had been inceſtuous. She was very unfortunat
of her [C], and divorced her under the pret
married preſently after, ſuborned a man wh
familiar with one of her ſlaves (c). The wo
upon the rack, to oblige them to depoſe a
reſiſt the violence of the torture charged her
ſolution to declare her innocent; and one of
expreſſion [D]. However Octavia was ſent
a ſtrong guard. The common people, who
places to loſe (d), murmured to that degree
again. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy wh
recalled; or the honours which the people pa
herſelf undone if ſhe did not ruin her; for w
feet, and backed her petitions with ſuch polit
(f). Nero engaged the man who had got

(a) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xii, cap. lviii.*

(b) Dio, *lib. lx, pag.* 687, apud Tillemont, *Tom. i, pag.* 391.

(c) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xiv, cap. lx.*

(d) Inde crebri queſtus, nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor ſapientia, & ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt. *Ibid.*

(e) Ib. *cap. lxi.*

(f) Ibid.

vancement which fortune was meditating. By this talent he knew that the emperor Claudius would marry Agrippina, and that ſhe would manage her huſband as ſhe pleaſed. The lady's cunning, and the huſband's weakneſs, were ſure foundations for this prognoſtic. It could not therefore be thought ſtrange that Vitellius left no ſtone unturned to ruin Silanus; for Agrippina's intereſt called for that ſacrifice: ſhe wanted to have Octavia at liberty to be betrothed to Nero, and that could not be done but by breaking her contract with Silanus. Silanus had a ſiſter very remarkable for her beauty and wantonneſs. They could not convict him of having lain with her: but Silanus had not been careful enough to conceal his paſſion for her. This gave Vitellius a handle to turn him out of the ſenate: for he was cenſor, and his poſt impowered him to degrade thoſe who miſbehaved themſelves. As ſoon as Silanus had received this mortification, Claudius broke off the contract of marriage, and obliged him to quit his prætorſhip. The words of Tacitus relate all this in a manner much more noble than I am able to expreſs. *Igitur Vitellius nomine Cenſoris ſerviles fallacias obtegens, ingruentiumque dominationum proviſor, quo gratiam Agrippinæ pararet, conſiliis ejus implicari, ferere crimina in Silanum, cui ſane decora & procax ſoror Junia Calvina haud multum ante Vitellii nurus fuerat: hinc initium accuſationis, fratrumque non inceſtum, ſed incuſtoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit. Et præbebat Cæſar aures, accipiendis adverſum generum ſuſpicionibus caritate filiæ promptior. At Silanus infidiarum neſcius, ac forte eo anno prætor, repente per edictum Vitellii ordine ſenatorio movetur, quanquam lecto pridem ſenatu, luſtroque condito. Simul affinitatem Claudius diremit; adactuſque Silanus ejurare magiſtratum, & reliquus præturæ dies in Eprium Marcellum collatus eſt* (6). Silanus killed himſelf on Claudius's and Agrippina's wedding day: his ſiſter was baniſhed, and expiations were enjoined for their inceſt. Every one ridiculed theſe expiations, in regard that the emperor, who injoined them, had himſelf ſo lately contracted an inceſtuous marriage (7).

(6) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xii, cap. iv, ad ann.* 801.

(7) Die Nuptiarum Silanus ſibi mortem conſcivit, ſive eo uſque ſpem Vitæ produxerat; ſeu delecto die, augendam ad invidiam. Calvina ſoror ejus Italia pulſa eſt. Addidit Claudius Sacra ex legibus Tullii Regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianæ per Pontifices danda: inridentibus cunctis quod pœnæ procurationeſque inceſti id temporis exquirerentur. *Ib. cap. viii.*

[C] *Her huſband grew preſently weary of her.*] His friends repreſented to him how much he was in the wrong in contemning his wife ſo ſoon, and depriving her of thoſe rites which the ſtate of matrimony required from him. *Let her content herſelf* (replied he) *with bearing the name of my wife; that is an honour, that is a dignity, which ought to ſatisfy her:* A fine conſolation!

‘ Octaviæ conſuetudinem cito adſpernatus, corripien-
‘ tibus amicis, ſufficere illi debere reſpondit uxoria or-
‘ namenta. Eandem mox ſæpe fruſtra ſtrangulare me-
‘ ditatus, dimiſit ut ſterilem: ſed improbante divor-
‘ tium populo, nec parcente convitiis, etiam relega-
‘ vit. Denique occidit ſub crimine adulteriorum, a-
‘ deo impudenti falſoque, ut in quæſtione perneganti-
‘ bus cunctis, Anicetum pædagogum ſuum indicem
‘ ſubjecerit, qui dolo ſtupratam a ſe fateretur (8). ---
‘ *Having ſoon ſhewn a diſlike to Octavia's embraces, up-*
‘ *on his friends upbraiding him for it, he anſwered,*
‘ *that ſhe ought to eſteem it honour enough to be his wife.*
‘ *In a little time after, upon being diſappointed in ſeve-*
‘ *ral deſigns he had formed to ſtrangle her, he divorced*
‘ *her under pretence of being barren: but the people diſ-*
‘ *approving of this divorce, and not forbearing even to*

(8) Sueton. in Nerone, *cap. xxxv.*

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that he had lain with Octavia; upon which she was confined to an island, and in a few days after forced to have her veins opened. Her head was cut off, and presently carried to her rival (g). Nero changed his language strangely; he had before complained that Octavia was barren, but then he accused her of having made herself miscarry [F]. This princess's lot was scarce any thing else, but a continued series of misfortunes. [G].

(g) Ib. *cap. lxiii, lxiv.*

was Nero's tutor; but according to Tacitus, he commanded the emperor's fleet at Misenum. After Nero had employed him in destroying Agrippina, he used him first a little coldly, and at last hated him: for the sight of those who have been instrumental to others in the execution of great crimes, is so far from being agreeable to them, that it seems to load them with continual reproaches (16). But now, having a fresh occasion to employ him again, he caressed him, taking notice of the former service he had done, as being of the last importance; and told him an opportunity presented of doing him another piece of service, which was not less necessary, and which required no more of him, but a bare confession that he had lain with Octavia. He promised him a good reward, but which it was not proper to give him for the present, and threatned to kill him if he refused. *Accitum eum Cæsar operæ prioris admonet; solum incolumitati principis adversus insidiantem matrem subveniſſe; locum haud minoris gratiæ instare, si conjugem infensam depelleret. Nec manu aut telo opus. Fateretur Octaviæ adulterium. Occulta quidem ad præsens, sed magna ei præmia, & secessus amœnos promittit; vel si negavisset, necem intentat* (17). This villain undertook to do all that was desired, and even told more lies than was required of him. He was banished to Sardinia, for form's sake, where he lived at his ease, and died a natural death (18).

(16) Levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein gravore odio: quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes adspiciuntur. *Id. ib.*

(17) Id. ib.

(18) In Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exsilium toleravit, & fato obiit. *Ibid.*

It will not be improper, I imagine, to make some reflexions upon the relation of Suetonius. We cannot deny that author the glory of a skillful abbreviator, but sometimes his art of contracting is carried too far; by which means it comes to pass, that the times and distinctions of events do not always appear in his work. Of this we have an instance in the case now before us. He carries Nero's injustice to Octavia only through three degrees (19). She was first divorced under pretence of barrenness; then banished, because the people cried out against this divorce; and at last punished with death upon pretence of adultery, though all who were tortured upon that head denied it, and there was no other evidence but only Anicetus, who owned he had lain with her by stratagem. Now, do but consult Tacitus, and you will presently perceive that Suetonius is here faulty. According to Tacitus, the misfortunes of that princess ought to be ranged in the following order. Nero's love for Poppæa inspired that disgusted husband with the thoughts of a divorce. Accordingly, Octavia was divorced, as being barren, and he married Poppæa. After that, by virtue of Poppæa's intrigues, Octavia was charged with adultery; her servant-maids were put upon the rack; most of them maintained that she was a woman of honour: yet the divorce stood; and after she had received some presents (20), she was banished to Campania, and there confined. The murmurings of the common people, or else some remorse of conscience, obliged Nero to re-call her. This was so acceptable to the people, that Poppæa did not think herself safe, unless Octavia were made away with. With this view she applied so dexterously to the emperor, that he engaged Anicetus to declare he had lain with Octavia. After that, the unfortunate princess was transported to the island Pandataria, where she was put to death. It does not appear that she returned to Rome after her divorce; she was still in Campania, when the people gave such expressions of joy upon her being recalled (21). And as these expressions of joy moved Poppæa to sollicit Nero to make away with her, which was a point she obtained, it is not probable that the order for her return was ever put in execution. So that these words of Tacitus, *Conjugem revocavit Octaviam* (22), *he recalled his wife*, are somewhat fallacious. But Suetonius's faults are much more inexcusable. It is visible that he has confounded events, and omitted things, the suppression of which is not to be allowed in regard to any design of brevity. What probability is there that Nero's false-witness deposed he had made use of stratagems to compass his end with Octavia? Was not that extenuating this princess's crime? This is what Nero did not desire! Note, that Tristan supposes Octavia came actually back to her husband's house, and even that she was recalled from the island Pandataria (23): the first of which is not likely, and the other is notoriously false.

(19) See his words in the remark [C].

(20) Domumque Burri & prædia Plauti, infausta dona accipit. *Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv, cap. lx.*

(21) *This appears from these words of Poppæa:* Vitam ipsam in extremum adductam à clientelis & servitiis Octaviæ, quæ plebis filii nomen indiderint, ea in pace assis quæ vix bello evenirent. Arma illa adversus principem sumpta. Docem tantum defuisse, qui motis rebus facile reperiretur. Omitteret modo Campaniam & in urbem ipsam pergeret, ad cujus nutum ablentis tumultus cierentur. *Ibid. cap. lxi.*

(22) Ibid. *cap. lx.*

(23) Tristan. Commentat. Histor. *Tom. i, pag.* 138.

[F] *Nero . . . . accused her of having made herself miscarry.*] I have known some persons who found fault with Tacitus for taking these two pretences of Octavia's disgrace for a contradiction. 'At Nero 'præfectum in spem sociandæ classis corruptum, & in- 'cusatæ paullo ante sterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus 'conscientia libidinum, eaque sibi comperta, edicto 'memorat (24). - - - - *But Nero declares by an edict, that* 'his admiral had been corrupted in hopes of engaging 'the fleet, and forgetting the pretence of sterility he had 'before made use of, alledges that she had forced herself 'to miscarry to conceal her lusts, all which he had dis- 'covered.' Nero grounded Octavia's divorce upon the plea of her barrenness; and soon after he declared, that, to his certain knowledge, she had taken things to make herself miscarry. Now, here is no contradiction. When we do not observe that a married woman comes to be with child, we have reason to account her barren: but if we happen to discover that she forces herself to miscarry, we incur no contradiction in denying her sterility. Where then is Nero's contradiction? To these critics I made answer, that the historian does not charge the emperor with a formal contradiction; he only alledges, there was a great deal of imprudence in making use of the plea of miscarriage after having insisted so lately upon that of barrenness. The imprudence did not consist in Nero's giving the world ground to believe he was misinformed of Octavia's conduct when he divorced her; for he might have answered, that the wisest of princes are very often not quick-sighted enough to penetrate into all the secrets of their wives chamber, and that sometimes chance discovers in an hour what the most vigilant spies could not observe for many years: so many are the tricks of the sex for concealing their galantries. But the injustice of the divorce lay here. He manifestly discovered to all the world, that he had not discharged the conjugal duties to Octavia; for if he had, she need not to have had recourse to miscarriages to hide her adultery. Now, is it not a flagrant instance of injustice to divorce a woman upon pretence of barrenness, after having lived with her without any matrimonial commerce (25). For this reason, Tacitus says nothing that can reflect upon his great judgment, when he observes a contradiction between the emperor's first and second pretence. We must not forget one thing, which aggravates the iniquity of the husband, and that is, his being convinced of Octavia's virtue. The express words have been recorded, which he uttered, when he thought the opportunity of marrying Poppæa was come. 'Ipsa principis verba referam, *says Tacitus* (26), quin *in-* '*quit* Nero deposito metu nuptias Poppææ ob ejusmodi 'terrores dilatas maturare parat, Octaviamque conjugem 'amoliri, quamvis modeste agat, & nomine patris, & 'studiis populi gravem? - - *I shall repeat the very words* 'of the emperor. *Well*, says Nero, *my fear is over, and* 'I will now have the nuptials celebrated forthwith, 'which have been all this while delayed upon that ac- 'count, and my wife Octavia dismissed, for all her modesty, 'and great popularity, both for her father's sake and her 'own.'

(24) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xiv, cap. lxiii.*

(25) See, above, remark [A] of the article GUISE (CLAUDIUS DUKE OF).

(26) Tacit. Annal. *lib. xiv, cap. lix.*

[G] *This princess's lot was scarce any thing else but a continued series of misfortunes.*] The inhabitants of the island, to which she was banished, were more affected with her disgrace, than they had ever been with the misfortunes of the other Roman ladies who had been exiles in the same place. Those ladies were more advanced in years, and consequently more capable to bear the reverse of Fortune; besides, they might receive some comfort from the remembrance of their former felicity. But Octavia was scarce above twenty years of age, and had always been unfortunate. The first years of her married state were spent in deep mourning for the sad fate of her father, and her brother, who were poisoned. A mistress engrossed all the affection of her husband; she herself was divorced; and afterwards

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wards exposed to the violent hatred of the new wife; and at last banished for a crime, the brand of which was more afflicting than death itself. Yet, after all, she was very unwilling to resign her life, tho' she saw herself every minute under the point of the soldiers swords, who were her guard; and when she received orders to put an end to her life, she prayed and begged incessantly, in order to shun the fatal hour. But all was to no purpose: they bound her, and opened her veins; but her fright was so great that she could scarce be made to bleed, insomuch that they were obliged to stifle her with the steam of a hot bath. Tacitus is so great a master in painting the passions, that every line is an inimitable stroke. We shall therefore make use of his own words (27). *Non alia exsul visentium oculos majore misericordia affecit. Meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinæ, à Tiberio; recentior Juliæ memoria obversabatur, à Claudio pulsæ. Sed illis robur ætatis affuerat. Læta aliqua viderant, & presentem sævitiam melioris olim fortunæ recordatione allevabant* (28). *Huic primus nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductæ in domum, in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre, & statim fratre. Tum ancilla domina validior. Et Poppæa non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta. Postremo crimen omni exilio gravius. Ac puella vicesimo ætatis anno, inter centuriones & milites, præsagio malorum jam à vita exempta, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat. Paucis dehinc interjectis diebus, mori jubetur: cum jam viduam se & tantum sororem testaretur, communesque Germanicos, & postremo* Agrippinæ *nomen cieret*, qua incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertulisset. *Restringitur vinculis, venæque ejus per omnes artus exsolvuntur: & quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, præfervidi balnei vapore enecatur.* He has forgot to observe, that before she was married, she was witness to the violent death of Messalina, her mother. It is with this she commences the recital of her misfortunes in the tragedy which is called by her name, and which is printed with those of Seneca. From thence she proceeds to the severity of Agrippina, who was doubly her mother-in-law (29), and of a temper admirably well suited for acting the part of a step-mother, and for verifying all that is said of the antipathy of women to their daughters-in-law. If Homer could not admit, that there are any persons who are served by Jupiter, out of no other but the bad vessel (30), yet he might at least have allowed, that Jupiter does not mix above two or three drops out of the good vessel, in a full bowl, which he obliges them to drink out of the bad one. Such was the lot of our Octavia, and yet she had a mind to live: death was more frightful to her than all her calamities; for which ill taste her youth ought to plead her excuse.

(27) Ibid. *cap. lxiii.*

(28) *This was pursuant to the precepts of Epicurus. On the other hand, a great many aggravate their adversity by calling to mind the prosperity they have been in; and say with one of the French Poets,*

Felicité passée,
Qui ne peus revenir,
Tourment de ma pensée,
Que n'ai-je en te perdant perdu le souvenir!

Pass'd happiness which can return no more,
By memory torments me o'er and o'er.

(29) Tulimus
Sævæ jussa novercæ,
Hostilem animum, vultusque trucis.
Illa illa meis tristis Erinnys
Thalamis Stygios prætulit ignes,
Teque extinxit miserande pater.

(30) See the article MANICHEES, remark [C], from citation (35) to the end.

OECOLAMPADIUS (JOHN) one of the reformers of the Church in the XVIth century, was born at Winsperg in Franconia, in the year 1482. His mother was the cause of making him a scholar; for his father had designed him for a merchant, but at the request of his wife altered his resolution. They sent him to the college of Heilbrun, and afterwards to the university of Heidelberg; he there received the degreee of Bachelor at fourteen years of age. After this he was sent to Boulogne to study the Civil-Law, and after a residence of six months, he returned from thence to Heidelberg, where he applied himself to the study of Divinity. The authors whom he read with greatest assiduity were Thomas Aquinas, Richard, and Gerson: he despised the subtilities, of Scotus, and did not follow the humour which at that time prevailed in the universities. He had little regard to the wrangles of the schoolmen, and abstained from disputations: his endeavour was to furnish his mind with useful knowledge, without troubling himself about the honour that is to be gained by the public exercises in universities. He did nevertheless obtain the character of a very learned young man. This reputation, joined to that of virtue and prudence, induced the elector Palatine to appoint him preceptor to his younger sons. Having discharged this office some time, he grew weary of the court, and resumed his studies in Divinity.

OENONE, the daughter of a river in Phrygia, named Cebren (*a*), and wife of Paris, was, according to some, a noted sorceress [*A*]. Others content themselves with saying, that she was perfectly well acquainted with the virtues of herbs, and that this knowledge was imparted to her, by way of exchange for her virginity [*B*]. It

(*a*) Apollod. *lib. iii*: & Parthen. in Eroticis, *cap. iv.*

[*A*] *She was .... a noted sorceress.*] By the force of her enchantments the moon descended from the heavens, the lions became tame and gentle as sheep, and the rivers flowed back towards their sources. Paris declares himself an eye-witness of it (1).

(1) In the letter feigned by Sabinus, as written by Paris, in answer to that feigned by Ovid from Oenone to him.

Quod si vertendæ spem mentis concipis hujus;
Cur cessant herbæ, carmina curve tua?
Nam te nec Phœbi sollertior artibus ulla est;
Phœbeæque Hecates somnia vera vides.
Te cum sideribus, te cum deducere Lunam
Nubibus, & memini surripuisse diem.
Pascebam tauros: interque armenta leones
Obstupui placidos vocibus ire tuis.
Quid retro Xanthum, retro Simoënta vocatum
Adjiciam cursus non tenuisse suos?
Ipse pater Cebren, natæ male tutus ab ore,
Cantatus quoties restitit inter aquas!

But if you hope to disengage my love;
Why do you not your Magic secrets prove?
For Phœbus scarce in these more knowing seems,
Nor Hecate, his sister, skill'd in dreams.
At your command, I've seen, with wond'ring eye,
The day grow dark, and the moon quit the sky.
At your command, I've seen, in great amaze,
Tame lions tend my bullocks as they graze.
Why need I add, that, as you bade them go,
Xanthus and Simois wou'd backward flow?
Even your father Cebren check'd his flood,
And by his daughter's charms enchanted stood!

It is very probable that Apollodorus wrote that this nymph practised Magic; and consequently we may regard, as a false reading, those words of book III, Ἡ γὰρ Οἰνώνη ἰατρικὴν καὶ μαντικὴν ἤσκει. Siquidem Oenone medendi canendique artem callebat (2). *For Oenone was skilled in the arts of Physic and Music.* If we put μαγικὴν in the room of μαντικὴν, we shall make the author reason very justly. He had just said, that Oenone carried remedies to Paris when dangerously wounded; and if he subjoins, as the editions have it, *for she practised Physic and Music*, he loads his reasoning with a gross superfluity: but, if he says, *for she practised Physic and Magic*, it becomes much more proper and agreeable. Passerat took the matter very right; for he turned that passage thus; *for she was perfectly well versed in Physic, and in the art of enchanting diseases* (3).

(2) Apollod. Bibliotheca. *lib. iii*, *pag.* 227.

(3) See Mezirius upon the Epistles of Ovid, *pag.* 460.

[*B*] *This knowledge was imparted to her by way of exchange for her maidenhead* (4).] Read the letter which Oenone wrote to Paris; and there you will find this nymph boasting

(4) Compare this with what is said before of CASSANDRA, in remark [*A*] of her article.

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It is likewiſe ſaid that ſhe had the gift of prophecy (*b*). With that advantage of knowing what was to come, ſhe did not fail to foreſee that her huſband's voyage to Helena would be the cauſe of an infinity of miſchiefs; and therefore ſhe uſed her utmoſt endeavours to divert Paris from that expedition. Finding her remonſtrances fruitleſs, ſhe foretold him that he ſhould be wounded [C], and that then he would be forced to have recourſe to her as the only perſon that could cure him (*c*). When he had received a wound from Philoctetes at the ſiege of Troy, he called to mind Oenone's prediction, and ordered himſelf to be carried to mount Ida, in order to get the remedy which ſhe alone could give him; but he died before he could get ſo far as to be relieved by Oenone (*d*). And ſome ſay, that, in order to have the pleaſure of revenge, ſhe made ſo little haſte [D], that ſhe gave death opportunity to prevent the remedy; and yet that ſhe made away with herſelf upon ſeeing her huſband's corps. This ſtory is variouſly related [E], and care has been taken to inform us, that ſhe applyed herſelf betimes to find out means of revenge. Upon this project ſhe employed her ſon [F]: ſome ſay ſhe ſent him to Greece, to excite the

(*b*) Apollodorus, & Parthenius, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

boaſting of being courted by the Satyrs, and by Faunus himſelf; but that ſhe diſappointed all their amorous deſigns. She owns that Apollo robbed her of her virginity, tho' ſhe ſtruggled as much as ſhe could, and ſcratched him all over the face. In fine, ſhe remarks that ſhe required of him no recompence, in gold or jewels, but that Apollo communicated to her all the ſecrets of Botany; inſomuch that ſhe could perform a thouſand wonderful cures, but without being able to find out any remedy for her love, there being no herbs of ſufficient virtue for that purpoſe.

Me fide conſpicuus Trojæ munitor amavit,
Ille meæ ſpolium virginitatis habet.
Id quoque luctando, rupi tamen ungue capillos;
Oraque ſunt digitis aſpera facta meis.
Nec pretium ſtupri gemmas aurumve popoſci.
Turpiter ingenuum munera corpus emunt.
Ipſe, ratus dignam, medicas mihi tradidit artes;
Admiſitque meas ad ſua dona manus.
Quæcumque herba potens ad opem, radixque medendi
Utilis in toto naſcitur orbe, mea eſt.
Me miſeram, quod amor non eſt medicabilis herbis (5)!

(5) Ovid. in Epiſt. Oenon. ad Pard.

Troy's faithful fortifier fought my charms,
And boldly triumph'd in my virgin arms.
Nor did I tamely ſtoop to his embrace;
My nails mark'd my reſiſtance in his face.
Nor did I either gold or jewels claim;
Such baſe amends only increaſe the ſhame.
But of himſelf, the god, with grateful heart,
Made me his partner in the healing art.
Whatever cure in Phyſic can be done,
Either by herb or root, to me is known.
Yet wretched I this ſcience uſeleſs prove;
Since neither herbs nor roots are cures for love!

(6) According to *Apollodorus, lib.* iii. it was from Rhea that Oenone learned the art of Divination.

Ovid is not over and above obſervant of decorum and probability. Such confeſſions are ſeldom made to an huſband, nor was this a likely way to make Paris repent of his inconſtancy. To be told that he was taken for a cully, and that he had flattered himſelf with a falſe notion of having gathered the firſt flower of the nuptial-bed, could be no very agreeable news: the ſcratching of the ſpark's face, on one hand, and the ſecrets of Phyſic, on the other, are not ſufficient to repair the breach. What was Ovid therefore thinking on? If he had even added the gift of propheſy (6) to the knowledge of herbs, among the preſents beſtowed upon her by Apollo, he would not ſufficiently have gilded the pill. Clemens Alexandrinus was not ignorant that this nymph pretended to propheſy. See in the margin a conjecture upon his words (7).

(7) Ἕλενος δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Οἰνώνης, καὶ Βύττος ὁ Ἴλιος. Jam Helenus, & Laocoon, & Oenone, & Bitus in Ilio. *Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib.* i, *pag.* 334. Inſtead of καὶ Βύττος, *Canterus* would read Καβύρος. But the better reading would be ἡ Κασσάνδρα, which would ſignify *Oenone the daughter of Cebren.* *See* Canterus upon Lycophron, *ver.* 57.

[C] *She foretold him he ſhould be wounded.*] Conon has confounded the circumſtance of time, and by that means greatly ſhocked the probability. He ſuppoſes, that Oenone did not make this prediction, nor ſtir from her huſband's houſe, till after Paris had killed her ſon Corythus (8). Now we muſt know that Corythus, the ſon of Paris and Oenone, was ſo great with Helena, that Paris grew violently jealous of him, and was from thence induced to diſpatch him. It is not at all likely, that Oenone would continue with her huſband after Helena had taken poſſeſſion of the houſe: ſo that Conon has unluckily entangled himſelf in a Chronology different from that of other authors.

(8) Conon, apud Photium, *num.* 186, *pag.* 434, 436.

[D] *She made ſo little haſte.*] The meſſenger who went to tell her, that Paris had ordered himſelf to be carried to mount Ida for a cure, was roughly ſent back with this jealous anſwer, *That he might go and have his wound dreſſed by his Helena* (9). A return of tenderneſs ſoon made Oenone repent of her unkindneſs: ſhe reſolved to go and meet her huſband, with the neceſſary remedies; but ſhe came too late. The anſwer ſhe gave to the meſſenger was faithfully reported to Paris, and ſhocked him in ſuch a manner that he expired immediately (10). When Oenone arrived, the firſt thing ſhe did was to kill the meſſenger, by throwing a ſtone at him, for daring to tell her that ſhe was the cauſe of her huſband's death. Then ſhe tenderly embraced the corps of her faithleſs huſband; and after much lamentation ſtrangled herſelf with her girdle (11).

(9) Conon, ibid.

(10) Parthen. in Eroticis, *cap.* xv.

(11) Conon, ubi ſupra.

[E] *This ſtory is variouſly related.*] We told you juſt now that ſhe ſtrangled herſelf with her own girdle. Apollodorus ſays (12) barely that ſhe hanged herſelf. Parthenius (13) contents himſelf with ſaying, that ſhe killed herſelf. Quintus Calaber (14) aſſures us, that ſhe threw herſelf into the funeral pile upon which her huſband's corps was burnt. Lycophron (15) ſays, ſhe threw herſelf headlong from the top of a tower. 'Dictys Cretenſis relates, that Paris being dead, his 'relations ordered his corps to be carried to Oenone, 'for her to take care about his funeral, but that 'Oenone was ſo affected with the ſight of the corps, 'that ſhe thereupon loſt her ſenſes, and being gradu- 'ally overwhelmed with ſorrow, ſhe died of grief, 'and was buried with Paris. This paſſage of Dictys 'makes me ſuſpect, that the Latin tranſlation of this 'author, though very antient, is not extreamly juſt, 'or rather is corrupted in ſeveral places: for Tzetzes 'upon Lycophron ſays expreſsly, that, according to 'the opinion of Dictys, Oenone ſtrangled herſelf; and 'Cedrenus, who always follows Dictys, in what 'relates to the wars of Troy, makes Oenone die the 'ſame kind of death: from whence I conjecture, that 'theſe two authors had Dictys's work in Greek, and 'that the Latin verſion, which we have, does not 'always agree with the Greek text (16).' This is ſo curious a piece of literature, that it deſerves to be inſerted here, as we have it in Meziriac. As for the reſt, Quintus Calaber ſuppoſes, that Oenone treated her huſband with the laſt degree of inhumanity (17), when he lay proſtrate at her feet (18), and almoſt at the laſt gaſp (19), imploring her aſſiſtance, and aſking a thouſand pardons for his faithleſſneſs; but that afterwards ſhe was extreamly concerned at his death, that ſhe threw herſelf upon the funeral pile, and was burnt alive with Paris's corps.

(12) *Lib.* iii, *pag.* 227.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) *Lib.* x, *ver.* 467.

(15) In Caſſandra, *ver.* 61.

(16) Meziriac upon the Epiſtles of Ovid, *pag.* 509.

(17) Quint. Calaber. *lib.* x, *ver.* 306, *& ſeq.*

(18) Ὁ δ' ἄρ' αἶψα πίεσυ παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός. Ipſe vero ſtatim ad pedes uxoris ſe abjecit. *Ibid. ver.* 272.

(19) Καὶ β' ὁλοῦ βανέοντος τοῖον ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν. Atque vix trahens animam hoc tandem ſermone illam affatur. *Ibid. ver.* 283.

(20) Meziriac upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 508, quoting the Scholiaſt upon Lycophron.

[F] *She employed her ſon.*] The reflexions which the river Cebren caſt upon Oenone, his daughter, for loving ſuch a faithleſs huſband, rouzed her in ſuch a manner to revenge, that ſhe ſent Corythus, her ſon, to the Grecian princes, with orders to excite them to a war againſt Troy, and to conduct them in that expedition (20). So ſays the Scholiaſt upon Lycophron (21). Conon (22) makes Corythus the inſtrument of Oenone's revenge after another manner. He ſays that Corythus was handſomer than Paris, his father,

(21) *Upon theſe words of Lycophron, ver.* 58. Στείλασα κοῦρον τὸν κατὴγορον χθονὸς. Miſſo juvene terræ proditore.

(22) Apud Photium, *num.* 86, *pag.* 436.

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the princes to a war againſt the Trojans; others ſay ſhe concerted matters ſo, that he touched Helena's heart, in order to affect Paris with the torments of jealouſy.

father, and was ſent by Oenone to Helena, both to make Paris jealous, and to watch an opportunity of making away with Helena. She was preſently ſmitten with Corythus's charms, and grew more familar with him than was agreeable to Paris. The father became ſo jealous of his ſon, that catching him one day in the company of Helena, he killed him. Oenone muſt needs have been born under a very malignant planet: the means ſhe made uſe of to be revenged on her rival, coſt her the life of her only ſon, and contributed only to make Helena paſs ſome agreeable moments. Some ſay (23), Corythus was indeed beloved by Helena, and that he loved her again, and that Paris killed him; but they do not ſay that his mother had ſuborned him to enſnare her rival: they ſay he went to the relief of Troy. Others pretend (24) that Corythus was the off-ſpring of Paris and Helena's amours: which is very abſurd: for from the rape of Helena to the death of Paris, the time was not long enough to allow any of their ſons to attain an age ſufficient for the careſſes of a woman: and it is plain from the father's jealouſy, and Corythus's commerce with Helena, that Corythus was of ſuch an age when he was killed. However it be, here is a monſtrous inceſt (25) of that handſome woman, which few writers have mentioned.

(23) Hellanicus in Troicis, & Cephalon Gergithius, apud Parthenium, *cap. xxxiv.*

(24) Nicander apud Parthenium, ibid.

(25) Upon the ſuppoſition, that Corythus was Helena's ſon; for if he was only her ſon-in-law, her crime had often been precedented.

OGINSKI (CHARLES) a gentleman of Lithuania, made a Latin tranſlation of Faret's *Honnête Homme*, and publiſhed it at Franeker in the year 1643 (*a*). He dedicated it to SAMUEL OGINSKI, his father, who had a conſiderable office in the palatinate of Trocko in Lithuania. There is no reaſon to doubt but that Mr OGINSKI, of whom the public news papers have taken ſo much notice within theſe five or ſix years laſt paſt (*b*), and who is at the head of the party in oppoſition to the houſe of Sapieha, is of the ſame family with the tranſlator of Faret. If Mr Konig had ſeen this tranſlation, he would not have ſaid that Charles Oginſki invented in 1643 the *Art of Pleaſing at Court* (*c*), for the title of it would have informed him to the contrary (*d*). There was a certain perſon (*e*), who wrote a French ſonnet in praiſe of the tranſlator. This ſonnet is to be met with at the the head of the work, and is full of the groſſeſt faults that can be committed againſt the rules of Proſodia. The author of it obſerves that this book of Faret's had been already tranſlated into Italian, Spaniſh, Engliſh, and High-Dutch. The Latin tranſlation is a very good one; it is a pity it abounds with ſo many errors of the preſs.

(*a*) In 12mo: it contains 188 pages.

(*b*) I write this in 1703.

(*c*) Excogitavit Artem placendi in Aula, *ann.* 1643. *Konig. Biblioth. pag.* 586.

(*d*) *The title is,* Honeſtus Homo, ſive Ars placendi in Aula, et Gallico opere Fareti verſa in Latinum. - - - - *The honeſt Man, or Art of pleaſing at Court, tranſlated into Latin from the French work of Faret.*

(*e*) *His name is* A. Theſſerre.

OKOLSKI (SIMON) a Dominican Friar lived in the XVIIth century. He publiſhed a book intituled *Orbis Polonus*, which is worth reading. Mr le Laboureur quotes it more than once (*a*).

(*a*) See his Relation of the Voyage of the Queen of Poland, *Part ii, pag.* 50, 58.

OLEN, a Greek Poet, more antient than Orpheus (*a*), was a native of Xanthus a city in Lycia [*A*]. He compoſed ſeveral hymns, which were ſung in the Iſland of Delos upon grand religious ſolemnities (*b*), particularly in honour to the goddeſs Lucina (*c*), whom he called the mother of Cupid (*d*). He was the firſt who affirmed that Achaia came from the country of the Hyperboreans to the iſland of Delos (*e*). Others ſay (*f*) that he was one of the Hyperboreans who founded the oracle of Delphos, and that he firſt performed there the function of prieſt to Apollo, I mean, that of giving reſponſes to thoſe who conſulted the oracle. Theſe he delivered in Hexameter verſes. He is taken notice of in a paſſage of Pauſanias, which Romulus Amaſeus has not corrected [*B*]. We muſt make ſome remarks upon the Supplement to Moreri [*C*].

(*a*) Pauſan. *lib. ix, pag.* 302.

(*b*) Herodot. *lib. iv, cap. xxxv.*

(*c*) Pauſan. *lib. i, pag.* 16.

(*d*) Ib. *lib. ix, pag.* 302.

(*e*) Ib. *lib. v, pag.* 154.

(*f*) Ib. *lib. x, pag.* 320, 321.

[*A*] *He was a native of Xanthus a city of Lycia.*] Herodotus and Pauſanias inform us, that he was a Lycian; but they do not tell us of what city. You will preſently ſee the name of it in theſe two verſes of Callimachus.

Οἱ μὲν ὑπαείδουσι νόμον Λυκίοιο γέροντος
Ὃν τοι ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο θεοπρόπος ἤγαγεν Ὠλήν.

Namque ſenis Lycii recinunt hi carmina ſacra,
A Xantho quondam quæ vates vexerat Olen (1).

They ſung the Lycian Prophet's ſacred ſong,
Which Olen had from Xanthus brought along.

(1) Callimachus, Hymno in Delum, *ver.* 304, *pag.* 132. *Edit. Græv.* 1697.

[*B*] *A paſſage of Pauſanias, which Romulus Amaſeus has not corrected.*] The paſſage is this: Λύκιος δὲ ὃς ἦν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν Δήλιος ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλοις ποιήσας, καὶ ἐσ' Εἰλείθυιάν τε, Εὐλινόν τε αὐτήν ἀναπαλεῖ. At Lycius qui *multo* fuit ætate ſuperior patria Delius hymnis & in alios deos & in Lucinam ipſam conſcriptis Eulinon *(quaſi dicas lanificam)* appellat (2). - - - - *But Lycius who was* much *more ancient, a Delian by birth, in hymns compoſed both upon other deities and upon Lucina herſelf, calls her Eulinon,* that is to ſay *Spinſter.* Gregorius Gyraldus conjectures, that we ſhould read ὠλήν inſtead of Δήλιος (3), but it is not there that the correction ſhould be made; it ſhould come in immediately after Λύκιος δὲ, for inſtead of ὃς ἦν, we muſt read ὠλήν, and then inſtead of Δήλιος, Δηλίοις. This conjecture came into my head, before I met with the new edition of Pauſanias, which I have ſince ſeen, and there found a note of Mr Kuhnius's, which offers the ſame explication of this paſſage. Here we ſee one of the cauſes that have produced a great many chimerical authors; for here is a very ancient Poet, one Lycius of Delos that owes his being only to an error of the tranſcriber.

(2) Pauſanias, *lib. viii, pag.* 253.

(3) Pro Delion Olena *legendum.* Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus, de Poetar. Hiſtor. Dialogo III, init. *pag. m.* 118.

[*C*] *We muſt make ſome remarks upon the Supplement to Moreri.*] I. It is a fault to ſay barely, that Olen was *of the city of Dyme in Achaia*; for, though it is true, that Suidas call him Δυμαῖος, *Dymæus*, yet he adds, that it would be better to make him a native of Xanthus in Lycia, as Callimachus and Polyhiſtor have deſcribed him. II. There is not much exactneſs in theſe words. The Hymns of Olen *were ſung in the iſland of Delos, during the ceremonies obſerved for the ſick, by throwing upon them duſt gathered from the ſepulchre of the goddeſs Ops or Cybele, whom the Greeks called Hecaerge.* This ſeems to have been copied from a book of Gyraldus (4), where we are told, that the Hymns of Olen were ſung at Delos, while the duſt of the ſepulchre of Opis, ſirnamed Hecaerge, was thrown on an innumerable company of ſick perſons, who crowded near the altar. For this he quotes Herodotus,

(4) Gyraldus, ubi ſupra.

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Herodotus, and adds, that Pauſanias ſays much the ſame thing (5): but it is certain, Gyraldus has been impoſed upon by Laurentius Valla's faulty verſion. The Greek text of Herodotus (6) does not ſay this; he is a little intricate, and may be underſtood in a ſenſe oppoſite to that of Laurentius Valla, as appears by another tranſlation, that has been put in the margin. Herodotus does not ſay, that Ops, or Opis, was ſirnamed Hecaerge; he does not ſpeak of Ops, the mother of the gods, but of a young woman that came from the country of the Hyperboreans, to the iſle of Delos, in company with another called Arge. Theſe two young women had undertaken this voyage to Delos, with intent to offer to Lucina, the preſents which had been dedicated to her, in order to obtain a ſpeedy and happy delivery in child birth (7). Pauſanias ſcarce takes any notice of all this; how then can it be ſaid, that he relates much the ſame thing with what Herodotus is ſuppoſed to have ſaid upon this head? The Continuator of Moreri would perhaps be hard put to it, if he were obliged to prove, that the goddeſs Cybele was ſirnamed Hecaerge; that is, one who poſſeſſes the virtue of operating at a diſtance: but if the ceremony he ſpeaks of were true, ſhould we not find an Aſh-day in Paganiſm as well as in Popery, and that attended with very ſingular characters of ſuperſtition? All ſorts of ſick perſons would have expected a cure by virtue of the aſhes taken from the ſepulchre of Opis; but ſtill they had been obliged to approach the altar, and that does not ſuit with the epithet of Hecaerge. See the learned notes of Spanhemius upon Callimachus (8), where you will find ſtrong proofs that Hecaerge was not the epithet of Cybele, or of that Opis who was one of the Hyperborean girls bringing offerings to Delos, but the name of her companion in that voyage.

(5) Idem fere ac Pauſanias. ibid.

(6) Herodot. lib. iv, cap. xxxv, pag. m. 236.

(7) Ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῆσαι. Pro partu maturando. Id. pag. 235.

(8) Ezech. Spanhemius, in Callimachi Hymnum in Delum, pag. 503.

OLYMPIAS, the mother of Alexander the Great, gave Philip king of Macedonia, her huſband, ſuch violent ſuſpicions of unchaſtity, that he divorced her [*A*]. It is even pretended ſhe owned to him that he was not the father of Alexander, and that ſhe embraced a ſerpent when ſhe conceived that ſon (*a*) [*B*]. Nor is ſhe the only woman who is ſaid to have received thoſe ſort of embraces (*b*). They who pretend that Nectanebus, who had been driven out of Egypt, and had received ſhelter in

(*a*) See the remark [*A*].

(*b*) See the remark [*H*].

[*A*] *She gave ſuch violent ſuſpicions of unchaſtity to Philip . . . . that he divorced her.*] Juſtin goes no farther in the fifth chapter of his ninth book (1); but in another place he aſſures us, that the matter was carried ſo far as to conviction, and that the divorce was grounded thereupon. 'Namque mater ejus Olympias 'confeſſa viro ſuo Philippo fuerat, Alexandrum non 'ex eo ſe, ſed ex ſerpente ingentis magnitudinis con'cepiſſe. Denique Philippus ultimo prope vitæ ſuæ 'tempore, *filium ſuum non eſſe* palam prædicaverat. 'Qua ex cauſa Olympiadem, velut ſtupri compertam, 'repudio dimiſerat. - - - - (2) *For his mother Olympias 'had confeſſed to her huſband Philip, that ſhe had con'ceived Alexander, not by him, but by a very great ſer'pent. And Philip himſelf, toward the latter end of his 'life, publickly declared that Alexander was not his ſon, 'for which reaſon he had divorced Olympias as an adul'tereſs convict.*' Some wanton wives are ſtill mild and complaiſant to their huſbands; and that atones in ſome ſome meaſure for the ſin: but Olympias was croſs and peeviſh (3); ſo that it would have been too hard upon Philip to bear at once both the ill humours and adulteries of his wife.

(1) Cajus (*Attali*) ſororem nuper expulſa Alexandri matre Olympiade propter ſtupri ſuſpicionem, in matrimonium receperat. *Juſtin. lib. ix, cap. v.*

(2) Ib. *lib. xi, cap. xi.*

(3) Ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γυναικός. Olympiadis acerbitas ſuſpicioſæ mulieris, & triſtis. *Plut. in Alexandro, pag. 669. A.*

[*B*] *And that ſhe embraced a ſerpent when ſhe conceived that ſon.*] Beſides the teſtimony of Juſtin juſt now mentioned, we may alledge what Plutarch relates, that a great ſerpent was ſeen extended upon Olympias while ſhe ſlept; that the king viewing this through a ſmall chink in the door, loſt the eye that he made uſe of for this purpoſe (4); that from this time he found his affection for Olympias to diminiſh, and lay with her but very ſeldom, whether it was that he feared ſhe would bewitch him, or out of regard to the god who had been thus embracing the queen, under the form of a ſerpent. Ὤφθη δὲ ποτε καὶ δράκων, κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, παρεκτεταμένῳ τῷ σώματι. καὶ τοῦτο Φιλίππῳ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρῶσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαυσόμενον. εἴτε δείσαντα τινὰς μαγείας αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικὸς εἴτε τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὡς κρείττονι συνούσῃ ἀφοσιούμενον. *Viſus eſt draco etiam ad dormientis Olympiadis corpus expreſſus: idque præcipue Philippi erga eam amorem & familiarem conſuetudinem ajunt extenuaſſe, ut raro cubitum ad illam commearet, quia vel timeret faſcinationes ejus & veneficia, vel conſuetudinem ejus, ut quæ conſueſceret cum majore, devitaret* (5). We are likewiſe told, that Eratoſthenes declared that Olympias diſcovered this great ſecret to none but Alexander, and that ſhe waited till he was going upon his war-like expedition, before ſhe made the diſcovery. Approve your ſelf worthy, ſaid ſhe, of ſo high a birth. Ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς (ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶ) προπέμπουσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ φράσασα μόνῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόῤῥητον, ἐκέλευεν ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. *Olympias (ut Eratoſthenes eſt auctor) quum euntem ad bellum proſequeretur Alexandrum, arcanum ortum ejus ſoli detexit, hortata ut pro natalibus gereret animos* (6). Note, that, according to Juſtin, the commerce of the ſerpent with Olympias was only a dream. The queen dreamed that a great ſerpent enjoyed her that night that ſhe conceived Alexander (7). One of our beſt Critics, commenting upon this paſſage of Juſtin, obſerves, that there were ſerpents in Macedonia which grew ſo tame and familiar, that the women put them round their arms and necks, like bracelets and necklaces, either for diverſion, or to cool themſelves. He alledges upon this the authority of Lucian. *Hoc autem non abs re fuerit meminiſſe, (nam ex nihilo, ut ajunt, nihil) reperiri in Macedonia ſerpentes, qui tam facile manſuefieri poſſint, ut ex iis olim & puellæ & matronæ ſibi armillas, ſibi monilia facerent, vel ut animulas ſuas oblectarent, vel ad corpuſculum frigerandum. Hujus rei auctorem ciere poſſum Lucianum in Alexandro, ſive Pſeudomanti* (8). Lucian ſpeaks neither of thoſe bracelets or necklaces, but he ſays what is equally ſtrange. He affirms, that the women of Pella brought up great ſerpents ſo very tame, that they ſuckled them, and let them lie with their children. He conjectures, that the vulgar traditions about Olympias was grounded upon this reaſon. Ἐνταῦθα ἰδόντες δράκοντας, παμμεγέθεις, ἡμέρους πάνυ, καὶ τιθασσοὺς, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τρέφεσθαι, καὶ παιδίοις συγκαθεύδειν, καὶ πατουμένης ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ θλιζωμένους μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, καὶ γάλα πίνειν, ἀπὸ θελῆς κατὰ ταυτὰ τοῖς βρέφεσι, πολλοὶ δὲ γίνονται τοιοῦτοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μῦθον διαφοιτῆσαι πάλαι εἰκὸς, ὁπότε ἐκύει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, δράκοντι τινὸς οἷμαι τοιούτῳ συγκαθεύδοντι αὐτῇ, ὑφῆνται τῶν ἑρπετῶν ἐν τῷ κάλλιστον, ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν. *Ibi cùm immani magnitudine dracones conſpicerent, cicures ac manſuetos, adeo ut à mulieribus alerentur, & cum pueris cubarent, & ſe conculcari ſuſtinerent neque ſe premi indignè ferrent, denique infantum more lac è papilla ſugerent (quales apud illos ſunt permulti) unde veriſimile eſt olim de Olympiade fabulam increbruiſſe, quando concumbente cum illa hujuſmodi puto quopiam dracone, Alexandrum conceperat, unum ex his ſerpentibus, qui eſſet pulcherrimus, paucis obolis emunt* (9). According to Plutarch (10) the women of that country made uſe of thoſe ſerpents in the feſtivals of Bacchus, which they affected to celebrate with all the appearances of the moſt furious Enthuſiaſm. They made theſe creatures creep upon the Thyrſus's they carried in their hands, and the crowns they had upon their heads; under the notion that this would ſtrike a greater terror into the men. He obſerves, that Olympias affected more than all the reſt to be tranſported with fury at this anniverſary. Ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον, ὥστε μεγάλως χειρώθεις ἐφείλκετο τοὺς θιάσους. *Olympias autem, præ cæteris motum lymphaticum æmulans, & fanaticum peragens ritum horridiore ſpectaculo, ſerpentes manſuefactos trahebat thiaſis ingentes* (11).

(4) Ἀνοβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὸν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἢ τῷ τῆς θύρας ἀμιῷ τρυπήσαντα, κατασταθῆναι ἐν μυχῷ δρακοντα, συνευναζόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν Θεόν. Amiſiſſe vero eum alterum oculum, quem rimæ oſtii admovens Deum conſpexit ſerpentis figura cum uxore ſua concubantem. *Plut. in Alex, init., pag. m. 665.*

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Qua nocte cum mater Olympias concepit, viſa per quietem eſt cum ingenti ſerpenti volutari (*others read* voluptari.) *Juſtin. lib. xii, cap. xvi.*

(8) Tanaquillus Faber, in Juſtin. *pag. 291. Edit. Græviana* 1683.

(9) Lucianus, in Pſeudomanti, *pag. 863, Tom. i, Edit. Salmurienſis* 1619.

(10) Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid.

[*C*] *Thoſe*

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in the court of Macedonia, debauched Olympias are miſtaken [C]. She was ſo incenſed againſt her huſband, for marrying another wife, that ſhe inſtigated Pauſanias to kill him. Nay, ſhe was deſirous the world ſhould know what part ſhe acted in that parricide [D]. At firſt ſhe did not ſeem diſpleaſed to have the world believe that Jupiter was the father of Alexander (c): but afterwards ſhe made a jeſt of that opinion. This appears from a letter ſhe wrote to that prince [E], when ſhe heard that he publickly called himſelf the ſon of Jupiter, and aſſumed divine honours [F]. In Alexander's abſence Antipater was almoſt always at variance with her;

(c) See the remarks [A] and [B].

[C] *Thoſe who pretend that Nectanebus . . . debauched Olympias are miſtaken.*] We learn from Plutarch (12), that Nactanebus, or Nactanabus, abandoning his kinſman Tachus, who had given him the command of his army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Egypt (13); and that Ageſilaus took his part. The Perſians defeated him and drove him out of Egypt. Some alledge, he fled to Æthiopia, others ſay he went to the court of Macedonia, in hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance from king Philip againſt the Perſians; but he was, ſay they, ſo ungrateful to that prince for his kind reception, that he left no ſtone unturned to debauch Olympias; and for that end had recourſe even to the impoſtures of Magic, of which he was a great maſter. (14). By this means he overcame the queen, and begot Alexander upon her. They add, that Philip diſcovered ſomething of the matter, and from that time very much ſuſpected his wife's adultery, and that this was the true reaſon of the divorce. But theſe are all fables. For Chronology demonſtrates to us, that Alexander was ſix years old when Nectanebus was expelled his kingdom. This I have from the learned Freinſhemius, to whom I give all the honour of the diſcovery. *Nec deſunt*, ſays he (15) *qui* fabuloſum id quidem! non tamen adulterium matris falſo jactatum *aſſerant*. Quippe pulſum Ægypti regno Nectanebum, non, ut vulgo arbitrantur, in Æthiopias conceſſiſſe; ſed quum adverſus vim Perſicam in Philippo maxime præſidium ſperaret, in Macedoniam vectum, magicis præſtigiis inluſiſſe Olympiadi, torumque hoſpitis temeraviſſe. Suſpectam quidem exinde Philippo, neque aliam tam intimam divortii, quod inter eos ſequutum eſt, cauſſam, pro comperto poſtea fuiſſe . . . . (16) *Ceterum Nectanebi fuga temporibus hiſce non congruit: ſexennis enim jam erat Alexander, quum ille ab Ocho victus, avitis opibus exciderat.*

(12) Id. in Ageſilao, *pag.* 617.

(13) See the article TACHUS.

(14) We read of a certain Magician, called Nectanebus, who having made ſeveral ſhips and gallies of wax, made his enemies ſhips ſink every time he drowned his wax veſſels in a large baſin of water. *Vigenere en the ſtatue of Æſculapius in Philoſtratus, fol.* 157, *Tom. ii, Edit. in* 4to.

(15) Freinſhemius, Supplem. in Q. Curtium, *lib. i, cap. i, num.* 15.

(16) Ib. *n.* 19.

[D] *She was deſirous the world ſhould know what part ſhe acted in that parricide.*] The ſcandal of her divorce, and her huſband's marrying again (17) provoked her ſo extremely, that ſhe ſollicited the king of Epirus, her brother, to declare war againſt Philip. And ſhe had obtained her end, if Philip had not prevented it by marrying his daughter to that monarch (18). She put Pauſanias upon the aſſaſſination of her huſband; ſhe took care to have horſes in readineſs for that aſſaſſin; and the very night that ſhe returned into Macedonia to be preſent at the funeral of this prince, ſhe cauſed a crown to be put upon the head of Pauſanias, who was then hanging upon a croſs. Some days after ſhe gave him a funeral, then built him a tomb, and inſpired the people with a religious obſervation of an anniverſary ſolemnity to the honour of this murderer. After that, ſhe cauſed her huſband's daughter by Cleopatra to be killed on her mother's lap, and then had the mother hanged in her own preſence (19). In fine, ſhe conſecrated to Apollo the dagger with which Pauſanias had killed Philip, and gave the ſame name to the dagger, which ſhe herſelf had born in her infancy. All theſe things ſhe did ſo publickly, that one would think her chief fear was, that there ſhould not be ſufficient evidence of her being the author of them. See if this be not the ſenſe of Juſtin (20). *His ſtimulis irarum atrique* (21) *Pauſaniam, de impunitate ſtupri ſui querentem, ad tantum facinus impulſiſſe creduntur. Olympias certe fugienti percuſſori equos quoque præparatos habuit. Ipſa deinde, audita regis nece, cum titulo officii ad exequias cucurriſſet, in cruce pendentis Pauſaniæ capiti, eadem nocte qua venit, coronam auream impoſuit: quod nemo alius audere, niſi hæc, ſuperſtite Philippi filio, potuiſſet. Paucos deinde poſt dies, refixam corpus interfectoris ſuper reliquias mariti cremavit, & tumulum ei eodem fecit in loco, parentarique eidem quotannis, incuſſa populo ſuperſtitione, curavit. Poſt hæc Cleopatram, à qua pulſa Philippi matrimonio fuerat, in gremio ejus prius filia interfecta, finire vitam ſuſpendio coëgit, ſpectaculoque pendentis ultionem potita eſt, ad quam per parricidium feſtinaverat. Noviſſime gladium, quo rex percuſſus eſt, Apollini ſub nomine Myrtalis conſecravit: hoc enim ante Olympiadis parvulæ fuit. Quæ omnia ita palam facta ſunt, ut timuiſſe videatur, ne facinus ab ea commiſſum non probaretur.*

(17) He married Cleopatra, the daughter of Attalus, according to *Juſtin, lib. ix, cap. v*, or niece, according to *Plutarch in Alexandro*, and *Diodor. Siculus, lib. xvi, cap. xciv.*

(18) Taken from *Juſtin, lib. ix, cap. vii.*

(19) Juſtin's words will bear this ſenſe, but they may likewiſe be underſtood, as if Olympias had only ſeen Cleopatra hanging.

(20) Ib. *pag. m.* 204, 205.

(21) That is, Olympias and Alexander *her ſon.*

[E] *This appears from a letter ſhe wrote to that prince.*] In writing to his mother he had taken upon him the title of the ſon of Jupiter Hammon; and the anſwer ſhe ſent him was this. *Pray, my ſon, be quiet, do not accuſe me before Juno, ſhe will do me ſome great miſchief, if you own me for her rival in your letters.* The knowledge of this we owe entirely to Aulus Gellius; for we have not Varro's book, out of which he copied it, nor the ſeveral other pieces in which it was mentioned. Aulus Gellius's words are theſe (22). *In pleriſque monumentis rerum ab Alexandro geſtarum, & paulo antè in libro M. Varronis, qui inſcriptus eſt* Oreſtes vel de inſania, *Olympiadem Philippi uxorem feſtiviſſimè reſcripſiſſe legimus Alexandro filio. Nam quum is ad matrem ita ſcripſiſſet: Rex Alexander Jovis Hammonis filius Olympiadi matri ſalutem dicit. Olympias reſcripſit ad hanc ſententiam:* Amabo, *inquit*, mi fili, quieſcas: neque deferas me neque criminere adverſum Junonem. Malum mihi prorſum illa magnum dabit, quum tu me litteris tuis pellicem illi eſſe confiteris. Freinſhemius is miſtaken when he affirms, that Olympias wrote to Alexander, that ſhe had not deſerved to be expoſed to Juno's reſentment: *Miſſaque epiſtola petiviſſe*, ne ſe nihil tale commeritam odiis Junonis objectare pergeret (23). Moreri, who never went to the ſpring-head, has, by truſting to the tranſlation of Freinſhemius, given us a falſe account of the contents of this letter (24). I own indeed, that Olympias's words carry with them an air of raillery; but when all is done, if we keep to the literal ſenſe of the words, we muſt firmly and poſitively maintain, that this princeſs does not deny her former converſation with Jupiter, and that ſhe only deſires her ſon would not boaſt of it; for fear Juno, who perhaps would otherwiſe never hear of it, or not trouble herſelf about it, while no noiſe was made of it, ſhould rouſe up all the fury of her jealouſy, upon finding this new baſtard of her huſband, proclaiming all over the earth the favours ſhewn to Olympias. Since therefore, according to the literal ſenſe of them, Aulus Gellius's words imports no more, they ought not to be quoted in Italic, as if they contained a formal declaration of Olympias's innocence. The terms (25) made uſe of by Plutarch, import only that ſhe would have her ſon hold his peace: now there is a great deal of difference between ſaying, *I would not have an accuſation be brought againſt me before Juno*, and ſaying, *I have done nothing to offend Juno.* Ἕτεροι δέ φασιν αὐτὴν ἀφροσιῶσθαι καὶ λέγειν, Οὐ παύσεταί με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥρᾳ. *Alii hoc illam ajunt abdicaſſe ac dixiſſe, non deſinet Alexander in crimen me apud Junonem vocare* (26). Ælian tells us one thing which ſhews, that one day Olympias reflected with great concern upon Alexander's weakneſs in deſiring to paſs for a god. Being told that he had been dead ſome days, and was not yet interred (27), ſhe cried out, *Oh, my poor ſon! you have uſed all your efforts to have a place among the gods, and now you have not ſo much as the honour of a ſepulture, which is common to all mortals.* Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἡρανὸν μετασχεῖν βιαζόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο σπεύδων, νῦν οὐδὲ τῶν κοινῶν δήπου, καὶ ἴσων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μετασχεῖν ἔχεις, γῆς τε ὥμα, καὶ τάφης. *Tu vero quum inter cælites locari volueris, & id perficere ſummo ſtudio conatus ſis, nunc neque illorum quidem, quorum omnibus mortalibus æquale & par jus eſt, particeps fieri potes, terræ ſepulturæque* (28). This puts me in mind of a piece of raillery of Theocritus the Sophiſt (29), who hearing of Alexander's death ſaid to his countrymen, *Take courage, gentlemen, you ſee the gods die ſooner than the men.*

(22) Aulus Gellius, lib. xiii, cap. 4.

(23) Freinſhem. Supplem. lib. i, cap. i, n. 20. *He cites* Agel. 13, 4.

(24) *Done by* du Rier, *and joined to* Vaugelas's Q. Curtius.

(25) *That is, that which he attributes directly to Olympias.*

(26) Plutarch. *ubi ſupra.*

(27) *See* Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. xii, cap. 64.

(28) Ælian. Hiſt. lib. xiii, cap. 36.

(29) Clem. Alex. Admonit. ad Gentes, *p.* 61.

[F] *Alexander called himſelf the ſon of Jupiter, and aſſumed divine honours.*] He had ſeveral views in this uſurpation of divine honours, and among others that of vindicating Olympias, who had been eſteemed irregular in the article of chaſtity. Of this I ſhall produce

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her; and indeed it was very difficult for a woman of ſuch a jealous and ill temper (*d*), to agree with the governour of Macedonia. This was the poſt Alexander beſtowed upon Antipater, when he went upon the expedition to conquer Aſia. After the death of this conqueror his mother was obliged to retire into Epirus; from whence Polyperchon recalled her ſix years after. Arideus, and his wife Eurydice, who then reigned in Macedonia, oppoſed her return: but their efforts were in vain; for the Macedonians declared for her, and by her orders made away with both of them (*e*). She put to death Nicanor, Caſſander's brother, and having ſingled out a hundred Macedonian nobles who were Caſſander's friends, cauſed them all to be maſſacred. This cruelty quickly loſt her the affection of her ſubjects, and then every body called to mind Antipater's laſt words; and regarded, as an oracle, the exhortation he made upon

(*d*) See the remark [*A*], citation (3).

(*e*) See the article EURYDICE, the daughter of Amintas in the text.

produce a witneſs, who at the ſame time will be an evidence of the venality of the Pagan oracles. I am going to ſhew you, that Alexander bribed the prieſts of Jupiter Hammon, to engage them to anſwer, as he would have them, in regard to his filial relation to Jupiter. 'Igitur Alexander cupiens originem divini-'tatis acquirere, ſimul & matrem infamia liberare, 'per præmiſſos ſubornat antiſtites, quid ſibi reſpon-'deri velit. Ingredientem templum ſtatim antiſtites 'ut Hammonis filium ſalutant. Ille lætus dei adop-'tione hoc ſe patre cenſeri jubet. Rogat deinde, an 'omnes interfectores parentis ſui ſit ultus; reſponde-'tur, patrem ejus nec poſſe interfici, nec mori; re-'gis Philippi peractam plene ultionem eſſe (30). - - - - *'Alexander therefore deſiring to be thought of divine ex-'traction, and at the ſame time to clear the reputation 'of his mother, ſuborns the prieſts, by meſſengers ſent 'before-hand, to anſwer him according to direction. 'As ſoon as he entered the temple, the prieſts ſaluted 'him as the ſon of Jupiter Hammon. He overjoyed 'with this divine adoption, commanded that all ſhould 'give him this title. Then he aſked, if he had reveng-'ed himſelf of all the murderers of his father; they 'anſwered, that his father was neither dead nor ca-'pable of being murdered; but that he had completely re-'venged the death of Philip.*' I have ſaid elſewhere (31) that it was a fine piece of policy which moved Alexander to deſire to paſs for a god: he owns it to his father in one of Lucian's dialogues (32). I have likewiſe obſerved, that he was more reſerved, touching that pretenſion toward the Greeks than toward the Barbarians: but I muſt add here, that at laſt he threw off that caution, and would have the Grecian cities paſs decrees relating to his deity. The reſolutions they took upon this head were different: the decree of Lacedæmon was conceived in theſe terms; *Since Alexander has a mind to be a god, let him be a god.* Ἄλλοι, μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐψηφίσαντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκεῖνα, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός. *Itaque aliis aliter ſtatuentibus, Lacedæmonii decretum ejuſmodi fecerunt: Quoniam Alexander Deus eſſe vult, eſto Deus* (33). The author I here cite did not know all that the Athenians did; he only tells us of their oppoſition to the decree propoſed to them by Demades, that Alexander ſhould be from thenceforth the thirteenth of the great gods (34). He was fined for daring to propoſe ſuch an impiety. Ælian knew nothing more than this; but it is very probable that Demades purſued his propoſal further, and that the decree paſſed at laſt (35). He repreſented to the Athenians, that they ought to take care not to loſe the earth, by their ſhewing too ſcrupulous a regard to heaven. Eraſmus has not rightly underſtood the ſenſe of this orator. 'Quum Athenienſes, *ſays he* (36), 'vellent Alexandro divinos honores decernere, videte 'inquit *(Demades)* ne dum cœlum cuſtoditis, terram 'amittatis. Alexander enim ambiebat monarchiam. 'Abſurdum autem erat eos ſic alium donare cœlo, ut 'ipſi terra ſua pellerentur. - - - - *When the Athenians 'were for decreeing divine honours to Alexander, take 'care, ſaid Demades, while you would appear the 'keepers of heavenly rights, that you do not become loſers 'of earthly ones. For Alexander was aiming at monar-'chy. And it was abſurd for them to make ſuch a 'preſent of heaven to any one, as might give him a 'pretence to claim their earth.*' Eraſmus ſuppoſes that Demades oppoſed Alexander's divine honours, and makes him reaſon confuſedly. Here are two faults. The truth is, that Demades adviſed this deification, and inſiſted upon this argument, that it was to be feared Alexander would conquer Attica, to chaſtiſe thoſe who had refuſed him heaven. See Diogenes Laërtius, book 6, *pag.* 345: you will there find that the Athenians decreed to Alexander the divinity of Bacchus. Ὑφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, κἀμέ, ἔφη Σάραπιν ποίησατε. Athenienſibus Alexandrum Liberum Patrem decernentibus, & me, inquit *(Diogenes)* Serapin facite. - - - - *Upon the Athenians decreeing Alexander to be Bacchus, pray, ſaid Diogenes, deify me too, and make me Serapis.* I have ſaid, in the remark [*F*] of the article of this conqueror, that there is ſcarce any probability of his ever being able to be firmly perſuaded of his own pretended divinity; for he owned that two things principally reminded him that he was a man; his lying with women, and his ſleeping; which two infirmities he took to be incompatible with the divinity. How therefore could he believe that Jupiter had begot him? A wound alſo gave him to know that he was a man, and from thence he took occaſion to rally a little thoſe flatterers who paid him divine honours.

This is true blood, which flows from mortal veins,
Not Ichor which from wounds immortal drains,

ſaid he, ſhewing them what flowed from his wound (37). Some ſay it was not he, but Calliſthenes who was the author of this raillery. See, upon this whole matter, Freinſhemius's commentary upon the ſeventh Chapter of the fourth book of Quintus Curtius. What Zonaras ſays, that this prince finding himſelf at the point of death, deſired to be thrown into the Euphrates, to make the world believe his tranſlation to heaven, is not at all improbable; for what arts did not he uſe, to perſwade the world that he was a god, and to eſtabliſh the worſhip of his pretended divinity? 'Jamque omnibus præparatis quod olim prava mente 'conceperat tunc eſſe maturum, quonam modo cœ-'leſtes honores uſurparet, cepit agitare. Jovis filium 'non dici tantum ſe, ſed etiam credi volebat, tanquam 'perinde animis imperare poſſet ac linguis. Itaque 'more Perſarum Macedonas venerabundos ipſum ſa-'lutare proſternentes humi corpora, &c. (38). - - - - *'And now having prepared every thing neceſſary for 'executing the impious ſcheme he had formed, he began 'to think of aſſuming divine honours. He determined 'not only to be ſtiled, but alſo to be eſteemed the ſon of 'Jupiter, as if he could command mens thoughts as 'well as their tongues. Therefore the Macedonians were 'forced to ſalute him after the manner of the Perſians, 'by proſtrating their bodies to the ground, &c.*'

Here Naudé furniſhes me with matter for a criticiſm. *Alexander*, ſays he (39), *gave out . . . . that when he came into the world, the goddeſs Diana aſſiſted ſo aſſiduouſly at his mother's delivery, that ſhe forgot to take care of the temple ſhe had at Epheſus, which, in that interval was intirely conſumed by an accidental fire* (40). *Some captives having acquainted him with a remedy proper to be made uſe of againſt the Indians poiſoned arrows, he gave out, before he publiſhed it, that GOD had revealed it to him in a dream. But this inſatiable deſire having carried him ſo far as to require adoration, he was at laſt convinced, by the remonſtrances of Calliſthenes, by the obſtinacy of the Lacedemonians, and the wounds he received every day in engagements, that all his power would never be ſufficient to eſtabliſh that new Apotheoſis; and that a greater fortune is required for gaining a ſmall place in heaven, than for vanquiſhing here below, and lording it over all the earth.* It is not true that Alexander ſaid Diana was ſo overbuſy at Olympias's delivery, that ſhe ſuffered her temple at Epheſus to be burnt. That was the thought of an hiſtorian whom Plutarch banters (41): no body ſays it came from Alexander. Did the Lacedemonians oppoſe

(30) Juſtin, *lib. xi, cap. xi, pag.* 341, 342. See likewiſe Oroſius, *lib. iii, cap. xvi.*

(31) In the article MACEDONIA, at the remark [*F*].

(32) Lucian. *Tom. i, pag.* m. 256.

(33) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib. ii, cap. xix.*

(34) Ib. *lib. v, cap. xii.* See Ekkiaſte Athenæi, *lib. vi, pag.* 251.

(35) *See Plutarch, in* Vita Lycurgi Oratoris, *pag.* 842. *Clem. Alexandr.* Admonit. ad Gentes, *pag.* 61. *Chryſoſt.* Homil. XXVI, in poſter. ad Corint. *Believe, by an overſight, he attributes to the Romans what he has ſaid of the Athenians, as Salmaſius obſerves, in* Lamprid. Alexandr. *cap. lxiii.*) & *Cyril, in* Jun. *lib. vi.*

(36) Eraſm. Apophthegm. *lib. v, pag.* m. 499.

(37) Τοῦτο μὲν πληγὴς εἶς τὸ σκῶλος, ὡς πολλὰ συνέδραμον τῶν πολλάκις εἰωθότων αὐτὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύειν, διαχυθεὶς τῷ προσώπῳ. Τοῦτο μὲν, αἷμα εἶναν ὁρᾶτε καὶ οὐκ ἰχῶρ, - - - οἷς τότε τε βέλει μακαρέσσι θεοῖσιν. Jaculo crus ictus multis concurrentibus eorum qui ipſum ſæpenumero ſolebant Deum ſalutare, renidente vultu, hoc quidem, inquit, ſanguis eſt, ut videtis, non ille *Humor qui ſuperum manat de corpore divum.* Plut. in Apophthegm. *pag.* 180, *D.*

(38) Q. Curtius, *lib. viii, cap. v.*

(39) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, *ch. iii, pag.* m. 318.

(40) It was not accidental; for a villain confeſſed he had ſet fire to the temple to make the world ſpeak of him.

(41) See the article FONTARABIA, citat. (9).

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upon his death-bed never to ſuffer a woman to aſcend the throne [G]. Olympias, miſtruſting the affection of her people, went and ſhut herſelf up in Pydna, as ſoon as ſhe heard of Caſſander's arrival. There ſhe was beſieged, and obliged by famine to capitulate. She was promiſed her life; but Caſſander did not obſerve that article of the capitulation. He called a general convention of the people, and put the queſtion to them what ſhould be done with that princeſs. Upon this ſome perſons who had been ſuborned by him, and who were near relations of thoſe ſhe had put to death, demanded that ſhe ſhould be puniſhed for her cruelties. In compliance with their demand, ſhe was condemned to die (*f*). She bore the execution with great courage and marks of modeſty [H]. I have no where read, but in a modern

(*f*) Taken from *Juſtin, lib. xiv, cap. v, vi.* See likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus, lib. xix, cap. li.*

poſe his deification? Did not they make a decree in his favour (42)? And though they gave it an unlucky turn, we cannot ſay that they were any obſtacle to his deſign.

(42) See Ælian, above, citation (33).

[G] *The exhortation* Antipater *made upon his death-bed, never to ſuffer a woman to aſcend the throne.*] This is a fact preſerved to us by Diodorus Siculus (43). Lambinus has inſerted, in one of his books, the whole chapter in which that ancient hiſtorian diſplays all the barbarities of Olympias, and without doubt his only end in inſerting it, was to add the greater weight to the concluſion. 'Talibus & tam atrocibus, atque 'injuſtis facinoribus iram ſuam explens *(Olympias)* 'citò hoc efficit, ut Macedones ejus crudelitatem abo- 'minarentur. Omnes enim Antipatri verba memoria 'repetebant, qui tanquam oracula fundens, & vatici- 'nans, Macedones moriens hortatus eſt, UT NE 'UNQUAM MULIEREM SINERENT REGNI 'CLAVUM TENERE. Hactenus Diodorus. - - - - 'Olympias taking her revenge by ſuch lawleſs and ter- 'rible methods, ſoon made herſelf odious to the Macedo- 'nians for her cruelty. For they all remembered the 'words of Antipater, who, as he was dying, delivered 'this caution as an oracle, or prophecy, THAT THEY 'NEVER SHOULD SUFFER A WOMAN TO 'ASCEND THE THRONE.' Now ſee what he adds to juſtify this remonſtrance of Antipater. 'Præclare 'verò Antipater. Nam ſi mulieres omnes jure civili 'propter infirmitatem conſilii in tutorum ſunt pote- 'ſtate, neque ſuarum rerum gerendarum ſunt dominæ 'aut arbitræ, & quod mulier ſine tutore autore pro- 'miſerit, id ratum non eſt, neque debetur, quanto 'minus debet mulieri reipub. procuratio, & regni ad- 'miniſtrandi poteſtas permitti, aut committi? & ſi 'viri interdum, quorum maximè propria eſt fortitudo, 'quique ſapientiores & cordatiores ſolent eſſe natura, 'imperium adepti, tamen licentia corrumpuntur, ac 'depravantur: quid à mulieribus, quibus nihil natura 'finxit mollius, neque mobilius, neque infirmius, ex- 'pectandum (44)? - - - - *And very juſt was Antipater's* 'advice. *For if all women, by the Civil Law in regard* 'to the weakneſs of their reſolutions, are in the cuſtody of 'guardians, and not miſtreſſes of themſelves in the ma- 'nagement of their affairs, and what a woman with- 'out her guardian contracts for, is void, how much 'more unreaſonable is it, that a woman ſhould ever be 'permitted to take upon her the public government, and 'adminiſtration of a kingdom? and if men ſometimes, 'whoſe proper character is fortitude, and who are na- 'turally wiſer and ſteadier, when once they become go- 'vernors, are yet corrupted and depraved: what can be 'expected from women, who are formed by nature ſo 'weak and inſtable?' There cannot be a ſtronger cenſure on the conduct of thoſe people, who lodge the ſovereign authority in the hands of women; and yet Lambinus publiſhed his book at Paris, by the king's authority, and even dedicated it to Charles IX, when Catherine de Medicis governed all. It is no wonder that ſuch thoughts ſhould come into his head in thoſe days; for this queen's ill conduct was enough to infuſe them into thoſe very people, who were leaſt prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Salic law: but it is ſurpriſing that he ſhould have the courage to publiſh theſe thoughts of his, and that he did not ſuffer by ſo doing. There was no notice taken of his reflexion, and thence it comes that Francis Hotomanus (45) aſked his adverſaries why they made ſo much noiſe againſt his *Francogallia* (46) printed beyond the Alps, and took no notice of Lambinus, whoſe work had been printed at Paris itſelf.

(43) Diodor. Sicul. *lib. xix, cap. xi.*

(44) Dionyſ. Lambin. in Cornel. Nepot. *pag.* 345, *Edit. of Paris* 1569.

(45) *See* Matagonis de Matagonibus adverſus Italogalliam ſive Antifrancogalliam Antonii Matharelli, *pag.* 245, 246.

(46) It is a piece, in which he condemns the regency of women. See HOTMAN, citat. (19), and remark [I].

[H] *She bore the execution with great courage and marks of modeſty.*] So true it is, that the moſt reprobate ſouls do more readily renounce virtue itſelf, than the appearances of virtue. Here we have a woman divorced for her adulteries, and beſides guilty of the greateſt crimes, who employs her laſt care in ſo compoſing herſelf, that her cloaths, when ſhe was upon the ground, might cover what modeſty forbids to expoſe. 'Inſuper exſpirans capillis os, veſte crura 'contexiſſe fertur, ne quid poſſet in corpore ejus in- 'decorum videri (47). - - - - *It is further remarked,* 'that when ſhe was dying, ſhe covered her face with her 'hair, and gathered her garments about her legs, that 'her body might not be ſeen in any indecent manner.' The like care is leſs to be admired at in Polyxena, who was a young girl and a very virtuous perſon. Euripides has not failed to obſerve, that ſhe took the utmoſt care to have her fall accompanied with decency (48).

(47) Juſtin, *lib. xiv, ſub fin.*

(48) She had likewiſe the courage to ſee the fatal blow given. See Drelincourt, *pag.* 126, of his *Achilleus Index*, the third edition. You will there meet with an accurate and extenſive learning upon Polyxena.

- - - - Ἡ δὲ, καὶ θνήσκουσ', ὅμως
Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν.
Κρύπτειν θ', ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεών'

- - - - Hæc vero etiam moriens, tamen
Magnam ſollicitudinem habuit decenter ut caderet,
Et occultaret, quæ occultare oculos virorum convenit (49).

Yet dying ſhe employ'd her utmoſt care,
To form her fall with ſuch a decent air,
That no rude eye might now behold her bare.

(49) Euripides, in Hecub. ver. 568. *pag. m.* 35. *See likewiſe* Ovid's Metam. *lib. xiii*, where he ſays of Polyxena,

Tunc quoque cura fuit partes velare tegendas
Cum caderet, caſtique decus ſervare pudoris.

Pliny the younger makes the ſame remark upon the famous veſtal virgin, whom Domitian condemned to be buried alive. 'Quinetiam quum in illud ſubter- 'raneum cubiculum demitteretur, hæſiſſetque deſcen- 'denti ſtola, vertit ſe, ac recollegit. Cumque ei car- 'nifex manum daret, adverſata eſt, & reſiluit: fœ- 'dumque contactum quaſi planè à caſto puroque cor- 'pore noviſſima ſanctitate rejecit: omnibuſque nume- 'ris pudoris, πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως [illegible] 'σεῖν (50). - - - - *Beſides as ſhe was letting down into* 'her ſubterraneous cave, her cloaths ſticking and gather- 'ing up about her, ſhe turned herſelf round and compoſ- 'ed them in order again. And when the executioner 'offered his hand to aſſiſt her, ſhe ſtarted back and re- 'fuſed his help; rejecting his baſe touch, with the laſt 'degree of ſanctity, as tho' her body had been wholly 'pure and undefiled; and agreeably to the moſt conſum- 'mate chaſtity, ſhe took great care to fall decently.' I ſay nothing of the Amazon Penthefilea; for the poet obſerving that ſhe fell from her horſe ſtretched out at full length, without making any diſcovery, leaves us room to believe it might be the effect of chance.

(50) Plin. Epiſt. XI, *lib.* iv, *pag. m.* 240.

- - "Η δ' ὧκα μίγη κονίῃ, καὶ ὀλέσθρῳ,
Εὐσαλέως ἐειπῦσα κατ' ἴδηΦ ἐδέ οἱ αἰδὼς
Ἥσχυνεν δέμας ἠὺ τάθη δ' ἐπὶ νηδύα μακρὴν,

- - Quæ mox cum pulvere & morte commiſcetur,
Compoſitè cadens ad terram, nec pudor
Formoſum corpus dedecorat, ſed extenditur in latum ventrem (51).

Her dying body was conceal'd ſo well,
That the moſt prying eye no tale cou'd tell,
While prone to earth, at her full length ſhe fell.

(51) Quintus Calaber, in Supplem. Homeri, *lib. i, ver.* 219, *pag. m.* 168.

But what ſhall we ſay of Cæſar, the moſt unchaſte man upon earth, who yet uſed the ſame precaution with that of Polyxena? 'Utque animadvertit undi- 'que ſe ſtrictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit: 'ſimul ſiniſtra manu ſinum ad ima crura deduxit quo 'honeſtius

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modern author, that the ſerpent, which lay with her, left upon her body ſuch ſpots as were never defaced [*I*]. It was ſo ſaid of the mother of Auguſtus.

'honeſtius caderet, etiam inferiore corporis parte ve-
'lata (52). - - - - *And as he obſerved himſelf attacked*
'*on all ſides with drawn daggers, he covered his head*
'*with his gown, and at the ſame time with his left*
'*hand gathered the lower part of it about his legs,*
'*that he might fall the more decently, with his whole*
'*body covered.*' We muſt needs own, not only that leudneſs has its bounds in thoſe over whom it gets the aſcendant; but alſo that there are ſome perſons very diſſolute and irregular in their actions, who in their words and all other external demeanour, are at the ſame time religious obſervers of decency (53). As for the courage which Olympias ſhewed at her exit, it is finely deſcribed in the following words: 'Sed
'Olympias ubi obſtinatos venire ad ſe armatos vidit,
'veſte regali, duabus ancillis innixa ultro obviam pro-
'cedit. Qua viſa, percuſſores attoniti fortuna maje-
'ſtatis prioris, & tot in ea memoriæ occurrentibus
'regum ſuorum nominibus, ſubſtiterunt; donec à
'Caſſandro miſſi ſunt, qui eam confoderent, non re-
'fugientem gladium, nec vulnera, aut muliebriter
'vociferantem, ſed virorum more fortium, pro gloria
'veteris proſapiæ, morti ſuccumbentem, ut Alexan-
'drum poſſes etiam in moriente matre cognoſcere (54).
'- - - *But Olympias when ſhe ſaw ſome perſons armed ad-*
'*vancing in a reſolute manner, went to meet them in*
'*her royal robes, and attended by two of her maids.*
'*The aſſaſſins upon ſeeing her, made a full ſtop, aſto-*
'*niſhed at the thought of her former majeſty, and with*
'*the memory of ſo many of their kings, whoſe names*
'*her perſon recalled to their mind: till others were ſent*
'*by Caſſander, who ſtabbed her, while ſhe, without ei-*
'*ther ſhrinking from their ſwords, or making the leaſt*
'*female outcry, ſubmitted to death with the valour of a*
'*hero, to the glory of her great family, ſo that even in*
'*the dying mother you might eaſily behold an Alexander.*'
This ſhews, that thoſe who ſay cruelty is a mark of cowardice, and that nothing is ſo mean and cringing as a barbarous and criminal ſoul when reduced to the laſt extremity, may be confuted by great examples.

[*I*] *I have no where read, but in a modern author, that the ſerpent which lay with her, left upon her body ſuch ſpots as were never defaced.*] The modern author I here ſpeak of is Savaro, whoſe words I ſhall inſert after firſt giving the text of Sidonius Apollinaris, upon which he has commented.

Magnus Alexander, nec non Auguſtus, habentur
Concepti ſerpente Deo: Phœbumque, Jovemque
Diviſere ſibi: namque horum quæſiit unus
Cynifia ſub Scyrte patrem maculis genitricis.
Alter Phœbigenam ſeſe gaudebat haberi,
Pæonii jactans Epidauria ſigna draconis (55).

Their birth from ſerpents of celeſtial frame,
Both Alexander and Auguſtus claim:
And ſharing to themſelves the gods above,
One chuſes Phœbus, and the other Jove.
To clear his mother's ſpots, in Lybian ſands,
The former an immortal ſire demands.
The latter to atteſt his father's rays,
The ſerpent's Epidaurian marks diſplays.

Savaro's remark upon the fourth of theſe ſix verſes is this. 'Hæc de Alexandro dicta ſunt, non de Augu-
'ſto, ut vir doctus (56) ſcribit, qui quidem Alexan-
'der quærebat patrem ſuum inſignitum ſerpentis ma-
'culis, quibus inſignita erat Olympias mater, qua
'cum Jupiter Hammon ſub ſpecie ſerpentis concubue-
'rat, & ſerpentinas maculas inuſſerat ſui concubitus
'teſtes. Idem, de Accia Auguſti matre, Sueton. cap.
'94. - - - - *This is ſaid of Alexander, not of Auguſtus*
'*as a learned author writes, for it was Alexander who*
'*ſought a father diſtinguiſhed by ſpots like a ſerpent, his*
'*mother having been marked with ſuch, ever ſince Ju-*
'*piter Hammon lay with her in the form of a ſerpent,*
'*and left the impreſſion of thoſe ſerpentine ſpots upon her*
'*as a proof of his embraces.* He is in the right to maintain that this verſe relates to Alexander, and not to Auguſtus. But where did he ever read that Olympias bore upon her body the marks of the animal, whoſe form Jupiter aſſumed? no author mentions any ſuch thing, therefore I take the ſpots, ſpoken of by the Poet, to be the blemiſhes of the queen's reputation: his meaning without doubt is, that Alexander ſought for his father in the temple of Jupiter Hammon in order to wipe off thoſe ſpots, that is, to ſcreen his mother's honour: the words of Juſtin, quoted above (57), lead us to this ſenſe. This obſervation I had made before I conſulted Freinſhemius's Commentary, where I meet with the ſame cenſure on that thought of Savaro. 'Neſcio num ita potius accipiendus ſit Sidonius
'Carm. 2. 124. ubi dicit quæſiſſe Alexandrum *Cyni-*
'*fia ſub Syrte patrem maculis genitricis*, quam, ut ex-
'plicat Vir doctiſſimus, de maculis à concubitu dra-
'conis, in matris corpore relictis; ut nimirum Sido-
'nius velit, eum per infamiam matris, quam eo mo-
'do adulterii ream agebat, Hammonem ſibi patrem
'quæſiviſſe. Certe enim de maculis ejus generis ſer-
'pentinis nihil recordor legiſſe, quod ad Olympiadem
'pertineat (58). - - - - *I am uncertain whether we*
'*ought not rather to underſtand in this ſenſe Sidonius*
'*Apollinaris, where he ſays that Alexander ſought in*
'*the ſands of Africa a father for the ſpots of his mother,*
'*than as a learned author explains it, by marks left*
'*upon his mother's body, by her lying with a ſerpent;*
'*Namely that Sidonius's meaning is, that he ſought*
'*Hammon for his father in regard to the infamy of his*
'*mother, whom he therefore looked upon as guilty of adul-*
'*tery.*' If this related to Atia, the mother of Auguſtus, we muſt ſpeak otherwiſe; for we read in Suetonius, that the ſpots ſhe had upon her body after her believing that a ſerpent had embraced her, hindered her all the reſt of her life from going into a bath: ſhe durſt not appear naked with ſuch a checkered ſkin. This adventure is ſo ſtrange and aſtoniſhing, that, if it were certain, it would puzzle all our wits. Give me leave to copy the paſſage. 'In Aſclepiadis Mende-
'λεγομένῳ libris lego, Atiam, cum ad ſolenne A-
'pollinis ſacrum media nocte veniſſet poſita in templo
'lectica, dum cæteræ matronæ dormirent, obdormiſſe,
'draconemque repente irrepſiſſe ad eam, paulloquepoſt
'egreſſum, illamque expergefactam quaſi à concubitu
'mariti purificaſſe ſe, & ſtatim in corpore ejus extitiſ-
'ſe maculam, velut depicti draconis, nec potuiſſe un-
'quam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo
'abſtinuerit (59). - - - - *In the work of Aſclepiades of*
'*Mendeſium, intituled* Θεσμοφορουμένων, *we read that*
'*Atia going at midnight to Apollo's feſtival, there being*
'*a bed placed in the temple, while ſhe and the other*
'*matrons ſlept, a dragon ſuddenly crept upon her, and*
'*leaving her a little after, ſhe awaked and purified her-*
'*ſelf as if ſhe had lain with her huſband, and preſent-*
'*ly there appeared upon her body a ſpot reſembling a*
'*dragon, nor could it ever be taken off, ſo that ſhe from*
'*that time continually abſtained from the public baths.*'
If ſuch ſtories had been vented only once, and in a Philoſophical Age, we ſhould not ſo readily venture to make a jeſt of them: but when we reflect that they owe their original to fabulous times, and have only been revived in ſeveral ſucceeding ages, we never ſcruple to affirm, that they derive their being from poetical fiction; and that ſeveral copies of them have been drawn by flatterers, ſometimes in favour of one and ſometimes of another. The Meſſenians gave out that Ariſtomenes was born of a god, metamorphoſed into a ſerpent. The Sicyonians declared the ſame thing of Ariſtodamas (60). The Romans were willing their Scipio ſhould partake of the ſame privileges with Alexander; and after that there were flatterers who did Auguſtus the like honour. This ſort of birth appeared ſo glorious, that the emperor Galerius, the ſon of a peaſant (61), boaſted of it (62) to render himſelf ſomething extraordinary. Obſerve that Scipio was willing ſuch a ſtory ſhould be believed of his mother; and I do not know whether the wiſer Romans did not contribute in ſome meaſure to promote this opinion: for in the circumſtances to which Rome was reduced by Hannibal, it was uſeful that thoſe popular errors ſhould revive the hopes of the people, and make them look upon Scipio, as a man deſigned by the gods for great things. Conſider theſe admirable words of Livy. 'Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mira-
'bilis, ſed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in oſtenta-
'tionem earum compoſitus: pleraque apud multitu-
'dinem aut per nocturnas viſa ſpecies, aut velut divi-
'nitus mente monita, agens: ſive & ipſe capti quadam
'ſuperſtitione

(51) Sidon. Apollinaris, Carm. II, ver. 121.

(52) Sueton. in Cæſare, cap. lxxxii.

(53) Compare the article NAPLES (ALPHONSO), remark [*H*].

(54) Juſtin, lib. xiv, cap. vi, pag. m. 328, 329.

(56) That is, Caſaubon, in Sueton. Auguſt. cap. xcv.

(57) In the remark [*F*], citation (30).

(58) Freinſhemius, in Q. Curtium, lib. iv, cap. vii, num. 25.

(59) Sueton. in Auguſto, cap. xciv.

(60) Velandæ ignominiæ repetitum ex antiquis fabulis de dracone commentum: idem enim olim de Ariſtomene Meſſenios, de Ariſtodama Sicyonios jactaviſſe. *Freinſhem. Supplem. in Quint. Curtium, lib. i, cap. i, num.* 17.

(61) Aurel. Victor. in Epitome, *pag. m.* 222.

(62) Is inſolenter affirmare auſus eſt matrem more Olympiadis Alexandri Magni creatricis compreſſam dracone ſemet concepiſſe. *Ibid.*

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‘ ſuperſtitione animi, ſive ut imperia conſiliaque velut
‘ ſorte oraculi miſſa, ſine cunctatione aſſequeretur. Ad
‘ hoc jam inde ab initio præparans animos, ex quo
‘ togam virilem ſumſit, nullo die prius ullam publicam
‘ privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret, in-
‘ greſſuſque ædem conſideret : & plerumque tempus
‘ ſolus in ſecreto ibi tereret. Hic mos, qui per om-
‘ nem vitam ſervabatur, ſeu conſulto, ſeu temere, vul-
‘ gatæ opinioni fidem apud quoſdam fecit, ſtirpis eum
‘ divinæ virum eſſe ; retulitque famam, in Alexan-
‘ dro Magno prius vulgatam, & vanitate & fabula pa-
‘ rem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, & in
‘ cubiculo matris ejus perſæpe viſam prodigii ejus ſpe-
‘ ciem, interventuque hominum evolutam repente, at-
‘ que ex oculis elapſam. His miraculis nunquam ab
‘ ipſo eluſa fides eſt : quin potius aucta arte quadam, nec
‘ abnuendi tale quicquam, nec palam affirmandi. Mul-
‘ ta alia ejuſdem generis, alia vera, alia aſſimulata,
‘ admirationis humanæ in eo juvene exceſſerant modum :
‘ quibus freta tunc civitas, ætati haudquaquam maturæ
‘ tantam molem rerum tantumque imperium permi-
‘ ſit (63). - - - - - *For Scipio was not only to be admired*
‘ *for his real virtues, but was alſo remarkable from his*
‘ *youth for the art of ſetting them forth : pretending almoſt*
‘ *every thing he tranſacted with the people, to be either*
‘ *the warning of ſome dream, or the effect of a divine*
‘ *inſpiration : whether he was inclined to ſuperſtition*
‘ *himſelf, or that his counſels and commands might be*
‘ *more readily obeyed by being believed to be a ſort of ora-*
‘ *cles. For this purpoſe having prepared his meaſures*
‘ *from the beginning, as ſoon as he was of ſufficient years*
‘ *to be his own maſter, he never on any day undertook a*
‘ *thing, either public or private, without firſt entring*
‘ *the capitol, and ſtaying ſome time there, and he ſpent*
‘ *moſt of his time there all alone. This cuſtom which he*
‘ *obſerved all his life long, whether contracted deſigned-*
‘ *ly or accidentally, gave riſe to a vulgar notion, that*
‘ *he was of divine original ; and revived a ſtory former-*
‘ *ly told of Alexander the Great, and no leſs vain than*
‘ *fabulous, that he was conceived from the embraces of*
‘ *a ſerpent, and that ſuch a monſtrous appearance has been*
‘ *often ſeen in his mother's chamber, and upon any body's*
‘ *coming in, has ſuddenly vaniſhed and diſappeared. He*
‘ *never impeached the credit of theſe miracles : but ra-*
‘ *ther promoted it, by his artful way of neither denying,*
‘ *nor openly affirming them. Many other things of the like*
‘ *kind, ſome true, others pretended, which were ſaid of this*
‘ *young man, exceeded all bounds of human admiration :*
‘ *it was from the credit of theſe, that the city at that*
‘ *time committed into the hands of ſo very young a man,*
‘ *ſo weighty a charge and ſo great a command.* ’ There are ſome great families in Europe, which pretend to be ſprung from the commerce of a woman with a ſpirit. The marſhal de Baſſompierre relates this of the head of his family. See his Memoirs, and *Le Comte de Gabalis*. See likewiſe the article PLATO.

(63) T. Livius, *lib. xxvi, pag. m. 442. See alſo* Aulus Gellius, *lib. vii, cap. i.*

OMNIBONUS, in Italian *Ognibuono*, was one of the noted Grammarians of the XVth century. He took the ſirname of *Leonicenus* from his being born at Lunigo (*a*), in Latin *Leonicum*, in the Vicentine. He was a diſciple of Victorinus of Feltri one of the firſt reſtorers of antient Latin (*b*). He ſtudied Greek at Venice under Emanuel Chryſoloras (*c*). He wrote commentaries on Lucan, Saluſt, Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, Cicero de Officiis, and Oratore, &c. He tranſlated into Latin part of Æſop's Fables ; Xenophon's treatiſe *de Venatione*, and that of St Athanaſius *contra Gentes & Hæreticos* (*d*). Theſe are only part of his writings.

(*a*) Leandro Alberti, Deſcription of all Italy, *folio* 470, *Edit. Venice* 1561, *in* 4*to*.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Geſner. in Bibliotheca, *folio* 527.

(*d*) Epitome Biblioth. Geſneri, *pag.* 641.

OREGIUS (AUGUSTIN) a great Philoſopher, was ordered by cardinal Barberini (*a*) legate of Bologna, to examine whether Ariſtotle taught the mortality of the ſoul. The legate's intention was, in caſe Ariſtotle had been found guilty of that impiety, to induce the Pope to forbid the reading lectures upon that Philoſopher relating to this head. But Oregius declared him innocent. See his book *De immortalitate Animæ* (*b*). He wrote a book, *de Angelis*, and another *de Operibus ſex dierum*, which was printed at Rome in 1632.

(*a*) He who was ſince made Pope by the name of Urban VIII.

(*b*) In chap. v. Conſult Fromondus, *Philoſ. Chriſt. de anima, pag.* 761.

ORICELLARIUS (BERNARD) a Florentine, related to the houſe of Medicis (*a*), was advanced to the beſt poſts in his native country (*b*). He flouriſhed towards the end of the XVth century. By what you will find quoted in the remarks, it is evident that his works are written in a very good ſtyle. He wrote the expedition of Charles VIII into Italy, with great partiality (*c*). I take him to be the ſame perſon with Bernard OCRICULARIUS (*d*), of whom Eraſmus has ſaid one thing worth knowing [*A*]. Pierius Valerianus mentions

(*a*) See the remark [*B*].

(*d*) Konig makes them two ſeveral authors.

(*b*) Vir conſularis graviſſimus. *Pocciantius, de Sciptor. Floreni. pag.* 32. (*c*) Qua in Hiſtoria moderatio ſcriptori probo conveniens, & alienus à ſtudiis partium animus deſiderantur. *Mabill. Muſæi Ital. Tom. i, pag.* 169.

[*A*] *Eraſmus has ſaid one thing worth knowing.*] He could never engage him to ſpeak Latin; not that Ocricularius did not underſtand it, but becauſe he had ſtudied the purity and beauty of it, and was afraid of ſlipping into barbariſms, if he ventured to ſpeak it *extempore*. Eraſmus takes occaſion to tell us this from an apoptthegm of Pollio. This orator owned that, by pleading well, he had acquired the facility of pleading, and that by pleading often he had rendered himſelf the leſs capable of pleading well. Now, the ſame thing happens to thoſe who ſpeak Latin often ; they acquire the facility of ſpeaking, and loſe the habit of ſpeaking exactly and politely. ‘ Pollio dicebat, *Commode agendo factum eſt, ut*
‘ *ſæpe agerem : ſed ſæpe agendo factum eſt ut minus*
‘ *commode, quia ſcilicet aſſiduitate nimia facilitas magis*
‘ *quam facultas, nec fiducia ſed temeritas paratur*. Quod
‘ accurate factum velimus, raro faciendum eſt. Hac
‘ ratione duci videntur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet
‘ pulchre calleant Latine, tamen vix unquam adduci
‘ poſſunt ut in familiari congreſſu Latine loquantur.
‘ At ſi quando compellit neceſſitas, dicunt exacte, qua-
‘ ſique de ſcripto. Novi Venetiæ Bernardum Ocricu-
‘ larium civem Florentinum, cujus hiſtorias ſi legiſſes,
‘ dixiſſes alterum Salluſtium, aut certe Salluſtii tem-
‘ poribus ſcriptas (1). Nunquam tamen ab homine
‘ impetrare licuit, ut mecum Latine loqueretur ; ſubin-
‘ de interpellabam, ſurdo loqueris vir præclare, vul-
‘ garis linguæ veſtratis tam ſum ignarus quam Indi-
‘ cæ. Verbum Latinum nunquam quivi ab eo extundere
‘ (2). - - - - *It was a ſaying of Pollio*, pleading elo-
‘ quently was the cauſe of my pleading frequently ;
‘ but pleading frequently was the cauſe of my plead-
‘ ing leſs eloquently : for by too great frequency we
‘ acquire a readineſs rather than an ability, and a raſh-
‘ neſs rather than a freedom. *What we would do ac-*
‘ *curately, ſhould be done but rarely. This reaſon ſeems*
‘ *to prevail with ſome learned Italians, who tho' they*
‘ *are great maſters of the Latin tongue, yet can ſcarce*
‘ *ever be perſuaded to ſpeak it in common converſation.*
‘ *But if they happen to be obliged to it, they ſpeak it as*
‘ *exactly, as if they were reading what they had com-*
‘ *poſed. I knew at Venice one Bernard Ocricularius, a*
‘ *citizen of Florence, whoſe Hiſtories if you had ever*
‘ *read, you would call him another Salluſt, or think them*
‘ *written at leaſt in the time of Salluſt. And yet I never*
‘ *could prevail with him to ſpeak to me in Latin : ſome-*
‘ *times, I have preſſed him. Learned Sir, I do not*
‘ *underſtand*

(1) *Here is what Pocciantius ſays of Bernardus Ocricellarius, pag.* 33, de Script. Florent. Dictavit quinetiam Florentinas hiſtorias, quas adeo phrasi extulit eloquentiſſima, quod (teſte Michaele Urbinate) ipſum Saluſtium ſuperaſſe videatur.

(2) Eraſm. Apophth. lib. viii, pag. 634, Edit. 1556.

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mentions our Bernard [*B*], and so does Petrus Crinitus [*C*]. John della Casa had a sister who was married to one Oricellarius. The sons of this sister took care of their uncle's funeral and manuscripts. I make this remark only to have the opportunity of correcting an error that relates to Naogeorgus [*D*].

Thuanus

Why some learned men decline the speaking of Latin.

'understand your Italian any more than Chinese. But I 'never could get one Latin word from him.' This precaution of the Italians continued a long time; for we learn from Scioppius that it was impossible to force three or four Latin words out of Paulus Manutius without a great deal of trouble; which occasioned the Germans, who went to see him, to value their own learning more than his. They talked Latin more readily than he, and from thence concluded that he was not equal to them. Father Maffeus durst not enter into conversation with Scioppius, because he was obliged to answer him in Latin. The unwillingness of these gentlemen did not proceed so much from the difficulty of explaining themselves, as from the fear of accustoming themselves to barbarisms, which are almost unavoidable to those who speak Latin in conversation. I assure myself that it will not be disagreeable to have Scioppius's words inserted here after that passage of Erasmus. The conformity of the subject authorises me to do it. 'Nihil non faciunt (*Itali*) ut evitent omnia, unde aliquid infuscandæ & contaminandæ orationis periculi oftenditur. Latine igitur nunquam loquuntur, quod fieri vix posse persuasum habeant, quin quotidianus ejus linguæ usus, ad instar torrentis lutulentus fluat, & cujusquemodi verborum sordes secum rapiat, quæ postea quodam familiaritatis jure, sic se scribentibus ingerant, ut etiam diligentissimos fallant, & haud dubie pro Latinis habeantur. Hoc eorum consilium cum haud intelligant Transalpini, id eorum insciticæ perperam adsignant. Sic recte Paulo Manutio usu venit, ut quoniam vix tria verba Latina in familiari sermone proferre poterat, eum Germani complures, qui loquentem audituri ad eum venerant, vehementer præ se contemnerent. Huic tamen nemo, qui sanus sit, ad puritatis & elegantiæ latinæ summam quicquid (3) defuisse dixerit (3). . . . Mihi quoque Petrus Maffeus Jesuita nomini atque famæ parum respondere visus est, cum ad eum Romæ undeviginti abhinc annis salutatum venissem. Neque enim inducere animum poterat, ut Latine mihi respondendi aleam subiret. Postea vero lecta, relectaque ejus historia, quam de rebus per Lusitanos in India gestis condidit, consilium hominis sibi parum fidentis, labemque nomini suo metuentis intelligere mihi visus sum, quod etiam facere non potui, quin prudentissimum judicarem (4). '---*The* (Italians) *take all the pains imaginable to avoid 'every thing, that may hazard the obscuring and corrupting their stile. For this reason they never talk 'Latin, which they are of opinion can never be done, 'but that the daily use of this language will make it 'flow muddy, like a torrent, and sweep along with it 'the impurity of any sort of words, which afterwards 'by becoming familiar, will insinuate themselves in writing, and even deceive the most cautious composers, by 'passing currently for true Latin. The learned on this 'side the Alps not knowing this motive, of theirs, falsely 'ascribe it to their ignorance. Paulus Manutius was 'a remarkable instance of this, for because he could scarce 'ever be brought to speak three Latin words in common 'conversation, several Germans, who went to make him 'a visit in expectation to hear him speak, looked 'on him as not near so learned as themselves. But 'no person in his senses will say, that he came short of 'the very summit of purity and elegancy in the Latin 'tongue. . . . I thought myself that Peter Maffæus, the 'Jesuit, was far from answering his great character and 'reputation upon my going to see him at Rome about 'nineteen years ago. For he could not prevail upon him 'self to run the hazard of answering me in Latin. 'But afterwards when I came to read over and over 'again his History of the Transactions of the Portuguese in 'the Indies, I then found it was the effect of his modesty and great caution, not to stain his high reputation 'by any unpolite expression, for which I could not but 'extremely commend his prudence.' I believe I may justly say, that Thuanus observed the same conduct with these Italian Purists; for in a modern author I meet with these words. *The Jesuit Maffeus . . . . . repeated the Breviary in Greek, for fear the solecisms and the low and simple way of speaking, as Origen calls it* *, *in which the scriptures are delivered, should prejudice the elegancy and beauty of style which we admire in his writings: and for the same reason, Thuanus, who spoke Latin with the fluency and majesty of Livy, never answered the harangues and compliments made to him in that language, but by an interpreter* (5).

(3) Scioppius, in Judicio de Stilo Historico, *pag.* m. 57.

(4) Ib. *p.* 58.

* Περὶ σολικισμοῦ καὶ εὐτραπελοῦς φράσεως τῆς γραφῆς.

(5) Girac, Reponse à la Défense des Oeuvres de Voiture, Sect. xviii, *pag.* 120.

[*B*] *Pierius Valerianus mentions our Bernard.*] It is when he mentions the deceitful expectations of John Oricellarius the son of Bernard. He aspired to a cardinal's cap, under Leo X, and yet more under Clement VII. But after divers delays, which fowred him, but did not tire out his patience, death came and mowed down his fortune both present (6) and to come. 'Eodem in albo reponendus Johannes 'Oricellarius summæ vir integritatis, quique literarum 'studia vel à teneris unguiculis sectari cœperat, & 'apud Bernardum patrem eruditissimum virum, & 'apud Mediceos hujusmodi studiis in ea domo florentibus educatus fuerat. Erat is Leoni Decimo Pont. 'Max. amitinus frater, neque ullus erat, qui tum 'morum, tum literaturæ, nobilitatis, & consanguinitatis 'gratia non eum speraret ad cardinalatus apicem in 'in horas evehendum. Sed fortuna illi quosdam 'oppositerat (7) . . . . . Adridere mox Joanni visa 'fors melior . . . . Hic igitur Oricellarius, dum se 'totum litterarum studiis restituit, & fortunæ demum 'fallacias declinasse haud temerè sibi persuadet, dumque 'Clemens de more quodam suo cunctator ordinandi 'hominis diem de die ducit. Ille in rapidissimam 'illapsus febrem magnæ doctorum hominum spei 'præreptus est (8). - - - - *In the same class is to be ranked John Oricellarius, a person of the greatest integrity, 'and who was a scholar from his cradle, having been 'educated by his father Bernard, among the family of 'Medicis, which was then famous for it's love of learning. He was cousin-german to Pope Leo X, and all 'the world was in hopes of seeing him soon advanced to 'the purple, in regard to his virtue, learning, nobility, 'and family. But fortune raised him up enemies . . . 'John's expectations afterwards seemed to take a more 'favourable turn. . . . . This same Oricellarius therefore 'while he was retiring closely to his studies, and at last 'very prudently resolving to give fortune no farther opportunity of deceiving him, and while Clement after his 'usual manner was putting off his design of promoting 'him from day to day. He fell into a violent fever, 'which cut him off from all those expectations which 'the learned world had conceived for him.*'

(6) He was governour of the castle of St Angelo under Clement VII. *Pier. Valerian. de Literator. Infelicitate, lib. ii, pag. m.* 74.

(7) Ib. *p.* 73.

(8) Ib. *p.* 74.

[*C*] . . . . . *and so does Petrus Crinitus.*] Poccianti having said that the letters of Marsilius Ficinus, and those of Petrus Crinitus, attest the learning and abilities of Bernard Oricellarius, adds; 'Posteritati transmisit '(teste eodem Crinito) in primis libros quos de urbe 'Roma intitulaverat, in quibus admodum elaboravit 'in illustrandis atque observandis antiquorum monumentis (9). - - - - *The principal work he transmitted to 'posterity, was that he intituled Of the City of Rome, in 'which he took great pains in illustrating and remarking on the antient monuments.*'

(9) Pocciant. de Scriptor. Florentin *pag.* 32.

[*D*] *An error that relates to Naogeorgus.*] By the inscription upon the tomb of John della Casa (10) it appears that HORATIUS ORICELALRIUS took care to have that monument built for his uncle by the mother's side. *Horatius Oricellarius avunculo optime merito P.* A German author observes, that the Latin verses which were made by John della Casa, against those who accused him of praising Sodomy, are not to be met with in the collection of his works intituled, *Joannis Casæ Latina monumenta.* He believes, that Alexander Strozza, Inquisitor of the faith, was the cause of leaving them out of that collection. He recites the licence for printing, granted by that Inquisitor the seventh of June 1564, and says, that Hannibal Oricellarius was the collector of these remains of John della Casa (11). He gives us the verses which were suppressed; and fancies that the author made them, in answer to a satire which Naogeorgus had added to the second

(10) *See* Imperialis, in Museo Histor. *pag.* 28. Ghilini Theatr. *Part i, pag.* 79.

(11) Daniel Francus, Disquisit. Academ. de Papistarum Indicibus Librorum prohibitorum, *pag.* 111.

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Thuanus mentions one HORATIUS ORICELLARIUS a Florentine, who amaſſed prodigious riches by managing the taxes of France; and perceiving he became odious on account of his great gains, he returned to his own country. The Great Duke ſent him as proxy for his marriage with one of the daughters of the duke of Lorrain in 1588 (e). There was at the ſame time one CHARLES ORICELLARIUS, a member of the academy of Florence, and canon of the Metropolitan church, very much eſteemed by Peter Victorius, who gives him a large encomium in the preface to his commentary on the third book of Ariſtotle's Ethics (f). Note that the common name of that family is Rucellai. I ſhall bring proofs of it, not ſo much to clear a doubtful fact, for this is not ſo, as to have an opportunity of mentioning ſome perſons of that name [E].

I add, that 'Catherine de Medicis introduced the firſt of this family into France, 'which is now eſtabliſhed there, and that it is not long ſince an envoy from Florence '(g) . . . . claimed ſome privileges which were due to him on account of his anceſtors 'when they firſt ſettled in the kingdom . . . .;' that this queen *had a very tender affection for this whole family*; that ſhe regarded them *in ſome meaſure as relations*, for they were deſcended, on the female ſide, from the Viconti's, and were related by this means *to the houſe of Medicis* (b).

(e) Thuan. *lib. xcii, pag.* 230.

(f) *See the 247th page of* An Hiſtorical Account of the famous Men of the academy of Florence, printed at Florence in 4to, in the year 1700, and compoſed by Jacobo Rilli.

(g) He was of the family of Rucellai.

(b) Mercure Galant, *for Febr.* 1703, *pag.* 318, *& ſeq.*

ſecond edition of his *Regnum Papiſticum* (12). But he is miſtaken; for John della Caſa wrote that poem, only with intent to take from the Germans the bad impreſſions which Vergerius had given them of him, in charging him with being the author of an elogium upon Sodomy. I ſhall here ſubjoin a paſſage which proves manifeſtly, that he does not complain of a ſatire publiſhed by a German, but of the diſcourſes of a fugitive.

(12) Scripſerat in iſtum *Caſæ* juvenilem, ut ipſe quidem excuſat, librum Thomas Naogeorgus, ſatyram regno papiſtico ſecundæ editionis quæ Baſileæ 1559 prodiit, adjectam. In hunc ergo *Caſa* ſequenti quod ſubjiciemus carmine inſurrexit. *Ibid. pag.* 109.

Quare habere transfugæ
De me fidem nolite perditiſſimo:
Sed enecate eum indies magis ſiti,
Pedoribuſque & eſuritionibus:
Quod belle adhuc feciſſe vos exiſtimo,
Virtute natio & fide atque induſtria
Et literis clara, ingeniique gloria (13).

(13) Theſe verſes are the concluſion of the poem recited by Daniel Francus. It is to be met with in *Tom. i, Delitiarum Poëtarum Italorum, pag.* 702.

As to myſelf, I hope you'll ne'er believe
The ſlanders of a curſed fugitive.
I doubt not but you will diſpatch him firſt,
By ſlow degrees, with hunger, dirt, and thirſt.
All glorious nations ſuch examples make,
Where virtue, faith, and learning, are at ſtake.

Paul Vergerius is the fugitive he ſpeaks of. See at the end of the Anti-Baillet the diſcourſe in proſe which John della Caſa made againſt him.

[E] *The name of that family is Rucellai. I ſhall bring proofs of it. . . . . to have an opportunity of mentioning ſome perſons of that name.*] Mr Rilli, in his Hiſtory of the Academiſts of Florence, calls the ſame learned man Carlo Rucellai, whom Peter Victorius names Carolus Oricellarius. You have ſeen in the preceding remark one Horatius Oricellarius, and one Annibal Oricellarius, who were the ſons of a ſiſter of John della Caſa. They are called Rucellai in cardinal d'Oſſat's letters (14): 'the ſecond thing wherewith '. . . . cardinal Aldobrandin charged us, on the 'part of the Pope, was, that the king would be 'pleaſed to let the biſhop of Carcaſſone enjoy the 'fruits both of the ſaid biſhopric, and of an abbey '(15) which he has in Champagne: adding, that his 'holineſs acknowledged the ſaid biſhop, and his brother Horatio Rucellai to be his friends and to have 'been always friends to his family, and well affected to 'France.' Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie, commenting on this, tells us (16). I. That this biſhop of Carcaſſonne was *Annibal Rucellai, a gentleman of Florence, formerly governor of Rome, and known at the French court by the negotiations in which he had been employed by the Popes, Paul IV, and Pius V.* That *in the year* 1567, *he was ſent by Charles IX to Venice, to demand of the ſenate money, but he could obtain none, becauſe of the Turkiſh war with which the Republic was then threatened.* 2. That Horatio Rucellai *was high-ſteward to Ferdinand, grand-duke of Tuſcany.* 3. That *the Aldobrandins, and the Rucellai's were always of that party, which was called in Florence,* THE LIBERTINES (17), *that is to ſay, good Republicans, and Anti-Mediceans; who were for preſerving the liberty of their country. From hence proceeded the great affection, which Clement VIII had for theſe two brothers, whoſe father, as well as his own, had ſuffered very much under the pontificate of Leo X, and Clement VII, by whom the ſovereignty came into the houſe of Medicis.* This biſhop of Carcaſſonne died the 28th of January, 1601 (18). Horatio Rucellai, his brother, one of *the ableſt men in the world* (19), ſent immediately a courier to the French court (20). Catel takes notice that *Hannibal d' Oricellai was biſhop of Carcaſſonne in the year* 1569 (21). The abbot Rucellai, who was ſo much ſpoken of in France, under the reign of Lewis XIII, was, without doubt, the ſon of this Horatio; for John della Caſa was his great uncle (22), and (23) *he was born of a father, who enriched himſelf* (24) *by the correſpondence he had with Zamet, Bandini, Cenami, and other Italians, who then had farms in France.* You will find in the Miſcellanies of Vigneul de Marville (25) what Mr de Baſſompierre, and the author of the duke of Epernon's Life, have ſaid that is curious, concerning this abbot. Here is a paſſage which concerns one of that family. 'We are promiſed from Florence a 'work, in which the author, who is named Rucellai, 'has included all that the Antients have writ on that 'ſcience, and has collected no leſs than ſix and thirty 'ſyſtems of Natural Philoſophy, all different from each 'other. As this work which he writ in Italian, and 'contains twelve volumes, could not appear before his 'death, there is reaſon to fear that it will not be 'publiſhed very quickly, after the loſs which learning 'has ſuſtained in the perſon of cardinal de Medicis, 'who alone was capable of forwarding the impreſſion (26).' The book from whence I take theſe words was printed in 1676. I do not doubt but that they mean the ſame Horatio Rucellai, of whom Mr de Crescimbeni ſpeaks thus: 'Il Sonetto moderno lo tor'remo dal ſecolo del ſecento ora corrente, e da uno 'de' più illuſtri Letterati, ch'egli abbia annoverato, 'cioè dalle Rime ſcritte a mano appreſſo di me del 'leggiadro Poëta, e profondo Filoſofo Orazio Rucellai 'Florentino Cavaliere, e priore di ſua Patria, il quale 'à fiorito a noſtri tempi, ed a laſciato all' eruditiſſimo 'Signor Prior Luigi ſuo figlivolo un' opera nobiliſſima 'di Dialoghi filoſofici, la quale ſe un giorno vedrà la 'luce, conoſceranno i Poſteri quanto per ſi chiaro in'telletto queſto ſecolo ſia degno d'invidia (27). - - - - 'The late Poem compoſed about the concluſion of the XVIth 'century, by one of the moſt celebrated ſcholars of his time, 'that is, the verſes in manuſcript of that excellent Poet, 'and profound Philoſopher, Horatio Rucellai, a Florentine 'knight, who was in high authority in his country, and 'flouriſhed in our memory, and left behind him, to his 'learned ſon, an admirable work of Philoſophical Dia'logues; which, whenever it comes to be publiſhed, will 'ſhew poſterity how much the preſent age deſerves to be 'envied for producing ſo great a genius.' The ſame author tells us, that Giovani Rucellai compoſed at Rome in 1524, a poem, intituled, *le Api*, which was printed in the year 1539, and afterwards at Florence, by Philip Giunti 1590, with notes of Robert Titius, and with la Coltavazione of Lewis Alamanni (28). He does not ſpeak of the Paris edition in 1546, by Robert Stephens. It is to be found in the library of Thuanus (29). This John Rucellai was a Florentine (30), and we have no reaſon to doubt that he was of the family of the Oricellarius's. See the article RUCELLAI.

(14) The thirty-fourth letter of d'Oſſat, pag. 176, of the firſt Tome, Paris Edit. 1698. This letter is dated the twenty-fifth of October 1595.

(15) It was that of Jard near Melun. *Amelot de la Houſſaie, ubi infra.*

(16) Amelot de la Houſſaie's Notes upon this paſſage of Cardinal d'Oſſat.

(17) Corroborate this with the paſſage above quoted, citat. (12) of the article MACHIAVEL, concerning COSIMIN RUSCELLAI.

(18) D'Oſſat, Letter CCLVII, *pag.* 299, *Tom. ii.*

(19) Ib. Letter CCLXVII, *pag.* 341.

(20) Ib. Letter CCLVII.

(21) Catel, Memoirs of the Hiſtory of Languedoc, *pag.* 1009.

(22) See Vigneul Marville, in the firſt Tome of his Miſcellanies, pag. 173, of the firſt edition at Roan.

(23) Vigneul Marville, pag. 271, of the ſecond Tome, Dutch Edition.

(24) He got 1700000 livres by the exciſe of France. *Scaligerana* at the word *Rucellai.*

(25) Tom. i, ubi ſupra.

(26) Rapin's Reflections upon Phyſics, num. 7, pag. 418, *Dutch Edit.*

(27) Giovanne Mario de' Crescimbeni l'Iſtoria della volgar Poeſia, *pag.* 35, *Edit. of Rome* 1698, *in* 4to.

(28) Ib. *pag.* 327.

(29) At pag. 339, of the ſecond part of the catalogue.

(30) Crescembeni, ubi ſupra, 272.

ORICHOVIUS

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ORICHOVIUS, or ORECHOVIUS (STANISLAUS), a Poliſh gentleman, was born in the dioceſe of Premiſlau, in Ruſſia, about the beginning of the XVIth century. He was called the Poliſh Demoſthenes on account of the freedom and force of his eloquence. He ſtudied at Wittenberg under Luther and Melancthon, and afterwards at Venice under John Baptiſt Egnatius. Returning home to his country, he dedicated himſelf to the church, and became canon of Premiſlau. He made no ſecret of his attachment to Luther's doctrine, and was often cenſured for it in full chapter by his biſhop; but he made a jeſt of thoſe cenſures, and abandoned his benefice, and married. He was anathematized by his prelate, and ſo little regarded it, that he not only took up the pen againſt the Eccleſiaſtics, but alſo diſturbed them in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and putting himſelf at the head of their antagoniſts, by the readineſs of his wit, and the great command of his tongue, he cauſed violent commotions. He changed his meaſures ſome years after, and was again received into the boſom of the Catholic church at the ſynod of Warſaw in the year 1561. Some time after he delivered publickly the confeſſion of his faith in the ſynod of Petricow, and printed it, from which time he appeared very zealous againſt the ſectaries, both in his writings, and verbal diſputations. He diſputed againſt Andrew Fricius in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Gneſna, and then againſt Stancarus before the king of Poland, and afterwards upon ſome other occaſions, but always triumphantly (a), if we are to believe the author who furniſhes me with what I have been relating. I have obſerved elſewhere (b), that Orichovius would inſinuate that if he had married while he was a prieſt, he would not have broke with his church upon that account, becauſe he would have ſubmitted to the penalty which ſhe impoſes, by abſtaining from his ſacerdotal function: but he contradicted himſelf very groſsly; for he had put at the head of his book a confeſſion of his adherence to the Lutheran party [A]. I ſhall cite ſomething of a treatiſe he compoſed to procure liberty for prieſts to marry [B]. I ſhall alſo give the titles of his writings [C].

(a) *Taken from* Starovolſcius, *in* Elogiis centum Polonorum. *num.* 58, *pag. m.* 78, 79.

(b) In the remark [M] of the article STANCARUS.

[A] *He had put at the head of his book a confeſſion of his adherence to the Lutheran party.*] The book I am ſpeaking of is intituled, *Chimæra, ſive de Stancari funeſta Regno Poloniæ Secta.* It was printed at Cologne *apud Maternum Cholinum*, in the year 1563, in 8vo. At the beginning of it is to be ſeen a declaration of the author, by virtue of which he ſubmits both his perſon and writings to the moſt holy council of Trent. He compares himſelf to the prodigal ſon returning home to his father's houſe. It will be ſufficient to recite ſome of his expreſſions. 'En ego à finibus terræ ad 'vos clamo dum anxiatur cor meum ..... ſupplex 'manus tendo cum principe publicanorum illo, in 'conſpectu, confeſſuque veſtro fraudata compenſans 'quadruplo. Namque ego honorem debitum, non 'homini, ſed ordini veſtro, ſæpe detraxi: atque com-'mune veſtrum patrimonium multum vexavi, dicendo 'in vos, quæ non oportuit: ſcribendo de vobis, quæ 'non licuit: agendo contra vos, quæ non decuit agere, 'dicere ſcribere. Defraudavi igitur vos, cum hære-'ticis dum conjuro, dicto ſcripto, facto. In quibus 'tot, ac tantis damnis, detrimentiſque veſtris, ex au-'ctoritate veſtra reſarciendis, nolite, pro indulgentia 'veſtra, aliud à me expectare velle, præter illud qua-'druplum, *Pater peccavi in cœlum coram te* (1). ---- 'Behold I cry unto you from the ends of the earth while 'my heart is in trouble .... I ſtretch out my ſupplicant 'hands with that great publican, reſtoring four-fold what 'I have unjuſtly taken from your aſſemblies; for I have 'often detracted from the honour due not only to your per-'ſons, but to your order: and have greatly diſturbed 'your common patrimony, by ſaying thoſe things againſt 'you, which ought not to have been ſaid; by writing 'thoſe things of you, which it was not lawful to write: 'by acting thoſe things which it was not lawful to act, 'ſpeak, or write. Therefore by my adherence to Here-'retics, I have injured you in ſpeaking, writing, and 'acting. All which my ſo many and great offences againſt 'you, that they may be forgiven by your authority, I be-'ſeech you to expect no more from me out of your great in-'dulgence than this ſatisfaction, Father, I have ſinned 'againſt heaven, and before thee.

(1) Orichovii Chimæra, *fol.* 2, *verſo.*

[B] *I ſhall cite ſomething of a treatiſe he compoſed to procure liberty for prieſts to marry.*] 'Staniſlaus Ori-'chovius, biſhop of Ruſſia, preſented a petition to 'Pope Julius III, in the year 1551, for liberty to 'marry; remonſtrating to him the injuſtice of Syri-'cius's law, as contrary to all divine right; alledging 'even that Pope Paul II had condemned it among 'his friends; eſteeming it hard to be obliged to re-'gard as a baſtard, a daughter of his own, whom the 'divine law would allow him to acknowledge as legi-'timate; inſomuch that he was reſolved to break 'through it had not death prevented him: reproach-'ing him with the children of Paul III, worthy, *ſays* 'he, of *a legitimate marriage*, and not ſparing even his 'own particular leudneſs (2).' Theſe are the words of Mr du Pleſſis Mornai: I do not find that the title of biſhop is due to Orichovius: and however if it was, he ought to have determined it to ſome particular ſee, and not to deſcribe it by the general name of a country: for if any one ſhould ſay that ſuch a perſon is biſhop of Italy, or of France, it would be thought a very improper expreſſion. Mr du Pleſſis publiſhed another book ten or twelve years after, in which he has mentioned a baſtard of Paul II: he quoted two verſes of Pannonius, and added, *and in fact, Stephen Orichovius, biſhop of Ruſſia, tells us, that ſhe being acknowledged for his by every body, it often created in him a deteſtation of Celibacy, which obliged him to look upon her with diſhonour, who might have been otherwiſe his legitimate daughter* (3). Bulengerus and Fronto du Ducæus, who animadverted upon the faults of the firſt book of this learned Proteſtant, and Coëffeteau, who wrote an anſwer to the laſt, have made no remark upon the pretended title of biſhop given to Orichovius. But Gretſer, in his Examination of the Myſtery of Iniquity (4), criticiſes Mr du Pleſſis for metamorphoſing into Stephanus Orichovius (5) biſhop of Ruſſia, him whom Bale names Staniſlaus Ruthenus. The author of the State of the Church relates (6), that it is *affirmed in a book of Staniſlaus Ruthenus, that Paul II having ſome verſes made againſt him and his daughter, began to lament and condemn among his friends the rigour of the law of his predeceſſors.* I conjecture from thence, that this author has followed the rigour of the letter more ſtrictly than Mr du Pleſſis has done, in copying the paſſage of Bale. Note, that Mr Rivet believed Orichovius to have been a Ruſſian biſhop, and named Stephen (7).

(2) Du Pleſſis Mornai, Inſtitution de l'Euchariſtie, *livr. ii, chap. x, pag. m.* 322. *He quotes* St Orich. de Lege Syricii ad Jul. 3. Orich. Epiſc. Ruffienſ. de Celibat.

(3) Du Pleſſis, Myſt. d'Iniquité, *pag.* 544.

(4) Pag. 536.

(5) It was perhaps *Orichovius* in the Latin edition, which Gretſer refuted; but it is *Orichowius* in the French edition.

(6) Pag. m. 484, ad ann. 1465.

(7) Rivet, Remarques ſur la Reſponſe au Myſt. d'Iniquité, *Tom. ii, pag.* 618.

[C] *The title of his writings.*] Let us make uſe of the very words of Starovolſcius. 'Scripſit multa, & 'in re civili, & in noſtrorum hominum laudibus; ſed 'præcipuè tamen in Oſores Religionis Catholicæ, ut 'puta: *Quincuncem, Latinè & Polonicè. Apologiam 'Quincuncis. Fidei Confeſſionem. Hymæram.* Hanc Con-'cilio Trid. dedicavit. *Mediatorem. Fricium. Dialogos 'Lat. & Polonicè. Fidelem ſubditum. Orationes de notis 'Eccleſiæ. Exequias Tarnovii. Geſta ſui temporis*, id eſt 'regnantibus apud nos Sigiſmundo Seniore & Auguſto 'F. ſuo. *Panegyrim nuptiarum ejuſdem Regis Auguſti. 'Panegyrim nuptiarum Jo. Tarnovii Exercituum Gene-'ralis. Orationem pro dignitate Sacerdotali. De præ-'ſtantia Legum Polonicarum. In obitum Sigiſmundi ſe-'nioris. Turcicas, ad Regem, Senatum, & Equites. Pro '& contra

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& contrà Celibatum. Pro Ecclesia Christi, contra M. Lutherum præceptorem suum. Institutionem Principis. Apocalypsim suam, seu faciem perturbatæ & afflictæ Reipubl. ejusque restaurandæ rationem, quæ nuper Anno 1625, prodiit, edita in lucem à Nicolao Orichovio nepote suo. Epistolas familiares quoque scripsit, sed harum pars maxima adhuc in obscuro est ut & Liber *de summa Regni*. Audio & alia quædam de Repub. authographa ipsius à quibusdam privatim, cum nominis ejus forsan certè cum publicæ utilitatis jactura, detineri (8). - - - *He wrote a great many things, as well on civil subjects, as in praise of our party; but principally in opposition to the adversaries of the Catholic religion; as for instance, the Quincunx, in Latin and Polish. The Apology for the Quincunx. A Confession of Faith. Hymæra*; this he dedicated to the Council of Trent. *The Mediator. Fricius. Dialogues in Latin and Polish. The Faithful Subject. Orations on the Marks of the Church. The Funeral Solemnities of Tarnovius. The History of his own Times, that is, during the reigns of our kings, Sigismund the elder, and Augustus his son. An Epithalamium on the Marriage of the same Augustus. An Epithalamium on the Marriage of John Tarnovius, General of the Army. An Oration on the Sacerdotal Dignity. On the Excellency of the Laws of Poland. On the death of Sigismund the elder. Turkish Letters to the King, to the Senate, and to the Knights, for and against Celibacy. A Defence of the Church of CHRIST against M. Luther his Master. The Institution of a Prince. His Apocalypse, or a Representation of the troubled and afflicted State of the Republic, and the manner of restoring it*; which was lately published in the year 1625, by Nicolas Orichovius his nephew. *He wrote also* familiar Epistles, *but the greatest part of these are still unpublished, as is also a book on the* Sum and Substance of Government. *I hear there are other manuscripts of his in private hands, perhaps to the detriment of his own fame; but certainly to that of the public.*'

(8) Simon Starovolscius, in Elogiis centum Polonor. *pag.* 79. *I suspect the pointing to be inaccurate throughout, and take* Hymæram *to be a mistake for* Chimæram.

ORIGEN, one of the most copious writers, and one of the finest genius's that flourished in the primitive church, lived in the IIId century. He is mentioned so largely in Moreri's Dictionary, and so many authors are there pointed out (*a*) easily to be met with, who give his whole History, that I ought to be but short upon this article. I confine myself to these four things. I. I point out two French authors (*b*), who give us a full account of the actions and opinions of Origen. In the IId place, I say that a remark of Daillé upon Mr Cottibi's quoting *St Origen*, was attended with consequences which deserve to be known [*A*]. III. I observe, that

(*a*) Especially in the Dutch Edit.

(*b*) La Motte, The Lives of Tertullian and Origen, printed at Paris in 1675, in 8vo. Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. i, pag.* 121, & *seq*; the Dutch Edit. 1690, in 4to. The Dutch Edit. of Moreri does not cite these two authors.

[*A*] *A remark of Daillé upon . . . . St Origen, was attended with consequences which deserve to be known.*] Mr Cottibi, minister of Poitiers, having changed his religion in 1660, wrote a letter to his Consistory, containing some reasons for his change. Daillé was desired to answer it, which he did with great accuracy. His answer was printed in 1660, with the letter of Mr Cottibi, under this title, *Lettre escrite à Mr le Coq Sieur de la Talonniere sur le changement de Religion de Monsieur Cottiby*. Among other things he observed, that the new convert, who had pretended to speak of the Fathers, and to cry up the Primitive Church, knew but very little of them. This he convicts him of by divers proofs; the second of which is taken from the epithet of *Saint*, which he had given to Origen. *This language betrays him, and shews that he is stranger both in the Republic of Antiquaries, who never speak in that manner of a man condemned by an œcumenical council; and above all in the archives of the Popes, in which poor Origen was so far from obtaining the title of saint, that from the year* 494, *he has been there stiled Schismatic; and all his works, excepting a very few, were condemned by Gelasius* †. *It is not quite* 200 *years since, that Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, having published at Rome, among his nine hundred propositions, that* it is more reasonable to believe Origen's salvation than his damnation, *was thereupon reprimanded by the doctors of Divinity, who affirmed, that* this conclusion is rash and blameworthy, that it favours of Heresy, and is contrary to the determination of the universal church; *as we have it from himself in his Apology* ‡. *What would they not have done, if he had placed Origen among the saints, as Mr Cottiby has done? They who could not suffer him to doubt of his damnation, or to think that his salvation was more probable than his damnation* (1). This is what we call a victorious criticism; and if we were not otherwise satisfied, that the minister of Poitiers knew nothing of the doctrine of the Fathers, but what he had acquired by reading some books of controversy; this very remark of Daillé would convince us of it. Let us continue the history of this censure, we shall learn from hence that an author discovered in an error, and manifestly convicted of being mistaken, can take no wiser course than frankly to own it, or at least to say nothing; for the efforts he makes to justify himself, are almost always down-right extravagances. Mr Cottibi replied, that perhaps the title of Saint was not in the original of his letter, *or that with a stroke of his pen he might let it pass in the croud, Origen being placed among many other antient Fathers, to whom the epithet of Saint is really due* (2). Here are two evasions which were invincibly refuted. Daillé maintained, that the words Saint Origen, stood in the author's original manuscript, and proved that they could not slip in by oversight. *Who will believe*, says Mr Daillé (3), *that he did not copy over fair, and revise oftner than once, a letter written to a consistory, the religion and ministry which he had abandoned? A letter in which he undertook to persuade them to follow his example, which he knew must affect them both with grief and indignation? A letter, which, of consequence, he could not doubt, would be narrowly examined by persons provoked and angry with him? Certainly, he either has not common sense, or he has carefully polished and corrected this letter, and revised the copy several times before he sent it, in order to let nothing pass, which might furnish matter of derision to his enemies, or of disgust to his friends. And yet, after all this, Saint Origen stands in the letter, such as he sent, and such as we saw. Assuredly the author was not apprised that this was not Origen's lawful title. Had he been so, he would have dashed it out of his letter: and if he could not find out a secret, that is so common among those who are no strangers in Antiquity, I cannot see how I can trust the promises he made me*, &c. The sequel of Mr Cottibi's Apology is yet worse, for he falls into the common place of the hatred that Ministers bear to the saints, and says a hundred things quite foreign to the purpose, as appears from the following passage. 'But, 'as the Ministers seem hired to make war upon the 'saints, so you thought it your duty to attack this 'one, tho' he had only the out-side and appearance of 'saintship; for to appear in that habit, and bear that 'name, is enough to expose one to your attacks. If 'you dispute this glorious title with those who have 'highly merited it, and whose praises are sung by the 'church every day, it is no wonder you could not 'bear it in a man to whom it never was formally given. 'So that I am in no danger of being surprized at your 'charge against me; for I find, in effect, it is highly 'your interest to oppose the augmentation of the 'number of saints: you very well foresee, that the 'more saints there are in Heaven, the more enemies 'will you have, and the more intercessors will the 'church have. I would only have those who make 'St Paul say ‡, *The children of the Faithful are saints 'from their mothers womb*, not to refuse this elogium 'to him who was the son of a father and mother, who 'were not only faithful, but Martyrs; and who, 'after suffering persecution himself, in his most tender 'youth, for the name of CHRIST, gave testimony 'of such pious and ardent desires to crown his first 'labours with the glory of martyrdom. That fine 'genius *, whose authority you respectfully make use 'of, had so much esteem for the wisdom of Socrates, that

(3) Daillé, Reply to Adam and Cottibi, *Part* iii, *chap.* ix, *pag.* 190.

† Conc. Rom. Gelas. Tom. 3, Concil. p. 662. col. 2. B. C.

‡ Joan. Pic. Apol. c. 7. p. 199.

(1) Daillé, Lettre à Monsr. le Coq, p. 70, 71.

(2) Cottibi, Reply to Daillé, pag. 221, 222.

‡ In the form of the administration of Baptism.

* Erasmus.

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that a miniſter in Holland has lately made a very ſolid obſervation upon one of

'that, every time he thought of that great man, he 'was very near crying out in his tranſports, *St Socrates, 'pray for us*. It would not therefore be an unpardon- 'able ſin in me, if my ſoul ſhould be touched with the 'veneration of the virtues of a Chriſtian, which are 'rendered precious by the Goſpel; ſince the eyes of 'your friend were dazzled by the actions of a Pagan, 'which, after all, were no more than ſhining ſins ††: 'If ſome have found ſpots in the ſun, I think it not 'ſtrange that this doctor had his; and I ſhall not un- 'dertake his apology, ſince ſentence has been pronounced 'againſt him by councils. However, I ſhall ſay with 'that noble writer ‡‡, who offered to defend him 'publickly at Rome, at twenty-four years of age, 'that Origen was above ſixty before he determined his 'opinions in his writings, and he might have enter- 'tained errors without the imputation of hereſy, as 'having never obſtinately retained them, nor rebel- 'liouſly defended them, ſince they were not con- 'demned till after his death; and even he himſelf 'had repented of them before he died. It is in vain 'therefore that you ſtrive to raiſe up againſt me all the 'doctors of Divinity: that young count gives me en- 'couragement, who informs me, that he had the 'Pope on his ſide §§, with a great number of the 'members of the Apoſtolical ſenate, while ſome en- 'vious heads muttered againſt his propoſitions. But 'at the worſt; if I were to incur the diſpleaſure of the 'holy Conclave, by your intereſt and ſollicitations, I 'had much rather it ſhould be, for innocently putting 'an extraordinary doctor in the catalogue of ſaints, 'without their approbation, or conſent, than for op- 'poſing, as you do, the glory of thoſe whom they 'have canonized, and endeavouring, by the moſt 'enormous ſacrilege, to raze their names both out of 'the calendar of the church, and out of the memory 'of men (4).' All this deſerved no other anſwer than what follows. Teach him (5) *what difference there is in the ſtile of the Romiſh court and church, between a conſiſtory and a conclave. This is a pardonable fault in a novice. The miſchief is, that in all theſe wild digreſſions, into which he rambles out of the road of our diſpute, he can find no ſort of proof that men learned in Antiquity ever call Origen a ſaint.*

†† *St Auguſt. ſpeculida peccata.*

‡‡ Joann. Picus Mirandulæ Comes, in Apolog. Conc. 7.

§§ Summi Pontificis & ex Apoſtolico Senatu conſiphurium judicio contentus, videbar facile & odium poſſe negligere, & convicia hominum improborum. *In Præfat. Apol.*

(4) Cottibi, ubi ſupra, pag. 222, & ſeq.

(5) Daillé, addreſſing himſelf to Father Adam, ubi ſupra, pag. 191.

Father Adam reſolved to enter the liſts upon this article, in the defence of Cottibi, and performed it ſo ſorrily, that more impertinent ſophiſtical turns were, perhaps, never ſeen. The paſſage I am going to quote is pretty long, but becauſe it contains ſome facts relating to the hiſtory of Origen, and beſides may ſerve for a remedy to thoſe writers who are apt to write at random, I ſhall give it you entire. Daillé, addreſſing himſelf to the Jeſuit, John Adam, ſpeaks thus (6).

(6) Daillé, ibid.

'Finding this a ſlippery place (7), you do not care to 'keep in it; and as you are as bold and reſolute as 'any man can be in your coat, you quit that incon- 'venient poſt and fall foul upon me, according to 'your wonted ſtrain, charging me ** with ignorance, 'and a *magiſterial boldneſs that is only a ſwelling, and 'not real knowledge and good plight*. Then † deſiring 'me to weigh what you are going to ſay, you give 'me a lecture upon the difference between the perſons 'who err, and their errors, bringing in St Auguſtin 'and St Jerom, Janſenius and St Cyran, and their o- 'pinons. Then you fall upon Origen, and the errors 'of which he was ſuſpected, particularly Arianiſm; 'from which you ſay St Athanaſius vindicated him. In 'the next place ‖ you praiſe the incomparable inno- 'cence of his youth, his chaſtity, his zeal: you ſay ‡ 'that, if I have read Hiſtory, I muſt know, that 'when he ſaw martyrs carried out to execution, he went 'out of his houſe, and, falling upon his knees before 'the *executioners, conjured them to behead him with the 'other Chriſtians*. You alſo ſay, I know very well, 'that he filled the world with his works; that his 'father and his mother were martyrs, and *that oftentimes his mother, drawing the curtain of his bed, as he 'lay aſleep, kiſſed her ſon's breaſt with theſe words, 'I kiſs the temple of the Holy Ghoſt*. You mention St 'Gregory of Neocæſarea, Chryſoſtom, and Baſil, who 'had a great eſteem for him: (I ſuffer Chryſoſtom, 'tho' junior to St Baſil, to take place of him, to ſhew 'you I am not ſo cenſorious as you repreſent me.) 'You aſk me what proof I can give that this great 'man died without repentance, and trump up an 'old ſtory, in order to confute that opinion. This is

(7) That is, the ſuppoſition that Mr Cottibi had uſed an equivocal expreſſion.

** *Ad. p.* 267.

† *Ibid. pag.* 268.

‖ *Pag.* 269.

‡ *Pag.* 270.

'the abſtract of your diſpute upon Origen. In regard to 'which I ſhall obſerve to you in the firſt place, that 'you do me wrong in imputing to me the knowledge 'of his entreating the executioners to cut off his head. 'This is what I knew nothing of, having read no 'ſuch thing in Euſebius *, who, in his ſixth book, 'gives the hiſtory of Origen at large. You charge 'me again with equal injuſtice, with knowing that 'his mother kiſſed his breaſt while he lay aſleep. I 'have learned indeed from Euſebius, that Leonidas, his 'father, did ſometimes carreſs him after that rate in 'his infancy, kiſſing his breaſt with reſpect, as being 'a ſanctuary conſecrated to the holy Spirit, and that 'he called himſelf happy for having ſuch a wonderful 'child. I do not doubt but you have met with 'theſe ſtories exactly as you relate them, in the ſame 'author who taught you that Athanaſius was once 'highly eſteemed and commended by the Arians. But 'the moſt cruel injury you have done me, is, that to 'gain an opportunity of venting theſe common places 'and hiſtories, you charge me †† with believing, and 'affirming for a certain truth, that Origen is damned. '*You make the errors of his doctrine*, ſay you ‡‡ to me, '*to affect his perſon, and ſpeak of his damnation, as if 'you had been in Hell beforehand, and had found Origen 'there*: and two pages lower §§, *I cannot bear*, ſay 'you, *that you ſhould take part with thoſe who maintain 'that Origen is damned*; and at the end of the chapter, '*you have embraced*, ſay you, *the opinion of thoſe who 'hold that Origen is damned*. But to wave theſe ſallies 'of your paſſion, who told you that I hold that *Origen 'is damned?* Where have I declared that to be my 'opinion? God forbid that ſuch an unjuſt preſump- 'tion ſhould ever enter into my mind. I leave to the 'Almighty his own ſecrets, and am not ſo raſh as to 'take the liberty to determine what no man can know 'with a certainty of faith. But, to conclude, if it is 'lawful for us to judge of things by appearances, I 'believe of Origen what I wiſh, that God, whoſe 'mercies are infinite, has pardoned his errors, and 'not ſuffered to periſh, among unbelievers, a veſſel 'which he had adorned with ſo many admirable gifts, 'and whoſe genuine works, ſo much as we have left of 'them, breathe only an extraordinary faith and piety; 'the very errors with which they are ſometimes 'ſtained, (for that is undeniable) being always accom- 'panied with a raviſhing modeſty and humility; not 'to ſpeak of his virtues, and the purity of his life. 'This is my opinion, and I never entertained any 'other; and thoſe who are intimately acquainted with 'me, know to what degree I have always admired 'that great and incomparable genius; and what I 'have wrote in ſome paſſages of my little works may 'give teſtimony of it. If I have related what the 'count of Mirandola wrote **, that the Divines of 'Rome would not ſuffer his damnation to be doubted 'of, it is manifeſt I did it only to ſhew, how far the 'doctors, whoſe communion Mr Cottibi has em- 'braced, are from calling him a *Saint*. This is by 'no means out of any approbation of their inhuman 'preſumption. If I took notice of the title of '*Saint*, given him by Mr Cottibi, I did it only to 'ſhew his ignorance in matters of antiquity, and in 'the way of ſpeaking uſual among thoſe who are 'verſed in it. I did not accuſe him upon that head 'of offending againſt faith or good manners. The 'ignorance of Antiquity is not incompatible with 'either the one or the other: I allow him, with all my 'heart, to entertain as advantageous ſentiments of 'Origen, as he pleaſes. But the laws of your 'church, and thoſe of its ſtyle, and the common 'and notorious cuſtom of all the learned, that is to 'ſay, the ſovereign law of their language, not 'permitting him to ſay *Saint Origen*, whatſoever 'opinion he has of his perſon, he cannot ſpeak in 'this manner without betraying the ignorance which 'I have laid to his charge.'

* *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. vi, cap. ii, pag.* 203, *A.*

†† *Ad. p.* 267.

‡‡ *Ad. p.* 269.

§§ *Pag.* 271.

** *L. à M. de la Tal, pag.* 70, 71.

We meet with a thouſand examples of this nature in Polemical writings; and, as I have ſaid already, oftner than once, it would not be amiſs to make a collection of them. This might be of uſe to check the liberty which ſome authors take in ſtraggling to the right and left from the ſtate of the queſtion. I cannot tell whether any other example can equal this in the multitude of digreſſions.

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of Origen's opinions [*B*]. If the author o

[*B*] *A minister . . . has made a very solid observation upon one of Origen's opinions.*] Before I recite the words of the minister, I shall first give you a copy of those of his adversary, which gave occasion to his reflexion. *It is a considerable fault to compare the opinion of Origen, concerning the non-eternity of punishments, with the doctrine of the Socinians upon that article. Origen did not deny the immortality of the soul, and never taught that the wicked should perish, body and soul, after death. Origen's error is dangerous, but at least it has no impiety in it; but the Socinian opinion is the Epicurean impiety* (8). Now the censure of this passage is as followeth. ' (9) There is more ' danger, as to Morality, in saying, *the reprobate ' shall be one day saved*, than in saying, *they shall ' be annihilated*. Origen has put the devils and the ' damned almost in the same class, where the Papists ' put the faithful and the regenerate, who die ' under the guilt of a great number of venial sins, ' and have not wherewithal to procure masses for ' shortening or mitigating their punishment in pur- ' gatory; the fire of which differs from that of ' Hell only in the duration. So that the Libertines ' who continue to death in their Libertinism and ' crimes, may, according to Origen's Theology, ' have very nearly the same hopes and the same ' fears, which the best Catholics have, according ' to the doctrine of their Priests and Monks. Time ' is nothing in comparison to eternity. A temporal ' Hell can never be made to balance an eternal Para- ' dise. It is true, present evils deface the idea of fu- ' ture good in the minds of worldly people; and the ' sense of the former is commonly stronger and live- ' lier, than the desire and hope of the latter. But ' this proceeds from the folly and corruption of men, ' and not from the nature of the objects. Besides, ' we must know, that future evils are considered al- ' most after the same manner with future good; that ' is, heedless and brutish people are scarce touched ei- ' ther by the one or the other: but the wise and re- ' flecting part of mankind take a nearer view of the ' pains and joys of the other life, and form to them- ' selves a just idea of them. The consequence of ' which is, that the former will not be more frighted ' by the hell or purgatory with which Origen threat- ' ens them, than they will be encouraged and com- ' forted by the end of their torments, and the en- ' joyment of an eternal beatitude in paradise, which ' this doctor gives them room to expect: and, that, ' on the other hand, those who have more serious and ' penetrating thoughts, will judge of future ease and ' torment by their duration, and will readily resolve ' to pass through some ages of uneasiness, if they are ' assured to find, after that, an eternity of happiness and ' infinite pleasure. As for the doctrine of the Soci- ' nians, it gives no other consolation to hardened sin- ' ners, beside their annihilation. But such is the ' make of men, that they had rather be unhappy and ' happy successively, than not to be at all. And ac- ' cording to the rule of right reason, there is an in- ' finitely greater advantage in being eternally gratified ' with happiness, after suffering some time, than in ' returning into nothing, and seeing one's self depriv- ' ed for ever of an infinite beatitude, the possession of ' which might be insured, and is only lost by negli- ' gence . . . . (10) Origen's error may inspire some ' with a contempt of repentance, and that of the So- ' cinians may retain others in impiety. However ' both the one and the other is very pernicious: and ' it is making use of false weights, and false measures, ' and a too visible respect of persons, to say, that ' Origen's error, though dangerous, has nothing of ' impiety in it; but that the Socinian error is the ' Epicurean impiety. Had Origen annihilated the ' reprobate after a long purgatory, his Theology had ' indulged impenitent sinners less than that of the So- ' cinians, who annihilate them without making them ' undergo any considerable punishment (11). But the ' paradise which he promises them at the end of their ' hell, and which will render them for ever like to ' the apostles, the martyrs, and the greatest saints, is ' a powerful counterpoise against the terror of a pu- ' nishment, which is to be succeeded by eternal joy ' and felicity.'

(8) Jurieu, apud Saurin, ubi infra.

(9) Saurin, Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 688.

(10) Saurin, ibid. *pag.* 690.

(11) Mr Saurin seems to agree with what his adversary advances, that the Socinians teach, that the souls of wicked men are annihilated at the very moment of their death. But the doctrine of that sect is otherwise related below, citation (18). But it is true Mr Saurin expresses himself after such a manner, as may import that he does not impute that to this sect.

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use of it [C], he would have greatly enforced one of his objections. IV. That there are a great many Divines in the Romish communion who believe that this Father is in Hell [D].

Since

'*the Arian heresy not to be so. Who would dare to place* '*Arnobius in hell, for believing that the souls of the* '*wicked are at last consumed by the fires in which they* '*are punished.*' You see he observes, that Origen's doctrine confines the divine justice more than that of the Socinians, in regard the latter end the punishment with an act of severity, namely, the annihilation of the sinner; whereas Origen makes it terminate in an act of sovereign bounty, namely, the transportation of the damned spirits to the enjoyment of sovereign bliss: You see, I say, that he observes this difference; but he does not lay it open with so much accuracy as Mr Saurin has done. Besides, he starts an objection to himself, which he might have overthrown by Mr Saurin's remark, and yet has given it a quite different answer. He supposes (14), it will be objected to him, that the denial of the Trinity is not so pernicious to the common-wealth, as the denial of the eternity of future torments; and contents himself with answering, that we must not judge by that rule whether an heresy is fundamental or not; for otherwise it might be alledged, that the grossest and most scandalous errors would be but a trifle, provided they were but proper to keep the subject in obedience (15). This is all the answer he gives. He has forgot the best part of the reply to this objection; he has not said, that Origen's opinion is more pernicious to the common-wealth, than that of the Socinians: Origen's opinion, I say, which Mr. Jurieu looks upon as an error very excuseable (16). Had Larebonius thought of Mr Saurin's reflexion, he would have charged home upon his adversary. Let us recite one passage more of the Utrecht pastor. 'Mr Jurieu would fain *excuse the errors of* 'Origen, by reason of his great zeal; *but if any one* 'should at this time of day undertake to broach the whims 'of that antient author, Mr Jurieu would not think 'himself obliged to allow him any toleration. If these 'whims are heresies and instances of impiety, which 'change Hell into a purgatory, and by that means 'annihilate the fear of eternal punishments, and the 'fear of GOD, why should they be countenanced in 'Origen? Where is that doctor's great zeal if he 'was an heretic, and a teacher of heresy? If these 'errors were not fundamental in Origen, and in the 'third century, by what contrivance are they be'come fundamental in the seventeenth Century, and 'in the modern doctors? We shall see presently that 'there is a difference between Origen's opinion, and 'that of the Socinians, with reference to the pains of 'Hell; and that this difference, which Mr Jurieu 'would turn in favour of Origen, is altogether against 'him (17).'

(14) Ib. p. 97.

(15) Aliquin mutatis vicibus pro innocuis deberemus habere errores non paucos crassissimos atque fœdissimos, unde multum emolumenti capit Respublica, in multas perturbationes cæcura per introductionem quarumdam veritatum. *Ibid.*

(16) See Saurin, ubi supra, *pag.* 682.

If the author of *Janua Cælorum* has not made use of his advantages; so Mr Saurin, on the other hand, has suffered two gross faults to pass uncensured in his adversary: One is, in charging the Socinians with teaching, that the soul dies with the body; and the other, in affirming their doctrine of the destruction of the soul to be the Epicurean impiety. The first of these faults is a lie, or rather a calumny (18). The second is an inexcuseable ignorance. The Socinian sect do not teach that the wicked shall suffer nothing after death: they only say, that their torments will at last terminate in the annihilation of their souls. And, granting there were some Socinian authors (19), who taught the annihilation of the soul immediately upon its quitting the body, his doctrine would not be the same with that of Epicurus; for that Philosopher believed, on the one hand, that the Gods had no concern either in the life or death of men; and, on the other, that the soul dies with the body, as consisting only in a certain mixture of atoms. Now, the Socinians we are speaking of, on the contrary, would maintain, that the souls of the wicked are naturally immortal, and that they only cease to be, because GOD, in punishment of their crimes, annihilates them. The Divines who are most orthodox with respect to the nature of the soul, agree, that GOD can annihilate it every moment. Here take notice, that it is an indispensable rule of natural equity, not to impute to a sect the opinions of some particular persons.

(17) Saurin, ibid. *pag.* 683, 684.

(18) The author was advertised of it in 1690, in the *Avis sur le Tableau du Socinianisme*, *pag.* 44.

(19) There are some such.

[D] *There are a great many Divines in the Romish communion, who believe that Origen is in Hell.*] We have already seen the complaints which were made against Picus Mirandula, for maintaining the contrary sentiment: The Jesuit Stephen Binet publishing a book at Paris in 1629, concerning the salvation of Origen, durst not take the affirmative side without trembling. He examines the matter in the form of a rehearing of his trial. He produces the witnesses, and pleaders *pro* and *con*, and intermixes the *conclusions of the king of Heaven's counsel.* At last he pronounces this judgment. *Considering all that has been said on the one side and on the other, together with the conclusions of the king of Heaven's counsel, it is decreed, that the affair be left to GOD's secret determination, to whom the definitive sentence is reserved. Nevertheless, by provision, and for the benefit of Origen, it is judged, upon the balance of the whole, that the proofs of his salvation are stronger and more conclusive than those of his damnation; and therefore his salvation is more probable than his damnation* (20). The witnesses he produces for Origen, are, James Merlin (21), and Erasmus (22). The advocates whom he makes to plead for that Father, are Genebrard (23), and John Picus of Mirandula (24). After that, Cardinal Baronius (25), in the name of Cardinal Bellarmin and all Origen's accusers, harangues the judges, demanding sentence against the person accused, whose heresies and crimes he enumerates. Some of his heresies are these. 1. That souls had sinned before they entered the body (26). 2. That after the resurrection, the bodies of the saints would become round and luminous like the sun (27). 3. That the sun, the moon, and the stars are living. 4. *That at the day of judgment the guardian angels will be chastised, if they have not well performed their duty in guarding the men committed to the care of their charity* (28). 5. *That before the creation of this world there were several others, and when this should be reduced to dust, several would be created one after another* (29). 6. That the stars are books in which may be read *the good fortune of mankind, that the angels by them calculate the nativity of men, and learn their fortune, and that they have taught men part of that judicial Astrology, in order to calculate nativities, but without restraining free-will or doing any violence to liberty* (30). 7. *That the earth is a large animal capable of good and evil* (31), *and in consequence, worthy of reward or punishment; whence it is that GOD blesses or curses it, according as it behaves itself well or ill, and renders it self capable of the one or the other* (32). 8. 'That after the day 'of judgment the women will be transformed into 'men, and the human bodies into very pure souls, 'and that there will be then no more men with 'glorified bodies; but that all will be pure spirits 'like the angels in Heaven.' Baronius's chief reason is this (33): 'The general council did not content it'self, as usual, with condemning his doctrine, but 'proceeded so far as even to condemn his person, 'thundering an anathema against him personally, and 'condemning him by name *, these are the words of 'the holy council. The emperor having required, *ut* 'cum erroribus suis autor ipse Origenes damnaretur, - - - 'that Origen might be condemned together with his er'rors. The holy council, † after mature consideration 'of the affair, and invocation of the assistance of the 'Holy Ghost, did, in fine, pronounce these words, 'or rather these claps of thunder. In the first place, 'it ‡ discharged ten anathemas against the venemous doctrine of Origen; and then going farther 'pronounced, *Anathema etiam ipsi Origeni qui dicitur* 'Adamantius, - - - *cursed be Origen himself who is called* 'Adamantius. They added this last word on purpose, lest the world should mistake, as if they spoke 'of the other Origen, and not of the true Origen, 'whom they covered with anathemas as a reprobated, 'condemned, and damned person.' Let us see a specimen of the eloquence of that time. Binet supposes, that Baronius making use of a vision which is related in the *Pratum Spirituale*, spoke after this manner (34): *Must we at last come to this extremity, that I should be forced to open Hell, and shew you that Origen is there, otherwise you will not believe it? Is it not enough that I have shewn you his guilt, his miserable death, his sentence of condemnation pronounced by the Emperors, by the Popes, by the Saints, and*

(20) Stephen Binet, of the Salvation of Origen, *pag.* 468.

(21) In Præfat. ad Originem, *ann.* 1512.

(22) In Vita Origenis.

(23) In Origen.

(24) Apologia, *Q. VII*, de Salute Origenis.

(25) Binet, *pag.* 155, *cites him*, Annal. Tom. iii, ann. 533, &c.

(26) Binet, pag. 158, ex S. Leone Epist. decret. 11.

(27) Ib. pag. 160, & seq. ex Niceph. lib. xvii, cap. xxvii. Præf. in Conc. v, Constantinop.

(28) Orig. Hom. 20, in num. apud Binet. pag. 166.

(29) Orig. in cap. i, Eccl. ex Methodio & Genebr. apud Binet. pag. 168.

(30) Orig. in Genes. Philocal. cap. xxv, apud Binet. pag. 168.

(31) Compare, with the above, remark [D], of the article KEPLER.

(32) Orig. Hom. 4, in Ezech. apud Binet. ibid.

(33) Binet, *pag.* 191.

* Baron. an. 400. an. 538. an. 553.

† 5. Synod.

‡ Niceph. lib. xvii, cap. xxvii, xxviii. Sur. 11. Janu. Cedren. in Annal. Cassiod. I, div. inst. Prat. spirit. cap. xxvi, Baron. an. 532.

(34) Binet, *pag.* 195, *& seq.*

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Since the first edition of this Dictionary two pieces have been published, which oblige me to make some additions to this article. One of them, under the title of *Parrhasiana*, was published at Amsterdam in 1699, by a learned person who disguises himself by the name of Theodorus Parrhasius. The other was printed at Paris in 1700, and intituled, *Histoire des Mouvemens*, &c. That is, *The History of the Commotions which have happened in the church on account of Origen and his doctrine.* Father Doucin, a Jesuit, is the author of the latter. In the Parrhasiana we meet with some reflexions upon the controversy between the Manichees and the Orthodox. They are ushered in with an observation which is as agreeable as could be expected from a very honest man (*c*). They are ushered in, I say, with a judgment every way agreeable to equity, truth, and reason, with reference to the views with which I took the liberty to state the objections of the Manichees, and to own that natural light is not sufficient to enable Christians to resolve them, whether they follow St Austin's system, or that of Molina and the Remonstrants, or have recourse to that of the Socinians. Theodorus Parrhasius maintains the contrary, and pretends (*d*), that an Origenist may *stop the mouth of the Manichees . . . . If a man of this character*, continues he, *can put a Manichee to silence, what would not they do, who should reason infinitely better than the disciples of* Origen? We shall examine below, what he supposes an *Origenist could say, after having considered all the objections of the Manichees* [*E*]. As

(*c*) Parrhasiana, *pag.* 302.

(*d*) Ibid. *pag.* 304.

and by the fifth general council, besides others, and as it were by the mouth of God himself? But since it remains only to descend to Hell, to give you a sight of this reprobate, this damned Origen: Let us go, gentlemen, I am content to do it, to run the matter to the last conclusion: let us go, in God's name to Hell, to see whether he is there or not, and so give the last decision of the point. The fifth general council † *has cited a book, and by citing it has authorized it, as a book proper to furnish good and effectual arguments for confirming the decisions of the council upon the article of Images. And why should not we make use of it after the council, to determine this question, which is already otherwise but too plain and evident? There it is said, that a good man, under great concern for the salvation of Origen's soul, did, after some ardent prayers of a holy old man, manifestly see a sort of Hell laid open to him, where he distinguished and knew the Heresiarchs, who were all called over before him by their names, and in the midst of these he saw Origen, who was damned among the rest, and covered with horror, flames, and confusion.* Now let us insert part of the answer which was made to this objection. ' Does the church ' ground her canons upon the visions of a hermit; ' she who teaches, that the visions of private per- ' sons lay no obligation upon any one to believe them, ' and that articles of faith are never founded upon ' such visions? So that I admit, the *Pratum Spiri- ' tuale* tells us, a good honest Abbot saw Origen in ' Hell; but is he the first who has been mistaken? ' What Origen does he speak of, our Origen, or the ' other infamous Origen? And of what authority is ' this book, the *Pratum Spirituale?* Let us put the case, ' that the seventh general council quoted it for some ' particular purpose, as upon the article of Images, ' does that imply that they rendered it canonical as to ' every thing that is in it: and how many simple ' things, are there in that little book, which appear ' ridiculous and incredible to the wiser part of man- ' kind (35)?' Just one word more: *Here the vision of a simple Abbot is alledged, and I alledge the vision of a great Saint, called Mechtildis* **, *to whom God revealed that he would not let the world know what was become of Samson, Solomon, and Origen, in order to strike the greatest terror into the strongest, the wisest, and the most learned, men of this world, by keeping them in suspence and uncertainty* (36).

† Baron. an. 432, Mosch. in Prat. cap. xxvi.

(35) Binet, *pag.* 129.

** Lib. vitæ S. Mecht. Edit. an. 1627.

(36) Binet, *pag.* 219.

Note, That Robert de Corceone, an English Cardinal who flourished in the beginning of the XIIIth century, wrote a book upon the question of Origen's salvation. Bale speaks of it.

[*E*] *We shall examine . . . . what he supposes an Origenist could say, after having considered all the objections of the Manichees.*] Though the arguments he puts into the Origenist's mouth are short and close, yet I imagine, I shall preserve their full force in reducing them to these three propositions. 1. God ' has made us ' free, to make room for virtue and vice, for praise ' and reproach, for reward and punishment (37).' 2. He *damns nobody purely for having sinned, but for not having repented* (38). 3. *The physical and moral evils* of mankind, are of so short a duration, in comparison to eternity, that they cannot hinder us from esteeming God *as beneficent, and as a friend to virtue* (39). It is in this last proposition that the whole force of the Origenist consists, and the reason is this: he supposes that the torments of Hell are not of eternal duration; and that God, after judging that free creatures have *suffered enough, will render them eternally happy* (40). The eternal happiness which will be bestowed upon them, fills up the idea of infinite mercy, tho' preceded by several ages of sufferings; for several are nothing in comparison with infinite duration; and *there is infinitely less proportion between* the time of the duration of this earth *and eternity, than there is between a minute and a hundred millions of Years* (41) . . . ' Among men, those who have the care of a child ' that is ill, and who cure him by a bitter remedy, ' only smile at the complaints he makes of this bitter- ' ness, because they know it will be tasted but a very ' little time, and that the remedy will do him good. ' There is an infinitely greater disproportion between ' God and the most knowing men, than there is be- ' tween these and the simplest children. So that we ' cannot reasonably think it strange that God looks ' upon the evils we suffer as almost nothing: he, who ' alone has a compleat idea of eternity, and looks upon ' the beginning and end of our sufferings as infinitely ' nearer, than the beginning and end of a minute. ' After the same manner ought we to reason about ' vices and vicious actions; which, with respect to ' God, are of short duration, and at the bottom, ' cause no change in the universe. If a Clock- ' maker should make a clock, which being once ' wound up, would go very well for a whole year, ' abating two or three seconds, which might not be ' exactly equal on its first setting out; could any one ' say, that this workman should not pretend to skill ' and exactness in his workmanship? In like manner, if ' God does one day, for all eternity, redress the dis- ' orders which the ill use of liberty shall have caused ' among men, can we think it strange that he suffers ' them to continue, during the moment that we shall ' continue here on earth (42).'

(37) Parrhasiana, *pag.* 306.

(38) Ib. *p.* 307.

(39) Ib. *p.* 308.

(40) Ib. *p.* 312.

(41) Ib. *p.* 309.

(42) Ib. *pag.* 310, 311.

Let us see what a Manichee might answer to this discourse of an Origenist.

I. The first thing he might say is, that we do not find in our minds the idea of two sorts of goodness; one of which consists in making a present, whose bad effects are foreseen, without preventing them, though that is in the power of the giver; the other, in granting a favour of such a nature as will always be advantageous to the receiver. It is needless to observe, that by the idea of goodness we do not understand an imperfect sort of goodness, such as we meet with in the heart of a sinner; but a goodness which in a logical abstracted sense is clear of all failure. This ideal goodness is not a genus containing under it the two species just now described. Its essential and distinguishing attribute is so to dispose its subject as to bestow favours, which by the shortest and surest means it can make use of, may render the condition of the receiver happy. This ideal goodness essentially and necessarily excludes all that can suit with a malicious being. Now it is certain that such a being would readily incline to dispense

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As for Father Doucin's book, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying that it contains a large and curious diſcuſſion of the ſubjects mentioned in the title, and alſo an epitome of the life of Origen. One cannot read it without deploring the extravagancies to which the human mind is ſubject. Origen's converſation and manners were admirably pure:

diſpenſe favours, the uſe of which it knew would prove fatal to thoſe who ſhould receive them. We read of a certain Roman who preſented very fine cloaths to thoſe whom he hated.

Eutrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat,
Veſtimenta dabat pretioſa: beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis ſumet nova conſilia & ſpes:
Dormiet in lucem: ſcorto poſtponet honeſtum
Officium, nummos alienos paſcet: ad imum
Thrax erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum (43).

(43) Horat. Epiſt. XVIII, lib. I, ver. 31.

Eutrapelus, whene'er on miſchief bent,
A preſent of the richeſt garments ſent:
Fine cloaths will make the fop new meaſures take:
Change day for night: grow a conſummate rake:
Becomes the uſurers prey, then in deſpair
Turn Gladiator, or cry garden-ware.

Bad princes, who want a fair opportunity of gratifying their deſire to ruin ſome great lord, would gladly give him the government of a province, if they knew that by abuſing that truſt he would render himſelf moſt odious to all mankind, and moſt worthy of an exemplary puniſhment: But a romantic heroe formed for a model of royal perfection, a prince, I ſay, drawn after ideas even more exactly than Cyrus by Xenophon (44), will never lay a ſnare by his liberalities. When he diſpoſes of places, he pitches upon ſuch as are moſt ſuitable to thoſe he has a mind to gratify, and does not give them ſuch places as he apprehends they will miſmanage. He gives quickly, which is a character of goodneſs that multiplies the favour beſtowed (45). He does not oblige the ſuitors to long ſollicitations; this deſtroys the merit of the benefit (46), and is only ſuitable to ſuch an indifferent ſort of goodneſs as ſcarce deſerves to be diſtinguiſhed from unkindneſs. Thoſe who have given us the character of Cardinal Mazarin, have mentioned as a conſiderable foible, the cuſtom he had of ſpinning out the execution of his promiſes to ſuch a length of time, that all the pleaſure was waſted in the expectation, and his favours were all cancelled by the application which was neceſſary, in order to extort them. *Promiſſis largus, quibus multoties non ſtetit; aut ſi implevit faſtidio & mora diu libratum beneficium improbe extortum elumbavit, longo voto conſumens gaudia* (47). Had they deſigned his panegyric, and meant to flatter his memory with the character of a conſummate liberality, they would have ſaid, that his readineſs to oblige prevented ſollicitations, and ſpared his clients the trouble of aſking. *Illud atque in vulgus, principem obiiſſe .... liberalem in primis, & qui raro exemplo hujus ævi preces anteverteret, ut conſuleret accipientium pudori* (48). A panegyriſt that means to keep cloſe to ideal perfection, in order to attribute it to his heroes, would not fail to preſerve in the character their liberality, an inſeparable connection between beſtowing the art of making good uſe of a favour, and granting the favour itſelf.

Thus we ſee what are the properties of ideal goodneſs, what it excludes, what it includes. Now, if we conſider this idea of goodneſs, we do not find that God, who is a principle of infinitely good, could put off the felicity of his creatures till the termination of ſeveral ages of miſery (49), or beſtow upon them a free will, which he was very ſure they would uſe to their own deſtruction. Had they deſired any ſuch preſent of him, he could not have granted it without contradicting his own eſſence. And much leſs could he give it, when it was not aſked. Would they have willingly taken it, if they had been aſked the queſtion? And if they had known the conſequence of it, would they not rather have cried out (50).

May ſuch kind preſents fall to thoſe we hate.

But if the infinite goodneſs of the Creator did permit him to endow his creatures with a liberty, of which they might make a bad as well as good uſe, we muſt at leaſt ſay, that it would engage him to watch their ſteps in ſuch a manner, as not to ſuffer them to be guilty of actual ſin. His infinite love for virtue, his infinite hatred for vice, in a word, his ſanctity, would unite its intereſts with thoſe of his goodneſs, and by the concurrence of thoſe two divine attributes, the bad uſe of free-will would be diverted as often as it ſhould be ready to appear. Thoſe fathers who cannot refuſe their children to go all alone, or to clime a ladder, or to mount a horſe, when it is viſible they will fall, if they are not taken care of, never fail to give ſuch orders, that which way ſoever they reel they may always find a ſupport. If a finite goodneſs, a goodneſs which cannot inviſibly communicate its aſſiſtance to the faculties of a little child, does always prevent the child's falling, when it can, or hinder its wounding himſelf with a knife which muſt be given him to prevent his crying; how much more ought we to be perſuaded that God would have hindered the ill uſe of Free-will; he who is infinitely good, infinitely holy, and can infallibly incline his creature towards good, without violating the privileges of liberty (51). Such is the anſwer that a Manichee might give to an Origeniſt, upon the firſt of theſe propoſitions laid down above. It is eaſy to apprehend, without my mentioning it, that he would ſometimes make uſe of what are called *Argumenta ad hominem*.

(51) See, above, remark [G] of the article MANICHEE.

As for the reaſon alledged by the Origeniſt, that there is a neceſſity of allowing the creature free-will in order *to make room for virtue and vice, for praiſe and reproach, for reward and puniſhment*: it might be very eaſily and effectually refuted. It would ſuffice to reply, that ſuch a reaſon is ſo far from obliging a being infinitely holy and infinitely liberal, to grant free-will to creatures, that, on the contrary, it ought to divert him from it. Vice and reproach ought to have no place in the works of a cauſe infinitely holy; all the avenues to them ought to be ſtopped, all ought to be laudable; virtue ought to fortify every poſt in ſuch a manner, that her adverſary might never be able to make any invaſion. And as all ought to be happy under the empire of a ſovereign Being infinitely good and infinitely powerful; ſo pains or troubles ought to have no place in the ſame. In travelling thro' this vaſt empire, we ought to meet with no valley of tears, no *veſtibulum*, ſuch as a great Poet has thus deſcribed.

Veſtibulum ante ipſum, primiſque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus, & ultrices poſuêre cubilia curæ:
Pallenteſque habitant morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus:
Et Metus, & maleſuada Fames, & turpis Egeſtas,
(Terribiles viſu formæ) Lethumque, Laborque:
Tum conſanguineus Lethi Sopor: & mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum:
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami; & diſcordia demens,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis (52).

(52) Virgil. Æneid. lib. VI, ver. 273.

Juſt in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
Revengeful cares, and ſullen ſorrows dwell:
And pale diſeaſes, and repining age,
Want, fear, and famine's unreſiſted rage;
Here toils, and death, and death's half brother ſleep,
Forms terrible to view, their centry keep:
With anxious pleaſures of a guilty mind,
Deep frauds before, and open force behind:
The furies iron beds, and ſtrife that ſhakes
Her hiſſing treſſes, and unfolds her ſnakes.

Without paſſing through Places filled with horror, we ought at firſt ſetting out to fall in with the ſcenes of felicity.

Devenêre locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedeſque beatas.
Largior hîc campos æther, & lumine veſtit
Purpureo: ſolemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt (53).

(53) Ibid. ver. 638.

(43) Bis dat qui cito dat.

(44) Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad hiſtoriæ fidem ſcriptus, ſed ad effigiem juſti imperii. *Cicero, ad Quint. frat. Epiſt. I, lib. i, fol. m. 98, D.*

(46) Gratia quæ tarda eſt, ingrata eſt; gratia namque Cum fieri properat, gratia grata magis. *Auſon. Epigr. lxxxii.* See likewiſe Epigr. lxxxiii; and the authors quoted in the commentary upon theſe words of Auſonius of the Amſterdam Edition 1671.

(47) Priolus, de Rebus Gallicis, *Annal., ſub fin. fol. m. 392.*

(48) Famian. Strada, Prolus. II, *lib. II, pag. m. 256. He ſpeaks of Leo X.*

(49) This we ſhall touch upon in paragraph IV.

(50) Hoſtibus eveniant talia dona meis.

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pure: his zeal for the gospel was ardent to the last degree. He ruined his health with

- - - - - - - - - They took their way,
Where long extended plains of pleasure lay.
The verdant fields with those of heaven may vye,
With Æther vested, and a purple sky:
The blissful seas of happy souls below,
Stars of their own, and their own suns they know.

Virtue, praise, and happiness, may very well exist, though vice, reproach, and punishment, have no other existence, than what we call ideal and objective. This the Origenist cannot deny, since he acknowledges an eternal felicity for all free creatures, which shall succeed after some ages of suffering. Virtue, praise, and benefits, will take place, during the infinite duration of that happiness; but vice, blame, and punishment, will there have no existence out of the intellect. If the Origenist replies, that these benefits would not be rewards, if the creatures had not been endowed with liberty; we shall answer, that there is no proportion between an eternal felicity and the good use man makes of his free-will; and for that reason the eternal happiness which God bestows upon a good man cannot be considered, properly speaking, as a reward; it is a favour, a free gift. So that, taking the terms in a strict sense, we cannot pretend that free-will was necessary to be given men, in order that they might merit the happiness of paradise, and obtain it as a reward. This might as well be said, if there were only a subordination between virtue and eternal happiness; that is a chain or connection of thoughts necessarily virtuous, in which happiness would be the consequent, and virtue the antecedent. Not to mention that the more eternal felicity were remote from the notion of reward, the more it would suit with the character of infinite Goodness.

II. The answer to the second proposition cannot stop us long. The Manichee would not fail to observe, that impenitence being nothing but the bad use of liberty, it is all one, whether you say that God condemns men for not repenting, or that he damns them purely for having sinned. I own, that, generally speaking, it has an appearance of mercy, to be ready to remit the punishment of those who are sorry for their fault: but when a promise of Pardon, upon condition of repenting, is made to those of whose impenitence we are well assured; this, properly speaking, is promising nothing, and the resolution to punish them is just as absolute as if no favour had been offered them: if you would in good earnest exempt them from punishment, you should hinder their impenitence, which is a very easy matter to him who has the command of their hearts. Here again *Argumenta ad hominem.*

III. As for the third proposition and its proofs, the Manichee might ask, in the first place, whether the Origenist would dare to determine the duration of the torments which precede the happy eternity. He would not venture the determining it, not only because he is ignorant of it, but also because he would be afraid to make it either too short or too long. If he made it too short, an hundred years, for instance, he would apprehend the being accused of giving a loose to sinners; and if he made it a million of years, he would dread the not having given a just idea of God's mercy, and the not having removed all the scandal of the pretended cruelty of the doctrine of hell. He can never trust therefore to the nullity of proportion between a million of ages, and an infinite duration; and the difficulty does not appear to be removed by saying, *There is infinitely less proportion between* the duration of the earth *and eternity, than between a minute and a hundred millions of years.* This may be equally affirmed of as many millions of ages as there are drops of water in the ocean. This number of ages multiplied as often as you will, is a finite thing, but there is no proportion between a finite and an infinite; and consequently there is none between eternity and any number of ages whatsoever. Yet, no body can forbear judging, that the Divine Justice would be less severe, if it put an end to the misery of the reprobate, in order to introduce them into paradise, at the termination of an hundred years, than if it did not make this change till after an hundred thousand ages. Take what pains you will, you can never satisfy reason, by telling it, that God will indeed be appeased at last, but not till the infernal punishments, such as they are usually described, shall have lasted as many millions of years, as there are drops of water in the sea. This number of years, which is nothing in comparison with eternity, appears nevertheless a very long duration, when considered by itself, and with respect to the person suffering. Let this proceed from what it will, whether it be that our reason is too dull to be deceived, or that there is really some source of illusion and sophism in the ideas of time: you can never beat it out of the head of a Philosopher, who reasons only philosophically, that the punishment of a creature continued for a hundred thousand million of ages is incompatible with the sovereign bounty of the Creator. We must suppose that an Origenist is sensible of this, and for that reason he would not venture to say, that the purgatory of the damned shall last so long. But see how a Manichee might, in my opinion, urge him. Since you think so long a punishment cruel, take half the time only, and if you find any thing else in that supposition, but a diminution of the severity, you impose upon yourself; for fifty millions of years differ only in the degree of more or less from a hundred thousand millions, and we can never rise from cruelty to infinite goodness, by a bare diminution of cruelty. Qualities *in summo gradu* (54), for instance, heat does absolutely exclude all the degrees of cold; and therefore goodness, *in summo gradu*, must needs exclude all degrees whatsoever of the opposite quality. You cannot therefore rise to the supreme goodness of God, but by abridging to the very last minute the punishments of hell. For what God can be for a moment, that he may be for two hours, and two ages, and through all eternity; but whatever would be incompatible with his nature in eternity, is always so in every instant of the duration of things. The qualities of a creature are susceptible of the degrees of more or less, and incapable of perfection; but we call them perfect, when their imperfection is not very sensible. We commend the exactness of a Clockmaker, if his pendulum does not err above two or three seconds in a year. But the exactness of an artificer infinitely perfect, absolutely excludes all exceptions; his holiness, his wisdom, &c. are absolutely simple, and without any mixture of contrary qualities: I say, without the least mixture which can be conceived, or which can possibly exist in the nature of things.

IV. The idea of this goodness excludes all the weakness which are commonly met with in the way of mens doing good to one another. Some take pleasure in delays (55), others cannot be serviceable without going about, and in spite of their own wills, are constrained to make those pass through evil, whom they mean to lead to good. Fathers who cannot correct the bad inclinations of a child without the lash of the rod, make his body feel the smart of it; but this they would by no means do, were they persuaded that a boundless complaisance would be a more effectual means of correction. They force him to swallow a medicine, which is intolerably bitter to the taste, and griping in the operation, but this they would not do, if they knew how to cure him otherwise. They would give sugar and every thing agreeable to the taste, if they thought they would prove a more certain remedy. The administring a disagreeable potion being unavoidable, they sweeten and qualify the bitterness as well as they can with little cheats (56); and though they regard the complaints made of the ill taste, as a ridiculous weakness, because they know *the bitterness will soon go off, and the remedy do good*, yet notwithstanding this, I say, these would very gladly save the child this trouble, and cure him, if they could, with the most palatable liquors in the world. One may be sensible of such a tender disposition of soul without being a father. There is neither a Physician nor an Apothecary, who does not apologize for the bitterness of his remedies, and protest, that if it were possible, he would grudge no pains to make them as pleasant as the most agreeable sweatmeat which the Confectioner can prepare, but that a necessity, insurmountable by all the art of man, obliges him to give disagreeable medicines. Without doubt this language is sincere, even when used to a patient he never saw before. Put this question to a Surgeon who sets the arm of a person unknown

(54) I shall speak more of this below, citat. (59).

(55) See, above, citat. (47). These delays are sometimes so uneasy, that at all a ready denial is asked as a favour. *Jam, satis est, finem O Cæsar pro munere posco. Remque meam in dubio, perfica finem neget.* See Balzac, Entret. XXVII, *pag. m.* 276.

(56) Pueris absinthia tetra medentes
Cùm dare conantur, prius oras poculo circùm
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
Labrorum tenùs, interea perpotet amarum
Absinthi laticem, deceptaque non capiatur;
Sed potiùs tali factò recreata valescat. *Lucret. lib. I, ver. 935, & lib. IV, ver.* 11.

- - - - - For as *Physicians* [illegible] *In giving children draughts of bitter juice,*
To make them [illegible] *take it; and* [illegible] *cup with sweet* [illegible] *To cheat* [illegible] *this first* [illegible] *eager taste.*
And [illegible] *on, and take the bitter draught.*
And [illegible] *lishly deceived* [illegible] *For by* [illegible] *they give them* [illegible] *strength, and* [illegible] *Their former health, and* [illegible] *the disease.*

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with faſtings and watchings. Thirſting after martyrdom (*e*) he underwent, with incredible conſtancy, the torments which the perſecutors of the faith inflicted upon him [*F*]; torments

(*e*) See, above, remark [*A*], citat. ‡.

known to him, *if you could perform this operation without cauſing any pain, would you not do it?* He will reply, that there is no queſtion to be made of it, and that it muſt be taken for granted, that a man of his profeſſion, who knows how to dreſs a wound two ways, equally good, the one painful and the other eaſy, and ſhould prefer the former to the latter, would be a monſter of cruelty, a tyger, a cannibal, that ought to be immediately broke upon the wheel (57). Generally ſpeaking, your Schoolmaſters are none of the beſt tempered men in the world; and yet I doubt whether there is any pedantry ſo ſavage, as to prefer the rod to good words, even where it is certain that mildneſs and complaiſance would improve their ſcholars as much as correction. Do they not give ſugar-plums to little boys, to conquer their ſtubbornneſs (58). To have recourſe to chiding and the *ferula* without neceſſity, I mean, without finding that method more profitable than good words and preſents, is certainly brutiſh.

(56) Compare what I quote from Seneca, in the article CALISTRATUS, citation (7) and (8).

(58) Ut pueris olim dant cruſtula blandi Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima. *Horat. Sat. I, lib. I.*

This induction might be amplified without end, and will furniſh a conſequence ſufficient to put an Origeniſt out of countenance; for we may from hence conclude, that both the ideas of experience and metaphyſics concur in demonſtrating, that to hurt any one, though it be for never ſo ſhort a portion of time, and in order to procure him the greateſt benefit, is altogether incompatible with goodneſs, unleſs it be abſolutely impoſſible to find out a ſtrait path to lead him from good to good, in a conſtant and invariable manner. Let it be urged never ſo much, that the torments of the damned, after laſting for a certain time, which is ſhort in compariſon with eternity, ſhall be followed with endleſs felicity: yet this will appear to be ſo much the more incompatible with the goodneſs of God, as his goodneſs is infinite, and infinitely perfect, which cannot ſuffer the leaſt diminution or interruption without ceaſing to be perfect. Let us but call to mind the doctrine of the ſchoolmen about the nature of firſt qualities. Heat, *in ſummo gradu* (59), or *ut octo*, as they expreſs it, ceaſes to be a firſt, ſimple, and perfect, quality, as ſoon as it is joined to the leaſt degree of cold which can poſſibly exiſt. From that moment it aſſumes the nature of ſecond or compound qualities. Eſſences conſiſt *in indiviſibili*, in an indiviſible point, take never ſo little from them, and you deſtroy them entirely. They muſt have all or nothing; ſo that how ſmall ſoever the mixture may be of the bad quality with the good, this goodneſs loſes the eſſence of perfect goodneſs: it changes its ſpecies, and paſſes into that of imperfect qualities. This is evident from the philoſophical axiom quoted in the margin (60). It is neceſſary therefore, if the Origeniſts mean to get clear, they muſt add a new Hereſy to the former; they muſt maintain, that it was impoſſible for God to lead free creatures to eternal happineſs, without their previous ſuffering the miſeries of this life, and afterwards for a limited time, thoſe of hell. They might allege, that as fiſh cannot live in the air, nor men under water, ſo the ſouls of men cannot ſubſiſt in paradiſe, while they are incumbred with the filth which ariſes from their union with elementary matter; that there is a neceſſity therefore of purifying them in the infernal furnaces, after which they are qualified to live happy in the cœleſtial regions. According to this ſuppoſition the goodneſs of God, may be entirely conſiſtent with the torments of the creature, juſt as a Surgeon preſerves his friendſhip for the patient who undergoes his operation, notwithſtanding the violent pain he puts him to, which it is not poſſible for him to prevent. But the having recourſe to this hypotheſis, is only adopting part of the error of the Manichees; it is ſaving the goodneſs of God at the expence of his power, and admitting that Matter is an uncreated principle ſo eſſentially bad, that it is not in the power of God to rectify its defects. This therefore inſtead of anſwering the objections of the Manichees, is making them triumph. The obſervations made upon phyſical evil, with reſpect to the goodneſs of God, may eaſily be applied to moral evil, with regard to the divine ſanctity.

(59) Compare what is ſaid above, citation (54).

(60) Bonum ex integra cauſa, Malum ex quocunque defectu. *Good conſiſts in all perfection, Evil in any imperfection.*

V. We muſt take notice, that if Origen could anſwer the objection of the Manichees, it would not follow, that they might be ſolved yet more effectually, by principles much better and more orthodox than his. For all the advantage he can have in his controverſy, proceeds from the falſe poſitions, peculiar to him, which, on the one hand, give a large extent to the power of free-will, and on the other hand, ſuppreſs everlaſting miſery, and ſubſtitute in its place eternal bliſs. The ſtrongeſt argument of the Manichees is grounded on this hypotheſis, that all men, except a very few, ſhall be eternally damned.

VI. There is no ſect now in being, which gives ſo ſmall a handle to the Manichees, as the Socinian; and that is only owing to their departing farther than all the reſt from the hypotheſis of the *Particulariſts* (61). But ſo long as they ſcruple to go yet further, they will ſucceed no better in this diſpute than the Origeniſts; they muſt ſink under it, unleſs they join to their other impieties, that of holding matter to be a principle which God can only diſpoſe of to a certain degree, beyond which he muſt of neceſſity yield to its reſiſtance, and accommodate himſelf to the incorrigible defects which he finds in it. If the Socinians do not farther charge themſelves with that piece of blaſphemy, they will ſee themſelves reduced to an abſurdity, I mean to deny truths evident from experience; and that after this manner. They deny the eternity of Hell, becauſe they cannot conceive how it ſhould conſiſt with the infinite goodneſs of God. They cannot conceive that ſuch goodneſs is compatible with a Hell of a hundred times a hundred thouſand millions of years. So many ages of miſery appear to them a moſt horrid cruelty. But as they will never riſe from cruelty to infinite gooodneſs by retrenching a thouſand ages, and then another thouſand, &c. ſo long as they leave any years of torment behind (62); they muſt ſay, if they mean to avoid the inconſiſtency, that under a God infinitely good there can be no Hell. This proves too much; for after this theſis is laid down, it is not conceivable that men can be liable to diſeaſes and afflictions. So that from theſe principles there would follow a falſhood, and even the impoſſibility of a thing which exiſts beyond all diſpute, and of which we have but too ſad experience. If you ſay, that under the beſt monarchs there are dungeons, tortures, gibbets, and executioners, frequently made uſe of: I anſwer, that none of theſe things could take place, if it were in the power of thoſe monarchs to inſpire all the world with a firm reſolution of demeaning themſelves as they ought. How can you get clear of this labyrinth, if God diſpoſes of matter as he thinks fit, and is the free author of the laws that ſubject man to ſickneſs and uneaſineſs? There is no eſcaping therefore, but by ſaying, that God cannot do every thing he would; and that matter contains the ſeeds of evil, which ſhoot up one way or other, whether he will or not, and in ſpite of any combination or texture whatſoever, which he may may make of its particles.

(61) Theſe are the men who inſiſt moſt ſtrictly upon the literal ſenſe of St Paul, about the doctrine of abſolute Predeſtination, the neceſſity of Grace, and the loſs of Free-will.

(62) See the proofs of this above, remark [*E*]. paragraph III.

VII. This is the way of teaching thoſe their duty, who mean to ſubject Theology to Philoſophy. You muſt ſhew to them the abſurd conſequences of their method, and by that means bring them back to this maxim of Chriſtian humility. That metaphyſical notions ought not to be the rule, by which we are to judge of the conduct of God; but that we ought to conform our ſelves to the oracles of the ſcripture. As for thoſe who may apprehend any danger to the true faith, from ſhewing, that by the bare light of Philoſophy we cannot make a ſtand againſt the objections of the Manichees; I refer them to the explanations which I thought proper to ſubjoin to the end of this work.

[*F*] *The torments which the perſecutors of the faith inflicted upon him.*] Of all the martyrs put to death under the ſeventh perſecution (63), *none was attacked with more obſtinacy than Origen . . . . He was thrown into a dark dungeon, * chained with a large collar of iron round his neck, extended for ſeveral days upon a ſort of a rack, which, by pulling his feet aſunder, diſlocated his members, in ſuch a manner, that he paſſed the reſt of his life in extreme pain. He was then ſixty-ſeven years old . . . . Every day they invented new cruelties, related by himſelf in his letters, to which the ancients refer us, but which are ſince loſt. They often threatened to burn him gradually, and at ſeveral times; and, during this cruel and long martyrdom, which laſted, ſo far as*

(63) That of the emperor Decius, ann. 250.

* *Euſeb. lib. vi, cap. xxxix. Niceph. lib. v, cap. xxxii.*

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torments ſo much the more inſupportable becauſe they were of long duration; for there was great care taken to prevent *his expiring in the midſt of the torture* (*f*). His genius was great, fine, and ſublime, his knowledge and reading were vaſtly extenſive, and yet he fell into a *prodigious number of Hereſies, the very leaſt of which is monſtrous* (*g*), and probably he fell into them by endeavouring to protect the truths of Chriſtianity from the *Inſults of the Pagans*, and to render them *credible even to the Philoſophers*; *which he wiſhed for with the moſt ardent zeal, not doubting, but that with them he ſhould convert the univerſe* (*b*). So many virtues, ſo many admirable talents, and ſo great a degree of zeal, could not prevent his dying a Heretic, and his memory from being abhorred by an infinite number of Chriſtians. There are but few in the Romiſh communion who dare to doubt of his eternal damnation. And yet how many voluptuous, worldly, lazy, and vicious doctors are there, who being at the ſame time very orthodox, receive every day thouſands of benedictions for their unſhaken conſtancy in the true faith? So impenetrable are the judgments of GOD! It is not commonly apprehended that the errors of Origen have any connexion with one another; they ſeem to be the product of a wandering and irregular mind: but it is more rational to aſſert, that they all ſpring from one ſource [*G*], and that they are ſyſtematical falſities, which form a chain of conſequences. Some of his followers have carried them even to the ſenſualities we have ſince ſeen among the Molinoſiſts [*H*]. But that

(*f*) Doucin, Hiſtoire de l'Origeniſme, *pag.* 81.

(*g*) Id. ib. *pag.* 36.

(*b*) Id. ib. *pag.* 37.

as we can judge, till the death of Decius, he never let ſlip one ſyllable unworthy of a ſoldier of JESUS CHRIST. Happy! if in ſurrendering his ſoul in ſo glorious a fight, he could have waſhed off the errors of his doctrine with his blood. But GOD did not permit it ſo to be. † He ſuffered much, *ſays St Epiphanius*, and did not arrive at the point to which martyrdom leads. *He touched the crown with his hand, without being able to ſet it upon his head; and he, who in all appearance was only ſhort of martyrdom, in not expiring in the midſt of his torments, the marks of which he bore to his death, is an Hereſiarch, rejected and abhorred by the church, for not believing as ſhe does. But this ought not to ſurpriſe us, ſince we read in the acts of the holy prieſt Pionius, who ſuffered martyrdom at that time at Smyrna, that a Marcionite was burnt by his ſide, whoſe ſect was not leſs heretical, though it inſpired him with a deſire of martyrdom; for theſe falſe martyrs died, adhering to their errors. What makes the martyr, ſays St Auguſtin admirably well, is not the puniſhment, but the faith which makes him bear it. Now there is no faith in him who riſes in oppoſition to the doctrine of the church. Where are the men of this character, whom they would give us for ſaints, tho' we meet with nothing in their lives that comes near the virtue, or the ſufferings of the martyrs; but only a more notorious obſtinacy, than that of the ancient Hereſiarchs* (64).

† *L. de Ponder. & Menſuris.*

(64) Doucin, Hiſtoire de l'Origeniſme, *pag.* 81, *& ſeq.*

I have inſerted this long paſſage of Father Doucin, without omitting the reflexion; for I thought it would ſerve for a ſupplement to what I have related above (65) concerning the charge againſt Maimbourg, with regard to the Marcionite martyrs. I apprehended farther, that this would afford me an opportunity of remarking, that the eaſieſt means of diſcerning a good cauſe, ſlip from us ſooner or later. It would ſuit the capacity of the people much more, to diſtinguiſh the true religion by certain external marks, than to enter into a ſevere ſcrutiny of the doctrine. Now of all external marks, the conſtancy of martyrs is the moſt capable of making an impreſſion. It was altogether ſerviceable in advancing the Chriſtian faith; the aſhes of martyrs were the ſeeds of juſt men, and produced innumerable proſelytes to the goſpel. But this proof became equivocal after Chriſtianity was ſplit into ſeveral communions: each of them had their reſpective martyrs; and ſo, to avoid the being impoſed upon, there was a neceſſity of entering into the diſcuſſion of their doctrine, and to diſclaim this compendious rule of truth, *viz.* ſuch a communion has martyrs, therefore it is good.

(65) In the remark [*E*] of the article MARCIONITES.

[*G*] *It is more rational to aſſert, that all* the errors of *Origen ſpring from one ſource.*] It is in his three books of principles (66) that he has *explained and eſtabliſhed them, and ſo connected one with another, that they may all be ſeen to ſpring from one ſole principle* (67).

(66) He compoſed them, ann. 217. See Father Doucin, ubi infra.

(67) Doucin, Hiſtoire de l'Origeniſme, *pag.* 31.

‘ It is eaſy to demonſtrate, in the firſt place, that ‘ what is heretical and deſerves cenſure, in his books ‘ of principles, is not one or two propoſitions foreign ‘ to his ſubject, but the very body of the doctrine, ‘ the ſubſtance of the work, the fundamental propoſitions upon which the whole ſyſtem is ſupported, ‘ and which cannot be removed without overturning ‘ the whole edifice. It is demonſtrable, in the ſecond ‘ place, that the ſame errors which ſtain his book of ‘ principles, are diſperſed through all the other writings of the author; inſomuch, that the ſame ſpirit ‘ reigns throughout, the ſame ideas every where appear. In order to remove his errors you muſt deſtroy the very firſt elements of his doctrine (68). ‘ . . . . Such is the condition of any one who dares to ‘ ſteer a new courſe in religious matters: a dreadful ‘ ſeries of abyſſes and precipices opens, every ſtep he ‘ goes. The more ingenious he is, the more does the ‘ itch of reaſoning conſequentially oblige him to ſwallow abſurdities; and that which at firſt view ſeemed ‘ only a ſlight ſingularity, and not worthy to be ‘ taken notice of, proves in the end the general overthrow of all the Chriſtian doctrines. So fatal it is ‘ to indulge invention, where we have nothing to do ‘ but to believe (69).’ The author from whom I have theſe words, ſays in another place; ‘ That which ‘ principally deſerves our regard, is the imperceptible, ‘ and yet real, connexion of all theſe errors, which ‘ from one to another obliged the author to invent ‘ that terrible multitude of novelties, of which his ſyſtem is compoſed. For, as St Jerom has very well ‘ ſaid, upon this ſubject, we muſt not imagine, that ‘ Origen was either a madman or a fool; † and moſt ‘ of thoſe who have read him, would not have charged him with ſuch frequent contradictions, if they ‘ had conſidered him more cloſely. It is true, his ‘ book of principles, as it now appears, is not always ‘ conſiſtent with the reſt of his works; but that is ‘ not chargeable upon the author himſelf ‡. We ‘ all know what pains Rufinus took to ſuppreſs in his ‘ tranſlation whatever he thought might occaſion its ‘ being condemned in the Weſt. It is by this means ‘ that Origen, in Latin, ſometimes attacks thoſe very ‘ errors, which he eſtabliſhes in Greek in his other ‘ writings. As for the reſt, we ſhall find Origen ‘ clear of ſelf-contradictions, if we trace him to the ‘ ſource of his ideas, and ſearch for the key, as we ‘ may call it, of his writings; for aſſuredly they have ‘ one, and we muſt not think that ſuch a train of hereſies is any thing elſe, but the conſequences of the ‘ firſt error; the diſcovery of which ſeems as yet not ‘ to have been duly purſued (70).’ Father Doucin afterwards propoſes his conjectures, and the manner in which *he conceives the doctrine of Origen to be connected.* This is worth the reading in the original.

(68) Ib. *p.* 36.

(69) Ib. *p.* 37.

† Non eſt futurus Origenes. Et ego novi. Contraria ſibi loqui non poteſt. *Hier. Apol. lib. ii.*

‡ Quæ cùm legiſſem contrariæ ſemque cum Græco, illicò animadverti quæ Origenes de Patre & Filio & Spiritu ſancto impiè diſſeruit, & quæ Romanæ aures ferre non poterant, non me interpretem ſed interprete commutata. *Hier. Apol. lib. ii.* Si ideò interpretaris ut eum hæreticum arguas, nihil de Græco mutes. *Ibid. lib. ii.*

[*H*] *Some of his followers have carried them even to the ſenſualities we have ſince ſeen among the Molinoſiſts.*] I ſhall make uſe of Father Doucin's own words. They are full of grounds of reflexion, and point out the uſe we may make of them, with relation to the preſent time. ‘ While thoſe who read him leſs attentively fell inconſiderately into all the chimera's of Origen; others who were more diſcerning, and at the ‘ ſame time more corrupted, perceived their conſequences to be very favourable to their diſorderly ‘ lives; and from this poſition, that the fleſh is only ‘ the priſon of the ſoul, and by no means any part of ‘ us ſanctified by the union with Chriſt, or appointed ‘ to reign with him in glory, they concluded that the ‘ uncleanneſs

(70) Doucin, ubi ſupra, *p.* 33, *& ſeq.*

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that carnal Origeniſm was but of ſhort duration, and was eaſier to ſuppreſs than the ſpiritual Origeniſm which was a ſort of Quietiſm [*I*]. We muſt remember that one of the things which gave Origen's ſect the greateſt run, was, that his errors ſeemed to be of ſufficient force to refute the Manichees [*K*], who by their objections very

' uncleanneſs of the fleſh could not taint the purity of ' the ſpirit, or deprive it of the grace of the Creator. ' It is very evident to what abominations this deteſt- ' able principle leads, which formed in the Eaſt a ſe- ' cond ſort of Origeniſts, whoſe leudneſs was ſo no- ' torious, that they were named *infamous* and *diſſolute* ' ‡. This double Origeniſm, the one carnal, the ' other ſpiritual, is atteſted by St Epiphanius. So ' that it ought not to be taken for the invention of an ' hiſtorian who would diſcover in paſt ages, the ori- ' ginal picture of what happens in ours. Much leſs ' ſhould it be looked upon as a piece of artifice to pro- ' cure an opportunity of entering into an explanation ' upon the preſent ſtate of affairs .... If the exe- ' crable Molinos, as much the reverſe as he was of ' the chaſte Origen, yet became as well as he the head ' both of a ſpiritual, and of a carnal hereſy, we need ' not wonder at it. †‡ The moſt ſpiritual hereſy, ' if it has never ſo little relation to the rule of mora- ' lity and practice, opens the way to the moſt mon- ' ſtrous diſorders. One groans and accuſes himſelf ' after the commiſſion of a bad action, which, he ſays, ' he could not avoid, GOD having denied him his ' grace. Another, from that notion, that GOD denied ' him the means of avoiding that action, concludes ' that it cannot be criminal, and ſo he commits it ' without bluſhing. The difference between the one ' and the other is often only in the way of ſpeaking. ' This ſpeaks as he thinks himſelf, and the other as ' he would have the world to think of him (71).'

‡ *Hæreſ.* 63, 64. Horum vero hæreſis ad Epiphanii dogma conformata videtur de quo in Gnoſticorum ſecta ſermonem antea fecimus.... nuptias repudiant neque tamen obſcenis libidinibus modum ullis adhibent, adeoque omni genere ſpurcitiæ & corpus ſuum, & mentem animumque contaminant. *Ib.*

†‡ See what Huetius ſays to prove that there was only one Origen.

(71) *Doucin, ubi ſupra, pag.* 139.

[*I*] *That carnal ſort of Origeniſm .... was eaſier to ſuppreſs than the ſpiritual Origeniſm which was a ſort of Quietiſm.*] ' This ſeems incredible, and yet de- ' ſerves to be carefully obſerved, viz. that a carnal ' hereſy is leſs to be feared by the church (72), than ' thoſe which follow the ſtricteſt regulation of morals. ' Of this the double Origeniſm is alone a ſufficient ' evidence. The carnal laſted but a very ſhort time, ' and was abhorred by all the world; even thoſe who ' were infected with it did not dare to produce ſuch a ' dreadful doctrine in the face of the world: whereas ' the ſpiritual Origeniſm, the followers of which ' were, according to * St Epiphanius himſelf, irre- ' proachable as to the purity of their lives, could not ' be extinguiſhed till two centuries after its firſt ap- ' pearance: ſo effectually did the probity of thoſe ' who profeſſed it, cover obſtinacy and pride, under ' the ſpecious appearance of an exemplary piety (73).'

(72) *See the* Penſees Diverſes ſur les Cometes §. cxxxix, cxc.

* Nam licet nullum ſectatoribus ſuis uſum turpitudinis imponat. *Hæreſ.* 64.

(73) *Doucin, ib. pag.* 141.

I ſhall borrow one paſſage more from Father Doucin. *Evagrius .... deacon of the church of Conſtantinople went to Jeruſalem, and from thence to Egypt, to ſhut himſelf up in ſolitude .... His head was full of nothing but his Origen .... Scarce had he entered his deſert, when the Origeniſt Monks, ſenſible of his worth, placed him at their head, and for that reaſon the church has ſince condemned him as one of the heads of that ſect. He ſpent his time in writing ſpiritual books which were infinitely eſteemed, and by the fragments remaining of them to this day appear in reality to be very fine. By this means the error made inconceivable progreſs, which was ſoon perceived by St Epiphanius, and St Jerome, on his ſide, cautioned the faithful againſt it.* ' *Evagrius,* ' *ſaid he, that man who comes from the North, who* ' *from his ſolitude writes letters all over the world,* ' *ſends inſtructions to virgins, to monks, and to her* ' *whoſe name ſeems to import the darkneſs and blackneſs* ' *of hereſy (he ſpeaks of Melania) that man has thought* ' *fit to publiſh a book of maxims, by which he pretends* ' *to ſtrip man of all ſenſe of paſſions.*' *This is juſt the pretended perfection of the Quietiſts.* ' *That is to ſay,* ' *adds St Jerome, Evagrius will, of his perfect man,* ' *make either a god or a ſtone* (74).'

(74) *Doucin, ubi ſupra, pag.* 177. *& ſeq.*

[*K*] *The errors of Origen ſeemed to be of ſufficient force to refute the Manichees.*] Upon this head eſpecially it will be proper for me to make uſe of borrowed expreſſions. *Palladius was brought up by Evagrius in a monaſtic life; and he knew at leaſt as well as he* how to ſucceed in the art of making the moſt of a ſect. ' The women, eſpecially ſuch of them as could ' read, loved to converſe with him, and were eaſieſt ' gained by his artful language. His cuſtom was to ' begin with raiſing a ſuſpicion of the orthodox belief ' by repreſenting it as full of abſurdities, from which ' it could not be cleared but by Origen's principles. ' He would aſk them, for inſtance, ** What ill has ' that child done, who you ſee is ſo tormented and ' poſſeſſed by the Devil? At what age ſhall we riſe ' again? Muſt it be the ſame age at which we die? ' &c (75)..... Thus it was, that Palladius made ' Origeniſm paſs for a ſyſtem neceſſary to the eaſy ' and plain explication of that, which till then had ' ſeemed to be the ſtumbling-block of our religion. ' A doctrine, thus ſet forth by the greateſt men of ' the age, could not but meet with great reception; ' eſpecially conſidering the diſpoſition of the minds ' of men which then prevailed. Their whole ſtudy at ' that time was to anſwer the Manichees, whoſe ſect was ' become more numerous and more flouriſhing than ' ever. If there is but one GOD, ſaid thoſe heretics, ' who is omnipotent and infinitely good, how can he ' permit this deluge of evils which happen in the ' world, and in which ſo many are involved from ' their nativity, while others are born in proſperity ' and affluence of fortune. Notwithſtanding the ap- ' parent abſurdity of the doctrine of two principles, ' the one good, the other bad, equally powerful and ' independent of one another, it found an infinite ' multitude of followers, who were of the opinion ' that the evils of this life could not be accounted for, ' without it. It is well known what efforts St Auſtin ' made to ſatisfy them upon that head. We know ' likewiſe, that Pelagius, who came after him, and ' whoſe doctrine was preſently very much reliſhed, ' applyed himſelf particularly to remove that very ' ſcandal, and to anſwer the queſtion then ſo much ' canvaſſed: Whence comes evil, and what is the ori- ' gin of it? Now this origin of evil, and of the di- ' verſity of what each perſon ſuffers, was accounted ' for by none with more probability than by the Ori- ' geniſts (76).'

** *Hier. Ep.* 27.

(75) *Doucin ib. pag.* 180.

(76) *Doucin, ib. pag.* 182.

Note, That the Origeniſt of the *Parrhaſiana* makes an eternal beatitude to ſucceed the torments, which the damned ſhall undergo for ſome ages (77). That takes off the moſt ſhocking of all the difficulties urged by the Manichees, namely, the eternity of the moral and phyſical evil of Hell. But Father Doucin gives a different account of Origen's doctrine, and makes it leſs apoſite for anſwering theſe heretics; for he affirms, that he equally rejected the eternity of bliſs. Beſides that Origen ' thought it ſavoured of cruelty to make ' the puniſhment of the damned eternal, this eternity of ' puniſhment appeared to him inconſiſtent with the eſ- ' ſential character of created Beings, which is inſtabi- ' lity. He would have it therefore that juſt as much ' as GOD is incapable of change, ſo much the crea- ' ture is incapable of being fixed to any thing that is ' permanent and eternal, whether it be happineſs or ' miſery. Accordingly he pretended, that when all ' the ſpirits purified from their ſtains, ſhould have re- ' entered the divinity †† of which, according to ' him they are an emanation, they would go off anew ' from his boſom, like ſparks from a furnace, and by ' way of puniſhment for this levity ‡‡ be con- ' demned to re-enter new bodies; for which there ' would be a neceſſity of creating new worlds, and ſo ' through all eternity there would be nothing but pe- ' riodical revolutions, like to thoſe of the ſeaſons (78).' Father Doucin's marginal note is worth our reciting, for it informs us, that there was in the Origeniſm a branch of Spinoſiſm, namely, the identity of all ſpi- rits with the Deity. This is what this author ob- ſerves, After citing St Jerome: ' That Ruffinus ' has ſuppreſſed this paſſage in his tranſlation. Read ' the laſt chapter of the third book, where theſe words, ' *& erit Deus omnia in omnibus*, are explained at large. St Jerome goes on thus: ' Ne parvam eſſe putaremus ' impietatem eorum quæ præmiſerat, in ejuſdem vo- ' luminis (quarti) fine, conjungit omnes rationabiles ' naturas, id eſt, Patrem & Filium & Spiritum ſanctum, ' Angelos, Poteſtates, Dominationes, cæteraſque Vir- ' tutes, ipſum quoque hominem ſecundum animæ dig- ' nitatem unius eſſe ſubſtantiæ .... Et qui in alio ' loco

(77) See the remark [*E*], citat. (40).

†† In libro quoque tertio περὶ ἀρχῶν & poſt diſputationem longiſſimam ad extremum intulit, *& erit Deus omnia in omnibus*, ut univerſa natura corporea in eam redigatur ſubſtantiam quæ omnibus melior eſt in divinam ſcilicet, quâ nulla eſt melior. *Origen. apud Hier. Epiſt. ad Avit.*

‡‡ Hier. Ep. ad Avit. & Apol. 2.

(78) *Doucin, ubi ſupra, pag.* 338.

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very much embarraſſed the Orthodox. One
anſwer to Celſus the Philoſopher, which w
I have ſpoken of ſome other editions in
See the margn (*i*).

(*i*) His treatiſe of Prayer, never printed before, was publiſhed in G
publique des Lettres, for June 1686, Art. VIII. It is ſaid in the Pre
but the truth is, as I have ſince learned from a letter of Mr Huet
bought it about the year 1636, of Mr Rums, the queen of Bohemia's
the library of Worms. This manuſcript paſſed from the hands of Iſa
it into the archives of Trinity-College in Cambridge. See *Dr Cave*,

‘ loco Filium & Spiritum ſanctum non vult de Patris
‘ eſſe ſubſtantia, ne divinitatem in partes ſecare videa-
‘ tur, naturam omnipotentis Dei Angelis hominibuſ-
‘ que largitur. Ex quo concluditur (inquit) Deum &
‘ hæc quodammodo unius eſſe ſubſtantiæ. Unum ad-
‘ dit verbum, quodammodo, ut tanti ſacrilegii crimen
‘ effugeret. See *l.* 3. cap. 16 (79). - - - - *That we*
‘ *may not ſuppoſe thoſe things which he had premiſed in*
‘ *the end of that fourth volume, to have contained a ſmall*
‘ *degree of impiety, he ſubjoins that all rational natures,*
‘ *that is, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, Angels, Pow-*
‘ *ers, Dominions, and other Virtues, and alſo even man*
‘ *himſelf, as to the dignity of his ſoul, are of one ſubſtance.*
‘ . . . . *And he who in another place will not allow*
‘ *the Son and Holy Ghoſt to be of the ſubſtance of the Fa-*
‘ *ther, for fear the Divinity ſhould ſeem divided into*
‘ *parts, diſpoſes of the nature of the omnipotent GOD to*
‘ *angels and to men. From whence we may conclude*
‘ *(ſays he), that GOD and theſe Beings are all in ſome*
‘ *meaſure of one ſubſtance. He adds, that cautious ex-*
‘ *preſſion, in ſome meaſure, the better to avoid the charge*
‘ *of that ſacrilegious impiety.*

(79) Doucin, Miſt. de l'Orig. *pag.* 339.

(80) He is a native of Rochelle. In the epiſtles of Tanaquillus Faber he his called Elias Boherellus.

(81) *See the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, *Dec* 1699. *pag.* 519, *and the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *Jan.* 1700, *p.* 3.

[*L*] *Origen's anſwer to Celſus the Philoſopher, was publiſhed in French.*] The author of that verſion is Mr Bouhéreau (80) ſo well known by the learned letters written to him by Tanaquillus Faber of Samur. The merit of that performance being ſufficiently made known by our Journaliſts (81), it is unneceſſary for me to take notice of it. I ſhall only ſay one thing to confirm an obſervation I have oftentimes made, that

OROBIO (ISAAC) a Jewiſh Phyſicia
Bibliotheque Univerſelle (*a*).

(*a*) *Tom. VII, pag.* 289. *& ſeq.*

OROSIUS (PAUL) a Spaniſh prieſt
century. Conſult Moreri; to avoid the re
bear giving the Hiſtory of Oroſius, but
errors relating to him. Thoſe who have n
the year 471 [*A*], are even more miſta
Pagan [*B*], and as much as ſome others
that St Auſtin deſired him to *write the*
the time of JESUS CHRIST [*C*], and tha

[*A*] *Thoſe who have made him a Monk, and placed his death in the year* 471.] You will find their names in Philip Elſſius, whoſe credulity did well deſerve this cenſure of Father Labbe: ‘ Ut omittam fabuloſos quoſ-
‘ dam Hiſpanos ſcriptores, quos citat ſequiturque Phi-
‘ lippus Elſſius, qui Auguſtinianis ſuis Eremitis ac-
‘ cenſet, vitamque ejus prorogat uſque ad annum 471,
‘ quo centenario majorem in Carthagine Spartaria in
‘ Hiſpaniis obiiſſe contendit, atque inde Romam aſpor-
‘ tatum, & in Eccleſia S. Euſebii, ubi partruus ejus ja-
‘ cebat, ſepultum. Sed hæc penitus incerta dubiæque
‘ fidei. Quid quod & nonnulli Legionenſem Epiſco-
‘ pum fuiſſe putent (1)? - - - - *That I may paſs by ſome*
‘ *fabulous Spaniſh writers, quoted and credited by Philip*
‘ *Elſſius, who places him among his Monks of St Auſtin,*
‘ *and extends his life to the year* 471, *inſiſting that he*
‘ *died above an hundred years old at Carthagena in Spain,*
‘ *from whence he was carried to Rome, and buried in*
‘ *his uncle's grave, in the church of St Euſebius. But*
‘ *all this is of very doubtful and uncertain credit. As alſo,*
‘ *what ſome have believed, that he was Biſhop of Leon.*

(1) Philippus Labbe, Differt. de Script Eccleſ. *Tom. II. p.* 175.

[*B*] *Theſe who have made him a Pagan.*] Father Garaſſe has been guilty of this blunder, and that upon the occaſion of his endeavouring to convince impious men from the teſtimony of infidels. *The ſecond wonder of nature*, ſays he (2), *which I ſhall here bring for an evidence, ſhall be the aſhy apples of Gomorrah, and the pillar of ſalt, two authentic facts, atteſted not onl*

(2) Garaſſe, Somme Theologique, *pag.* 192.

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death of St Auſtin [D]. Iſaac Caſaubon is not juſtly to be blamed for his contempt of

he deſired an univerſal collection of the greateſt calamities, which had been recorded in hiſtory. 'Præceperas mihi, *it is Oroſius that ſpeaks* (4) uti adverſus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum, qui alieni à civitate dei, ex locorum agreſtium compitis & pagis pagani vocantur, ſive gentiles, quia terrena ſapiunt: qui cum futura non quærant, præterita autem aut obliviſcantur, aut neſciant, præſentia tantum tempora veluti malis extra ſolitum infeſtiſſima, ob hoc ſolum, quod creditur CHRISTUS, & colitur deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant: præceperas ergo ut ex omnibus, qui haberi ad præſens poſſunt, hiſtoriarum atque annalium faſtis, quæcunque aut bellis gravia, aut corrupta morbis, aut ſanè triſtia, aut terrarum motibus terribilia, aut inundationibus aquarum inſolita, aut eruptionibus ignium metuenda, aut ictibus fulminum plagiſque grandinum ſæva, vel etiam parricidiis flagitiiſque miſera, per tranſacta retrò ſæcula reperiſſem, ordinato breviter voluminis textu explicarem. - - - - *You enjoined me, in order to oppoſe the malicious and vain clamours of thoſe, who being ſtrangers to the city of God, from the ſtreets and villages in the country, take the name of Pagans, or that of Gentiles, becauſe of their regarding only the things of this world; who making no enquiries into futurity, and either forgetful or ignorant of the paſt, deſame only the preſent times as more than ordinary calamitious, for this ſole cauſe, becauſe CHRIST is confeſſed, GOD worſhipped, and Idolatry declining: you enjoined me therefore, to extract out of all the hiſtories and annals now remaining, as many inſtances, as I could find, of times paſt, either diſtracted with wars, or viſited with diſtempers, or truly tragical, or alarmed with earthquakes, or extraordinary for inundations, or terrified with fiery eruptions, or puniſhed with hail and thunder, or made miſerable by crimes and parricides, and to compoſe a volume of them in a ſhort and regular method.*' Of the ſeven books of which that volume of Oroſius conſiſts, only the laſt treats of thoſe events which happened ſince the time of Chriſt. Beſides, I make ſome doubt whether this author undertook to ſhew, that the Roman empire was never more exempt from misfortunes than ſince Chriſtianity. He would have found it a very difficult taſk to prove this. Gennadius ſeems to me to give a much better account of this Hiſtorian's deſign, he makes it appear, ſays he, that the Chriſtian religion is the cauſe why the Roman government, which did not deſerve ſo long a duration, continued ſtill in being (5). I know very well, that Oroſius challenges the Infidels to mention any period of time, ſo remarkable for proſperity, as that under Honorius; but this does not juſtify what I have been here criticiſing. 'Ex quo utcunque conceſſerim, ut licenter Chriſtiana tempora reprehendantur, ſi quid à conditione mundi uſque ad nunc ſimili factum felicitate doceatur. Manifeſtavimus, ut arbitror, atque oſtendimus non magis verbo pene quàm digito innumera bella ſopita, plurimos extinctos tyrannos, compreſſas, coanguſtatas, addictas, exinanitaſque immaniſſimas gentes minimo ſanguine, nullo certamine, ac pene ſine cæde (6). - - - - *From whence however I may grant, that the Chriſtian times may freely be branded, if any age ſince the creation of the world can be ſhewn comparable to the preſent, in regard to proſperity. We have proved I think and demonſtrated, not only by deſcribing in words but by pointing out even with the finger, what a great number of wars have been ſuppreſſed, how many tyrants have been taken off, and the moſt barbarous nations reſtrained, reduced, ſubdued, and extinguiſhed, almoſt without blood or reſiſtance.*' Perhaps Mr du Pin, in ſpeaking of Oroſius's ſcheme, was thinking of a paſſage of another Father which he did not remember ſo diſtinctly as to forbear aſcribing it to Oroſius. It is aſſerted in this paſſage, that the goſpel had abated the fury of war, which had cauſed ſo many deſolations in the world before the time of the apoſtles. 'Quanquam iſta quæ dicitis bella Religionis noſtræ ob invidiam commoveri, non ſit difficile comprobare, poſt auditum Chriſtum in mundo non tantum non aucta, verum etiam majore ex parte furiarum compreſſionibus imminuta. Nam cum hominum vis tanta magiſteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare eſſe præſtantius; ſuum potius fundere, quam alieno polluere manus & conſcientiam cruore: habet à Chriſto beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, per quem feritatis mollita eſt rabies, atque hoſtiles manus cohibere à ſanguine cognati animantis occæpit. (7). - - - - *Altho' you charge our religion with being the cauſe of wars, it is not difficult to prove, ſince the time of CHRIST, wars are not only not increaſed, but very much abated as to their fury. For ſince the violence of men had been reſtrained, by it's maxims, that evil ſhould not be repaid with evil; that it is better to bear with injuries, than to return them; that we ſhould rather part with our own, than pollute our hands and conſciences with the blood of others: the ungrateful world has long ſince received this benefit from CHRIST; that thro' him barbarity has been aſſuaged, and men have begun to leave off embrewing their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures.*' The argument of Arnobius may be reduced to this: thoſe who have embraced the goſpel have learned to bear injuries, and not to oppoſe force to force; they have thrown off the ſentiments of violence; they are become meek and peaceable: ſo that ſince the publication of the goſpel, the effuſion of human blood, and the fury of war, are leſs than before, ſince a great number of perſons have embraced Chriſtianity. Arnobius adds, that the reaſon why wars are not altogether at an end, is, becauſe all men have not followed the precepts of of Chriſt Jeſus. *Quod ſi omnes omnino, qui homines ſe eſſe non ſpecie corporum, ſed rationis intelligunt poteſtate, ſalutaribus ejus pacificiſque decretis darem vellent commodare pauliſper, & non faſtu & ſupercilio luminis, ſuis potius ſenſibus, quam illius commonitionibus crederent: univerſus jam dudum orbis mitiora in opera converſis uſibus ferri, tranquillitate in molliſſima degeret, & in concordiam ſalutarem incorruptis fœderum ſanctionibus conveniret* (8). Now if an author ſhould miſtake the one for the other, I mean aſcribe to Oroſius what belongs really to Arnobius, he might eaſily advance, that Oroſius makes it appear, that the Roman empire was never freer from misfortunes, than ſince the nativity of Jeſus Chriſt. But after all it ought to be obſerved, that Arnobius does not at all prove this; for, beſides that a bare aſſertion, without any deduction of particular facts, is not of ſufficient force to ſatisfy the complaints then made by the Heathens, it muſt be agreed, that Arnobius here offers but a very ſlender proof. Suppoſing part of the inhabitants of a vaſt empire ſhould diſclaim all revenge, and induſtriouſly cultivate the meek ſpirit of the goſpel, can that hinder foreigners from invading and ravaging that empire, and introducing ſuch confuſion and calamity as it never felt before? Now this is the very complaint that Arnobius pretends to refute (9). He alledges other very pertinent reaſons againſt the ſame aſperſion of the Heathens, as well as againſt that which was founded upon the peſtilences and famines which infeſted the Roman empire: but at the ſame time we muſt acknowledge, that he likewiſe makes uſe of ſuch ſcandalous arguments, that I do not believe Epicurus or Lucretius could have attacked the Divine providence with greater force, or have ridiculed thoſe who attribute the afflictions of mankind to the divine wrath, more than he has done.

[D] . . . . *and that Oroſius compoſed that hiſtory after the death of St Auſtin.*] Andreas Schottus, the Jeſuit, falls into this error. 'Defuncto, *ſays he* (10), hac 'mortali vita S. Auguſtino Romæ degebat, ubi *ſeptem 'contra Gentes libris* res Græcorum Romanorumque 'domi militiæque geſtas fideliter eo potiſſimum conſilio contexuit, quo ethnicorum calumniam quæ Chriſtianis mala calamitateſque temere imputabat refelleret. . . . floruit autem anno à nato Chriſto CCCCXL. '. . . . *He lived at Rome after the death of St Auſtin, where he compoſed ſeven books againſt the Gentiles containing the tranſactions of the Greeks and Romans, the principal view of which was to refute the calumny of the Gentiles, in raſhly imputing all misfortunes and calamities to the Chriſtians. . . . He flouriſhed in the year of Chriſt* 440.' St Auſtin died in 430. Now, it is certain that Oroſius put the finiſhing hand to his book (11), when Vallia, king of the Goths, was concluding a treaty of peace with the emperor Honorius, that is, in 416. The laſt words of his hiſtory are addreſſed to St Auſtin, as being then in perfect health; and we learn from another paſſage (12), that St Auſtin had publiſhed no more than the ten firſt books of his *De Civitate Dei*, when Oroſius was compiling his work, according to the ſcheme laid down for him by that ſaint.

[E] *Ca-*

(4) *In Præmio Libri i.* See likewiſe the concluſion of the work.

(5) Oſtendit magis Chriſtianæ obſervantiæ eſſe quod contra meritum ſuum Reſp. Romana adhuc duraret, & pace culturæ Dei patratum retineret imperium. *Gennadius in vita Oroſii.*

(6) Oroſius, *lib. vii.*

(7) Arnobius, *lib. i. pag.* 5.

(8) Id. ib. *p.* 6.

(9) Nam quod nobis objectare conſuestis bellorum frequentium cauſas, vaſtationes urbium, Germanorum & Scythicas irruptiones, cum pace hoc veſtra & cum bona venia dixerim, quale ſit iſtud quod dicitur, calumniarum libidine non videtis. *Id. ib. pag.* 5.

(10) Bibliotheca Hiſpanica, *pag.* 206.

(11) See the concluſion of his *Hiſtory.*

(12) Oroſius *in Præmio* Hiſtoriæ.

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of this performance [E], though after all it is in some measure useful, and has bore several editons [F]. That which I make use of is of Cologne, in 1572, and does not contain so many of Francis Fabricius's notes as I could wish.

It is believed Orosius gave his work the title *De Miseria Hominum*; which is a very proper one, and agreeable to History in general, as a judicious author has very well observed [G].

[E] *Casaubon's contempt of this performance.*] He has expressed it in very civil terms, and with great encomiums on Orosius's zeal. 'Orosium ex quo 'multa in hoc sermone describi, scriptorem alioquin 'optimum & zelo domus Dei plenum, si nimiæ fa- 'cilitatis in talibus credendis postulaverimus, non dee- 'runt viri præstantissimi, quorum exemplo factum tuea- 'mur: non rationes validissimæ, quibus sanctum virum 'ταχυπιθίας, & nimiæ credulitatis, reum peraga- 'mus. Taceo rerum Romanarum ignorationem ali- 'quando mirificam; etiam Baronio teste non semel (13). '.... *If we should accuse Orosius of too great credulity,* 'in regard to a great many things delivered in this work 'of his, tho' otherwise an excellent writer, and full of 'zeal for God's house, there would not be wanting either 'the authority of the greatest men, to support this charge 'by their own example, or the most powerful arguments 'to prove this holy man guilty of a too easy and super- 'stitious belief. I pass by the surprising ignorance he 'sometimes shews in the Roman affairs; which even 'Baronius more than once acknowledges.' Lipsius has not treated him so gently; for after taking notice that Orosius thought that Tiberius had imprisoned Drusus, he adds, 'At me non valde movent ejusmodi scrip- 'tores legitimæ historiæ (dicam iratis quorumdam au- 'ribus) dehonestamenta (14).---- *But I am not* 'much concerned about such sort of writers, who are the 'disgrace of true history.' In another place, after regretting the loss of some books of Tacitus, he cries out in this apostrophe. 'Adeo bonis illis patribus cura 'otiumque fuit describere Orosios & Vopiscos & hu- 'jusmodi quisquilias præ tuo auro (15).---- *So much* 'care and pains did those good fathers take to describe the 'Orosius's and Vopiscus's, and such sort of trumpery be- 'fore thy valuable treasure.' This sally of Lipsius does not please me so well as the moderate censure of Casaubon and Vossius. The latter contents himself with telling us, that Orosius did not understand Greek; that he often errs in Chronology, and that he is too apt to rely on popular reports. *Est Orosius scriptor plane utilis: sed qui scriptores Græcos non legerit: imo Græcarum literarum expers fuerit. In temporibus etiam crebro fallitur. Ut vel illa ostendunt, quæ in eo castigavit Scaliger in animadversionibus Eusebianis. Sæpius etiam vulgares sectatur opiniones, quam historicum* (16). *Perquirat, cujus est omnia ad veritatis trutinam expendere* (17).

[F] *It has bore several editions.*] The history of Paulus Orosius was printed at Paris in 1506, by Petit, as Mr du Pin assures us (18). Gesner (19) does not mention that edition. The most antient that he speaks of, is that of Paris in 1524, *apud Johannem Parvum aut Petrum Vidovæum in folio.* He adds, that a more correct edition was printed at Cologne in 1536, *apud Cervicornum* in 8vo, and since that another at the same place, in 1542, *apud Jasparem Genepæum*, in 8vo. This last I have seen: Johannis Cæsarius wrote the Epistle Dedicatory to it, and made some corrections of the text. Francis Fabricius of Duren publishing this book in 1561, at Cologne, *apud Maternum Cholinum*, in 8vo, speaks of two former editions which were full of faults; one of which two editions must be that of 1526 (20), as appears from Fabricius's words (21); 'Hoc dico, dolendum 'fuisse, tanti viri tam fructuosam Historiam adeo men- 'dose hactenus in manibus versari. Contulerat eam 'cum aliquot manuscriptis exemplaribus ante annos 'XXV Gerardus Bolsuinge: laboravit deinde in ea- 'dem emendanda doctiss. vir Johannes Cæsarius: sed 'profecto necesse est, ut vel eorum exemplaria non 'fuerint diligenter satis descripta, vel ipsi parum ac- 'curate opus perspexerint. Tot menda relicta ab 'illis deprehendi, postquam eorum libros cum tri- 'bus manuscriptis conferre cœpi.---- *This I say, that* 'it was much to be lamented, we should hitherto 'have met with no more correct editions of so useful a 'history, composed by so great a man. Gerard Bol- 'suinge had collated it with some manuscript copies 'twenty-five years before: then the most learned John 'Cæsarius undertook the correction of it: but in 'good truth it must have happened, either that their 'copies were very incorrect, or themselves very careless 'in their performances. So many errors have escaped 'them, as I have found upon comparing their editions 'with three manuscripts.' The edition of Fabricius was published again at Cologne in 1572, in 8vo, and printed by the same Bookseller; to which was added the apology *de Arbitrii libertate* (22). Father Labbe (23) speaks of this last edition, as if it had been published in 1574. I have a copy which bears that date. Mr du Pin (24) refers it to the year 1582. Father Labbe (25) makes mention of an edition at Paris in 1526, and of another at Mentz in 1615, *cum notis Latii & Schotte* (26), *quam nondum vidi*, adds he. I am apt to believe the figures are wrong printed, and so for one edition we have two or three. For instance, Mr du Pin's edition of 1506, and Father Labbe's of 1526, seem to me to differ only by an error of the press. But I leave the determination of this matter to those who can come at the several editions, and have the opportunity of comparing them.

Mr Van Dale, Physician at Haerlem, and famous for his treatise *de Oraculis*, &c. has been so kind as to acquaint me, that he has an edition of Orosius, printed at Venice, *Opera & expensis Bernardini Veneti de Vitalibus anno ab incarnatione Domini MD. die XII, Mensis Octobris regnante Domino Augustino Barbadico.*

[G] De Miseria hominum *was a very proper title, and agreeable to history in general, as a very judicious author has very well observed.*] This author is James Bongars: See the preface he has prefixed to the collection he has made of several Historians of the Crusades. He advertizes his reader, that there are none but impious and wicked men, who can ever urge in prejudice to virtue the instances of the wickedness, superstition, and impiety, recorded by those writers; for Historians, continues he, do not relate what ought to be done, but what is actually done: *Annalium Conscriptores*, says one of them (27), *non qualia optant ipsi, sed qualia ministrant tempora, mandare solent literis ex officio.* History is the mirrour of human life; now the condition of human life is such, that the number of wicked and impious men, as well as that of fools must be infinite; history is nothing else but a representation of the misery of mankind. 'Est humanæ 'vitæ speculum, Historia: humanæ vero vitæ, ea ra- 'tio, ut non stultorum tantum, sed improborum etiam * 'atque impiorum infinitus sit numerus. Itaquæ rectè 'omnino suam Paulus Orosius de *Miseria hominum* in- 'scripsit *. Etenim quid aliud Historia? cujus in ip- 'so limine, primi parentis stultum cupidinem, impium 'animum horreas: mox madefactam sanguine fra- 'terno magnam Matrem: inde in omne scelus præ- 'cipitatum genus humanum..... Itaque, ex usu & 'multitudine qui patrocinium vitiis quærit, is omnium 'ætatum, omniumque gentium historiographos, is ho- 'die hominum universitatem, à se habeat. Idem ve- 'ro sciat: cum de Veritate, cum de Virtute quæritur, 'illud discessionem locum non habere: *Hæc pars ma-* 'jor esse videtur; ideo enim pejor, qui major (28).' Observe carefully what Bongars says, that at the beginning of History we meet with the folly and impiety of the first man; this is the first step the reader takes: the next step is upon the earth soaked with the blood of one brother, shed by the other. What conformity is here to be seen between the foundation of the universe, and that of Rome (29)! I have taken notice elsewhere (30) of Malherbe's reflexion on the action of Cain.

(13) Casaub. exercit. I. *in* Baronium *n.* 12. *pag. m.* 85.

(14) Lipsius, in Tacit. Annal. *lib. iv. pag. m.* 193.

(15) *Id.* in *lib. v.* Annal Taciti, *pag.* 232.

(16) Here is a gross error of the press: Vossius had said without doubt, *quam Historici officium requirat*, or something like it. A little after, there follows, I think, another mistake, *Haut inutilis Orosius. Sed Tranquillus ad Tacitum?*

(17) Vossius, de Histor. Latinis, *pag.* 217.

(18) Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibliotheque, *Tom. III. pag.* 156.

(19) In Biblioth. fol. 539, *verso.*

(20) In effect, it is so, for I have seen and perused it. It is printed at *Cologne apud Eucherium Cervicornum in fol.*

(21) Franciscus Fabricius Marcoduranus in *Epist. nuncupatoria* Orosii.

(22) *See* Vossius, de Histor. Lat. *pag.* 218.

(23) De Script. Eccles. *Tom II, pag.* 176.

(24) Nouv. Bibl. *Tom. III. pag.* 156.

(25) De Script. Eccles. *tom. ii. pag.* 175.

(26) *He should have said,* Ludovici Lauti & Andreæ Schotti.

(27) Gulielmus Tyrius.

* Ita in antiquissimo libro inscriptam Orosii Historiam vidimus.

(28) Bongarsius, *Præfatione ad* Gesta Dei per Francos, *in fine.*

(29) Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri. *With brother's blood the first form'd walls were stain'd.* Lucan. Pars. lib. i, ver. 95.

(30) In the remark [E] of the article CAIN.

SMAN,

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OSMAN, emperor of the Turks, was excluded the ſucceſſion to Achmet, his father, by reaſon of his non-age: but Muſtapha, his uncle, who was placed on the throne after the death of Sultan Achmet, in November 1617 (*a*), ſoon manifeſting himſelf unworthy of ſo high a poſt, was remanded to his cell, and the empire conferred upon Oſman. He propoſed to ſignalize his reign by a grand expedition againſt Poland; but it proved unfortunate. This made him conceive an averſion to the Janizaries; and it was believed that, under the pretence of a religious journey, he ſought a fair opportunity of diſbanding that Militia. But they prevented him; for in 1622 they mutinyed in ſuch a manner that they expelled him from his throne [*A*], *non ſine Theſeo*, I mean that religious intrigues had a good ſhare in it (*b*). Muſtapha being reſtored put him to death, and governed ſo fooliſhly, that he was once more depoſed (*c*). This ſecond depoſing ought to be placed to the account of the Alcoran [*B*]; for it was effected in purſuance of a decree of the Turkiſh Pope: as the Mufti may very properly be called.

(a) See the *Merc. François*, Tom. v, pag. m. 185, of the year 1617, and pag. 511, of the year 1618.

(b) See the remark [*A*].

(c) Note, that the firſt depoſing conſiſted in forcing him to ſay, that he voluntarily reſigned the empire. Oſman, in the letter he wrote to Lewis XIII, ſays, that Muſtapha had voluntarily laid down his dignity and deſpiſed it. That Letter is inſerted in the *Mercure François*, ad ann. 1618, pag. 208, 209.

[*A*] *The Janizaries . . . mutinyed in ſuch a manner, that they expelled Oſman from the throne.*] The particulars of that action, which we meet with in the hiſtory of Baptiſta Nani, are not too long to be here inſerted. 'The Turks have no ſort of mean or moderation in 'their paſſions; either they adore their princes 'as gods, or put them to death as tyrants. The em- 'peror Oſman, who ruled that vaſt ſtate, was in the 'flower of his age, and not meeting with the ſucceſs he 'expected in Poland, nor the glory which he had 'promiſed himſelf from his arms, very much hated 'the Janizaries, to whom alone he imputed all his ill 'fortune, and accuſed them of having been as cowardly 'in the field, as they were inſolent in Conſtantinople. 'After having concluded a peace upon terms not very 'honourable, he gave out that he would make a 'voyage to Mecca, on account of religion, which 'was looked upon by ſome as an idle diſcourſe, and 'only a pretence to find an opportunity for continuing 'longer at quiet in the Seraglio. Others imagined, 'that he concealed under it a deſign he had to remove 'the Janiſſaries from the capital city; to lead them 'into Aſia, and there deliver them up to the Spahi's, 'their competitors and enemies; to diſband them, 'and form a new militia. The baggage was ſhip- 'ping in the gallies; tents, pavillions, and ſtore of 'treaſures were carrying thither to ſerve for their 'voyage, and to honour the ſepulchre of their Pro- 'phet with preſents; when the Janizaries began to 'repreſent to one another, in their diſcourſes, the 'fatigue and hardſhips, to which, in ſo long a way, 'they were going to be expoſed, and of the conve- 'niencies they left behind; what made them moſt 'uneaſy was, their imagining, that the farther 'they went, the more they ſhould be expoſed to 'the hatred and cruelty of Oſman. From mur- 'muring in their quarters, they quickly came to 'mutiny; it was begun by a few, but, all fol- 'lowing, they rendevouzed in the place of the 'Hippodromus, to the number of thirty thouſand. 'From thence one party ran to the houſe of the Coza, 'ſo they call the Sultan's preceptor, who was thought 'to be the promoter of the voyage, but not finding 'him, they pillaged it in revenge; the reſt haſtened to 'the Seraglio with loud cries, demanding the heads of 'the Viſier, of the Chiſlar Aga, and of the Coza. 'They within were not only deſtitute of force, but 'alſo of counſel: and they, who by their authority, 'might have oppoſed the enraged multitude, were the 'objects of their hatred, and the very perſons de- 'manded, in order to be torn to pieces. The empe- 'ror, to appeaſe them, gave orders to tell them he 'had countermanded the voyage; but this availed 'nothing towards diſperſing this multitude, which is 'not to be appeaſed even by the conceſſion of things 'which were pretended to be the ground of their mu- 'tinying, nor would they have ſeparated at all, had 'there not happened to fall a violent rain, which that 'ſuperſtitious people look upon as a very unlucky 'omen. The night, probably, might have extin- 'guiſhed this fury, if ſome men of the Law, who 'are very much regarded by the ignorant vulgar, had 'not ſtirred up the Janizaries a-new, declaring Oſ- 'man fallen from the empire, for having violated the 'Alcoran, by ſacrilegious actions. After this, having 'loſt all reſpect for their prince, they threw ſtones at 'their Aga, who put them in mind of their oath of 'fidelity, and repulſed Cuſſain Baſſa, who, to quiet 'them, offered three hundred thouſand ſequins. Tho' 'the Seraglio, during the night, had been extraordi- 'narily fortified, yet they found means to force it. 'They killed at the firſt entry ſome eunuchs, with 'Chiſlar Aga their chief, and afterwards ſought for 'Muſtapha, uncle to Oſman, who had formerly 'ſerved rather as the ſhadow, than as the real head of 'that empire. They cut off the heads of all thoſe who 'did not ſhew them where he was, without informing 'themſelves whether they knew it or not. At laſt, 'conjecturing, by certain ſigns, that he muſt be in a 'cave under ground, they ſought him out, and found 'him there almoſt half dead, having been already 'kept for two days without ſuſtenance, when he was 'acquainted with their deſign to make him emperor: 'he begged above all things that they would give him 'a few drops of water; but no ſooner was he upon 'the throne, than he diſcovered that his thirſt was not 'altogether ſatisfied, but wanted to be quenched with 'the blood of his nephew. Oſman had hid himſelf, 'but being found in the night, and committed to the 'cuſtody of the Buſtangi Baſſa, he was afterwards con- 'ducted to the houſe of the Aga of the Janizaries, 'where was Caſſain Baſſa. Compaſſion began to ſuc- 'ceed reſentment in the minds of ſome, upon ſeeing 'this young prince fall from ſo high a ſtation, into ſo 'great a reverſe of ill fortune, who, in order to gain 'them over to him effectually, offered the Janizaries 'fifty ſequins a man. Several of them liſtened to 'this propoſal, and their chiefs conſulted together 'about the means to preſerve him, and to re-eſtabliſh 'him on the throne, when the furious multitude took 'him out of their hands, and preſented him to 'Muſtapha. Oſman, with tears, begged his life of 'his uncle, putting him in mind of the kindneſs he 'had ſhewn him, contrary to the cuſtom of the Otto- 'mans, in preſerving him for the throne. But, in 'imitation of the Barbarians, who make deſtiny the 'author of their villanies, Muſtapha excuſed himſelf, 'by ſaying, that he knew he had oftentimes decreed 'his death, but that GOD would never permit it. 'Thus was he abandoned to the Janizaries, and con- 'ducted to the Seven Towers, amidſt the execrations 'of the people, who having, during his reign, en- 'dured famine, peſtilence, and war, deteſted him, as 'the cauſe of all theſe calamities; and he was no 'ſooner got to his priſon, but his head was cut off (1).' We find in the *Mercure François* (2), a much more ample relation of the death of Oſman, and which does not in every point agree with that of Nani. I ſhall only borrow from it two particulars; one is, that the men of the law, and of the ſword, gave Oſman to know, that he could not go to Mecca, without violating the law of Mahomet (3). They had procured this deciſion in writing from the Mufti; but Oſman, paying no regard to it, tore the paper in pieces. The other circumſtance is, that after the election of Muſtapha, there were ſome ſome perſons, who cried up and down the city, *Long live Muſtapha, Sultan of the Turks*, and read, in a ſheet of paper, the cauſes of the depoſing of the Sultan Oſman, *ſetting forth, that he was depoſed for being a* Jour, *that is, an Infidel, and for deſigning to put the empire of the Turks into the hands of the Chriſtian dogs, which they affirmed in order to render him the more odious to the people* (4).

(1) Nani, Hiſtory of Venice, book iv, pag. 126, of the ſecond Tome.

(2) Tom. viii, pag. 357, & ſeq. ad ann. 1622.

(3) Mercure Françoiſe, ibid. pag. 360.

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 366.

[*B*] *To the account of the Alcoran.*] Muſtapha was a weak prince. The Prime Viſier, and other favourites, hid his weakneſs; they called it ſanctity, devotion, reſignation to the will of GOD. They obliged him to lift up his eyes towards Heaven, when he appeared in public; and forged ſome miracles. The Mufti was not catched in the nooſe. He cauſed a public decla- ration

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ration to be made, that the Alcoran forbad obedience to a fool, and that in the reign of ſuch a monarch all prayers were uſeleſs, all marriages invalid. It was become neceſſary therefore to depoſe Muſtapha; Amurath, the brother of Oſman, was advanced in his room. *Il qual (Muſtapha) era huomo ſtolido, e la ſtolidezza di lui ſi ſpacciava per Saintità, e raſſegnatione in Dio da Daret Primo Viſir, e da gli altri corteggiani, facendolo ſempre guardar in cielo, quando uſciva in publico, e fingendo miracoli: fu depoſto, havendo il Muſti promulgato, che l' Alcorano vietava l' obbedienza ad un Re inſenſato, durante il quale erano inefficaci l' orationi, e invalidi i matrimonii* (5). There is no nation in the world that ſpeaks more advantageouſly of their monarchs, and of the obedience due to them, than the Turks: they are utter ſtrangers to the great diſputes of the weſtern Politicians, concerning the origin of ſovereignty: they never ſpeak one word of any original contract between kings and their people; they never enquire whether the right of governing is derived from the people, nor how far it is communicable. According to their maxim, the beſt form of government is the deſpotic power of a monarch; to die in obedience to the Sultan, is a ſtep by which they are to aſcend to the higheſt ſtations of Paradiſe (6). Who would not believe, from all this, that the throne of the Grand Seignor is fixed upon an immovable foundation? And yet, if we conſult hiſtory, we ſhall find there are no monarchs in the world whoſe authority is more precarious than that of the Ottoman emperors. Their ſubjects are not ſatisfied with mutinying againſt them, with dethroning them, and ſtrangling them before the concluſion of their rebellion; they likewiſe make uſe of other means: they depoſe them very often by a legal proceſs; they deliberate upon their fate with tranquillity and gravity, they put it to the vote, and condemn them to perpetual impriſonment. Thus they ſerved Mahomet IV, in 1687; and we have now ſeen, that in 1622, they paſſed the ſame ſentence upon Muſtapha. The Alcoran is conſulted upon theſe occaſions, as the prophecies of the Sibyls were formerly at Rome: and if they can engage the head of their religion in their intereſts, they may be ſure of ſucceſs. If the Mufti declares, that the law of GOD does not allow them to pay allegiance to a prince who is ſick, fooliſh, unhappy, or in priſon (7), it amounts to as much, or more, than if the Pope ſhould excommunicate a Chriſtian prince.

(5) Giornale de Letterati, *for Jan.* 28, 1675, *pag.* 3, *in the abſtract of the* Memoire Iſtoriche de Monarchi Ottomani di Giovanni Sagredo Cavaliere, *printed at Venice in* 1673, *in* 4*to.*

(6) *See* Rycaut, Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, *book* i, *chap.* i, ii.

(7) Ne' libri di Mahometto ſi vieta l'obbedienza à Re fatti priggioni per obligarli à defenderſi. - - - - *The books of Mahomet prohibit obedience to kings taken priſoners, in order to oblige them to defend themſelves.* Giornale de Letterati, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 4.

OSORIUS (JEROME) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

His treatiſe *de Gloria*, and that *de Nobilitate Civili & Chriſtianâ* are much eſteemd [*A*].

[*A*] *His treatiſe* de Gloria, *and that* de Nobilitate Civili & Chriſtiana *are much eſteemed.*] They are each of them divided into five books, and have been printed ſeveral times. The edition of Cologne, 1577, has prefixed to it an Epiſtle Dedicatory, by Bartholomew Bodegemius, to Matalius Metellus Sequanus; in which are mentioned an edition printed at Florence, and another in Germany. This Epiſtle Dedicatory is to be ſeen in the edition of Baſil, *ex Officina Pernea*, in 1584, in 8vo; but not in that of Antwerp, *apud Henricum Aertſſens*, in 1635, in 12mo. But there is added to this laſt, the Life of Jerome Oſorius, compoſed by his nephew.

'OSSAT (ARNAUD D') was left at nine years of age without father or mother, 'or eſtate. Some years after he was taken into the ſervice of the lord of Caſtelnau de 'Magnoac in the dioceſe of Auch who was likewiſe an orphan, and ſtudied along 'with him; but ſoon ſurpaſſed him. After they had finiſhed their ſtudies, the young 'lord's guardian [*A*] thought fit to ſend him to Paris; and judged he could not 'do better than commit him to the care of *Mr Arnaud d'Oſſat his preceptor and 'governour*, as appears from the account this guardian gave to his nephew. Thus 'he became maſter to his maſter. They arrived at Paris on Friday the fifth of 'May 1559. After that two other minors [*B*], who were firſt-couſins to the young 'lord, were ſent to be under his care. They continued at Paris under the conduct 'of Mr d'Oſſat till the month of May 1562; and then Mr d'Oſſat ſending them back 'to Gaſcogny wrote to their uncle in ſuch terms, as deſerve mentioning [*C*]. Mr 'd'Oſſat applying himſelf to the Bar, was known and eſteemed by a great many 'perſons

[*A*] *The young lord's guardian.*] This pupil of Mr d'Oſſat was named John de Marca, being deſcended from the houſe of Marca in Bearn, by Jerome de Marca, the ſon of Peter de Marca, and of Margaret d'Andoins. Jerome was captain of fifty croſs-bow-men, and governour of Furnes in Flanders, as appears from his contract of marriage with Dame Ameline de Riviere, Lady of Doublet and of la Paliſſe, and of ſeveral other lands in the neighbourhood of Caſtelnau de Magnoac. This contract was ſigned at Cominges the twelfth of February 1341, in which, among other things, it is covenanted, that the ſaid Jerome ſhall make his ordinary reſidence upon the eſtate of the ſaid lady. From this marriage was born a ſon called Peter de Marca, who was contracted in marriage with the lady Catherine de Mun, the daughter of Bernard de Mun, and of Paula de Sariac, the ſeventh of May 1398. I am not acquainted with the ſequel of this Genealogy; but all that is here inſerted I (1) have copied from the originals.

(1) That is, Mr Baluze. Apply this note throughout, wherever there is occaſion for it, in this article.

The name of de Marca, which is the true name of this family, was changed into that of de la Marque, by the authority of Mr d'Oſſat. And that he did after this manner. In the ſuperſcription of the firſt letter, he ſent from Paris to his pupil's guardian, who appears, by thoſe he wrote to him, to have been a very conſiderable man; he directed, *A Monſieur Thomas Marca.* But thinking that too country-like, he changed it, and wrote afterwards, *Monſieur la Marca*, and at laſt, *Monſieur de la Marque.* And this is the name they now go by. But the late Madam de la Marque, Margaret d'Eſpenan, cauſed one of her ſons, whom ſhe deſigned for the church, to be called, *The Prior de Marca.* I have a letter of that lady, written to her ſon, the prior, December 12, 1659; in which ſhe tells him, that the late Mr de la Marque, her huſband, had often given her a very exact account of the Genealogy of the family of Marca in Bearn, and how the family of Caſtelnau deſcended from them; and that her huſband had learned all this from his father, who was above an hundred years old when he died. Mr d'Oſſat, being a cardinal at Rome, ſent his picture to la Marque, where it is ſtill preſerved.

[*B*] *After that two other minors were ſent to be under his care.*] Of whom Mr d'Oſſat, being himſelf at that time but twenty years of age, writing to their uncle, December 27, 1559, ſays thus to him; *As for me, I promiſe to furniſh your nephews with good learning, and a good example, and with every thing elſe that is in my power, to the laſt moment of my life; which I would ſooner part with than ſuffer them to want the leaſt thing that I ſhould think neceſſary for them.*

[*C*] *In ſuch terms as deſerve mentioning.*] They are theſe: *Laſtly, Sir, as for the thanks you give me for the care I have taken of your nephews, I look upon it as the reſult of your wonted goodneſs; the conſideration of which makes me eſteem all the trouble and pains I have been at on their account very well employed: and I do aſſure you, Sir, that my conſcience ſhall never check me for having failed in doing for them all that was in the compaſs of my knowledge and ability.* From whence we may obſerve the honeſty, and good ſenſe, of Mr d'Oſſat, which already began to diſcover themſelves in matters of little conſequence.

[*D*] *They*

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‘ perſons of note, and among others by Meſſire Paul de Foix, who was then coun-
‘ ſellor in the parliament of Paris. His merit, aſſiſted by the intereſt of his friends,
‘ procured him the poſt of counſellor in the Preſidial of Melun, which he continued
‘ to be poſſeſſed of in 1588, as appears from a Letter of Attorney ſent by him to
‘ Paris, in order to receive a gratuity granted him by the king. In the king's
‘ warrant for that gratuity, he is ſtyled Abbot de Notre Dame de Varennes, which
‘ is an abbey in the dioceſe of Bourges. From whence it is eaſy to conclude, that
‘ they are miſtaken, who write that he was dean of Varenes in the dioceſe of
‘ Rhodez [D], when he was made biſhop of Rennes. The reſt of his life is
‘ ſufficiently known (a). Several original letters of Mr d'Oſſat, written towards
‘ the latter end of 1584, are to be ſeen in Mr Colbert's library, which have not
‘ yet been printed. They were written to the king, queen, and others (b).’

(a) This article, and the remarks belonging to it, are only a tranſcript of a Memoir communicated by the illuſtrious Mr Baluze. I have made no alteration in it.

(b) Ibid.

The beſt edition of this cardinal's letters (§ z) is that of Paris in 1698 in 4to Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie has added ſome notes to it, together with the author's life, very accurately and judiciouſly written. We are obliged to him for refuſing to follow the bad counſel of thoſe, who would have had him reformed Oſſat's language [E]. It is a ſcandal to the nation that there ſhould be ſo many perſons in France,

[(§ a) They have not, however, reſtored in it, a certain paſſage in a letter of the tenth of February, 1603, where this prelate tells the king, *that he did not think his majeſty ought to procure his promotion* (to the cardinalſhip) *becauſe, by this means, becoming a creature of the Pope, it might be doubted, whether for the time to come, perhaps, he might be able to ſerve his majeſty at Rome, with ſo much fidelity as he had done in the time paſt.* The author, who, in 1664, diſcovered and gave notice of the ſuppreſſion of this paſſage *, thinks it probable that it was not done without deſign; and according to my notion, it is very likely to be owing to Cardinal Richelieu. The ſuppreſſion we are ſpeaking of, happened in the year 1624. It is well known what were the views, and what the authority of this Cardinal from that time. As to the letter itſelf, ſuch as Mr Amelot de la Houſſaye has publiſhed it, according to the caſtrated editions, it contains only a complaint to the king, and in truth a very moderate one, that a penſion of 4000 crowns, granted the Cardinal out of the treaſury, had been very ill paid, principally, for two years laſt paſt; and this complaint falls upon the duke de Sulli, lord-treaſurer, againſt whom the editor has inſerted a note, as if this duke, by an unexampled barbarity, had ſtopped the courſe of the king's favours, in regard to ſo faithful a ſervant as cardinal D'Oſſat. But who knows whether the duke de Sulli was as well ſatisfied of the fidelity of this cardinal after his promotion, as the author of the note? Perhaps he was not, and it might be to evince the contrary, that the cardinal inſinuates, that, as to himſelf at leaſt, it would be doing him wrong, to believe that his being a creature of the Pope could ever prevent his ſerving the king, with as much fidelity as before. REM. CRIT.]

* Traité des Legats à latere, *pag. 52, of the ſecond number, of* Traité de l'origine des Cardinaux, *Edit. of Cologne* 1665.

[D] *They are miſtaken who write, that he was dean of Varennes in the dioceſe of Rhodez.*] In this paſſage of Mr Baluze's Memoir, there is ſomething to rectify, as I learn from a book (2) which has appeared ſince the firſt edition of this Dictionary. Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie obſerves (3), that the firſt benefice Mr d'Oſſat *ever had*, was *the priory of St Martin du Vieux-Belleſme*, which was given him by cardinal de Joyeuſe, *in January or February* in 1588. And as to what relates to the abbey of Notre-Dame de Varennes, he never was poſſeſſed of it, *though indeed he was nominated to it by Henry III.* The proofs upon which Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie builds appear ſtrong. The laſt is taken from it's being affirmed in the funeral oration on this cardinal, *that having with a good intention, accepted a conſiderable benefice, which Henry III had given him, and ſome difficulties being ſtarted about the poſſeſſion, he forthwith reſigned it, not being willing to have diſputes with any one. And it is probable the abbey of Varrennes which this oration hints at* (4): *and conſequently*, adds Mr Amelot, *they are miſtaken themſelves, who have written, that it is a miſtake to ſay, that Mr d'Oſſat was dean of Varen, in the dioceſe of Rhodez, as he ſtiles himſelf in the petition he preſented to the Pope in the name of Henry IV, as being his ſpecial proxy and deputy in the affair of his abſolution* (5).

(2) The Life of Cardinal d'Oſſat, prefixed to the edition of his Letters, publiſhed by Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie, in 1698.

(3) Amelot de la Houſſaie, Life of Cardinal d'Oſſat, *pag.* 5.

(4) Ib. *pag.* 6.

(5) Ib. *pag.* 5.

[E] *We are obliged to him for refuſing to follow the bad counſel of thoſe who would have had him reform Mr d'Oſſat's language.*] Thus he expreſſes himſelf in his advertiſement to the reader: ‘ We have not at
‘ all altered the language, and thoſe who give out
‘ otherwiſe are the very perſons who would have had
‘ it altered; and taking it ill that their advice was
‘ not followed have maliciouſly ſpread that report,
‘ with intent to depreciate this edition among thoſe
‘ who they know are admirers of cardinal d'Oſſat,
‘ as are all ſtateſmen in particular. And this ill
‘ counſel I oppoſed the more ſtiffly, becauſe I always
‘ thought, the nervous ſtyle of an author, who was
‘ born for negotiations, and whoſe way of ſpeaking
‘ is entirely conſecrated to the cuſtoms of the cabinet,
‘ would be quite ſpoiled by making him expreſs him-
‘ ſelf differently from what he really ſpoke and wrote.
‘ Beſides that no body would have ſhewn the ſame
‘ reſpect for my ſtyle, which they have for that of
‘ this great cardinal. Witneſs what Mr Boileau has
‘ ſaid of a member of the French Academy, who had
‘ reviſed ſome of Plutarch's lives tranſlated by
‘ Amyot. Witneſs alſo the refuſal of ſeveral
‘ of the moſt knowing Bookſellers in Paris, to my
‘ knowledge, about twelve years ago, to print the
‘ Memoirs of Comines which an ingenious lady had
‘ put into better French. So true it is, that the
‘ world is invincibly perſuaded, that there are ſome
‘ books which cannot be reviſed without ſpoiling
‘ them; and which reſemble thoſe natural beauties
‘ that never ſhine more than in their undreſs. *Ver-*
‘ *bum non amplius addam.*’ I am of opinion that Comines, Montagne, and ſome other writers, whoſe principal beauties are inſeparable from their ſtyle, will be proof againſt the attempts of reviſers. I am likewiſe of opinion, that the Heptameron of the queen of Navarre, which is now done into modern French, will be rejected by perſons of good taſte (6), but I am of opinion at the ſame time that the Bookſellers will take more liberty with reſpect to many other books: they will give editions reviſed and corrected as to the antiquated phraſes, and by that means will encourage more and more the falſe delicacy and lazineſs of an infinite number of readers: for it is a ſhame that thoſe who pretend to read, ſhould not have a deſire to know how their anceſtors ſpoke. This abuſe increaſes and grows ſtronger every day: nothing that was written in the reign of Lewis XIII, will now bear reading. The Bookſellers find it neceſſary, in order to gain cuſtomers, to get the ſtyle of the writing of thoſe times reviſed or modernifed. Thus they ſerved, in 1699, the hiſtory of the laſt duke of Montmorenci compoſed by the Sieur du Cros (7). This practice has been long in uſe. I have ſeen an edition of Joſephus tranſlated into French by Genebrard, which the Paris Bookſellers had got emended as to ſeveral words, and antique expreſſions, and yet I do not think Genebrard had been dead thirty years. They have taken the ſame liberty with reſpect to Amyot's Plutarch, which the Sieur Sorrel very juſtly diſapproves. *It is ſufficient*, ſays he (8), *to knew that Amyot's language was eſteemed by the brighteſt wits of his age. They do him a great deal of injuſtice in thinking to correct him by pruning ſome of his old words, and ſubſtituting others in their place. That is robbing him of all his ſtrength and ſimplicity. And yet it ſo happenned, that ſome Paris Bookſellers ſome years ago publiſhed an impreſſion of that antient tranſlation in a large folio, in which they have here and there lopped off the old words. Some were of opinion, that this would make the book more agreeable to read, that*

(6) See, above, the firſt article NAVARRE, remark [N].

(7) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Decemb.* 1699, *pag.* 670, *& ſeq.*

(8) Sorel, Bibl. Françoiſe, *pag.* 220, *the Paris edition* 1667.

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France, who are not able to bear the ſtyle of the XVIth century; however this bad taſte is not ſo univerſal, but that a great many readers may yet be met with, who are for preſerving the writings of that time, ſuch as they were compoſed by the authors. This appears from the apprehenſions the Paris Bookſellers were under, of not finding their account in printing Philip de Comines's Memoirs in modern French. This will be ſeen below in the remark [*E*]. I wiſh Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie had not even taken a fancy to alter the orthography of the original. It is not probable that Mr d'Oſſat checquered his writings with ſo many circumflex accents, and ſuppreſſed the letter *ſ* in ſo many places (*c*). This want of probability is not agreeable to a reader that loves exactneſs. I cannot paſs over in ſilence Mr de Wicquefort's judgment of our d'Oſſat's merit [*F*]. See alſo Mr Perrault's ſecond part of the Illuſtrious Men of the XVIIth century (*d*).

(*c*) Compare this with the remark [*D*] of the article ESPAGNET.

(*d*) Pag. 12, & ſeq. of the Dutch Edit.

and that they had done well to permit it. But others imagine, that greater veneration is due to good ands antient books, and that it is a ſort of ſacrilege to uſe them after that manner, eſpecially conſidering that thoſe who were employed in that work, were but ſorrily qualified for it. They think that the old tranſlation ſhould either continue as it is, or elſe another be made entirely new, if any one pretends to be able to publiſh a better according to the preſent taſte. Neither does he approve of the alteration of the original of Joinville. We ſhall give his own words (9). 'It is true, we find in the 'Hiſtory of Joinville a great appearance of the ſim- 'plicity of the age he lived in, and that thoſe of his 'rank, were but little acquainted with the manner of 'compoſing a diſcourſe. Nevertheleſs, I think they 'have done us an injury in changing many of the 'old words in his book, as we ſee they have done 'in divers impreſſions, becauſe it is no longer the 'ſame work, but an entire tranſlation of the old lan- 'guage into the modern language. This may in the 'end occaſion the loſs of the original, ſo that we 'ſhall be at a loſs to know with any exactneſs, how 'they ſpoke in the time when it was compoſed. It 'would have been much better to leave it in it's firſt 'dreſs: if there were any paſſages in it no longer 'intelligible, they might have been explained in the 'margin, or elſe in notes annexed; this variety had 'been very agreeable.' He had ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe, in pag. 252, where note, he obſerves that *Commines's Hiſtory*, as well as that of Joinville, has been printed *in ſeveral different forms*, and that *ſuch words as were taken to be obſolete* were changed. How ancient this cuſtom has been among the French, you will ſee by the following paſſage of Stephen Paſquier. 'The 'like fault we meet with in our antient manuſcripts 'of our Roman de la Roſe, in each of which the 'French language is ſuch as was ſpoken when the 'copies were taken, except only in the rhyme of 'the verſes where they could not make any alteration. 'Nay, you will there ſee a ſtrange hobbling of what 'the copiers have put in, I mean ſome words of Pi- 'cardy, Normandy, or Champagne. Which are things 'that a reader ought to have a great regard to, be- 'fore he interpoſes his judgment (10).

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 321, 322.

(10) Paſquier, Recherches de la France, *book viii, ch. xliv, pag.* 756: *Edit. of Paris* 1621, *in fol.*

[*F*] *Mr de Wicquefort's judgment of our d'Oſſat's merit.*] He has in this done a great deal of honour to his own judgment. Theſe are his words (11): *I have nothing to ſay of Arnauld cardinal d'Oſſat, becauſe it is impoſſible to ſpeak of him without doing him injuſtice, ſince Antonius Muretus, the moſt eloquent perſon of his age, comes ſhort in endeavouring to make his elogy in his funeral oration. I ſhall ſay nothing more of him, but that no miniſter ever diſcharged his truſt with ſo much affection, ſo much zeal, ſo much application, and ſo much fidelity, for the king, his maſter, as this prelate did. As for his capacity, we may judge of that by what we have of his negotiations; for which, as well as for ſeveral other excellent treatiſes, the public is obliged to the late Meſſieurs du Puy, who are the honour and ornament of our age. He has given proofs of his addreſs in his negotiation with the great duke of Tuſcany for the reſtitution of the iſland d'Iſ: in that with Clement VIII, for the reconciliation of Henry IV, to the church of Rome, for the declaration of the nullity of that king's marriage with queen Margaret de Valois, which had ſtood thirty years, and for the diſpenſation of the marriage of Catherine de Bourbon, king Henry's ſiſter, with the duke of Bar, and for ſeveral other very important and very difficult affairs. His diſpatches are not leſs neceſſary to an embaſſador, who expects to ſucceed in his poſt, than the Bible and the* Corpus Juris *are to Divines and Lawyers who would be eminent in their profeſſion.* This judgment is given by a great maſter, for Mr de Wicquefort underſtood theſe matters very well; and quotes Mr d'Oſſat's letters ſo often, that it appears he had read them over and over very attentively. We muſt excuſe his miſtake in believing that Muretus made this cardinal's funeral oration. That Orator had been dead a long time, when the Jeſuit Gallutius in 1604, pronounced at Rome cardinal d'Oſſat's funeral oration. We muſt obſerve, that thoſe very letters which Mr de Wicquefort valued ſo much, are highly recommended to the Politicians by the Sieur Naudé. 'Omnium 'meritò cenſentur utiliſſime digniſſimæque, quæ Poli- 'ticorum mentibus atque oculis perpetuo obverſentur, '*Cardinalis Oſſati* Epiſtolæ: utpote quæ graviſſimò 'ac planè ſenili cultu exaratæ ſunt, feraciſſimoque 'graviſſimarum rerum ac ſententiarum ingeniò, nuſ- 'quam laxæ, nuſquam molles, ſemper æquales, ſem- 'per lectoris animum demulcentes, detinentéſque ju- 'cundiſſimâ rerum ac rationum varietate (12). - - - - - 'Cardinal d'Oſſat's letters are juſtly eſteemed above all 'others moſt uſeful, and worthy to be perpetually read 'and meditated on by Politicians: as being compoſed 'with the greateſt gravity and the moſt conſummate 'advantages of old age, and with the moſt extenſive 'knowledge of important facts and ſentiments, never looſe, 'nor ſoft, but always of a piece, always entertaining 'and engaging the mind of the reader with the moſt 'agreeable variety of things and reaſonings.'

(11) Wicquefort, de l'Ambaſſadeur, book ii, §. xvii, pag. m. 423, 424. See alſo §. x, of the ſame book; and §. vii, of the firſt book, pag. 173.

(12) Naudæus, Bibliogr. Politica, pag. 538, Edit. Cremii 1692.

OTHO III, was not above twelve years of age, when he ſucceeded his father, who died in 983. This was the cauſe, that the beginning of his reign was not exempt from troubles: but all theſe diſorders were happily ſuppreſſed; and when his years qualified him for ruling by himſelf, he ſhewed himſelf worthy of that poſt. His preceptor was the famous Gerbert a native of Auvergne (*a*), whom he made archbiſhop of Ravenna, and afterwards Pope by the name of Sylveſter II. The moſt perplexing affairs he had upon his hands were at Rome, where Creſcentius endeavoured to retain to himſelf the ſovereign power, and baniſhed from thence Pope Gregory V, the emperor's near relation [*A*]. Creſcentius made preparations for a vigorous defence, upon the news of Otho's march towards Rome to puniſh him; but he ſcarce made any reſiſtance, being obliged, in a few days, to ſurrender himſelf with the Anti-Pope he

(*a*) Du Cheſne, Lives of the Popes.

[*A*] *Gregory V, the emperor's near relation.*] His name was Bruno, and he was the ſon of Otho of Saxony, duke of Franconia and Suabia, which Otho was the ſon of Ludolphus and grand-ſon of Otho I: ſo that Bruno was great-grand-ſon of Otho I, grand-father of Otho III. Thoſe who make him the preceptor of Otho I have been ſeverely reprehended (1). Some may doubt whether the critic be in the right in giving

(1) See the *Specimen Errorum*, publiſhed by Perionius in 1693, pag. 119.

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he had created. The Anti-Pope was whipped, and had his eyes put out, and at last was killed by the mob before the emperor had time to condemn him [B]. We shall see what was the punishment of Crescentius [C]. This happened in 998. Pope Gregory V being then restored, died some months after; and then it was that Otho preferred Sylvester II to the pontifical chair. The Romans taking courage from the absence of the emperor, upon his return to Germany, made a new insurrection; for they did not like to be governed by the Germans. Otho was under the necessity of trying once more to restore the tranquillity of that city; but he took the wrong course: he was in hopes, that if he appeared *sola Majestate armatus, - - - armed only with majesty*, every one would return to their allegiance; but he experienced the contrary. His example has shewn, that no prince ought ever to expose his majesty unguarded, to the discretion of a mutinous mob. The people of Rome took so great advantage of Otho's having no troops about him, that they blocked him up in his palace; and if Hugh marquis of Tuscany, and Henry duke of Bavaria, had not speedily repaired to Rome, and amused the people with several proposals of accommodation, till they concerted proper means for the emperor's escape, it is not known what might have become of him in that his unavoidable captivity. This happened in 1001. But as this prince had a body of good troops in Italy, whither he returned, only to expel the Saracens, from whom he retook Capua, he was not long in returning to Rome [D] with such a force that he punished them at pleasure. In the beginning of 1002 he set out upon his return to Germany, but died at Paterno, before he got out of Italy, on the twenty-eighth of January in the same year. His death was attributed to poisoned gloves, which the widow of Crescentius, one of the handsomest women of that age, gave him, to revenge his breach of promise. He enjoyed her upon a promise of marriage, and after he had gratified his passion, he made a jest of his promise (b). He was not fortunate in relation to women [E], for the lady whom he married (c) joined to her debaucheries another crime, for which he caused her to be

(b) *Taken from* Maimbourg, Decad de l'Empire, *lib. ii.*

(c) MARY OF ARRAGON. See her article.

giving the quality of duke of Bavaria to Otho the son of Ludolphus; for it is certain, on the one hand, that Bavaria being given, by Otho I, to his brother Henry, continued in the possession of the descendants of that Henry; and, on the other, that Otho the son of Ludolphus was duke of Suabia after his father: but at the same time it is equally certain, that Otho II, being at war with Henry II, duke of Bavaria, gave Bavaria to Otho the son of Ludolphus (2).

(2) See the History of Bavaria, by Blanc, *Tom. i, pag.* 138.

[B] *The Anti-Pope . . . was . . . . killed by the mob, before the emperor had time to condemn him.*] Some say (3) that the mobb seized upon the Anti-Pope before Otho was received in Rome; that they pulled out his eyes, that they cut off his ears and his nose; that they set him upon an ass, with his face to the ass's tail; and that Otho, *to whom they afterwards opened the gates, banished him to the remotest parts of Germany, where he died of grief soon after.* Thus you see some apply to the Anti-Pope part of what others say of Crescentius. Some will have it (4), that it was Otho who ordered the Anti-Pope's nose to be cut off, his eyes to be put out, and thrown headlong from the castle of St Angelo. These variations give a cruel disrelish to the study of history, and are the dishonour of mankind; for if men deserved any regard, there would be a perfect uniformity among Historians upon facts so remarkable as these. But how should several Historians agree, when we find very often one and the same Historian differ with himself? Consult Matthias's *Theatrum:* there you will find in page 888, *That the Anti-Pope was whipped, blinded, and at last killed by the Pope, before Otho had condemned him* (5); and in the very next page you have it, *that the emperor having caused the Anti-Pope's nose to be cut off, and his eyes put out, threw him head-long from the Capitol. Imperator anno Christi* 998 *Romam profectus est, antipapam naso & oculis privavit, & de capitolio præcipitem dedit, uti supra prolixius diximus.* These last words are very strange; the author makes a false quotation of himself, for he had given a quite different account from what he gives in this place.

(3) Petr. Damian. Epist. II, ad Cad. Ciconius, Sigonius *cited by* Maimbourg, Decadence de l'Empire, lib. ii.

(4) Heiss, History of the Empire, *Tom. i, pag.* 122.

(5) Anti papa à vulgo virgis cæsus, oculis privatus, & demum confessus, priusquam de eo Otto sententiam tulit.

[C] *We shall see what was the punishment of Crescentius.*] They mounted him upon an ass, with his face to the asses's tail, and in that posture carried him through the city; and then cut off several of his limbs, and hanged him. His accomplices were punished, some one way, some another (6). Here follows the account some writers give of the matter (7) Crescentius having defended himself as long as he could in the fortress of Rome, endeavoured to prevent his destruction by going to throw himself at Otho's feet; but that prince ordered him to be carried back to the castle, that he might take him by main force. There Crescentius held out to the last extremity; at last the place was taken by storm, and all was put to the sword, *excepting Crescentius, who was taken much wounded, and thrown head-long from the highest part of the fortress, dragged through the dirt, and then hanged up on so high a gibbet* (8), *as to be exposed to the view of all the city* (9). According to Moreri he was only beheaded; but Heiss (10) says, that both he and twelve of his accomplices were hanged upon the highest tree that could be found.

(6) Ex Setho Calvisio.

(7) Glaber. lib. i, & Dithmar, lib iv, *cited by* Maimbourg, ubi supra.

(8) See the remark [B] of the article BABELOT.

(9) Maimb. ibid. *pag. m.* 123.

[D] *He was not long in returning to Rome.*] After having maturely weighed the account of several Historians, it seems evident to me, that Matthias is mistaken, when he says, that Otho designed to retire to Germany with intent to raise an army there, which might enable him to punish the rebellion of the Romans; but that he died by the way. Upon this foot he must have died without being revenged; but this is contradicting good authors (11). But after all, it would be very great rashness to rank this in the list of faults; for the history of that middle age is so perplexed, and has passed through so many bad hands, that we meet with authorities *pro* and *con*, and for a thousand sorts of variations. This deprives me of a large field of materials; for if I should venture to censure those who relate matters of fact one certain way, there would not be wanting authorities to oppose me. It is almost impossible to frame a lye (12) for these centuries. Do but tell the circumstances of any fact, according to your own fancy, or entirely at random, and you will seldom happen to be without an author to favour your account.

(10) Hist. de l'Empire, *Tom. i, pag. m.* 122.

(11) *See* Dithmar. apud Calvis. ad ann. 1001, 1002.

(12) That is, to advance things without proof or authority.

[E] *He was not fortunate in relation to women.*] In general it seems the sex was unlucky to him; for besides what I hinted of his wife and his mistress, I have read somewhere (13), that it was for the love of this mistress, I speak of the widow of Crescentius, that he entered Rome with so sorry a retinue, as to run the risque of a perpetual prison. Add to this, that Theophania, his mother, the daughter of an emperor of Constantinople, rendered him odious to a great many of the nobles (14); and that after the death of his mother (15), being bred up by Adelais, his grandmother, he found himself obliged to send her from court. This was not, in all probability, by advice of the wise men of his court, but out of an opinion, that it was necessary for the good of his affairs. But this did not hinder him from entrusting governments to women: during his expedition to Rome in 996, he gave the government of Saxony to Matilda, his mother's sister, and after her death to his sister Adelais.

(13) Huber. Histor. Civil. *Tom. i.*

(14) Cluver. Universal History in Otho III.

(15) Which happened according to Cluverius in 989, or according to Calvisius, Matthias, &c. in 991.

[F] *This*

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be burnt; and this lady whom he did not marry [F] was the author of his death. Thoſe, who ſay that the college of the ſeven electors was erected in his time, are miſtaken (d), whether they attribute it to Otho himſelf, or to Pope Gregory V. It may be ſaid with more reaſon, that Poland was made a kingdom by this emperor, as I have obſerved in the article of Boleſlaus I. There is a wonderful account given of this Otho's penitence [G]. He was ſo very devout as to undertake pilgrimages (e); and it is even ſaid that he made a promiſe to turn Monk (f). I ſhall not inſtance for a proof of his devotion, his garment, upon which the whole ſtory of the Revelations was embroidered (g).

(d) See the proofs for it in Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

(e) See the article BOLESLAUS I.

(f) Calvif. ad ann. Chriſti 1001.

(g) Matthias, Theatr. Hiſtor. *pag.* m. 886.

[F] *This lady whom he did not marry.*] A certain Hiſtorian, whoſe name is Glaber, ſays, Otho did marry her. But this is very certain, that after he had admitted her into his bed, he diſliked her and put her away.

[G] *There is a wonderful account given of this Otho's penitence.*] It is pretended, that he faſted a whole week, excepting Thurſday, and that he cried bitterly to expiate the guilt of his ſins. The Latin will expreſs it beſt. *Plurima ingemiſcens facinora noctis ſilentio, vigiliis & orationibus intentus, lacrimarum quoque rivis abluere non deſtitit, ſæpenumero omnem hebdomadam excepta quinta feria jejunium producens, in eleemoſynis valde largus* (16). Add to this what I have related elſewhere (17) of his pilgrimages.

(16) Dithmar. *lib.* iv, apud Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 128.

(17) In the remark [A] of the article BOLESLAUS I.

OTTOBONI (PETER) a native of Venice, was Pope in the XVIIth century, under the name of ALEXANDER VIII. Marc Ottoboni, his father, grand chancellor of Venice, bought a patent of nobility, which coſt him an hundred thouſand ducats, in 1646. Peter Ottoboni having purſued his ſtudies firſt at Venice, and then at Padua, and taking the degree of Doctor of Law at the latter of thoſe two places, went to Rome at the age of twenty. He had, under Pope Urban VIII, the government of Terni, Rietti, and Citta-Caſtellana, and the poſt of auditor of the Rota. He received the cardinal's cap under Innocent X, in the year 1652. Two years after he was made biſhop of Breſcia. He was datary under Alexander VII, and was at laſt choſen Pope, October the ſixth 1689, after the death of Innocent XI (a). The war which was kindled with ſuch violence between the houſe of Auſtria and France, contributed not a little to the election of Ottoboni; for the neutral cardinals did juſtly fear they ſhould too much expoſe the Catholic religion, by creating a Pope born a ſubject to the king of Spain, as the late Pope was, whoſe partiality againſt France had done infinite ſervice to the Proteſtants. They thought therefore, that Ottoboni, who was qualified for the chair, would be a more proper perſon than any other in that juncture, in regard he was a Venetian. The only advantage which France reaped from this election, was, that Pope Alexander VIII, did ſo ſtrenuouſly animate the Venetians to wage war with the Turks, and encouraged them with ſuch effectual aſſiſtance, that he quite fruſtrated all hopes of a peace, which the emperor was deſirous of concluding with the Porte, in order to employ all his troops againſt France. As for the reſt, Alexander VIII thought of nothing but the aggrandizing of his family [A]. He gave himſelf ſcarce any manner of concern about the differences between France and the court of Rome [B]. He

(a) Mercure Galant, *for October* 1689.

[A] *He thought of nothing but the aggrandizing of his family.*] What is commonly ſaid of beaſts, that they are never more dangerous than in their dying bites (1), may very properly be applied to Nepotiſm. As it ſtood upon its laſt legs, under Alexander VIII, ſo it gathered together all its ſtrength, to be the more capable of devouring. It might have been ſaid of the uncle, he is old, he makes haſte, knowing that he has but a ſhort time to ſtay. Mr Menage told a ſtory, that will come in here very *à propos*. *Alexander* VIII, (ſaid he) *being elected Pope at ſeventy-nine years of age, and having preferred all his nephews in three weeks after, aſked one of his domeſtics, what people ſaid of him. The domeſtic made anſwer, that people ſaid he loſt no time in the advancement of his family.* Oh, oh, *ſaid the Pope*, ſono vinti tre hore e mezza, *I have but half an hour left out of four and twenty* (2). To behave himſelf, as he did, with reſpect to an abuſe that his ſucceſſor ſhould have aboliſhed, was giving it an honourable funeral. Perhaps Pope Ottoboni's great age was not the only reaſon that obliged him to ſuch quick diſpatch in loading his whole family with riches; he conſidered perhaps, that Rome had had time to forget in ſome meaſure the diſorders of Nepotiſm, which had never appeared under the long reign of Innocent XI. Upon this conſideration the complaints of the people might be fainter, and he had to do with ſubjects, who had enjoyed an interval of repoſe after their antient fatigues. This calls to my mind the ſharping tricks of flatterers, and the dexterity with which, like true jugglers, they paſs backwards and forwards the moſt ſacred things: but that this criticiſm, which does not ariſe from my own bottom, may have more weight and authority, I ſhall give it from a book printed with licence at Paris (3). 'Among the Encomiums he (4) beſtows upon 'Innocent XI, that which he is moſt full of, is, his 'having kept his nephews in a private ſtation, in 'imitation of our Saviour, who knew no other rela- 'tions, but thoſe who did the will of his father. 'Alexander VIII, having had views directly oppoſite 'to thoſe of his predeceſſor, Palatio has found out a 'method to juſtify his ſollicitouſneſs in loading his re- 'lations, with riches and honours; and maintains, 'that in that point alſo the Pope imitated the example of 'our Saviour, who honoured his relations according to 'the fleſh, with the participation of his prieſthood, 'and intruſted them with the diſpenſation of his 'Goſpel: So fertile is eloquence in inventions, when 'it is employed in flattering the paſſions of gover- 'nors, and excuſing the greateſt irregularities in their 'conduct.'

(1) Ut quam maxime mortiferi eſſe morſus ſolent morientium beſtiarum, ſic plus negotii fuit cum ſeminuta Carthagine quam integra. - - - - *As beaſts are uſed to give the moſt dangerous bites when dying, ſo Carthage, when half ruined, gave a great deal more trouble than in it's proſperity.* Florus, lib. ii, cap. xv. *Add to this theſe words of Seneca, Controv. Epit. IX.* In gladiatoribus quoque conditio dura victoris eſt cum moriente pugnantis. Nullum magis adverſarium timeas quam qui vivere non poteſt, occidere poteſt. Concitatiſſima eſt rabies in deſperatione, & morte ultima in furorem animus impellitur. - - - *In gladiatorial encounters, it is a very hard condition, that the victor muſt fight with a dying man. No adverſary is ſo much to be dreaded as he who cannot live, but yet can kill. Diſpair furniſhes the moſt violent rage, and the agonies of death drive the ſoul to madneſs.*

(2) See the *Menagiana*, pag. 208, Dutch Edit.

(3) Journal des Sçavans, *Decemb.* 15, 1692, *pag.* 731, *Dutch Edit.*

(4) That is, John Palatius, author of a book in five volumes in folio, printed at Venice in 1691, and intituled, *Geſta Pontificum Romanorum.*

[B] *He gave himſelf ſcarce any manner of concern about the difference between France and the court of Rome.*] And yet that affair was of ſuch conſequence, as to require a ſpeedy concluſion; and if Alexander VIII, had had as much zeal for the intereſts of St Peter's chair, as for thoſe of his family, his conſidering as he did of the ſhort time he had to live, would have induced him much more to make haſte in accommodating the difference with France, than in enriching his relations. By delaying it he left to his ſucceſſor, the glory of re-eſtabliſhing in France the authority of the Pope upon the ancient foot; which it had been impoſſible to effect, had they waited till the king of France had been at peace with his neighbours. True Policy required,

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He did nothing but amuſe the miniſters of Lewis XIV, and all of a ſudden, by the publication of a bull a little before his death [C], he diſcovered, that he had only deceived them. France changed her ſtyle, in hopes to procure his favour; for ſome time they had ſaid but little in praiſe of Innocent XI, and after that they had expreſſed a great many hard things of him: the Poets and the Orators began to cry up his ſucceſſor. But they found by experience that the ſureſt game, with reference to encomiums, would be to obſerve the maxim recommended by Solon for determining a man's felicity [D]. Cardinal Peter Ottoboni was ſo old when he came to the chair, that it is no wonder his reign was ſo ſhort. He enjoyed the papal dignity but fifteen or ſixteen months; for he dyed on the firſt of February 1691. A prediction was handed about in relation to his death, which has very much the air of an impoſture [E].

quired, that the court of Rome ſhould make the beſt uſe of the entangled ſtate of France; and that Innocent XII did very dextrouſly. Some fanatics who had conceived hopes, that the league formed againſt France in 1688, would be fatal to the Papacy, and that the approaching ruin of Catholicism would begin with the reformation of the court of France, were very much out in their meaſures; for that league has made France more Popiſh than it was in 1682 and 1688, and conſequently occaſioned the reparation of one of the breaches of Popery. What fools are they who credit ſuch creatures. See the Remark [C] of the Article BRAUNBOM.

[C] *By the publication of a Bull a little before his death.*] The Bull was ready the fourth of Auguſt, 1690; for it bears date on that day; but it was not publiſhed till January the thirtieth 1691. It thunders againſt all that had been done to the prejudice of the Pope's authority in the aſſembly of the clergy of France in 1682. It was not publiſhed ſooner, becauſe the Pope had a mind to amuſe Lewis XIV, and gain ſome advantages by the delay; but when he ſaw himſelf at the brink of the grave, he obſerved no further meaſures, but let fly his Bull. This was of very good uſe to the expounders of St Malachy; they did not know how to apply to Peter Ottoboni the Symbol *Pœnitentia Gloriosa*, which concerns him in the predictions of that pretended Prophet. They were not content with ſaying, that the election of this Pope was made on St Bruno's day, or that he bore the name of Peter, though the penitence of theſe two ſaints was altogether glorious: this they looked upon as too forced and far fetched: but the Bull gave them occaſion to ſay, that at laſt Alexander VIII, had *gloriouſly repented* of his indulgences for the court and clergy of France (5). I obſerve here, that the decree of the Inquiſition of the ſeventh of December, 1690, againſt thirty-one propoſitions, vexed the Divines of the Gallican church. See the letter of an abbot to a Prelate of the court of Rome (6).

(5) See the Leipſic Journal for 1691, pag. 151.

(6) It contains ſixty-ſix pages in 12mo, in my edition, which is the ſecond. The title bears, *according to the edition of Toulouſe* 1691.

[D] *The maxim recommended by Solon to determine a man's happineſs.*] This maxim is, that we can form no judgment of a man's felicity before he is dead; for thoſe who appear happy to us, may perhaps be plunged into the deepeſt miſery, before they leave this world. Ovid has expreſſed this thought of Solon very finely.

——— Sed ſcilicet ultima ſemper
Expectanda dies homini: dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo ſupremaque funera debet (7).

(7) Ovid. Metamorph. lib. III, ver. 135.

But no frail man, however great or high,
Can be concluded bleſt before he die.

GARTH.

The inſtability, or depravity, of the heart of man, ought to induce us to delay the giving encomiums, till the perſon is no more. By this caution we ſhall ſave ourſelves the trouble of altering our language, and a great many other inconveniences. Salvian was not unacquainted with this maxim. *Sapientia, inquit ſermo divinus*, in exitu canitur. *Cur eam non dixit cani in pueritia, non in juventute, non in ſtatu rerum incolumium, non in proſperitatibus ſecundorum? Silicet quia in his omnibus quicquid laudatur incertum eſt. Quàm diu enim quis ſubjacet mutationi, non poteſt cum ſecuritate laudari. Et ideo, ut ait*, ſapientia in exitu canitur. *Exiens enim quis de incertis periculorum, certum merebitur evaſa omni rerum varietate ſuffragium: quia tunc ſtabilis & firma laus eſt, quando meritum non poterit jam perire laudati.* Sapientia, *inquit*, in exitu canitur (8).

(8) Salvianus, contra Avaritiam, *lib. iv, pag. m.* 145.

[E] *A prediction was handed about in relation to his death, which has very much the air of an impoſture.*] A Frenchman, whoſe name I conceal, had written from Geneva to his friends in Holland, towards the beginning of the winter of the year 1690, that at Milan a man had been with his confeſſor, to acquaint him, *That he found his own end approaching; that he ſhould die in two days, his brother in four, the Pope at Chriſtmas, and the king of France at Eaſter.* The writer of that news added, that the two brothers died at the time mentioned. As ſoon as they knew that the Pope was not dead at Chriſtmas, the news was dropt; but at the ſiege of Mons (9) it was revived again: and to give it the more weight, Chriſtmas was no longer mentioned as the time prefixed for the Pope's death, but it was given out, that the man at Milan only ſaid that the Pope would die in a few weeks. It were to be wiſhed, that ſome body had given himſelf the trouble of keeping a regiſter of theſe idle predictions. Had they been marked down year after year in our Chronicles, we ſhould perhaps have been leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon by them.

(9) In the month of March 1691.

OVIDIUS NASO (PUBLIUS) a Roman knight, was one of the beſt Poets of the Auguſtan age. I have a great collection of materials for this article, but am not able to digeſt them at preſent: I ſhall only give a ſmall part of them. Nature inſpired him with ſuch a ſtrong diſpoſition to Poetry that, out of love to the Muſes, he renounced all that application which is neceſſary for thoſe who would arrive at dignities. But if his inclination to Poetry extinguiſhed in him all the fire of ambition, on the contrary it fed and inflamed that of love. He was exceſſively addicted to venereal pleaſure [A], and that was almoſt his only vice. He did not conten himſelf

[A] *He was exceſſively addicted to venereal pleaſure.*] He informs us himſelf of the qualifications with which nature had endowed him for that exerciſe, and the uſe he had made of them.

Exigere à nobis anguſta nocte Corinnam,
Me memini numeros ſuſtinuiſſe novem (1).

(1) Ovid. Amor. lib. III, Eleg. VII, ver. 25.

He found himſelf freſh and gay in the morning, after paſſing a whole night in amorous embraces, and wiſhed to die in the actual fruition of that pleaſure. Nothing ſeemed to him more ſuitable to the life he had led, than to make his exit in the like exerciſe.

Sæpe ego, laſcivæ conſumto tempore noctis,
Utilis & forti corpore mane fui.
Felix, quem veneris certamina mutua perdunt!
Dî faciant, leti cauſa ſit iſta mei!
Induat adverſis contraria pectora telis
Miles, & æternum ſanguine nomen emat.
Quærat avarus opes; & quæ laſſarit arando
Æquora, perjuro naufragus ore bibat.
At mihi contingat Veneris langueſcere motu;
Cùm moriar, medium ſolvar & inter opus:

Atque

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ſelf with loving and making conqueſts in the way of galantry; but likewiſe taught the public the art of loving, and of making themſelves beloved: that is, he reduced into a ſyſtem a pernicious ſcience, of which nature gives us but too many leſſons, and which only tends to the diſhonour of families, and of the poor huſbands in particular. He was baniſhed for writing ſuch books; but in all appearance, that was rather the pretence than the true cauſe of his exile [*B*]. He employed in vain all the turns of his wit to pacify the emperor, whoſe favour nothing could procure. He dyed in the country of the Getæ, where he had been confined. Of three wives whom he married, he divorced the two firſt (*a*), and thought himſelf very happy in the third (*b*). There have been ſome Critics who have contemned his Latin [*C*]. They

(*a*) Ovid. lib. iii, Triſtium, Eleg. X.

(*b*) Ib. lib. i, Eleg. iii, & alibi.

Atque aliquis noſtro lacrymans in funere dicat,
Conveniens vitæ mors fuit iſta ſuæ (2).

(2) Ib. lib. II, Eleg. X, ver. 27.

What can one ſay, what can one conceive more proper to expreſs the fury of a laſcivious conſtitution to the laſt degree? I do not believe that Laïs the courtezan (3), who died in the manner that Ovid calls ſo happy; I do not believe, I ſay, that ſhe deſired that fate. This Poet's writings on love are the obſceneſt pieces we have remaining of antiquity: not that we find in them the obſcene expreſſions of Catullus, Horace, and Martial, or the ſcandals of the ſin againſt nature, of which theſe three Poets ſpeak ſo freely; but the delicacy, the choice of terms, which Ovid has excelled in, render his works the more dangerous, in regard they, by this means, repreſent in a very intelligible and elegant manner all the moſt laſcivious tricks and impurities of love. He does not ſpeak upon the credit of others, but from his own practice. It is true, in his apology, which he compoſed in the place of his exile, he proteſts he had not committed the actions he deſcribed, and that his head had a greater ſhare in thoſe deſcriptions than his heart. He boaſts that he had engaged in no love intrigues which had given occaſion for ſcandal, and that among the common people he had given none of them occaſion to doubt their being the fathers of their wives children.

(3) See, above, citat. (60) of the article LAïS.

Sed neque me nuptæ didicerunt furta magiſtro:
Quodque parum novit, nemo docere poteſt.
Sic ego delicias, & mollia carmina feci,
Strinxerit ut nomen fabula nulla meum.
Nec quiſquam eſt adeo mediâ de plebe maritus,
Ut dubius vitio ſit pater ille meo.
Crede mihi; mores diſtant à carmine noſtro.
Vita verecunda eſt, Muſa jocoſa mihi.
Magnaque pars operum mendax & ficta meorum
Plus ſibi permiſit compoſitore ſuo.
Nec liber indicium eſt animi, ſed honeſta voluptas,
Plurima mulcendis auribus apta ferens (4).

(4) Ovid. lib. II, Triſt. ver. 347.

To reconcile this with the nineteenth elegy of the ſecond book *de Amoribus*, we muſt conceive that what he ſays there of himſelf, is a fiction. He there exhorts his miſtreſs's huſband to be jealous, and not to rob him by his indolence of the choiceſt ſweets of his good fortune. He would have that man not to be a contented huſband, but a rival.

Quid mihi cum facili, quid cum lenone marito?
Corrumpis vitio gaudia noſtra tuo.
Quin alium, quem tanta juvet patientia, quæris?
Me tibi rivalem ſi juvat eſſe, veta (5).

(5) Id. Amor. lib. II, Eleg. XIX, in fine.

It is certain, that a great many Poets relate as fortunate adventures, what are only fictions of their brain; but we are at a loſs to determine whether this is Ovid's caſe. We are at too great a diſtance from the age in which he lived, and we cannot doubt but that ſome people, when called in queſtion (6), will boaſt of their innocence, though they are guilty.

(6) That is, when they find their own poems brought in as evidence againſt them.

[*B*] His books . . . . were *rather the pretence than the true cauſe of his exile.*] He owns in ſeveral places of his works, that the two cauſes of his miſery, were, that he had compoſed ſome books on the art of love; and that he had ſeen ſomething. He does not tell us what it was that he ſaw, but gives us to underſtand, that his books contributed leſs to his diſgrace than that did; for he ſuppoſes, that upon his complaining to love, that, after labouring to enlarge his empire, he had obtained no other reward but that of being baniſhed among Barbarians. Love made anſwer to him. You know very well that was not the thing that did you moſt harm.

Utque hæc, ſi utinam defendere cætera poſſes,
Scis aliud quod te læſerit, eſſe magis (7).

(7) Ovid. de Ponto, lib. III, Epiſt. III, ver. 71.

He compares himſelf to unfortunate Actæon.

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi eſt?
Inſcius Actæon vidit ſine veſte Dianam,
Præda fuit canibus non minus ille ſuis (8).

(8) Id. lib. II, Triſtium, ver. 103.

He repeats in ſeveral places the ſame complaint (9) of having ſeen, without deſign, the crime of another; and declares, that it is not lawful for him to reveal this myſtery (10). Attempts have been made to conjecture what it was; and the more ſilent he is, the greater has been the curioſity to penetrate into this ſecret. Some perſwade themſelves, that he ſurpriſed Auguſtus in a flagrant crime with Julia, his daughter, and confirm this by a paſſage of Suetonius, from which they pretend to gather, that Caligula deſpiſed his mother, becauſe he believed her to be the offspring of the inceſtuous commerce of Auguſtus with Julia. *Alteram ſubjiciunt alii, nempe eum vidiſſe Auguſtum turpiter cum Juliâ filiâ jacentem. . . . . Cui opinione favere viſus eſt Caligula, dum matrem ſuam ſpernebat, quaſi ex inceſto concubitu Auguſti, cum filia ſua Julia, prognatam* (11). It is certain, Suetonius (12) relates, that Caligula would not own Agrippa for his grandfather by the mother-ſide: he thought he was of too mean a rank for that character, and affirmed, that his mother was the daughter of the emperor Auguſtus and Julia: but this did not give him any diſ-reſpect to his mother Agrippina; for, on the contrary, he would have deſpiſed her, if he had thought ſhe had been born legitimately. The abbot de Marolles (13) having ſaid, that *Ovid ſurpriſed Auguſtus uſing too much familiarity with his daughter Julia*, adds, upon the teſtimony of Suetonius, that it was believed the mother of Caligula ſprung from the inceſtuous embraces of Julia and Auguſtus. But, it is not true that Suetonius ſays any ſuch thing; he only ſays Caligula gave it out ſo. The ſame abbot (14) tells us, that Ovid was baniſhed for having read to Julia, Auguſtus's grand-daughter, the laſt verſes of his book *de Arte Amandi*, and for having *ſurpriſed* Auguſtus, *uſing* that young princeſs *with too much familiarity*. There is room to doubt of all theſe conjectures; for Ovid having, in the verſes he compoſed in his exile and ſent to Rome, omitted no manner of ſubmiſſion and flattery which might ſeem capable to mollify Auguſtus, we cannot think that he would affect to inſert in them what was moſt proper to aggravate the emperor's diſpleaſure. Now, if we ſuppoſe the Emperor's diſpleaſure to have been grounded upon the Poet's ſeeing ſome infamous action, we muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that Ovid could not but offend him grievouſly by the affectation of ſaying, that his eyes, being the witneſſes of a ſecret he durſt not reveal, were the cauſe of his exile. But I confeſs, that this is not a convincing reaſon. See, below, remark [*K*].

(9) Inſcia quod crimen viderunt lumina pleſtor: Peccatumque oculos eſt habuiſſe meum. *Ib. lib. III, Eleg. V, ver.* 49.

(10) Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen & error, Alterius facti culpa ſilenda mihi eſt. *Ib. lib. II, ver.* 207. Et quid præterea peccarim quærere noli, Ut pateat ſola culpa ſub arte mea. *Ib. lib. II, de Ponto, Epiſt. IX, ver.* 73.

(11) Brietius, de Poet. Latin.

(12) Sueton. in Calig. *cap. xxiii.*

(13) In the Life of Ovid.

(14) In his notes upon the laſt verſes of the third book, *de Arte Amandi*, which are ſo looſe that he did not tranſlate them into French.

[*C*] *There have been ſome Critics who have contemned his Latin.*] Paſſerat owns, that he had been a Profeſſor of the learned languages a long time without having explained any of Ovid's pieces; and that becauſe he found a reigning prejudice againſt that Poet: ‘ Inveteravit enim opinio, vulgique fama percrebuit, ‘ eum poetam eſſe non multæ doctrinæ, humiliſque & ‘ nimium luxuriantis ſtyli; atque etiam, ſi diis placet, ‘ Latinæ linguæ elegantiam nitoremque in eo requiri: ‘ adeo

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They would have met but with a sorry reception from Alphonso king of Naples [*D*]. I refer several things to the place where I censure Mr Moreri [*E*].

The

' adeò ut Italus quidam vel hac re inprimis nobilis,
' cum humanioribus literis unicum gnatum imbueret,
' illa miro artificio contexta mutatæ ter quinque vo-
' lumina formæ in patrium sermonem converterit, ne,
' si Latine legeret, ex Ovidii scriptis sordes & barba-
' riem colligeret beata pueri vena, quæ jam tum ad
' exemplum Maronis properabat (15). - - - - *For an opi-*
' *nion had prevailed, and was in every body's mouth,*
' *that he was a Poet of no great learning, that his stile*
' *was low and too luxuriant, and also, God bless their*
' *judgment, that his language wanted politeness and ele-*
' *gance: so that while a certain Italian who was emi-*
' *nent for his knowledge this way, was instructing his*
' *only son in polite learning, he translated these fifteen*
' *books of the Metamorphosis composed with such wonder-*
' *ful art into his mother-tongue, lest his son's happy stile,*
' *which very closely followed that of Virgil, should be*
' *corrupted by Ovid's incorrectness and barbarisms, if he*
' *was to read them in the original Latin.*' Balzac was not ignorant of the whimsical taste of this Italian. *I know,* says he (16), *that under the pontificate of Leo X, a Venetian gentleman* (17) *who was much esteemed by Fracastorius, and whose name he gave to his dialogue on Poetry, had a custom on his anniversary birth-day of solemnly burning the works of Martial, as an annual sacrifice to the manes and memory of Catullus. And I am not ignorant, that another nice cotemporary of his, maintained that the corruption of the Roman language commenced in the person of Ovid, whose Metamorphosis he translated on purpose for the use of his son, that he might learn the Mythology without any danger from the locution, and that in seeking after the riches of poetry he might not endanger the nobleness of his own style by a contagious reading.* Scaliger observes, that Peter Victorius and Lambinus contemned Ovid extremely. ' Petrus Victorius de Ovidio non veritus sit dicere, eum ut ora-
' tione & versibus, ita vita & moribus enervatum . . .
' Non longe ab hac temeraria sententia discedit Dio-
' nysius Lambinus, qui imperitissime eum malum La-
' tinitatis auctorem vocat (18). - - - - *Petrus Victorius*
' *did not scruple to say that Ovid was equally corrupted*
' *in his stile and poetry, as in his life and morals. . . . .*
' *Dionysius Lambinus does not come much short of this*
' *rash judgment, when he foolishly calls Ovid the author*
' *of corrupt Latin.*' Another learned Critic (19) complains of the same taste, without mentioning any body.

(15) Passeratius, Orat. & Præfat. pag. m. 218, 219.

(16) Ouvr. diverses, pag. m. 406.

(17) *His name was* Andrew Naugerius. *See* Strada, Prolus. V, *lib.* II, *pag. m.* 334, 335; & Paul Jovius, in Eleg. *cap. lxxviii, pag. m.* 181.

(18) Scalig. in Confutat. Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 217.

(19) Moretus, in Senec. Quæst. Nat. *lib.* III, *cap. xxvii.*

[*D*] *They would have met but with a sorry reception from Alphonso king of Naples.*] That Prince being with his army in the neighbourhood of Sulmo, asked if it was certain, that Ovid was born there, and the people answering, that he certainly was, he saluted that town, and paid his acknowledgments to the genius of the country which had produced so great a Poet. He added, that he would willingly resign part of his territories, to call to life again that man, whose memory was dearer to him than the possession of Abruzzo. *Urbem salutavit, gratiasque genio loci egit, in quo tantus olim poeta genitus esset, de cujus laudibus cum non pauca disseruisset, tandem famæ ejus magnitudine commotus: Ego, inquit, huic regioni quæ non parva regni Neapolitani, nec contemnenda pars est, libenter cesserim, si temporibus meis datum esset hunc poetam ut haberent, quem mortuum pluris ipse faciam, quam omnis Aprutii dominatum* (20).

(20) Jovianus Pontanus, de Principe, *fol.* 54, *verso*, Oper. Tom. I, Edit. Florent. 1520, *in fol.*

[*E*] *I refer several things to the place where I censure Mr Moreri.*] I. His first fault is a misrepetition of the distich, in which our Poet declares, that he will do honour to his country (21).

Mantua, Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo,
Pelignæ (22) dicar gloria gentis ego (23).

Mantua, Verona, share their Poets fame,
And I my self will honour Sulmo's name.

(21) Ovid. Amor. lib. III, Eleg. XV, ver. 7.

(22) Ovid was born at Sulmo in the country of the Peligni.

(23) *Moreri has* ego *instead of* ego.

(24) This is corrected in the Dutch edition.

II. In the second place it is a terrible barbarism to say he was *of the Equestrian family* (24). III. It is not true, that Ovid in the second elegy of the first book *de Tristibus*, says, that *when he was young he bore arms under Marcus Varro, in his expedition to Asia.* The two verses cited by Moreri does not imply that. They are these:

Non peto quas quondam petii studiosus Athenas,
Oppida non Asiæ, non mihi visa prius.

I seek not Athens thy known learned shore,
Nor Asian towns, nor places seen before.

The best editions put it *non loca visa prius*, instead of *non mihi visa prius*; which two readings are much the same, so that I cannot see how Ciofanus, who follows the second reading, could find in this distich a proof, that Ovid bore arms under Marcus Varro, with whom he went into Asia, and being returned from thence made a voyage to Athens to study there. *Sub M. Varrone, qui cum Asiam petiit militavit: inde reversus studii causa Athenas se contulit. Qua de re sic lib.* I. *Trist.* Non peto quas quondam, *&c.* (25). Any one may see, that this distich proves, neither that Ovid bore arms under Marcus Varro, nor that he went with him to Asia, nor that he went to Asia before he went to Athens. The Poet, praying the Gods to put an end to the storm, represents to them; among other things, that he was come to sea upon an afflicting occasion, to go to Scythia, and not to Greece, or any other place he had seen before. IV. It is not true, That *Seneca was of opinion that he had pleaded some causes at the bar.* When Seneca is cited without any addition, we take it for Seneca the Philosopher, and without doubt Mr Moreri meant it so; and yet we meet with nothing in Seneca the Philosopher able to prove, that Ovid pleaded at the bar. It is more likely to be found in Seneca's father; but neither is it there; for there we only find, that our Poet studied the art of Oratory under Arellius Fuscus, and declaimed very successfully in his school. ' Hanc controversiam me-
' mini me videre *Nasonem* declamare apud Rhetorem
' Arellium Fuscum cujus auditor fuit . . . . Oratio
' ejus jam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum
' carmen. Adeo autem studiose Latronem audivit, ut
' multas ejus sententias in versus suos transtulerit . . . .
' Tunc autem cum studeret, habebatur bonus decla-
' mator. Hanc certe controversiam ante Arellium
' Fuscum declamavit, ut mihi videbatur longe ingenio-
' sius, excepto eo quod sine certo ordine per locos dis-
' curreret (26). - - - - *Upon this subject I remember to*
' *have heard Ovid declaim before Arellius Fuscus the*
' *Rhetorician, whose scholar he was . . . . His oration*
' *at that time could be thought no other than poetical*
' *prose. He heard Latro with so much care, that he*
' *inserted a great many of his sentences in his verses. . . .*
' *At that time of his studies, he was esteemed a good*
' *Orator. Upon this subject it is certain he declaimed*
' *before Arellius Fuscus, in my judgment, much the most*
' *ingeniously, except only that he was too subject to di-*
' *gressions and want of method.*' Mr Moreri is probably beholden for this fault to the abbot de Marolles (27), who has cited Seneca to prove, that Ovid pleaded at the bar. The fact is certain; but instead of having recourse to the pretended testimony of Seneca, he should have cited Ovid himself, who affirms, that he has pleaded for people, arraigned at the tribunal of the *Centumviri*, and that being chosen arbitrator upon some law-suits, he decided them like a man of honour.

(25) Hercules Ciofanus, in Vita Ov. di.

(26) Seneca pater, Controvers. X, *sive* II, *lib.* ii, *pag. m.* 353.

(27) In the Life of Ovid.

Nec male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum
Usque decem decies inspicienda viris.
Res quoque privatas statui sine crimine judex;
Deque mea fassa est pars quoque victa fide (28).

Before the Decemviri I've appear'd,
And for the guilty with success been heard.
In private matters I've explain'd the laws,
Nor cou'd he blame his judge, who lost his cause.

(28) Ovid. Trist. lib. II, ver. 93.

V. Moreri should not have said, that, *after the death of his father he applied himself intirely to poetry*; for in giving an account of himself, he mentions no such circumstance. He only says, that out of deference to the remonstrances of his father, he checked in his inclination to versifying, and applied himself to such offices as were proper for a young person of his rank (29). He takes notice (30) even of the death

(29) Sæpe pater dixit studium quid inutile tentas? Mæonides nullas ipse reliquit opes. Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto, Scribere conabar verba soluta modis. Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos. Et, quod tentabam scribere, versus erat. *Ovid. Trist. lib.* IV, *Eleg. X, ver.* 21.

(30) Ibid.

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The fineſt of Ovid's works is his Metamorphoſis. This was the judgment of the author himſelf; and it was from thence that he principally expected his name would be immortalized. He foretold that this performance would be proof againſt the injuries of ſword, fire, thunder, and time [F]. And that prediction has not yet proved falſe. The exordium, or beginning, of that poem is one of the fineſt parts of it. It is a deſcription of the Chaos, and of the manner in which the univerſe was formed out of it. Nothing can be clearer or more intelligible than that noble deſcription, if we confine our ſelves only to the Poet's phraſes; but if we examine his doctrines, we ſhall find them incoherent and contradictory; they will make a more frightful Chaos than that which he deſcribes. This gives me the opportunity of performing a promiſe I have made (c). I ſhall enquire whether the ideas of the antients who ſpoke of the Chaos were juſt; and whether they could ſay that this ſtate of confuſion ſubſiſted no longer [G]. I ſhall make it appear, that the

(c) In the remark [H] of the article ANAXAGORAS.

death of his eldeſt brother, as preceding his return to Parnaſſus; but he ſays no ſuch thing with reference to the death of his father. And indeed how could he have ſaid any ſuch thing, ſince he declares, that he ſoon re-imbarked in poetry, and that his father lived ninety years (31). VI. The emperor did not baniſh him *to the province of Pontus in Aſia*. He ſent him to Tomi an European city upon the Euxine ſea, near the mouths of the Danube. VII. He ſhould not have mentioned without cenſure the opinion of thoſe, who ſay he was baniſhed *for having made love to Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, whom he loved under the name of Corinna*. This opinion is very ancient; Sidonius Apollinaris approves of it.

(31) Ibid.

Et te carmina per libidinoſa
Notum Naſo tenet, Tomoſque miſſum,
Quondam Cæſareæ nimis puellæ
Falſo nomine ſubditum Corinnæ (32).

And Ovid too for wanton verſes known,
Baniſh'd to diſtant Tomi's wretched town,
His daring love, not ſparing Cæſar's fame,
But claſping Julia in Corinna's name.

(32) Carm. xxiii, ver. 157. Savaro *approves of this opinion*, Not. ibid. & in Epiſt. X, lib. ii.

But Aldus Manutius (33) has refuted it by three arguments. The firſt is, that Ovid inceſſantly repeats, that his exile was owing to two cauſes, namely, his writing amorous verſes, and a fault which he does not reveal, and was accidental and involuntary (34). This is what cannot be ſaid of his amours with Auguſtus's daughter, which were carried to the pitch of enjoyment. Our Poet went that length with Corinna, as he tells us himſelf (35).

(33) In Vita Ovidii.

(34) See the remark [B], citation (7), and (8).

Singula quid referam? nil non laudabile vidi:
Et nudam preſſi corpus ad uſque meum.
Cætera quis neſcit? laſſi requievimus ambo.
Proveniant medii ſic mihi ſæpe dies (36).

(35) *He flattered himſelf with the opinion of being the father of the child with which ſhe went.* Et tamen aut ex me conceperat, aut ego credo. Eſt mihi pro facto ſæpe, quod eſſe poteſt. *Ovid. Amor. lib. ii, Eleg. XIII, ver.* 5.

Aldus Manutius's ſecond argument is borrowed from Ovid's being very young when he ſerved his Corinna.

Carmina cum primum populo juvenilia legi,
Barba reſecta mihi biſve ſemelve fuit.
Moverat ingenium totam cantata per Urbem
Nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi (37).

(36) Ovid. in Amor. lib. I, Eleg. V, ver. 23.

When firſt around my amorous verſes flew,
My chin but once or twice the razor knew;
Fir'd by Corinna, ſo admir'd by fame,
I drew her beauties, but conceal'd her name.

(37) Ib. lib. IV, Triſt. Eleg. X, ver. 37.

Theſe verſes import, that Ovid was but about twenty years of age when he ſung his amours with his pretended Corinna. Now, when Auguſtus baniſhed him he was fifty years old. What probability is there that this emperor would be ſo ſlow in diſcovering the commerce of his daughter with a Poet, and in puniſhing him? Laſtly, Manutius obſerves, that Ovid would not have mentioned his Corinna in his verſes juſt now quoted, with ſo much complaiſance, if ſhe had been the cauſe of the diſgrace, which he ſo heavily deplores. VIII. I do not know of any who ſay that he *made his addreſſes to Livia*, Auguſtus's wife, and *that he compoſed his books* de Arte Amandi, *for her*. They would deſerve to be refuted more ſeverely than Sidonius Apollinaris. IX. Thoſe who ſay, that the city Tomi, near which *he was buried*, is now called Kiour (38), are as groſsly miſtaken as thoſe who ſay it is called Tomiſuar. For which reaſons Mr Moreri ſhould not have mentioned theſe things, without acquainting his reader that they are falſe. The town of Tomi, to which Ovid was baniſhed, was on this ſide the Danube, with reſpect to Italy (39). This does not ſuit either with Kiovia, which is ſituated upon the Boryſthenes, or with Temiſwar, a city in Tranſylvania. X. What Moreri relates of Ovid's tomb being found at Sabaria, or Stain in Auſtria, upon the Save, is altogether falſe, as I ſhall make it appear ſome time or other. XI. It was in 1540, and not in 1548, that the queen of Hungary ſhewed our Poet's pen. 'Iſabella Pannoniæ 'Regina circiter annum M. D. XL. Ovidii calamum ex 'argento Tauruni, quæ eſt urbs inferioris Pannoniæ, 'oſtendit Petro Angelio Bargæo, qui hoc ipſum mihi 'narravit, cum hac inſcriptione OVIDII NASONIS 'CALAMUS; qui non multo ante id tempus ſub 'quibuſdam antiquis ruinis fuerat repertus. Eum Re- 'gina ipſa plurimi faciebat, & veluti rem ſacram, 'carum habebat (40). - - - *Iſabella, queen of Hungary,* 'about the year 1540, *ſhowed to Peter Angelius Bar-* 'gæus, as he told me himſelf, *the pen of Ovid, at Tau-* 'runum, *a town of the lower Hungary, with this in-* 'ſcription, OVIDII NASONIS CALAMUS; *which had* 'been diſcovered but a little before under ſome antient 'ruins. The queen ſet a great value on it, and eſteemed 'it as ſome holy relic.' In the article of this queen, I have taken notice of her learning.

(38) *It ſhould be* Kiow, *or* Kiova. Hofman *has likewiſe called it* Kiour. *Mr de Marolles in the* Life of Ovid *calls it* Xiovia.

(39) Ne timeam gentes quas non bene ſubmovet Iſter. *Ib. Triſt. lib. ii. See likewiſe lib. III, Eleg. X.*

(40) Herculeſ Ciofanus, in Vita Ovidii, *pag.* m. 29.

[F] *He foretold that his Metamorphoſes would be proof againſt the injuries of ſword, fire, thunder, and time.*] The nine verſes which make the concluſion of it are theſe.

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.
Cùm volet illa dies, quæ nil niſi corporis hujus
Jus habet, incerti ſpatium mihi finiat ævi:
Parte tamen meliore mei ſuper alta perennis
Aſtra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile noſtrum.
Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
Ore legar populi: perque omnia ſecula famâ,
Si quid habent veri vatum præſagia, vivam (41).

(41) Ovid. Metam. *lib. xv, in fine.*

The work is finiſh'd, which nor dreads the rage
Of tempeſts, fire, or war, or waſting age;
Come ſoon or late, death's undetermin'd day,
This mortal being only can decay;
My nobler part, my fame, ſhall reach the ſkies,
And to late times with blooming honours riſe:
Whate'er th' unbounded Roman power obeys,
All times and nations ſhall record my praiſe:
If 'tis allow'd to Poets to divine,
One half of round eternity is mine.

WELSTED.

[G] *I ſhall enquire whether the ideas of the Antients who ſpoke of the Chaos were juſt, and whether they could ſay, that this ſtate of confuſion ſubſiſted no longer.*] To proceed methodically in this taſk, I muſt firſt of all give you Ovid's deſcription of the Chaos; which is only an imitation, or rather a paraphraſe, of what he had met with in the writings of the antient Greeks.

Ante

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the ſtruggle of the four elements did not ceaſe at the time of the production of the world,

Ante mare & terras, & quod tegit omnia cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos; rudis indigeſtaque moles:
Nec quicquam, niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eôdem
Non bene junctarum diſcordia Semina rerum.
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan,
Nec nova creſcendo reparabat cornua Phœbe,
Nec circumfuſo pendebat in aëre tellus,
Ponderibus librata ſuis: nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Quâque erat & tellus, illic & pontus, & aër.
Sic erat inſtabilis tellus, innabilis unda,
Lucis egens aër: nulli ſua forma manebat.
Obſtabatque aliis aliud: quia corpore in uno
Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ſiccis,
Mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus (42).

(42) Ib. lib. I, ver. 5.

Before the ſeas, and this terreſtrial ball,
And Heav'n's high canopy, that covers all,
One was the face of nature; if a face:
Rather a rude and indigeſted maſs:
A lifeleſs lump, unfaſhion'd, and unfram'd,
Of jarring ſeeds; and juſtly Chaos nam'd.
No ſun was lighted up, the world to view;
No moon did yet her blunted horns renew:
Nor yet was earth ſuſpended in the ſky;
Nor pois'd, did on her own foundations lie:
Nor ſeas around the ſhores their arms had thrown;
But earth, and air, and water, were in one.
Thus air was void of light, and earth unſtable,
And water's dark abyſs unnavigable.
No certain form on any was impreſt;
All were confus'd, and each diſturb'd the reſt.
For hot and cold were in one body fix'd;
And ſoft with hard, and light with heavy mix'd.
DRYDEN.

You ſee, that by the Chaos they underſtood a maſs of matter without form, in which the ſeeds of all particular bodies were jumbled together in the greateſt confuſion. The air, the water, and the earth, were every where confounded; the whole was at war; each part oppoſed each part; the cold and the heat, moiſture and drineſs, levity and gravity ſtruggled one with another, in one and the ſame body all over the vaſt extent of matter. Now let us ſee how Ovid ſuppoſes that this ſtate of confuſion was diſintangled.

Hanc DEUS, & melior litem natura diremit.
Nam cœlo terras, & terris abſcidit undas,
Et liquidum ſpiſſo ſecrevit ab aëre cœlum.
Quæ poſtquam evolvit, cæcoque exemit acervo,
Diſſociata locis concordi pace ligavit.
Ignea convexi vis & ſine pondere cœli
Emicuit, ſummâque locum ſibi legit in arce,
Proximus eſt aër illi levitate, locoque.
Denſior his tellus, elementaque grandia traxit,
Et preſſa eſt gravitate ſui. Circumfluus humor,
Ultima poſſedit, ſolidumque coërcuit orbem.
Sic ubi diſpoſitam, quiſquis fuit ille DEORUM;
Congeriem ſecuit, ſectamque in membra redegit:
Principio terram, &c (43).

(43) Ib. ver. 21.

But GOD, or nature, while they thus contend,
To theſe inteſtine diſcords put an end;
Then earth from air, and ſeas from earth were driv'n,
And groſſer air ſunk from ætherial heav'n.
Thus diſſembroil'd, they take their proper place;
The next of kin contiguouſly embrace;
And foes are ſunder'd, by a larger ſpace.
The force of fire aſcended firſt on high,
And took it's dwelling in the vaulted ſky:
Then air ſucceeds, in lightneſs next to fire;
Whoſe atoms from unactive earth retire.
Earth ſinks beneath, and draws a num'rous throng
Of pondrous, thick, unwieldy ſeeds along.
About her coaſts, unruly waters roar;
And riſing, on a ridge, inſult the ſhore.
Thus when the GOD, whatever God was he,
Had form'd the whole, and made the parts agree,
That no unequal portions might be found,
He moulded earth into a ſpacious round, &c.
DRYDEN.

You ſee he ſays this war of the confuſed and intangled elements, was determined by the authority of a GOD who parted them, and aſſigned to each their proper place; ranking fire in the uppermoſt region, the earth in the lowermoſt, the air immediately below the fire, and the water immediately below the air; and then forming a bond of friendſhip and concord between the four elements thus ſettled in ſeparate ſtations. By conſequence the analyſis of our Poet's diſcourſe may be reduced to theſe ſix propoſitions.

I. Before there was a heaven, an earth, and a ſea, nature was one homogeneous whole (44).

(44) Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe.

II. This whole was only a lumpiſh maſs (45), in which the principles of things were heaped up together in confuſion and without ſymmetry, and after a diſcordant manner.

(45) Nec quicquam niſi pondus iners, &c.

III. Heat ſtruggled with cold in the ſame body; moiſture and drineſs had the ſame quarrel, and levity and gravity had no leſs.

IV. GOD put an end to this war by parting the combatants.

V. He aſſigned them diſtinct habitations, according to the gravity and levity peculiar to them.

VI. He formed a ſtrict alliance between them.

I ſhall give a general view of the faults to be met with in this doctrine of Ovid. I do not know whether it was ever criticized upon, or whether the commentators have ever examined this part of the metamorphoſis, philoſophically: but methinks they might eaſily have perceived,

In the Iſt place, that the firſt propoſition is little conſiſtent with the ſecond; for if the parts of a whole are compoſed of contrary ſeeds or principles, that whole cannot paſs for homogeneous.

In the IId place, that the ſecond propoſition does not agree with the third; for we cannot call that whole a meer heavy maſs, in which there is as much levity as gravity.

In the IIId place, that this heavy maſs cannot be looked upon as inactive, *pondus iners*, ſince contrary principles are blended in it without ſymmetry; whence it follows, that their actual ſtruggle muſt terminate in the victory of one or the other.

In the IVth place, that the firſt three propoſitions being once true, the fourth and fifth are ſuperfluous; for the elementary qualities are a principle of ſufficient force to diſentangle the Chaos without the intervention of another cauſe, and to place the parts at a greater or leſſer diſtance from the center, proportionably to their gravity or levity.

In the Vth place, that the fourth propoſition is falſe upon another account; for, ſince the production of the heavens, of air, water, and earth, the ſtruggle of cold and heat, moiſture and drineſs, gravity and levity, is as great in the ſame body as ever it could be before.

In the VIth place, that for the reaſon laſt mentioned, the ſixth propoſition is falſe.

From whence it is manifeſt, that the deſcription of the Chaos, and of it's extrication, is compoſed of propoſitions more oppoſite to one another, than the elements were oppoſite to one another during the Chaos.

It is needleſs to enlarge upon each of theſe falſe doctrines of Ovid; but there are ſome of them which require a pretty long illuſtration.

REFUTATION of the doctrine of the Chaos, upon the ſuppoſition of its having been Homogeneous.

I. I ſay then, that nothing can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe a Chaos, which has been homogeneous during all eternity, notwithſtanding it had the elementary qualities, both thoſe called *Alteratrices*, which are heat, cold, moiſture, and drought; and thoſe called *Motrices*, which are levity and gravity; the former cauſing motion upwards, and the other downwards. A maſs of this nature cannot be homogeneous, but muſt neceſſarily contain all ſorts of heterogeneity. Heat and cold, moiſture and drought cannot be together,

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world, as they ſuppoſe; and I ſhall ſhew, that however they ought to have excepted mankind

ther, but that their action and re-action muſt temper them and convert them into other qualities which make the form of mixed bodies: and forasmuch as this temperament may ariſe, according to the innumerable diverſities of combinations, the Chaos muſt have contained an incredible number of ſpecies of compounds. The only way to conceive an homogeneous Chaos, would be to ſay, that the *alteratrices* qualities of the elements would modify themſelves to the ſame degree in all the *moleculæ*, or ſmall particles of matter, inſomuch that there would be all over preciſely the ſame luke-warmneſs, the ſame ſoftneſs, the ſame ſmell, the ſame taſte, *&c.* But this would be pulling down with one hand what is built with the other; this would be, by a *contradictio in terminis*, calling a Chaos the moſt regular work, the moſt marvellous in it's ſymmetry, and the moſt admirably well proportioned, that can be conceived. I own, that a diverſified work ſuits better with the fancy and reliſh of mankind, than what is uniform; but at the ſame time our ideas teach us, that the harmony of contrary qualities preſerved uniformly all over the univerſe, would be a perfection as wonderful as the unequal partition that ſucceeded to the Chaos. What knowledge, what power, would not that uniform harmony, ſpread all over nature, require? To put into each mixed body the ſame quantity of each of the four ingredients, would not ſuffice; ſome would require more, ſome leſs, according as the force of ſome is greater or leſſer for acting than for reſiſting (46); for it is well known, that the Philoſophers diſtribute action and re-action to the elementary qualities in a different degree. Upon the whole, every thing conſidered, it would be found that the cauſe which metamorphoſed the Chaos, would have taken it not out of a ſtate of war and confuſion, as is here ſuppoſed, but out of a ſtate of regularity which was the moſt accompliſhed thing in the world, and by which, by reducing the contrary forces to an *Æquilibrum*, kept them in a repoſe equivalent to peace. It is manifeſt therefore, if the Poets would ſave the homogeneity of the Chaos, they muſt ſtrike out all they have added concerning that phantaſtical confuſion of contrary ſeeds, and that indigeſted mixture, and perpetual war of jarring principles.

(46) Calor, qui maximè eſt activus, minimus eſt in reſiſtentia; è contrario autem ficcitas minor in activitate, major in reſiſtentia; frigus, quod ſecundo loco eſt activum, tertio eſt reſiſtitivum: humor denique penultimo loco activus, ſecundo reſiſtitivus. *Arriaga, Diſputat. III, de Generat. §. xi, n. 178, pag. m. 500.*

REFUTATION of the Chaos, upon the ſuppoſition of it's having continued an infinite ſpace of time.

II. But to wave this contradiction, we ſhall find matter enough to attack them in other points. We ſhall encounter them on that of eternity. Nothing can be more abſurd than to admit the mixture of the inſenſible parts of the four elements for an infinite time: for ſince you ſuppoſe in thoſe parts the activity of heat, the action and re-action of the four firſt qualities, and beſides that, the motion of the particles of earth and water towards the centre, and the motion of thoſe of fire and air towards the circumference, you, at the ſame time, eſtabliſh a principle, which will neceſſarily ſeparate thoſe four ſpecies of bodies, one from another, which will require for this purpoſe no more than a certain limited time. Do but reflect a little upon what is called the phial of the four elements. In that phial we put up little metallic particles, and then three liquors much lighter one than another. Shake all theſe together, and you will diſcern none of the four ingredients, the parts of each being blended one with the other; but then let the phial ſtand ſtill, and you will find each of them reſume their proper ſtations: all the metallic particles will meet at the bottom, thoſe of the lighteſt liquor in the uppermoſt ſtation; thoſe of the liquor which is heavier than the laſt, and lighter than the firſt, will poſt themſelves in the third; thoſe of the liquor which is heavier than the two laſt, but lighter than the metallic particles, in the ſecond: and thus you recover the diſtinct ſituations which had been confounded by ſhaking the glaſs. In making this experiment, you do not need much patience; a ſhort ſpace of time will ſerve for recovering the repreſentation of the ſituation which nature has given to the four elements in the world. Now, comparing the univerſe to this phial, we may conclude, that if the earth, reduced to powder, had been mixed with the matter of the ſtars, with that of the air, and of water, ſo that the very inſenſible parts of each of thoſe elements had been blended together, all of them would preſently have ſtrove to be diſentangled, and at the end of a certain prefixed time, the parts of the earth would have formed a maſs, thoſe of fire another, and ſo on, in proportion to the gravity and levity of each ſpecies of bodies.

We may yet make uſe of another compariſon, and ſuppoſe the Chaos like new wine fermenting. This is a ſtate of confuſion: the ſpirituous and terreſtrial particles are jumbled together, inſomuch that neither ſight nor taſte can diſtinguiſh what is properly wine, and what is tartar or lees. This confuſion excites a furious ſtruggle between theſe different parts of matter. The ſhock is ſo violent, that ſometimes the veſſel is not able to ſtand it: but in two or three days, more or leſs, this inteſtine war ceaſes. The groſs parts diſengage themſelves, and ſink by virtue of their gravity. The more ſubtile parts get likewiſe looſe, and evaporate (47) by their levities; and thus the wine comes to it's natural ſtate. This is the very thing which would have happened to the poetical Chaos. The contrariety of the principles confuſedly jumbled together, would have produced a violent fermentation, which, however, at the end of a certain ſpace of time would have cauſed the precipitation of the terreſtrial bodies, and the exaltation of the ſpirituous part; and in a word, the proper arrangement of each body according to it's gravity and levity. So that there is nothing more inconſiſtent with reaſon and experience than to admit a Chaos of eternal duration, tho' it had comprehended all the force which has appeared in nature ſince the formation of the world. For it ought to be well obſerved, that, what we call the general laws of nature, the laws of motion, the mechanical principles, is the very ſame thing with what Ovid, and the Peripatetics call heat, cold, moiſture, drought, gravity, and levity. They pretended, that all the force, and all the activity of nature, all the principles of the generation, and alteration of bodies, were comprehended in the ſphere of theſe ſix qualities. Since therefore they admitted them in the Chaos, they neceſſarily acknowledged in it all the ſame virtue which produces in the world generations and corruptions, winds, rains, *&c.*

(47) We always find an empty ſpace in the caſk after the fermentation is over, which is an evident proof, that ſeveral parts evaporated thro' the chinks of the caſk.

WHETHER it was a conſiſtent way of reaſoning to have recourſe to GOD for diſentangling the Chaos.

III. From hence ariſes another objection of almoſt as much weight as the preceding ones. Ovid, and thoſe whoſe opinions he has paraphraſed, had recourſe, without any neceſſity, to the miniſtry of GOD for diſentangling the Chaos; for they acknowledged, that it included all the internal force, which was capable of ſeparating the parts, and of allotting each element its proper ſituation; what occaſion therefore had they after this for calling in an external cauſe? Was not this imitating the bad Poets, who in their dramatical pieces introduced a god upon the ſtage, to remove a very inconſiderable perplexity? To reaſon right upon the production of the world, we ought to conſider GOD as the author of matter, and as the firſt and ſole principle of motion. If we cannot raiſe our thoughts to the idea of a creation, properly ſo called, we ſhall never get clear of all the difficulties which ſurround that ſubject; and to which ſoever ſide we turn, we muſt affirm things to which our reaſon cannot reconcile itſelf: for if matter is ſelf-exiſtent, we cannot well conceive, that GOD either could, or ſhould give it motion: it would be independent of any other thing, as to the reality of its exiſtence: why therefore ſhould it not have the power to exiſt always in the ſame place with reſpect to each of its parts? Why ſhould it be conſtrained to change its ſituation at the pleaſure of another ſubſtance? Add to this, that if matter had been moved by an external principle, it would be a ſign that its neceſſary and independent exiſtence are ſeparate and diſtinct from motion; the reſult of which is, that its natural ſtate is that of reſt, and conſequently GOD could not move it without diſordering the nature of things, there being nothing more ſuitable to order, than to follow the eternal and neceſſary inſtitution of nature. Of this I ſpeak more at large in other places (48). But of all the errors which are conſequent from that of rejecting the creation, there is none, in my opinion, ſo ſmall, as the ſuppoſing, that if GOD is not the cauſe of the exiſtence of matter, he is at leaſt the firſt mover of bodies, and in that quality the author of elementary properties, the author of the order and form we ſee in nature. The ſuppoſition of his being the firſt mover of matter, is a principle from whence this conſequence naturally flows, that he formed the heavens and the earth, the air and the ſea, and is the architect of this great

(48) See, above, the remark [D] of the article EPICURUS. See alſo the remark [A] of the article HIEROCLES, the Philoſopher.

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mankind from their general rule, ſince this is ſubject to the moſt dreadful confuſions

great and marvellous edifice which we call the world. But if you ſtrip him of that quality, of firſt mover, if you affirm, that matter moved itſelf independently of him, and had the diverſity of forms of itſelf; that, with reſpect to ſome of its parts, its motion tended to the center, and with reſpect to others, towards the circumference; that it contained particles of fire, particles of water, particles of air, and particles of earth: if, with Ovid, I ſay, you affirm all theſe things, you employ GOD needleſsly and to no purpoſe in the conſtruction of the world. Nature might have done very well without the aſſiſtance of GOD, it had ſufficient power to ſeparate the particles of the elements, and to aſſemble thoſe of the ſame claſs (49). Ariſtotle apprehended this truth very well, and had a much juſter notion of it than Plato, who admitted a diſorderly motion in the elementary matter, before the production of the world. Ariſtotle makes it appear, that this ſuppoſition deſtroyed itſelf, ſince unleſs we have recourſe to a progreſs *in infinitum*, motion in the elements muſt have been natural. If it was natural, ſome tended to the center, and others to the circumference; and conſequently ranged themſelves in ſuch a manner as was neceſſary for forming the world ſuch as it now appears: ſo that, during the time of that diſorderly motion, there was a world antecedent to the world, which is a contradiction. Theſe are his words: which I thought proper to produce, in order to give the reader an opportunity of examining more readily whether or not I have given their true ſenſe. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον· κἂν εἰ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν κόσμον, ἐκινεῖτο τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀτάκτως· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ βίαιον εἶναι τὴν κίνησιν, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀνάγκη κόσμον εἶναι, ἐάν τις βάλληται θεωρεῖν ἐπισήσας· τό, τε γὰρ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀνάγκη κινεῖν αὐτὸ, κινούμενον κατὰ φύσιν· καὶ τὰ κινούμενα μὴ βίᾳ. ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἠρεμοῦντα τόποις, ποιεῖν ἥνπερ ἔχουσι νῦν τάξιν· τὰ μὲν βάρη ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον· τὰ δὲ κουφότητα, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου· ταύτην δ' ὁ κόσμος ἔχει τὴν διάταξιν. Hoc idem accidat neceſſe eſt, & ſi, ut in Timæo eſt ſcriptum, elementa inordinatè movebantur antea quàm mundus ortus eſſet. Motum enim aut violentum, aut ſecundum naturam eſſe, neceſſe eſt. Quod ſi ſecundum naturam movebantur, mundum eſſe neceſſe eſt, ſi quiſpiam velit cum diligentia contemplari. Primum nanque movens movere neceſſe eſt, ipſum ſecundum naturam ſubiens motum, & ea, quæ moventur non vi in ſuis quieſcentia locis, eum, quem nunc habent ordinem facere: ea quidem, quæ pondus habent, ad medium: ea verò, quæ levitatem habent, à medio ſuopte pergentia nutu. Hunc autem ordinem Mundus habet (50). - - - - *The very ſame thing muſt neceſſarily happen; even though, as it is affirmed in Timæus, previouſly to the forming of the world, the elements had been moved irregularly: for motion muſt of neceſſity be either violent or natural. But if they were moved according to nature, there muſt be a world in courſe, if any perſon of judgment will conſider it. For the firſt mover muſt itſelf of neceſſity move, being moved according to nature: and thoſe things which moved without force, ſettling in their proper places, muſt compoſe the order which they now obſerve; thoſe which are heavy towards the centre; but thoſe that are light from the centre. Now this is the very order of the preſent world.* He obſerves in conſequence of this, and with a great deal of reaſon, that Anaxagoras who admitted no motion antecedent to the firſt formation of the world, had a clearer idea of this matter than the reſt (51).

The modern Peripatetics, the moſt zealous for Evangelical Orthodoxy, could find no fault in this diſcourſe of Ariſtotle; for they own, that the alterative and motive qualities of the four elements are ſufficient for the production of all the effects of nature. They only introduce GOD as the preſerver of theſe elementary qualities, of which he is the firſt cauſe, or elſe make him only interpoſe his general concurrence; and they agree, that excepting this they perform the whole, and in the quality of a ſecond cauſe, are the compleat principle of all generations (52). So that a ſcholaſtic divine would readily own, that if the four elements had exiſted independently of GOD, with all the faculties which they now enjoy, they would have formed of themſelves this machine of the world, and kept it up in the ſtate wherein it now appears. He muſt therefore acknowledge two great faults in the doctrine of the Chaos: one, and indeed the principal is, that it takes from GOD the creation of matter, and the production of the qualities peculiar to fire, to the air, to the earth, and to the ſea: the other, is, that after taking this away from him, it introduces him without neceſſity upon the ſtage of the world to adjuſt the places of the four elements. Our new Philoſophers, who have rejected the qualities and faculties of the Peripatetic Philoſophy, would find the ſame faults in Ovid's deſcription of the Chaos: for what they call general laws of motion, principles of mechaniſm, modifications of the matter, figure, ſituation and order of the particles, import nothing elſe but that active and paſſive virtue of nature, which the Peripatetics underſtand, under the terms of alterative and motive qualities of the four elements. Since therefore, according to the doctrine of the Peripatetics, thoſe four bodies, placed according to their natural levity and gravity, are a principle ſufficient for all generations; the Carteſians, the Gaſſendiſts, and other modern Philoſophers, muſt maintain, that the motion, ſituation, and figure of the parts of matter, are ſufficient for the production of all natural effects, without excepting even the general diſpoſition which has placed the earth, the air, water, and ſtars, where we now ſee them. Thus, the true cauſe of the world, and of the effects produced in it, is not different from the cauſe which gave motion to the parts of matter, whether it aſſigned at the ſame time to each atom a determinate figure, as the Gaſſendiſts will have it, or that it only gave thoſe parts, being all cubical, an impulſe, which, by the duration of motion, reduced to certain laws, would afterwards make them aſſume all ſorts of figures, purſuant to the hypotheſis of the Carteſians. Both the one and the other muſt conſequently agree, that if matter had been ſuch before the generation of the world, as Ovid pretends, it would have been capable of diſengaging itſelf from the Chaos by its own proper power, and to aſſume the form of the world, without the aſſiſtance of GOD. They muſt therefore charge Ovid with having committed two blunders; one in ſuppoſing, that matter, without the aſſiſtance of the Deity, contained the ſeeds of all the mixt bodies, heat, motion, &c. and the other in ſaying, that without the divine interpoſition, it could not have brought itſelf out of its ſtate of confuſion. This is giving too much and too little on theſe two reſpective occaſions; it is neglecting help when it is moſt wanted, and ſeeking it when it is not neceſſary.

(49) Compare what was ſaid above, remark [C], num. VIII, of the article ANAXAGORAS.

(50) Ar ſt. de Cœlo, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. m. 370, C.

(51) I have cited theſe words of Ariſtotle, above, citation (161) of the article EPICURUS.

(52) We muſt except the ſoul of man.

REFLEXION upon Des Cartes's notion of the manner in which the world might have been made.

I know ſome do not approve of Des Cartes's fiction concerning the manner how the world might have been formed (53). Some ridicule it, and think it, injurious to GOD; others charge it either with falſities, or with impoſſibilities. To the former it may be anſwered, that they do not underſtand the ſubject, and that, if they did, they would own, that nothing is more proper to give a lofty idea of the infinite wiſdom of GOD, than to affirm, that out of a matter that had no manner of form, he could make this world in a certain time, by the bare preſervation of the motion once given, and reduced to a few ſimple and general laws. As to what concerns thoſe who reject the particulars of Des Cartes's ſyſtem, as containing ſome things contrary to the laws of Mechanics, and the real ſtate of the celeſtial vortices as they have been diſcovered by Aſtronomers, I ſhall only reply to them, that this does not hinder the main of his hypotheſis from being juſt and reaſonable; and I am fully perſuaded, that Mr Newton *, the moſt formidable of all the animadverters upon Des Cartes, does not doubt but that the actual ſyſtem of the world might be the production of a few mechanical laws, eſtabliſhed by the author of all things: for if you ſuppoſe bodies determined to move in ſtreight lines, and to tend either towards the center, or towards the circumference, as often as the reſiſtance of other bodies obliges them to a circular motion, you eſtabliſh a principle which will neceſſarily produce great varieties in matter; and if it does not form this ſyſtem, it will form another.

(53) *See Des Cartes's* Principia, *Part iii, num.* 46, *& ſeq.*

* SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

OBSERVATION upon the Epicurean hypotheſis.

The very Epicurean hypotheſis, though ſo fooliſh, and extravagant, affords wherewith to form a certain world. Do but once allow them the different figures of atoms, with the inalienable power of moving themſelves,

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ſelves, according to the laws of gravity, and mutually repelling one another, and reflecting in ſuch or ſuch a manner, according as they ſtrike one another in a perpendicular or oblique direction: grant them but this, and you cannot deny that the fortuitous concourſe of theſe corpuſcles may form maſſes, containing hard and fluid bodies, cold and heat, opacity and tranſparency, vortices, &c. all that can be denied them, is, the poſſibility of chances producing ſuch a ſyſtem of bodies as our world; in which there are ſo many things which perſevere ſo long in their regularity, ſo many animal machines a thouſand times more ingenious than thoſe of human art, which neceſſarily require an intelligent direction.

We ſhall examine, by the By, a notion of the Sieur Lami, Doctor of Phyſic at Paris, who is as great a ſticklèr for atoms, as he is an adverſary to the Peripatetics, and to Des Cartes. All this appears by his work *de Principiis rerum* (54). Now this is the anſwer he gives to an objection commonly ſtarted againſt Epicurus's hypotheſis. The argument is built upon this compariſon; by throwing letters together at a venture, you would never compoſe Homer's Iliad, therefore the caſual concourſe of atoms could never produce a world. He anſwers that there is a very wide difference between theſe two things. The Iliad cannot be formed but by the preciſe and determinate junction of a certain number of letters; the method of compoſing it therefore is but one, out of an infinite number of various ways of ranging and adjuſting letters; ſo that we muſt not think it ſtrange, that chance ſhould never be able to hit upon this one way among an infinity of others. But for making a world in general, this or another, there is no neceſſity that the atoms ſhould meet and combine in one certain, preciſe, determinate manner; for in what manner ſoever they lay hold of one another, they will neceſſarily form heaps of bodies, and conſequently a world. He does not ſtop here, he gives the compariſon another turn. Let the junction of ſeveral letters, ſays he, be never ſo caſual, they will neceſſarily form ſyllables and words, therefore the fortuitous concourſe of atoms will neceſſarily form bodies. If you object to him, that theſe words, formed by chance, will have no ſignification, his anſwer will be that this is owing to words having no other ſignification but what man is pleaſed to give them; and that thence it comes, that in order to be ſignificative they muſt be ranged in conformity to human inſtitution: but that the virtue of atoms being independent of man, they producing conſiderable effects which may merit his admiration in whatſoever order they ſhall appear (55). There is no great neceſſity of diſcuſſing all this: we may grant him part of his pretenſions, and yet at the ſame time deny that our world, in which there are ſo many regular things tending to certain ends, can be the effect of chance. Obſerve, that Epicurus found himſelf obliged to own one inſtance of chance, at leaſt as wonderful as the Iliad would be, if produced by the fortuitous concourſe of certain letters. He aſſigned to the gods the figure of man, and believed them to be eternal: So that he was under a neceſſity of owning, that the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, by which the firſt men were compoſed, was an exact copy of a certain determinate and ſingle original, namely, the figure of the gods. Let us ſee what Cicero ſays on this head: ‘ Hoc dico, non ‘ ab hominibus formæ figuram perveniſſe ad Deos: ‘ Dii enim ſemper fuerunt, & nati nunquam ſunt, ſi- ‘ quidem æterni ſunt futuri. At homines nati: antè ‘ igitur humana forma, quàm homines eâ quâ erant ‘ formâ Dii immortales. Non ergo illorum humana ‘ forma, ſed noſtra divina dicenda eſt. Verùm hoc ‘ quidem, ut voletis: illud quæro, quæ fuerit tanta ‘ fortuna, (nihil enim ratione in rerum naturâ factum ‘ eſſe vultis) ſed tamen quis iſte tantus caſus, unde ‘ tam felix concurſus atomorum, ut repentè homines ‘ Deorum formâ naſcerentur? Semina Deorum deci- ‘ diſſe de cœlo putamus in terras, & ſic homines patrum ſimiles extitiſſe? vellem diceretis: Deorum ‘ cognationem agnoſcerem non invitus. Nihil tale dicitis: ſed caſu eſſe factum ut Deorum ſimiles eſſemus (56). - - - - *This I affirm, that the gods could not receive their form from that of men: for the gods always exiſted, and never were born, their duration being eternal. But men are born: therefore before men had their human form, the immortal gods muſt have had their form ſuppoſing it were the ſame. Therefore their form ought not to be ſtiled human, but ours divine. But be this as you will: I aſk this queſtion, by what*

(54) The *Acta Eruditorum*, for 1682, pag. 155, contain an abſtract of it, and obſerve, that it was printed at Paris, in 1680: but that was a new impreſſion; for I read it in 1678, and then it was no new book.

(55) Taken from the thirty-ninth chapter of the third book of William Lami, *de Rerum Principiis.*

(56) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, *lib. i, cap. xxxii.*

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Hæc quoque non perſtant, quæ nos elementa vocamus (59).

(59) Ib. ver. 57.

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Omnia fiunt
Ex ipſis, & in ipſa cadunt: reſolutaque tellus
In liquidas rareſcit aquas; tenuatus in auras
Aeraque humor abit; dempto quoque pondere rurſus
In ſuperos aer tenuiſſimus emicat ignes.
Inde retro redeunt, idemque retexitur ordo:
Ignis enim denſum ſpiſſatus in aëre tranſit;
Hic in aquas; tellus glomerata cogitur undâ.
Nec ſpecies ſua cuique manet; rerumque novatrix
Ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras (60).

(60) Ib. ver. 244.

*Nor do thoſe things which elements we name,
Perſiſt immutable, and ſtill the ſame.*

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

*From theſe a being is beſtow'd to all,
And into theſe again the whole muſt fall.
By rarefaction, earth to water flows;
Vapours, refin'd from water, air compoſe;
The airy particles ſublim'd, acquire
The higheſt rank, and brighten into fire.
Nor do they long in thoſe new ſhapes remain;
But in like order return back again.
For by condenſing fire to air give's birth;
Air melts to water; water ſinks to earth.
Thus nature loves thro' different forms to range;
And varies all her works with endleſs change.*

He afterwards produces ſeveral inſtances of the conqueſt made by the water over the earth, and by the earth over the water, &c. Where is this pacification then, which he was ſo full of, in his firſt book? See the margin (61).

(61) It cannot be ſaid, in excuſe for this contradiction, that theſe ſentiments are here expreſſed in the perſon of the Philoſopher Pythagoras; for moſt of the things he makes him ſpeak, are either narrations, or opinions, agreeable to the hypotheſis of thoſe, who explained generation and corruption by the qualities of the elements.

Nay, though he had not contradicted himſelf, we might cenſure him with a great deal of reaſon; for the world being a ſtage of viciſſitudes, nothing could be more improper than to give peace to the four elements; and the ceſſation of the Chaos ſhould be ſo far from putting an end to their quarrels, that, on the contrary, it ſhould have ſet them one againſt another, if they had been in mutual peace during the Chaos. It is by their conflict that nature becomes fruitful; their concord would keep her barren, and without the implacable war which they make againſt one another, wherever they meet, we ſhould have no generations. The production of one thing, is always the deſtruction of another.

Nam quodcunque ſuis mutatum finibus exit,
Continuo hoc mors eſt illius quod fuit ante (62).

(62) Lucret. lib. I, ver. 671.

*For when things change, and keep their form no more,
This is the death of what they were before.*

Generatio unius eſt corruptio alterius. This is a philoſophical axiom. So that Ovid ſhould have pre-ſuppoſed, that the god, who allotted diſtinct ſtations to the four elements, enjoyned them to fight without quarter, and to act the part of ambitious conquerors, who leave no ſtone unturned to invade the poſſeſſions of their neighbours. The orders given them ſhould have been like Dido's wiſh.

Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt ſe tempore vires,
Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis, pugnent ipſique nepotes (63).

(63) Virgil. Æneid. lib. IV, ver. 627.

*Our arms, our ſeas, our ſhores, oppos'd to theirs,
And the ſame hate deſcend on all our heirs.*

DRYDEN.

And in effect, they act juſt as if they had received ſuch orders, and as if they were inſpired with the warmeſt paſſion to put them in full execution. Cold enlarges its ſphere as much as ever it can, and there deſtroys its enemy: heat does the like; and theſe two qualities are by turns maſter of the field, the one in winter, and the other in ſummer: they imitate thoſe victorious armies, which after gaining a deciſive battle, conſtrain their enemy to fly to his citadels, and purſuing him thither, lay ſiege to him, and reduce him to extremity. In the ſummer, cold flies to caverns and ſubterraneous cavities; and to prevent being entirely deſtroyed, redoubles the efforts of its reſiſtance, and fortifies itſelf in the beſt manner it can, by the virtue called Antiperiſtaſis: and in winter heat takes the ſame courſe. The elementary Philoſophers, who thus explain the effects of nature, tell us, that each quality ſtrives in ſuch a manner to vanquiſh the ſubjects it attacks, that, not ſatisfied with making them its vaſſals, and ordering them to wear its livery, it endeavours to tranſmute them into its own ſtate; *omne agens*, ſay they, *intendit ſibi aſſimilare paſſum - - - - every agent endeavours to aſſimilate to itſelf that which it works upon.* Can one meet with a more hoſtile, and more ambitious, animoſity than this? Empedocles was miſtaken in annexing to the four elements amity and enmity, the one for union, and the other for diſunion (64). We agree with him, that the union and diſunion of parts are highly neceſſary for the productions of nature; but it is certain, that amity has no hand in them: the ſole diſcord, the ſole antipathy of the elements aſſembles bodies in one place, and diſperſes them in another. Theſe two qualities of Empedocles can be attributed at moſt but to living bodies; but air and fire, water and earth, have no other attendant, except enmity.

(64) See Ariſtotle, book viii, of his Phyſics, chap. i, and Diogenes Laërtius, lib. viii, num. 76, & *ibi Aldobrandinus, & Menagius.*

Living bodies act very conformably to the order which Ovid ſhould have ſuppoſed to be given, by the author of the diſentangling of the Chaos, *viz.* that of mutual deſtruction; for it is literally true, that they ſubſiſt only by deſtruction: every thing which ſerves for the ſupport of their life, loſes its form, and changes its ſtate and ſpecies. Vegetables deſtroy the conſtitution and qualities of all the juices they can attract: and animals commit the ſame ravage upon every thing which ſerves them for food. They eat up one another, and there are ſeveral kinds of beaſts which make war upon one another, for no other end but to devour ſuch of their enemies as they ſhall happen to kill. In ſome countries men follow the ſame courſe, and every where they are great deſtroyers. I take no notice here of the ſlaughter ariſing from ambition, avarice, or cruelty, or from ſuch other paſſions as are the cauſes of war: I ſpeak only of the effects of the care taken to feed the body. In this regard, man is ſuch a ruining, deſtroying, principle, that in caſe all other animals deſtroyed as much in proportion, the earth would not be able to furniſh them with proviſions. When we ſee in the ſtreets and markets of great cities, ſuch a prodigious multitude of herbs and fruits, and of an infinite number of other things allotted for the food of the inhabitants, would not one be ready to ſay, here is proviſion for a week? would one imagine, that this ſhew is to be renewed every day? Would one believe, that ſo ſmall an opening as the human mouth, were a gulf, an abyſs, large enough to ſwallow up all that in a little time? Nothing but experience could make us believe it. In the *Saint-Evremoniana* lately publiſhed, I met with theſe Words (65): *it is ſaid, that at Paris there is four thouſand people who ſell oyſters, and that fifteen hundred large oxen, and above ſixteen thouſand ſheep, calves, or hogs, beſides a prodigious quantity of poultry, and wild fowls, are conſumed every day.* Judge what may be the caſe in thoſe countries, where they feed more upon fleſh, and are greater eaters.

(65) Pag. 293, of the Dutch Edit. in 1701.

Such being therefore the condition of nature, that beings are produced and preſerved by the deſtruction of one another, our Poet ſhould not have affirmed, that the war of the elements was pacified when the world began, and the Chaos ended (66). It was enough to have ſaid, that the ſituation and power of the combatants were regulated and ballanced in ſuch a manner, that their continual hoſtilities ſhould not produce the deſtruction of the work; but only the viciſſitudes that are its ornaments, *per queſto variar natura è bella, - - - - nature is beautiful by this variety*, as the Italians ſay. Some perhaps will imagine, that the war, not ceaſing upon the regulation of theſe principles, it was not ſo much a ceſſation of the Chaos, as a rough draught of the diſentanglement; and that after this rough draught, that is, the world we live in, ſhall have continued a certain number of ages, it will be ſucceeded by a much finer world; from which diſcord will be baniſhed. And they will pretend, perhaps, that St Paul (67) confirms this opinion, in ſaying, that all creatures groan for their deliverance from

(66) See in the 18th Tome of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle, pag.* 23, a remark in oppoſition to what Gregory Nazianzen ſaid in his 12th oration, that the univerſe is maintained by peace.

(67) Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. viii, ver. 19, & ſeq. This is a paſſage which puzzles the commentators very much.

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fuſions and contrarieties which could poſſibly have been in the Chaos [H]. They muſt be from the ſtate of vanity and corruption in which they find themſelves. But let them ſay what they pleaſe, I ſhall not amuſe myſelf with the examination of their notions.

It is to be obſerved, that from the mechanical principles, by which the new Philoſophers explain the effects of nature, it is eaſier to comprehend the perpetual war of bodies, than from the Philoſophy of the four elements. For all the action of the ſix elementary qualities, being nothing elſe, according to the new Philoſophy, but local motion, it is manifeſt each body attacks every thing it meets, and that the parts of matter tend only to ſhock, break, and compreſs, one another, according to all the rigour of the laws of ſuperior powers.

[H] *they ought to have excepted mankind from the general rule, ſince it is ſubject to the moſt dreadful confuſions . . . which could poſſibly have been in the Chaos.*] But if we ſet aſide the arguments produced in the foregoing remark, and grant that Ovid might affirm, generally ſpeaking, that the creatures were releaſed from the Chaos, yet we might ſtill be allowed to ſay, that he could not in particular include man within that favour. I here only conſider the views we may have when deſtitute of the light of revelation. In this ſtate, who can forbear thinking that the horrors of the Chaos ſtill ſubſiſt with regard to man? For, not mentioning the perpetual conflict of the elementary qualities, which reigns ſomething more in his machine than in moſt other material beings, what war is there not between his ſoul and his body, between his reaſon and his ſenſes, between his ſenſitive and his reaſonable ſoul? reaſon ought to calm this diſorder, and pacify theſe inteſtine jars; but it is both judge and party, and its decrees are not executed; but only increaſe the miſchief (68). This is what obliged one of the moſt ſolid and moſt ſhining genius's of the XVIIth Century, to prefer the condition of ſheep before that of men. Read what follows.

(68) Touching the complaints made againſt reaſon: ſee the New Letters againſt Maimbourg, *pag.* 755, *&* *ſeq*; and below, in the remark [E] of the article PAULICIANS, ſome paſſages of Cicero.

Cependant nous avons la raiſon pour partage,
Et vous en ignorez l'uſage.
Innocens animaux n'enſoiez point jaloux,
Ce n'eſt pas un grand avantage.
Cette fiere raiſon dont on fait tant de bruit
Contre les paſſions n'eſt pas un ſeur remede,
Un peu de vin la trouble, un enfant la ſeduit,
Et dechirer un cœur qui l' appelle à ſon aide,
Eſt tout l'effet qu'elle produit.
Toûjours impuiſſante & ſevere
Elle s'opoſe à tout, & ne ſurmonte rien.
Sous la garde de votre chien
Vous devez beaucoup moins redouter la colere
Des loups cruels & raviſſans,
Que ſous l'autorité d'une telle chimere
Nous ne devons craindre nos ſens (69).

(69) Madam des Houlieres, Idylle on the Sheep, *pag.* 32, 33, *Edit. de Amſterdam* 1694.

Though we have reaſon's talent, which you want,
Sheep need not envy men that uſeleſs grant.
Proud reaſon, tho' it makes ſo great a noiſe,
Is far from being paſſion's counterpoiſe.
It yields to wine, is by a child betray'd,
And only breaks the heart, which ſeeks its aid,
Reaſon for ever impotent, and ſour,
Fights every thing, yet nothing can o'erpow'r.
Againſt the wolves your dog's a ſure defence,
While our grand guard leaves us a prey to ſenſe.

This is what we meet with in the poems of Madam des Houlieres. We there likewiſe find, that the condition of inanimate creatures ſeemed to her to be preferable to ours. See what ſhe ſays, addreſſing herſelf to a brook (70).

(70) The ſame, in the Idylle on the Brook, *pag.* 119, 120.

Avec tant de bonheur d' où vient votre murmure?
Helas votre ſort eſt ſi doux!
Taiſez-vous ruiſſeau, c'eſt à nous
A nous plaindre de la nature.
De tant de paſſions que nourrit notre cœur
Aprennez qu'il n'en eſt pas une
Qui ne traine après ſoi le trouble, de douleur,
Le repentir, ou l'infortune.
Elles dechirent nuit & jour
Les cœurs dont elles ſont maîtreſſes.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
De toutes ſortes d'unions
Que notre vie eſt éloignée!
De trahiſons, d'horreurs, & de diſſenſions
Elle eſt toûjours accompagnée.
Qu'avez-vous merité, ruiſſeau tranquill & doux,
Pour être mieux traité que nous?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Enfin dans cet horrible gouffre
De miſere & de vanité
Je me perds; & plus j'enviſage
La foibleſſe de l' homme & ſa malignité,
Et moins de la divinité
En lui je reconnois l'image.

O happy brook, why murmur you in vain!
Compoſe your ſtream, and let mankind complain.
The human heart a thouſand paſſions feeds,
While each to ſorrow or miſfortune leads.
Both day and night in turns they tyrannize,
And ſoon deſtroy the ſpring from whence they riſe.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
With treaſons, horrors, and diſſentions fill'd,
No drop of friendſhip does life's channel yield.
What merit, peaceful waters, can you claim,
Thus to be happier than the human frame.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
In this dire gulph of vanity and woe,
I loſe myſelf in ev'ry ſtep I go:
And while in man, follies and crimes abound,
The Deity is no where to be found.

The verſes I am going to quote furniſh us with a freſh proof of the Chaos, in which mankind remained: the two moſt oppoſite things in the world, light and darkneſs, continue in man; in him they follow one another, and tread upon one another's heels: the leſs he knows, the more he thinks he knows: and the more he really knows, the more he is ſenſible of his own ignorance, the more he is in danger of miſtaking his right road. Now, can any thing be the ſubject, or the ſtage of a more capricious conflict?

Que l'eſprit de l'homme eſt borné!
Quelque tems qu'il donne à l'étude,
Quelque penetrant qu'il ſoit né,
Il ne ſait rien à fond, rien avec certitude:
De tenebres pour lui tout eſt environné;
La lumiere qui vient du ſavoir le plus rare
N'eſt qu'un fatal éclair, qu'n ardent qui l'égare.
Bien plus que l'ignorance elle eſt à redouter.
Longues erreurs qu'elle à fait naitre
Vous ne prouvez que trop que chercher a connoitre
Ne'ſt ſouvent qu'aprendre à douter (71).

(71) The ſame, in the *Réflexions diverſes*, *pag.* 94, 95.

How very narrow is the human mind?
The fineſt parts, in ſtudy long confin'd,
Can yet in ſcience boaſt no certain ground,
Such clouds and darkneſs ev'ry where abound.
Learning's beſt light, is but a fatal ray,
An ignis fatuus *form'd to lead aſtray.*
Better had we in ignorance remain,
Than trace her errors in an endleſs train;

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These prove that all we gain by the pursuit,
Is often only learning how to doubt.

I should never have done, if I should resolve to collect every fine observation that has been made on the contrariety of ingredients in the human composition. The count de Bussi Rabutin tells us, 'that upon this head he always remembers what Father Senault said; that the 'soul and body are very closely connected, and yet 'always at variance: and that, in a word, they are two 'enemies who cannot part, and two friends who 'cannot agree. Nothing can be expressed better 'or with greater truth (72).' There is a greater freedom or vivacity, but not more strong sense, though indeed there is a great deal, in this passage of Balzac: *but who do you think, good reverend father, was the author of these words?* 'We are a composition of two 'enemies who never agree: the sublime part of our 'soul is always at war with the inferior part. Let us 'add farther, that MAN IS MADE OF A GOD AND 'A BEAST, TIED TOGETHER. *If you guess the author 'of these four lines, I shall esteem you as great a Magus, 'as those who foretold the birth of king Sapores* (73).

(72) Bussi Rabutin, Letter xxxi, of the fourth part, pag. 53, of the Dutch edition.

(73) Balzac, Dissertation to the reverend Father, Dom Andrew de St Denis, a Divine, of the congregation of the Feuillants, *at the end of his* Socrate Chrétien, *pag. m.* 193, 194.

There are some excellent things upon this subject, in two harangues of Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica in the XIVth century. *They are written by way of dialogue, with pleadings, and a definitive sentence; the soul accusing the body, and the body on the other hand making it's defence, not purely by denying but colouring the fact, upon which is pronounced the sentence of the judges.* I use the words of Claudius Espencæus, who made a French translation of these two declamations and published it at Paris in 8vo, in 1570. Du Verdier Vau Privas quotes some passages out of it (74). I shall here present you with a long passage, in which there are some very good things and also some faults. 'The Phi-'losophers.... were unacquainted with the disposi-'tion of the springs which put the heart of man in 'motion, and had no knowledge, no suspicion of the 'strange change wrought upon him, by which his 'reason became a slave to his passions.... It is true 'they are excusable for not knowing the cause of this 'change in man, but they can plead no excuse for not 'perceiving the change itself: for, tho' some persons, 'who live without thinking and reflexion are pardo-'nable, for not knowing what passes within themselves, 'it is inconceivable that the curious observers of na-'ture, men who use their utmost application to study 'and know themselves, should not have observed, 'that man is not at present governed and conducted by 'reason. In effect, how can we conceive that discern-'ing persons should not have discovered, by their 'knowledge and their own experience, that reason, 'with all it's power and application, is not able to de-'stroy one passion which is rooted in the heart of man, 'neither by the help of any number of years, nor by 'the influence of any examples, nor by the fear of any 'evil; and that they should not have perceived what 'the dullest persons see and are sensible of? A small 'measure of attention therefore to what they experien-'ced in themselves, might have been sufficient to inform 'them of the state of reason, to convince them of their 'weakness, and to make them apprehend, that 'man who was once seated in the most elevated part of 'the soul, who inhabited that serene and luminous re-'gion, from whence he saw and regulated himself 'within and without, is now in his present state, plung-'ed into sense, the pleasures of which he pursues, as 'if he was born for them. By the same means they 'might have perceived, that, though reason has lost 'the power it had in man, yet it's light is not quite 'extinguished, but some glimmerings are left sufficient 'to point out his duty (75).' The author who speaks after this manner, is Mr Esprit, in a piece he published in 1678. All he observes upon the weakness and slavery of reason is very true; but he is in the wrong in charging the Philosophers in general with the being strangers to that servitude, and entertaining no suspicion of the causes of it; for undoubtedly several Heathens had a notion of this matter which he supposes they had not. I know very well, that the Stoics spoke too pompously of the empire of reason, and that the idea of their wise-man warmed their imagination to such a pitch, that they let some things drop which might well seem extravagant, not in supposing, that if rescued from passions, he would constantly and invariably observe the laws of order and goodness, but in supposing that it was possible for men to extirpate all vicious passions. This was their grand error; it was here they betrayed their ignorance of the state of mankind. The other part of their doctrine was rational, namely, that if man had once subdued and extirpated his passions, he would find no difficulty in practising virtue, and attaining to perfection (76). However, Mr Esprit should have confined his censures to them, and not have given them so large an extent as he has done. Who told him that the Philosophers did not know that the soul of man is plunged in sense? Does Cicero seem ignorant of this, in those words of the third Book of his Republic, which St Augustin has preserved to us, and which contain so lively a description of the slavery of the soul under the empire of the passions. 'Homo non ut à matre, sed ut à no-'verca natura editus est in vitam, corpore nudo, & 'fragili, & infirmo, animo autem anxio ad molestias, 'humili ad timores, molli ad labores, prono ad libi-'dines, in quo tamen inesset tamquam OBRUTUS 'quidam divinus ignis ingenii, & mentis (77).... 'Man is brought into the world by nature, not as a 'mother, but as a step-mother, with a body naked, 'weak, and infirm, but with a mind sowered by uneasi-'ness, awed by fear, averse to labour, and inclined to 'lust, in which however appears, as it were, STIFLED, 'a certain divine ray of reason and understanding.' Had this author no *knowledge, no suspicion of the strange change wrought upon man, by which his reason became enslaved to the passions?* What then is the meaning of the words preserved to us by the same St Augustin, in which Cicero seems to approve of the antient Pagan, who believed, that the birth of man was a punishment for some sin, committed in another life (78). Does he not applaud a thought which he had met with in Aristotle, that the union of the soul with the body was a punishment like that made use of by some antient robbers, who tied living bodies to dead corps, mouth to mouth, belly to belly, and so on in other parts (79)? Was not this owning, that the soul is, by sin, reduced to the miserable condition which it experiences in the body? Was not this considering sin as the cause which had degraded the soul from it's natural state, and primitive nobility? Let us recite this fine passage of Cicero. *Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus, & ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sicle vates, sive in sacris, initiisque tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vita superiore, pœnarum luendarum causa natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur; verumque sit illud, quod est apud Aristotelem, simili non affectos esse supplicio, atque eos, qui quondam, cum in prædonum Etruscorum manus incidissent, crudelitate excogitata necabantur: quorum corpora viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accommodata, quam aptissime colligabantur: ita nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos* (80). In fine, I do not conceive how Mr Esprit comes to affirm, that the Philosphers were ignorant that the power of reason is lost, and yet it's light preserved. Had not Euripides, the dramatic Philosopher, said, that after meditating a long time upon the corruption of men, he found that it was not owing to the frame of their understanding that they sinned, but to their swerving from what is good, at the same time that they very well know it, some through idleness, others through the love of voluptuousness? He puts these fine maxims in Phædra's mouth.

(74) *See pag.* 175, *& seq. of the* Bibliotheque Françoise.

(75) Esprit, Preface to his book of the Deceitfulness of human Virtues.

(76) *See the* New Letters against Maimbourg, *pag.* 758.

(77) See the Fragments of Cicero, collected by Andreas Patricius, *pag. m.* 70. He quotes this, as taken from St Augustin, *lib. iv, contrà Pelagium.*

(78) See the remark [R] in the article TULLIA.

(79) Compare citat. (68) of the article LEO X, where I quote a passage from Virgil.

(80) Cicero, in Hortensio, apud Augustinum, *lib. iv, contra Pelagium.* See the Fragments collected by Andreas Patricius, *pag. m.* 102, 103.

Ἦδη ποτ' ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ
Θνητῶν, ἐφρόνησ', ἢ διέφθαρται βίος.
Καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ γνώμης φύσιν
Πράσσειν κάκιον. Ἔστι γὰρ τόγ' εὖ φρονεῖν
Πολλοῖσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇδ' ἀθρητέον τάδε.
Τὰ χρῆς' ἐπισάμεσθα, καὶ γιγνώσκομεν,
Οὐκ ἐκπονοῦμεν δ'. οἱ μὲν ἀργίας ὕπο,
Οἵδ' ἡδονὴν προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ
Ἀλλήν τιν'.

Jam sæpe *mecum* aliâs noctis in longo tempore
Cogitavi, quomodo corrupta sit hominum vita.
Et mihi videntur non secundum animi naturam: *at præter eam*
Deterius facere. est enim recta *rerum* cognitio
Multis. Sed sic spectanda *sunt* hæc.
Bona *quidem* tenemus, & novimus:
Sed non facimus: alii quidem propter ignaviam,

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be very weak who take a certain poem *d*

Alii vero anteponentes voluptatem honeſto,
Aliam aliquam (81).

(81) Euripides, in Hippolyto, *ver.* 375, *pag. m.* 359. Note, that Farnaby, in Ovid. Metam. lib. vii, ver. 11, faſſly quotes this from Euripides's Medea.

Oft have I ſpent the tedious night to know,
From whence in human life corruptions flow.
And from thoſe ſtudies, this reſult I find,
That men do ill through no defect of mind.
For we are form'd ſufficiently wiſe;
But here the truth of this great matter lies.
Plainly we all perceive the path to good;
But ſloth, or pleaſure, makes us ſhun the road.

Is it poſſible to give a finer deſcription than in theſe words of Ovid, of the incapacity of reaſon to make us do what ſhe makes us approve?

Concipit interea validos Æetias ignes,
Et luctata diu, poſtquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat; Fruſtra Medea repugnas,
Neſcio quis deus obſtat, ait (82).

(82 Ovid. Metam. lib. VII, ver. 9.

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- - - - - - - - - - - - -

(83) Id. ib. ver. 17.

Excute (83) virgineo conceptas pectore flammas,
Si potes, infelix. Si poſſem, ſanior eſſem;
Sed *trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,*
Mens aliud ſuadet. Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora ſequor (84).

(84) She owns in Euripides, that ſhe knows very well what crimes ſhe is going to commit; but that her paſſions prevails over her knowledge.

Mean while the daughter rages with deſire,
Nor pains, nor thoughts, avail to quench the fire:
In vain, Medea, you reſiſt, ſhe cries;
Some heavenly power all ſucceſs denies.
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
Extinguiſh, if you can, unhappy maid,
Theſe cruel flames which your fond heart invade.
O that I cou'd! Then might I be at reſt!
But a new tyrant lords it in my breaſt!
In ſpite of reaſon, paſſion rules my will:
I ſee, approve the good; yet muſt purſue the ill!

Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα τολμήσω κακὰ,
Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.
Et intelligo quidem qualia *ſint ea* mala, *quæ* ſum auſura.
Sed ira eſt potentior meis conſiliis.
I plain enough perceive the ill;
But paſſion overrules my will.
Euripid. in Medea, ver. 1078, *pag.* 319.

Here be pleaſed to obſerve, that ſhe imputes this irreſiſtible impulſe to ſome god. That was the uſual refuge of the Heathens, in accounting for the paſſions which hurry away man in ſpite of the light of his mind, and the knowledge of his true intereſt (85). They believed this to have ſomething divine in it, and almoſt always to be a puniſhment for ſome antecedent ſin: which ſhews that they were not ſo ignorant as Mr Eſprit makes them, and that they had ſome ſort of notion of what the Divines teach us concerning the loſs of Free-will, occaſioned by ſin, and concerning the deſertion of thoſe who abuſe the grace of God.

(85) See the remark [Y] of the article HELENA.

I could have cited, inſtead of Ovid, ſeveral writers who were Philoſophers by profeſſion: but I thought this much more proper, to ſhew Mr Eſprit's miſtake; for it is leſs excuſable to be ignorant of what is to be met with in ſuch a Poet, than of what is ſaid by the Greek authors. I could likewiſe have muſtered up ſeveral teſtimonies of ſufficient credit to convince us, that it was very well known that mankind grovelled ſtill in the Chaos: but the moſt nervous deſcriptions of the pagan Orators, Poets, or Philoſophers, are not able to give us ſo lively an idea of this matter, as that which St Paul has left us. We need only therefore caſt our eyes upon the picture, which that great Apoſtle, under the direction of eternal Truth, lays before us in his Epiſtle to the Romans. *That which I do,* ſays he (86), *I allow not; for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I conſent unto the law that* it is *good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but ſin that dwelleth in me: for I know that in me (that is, in my fleſh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is preſent with me, but* how *to perform that which is good, I find not: for the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but ſin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that when I would do*

(86) Epiſtle to the Romans, ch. vii, ver. 15, & ſeq.

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I shall quote some verses (*d*) out of it, that those who have not the book may judge of the author's vein.

(*d*) In citation (90), below.

I shall begin my additions with explaining what I have said in contradiction to those who believe he was banished for having surprized Augustus in an execrable incest [*K*], and agreed to it; but he found it after all no such great favour that he had obtained, for he had only made himself master of a piece of antiquity. This occasioned him to take a resolution to change his course of life, and apply himself to solid studies.

This Poem, and another, intituled, *Brunellus Vigelli*, seu *Speculum stultorum*, were printed at Wolfembuttel, in 1662. The editor affirms in his Preface, dated the thirteenth of December, 1661, that they had been printed at Cologne almost two hundred years before. Naudæus knew nothing of this first edition; for he tells us, that this pretended Poem of Ovid *had been twice printed; first, separately, and without the name of the place, or Printer, in* 1534; *and a second time*, inter Ovidii erotica & amatoria opuscula, *published at Frankfort in* 1610, *with a Preface not at all contemptible* (92). He observes (93), that Robert Holcot has quoted *several verses of this piece, in his Commentary upon the book of Wisdom, lecture sixty of the old Venice edition, and the sixty-first of that of Basil* (94), without affirming or denying, that Ovid was the genuine author of it. 'An sit liber Ovidii, Deus novit, 'quamvis à Leone Protonotario Sacri Palatii Vastasii 'Principis, referatur liber ille extractus de sepulchro 'Ovidii, unde testamentum Ovidii nuncupatur; dicit 'enim quod inventus fuit in cœmiterio publico, in 'quodam sepulchro, in suburbano Dioscori Civitatis, 'quæ est caput Regni Colchorum; & quia ibi non 'erat copia Latinorum, eo quod Armenici linguam 'Latinam non intelligunt, Rex Colchorum misit illum 'librum Constantinopolim, ubi erat copia Latinorum. 'Refert etiam quod inter antiquorum sepulchra unum 'inventum est, in quo epigramma fuit scriptum litteris Armenicis, cujus inscriptio sic sonabat, Hic jacet 'Ovidius, ingeniosissimus Poëtarum, obiit autem anno 'Christi XVIII, sicut refert Guillelmus de Euange in 'Chronico suo, tertio anno, unde constat quod si veraciter liber suus erat, fuit pulcherrima prophetia de 'Christo. - - - - *Whether it be the work of Ovid, God 'knows, tho' the book is affirmed by Leo the Protonotary 'of the sacred palace to the emperor Vastasius, to have 'been taken out of Ovid's tomb, from whence it is called 'Ovid's Will; for he says it was found in a public 'burying-place, in a certain tomb, in the suburbs of 'Dioscarias, the capital city of the kingdom of Colchis; and because there were no people there who 'understood Latin, the Armenians being strangers to it, 'the king of Colchis sent the book to Constantinople, where 'that language was very well known. He relates also, 'that among some antient sepulchres, one was found with 'an inscription in Armenian letters, to this purpose*; Here 'lies Ovid, the most witty Poet, who died in the 'year of CHRIST XVIII, *as William de Euange 'has it in his Chronicon, at the third year, from whence 'it is plain, that if it was really his book, it was a 'very fine prophecy of CHRIST.*' A man, without being a great conjurer, may safely swear that Ovid never compiled such a barbarous poem as this, and that it is the production of some Christian of the lower empire.

(92) Naudé, Dialogue de Mascurat, *pag.* 226.

(93) Ibid. *pag.* 225.

(94) Note, that Naudæus censures Selden, who, in his treatise *de Diis Syris*, *pag.* m. 51, quotes for this the 21st lecture of Holcot, upon the book of Wisdom.

[*K*] *I shall . . . . explain what I have said* (95) *in contradiction to those who believe Ovid was banished for having surprised Augustus in an execrable incest.*] I cited Father Briet, who says that there are some who will have it, that Ovid surprised Augustus in a horrid crime with his daughter Julia, and I did not refute this, as I shall now do, with a demonstrative argument, which, is that our Poet was disgraced several years after Julia was gone from Rome, and become the object of her father's indignation (96). Instead of alledging this undoubted proof, I opposed that opinion only with a probability, namely that it was not at all probable, if the cause of Ovid's exile was such as they supposed, that he would so frequently have represented that what he had seen was the source of his misfortune. Nothing could have been more likely to aggravate Augustus's uneasiness, which the Poet would have made use of every turn of wit to sooth, and to flatter: but this objection, however specious it may be, is not without reply; for it cannot be denied that what Ovid had seen was something which concerned Augustus so nearly; that the recalling this object to his mind, was renewing his sorrow, and opening afresh his wound. Ovid himself confesses it in his address to that emperor.

(95) In the remark [*B*].

(96) See the remark of the article JULIA, the daughter of Augustus.

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen & error,
Alterius facti culpa silenda mihi.
Nam non sum tanti, ut RENOVEM TUA VULNERA, *Cæsar*
Quem nimio plus est INDOLUISSE *semel* (97).

(97) Ovid. Trist. lib. II, ver. 207.

These are the two causes he assigns for the ruin of his fortune, the one for having composed love verses, the other for having seen certain things accidentally. He justifies himself the best he can, and that very particularly and fully, as to the former (98); but he conceals the latter in silence, to prevent renewing Augustus's concern. He knew therefore that the memory of this accident must provoke him, and make him uneasy; and yet he revives it at every turn in his Poems: he had not therefore the prudence I suppose him to have had; and consequently I have made use of an argument that proves too much, for it proves that he must have avoided renewing all uneasy ideas, and it is certain he did not avoid it.

(98) Id. ib.

This objection lies much harder upon Aldus Manutius, than it does upon me; for the argument I have used is only aimed against those who will have it, that Ovid surprised Augustus, either with his daughter, or grand-daughter; but Aldus Manutius urges it in general against those who believe that this emperor was surprised in some indecent action: 'Ubique exilii causam tum libros de Arte, tum errorem fuisse commemorat *(Ovidius)*: quis verò ille error fuerit, nunquam aperuit, ne magis Augustus sibi irascereturs verùm quia, ut ipse ait, *Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata*; quidnam id fuerit, plurimi scire conati sunt, & conatur semper aliquis; quapropter 'suspicati sunt quidam turpe aliquod Augusti secretum casu vidisse Ovidium, quod non placet, quia toties objiciendo scelus, immitiorem reddidisset Cæsarem, 'quem lenire & placare studebat (99). - - - - *Ovid every where assigns as the causes of his exile, both his book 'of the Art of Love, and some unlucky discovery; what 'this discovery was, never appeared, for fear of giving 'a fresh offence to Augustus; but because, as he himself 'says*, we are always for pursuing what is forbidden, 'and desiring what is refused us, *a great many have endeavoured, and some are always endeavouring to find 'it out: for which reason some have suspected that Ovid 'had accidentally seen some indecency of Augustus, which 'is by no means probable, because by so often mentioning 'his crime, he must have incensed Augustus, whom it 'was his study to soften and appease.*' I might be in the right, though Aldus Manutius were in the wrong: there are some indecent actions which Ovid might have ventured to remind Augustus of, without allowing any possibility of inferring that he might be so imprudent as to renew in his mind the idea of a horrid incest. This remembrance must be infinitely more likely to provoke and incense him, than that of a simple act of galantry, in which he might have been surprised either with the daughter or wife of some magistrate; and yet such a discovery as this, might incur Augustus's displeasure, and inspire him with all that resentment which he expressed against Ovid. His age of seventy years, and a great many other circumstances, which may be supposed, might furnish sufficient reason to be angry with one who should have been eye-witness of this mystery of love. Closanius paid no regard to the sentiment of Aldus Manutius; but, on the contrary, declared himself of the opinion which I have just now espoused: 'Ejus 'exilii, sive potius relegationis causam longè veriorem 'eam esse puto, visum à se fortè fortuna Augustum 'Cæsarem in re quadam turpi atque obscœna. Testatur enim *Aristot. Lib.* II. De Arte dicendi, nullum esse tam magnum, tamque vehemens odium, 'quàm illud, quod ex eo nascitur, cùm quis in ejusmodi re turpi deprehenditur (100). - - - - *I take it 'to be a truer cause of banishing him, or rather of relegating*

(99) Aldus Manutius, in Vita Ovidii, apud Closanium Observat. in Ovidium, *pag.* m. 20.

(100) Closan. in Vita Ovidii, ubi supra, *pag.* 27.

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and I ſhall demonſtrate that their conjectures a

'legating him, that he had accidentally diſcovered Augu-
'ſtus in ſome indecent and obſcene action. For Ariſtotle
'obſerves in book II of his Rhetoric, *That no hatred*
'*is ſo great, as that which ariſes from the being ſur-*
'*priſed in an indecent fact.*' Obſerve that neither of theſe two authors give the leaſt hint with regard to the inceſt; and remember that if the reaſoning I have made uſe of is liable to ſome objections, yet it muſt at leaſt be allowed that the conjecture concerning the inceſt is neceſſarily falſe with reſpect to Julia the daughter, ſhe being baniſhed a long time before Ovid offended the emperor: and it is to be obſerved, that ſhe was already baniſhed when he compoſed his *Art of Love*, and that it was eight or nine years after his writing that book before he himſelf was baniſhed. This refutes the *Abbé de Marolles*, who pretends that one of the cauſes of his diſgrace was *his Art of Love which had given offence to the emperor by ſome paſſages of it which were meant of his daughter under the name of Corinna* (101). See above (102) the arguments of Aldus Manutius againſt thoſe who hold that this Corinna was Auguſtus's daughter (103).

Let us examine theſe conjectures with regard to Julia the grand-daughter. There is no poſſible foundation for them from the paſſage of Suetonius (104); for if any handle were to be taken from the extravagance of Caligula, this at moſt could be only with regard to Julia the daughter of Auguſtus; and be pleaſed to take notice, that Suetonius in his account of this extravagance does not in the leaſt inſinuate that there were any reports of amours between Auguſtus and his daughter or grand-daughter. This however was a very fair opportunity for mentioning ſomething of it, and therefore ſince Suetonius has not ſaid one ſyllable about it (105), neither in this place, nor where he ſpeaks of the laſciviouſneſs of Auguſtus, and of his behaviour with regard to the two Julias, it is a ſign there was no ſuch report of the inceſt in queſtion; for if there had been any ſuch, that hiſtorian could not have been ignorant of it, and would certainly have mentioned it. His genius inclined him to diſcover ſuch ſecret hiſtories, and to inſert them without ſcruple in his work: for the proof of which we have a thouſand and a thouſand examples. But however it be, Chronology does not give me ſo great aſſiſtance here, as againſt the other conjecture; for the exile of Ovid, and that of Julia the grand daughter of Auguſtus happened much about the ſame time.

This Julia died in the year of Rome 781, twenty years after ſhe had been baniſhed (106). She muſt therefore be baniſhed in the year 761. Ovid was fifty years old at the time of his exile (107), which muſt therefore be in the year 761, for he was born in the year 711 (108): he ſays in an epiſtle where he mentions the death of Auguſtus, that he had then ſpent ſix years among the Getæ (109). This confirms what I have ſaid, ſince it is certain that Auguſtus died in the year 767. Now as we do not know the day on which the diſgrace of this Poet happened, tho' we find that in the month of December he paſſed the Adriatic ſea, in order to go to the country of the Getæ (110), and as we are equally ignorant of the day and month when Julia incurred the indignation of her grand-father, we are not able to refute by chronological arguments thoſe who ſhould ſay that the exile of theſe two perſons proceeded from the reſentment of Auguſtus in finding his inceſt diſcovered. Ovid, who had been the ſpectator of it was become odious, and, on the other ſide, Julia herſelf was alſo become odious; there was no enduring any longer two objects capable of renewing the ſhame of this diſcovery. They were both expelled from Rome, and to have the fairer pretence for doing it, Julia was convicted of having violated her conjugal faith (111), and Ovid was charged with preſuming to publiſh ſcandalous and pernicious verſes. Theſe are facts which we might refute perhaps invincibly, if we knew the preciſe dates of them; but ſo long as we continue ignorant of theſe, there is no refuting them by arguments borrowed from Chronology. Scaliger would be very ſerviceable on this occaſion (112), if he were not miſtaken when he ſuppoſes that Ovid in ſpeaking of Rome was full fifty-two years old. This would prove that he was not baniſhed till about the end of March 763.

But if we are at a loſs for chronological arguments, we have others with which we may oppoſe this con-

(101) Marolles, Life of Ovid, prefixed to the French tranſlation of the poem againſt Ibis, *pag.* 4.

(102) In the remark [*E*], num. VII.

(103) *This has been again affirmed in a book printed in* 1697. Soli Imp. Aug. inviſus (*Ovidius*) qui de ſollicitata ſub Corinnæ nomine Julia ſua ſuſpectum Tomos in exilium miſit. *Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Bibl. Latina, pag.* 35, 36.

(104) Which I have quoted in the remark [*B*].

(105) This will be mentioned afterwards, as the firſt of my reaſons.

(106) Per idem tempus Julia mortem obiit quam neptem Auguſtus convictum adulterii damnaverat projeceratque in inſulam Trimetum . . . illic viginti annis exilium toleravit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iv, cap. lxxi.*

(107) *Ovid. Triſt. lib. iv, Eleg. ult.* But note, that by miſtake he gives five years to each Olympiad.

(108) Ibid.

(109) Ib. de Ponto, *lib. iv, Epiſt. xiii.*

(110) Ib. Triſt. *lib. i, Eleg. X.*

(111) Tacit. Annal. *lib. iv, cap. lxxi.*

(112) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. *pag. m.* 182. *See Father* Noris, Cenotaph. Piſan. *pag.* 202.

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of this emperor, and that with regard to Julia his grand-daughter, they are very far from being probable. I perſiſt in the opinion that Ovid's love-verſes were not ſo much the cauſe, as the pretence, of baniſhing him: and I can give a ſufficient proof of it, which is, that the Art of Love was the book principally complained of, and that this had been publiſhed ſeveral years when he was baniſhed. He compoſed it about the year of Rome 752 (*e*), and he was baniſhed in the year 761 (*f*): and indeed he has obſerved, that the puniſhment followed a long time after the offence [*L*], and that he ſuffered in his old age for the ſins of his youth. This is not altogether exact with regard to his Art of Love; for he compoſed that work at the age of forty-one. He was in the fifty-firſt year of his age (*g*), when he left Rome to go to Tomos the place of his relegation. This was the term made uſe of by Auguſtus in his decree of condemnation, and not that of exile; this favour was accompanied with another which was much more ſubſtantial ſince Ovid was permitted to enjoy his patrimony (*b*). Although he was not able to get himſelf recalled, or ſo much as removed to another place of confinement (*i*), yet he never was wanting in his reſpect to the emperor; but, on the contrary, continued invariably to praiſe him with ſuch extravagance as bordered upon idolatry, and he made an idol of him literally as ſoon as he heard of his death. He not only wrote his elogy, in a poem in the Getic tongue, but alſo invocated him, and conſecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to

(*e*) He ſays, *lib. 2. Art. Amat.* ver. 171, that the ſhew of the naval engagement had been exhibited a little time before, and that the young Cæſar was preparing for an expedition into the Eaſt. This agrees with the year 752.

(*f*) See the remark [*K*], citation (108).

(*g*) See the ſame remark, citation (107).

(*b*) See the proof of all this in the ſame remark, citation (115).

(*i*) He contented himſelf at laſt with petitioning for this favour. See lib. i, *de Ponto*, Epiſt. II, pag. m. 220; and lib. ii, *Triſt.* at the end.

Inſuper accedunt, te non adimente, paternæ,
Tanquam vita parum muneris eſſet, opes.
Nec mea decreto damnaſti facta Senatus,
Nec mea ſelecto judice juſſa fuga eſt.
Triſtibus invectus verbis (ita principe dignum)
Ultus es offenſas, ut decet, ipſe tuas.
Adde quod edictum quamvis immite, minaxque,
Attamen in pœnæ nomine lene fuit.
Quippe relegatus, non exſul dicor in illo:
Parcaque fortunæ ſunt ibi verba meæ (115).

(115) Ovid. Triſt. *lib. ii, ver.* 225. *See alſo* Triſt. *lib. v, Eleg. XI, &* de Ponto, *lib. i, Epiſt. vii.*

Such mercy in my puniſhment appears,
That your reſentment falls below my fears.
Since to your clemency my life I owe,
O prince, you ſparingly your power ſhow.
And as if life were yet too ſmall a boon,
My fortune too you let me call my own.
Nor did my ſentence from the ſenate come:
Nor did the ſolemn judge pronounce my doom.
But as my prince I happ'ned to incenſe,
Your own harſh words beſt ſuit my dire offence.
Beſides, in the decree, tho' hard at beſt,
Yet is there ſomething tenderly expreſs'd.
While relegation ſtands in exile's place,
And ſpeaks in ſofteſt terms my ſad diſgrace.

(116) Read the verſes of Ovid wrote during his exile.

He ſent him away into a country which, to this unfortunate man, appeared as a ſort of Hell (116); what can be met with more deplorable than the condition Ovid was in upon leaving Rome (117)?

(117) *See* Ovid, Triſt. *lib. i, Eleg. III.*

Some may perhaps eſteem it more reaſonable to object againſt me, that ſince Auguſtus was not to be ſoftened by ſuch fawning and pathetic ſupplication as Ovid made to him, it muſt neceſſarily follow that his anger was founded upon the ſhame of having been catched in ſome very obſcene action. I anſwer, 1. That it is pretended that he was at laſt ſoftened, and that, if his death had not intervened, he would have recalled Ovid (118). 2. That as he had alledged for one cauſe of his baniſhment the ſcandalous verſes of this Poet, he found his account in not recalling him. He made a merit of this with the Senate, and with all perſons of gravity and zeal for the reformation of manners. He would have overlooked this conſideration, if Ovid had been neceſſary to him either in the cabinet, or at the head of his troops; but having no occaſion for him upon this account, he was very well pleaſed with ſhewing that he gave no encouragement to the corrupters of morality. I do not know whether Tiberius, who ſuffered Ovid to die in his exile, might not make uſe of the ſame policy. The Poet did not neglect making his court upon the deceaſe of Auguſtus, he invoked him as a new deity (119), and endeavoured to make the moſt of this worſhip with the new emperor.

(118) Cæperat Auguſtus decepte ignoſcere culpæ
Ipſem noſtram terras deſeruitque ſimul.
Auguſtus now my ſad miſtake forgave,
When lo my hopes were buried in his grave.
Ovid. de Ponto, *lib. iv, Epiſt. VI, ver.* 15.

(119) See the remark [*M*], citation (125).

It might be difficult to ſatisfy thoſe who deſire to know the reaſon why Auguſtus was ſo incenſed againſt Ovid, as to ſeek for harſh words (120), in order to expreſs in the edict of baniſhment his indignation and reſentment of the offence he thought he had received: but it would not be difficult to think of incidents, which without including any diſcovery of inceſt, or even of ſome inſtance of ſimple galantry, might throw him into a violent rage againſt a witneſs unexpected. Suppoſe that upon his having diſcovered ſome mortifying intrigue in his own family, he had choſe a place of retirement to lament, and bewail it in ſecret, or to examine his grand-daughter, to reprove her, to threaten her, and even, if occaſion were, to beat her. Suppoſe that he was taking to taſk ſome confident, and endeavouring to force her, either by threats or blows, to tell him the truth. Suppoſe that one of his freed men or ſlaves had been under the ſame circumſtances, or even that the emperor had reſolved to put him to the torture privately; here you would have three or four caſes in which Ovid could not ſurprize the emperor without irritating him to the laſt degree. Was it poſſible for a prince who had ſo long beheld himſelf ſeated on the very higheſt pinnacle of human grandeur, to avoid being extremely nice and punctilious on the head of receiving an affront? If the leaſt want of reſpect could offend him on any occaſion, it muſt certainly be on that of prying into his family concerns, and making an actual diſcovery of ſomething there which he would be deſirous of keeping private. The anger this occaſioned did not then permit him to diſtinguiſh whether chance, or deſign, and a bold and ambitious curioſity (121), were the cauſe of this diſcovery. He was too much provoked at this unlucky juncture, not to eſteem it an offence highly deſerving puniſhment.

(120) Triſtibus invectus verbis, (ita Principe dignum)
Ultus es offenſas, ut decet ipſe tuas.
But as my prince I happ'ned to incenſe,
Your own harſh words beſt ſuit my dire offence.
Id. Triſt. *lib. ii, ver.* 153.

For the reſt, our modern authors are not the only ones who pretend that the ruin of Ovid's fortune was owing to his being witneſs to an inceſtuous commerce. Cœlius Rhodiginus has quoted ſome fragments of one Cæcilius Minutianus Apuleius wherein we meet with this very fact (122).

(121) Scire vetant ſecreta domus atque inde timeri.
They love the ſecrets of your houſe to gain,
That they may ride you with a ſtraiter rein.
Juven. Sat. III, ver. 113.

[*L*] *He has obſerved that the puniſhment followed a long time after the offence.*] See how he deſcribes the long continuance of his impunity, in addreſſing to Auguſtus himſelf, and after having given a long liſt of the authors of laſcivious works which had not been puniſhed.

Nos quoque jam pridem ſcripto peccavimus iſto;
Supplicium patitur non nova culpa novum.
Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem
Præterii toties irrequietus eques.
Ergo quæ juveni mihi non nocitura putavi
Scripta parum prudens; nunc nocuere ſeni.
Sera redundavit veteris vindicta libelli,
Diſtat & à meriti tempore pœna ſui (123).

(122) Pulſum quoque in exilium (*Ovidium*) quod Auguſti inceſtum vidiſſet. - - - -
That Ovid was ſent into baniſhment for having diſcovered Auguſtus's inceſt.
Cel. Rhod. Antiq. Lect. *lib. xiii, cap. i, pag. m.* 659.

(123) Ovid. Triſt. lib. II, ver. 539.

I too have long ſince ſinn'd in amorous rhime,
Now is the puniſhment, but old the crime.
Oft have I, tho' my verſe has met your frown,
Yet ſpurr'd my Pegaſus, and ſtill writ on.
When young, my pen was grown ſo very bold,
I fear'd no hurt, which now I feel when old.

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to offer him incenſe and worſhip [*M*]. Th
(*) See the remark [*M*]. their ſhare in all this adoration, and were ir
however Ovid could find no remedy for
inexorable under Tiberius as before, and he

For an old work my torments now begin,
And I muſt ſmart for a forgotten ſin.

[*M*] *He not only wrote Auguſtus's elogy in a Poem in the Getic tongue, but alſo invocated him, and conſecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer him incenſe and worſhip.*] This is what he wrote to his friend Carus.

Nec te mirari, ſi ſunt vitioſa, decebit
Carmina, quæ faciam pœne poëta Getes.
Ah pudet, & Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum,
Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
Et placui (gratare mihi) cœpique poëtæ
Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.
Materiam quæris? laudes de Cæſare dixi.
Adjuta eſt novitas numine noſtra Dei.
Nam patris Auguſti docui mortale fuiſſe
Corpus; in ætherias numen abiiſſe domos (124).

(124) Ovid. de Ponto, lib. IV, Epiſt. XIII, ver. 17.

Nor need you wonder if my verſe is lame,
Since Getic poetry is all my aim.
I bluſh to own a book in this rude tongue,
And that with barbarous notes my muſe has ſung.
Am I not happy in my ſearch for fame,
By gaining among brutes a Poet's name.
The ſubject, if you aſk, was Cæſar's praiſe,
Himſelf the god inſpiring my new lays.
I taught how Rome's great fire his clay reſign'd,
And now a god his heavenly kindred join'd.

He deſcribes in another letter his devotions to Auguſtus, and makes uſe of theſe words (125).

(125) Id. ib. Epiſt. IX, ad Græcinum, ver. 105.

Nec pietas ignota mea eſt: videt hoſpita terra
In noſtra ſacrum Cæſaris eſſe domo.
Stant pariter natuſque pius, conjuxque ſacerdos,
Numina jam facto non leviora Deo.
Neu deſit pars ulla domus; ſtat uterque nepotum;
Hic aviæ lateri proximus, ille patris.
His ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,
Eoo quoties ſurgit ab orbe dies.
Tota, licet quæras, hoc me non fingere dicet,
Officii teſtis Pontica terra mei.
Pontica me tellus quantis hac poſſumus ora,
Natalem ludis ſcit celebrare Dei.
Nec minus hoſpitibus pietas eſt cognita talis,
Miſit in has ſi quos longa Propontis aquas.
Is quoque, quo levior fuerat ſub Præſide Pontus,
Audierit frater (126) forſitan iſta tuus.
Fortuna eſt impar animo, talique libenter
Exiguas carpo munere pauper opes.
Nec veſtris damus hæc oculis, procul urbe remoti:
Contenti tacita ſed pietate ſumus.
Et tamen hæc tangent aliquando Cæſaris aures.
Nil illum toto quod fit in orbe latet.
Tu certe, ſcis hæc, ſuperis adſcite, videſque
Cæſar, & eſt oculis ſubdita terra tuis.
Tu noſtras audis inter convexa locatus
Sidera, ſollicito quas damus ore preces.
Pervenient iſtuc & carmina forſitan illa,
Quæ de te miſi cœlite facta novo.
Auguror his igitur flecti tua numina, nec tu
Immerito nomen mite parentis habes.

(126) That is, Lucius Pomponius Flaccus, who was conſul in the year of Rome 770. See *Ovid. de Ponto, lib. iv, Epiſt. IX, ver.* 60.

Nor is my zeal unknown; ev'n this ſtrange land
Sees in my houſe the ſacred temple ſtand.
His pious ſon too, and his holy ſpouſe,
With him are the joint object of my vows.
I add his grandſons, to compleat the choir,
This next his grand-mother, and that his ſire.

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this emperor, or in the year of Rome 771, about ſixty years of age [*N*]. He had compoſed his Metamorphoſes before his diſgrace, but finding himſelf condemned to baniſhment, he threw them into the fire, either out of ſpite, or becauſe he had not put the finiſhing hand to them [*O*]. Some copies, which had before been taken of this beautiful work (*l*), were the cauſe of its not being loſt. He wiſhed, that in caſe he

(*l*) Lactantius, Inſtit. Divin. *lib. i, cap. v, pag. m.* 13, *it is called* praclarum opus.

In vain, my deareſt Carus, is this ſaid,
For the ſixth winter chills my exil'd head.
Verſes avail not. - - - -

[*N*] *He died . . . . the fourth year of Tiberius, ... about ſixty years of age.*] We find his death placed under this year in Euſebius's Chronicon with the approbation of Scaliger (128). Since Ovid therefore was baniſhed when he was a little more than fifty years old, in the year of Rome 761 (129), he muſt neceſſarily have lived to about ſixty years, and his exile muſt have continued nine or ten years, if it be true that he lived till the fourth year of the emperor Tiberius: for this fourth year agrees with the year of Rome 771: and note that ſome ſay Ovid died the firſt of January (130). Aldus Manutius (131) ſuppoſes that he was baniſhed about the fifty-ſecond year of Auguſtus, and that he died in the fifth year of Tiberius, and conſequently that his exile laſted eight years and ſome months. This computation is not exact: Auguſtus was in the fifty-eighth year of his reign when he died: it muſt follow therefore that he lived above five years after Ovid's diſgrace, if that happened about the fifty-ſecond year of his reign. Since therefore according to Aldus Manutius, this Poet lived to the fifth year of Tiberius, it follows that his exile continued about ten years. Ciofanius (132) has another hypotheſis, he pretends that Ovid left Rome the tenth of December, aged fifty years, ſeven months, and twenty-one days. He died, adds he, on the firſt of January, aged fifty-ſeven years, nine months, and eleven days, having been baniſhed ſeven years and twenty-one days. If we would rectify the miſtakes in this account, we need only put eight months in the room of ſeven after the fifty years of Ovid. This was without doubt the meaning of Ciofanius, who ſuppoſed, with Manutius (133), that Ovid was born the nineteenth of March 711. He ought to have reckoned from this day to the tenth of December, eight months, and twenty-one days; but he ought to have reckoned from the nineteenth of December to the firſt of January thirteen days and not eleven. However this be, he believed that Ovid died the firſt of January 769, at which time Tiberius had reigned but a little above fourteen months. And this is an opinion very different from that I have embraced. Mr de Tillemont makes the exile of this Poet (134) to continue no longer than ſeven years, and he fixes them from the fifty-fourth year of Auguſtus to the fourth of Tiberius (135). According to this, Ovid muſt have been exiled at the age of fifty-three years, and not as he aſſures us himſelf (136), at the age of fifty, making uſe of round numbers, and omitting the redundant months. He would not thus have paſſed by two or three years, if he had ſo much exceeded fifty years. Scaliger, who charges him with this omiſſion (137), is more unreaſonable for ſo doing, than for making him die in the ninth year of his baniſhment. The computation of the Abbé de Villeloin (138) is very erroneous. He will have it, that Ovid, being baniſhed in the fifty-ſecond year of Auguſtus, and having lived in exile ſeven years and twenty-one days, and being dead in the fourth year of Tiberius, lived fifty-ſeven years, nine months, and eleven days. We muſt not forget Mr Moreri, who has ſaid that Ovid died the firſt of January in the hundred and ninety-ninth Olympiad, as if a period of four years had but one firſt of January. Calviſius ſpeaks of the death of this Poet, a little before his mentioning the hundred and ninety-ninth Olympiad. This is placing it about the latter end of the hundred and ninety-eighth Olympiad. He gives us to underſtand, that Ovid died in the beginning of the year of Rome 769, and under the conſulſhip of Cœlius Rufus, and of Pomponius Flaccus; but the reaſon he gives is of no weight at all. 'Ovidius 'circa hæc tempora mortuus eſt, meminit ENIM in 'penultima elegia de Ponto (139) hujus Flacci futuri 'conſulis in Calendis Januarii (140). - - - - *Ovid died 'about this time,* FOR *he takes notice in the laſt elegy 'but one de Ponto, that this Flaccus was to become con-*

(128) Scalig. in Euſeb. pag. 182, ad num. 2033.

(129) See the remark [*K*], citat. (108).

(130) Ciofan. in Vit. Ovid.

(131) In Vita Ovid.

(132) Ibid.

(133) Ald. Manut. in Vita Ovidii, *pag.* 16.

(134) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. *Tom. i, pag. m.* 111.

(135) Ib. *pag.* 66, & 111.

(136) See the remark [*K*], citation (107).

(137) Scaliger. in Euſeb. pag. 182, num. 2033.

(138) L'Abbé de Marolles, Vie d'Ovide.

(139) He ſhould have ſaid, *in nona Elegia, lib. iv*: it is not the laſt but one, becauſe that book contains XVI.

(140) Sethus Calviſius, *ad ann. Mundi* 3966, *pag. m.* 414.

ſul on the Calends of January.' How! becauſe Ovid obſerves that this Flaccus was to enter upon his conſulſhip on the firſt of January following, muſt it be concluded that he died in the beginning of that conſulſhip? What ſort of reaſoning is this! I believe that Calviſius had another meaning, he intended to ſay, in my opinion, that ſince Ovid's works contained nothing of a later date than this deſignation of the conſulſhip of Pomponius Flaccus, it ought to be concluded that his death happened a little time after. This reaſoning, tho' better than the former, is yet by no means accurate; for a long diſtemper, or the vexation in finding ſo many verſes ineffectual, might have obliged Ovid to ſilence his muſe.

It would be endleſs to enumerate all thoſe who affirm that he died on the ſame day with Livy, and that this was the firſt day of the year. I do not ſee where they find their authority; for it is true the Chronicle of Euſebius makes this famous Poet and Hiſtorian to die in the ſame year; but the day is not mentioned. The Cœcilius Minutianus Apuleius of Cœlius Rhodiginus, is in all probability, the original of this date we are ſpeaking of; for he ſays that Ovid died the firſt day of January, after he had been baniſhed ſeven years, and that Livy alſo died that day (141).

(141) *See* Cœlius Rhodigin. *lib. xiii,* Antiq. Lect. *cap. i, pag. m.* 659.

[*O*] *He threw his* Metamorphoſes *into the fire, either out of ſpite, or becauſe he had not put the finiſhing hand to them.*] He himſelf informs us of this particular; and the account he gives will not, I hope, be eſteemed diſagreeable in my commentary.

Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas:
Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus.
Hæc ego diſcedens, ſicut bona multa meorum,
Ipſe mea poſui mœſtus in igne manu.
Utque cremaſſe ſuum fertur ſub ſtipite natum
Theſtias, & melior matre fuiſſe ſoror;
Sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos
Impoſui rapidis viſcera noſtra rogis.
Vel quod eram Muſas, ut crimina noſtra, peroſus:
Vel quod adhuc creſcens, & rude carmen erat.
Quæ quoniam non ſunt penitus ſublata, ſed exſtant;
(Pluribus exemplis ſcripta fuiſſe reor)
Nunc precor ut vivant, & non ignava legentem
Otia delectent, admoneantque mei.
Non tamen illa legi poterunt patienter ab ullo;
Neſciat his ſummam ſi quis abeſſe manum.
Ablatum mediis opus eſt incudibus illud:
Defuit & ſcriptis ultima lima meis.
Et veniam pro laude peto, laudatus abunde
Non faſtiditus ſi tibi lector ero.
Hos quoque ſex verſus, in prima fronte libelli
Si præponendos eſſe putabis, habe:
Orba parente ſuo quicunque volumina tangis,
His ſaltem veſtra detur in urbe locus.
Quoque magis faveas, non hæc ſunt edita ab illo,
Sed quaſi de domini funere rapta ſui.
Quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit,
Emendaturus, ſi licuiſſet, erat (142).

(142) Ovid. Triſt. *lib. i, Eleg. VI, ver.* 33. *See alſo ibid. lib. iii, Eleg. xiv, ver.* 20.

My verſe which Metamorphoſes *relate,*
Share in their exil'd maſter's wretched fate.
Theſe and ſome others, which the world admire,
My ſad departing hand committed to the fire.
And as Althæa's block conſumed her ſon,
While her love was by her revenge outdone:
So tho' they merit not from me that doom,
My paper offspring I in flames conſume.
Either becauſe I hate my guilty muſe;
Or want the time her errors to peruſe.
But ſince not wholly loſt, they ſtill remain,
While copied they in private hands have lain;

May

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he died in the country of the Geta, his aſhes might be carried to Rome, and that the epitaph he compoſed for himſelf might be inſcribed on his tomb [P]. He not only met with humanity among thoſe Barbarians, but alſo a great deal of civility. They loved and honoured him in a ſingular manner, and teſtified their eſteem for him by public decrees. The diſmal deſcriptions he made of their country, were not at all pleaſing to them; they complained of it to him, for which he made his excuſes [Q]. He boaſts of one thing which will prove, that he renounced gallantry in his exile; for he pretends, that no perſon of whatſoever age, or ſex, could complain of him (m): it is a ſign he no longer amuſed himſelf in making love, and that even after he had learned the Getic tongue, he did not entertain the wives and daughters of the Tomians on that ſubject; for if he had, their huſbands and fathers would have clamoured againſt him. But as to his indifference, if that was a thing diſpleaſing to them, yet it was neceſſary, at leaſt, that they ſhould ſuppreſs their complaints. This part of his conduct was ſo much the more commendable, as it was difficult to be obſerved by a perſon of his amorous diſpoſition, and who had contracted a long habit in a quite different courſe of life (n). There are ſome Chriſtian Poets (o), who reſemble him in other reſpects, but yet tho' they are baniſhed for their religion, do not ceaſe their leud courſes. He wrote an infinite number of verſes during his exile: nor is

(m) See the beginning of the remark [Q].

(n) Molle cupidineis nec inexpugnabile telis
Cor mihi, quodque levis cauſſa moveret erat.
Cum tamen hoc eſſem: minimoque accenderer igni. *Ovid. Triſt. lib. iv, Elg. X, ver.* 65.

(o) Clement Marot, *for example.*

May they now live, and with the reader join,
To ſooth his leiſure, and account for mine.
Nor can they his attention yet command,
If once he knows they want the pruning hand.
Abrupt the work was from the anvil torn,
Nor had the file beſtow'd the finiſh'd form.
Excuſe is all the praiſe my lines require;
Enough commended if they do not tire.
Theſe ſix ſucceeding verſes, may have place,
If you approve, the title page to grace.
To whomſoe'er my orphan-work ſhall come,
To this your city may at leaſt give room.
Perhaps it may the greater favour gain,
Conſider'd as my poſthumous remain.
If therefore my unpoliſh'd verſe offend,
Excuſe theſe faults I wanted leave to mend.

(143) Id. lib. II, Triſt. ver. 555.

We may alſo conſult the paſſage (143) where he intreats the emperor to read ſome pieces of this work.

[P] *He deſired . . . . that his aſhes might be carried to Rome, and that the epitaph he compoſed for himſelf, might be inſcribed on his tomb.*] He dreaded the immortality of the ſoul, and wiſhed for its mortality; for he was not willing that his ſhade ſhould wander among thoſe of the Sarmatians: therefore at all events he was deſirous of having a tomb at Rome. We ſhall repeat what he wrote upon this ſubject to his dear wife.

Atque utinam pereant animæ cum corpore noſtræ,
Effugiatque avidos pars mea nulla rogos!
Nam ſi morte carens vacuas volat altus in auras
Spiritus, & Samii ſunt rata dicta ſenis;
Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,
Perque feros Manes hoſpita ſemper erit.
Oſſa tamen facito parva referantur in urna.
Sic ego non etiam mortuus exſul ero.
Non vetat hoc quiſquam: fratrem Thebana peremptum
Suppoſuit tumulo rege vetante ſoror.
Atque ea cum foliis & amomi pulvere miſce:
Inque ſuburbano condita pone loco.
Quoſque legat verſus oculo properante viator,
Grandibus in tumuli marmore cæde notis:
Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum luſor amorum,
Ingenio perii Naſo poëta meo.
At tibi qui tranſis, ne ſit grave, quiſquis amaſti,
Dicere, Naſonis molliter oſſa cubant (144).

(144) Id. *lib. iii,* Triſt. Eleg. III, ver. 59.

O that my ſoul might with my body die,
And not ſurvive death's ſad ſolemnity.
For if the Samian ſage has reaſon'd right,
Immortal ſhe muſt take her airy flight;
My Roman ghoſt muſt with Sarmatians rove,
And to fierce ſhades a ſtranger always prove.
But bring my aſhes back within their urn,
I may when dead from exile ſure return.
This none forbid; the Theban ſiſter gave,
Spite of the king, her brother's corps a grave.
Let herbs and ſpices mix their ſweet perfume,
And gently lay them in ſome ſuburb tomb.
Let this inſcription on the marble ſtay
Each curious reader who ſhall paſs that way.
Here lieš love's faithful ſlave beneath this ſtone,
Ovid, the Poet, by his wit undone.
Let every lover as he paſſes by,
Wiſh that his bones may unmoleſted lie.

He mentioned the opinion of Pythagoras very unſeaſonably: for it is contrary to the doctrine which ſuppoſes, that the ghoſts of the dead wander about their tombs.

[Q] *The Barbarians . . . loved and honoured him in a ſingular manner . . . he excuſed to them* the deſcriptions he gave of their country.] We ſhall cite a paſſage in one of his epiſtles.

Nec ſumus hic odio, nec ſcilicet eſſe meremur,
Nec cum fortuna mens quoque verſa mea eſt.
Illa quies animi eſt, quam tu laudare ſolebas,
Ille vetus ſolito perſtat in ore pudor.
Sic ego ſum longe, ſic hic, ubi barbarus hoſtis,
Ut fera plus valeant legibus arma, facit.
Rem queat ut nullam tot jam Græcine per annos
Fœmina de nobis virve puerve queri.
Hoc facit, ut miſero faveant adſintque Tomitæ,
Hæc quoniam tellus teſtificanda mihi eſt.
Illi me, qui velle vident, diſcedere malunt:
Reſpectu cupiunt hic tamen eſſe ſui.
Nec mihi credideris: exſtant decreta quibus nos
Laudat, & immunes publica cera facit.
Conveniens miſeris & quanquam gloria non eſt,
Proxima dant nobis oppida munus idem (145).

(145) Id. de Ponto, *lib. iv, Epiſt. ix, ver.* 89.

Nor hatred do I here deſerve, or find,
Nor with my fortune have I chang'd my mind.
That peace you us'd to praiſe I ſtill enjoy,
And in chaſt words my modeſt tongue employ.
Thus, live I here, far off, where war's alarms
Compel the laws to yield to brutal arms.
Hence, O Græcinus, for ſo many years,
Not one complaint from either ſex appears.
Hence, I can boaſt the Tomians generous aid,
Since my appeal muſt to this place be made.
They wiſh me gone, becauſe 'tis my deſire;
While they themſelves rather my ſtay require.
You'd ſcarce believe it: they have paſs'd decrees
Much in my praiſe, with large immunities.
And tho' they ſuit not this ſad ſtate of mine,
The neighb'ring towns in all theſe honours join.

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is this to be wondered at; for the muſes are naturally tatlers, but moſt of all ſo in adverſity: and beſides this, he wanted converſation, and took no delight either in drinking, or gaming [*R*]; ſo that they muſt needs be his whole entertainment. If he had

You ſee that they granted him exemptions, and here follows another paſſage which ſhows that this, was among them an extraordinary favour, and that they crowned him publickly.

Adde quod Illyrica ſi jam pice nigrior eſſem,
Non mordenda mihi turba fidelis erat.
Molliter à vobis mea ſors excepta, Tomitæ,
Tam mites Grajos indicat eſſe viros.
Gens mea Peligni, regioque domeſtica Sulmo,
Non potuit noſtris lenior eſſe malis.
Quem vix incolumi cuiquam ſalvoque daretis,
Is datus à vobis eſt mihi nuper honor.
Solus adhuc ego ſum veſtris immunis in oris;
Exceptis, ſi qui munera legis habent.
Tempora ſacrata mea ſunt velata corona,
Publicus invito quam favor impoſuit.
Quam grata eſt igitur Latonæ Delia tellus,
Erranti tutum quæ dedit una locum;
Tam mihi cura Tomus, patria quæ ſede fugatis,
Tempus ad hoc nobis hoſpita fide manet.
Dî modo feciſſent placidæ ſpem poſſet habere
Pacis, & à gelido longius axe foret (146).

(146) Ovid. de Ponto, *lib. iv, Epiſt. XIV, ver.* 45.

The blackeſt pitch wou'd be leſs black than I,
Should this kind people meet my calumny.
So gently Tomians my ſad fate you cheer,
That from this mildneſs you true Greeks appear.
Not even Sulmo's ſelf, my native town,
Cou'd treat me friendlier than you have done.
Such honours to a wretch you kindly ſhow,
As your own happieſt people rarely know.
To me alone immunities you give,
Which others only from the laws receive.
My ſacred temples with a crown you bind;
An honour I wou'd rather have declin'd.
As Delos then is to Latona dear,
Where firſt her flying ſteps forgot their fear;
So Tomos is to me, who exil'd find
A treatment here as faithful and as kind.
O that the gods had placed this fav'rite race,
Far from the pole, and in perpetual peace.

Theſe laſt words deſcribe the greateſt inconveniences he met with in the place of his exile: he was expoſed to the rigours of cold, and in the neighbourhood of a people who were continually making irruptions (147). This was not at all agreeable to an Italian of a delicate and thin conſtitution (148), and who had led his whole life in the pleaſures of Repoſe (149).

We ſhall ſee alſo what he anſwers to the complaints of the inhabitants of Tomos: he aſſures them that he had never ſaid any thing ill of them (150), and that he had only exclaimed againſt their climate.

(147) See the third letter of the firſt book *de Ponto*, and elſewhere throughout.

(148) Sufficiant: graciles ſed non ſine viribus artus: Præterea non nervi, corpora noſtra carent. *Ovid. Amor. lib. ii, Eleg. X, ver.* 23. *See, above, the paſſage in Epiſt. X, of the firſt book de Ponto, ver.* 21.

(149) *See* Eleg. X, *lib. iv,* Triſt.

(150) This is hard to reconcile with, *Eleg. VII, and X, lib. v,* Triſt.

In medias Syrtes, mediam mea vela Charybdin
Mittite, præſenti dum careamus humo.
Styx quoque, ſi quid ea eſt, bene commutabitur Iſtro:
Si quid & inferius, quam Styga, mundus habet.
Gramina cultus ager, frigus minus odit hirundo;
Proxima Marticolis quam loca Naſo Getis.
Talia ſuccenſent propter mihi verba Tomitæ,
Itaque carminibus publica mota meis.
Ergo ego ceſſabo nunquam per carmina lædi?
Plectar & incauto ſemper ab ingenio?
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
Sed nihil admiſi: nulla eſt mea culpa, Tomitæ,
Quos ego, cum loca ſim veſtra peroſus, amo.
Quilibet excutiat noſtri monumenta laboris;
Littera de vobis eſt mea queſta nihil.
Frigus & incurſus omni de parte timendos,
Et quod pulſetur murus ab hoſte, queror.
In loca, non homines, veriſſima crimina dixi.
Culpatis veſtrum vos quoque ſæpe ſolum.
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
At malus interpres, populi mihi concitat iram,
Inque novum crimen carmina noſtra vocat.
Tam felix utinam, quam pectore candidus eſſem.
Exſtat adhuc nemo ſaucius ore meo (151).

(151) Ovid. Epiſt. xiv, lib. iv, de Ponto, ver. 9.

Charybdis gulph, or Lybia's opening ſand,
Wou'd leſs alarm me than this dreadful land.
With Styx, if real, I'd the Danube change,
Or to far lower regions gladly range.
Swallows hate cold, the plough-ſhare hates the graſs,
Much leſs than Ovid does this hoſtile place.
The Tomians take ſuch words as theſe unkind,
And my ſad lines their high diſpleaſure find.
What muſt my verſe for ever then offend?
Muſt my raſh wit ſtill in my torment end?
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
But I am clear: Tomians, my plea approve,
Your place I hate, but I your perſons love.
Thro' all my works, you ſtill may ſearch in vain,
There's not one tittle does of you complain.
But of your walls, I own I oft have told,
How much they're haraſs'd both with arms and cold.
My railing at your ſoil I frankly own;
This is no more than you yourſelves have done.
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
Some falſe conſtruction makes the people rage,
And charge new crimes upon my guiltleſs page.
O wou'd I were as happy, as I'm clear,
That no reflexions in my verſe appear.

[*R*] *He wrote an infinite number of verſes during his exile* (152); *nor is it to be wondred at, . . . he wanted converſation, and took no delight either in drinking or gaming.*] Here are ſome cauſes aſſigned for the fruitfulneſs of his Muſe; but the principal one is not taken notice of, which is, that Ovid's Muſe was uſed to bring forth without pain, and never troubled herſelf any farther about nurſing the child; for ſhe took very little care in correcting her productions (153): her caſe therefore muſt of courſe be like that of a mother who never ſuckles, ſhe breeds the more readily. The following paſſages ſhew that Ovid was obliged for every thing to the Muſes.

(152) Beſides the five books *Triſtium*, and the four books *de Ponto*, which we now have remaining, he wrote a great many verſes which he threw into the fire. See his XIIth Elogy of the fifth book *Triſtium*.

Hic ego, finitimis quamvis circumſoner armis,
Triſtia, quo poſſum, carmine fata levo.
Quod quamvis nemo eſt, cujus referatur ad aures;
Sic tamen abſumo decipioque diem.
Ergo quod vivo, duriſque laboribus obſto,
Nec me ſollicitæ tedia lucis habent;
Gratia Muſa tibi. Nam tu ſolatia præbes,
Tu curæ requies, tu medicina venis:
Tu dux & comes es: tu nos abducis ab Iſtro,
In medioque mihi das Helicone locum (154).

(153) See the end of this remark.

(154) Ovid. Triſt. *lib. iv, Eleg. X, ver.* 111. *See alſo lib. v, Eleg. VII.*

Tho' here ſurrounded with the noiſe of arms,
My wretched fate, verſe, in ſome meaſure, charms.
And tho' no liſtning ear my works attend,
Yet thus at leaſt the tedious hours I ſpend.
My life, my patience, and diverſions too,
To you, indulgent Muſe, I ſolely owe.
In you alone, I conſolation find;
You ſooth my cares, and heal my wounded mind.
You are my guide, you're my companion,
And ſhift rude Danube's ſcene to Helicon.

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had met with any perſons, to whom he could have repeated his verſes, he would have verſified with much more ſatisfaction: for he confeſſes, that walking in the dark, and

He complains of being without books and without hearers:

Non hic librorum, per quos inviter alarque,
Copia: pro libris arcus & arma ſonant.
Nullus in hac terra, recitem ſi carmina, cujus
Intellecturis auribus utar, adeſt (155).

(155) Id. ib. lib. iii, Eleg. XIV, ver. 37.

No books to entertain me here are found,
Books are ſupply'd by wars alarming ſound.
And ſhould I aim at ſome poëtic flight,
Here is not one to judge of what I write.

and he deſires this may ſerve for his excuſe, if his verſes, are not good: that his genius being diſcouraged by adverſity was not excited with the hopes of applauſe.

Contudit ingenium patientia longa laboris,
Et pars antiqui magna vigoris abeſt.
Sæpe tamen nobis, ut nunc quoque ſumta tabella eſt,
Inque ſuos volui cogere verba pedes:
Carmina ſcripta mihi ſunt nulla, aut qualia cernis,
Digna ſui domini tempore, digna loco.
Denique non parvas animo dat gloria vires,
Et fœcunda facit pectora laudis amor.
Nominis & famæ quondam fulgore trahebar,
Dum tulit antennas aura ſecunda meas.
Non adeo eſt bene nunc, ut ſit mihi gloria curæ:
Si liceat, nulli cognitus eſſe velim.
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
At puto, ſi demens ſtudium fatale retentem.
Hic mihi præbebit carminis arma locus.
Non liber hic ullus, non qui mihi commodet aurem,
Verbaque ſignificent quid mea norit, adeſt.
Omnia barbariæ loca ſunt, vociſque ferinæ:
Omnia ſunt Getici plena timore ſoni (156).

(156) Ovid. Triſt. lib. v, Eleg. XII, ver. 29.

The ills I've long endur'd, my genius tire,
And only ſerve to quench my former fire.
Yet oft, as now, my pen I take in hand,
And try to make each foot in order ſtand.
But all the verſe I write like theſe you ſee,
Too plainly with their author's ſtate agree.
Glory does beſt the flagging fancy raiſe,
And wit's incentive is the love of praiſe.
Theſe in full force did once with me prevail,
While fortune favour'd with a proſp'rous gale.
But now, alas! they are no more my lot;
My ſole ambition is to be forgot.
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
But ſhou'd I try this fatal gift once more,
What helps has ſuch a place as this in ſtore?
Here I can neither find a book nor friend
Whoſe learned ear may to my works attend,
Here nothing elſe but barbariſm is found,
And conſtant horror of a Getic *ſound.*

He repeats the ſame thought, and enlarges upon it in another place, where he ſays, that he is diſcouraged from making verſes, and that he would have quite given it over, if he had not been deprived of all other amuſements.

Da veniam faſſo, ſtudiis quoque frena remiſi,
Ducitur & digitis littera rara meis:
Impetus ille facer; qui vatum pectora nutrit,
Qui prius in nobis eſſe ſolebat, abeſt.
Vix venit ad partes, vix ſumptæ Muſa tabellæ
Imponit pigras pæne coacta manus:
Parvaque ne dicam, ſcribendi nulla voluptas,
Eſt mihi: nec numeris nectere verba juvat.
Sive quod hinc fructus adeo non cepimus ullos,
Principium noſtri res ſit ut iſta mali:
Sive quod in tenebris numeroſos ponere greſtus,
Quodque legas nulli, ſcribere carmen, idem eſt.
Excitat auditor ſtudium, laudataque virtus
Creſcit, & immenſum gloria calcar habet.
Hic mea cui recitem, niſi flavis ſcripta Corallis,
Quaſque alias gentes barbarus Iſter habet?
Sed quid ſolus agam? quaque infelicia perdam
Otia materia, ſurripiamque diem?
Nam neque me vinum, nec me tenet alea fallax,
Per quæ clam tacitum tempus abire ſolet.
Nec me, quod cuperem, ſi per fera bella liceret
Oblectat cultu terra novata ſuo.
Quid, niſi Pierides, ſolatia frigida reſtant,
Non bene de nobis quæ merure, deæ (157)?

(157) Idem, de *Ponto*, lib. iv, Epiſt. II, ver. 23. See alſo lib. i, Epiſt. V ver. 10.

I frankly own, while I your pardon aſk,
I now grow lazy in the ſtudious taſk.
That ſacred warmth, which fires the Poet's thought,
And once was felt by me, is now forgot.
No more my Muſe with uſual freedom comes,
It ſeems a force when ſhe the pen reſumes.
No more the flowing numbers now delight,
Inſtead of pleaſure, 'tis a pain to write.
Whether becauſe ſuch ill ſucceſs I know,
That all my ills from this one fountain flow;
Or that to write what none can e'er remark,
Is juſt the ſame as ſcribbling in the dark.
An auditor gives life, and praiſe will ſtir
The Muſe, for glory is a noble ſpur.
Here only with ſuch auditors I meet,
As near the Danube find a ſavage ſeat.
But loneſome as I am, what can I do,
To make my wretched hours leſs tedious flow?
For neither wine, nor gaming ſuit my taſte,
Which others chuſe their vacant time to waſte.
Nor do I like, tho' wou'd fierce war allow,
I'd try the ruſtic pleaſures of the plough.
Your cold amuſements, therefore, O ye Nine,
Tho' ill you've have treated me, muſt ſtill be mine.

I ſhall cite one paſſage more, which is that, where he ſays, that his thinneſs did not proceed from any debauches, ſince his drink was chiefly water, and the circumſtances he was then in, did not expoſe him to the paſſion of love.

Is quoque, qui gracili cibus eſt in corpore, ſomnus,
Non alit officio corpus inane ſuo.
Sed vigilo, vigilantque mei ſine fine dolores,
Quorum materiam dat locus ipſe mihi.
Vix igitur poſſis viſos agnoſcere vultus,
Quoque ierit, quæras, qui fuit ante color.
Parvus in exiles ſuccus mihi pervenit artus,
Membraque ſunt cerâ pallidiora novâ.
Non hæc immodico contraxi damna Lyæo:
Scis, mihi quam ſolæ pene bibantur aquæ.
Non epulis oneror, quarum ſi tangar amore,
Eſt tamen in Geticis copia nulla locis.
Nec vires adimit Veneris damnoſa voluptas,
Non ſolet in mœſtos illa venire thoros.
Unda locuſque nocent, & cauſſa valentior iſtis
Anxietas animi, quæ mihi ſemper adeſt (158).

(158) Id. [illegible] *de Ponto*, [illegible] X, ver. 2[illegible]

Sleep too, by which thin bodies chiefly live,
To me no nouriſhment can ever give.
Sorrows keep watch upon my weary eyes,
Which without number this ſad place ſupplies.

Scarce

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and writing verſes which we can read to no body, is the very ſame thing (*p*). He had among other good qualities that of not being ſatirical, and yet he was very capable of compoſing ſatirical verſes, as he has ſhown in his Poem againſt Ibis [*S*]; for no piece ever

(*p*) See the remark [*R*], citation (151).

Scarce could my alter'd viſage now be known,
My wonted colour is ſo ſtrangely gone.
My ſhrivell'd limbs their uſual juices fail,
Not even virgin-wax appears ſo pale.
Nor do theſe ills from reeling Bacchus flow,
For water you my fav'rite liquor know.
Nor do I ſurfeit with exceſſive cheer,
There is no room for over-eating here:
Nor yet does Venus thus my health deſtroy,
The wretched-bed's a ſtranger to her joy.
Hurtful the water, and the place I find,
And what is worſe than theſe, a tortur'd mind.

We ſhall juſt take notice of the manner of his correcting his works. He confeſſes his negligence and idleneſs upon this head. He agrees that he was juſtly cenſured at Rome for eternally repeating the ſame things in the poems he wrote during his exile (159). This was a fault he was very ſenſible of, and endeavoured to mend; but the vivacity which animated him in his firſt compoſition, failing him when he came to reviſe what he had written, he found the correction too troubleſome, and quite gave it over. This is only one of his excuſes. It is certain that the caſe is the ſame with a great many authors. They compoſe with pleaſure and warmth, and thence it is that they diſplay their whole force; but they flag when they come to reviſe their work: the firſt fire returns no more; there ſucceeds in their imagination a certain calm which makes their pen proceed with a thouſand difficulties. It is like a boat that can make no way but by the force of oars. If you would know what Ovid ſays upon the correction of his writings, read the following verſes.

(159) Id. de Ponto, lib. iii, Epiſt. IX, ver. 39.

Judicium tamen hic noſtrum non decipit error,
Nec quicquid genui, protinus illud amo,
Cur igitur ſi me video delinquere, peccem;
Et patiar ſcripto crimen ineſſe, rogas?
Non eadem ratio eſt, ſentire, & demere morbos.
Senſus ineſt cunctis, tollitur arte malum.
Sæpe aliquod verbum cupiens mutare relinquo:
Judicium vires deſtituuntque meum.
Sæpe piget (quid enim dubitem tibi vera fateri?)
Corrigere, & longi ferre laboris onus:
Scribentem juvat ipſe favor, minuitque laborem,
Cumque ſuo creſcens pectore fervet opus:
Corrigere at res eſt tanto magis ardua, quanto
Magnus Ariſtarcho major Homerus erat.
Sic animum lento curarum frigore lædit,
Ut cupidi ſi quis fræna retentat equi (160).

(160) Id. ver. 9.

Nor does my judgment yet ſo partial prove,
As ev'ry thing I write, myſelf to love.
If therefore I with open eyes offend,
Why do I not, you'll ſay, thoſe errors mend?
It differs quite to ſee, and cure the ill;
That's plain to ſenſe, this muſt be done by ſkill.
Often when to correct ſome word I try,
My flagging judgment does it's aid deny.
Often, to ſay the truth, my thoughts recoil,
And dread to undergo ſo long a toil.
The itch of writing does itſelf repay;
Each ſtep it ſets, the more it ſmooths the way.
But to correct is a more arduous taſk,
And does the talents of a Homer aſk.
This dull employment gives the mind ſuch pain,
As the briſk ſteed feels from the checking rein.

[*S*] *He had, among other good qualities, that of not being ſatirical . . . . . No piece ever diſcovered more gall than his Poem againſt Ibis.*] He prides himſelf in having never once attacked any perſon in a ſatirical way, and he repreſents this to the emperor, to ſhew him, that if his verſes had offended in other reſpects, yet they deſerved encouragement on this account, that they were always exempt from the ſpirit of ill-nature.

Non ego mordaci diſtrinxi carmine quemquam,
Nec meus ullius crimina verſus habet,
Candidus à ſalibus ſuffuſis felle refugi:
Nulla venenato littera miſta joco eſt.
Inter tot populi, tot ſcripti millia noſtri,
Quem mea Calliope læſerit, unus ero (161).

(161) Ovid. Triſt. lib. ii, ver. 563.

None can with juſtice of my verſe complain,
Since they the faults of no one ſoul contain.
The wit they have is without gall expreſs'd,
No mixture of ill-nature points the jeſt.
Of all mankind, howe'er my works abound,
I am the only perſon they ſhall wound.

It is thus he expreſſes himſelf in a Poem, which he compoſed after his baniſhment: and yet I am of opinion, that his invective againſt Ibis was finiſhed before that time. For ſince he makes himſelf but fifty years old in the beginning of that work, he wrote it, without doubt, a very little time after his arrival at Tomos, and upon the firſt news he received that a certain perſon had declared himſelf his enemy.

Tempus ad hoc, luſtris mihi jam bis quinque peractis,
Omne fuit Muſæ carmen inerme meæ:
Nullaque, quæ poſſit, ſcriptis tot millibus, exſtat,
Littera Naſonis ſanguinolenta legi.
Nec quemquam noſtri, niſi me, læſere libelli:
Artificis periit cum caput arte ſua.
Unus (& hoc ipſum eſt injuria magna,) perennem
Candoris titulum non ſinit eſſe mei.
Quiſquis is eſt (nam nomen adhuc utcunque tacebo)
Cogit inaſſuetas ſumere tela manus.
Ille relegatum gelidos Aquilonis ad ortus,
Non ſinit exſilio delituiſſe meo:
Vulneraque immitis requiem quærentia vexat:
Jactat & in toto nomina noſtra foro:
Perpetuoque mihi ſociatam fœdere lecti
Non patitur miſeri funera flere viri (162).

(162) Ovid. in Ibin, *init.*

Full fifty ſuns have run their annual round,
And hitherto unarm'd my muſe have found.
Among ſo many thouſand verſe of mine,
There is not to be ſeen one cutting line.
Except myſelf, my works do hurt to none,
By my own art I only am undone.
But now, one wretch ſo much ill-nature ſhews,
I muſt, at laſt, this boaſted candor loſe.
This wretch, for ſtill his name ſhall be concealed,
Forces me now unuſual arms to wield.
His malice reaches to the northern Pole,
And even there diſturbs my baniſh'd ſoul.
Cruel he tears the wounds that want to cloſe,
And makes a public jeſt of all my woes.
My wretched conſort too muſt ſhare his hate,
Nor will he give her leave to weep my fate.

If he had been then fifty-two years of age, or more, he would certainly have told us ſo, in order to magnify his merit in not having written any thing ſatirical in

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ever discovered more gall than this, nor more severe maledictions or anathemas. He wrote it a little after his banishment.

in all that time. This one Essay proved a master-piece of the kind: Ovid there (163) *makes a collection of all the punishments to be met with in history or fable, in order to wish them by way of curse to his perfidious adversary, which he takes from two hundred and thirty-nine examples. A learned professor in the university of Paris, who lived about a hundred years ago* (164), *has digested them into forty-two kinds, upon which he intended to have composed so many chapters* (165); *his name was Stephanus Richardus Nivernensis.* The best commentary extant upon this satire, is that of Mr Boissieu (166): it was printed at Lyons, *sumptibus Antonii Pillehotte*, in the year 1633, in 4to (167). The Abbé de Marolles, who is the first translator of this Poem into French, has accompanied it with very large notes, the best of which are borrowed from the Commentary of Mr Boissieu. This translation was printed at Paris in the year 1661, in 8vo.

(163) The Abbé *de Marolles*, in the argument of his French translation of the poem against Ibis.

(164) This Abbé said this in the year 1661.

(165) This Abbé gives the title of these chapters.

(166) Dionysius Salvaginus Boessius.

(167) *The Abbé* de Marolles *did not know this, for he says, pag.* 67, *that this work of* Meffire Denys de Salvaing, Seigneur de Boissieu, *was printed at Lyons in* 1638.

PACARD

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P

PACARD (GEORGE) calls himſelf a *Seguſian* in the title of his books, which makes me believe that he was born in the Lionnois, or in the neighbouring country. He lived in the XVIth century. I think he was miniſter at la Rochefoucaut in the year 1574, when he dedicated his Natural Theology to the count of la Rochefoucaut. We find in the Bibliotheque of Du Verdier Vau-Privas, that this book, which contains *ſeveral arguments taken from the conſideration of nature againſt the Epicureans and Atheiſts*, was printed at Rochelle in the year 1579 in 8vo. There is a ſecond edition of it reviſed and enlarged by the author [*A*]. It was printed at Niort in the year 1606 in 8vo. The manuſcript of this treatiſe did very great ſervice to George Pacard [*B*].

[*A*] *A ſecond edition reviſed and enlarged by the author.*] The author left out of it the chapter concerning Antichriſt, which was in the firſt. He had publiſhed a particular treatiſe on that ſubject at Niort two years before (1).

(1) See the advertiſement to the reader, in the beginning of the fourth book.

[*B*] *The manuſcript of that treatiſe did great ſervice to the author.*] This is what he ſays of it in the Epiſtle Dedicatory: *Being releaſed out of priſon, where I had been detained at Grenoble for about a year, I was informed by Mr de Bompar, who had procured my deliverance, that I had been exempted from death (which eight of our company had ſuffered) on account of a copy of that book, found upon me when I was taken priſoner, and which had fallen into the hands of the parliament of the ſaid place.*

PACHECO (ALVAREZ) a Spaniſh colonel and kinſman of the duke of Alba (*a*) ſerved under him in the Low-Countries, and was ſent to Fluſhing, to be commander of the place, and alſo to haſten the building of a citadel there in 1572: but before he landed, there had been an inſurrection in the city, and the Spaniſh garriſon was driven from thence. He was then in amaze, and found himſelf in the power of the enemy, who cauſed him to be hanged, without any regard to his alledging, that he ſhould be beheaded upon the account of his nobility, ſince they were not willing to ſave his life for the price he offered for it. Treſlon being incenſed againſt the duke of Alba (*b*), would abate nothing of the ſentence, but Pacheco muſt take his turn at the gallows with two other Spaniards. Meurſius relates this matter at large; but he has confounded this Pacheco with a famous Engineer (*c*) whom the duke of Alba had brought from Italy, who was called Paciotti; he ſuppoſes that he who was hanged was called Paciottus. Mr du Maurier obſerves ſome other miſtakes concerning our Spaniard [*A*], who probably was of the family of the cardinals Pacheco, mentioned by Moreri.

(*a*) Strada, *Dec. i, lib. vii, ad ann.* 1572.

(*b*) Becauſe the duke had put this Treſlon's brother to death in 1568.

(*c*) Se maxime Albanum lædere exiſtimabat, ſi munitionum artificem tam inſignem, belli egregium miniſtrum & propinquo ſanguinis nexu, tempore tam alieno eriperet. *Meurſius, Guill. Auriac. lib. vi.*

[*A*] *Mr du Maurier obſerves ſome other miſtakes concerning our Spaniard.*] Thus he expreſſes himſelf (1): 'As to this Pacheco, I cannot ſufficiently admire the 'diverſity of opinions which I have obſerved among 'the moſt famous Hiſtorians, who have written of 'the affairs of the Low-Countries; for Grotius ſays, 'that he was a Savoyard, altho' Bentivoglio, Strada, 'Meurſius, and Emanuel Meteren, agree that he was 'a Spaniard. Cardinal Bentivoglio ſays, that he was 'beheaded; and others write, that he was hanged. 'Again, Meurſius calls this executed kinſman of the 'duke of Alba, Paciotti, altho' all the others call 'him Pacheco, confounding this Pacheco and Francis 'Paciotti of Urbino, count of Montefabro, who was 'ſo ſkillful in fortifications and warlike engines (2), 'that having built the citadel of Antwerp, his name 'was given to one of the five baſtions of the fortreſs, 'by the order of the duke of Alba, that the name of 'ſo great a man might be perpetuated to poſterity. 'The four other baſtions were called the Duke, Ferdi-'dinand, Toledo, and Alba, being the ſeveral names of 'of this duke, without calling any of them by the 'name of king Philip, his maſter. In fine, to return 'to this Pacheco, Emanuel Meteren, although he be a 'very exact Hiſtorian, calls him Peter Pacheco, whom 'Famianus Strada, being better informed, calls Alvarez.' Properly ſpeaking, Grotius cannot be ranked among the Hiſtorians who ſay that Pacheco was hanged. *Secuti Hollandiæ oppidum*, ſays he (3), *Fliſſingani quos ſurgentis arcis aſpectus & præſidium adventans commoverat; Bacieco Allobroge, operum Albanicorum peritiſſimo curatore ad ſupplicium rapto, in cauſam deſcendunt.* Perhaps he called him Savoyard, becauſe he had read, that the duke of Alba had obtained him of the duke of Savoy. *Impetraverat à Duce Sabaudiæ Franciſcum Paciottum Urbinatem, Montiſabri Comitem, arcium bellicarumque machinarum peritiſſimum* (4). Thuanus furniſhes us with a new variation, for he ſays, that Peter Paciotus was killed in a popular commotion, and that his head was firſt fixed on the top of a ſpear, and afterwards upon the walls of the city (5). Who knows but he thought that it was the ſame Engineer, whom he had named Paciottus Allobrox (6), ſpeaking of the citadel of Antwerp? He informs us, that this Paciottus had, a little before, built the citadel of Turin, by order of duke Emanuel Philibert. From hence, perhaps, Grotius took the word *Allobrox*, which no ways ſuits this famous Engineer, for he was of Urbino. Another Hiſtorian gives the name of Iſidorus Paciottus to him who built the citadel of Antwerp (7); and obſerves, that he left two ſons behind him, who were excellent Engineers; one, named Vido Ubaldus, was killed at the taking of Calais in 1596; the other named Frederic, was in Amiens the next year, when the French retook that town (8).

(1) Du Maurier's Memoirs, *pag.* 48.

(2) Du Maurier took this from Strada, *Decad. i, lib. vii.*

(3) Annal. *lib. v, pag.* 50, *Edit. in* 12*mo, ann.* 1638.

(4) Strada, *Dec. i, lib. vi.*

(5) Petro Pacioto quem Albanus arci exſtruendæ præfecerat, in tumultu occiſo, cujus caput conto præfixum & promœnibus ſtatutum eſt. *Thuan. lib. live.*

(6) Thuan. *l. xli.*

(7) Angelus Gallucius, de Bello Belg. *Part i, lib. viii.* Thuanus, *lib. cxvi, pag.* 747, *calls him alſo* Iſidorus. (8) Gallue. ibid. *lib. ix.*

PADILLA (MARY DE) miſtreſs to Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, was educated at the houſe of Alfonſus d'Albuquerque, when that monarch fell in love with her, during the expedition of Aſturia. One of the king's brothers took up arms in that

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country; and this rebellion being ſupported by ſ
been of a miſchievous conſequence; wherefore
ſtop to it very quickly, and the king marched
(a). The wife of Don Alfonſo d'Albuquerque
dilla, one of the maids ſhe had in her ſervice, wh
monarch. She did not make him ſigh long fo
journey (b). John de Hiniſtroſa, uncle, by the
as a procurer and confident (c): this was done i
dy contracted to Blanche of Bourbon the daug
of Bourbon (d), and ſiſter to the daughter-in-law
perſon, to whom he was contracted, was as be
nitely more illuſtrious [A], yet he made no gr
neither did he take it well of Albuquerque tha
Albuquerque, I ſay, who was afraid leſt the kin
higheſt degree of favour. At laſt, the marria
June 1353, without any pomp (g): ſome time
a daughter (b). The king quickly conceived
very third day after his marriage, he prepared
a fortreſs on the banks of the Tagus. The que
his aunt, being informed of his deſign, conjured
the conſequences of this conduct [B]. He was
ſons; but only denied that he had formed any
away with great ſecrecy. Several courtiers fol
his paſſion, than remonſtrate to him what he
earneſtly preſſed him to return to his wife, an
after he had ſpent two days with her, he was
the force of his paſſion (i). Some thought there
he was jealous of his wife [C], and therefore co

(a) Mariana, ubi infra.

(b) Eo in itinere Regis animus Mariæ Padillæ quæ in Albuquerquii familia educabatur, eximia pulchritudine captus, cum ea ad S. Facundi oppidum ſtupri conſuetudinem habere cœpit, ſponſæ immemor, noviſque amoribus amens. *Mariana, de Rebus Hiſpaniæ, lib. xvi, cap. xvii, pag. m.* 80, *ad ann.* 1352.

(c) Internuncius, pravæque conſuetudinis conciliator. *Id. ib.*

(d) Father Anſelme, Hiſt. Geneal. *pag.* 260.

(e) She had married the ſon of king John, who was Charles V.

[A] *Altho' the perſon to whom he was contracted, was as beautiful, and of a birth more illuſtrious.*] The Words of Mariana are theſe: *Vix Caſtellæ Rex nuptiarum celebritate peracta, novam nuptam faſtidivit, in Padillæ amorem effuſus, ſi regiæ ſtirpi compararetur, ignobilis, neque majori formæ pulchritudine. Tanti plerumque eſt præpoſteræ animum libidini mancipari* (1). He ſays elſewhere, that ſhe was very beautiful, very virtuous (2), and that the ambaſſadors of the king made choice of her among the ſix daughters of the duke of Bourbon, as moſt worthy to be his conſort: *E ſex quas habebat, eam expetituri quam regio toro idoneam fore maximè judicarent. Blanca concedente patre delecta* (3). Note, that this duke of Bourbon had ſeven daughters, but ſince the eldeſt was already married (4), we muſt not blame Mariana for mentioning only ſix: neither muſt we cavil, becauſe the other ſiſters of Blanche were not marriageable (5), for this could never hinder the ambaſſadors from preferring one of the youngeſt before all the reſt, if ſhe had appeared to them better ſhaped, and more beautiful.

(1) Mariana, de Rebus Hiſpaniæ, *lib. xvi, cap. xviii, init. pag. m.* 81.

(2) Lectiſſima forma, ſanctiſſimis moribus, prudentiæque. *Id. ib. lib. xvii, cap. iv, pag.* 100.

(3) Id. ib. *lib. xvi, cap. xvii, pag.* 79.

(4) She was married in 1337, to Charles of France, who was king Charles V. See Father Anſelme's Hiſt. Genealog. *pag.* 260.

(5) Mariana, *lib. xvii, cap. iv*, ſays, that Blanche was poiſoned in 1361, at the age of 25 years. She was therefore but 16 years old when the embaſſadors of Don Pedro, king of Caſtile, made choice of her, in 1352, and conſequently ſome of her younger ſiſters were not marriageable.

(6) Mariana, *lib. xvi, cap. xviii, pag.* 81.

[B] *His mother and .... aunt ... repreſented to him the conſequences of this conduct.*] They told him, that he run the hazard of loſing not only his reputation, but alſo all his dominions; that the French would make war againſt him, to revenge the injury his wife had received; that this would give occaſion to the Caſtilians to riſe up in arms; and, that men never fear to attack ſuch people whom they fancy to be abandoned by Heaven, upon account of the crimes they have committed. This is only a rough draught of the thoughts of Mariana, and therefore I will now ſet them down in his own words: ‘ Regina mater, Eleonora amita regis conſilio indicato, eum remotis arbitris per omnia numina & quicquid in terris ſanctum eſt, ne ſe, regnum, fortunas, nominis exiſtimationem præcipiti temeritate perditum eat, profuſis lacrimis obteſtantur. Quid orbi ſermonem, Gallis arma injuriam non laturis, civibus diſſidiorum materiam daret? Ignorare videlicet integra probitatis fama humana imperia conſtare, quos deſtitui à numine, quibus infenſum cœlum eſſe, ſemel fuerit perſuaſum, in eos homines mala omnia quaſi facto agmine impetum dare (6). - - - *The queen, his mother, and Eleanor, his aunt, being informed of his deſign, went to him when he was all alone, and, with tears in their eyes, conjured him by all that was ſacred in heaven and earth, that he would not raſhly go to ruin himſelf, his kingdom, fortune, and reputation. They expoſtulated with him, why he would give occaſion to the world to ſpeak ill of him, put arms into the hands of the French to revenge the injury done to his wife, and furniſh*

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her worſe and worſe, and at laſt cauſed her to be poiſoned in 1361 (*k*). Every body deplored the fate of this princeſs, thus taken away at the age of twenty five years (*l*). The miſtreſs died a little after at Seville (*m*); and was interred in a monaſtery which ſhe had built (*n*). Her funeral was ſolemnized thro' all the kingdom, as if ſhe had been a lawful queen, and her children were educated as preſumptive heirs to the crown (*o*) [*D*]. She had been ſo much in favour with the king that ſhe could do whatever ſhe pleaſed [*E*]. Diego de Padilla, her brother, was preferred to the office of great-chamberlain in 1353, and to the dignity of great-maſter of the order of Calatrava the next year (*p*): John Padilla, her other brother, was made great-maſter of the order of St James, in the room of Don Frederic, the king's brother, in 1354 (*q*). His marriage was no obſtacle to his promotion to this high poſt, altho' there was no precedent, that it had been poſſeſſed by a married man. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not think that Mary de Padilla enjoyed his favour without any mixture of trouble; for, in 1357, another miſtreſs appeared more amiable than ſhe in the eyes of Don Pedro the Cruel. This prince abandoned himſelf ſo much to the paſſion he entertained for Alfonſa Coronella (*r*), that he thought no more of our Mary (*s*), which we may eaſily conceive was very grievous to her. What ſhall we ſay then of the torture ſhe muſt have endured, whilſt Don Pedro was ſo enamoured of a lovely widow, that to enjoy her he made her believe he was not married, and that he could eſpouſe her: in effect, he did eſpouſe her [*F*]; and though he quickly forſook her, yet he muſt have given great uneaſineſs to the heart of his concubine. I ſhall not refer my reader to the Hiſtory of Favourites, printed (*t*) in 1697, for what is there ſaid of our Padilla is blended with a thouſand romantic tales: we muſt not therefore ſearch for the truth in ſuch works, but in authors like Mariana. Obſerve that he confeſſes, that this woman wanted nothing but chaſtity to merit the crown: *Fœminæ*, ſays he (*v*), *præter injuriam pellicatûs, magnis animi & corporis dotibus, dignæque imperio.*

(*k*) Mariana, *lib. xvii, cap. v, pag.* 101.

(*l*) Id. ib. *lib. xvii, cap. iv.*

(*m*) Id. ib. *cap. v.*

(*n*) In Studilli Monaſterio. *Id. ib.*

(*o*) Id. ib.

(*p*) Mariana, *lib. xvi, cap. xviii.*

(*q*) Id. ib. *cap. xx, pag.* 86.

(*r*) Id. ib. *lib. xvii, cap. i, pag.* 94.

(*s*) In ea Urbe (*Hiſpali*) Alfonſæ Coroneliæ amoribus ita indulſit ut præ illa Padillia contemptui eſſet. *Id. ib.*

(*t*) At Amſterdam, by Paul Marret.

Don Pedro had it, deſired it of him, that ſhe might imitate the workmanſhip of it; that for a fence againſt the inconſtancy of the hearts of kings, *ſhe made uſe of a Jew, a profeſſed Magician, who, by his black and abominable art, committed crimes as horrid as his ſoul. It was with this diſciple of the devil,* continues he, *that ſhe entruſted the girdle of Don Pedro; and the charm put upon it was ſuch, that when he wore it, he fancied himſelf to be girded and ſtung by a ſerpent, whereupon he made terrible outcries. There was no need of ſuch wicked arts to deſtroy a queen already ſo unhappy; Mary Padilla, and all her creatures, told the king, that this preſent of his ſpouſe was a deadly favour, which ſhe had not poiſoned in a day. This diſcourſe, and the terrible effect of the girdle, redoubled his averſion to the queen, ſo that he reſolved to ſhun her eternally* (13). I ſhould not have quoted ſo long a paſſage out of the Hiſtory of Favourites, if I had not known, that the ſame thing is related in a meer hiſtory, I mean, in ſuch a work wherein the author does only tranſcribe Hiſtorians, without taking the liberty of mixing with matters of fact the fictions of his own brain. Read the following paſſage; 'Diego de Valera writes, that among the 'many ornaments which queen Blanche brought from 'France, there was a rich girdle, which ſhe preſented 'to her ſpouſe, and that Mary Padilla getting it into 'her hands, found a Jewiſh Magician, who put ſuch 'a charm upon it, that when the king wore it, he 'thought himſelf girded with a ſerpent; and having 'complained of it to his favourites, moſt of whom 'were related to Mary Padilla, they perſuaded him, 'that it was a pernicious preſent of the young queen; 'which increaſed his averſion to her, and carried his 'contempt of her to the laſt extremity (14).'

(13) Ib. *pag.* 9.

(14) A Chronological Hiſtory of Spain by Madam ***. *Tom. ii, pag.* 272, 273, of the *Edit. of Rotterdam* 1694.

[*D*] *And her children were educated as heirs preſumptive to the crown.*] This is what Mariana ſays, *Filii regio cultu, & in ſpem paterni regni educati* (15). I think ſhe had but one ſon, and three daughters. The ſon was called Alphonſus, and was born at Tordeſilla in 1359: his birth occaſioned an extradinary joy to the king, which was quickly changed into great ſorrow; for he lived not very long. Garſias de Toledo, great-maſter of the order of St James, was deſigned to bring him up (16). Beatrix, the eldeſt of all the children, was born at Corduba, in 1353 (17). Conſtantia, the ſecond daughter, was born the next year: ſhe was married to the duke of Lancaſter, ſon to the king of England (18). The third daughter was named Iſabella, and was born at Tordeſilla in 1355 (19).

(15) Mariana, *lib. xvii, cap. v.*

(16) Id. ib. *cap. vi.*

(17) Id. ib. *lib. xvi, cap. xviii.*

(18) Id. ib. *cap. xviii, pag.* 84.

(19) Ib. ib. *cap. xxi, pag.* 90.

[*E*] *She had been ſo much in favour with the king, that ſhe could do whatever ſhe pleaſed.*] Her brothers and kinſmen were preferred to dignities, and had the greateſt intereſt at court (20). Nothing was done in the kingdom but in purſuance of their views: the grandees, and even the king's brothers, endeavoured to inſinuate themſelves into the good-liking of this favourite, and ſpared neither for preſents nor ſubmiſſions to obtain it. *Omnino ſe Rex & rempublicam Mariæ propinquis gubernandum tradiderat: eorum arbitratu belli & pacis conſilia gerebantur: proceres ipſique Regis fratres tempori ſervire, atque ad fortunæ motum ſe movere: ad Mariæ gratiam donis, officiis, aſſentatione aditum certatim captare* (21). In favour of this woman the moſt ancient cuſtoms were deſpiſed and neglected, even when they had great affinity with the principles of religion. Was it not for her ſake, that the great-maſterſhip of the order of St James was made conſiſtent with marriage (22)? It muſt be confeſſed, this was a great irregularity, and a great occaſion of ſcandal and diſcontent to the people. Thoſe who read ſuch kind of things are much leſs offended than moſt of thoſe who ſee them. But you muſt take notice, that I diſtinguiſh between thoſe who read much, and thoſe who ſcarce read any thing at all. The latter fancy to themſelves that the corruption of their own time is ſomething extraordinary; they imagine that other countries are not ſubject to the like, and that other ages have been preſerved from it. This makes them murmur the more; but thoſe who know by the reading of hiſtory, that the diſorders of their own times are common to all ages, and to all nations, more or leſs; thoſe, I ſay, are patient, prepared for hardſhips, and enured to matters of ſcandal. To ſuch the power of the concubines of princes is no cauſe of indignation, they know too many examples of it: but thoſe who read nothing are extremely offended to ſee, that an unchaſte favourite ſhould be idolized by courtiers, becauſe ſhe has the diſpoſal of all employments. See the article of Diana of *POITIERS* (23).

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 82, 83.

(22) Joannem Padilliam Villageræ regulum in Friderici fratris locum D. Jacobi Magiſtrum ſubſtituendum curavit, & quidem conjugem contra ſuperioris temporis exempla. Novum exemplum legibus, moribuſque validius fuit: ab eoque initium ſuſceptum ut conjuges iidem & Magiſtri eſſent. Mariæ in gratiam cuæ novi Magiſtri ſoror erat majorum inſtituta violata. *Mariana, l.b. xvi, cap. xx, pag.* 86.

[*F*] *Don Pedro was ſo enamoured of a lovely widow, that . . . . in effect he did eſpouſe her.*] She was called Joan de Caſtro, and had been married to Don Diego de Haro (24). Her beauty and chaſtity were extraordinary (25). The king fell in love with her, and having no hopes of ſatisfying his paſſion but in the quality of a huſband, he pretended he was not married, and produced proofs of the averſion wherewith he had married Blanche of Bourbon. Two biſhops were conſulted, who declared, That this marriage was null. In purſuance of this ſentence he made haſte to eſpouſe the widow; but he was quickly diſguſted at her, and continued with her but a few days. Some ſay, that he forſook her the next day after the marriage (26). Nevertheleſs ſhe was with child, and had a ſon, who was a comfort to her, tho' he proved the ſport of fortune. *Copia feſtidium ut antea facientc, paucis apud novam nuptam diebus moratur, ſunt qui una tantum nocte dicant. . . . . Joannes filius ex iis nuptiis procreatus eſt, matri ſolamen, fortunæ ludibrium futurus* (27).

(23) At the remark [*N*].

(24) Mariana, ubi ſupra, *lib. xvi, cap. xviii.*

(25) Vidua, cui forma comparari nulla poterat, inſigni pudicitiæ laude viduitatis incommoda ſuſtentabat. *Id. ib.*

(26) Id. ib.

(27) Id. ib.

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PADILLA (JOHN DE) one of the ring in Caſtile in 1520. It is ſaid, that his wife p herſelf engaged in it, becauſe ſhe had ſeen hi of St James [*A*]. Some add, that ſhe ha craft [*B*], and foretold to her ſome great advanc that there was not in that confederacy any lord deprive Charles V of the crown [*C*]. She robb taining the ſedition; but ſhe committed this ſ

[*A*] *It is ſaid, that his wife perſuaded him to this revolt, becauſe ſhe had ſeen him in a dream great-maſter of the order of St James.*] Let us ſee what Antony de Guevara wrote to her. *I know very well, that the firſt aſſembly was held in your houſe, where the fire was kindled, which you have always blown and kept up: Wherefore I have many times enquired, what occaſion you had thus to diſturb the kingdom; and have been anſwered by your relations and friends, that it was becauſe you dreamed or fancied you ſaw your huſband great-maſter of the order of St James: And if this be true, it was in you great folly and madneſs; for it is poſſible, that inſtead of giving him this commandery, or the order, which is a croſs, we ſhall give him another ſort of a croſs* (1). Is it not a deplorable thing, that the dream of a woman ſhould be able to produce ſo much confuſion and devaſtation through a whole kingdom? The firſt that gave riſe to this great revolt was Don Ferdinand d'Avalos; who gained the lady we have mentioned. The lady drew in her huſband, and he having prevailed with Don Pedro Giron, put all things in ſuch a commotion, that they talked of nothing leſs than erecting every great city of Caſtile into a commonwealth (2). *Ferdinand d' Avalos was the firſt contriver of the rebellion, and I am well informed that it began in your houſe; ſo that he laid the wood, but you ſet it on fire* (3). This civil war, therefore, is one of thoſe which proceeded from frivolous cauſes.

(1) Golden Epiſtles, *book i, pag. m.* 186. This letter is dated March 10, 1522. The ſame thing is found in a letter of the third book, *pag. m.* 21, dated January 15, 1522.

(2) Brantome, Foreign Captains, *Tom. i, pag.* 173. He took this from the letter of Guevara, *pag. m.* 172, *book i.*

(3) Guev. *book iii, pag.* 21.

[*B*] . . . . *And that ſhe had a maid-ſervant who practiſed witchcraft.*] This is what Guevara objects to her (4): By ſome in theſe parts *I have been told, That you have a woman-ſlave, a great witch, who ſaid, and aſſured you, that you ſhall ſhortly be queen, and your huſband king, and ſo you ſhall ſucceed to the kings of Spain, Don Carlos and lady Iſabel: and if it be ſo, that you give heed to ſuch follies, which I cannot believe, have a care of the Devil, and his deceits and frauds.* In another letter he ſpeaks to her after this manner (5): *It is ſaid, moreover, that you have a white woman-ſlave, or rather a fooliſh ſlave, who is a great witch: and it is ſaid, that ſhe told and aſſured you, That, notwithſtanding your mean condition, in a little time the title of Excellency ſhould be given to you as to a princeſs; and the title of highneſs to your huſband: ſo that you pretend to ſucceed to the queen our ſovereign lady, and your huſband hopes to poſſeſs the place of Charles the Fifth.*

(4) Ibid. *book i, pag.* 187.

(5) Ibid. *book iii, pag.* 22.

[*C*] . . . . *No perſon . . . . ſhowed more zeal than this lady to deprive Charles the fifth of the crown.*] This is ſaying a great deal; for Don Antonio d'Acugna, biſhop of Zamora, was as violent in this revolt, at ſeventy years of age, as the youngeſt and moſt reſolute brigadier of the army could be. Don Guevara wrote him a letter, of which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee ſome paſſages. *To make ſoldiers prieſts,* as he writes to him (6), *is a thing that is tolerable; but to make prieſts ſoldiers is a ſcandalous action, which we ſhall not ſay, your lordſhip hath permitted, but rather, you yourſelf have done it: ſince you have brought more than three hundred prieſts of Zamora to attack Tordeſilla: and when a good prelate ſhould have employed them in the beginning of Lent to take confeſſions, you have carried them away to begin the war. In the aſſault made by the knights and governors of the kingdom againſt your party, I ſaw, with my own eyes, a prieſt, who was behind a battlement, ſtrike to the ground eleven of our men with a harquebuſs; and which was pleaſant enough to ſee, at the ſame time he aimed to hit them, he bleſſed them with a harquebuſs, and after that diſpatched them with a bullet. I ſaw likewiſe, before the battle was ended, this jolly prieſt receive a blow with an arrow in his forehead, which killed him ſo ſuddenly, that he had no time to confeſs, nor ſo much as to croſs himſelf. . . . . (7) I have often ſeen you with a ſpear upon your ſhoulder, but never with a book in your hand, nor a ſtole about your neck; and this I ſhall not omit to tell, viz. that to the ſoldiers who battered the fortreſs of Ampudia, and*

(6) Id. ib. *book i, pag.* 170.

(7) Id. ib. *pag.* 171.

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of a prieſt towards Padilla, that deſerves to be related [E]. The rebellion of this man and his wife, who were both of a very illuſtrious family, prevailed moſt at Toledo (a). The huſband had ſcarce any merit, and the wife was little worth, tho' ſhe highly valued herſelf; for ſhe was extreamly vain (b). He was defeated near Villalar, and fell into the hands of the conqueror; and two days after he was beheaded (c). But his wife eſcaped into Portugal (d). She was called Mary Pacheco, and was the daughter of Tendillos de Mendoza, if we may believe Paul Jovius, who ſays alſo, that ſhe was learned (e).

(a) *The count* de la Roca, Hiſt. of Charles V, *pag. m.* 40. (b) Id. ib. (c) Id. ib. *pag.* 54. (d) Id. ib. *pag.* 56. (e) Quum Maria Paceca Tendillii Mendocii filia eruditi ingenii & virilis animi mulier, Padilliæ conjugis vexillum ne concitatæ multitudini deeſſet dux gerendo bello ſuſtuliſſet. - - - - - *When Mary Pacheco, the daughter of Tendillos de Mendoza, a woman of great learning, and of an heroic ſpirit, had taken up the ſtandard of her huſband Padilla, that the ſeditious rabble might not be without a leader.* Paul Jovius, Hiſt. *lib. xix, fol. m.* 7. *verſo.*

debt to be paid, and the vow to be performed by the Emperor, becauſe it was for his intereſt that he borrowed and ſpent it (12).

(12) Brantome, ibid. *pag.* 126, 127.

[E] *The behaviour of a prieſt towards Padilla deſerves to be related.*] We will continue to make uſe of the words of Brantome, 'A prieſt of the village of 'Mediana . . . . was ſo well affected to Don Juan de 'Padilla, one of the principal ſeditious captains, that 'every Sunday, at his exhortation to the people, he 'did not fail to recommend him, and the holy ſe'dition of which he was the great promoter, with a '*Pater-noſter* and an *Ave-maria*, and continued theſe 'prayers for the ſpace of a month; at the end of 'which it happened by chance, that the troops of 'the ſaid Padilla paſſed through the village of the 'prieſt, who eat up all his fowls and bacon, and 'drank up all his wine, and, what is more than that, 'carried away his maid. The Sunday after he made 'his complaint in his ſermon, and related to the 'people all the damage theſe troops had done him; 'eſpecially, the taking away of his maid Catherine, 'naming her openly, and admoniſhing the people, 'not to follow any more the party of Padilla, but the 'king's: after this he gave all his ſeditious partiſans 'to the Devil, and conjured his people to cry, *Long 'live the king, and let Padilla periſh*; which was 'done, and all the reſt were ſent to the Devil. Many 'ſuch actions have we ſeen done alſo in our wars of 'the League, according to the malice and diſcontent of 'the perſons who had been robbed, and who renounced 'this holy League and goodly confederacy like the 'Devil (13).' That it may appear whether Brantome took too much liberty either in abridging or amplifying the authors he tranſcribed, I ſhall relate, word for word, the narrative of Guevara, tranſlated by the Phyſician Guterry. 'A Biſcain prieſt, being a half-witted fellow, had ſo great an affection for John de 'Padilla, that every Sunday, in his ſermon he was 'wont to ſay thus: my brethren, I recommend to 'you one *Pater* and one *Ave-maria*, for the holy ſe'dition and popular commotion, that it may never 'ceaſe; and I recommend to you another *Pater* for 'the Majeſty of king John de Padilla that GOD 'would proſper him, and as much for the queen his 'wife; for to tell you the truth, theſe are our true and 'natural ſovereigns, and all others, to this day, have 'been tyrants. When theſe prayers had laſted near 'three weeks, at the expiration of them John de Pa'dilla happened to paſs thro' the village with his 'horſe-guards, and becauſe the ſoldiers, who lodged 'in his houſe, carried away his maid, drunk up his 'wine, and forgot not to eat up his bacon and poul'try, and all that he had, he told them the next Sun'day, in his ſermon, you know, my brethren, how 'John Padilla paſſed thro' here this week, and I be'lieve you are not ignorant that the ſoldiers who 'lodged in my houſe, have not left me ſo much as 'one pullet, that they have alſo eaten up my bacon, 'and drunk up my four barrels of wine; and, above 'all, the wretches have carried away, as you know, 'my poor Catherine. I tell you this, my friends, 'to the end, that for the future you may not pray 'for him, but for the king Don Carlos, and the 'queen, Madam Joan his mother, who are our na'tural ſovereigns (14).'

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 175. He borrowed this from the Golden Epiſtles of Guevara, *book i, pag. m.* 173.

(14) Guevara, ubi ſupra, *lib. i, pag.* 173.

PADILLA (LOUISA DE) counteſs d'Aranda, in the XVIIth century, was extreamly commended by the Spaniards. as may be ſeen in a paſſage of Don Juan de Laſtanoſa, which I ſhall tranſcribe [A].

[A] *In a paſſage . . . . . which I ſhall tranſcribe.*] 'I have heard two ſorts of readers complain of the 'works of Balthaſar Gracian: ſome complain of the 'matter, others of the ſtyle; thoſe becauſe they infinite'ly eſteem his books, and theſe becauſe they wiſh they 'had been a little more to their purpoſe. The former, 'and among them the phenix of our age, the learned 'counteſs de Aranda *, whoſe name is written with 'ſix immortal pens, are offended becauſe matters ſo 'high, and which are proper only for heroes, become 'common by printing of them; ſo that the meaneſt 'citizen can have, for a crown, thoſe things, which, 'becauſe of their excellency, do not become ſuch 'hands (1). This complaint puts me in mind of thoſe who were offended with Mr du Pin for publiſhing in French a new Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. See the laſt page of his preface, and the *News from the Republic of Letters* (2).

* Donna Luiſa de Padilla.

(1) Juan de Laſtanoſa, Preface to the treatiſe of Gracian, intituled, *El Diſcreto*, (*The Diſcreet*). See the Preface of Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie, upon *l'Homme de Cour* (*The Courtier*).

(2) For the month of June 1686, Art. IV, pag. 658.

PAGEAU (N) one of the moſt illuſtrious advocates of the parliament of Paris, died the month of July, 1683, *when he was not very old* (a). His Elogy, taken from a manuſcript, intituled, *Portraits des Avocats*, is to be found in the Mercure Galant (b). and in a piece of Father Bouhours (c).

(a) Mercure Galant, month of July 1683, pag. 128. (b) Id. ib. *pag.* 128, *& ſeq.* (c) *Intituled,* Maniere de bien penſer dans les Ouvrages d'Eſprit, *pag.* 395, *& ſeq. Dutch Edit.*

PAYS (RENATUS LE) paſſed for a wit: He was of Bretagne, but was ſcarce known except in the province of Dauphiné [A]. He was employed there in the finances. His

[A] *He was ſcarce known except in the province of Dauphiné.*] For this reaſon Mr Allard has put him in the catalogue of the writers of that province: *the greateſt part of his works*, ſays he (1), *were written in Dauphiné, either at Grenoble or Valence.* This he might do according to cuſtom; for thoſe who write a Bibliotheque of a certain country, do commonly place in it the ſtrangers who ſojourned in that country, when they compoſed or publiſhed books. The following paſſage of the author of *Amitiez, Amours, & Amourettes, - - - Friendſhip and Amours*, will not be impertinent: *What probability is there that a wit ſo ſublime as that of your highneſs, a genius to whom all the fineſt wits of our age do daily pay their homage, and who is accounted at court a fountain of learning, could find any thing agreeable in the collection of my triflles, and in the works of a man brought up in an obſcure province: that a wit originally of Bretagne tranſplanted into Gaſcogné, and afterwards*

(1) Allard, Bibliotheque de Dauphiné, *pag.* 169.

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His *Amitiez, Amours, & Amourettes. - - - Friendſhip, Amours, and Love-frolicks*, printed in 1664, were the admiration of the provinces, and deſerved the applauſe even of the Metropolis [*B*]. There were ſome ladies of the firſt quality who read them with much pleaſure, and enquired of the Bookſeller what kind of perſon the author was: as ſoon as he knew that the ducheſs of Nemours had this obliging curioſity, he ſent her a deſcription of his perſon. The piece is intituled, *Portrait de l'Auteur des Amitiez, Amours, & Amourettes.* It is a miſcellany of verſe and proſe; the ſtyle is merry, like that of the book which had pleaſed that princeſs. The ſucceſs of this firſt book encouraged Mr le Pays to employ the Printers; but his Zelotide having not been approved, he abated of his ardour, and appeared in print but ſeldom. The letter which he wrote to Mr du Gué, intendant of Dauphiné, when an enquiry was made after the pretenders to nobility, was well enough eſteemed: he there proves the nobility of his Muſe to deſcend from that of Voiture [*C*]; and he collects together divers curious facts concerning the genealogy of the Poets, conſidered as Poets. He did but imitate one of the fineſt epiſodes of the Clelia of Madam de Scuderi. Some time after, he publiſhed a new Collection of Pieces. It appears by ſome of his letters, that he had been in Holland and England. The accounts he gives of theſe countries are too waggiſh and very unjuſt; and there is a mixture of reflexions in them which are ſomewhat ſerious, but very falſe [*D*]. This does a prejudice to the whole French Nation. He was of the academy

(a) Le Pays, in his Letter to the ducheſs of Nemours, wherein he deſcribes himſelf.

wards into the mountains of Dauphiné, could produce ſuch fruits as ſhould pleaſe ſo fine and nice a palate? No, Madam, I ought not to believe it, my preſumption would be too great, and I ſhould be afraid of injuring you (2).'

[*B*] His *Amitiez, Amours, and Amourettes, deſerved the approbation even of the Metropolis.*] The Pariſians eaſily pardon the publiſhing of a good book in a country-gentleman who has made a long ſtay in Paris, but they take it very ill that any perſon, who never went out of his province, ſhould be a good author. They look upon it as an attempt of dangerous conſequence; one would think that they imagine it to be a breaking looſe from order, and withdrawing one's ſelf from the lawful authority of one's ſuperiors, and erecting in the Republic of Letters a ſect of independants, which is ſo odious in the church: they were therefore little inclined to judge favourably of the Friendſhips and Amours of our author; for it was a book that came to them from the country of the Allobroges, it was the work of an author born in Bretagne, and from thence tranſplanted firſt into Guienne, and after that on the mountains of Dauphiné. Theſe are the ſchools in which he became the diſciple of Voiture, and wherein he formed the deſign of ſetting up for his ſucceſſor. Thus theſe prejudices were no way favourable to him, and yet his book ſold mightily in Paris, and he found many that liked it, both at court and in the city: but I do not pretend to affirm, that he was neither cenſured nor deſpiſed there by many perſons. Read theſe words of Mr Gueret, *whilſt one makes ſilly love-letters for his miſtreſs, and another writes wretched raillery to his butcher, they will attempt nothing againſt the ſtate* (3). He points to the letters of Mr le Pays, and thoſe of Mr Montreuil. In the next page he is not ſo diſobliging, but his praiſes are very ſlender: *Becauſe*, ſays he, Amours, Amitiez, & Amourettes, *paſſed for an indifferent good title, does it thence follow, that* Fleurs, Fleurettes, and Paſſetemps, *ſhould be received after the ſame manner?* Mr Boileau ſaid ſomething againſt Mr le Pays: he received the rebuke with a good grace; and he was never obſerved to be tranſported, nor to fly out into reproaches, as the greateſt part of his companions in diſgrace did; but he anſwered civilly and modeſtly (4). For the reſt, what I have ſaid of Paris, I think to be true of ancient Rome: I do not believe that in the age of Cicero or Pliny the younger, the Romans would have taken it well that the Poets and Orators, who lived beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees, ſhould have written fine pieces before they had quitted their native ſoil.

(3) Parnaſſus Reformed, *pag. m.* 113.

(4) See his Letter to Mr du Tiger. It is the firſt of the ſecond book of the ſecond part of his new pieces.

To confirm, by an authentic proof, what I have ſaid of the great ſucceſs of the firſt piece of our author, I need only cite a journaliſt, who does by no means flatter. Let us ſee the beginning of an extract which he made of another piece of the ſame writer (5). *The* Friendſhips, Amours, and Love-frolics *of Mr le Pays, were ſo well received by all polite perſons, that the public will entertain an agreeable idea of this conteſt between Wit and Judgment, as ſoon as it is known that he is the author of it. It was ſaid, that cupid had given him a feather of his wing to write his amours; and formerly he made Love and Reaſon quarrel ſo ingeniouſly, that none of the reaſons of wit will be forgotten in this work* (6).

(5) *Intituled*, A Conteſt between Wit and Judgment, *printed at Paris* 1688.

[*C*] *He there proves the nobility of his Muſe to deſcend from that of Voiture.*] The letter which he publiſhed upon this ſubject was inſerted afterwards in the edition of his new works, it is intituled, *The Titles of the Nobility of the Amorous Muſe, to my lord Gué, counſellor in ordinary to the king*, &c (7). One who had read it when it was newly come out, aſſured me, that the intention of the author was to prove that he was noble upon the account of his Muſe, and that therefore none ought to demand of him other titles of nobility, nor pretend to tax him if he did not produce any other. But having read this work, I found nothing in it which ſhowed this intention. I cannot ſay whether this author was noble or no, for it is ſo long ſince I read his works, that I cannot remember the places where he might ſay either in expreſs words, or equivalent terms, *I am a gentleman*. I remember a place where he mentions a quarrel of his brother, whom he repreſents as a gentleman; but there is an infinite number of the meaner ſort that live nobly, who would talk as big upon the like occaſion. Here is what he writes in anſwer to a letter of conſolation (8). *The care you have taken of my brother's quarrel and your goodneſs in endeavouring to compoſe it, are ſo great obligations, that I can never acknowledge them enough. I am very ſorry that this little diſaſter ſhould have happened to him: but as he ought to be ſo prudent as not to involve himſelf in ſuch troubleſome affairs, he ought alſo, to have the courage to vindicate himſelf when any injury is done him; and I ſhould never pardon him, if he ſuffered any diſgrace to remain upon this account* (9).

(6) Baſnage de Beauval, Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *Sept.* 1688, *Art. XV, pag.* 129.

(7) It is the 26th of the ſecond book of the ſecond part.

(8) It was written to him while he was afflicted for the loſs of a ſiſter. The manner of expreſſing his grief and tenderneſs for the deceaſed becomes a perſon of good nature and probity. *See Letter XLII, and XLIII, of the ſecond book.*

[*D*] *He has made ſome reflexions . . . . . very falſe.*] 'It is a thing at which I am exceedingly troubled, 'that the Jews are tolerated at Amſterdam and not 'the Catholics: at Paris the Stews do not ſo much 'fear the conſtables, as thoſe houſes at Amſterdam 'do, wherein the holy maſs is celebrated. Yet I have 'obſerved, that policy here is the greateſt enemy of 'our religion. The Hollanders do not ſo much hate 'Rome as Madrid; and I believe they would ſooner 'ſubmit to Alexander VII, than Philip IV: this is 'ſo true, that in a certain company where I was lately, one having ſaid in jeſt, that a miniſter had obtained leave, a little while ago, to preach at Madrid, 'that the Inquiſition was going to be ſuppreſſed, and 'that the Catholic king was ready to declare himſelf a Huguenot; an old Dutchman anſwered him 'bluntly, and from the abundance of his heart, that 'if Spain turned Huguenot, Holland muſt be forced 'to turn Catholic. After this, you may judge, Sir, 'whether they be firmly fixed in their religion, or 'very averſe to ours. It may be affirmed, that they 'hate nothing ſo much as the Spaniſh government (10). The letter from which I take theſe words is not dated, and this is a common defect in ſuch kind of works (11), but by the circumſtances it may be known, that it was written in 1662; and hence you may judge whether our author underſtood well what he ſaid. Would not any one think, that he took this account from ſome

(9) Le Pays's Friendſhips, Amours, and Love-frolics, *book ii, Letter XLII, pag.* 164, *of the Holland Edit.* 1665.

(10) Le Pays, Ib. Letter XXVIII. of the ſecond book, *pag.* 153, 154.

(11) This word muſt not be taken ſtrictly, for the date is ſometimes found in that ſort of writings.

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demy of Arles [*E*]. He was honoured with the eſteem of the duke of Savoy [*F*], who made him a knight of St Maurice. He wrote a very pretty letter upon this occaſion [G]. He complains often of fortune [*H*], and does no leſs reproach her than the Poets. Theſe are common

ſome book, written in the time of the duke of Alba, or before the end of the truce which Henry IV concluded between Philip III, and the United Provinces? For at that time the ſcurrilous writers might pretend, that the Hollanders hated the government more than the religion of the Spaniards; and I do not doubt but they ſaid ſo in many books: but it is certain, that when Mr le Pays was in Holland, the hatred to the Spaniſh nation was quite worn out; for the hatred laſted no longer than the fear, which had been long ſince diſſipated. After the taking of Boiſleduc, Maeſtricht, and Breda, and after the war which was declared againſt Spain by Lewis XIII, the United Provinces were ſure, that they ſhould never fall again under the yoke of the Spaniards; they were more troubled with the fear that they ſhould be brought too low, and France ſhould make too great an advantage of their low eſtate, than that they ſhould recover what they had loſt. This uneaſineſs contributed as much as any other thing to the treaty which they concluded at Munſter with Philip IV, and ſince that time they have had more true and cordial affection for the Spaniards, than for the French: which was moſt natural, and agreeable to true policy. It is needleſs to refute this author, as to the complaints he makes of the ſeverity uſed towards the Catholics at Amſterdam, and as to his vile and abuſive raillery againſt the Engliſh (12) and Dutch women (13).

(12) In Letter xxvi of the ſecond book.

(13) In Letter xxviii of the ſame book.

[*E*] *He was of the academy of Arles.*] This is an academy of fine wits, ſettled according to the model of the French academy. None is admitted into it, no more than into that of Paris, but upon requeſting it. Mr le Pays knowing that his admiſſion was wiſhed for, and that his petition, which he muſt preſent to that end, according to the ſtatues, would be favourably heard, wrote to thoſe gentlemen, and was immediately received into their ſociety. His letter is dated at Grenoble the twelfth of May 1668. It is in the ſecond part of his New Works (14), with the thanks which he wrote to the academy (15).

(14) It is Letter xxxvii of the firſt book.

(15) Dated at Grenoble, June 12, 1668. It is Letter xxxix of the ſame book.

[*F*] *He was honoured with the eſteem of the duke of Savoy.*] If I rightly remember it, he dedicated his Zelotide to that duke, who wrote him a very obliging letter. The anſwer he made to this prince, March 5, 1666, is the nineteenth letter of the ſecond part of his New Works. He made a journey to Turin, in 1670, and thus he relates the honours he received there. 'Without vanity, or with vanity, if you 'pleaſe, I can aſſure you, I was received very kindly 'by their royal highneſſes; and in their names I have 'been invited to ſee the feaſt of S. Hubert at the Ve'nerie. It will be a moſt magnificent feaſt: the la'dies there hunt the ſtag with equipages all em'broidered with gold and precious ſtones. After the 'chace, there will be for the ſpace of two days feaſt'ing, balls, dancing, Muſic, and operas, for which 'preparations have been made this great while; but 'after all this, will you believe me when I tell you 'that his royal highneſs cauſed a chamber to be pre'pared for me in the palace, and ordered that horſes 'ſhould be given me out of his own ſtables for 'hunting (16).'

(16) Le Pays New Works, *Part ii, book i, Letter XLI, pag.* 105, *of the Holland Edit.*

[*G*] *He wrote a very pretty letter upon this ſubject.*] He was made *a knight by the hand of the marquis of St Damien*: he had *for godfather*, one of this lord's ſons, and another of them, *honoured and regaled him with a feaſt* (17). It was of him he merrily aſked the revenue of ſome commandery, becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould be incapable of performing the vow of hoſpitality. Here follow ſome paſſages of his letter, but we muſt remember that he writes to the grand prior of the order of St Maurice. *Since you are my ſuperior*, ſays he to him (18), *and that I have the honour to be one of your brethren, I ought from time to time to give your excellency an exact account of my conduct. I ſhould be very unhappy if the Alps, which part us, ſhould deprive me of the light of your guidance, when at this great diſtance I have more need of it than others; and therefore I pray you, Sir, for the quiet of my conſcience, to aſſiſt me with your wholſome counſel, and to remove ſome ſcruples I have concerning the obſervation of my vows: as to chaſtity, thanks to the cruelty of the fair ſex, I preſerve it religiouſly: as to obedience, I have hitherto obſerved it very well, and my ſuperiors, who have commanded me nothing, have no reaſon to complain: as to hoſpitality, this is the point which occaſions my ſcruples, and upon which account I feel the moſt bitter remorſe; for in, ſhort, Sir, I do not keep it at all: not but that I have a great inclination to be hoſpitable; but how can it be when I have neither houſe-room to lodge my gueſts, nor money to entertain them? I think, Sir, that in making this laſt vow I did implicitly make one to be a commander, ſince I cannot obſerve it without a commandery. This ſhould make you think of procuring me one, and even one of the beſt, that my vow may be the better performed. . . . .* (19). *Beſides, by making me a commander, you will ſtop the mouths of a thouſand ridiculous people who come to aſk me impertinent queſtions about the croſs which I wear. Some are ſuch fools as to come, and aſk* how much, dear Sir, do you get every year for wearing this croſs? *I muſt confeſs to you, I do not know what to anſwer them; . . . . . but when I have got a commandery, I ſhall have wherewith to ſatisfy all the world; I ſhall be able to perform my vow of hoſpitality, and ſhall be no more troubled with impertinent queſtions about the revenue of my croſs. Be ſo kind, Sir, as to anſwer to my reaſons, and cure my ſcruples, and you will give eaſe to the ſoul of him, who, of all your brethren, is, with the greateſt reſpect.*

(17) Idem, Letter xliii of the ſame book, *pag.* 112, dated at Grenoble, May 20, 1671.

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 110.

(19) Ibid. *pag.* 112.

[*H*] *He complains often of fortune.*] This fault is almoſt an epidemical diſeaſe in the republic of letters: There are ſcarce any authors who do not complain of the ingratitude of their own time. Thoſe who are called fine wits, ſignalize themſelves above others in this kind of complaint. They think it would not be giving themſelves airs to own that fortune looked upon them with a favourable eye. One would imagine they are afraid, leſt if they ſhould appear contented with her favours, the public would take it for a confeſſion, that they have no merit; for there is a common ſaying very antient, which informs us that ſhe is blind, and makes a very bad choice of the objects of her love. Read all the letters of Balzac, and you may learn from them two things, one is, that he had a very handſome income, which allowed him to treat his friends, to give them excellent ſoops, *&c.* and to have for himſelf all the conveniences of life, in one of the pleaſanteſt places of the kingdom; the other is, that he looked upon himſelf as confined to a deſert, and ſo perſecuted by ill fortune, that one would think her ſharpeſt and moſt poiſoned darts had been reſerved for him. What can be concluded from theſe two things, but that he had too good an opinion of himſelf? for one, that is truly modeſt, how great ſoever his merit be, thinks himſelf very well rewarded, if he hath wherewithal to ſupply his neceſſities. Thus all thoſe common-places, which our fine wits, and ſo many other writers urge againſt fortune, are, in truth, a pompous commendation of the great and good qualities they fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of: there is therefore a little too much vanity in it. I will add, that oftentimes theſe kind of complaints are much more a ſign of the ingratitude of the authors towards their age, than a teſtimony of the ingratitude of the age towards authors; for commonly thoſe, who live in the greateſt plenty, are they who murmur moſt at the capriciouſneſs of fortune, and the injuſtice of the times.

Reflexion upon the complaints of authors againſt fortune.

I ſay this in general; I make no application to our Mr le Pays; for I am not ſo well acquainted with his hiſtory as to be able to ſay, whether he had a good fortune wherewith he ought to have been contented. But I am of opinion he ſhould not have thought it ſtrange, that other men of buſineſs ſhould raiſe themſelves more than he did; for a Financier with love-letters, ſonnets, and madrigals, ought not to pretend to merit the favour of his ſuperiors, and their recommendation to be advanced to great employments, as he might deſerve, if he would punctually follow, as others do, this precept of Mr Boileau:

Pren moi le bon parti: laiſſe là tous les livres.
Cent francs au denier cinq combien font-ils? Vingt livres.
C'eſt bien dit. Va, tu ſais tout ce qu'il faut ſavoir.
Que de biens, que d'honneurs ſur toi s'en vont pleuvoir!

Exerce-

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common-places, in which vanity has generally too great a ſhare. For the reſt, he was very

Exerce-toi, mon fils, dans ces hautes ſciences.
Prens au lieu d'un Platon le Guidon des Finances,
Sçache quelle Province enrichit les Traitans :
Combien le ſel au Roi peut fournir tous les ans.
Endurci-toi le cœur : Sois Arabe, Corſaire,
Injuſte, violent, ſans foi, double, fauſſaire (20).'

(20) Deſpreaux, Sat. VIII, ver. 183.

Chooſe you the beſt part: leave all your books.
A hundred livres at twenty per cent, how much is that? twenty livres.
That's well ſaid. Get you gone, you know as much as needs to be known.
What riches, what honours are ready to befal you!
Exerciſe yourſelf, my ſon, in this high ſcience.
Take, inſtead of Plato, the Book of Rates.
Enquire what province moſt enriches the Financiers?
How much the ſalt may bring to the king every year.
Harden your heart, be a robber, a plunderer,
Unjuſt, violent, unfaithful, double, falſe.

To ſtudy politeneſs, to employ whole days in a letter of gallantry, correct a ſonnet, or a ſong an hundred times, till it have a happy cadence, be well turned, very tender, and very paſſionate, is not the way to ſupplant a rival, or to hinder him from ſupplanting you; I mean, a rival as to employments, which depend upon the directors of the finances, or upon the farmers-general of the king's revenues. If it were a love-rival, well and good: you will learn much better to ſupplant him, by ſpending your time, in a letter of gallantry, than by ſpending it in a rule of Arithmetic. But ſtill, in this parallel, we muſt ſtop at the immediate effects; for if any one ſhould alledge to me, that by applying oneſelf to caſting up of accounts, one would be better qualified to grow rich, than by applying oneſelf to a piece of gallantry; and that a rival who is richer, will be preferred to a fine wit, I will not diſpute any more. I have read ſomewhere, that Ludovicus Sforza ſaid, *A wit was a bad qualification for a ſoldier, and that he would not eaſily receive ſuch into his ſervice as valued themſelves upon it* (21). The marſhal de Gaſſion was alſo of this opinion; he was one day ſo offended with the reflexions of the abbot de la Riviere, who would have his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans to raiſe the ſiege of Courtray 'that being 'provoked into a paſſion, he told him to his face: 'Mr Abbot, *fine wits are but mean tools for war* (22).' Neither are they much fitter for the finances, generally ſpeaking.

(21) Silhon's Miniſter of State, *book i, chap. xiii.*

(22) The abbot de Pure, his Life of marſhal de Gaſſion, *Tom. iv, cap. iv, pag.* 36, *ad ann.* 1646.

But now, let us come to the point, and ſay ſomething of the complaints of our author againſt his hard fate: his peeviſh letter againſt fortune (23) is well turned, and well furniſhed with thoughts; out of which I ſhall ſet down the following paſſages: 'I was born under 'a certain ſtar, whoſe malignity cannot be overcome; 'and I am ſo perſuaded of the power of this malevolent ſtar, that I accuſe it of all my misfortunes, and 'I never lay the fault upon any body. And therefore, 'Madam, tho' you ſhould not obtain for me what you 'ſollicit with ſo much ardour and addreſs, I ſhall nevertheleſs reckon myſelf obliged all my life-time to 'your generous and active friendſhip. This is not the 'firſt time that endeavours to advance me have proved 'unſucceſsful, you may remember, &c. ... In my 'younger days I did like others, and ſought after fortune with a reſtleſs mind; I conſidered the places 'which ſhe frequented moſt, and endeavoured to place 'myſelf in her way. Going to meet her, I thought 'that as ſhe was blind ſhe might puſh me forward, 'even without taking notice of it, but I fancy ſhe had 'eyes to ſee me, ſince ſhe knew ſo well how to ſhun 'all my approaches to her. I have done what I 'could to make my court to her: obſerving in the 'world that ſhe treated ill the men of learning, and 'careſſed the men of buſineſs, to pleaſe her I offered 'violence to my own inclination; I addicted myſelf 'wholly to the finances, and made the Muſes only my 'recreation: yet ſtill all my cares and endeavours 'have been fruitleſs, for to this day I could never 'find her favourable. Since then fortune is made a 'blind goddeſs, but yet ſuch a goddeſs to whom all 'men pay an homage, which looks ſomewhat like an 'act of religion, I fancy we may believe, without 'hereſy, that this goddeſs has, among her creatures, 'ſome that are elect, and ſome that are reprobate, who 'are happy or unhappy by her choice, and without 'owing any thing to their own conduct. After I underſtood that ſhe had placed me in the number of 'the latter, I endeavoured by all means to comfort 'myſelf. .... If my reflexions were not tedious to 'you, I would make many more before I concluded 'this letter; I would yet inveigh with greater warmth 'againſt the caprices of fortune: but withal you muſt 'know, that I do not hate her ſo much becauſe ſhe 'has not preferred me, as becauſe ſhe has ſo 'degraded our incomparable friend, whom I find 'to be much more unhappy than myſelf; for a man 'cannot fall from from ſo high a place without feeling the bruiſe of ſuch a cruel fall all his life-time. 'But as to me, who have always crept upon the 'ground, I never could fall; all the miſchief which 'happened to me, is ſome weakneſs that remains ſtill, 'from my having made ſome vain attempts to advance 'myſelf. Our dear friend is much more to be pitied, 'and I am the more ſorry for him, the leſs he deſerved his diſgrace. When I ſee a fool abandoned 'by fortune, I am no more ſurpriſed at it, than when 'I ſee a blind-man fall down, who walks without 'a guide. But when I ſee fortune overturn a man 'that is ſupported by true wiſdom, I cannot ſufficiently exclaim againſt her unjuſt cruelty. The miſchief is, 'that one can hardly put oneſelf into ſuch a condition 'as to avoid her injuſtice. She is a goddeſs that makes 'ſport with her adorers, as well as with her enemies; 'ſhe often does evil to thoſe who ſhun her: At court 'ſhe ſtirs up an envious perſon againſt you, who 'blackens your actions; a rival who does you ill offices with the prince: in the country ſhe will ſtrike 'off a ſtone from a rock, or cauſe an eagle to lift up 'a tortoiſe into the air, which ſhall cruſh you. She 'does almoſt equally ſlight the altars which are built 'to her by the courtiers, and the contempt ſhe receives 'from the Philoſophers. Alas! if wiſdom and virtue 'could ſecure us from her blows, good men would not 'fear her, and none but ſuch as are ſtupid or wicked 'would be found among the unfortunate; but men 'of virtue and parts ſeem to be moſt expoſed to her 'power. All the eyes of prudence are not ſharp enough to penetrate into the ſecret ſprings which ſet 'her wheel in motion. Her movements are concealed 'from us, and ſince we cannot know the cauſe of 'them, we cannot avoid the effects. This being ſo, 'it were folly to be grieved for it; but we ought to 'endure her motions, and look upon them as upon 'thoſe of the ſtars. If any one ſhould afflict himſelf 'becauſe of an eclipſe of the ſun or moon, he would 'be thought a madman; and he that is grieved for 'a change of fortune is little leſs unreaſonable.' He deſcribes in another letter (24), the trouble he underwent at Fontainebleau in ſolliciting an affair wherein he did not ſucceed: a thouſand crowns were cut off from his ſalary, and he could not get this retrenchment revoked. *Since I came to Fontainebleau,* ſays he, *I have loſt every day nine or ten hours conſtantly in a very melancholy hall, where indeed I have, for companions, many perſons more conſiderable than myſelf, who are received there with no more ceremony, nor diſpatched with greater diligence. ... In order to allay my grief, ſometimes I fancy with myſelf that if one, who is altogether indifferent, and unconcerned about any buſineſs, ſhould come into the hall, where ſuch a multitude of people wait ſo impatiently, he would have a vaſt pleaſure in ſeeing our different poſtures; ſome are muſing, others raging; ſome are walking, others leaning againſt the wall; and when the patron's door makes the leaſt noiſe, preſently all caſt their eyes that way; and tho' none comes out but a footman, they all make low bows to him. If this footman ſays the patron is a little indiſpoſed, preſently all affairs fall ſick; and the miſchief on it is, that when he is well, mine are not much the better for it. Sometimes at laſt, he appears, like lightning, then every body follows him, importunes him, and deſires to be heard. I endeavour to ſpeak to him, among the reſt; but my weak voice is loſt in the crowd, and is not heard. Oftentimes, to eaſy my grief, I go to feed my eyes with the charms of Fontainebleau, and the beauties of the court: ſometimes I go to ſee the queen's maids of*

(23) It is the firſt of the firſt book of the ſecond part of his New Works. It is written to the counteſs de .... and is without date.

(24) The xxxth of the ſecond book of the firſt part of his New Works. It is written from Fontainebleau, Aug. 13, to the count de Lionne, the year is not ſet down.

A DESCRIPTION of the ſolicitations of affairs at court.

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very willing it ſhould be known that he was a great fumbler [*I*]. The letter he wrote

of honour, and ſometimes the chambers and galleries of the caſtle: after that I walk along the canals, and there I ſink into the thickeſt of the words. But the retrenching of my thouſand crowns embitters all the pleaſure I would take, it tarniſhes the eyes and complexions of the ladies Soubize, Briſſac, St Geran, Lanois, la Mark, and Rouvroy: it defaces the beauty of the tapeſtry, the painting and gilding of the richeſt apartments; it troubles the the waters of the canals, fountains, and caſcades; it dries up the leaves and bloſſoms of the elm-trees, the linden, and orange-trees.

I have not ſeen the verſes which he made upon a decree, that ruined him, by condemning him to be accountable for a man who had imbezzled his majeſty's money (25) (§ *a*); but I have a good opinion of them, when I conſider that they are a part of a collection of poems, in which there was a piece which was highly eſteemed by a good judge, who is not at all prodigal of his praiſes: *to this we may add a third*, ſays he (26), *which Mr le Pays wrote in praiſe of Tobacco, which doubtleſs will contribute very much to augment the ſale of it, and the letting it out to farm. He wrote two poems upon this barren ſubject, and had the ingenuity to mingle in them ſo many pleaſant things, and to extol it's virtues ſo much, that for the future this plant will be ſeen among the flowers of Parnaſſus.* To underſtand all this paſſage, we muſt know, that the author had alledged two other reaſons, which I ſhall relate, becauſe they are ſubſervient to the hiſtory of him, who is the ſubject of this article: 'beſides the reaſons taken 'from the proceſs itſelf, there are two others, which 'one would have thought, ſhould have ſaved Mr 'le Pays from ſo terrible a condemnation; one is, that 'he was never enriched in the ſpace of thirty years, 'that he was concerned in the king's farms: the other is 'that he was too great a wit to engage in the accompts 'and calculations of the finances.' I am ſure, I may be allowed to conjecture, that a Poet who had ſucceeded ſo well in writing the praiſes of Tobacco, did expreſs very well in the ſame tome, his vexation at the injuſtice of a cruel decree. The Muſes are never more eloquent, more lively, nor more fruitful in thoughts, than upon ſuch like occaſions. Theſe are not circumſtances, to which we may apply that phraſe, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent. - - - Light cares ſpeak, great ones are ſilent.* Nevertheleſs, I leave it to thoſe who have read thoſe pieces to determine, whether we ſhould ſay of Mr le Pays, what he wrote to a count: 'it were pity, Sir, that you ſhould not have met 'with ſome trouble, for you make ſo agreeable an 'uſe, and your letter has given me ſo good a picture 'of it, that I ſhould now be very ſorry, if you had 'gained the ſuit which gives you diſturbance. *Neque dii, neque deæ faciant ut te fortuna in deliciis habeat - - - - - Heaven grant you may not be fortune's favourite.* If I were Seneca, you ſhould be my Lucilius, and I would make you the like compliment as he did. In truth, Sir, ſhould I not have 'reaſon to ſpeak after this manner, after I have read 'the melancholy and pleaſant things which your pretended misfortune has cauſed you to write. . . . 'Yes, Sir, your troubles have given me great diverſion, becauſe you expreſs them ſo well, that ſurely they 'have ſcarce done you any hurt. If you were overwhelmed with them, as you ſay, you would not ſpeak 'of them, with ſo much eaſe as you do (27).' Coſtar was very near of the ſame humour. *There is but one thing*, ſays he (28), *which the moſt ſevere* could blame, in the complaint that Mr Balzac made of his diſeaſes and diſgraces; *and that is, that they are two eloquent and too refined. And truly, he has ſo many pretty thoughts in them, that he brings to my mind the comedian Apelles, who, during the time that Caligula cauſed him to be laſhed, cried with ſo harmonious a voice, that this wicked prince, to prolong the pleaſure he received from it, made the puniſhment of this unhappy man to continue the longer* (29). *None but Caligula was capable of ſuch barbarity. But, I think, there are ſome people to be met with, who, without being barbarous, are ſo addicted to their pleaſure, that they would almoſt rejoice at the Sciatica and Stone of our Orator, when they read in ſome of his letters*, &c. Here he gives ſeveral extracts of them, after which he ſays (30), *the greateſt part of all theſe things are ſo pleaſantly conceived, that I ſhould be a declared enemy to the public joy, if it were true that I was offended with them, as my adverſary affirms.*

(25) See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *for the month of Sept.* 1688, *pag.* 132.

(26) Baſnage de Beauval, Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, *ibid. pag.* 133.

(27) Le Pays in his New Works, *Part II, book I, Letter IX.* It is written to the count de Bonchage, and dated June 12, 1668.

(28) Coſtar, Apolog. *pag.* 111.

(29) Suetonius *does not ſay ſo, he ſays only*, Cum aſſiſtens ſimulacro Jovis Apellem tragœdum conſuluiſſet, uter illi major videretur, conſtantem flagellis dixiſſet: collaudans ſubinde vocem deprecantis, quaſi etiam in jemitu præduleem. - - - *Caligula ſtanding by the image of Jupiter, when he had aſked Apelles the Tragedian, which of the two ſeemed to him the greater, cauſed him to be laſhed cauſe he delayed anſwer: now ad then commending his voice, e begged for mercy, as tho' it ad been exceeding ver even in ains.* Sueton. Calig. *cap.* xxxii.

(30) Coſtar, Apolog. *pag.* 113.

[(§ *a*) The Mercure Galant of March, 1689, pag. 195, 196, of the firſt part, tells us that 'Mr le Pays, 'after many proſecutions to oblige him to pay a very 'conſiderable ſum, for which a farmer pretended to 'make him accountable, was at laſt diſcharged by an 'order of council: and thereupon made the following verſes:

TO THE COMPTROLLER-GENERAL.

Peace is return'd to me at laſt,
After many alarms,
I ſleep a nights, I laugh a days,
Of reſt feel all the charms.

Now, from the expenſive ſuit at law,
That long my heart had teiz'd,
In which I deeply was engag'd.
I fully am releas'd

Juſt in the nick of time came help
To ſave me from ſhip-wreck,
The greater fear the ſtorm has rais'd,
More joy the calm brings back, &c.

REM. CRIT.]

[*I*] *He was very willing that it ſhould be known he was a great fumbler.*] He ought to have concealed this fault, for it is a little vulgar. Conſult the Dictionary of Furetiere, and there you will find not only the definition but alſo the condemnation of this way of acting. The definition contains theſe words (31). *It is ſaid alſo, that a woman is* fumbled, *when her arms, boſom, &c. are handled.* The condemnation contains theſe: *there are none but country-women and ſervant-maids that ſuffer themſelves to be* fumbled. Fumbling *is not uſed by the finer ſort of people. . . . The provincials are great* fumblers. Furetiere had reaſon to ſay this of the provincials; he might have added, that this fault reigns more or leſs in the provinces of France; according as they are more or leſs diſtant from Paris; and that it is much leſs common in the cities than in the country, and more uſed in the little towns than in the great ones: which proves, that this is not regulated according to the ideas of morality, but according to thoſe of politeneſs and of a genteel carriage. There is another notable proof of it, which is this, that leudneſs carried to the greateſt exceſs, is more frequent in towns than in villages, and more common in great cities than in little ones. It is quite the contrary with reſpect to fumbling. We will add, by the way, that notwithſtanding the politeneſs of the age of Auguſtus, the young maids of Rome were obliged to beware of the hands of fumblers; they made uſe of their nails, but they were all pared (32). I have elſewhere (33) quoted a paſſage, which probably concerns a Provincial, who had ſtayed a long time at Paris, and who nevertheleſs was of opinion, that to procure to himſelf the eſteem of the marchioneſſes, he muſt fumble them. We will recite this again, and add to it what follows. 'M. M. was going into Bretagne with the 'marchioneſs of Lavardin, to ſee Madam de Sevigny; 'he was in the coach of the marchioneſs, and by the 'way, *per non parer troppo coglione, - - - that he might not 'ſeem to want ſpirit*, he flattered her, and took her by 'the hand to kiſs it. Madam de Lavardin told him, 'ſmiling, *Sir, you ſtudy your leſſon for Madam de S . . .* 'The ſame man being in company with the counteſs 'de la Suze, handled her hands, and ſhe repeated to 'him this verſe of Scarron; *Fumblers are an intolerable 'people.* To which he anſwered immediately in the 'verſe which follows; *Even to thoſe beauties which de-'ſerve moſt to be fumbled* (34).'

You do not prove, will ſome ſay, what muſt be proved. A little patience, ſay I, and it ſhall quickly be proved. The proof appears in ſeveral letters of Mr le Pays, and particularly in the firſt book of his Amitiez, in the twenty-fourth letter, where he ſays to his Caliſta, *I was afraid of you, tho' you was naked* (35) *and diſarmed, and tho' probably you had not that curſed bodkin, wherewith you puniſh* ſo often *my little tranſports.* What I am now to add, furniſhes a proof yet more evident, which I ſhall take from a letter which he wrote to a lady, who boaſted of having given him a box

(31) Furetiere's Dictionary, at the word *Patiner.*

(32) Nos convivia, nos prælia virginum
Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium,
Cantamus vacui. *Horat. Od. VI, lib. i. Elſewhere he ſays, that they would defend themſelves ill againſt thoſe that endeavoured to kiſs them.*
Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oſcula
Cervicem, aut facili ſævitiâ negat,
Quæ poſcente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdùm rapere occupet? *Ibid. Od. XII, lib. ii. See alſo Od. IX, lib. i.*

(33) In the article LYCURGUS, the Lawgiver, citat. (9).

(34) A continuation of the Menagiana, *p.* 378, 379. This is ſaid of Mr Menage himſelf.

(35) He ſuppoſes that he ſurprized her in the bath.

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wrote to a lady, who boasted of the box on the ear she gave him, is spiteful enough (*a*). It may very well be that this epistle, which he composed is a fiction, and that it was wrote to no body; and this is not the only adventure which appears to be imaginary among the facts which he relates. It is very probable, that he never saw his mistress stark-naked [*K*], and that he only forged it, that he might have occasion to publish many conceits. He was cast in a troublesome suit a few years before his death (*b*), and died at Paris, April 30, 1690. There was a satire published against him in 1670 (*c*).

(*a*) See the remark [*I*].

(*b*) See the remark [*H*].

(*c*) Printed, if I mistake not, either at Grenoble, or Lyons. He was very ill treated in this little piece.

box on the ear. 'Do not mistake, dear Madam, 'the glory of treating me ill is not so great as 'you think: I have had twenty mistresses, more 'fierce than you, who knew better how to repulse 'my attacks, and yet never boasted of it. You are 'but a novice in the point of cruelty; and your very 'maid could teach you a lesson about it. For lesser 'freedoms, Kate hath treated me more cruelly; you 'gave me but one box on the ear, she has given me 'more than a dozen; you tore only a ribbon, but she 'tore off half my hair, and yet she never told any body 'of it. You resemble your great cousin for vanity; 'he never saw any thing of war but one wretched 'skirmish, which he tells to every body: you, per- 'haps, have never treated any body ill but me, and 'and you make a story of it to all the world; but 'however, if you did not mix fable and history toge- 'ther, if you would tell how all things passed, I 'could endure your vanity, and not complain of your 'indiscretion. Why all this bustle, and so much 'fierceness? Why do you diminish by your discourse 'the excess of the boldness I used? Why do you mag- 'nify the sharpness of your reproaches, and the weight 'of the blow you gave me? Ah! Madam, if you re- 'member, the reproaches were not very sharp, and 'the blow was not very heavy. In justice I deserved 'more; and if you had done all that you have said, 'you would have done but half your duty. Neverthe- 'less you know very well, that in your heart you 'was afraid of having been in too great a passion; you 'was afraid lest I should be more provoked than you, 'and at last you assumed such an air as might per- 'suade me, that you would be no more offended 'with my boldness: but your gentleness did not pacify 'me; and when I saw your resistance grow so quickly 'faint, I despised a victory so easy. Confess the 'truth, Madam, this was the cause of your rage, my 'contempt offended you, and you thought it necessary 'to cloak it with the appearance of yours (36).' The letter which precedes this is no less unlucky; it was written to a lady who found Mr le Pays too familar; and it deserves to be read, for it may serve for a lesson to many persons who stand in need of it.

(36) Le Pays in his New Works, *Part i, book ii, Letter iii, pag. m.* 107, 108.

[*K*] *It is very probable that he never saw his mistress stark-naked.*] He affirms it roundly. 'Lastly, 'Calista, all your wiles were in vain. I found out 'the place, yesternight, where you bathed .... For 'God's sake, why do you take so much care to hide 'yourself? In truth, you did not show any parts that 'are shameful; and if there were any such, they were 'the knees, and other members of your sister and 'cousin, which should have been ashamed to appear 'in the presence of your's. But as to you, tho' you 'shewed all, you shewed nothing but what is very 'beautiful, nothing but what was very glorious to you. 'I perceived then that the parts which you kept con- 'cealed, were not inferior to those you suffered to be 'seen; and I thought with myself, there were some 'of the fair sex, who had more reason to hide their 'noses, than you have to hide your buttocks (37).' The rest of that letter is a medley of pretty thoughts enough; which makes me believe he feigned this adventure, that he might have an opportunity to publish them. Whatever privilege the fair sex may have in several provinces of France, to allow themselves with decency several freedoms which would disgrace them in Italy, I am certain that neither the mistress of Mr le Pays, nor the sister and the cousin of that Calista, bathed in a river without a shift, or linen cover, in view of one another, and that with so little precaution, that a man might surprize them in this condition, and compare, at his leisure, the most secret parts of one with the most secret parts of the other's. I doubt whether even the country-women allow themselves so much liberty: much more may we think, that those young women, who, without any great misapplication, had the title of Gentlewomen, would never so far violate the laws of chastity and decency. If they stripped themselves stark-naked, that they might the better enjoy the cool air, doubtless they waited for the darkness of the night. There is no such custom in our days, as there was in the days of Diana (38). I may say therefore of this letter, and of many other pieces of the same nature, that some things are published in them as if they had really happened, which are only the invention of the author.

(37) Le Pays, ubi supra, *book i, Letter xxiv, pag. m.* 22.

(38) See Ovid's Metamorph. lib. II, ver. 461; & lib. III, ver. 179.

PALEARIUS (AONIUS) one of the most virtuous men in the world, and one of the good writers in the XVIth century, was born at Veroli (*a*), an Episcopal city in the *Campania di Roma* [*A*]. He was well skilled both in Latin and Greek; and to this knowledge of polite learning he joined the knowledge of Philosophy and Divinity; and to improve himself the more, he travelled over the greatest part of Italy, and studied under the most excellent Philosophers he could find there. He spent six whole years at Rome, before this city was taken by the army of Charles the Fifth, and returned thither several times after that desolation (*b*). He gave a public testimony of his proficiency, in a fine Poem which he wrote upon the immortality of the soul (*c*), and he was highly esteemed by the learned and great wits of that time [*B*]. Having retired

(*a*) From hence comes his surname *Verulanus*.

(*b*) Palearius, Epist. IV, *lib. i, pag.* 406.

(*c*) See the remark [*F*].

[*A*] *An Episcopal city in the Campania di Roma.*] I do not at all understand these words of the Preface, which I shall quote here-under: *Natus est Aonius Verulis (oppidum id est Latii Episcopalis)* and I conjecture, that he who spoke this had before his eyes a book, wherein there was, *Urbs Latii Episcopalis*, and that having put *oppidum* instead of *Urbs*, he forgot to put *Episcopale* instead of *Episcopalis*.

[*B*] *He was highly esteemed by the learned and great wits.*] The Preface prefixed to the new edition of the works of Aonius Palearius, acquaints us with the names of some persons by whom he was loved and esteemed. 'Summo in honore fuit Palearius apud 'viros ætatis istius principes: Petrum Bembum, Ja- 'cobum Sadoletum, Franciscum Sfondratum, Ennium 'Philonardum, Ecclesiæ Romanæ Cardinales; Janum 'Benedictum Lampridium, Marcum Antonium Flami- 'nium, Andream Alciatum.--- *Palearius was highly* 'esteemed by the chief men of that age: Petrus Bembus, 'Jacobus Sadoletus, Franciscus Sfondratus, Ennius Phi- 'lonardus, Cardinals; Janus Benedictus Lampridius, 'Marcus Antonius Flamminus, Andreas Alciatus.' To know the names of several others of his friends, you need but cast your eyes upon a list which was printed of them, at the end of his Letters in the last edition: there we find the names of those who wrote to him, and of those to whom he wrote. In the same edition we find, after the Preface, the excellent character which many learned men gave him; but because the following verses of Baptista Pigna, are not to be met with there, I thought fit to set them down here.

Aoni decus Aonum sororum,
Quos mihi dedit aureos libellos,

Riccius

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tired into Tuſcany, he choſe the city of Siena for his conſtant habitation; where he was made profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres*, and had a great number of ſcholars: and there he married at the age of thirty-four years, a young woman, whom he loved paſſionately all his life, and who brought him four children (*d*). His repoſe was a little diſturbed by the conteſts he had with one of his colleagues, who was troubled to ſee his own reputation obſcured by the luſtre of that of Palearius. But Peter Aretin quickly ſilenced this envious man [*C*]. After this there aroſe another ſtorm, which was much more terrible. Antony Bellantes, a nobleman of Siena, being accuſed of ſeveral miſdemeanors, got off by the excellent defence Palearius made for him. Some time after, he accuſed ſome monks of having robbed his grand-mother, and employed again the eloquence of Palearius to maintain his right. The defendants having ſworn, that they took nothing from the good woman, were acquitted by the judgment of the court; but they kept in their minds a lively reſentment againſt the advocate of the other party, and had recourſe to their common artifices to deſtroy him: they defamed him as an impious wretch, and preached againſt him as ſuch: but he made an apology for himſelf with ſo much vigour and eloquence, that the accuſation vaniſhed. Nevertheleſs, being wearied with the perſecutions to which he ſaw himſelf expoſed, he left Siena, and went to ſettle at Lucca [*D*]; from whence, after a few years, he removed to Milan. The magiſtrates called him thither, and gave him marks of their eſteem, by granting him (*e*) ſeveral privileges, beſides a good penſion. It happened unfortunately for him, that a Cardinal, who had been a Dominican, and a ſevere Inquiſitor, became Pope (*f*) after the death of Pius the IVth. He had a mind to ſignalize the beginning of his reign, by the puniſhment of ſome famous Heretics, and for that end he ordered that the cauſe of Palearius ſhould be re-heard. This learned man was ſeized at Milan, and carried to Rome, where he was eaſily convicted of having ſpoken in favour of the Lutherans, and againſt the Inquiſition [*E*]. He was condemned to be burned, and the ſentence was

(*d*) Two ſons and two daughters.

(*e*) In the year 1559.

(*f*) Under the name of Pius V.

Riccius tuus, aureos libellos
Qui deſiderium omnibus relinquunt,
Quo magis relegunt magis legendi,
Intentis oculis libenter hauſi.
Immortalem animam probas in ipſis.
Ipſi ſecula ſempiterna, & eſſe
Immortalem operam tuam probabunt (1).

(1) Jo. Baptiſta Pigna, Carmin. *lib.* iii, *pag.* m. 81.

Aonius, the glory of the Muſes,
Attentively I've read the golden books
Which thy Riccius gave me, thoſe who once read them,
Will ſtill deſire to read them more and more.
There you prove the ſoul to be immortal;
The books themſelves eternity will prove,
And that thy work ſhall never have an end.

[*C*] *Peter Aretin quickly ſilenced this envious man.*] If I be not miſtaken, his deſign was not to revenge Palearius's quarrel, but to revenge himſelf, or to ſatisfy his ſlandering humour. 'Senis primum exagitari 'cœpit inſanis contentionibus neſcio cujus profeſ- 'ſoris, (ipſe *Machum Blateronem* vocat) qui putabat 'tantum decedere de ſuo honore, quantum Aonii vir- 'tutibus & meritis dabatur. Quamquam hunc mo- 'rionem ignobilem brevi compeſcuit mordax ingenium 'Petri Aretini, qui ſtolidum pecus omnium ludibriis 'ſanniſque expoſuit in fabula quadam vulgari idiomate 'conſcripta, & Venetiis publico ſpectaculo exhibita (2). 'He began firſt to be plagued at Siena with the fooliſh 'contentions of ſome (I do not know what) profeſſor, (he 'calls him Machus the Impertinent) who imagined his 'own reputation ſo much leſſened as the merit and vir- 'tues of Aonius were extolled. Tho' this ſilly fellow 'was ſoon humbled by the ſatirical wit of Peter Aretin, 'who expoſed the ſtupid wretch to the ſcoffs and deriſion 'of every body, in a comedy written in Italian; and 'publickly acted at Venice'. Palearius complains very much of this enemy, of whom he ſpeaks as of an illiterate man, who had taught the Latin-tongue at Siena with ſo little ſkill, that his own ſcholars very much deſpiſed him. When Palearius wrote this, that man taught at Lucca, and endeavoured, by his calumnies, to hinder his adverſary from being called thither (3). We ſhall ſee in the following remark that his efforts were fruitleſs. 'Machus Blatero, is de 'quo hominibus noſtris fabula data eſt ab Aretino, le- 'pidè & feſtivè ſcripta, homo impudentiſſimus, & 'puræ veræque Latinitatis tàm ignarus quàm ii qui 'trans Taurum incolunt: Senis quam diu fuit, magnas 'mihi turbas fecit, veritus ne munus interpretationis 'ſcriptionum Latinarum mihi demandaretur: in qua 'cum ille infeliciter multos annos laboraſſet, apud 'eruditiores juvenes nihil aliud fuerat aſſequutus, quàm 'turpiſſimum infantiæ nomen: Is nunc lucæ eſt: 'utinam tàm cognitus, quàm Venetiis, ubi & fabula 'acta eſt, & Machus ludibrio habitus (4). - - - *The im-* 'pertinent Machus, the perſon upon whom a witty and 'diverting play was writ by Aretin, is a moſt impudent 'fellow, and as ignorant of pure and true Latin as thoſe 'who live beyond the Taurus: whilſt he was at Siena, 'he gave me a vaſt trouble, fearing leſt the office of pro- 'feſſor ſhould be given to me: in which after he had la- 'boured unſucceſsfully for many years, among the more 'learned lads, he obtained only the ſhameful name of an 'old dotard: He is now at Lucca: I wiſh he were as 'well known there as at Venice, where the play is acted, 'and Machus expoſed to ridicule.'

(2) Præfat. Operum Antonii Paleriì, *Edit.* 1696.

(3) Palearius, Epiſt. XVII, *lib.* iii, *pag.* 500.

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 499.

[*D*] *And went to ſettle at Lucca.*] He was called thither by the magiſtrates, to teach the *Belles Lettres*; and if he accepted this office, it was not upon the account of any pleaſure he took in teaching, but becauſe he had not a revenue ſufficient to maintain the expences of his family. 'Cum Lucenſes homines 'honeſtiſſimi propoſitis præmiis invitarent me ſin- 'gulorum dierum unius horæ uſurâ ad interpretan- 'dum, accepi conditionem duram mihi & aſperam, & 'vero etiam odioſam (5). - - - - *When the magiſtrates* 'of Lucca invited me thither, having offered me a ſalary 'to teach an hour every day, I accepted the propoſal, 'tho' hard and grievous, and even odious to me.' His wife loved to make a ſhew, his children were not free from vanity, and therefore, contrary to his own inclination, he muſt turn a teacher, tho' he was afraid leſt that exerciſe ſhould leſſen his wit, and blunt the vigour he felt for more ſublime ſtudies. He is not the only perſon who has been reduced to this pinch, and whom domeſtic expences have forced to groan under the burden of repetitions and leſſons. Read the words of this author, who expreſſes himſelf well: *Moriar* ſi non me angunt putidiſſimæ interpretationes meæ, ſive Græcæ, ſive Latinæ, in quas veluti in piſtrinum detruſi me, non tàm imprudentiâ, quàm neceſſitate. Ego enim, ut ex meis ſtudiis noſſe potuiſti, ſemper judicavi obſcurum & ſordidum iis, quorum ingenio aliquid fieri poteſt illuſtrius, ſi interpretandis ſcriptis aliorum humiles ac demiſſi, quaſi ſervitia ancillentur. Sed cùm mihi res domi eſſet anguſta, uxor lauta, liberi ſplendidi, & propterea magnos ſumptus facerem, mancipavi propè me iis ſtudiis, à quibus ſemper abhorrui (6).

(5) Ib. Epiſt. IV, *lib.* iv, *pag.* 509.

(6) Ibid.

[*E*] *He was convicted . . . . . of having ſpoken in favour of the Lutherans, and againſt the Inquiſition.*] The monks that endeavoured to deſtroy him at Siena, decried him as an Heretic, becauſe he declared plainly enough, that he diſapproved certain ſuperſtitions. Beſides, they did not approve the book he wrote about the

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was executed without any mercy in 1566 (g) [F]. We have several pieces written by him both in verse and in prose; the best edition of them is that of Mr Wetstein at Amsterdam, 1696.

(g) Taken from the Preface which is before the works of Palearius, of the Amsterdam Edit. 1696.

the merits of the death of JESUS CHRIST (7). In the apology he was obliged to make, he did not scruple to say, that the German Doctors who followed Luther were commendable in some things, and that the Inquisition was designed for putting learned men to death. His affair was amicably concluded, and it was agreed, that all the copies of his Apology should be thrown into the fire (8). Nevertheless three of them were preserved, whereof he kept one, his adversary had another, and the third was that which Peter Victorius had (9). The copy which remained in the hands of the accuser, served for the conviction of Aonius; for the following words, in favour of the Protestants, are to be found in it. 'Germanos vocas Oecolampadium, Rotherodamum, Melanchthonem, Lutherum, Pomeranum, Bucerum, & cæteros, qui in suspicionem vocati sunt? Ego vero ex Theologis nostris tam stupidum arbitror esse neminem, qui non intelligat & fateatur, permulta esse in his quæ ab illis scripta sunt, digna prorsus omni laude: sunt enim graviter, accuratè & syncerè scripta, repetita vel ex patribus illis primis, qui præcepta nobis salutaria reliquerunt: vel ex commentationibus Græcorum, & nostrorum hominum (10). *Do you call Oecolampadius, Rotherodamus, Melanchthon, Luther, Pomeranus, Bucerus, and others, who have been suspected, Germans? In truth I do not think there is any of our Divines so stupid as not to know, and confess, that there are a great many things in their writings highly commendable; for they are writ with gravity, accuracy, and sincerity, being taken either from the primitive Fathers, who have left us wholsome precepts; or from the Commentaries of the Greeks, and of our Divines.*' Let us relate also what he says of the Inquisition. 'Quòd nisi indicto concilio spes bonis injecta esset, negotium felix & salutare à Pontificibus, à Cæsare, à Regibus unà susceptum iri, ut magnis concursibus omnium gentium, omnium nationum celeberrimi conventus peragantur, desperaremus omnino tantarum perturbationum finem ullum unquam futurum: desperaremus posse fieri, ut sica ista districta in omnes scriptores, de manibus eorum extorqueatur, qui vel levissimis de causis crudelissimè ferire didicerunt: à quibus appetitus fuit aliquando vir omnium sanctissimus & integerrimus, Sadoletus meus (11). - - - - *But if good men were not made to hope by the calling of a council, that a blessed and useful work is jointly undertaken by the Pope, the emperor and kings, in order to the holding of the most full assembly of all countries and nations, we might despair that ever an end would be put to such disturbances, that ever the dagger, which is drawn against all writers, should be wrested out of the hands of those, who have learned to strike in the most cruel manner, even upon the most frivolous occasions; and who some time ago fell upon my dear Sadoletus, the most pious and virtuous man that ever lived.*' He wrote this Apology but a little time after Ochinus had made his escape (12), and therefore we ought to believe that it was written in 1542 or 1543. Palearius was from that time a good Protestant, but he did not say all that he thought. A book written with his hand was found in 1596, intituled, *Testimonium ad gentes & nationes quæ invocant nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, to which is added a longer treatise, intituled, *Actio ex Declaratione testimonii in Pontifices Romanos & eorum Assecias. Ad Principes Christianos, & Præfectos Concilio, in quibus habitat Spiritus Dei.* He wrote this piece a little before the opening of the Council of Trent; his design was to have it presented to that assembly by the ambassadors of the Emperor. It is a plea in good form for the cause of the Protestants, which was never published till the year 1606 (13). There are two opinions in it which they do not approve of; one is, that marriage is a sacrament; the other is, that a Christian ought not to swear at all, no, not before the judges (14).

(7) This work is lost. It was in Italian. See the plan of it in the IIId Harangue of Palearius, *pag.* 90, 91.

(8) Preface to the Works of Palearius.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Palearius, Orat. III, *pag.* 83.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 91.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Neither the year nor place of the edition appear in the title, but we learn from the Journal of Leipsic for the month of January 1696, *pag.* 44, that it was printed at Leipsic in 1606.

(14) See the advertisement to the reader.

[F] *He was condemned to be burned* (§ α) . . *in* 1566.] He that published the *Actio in Pontifices* in 1606, informs us, that Palearius was burnt at Rome about the year 1558, and that he declared publickly what was his faith (15); but he is mistaken as to the time. He that wrote the Preface to the new edition shows plainly that we must hold with Thuanus, who says, that this learned man was burnt in 1566 (16). This may serve to refute Simler, who says (17), that this martyr was beheaded in 1570, which is both an error in Chronology, and as to the kind of death. I have heard some say, that he was burnt for his book on the Immortality of the Soul, but this is false; for there is nothing in this fine poem which the Roman Catholics could condemn. A certain person wrote from Italy to Marcus Velserus, that this piece was not Aonius Palearius's; but I know not what answer he made to Velserus, who demanded immediately to what author it must be attributed (18). We have shewn above, that Pigna praises Palearius for writing this poem; and all the Bibliographers ascribe it to him. I find in the Epitome of Gesner that it was printed at Lyons in 1536. James Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, wrote to Gryphius (19), to persuade him to print it. He wrote also a letter (20) to the author, wherein he mightily commends this piece. Palearius had sent him a copy of an edition that was uncorrect, and prayed him to get Gryphius to reprint it (21). A book cannot be more advantageously recommended to a Printer than Sadoletus recommends this to Sebastian Gryphius. I shall only relate part of his Elogium. 'Numerus porro carminis is est, ut videatur Lucretium velle imitari, redolet enim antiquum illud; sed ita sapore humanitatis conditus est, ut asperitate demissa, vetustatis tamen autoritas salva remaneat. Atque hæc in universum. Illa jam partium singularum propria, nihil non latine dictum, nihil non accuratè, quove judicium & diligentiam adhibitam esse non pateat: multaque præterea ubique nitentia ingenii & venustatis luminibus, &, quod ego pluris quam reliqua omnia facio, Christiana mens, integra, castaque religio, erga Deum ipsum honos, pietas, studium; in eo libro vel maximè, non solum docere mentes errantium, sed etiam animos incendere ad amorem puræ religionis possunt (22). - - - - *Besides, the number of the verse is such, that he seems to have imitated Lucretius, for it resembles that old piece: but it is so seasoned with sweetness, that the force without the harshness of antiquity remains entire. And thus much in general. But now as to the particular parts, every thing is expressed in pure Latin, and with great accuracy, and shews that judgment and care have been used: and besides, many things are to be found every where that shine with the lustre of wit and elegance, and what I esteem more than all the rest, a Christian mind, pure and undefiled religion, reverence, piety, and love, towards GOD: which tend very much, not only to inform the minds of those that err, but likewise to inflame their hearts with the love of true religion.*'

[(§ α) He was hanged and strangled before he was burnt. See the New Menagiana, Paris edit. 1715. Tom. I. pag. 217 and 218. REM. CRIT.]

(15) His Letter is found in the edition of Aonius Palearius, 1696, *pag.* 564.

(16) Thuan. Histor. *lib. xxxix, pag.* m. 779.

(17) In Epitome Biblioth. Gesner.

(18) See the Letters of Velserus, *pag.* 8, 1.

(19) His Letter is found in the edition of Aonius Palearius, 1696, *pag.* 564.

(20) It is found, ibid. *pag.* 562.

(21) See Letter ii, of book iii, of Palearius, *pag.* 434.

(22) Sadolet. Epist. ad Gryph. pag. 561. Operum Palearii, Edit. 1696. It is also among the Letters of Sadolet, pag. 184, Edit. Lugd. 1554.

PALINGENIUS (MARCELLUS) is famous for a poem divided into twelve books, and intituled, *Zodiacus vitæ* [A]. He spent several years in composing it, and dedicated

[A] *He is famous for a poem divided into twelve books, and intituled,* Zodiacus vitæ.] *Hoc est de hominis vita, studio, ac moribus optime instituendis libri* 12. Each of these twelve books has the name of one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and I make no doubt but this is the reason why this author calls himself *Poëta Stellatus*. Scaliger, the Father (1), has censured it sharply, and I think with very good reason, the little conformity there is between the subjects of each book, and the qualities of the sign of the Zodiac, which is the title of it. I observe, by the by, that Barthius has written a poem (2) in imitation of this; the title of

(1) Julius Cæsar Scaliger, Poet. lib. vi, *pag.* m. 731, 732.

(2) Printed at Francfort in 1623, in 8vo.

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dedicated it to Hercules d' Eſt, the ſecond of the name, duke of Ferrara (a). Some ſay he was Phyſician to this prince [B]. Others place him in the number of thoſe learned Lutherans, whom the ducheſs of Ferrara, Renata of France, received into her court, and honoured with her protection (b). It is certain, that he ſpoke againſt the monks and the abuſes of the church with very great freedom; and hence it is that he appears in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum* (c), among the Heretics of the firſt claſs as a Lutheran. It is ſaid alſo, that his dead body was dug up and burnt under pretence of Hereſy [C]. Nevertheleſs he declares himſelf a good Catholic at the end of his epiſtle dedicatory; for he ſubmits all his opinions to the cenſure of the church [D]. They cannot all be approved by the Proteſtants. He urged ſome objections of the libertines too far, and explained them after ſuch a manner as ſhewed he did not condemn them. Excepting this, his Zodiac is filled with good things, and contains a good Philoſophical Satire (d) againſt immorality and falſe prejudices. There is an infinite number of editions of this Poem [E]; but I find no body who knows that which Chriſtopher Wirſungus illuſtrated with a Commentary (e). It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that a Poet of his merit ſhould appear ſo little among the great number of Elogiums which the Italians have publiſhed on the writers of their own nation; probably his being thought a Heretic was the cauſe of it. However, the life of this perſon is ſcarce at all known. He was the favourite author of Naudæus.

A man of letters thinks, that Marcellus Palingenius is a falſe name under which Marſilius Ficinus is diſguiſed; which conjecture he confirms by a paſſage wherein Ficinus aſſigns himſelf two fathers, *ſe duos habuiſſe patres, Ficinum Medicum, & Coſmum Medicen; ex illo natum, ex iſto renatum* (f), *- - - that he had two fathers, Ficinus Medicus (a Phyſician) and Coſmus de Medicis; that he was begot by the former, and new-born by the later.* He might eaſily perſuade me, that the name Palingenius was not the name of it is, *Zodiacus vitæ Chriſtianæ, Satyricon pleraque omnia veræ ſapientiæ myſteria ſingulari ſuavitate enarrans.* He divided it into twelve books, whereof each bears the name of a ſign of the Zodiac. He does not trouble himſelf to obſerve any conformity between the matter of each book, and the virtue which is attributed to each of thoſe twelve conſtellations.

(a) Opus noſtrum . . . in duodecim libros digeſtum, multoſque per annos elaboratum, Celſitudini tuæ donamus. *Epiſt. Dedicat.*

(b) *See* Seckend. Hiſt. Lutheran. *lib. ii, pag.* 122, *num.* 5, *ad ann.* 1528. *He cites the* Annals of Schultetus, *pag.* 148.

(c) *Pag.* 765, *Edit.* 1667, *in folio.*

(d) See Baillet's Judgment on the Poets, *num.* 1259.

(e) See the remark [C].

(f) Ficinus, Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Laurent. Mediceſ. in lib. de Vita, Tom. i, pag. m. 482.

[B] *Some ſay that he was Phyſician to this prince.*] Scævola Sammarthanus affirms it (3); I dare not deny it: I ſhall only ſay, that this Poet was not known to the duke of Ferrara when he dedicated his book to him; for he declares in his epiſtle dedicatory, that underſtanding by a general report the learning of the duke, he had taken the boldneſs to addreſs to him, after the hopes of a good reception which Braſavolus had given him. 'Quid mihi cum principe qui alienis oculis videt? ore loquitur alieno? illum volo qui per ſe poſſit curvum diſcernere recto: cui non auſint maligni homines dicere candida de nigris, & de candentibus atra. Talem igitur cùm te eſſe omnes prædicent, Dux illuſtriſſ. audacter ad te profectus ſum: eo maximè quòd Antonius Muſa Braſavolus, vir ſingulari doctrina integritateque conſpicuus, qui excellentiam tuam fideliſſimè colit, mihi de te ſpem optimam attulit: quippe qui doctrinam, humanitatem, liberalitatemque tuam mirificè apud me commendavit. Cujus verbis tantum habeo fidei, quantum dici poſſit. Ego igitur ſuadente, &c (4). *- - - What have I to do with a prince, who only ſees with the eyes of others, and only ſpeaks with the mouth of others? I deſire to have to do with him, who is able of himſelf to diſtinguiſh right from wrong: and before whom malicious men dare not call black white, and white black. Since therefore, moſt illuſtrious prince, all the world declares you to be ſuch an one, I have taken the boldneſs to addreſs myſelf to you: eſpecially as Antonius Muſa Braſavolus, a man of extraordinary learning and integrity, and who moſt ſincerely reſpects your Excellency, has given me great hopes my addreſs would not be unacceptable to you: for he has mightily extolled to me your learning, humanity and generoſity, and upon his authority I entirely rely. I therefore,* &c.' Note, that he is not in the catalogue of Phyſicians that have been Poets, compiled by Bartholinus.

(3) In the title of his French tranſlation of ſome paſſages of *Palingenius, apud Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, his French Bibliotheque, *pag.* 842.

(4) Palingenius, Epiſt. Dedicat.

[C] *It is ſaid that his dead body was dug up and burnt under pretence of hereſy.*] I have read this in Melchior Adam: 'Edidit præterea, *ſays he* (5), *ſpeaking of Chriſtopher Wirſungus*, Marcelli Palingenii ſtellatenſis (cujus cadaver, propter pietatis doctrinam in Italia exhumatum concrematumque fuit) poëmata doctiſſimis adjectis commentariis. - - - *He publiſhed beſides, with very learned notes the Poems of Marcellus Palingenius, whoſe body was dug up and burnt in Italy.*'

(5) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philoſophorum, *pag.* 253.

But I have a teſtimony more authentic; for Gyraldus, who lived in that time, and in the country where the thing happened, affirms, That they dealt cruelly by the aſhes of this Poet, *poſt ejus mortem in ejus cineres ſævitum eſt, ob impietatis crimen* (6).

(6) Gyrald. de Poët. ſuorum temporum, Dial. ii, pag. m. 569.

[D] *He ſubmits all his opinions to the cenſure of the church.*] He confeſſes that having related the opinions of Philoſophers, he had perhaps ſaid ſome things that were falſe, but that he was not anſwerable for them. It will be better to hear him himſelf. 'Si 'tamen in tanto opere aliquid fortè reperitur quod à 'noſtra religione aliquantum diſſentire videatur, mihi 'minimè imputandum cenſeo. Nam dum aliquando 'de rebus philoſophicis loquor, diverſorum philoſo-'phorum opiniones refero, præſertim Platonicorum. 'Quæ ſi falſæ ſunt, non ego, ſed ipſi reprehendi de-'bent: cùm mea ſit intentio, à catholica fide nun-'quam declinare. Quo circa in omnibus quæ ſcripſi, 'orthodoxæ Eccleſiæ me humiliter ſubjicio: ejuſque 'cenſuram, ut virum Chriſtianum decet, libenter ac-'cipio (7). - - - *However, if any thing be found in 'ſo large a work, that may ſeem in the leaſt to differ 'from our religion, I think it is not to be imputed to me. 'For when I ſpeak ſometimes of philoſophical matters, I 'relate the opinions of divers Philoſophers, eſpecially the 'Platoniſts: for which, if they be falſe, not I, but they 'are to be blamed: ſince my intention is, never to de-'part from the Catholic faith. Wherefore I humbly 'ſubmit myſelf to the orthodox Church in all that I have 'writ, and willingly receive its cenſure, as becomes a 'Chriſtian.*' After this the Inquiſition could not in juſtice proceed againſt his perſon, nor declare him an heretic, this blemiſh could at moſt belong only to his doctrine; for it is obſtinacy, and not error, which is condemned in a man.

(7) Palingen. Epiſt. Dedicat.

[E] *There is an infinite number of editions of this poem.*] The authors of the *Index Librorum prohibitorum* quote that of Baſil 1537, and obſerve that it followed that of Italy; but they neither ſet down the year nor the place of the later edition (8). I make uſe of that of 1569, in octavo, where there is neither the name of the Printer, nor the place of the impreſſion. The Index is very large, which was in the former edition of 1537, as Geſner obſerves (9). His abridger ſays nothing of the commentary of Wirſungus, neither under the word Palingenius, nor under that of Wirſungus. Mr Moreri affirms that this book was tranſlated into French and other languages. La Croix du Maine ſays only, that Scævola Sammarthanus promiſed an entire verſion of this author, having publiſhed one part of it. His words are theſe, *As he hath ſhewn by his fine and well-poliſhed imitations of the learned Italian Poet Marcellus Palingenius, whom he tranſlated with ſo much grace that this diverted many from ſetting about it, who before had reſolved to tranſlate*

(8) The ſame thing is to be ſaid of Geſner and his Abridgers.

(9) In Biblioth. *folio* 492.

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of the family of the author of *Zodiacus vitæ*, but a name turned into Greek, according to the mode of that time. Nevertheleſs, I cannot think that this piece was compoſed by Ficinus, ſince we are informed by Giraldus of the proceſs made againſt the aſhes of the author of this Poem (g).

(g) See the remark [C].

ſlate it into our language. He promiſed to continue till he had made an entire verſion of the Zodiac of the ſaid Palingenius; but hitherto he has printed but one part of it, with his other French poems, which he intituled, His firſt Works, *containing four books of imitations and tranſlations of ſeveral Greek and Latin Poets, printed at Paris by Frederic Morel, in the year* 1569 (10). Du Verdier agrees with this account, who ſays, *That Scævola Sammarthanus publiſhed a collection of ſeveral diſcourſes taken from the Zodiac of life, written by Marcellus Palingenius, Phyſician to the duke of Ferrara, and tranſlated* by him *into French verſe* (11). If any one ſhould have aſked of Mr Moreri, what are the other Poems of this Italian (12), he would have been puzzled to give an account of them.

reſt, that which is intituled *Zodiacus Vitæ*. Moreri at the word *Palingene*.

(10) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Françoiſe, *pag.* 453.

(11) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibliotheque Françoiſe, *pag.* 842.

(12) He compoſed ſome poems, and among the

PALLAVICINO (FERRANTE) the author of ſome ſatirical pieces, which made him loſe his head upon a ſcaffold. I have nothing to add to what Moreri has ſaid of him, but that there is an abridgment of his life prefixed to the new French tranſlation of his celeſtial divorce (a).

(a) Printed at Amſterdam 1696, and written by a man of much wit and merit (§ a).

[(§ a) Mr .... Brodeau d'Oyſeville, at that time counſellor in the parliament of Metz, and afterwards lieutenant-general in the bailiwick of Tours, grandſon of the commentator of Louet. He undertook this tranſlation to try his ſkill in the Italian tongue, which he had been learning for ſome months. REM. CRIT.]

PANORMITA (ANTONY) a native of Palermo in Sicily (a), and deſcended from the family of the Beccatelli (b), which had been illuſtrious a long time at Bologna (c), was one of the ableſt men of the XVth century. He being a perſon valuable for his virtue and learning, offered his ſervice to Philip duke of Milan, and was received by him with great kindneſs and liberality. He taught him Hiſtory, and made public lectures, for which he had a ſalary of 800 crowns a year. He was afterwards ſecretary to Alphonſus king of Naples, and his chief man of letters [A]. The literary diſputes he had with Laurentius Valla, occaſioned a torrent of reproaches on both ſides, wherewith their common enemies very much diverted themſelves. He waited till he was old before he married [B], and then eſpouſed a beautiful maid, for whom he had a particular affection; and by whom he had children who left poſterity (d). He was a man of a very pleaſant humour (e), and one who made the Portico of Naples famous [C], wherein many perſons of wit aſſembled to diſcourſe with him about a hundred

(a) Hieron. Raguſa, Elog. Siculorum, *pag.* 33.

(b) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xii, pag.* 33.

(c) Therefore he is called by ſome *Antonius Bononia.*

(d) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(e) *Imprimis facetus.* Facius, de Rebus geſtis Alfonſi, *lib. iii, pag.* 103.

[A] *He was ſecretary to Alphonſus .... and his chief man of letters.*] This may be gathered from theſe phraſes of Paul Jovius, 'Panhormita Alphonſo 'adhæſit, ſecretioris ſcrinii magiſter, & ſtudiorum, ex'peditionumque omnium terra marique perpetuus co'mes (1). - - - *Panhormita was ſecretary to Alphonſus,* 'and companion in his ſtudies, and always attended him 'in his expeditions both by ſea and land.' See the remark [C] of the article of this Prince (2), and add to it, if you pleaſe, this paſſage of Jovianus Pontanus: 'Rex Alphonſus ſtatim poſt prandium, vel Antonium 'Panormitam, vel è doctis aliquem audiebat, ut qui 'dignum judicaret animum quoque cibo ſuo poſt pa'ſtum corporis reficiendum eſſe (3). - - - *King Alphonſus preſently after dinner heard Antonius Panormita,* 'or ſome learned man, for he thought his mind ſhould 'be nouriſhed likewiſe with its proper food after feeding 'of the body.' Note, That this Prince cauſed letters of naturalization to be drawn up for Panormita, and made him a freeman of Naples; he made him alſo his counſellor, and preſident of the royal chamber (4).

(1) Paulus Jovius, Elog. *cap. xii, pag. xxxiii.*

(2) Above, citation (24) of the article NAPLES (ALPHONSUS).

(3) Jov. Pontanus, de Conviv. *pag.* 143, apud Leonard. Nicodemum Addiz. alla Bibl. Napolet. *pag.* 21, 22.

(4) Nicolo Toppi, Bibl. Napoletan. *pag.* 24.

[B] *He waited till he was old before he married.*] This is what Paul Jovius obſerves, *Senex*, ſays he (5), *uxorem duxit Arcellam ſibi magnopere dilectam, liberoſque ſuſcepit quorum honeſta ſoboles Neapoli viſitur.* The king underſtanding that Panormita was about to marry, at firſt blamed the deſign; for he thought that his ſecretary not being able for the future to mind both his ſpouſe and his books, he ſhould loſe the pleaſure of ſtudying; but when he knew that his ſpouſe was both beautiful and virtuous, he changed his opinion, believing that the pleaſures of this marriage would compenſate thoſe of ſtudying. Panormita himſelf tells us this particular: *Cum audiſſet Rex me uxorem eſſe ducturum, primo improbavit, arbitratus de cætero literis ſimul & uxori me operam dare non poſſe, ac proinde vera ſolidaque literarum voluptate cariturum. Sed cum mox audiſſet, me Leonoram Aureliam virginem probam, nobilem ac formoſam duxiſſe, approbavit, literarum commoda, & honeſti conjugii ſuavitatem in æquo ponens* (6). I believe that *Aureliam* is a fault either of the tranſcriber or the Printer, for *Arceliam*; for the epitaph of this woman in the Poems of Jovianus Pontanus, has this prefixed to it, 'Lauræ Arceliæ uxoris Antonii 'Panhormitæ (*tumulus*) (7). - - - *The tomb of Laura* 'Arcelia, *the wife of Antonius Panhormita.*' I know not whence Varillas took the particulars I ſhall here ſubjoin. *Antony of Palermo .... had been very reſerved the firſt ſeventy years of his life, but at ſeventy-one, he fell in love with a beautiful maid of Naples, called Marcilla, and began to think of marriage. He had many children by her, and died ten years after, with ſo little pain and diſtraction, that a moment before he expired, he wrote his own epitaph* (8). Mr Varillas names not right the miſtreſs of Panormita, and he ſpoils, by too bold an hyperbole, what Paul Jovius ſays concerning the time when Panormita wrote his own epitaph: *Æger vitæque diffidens in ſupremo morbo hoc carmen compoſuit* (9). Which ſignifies only, that this author compoſed it during a ſickneſs of which he never hoped to be cured, and of which he really died. If it be true, as Jovianus Pontanus ſeems to ſay (10), That Panormita and Theodore Gaza died much about the ſame time, it may be thought that Varillas was not miſtaken as to the age of Panormita, but he muſt be miſtaken as to the continuance of the marriage, ſince it is certain that Panormita married while Alphonſus was alive, and that this Prince died in the year 1458, and Theodore Gaza twenty years after.

(5) Jovius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 34.

(6) Panormita, de Dictis & Factis Alphonſi, *lib. iii, num.* 27, *p.* 63, *Edit. Hanov.* 1611.

(7) Jovian. Pontan. Tumulorum, *lib. ii, fol. m.* 83, *verſo.*

(8) Varillas, Anecdotes de Flor. *pag.* 165.

(9) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(10) See the laſt remark, num. 7.

[C] *He was a man .... who made the Portico of Naples famous.*] Jovianus Pontanus, his diſciple, in one of his dialogues, introduces a Sicilian, who aſks of an inhabitant of Naples where this Portico was, *Quænam quæſo, bone civis, Antoniana eſt Porticus* (11)? To whom anſwer was made, 'Antonium ne hoſpes 'requiris, an eam quæ ab illo Porticus Antoniana di'citur? - - - - *Do you aſk, O ſtranger, for Antonius* 'himſelf, *or the Portico which goes by his name?*' We will ſet down the reply of the Sicilian, wherein you will find the character of the converſations of Panormita, which reſembled thoſe of Socrates. 'Et por'ticum ipſam noſſe, & Antonium videre cupio, audio 'enim pomeridianis horis illic conventum haberi li'teratorum hominum. Ipſum autem Antonium quan'quam

(11) *Id.* In dialogo Antonius, init.

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dred things. He was the beſt Poet of his time, and he received from the emperor Sigiſmund the Poetical crown, according to the ancient ceremonies [D]. Beſides, he underſtood the Civil Law; he wrote well in proſe, and was alſo a good Orator (f). He was employed in affairs of ſtate, as well upon account of his great capacity as of his reputation for wiſdom [E]. He was deputed to the Venetians in 1451, by king Alphonſus, to deſire of them the bone of the arm of Livy (g), which was granted him. He ſold an eſtate to purchaſe this Hiſtorian [F]. He wrote an epitaph for himſelf, which is a proof

(f) Ibid.

(g) See the article TITUS LIVIUS.

' quam multa dicit, plura tamen ſciſcitari quàm docere ' ſolitum; nec tam probare quæ dicantur, quàm Socratico quodam more irridere diſſerentes. Auditores ' vero ipſos magis voluptatis cujuſdam eorum quæ à ' ſe dicantur plenos domum dimittere, quàm certos ' rerum earum quæ in quæſtione verſentur (12). - - - ' *I deſire both to know the Portico, and to ſee Antonius, ' for I hear that learned men meet there in an afternoon: ' that tho' Antonius himſelf ſays many things, yet he is ' more apt to aſk queſtions than to inſtruct others, and ' like Socrates, rather laughs at thoſe who talk, than ' approves of what is ſaid, that the hearers return home, ' more pleaſed with what they ſay than ſatisfied about ' the points in queſtion.*' I add to this a part of the reply of the Neapolitan. ' Hæc illa eſt Porticus in ' qua ſedere ſolebat ille ſenum omnium feſtiviſſimus. ' Conveniebant autem docti viri, nobileſque item homines ſanè multi. Ipſe quòd in proximo habitaret, ' primus hic conſpici, interim dum Senatus, ut ipſe ' uſurpabat, cogeretur, aut jocans cum prætereuntibus, ' aut ſecum aliquid ſuccinens, quo animum oblectaret ' (13). - - - *This is the Portico, where that merry old ' man uſed to ſit. Men of learning and likewiſe perſons ' of quality aſſembled here in great number. He himſelf ' was wont to appear firſt, becauſe he lived hard by, ' and till the company met, he diverted himſelf with ' ſinging, or joking with people that went along.*' Since Panormita was a man of witty ſayings, I believe it may be ſaid, that if the mode of making collections which end in *ana*, had prevailed in that time, as it has ſome times ſince (14), we ſhould have had a book intituled *Panormitaniana*, which would have taught us many things. The aſſemblies of this Portico may doubtleſs be compared to the Mercuriales of Mr Menage. If you deſire a proof that Panormita ſaid witty things, read the book of Pontanus *de Sermone*, and there you will ſee ſome of them, and among others, you will find there a thought which is become very common, and it is this, That to make a good agreement in a family, you ſhould join together a blind woman and a deaf huſband. ' Antonius Panormita ſuavis admodum vir interrogatus ad rem uxoriam jucunde concorditerque agendam, quibuſnam maximè opus eſſe duceret? ſumpto argumento à ' frequentia moleſtiarum ac magnitudine, quæ in vita ' contingerent conjugali: duobus tantum opus eſſe reſpondit, vir ut aurium ſurditate teneretur, uxor verò ' ut oculis eſſet capta: ne altera videlicet inſpiceret ' quæ à marito intemperanter fierent plurima, alter ne ' audiret obgannientem aſſiduò domi uxorem (15). - - - ' *Antonius Panormita, a very pleaſant man, having been ' aſked, what was moſt neceſſary in order to live quietly ' and agreeably in marriage: the ſubject of diſcourſe being upon the frequent and great vexations which happen in that ſtate, anſwered, that two things only were ' neceſſary, that the huſband ought to be deaf and the ' wife blind: that the latter might not ſee the pranks of ' her huſband, nor the former hear the ſcolding and impertinence of his wife.*'

(12) Id. ib. *pag.* 1196.

(13) Id. ib. *pag.* 1198. *See alſo de Sermone, lib. vi, cap. ro, pag.* 1741.

(14) This I write in the year 1697.

(15) Jovian. Pontanus, *de Sermone, lib. iii, cap. xvii, pag.* 1645, 1646.

[D] *He was the beſt Poet of his time, and he received . . . . the poetical crown, according to the ancient ceremonies.*] He is eſteemed the firſt reſtorer of Latin poetry (16), and here follows the compliment which Faccius made him under the perſon of Guarinus: ' Quod in cæteris partibus te antecedam, in eo tibi planè non aſſentior, præſertim cum tu Juris conſultus & Eques ſis: cumque plures Rhetores his temporibus inveniantur ſatis clari, poëta autem illuſtris ' præter te nullus, qui quidem Sigiſmundo Imperatore ' propter optimum de te judicium, conſenſu omnium ' excitatum, laurea corona more majorum donatus ſis, ' quæ res uſque adhuc noſtrum contigit nemini (17). - - ' *That I excel you in other reſpects, I do not at all agree with you; eſpecially as you are a Civilian and ' Knight: and tho' ſeveral Orators, famous enough, may ' be found in theſe times, yet there is no eminent Poet beſides yourſelf, whom the emperor Sigiſmund, becauſe of ' the excellent opinion all the world entertains of you, ' has preſented with a crown of laurel after the manner of our anceſtors, which ſince that time none of us ' learned men obtained.*' Voſſius did not rightly underſtand theſe words, for he thought they ſignified that no man before Panormita had received the poetic crown. This is a miſtake; if Faccius had meant this, he would have publiſhed a groſs falſity; for who is ignorant of the ſolemnity of the poetic coronation of Petrarch? But the compliment of Guarinus was this; The emperor has crowned you after the manner of our anceſtors, and ſince that time none of us learned men hath obtained that honour. This ſenſe is very different from that of Voſſius, which he thus expreſſes: ' Panormita hic à Bartholomæo Facio initio lib. de ' humanæ vitæ felicitate *poëta, atque eques præclarus* ' nominatur: & mox, *clarus & ſingularis poëta, & ' juriſconſultus.* Ac paullò poſt ait Sigiſmundo Imp. ' laurea donatum corona, more majorum, quæ res ' uſque ad id tempus contigiſſet nemini (18). - - - *This ' Panormita is called by Bartholomew Facius in the beginning of his book* de humanæ vitæ felicitate, an eminent Poet and Knight: *and afterwards* a famous ' and extraordinary Poet and Civilian. *And a little ' after he ſays, he was preſented by Sigiſmund the emperor, with a crown of laurel according to ancient cuſtom, ' which till that time no man had received.*'

(16) Obliteratam ſedum languefactam in Italia ſorticam reſtituit a antiquam pene ormam. *Idem, e Sermone, lib. i, cap. ro, pag.* 1738.

(17) Barthol. accius, de hum. itæ felicitate rca init. *pag.* 108.

(18) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Latin. *lib. iii, pag.* 593.

[E] *He was employed in affairs of ſtate, as well upon the account of his capacity, as . . . . his wiſdom.*] Read theſe words of Faccius, ' Miſit igitur Otolinus ' ad Alphonſum qui peteret ad ſe mitti quempiam ex ' iis quibus fidelioribus uteretur qui cum de deditione ' ageret, & nominatim Antonium Panormitam, quem ' poetam non inſuavem Mediolani apud Philippum in ' magna gratia & dignitate cognoverat: cumque non ' tantum propter prudentiam, ſed multo etiam magis ' propter æquitatis opinionem, & quod illum ab Alphonſo apprime diligi acceperat (19). - - - - *Otolinus ' therefore ſent to Alphonſus deſiring that ſome faithful ' perſon might come to him to treat of a ſurrender, and ' particularly Antonius Panormita, whom he had known ' to be an agreeable Poet at Milan in great favour and ' dignity with Philip, not only upon the account of his ' prudence, but much more for the opinion he had of his ' juſtice, and becauſe he heard he was extremely beloved ' by Alphonſus.*' You will find in the hiſtorian whom I cite, the harangue which Panormita made to the inhabitants of Gaeta, in the name of Alphonſus, and that which he made to the Venetians, to congratulate them upon the peace.

(19) Faccius, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 102, 103, apud Leon. Niccodemum, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 22, 23.

[F] *He ſold an eſtate to purchaſe Livy.*] ' It is ' very well known, that Beccatelli, otherwiſe called ' Bologna, of Palermo, was obliged to ſell an eſtate ' that he might purchaſe a Livy, written with the ' hand of Poggius Florentinus, who employed this ' price of his book to purchaſe another eſtate near ' Florence, about the year 1455 (20).' Theſe are the words of Mr Baillet, who quotes for it the 154 page of the treatiſe of libraries, compoſed by Mr le Gallois. I have conſulted this treatiſe, and found in it a French tranſlation of the letter which was written on this ſubject to king Alphonſus, which follows: *Sir, You have acquainted me from Florence, that the books of Livy, written in a fair hand, are to be ſold, and that they aſk for them one hundred and twenty crowns. I pray your majeſty to cauſe this author to be brought to me, which we are wont to call the king of books, and I will not fail to ſend the money for it. And I intreat your prudence to let me know, whether Poggius or I does better, he who to purchaſe a farm near Florence, ſells Livy; or I who to purchaſe the book written with his own hand, ſell my land. Your goodneſs and modeſty induce me to put this familiar queſtion to you. Farewel and triumph* (21). If you would ſee the reflexions of Mr le Gallois, you need only read what follows (22): ' I think ſo great ' a king ſhould not have ſuffered ſo honeſt a man to ' ſell his eſtate to purchaſe Livy. He ought, like a ' generous prince, to have given it liberally to him. ' Neither do I ſee any cauſe why Pecatel (23) ſhould ' blame

(20) Baillet, Jugem. des Sav. *Tom. i, ch. xiv, parag.* 1.

(21) Gallois, Traité des Bibliotheques, *pag.* 154, 155.

(22) Id. ib. *pag.* 155.

(23) It ſhould be Beccatel.

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(b) There were printed at Venice in 1553, five books of his Letters, two harangues, and some verses. See the last remark.

a proof of his presumption, and of his orthodoxy at the same time [G]. He suffered with much constancy long pains by reason of a difficulty of urine, and reasoned admirably well about adversity and prosperity [H]. The public has seen some of his writings (b), but his Latin Poem, intituled *Hermaphroditus*, was never published. It is a piece so full of obscenity that even Pogius disliked it [I]. Mr Moreri has

'blame Poggius for selling Livy, since he might have 'two copies of it, or at least he might have read it 'so many times over, that he had no further need 'of it.'

I have three short remarks to make. I. It is not true that Panormita declares, he purchased this manuscript from Poggius; on the contrary he intimates very plainly, that the Livy of Poggius was already sold, and that the price of it was employed in purchasing a farm; let us here set down his Latin letter, that the unfaithfulness of him who translated it into French may appear. *Significasti mihi nuper ex Florentia extare Titi Livii opera venalia, literis pulcherrimis, libro pretium esse cxx aureos. Quare majestatem tuam oro, ut Livium quem Regem librorum appellare consuevimus, emi meo nomine, ac deferri ad nos facias. Interim ego pecuniam procurabo quam pro libri pretio tradam. Sed illud à prudentia tua scire desidero, uter ego an Poggius melius fecerit; is ut villam Florentiæ emeret, Livium vendidit quem sua manu pulcherrimè scripserat: ego ut Livium emam fundum proscripsi. Hæc ut familiariter à te peterem suasit humanitas & modestia tua. Vale & triumpha* (24). II. It is not true that Panormita blames Poggius, he leaves it to king Alphonsus to judge, whether it be more prudent to sell a book to purchase some land, or to sell land to purchase a book, and as to himself he determines nothing about the matter. III. The excuse that Poggius might have read Livy so often, *that he had no further need of it*, is chimerical; for a book of this nature is not got by heart, although it be read several times over, and it cannot be useless, unless one had it almost by heart.

(24) Anton. Panormita, Epistol. *lib. v*, apud Naudé, Addit. à l'Hist. de Louis XI, *pag.* 88.

[G] *He wrote for himself an epitaph, which is a proof of his presumption and of his orthodoxy.*] It contained these four verses.

Quærite Pierides alium qui ploret amores,
Quærite qui Regum fortia facta canat.
Me Pater ille ingens hominum sator atque redemptor,
Evocat & sedes donat adire pias.

That is to say, Muses, seek out another Poet to make verses of love, and sing the brave actions of kings. For as to me I am going to paradise; the great God, creator and redeemer of mankind, calls me thither. Gyraldus considered this epitaph only on the wrong side, he perceived in it the arrogance (25), but not the faith of the author. I do not think that he found any heterodox principle in it, upon pretence that purgatory is excluded out of it.

(25) Senex diem obiit hocque sibi moriens Epitaphium arrogantiæ plenum condidisse legi. *Gyraldus, de Poët. sui tempor. Dial. I.*

[H] *He suffered with much constancy, long pains, and he reasoned admirably well about adversity and prosperity.*] Jovian Pontanus, his disciple, shall here be my warrant, who speaks as an eye-witness. 'Vidi- 'mus Antonium Panhormitam multos annos tormina '& urinæ difficultatem tam sedate ferre, ut etiam dis- 'simulare videri posset ægritudinem (26). - - - *I have* 'seen Antony Panhormita suffer the smart pains of the 'difficulty of urine many years so patiently, that he seem- 'ed even to have no illness.' He says in another book, that Panormita was always chearful, whether his affairs went well or ill: his principle was to refer all to God, and to suppose that the causes of good or ill fortune were hid from us; and that many accidents are thought unhappy, which are not really so; since they are only occasions which providence offers us to shew our constancy. 'Quid erat lætis in rebus Antonio jucun- 'dius? quid rursus in turbatis atque asperis gratius? 'Incredibilis quædam in ejus oratione vis inerat res 'humanas contemnendi, ferendique fortuitos casus 'æquo animo, quippe cum omnia referret ad Deum, 'diceretque latêre nos & bonorum, & malorum causas. 'Pleraque autem videri quæ non essent mala, ut quæ 'objecta nobis essent à Deo, quo humana in iis con- 'stantia fortitudoque enitesceret. Quotum enim for- 'tem inveniri, si quieta & secura omnia nobis forent? 'natos esse homines ad comparandam virtutem, ad 'excolendos animos, neminem autem sine laboribus 'plurimis posse hoc assequi, sed decipi opinione, ni- 'misque demisse, ac molliter nobiscum nos ipsos age- 're: quæ fluant aquas salubriores esse, magisque pro- 'bari: quæ verò restagnent, noxias ac pestilentes esse. '. . . . Optimo itaque & fortissimo cuique labores ac 'molestias offerri à Deo, eamque veluti materiam præ- 'beri in qua sese exerceat, cum excellentia hominum 'cæterorum. Tum Imperatores ipsi quos præcipuè 'ament, & quorum virtus est prospectior, iis gravissi- 'ma & periculosissima quæque demandent. Atque 'hanc quidem ipsam, non quæ prædam quæritaret, 'maximè illustrem militiam esse. Et verò ignavi esse, 'imbecillis, desidis, odisse labores, fugitare molestias, 'velleque in ocio, ac sub umbra marcescere (27). - - -

(26) Jovianus Pontanus, de Fortitudine, *lib. ii, fol. m.* 51.

(27) *Idem*, in Dialogo Antonius, init. *pag. m.* 1197.

Who could be more pleasant than Antonius was in prosperity? or more chearful in adversity? there was a wonderful force in his speech inducing us to despise worldly affairs, and to bear misfortunes patiently, for he referred all to GOD, and said we were ignorant of the causes of good and evil. That many things seem evil, which are not really so, but are opportunities given us by providence to shew our constancy and courage. For what man would be found steddy, if all things were quiet and secure? men are born to acquire virtue, and to improve their minds, and none can do this without much labour; but we are deceived in our notions, and deal too meanly and effeminately with ourselves: running water is more wholesome and agreeable: standing water is noxious and pestilent. . . . . Providence therefore offers to every brave and virtuous man troubles and afflictions, that he may exert and distinguish himself above others. Generals commit the most difficult and dangerous enterprises to those they love best, and whose courage is most unquestionable. And indeed this kind of warfare is the most glorious, not that which seeks for booty and spoil. But it is the part of a weak and cowardly soul to hate labour, to shun trouble, and to languish in sloth and idleness.' There is nothing finer than these common-places; and they are very true according to the present condition of men: but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that they suppose that it is a very odd condition; for what can be more astonishing and incomprehensible, than to see a man reduced to such a state, that he must be unhappy to avoid greater evils? why is he not conducted from one good to another, until he arrive at perfection? why should vexation, grief and misery, be the least inconvenient way that he can take? The Pagans could answer nothing that was good to this difficulty, and they were stupid enough hardly to think of it: Revelation only can solve it.

[I] *His* Hermaphroditus *is a piece so full of obscenity that even Poggius disliked it.*] It was dedicated to Cosmus de Medicis, who ordered several copies of it to be made, whereof some still remain in the library of St Laurence (28). The reason why it was dedicated to that great man, was because he regarded not the opinion of the vulgar, but pleased himself with reading this lascivious piece. The author himself makes this remark, for thus he begins, *Hermaphroditi libellus incipit ad Cosmum Florentinum ex illustri progenie Medicorum virum clarissimum. Quod spreto vulgo libellum æquo animo legat, quamvis lascivum & secum una priscos viros imitetur* (29). Mr Magliabecchi has a manuscript copy of this poem (30). At that time many letters were written about this poem. Guarin of Verona (31) wrote one to John Lamola, wherein he gives great praise to the Hermaphroditus and its author; of which letter Mr Magliabecchi has the original. Gyraldus thought it very strange, that this poem should be commended. 'Legi, *says he* (32), ejus 'ætatis quorundam epistolas quibus Hermaphroditus 'illius multis laudibus commendatur, sed quare nescio. 'Dicam ego vobis sanè quid sentio, nec is mihi poëta 'bonus, nec bonus Orator; quæ enim soluto & pe- 'destri sermone ejus scripta legi, luxuriantis magis 'quam bonæ frugis referta videntur, ut impudicas & 'prostitutas ejus Musas mittam. - - - *I have read the 'letters of some of that time, wherein his Hermaphro- 'ditus is highly commended, but upon what account I 'know not. I will tell you my opinion plainly, I think 'he*

(28) Leonardo Nicodemo, *ubi supra, pag.* 21.

(29) See Nicodemo, *ibid. pag.* 20.

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) So I correct *Graviane, Vironese*, which I find in Nicodemo, *ibid.*

(32) Lil. Gregor. Gyraldus, de Poëtis sui tempor. Dial. I, *pag.* 385, apud Nicodemum, *ibid.*

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has not committed many considerable faults [K]. Those of Varillas are not very numerous; see them in the remark [B].

'he is neither a good Poet nor a good Orator: for what 'I have read of him in prose is rather luxuriant than 'solid, not to mention his unchaste and prostitute Muses.' You see he does not only detest the obscenity of this piece, but despises also the verses themselves. The censure of Poggius was not so extensive, he commended the invention, the wit, and the ornaments of the work; but he condemned the obscenity, and counselled the author, for the future, to bestow his pains upon subjects more becoming a Christian. *Delectatus sum, mehercle, varietate rerum & elegantia versuum: simulque admiratus sum res adeo impudicas, adeo ineptas tam venustè tam compositè à te dici, atque ita multa exprimi turpiuscula, ut non enarrari sed agi videantur: nec ficta à te jocandi causa, ut existimo, sed acta existimari possint. Laudo ego doctrinam tuam, jucunditatem carminis, jocos ac sales . . . . pro charitate tamen qua omnibus debitores sumus, unum est quod te monere & deboo & volo, ut scilicet deinceps graviora quidem mediteris, hæc enim quæ adhuc edidisti, vel ætati concedi possunt, vel licentiæ jocandi . . . . scis enim non licere idem nobis qui Christiani sumus, quod olim Poëtis qui Deum ignorabant* (33). Panormita answered Poggius, and alledged to him some reasons to justify or excuse himself (34). Poggius replied, and maintained, that a man ought to be virtuous, not only in his actions, but in his writings (35). From whence we may conclude, that he repented of having employed his pen in lascivious writings during his youth (36). We will close this remark with the words of a Dutch writer, who had read this obscene Poem of Panormita: 'De Hermaphrodito quod dicit (*Gyraldus*) non est de nihilo: 'ego enim legi manu descriptum, (neque enim unquam est typis excusus) adeo spurcum, adeo abominabilem, ut nihil supra. Versus deinde ipsi vix 'sunt tolerabiles, tantum abest ut laudem aliquam mereantur. Inscribitur autem Hermaphroditus, eo quod 'utriusque sexus membra genitalia utriusque libelli 'omnem materiam faciunt. Hæc qui patienter legit, 'næ illum oportet esse hominem frugi (37). - - - - 'What he (Gyraldus) *says of the Hermaphroditus is not* 'without reason: I have read it in manuscript (for it 'never was printed) and it is so filthy, so abominable, 'that nothing can exceed it. Then, the verse is scarce 'tolerable, so far is it from meriting praise. It is intituled Hermaphroditus, because the genital members of 'both sexes make the whole subject of both books. He 'must be a man of great temper that can read these 'things patiently.'

(33) Poggius, Epist. pag. 131, 132, apud Nicodemum, ibid. pag. 21.

(34) Nicodem. ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Dal che si comprende ch'esso si pentisse delle facezie, e dell' altre cose meno oneste che in gioventu scritte avea. *Nicodem. ibid.*

(37) Author Anonymus notarum ad poëmata Sannazari, pag. 202, 203, Edit. Amstel. 1689.

[K] *Mr Moreri has not committed many faults that are considerable.*] I. Instead of saying as he does, that Panormita was *a native of Bologna*, and originally from Sicily, he should have said the quite contrary. Mr Varillas also makes him a native of Bologna (38). II. He should not have affirmed, that Philip, *Lord of Milan invited him to his house*, but he should rather have said, that Panormita made an offer of his wit to Philip duke of Milan: *Quum Philippo Mediolanensium principi fertilis ingenii industriam obtulisset, tanta liberalitate susceptus est ut, &c* (39). These are the words of Paul Jovius, one of the authors, cited by Moreri. III. Why does he say, that Panormita did not attend the king of Naples till after the death of the duke of Milan? Does not Paul Jovius intimate the contrary (40)? IV. I have shewn elsewhere (41) the falsehood of these words of Moreri: *He wrote with care the history of this king.* This pretended history is nothing but a collection of the Apophthegms, and of some memorable actions of Alphonsus, *de dictis & factis Alfonsi Regis Aragonum libri quatuor.* That prince rewarded the author for it with 1000 crowns (42). V. He imposes upon us when he says, *that we have divers editions of that history, with the Remarks and Commentaries of Æneas Sylvius*; for these pretended Commentaries, are nothing but a collection of the actions and sentences of other princes like those of Alphonsus. By the by, observe an error of Vossius, who thought that the piece of Panormita, and that of Sylvius, had always been printed apart, until Marquardus Freherus published them as parallels (43). This mistake he might have avoided, by consulting the *Bibliotheca* of Gesner, where he might have seen, that in the Basil edition, 1538, what Panormita had done was interwoven chapter by chapter with what Æneas Sylvius had collected (44). Paul Jovius was not ignorant of this, for speaking of Panormita's book, he says, *Quem pius pontifex exemplis partibus* INTERTEXTIS *nobiliorem reddidisse videtur* (45). - - - *Which the pious pontif seems to have rendered more excellent by intermixing parallel examples.* I do not blame in Vossius the word *Commentariis*, which he makes use of, speaking of the book of Æneas Sylvius, for this word in Latin is of a larger extent than our word Commentary. VI. Since none of the three authors whom Moreri cites, says any such thing, he had no reason to affirm, *that it is certain that Panormita survived king Alphonsus, who died in* 1458; and that *it is probable* he did not die *till after* 1460. VII. This probability is not well proved by alledging a letter written to Panormita by Philelphus in 1458, for without doubt he received many letters the same year that he died. Note, that I do not mean to deny that he lived till after the year 1460; I only condemn the rashness of an author, who affirms that which his witnesses do not affirm. I believe that Panormita died after 1460, because I find in the same Dialogue, where it is said that he was lately dead (46), that Theodorus the Grecian had departed this life not long before (47): Now I fancy that this Theodorus, is not different from Theodora Gaza, who died in the year 1478 (48); therefore I do not alledge what we read in the same Dialogue, that it was a little more than an age (49) since there had happened a conflagration in the isle Ænaria, for the calculation of Pontanus is not exact, since this eruption of fire happened in the year 1301 (50). VIII. He should have cited *Miræus in Auctario*, and not *in Aug.* but this fault I impute to the correctors of the Press; but that of having cited Miræus is to be reckoned the author's. It was very needless to cite him, since that little which he says of Panormita is to be found in Paul Jovius. I could criticize upon the place he has assigned to our Panormita, for he speaks of him under the word Antony, which is not his proper place.

(38) Varillas, Anecdot. de Florence, pag. 165.

(39) Jovius, ubi supra.

(40) Verum eo (*Philippo*) gravissimis bellis occupato, Panhormita Alphonso adhæsit. *Ibid.*

(41) Above, in the text of the article NAPLES (ALPHONSUS KING OF).

(42) Jovian. Pontanus, de Liberalitate, *fol. m.* 97.

(43) Utrumque opus SEORSIM antea excusum παραλλήλως atque enumdatius in Germania prodiit (*Hanoviæ ann.* 1611) cura Marquardi Freheri. *Vossius, de Histor. Latinis, pag.* 593.

(44) Cum Æneæ Sylvii commentariis quæ capitatim cum Alphonsinis contenunt. *Gesn. Bibl. fol.* 62, *verso.*

(45) Jovius, ubi supra, *pag.* 34.

(46) Nuper paucos antequam morbo aggravaretur dies. *Pontanus, in Dialogo Antonius, pag.* 1198.

(47) Et Theodorus Græcus qui diem nuper obiit. *Id. ib. pag.* 1237.

(48) Gesner, in Biblioth. *folio* 611, *verso.*

(49) Centum ante annis aut paulo amplius. *Pontanus, ubi supra, pag.* 1231. (50) Scipio Mazzella, de Balneis Puteolanis, *pag. m.* 255.

PARACLETE, an abbey of Nuns founded by Peter Abelard. This learned man, being a monk in the abbey of St Denys, after the relations of Heloisa, had villainously castrated him, quarrelled more than once with his brethren; and at last he had reason to fear they would deliver him over to the secular power, because he had said, that St Denys the Areopagite had not converted France. He retired into the territories of Thibaud, or Theobald, earl of Champagne, and kept near to Provins in a cell which belonged to the monks of Troies. Some time after, having obtained leave from the abbot of St Denys to retire to any hermitage he pleased, provided he should not depend upon any community; he made choice of a very solitary retirement in the diocese of Troies [A]. There he built a cottage on a piece of ground that was

[A] *In the diocese of Troies.*] For the sake of those who would be more particulary informed, I add, that the Paraclete was built in the parish of Quincey, upon the little river Arduzon, near to Nogent upon the Seine. The letter of Pope Innocent II to Heloisa, mentions the greatest part of these particulars. *Heloisæ Abbatissæ cæterisque sororibus in Oratorio, quod in pago Trecensi, in Parrochia Quinceii, supra fluvium Arduconem situm est* (1). The Chronicle of William de Nangis says this of it, 'Constructum Monasterium in 'Episcopatu Trecensi juxta Nogentum super Sequanam, 'in quodam prato ubi legere solitus fuerat (2). - - - *She* 'had built a monastery in the diocese of Troies near Nogent 'upon the Seine, in a meadow where he used to read lectures.'

(1) Du Chesne, Not. in Hist. Calamitatum, *pag.* 1177.

(2) Apud eumd. ibid.

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was given him, and, with the permiſſion of the biſhop, he made of that cottage an Oratory, which he conſecrated to the Trinity (*a*). His ſcholars knowing this, ran from all parts to this deſart, and there built themſelves huts, being well ſatisfied to live upon herbs and roots, and to ſubſiſt, as I may ſay, upon bread and water, provided they might enjoy the benefit of the lectures of this famous profeſſor. He could not dig the ground, and he was aſhamed to beg, and therefore he thought it convenient to get a liveli-hood by his tongue, and by re-aſſuming his ancient profeſſion, knowing that his ſcholars would furniſh him with what was neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. And they did more than this, for they enlarged the Oratory, and built it of wood and ſtone: then Abelard gave it the name of Paraclete, to preſerve the memory of the conſolations he had received in this deſart. The jealouſy and envy, which a long time before had ſtirred up againſt him Alberic of Rheims, and Ludolfus of Lombardy, was furiouſly revived, when they ſaw ſo many ſcholars flock about him, notwithſtanding the inconveniences of the place, and in contempt of the maſters they could ſo conveniently find in the cities. They ſought therefore for all occaſions to vex him, and did not forget that which the title of Paraclete afforded them. They ſaid, it was an innovation, and that it was not more lawful to conſecrate churches to the holy Ghoſt, than to GOD the Father. This made a great uproar: but the perſecution was infinitely more terrible, when the two perſons above-named had prevailed with St Bernard and St Norbert to eſpouſe their intereſt, who valued themſelves upon the account of their great zeal, and a ſpirit of reformation. He could by no means ſtand againſt ſuch adverſaries; Abelard therefore quitted that place, and went into the lower Bretagne, where the monks of the abbey of St Gildas of Ruys had choſen him for their head. The Paraclete remained empty, until ſuch time as the abbot of St Denys drove away the nuns of Argenteuil from their convent. Heloiſa, their prioreſs, not knowing which way to turn herſelf, was very glad that her late huſband did yield her the Paraclete. Pope Innocent II, confirmed this donation in the year 1131 (*b*); and this was the original of the abbey of the Paraclete, whereof Heloiſa was the firſt abbeſs. Great riches were given to it in a little time (*c*). The abbeſſes who ſucceeded her, were very often of the moſt ancient families of the kingdom; you may ſee a catalogue of them in the works of Abelard (*d*), from the firſt foundation, which happened in the year 1130, to the year 1615. But it was not judged proper to obſerve in it, that Jane Chabet, who died the twenty-fifth of June 1593, publickly profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, *yet without marrying or quitting the habit of a nun, which ſhe always retained, tho' ſhe was driven from her nunnery* (*e*). For the reſt, it is a difficulty which is looked upon as a matter of conſequence, to know whether it muſt be called Paraclete or Paraclite [*B*]. That it might not be forgot, that Heloiſa underſtood Greek, the nuns are wont to have the office read in that language on Whitſunday (*f*).

(*a*) Ibi à quibuſdam terra mihi donata, aſſenſu Epiſcopi terræ Oratorium quoddam in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis ex calamis & culmo primum conſtruxi. *Abælard. Oper. pag.* 28.

(*b*) Taken from the Letter of Abelard, which contains the Hiſtory of his misfortunes.

(*c*) Plus ut arbitror uno anno in terrenis commodis ſunt multiplicatæ, quam ego per centum ſi ibi permanſiſſem. *Ib. p.* 34.

(*d*) Not. Andr. du Cheſne in Hiſtor. Calamit. Abælardi.

(*e*) Maimb. Hiſt. du Calvin. *pag.* 464.

(*f*) Aub. Miræus, in Schol. ad Henr. Gandavenſ. de Script. Eccleſ. *pag.* 165.

' *lectures*.' This laſt circumſtance is contrary to the narrative of Abelard (3), according to which it is certain, that he taught not in the place where he built the oratory, until after he had built it. I think three ſtations of Abelard may be reckoned in the territories of Theobald earl of Champagne; for firſt, he retired thither with the permiſſion of the monks of St Denys, and there read lectures to a great number of ſcholars. This was interrupted by the cenſure which the council of Soiſſons paſſed upon him in 1121. Being ſent back to his cloyſter, and having there brought himſelf into trouble about Denys the Areopagite, he retired by night to Provins, and lived in a little cell until ſuch time as his difference with the monks of St Denys was ended; after which having permiſſion to live in any ſolitude he pleaſed, he went to the place where he built the Oratory. It was known that he lived there very retired; the ſcholars flocked to him, and he begun again his lectures. ' Oratorium quoddam in nomine Sanctæ ' Trinitatis ex calamis & culmo primum conſtruxi ' Ubi cum quodam Clerico noſtro latitans, illud vere ' Domino poteram decantare, ecce elongavi fugiens & ' manſi in ſolitudine. Quod cum cognoviſſent ſcho- ' lares, cœperunt undique concurrere (4.) --- *I built at ' firſt an Oratory, in the name of the Holy Trinity, with ' ſtraw and reed. Where lying hid with one of our clergy, ' I could truly ſing that to the Lord, Lo, I have wan- ' dered far off, and have remained in the wilderneſs. ' Which when the ſcholars knew, they flocked from all ' parts*.' It does in no wiſe appear, that he retired to the ſame place the firſt and the third time, and it may rather be inferred from his narrative, that theſe two places of retreat, were remote from one another: Thus William de Nangis might very well be miſtaken.

(3) See the Letter intituled, *Hiſtoria Calamitatum*.

(4) Abælard. Oper. *pag.* 28.

[*B*] *It is a difficulty . . . whether it muſt be called Paraclete, or Paraclite.*] This queſtion had never been much diſcuſſed, if this word had not been uſed in the divine ſervice. This was the ground of the diſpute, ſome maintaining that it ſhould be pronounced *Paracletus*, while others thought it better to call it *Paraclitus*; the latter have, with a ſtrict hand, obtained a compleat victory. Paſquier relates a curious thing. ' The ignorance of the common people called it *Para- ' clite* (5). So have I ſeen in my younger days, that ' in the churches, the Holy Spirit was called, *Spiritum ' Parachytum*, not *Paracletum*, two words of quite ' contrary ſignifications, for the one ſignifies a flatte- ' terer, and the other a comforter. Nay, a little ' after I came to the bar, one Maſter John Sablet, a ' canon of Chartres, a learned man, having pronounced ' at the celebration of his maſs, *Paracletus*, and not ' *Parachytus*, was for that ſuſpended, *ex officio*, by the ' biſhop, from which ſentence he appealed as a grie- ' vance; and, in maintainance of his cauſe, he publiſhed ' a very learned manifeſto, which I had in my poſ- ' ſeſſion ſome time; and afterwards the cauſe was com- ' promiſed between them by ſome friends of the biſhop, ' that he might not be laughed at by the people (6).' There are two things to be cenſured in this diſcourſe of Paſquier: I. it is falſe that thoſe who do not pronounce *Paracletus*, pretend to pronounce *Paraclytus*; for they pretend to pronounce *Paraclitus*, and to ſay the very ſame thing with thoſe who pronounce *Paracletus*. The queſtion turns only upon this grammatical nicety, whether the η of the Greeks does anſwer to the *e* or *i* of the Latins. II. Παρασίτης does not ſignify a flatterer, but in general, a man of a bad name. Garaſſe here does not ſpare Stephen Paſquier, but inſults him with his uſual pride, and maintains againſt him, that the Greek-tongue has no ſuch word as *Paraclytus*, and that if this word might be compoſed by analogy, it would not ſignify a *flatterer*, but it would ſignify either an infamous man, or one that is honoured above his merits (7). The apologiſt of Paſquier acted a very ſilly part, when he writ againſt this; for inſtead of confeſſing that his client was miſtaken, he took upon him to defend him, and he could not even invent many falſe reaſonings; what he replied was equally ſhort, and bad. He ſays, that we

(5) He ſpeaks of the Oratory of Abelard.

(6) Paſquier, Recherches de la France, *liv.* vii, *chap.* xvii, *pag.* 511.

(7) Enquiry of Enquiries, *book* iii, §. xii.

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we find in the great *Etymologicon*, and in *Scapula*, that *Paraclytus* with an υ ſignifies a flatterer (8). I have a *Scapula* in folio, printed at Baſil in 1605, and there I find παρακλυτὸς at p. 810, and this refutes Father Garaſie; but there I find that this word ſignifies *infamis, famoſus, infamous, diſgraced*, which refutes the defender of Stephen Paſquier. But to return to the general diſpute, I ſay, that Mr Thiers has wrote a treatiſe *de Retinenda in Eccleſiaſticis libris voce* PARACLITUS, - - - *about retaining the word* PARACLITUS *in Eccleſiaſtical books*, wherein he tells us many curious things; as that, 'In the ninth century, that diſpute was warmly debated by the biſhops of France 'and Germany, upon occaſion of a Greek who came 'to court, and who hearing, in the king's chapel, 'Paraclitus Spiritus Sanctus, remonſtrated, that they 'ſhould ſay *Paracletus* (9).' His remonſtrances were to no purpoſe; none durſt change the pronunciation of this word, becauſe it was the cuſtom to read ſo, and there muſt be no innovation (10). Mr Thiers adds, that in 1526, the faculty of Theology in Paris having paſſed a cenſure upon Eraſmus's works condemned him, among other things, for this, that he maintained we ought to write *Paracletus*.

(8) Defence for Stephen Paſquier, *pag.* 795.

(9) See the Journal of the Learned, of the 16th of December 1669.

(10) Ibid. ex Haimone Epiſcopo Alberſtad.

PARAVICIN (VINCENT) Miniſter of the word of GOD in the country of the Griſons, lived in the XVIIth century. He tranſlated from French into Italian the treatiſe of Meſtrezat, concerning our communion with JESUS CHRIST in the ſacrament of the holy ſupper. This tranſlation was put in the Index at Rome in the year 1640. He was probably of the ſame family with PETER PAUL PARAVICIN, Phyſician at Como, author of a letter printed in the year 1545 *in* 4, *de Maſinenſium & Burmenſium Thermarum hactenus incognitarum ſitu, natura, & miraculis* (*a*).

(*a*) *See* Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 902.

PARE' (AMBROSE) in Latin, *Paræus*, a native of Laval in the country of Maine. I ſhall only add three things to the article that Moreri has given of him, *viz.* that he was a Proteſtant, and that he was ſaved from the maſſacre on St Bartholomew's day, by the ſpecial favour of Charles the IXth [*A*], and that he had many obſtacles to remove, when he publiſhed his books of Phyſic [*B*]. He had expreſſed himſelf too ſmuttily.

A modern writer relates two things; one is, that Ambroſe Paré, being Surgeon to Francis the IId, told admiral Coligni, as a ſecret, that the diſtemper in the ear of that monarch was extreamly dangerous (*a*). The other, that it was ſuſpected he had put poiſon in the ear of this prince *when he dreſſed him* (*b*). The author above-mentioned adds to each of theſe two things many particulars; believe them who will. I find nothing of them in good Hiſtorians; only I know that Beaucaire has mentioned the ſuſpicion concerning the poiſon. Spondanus relates it after him (*c*), and does not ſeem to believe it.

(*a*) Vie de Gaſpar de Coligni, *pag.* 220, *Edit.* 1686.

(*b*) Ib. *pag.* 221.

(*c*) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1560, *num.* 20.

[*A*] *He was ſaved from the maſſacre on St Bartholomew's-day, by . . . favour of Charles IX.*] What Brantome ſays upon this ſubject is too remarkable to be here omitted. 'The king, as ſoon as it was day, having 'put his head out of his chamber-window, whenever 'he ſaw any in the ſuburbs of St Germains removing 'and making their eſcape, took a great hunting har-'quebuſs which he had, and ſhot at them, but in 'vain, for the harquebuſs would not carry ſo far, and 'cried out, continually *kill, kill*; and would have none of 'them ſaved, except Mr Ambroſe Paré, his firſt Sur-'geon, and the beſt in Chriſtendom; he had ſent for 'him to come the night before to his own chamber and 'wardrobe, commanding him not to ſtir from thence; 'for he ſaid, that it was not reaſonable, that he who 'could do great ſervice to ſo many people, ſhould be 'thus maſſacred (1).'

[*B*] *He had many obſtacles to remove when he publiſhed his books of Phyſic.*] I change nothing in the expreſſions of the author who informs me of this: 'Ambroſe 'Paré, *ſays he* (2), Surgeon to three kings ſucceſſively, 'learned, and experienced, who hath publiſhed many 'good and curious books, which were for ſome time 'ſtopped from being printed and publiſhed by the col-'lege of learned Phyſicians in Paris; not upon the ac-'count of any error that was diſcovered in them re-'lating to the art of which he treated; but becauſe 'in his book of Generation, through inadvertence, 'he had inſerted ſome paſſages about it which were a 'little immodeſt; and after he had corrected them, he 'met with no more oppoſition.'

(1) Brantome's Memoirs, *Tom. iv, Diſcourſe on Charles IX.*

(2) Louïs Guyon, diverſes Leçons, *Tom. ii, book ii, chap. viii, pag.* 298.

PAREUS (DAVID) a famous Reformed Divine, was born at Francoſtein in Sileſia, December 30, 1548. John Wængler, his father, ſon of a rich countryman (*a*), made him at firſt ſtudy at Francoſtein, and then bound him apprentice to an Apothecary at Breſlaw, and after that to a Shoemaker. But this young man was not born for ſuch little things; and, as the author of his life ſays, the GOD, who preſides over the Muſes, did not abandon him to the caprices of a ſtep-mother, who was the cauſe of this unworthy treatment. The good man, John Wængler, ordered him to return to his ſtudies in 1564, and ſent him to Hirſchberg in the neighbourhood, where there was a college, of which a learned man called Chriſtopher Schilling (*b*) was rector. There our young ſcholar acquired the name of *Paræus*, taken from the Greek, by alluſion to that of his family [*A*]. This was the common cuſtom of that time, and particularly of Schilling. The bad humour of the ſtep-mother, was a little pacified no

(*a*) Who lived more than 100 years, and ſaw more than 20 of his own children alive. *Philip. Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parei.*

(*b*) We ſhall ſpeak of him in its proper place.

[*A*] *The name of Pareus taken from the Greek, by alluſion to that of his family.*] His father was called Wængler. Now Wange in the German-tongue ſignifies the ſame thing with παρειὰ in Greek, *i. e.* the cheek. Παρειὸς therefore was formed ἀπὸ τῆς παρειᾶς, *quaſi dicas*, GENIUS Wængler. The ſon of Pareus, from whom I take this remark, ſays, that his father oppoſed as much as he could this change of name, but that he was forced at laſt to ſubmit to it when Zachary Urſinus had approved it (1). He adds, that moſt people write Paræus, and that they are in the wrong, *becauſe*, ſays he, τὸ ει *Græcorum tranſit, in* ē *longum, apud Latinos, the* ει *in Greek is turned into* é *long in Latin, as* ἠλεῖοι *Eléi,* αἰνείας *Ænéas,* ἀλφειὸς *Alphéus,* λύκειον *Lycéum,* μουσεῖον *Muſéum,* πρυτανεῖον *Prytanéum, & id genus alia non pauca.* As to the Chriſtian name David, it was given to his father, ſays he, becauſe he was born on the thirtieth of December, which is a day conſecrated to David; 'Penultima 'Decembris die quæ DAVIDI eſt ſacra . . . . & 'parentibus ſic placuiſſet liberis ſuis, quotquot illis 'naſcerentur, ea imponere nomina quæ præ ſe ferrent ſolemnes

(1) Philip. Pareus, in Vita David. Parei, *pag. m.* 5.

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no doubt, becauſe David's board was not to be paid; for he maintained himſelf by means of a tutorſhip [B]; and by he money the received from one of the principal men of the place (c), every time that he preſented him with verſes. His maſter did not only take from him his paternal name, but alſo turned him from Lutheraniſm, by ſetting him right about the real preſence, as well as the reſt of his ſcholars. This was of miſchievous conſequence, both to the maſter and the ſcholar; the former was turned out of his ſchool, at the importunity of the miniſter of the place; the latter was like to be diſinherited by his father, from whom he could very hardly get leave to go to the Palatinate, altho' he made uſe of a reaſon, which is commonly moſt prevailing, to wit, that by this means he could finiſh his ſtudies, without any expence to the family. Having obtained this leave at laſt, he followed his maſter, who was invited by the elector Palatine, Frederic III, to be principal of the new ſchool of Amberg. The allowance which his father gave him for his journey was ſo ſmall, that he was forced ſometimes to beg by the way. A little after his arrival at Amberg, in 1566, he was ſent with ten of his comrades to Heidelberg, by their common maſter, who gave them ſo good recommendations, that they were all admitted into the *Collegium Sapientiæ*, whereof Zachary Urſinus, profeſſor of Divinity, was director. The univerſity of Heidelberg was then very flouriſhing in all the Faculties, and ſo Pareus wanted nothing to improve himſelf conſiderably in the languages, in Philoſophy and Divinity. He was admitted miniſter in 1571, and ſent in the month of May into a village called Schlettenbach, where he was much perplexed, becauſe the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics were there at variance with one another [C]. Nevertheleſs he was juſt going to marry there, before the winter came on, when he was called back to Heidelberg, to teach the third claſs. This put an end to his intended marriage, and he ſo well acquitted himſelf in his employment, that at the end of two

(c) Albert Kindler lord of Zackenſtein, who was afterward governour of Luſatia.

' ſolemnes faſti ad ipſum nativitatis diem. - - - - *On the* ' *thirtieth of December, which is conſecrated to* D A V I D ' . . . . *and the parents thought fit to give to their chil-* ' *dren the names of the holy-days on which they were* ' *born.*' Every body does not know that St David's-day is in the Calendar.

[B] *He maintained himſelf by means of a tutorſhip.*] Here the Hiſtorian is not very exact: he ſays, that David Pareus ſpent two years at Hirſchberg, three months at the expence of his father, and the reſt of the time by being tutor in the houſe of an honeſt citizen, whom he names (2). A little while after it is ſaid, that the lord of Zackenſtein was very liberal to him, that he maintained him *gratis*, upon account of the verſes wherewith the death of his eldeſt ſon was honoured by this young man (3); and that afterwards he gave him ſome money for every poem he ordered him to make. The ſame Hiſtorian mentions a letter of that lord, wherein he deſired to know, whether that Pareus, who had lodged in his houſe twenty-five years ago, *Quem ante annos XXV hoſpitem domeſticum habuiſſet* (4), was the ſame perſon by whoſe care the German Bible had been printed? Is not this to put a body in two places at the ſame time? David Pareus was ſent to Hirſchberg in 1564, he received the letter from this lord in 1589, he lodged therefore with him in the year 1564. He was not therefore preceptor twenty-one months in the houſe of James Schilder. There are every where ſuch like faults to be met with.

(2) In ea Schola vixit biennium trimeſtri ſpatio ſumptibus parentis, reliquo tempore pædagogi officio functus apud civem honeſtum Jacobum Schilderum. *Ibid. pag.* 8, *ad ann.* 1564.

(3) Convictum, quod filio defuncto epicedio carmine parentaſſet, gratuitum facile dedit. *Ibid.*

(4) Ib. *pag.* 45.

[C] *The Proteſtants and Roman-Catholics were there at variance.*] It became neceſſary to uſe force for maintaining the pretenſions of the elector Palatine againſt thoſe of the biſhop of Spires; the latter maintained, that the collation of benefices in the community of Alfeſtad belonged to his chapter: the elector granted this, but he maintained, that ſince the patronage was his, the collators were obliged, according to the peace of Paſſaw, to preſent ſuch paſtors whoſe religion was agreeable to him. By virtue of this right he ſettled the Reformed religion in that community, and ſent Pareus to the pariſh of Schlettenbach. The Catholics ſhut up the gates of the church againſt him; but they were broke open, and then the images and altars were overthrown; after which, the great trouble of Pareus was to get the church cleaned, for every one turned over to another the trouble of removing the rubbiſh (5). The rector of the univerſity of Heidelberg, alludes to all this in his Program for the obſequies of Pareus. ' Ad paſtoratum, *ſays he* (6), Schlettenba- ' cenſem . . . . miſſus, ibidem cum ſtatuis & altaribus ' acri duello primus conflictatus. - - - *Being ſent to be* ' *paſtor of Schlettenbach . . . at firſt he had a ſharp ſkir-* ' *miſh with the images and altars.*' Pareus was alſo the firſt paſtor of Hemſbach, and found there the people more tractable: for after the elector Palatine, who, as the patron of this pariſh, reſolved to reform it, had broke open the gates of the church, Pareus removed all the images, and burnt them with the conſent of the people (7). To this the program of the rector referred in theſe words: *Hinc anno* 73, *Eccleſiæ Hemſbacenſi* (*& hic iconomachus futurus* L E O *non imperator ſed Paſtor*) *Miniſter præfectus* (8). The occaſion which induced the prince to ſettle the Reformation in this place is very ſingular. The prieſt having drunk all the night before Eaſter, ſlept the next morning, at the time of the office; at laſt being waked by the ſexton, he went to church, and after ſinging, he went up into the pulpit, begun his ſermon, fell down upon his knees, according to cuſtom, to ſay the Lord's-prayer (9), and then fell aſleep. The people thought that this long kneeling proceeded from a very great zeal, but the too long continuance of it obliged the ſexton to pull the prieſt by the gown. He roſe, being half aſleep, and cried out with an oath, that he could not preach, *Ich kan heym Sacrament nicht predigen* (10), *By the Sacrament, I cannot preach.* The biſhop of Worms being informed of this ſcandal, cauſed the prieſt to be impriſoned, and in his room ſubſtituted another who had ſeven baſtards. The marriage of Pareus being celebrated publickly in the church, was ſuch a fight as had never been ſeen in the pariſh of Hemſbach: as for concubines and baſtards of prieſts, as many as you will, none of theſe was ſo ſtrange a fight as the other. But the people were eaſily reconciled to the novelty, when they underſtood what St Paul orders concerning the marriage of a biſhop. ' Celebratæ ſunt nuptiæ d. 5 Januarii Hemſbaci: ubi an- ' tehac nullus Eccleſiæ Miniſter ſponſus vel maritus ' fuit. Portenti igitur ſimile habebatur matrimonium ' Paſtoris Eccleſiæ eo loci, ubi nunquam niſi ſacrificu- ' lorum concubinas, coquillas, & ſcortilla viderant. ' Verum percepta in Concionibus doctrina Apoſtoli †: ' *Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe unius uxoris Virum*: Et ‡ *Epiſ-* ' *copus ſit unius uxoris Vir*: *liberos habens fideles*: & ' vernaculis Sacramentorum liturgiis auditis, matrimo- ' nium & miniſterium novi Paſtoris cuncti approbave- ' runt (11). - - - - *The marriage was celebrated the fifth* ' *of January at Hemſbach: where no clergy-man had* ' *ever before been betrothed, or married. And therefore* ' *the marriage of the paſtor of the church ſeemed like a* ' *prodigy in that place, where they had only ſeen the con-* ' *cubines, cookmaids, and harlots of the prieſts. But* ' *when they underſtood, by his ſermons, the doctrine of* ' *the Apoſtle; that a biſhop muſt be the huſband of one* ' *wife: And again, let a biſhop be the huſband of one* ' *wife, having faithful children: And when they heard* ' *the public ſervice of the ſacraments in their own tongue,* ' *they all approved the marriage and miniſtry of their* ' *new paſtor.*'

(5) Expurgationem ruderum ab his & ab illis fruſtra quærebat novus Paſtor. *Ib. pag.* 24.

(6) Ib. *p.* 96.

(7) Nemine reſragante è plebe quæ ſefe omnimodis docilem præbuit, idola templi conſentiente populo removit & Vulcano obtulit. *Ib. pag.* 27.

(8) Ib. *p.* 96.

(9) It ſhould be the *Ave Maria*. Pareus, the ſon, might well be miſtaken in ſome other little circumſtances, becauſe he knew not the Romiſh ceremonies.

(10) Per Sacramentum *(that is the great cath of the Germans)* non poſſum concionari. *Ib. pag.* 26.

† 1 Tim. iii, 2.

‡ Tit. i, 17.

(11) P. Pareus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 32.

[D] *Winzenga*

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two years, he was promoted to the second class, but he quitted it six months after, that he might re-assume the function of the ministry, which he went to discharge at Hemsbach in the diocese of Worms. Growing weary of lodging in a public house, he married, four months after his arrival, the sister of John Stibelius, minister of Heppenheim (*d*). The marriage was celebrated on the fifth of January, 1574. He lost that church in 1577, because after the death of the elector Frederic III, Louïs, his son, being a great zealot for Lutheranism, settled Lutheran ministers in his dominions in the room of the Reformed. Pareus retired into the territories of prince John Casimir, brother to this elector, and was minister at Ogersheim near Franckenthal, for the space of three years, and then at Winzingen near Neustad [*D*]. This neighbourhood was so much the more useful and agreeable to him, because prince Casimir had founded a *School illustris* at Neustad in 1578, where he placed all the professors that were driven away from Heidelberg. The elector Louïs dying in 1583, prince Casimir had the sole guardianship of Frederic IV, his nephew, and the administration of the Palatinate. Then the Reformed ministers were restored and the second professorship in the college of Sapience, at Heidelberg, was given to Pareus; this was done in the month of September, 1584. He began two years after to set up for an author, by printing the *Methodus totius Ubiquitariæ Controversiæ*. He printed the German Bible at Neustad with notes, in 1589, which occasioned a warm dispute between him and a Lutheran of Tubingen named James Andrew. He became the first professor of the college of the Sapience, in the month of January 1591, and counsellor of the Ecclesiastical senate in the month of November 1592. The next year he was solemnly admitted Doctor in Divinity. He had already had several contests with the writers of the Augsburg confession; but that of the year 1596, was one of the most considerable. It produced an apology for Calvin, who was accused of favouring Judaism, in the interpretation of many passages of scripture. Two years after he was honoured with the place of Divinity professor of the Old Testament in the academy; whereby he was delivered from the dreadful fatigue he had endured for the space of fourteen years, in governing the youth which was entertained in the college of Sapience (*e*); a fatigue so terrible, that the good Zachary Ursinus thought himself happy for being banished by the Lutherans, since that banishment delivered him from that miserable slavery [*E*]. Pareus was advanced in 1602, to be Theological professor of the New Testament, after the death of Daniel Tossanus. His reputation increased daily, after such a manner, that many students came from Hungary and Poland upon his account. He published divers Commentaries on the scripture, and particularly one on the Epistle to the Romans, which was extreamly disliked in England [*F*], because it contained such maxims as were a little antimonarchical. The Evangelical Jubilee, was celebrated at Heidelberg in 1617, for the space of three days, with great pomp. There was nothing to be heard but harangues, disputes, poems, and discourses, about the great mercy of GOD shown to the church one hundred years before, in delivering it from the yoke of Popery. Pareus, for his part, wrote some pieces upon this subject, which exposed him to the attacks of the Jesuits of Mentz, to whom he was obliged to answer; but this was not the most troublesome controversy that he had been engaged in (*f*). He was designed to be sent the next year to the synod of Dort, according to the desire of the States-General; but he excused himself from going upon the account of the infirmities of his old age (*g*), which did not permit him to undertake a long journey, nor to use a new diet. He had otherwise been a very fit man for that assembly; for he was a great enemy to all innovations in point of doctrine [*G*]. After that time this venerable old man had scarce

(*d*) See in the remark [*C*] of the article URSINUS (ZACHARY) a mistake of Thuanus which concerns this Stibelius.

(*e*) Haud omnino invitus eam in se suscepit, pertæsus scilicet Sisyphiarum molestiarum quas in annum decimum quartum ærumnabili prorsus cura in collegio volvisset effrænem juventutem gubernando. *Philip. Pareus, in Vita David. Parei, pag.* 53, *Edit. in* 8*vo*, *Gen.* 1641. *cum Comm. in Matthæum.*

(*f*) See the remark [*H*].

(*g*) Idem, ἰμποδισμα senem emaciatum longinquioris itineris exoticæque diætæ impatientem D. Pareum in Academia domi servavit. *Phil. Pareus, ubi supra, pag.* 66.

[*D*] *Winzingen near Neustad.*] Paul Freherus affirms, that David Pareus was minister of Neustad (12); but Philip Pareus, who assigns him only a church in the neighbourhood of Neustad, is more to be credited than the continuator of Boissard cited by Freherus; I say he is more to be credited both as to this matter, and as to the honours of John Wængler, the father of David Pareus. According to Freherus, John Wængler was president of the Echevins in his country, but he was only Echevin, *assessor Scabinatus*, according to Philip Pareus.

(12) Paul. Freher. in Theatro, *pag.* 413.

[*E*] *Delivered him from that miserable slavery.*] The words which Philip Pareus uses, are very emphatical. 'Quamtumvis pauper & debilis sim & non prospiciens 'ullum peregrinationis aut exilii portum, tamen gau-'debo me dimitti ex meo ergastulo. Non possum am-'plius δυσμεταχειρίστον & ἀχάλινον illam juventu-'tem regere. Defessus enim sum & infirmus factus (13). '*Though I be poor, and weak, and see no rest to my pil-*'*grimage or banishment, yet I shall be glad to be dismissed* '*from my prison. I am no longer able to govern that* '*untractable and unruly youth. For I am become weary* '*and infirm.*'

(13) Phil. Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parei.

[*F*] *His Commentary on the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans . . . . was extremely disliked in England.*] King James caused it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman; the university of Oxford condemned it in the most disgraceful manner. See their proceedings in a book of Grotius, intituled, *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiastica*. The Sieur Konig refers us to p. 754, of an Abridgment of Universal History (14), wherein I find only 544 pages, altho' my edition be the third, which is that of the year 1661. I find a fault in the Index, for under the word David Pareus, we are referred to pag. 715, 745, and 755. I know not whether the Sieur Konig was not deceived by this means; however, the places where I found David Pareus, which are at pag. 509, 535, and 536, say nothing of the disgracing of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. There was an English Divine called David Owen, who refuted him. Philip Pareus answered him, and endeavoured to justify his father. See the *Anti* of Mr Baillet (15), and the Apology of Mr Arnauld for the Catholics (16), where we find that David Pareus was justified, among other means, by that which the Jesuits make use of, when they are accused of corrupting the Christian Morality. They shew that they are neither the first, nor the only persons who have taught this or that.

(14) It is that of *John Lætus*. He published it the first time in 1642. I found that the first edition contains more pages than the third.

(15) Num. 128.

(16) In chap. iv, of the first part.

[*G*] *He was a great enemy to all innovations in point of doctrine.*] See what will be said in the next remark concerning his antipathy to the Ramists. That temper

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ſcarce ever any reſt. He apprehended what afterwards happened to the elector, his maſter, for having accepted the crown of Bohemia. He fancied, I know not how many troubleſome preſages, founded upon ſeveral things he had ſeen, either when awake, or in his ſleep; for he gave credit to dreams [*H*]; and while he ſaw people working at the fortifications of Heidelberg, he ſaid that it was loſt labour. Calling to mind the books he had publiſhed againſt the Pope, he looked upon it as a dreadful misfortune to fall into the hands of the monks, and therefore he hearkened to thoſe who adviſed him to retire to a place of ſafety: and for his retirement he made choice of Anweil in the duchy of Deux-Ponts, near Landau, and arrived there in the month of October, 1621. Some months after, he went from thence to Neuſtad, and reſolved

per of mind linked him in a moſt intimate friendſhip to a certain divine of Franeker, called Sibrandus Lubbertus, who vigorouſly oppoſed the promoters of new ways of ſpeaking and teaching. Pareus called him his ſoul, and did not ſet him any bad examples (17), for he would by no means permit that any ſhould depart from the Catechiſm of his profeſſor Urſinus, as ſome Divines, I know not who, departed from it, who added no fewer than three kinds of imputations, to that which was laid down by Urſinus, as the matter of our juſtification before God, *viz.* The imputation of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, the imputation of his actual righteouſneſs, and habitual holineſs (18). There were alſo diſſenſions in the year 1604, about a queſtion of the ſame Palatine Catechiſm, *viz.* the LXXVI, which treats of the efficacy of the holy ſupper. Pareus, like a brave champion of the received doctrine, would not ſuffer it to be changed. Theſe innovations according to him, were a removing of the boundaries of truth, which ought to be ſacred and immutable (19), like thoſe which part lands of inheritance; and he thought that theſe attacks, which were made upon the Catechiſm, were the preſage of an approaching deſolation, which he expreſſed in theſe two verſes:

Aula ruit: Politia ruit: ruet & Catecheſis;
Ante fores noſtram quis jam neget eſſe ruinam (20).

The court, the government, and Catechiſm
All three to ruin go.
None can deny but this foretels
Our near approaching wo.

Let them ſay, if they will, that Pareus by this means introduced the principle of authority in lieu of that of enquiry, and that this was to employ, the engines of Popery againſt his brethren, after he had inveighed againſt them as abominable. Let them exclaim, if they pleaſe, that this conduct reſembles the ſtratagem of the Trojans:

Mutemus clipeos, Danaumque inſignia nobis
Aptemus. Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoſte requirat (21).

Then change we ſhields, and their devices bear,
Let fraud ſupply the want of force in war.

Let them, I ſay, declaim thus, and draw from thence a thouſand reproaches of contradiction, thoſe who know the powerful virtue of *diſtinguo*, thoſe who remember, *diſtingue tempora & conciliabis ſcripturas, ---- diſtinguiſh the times and you will reconcile the ſcriptures*, thoſe who conſider, that there are certain maxims which may be laid aſide at a certain time, and which muſt be taken up again at laſt, and that the abuſe does not take away the uſe, will ſuffer theſe declaimers to cry out and ſtorm on. Fancy to yourſelves a circle hanging at the entry of a houſe, whereof one half is without, and the other half within; make it turn about upon it's centre, and you will ſee that exactly, as one half goes out of the houſe, another will enter in; juſt ſo it is with certain principles of human ſociety; it is a thing that muſt be done: and after all, the greateſt perſecution is not that of the ſecular arm, but that of ſome reſtleſs men, who very preposterouſly ſet up for reformers. Our Pareus ſaid of ſuch people with Luther, ‘ A Doctore glorioſo, & Paſtore contentioſo, & inutilibus quæſtionibus liberet Eccleſiam ſuam Dominus (22). --- *From a haughty divine, a contentious miniſter, and uſeleſs queſtions, good Lord deliver thy church.*

[*H*] *He gave credit to dreams.*] His ſon informs us, that he found in the journal of his father, divers dreams and other augural obſervations. Take one inſtance: Pareus wrote in his journal on the twenty ſixth of December, 1617, that he dreamed a cat ſcratched his face, and that certainly this was an augural dream, *ſine dubio ominoſum* (23). Two days after having received the firſt leaf of a book that was printing at Mentz, he ſaid this was the cat that was to ſcratch him, and ſet down this expoſition in his journal. This is certain, that the Jeſuits of Mentz wrote bitterly againſt him; but what he ſuffered from Scaliger's hand, was a much heavier blow (24). It had been better for him that he had never engaged his pen againſt ſuch a Chronologer, *impar congreſſus Achilli. --- a very unequal match*: but he was troubled a little with the itch of meddling with too many ſubjects. His comfort was to ſee his adverſary ſuffer the *Lex talionis*; and then his Muſe awaked, and was delivered of this epigram:

Nobiliore canum jactans ſe ſtirpe Moloſſus
Forte viatorem dum petit ore minax,
A cane degenere incautus miſer ipſe necatur:
Hanc Nemeſim juſtam quis neget eſſe Δίκην (25)?

A maſtiff dog with inſolence did boaſt
Of his high birth, and did with open mouth
Attack a traveller: mean while a dog
Of meaner kind him kill'd; a juſt revenge!

He means the inſults of the wicked Scioppius; about which let us hear alſo Philip Pareus. ‘ Nactus præterea fuit, *ſays he* (26), nobilem adverſarium in ſtudiis Chronologicis, ſuperciliоſiſſimum Criticum JOSEPHUM SCALIGERUM Julii Cæſaris à Burden filium qui ſatyrica protervia erga PAREUM uſus jure ἀντιπεπονθότος eo ipſo tempore infamiæ notam pene indelebilem ab Apoſtatico quodam Alaſtore coactus fuit ſubire (27). --- *Moreover he met with a noted adverſary in Chronological matters, the moſt haughty critic Joſeph Scaliger ſon to Julius Cæſar of Burden, who having uſed Pareus with a ſatirical pride, at the ſame time, by the law of retaliation, was obliged to undergo an almoſt indelible mark of infamy from an apoſtate evil ſpirit.*’ I muſt not paſs over in ſilence, that Pareus attributes to his father a great meekneſs, and a notable ſweetneſs of temper. We muſt confeſs indeed that he was not one of thoſe untractable Divines, who would ſacrifice nothing for peace-ſake: the Irenicon which he publiſhed ſhews the contrary. But to pretend that he did not write in a ſtyle full of reproaches, and violent expreſſions upon many occaſions, is certainly to be guilty of ſuch an illuſion as is very common. Every one fancies, that there are no keen reproaches, but ſuch as are ſaid to him, and thoſe of his party. Pareus was moreover an enemy to the ſmalleſt innovations, as I have ſhewn in the preceeding remark. Now altho' it be often the cauſe of very great miſchief in matters of religion, to depart in the leaſt from the common opinions, yet it can never be ſaid that thoſe who are ſo briſk againſt the leaſt alterations, are endowed with much moderation, whatever other commendations may be given to their important ſervices. Ramus was inſupportable to Pareus, for daring to remove the boundaries of our anceſtors (28), and therefore he regaled him with this epigram:

(17) Animam ſuam appellavit. Amavit autem eum præcipuè ob rotundum ingenium in tuenda ὀρθοδοξίᾳ: quippe qui non paſſus fuerit à ſciolis mutari terminos doctrinæ receptos, intrepidoque animo iis ſeſe apposuerit, qui in conſueta forma loquendi ac docendi quicquam mutare præſumerent. *Philip. Pareus, pag.* 106.

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 102.

(19) Theologos illos qui καινοδοξίαν aut καινοτομίαν in dogmatibus vel phraſibus affectarent, nec ſervarent ex præcepto Apoſtoli ὑποτύπωσιν ὑγιαινόντων λόγων, dicere ſolebat movere veritatis terminos qui debeant eſſe immobiles atque ſacroſancti. *Ibid. pag.* 101.

(20) Ibid. *pag.* 103.

(21) Virgil. Æneid. lib. II, ver. 389.

(22) P. Pareus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 103.

(23) Ibid. *p.* 63.

(24) Eo conſilio non ſolum opponere patri ſed omnibus paſſim viris doctis, ſi paciones & cavere venationes aſes excipias, nihil unquam ægrius indigniuſve accidiſſe probe recordor. *Ibid. pag.* 107.

(25) Ibid. *pag.* 108.

(26) Ibid. *pag.* 107.

(27) See the New Letters againſt the Calviniſm of Maimbourg, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 182, 183.

(28) Novellam artem quæ à Ramo ſectario nomen jactat perpetuo rejecit. Hinc nimiam quantum horruiſſe ideò quòd per eam diceret antiquos artis terminos moveri, nihil ſuo loco relinqui, ingenia juventutis ad ἀθεότητα τῶν Ἐπικουρείων duci. *Philip. Pareus, ubi ſupra, pag.* 82.

Quæ

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reſolved to return from thence to Heidelberg, chuſing rather to die in his own *Pareanum* [*I*], and to be buried near the profeſſors of the univerſity, than in any other place. He had this conſolation; for, having yielded up the ghoſt in his own houſe, on the fifteenth of June 1622, at the age of near ſeventy-four years, he received ſuch an honourable burial as the unverſities of Germany beſtow upon their eminent men. His exegetical works were collected in three volumes in folio. He publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes againſt cardinal Bellarmin, and left a ſon called Philip, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and who wrote his father's life, from which I have taken what has been ſaid. I find nothing in it concerning his diſpute with the Jeſuit John Magirus [*K*].

Quæ mutas perdis, dixit Democritus, & quæ
Servas in phyſicis ſunt, Epicure, mea.
Nonne idem Ariſtoteles in Ramum maſtiga dicat
Quæ mutas, perdis: quæ retines mea ſunt (29).

(29) Ibid. pag. 22.

Democritus to Epicurus ſaid,
Whate'er in Phyſics you retain is mine
And what you change you ſpoil; the ſame reproof,
Might Ariſtotle give to Ramus . . . .

In fine, Pareus had ſo many people to write againſt, that it was ſcarce poſſible but he muſt contract a habit of reproachful language. Thoſe who have exerciſed themſelves in the Republic of Letters, will underſtand what I mean.

[*I*] *In his Pareanum.*] Having bought a houſe in the ſuburbs of Heidelberg, in the year 1607, he cauſed an apartment to be built in his garden, for his library and ſtudy; and this is what he called Pareanum. This afterwards became the name of the place, and all the city called it ſo. The elector granted to this houſe certain privileges and immunities. Pareus placed upon the frontiſpiece of it two inſcriptions, one Latin, the other German (30). Now ſince his ſon hoped, after the ravage that was made by the troops of the Catholic League in the Palatinate, that this houſe would preſerve ſtill the title of Pareanum (31), it muſt have continued entire. I know not what became of it afterwards, but I believe it is ruined at this time. The poor city of Heidelberg was ſo laid waſte by the troops of France, in the years 1689, and 1693, that there is no probability that the houſe of Pareus ſhould ſtill continue. We may remark, by the by, that certain cities ſeem to be built under a malignant conſtellation, for they are equally unhappy, whatever ſide gains the day. Heidelberg ruined for oppoſing the emperor, and for being faithful to him, is an inſtance of it.

(30) Ibid. pag. 55.

(31) Quo nomine incolis civitatis ſtatim innotuit, & à poſteris, ſi bene ominor, eam gratiam retinebit. *Ibid. He wrote the Life of his father in 1628.*

[*K*] *His diſpute with the Jeſuit Magirus.*] Pareus ſpoke an harangue at Heidelberg, the twenty-third of March 1602, *de Jeſuitarum ſtrophis circa Canonem Sacræ ſcripturæ - - - Of the impoſture of the Jeſuits concerning the canon of the holy Scripture.* He maintained alſo a Theſis, in 1603, on the canonical authority of the Scripture, and the infallibility of the church, and deſired the Jeſuits of Spires to be preſent at this diſpute. Not one of them appeared, but Magirus having written to Pareus Sept. 7, 1603, this occaſioned a conteſt, the pieces of which were publiſhed. The ſuperſcription and exordium of Magirus's letter were thus; 'Clariſſimo viro Domino D. Pereo Doctori & 'Profeſſori Facultatis pro tempore Decano in Acade- 'mia Heydelbergenſi. Nudius tertius venit ad Col- 'legium noſtrum adoleſcens, ingenio præfervido, mo- 'ribus linguaque protervus: is ita narrabat à te 'miſſum ſe eſſe, ut & diſputationem primam de 'S. S. authoritate adverſus Jeſuitarum impoſturas 'quam examinandam propoſueras ad diem 26 Au- 'guſti nobis redderet, ſimulque ad eam diſputationem 'nos humaniter invitaret. - - - - *To the moſt renown- 'ed Mr D. Pereus, Doctor and Profeſſor, and at this time 'dean of the faculty in the univerſity of Heidelberg. 'Three days ago a young man of a very hot temper, and 'inſolent in his behaviour, and language, came to our 'college: he ſaid he was ſent by you, to deliver to us the 'firſt diſputation about the authority of the holy Scripture 'againſt the impoſtures of the Jeſuits, which you had 'propoſed to be examined the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and 'at the ſame time to invite us civilly to that diſputa- 'tion.*' It is ſigned, *ſalutis tuæ cupidus Johannes Ma- girus. - - - - a well-wiſher to your ſalvation John Magirus.* Pareus anſwered and uſed this ſuperſcription, 'Clariſſimo viro Domino Joanni Magiro Societatis 'Jeſu dictæ Concionatori apud Spirenſes, amico ſuo 'in Chriſto. - - - - *To the moſt renowned Mr John Ma- 'girus of the ſociety of Jeſus ſo called, preacher at Spires, 'his friend in Chriſt.* He complains that Magirus had abuſed him in his ſermons by ſeveral invectives, and makes a remark upon this Jeſuit's naming him Pereus inſtead of Pareus. 'Si amanuenſis ſphalma eſt, 'tranſeat: ſi ſtudium tuum ut pereundi verbo me pun- 'geres, illiberale eſt, ac ſi quis pro Magiro Megærum 'diceret. - - - *If it be the fault of your amanuenſis, let it 'paſs: but if your deſign be to ſting one with alluſion to 'the word* pereo, *to periſh, it is unlike a gentleman: 'as if one ſhould call you Megærus, in alluſion to 'Megera, one of the furies.*' This piece of Pareus was printed in 1604, *typis Voegelianis*, and contains *diſceptatio epiſtolaris Johannis Magiri Jeſuitæ Concionatoris, & Davidis Parei Chriſtiani Theologi de authorita- te Divina & Canonica S. S. deque abſoluta Eccleſiæ in- fallibilitate. De S. S. authoritate adverſus Jeſuitarum impoſturas. Exegeſis diſputationis de authoritate Divina & Canonica, &c. adverſus Jeſuitarum ſtrophas & im- poſturas.* Mr Bachelier des Marets (32) furniſhed me with all that I have ſaid.

(32) Who is mentioned above, citat. (3) of the article EPPENDORF.

PAREUS (PHILIP) (*a*) ſon of the preceding Pareus, was born at Hemſbach in the dioceſe of Worms, May the 24th, 1576. He was one of the moſt laborious Grammarians that Germany ever produced. He begun his ſtudies at Neuſtad, and continued them at Heidelberg, and after that, at the expence of the elector Palatine, in foreign univerſities (*b*). He went to ſee that at Baſil, in 1599, and afterwards he went to Geneva, where he continued more than a year. As he travelled he ſaw ſome others by the way, and was much reſpected every where, as well upon the account of his own learning, as for the great veneration they had for his father. He converſed very much at Paris with the famous Caſaubon (*c*). He was made rector of the college of Neuſtad in 1610, and poſſeſſed that office till the Spaniards, becoming maſters of the city in July 1622, ordered him to depart the country immediately (*d*). His library was plundered. He had already publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*]; which ſhew his prodigious application, and his peculiar affection for the comedies of Plautus [*B*]. It was a thing

(*a*) In his firſt books he takes the name of *John Philip.*

(*b*) Theatr. Freheri, *pag.* 501.

(*c*) Daniel Pareus, Not. in Muſæum, *ver.* 1.

(*d*) Ipſe in Vita Davidis Parei.

[*A*] *He had already publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Beſides thoſe whoſe titles I mention in the next remark, he had in 1616, publiſhed *Calligraphia Romna, ſeu Theſaurus phraſium linguæ Latinæ*; and in 1615. *Electa Symmachiana, Lexicon Symmachianum, Calligraphia Symmachiana*, and ſome other pieces at ſeveral times.

[*B*] *His peculiar affection for the comedies of Plautus.*] He did not only publiſh them with notes in 1609, but he alſo publiſhed a *Lexicon Plautinum* in 1614. *Analecta Plautina* in 1617, a treatiſe *de imitatione Terentiana, ubi Plautum imitatus eſt*, in 1617. a ſecond edition of Plautus in 1619, and his *Electa Plautina* in 1620. I muſt explain what I have ſaid, of the firſt edition

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a thing of bad example, that there arose between him and John Gruterus, professor at Heidelberg, a fierce dispute on account of Plautus [C]. I have already said (e), that our Pareus took in hand the cause of his deceased father against David Owen, who had published at Cambridge in 1622, an Anti-Pareus. He answered him a little while after with an Anti-Owenus (f). He was rector of divers colleges, and particularly of that of Hanaw, in the year 1645 [D], as appears by the epistle dedicatory of his *Lexicon Criticum*, printed that year at Nuremberg. It is but one thick octavo, but it cost much pains, *ærumnabili labore congestus*, as the author says. He wrote also some Commentaries upon the Scripture, and some pieces of Theology. We will say something of his son Daniel in the next article.

(e) In the remark [F] of the preceding article.

(f) It is wanting in the curious collection of Mr Baillet.

THE confusion caused by the Booksellers, who reprint the title pages of books.

edition of Plautus. I am not ignorant that it has in the title the year 1610. But since among the thanks and elogiums that were written to the author upon this work, there are some which are dated in the year 1609, there is no doubt but the year 1610 was one of those anticipations which the Booksellers have brought into use. If they did only this, they would not cause so much confusion to those who collect several editions but how often do they take the liberty to reprint the first page of their books, to make them pass for new ones? Sometimes also they are so bold as to call this a new edition, and this strangely multiplies in imagination, and even in the catalogue of libraries, the editions of a book. He published at Franckfort, in 1641, the third edition of his Plautus. The Prolegomena which are in it, on the life of that Poet, about the character of his versifying, and the quality of his railleries, were prefixed entire to the edition of *Plautus in usum Delphini*.

[C] *There arose between him and John Gruterus a fierce dispute upon the account of Plautus.*] Gruterus having attacked Pareus, the latter quickly published his answer in 1620, under the title of *Provocatio ad Senatum Criticum pro Plauto & Electis Plautinis*. They grew hotter and hotter, neither was the consideration of the miseries which hung over their heads, by the ruin wherewith the Palatinate was threatned, sufficient to inspire them with any degree of moderation: so easily are these Philologers and Grammarians provoked, and so difficultly appeased. The long preface which our Pareus prefixed to his *Analecta Plautina*, printed at Franckfort in 1623, is dated in the month of October 1621, and consequently he filled it with gall and fury, just before the desolations happened, which ruined both their universities and their libraries, and reduced their persons to the greatest extremities. Their banishment did not abate this violent humour, for those *Analecta*, printed since their dispersion, are full of gross reproaches against Gruterus. This was nothing but reprisals, for Gruterus had used him after so violent a manner, that they reckoned no fewer than one hundred and thirty-six cruel reproaches in one of his books against Philip Pareus. It was the Jesuit James Gretserus, who pleased himself in collecting this list (1). There you will find Pareus called an ass, a mule, a boar, a ram, a goat, a hog, *stercoreus Grammaticalis cellæ inquilinus*, &c. Gruterus had been a long time before inclined to quarrel with Pareus, for thus he writes to Goldast, June 19, 1601. 'Miraberis carmen tui Parei, qui me 'nondum invisit ex quo à vobis abiit, nuper autem 'factus est Rector scholæ civitatis sic satis magnæ, ut 'alios regat scilicet qui se non potest (2). - - - *You 'will admire the verses of your Pareus, who has not 'been to see me since he left you, but he was lately made 'master of the school of Neustad that he might go- 'vern others forsooth, who cannot govern himself.*'

(1) See Theoph. Raynaud, Erotemat. pag. 115.

(2) See the collection of Letters written to Goldast, printed at Francfort, in the year 1688, pag. 73.

[D] *He was rector of the college of Hanaw in 1645.*] This shews that Paul Freherus is mistaken, when he says that Pareus died about the year 1643 (3). Probably the Sieur Witte, in the second part of his *Diarium Biographicum*, did only abridge Freherus, as to what concerns our Philip; at least he agrees with him in placing his death in the year 1643. If they had but cast their eyes upon the *Lexicon Criticum*, they had seen in the frontispiece the face of the author when he was seventy years old, from whence they might have concluded, that he did not die at the age of sixty-seven years, as they both say; and if they had consulted the end of the epistle dedicatory, they had seen that he was still alive, August 24, 1645. It is a strange thing that he appears less deformed in the figure of 1645, than in that of 1641, which is prefixed to the third edition of Plautus. Rivetus, in a book which he wrote in 1646, speaks of him as of a man then alive (4). He was still alive in 1647, as appears by the dedicatory epistles of the Exegetical works of his father, which he caused to be printed that year at Francfort, in three volumes in Folio.

(3) Theatr. pag. 501.

(4) Rivetus, Grot. Discuss. Oper. Tom. 1a, pag. 1163.

PAREUS (DANIEL), son of the foregoing, followed his father's footsteps, and applied himself, earnestly as he had done, to the study of human learning. He was a pretty good Grecian, and published some books [A]. He was unhappily killed by highway-men [B] in his father's life-time. Vossius esteemed him very much; and endeavoured to find out Booksellers, who would print his works [C].

(1) See the article ALTING (HENRY), remark [F].

[A] *He published some books.*] In the year 1627, he printed the Poem of Musæus on the amours of Hero and Leander with notes, which are either stuffed with Greek citations and phrases, or taken from the oldest Latin authors. He published also in the same year, a large volume in quarto, which he dedicated to the University of Oxford, and is intituled *Mellificium Atticum*: which is a collection of sentences reduced into common-places, and taken from Greek authors. He published in 1631 another book intituled *Medulla Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ* (1), and notes, with a Lexicon, upon Lucretius; but the life of Lucretius which he added, is not of his composing, for it is that which Gifanius wrote, some things only have been left out of it. If the Dauphin's scholiast had minded this, he would not have stopped at Daniel Pareus as the source, with respect to the life of Lucretius, which he prefixed to his commentary upon this Poet, but would have ascended higher even to Gifanius. We find in some editions of Quintilian *Fabianarum Notarum Spicilegium subsidiarum* by Daniel Pareus, which he sent in the year 1628 to Henry Featherston, Bookseller at London.

[B] *He was killed by highway-men.*] This I learn from William Frey, in the verses he made upon the *Lexicon Criticum* of Philip Pareus. 'Cessit avus fatis; 'furum scelerata nepotem, trajecit mediis cuspide tur- 'ma viis. - - - *The grand-father died a natural death: 'the grand-son was stabbed on the high-way by a cursed 'gang of robbers.*' But others say, that he was killed at the taking of Keiserslauteren in the Palatinate. See Gisbert Voetius in Tom. 3. of his *Politica Ecclesiastica*, pag. 164, 165.

[C] *Vossius esteemed him very much, and endeavoured to find out Booksellers . . . . for his works.*] This appears by a letter which he wrote (2), when it was said that in Holland several towns would erect Academies (3) after the example of Amsterdam. He gives him to understand, that in that case they might procure him a professorship. He renewed the same offers of service some time after; and gave him an account of the care he had already taken, and would still take to find out a Printer for the Church-History (4), which was a piece of Daniel Pareus. He confesses to him that le Maire had refused to take this work upon him, upon pretence that he did not know the bigness of it, and that his presses were already very full. *La-Merium conveni ipse, ac postea idem filius fecit. Sed nihil promittere voluit, qui nesciret de magnitudine libri. Solet ille magis capi iis, quæ minoris sunt molis: addebat jam prælum fervere multis & variis* (5). He makes him hope that if this Printer should persist in his refusal, after the declaration that was made to him, that he should not be required to make haste, others would be glad to print the book. Nevertheless he lets him know,

(2) It is the 100th, pag. 135, London Edit. 1693.

(3) In translating word for word, the terms used in Holland, it should be said *illustrium scholæ*.

(4) See his Letter ccccvii, pag. 307.

(5) Vossius, ibid. pag. 307.

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know, that there is no country in the world where it is more difficult to find Printers than in Holland, except in these two cases: one is, if the author pay the whole expences of the impression; the other is, if the copy be a book of controversy, or a frivolous pamphlet, for nothing sells better than books of that nature (6). *Quod si is difficilem se præbeat, non deerunt, ut spero, alii, qui lubenter id facient. Dissimulare tamen non possum, nusquam difficilius esse typographum reperire quam apud nos, nisi quis suis sumptibus librum edat. Fit hoc ob rerum omnium summam caritatem, quam caussat grave & diuturnum bellum, quod nobis est cum hoste potentissimo. Sola excipio* ἐρίσιχθ. *& nugalia quibus nihil vendibilius, ut ipsi non dissimulant typographi* (7). This letter of Vossius informs us, that Daniel Pareus would quickly be Preceptor in the house of the Count of Isenburg. See the letter 31, which shews that our Pareus dedicated a book to Vossius (8).

(6) Vossius, ibid.

(7) If Vossius had written when I write this in 1696, he would have had yet more reason to say this. The Booksellers may be excused as above in the article CRATERUS, remark [A].

(8) He dedicated his Lucretius to him.

PARISET (LEWIS) was of Reggio in Italy, and lived in the XVIth century. He is the author of three Orations, *De divina in hominum benevolentia atque beneficentia*, which are very long (a), and in pretty good Latin. He dedicated them to Pope Julius III. They were printed at Venice, in the year 1553 in 8vo, by the sons of Aldus Manutius (b), who printed also several of his Latin verses (c).

(a) They contain 239 leaves in 8vo.

(b) Epitome Bibliothecæ Gesneri, *pag.* 557. *The edition I use is of the year* 1559.

(c) His *Theopœia* in six books in 1550, and 1553; and his *Epistles* in six books, in 1553, in 8vo. *Epitome Bibliothecæ Gesneri, pag.* 557.

PARRHASIUS (JANUS), born at Cosenza in the kingdom of Naples in the year 1470 (a), followed the custom of the Philologists of that time, who changed their names into others much more agreeable to Paganism than to Christianity. He caused himself to be named *Aulus Janus Parrhasius*, instead of *Johannes Paulus Parisius* (b). He understood polite literature very well, and taught it in the city of Milan, with great reputation (c). He had the satisfaction to see in his Auditory General Trivulcio, who was sixty years of age. His pronunciation was exceeding agreeable [A]. The liberty he took to censure those who taught the schools in the Milaneze, provoked them to such a degree, that they entered into a horrid conspiracy against his reputation: they defamed him as a man that loved his scholars unchastly. This bad report which displeased the Milanese extreamly, forced him to quit his post. He was invited to Rome by Leo X, to be public professor of the *Belles Lettres* [B]. He carried with him thither Basil Chalcondylas, his wife's brother, and son of Demetrius Chalcondylas, professor of the Greek tongue at Milan. He did not long enjoy the place which the Pope had given him; but being grievously tormented with the Gout, he was forced to retire into his own country, where he died a little after (d). He left his books to Antony Seripande, his good friend (e), who built a tomb for him in the convent of the Augustine friars of Naples (f). Poverty was one of the causes which obliged him to depart from Rome (g). He was very much commended by Henry Stephens in an epistle dedicatory (h). He was charged with citing authors, whom he had never seen. You will find this accusation in a letter of Andrew Alciatus, which was printed at Utrecht in 1697, with several others taken out of the library of Mr Gudius (i). The same Alciatus complained (k) that he never received again a manuscript of Juvenal which he had lent him. We have an Oration, wherein he complains very much against fortune [C]. I shall relate some other

(a) Nicolo Toppi, Bibliotheca Napoletana, *pag.* 112.

(b) Sertorio Quattromani, dell' origine e principio della Citta di Cosenza, apud Nicodemum, Additioni alla Bibliotheca Napoletana, *pag.* 89.

(c) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. *cap. cxxvii, pag.* 270.

(d) Taken from Paul Jovius, ibid.

(e) Brother of Cardina *Jerome Seripande.*

(f) See the *Museum Italicum* of Father Mabillon, *Tom. i, pag.* 110.

(g) See in the remark [D] the words of *Pierius Valerianus.*

(h) To Lewis Castelvetro, prefixed to the book of *Parrhasius de quæstiis per Epistolam*, which *Henry Stephens* published in 1567.

(i) Gudii, Epist. *pag.* 91.

(k) Ibid. *pag.* 85.

[A] *His pronunciation was exceeding agreeable.*] It was in this chiefly he excelled all the other Professors. *Cunctos nostri seculi doctores erudito rerum omnium quæ* (1) *explicaret apparatu, ac una præsertim rotundæ pronunciationis gloria superavit* (2). Pierius Valerianus observes, that the fine voice of Parrhasius, did draw a great concourse of auditors to his lectures (3).

(1) It is a solecism, I know not whether it escaped Paul Jovius, or the Printers.

(2) Paul. Jovius, Elog. *cb. cxxvii, pag.* 270.

(3) Ad cujus jucundam vocem undique concurrebatur. *Pier. Valerian. de Infel. Literator. pag.* 25.

[B] *A bad report . . . . . forced him to quit his post. He was invited to Rome . . . . . to be Professor of the Belles Lettres.*] Paul Jovius, whom I have followed in this narrative, has left here a chasm which may be filled up by consulting an oration of Parrhasius. It informs us, that this Professor left Milan, to go to Vicenza, where a better salary was offered him, and that when the territories of Venice were ravaged by the troops of the League, he retired into his own country, from whence Thomas Phædrus (4) would have invited him to Rome, if Pope Julius the IId had not died. That which was but a project under Julius II, became an actual invitation under Leo X. 'Ut 'ex animo gavisus est (*Phaedrus*) ubi certior à me 'factus audivit, in Gallia citeriore portum jam me 'tenere, Mediolanique publicè conductum profiteri. 'Quid? quum sequutus uberiora stipendia, Veicetiam 'commigrassem: Germanis, Gallis, Hispanis, cæte'risque barbaris nationibus, infestis signis irrumpenti'bus in Venetiam, dii boni, quàm de nobis erat anxi'us! quàm non aliter saluti nostræ timebat quàm si 'ipse vocaretur in partem discriminis! Extant ab eo 'ad me tum datæ epistolæ, testes inquietis animi, 'quousque rescivit elapsum me per medios hostes in 'patriam fecessisse. Nec ita quidem de nobis cogitan'di finem fecit, auctorque Julio secundo fuit ut nos 'huc evocaret. Sed eo maturè defuncto, Leoni de'cimo per Janum Lascarim, virum ad promerendum 'homines natum, mihi jam conciliato, calcaria sponte 'currenti (quod aiunt) admovit. In urbem reverso 'quàm præsto mihi fuit? &c (5). - - - *How heartily 'glad was Phædrus when I informed him I was now 'safe in Lombardy, and made a public Professor at Mi'lan. But, when I removed to Vicenza in pursuit of a 'better salary: the Germans, French, Spaniards, and 'other barbarous nations then ravaging the territories of 'Venice, good GOD, how anxious was he about me! 'he was as much concerned as if he had shared in the 'danger himself. I have now some letters of his dated 'at that time, which shew his uneasiness, till he knew 'I was got safe through the enemy into my own country. 'Nor even then did he lay aside his care about me, for 'he put Julius the IId upon calling me hither. But 'he dying soon after, he set spurs (as we say) to Leo 'the Xth, who was forward enough to run of himself, 'and who was now reconciled to me by the means of Ja'nus Lascaris, a man born to do good to mankind. Af'ter I returned to the city, how serviceable was he to 'me?*' He had been just saying, that being at Rome under the Pontificate of Alexander VI, he was like to be involved in the misfortunes of Bernardin Cajetan, and Silius Sabellus, with whom he had held correspondence, and that Thomas Phædrus advised him to deliver himself from the danger, by retiring to some other place.

(4) Professor of Rhetoric, and canon of Lateran.

(5) Janus Parrhasius, in Orat. ante prælectionem Epistol. Ciceronis ad Atticum: *It is in pag.* 142, & *seq. of the book* de quæstiis per Epistolam, *Edit.* 1567. *See there pag.* 145.

[C] *We have an oration wherein he complains much against fortune.*] It is that which has furnished me with the particulars in the preceding remark. He says, That fortune fought incessantly against him, to force him

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other particulars in criticizing upon Moreri [D].

him to confeſs that he was overcome; but that the miſeries which oppreſſed him, did not at all oblige him to make this confeſſion. *Continenter enim (ſi neſcitis) aſſiduumque mecum Fortuna bellum gerit, obnixéque contendit oppreſſo mihi victoriæ confeſſionem extorquere. Rurſus ego, tametſi cumulatis ſtragibus obrutus, extrema tamen experire malo quàm tantulum de jure meo remittere, nedum manus dare* (6). He ſays, that being unwilling to ſtudy the Civil Law, as his anceſtors had done, he had incurred the indignation of his father, who would no longer ſupply him with money for his ſtudies (7). He affirms that he five times loſt his library, that he was forced to abandon his country, when the French invaded the kingdom of Naples, that he loſt in a little time his mother, his father, his two brothers, and all his children. He regrets very much the loſs of Theophilus, and Baſil Chalcondylas, his two brothers-in-law, who died young and promiſed great things (8).

They have publiſhed a letter, which he wrote to Baſil Chalcondylas, a little before the affair of his invitation to Rome was determined. In that letter he mentions two domeſtic afflictions which had juſt befallen him; one was, that his brother's widow, after ſhe had refuſed all that courted her for the ſpace of three years, like another Penelope, had at laſt married clandeſtinely one Caputus, and had robbed her children of all their patrimony: *Expilata penitus hæreditate parvorum liberûm* (9). The other was, that his brother's daughter had been got with child by an advocate, who was the widower of her ſiſter. To ſhun the penalty of death, which both of them had reaſon to fear in this caſe of inceſt, they were clandeſtinely married, no-body being admitted into the ſecret of the marriage, but the mother of the maid that was got with child. This being not enough to ſecure them from danger, unleſs the Pope would grant them a diſpenſation; Parrhaſius employed all his friends to obtain this favour from Leo X, and to get the expences moderated. *Itaque cum eo deducta res eſſet, ut utrique moriendum foret, conſcia tantum πατρϑένα matre concubitum confarreant, atque ſic honeſto nomine nefandum crimen velant. Verum ne ſic quidem, quin ferro cadant, effugient; niſi Deus aliquis eos abſterſerit, id eſt, à ſummo Pontifice veniam inceſtus inſcriptis impetraverint; ut furtivum dedecus profeſſo matrimonio diluatur. Ad hanc rem velim omnes ingenii tui nervos intendas, utariſque gratia ac auctoritate Laſcaris, Phædri, Citrariique, & omnium denique amicorum; ut exleges has nuptias, ad evitandum paratæ cædis periculum, Pontifex privilegio juſtas rataſque faciat, indicta pro copiarum facultate mulcta. Acceſſit hoc enim meis ærumnis, ut opes ne tantæ ſaltem ſint, quæ poſſint impendia ſuſtinere. Quas ob res abs te primum peto, ſuppliciterque (ſi pateris) oro, omni ſtudio ut cures impetrandam (quam dixi) veniam. Deinde ut quam minimum poteris impendas* (10). He complains that his other misfortunes are accompanied with this, that he is too poor to bear the expence of this affair. He therefore does moſt earneſtly intreat his brother-in-law Chalcondylas, to omit no means neceſſary for obtaining a diſpenſation at the loweſt rate poſſible. He was anſwered, that the diſpenſation was granted, and that he muſt haſten to Rome for the profeſſorſhip, which the Pope had given him worth two hundred ducats a year; that he muſt not forget to bring the money at which the diſpenſation was rated, and that perhaps when he comes, his friends would manage ſo as to get him exempted from ſo great an expence (11).

Perhaps it may be aſked, how Parrhaſius came to inquire how much the diſpenſation would coſt; for he might have known it by the book of rates of the Apoſtolic Chancery. But you muſt obſerve that beſides what is ſet down in that book, they muſt always compound with the Datary (12).

[D] *I ſhall relate ſome other particulars in critizing upon Moreri.*] I. He ſhould not have ſaid, that Parrhaſius being driven out of Milan, and troubled *with the Gout, retired to Coſenza*; for upon his going out of Milan, he went to Vicenza to teach the *Belles Lettres* there. The war made him go from thence, and then he retired to his own country, and afterwards was Profeſſor at Rome. There it was, if we believe Paul Jovius, that he was ſo afflicted with the Gout, that it forced him to go from thence to Coſenza. ‘ In Urbem venit; ſed tanti ſuggeſtus honore diu perfrui non potuit, articulari morbo membra omnia ſæviſſimè deformante, unde ei maturatus in patriam reditus cum vitæ exitu contigit (13). - - - ‘ *He came to Rome; but could not long enjoy the honour of that profeſſorſhip; for being grievouſly tormented with the Gout in all his limbs, he returned ſoon to his own country and there died.*’ Parrhaſius in the oration which I have cited, and which he delivered at Rome, informs us, that, in the preceding year, he had been more tormented with the Gout than ever; he does not ſay, that this inſpired him with the thought of returning to his own country. ‘ Quum ſolito gravius articulari morbo torquerer anno ſuperiori, tuo hortatu T. Phædre, incredibiles omnium membrorum cruciatus animi vigore ſuperavi: quumque mea magis intereſſet ex hoc ergaſtulo tetroque carcere primo quoque tempore emitti, in tuam gratiam pene revixi (14). - - - *When I was more than uſually afflicted with the Gout the laſt year, I reſolutely overcame, by your exhortations, O Phædrus, incredible pains in all my limbs: and tho' it would have been more for my benefit to be releaſed from this ſlavery and horrible priſon, yet for your ſake I recovered.*’ I do not mention this to call in queſtion what Paul Jovius ſays, for I know very wellthat the pains of the Gout, and poverty, conſtrained Parrhaſius to retire from Rome. The miſerable condition to which he was reduced is contained in theſe words of Valerianus. ‘ Is dum aſſiduis vigiliis, & longæ lectionis laboribus maceratur, in eam incidit articularis morbi truculentiam, ut per annos aliquot nil præter linguam in univerſo corpore haberet incolumem, ſiderato propemodum utroque crure, ut nullis pedum officiis uti poſſet, lacertiſque præ dolore, & contractione redditis inutilibus, magna inſuper inopia, & egeſtate oppreſſus, rerum demum omnium deſperatione ductus, relicta Roma in Calabriam cùm ſeceſſiſſet, in febrim fubito incidit, qua diu vexatus, miſerabilique eo cruciatu ſuperatus expiravit (15). - - - - *Whilſt he conſumed away with continual watchings and the fatigue of long lectures, he was ſeized with ſuch a violent fit of the Gout, that for ſome years he had not one part in his whole body ſound and well, except his tongue: both his legs being almoſt blaſted, ſo that he could not ſtir a foot, and his arms with pain and contraction of the ſinews rendered uſeleſs. Moreover, being diſtreſſed with great want and poverty, and deſpairing of every thing, he left Rome and retired into Calabria, where he quickly fell ill of a Fever, with which he was long afflicted, and at laſt being ſpent with miſerable pains he died.*’ Note, that Moreri was ſo far from filling up the chaſm which Paul Jovius had left that he made it greater. II. It is falſe that Parrhaſius publiſhed only two books, if we ſuppoſe, as Moreri does, that he publiſhed *ſome commentaries upon Claudian, and upon Ovid's Poem in Ibin*; for he publiſhed ſome fragments of antiquity, when he was profeſſor at Milan. This Aldus Manutius (16) relates in the fourth book of his grammar. It is a little ſtrange that we cannot know by the large additions of Nicodemo to the *Bibliotheca Napoletana* of Nicolo Toppi, what works Parrhaſius publiſhed. Nay, we do not find plainly there, that he publiſhed a commentary upon Claudian (17). All the editions which Nicodemo mentions of the works of this critic, are poſthumous. That which we find ſometimes clearly mentioned is, that one part of Parrhaſius's works, was publiſhed by the care of others. Bernardin Martiranus publiſhed the commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry: the title of the book ſet down by Nicolo Toppi, (18), informs us of this in expreſs terms, and yet this author ſays that Parrhaſius publiſhed it. Nicodemo takes notice of that fault (19). III. It is not at all probable, that Parrhaſius publiſhed a commentary upon the Ibis of Ovid; we do not ſee any body that pretends to have ſeen this commentary, and therefore Nicodemo (20) regards as a falſhood what Paul Jovius ſays, *Edidit Commentarios in . . . . Naſonis Ibin* (21). John Matthew Toſcanus (22), Gaddi, (23), Barri (24). Moreri, and ſeveral others, follow Paul Jovius in this. Another reaſon which perſuades me that they are miſtaken is this, that Mr Boiſſieu having ſearched carefully for all the authors that wrote upon this poem of Ovid, makes no mention of this commentary of Parrhaſius, although he gives a long liſt of other commentators (25). So far is he from that, that he reckons Parrhaſius to be only one of thoſe critics, who occaſionally

(6) Id. ib. *pag.* 142.

(7) Indulgentis alioqui in me patris animum depravarit (*fortuna*) ne ſumptus ad otia Muſarum ſuppeditaret tanquam relicta à majoribus trita ſemita degeneri quod, ut illi, leges ediſcere neglexiſſem. *Ibid. pag.* 143.

(8) *See* Barthius, in Theb. Statii, *lib. iv, pag.* 1008.

(9) Epiſt. ad Gudium, *pag.* 137, *Edit. Ultraj.* 1697.

(10) Ib. *pag.* 137, 138.

(11) Ex Epiſtola Baſilii Chalcondylæ ad Parrhaſium, ibid. *pag.* 139.

(12) Et præterea componendum ſemper eſt cum Datario. *Taxa Cancel. pag.* 4, *Edit.* 1701.

(13) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. *cap.* cxxxvii, *pag.* 271.

(14) Parrhaſius, ubi ſupra, cent. (5), *pag.* 145.

(15) Pierius Valerianus, de Literatorum Infelicitate, *lib. i, pag. m.* 25.

(16) Apud Barrium, *lib. ii*, de Antiquitate & ſitu Calabriæ, *pag.* 1010, citante Nicodemo, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 88.

(17) *Conſult* Barthius, ub ſupra, *pag.* 1007.

(18) Nicolo Toppi, Bibliot. Napolet. *pag.* 112.

(19) Nicodemo, ubi ſupra, *p.* 87.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Jovius, ubi ſupra, *cap. cxxxvii, pag.* 271.

(22) In Peplo Italiæ, *lib. iii, pag.* 63, 64, apud Nicodemum, ub. ſupra, *p.* 88.

(23) De Scriptoribus non Eccleſiaſticis, *Tom. i, pag.* 82, *apud eumd. ibid. pag.* 87.

(24) De Antiquitate & Situ Calabriæ, *apud eumd. ibid. pag.* 88.

(25) Dionyſius Salvagnius Boſſius, Comment. in Ibin, *pag.* 3.

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occaſionally corrected ſome paſſages of Ovid. Note, that Parrhaſius wrote a great number of books, and that the greateſt part of them were never printed. Conſult the additions of Nicodemo.

PARTHENAI, a city of Poitou under the juriſdiction of the preſidial of Poitiers. It was often taken and retaken during the wars about religion in the XVIth century (§ *a*). The Proteſtants retired thither on the day of the battel of Moncontour (*a*); but becauſe they thought they could not maintain it, they abandoned it at the approach of the troops of the duke of Anjou. They had taken it in the preceding year, and alſo cauſed Malo to be hanged who commanded in the caſtle (*b*). The reaſon of this rigour was, becauſe he had the boldneſs to defend himſelf againſt an army. The Hiſtory of the Sieur d'Aubigné informs us, that they miſcarried more than once in the deſign of ſurprizing that place in the year 1588. They have been there in great numbers ſince the edict of Nantes, as we may judge from the ill-grounded complaint of the clergy of France [*A*], and the anſwer which Mr Drelincourt made to this complaint in 1656. The lords of Parthenai are honorary ſecular canons of St Martin of Tours (*c*). We muſt not forget, that Parthenai is the capital city of the little country of Gaſtine, and of the duchy of Meilleraye (*d*).

The lordſhip of Parthenai was re-united to the crown in 1422, by the death of John l'Archevêque [*B*].

(*a*) The third of October 1569.

(*b*) The True and Compleat Hiſtory of the Troubles, *lib. iv, pag.* 131.

(*c*) Mercure Galant, *for February* 1693, *pag.* 21.

(*d*) Du Val's Treatiſe of France, *pag.* 144.

[(§ *a*) This city belonged in 1487 to Francis, earl of Dunois, who adhered to the duke of Orleans. On the twenty eighth of March the ſame year, king Charles VIII, who made war againſt this duke and the people of Bretagne; took Parthenai, and demoliſhed it's walls. See Lobineau, *Hiſt. de Bretagne*, Tom. I. pag. 765, and 768. Rabelais, book i. chap. v. ſpeaks of this demolition of Parthenai. REM. CRIT.]

[*A*] *The ill-grounded complaint of the clergy of France.*] Leſt you ſhould believe that I make uſe of this epithet out of a prejudice for a party, I ſhall compare the complaint and the anſwer together. The archbiſhop of Sens, who ſpoke in the name of the whole clergy, expreſſed himſelf after this manner. 'In the 'city of Partenai, Sir, the piety of the Catholics was 'forced the laſt ſummer, to yield to the violence of 'the enemies of this holy myſtery; who, by an af'fectation altogether irreligious, took upon them to 'make a funeral paſs by at the ſame inſtant with the 'proceſſion, which is made to honour, according to 'the laws of the church, a ſacrament, which is 'the center of our religion. They diſturbed the whole 'courſe of this holy ceremony, by a rencounter ma'liciouſly concerted; and the Catholics who have a 'mind to ſignalize themſelves by their modeſty, at 'the ſame time that their wicked brethren endeavour 'to make themſelves conſiderable for their inſolence, 'were forced to give place to the multitude of theſe 'profane and impious men, and to return into the 'church with ſorrow and ſadneſs in their countenance '... Was there ever, Sir, ſuch a boldneſs, and can 'your majeſty ſuffer in your kingdom, ſo outrage'ous an injury againſt the honour of the Son of God. 'No, Sir, we cannot believe it, and we ought to be 'perſuaded that you will revenge, as we pray you 'to do, the quarrel of the living God (1). It will be ſufficient to relate the ſubſtance of the anſwer: viz. that on the ſecond ſunday of April there was brought to Partenai, from a place two leagues off, the body of a gentleman, to be buried after the ſecond ſermon: that when the whole company was going to bury the body, they perceived by ſome tapeſtry near the citadel, that a proceſſion was to paſs that way; that they ſtopped ſhort, but having no other paſſage to go to the burying-place which is near the caſtle, it was thought convenient to ſend with all poſſible reſpect to the pariſh of the Holy Croſs, from whence the proceſſion was to come, to know of the canons, whether they would have the people that attended the funeral to ſtop, until the proceſſion was gone by; or if their proceſſion was not yet ready to depart, whether they thought fit that the funeral ſhould go on; that they anſwered, that they might finiſh the burial, and that the proceſſion would not depart ſo ſoon; and that in effect it did not ſet out from the place, till half an hour after the whole funeral was paſſed; that to ſhew an entire deference, the Reformed remained in the burying-piace till the whole proceſſion was finiſhed, and all the hangings were taken down; and that therefore it could not be truly ſaid, that it returned with great trouble and ſorrow, for having met the funeral, ſince it was not come forth, and did not come forth till a long time after the funeral was paſſed; that for many days after there was not a word heard of this affair, but at laſt the bailif of Partenai, being a violent man, and heated by ſome turbulent perſons, applied to Mr Filleau, the king's advocate at Poitiers, who gloried in perſecuting the Proteſtants upon all occaſions; that many of the conſiſtory of Partenai, were ſummoned to the preſidial at Poitiers, to be there fined for having diſturbed the proceſſion; but Mr de la Meilleray ſtopped the courſe of this unjuſt proſecution, and even thoſe who had commenced it were aſhamed of it, inſomuch that the thing ended there (2). I have kept to the expreſſions of the author.

(1) Remonſtrance of the Clergy of France, in 1656, *pag.* m. 20.

(2) See the Letter of an inhabitant of Paris to one of his friends in the country, upon the Remonſtrance of the Clergy, *pag.* 133, *&c. Edit. in* 8vo. *Mr* Drelincourt, *a miniſter of Paris is the author of this letter.*

Would they have anſwered with ſuch confidence, if the thing had not been certain? here is then an error in matter of fact, which falls under our cognizance. We leave to the reader, the trouble of reflecting upon the horrible ſtorms which a vehement Orator is capable of exciting for nothing (3).

(3) See the Critical Anſwer to Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm, *Letter xxiii, pag. xciii, &c, of the third edition.*

[*B*] *This lordſhip was re-united to the crown by the death of John l'Archevêque.*] He had ſold this lordſhip to the duke of Berry, reſerving the profits of it while he lived..... He had no children, and for this reaſon in the year of his above-mentioned deceaſe, Meſſire James de Harcourt, who had married his niece, had a mind to turn him out of the ſaid lordſhip and caſtle of Partenai, but he was hindred by the inhabitants, who defended themſelves and killed the ſaid de Harcourt (4).

(4) John Bouchet, Annals of Aquitain, *Part iv, ch. vii, fol. m.* 137.

PARTHENAI, a family. It continued a long time in ſplendor. The laſt male of that illuſtrious houſe, was John de Parthenai-l'Archevêque, lord of Soubiſe (*a*), who left but one daughter, *viz.* Catherine de Parthenai, mother of the duke of Rohan, general of the Huguenot armies in France under the reign of Lewis the XIIIth. I ſhall give an article below for this lady. Some think, that the lords of Parthenai took the ſirname of l'Archevêque, becauſe they were deſcended from an archbiſhop of Bourdeaux. Some think that this archbiſhop of Bourdeaux was Joſſelin de Parthenai, who died in 1086, and that William de Parthenai, who took the ſirname of l'Archevêque, about the year 1100, was his ſon. Others (*b*) refer this original to one Archambald archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, predeceſſor to Joſſelin; but as this Archambald having been depoſed, became

(*a*) See his article under the word SOUBISE.

(*b*) Du Cheſne, Annotat. upon the works of Alain Chartier.

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came lord of St Maixent, and there is not found any perſon of that name, nor any lord of St Maixent in the family of Parthenai, this opinion is not very probable. ‘ The ‘ eldeſt branch of Parthenai, with all its eſtate, fell into the houſe of Melun Tancar- ‘ ville, from whence is deſcended, by alliance, that of Longueville; and the lords of ‘ Soubiſe were parted from the ſtock about the year 1330, when Guy l'Archevêque, ‘ youngeſt brother of John Sire de Parthenai was lord of Soubiſe. It was always ‘ thought with great probability, that thoſe of Parthenai were of Lezignem, whoſe arms ‘ they bore, rebated, upon the account of their being the younger branch, with a band ‘ of Gules; but they muſt have been deſcended from thence before the year 1000, for ‘ ſince that time we have the ſucceſſion of them, till John l'Archevêque lord of Sou- ‘ biſe (c)’, grand-father by the mother's ſide to the duke of Rohan. It is obſerved in the life of this duke, printed in 1667, that his mother was the principal heireſs of the houſe of Luſignan.

(c) Le Laboureur, Addit. to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 805.

PARTHENAI (ANNE DE) the wife of Antony de Pons, count de Marennes, and daughter of John de Parthenai-l'Archevêque, and of Michelle de Saubonne [*A*], was a lady of great wit and learning. She was one of the principal ornaments of the court of Renata of France, the daughter of Lewis the XIIth, and ducheſs of Ferrara; and it is very well known, there were few courts in the world ſo polite as that was. Anne de Parthenai did not only ſtudy the Latin, but with ſuch application undertook the ſtudy of the Greek tongue; that ſhe could with eaſe underſtand Greek books (*a*). Nay, her curioſity prompted her to read even books of Theology: and ſhe was a great proficient in holy writ, and took a great delight in reaſoning almoſt every day upon ſuch ſubjects with Divines. The authors of that time, did not ſpare their elogies; they beſtowed a thouſand praiſes upon her, and did not forget to ſay that ſhe ſung divinely, and that ſhe underſtood all ſorts of Muſic in perfection (*b*). See the epiſtle dedicatory which I have cited (*c*). The intereſt ſhe had with the ducheſs of Ferrara, and the knowledge of Theology wherewith ſhe was furniſhed, will doubtleſs render her ſuſpected of Calviniſm to the Catholics who ſhall read this. But becauſe I would not have them to remain in bare ſuſpicions, I ſhall cite to them an author who will convince them, that ſhe was a good Huguenot [*B*], and a worthy ſiſter of Soubiſe, who was one of the pillars of the party. Her huſband was obliged to leave the court of Ferrara [*C*].

(a) Non modo in Latinis literis quibus ab ipſis incunabilis naviter operam dediſti, ſed in Græcis quoque ita profeciſti ut Græcos autores intrepide evolvas. *Gyraldus, Epiſt. Dedicat. Dialog. ii, Hiſtor. Poët.*

(b) Quid nunc memorem qualis ſis in dignoſcendis & modulandis carminibus, quali venuſtate canas & gratia? Quantum denique in omni Muſica profeceris id ejus diſciplinæ periti prædicant. *Ib.*

(c) *See alſo* Clement Marot, *in his* Epiſtle loſt at play againſt Madam de Pons, *pag.* 206, *&c. of the Hague edition* 1700.

[*A*] *Of Michelle de Saubonne.*] She was a lady of Bretagne, who had been one of the ladies of honour to queen Anne of Bretagne. She was married by the favour of that queen in the year 1507 to John l'Archevêque, the fifth of the name, lord of Soubiſe, head of the houſe of Parthenai. The ſame queen choſe her for the governeſs of Renata of France her daughter, ducheſs of Ferrara (1). There is in the third letter of Rabelais ſomething that concerns that governeſs. ‘ Monſieur de Limoges, who was at Ferrara, ‘ embaſſador for the king, ſeeing that the ſaid duke ‘ (2), without giving him notice of his deſign, was retired to the emperor, is returned into France. There ‘ is danger leſt madam Renata ſhould be troubled for it. ‘ The ſaid duke has taken from her Madam de Soubiſe, her governeſs, and will have her to be ſerved ‘ by Italian women, *which is no good ſign.*’ This letter was written in the year 1536.

(1) See the Notes upon the Letters of Rabelais, *pag.* 85.

(2) That is to ſay, the duke of Ferrara.

[*B*] *I ſhall cite an author who will convince them that ſhe was a good Huguenot.*] ‘ As to the city of ‘ Pons, the lord of the place, while the lady Anne ‘ de Parthenai his firſt wife, and ſiſter to the lord of ‘ Soubiſe, lived, was a lover of virtue and truth, and ‘ improved ſo much in the knowledge of holy Scripture, that there was hardly a man of the robe equal to ‘ him for ſo much zeal; for he himſelf took much pains ‘ to teach his poor ſubjects, of whom he edified many, as ‘ well officers as others in his city of Pons. But ‘ immediately after the diſeaſe of that good and virtuous lady, God ſo took away his underſtanding, ‘ that at his ſecond marriage, he eſpouſed one of the ‘ moſt defamed ladies of France, *viz.* Mary de Monchenu, called the lady de Maſſy; and then GOD ‘ deprived him of the remainder of his ſenſe and ‘ judgment, inſomuch that without any occaſion whatſoever, he became from that time, in an inſtant, an ‘ enemy and perſecutor of the truth, which he had ‘ ſo well known and ſo much promoted (3).’ To confirm what Theodore Beza ſays, concerning the aſcendant of the virtuous Anne de Parthenai over her huſband, I will quote a paſſage of Gregory Gyraldus, wherein he teſtifies that this lady, and the count de Marennes, her huſband, followed the ſame ſtudies with the ſame ſucceſs. ‘ Quid porro dicam qua charitate & amore, ac potius pietate proſequaris illuſtrem ‘ virum tuum, jure tuum, ut qui eiſdem quibus tu ‘ ſtudiis & virtutibus poſt militares artes ſit ornatiſſimus (4)? - - - *What need I tell, with what affection and love, rather piety, you behave towards your illuſtrious huſband, juſtly your's, for beſides his ſkill in war, he is adorned with the ſame ſtudies and virtues as you are?*’ This count was firſt gentleman of the chamber to the duke of Ferrara; and Gyraldus dedicated to him the fourth Dialogue of his Hiſtory of Poets.

(3) Theodorus Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. *Tom. i, lib. ii, pag.* 201, (and not 199, as is ſet down in the book) at the year 1559.

(4) Gyrald. Epiſt. Dedicat. Dialog II, Hiſtor. Poetarum.

[*C*] *Her huſband was obliged to leave the court of Ferrara.*] It is of him doubtleſs, that theſe words of one of our Hiſtorians are to be underſtood (5). ‘ If the ‘ king of France thought, that there was juſt cauſe for ‘ expelling Monſieur de Pons from Ferrara, becauſe ‘ he ſaid he was of as good a houſe as thoſe of Aeſt (6), ‘ it being unreaſonable that he who lived by the bread ‘ of the ducheſs of Ferrara, and ſubſiſted by her wages, ‘ ſhould make ſuch a compariſon, although the afore- ‘ ſaid deceaſed king held the houſe of Pons, as antient ‘ as that of Aeſt; is it not as inſupportable, that thoſe ‘ of the houſe of Guiſe, who are grown great and fat ‘ only with the ſubſtance and fatneſs of the houſe of ‘ France, ſhould offer to compare themſelves with the ‘ the princes of the ſaid houſe?’ It is great imprudence in thoſe who ſerve others to compare themſelves to them. If they excel them in nobleneſs of blood, they ſhould ſeem to know nothing of the matter. And this is more eſpecially neceſſary as to ſovereigns; their relations ought to forget that they are their relations.

(5) The preſident de la Place, of the State of Religion, *lib. ii, fol.* 63.

(6) It ſhould be *Eſt.*

PARTHENAI (CATHARINE DE) the daughter and heireſs of John de Parthenai-l'Archevêque, lord of Soubiſe, niece of the above mentioned Anne, was married in the year 1568 to the baron du Pont, and afterwards in 1575 to Renatus de Rohan, the

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the second of the name (a); whose widow she remained in the year 1585 (b); and then she thought of nothing but of giving a good education to her children; and her pains had all the success she could promise herself; for the eldest of her sons was the famous duke of Rohan, who supported the Reformed party in France with so much vigour during the civil wars, under the reign of Lewis XIII. Her second son was the duke of Soubise. She had three daughters: Henrietta, who died in 1624, and was never married. Catherine, who married a duke of Deux-ponts (c); and who made this fine answer to Henry the IVth, her admirer; *I am too poor to be your wife, and of too good a family to be your mistress* (d); and Anne, who was never married, and survived all her brothers and sisters, and rendered her self illustrious for her piety and learning. It will be sufficiently understood, that I mean the famous ANNE DE ROHAN (e), who endured with so much constancy all the inconveniences of the siege of Rochelle. The courage of her mother was yet more wonderful, who notwithstanding her old age, bore with a prodigious resolution the necessity to which she was reduced, of living for the space of three months upon horse-flesh, and four ounces of bread a day. And notwithstanding this miserable condition, she wrote to her son, that he should continue as he had begun; and that the consideration of the extremities to which she was reduced, *should not make him abate any thing to the prejudice of his party whatever she should suffer* (f). She and her daughter refused to be included in the capitulation, and were made prisoners of war. They were carried to the castle of Niort, November 2d, 1628 (g). Some say, that Catharine de Parthenai was then ninety-one years of age [A], but others allow her to be but seventy. La Croix du Maine informs me, that she understood Poetry very well [B]. I must not forget the troublesome suit about Impotency, which her first husband had upon his hands [C]. If what a learned man has said be true, that *Madam de Parthenai, lady of Soubise*

(a) Thuan. *lib.* ...

(b) Father Anselme, and Moreri, his transcriber, say 1586. I have followed the author of the Life of the duke of Rohan.

(c) In the year 1605. She died in the year 1607.

(d) See the Observations upon the Amours of Alcander and the Key.

(e) See the article of her.

(f) Hist. of the Duke of Rohan, *pag.* 99, *of the Holland Edit.* 1667.

(g) Mercure Françoise, *Tom. xiv, pag.* 716.

[A] *Then ninety-one years of age.*] Father Anselme was of that opinion, for in giving us the posterity of Peter de Rohan, called the Marshal de Gié, he sets in the margin over against our Renatus de Rohan II of that name, that Catherine de Parthenai his wife *died at Pare in Poitou, October* 26, 1631, *aged ninety-four years* (1). Moreri says the same thing, except that instead of Paré he has put Parc. But the author of the History of the duke of Rohan (2), observes, speaking of the siege of Rochelle, and of the famine she endured there, that she was seventy years old. This was not a place to lessen the number of her years, and he that would have flattered her, should rather have added to, than taken from them. Nevertheless it is very probable, that this author made her younger than she was, for, in the year 1574, a tragedy was acting of her composing. It is rare to see women of sixteen years of age write tragedies; and when this happens, a la Croix du Maine would not be ignorant of it, nor conceal it. I insist less upon the Impotency, whether true or false of the baron du Pont, which occasioned a law-suit in 1572. A young woman is more capable of bearing children at fourteen years, than of writing tragedies at sixteen. But what Varillas observes would not be a proof to be rejected. He says (3), that in 1562, *The viscount de Rohan led the troops of Languedoc and Dauphiné, which he had raised at the sollicitation of Soubise, who had promised him in marriage his only daughter.* Can a man that is old enough to raise and command troops, rely upon the marriage of a girl of four years of age? But that which follows would make the argument much stronger. In the year 1567, this only daughter was married to the baron du Pont, for we find among the lords, who went to join the admiral after the battle of St Denys, one Soubise, who was no other than this baron (4). I say, *it would make* the argument stronger, and not *that it* is so; for I give more credit to a letter I have received, which says, that the heiress of Soubise was married to the baron du Pont in 1568, than to the exactness of Historians about such niceties. This is certain, that the good Father Anselme was mistaken; for the marriage of John de Parthenai with Antoinette Bouchard of Aubeterre, father and mother to the lady of whom we now speak, was celebrated May the third, 1553. She was born therefore at the soonest in 1554, and could not be above seventy-seven years of age, when she died in 1631. On the other side, since she was married in 1568, she must have been more than seventy years old at the siege of Rochelle.

(1) Histoire des grands Offic. *pag.* 153.

(2) It is thought to be Mr Fauvelet du Toc.

(3) History of Charles IX, *lib. iii, init.*

(4) D'Aubigné, *Tom. i, pag.* 372. Thuanus, *lib. xlii, pag.* 614. Varillas, *Hist. of Charles X, lib. viii.*

[B] *La Croix du Main informs me, she understood Poetry very well.*] *This lady,* says he (5), *is much to be esteemed for the excellency and greatness of her wit, of which her writings are a sufficient proof, without any other testimony; for she has composed several tragedies and comedies in French, and among the rest, the tragedy of Holofernes, which was publickly acted at Rochelle in the year* 1574, *or thereabouts; it is not yet printed. She has writ several elegies or complaints upon the death of baron du Pont, her first husband, and also upon the admiral, and other great lords and illustrious persons. She has translated the Precepts of Isocrates to Demonicus, not yet printed. She is in great repute,* continues he, *this year* 1584. *I am ignorant of her other writings, because I have not the happiness to know her.*

(5) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. françoise, *pag.* 78.

[C] *I must not forget the troublesome suit about Impotency which her first husband had upon his hands.*] This ought not to be placed to the account of our Catherine de Parthenai, but to that of her mother. It was not the wife that sued her husband, it was the mother-in-law, who declared against her son-in-law; and therefore, tho' none can reasonably doubt of the secret confidence between the daughter and the mother, yet it must be granted, that the reflexion of Boileau (6), does in no wise concern the heiress of Soubise.

(6) Satire VIII. ver. 143.

Jamais la Biche en rut n'a pour fait d'impuissance
Trainé du fond des bois un Cerf à l'audience;
Et jamais Juge entr'eux, ordonnant le congrés,
De ce burlesque mot n'a fali ses arrêts.

Nor any hind, for impotence at rut,
Did e'er the flag into the arches put,
Where a grave dean the congress might ordain,
And with that burlesque word his sentence stain.
OZELL.

If on the one side it is astonishing, that when the Protestant ladies distinguished themselves by the reformation of manners, as well as of doctrines, one of the chief of the party (7) should think fit to commence a suit, which tended so little to edification; on the other side it ought to be considered, that the continual reading of the Bible was then more capable of communicating certain inclinations; because then they studied with more zeal to imitate the temper of the holy Patriarchs, and of their wives, among whom reigned an earnest, but very chast, desire of leaving posterity behind them. The lady of Soubise, besides this, might have had a motive of zeal upon another account. The Protestant religion was not yet well settled, the utmost endeavours were used to destroy it; and therefore it was necessary to perpetuate, by all due and reasonable ways, those families, which like her's, were the pillars of it. But what shall we say of the curiosity of the ladies of the court of France, upon occasion of this affair. Before I relate what Historians have said of it, I ought to acquaint you, that the suit was ended by the massacre on St Bartholomew's-day, wherein the son-in-law of Soubise lost his life. Let us hear now what Mr Varillas says (8): *The resistance of the baron du*

(7) See in the remarks of the article SOUBISE, the great zeal of that lady.

(8) History of Charles IX, *Tom. ii, pag.* 276, *of the Holland Edit.*

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Soubiſe was ſpoken of, as being an author, *before Madam de Rohan was known in the world* (*b*); ſhe muſt have written ſomething when ſhe was very young [*D*]. Some have thought, that ſhe wrote an apology for Henry the IVth [*E*], which at the bottom was nothing but a ſharp ſatire.

(*b*) Baillet, Authors Diſguiſed, *Part iii, ch. iii, §. iii.*

(9) It ſhould be QUELLENEC. See the article of this name.

du Pont-Kuellevé (9) *was ſo long, that thoſe who ſaw he did not yield till after he was pierced through like a ſieve, gave him this teſtimony, that he was more than man in a fight, if he was not man enough in the nuptial-bed. He had married the heireſs of Soubiſe, and his wife's mother had commenced a ſuit againſt him for Impotency, which was not yet determined. His body was dragged as far as the gate of the Louvre, where the pity which it ſhould have inſpired, did not hinder ſeveral of the court-ladies from viewing him narrowly, to ſee if there appeared any mark of that defect whereof he was accuſed.* Thoſe who underſtand Latin, may ſee with what noble expreſſions Thuanus relates this fact. ‘ Eadem calamitas Baudi-
‘ neum Acierii fratrem, Pluvialium & Bernium invol-
‘ vit, crudeliter à militibus regiis occiſos, nec non
‘ Carolum Quellevetum Pontium Armoricæ Regulum
‘ qui Catharinam Parthenæam Joannis Subiſii filiam &
‘ hæredem in uxorem duxerat ſed à Parthenæe matre
‘ frigiditatem generi cauſſata de diſſolvendo matrimonio
‘ lite aliquanto ante tempore intentata neque dum fini-
‘ ta. Itaque cum corpora eorum ſicuti à percuſſoribus
‘ ſinguli occidebantur ante arcem Regiſque Reginæ ac
‘ totius aulici comitatus conſpectum abjicerentur, fre-
‘ quentes è gynæceo Fœminæ, nequaquam crudeli ſpe-
‘ ctaculo eas abſterrente, curioſis oculis nudorum cor-
‘ pora inverecunde intuebantur, & in Pontio præcipue
‘ aciem defigebant, ſi qua ratione frigiditatis illius cauſ-
‘ ſam aut notas perrimari poſſent (10). - - - - *Baudin*
‘ *the brother of Acier, Pluvial and Berni were involved*
‘ *in the ſame calamity, and alſo Charles Quellevé du Pont,*
‘ *a lord of Bretagne, who had married Catherine Parthe-*
‘ *nai, the daughter and heireſs of John of Soubiſe; but*
‘ *ſome time before, an action had been entered againſt*
‘ *him for Impotency, by the mother of Parthenai, in order*
‘ *to obtain a divorce, which was not yet determined. And*
‘ *when the bodies, according as each was maſſacred,*
‘ *were thrown down before the caſtle in view of the*
‘ *king, queen, and all the court, many of the ladies came*
‘ *out of their apartment, not a bit ſhocked at this cruel*
‘ *ſpectacle, and with great curioſity, and immodeſty, looked*
‘ *upon the naked bodies, and particularly they fixed their*
‘ *eyes on du Pont, to ſee if they could by any means find*
‘ *out the cauſe and marks of his Impotency.*’ It ſeems at firſt ſight that d'Aubigné was guilty of a miſtake, as if he had ſaid of Soubiſe what he ſhould have ſaid only of his ſon-in-law. *Berni and Soubiſe were dragged dead, and placed before the Louvre, and expoſed to the view of the ladies, who looked upon the latter, to know whether he was incapable of marriage, becauſe he was ſued at law for it.* But when we come to know that the ſon-in-law had the ſame name with the father-in-law, this Hiſtorian can only be blamed for not inſerting ſome word of diſtinction, as others have done. Mezerai would otherwiſe be altogether inexcuſable: *Who can believe it*, ſays he, at pag. 156, of the fifth tome of his Chronological Abridgment, *of ſo many valiant men* (he had named the great lords maſſacred on St Bartholomew's-day, and had not paſſed over in ſilence Francis de Quellevé, huſband to the heireſs of Soubiſe), *not one of them died with ſword in hand but Guerchi.* He is much more in fault in his great hiſtory, for he does not only call this huſband Charles de Quellevé-Pontivy, which is to confound two perſons in one, but he attributes to the wife the proceſs for Impotency, which was commenced againſt the baron du Pont. This is, in ſome meaſure, to aſperſe her, of which Thuanus was not guilty: for he aſcribes this accuſation and proſecution only to the mother-in-law. See the article QUELLENEC.

(10) Thuan. *lib. lii, pag. m.* 1076.

[*D*] *She muſt have written ſomething when ſhe was very young.*] For ſhe loſt the name of Mademoiſelle de Parthenai in 1568, by her marriage with the baron du Pont, and could be then but fourteen years old, ſince the marriage of her father and mother was ſolemnized in May 1553. See the remark [*A*] towards the end.

[*E*] *Some have thought that ſhe wrote an apology for Henry the IVth.*] It was printed as a work of the ducheſs of Rohan, in the new editions of the Journal of Henry III. See how d'Aubigné ſpeaks of this piece. ‘ He that would ſee this matter more learnedly de-
‘ bated, let him read the Apology for the king,
‘ written by Mr Cahier, then miniſter to Madam.
‘ The king ſhewed it to me, as being the ſtile of
‘ Madam de Rohan. It is a prevaricating Apology,
‘ which Roquelaure hearing read, cried out, Oh!
‘ how well the authors of that piece are informed of
‘ what we do! Some accuſe la Ruffie of it, becauſe
‘ after he had diſcourſed of the king's humour, which
‘ is to puniſh ſervices, and reward offences, he ſays
‘ to thoſe who complain of his majeſty, you ought to
‘ complain of your ſelves, and not of him, for know-
‘ ing his temper, if you would have rewards, you
‘ ſhould merit them by worthy actions (11). Whoſo-
ever compoſed this Apology, was a perſon of wit, and I doubt very much whether Peter Victor Cayet was capable of giving ſuch a turn to his railing. Mr Varillas did not know who was pointed at in this Satire, for ſpeaking of Antony, king of Navarre, he ſays (12), *that Catherine de Parthenai, mother of the famous duke of Rohan, reproached him, that he never did good but to thoſe whom he feared.* It was not to this prince, but to Henry the IVth, his ſon, that this reproach was made in the Satire attributed to that lady (13).

(11) Conſeſſ. Cathol. de Sancy, *book i, chap. v.*

(12) In the advertiſement of Tom. v, of the Hiſtory of Hereſy.

(13) See the remark [Q] of the article HENRY IV.

PARTHENIUS, the author of a book intituled, Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, *de amatoriis Affectionibus*, that is, *concerning the paſſions of love* [*A*], was of Nicea, and lived in the age of Auguſtus. It cannot be queſtioned but he lived in that time, ſince his book is dedicated to Cornelius Gallus [*B*]. Several think he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from the Poet PARTHENIUS, who having loſt his liberty in the time of the Mithridatic war, recovered it upon the account of his learning (*a*). Suidas, who informs us of this particular, ſays this Poet lived till the time of Tiberius, and aſcribes to him divers

(*a*) *See* Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Græcis, *lib. ii, cap. i.*

[*A*] *Author of a book, intituled . . . . concerning the paſſions of love.*] It was tranſlated into Latin by Janus Cornarius. This tranſlation was printed with the Greek (1) at Baſil *in officina Frobeniana* in the year 1531, in 8vo (2). The tranſlator, who practiſed Phyſic, thought he did nothing foreign to his profeſſion in tranſlating this work; for he ſuppoſed that the narratives contained in it might ſerve for a remedy to the diſtemper of love, which ſometimes ends in madneſs, or a conſumption. ‘ And I do not matter, *continues*
‘ *he*, the cenſure of vulgar Phyſicians, who would be
‘ thought to excel in their profeſſion, only becauſe
‘ they make a figure in the world, and have very little
‘ learning.’ *Mihi ſane ejuſmodi narrationes ac θελκτήρια, utiliter adhiberi poſſe videntur, quum in aliis mentium perturbationibus, tum præcipue in morbo quem τὸν ἔρωτα medici vocant, qui tam graviter quibuſdam incumbit, ut in maniam, aut phthiſin & febrem ἑκτικὴν perducantur. Quæ cauſſa fuit cur ego medicinam profeſſus hæc edere non erubuerim, nihil veritus vulgi medicorum de me judicium, qui hoc tantum nomine boni medici videri geſtiunt, quod ſint egregie purpurati, & quam minimum literarum attigerunt* (3). This work contains only thirty-ſix chapters, all very ſhort. The adventures related in it are taken from ſome very antient authors, which are not now extant. It is not in verſe, as Moreri has aſſerted (4).

(1) Not over againſt it, but by itſelf.

(2) There is another edition of Baſil 1555, and one of Heidelberg 1601, both in 8vo.

(3) Janus Cornarius, Epiſt. Dedicat. Parthenii.

(4) Mr Le Clerc has corrected that miſtake.

[*B*] *His book is dedicated to Cornelius Gallus.*] The tranſlator imagined that Parthenius's deſign was to comfort Cornelius Gallus, who run mad out of love for Lycoris. The new motive for tranſlating and publiſhing this work, was, that youth which are but too much

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divers works [C]. This Parthenius is undoubtedly the ſame who taught Virgil Greek, and we muſt not confound him with a Parthenius, who was of the iſle of Chios [D], and who wrote verſes on his father, Theſtor, one of Homer's poſterity (b).

(b) Suidas, *Tom. ii, pag.* 455.

much inclined to debauchery, might learn to be chaſt: but Cornarius tells us, that this ſort of remedy, in the opinion of ſome moroſe critics, is a real poiſon. *Hunc autem libellum ad Cornelium Gallum poetam ſcripſit, ut ſuſpicor, furoris ejus leniendi ac conſolandi gratia, in quem ex nimio amore Lycoridis amicæ inciderat, ut eſt apud Vigilium & Tibullum. Qua re poterant ſimili modo ſalubria exempla hinc peti juventuti ad libidinem proclivi, ut & patienter & conceſſa amare pergeret, niſi præ moroſitate aut fatuitate potius, multi etiam remedia ac ſalutaria pharmaca inſtar venenorum prohiberent* (5). I do no not know why he ventures to make conjectures, whilſt the very text of Parthenius tells him the reaſon of the dedication This author ſays, he dedicated his collection as a piece that might furniſh out materials ſuitable to the poetry of Cornelius Gallus.

(5) Cornarius, ubi ſupra.

[C] *Suidas . . . . . aſcribes to him divers works.*] Some Elegies upon Venus, the Encomium of his wife Areta, and a Poem upon the death of Areta (6). He does not give the title of the reſt, when he ſpeaks of Parthenius; but under the word Νέσωρ, he ſays Parthenius of Nicæa wrote a book of Metamorphoſes. Plutarch and Euſtathius have made mention of that book. Stephen of Byzantium has cited ſeveral other pieces of Parthenius (7). We read in Suetonius, that Tiberius, in compoſing Greek verſes, imitated, amongſt other Poets, Parthenius, whoſe picture, and works, he ordered to be put in the public libraries. *Fecit & Græca poemata (Tiberius) imitatus Euphorionem, & Rhianum, & Parthenium: quibus poetis admodum delectatus, ſcripta eorum & imagines, publicis bibliothecis inter veteres & præcipuos auctores dedicavit* (8). Caſaubon thinks, the Parthenius ſpoken of there is the ſame whoſe book we have ſtill extant *de amatoriis affectibus* (9). Voſſius is of the ſame opinion (10): but Giraldus will have it, that a Parthenius more antient is meant, he who was deſcended from Homer. See the following remark.

(6) Suidas, in Παρθένιος.

(7) See Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græc. *lib. ii, cap. ij* and Pinedo in the Index of Authors, cited by Stephen of Byzantium.

(8) Sueton. in Tiberio, *cap. lxx.*

(9) Caſaub. in Sueton. ibid.

(10) Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

[D] *He who taught Virgil Greek, and we muſt not confound him with a* PARTHENIUS, *who was of the iſle of Chios.*] That a Poet, named Parthenius, taught Virgil the Greek language, may be proved by this paſſage: *Verſus eſt Parthenii, quo Grammatico in Græcis Virgilius uſus eſt:*

Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρεῖ καὶ Ἰνοῖ Μελικέρτῃ.

Glauco, & Panopeæ & Inoo Melicertæ (11).

(11) Macrob. Saturn. *lib. v, cap. xviii, pag. m.* 412.

Macrobius had taken this obſervation from Aulus Gellius (12); but he added to it the circumſtance of Virgil's having had Parthenius for his maſter to teach him Greek. A groſs fault has crept into the place, where Voſſius cites Aulus Gellius (13). There are more conſiderable faults in Giraldus. He obſerves (14) that there were two Poets of the name of Parthenius, one of Chios, and the other of Nicæa. He of Chios, adds he, was ſirnamed Chaos, and was deſcended from Homer. Virgil imitated him in certain things, as Macrobius and Aulus Gellius remark. The Grammarian Probus quotes the work of Parthenius concerning lovers. Plutarch likewiſe relates a ſtory from it. Stephen of Byzantium cites the *Iphiclus* and the *Propempticon* of the ſame Parthenius. It is to this Parthenius that Giraldus refers the paſſage of Suetonius (15). As to Parthenius of Nicæa, this is what he ſays of him. It is he who taught Virgil Greek, as Macrobius affirms. He wrote a book of Metamorphoſes: he is the elegiac Poet mentioned by Artemidorus in the IVth book of dreams; he is the author of the Archelaid quoted by Hephæſtion, and of the Hercules cited by Stephen of Byzantium, and of the book intitled ἐρωτικὰ dedicated to Cornelius Gallus, and cited by Probus the Grammarian.

(12) Aulus Gellius, *lib. xiii, cap. xxv.*

(13) Ex Parthenio hoc Verbum (*read* Verſum) à Marone expreſſum Gellius refert. *Voſſius, ubi ſupra, lib. i, beg.* 164.

(14) Gyrald. de Poetar. Hiſt. Dial. III, *pag.* 175.

(15) Cited in the remark [C].

One may eaſily ſee that Giraldus miſerably confounds things, and falls into contradictions. I do not blame Voſſius, either for not having criticized upon him, or for not having quoted him. The nature of his work did not neceſſarily engage him to remark the faults of another, and he had perhaps found, without the help of Giraldus, all thoſe matters which he might be ſaid to borrow of him. However it be, I ſhall obſerve that this learned Italian takes from, and gives to the ſame Parthenius the ſame books in the ſame page. He gives to Parthenius of Chios the treatiſe *de Affectionibus amatoriis*, and a little after aſcribes it to Parthenius of Nicæa. He proves by Macrobius that Virgil imitated the Parthenius of Chios, and preſently after quotes Macrobius to prove that Parthenius of Nicæa taught Virgil Greek. But it is certain, Macrobius ſpoke only of the ſame Parthenius. Beſides, Giraldus would be very much puzzled, were he urged to tell why he pretends that Parthenius author of the *Hercules* is not the ſame as Parthenius author of the *Propempticon* and of the *Iphiclus*. He did not know the title of theſe works but becauſe Stephen of Byzantium cited them as pieces of Parthenius. This citation cannot regulate each of their ſhares, and leads us rather to think that they were all done by Parthenius of Nicæa: he was better known than the other Parthenius's: and therefore we ought to aſcribe to him rather than to the others the books, which are cited barely under that name. So, we find in Stephen of Byzantium the epithet φωκαεύς *Phocenſis*, added to the word Παρθένιος PARTHENIUS in two places (16). This epithet implies, that every where elſe Parthenius, cited ſingly, is different from him of Phocæa, and that if he were different from the Nicæan, the ſirname of his country would have been given him. By the by, it ſeems that Parthenius the Phocean lived at the fartheſt in the fourth Century: for Stephen of Byzantium (17) quotes him under a name, which was given to a people upon the account of Decentius the brother of Magnentius (18). I ſhall alſo obſerve that Athenæus, quoting a PARTHENIUS who was not the Nicæan, does not do it by that name alone, but adds for diſtinction's ſake ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου (19), that is, *the ſon of Dionyſius*, according to Dalechamp, or *diſciple of Dionyſius*, according to Voſſius (20). This Parthenius was author of a book intituled περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἰσοεικοῖς λέξεων ζητουμένων, *de vocabulis quæſitis apud hiſtoricos* (21). Voſſius believed him to be the diſciple of Dionyſius of Alexandria a famous Grammarian, who flouriſhed from the time of Nero to that of Trajan.

(16) In Τέτθος & in Δεκέντιος.

(17) Δεκέντιος.

(18) Who was emperor for ſome time, and who killed himſelf in the year 353.

(19) Athen. *lib. xi, pag.* 467, *and* 501.

(20) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græc. *lib. ii, cap. i.*

If it be aſked, who is the Parthenius cited by Lucian, in naming ſome Poets that are diffuſive in their accounts of things, I anſwer that Caſaubon thinks it is the ſame that dedicated a treatiſe to Cornelius Gallus (22), that is, Parthenius the Nicean. Ὅμηρος . . . καίτοι ποιητὴς ὤν, παραθεῖ τὸν Τάνταλον, καὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, καὶ Τιτυὸν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας. εἰ δὲ Παρθένιος, ἢ Εὐφορίων, ἢ Καλλίμαχος ἔλεγε, πόσοις ἂν οἶει ἔπεσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἄχει πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Ταντάλου ἤγαγεν; εἶτα πόσοις ἂν Ἰξίονα ἐκύλισε. - - - Homerus . . . quamquam eſt poëta, Tantalum, Ixionem, Tityum, alioſque percurrit. At ſi Parthenius, vel Euphorion, vel Callimachus eadem tractaret, quàm multis putas verſibus aquam ad labia uſque Tantali adduxiſſet, Deinde quàm multis idem Ixionem volutaſſet (23). - - - *Homer . . . tho' a Poet, runs through the ſtories of Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and others, in a few lines. But if Parthenius, or Euphorion, or Callimachus were to write about them, how many verſes would they employ to bring the water to the lips of Tantalus, or to turn Ixion upon the wheel.*

(21) Athen. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 467.

(22) Caſaub. in Sueton. in Tiber. *cap. lxx.*

(23) Lucianus, de Conſcrib. Hiſtoria, *Tom. i, pag. m.* 704.

PARTS (JAMES DES) in Latin *de partibus*, lived in the XVth century, and was Phyſician to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, and afterwards to Charles VII king of France (a). Some ſay he was born at Tournay, but others at Paris [A]. He was

(a) Naudæus, de Antiquitate Scholæ Medicæ Pariſienſis, *pag.* 48.

[A] *Some ſay he was born at Tournay, but others at Paris.*] Mr Mercklin declared for the former of theſe two opinions. See him at page 490 of the *Lindenius renovatus*. Riolanus declared for the latter, and has even made uſe of this fact to prove that James Ponceau was a Pariſian. 'James des Parts was a native of Paris,

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was canon of the church of Paris (*b*), and canon and treasurer of the church of Tournay (*c*), and died in this last city about the year 1465 (*d*). He was one of the most learned Physicians of that age, and wrote some books which were highly esteemed for a long time [*B*]. I shall take notice hereafter (*e*), that some other Physicians have been his plagiaries. He was the first that wrote concerning the purple Fever (*f*). The Bagnio-keepers of Paris intended to assassinate him, because he advised the magistrate not to permit the use of baths in time of pestilence [*C*].

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Lindenius renovatus, *p.* 490.

(*d*) Riolan, Recherches sur les Escholes en Médicine de Paris & de Montpellier, *pag.* 197.

(*e*) In the article PRÆPOSITUS, at the remark.

(*f*) See the remark [*C*].

‘ Paris, his works (1) were printed by the care of ‘ James Ponceau, first Physician to Charles VIII, being returned from Italy, and at the king's expence. ‘ Janus Lascaris, who dedicated the book to James ‘ Ponceau, calls him *Patriotam*, the country-man, of ‘ James des Parts, *& ejusdem artis professorem*, one of ‘ the same profession (2).’ What might induce one to think that this Physician of Charles VII was not a native of Tournay is, that Swertius, and Valerius Andreas Desselius, Bibliographers of the Low-Countries, make no mention of him, tho' he was so capable of doing honour to his country.

(1) *In three large volumes.* Riolan, Recherches des Escholes de Médecine, *pag.* 171.

(2) Ib. *p.* 270.

[*B*] *He wrote some books, which were highly esteemed for a long time.*] The chief is his commentary on Avicenna. It was printed at Lyons at the king's charge, and by the care of Janus Lascaris (3) *apud Johannem Trechsel* in the year 1498 in four volumes *in folio* (4). It was given out, that the Physicians of Paris concealed this excellent work, that foreigners might not enjoy the benefit of it. ‘ Cui (*Jacobo de ‘ Partibus*) si, quemadmodum Tacitus † Cæsari concedatis, ut propter magnitudinem cognitionis (5), ‘ & occupationes rerum, & seculi sui fatum, minus ‘ eloquentiâ effecerit, quam divinum ejus ingenium ‘ postulabat, habebitis alioqui virum tam celebrem, ‘ tam eruditum, tam copiosum, ut non veritus sit affirmare Johannes Agricola Medicus Germanus †, ‘ *majores vestros, quibus commentum illud ingens & vastum in Avicennam prigium obtigerat, centum annos perpetuos apud se, clam, & secreto continuisse, nullisque nationibus aliis hoc communicari sustinuisse, priusquam seculo quædam annorum περιπλομένων revoluta essent.* Sed quidquid sit de hac historia, vel potius ex subducta temporis ratione non ineleganti fabellâ, ‘ hoc loco mihi venit in mentem, quod narratur de ‘ veteris Romæ tam catis, & cautis Jurisconsultis, qui ‘ fastorum, dierumque singulorum rationem penes se ‘ unos esse voluerunt, donec inventus est quidam scriba ‘ Cneius Flavius, qui fastos ipsos populo ediscendos ‘ proponeret, suorumque magistrorum tam arcanam, ‘ occultamque sapientiam compilaret, ac pervulgaret ‡: ‘ inventus est enim tandem Janus Lascaris è Paleologorum familia Princeps Constantinopolitanus, qui ‘ hoc universæ Medicinæ Sacrarium, hoc, si Diis placet, tectum & involutum non Eleusiniarum, sed Parisiensis Æsculapii mysterium, symmistis omnibus, ‘ omnibus medicis referavit, aperuit, communicavit. ‘ - - - *Of whom* (James des Parts) *if you say, as Tacitus did of Cæsar, that by reason of his vast knowledge, and the affairs he was taken up with, and the destiny of the age he lived in, he effected less by his eloquence than might be expected from his divine genius, you will in other respects have a man so famous, so learned, and so copious, that John Agricola, a German Physician, made no scruple to affirm*, That your ancestors, who first possessed that large and huge commentary on Avicenna, kept it privately among themselves for an hundred years together, and would not ‘ suffer it to be communicated to other nations, till ‘ after the revolution of several years. *But whatever there be in this story, or rather, considering the calculation of time, this pretty fable, it brings to my mind what is related of the cunning and wary Lawyers of ancient Rome, who would have the management of the Calendar lodged entirely in their hands, till at length a certain Notary, Cneius Flavius, who proposed that the people should learn the Calendar by heart, compiled and published this secret and hidden science of their governors: so, at last Janus Lascaris, a Constantinopolitan prince of the family of the Paleologi, has unlocked, laid open, and communicated to all Physicians, to all initiated in that profession, this repository of universal medicine, this hidden and dark mystery, forsooth, not of Ceres, but of the Parisian Æsculapius.*’

(3) See the preceding remark.

(4) Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 490. *Gesner* puts the year 1496. *Riolanus* only mentions three volumes.

† Lib. de claris Oratoribus.

(5) Several editions of Tacitus have *cogitationum*.

‡ Epist. nuncupat. comment. in Galenum de locis affectis.

‡ *See* Præf. & Epist. nuncupat. ejus Operibus ab eodem Lascaris præfixa.

‘ Hoc autem Imperium, quod Jacobus de Partibus ‘ ab iis omnibus, qui illum præcesserant legitimè delatum obtinuit; illud idem diversâ ratione Joannes ‘ Fernelius omnibus, qui eum secuturi sunt, ita præripuit, ut non solum Medicorum seculi decimi quinti Princeps (6), &c. - - - *But this superiority, which James des Parts obtained, and which was lawfully conveyed to him by all those that went before him, John Fernelius contrariwise has so ravished from all those that shall come after him, that he is not only the prince of Physicians of the XVth Century, &c.*’ It was necessary to lengthen out this citation, that it might serve as a proof to the text of this remark.

(6) Naudæus, de Antiq. Scholæ Medicæ Paris. *pag.* 48, & *seq.*

Among the other works of James des Parts mentioned in the *Lindenius renovatus*, I shall only set down the two following, *viz. Summa Alphabetica Morborum ac Remediorum ex Libris Mesuæ excerpta. Inventiarium seu Collectorium receptorum omnium Medicaminum, Confectionum, Pulverum, Pilularum, Emplastrorum, Unguentorum, & Oleorum, & aliorum cuivis usui reservandorum.* The edition of the latter neither shews the time nor the place of the impression (7).

(7) Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 491.

[*C*] *The Bagnio-keepers of Paris intended to assassinate him, &c.*] The whole passage, which I am going to cite from Riolanus is curious, and may be subservient to this article, and therefore I shall give it entire. ‘ I cannot bear that Fracastorius, a Physician, and a ‘ very learned Italian, speaking of the Purple Fever, ‘ in his treatise *de Morbis contagiosis*, should say that ‘ it was not known in France in the year 1529, when ‘ Andrew Naugier, ambassador of the republic of ‘ Venice, died at that time of this fever at Blois. I ‘ can prove, it was described in the beginning of the ‘ XVth Century by Sebastianus Montuus in his *Opuscula*, and that at the end of the XIVth Century (8), a Physician of Paris, called James de Parts, ‘ first wrote of it very distinctly and learnedly, and ‘ used the letting of blood for its cure. It is he who ‘ says, that in his time baths and stoves were so common in Paris, that having advised the magistrates to ‘ prohibit them in time of pestilence, the Bagnio-keepers would have assassinated him, had he not ‘ made his escape (9).’

(8) *It should be the XVth.* Naud. de Antiq. Schol. Medic. Paris. *pag.* 48, *commits the same fault.*

(9) Riolan, ubi *supra*, *pag.* 217, 218.

Riolanus afterwards quotes six Latin verses from an Italian named Brixianus, who praised the city of Paris for its *baths and stoves*, in the beginning of the XVIth Century; and you will find in Peter Matthieu (10), that when the queen made her entry into Paris in 1466, four baths were set up for her and the ladies at the house of John Dauvet the first president. He reckons this (11) amongst the sensual pleasures of Lewis XI, *uncommon and little known to the kings of France his predecessors.* He thinks that Prince brought *the custom of them from Flanders*, and cites Philip de Comines who placed baths among *the corruptions that peace had introduced into the Low-countries.* But what I have related of James des Parts shews they were in use at Paris before Lewis XI returned from Flanders.

(10) Matthieu, Histoire de Louis XI, *at the beginning, pag.* m. 273.

(11) Ib. *lib.* xii, *pag.* 733.

PASCAL (BLAISE) one of the sublimest genius's in the world, was born at Clermont in Auvergne the nineteenth of June, 1623. He never had any master but his father, who was a very learned man [*A*], an able Mathematician, and president of the

[*A*] *His father was a very learned man.*] His name was STEPHEN PASCHAL: He was born in the year 1588 *at Clermont in Auvergne, of one of the best families of that province. His father was treasurer of France at Riome, and his mother, who bore likewise the surname of Pascal, was the daughter of the Seneschal of Auvergne at Clermont* (1). Stephen Pascal *quitted the province, after he had resigned his office of president to one of his brothers, and retired to Paris, as to a place favourable* to his design of giving a good education to his

(1) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 332.

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the court of Aids in his province, and had an extraordinary tenderneſs for this child, his only ſon (a). This tenderneſs induced him to quit his office, and ſettle at Paris in 1631, that he might the more uſefully ſpend his time in the inſtruction of his ſon, who from his infancy gave proofs of a very extraordinary capacity; for 'he deſired to 'know the reaſon of every thing . . . and he could not yield in any point, unleſs it 'appeared to him evidently true; ſo that when good reaſons were not given him, he 'himſelf would ſearch for better; and when he applied himſelf to any ſubject, he would 'never leave it till he had found out ſomething that could give him ſatisfaction (b).' There was reaſon to fear, that with a genius of ſuch a caſt he would turn a free-thinker, and yet he was always very far from that fault. He diſtinguiſhed exactly all his life-time the laws of Faith from thoſe of Reaſon [B]. What is told of the manner how he learned the Mathematics, ſeems to be miraculous [C], as well as the progreſs which he made in that ſcience in a very little time [D]. But that which we are told of his piety and humility

(a) He had two daughters, whereof one was a nun at Port-Royal, the other was married to Mr Perier.

(b) The Life of Mr Paſcal by Madam Perier, *pag.* 5.

his ſon (2). He joined with Mr de Roberval, to anſwer the objections of Des Cartes, againſt a piece of Mr de Fermat, *de maximis & minimis* (3); but he had ſcarce any ſhare in the conſequences of this diſpute, for he removed from Paris, *and retired far from publick intercourſe, leſt his preſence ſhould provoke ſome offended powers, and move them to do ſomething to the prejudice of his liberty. The diſgrace into which he thought he was fallen, was nothing elſe but the conſequence of the diſgrace of one of his intimate friends, who had been arreſted and carried to the Baſtile, for ſome diſturbance made in the town-houſe. Mr Paſcal being perſwaded of the integrity of his friend, had obſerved, that there was more misfortune than crime in his manner of occaſioning that diſturbance. He did not only ſpeak in favour of his friend, but he was alſo ſo bold as to take upon him the defence of ſeveral perſons unjuſtly treated and oppreſſed by ſome intereſted officers. Beſides he had learned, that this affair had been related with very odious circumſtances to the chancellor Seguier; wherefore the fear of having diſpleaſed this prime magiſtrate of the kingdom, made him retire to prevent the effects of his reſentment. He continued about a year in this retirement, till cardinal de Richelieu being informed of his great merit, and of the occaſion of his retiring, by the ducheſs of Aiguillon, and by the chancellor himſelf, cauſed him to return in* 1639, *and made him in a little time after intendant of Normandy at Roan* (4). He died in 1651 (5). He was become a friend to Des Cartes.

(2) Baillet, ibid.

(3) Ib. *pag.* 331, *ad ann.* 1638.

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 339, 340.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 832.

[B] *He diſtinguiſhed exactly all his life-time the laws of Faith from thoſe of Reaſon.*] This we are told in his life written by Madam Perier, his ſiſter. 'He 'had been hitherto, (6) by a peculiar divine protection, 'preſerved from all the vices of youth, and which is 'yet more ſtrange in one of his genius and character, 'he was never inclined to Libertiniſm, as to what con'cerns religion, but always confined his curioſity to 'things natural. He told me many times, that he 'added this obligation to all the other he had to my 'father; who having himſelf a very great reverence 'for religion inſpired it into him in his infancy, giv'ing him this for a maxim, that every thing which 'is the object of faith cannot be the object of reaſon, 'and much leſs ſubject to it. This maxim which 'was often repeated to him by a father for whom he 'had a great eſteem, and in whom he ſaw great learn'ing, with clear and ſtrong reaſon, made ſo great an 'impreſſion upon his mind, that whatſoever diſcourſes 'he heard from free-thinkers, he was not at all mov'ed by them; and although he was very young, he 'looked upon them as a ſort of people who had this 'falſe principle, that human reaſon was above all 'things, and who knew not the nature of faith. And 'thus that great ſoul, ſo vaſt and ſo curious, which 'enquired with ſo much care into the cauſe and rea'ſon of every thing, was at the ſame time as ſub'miſſive in matters of religion, as a child, which 'ſimplicity prevailed in him all his life-time; inſo'much that even after he reſolved to ſtudy nothing 'but religion, he never applied himſelf to any curi'ous queſtions of Theology; and uſed his moſt vigo'rous endeavours to know and practiſe the perfection 'of Chriſtian morality, to which he conſecrated all 'the talents which GOD had given him (7).'

(6) That is, till the age of 24 years.

(7) Life of Paſcal, *pag.* 12, 13.

[C] *The manner how he learned the Mathematics ſeems to be miraculous.*] His father perceiving in him an extraordinary inclination (8) *to matters of reaſoning*, was afraid that the knowledge of the mathematics *would hinder his learning the languages. He reſolved therefore to keep him, as much as he could*, from all notions of Geometry; *he locked up all the books that treated of it, and refrained even to ſpeak of it in his preſence, with his friends.* Yet he could not refuſe this general anſwer to the importunate curioſity of his ſon: *Geometry is a ſcience which teaches the way of making exact figures, and of finding out the proportions between them; but at the ſame time he forbad him to ſpeak or think of it any more.* Upon this bare opening of the matter, the child (9) ſet himſelf *to muſe at his hours of recreation*, and to make figures upon the chamber-floor with charcoal. He ſought out the proportions of figures, he himſelf made definitions and axioms, and and then demonſtrations, *and he carried his enquiries ſo far, that he came to the thirty-ſecond propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid.* For his father having ſurprized him one day in the midſt of his figures, *and having aſked him what he was doing, he told him he was ſearching for ſuch a thing, which was juſt* that propoſition of Euclid. *He aſked him afterwards, what made him think of this, and he anſwered, that it was becauſe he had found out ſuch another thing; and ſo going backward and uſing the names of bar and round, he came at length to the definitions and axioms he had formed to himſelf.* You will find all this more at large with the conſequences of it in the authors I quote in the margin (10). I have elſewhere related a matter of fact which comes ſomething near to this, concerning father Maignan. See the remark [E] of his article.

(8) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids. See alſo Madam Perier's Life of Mr Paſcal, *pag.* 6.

(9) He was then but twelve years old. Madam Perier, ibid. and the Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

(10) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids. Madam Perier, in the Life of Paſcal. Mr Baillet, Famous Children, Article LXXVII.

[D] . . . . *The progreſs which he made in that ſcience in a very little time.*] Mr le Pailleur knowing what has been juſt ſaid, adviſed Mr Paſcal, the father, who told him of it, no longer to conſtrain his ſon. Mr Paſcal followed this advice, and gave Euclid's Elements to the child, who '(11) underſtood it all by himſelf 'alone, without ever needing any explication, and he 'improved in it at firſt ſo far, that afterwards he was 'conſtantly preſent at the conferences which were 'held every week, where all the moſt ingenious men 'of Paris were aſſembled, either to bring thither their 'own works, or to examine thoſe of others. Young 'Mr Paſcal, kept his place there, as well as any o'ther, either for examining or writing books. He 'carried thither as often as any man new things, and 'ſometimes it happened, that he diſcovered faults in 'the propoſitions that were examined, which the reſt 'did not perceive. Yet he employed only his time 'of recreation in the ſtudy of Geometry, becauſe he 'was then learning the languages which his father 'taught him. But finding in thoſe ſciences the truth, 'which he loved in all things with an extream paſ'ſion, he made ſuch progreſs in the little time he 'ſpent upon them, that at the age of ſixteen years he 'wrote a treatiſe of conic ſections, which in the 'judgment of the moſt learned was accounted one of 'the greateſt efforts of genius that can be imagined. 'And therefore Mr Des Cartes, who had been in 'Holland for a long time, having read it, and hav'ing heard ſome ſay, that it was written by a child 'of ſixteen years of age, choſe rather to believe, that 'Mr Paſcal the father, was the true author of it; 'who willingly robbed himſelf of that glory which 'juſtly belonged to him, to transfer it to his ſon, 'than to be perſwaded, that a child of that age, was 'capable of writing a book with ſuch ſtrength of rea'ſon; and by this backwardneſs to believe a thing 'which was very true, he ſhewed that it was in ef'fect incredible and prodigious. At the age of nine'teen years he invented that admirable machine of 'Arithmetic (12), which was eſteemed one of the 'moſt extraordinary things that was ever ſeen: and afterwards

(11) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids. See alſo Madam Perier, *pag.* 8, &c.

(12) He preſented one of them to the king; and one to the chancellor, and then he gave one to Mr Carcavi. See Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 378.

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humility (c), is little leſs wonderful [E]. After he had taken a great deal of pains in experiments of the New Philoſophy, he forſook that ſtudy [F], *and all other learning, to apply*

(c) See the remark [G].

' afterwards at the age of twenty-three years, having ' ſeen the Toricellian experiment, he invented and ' tried a very great number of other new experiments.' We muſt not forget an early proof he gave of his great genius. ' When he was yet but eleven years ' old, at table, a certain perſon having ſtruck acci- ' dentally a fine earthen diſh with a knife, he took ' notice, that it made a great ſound, but as ſoon as ' the hand was laid upon it, the ſound ceaſed. He ' wanted at the ſame time to know the cauſe of it; ' and this experiment having led him to make many ' others about ſounds, he obſerved ſo many things ' about them, that he wrote a tract upon that ſub- ' ject, which was judged very ingenious and ſo- ' lid (13).'

(13) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

What follows is a thing that deſerves to be related. A man of wit who rallied finely (14) thoſe that made the preface which I have quoted (15), introduces Des Cartes ſpeaking thus: ' This man (16) is happy in ' point of reputation; for formerly he made many ' people believe, that he wrote from his own fund of ' ingenuity a book of Conic Sections at the age of ſix- ' teen; which book was ſent to me, and before I had ' read one half of it, I judged †, he had learned very ' much from Mr des Argues; in which opinion I was ' preſently after confirmed by the confeſſion he made ' of it to me himſelf (17).' The author who brings in Des Cartes talking after this manner, preſently makes this anſwer to him (18). *What you ſay ſurprizes me a little, for in the preface to a treatiſe of the Æquilibrium of Fluids, printed after the death of Mr P . . . your teſtimony is alledged in this point, which is not altogether agreeable to that which you now give me; for there is no mention there of the aſſiſtance he had from Mr des Argues; but it is only ſaid, that the thing appeared to you ſo incredible and prodigious, that you would not believe it; that you perſwaded your ſelf, that Mr P . . . the father was in truth the author of the book, and that he had a mind to give the honour of it to his ſon.* Mr Des Cartes replies, *I know not what they make me ſay or think in that preface; but I know very well that I ſay nothing now, but what I writ in expreſs terms to ‡ Father Merſenne, as ſoon as I ſaw the book.* I may be without doubt allowed to ſay, that the author of this dialogue does not relate exactly what was written by Mr Des Cartes to Father Merſenne. The words of the letter are theſe (19), ' I ' have received alſo the Eſſay concerning Conic Se- ' ctions from Mr Paſcal's ſon, and before I had read ' over one half of it, I judged he had learned of ' Mr Des Argues, in which opinion I was confirmed ' preſently after, by the confeſſion which he himſelf ' makes about it.' This plainly ſignifies, that Mr Paſcal, a little after the middle of his book, confeſſes that he received great light from Mr des Argues: but the words of the dialogue do evidently imply, that Mr Paſcal, writing to Mr Des Cartes, made him this confeſſion, which makes one apt to believe, that this young man having heard that this Philoſopher ſuſpected him of having improved by the inſtructions of Mr Des Argues, wrote to him a letter, wherein he owned the juſtice of this ſuſpicion. Such are the natural conſequences of the relation made by this dialogiſt; and therefore we muſt conclude, that he ſets the reader out of the right way, and leads him to form a falſe idea of the fact. The objection is nevertheleſs very ſtrong againſt the preface to the Æquilibrium; for after all, Mr Des Cartes did not write any thing in the leaſt to Father Merſenne, that ſhewed he admired young Paſcal, he gave him no Elogium, he does not ſay that the book of Conic Sections appeared to him to be well done, he ſays nothing of it neither good or bad. Where then is this teſtimony that he is pretended to have given, *that the thing in effect was incredible and prodigious* (20)? It is, will ſome ſay, in another letter that was never printed; it muſt be added, and which was never written to Father Merſenne; for if it had been written to him, Mr Baillet would have cited it, and not have been contented to refer us to the preface of the Æquilibrium of Fluids. Mr Baillet informs us of three things. I. That Mr Roberval and Mr le Pailleur, and other friends of Mr Paſcal, were ſorry for what Mr Des Cartes had written to Father Merſenne. *And that they complained of his opinion, which did not appear obliging enough for a lad of ſuch an extraordinary merit; wherein they were followed by the gentlemen of Port-Royal, who upon this point adviſed Mr Clercelier, after he had publiſhed this teſtimony of Des Cartes in the firſt edition of his letters* (21). II. That this great Philoſopher, going upon probability, could not be perſwaded that a boy was the author of ſo good a book. He therefore acquainted his friend *with the thing, without any artifice, as he believed it.* He choſe rather to ſeek for that book, *an author among the moſt accompliſhed Mathematicians, than to venture to loſe, on other occaſions, the credit he had obtained with thoſe who knew him to be ſincere, by his eaſineſs to believe a thing, which he could not make others believe upon his bare word. And therefore when he ſaw by ſome circumſtances that cleared up the matter, that this book could not with any probability be attributed to his friend Mr Des Argues,* ' He ‡ *choſe rather to believe that Paſcal the* ' *father, was the true author of it, than to be perſwad-* ' *ed that a child of that age was capable of writing a* ' *book with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon.*' III. *That Mr Des Cartes might alſo from the appearance of probability fall into an error about this fact, when he remembered the correſpondence between Mr Des Argues and the Paſcals, and when he ſaw in the treatiſe of the young author of ſixteen years of age, ſuch things as he believed he had ſeen a little while before in a piece of Mr Des Argues; for this might induce him to think that Mr Des Argues had a hand in that treatiſe, and ſo much the rather, becauſe young Mr Paſcal cited Mr Des Argues in it* (22).

(14) *See the book intituled,* A Voyage to the World of Des Cartes, *pag.* 191, 192, *of the Holland Edit.*

(15) That of the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

(16) That is, Mr Paſcal.

† Tom. ii, Letter xxxviii.

(17) Voyage to the World of Des Cartes, *pag.* 188.

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 189.

‡ Tom. ii, Letter xxxviii.

(19) Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, Letter xxxviii, pag. m.* 217.

(20) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

(21) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 40, *ed ann.* 1639, 1640.

‡ Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

One cannot well judge of this diſpute until two things be explained; one is, Whether it be true, that Mr Des Cartes, renouncing his firſt opinion, wrote that Mr Paſcal the father had transferred to his ſon the glory of his Conic Sections. This does not appear by his printed letters, nor by his manuſcript letters which Mr Baillet conſulted, nor by any other circumſtantial proof. There is nothing about this matter, but an indeterminate teſtimony of thoſe who publiſhed the Æquilibrium of Fluids. The other thing, which ought to be cleared up, is the knowing of the terms, in which Mr Des Argues is mentioned in the treatiſe of Mr Paſcal. If he be only named in it, Mr Des Cartes is much to blame, to maintain that Mr Paſcal confeſſes he had been aſſiſted by Mr Des Argues. But if Mr Paſcal makes this confeſſion in it, his and his father's friends are much to blame to complain of Mr Des Cartes.

(22) Baillet, Ibid. *pag.* 41.

[E] *That which we are told of his piety is wonderful.*] I ſhall ſpeak hereafter more largely of this (23): here I ſhall only mention one proof of it. *In the four laſt years of his life; becauſe he was not able to bear labour, his chief diverſion was to go and viſit the churches, where ſome reliques were expoſed, or ſome ſolemnity obſerved, and for that end, he had a ſpiritual almanack, which informed him of the places where there were particular devotions. And this he did with ſo much devotion and ſimplicity, that thoſe who ſaw him were ſurprized at it, which gave occaſion to that fine ſaying of a very virtuous and knowing perſon, that the grace of GOD diſcovers itſelf in great genius's by little things, and in common ones by great things* (24).

(23) In the remark [G].

(24) Madam Perier, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 40.

[F] *After he had taken pains in experiments of the New Philoſophy, he forſook that ſtudy.*] The firſt experiment he made was that of Torricellius, which he repeated many times (25), *and from it drew ſeveral conſequences, for the proof of which, he made ſeveral new experiments, in the preſence of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the city of Roan* (26), *where he then was* (27) . . . *He cauſed them to be printed in the year* 1647, *and made a little book of them, which he diſperſed through all France, and afterwards he ſent it into foreign countries. . . the ſame year he was informed of a thought that Torricellius had, that the air was heavy, and that its weight might be the cauſe of all the effects which had been till then attributed to the horror of a Vacuum. He looked upon this as a very fine thought; but ſince it was a meer conjecture of which there was not any proof, he made ſeveral experiments to diſcover whether it were true or falſe, . . . which not being ſatisfactory, at the end of the ſame year* 1647, *he meditated upon the famous experiment which was tried in* 1648. . . . *The ſucceſs of that experiment, which he repeated ſeveral times, . . . confirmed him altogether in the thought of Torricellius about the*

(25) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids.

(26) His father was intendant there.

(27) That is, in 1646. See Mr Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 328.

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apply himself only to that one thing which JESUS CHRIST *calls necessary* (*d*). He was not yet twenty-four years old, when the reading of some pious books, put him upon taking this holy resolution. The patience which he shewed in his illnesses, that were long and frequent, ought also to be matter of astonishment [G]. Neither should we less

(*d*) Ibid. *pag* 12.

the weight of the air, and gave him occasion afterwards to draw from thence several very fine and useful consequences; and to make also several other experiments, which he inserted in a large treatise, that he wrote at that time, wherein he fully explained all that matter, and answered all the objections that were made against him. But this treatise was lost, or rather, because he loved brevity, he himself reduced it to two little tracts, which appeared after his death, whereof one is intituled, *the Æquilibrium of Fluids*, and the other, *the Weight of the Mass of the Air*.

Here we must take notice of the reproach cast upon him, that he was not so grateful to Des Cartes, as he ought to have been. And in speaking to this, let us use the dialogue of a modern author (28): 'Mr Des 'Cartes interrupted me in this place, and asked me, 'what was that experiment of Mr P.... I answered 'him, it was that which was made in 1648, upon a 'mountain called *Puy de Domme*, with the tube of Tor- 'ricellius, wherein the quick-silver did not rise near 'so high on the top of the mountain, as in the 'middle, or at the foot of it, from whence he clearly 'inferred the weight of the air. This is called, *replied* 'Des Cartes, the experiment of Mr P.... It is then 'because he performed it, or caused it to be peformed 'by Mr Perier; for certainly, it is neither because he 'invented it, nor because he foresaw the success of it. 'And if that experiment ought to be called by the 'name of it's author, it may more justly be called † 'the experiment of Des Cartes; for it was I who de- 'sired him two years before (29) to try it, and as- 'sured him of success, as being altogether agreeable to 'my principles, otherwise he had never thought of it, 'being of a contrary opinion.' Mr Baillet has confirmed this reproach to be just, for thus he informs us under the year 1647 (30). *Mr Des Cartes being very well pleased with the discourse of Mr Pascal, found that all these experiments were very agreeable to the principles of his Philosophy, although Mr Pascal* ‡ *still opposed them, as being of the same opinion with Mr Roberval and others, who maintained a Vacuum. But to reward him for his conversation, he advised him* ‡ *to try other experiments about the mass of the air, to the weight whereof, as we have already remarked, he attributed all that the vulgar Philosophers had vainly imputed to the horrour of a Vacuum* ‡‡. *He assured him of the success of these experiments, although he had not made them himself, because he spoke of them agreeably to his own principles. Mr Pascal, who promised him then some objections against his* Materia subtilis, *would, perhaps, have had no great regard to his advice, if he had not been acquainted, about the same time, with a thought of Torricellius, which was perfectly like this. The experiments be made about the weight of* * *the air in* 1648, *upon these advices, proved very successful. But he chose rather to be obliged for it to Mr Torricellius, than to Mr Des Cartes, who was deprived of his acknowledgment either in his letter to Mr Ribeyre* **, *first president of the court of Aids of Clermont-Ferrand, wherein he gives an account of his experiments, or in the Preface which one of his friends wrote to his posthumous treatise of the* Æquilibrum of Fluids, *and of the weight of the air*. You see that he does not justify Mr Pascal, with respect to Des Cartes, as he does with respect to Torricellius in these words (31). 'The report of his experiments being 'spread in Paris, they were confounded with those 'of Italy; and in this confusion, some attributed the 'whole to Mr Pascal, and others nothing at all to 'him. To inform the public of this matter, in all it's 'circumstances, and to do that justice which was due 'to all those who had any share in that invention, 'Mr Pascal resolved, the next year, to print an exact 'account of the experiments he had tried in Normandy; 'and he prefixed a preface, wherein he related those 'of Italy made by an author, who as yet was unknown 'to him, and whose name he could not tell, and which 'was not known at Paris till some time after, that Ca- 'valier del Pozzo wrote from Rome, that it was the 'famous Torricellius, who died about that time. This 'seeming suppression of the name of a person, whom 'Mr Pascal otherwise preferred to all the Geometri- 'cians of antiquity, gave occasion to some to suspect; 'that he intended to turn plagiary of Torricellius, and 'to belive, tho' falsly, that he had stole also from the 'famous Capuchin *Valerian Magni* (32).'

(28) A Voyage to the World of Des Cartes, *pag.* 188.

† Letter lxxvii, of Des Cartes, Tom. iii.

(29) Mr Des Cartes mistakes one year; he desired Mr Pascal at Paris in 1647, to try that experiment, and the experiment was made in 1648. See Mr Baillet's Life of Mr Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 330. I shall cite his words immediately.

(30) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 330.

‡ Letter MS to Mersenne of the fourth of April 1648.

‡ Tom. iii, of Letters, pag. 443, and 438.

‡‡ Mr Auzout pretends to have given the same advice at the same time to Mr Pascal.

* See the MS. Letter of Des Cartes to Merf. of Decem. 13, 1647, of Febr. 7, 1648, of Jan. 31, 1648, and of April 4, 1648.

** Of July 12, 1651.

(31) Baillet, ibid. *pag.* 329.

Immediately after all these experiments, which confirmed Mr Pascal in the opinion of the weight of the air, he (33) applied himself to more serious studies, *which so disgusted him with Mathematics and Physics, that he absolutely forsook them. For altho' he wrote afterwards a tract intituled*, de la Roulette, *under the name of* Etonville, *this is no wise contrary to what I now say, because he found all that is contained in it by chance, and without any application; and he wrote it only to serve a design perfectly remote from the Mathematics, and from all curious sciences, as will perhaps be proved some time after* (34).

(32) The sequel of this passage, wherein we find the conviction of this Capuchin, may be seen above, remark [B] of the article MAGNI.

(33) Preface to the Æquilibrium of Fluids, towards the end. See also Madam Perier, ubi supra, *pag.* 12.

(34) See Madam Perier, ubi supra, *pag.* 24, 25.

[G] *The patience he shewed in his illness..... is matter of astonishment.*] His sister relates many particulars about it, I shall transcribe but one. 'To this 'ardent charity he joined, during his sickness, an ad- 'mirable patience, which edified, and surprized all 'persons that were about him; and he said to those 'who declared they were troubled to see him in such 'a condition, that, for his own part, he was no wise 'troubled, and that he was even afraid of recovering; 'and when they asked the reason, he answered, because 'I know the dangers of health, and the advantages of 'sickness. He said moreover, in the height of his 'pain, when some were grieved to see him endure it, 'be not concerned for me, sickness is the natural state 'of Christians, because they should always be in a suf- 'fering condition, deprived of all good things, and of 'all the pleasures of sense, free from all the passions 'that disquiet us during the whole course of our lives, 'without ambition and avarice, and in a continual ex- 'pectation of death. Is it not thus that Christians 'ought to pass their lives? And is it not a happiness, 'when they are by necessity in such a condition in 'which they ought to be, and when they have no- 'thing else to do but to submit humbly and quietly? 'Wherefore I only desire ye to pray to GOD, that he 'would grant me this grace. This was the temper with 'which he endured all his afflictions (35).' The author of the *News from the Republic of Letters*, hath made some reflexions upon this, and upon the advantage that may be drawn from the extraordinary devotion of so excellent a Mathematician, and so great a Philosopher. It serves, says he, to refute the Libertines, *they cannot now tell us, that none but shallow wits have any piety* (36). It cannot be denied, but it is rare to see great devotion in persons who have once relished mathematical studies, and made an extraordinary progress in those sciences. I do not know but we may say, in this case, what the abbot Furetiere said of Attornies: 'There are some saints who have been Ad- 'vocates, Bailiffs, nay, even Comedians (37); in fine, 'there is no profession, how mean soever it be, but 'there have been saints of it, except that of an Attor- 'ney (38).' Some talk of a priest who adopted a maxim like that of Mr Pascal, but it was with reference to another, and not to himself. I remember this question is put in the *Serées*, or Evening Entertainments, of Bouchet, *Whether a priest did well in refusing to pray for the health of a parishioner, who had sent for him to come and pray to* GOD *that he would restore him to health? For the priest having asked him at what time he found himself the better Christian, whether in health or in sickness, the sick man answered, that it was when* GOD *visited him. It would be better, therefore, replied the priest, that you should continue sick, that you may be the better man* (39). The action of this priest is none of the most difficult; but if he had desired, during a great sickness, that others should pray to GOD that it might continue, he had done an extraordinary thing.

(35) Madam Perier, ibid. *pag.* 44.

(36) News from the Republic of Letters, December 1684, in the catalogue of new books, num. 2.

(37) Mr Chappuzeau in his *French Theatre*, observes, that there is a martyr who was a Comedian, and that St Geneſt, whose festival the church celebrates, August 31, ended his days by a glorious tragedy.

(38) Furetieriana, pag. 144, of the Holl. Edit.

(39) Bouchet, Serée xxxiii, pag. 221. Lyons Edit. 1618, in 8vo.

There were in the conduct of Mr Pascal some other things, which are no less singular than his maxims about health. 'The conversations in which he was 'often engaged, although they were wholly about 'charity, yet they sometimes made him afraid, lest he 'should fall into danger by them; but since he could 'not in conscience refuse the relief which some per-

sons

leſs admire his temper towards thoſe who offended him, and towards thoſe who failed in the obedience which was due to the king. He was inſenſible to the faults of the former, and irreconcileable to the latter [H]. He died at Paris, Aug. 19, 1662, aged thirty-nine years and two months (e). He had been a long time about a work againſt the Atheiſts, and againſt all thoſe who do not admit the truths of the goſpel. He did not live long enough to digeſt the materials he had collected. What was found, concerning that ſubject, among his papers, was made public, and was admired. He ſet in

(e) Taken from his Life written by Madam Perier, his ſiſter. That Life is prefixed to the Thoughts of Mr Paſcal, of the Amſterdam edition 1684.

ſons demanded of him, he found out a remedy for this. He took, upon occaſion, an iron girdle full of points, and put it round about his naked fleſh, and when any vain thought came into his mind, or he took pleaſure in the place where he was, or any ſuch like thing happened, he gave himſelf ſome blows with his elbow, to redouble the violence of the prickings; and ſo put himſelf in mind of his duty (40).' He had always in his thoughts *theſe two great maxims, of renouncing all pleaſure, and all ſuperfluity; and he practiſed them in the worſt of his illneſs, with a continual watchfulneſs over his ſenſes, refuſing them abſolutely every thing that was agreeable to them: and when neceſſity conſtrained him to do ſomething which might give him any ſatisfaction, he had a wonderful art of diverting his mind from it, that it might have no ſhare in it. As for inſtance, his continual ſickneſs obliging him to feed delicately, he took great care not reliſh what he eat* (41). He had no violent affection for thoſe he loved (42), and adviſed others *not to ſuffer any body to love them in a very high degree; that this was a fault which they did not enough conſider, becauſe the greatneſs of it was not ſufficiently apprehended, ſince by entertaining and cheriſhing ſuch an ardent affection, a man poſſeſſes a heart which belongs only to GOD; and that this is to rob him of the thing which in the whole world is moſt dear to him* (43). He found fault with *ſome diſcourſes* of his ſiſter, which ſhe thought very innocent. *If I ſaid ſometimes*, (ſays ſhe (44), *upon occaſion, that I had ſeen a beautiful woman, he was angry, and would tell me, that I muſt not talk ſo before footmen, and young people, becauſe I did not know what thoughts I might excite in their minds thereby.* He had ſo much humility, that the curate of St Stephen du Mont, who ſaw him in all his laſt ſickneſs, very frequently ſaid, *He is a child, he is humble, he ſubmits like a little child* (45). By the ſame virtue *he allowed a perfect freedom of telling him of his faults, and yielded to the advices which were given him without reſiſtance* (46). Having embraced a kind of life, abſtracted from the world, at the age of thirty years, he governed himſelf by this maxim, *of renouncing all pleaſures and ſuperfluities, and this he practiſed during the remainder of his life. To ſucceed in this deſign, he began from that time, as he did ever after, to diſpenſe with the ſervice of his domeſtics, as much as he could. He made his bed himſelf, he went and took his dinner in the kitchen, and carried it to his chamber; and after he had dined, he carried back the remainder. In fine, he made uſe of nobody, but only to dreſs his meat, to go into the city, and do ſuch other things as he could by no means do himſelf* (47). Laſtly, among ſeveral maxims of Mr Paſcal, which doubtleſs appear very ſtrange to worldly people, I muſt not omit one, which is very ſingular; he did not approve of any man's uſing theſe phraſes, *I have ſaid, I have done*, &c. See the laſt remark.

(40) Madam Perier, ibid. pag. 22.

(41) Ib. p. 25.

(42) Ib. p. 34.

(43) Ib. p. 35.

(44) Ib. p. 32.

(45) Ib. p. 41.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ib. p. 19.

[H] *He was irreconcileable to rebels.*] 'He had ſo great a zeal for the glory of GOD, that he could not endure it ſhould be violated in any thing whatſoever; and this rendered him ſo zealous for the ſervice of the king, that he reſiſted every body at the time of the troubles in Paris, and has ever ſince called all the reaſons that were uſed to excuſe that rebellion, meer pretences: and he ſaid, that in a ſtate ſettled in the form of a Republic, ſuch as Venice was, it was a great ſin to place a king there, and oppreſs the liberty of the people, which GOD had given them: but that in a ſtate where the royal power is ſettled, the reverence due to it cannot be violated, without a kind of ſacrilege; ſince it is not only an image of the power of GOD, but a participation of that ſame power, which could not be oppoſed without viſibly reſiſting the ordinance of GOD; and therefore that he could not ſufficiently exaggerate the greatneſs of that fault; beſides, that it is always accompanied with a civil war, which is the greateſt ſin that can be committed againſt charity to our neighbour. And he obſerved this maxim ſo ſincerely, that he refuſed at that time very conſiderable advantages, rather than he would depart from it. He was wont commonly to ſay, that he abhorred this ſin as much as to aſſaſſinate men, or to rob on the high-way. And laſtly, that there was nothing more contrary to his temper, and by which he was leſs tempted. Theſe were his ſentiments, as to the ſervice of the king, and he was irreconcileable to all thoſe who oppoſed them; and that this did not proceed from his temper, or being wedded to his opinions, ſufficiently appeared from his admirable mildneſs towards thoſe who offended him in particular. So that he made no difference between them and others, and ſo entirely forgot what concerned only his own perſon, that it was difficult to make him remember it, unleſs they mentioned, for that end, the circumſtances of things (48). And when ſometimes he was admired for this, he would ſay, do not wonder at it, it is not any virtue in me, it is really my forgetfulneſs, I remember nothing of it. Nevertheleſs, it certainly appears from hence, that the offences which concerned only his own perſon, did not make any great impreſſion upon him, ſince he did ſo eaſily forget them; for he had ſo excellent a memory, that he would often ſay, he never forgot any thing he had a mind to remember (49).' If this, and the other things I have related, be true, it muſt needs be granted that Mr Paſcal was a prodigy; and if I might be ſo bold as to uſe the expreſſion, I would call him a paradoxical individuum of human kind. He more juſtly deſerves that we ſhould doubt whether he was born of a woman, than that great Philoſopher of Sicily, whom Lucretius has regaled with that commendation.

(48) What Cicero, in his oration for Ligarius towards the cloſe, ſays to Cæſar, may be applied to him, thou art wont to forget nothing but injuries, *qui obliviſci nihil ſolet præter injurias.*

(49) Madam Perier, Life of Paſcal, *pag.* 36.

Nil tamen hoc habuiſſe viro præclarius in ſe,
Nec ſanctum magis, & mirum, charumque videtur.
Carmina quinetiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur & exponunt præclara reperta;
Ut vix humana videatur ſtirpe creatus (50).

(50) Lucret. lib. I, ver. 730.

- - - - *This iſle hath rarely ſhown*
A thing more glorious than this ſingle one.
His verſe compoſ'd of nature's works, declare
His wit was ſtrong, and his invention rare:
His judgment deep, and ſound, whence ſome began,
And juſtly too, to think him more than man.

CREECH.

One thing may leſſen our admiration of the hatred he had for ſeditions, which is, that in his time a war was raiſed in the kingdom, the moſt unjuſt that ever was ſeen, and moſt prejudicial to the welfare of the monarchy. Upon the view of the terrible conſequences which that ſedition had, wherein the Pariſians were engaged, in 1648, to ſet ſome magiſtrates at liberty, there is no good man but will conceive an horror againſt inſurrections, and reaſon almoſt as Balzac did, and even with leſs reſpect for the prince of Condé, the fatal head of the revolt (51). *They begin here to take courage again*, ſays he (52), *after the ſiege of Coignac has been raiſed, and we are not now ſo apprehenſive for our province. But tho' peace were made to-morrow, this ſhort war would leave behind it a long remembrance of the miſchiefs it has done. If ſtates are thus to be reformed and governed, happy are the ſtates which are left in corruption and diſorder! The hero of Monſieur d'Ablancourt was alſo mine; but we equally deteſt the civil war, and will not pardon even Julius Cæſar, although we tranſlate his Commentaries.* Furthermore, the friends of Mr Paſcal glory much in being the followers of the doctrine which condemns rebellion. See what Mr Arnauld (53) has cited from the ſecond tome of the Moral Eſſays.

(51) That is, of the war to which the Barricades in 1648, gave occaſion by degrees.

(52) Balzac, Letter xxv, to Conrart, book ii, pag. m. 148, 149. The Letter is dated November 20, 1651.

(53) Arnauld, Apology for the Catholics, *Part i, ch. xi, pag.* 136.

[I] *A thought*

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in a good light a thought which Arnobius made uſe of [I]; which is, that thoſe who believe a GOD may be eternally happy, if they be in the right, and that they loſe nothing if they are miſtaken: but an Atheiſt gains nothing if he be in the right, and renders himſelf eternally miſerable if he be miſtaken. The provincial letters of Mr Paſcal have been, and are ſtill eſteemed a maſter-piece [K]. Some authors have erroneouſly

[I] *A thought which Arnobius made uſe of.*] That Father confeſſes to the Pagans, that the promiſes of JESUS CHRIST cannot be proved, becauſe they concern a future happineſs; but he adds, that of two uncertain things, it is better to chuſe that which gives us hopes, than that which gives us none. The force of this reaſon will be more clearly perceived in the original words. *Sed & ipſe* (CHRISTUS) *quæ pollicetur, non probat. Ita eſt. Nulla enim, ut dixi, futurorum poteſt exiſtere comprobatio. Cum ergo hæc ſit conditio futurorum, ut teneri & comprehendi nullius poſſint anticipationis attactu; nonne purior ratio eſt, ex duobus incertis, & in ambigua expectatione pendentibus, id potius credere, quod aliquas ſpes ferat, quam omnino quod nullas? In illo enim periculi nihil eſt, ſi quod dicitur imminere, caſſum fiat & vacuum: in hoc damnum eſt maximum, id eſt, ſalutis amiſſio, ſi cum tempus advenerit, aperiatur non fuiſſe mendacium* (54). Mr Paſcal unfolds this thought very well, and does ſucceſsfully make uſe of the proportions between a wager, and the hazard of loſs and gain, which make the wager prudent. See chap. 6 of his Thoughts (55). They were printed in 1669, confirmed with many approbations, which give an elogium of them. Eight years after there appeared a book (56), wherein this reaſoning of Mr Paſcal was improved and enforced. The author had been little affected with the cenſure of Mr Paſcal's deſign, made by the defender of Father Bouhours. That apologiſt concludes his cenſure with criticiſing upon this paſſage. 'It is 'certain that GOD is, or is not, there is no medium, 'and there is an infinite diſtance between theſe two 'extreams. A man plays a game at this infinite di'ſtance, which ſhall happen croſs or pile; what wager 'will you lay? by reaſon, you cannot ſay that GOD 'is; by reaſon, you cannot deny it. Accuſe not 'therefore of a falſhood, thoſe who have made a choice; 'for you know not whether they are in the wrong, or 'whether they have made an ill choice. No, will you 'ſay; but I will blame them for making, not this 'choice, but a choice; and he who takes croſs, and 'he who takes pile are both to blame. Yes, will I 'reply, but a wager muſt be laid, this is not left to your 'option, and not to lay that GOD is, is to lay that he 'is not. Which ſide will you take? Let us weigh 'the gain and the loſs, by chuſing to believe that GOD 'is. If you win, you win all; if you loſe, you loſe 'nothing. If you ſay, that it is uncertain whether 'you ſhall win, and that it is certain that you hazard 'the pleaſures of this life, which you lay in the 'wager; and that the infinite diſtance which is be'tween the certainty which you venture, and the un'certainty of what you might gain, equals the finite 'good, which you certainly venture, to the infinite 'good which is uncertain. This is not ſo, for every 'gameſter hazards with certainty, to gain with un'certainty, without offending againſt reaſon (57).' Let us now ſee how he refutes this. *Be ſilent, Paſchaſius, I loſe all patience to hear you treat thus of the ſublimeſt of all ſubjects, and ground the moſt important truth in the world, and the principle of all truths, upon a notion ſo mean and childiſh, upon a compariſon of playing at croſs and pile, which is more fit to make a man laugh than to convince him, and upon an argument ſo defective, and grounded upon ſuch a foundation as is uncertain, and perhaps altogether falſe. I will not ſay that at firſt you laid down ſomething which a wiſe man would not do, neither can I tell with what conſcience you could ſay to a libertine, that by reaſon we cannot be aſſured that there is a GOD. I know many people who would be ſtrangely ſcandalized, to hear you uſe this horrible language, and who would not venture a wager upon the Theology of the director who ſuffers you to uſe ſuch ways of ſpeaking. Yet this were ſomething, if your moral reaſon were good; but, to the ſhame be it ſpoken, both of his Theology and your Morality, it concludes nothing, becauſe all its force depends upon the truth of this propoſition, that every gameſter hazards with certainty to gain with uncertainty, and yet does not offend againſt reaſon. In truth, Paſchaſius, if the exiſtence of a Deity were as problematical as that propoſition, we ſhould be in a bad condition. All the fathers and huſbands, who will not have their children or wives to play, would be rank Atheiſts, and would maintain obſtinately, that it is very unreaſonable for a man to hazard the money that he has certain in his pocket, with which he can live free from miſery, to gain what is uncertain, and venture, as it often happens, to loſe both the one and the other. But I have heard ſome ſay, that you were a great enemy to looſe Caſuiſts; whence then comes it to paſs, that you do not only allow of gaming, but that you would make religion, and the being of a Deity, to depend upon the game of Croſs and Pile* (58)? This refutation is weak, and deſerves not to be examined; it may ſuffice to refer the reader to the chapter of Mr Paſcal, which I have cited, and to the writer, who made a fine paraphraſe upon it eight years after. I ſhall only make one obſervation, which will ſhew, that Father Bouhours's friend failed either in exactneſs or equity. He conſiders as a ſcandalous concluſion, contrary to wiſdom and conſcience, and deſerving the thundering rebuke of a good director, theſe words of Mr Paſcal, *by reaſon you cannot ſay that GOD exiſts.* He ſuppoſes that this is to own to a libertine, *that by reaſon it cannot be affirmed that there is a GOD.* This explication is very falſe; Mr Paſcal does not acknowledge the truth of the propoſition, he deſigns only not to oppoſe it, and to take advantage of it in order to reclaim the Atheiſts. It is as clear as the day, that the words of Mr Paſcal, addreſſed to the libertine, are equivalent to theſe, *you maintain that by reaſon you cannot ſay that there is a GOD.*

(54) Arnobius, Arnerius Gentes, *Lib. II, pag. m.* 44.

(55) *It is intitled,* That it is more advantageous to believe than not to believe what the Chriſtian religion teaches.

(56) *Intituled,* A Treatiſe of Religion againſt Atheiſts, Deiſts, and the new Pyrrhonians. *Printed at Paris by Lambert Roullard* 1677, *in* 12*mo.*

(57) Abbot of Villiers's Treatiſe of Delicacy, *Italian, pag.* 15, 116, *of the Dutch edition.*

(58) Ibid. *pag.* 116.

[K] *The Provincial Letters . . . . have been and are ſtill eſteemed a maſter-piece.*] See the praiſes Mr Perrault has given this book (59): they engaged the beſt French pens which are among the Jeſuits, to refute theſe letters, in a book (60) which was ſuppreſſed in France, as ſoon as it appeared in 1694, and which the Bookſellers of Holland reprinted. Of all the books which have been publiſhed againſt the Jeſuits, there is none that has done them more harm, and vexed them more, than theſe Provincial Letters. They have been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. Mr Nicolle under the name of William Wendrock, a Divine of Saltzburg, turned them into Latin, and added to them ſome notes and diſſertations (61). Others have tranſlated them into Engliſh, Italian (62), and Spaniſh (63). I have ſeen an edition in octavo in four columns, which contains the French, with the Latin, Italian, and Spaniſh verſions, having two columns in one page, and two in another; ſo that by opening the book, all the four columns are to be ſeen at once.

I ſhall here give you ſome collections, which will diſcover what is thought of the New Anſwer of the Jeſuits to the Provincial Letters, the effects which it has produced, and divers things which belong to the hiſtory of theſe two books. 'At the end of forty years 'there came out of the aſhes of ſo many apologies 'that had been confuted, a new apology for the ex'travagancies of the Caſuiſts; an apology ſo much 'the more dangerous, becauſe the author of it has 'dexterouſly concealed his end and deſign, and dreſ'ſed it up with all the ornaments and artifices which 'his Rhetoric could furniſh, on purpoſe to blind and 'ſeduce the reader. We are well informed that it 'was printed contrary to the advice of the R. F. de 'la Chaiſe, contrary to the expreſs prohibition of the 'late archbiſhop of Paris, and againſt all the cuſto'mary laws. It was diſperſed with great profuſeneſs, 'and an extream zeal. It was tranſlated into Latin 'by one of the beſt pens of the ſociety. It was ren'dered into Italian by another; and by theſe means 'the editions of it have been multiplied, ſo that the 'world is filled with them. The impreſſions which 'they have cauſed to be made in France, Holland, 'Flanders, and elſewhere, and the care they took to 'recommend it to, and to have it bought by men and 'women devoted to them, give juſt cauſe to appre'hend, that this book has already done much miſ'chief, at a time when the remiſſneſs of diſcipline 'is already but too much in vogue, and too much 'ſupported. It was hoped that the holy ſee would 'not

(59) In the ſecond Tome of the parallel between the Ancients and Moderns.

(60) *Intituled,* An Anſwer to the Provincial Letters of L. de Montalte, *or,* The Dialogues between Cleander and Eudoxius. *See an abſtract of it in the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Nov.* 1694, *pag.* 113, *& ſeq.*

(61) See the article NICOLLE, remark [B].

(62) Coſimo Brunetti, a gentleman of Florence, is the author of the Italian verſion.

(63) Gratian Cordero de Burgos is the author of the Spaniſh verſion.

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neously denied, that there were any decrees of condemnation against them [L]. It was given

' not suffer a work so dangerous to be spread with im-
' punity; but the multitude of great affairs which
' have for some years been upon the carpet at Rome,
' must have referred to another time, the examination
' of a book filled with so many facts and citations,
' that it would require much leisure to enquire into
' the truth of them (64).' Thus speaks the anony-
mous author (65), who has refuted *the answer to the provincial letters, or the dialogues of Cleander and Eudoxus*; thus, I say, he speaks in his epistle dedicatory. Here is a passage out of his preface: ' The *dialogues* ' *of Cleander and Eudoxus*, whereof common fame makes ' F. Daniel the author, are, it seems, the last resource ' of the society. Almost half an age was required to ' produce such a master-piece, and to form the work-' man: and as soon as it has appeared in the world, ' their joyful shouts which have been heard every ' where, do plainly discover that this was the prophet ' whom they expected, and that his work was the ' salvation of the society. If they flattered themselves ' with the hopes of drawing the public into the same ' sentiments of esteem, and to force it by the spark-' ling eloquence of this new defence, to declare a-' gainst Mr Pascal; it is not my business to say, whe-' ther they have been mistaken or not. Yet I am ' much mistaken myself, if notwithstanding this new ' effort, the Provincial Letters be not still the delight ' of men of wit, and an original almost inimitable. ' As to Wendrock, the illustrious defender of them, ' his book will be to all ages a sovereign antidote a-' gainst the poison of a corrupt morality, a book ' wherein the most important principles of all Christi-' an morality are asserted and defended in the most ' solid and agreeable manner, and an apology for the ' Provincial Letters, which all the efforts of the so-' ciety will never be able to weaken.'

(64) Epistle Dedicatory to the Apology for the Provincial Letters, of Lewis de Montalte, pag. 8, of the Roan edition 1697.

(65) It is believed that it is Dom Petit Didier, a Benedictin of the congregation of St Vannes.

I think it may be said, That altho' the work of Father Daniel were more ingenious and of stronger reasoning than it is, it would not bring off the admirers of the Provincial Letters from their opinion. To this purpose read the words which a writer, who was critical enough, and naturally much inclined to the most biting censure, has inserted in one of his collections. *Some time ago there came out*, says he (66), *an answer to the Provincial Letters, which ruins them entirely, and yet will do them no great hurt. But how can this be? The reason of it is, because altho' this answer does plainly discover, the horrible injustice, the cruel calumnies, the injurious falsities which are boldly spread in all these letters, against one of the most famous societies, that maintain the interests of the church; yet they have so long, by their pleasant and comical turns of wit, engaged all the party of laughers (great and small) on their side, that they are in possession of an authority and credit that cannot easily be taken from them. In vain will the Jesuits endeavour to do considerable service to the church and the public. . . . Many people will not forbear to read the Provincial Letters with an easy credulity, and will not see the answer to them, nor so much as endure any to speak of it. Indeed the prejudice upon this occasion is a very unjust judgment, very cruel and obstinate, since (altho' these letters have been condemned by Popes, Bishops, and Doctors, and burnt by the hand of the hangman, according to the decrees of parliament and of the council of state) it has taken such possession of mens minds, that it resists all these powers.* It is certain that the zeal of the Anti-Molinists is revived, for the Provincial Letters, since the answer of Father Daniel. They have reprinted them with a new Appendix (67), in which they have used great application. Read what follows: ' You know that the late Mr Nicole, under ' the name of Wendrock, had published in Latin the ' Provincial Letters, with very large notes of his ' own. This book a little while ago was translated ' into French, and it is pretended to be done by a ' lady of Paris; and it was printed at Lyons in three ' volumes in 12mo. The court being informed of it, ' the king ordered that the copies should be seized; ' which order was executed with great noise, but ' without success. They went to the houses of the ' partners of the Sieur Anisson, who were suspected of ' having printed this edition, but, as it is said, they ' had timely enough notice of it, to lay out of the ' way all the copies, so that none of them were found. ' There are now some here (at Paris) that are sold at ' nine livres, which is double of what they were sold ' for before. There is an advertisement prefixed to ' the first volume, wherein the author says, that he ' made this translation, because the dialogues of F. ' Daniel, which were published in 1694, against the ' Provincial Letters, attacked in French an author ' who had written in Latin; and because it is fit that ' every body should be able to judge of this contro-' versy. There is afterwards an history of the Pro-' vincial Letters, which is scarce any thing else, but ' the four Latin prefaces of Wendrock. At the end, ' we have an account of the intrigue, which was ' carried on at Bourdeaux, to procure the condemna-' tion of the letters of Wendrock, by the parliament ' (68).'

(66) Richelet, The Finest French Letters upon all Sorts of Subjects, *Tom. ii, pag.* 322, 323, *of the Amsterd. Edit.* 1698. He advertises, that he who wrote the Letter from which this passage is taken, is called Mr Bordelon.

(67) See the News from the Republic of Letters, *Aug.* 1699, *pag.* 202.

[L] *Some authors have erroneously denied, that there were any decrees of condemnation against* the Provincial Letters.] A minister having said, *That the censure of the morality of the Jesuits, written by the gentlemen of Port-Royal, the Provincial Letters, and the other books which censured those detestable morals, had been torn in pieces, and burnt by the hand of the hangman* (69); here follows the answer to him: ' But whether do you ' wander Mr Jurieu? For besides that we do not ' know, that any censure of the morals of the Jesuits, ' made by the writers of Port-Royal, was burnt, and ' that in general it is false, that the other books which ' censured these morals, and even the Provincial Let-' ters, were burnt and torn by the hands of the com-' mon hangman; yet tho' all this were true, it would ' not have been done by the authority of the church, ' but by an authority purely secular; and consequent-' ly you ought not to reproach the church with it ' (70).' The author who speaks after this manner, calls himself the abbot Richard, and is a very good friend of the Jansenists. How then could he be ignorant of the fate of the Provincial Letters in a point so important? Why did he neglect so much the writings of the Jesuits against that? Does it become him never to have cast his eyes upon the decree of the parliament of Aix, which they printed at the end of their answers to the Provincial Letters? The tenor of the decree is as follows: ' The court having heard the ' report of the commissioners, who have seen and exa-' mined the said letters, and having perused them, ' declares them to be defamatory, slanderous and per-' nicious to the public; and therefore ordains, that ' they shall be delivered into the hands of the execu-' tioner, to be by him burnt upon the pillory in the ' place called Preachers Fields in the city of Aix; and ' prohibits and forbids all Printers for the future to ' print this book, or any other of the like nature, ' and all Booksellers and others of whatsoever condi-' tion or quality they be, to keep, sell, or publish, ' them, upon pain of corporal punishment; and en-' joins them to send the books without delay to the ' registry that they may be suppressed, under the ' same penalty; and ordains that the transgressors ' shall be informed against by the judge-royal, or ' usher of the court, to the end that the informations ' being made, they may proceed against the guilty, ' upon the declaration of the above-mentioned penal-' ties. And to the end that none may pretend igno-' rance, the present decree shall be read and published ' with sound of trumpet in all the places and cross-' streets of the city of Aix. Done at the parliament ' of Provence sitting at Aix, and published at the bar, ' Feb. 9th, 1657 (71).' The author of the history of the five propositions of Jansenius, informs us (72), *That among the works of the Port-Royal, two of the most considerable are those which appeared in Latin, one under the name of Paul Irenæus, to justify Jansenius in denying the fact; the other under the name of Wendrokius, which contained a Latin translation of the Provincial Letters, with notes or dissertations of the same author, who is known to be Mr Nicole. These two books being given by the king's order, to be examined by thirteen doctors of the Faculty of Paris, whereof four were bishops, and the other for the most part professors of Divinity, were condemned to the fire by a decree of the council of state, made upon the judgment of these thirteen censors; the words whereof here follow:* ' We whose ' names are under-written, being deputed by the ' king's order, to give our judgment of a book inti-' tuled, *The Provincial Letters of Lewis de Montalte, &c.*

(68) News from the Republic of Letters, *Jan.* 1700, *pag.* 113.

(69) Jurieu, Préjugez, *Tom. i, pag.* 387.

(70) Critique des Préjugez de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 304.

(71) Answer to the Provincial Letters, *pag.* 517, 518, of the Liege edition 1658.

(72) Hist. of the five propositions, *liv. iii, pag.* 175, 176.

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given out, that in the last days of his sickness he detested that book, and that he repented of his having been a Jansenist (*f*); but this was found to be false [*M*], altho' it cannot be denied, there was some misunderstanding between him and the gentlemen of Port-Royal [*N*]. I had almost forgot to tell you, it was from him that the Jansenists learned

(*f*) See the remark [*M*] towards the end.

'having diligently examined the same, do certify, 'that the heresies of Jansenius, condemned by the 'church, are therein maintained and defended, not 'only in the letters, but also in the *notes of William 'Wendrock*, and in the *disquisitions of Paul Irenæus*, 'which are joined with them. . . . . Moreover we te'stify, that calumny and insolence are so natural to 'these three authors, that . . . . and that this book 'therefore deserves the penalties which the laws de'cree against defamatory and heretical libels. Done 'at Paris, September 7, 1660.' Now let any one judge whether the censurer of the minister be excusable, who denied a thing supported by such facts.

[*M*] *It was given out . . . . . that he repented of his having been a Jansenist, but this is found to be false.*] Here follows a passage taken out of a letter of Father Bouhours, written to a Lord of the court in 1668. 'Is any body ignorant now, that Mr Pascal is the 'author of the Provincial Letters, and that he was en'gaged in the party when he wrote them? If any 'doubt of a truth so manifest as this, it will be easy 'to convince him of it by the testimony of Mr Pascal 'himself, whom we know from good hands * to 'have abjured Jansenism at his death (73).' The Jansenists maintained it to be false, that Mr Pascal had made this abjuration. Read the following words of the answer which they made to the apology of the archbishop of Ambrun: they refer to a writing, wherein this fact was refuted by convincing proofs. 'Neither is it necessary to overthrow particularly all that 'has been refuted elsewhere, by treatises written on 'purpose, as that which he imputes to Mr Pascal up'on a pretended attestation of the rector of St Ste'phen's parish, that he had abjured Jansenism, the 'falsity whereof appeared by convincing proofs, which 'are the subject of a letter printed after the refutation 'of the book of F. Anat about the mandate of the 'bishop of Alet (74).' F. Bouhours having inserted his letter in a collection of tracts, which he published at Paris in 1684, expunged that part which concerns the abjuration, which shews that he acknowledged it was false. Nevertheless he asserted this fact very positively in the first edition, and referred the reader to an authentic proof. Who would not have been catched by it?

* This is attested by a writing signed by the rector of St Stephen du Mont, who assisted Mr Pascal at his death. This writing is in the hands of the archbishop of Paris.

(73) A Letter to a Lord at Court, *pag.* 21, 22, *Paris Edit.* 1668, *in* 4*to.*

(74) Pieces concerning the New Testament of Mons, *Tom. i, pag.* 498, *of the Cologne Edit.* 1669, *in* 8*vo.*

The Jesuite Cornelius Hazart, in the answer to the case of the relations of Jansenius, affirms, *That the Provincial Letters were retracted and detested by the author of them, when he was to give an account to his Saviour* (75). To whom this reply was made. 'Here 'is another falshood no less gross, *viz.* that Mr Pascal 'retracted and detested the Provincial Letters before 'he died. It concerns the Jesuits, who have affirm'ed it in their theses, and spread it in the world, to 'prove it. It is now above twenty years since it 'was made appear in a printed piece, which yet re'mains unanswered, that what Mr Pascal said to his 'confessor in his last sickness, of a little difference be'tween him and his friends, was misunderstood by the 'confessor, as he owned afterwards; but it is certain, 'that this did no ways concern the Provincial Let'ters.' These words are Mr Arnauld's, and there is reason to believe that they are very true, since a writer, a friend of the Jesuits, has observed (76), that Mr Pascal, who had changed his opinion as to the principal matters in his Provincial Letters, and who *could not doubt but he was obliged to retract those things publickly, to undeceive those whom his letters had engaged, or might engage for the future in his former opinion* . . . . (77) *never attempted to inform the public of it, not even at his death, though he had full time and opportunity to do it.*

(75) See the 8th volume of Practical Morality, *pag.* 465.

(76) The abbot du Mas, Hist. of the five propositions, *pag.* 202.

(77) Id. ib. *pag.* 203.

[*N*] *There was some misunderstanding between him and the gentlemen of Port-Royal.*] It appears by the history of the five propositions, that this difference turned upon these two points, *viz.* the subscribing the formulary, and the variations whereof he accused the Jansenists.

I. He had said in the seventeenth and eighteenth of his letters, that there was no (78) *dispute about the doctrine, but only about the fact*; and that he thought himself obliged to acquiesce in the decision of the Pope, *with respect to the doctrine.* '(79) But some 'time after he went over to the opposite extream, 'which was to believe that the sense of Jansenius, 'which he did not distinguish from the sense of grace 'efficacious by itself, had been really condemned by 'the constitutions of the Popes; that it was nevertheless a matter of faith, which it was not lawful to 'abandon; and that therefore the Popes in condemning it were mistaken, not as to the fact, but as to 'the doctrine itself. From whence Mr Pascal con'cluded that it was impossible on that occasion to se'parate the fact from the doctrine; that the subscrib'ing of the patrons of Jansenius was deceitful, unless 'they protested expressly, that they would not con'demn that sense; and lastly, that they could not in 'conscience do otherwise. This is what we learn 'partly from a piece of Mr Pascal, and partly from 'the answers which the Divines of Port-Royal wrote 'against it. He wrote that piece upon the subscrib'ing of the formulary of the assembly (80) by the 'Nuns of Port-Royal. In signing of it they had said, '*We embrace sincerely, and with all our heart, all the decisions made by his Holiness* (Alexander the VII.) '*and Pope Innocent the X, concerning the faith, and re'ject all the errors, which they have adjudged contrary 'to it:* But they did not add expressly, that they ex'cepted the sense of Jansenius; they thought they 'had sufficiently excepted it, and had not deviated 'from it, because they excused themselves in their 'subscribing from testifying any thing else but the '*purity of their faith*; whereby they tacitly intimat'ed, that they would say nothing concerning the fact 'of Jansenius. Nevertheless Mr Pascal begun *not on'ly freely to blame that subscribing, but he also wrote a 'piece wherein he pretended to prove it was not sincere.* 'These are the words of the Divines of Port-Royal, 'in the † *letter of an Ecclesiastic to one of his friends, 'upon the subject of the declaration of the curate of St 'Stephen, &c.* This letter which is dated July 15th '1666, is at the end of a piece of the Port-Royal, 'intituled, *A refutation of the book of F. Annat, con'taining reflexions upon the mandate of the bishop of 'Alet, &c.* And in another piece written the next 'year, intituled, *A Defence of the Faith of the Nuns of 'P. R. Part 2d*, they repeat more distinctly what 'they had said in the letter.'

(78) Id. ib. *pag.* 195.

(79) Ib. *pag.* 196. See the thing otherwise turned in the Hist. of Jansenism, *Tom. ii, pag.* 515, *ad ann.* 1681.

(80) That is, of the assembly of the clergy of France.

† *Pag.* 80.

II. (81) *He had no less changed his thoughts concerning the fact of the Jansenists, than concerning that of Jansenius. For whereas in writing the Provincial Letters, he affirmed speaking of them, that their doctrine about grace was never changed, and that they never had any different from that of the school of St Thomas; he afterwards publickly accused them of using a language different from what they had used before. Thus they themselves relate the matter in their* Letter of an Ecclesiastic to one of his friends, &c. '† Nay, he believ'ed that it was not only upon occasion of the sub'scription of the Nuns of Port-Royal, that they had 'appeared insincere; but that the same fault might 'be found in divers pieces, which were written after 'that affair, which has so long troubled the peace of 'the Church; that in their writings they regarded 'only what might serve the present interest, and that 'because it changed at several times, their writings 'did not appear altogether consistent one with ano'ther; and therefore he thought it had been conve'nient to review them all, and to reduce them to a 'perfect agreement of expressions. To excite the 'more powerfully the gentlemen of Port-Royal to do 'this, he wrote another piece, wherein he pretended 'to shew the advantage they gave their enemies by 'this diversity, and that they might be convicted of 'having spoken more remisly since the bulls than 'before.' *The answer of the Jansenists was, that Mr Pascal was mistaken, when he fancied a contrariety between their works before and after the bulls, because there was not really any. And to point out the cause of his error, they affirm that* he himself did not consult the proofs of what he asserted, but looked only into the Memoirs which some of his friends furnished him with,

(81) Hist. of the five propositions, *pag.* 203.

† *Pag.* 81.

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learned to denote themſelves in French by *on* [O].

with, who did not examine exactly enough the paſſages * of which they compoſed them. *From whence it happened, add they*, that he could not avoid falling into a great number of miſtakes, and that there are in his piece ſome ſtories altogether fabulous, which ſerve ** for a foundation to thoſe pretended contrarieties he imputed to them; and ſome dialogues wherein people are made to ſay on both ſides ſuch things as were never ſpoken of. *That is to ſay, according to the confeſſion of the Janſeniſts, Mr Paſcal did then againſt them the ſame thing, which he had done in their favour in the Provincial Letters, if we may believe their adverſaries and his.*

* Ibid.

** *Pag.* 82.

All this in the hiſtory of the five propoſitions is accompanied with ſeveral remarks, which perhaps would puzzle an apologiſt for Mr Paſcal.

[O] *The Janſeniſts learned of him to denote themſelves in French by* on.] *He pretended, that an honeſt man ought to ſhun the naming of himſelf, and even to make uſe of the words* I *and* me, *and he was wont to ſay upon this occaſion, that Chriſtian piety annihilates the human* me, *and that human civility conceals and ſuppreſſes it* (82). *It is not*, adds the author of the Art of Thinking (83), *that this rule ſhould be improved to a ſcruple, for there are ſome occaſions wherein a man would needleſsly torment himſelf, if he would ſhun theſe words; but it is always good to have it in view, to keep one's ſelf from the ill cuſtom of ſome perſons, who ſpeak only of themſelves, and are always quoting themſelves, when the queſtion is not about their opinion.* From whence probably it came that the Janſeniſts of France did ſo much affect to make uſe of the particle *on*. One of their adverſaries pretended to know by that mark, that the book (84) of an anonymous writer which he refuted, was to be attributed to them. Thus he talks after he has given a ſtrong proof of the affection of that anonymous author for the gentlemen of Port-Royal (85). 'But if this be not ſufficient, and if 'one would have a plainer proof; all the world 'knows their *on*; it is the manner wherein they cite 'one another, no body made uſe of it before them, 'and there is ſcarce any but they who make uſe of 'it now. He does not only never cite them other-'wiſe, *comme on a dit dans la Grammaire raiſonnée* ††; *comme on l'a remarqué dans l'Art de penſer*; *on a parlé de cela dans la Grammaire generale*: but he 'ſpeaks of himſelf, only under this term, in his Pre-'face, *en revoyant cet Ouvrage on s'eſt cru obligé*; *on a cru qu'il eſtoit plus à propos*. I have heard an excel-'lent man ſay, that this way of ſpeaking of one's ſelf 'by this term *on*, was a kind of plural equivalent to '*nous* (*we*), which kings and other potentates make 'uſe of (86). Our critic does in ſome ſort own it, 'by ſaying that inſtead of *on* they formerly wrote '*hom* *, which is as much as to ſay *hommes, ſo that*, 'adds he, *on dit, is the ſame thing with* hommes *or* les hommes diſent, *men ſay*. Yet this illuſtrious per-'ſon did not believe, that theſe gentlemen, uſed this 'way of ſpeaking out of vanity, but only out of ſin-'cerity, to denote that they did nothing wherein ſe-'veral had not a ſhare, and that therefore they could 'not put to their books one particular name of an au-'thor, without acting againſt truth, ſince there is 'none of them that is the work of one author only. 'And if they ſhould name all thoſe that had a hand 'in them, this would be liable to other inconvenien-'cies; both which are equally avoided by this my-'ſterious *on*; I ſhould never have believed, if this 'able man had not ſaid ſo, that it includes ſo many 'things.' See the margin (87).

†† *Pag.* 256, 318, 523.

(86) See Mr St Evremond's Miſcellanies, *Tom. iv, pag.* 176, where he ſcoffs at the abuſe of *on*, *Tom. iii, pag.* 75, *Edit. of Lond.* 1728.

* *Pag.* 342.

(82) The Art of Thinking, *Part iii, ch. xix, num.* 6, *pag. m.* 350. See alſo the Thoughts of Mr Paſcal, *cap. xxix, num.* 27.

(83) Ibid.

(84) *It is intituled*, Reflexions upon the preſent uſage of the French tongue, or new and critical remarks upon the politeneſs of language. *At Paris* 1689, *in* 12*mo*.

(85) The abbot de St Real's Diſcours de la Critique, *cap. x, pag.* 223, *of the Lyons edition* 1691.

(87) The ſecond Tome of the Miſcellanies of Vigneul Marville, which juſt now came to my hands, contains this at pag. 200, of the Rotterdam edition 1701. Mr Paſcal ſaid of theſe authors, who, ſpeaking of their own works, ſay, *my book, my commentary, my hiſtory, &c.* that they are like thoſe citizens, who having a houſe of their own, have always in their mouths *my houſe*: they had better ſay, added that excellent man, *our book, our commentary, our hiſtory, &c.* ſince commonly there is more in it that is another's, than is their own.

PASCHALI (GIULIO CÆSARE) was one of thoſe Italians, who left their country in the XVIth century for the ſake of the Proteſtant religion. He was a good Poet in his mother-tongue, and publiſhed the Pſalms in Italian verſe at Geneva in the year 1592. He was then ſixty-five years of age (*a*). He added to it a collection of *Rime Spirituali*, and the firſt canto of an epic poem intituled *Univerſo*. This poem was finiſhed, and contained in xxxii canto's the whole Hiſtory of Moſes, from the creation of the world to the entry of the Iſraelites into the land of Canaan (*b*). I do not think he ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Giulio Cæſare P.* who cauſed to be printed at Geneva in 1557 in 4to his Italian verſion of Calvin's Inſtitution, and dedicated it to Galeas Carracciol Marquis del Vico. The epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Geneva the fourth of Auguſt 1558.

(*a*) See the Preface to his Pſalms, at the beginning.

(*b*) See the ſame Preface towards the end.

PASOR (MATTHIAS) profeſſor of Divinity at Groningen, born at Herborn in the county of Naſſau April the 12th 1599, was the ſon of GEORGE PASOR, who after he had taught Divinity and the Hebrew tongue for the ſpace of nineteen years at Herborn, was called to Franeker in the year 1626, to be profeſſor of the Greek tongue, and died there the tenth of December, 1637. Our Matthias had already made good progreſs at Herborn, when the peſtilence occaſioned him to be ſent to Marpurg in 1614. He paſſed his time there very diſagreeably; the profeſſors ſhunned him as an infectious wretch, and ſome ſcholars frequently inſulted him, and beat him, to revenge what his father, being rector at Herborn, had done in making them pay a fine, when they committed ſome diſorders (*a*). He was forced at laſt to leave the city, and returned the next year to Herborn, where he applied himſelf very much to ſtudy. He went to Heidelberg in 1616, and meeting there with all ſorts of good profeſſors, he improved himſelf exceedingly by them. He found alſo the means of leſſening the expence of his family, for he privately taught the Mathematics and Hebrew, and was received as tutor in the houſe of an honeſt man at Heidelberg. He made himſelf ſo well known by ſeveral academic acts, that he hoped to obtain a profeſſor's place which happened to be vacant; he hoped ſo, I ſay, altho' one of his antagoniſts had many more friends than he. By an extraordinary good fortune, his hope did not deceive him, and he was declared profeſſor of the Mathematics, April 23, 1620; but he was forced a little after to fly becauſe of the invaſion of the Palatinate. The ſtorm being a little over, he went to continue his function at Heidelberg, and endured in that unhappy city, all the inconveniences and dangers that could be imagined; and did not go out of it, till the troops of Tilly had ſacked it in the year 1622. After this he went to Herborn through a thouſand difficulties, and reſolved in the year 1624 to

(*a*) Studioſi nonnulli memores mulctæ ſibi ob petulantiam Herbonæ a patre Rectore irrogatæ, me innocentem & minime ferocem ſed meticuloſum depoſitionis in Academiis Germanicis receptæ occaſione, verberibus & contumeliis variis affecerunt. *Matthias Paſor, in Vita ſua, pag. m.* 22.

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make a journey into England. He read private lectures at Oxford, as well upon the Hebrew tongue as the Mathematics, and went to make a tour in France with some Germans. He paſſed the winter in Paris, and heard among other lectures, thoſe of Gabriel Sionita [*A*], profeſſor in Chaldee and Arabic. Being returned into England in the ſummer-time of the year 1625, he found the univerſity of Oxford ſtrangely diſperſed, by reaſon of the peſtilence. After the plague ceaſed, he found ſome ſcholars to teach, either Divinity, or the oriental languages; and he choſe rather to ſtay there, than to go into Ireland with the learned Uſher, who offered him his board, and an honourable penſion. The requeſt that he preſented to be made profeſſor of the oriental tongues was favourably heard. So that he commenced profeſſor of them, October 25, 1626, and diſcharged that office until the year 1629, when he was called to Groningen to be profeſſor of Philoſophy, which office he entered upon Auguſt the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame year. Six years after he was made profeſſor of the Mathematics, and in 1645, of Divinity, which was the reaſon he did not go to Harderwick, where he was offered the place of profeſſor in ordinary of Divinity and Hebrew. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Groningen, October the twenty-firſt 1645, and laid down the profeſſorſhip of the Mathematics, but kept that of Moral Philoſophy. He made a journey into his own country of Naſſau in the year 1653, and went as far as Heidelberg, where he received a thouſand civilities from the elector Palatine (*b*). He lived to the twenty-eighth of January 1658. He was never married [*B*], and he lived without any reproach during his celibacy (*c*). He did not publiſh many books [*C*]; the two reaſons he gives for it are admirable [*D*], and ought to ſerve for a rule to many people, and eſpecially to myſelf.

(*b*) Taken from the Journal of his Life written by himſelf, and printed at Groningen, in 1658, in 4to.

(*c*) Ex Orat. Funebri.

[*A*] *He heard the lectures of Gabriel Sionita.*] This profeſſor had for ſome years left off his lectures, becauſe no body came to hear them; and he reſumed them at the deſire of our Paſor, but he did not read them in the royal college, but in his own houſe (1). Strange! that a great kingdom, and ſuch a city as Paris, ſhould not furniſh three auditors to a profeſſor, ſo famous in foreign countries, that Bangius (2), a learned Dane would not accept the place of Hebrew profeſſor at Copenhagen, unleſs time was granted him to go and perfect himſelf at Paris under this man. And here is a profeſſor at Heidelberg, who deſires to be a diſciple of the ſame man, while there were not two ſcholars at Paris that cared to hear him. Such is the temper of men, that they go a great way off to ſeek after the ſame things, which they would neglect, if they were at their own door.

(1) Ex Vitâ Mathiæ Paſoris, *pag.* 41.

(2) See his article.

[*B*] *He was never married.*] It is expreſsly obſerved in his funeral oration (3), that he lived not a bachelor by reaſon of any particular vow, or from any averſion to a ſuitable match; for, on the contrary, he was an apologiſt for it, and would praiſe it, although he was very ſorry, that a condition ſo uſeful and neceſſary, which was inſtituted in the very ſtate of innocency, ſhould become liable by ſin, to ſo many difficulties. The true reaſon therefore why he did not marry was this, that in his younger years he wanted to be free from domeſtic cares, after which followed a ſtate of perſecution and baniſhment, and then he found his health a little impaired; and laſtly he had conceived great hopes of George Paſor, his brother's ſon.

(3) Abdias Widmerius, miniſter of the holy Goſpel, and profeſſor of Divinity at Groningen, is the author of that funeral oration.

[*C*] *He did not publiſh many books.*] He carefully reviſed two or three of his father's books, which are of wonderful uſe to ſcholars and ſtudents in Divinity; I mean *Lexicon Novi Teſtamenti*, *Manuale Novi Teſtamenti*, and the Greek Grammar of the New Teſtament. His father wrote ſome other books, as the Funeral Oration of Piſcator, the Analyſis of the difficult words in Heſiod, *Collegium Heſiodeum*, &c. As to Matthias Paſor, I do not think that any thing of his was publiſhed but Theſes, or general ideas of ſome ſciences. It was very ill done to publiſh the Journal he had written of his life, which ſhould have been ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt many little trifles ſhould have been ſtruck out; for to inſtance in a few things, what neceſſity was there that the publick ſhould know, that the Tavern where the profeſſors of Heidelberg in a body treated Matthias Paſor, had ſwords for its ſign (4)? What neceſſity was there, to make it publickly known, that at Hanaw, in the beginning of a great feaſt, he was forced to leave the table becauſe he found himſelf indiſpoſed, and wanted to throw up a little bile (5). But I do not wonder that they publiſh ſuch Journals, when in the funeral orations upon profeſſors, we commonly meet with an exact deſcription of all the ſymptoms of their laſt ſickneſs; that on ſuch a day they did ſweat, on another they were coſtive, troubled with a looſneſs, &c.

(4) Partim univerſi in prandio honorario lauto, inſtituto ad ſignum enſium, *pag.* 54.

(5) In prandio lauto nihil ventriculo arridebat, imo ſub initium menſæ ſurgere coactus ſum & bilem evomui. *Ib. pag.* 55.

[*D*] *The two reaſons he gives for it are admirable.*] The firſt is, that he would not be the cauſe of taking off youth from reading the good books already publiſhed. The ſecond is, that he would not expoſe the Bookſellers to the hazard of loſing their money, who are often at great expence in printing books, which either ſell but ſlowly, or elſe for ever remain in their warehouſes. *Nolui*, ſays he (6), *nimis multa ſcribere; 1. Ne juventutem abſtraherem à lectione graviorum Autorum quos per Dei gratiam habemus. 2. Ne miſeris typographis imponeretur, qui ſæpe magnos ſumptus impendunt libris nunquam vel tardè admodum diſtrahendis.*

(6) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 58.

PATERCULUS (Caius (*a*) Velleius) a Latin Hiſtorian, in the reign of Tiberius. It is very probable he was born in the year of Rome 735 (*b*). His anceſtors were illuſtrious for their merit and their offices [*A*]. He was a military tribune when Caius Cæſar, a grandſon of Auguſtus, had an interview with the king of the Parthians

(*a*) Others call him Publius, or Marcus.

(*b*) See the Annales Velleiani of Mr Dodwell, prefixed to the Oxford edition of Paterculus, in 1693, in 8vo.

[*A*] *His anceſtors were illuſtrious for their merit and offices.*] See what he ſays of them, ſpeaking of the confederate war: 'Neque ego verecundia domeſtici ſanguinis gloriæ quidquam, dum verum refero, ſubtraham, quippe multum Minatii Magii, atavi mei, Aſculanenſis, tribuendum eſt memoriæ: qui nepos Decii Magii, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi & fideliſſimi viri, tantam, hoc bello Romanis fidem præſtitit, ut cum legione, quam ipſe in Hirpinis conſcripſerat, Herculaneum ſimul cum T. Didio caperet, Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret, Coſamque occuparet: cujus de virtutibus cum alii, tum maxime dilucideque Q. Hortenſius in Annalibus ſuis retulit: cujus pietati plenam populus R. gratiam retulit; ipſum viritim civitate donando, duos filios ejus creando prætores, cum ſeni adhuc crearentur (1). --- *I ought not, through modeſty, to rob my anceſtors of any glory, provided I ſay nothing but the truth. For much is due to the memory of Minatius Magius of Aſculum, my great-grand-father's grand-father. He was grand-ſon to Decius Magius, chief among the Campaneſe, and well known for his merit and fidelity. In this war he did ſignal ſervice to the Romans; for with a legion which he had raiſed in the country of the Hirpini, he took Herculaneum jointly with Titus Didius, beſieged the Pompeii with Lucius Sylla, and ſeized on Coſa. Q. Hortenſius, amongſt others, writes fully and clearly, in his Annals, about his good qualities. The people of Rome abundantly recompenſed*

(1) Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. xvi.

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thians in an isle of the Euphrates, in the year 753 (c). He commanded the cavalry in Germany, under Tiberius, and accompanied that prince nine years successively, in all his expeditions (d). He received honourable rewards from him (e). We find that he was preferred to the prætorship [B], but not to higher dignities. The praises he bestows upon Sejanus [C] give some probability to the conjecture, that he was looked upon as a friend of this favourite (f), and consequently that he was involved in his ruin. He wrote

(c) Vell. Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. ci.*

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) See the same remark.

(f) Dodwell, ubi supra, num. 30.

' *recompensed his zeal, by giving him the freedom of the* ' *city, and by making his two sons prætors, though at* ' *that time six only were created yearly.*' Here is something very singular concerning the degrees of generation: Paterculus, born in the year of Rome 735, reckons for his great-grand-father's grand-father Minatius Magius, who, at the head of a legion, which he had raised, besieged and took some cities, about the year 664, and who was grand-son to Decius Magius, whose fidelity to the Romans was so famous at Capua, in the year 538. On one side here are five generations in the space of seventy-one years; and on the other, there are but two in the space of one hundred and twenty-six years. There seems to me to be more difficulty in the five generations than in the two; and perhaps we must conjecture, that *atavus* was inserted by the transcribers instead of *avus*; or, that *atavus* was not regularly taken, upon all occasions, for the great-grand-father's grand-father. Mr Dodwell understood the great-grand-father by *atavus* (2). If the conjecture of which I speak, were true, we must say, that Paterculus was not descended from Decius Magius but by the mother's side, for there is no doubt but Caius Velleius, mentioned in chap. LXXVI of the second book, was his grand-father by his father's side, and different from Minatius Magius. I shall set down this passage, to shew all that is to be known of his ancestors. ' Quod ' alieno testimonium redderem, in eo non fraudabo ' avum meum: quippe C. Velleius, honoratissimo inter ' illos 360 Judices loco, à Cn. Pompeio lectus, ejusdem, Marcique Bruti ac Tironis præfectus fabrûm, ' vir nulli secundus, in Campania, digressu Neronis à ' Neapoli, cujus ob singularem cum eo amicitiam partium adjutor fuerat, gravis jam ætate & corpore, ' cum comes esse non posset, gladio se ipse transfixit (3). - - - - *I will not defraud my grand-father of* ' *a testimony, which I would give even to a stranger. For* ' *C. Velleius, a man inferior to none, was chosen by Cn.* ' *Pompeius into the most honourable place, amongst those* ' 360 *judges, and appointed super-intendant of the works* ' *in Campania to the same Pompeius, Marcus Brutus and* ' *Tiro. When Nero retired from Naples, whose party he* ' *had supported, because of the particular friendship be-* ' *tween them, being very old, and infirm, and not able to* ' *accompany him, he dispatched himself with a sword.*' Here a small scruple arises. Paterculus had a brother who was called Magius Celer; it is therefore very probable, that by the father's side they descended from Decius Magius. The editions give the surname of Velleianus to this Magius Celer; but it is pretended, that this epithet is only the invention of the critics, and that it is not found in the manuscript copy (4). Mr Dodwell observes (5), that if it were true that Magius Celer had the surname of Velleianus, this would be a plain proof that by adoption it passed from the family Velleia into that of the Magius's. In this case it might be said, that he had been adopted by a kinsman on the mother's side, descended from Decius Magius, from father to son. The learned man, whom I just now cited, would not admit this hypothesis, for he pretends that our Paterculus belonged, on the father's side, to the family Magia, and that he bore the name of Valleius, only by virtue of some adoption (6). But note, that his grand-father was called Velleius. This Historian had an uncle on the father's side who was called Capito; he was a senator, and joined with Agrippa in accusing Cassius, the murderer of Cæsar. (7) Let us now speak of his brother: ' Cæsar ad alteram ' Belli Dalmatici molem animum atque arma contulit, ' in qua regione quali adjutore legatoque fratre meo, ' Magio Celere Velleiano usus sit, ipsius patrisque ejus ' prædicatione testatum est, & amplissimorum honorum, quibus triumphans eum Cæsar donavit, signat ' memoria (8). - - - - - *Cæsar applied his cares and* ' *arms to the other war in Dalmatia, where I need not* ' *tell what assistance he received from my brother Magius* ' *Celer Velleianus, who was his lieutenant-general. The* ' *account he himself and his father gave of it, and the* ' *great favours which Cæsar at his triumph bestowed* ' *upon him, sufficiently shew it.*' He was prætor, as may be seen in the beginning of the next remark. I shall say something hereafter of their father (9).

(2) Avos similiter *Vellei* fuisse necesse erat *Minatii Magii filios* siquidem *atavus* ipse fuerat Minatius. *Dodwellus Ann. Velleian. num. 7.*

(3) Vell. Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. lxxvi.*

(4) Dodwell, ubi supra.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Eritque adeo *gentile* auctoris nostri nomen *Magius Velleius adscititium* ex *adoptione* in familiam *Velleiam. Id. ib.*

(7) Quo tempore Capito patruus meus vir ordinis Senatorii Agrippæ subscripsit in C. Cassium. *Vell. Paterc. lib. ii, cap. lxix.*

(8) *Id. ib. cap. cxv. Add to this what he says, cap. cxxi,* Quem (*Tiberium in triumpho*) mihi fratrique meo, inter præcipuos præcipuisque donis adornatos viros, comitari contigit.

(9) In the last remark, num. 3.

[B] *He was preferred to the prætorship.*] This was in the year wherein Augustus died: he informs us of this himself, and with such a turn of expression, as shows the subtilty of his wit. ' Quo tempore mihi ' fratrique meo, canditatis Cæsaris, proxime a nobilis- ' simis ac sacerdotibus viris, destinari prætoribus contigit: consecutis, ut neque post nos quemquam D. ' Augustus, neque ante nos Cæsar commendaret Tibe- ' rius (10). - - - - *At which time my brother and I being* ' *presented by Cæsar, where nominated prætors, immediately after the most noble, and those who were honoured* ' *with the priesthood. And we had this advantage, that* ' *neither the divine Augustus recommended any after us,* ' *nor Tiberius Cæsar before us.*' We will here set down some other passages, which declare the progress of his fortune: ' Habuit in hoc quoque bello, *says he* (11), *speaking of the war against the Dalmatians and Pannonians in the year* 759, ' mediocritas nostra speciosi ministri ' locum. Finita equestri militia, designatus quæstor, ' nec dum senator æquatus senatoribus, etiam designatus tribunus plebis partem exercitus ab Urbe, traditi ' ab Augusto, perduxi ad filium ejus: in quæstura deinde, remissa sorte provinciæ, legatus ejusdem ad ' eundem missus. - - - *In this war likewise, as mean as* ' *I am, I had an honourable post, and did some service.* ' *When the time of my service in the cavalry was ended, I* ' *was nominated quæstor, and tho' not a senator, yet being* ' *equalled to those of that order, I was also appointed tri-* ' *bune of the people, and in the mean time lead a part of* ' *of the army, delivered to me by Augustus, from the city* ' *to his son: and afterwards coming out of my quæstor-* ' *ship, I gave up my chance of a province, and was* ' *sent to him to be his lieutenant-general.*' He says elsewhere (12), ' Hoc tempus me functum ante tribu- ' natu castrorum, Ti. Cæsaris militem fecit: quippe ' protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo præfectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, cœ- ' lestissimorum ejus operum per annos continuos IX ' præfectus aut legatus, spectator & pro captu mediocritatis meæ adjutor fui. - - - - *At this time I served* ' *under Ti. Cæsar, having before been a camp-marshal.* ' *For immediately after his adoption I was sent with him* ' *into Germany as colonel of horse, which post my father* ' *had before me, and in this quality of colonel, or lieutenant-* ' *general, I was a spectator, and, according to my poor* ' *ability, an assistant of his most divine actions for nine* ' *years together.*' I have already said (13), that he appeared at the triumph of Tiberius with splendid marks of honour. Hankius places this triumph in the year of Rome 744 (14), he anticipates it twenty years or more, and he was ignorant that Paterculus made his first campaign in the year 753. How then could he appear at a triumph in 744, with marks of honour, which he deserved but by his constant attendance in the service of Tiberius, after his first feats of arms (15)?

(10) Id. ib. cap. cxxiv.

(11) Id. ib. cap. cxi.

(12) Id. ib. cap. cv, this relates to the year 757 of Rome.

(13) In the remark [A], citation (8).

(14) Hankius, de Scriptor. Rerum Roman. *Tom. i, pag.* 70.

[C] *The praises he bestows upon Sejanus.*] See chap. 127, and 128, of his second book: I shall extract but one thing out of it: he shows, by great examples, that a prince may share the cares of the government with a minister. ' Raro eminentes viri non magnis ' adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt; ' ut duo Scipiones duobus Læliis, quos per omnia ' æquaverunt sibi; ut D. Augustus M. Agrippa, & ' maxime ab eo, Statilio Tauro: quibus novitas familiæ ' haud obstitit, quo minus ad multiplices consulatus triumphosque, & complura eniterentur sacerdotia; etenim magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent (16). ' *Illustrious persons frequently make use of men of merit to* ' *assist them in managing their affairs: as the two Scipio's* ' *did the two Lælius's, whom they made equal to them-* ' *selves in every thing: as the divine Augustus did* ' *M. Agrippa, and chiefly after him, Statilius Taurus:* ' *and tho' their family was but newly raised, this was no* ' *obstacle to their being advanced to several consulships*

(15) See Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. ci, civ, cxxi.*

(16) Ib. cxxvii.

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wrote an abridgement of the Roman Hiſtory, which is very curious [*D*], and he promiſed a larger Hiſtory (*g*). The praiſes he beſtows upon the emperor Tiberius are exceſſive, and he underſtood ſo well the art of flattering this emperor, that it is thought he did not forget to ſpeak ill of Germanicus [*E*]. It is not true, that an Annaliſt of Rome was named Cneius Velleius [*F*], as Glandorpius imagines. I ſhall take notice of ſome faults of Mr Moreri [*G*].

(*g*) Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. xlviii, cvii, & paſſim alibi.*

' *and prieſthoods; for great affairs require the aſſiſtance* ' *of great perſons.*' This paſſage, and ſome others ſuch like, afforded a fine embelliſhing to the panegyriſts of cardinal de Richelieu and cardinal Mazarin. They ſung to another tune, and had diſierent maxims after the death of the latter, as I have elſewhere obſerved (17). Here we ſhall ſet down a thought of la Mothe le Vayer: *He is blamed*, ſays he (18), *and that with great reaſon . . . . for having given ridiculous elogiums, not only to Tiberius, but alſo to his favourite Sejanus, whoſe merit he twice repreſents, as one of the principal and moſt virtuous perſons that ever were in the Roman Republic. What did he do in this, but what probably happens to all thoſe who will take pen in hand to write the hiſtory of their own time, and will publiſh it while the perſons are yet alive?* This reflexion is juſt; for it is ſcarce poſſible to be ſincere, when we ſpeak of princes that are living, or of thoſe whoſe ſons do ſtill reign.

(17) See the New Letters of the General Criticiſm on Maimbourg, *pag.* 81, *&c.*

(18) La Mothe le Vayer, ubi infra, *pag.* 194.

[*D*] *He wrote an abridgment of the Roman Hiſtory, which is very curious.*] The beginning of it is loſt, which was a general ſketch of antient times. La Mothe le Vayer was not miſtaken in what I ſhall now ſubjoin (19): ' The remembrance of the countries he had ' ſeen, while he was military tribune, and travelling ' through the provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, ' Aſia the leſs, and other more eaſtern countries; and ' eſpecially on both ſides of the Pontus Euxinus, furniſhed him with very agreeable diverſions. From ' hence we may judge, that if he had written that ' entire and large hiſtory he promiſed ſo often, we ' ſhould have read an infinite number of very conſiderable things, as related by him who had been an ' eye-witneſs of them, and aſſiſted in performing ' them. In that little which ſtill remains of this, ' wherein there is nothing repreſented but by way of ' abridgment, there are many particulars obſerved, ' which are ſo much the more valuable, becauſe it is ' the only place where they are to be learned, either ' through the ſilence of other Hiſtorians, or through ' the common misfortune of loſing ſome part of their ' works. The ſtile of Velleius Paterculus is very worthy of the age he wrote in, which ſtill was the age ' of fine language: he excels chiefly when he blames, ' or commends thoſe he ſpeaks of, which he does in ' ſuch fine terms, and ſuch delicate expreſſions, as ' are not to be found in any other Hiſtorian or Orator (20) . . . . We have nothing more pure in any ' Latin author, nor more worthy of Tiberius or Auguſtus's times.' Is it not ſtrange, that a work ſo worthy to be carefully preſerved, and of which, copies might be eaſily made, by reaſon of it's brevity, ſhould be like to be loſt? It is pretended, that the manuſcript of Morbac, from which Rhenanus publiſhed the firſt edition of this author (21), was the only one that was in the world (22). Beſides, it is obſerved, that no antient author but Priſcian, makes mention of Paterculus (23). The Moderns have done him infinitely more juſtice; for they have publiſhed him with notes or commentaries. The French have tranſlated him into their language, which Mr Doujat took the pains to do for the uſe of the Dauphin in 1679; and to make his work a continued hiſtory, he ſupplied what was wanting in Paterculus: I ſay nothing in particular of the edition of Lipſius at Leyden, in 1591, in 8vo; nor of that of Sckegkius at Frankfort, 1602, in 12mo; nor of that of Gerard Voſſius at Leyden, in 1639, in 12mo; nor of that of Boëclerus at Straſburg, 1642, in 8vo; nor of the edition *Variorum* at Leyden, 1653, in 8vo; nor of ſeveral others. I ſhall only add, that the *Annales Velleiani* of Mr Dodwell, prefixed to the Oxford edition 1693, are a piece of learning which diſcovers a very great knowledge of antiquity.

(19) La Mothe le Vayer, in the Treatiſe of Hiſtorians, *pag.* 193, 194, of the third Tome of the edition in 12mo. What he ſays of the Travels of Paterculus is in chap. 101, of the ſecond book.

(20) Id. ib. *pag.* 197.

(21) At Baſil in 1520.

(22) See the preface of Paterculus, printed at Oxford in 1693.

(23) Dodwell, ubi ſupra, *num.* 30.

Note, that Paterculus wrote this book in the ſeven hundred eighty-ſecond year of Rome (24), in the ſixteenth year of the empire of Tiberius (25).

(24) Paterculus, *lib. i, cap. viii.*

(25) Ibid. *lib. ii, cap. cxxvi.*

[*E*] *It is thought he did not forget to ſpeak ill of Germanicus.*] A learned critic does not agree to this; for he maintains that this paſſage, *Quo quidem tempore ut pleraque ignave Germanicus*, is not correct, and that inſtead of *ignave* we ſhould read *gnave* (26). He founds his opinion upon ſuch reaſons as appear to me ſolid (27), for, in ſhort, it is very true, that Paterculus, in other places, has praiſed Germanicus (28). However, his unjuſt ſparing the paſſions of Tiberius, do plainly appear, by the care he takes to paſs over ſlightly the illuſtrious actions of Germanicus, and even to ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, and to ſully the reputation of Agrippina, and other perſons whom the emperor did not love. See how Juſtus Lipſius has centured him. ' Ex antiquis bilem mihi etiam movet Velleius ' Paterculus. Ælium Sejanum omnibus virtutibus accumulat, & quaſi in theatro plena manu dilaudat. ' Os hiſtorici! at nos eum ſcimus natum & exſtinctum ' exitio generis humani. Liviam Auguſtam, poſt multas laudes, diis quam hominibus ſimiliorem fœminam ' concludit. Jam de Tiberio, flagitium ſit ſi uſquam ' aliter quàm ut de Jovo immortali loquatur. Hæc ' liber & ingenuus animus qui ferat? Contrà ut Germanici Cæſaris virtutes ubique callidè diſſimulat? Ut ' Agrippinam, & quibus aliis infenſior Tiberius credebatur, obliquè premit? Quid multa? Non aliquid ' quàm mancipium aulæ agit. Dices, intuta illis temporibus veritas fuit. Fateor. Sed vera ſcribere ſi ' non licuit, falſo non debuit. Nemo ſilentii cauſam ' reddit (29). - - - - *Among the antients, Velleius Paterculus likewiſe raiſes my indignation. He repreſents Ælius Sejanus as endowed with all good qualities, and applauds him as upon a theatre. The impudence of this Hiſtorian! However, we know he was born, and died to the deſtruction of mankind. After many commendations, he concludes, that Livia Auguſta was a woman that reſembled the gods more than man. And then as to Tiberius, he thinks it a crime to ſpeak of him otherwiſe than of an immortal Jove. What ſincere or honeſt mind can bear this? On the other hand, how cunningly does he conceal every where the excellent qualities of Cæſar Germanicus? How ſlily does he ruin the reputation of Agrippina, and others whom Tiberius was thought to hate? In ſhort, he is nothing but a court-proſtitute. You will ſay, perhaps, it was unſafe to ſpeak the truth in thoſe times; I own it. But if he durſt not write the truth, he ought not to have wrote lies. None is called to an account for ſilence.*'

(26) Ibid. *cap. cxxv.*

(27) See the Notes of Boëclerus upon this paſſage of Paterculus.

(28) Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. cxvi, cxxix.*

(29) Juſtus Lipſius, *lib. v*, Epiſtol. Quæſt. Epiſt. XI, *pag. m.* 599, *Tom. i.*

[*F*] *It is not true, that an annaliſt of Rome was named Cneius Velleius.*] Glandorpius's words are theſe: *Cneius Velleius, hiſtoricus cujus Annales citantur apud Gellium lib.* 18. *cap.* 12. *quo tempore in repub. vixerit, non comperi* (30). In this place of Aulus Gellius, of Henry Stephens's edition, it is *Cn. Vellius in Annalibus*. Here then is a fault in Glandorpius, that he puts Velleius inſtead of Vellius. And another is this, that he ſhould have read in Aulus Gellius, Gellius and not Vellius, for without doubt he cites the ſame author here, which he had cited in chap. 13, of the eighth book, and in chap. 21, of the thirteenth book, under the name of *Cn. Gellius*. Voſſius (31) pretends that Glandorpius conjectured, that inſtead of *Cn. Vellius*, we muſt read *Cn. Gellius*, in the twelfth chapter of the eighteenth book of Aulus Gellius; but the words of Glandorpius, which we have juſt now cited, do plainly ſhow, that this is falſe. If Voſſius had ſaid, that according to the conjecture of Glandorpius, the annaliſt, Gellius, differs not from Cn. Gellius, againſt whom, Cato the cenſor pleaded (32), he had been very much in the right; for Glandorpius expreſſes himſelf thus (33). *Fors idem eſt annalium ſcriptor cujus librum* 3. *citat Gellius* 13. *capite* 21 *&* 15 (34). There is nothing there, that relates to the paſſage, where the edition of Henry Stephens has *Cn. Vellius*.

(30) Gland. Onomaſt. *pag.* 887.

(31) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *lib. i, cap. viii, pag.* 34.

(32) Aulus Gellius, *lib. xiv, cap. ii.*

(33) Gland. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 380.

[*G*] *I ſhall take notice of ſome faults of Mr Moreri.*] I. The Moderns, ſays he, want to know whether his firſt name was Caius, Marcus, or Publius. This phraſe is not good, and inclines one to believe, that Paterculus was firſt known by one of theſe names, and that afterwards he quitted it to aſſume another. This cuſtom is very common among the Moderns: one of the French warriours, of the XVIIth century, was known by the name of the count de Bouteville, and after that, by that of the duke of Luxemburg. We ought

(34) It is not known what Glandorpius means by this 153; but whether he underſtood it of the book or the chapter he is miſtaken.

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ought not to entertain any such thought of our Historian, either with respect to the name of Caius or Publius, &c. for this kind of names was always kept. In a word, Mr Moreri should have said, the *prænomen*, or the *proper name*, and not the *first name*. II. He should not have affirmed, that Paterculus *was originally of Naples*; where is this to be found? Paterculus says, that his *atavus* was of Asculum (35), and that the grand-father of this *atavus* was chief among the Campanese, *Campanorum principis* (36). Elsewhere (37) he affirms, that his grand-father saw nothing above himself in Campania. Here is nothing particularly about the city of Naples; and I wonder that Mr Dodwell should pretend that this city was the native place of the grand-father of Paterculus (38), for this cannot be concluded from this good old man's killing himself, because he was not able to accompany Tiberius when he retired from Naples. Mr Doujat is fallen into these two faults of Mr Moreri (39), probably as being his transcriber; from whence we may gather, that the author of a Dictionary has sometimes the honour to be consulted and transcribed by persons who know more than himself. So little do men love to gather together materials, when they can find heaps of them ready at hand. III. It is very true that Paterculus was successor to his father in the command of the cavalry (40); but this was not before he had been *military Tribune*: he had already been tribune of the camp (41), which was an office above that of meer tribune of soldiers. IV. He had not his father for a colleague in any office. V. *Magius Celer Velleianus* was his brother, and not his father. VI. We find no where that he was *lieutenant-general to Tiberius in the armies of Germany and Hungary*, but in Dalmatia (42). And then his brother, who was absent (43), could not be his colleague. said only, that his brother had the advantage of being

(35) Paterculus, *lib. ii, cap. xvi.*

(36) Ibid.

(37) Id. ib. *cap. lxxvi.* See, above, the remark [*A*], citation (1).

(38) Dodw. in Synopsi Chronolog. ad calcem Annal. Velleian.

(39) Doujat, Preface to the translation of Paterculus.

(40) Missus cum eo (*Tiberio*) Præfectus equitum in Germaniam successor officii patris mei. *Paterc. lib. ii, cap. cxv.*

(41) Functum ante tribunatu castrorum. *Id.*

(42) Id. *c. cxv.*

(43) If he had been present would he have with Tiberius?

PATIN (Guy) professor of Physic, in the royal college of Paris, was a man of much wit and learning. See his elogium prefixed to his Letters, which are so well known to all the world, that this will excuse me from speaking of his merit. It is enough for me to say here, that you may be informed about it in the preface I have mentioned. it would be too great a nicety, to object that the author of this elogium, has not given us the History of Guy Patin. This is the common way of panegyrists, they seldom trouble themselves to inform us, whence a man is, nor how he raised himself; neither do they say any thing of his actions, unless they eminently relate to the virtues for which they commend him. It is therefore necessary I should say, that our Patin was born at Houdan in Bray, three leagues from Beauvais (*a*) in 1602 (*b*). He does not boast of his being of a good family, but speaks of it much after the same manner as Horace does of his [*A*]. Doubtless he was one that made his own fortune, and I know,

(*a*) Patin, Letter ccxciii, pag. 561, of Tom. iii, of the Geneva Edit. 1691.

(*b*) According to his Elogium he died seventy years old, in 1672.

[*A*] *He speaks of his family much after the same manner as Horace does of his* (§ *a*).] 'I was the son of 'good honest people, *says he* (1), whom I would not 'have exchanged for those that are more rich. I 'have here their pictures before my eyes, I call to 'mind every day their virtue, and am very glad 'that I saw the innocence of their lives, which was 'admirable. No such thing is to be seen in cities, 'and particularly at Paris. I see nothing there but 'vanity, imposture, and fraud. God has reserved 'us for a knavish and dangerous age.' And now let us see what Horace said of his father:

(1) Patin, Letter ccxciii, pag. m. 561. of Tom. ii.

- - - - - Purus & insons
(Ut me collaudem) si vivo, & charus amicis,
Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello,
Noluit in Flavî ludum me mittere magni,
. . . . . .

Nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim
Si præco parvas, aut (ut fuit ipse) coactor
Mercedes sequerer: neque ego essem questus. Ob hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur, & à me gratia major.
Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus: eóque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
Quòd non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam: longè mea discrepat istis
Et vox & ratio. Nam si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere ad fastum, quosvis parentes
Optaret sibi quisque: meis contentus, honestos
Fascibus & sellis nolim mihi sumere: demens
Judicio vulgi (2).

(2) Horat. Sat. V, lib. I, ver. 68.

If innocent my life, if (to commend
Myself) I live belov'd by every friend:
I thank my father for't, for he being poor,
His farm but small, th' usual ways forbore,
He did not send me to Sir Fabius' school
To teach me arts and make me great by rule.
. . . . . .

Nor did he fear the censuring world should blame
His high designs, or I be damn'd with shame,
If after all his cost I should be made
A common cryer or a meaner trade,
Or else, as he himself, have poorly liv'd,
A mean excise-man, nor should I have griev'd.
I owe more thanks and more respect for this,
Nor should I e'er, whatever fops advise
Repent of such a father, if I'm wise.
Therefore as others, when the haughty scorn,
'Twas not our fault we were not nobly born
I do not say, nor mind those meaner cares,
My words and thoughts are different far from theirs.
For should kind nature bid my soul retire,
Go back to birth, and chuse a noble sire,
As great as thought could frame, or pride desire.
Content with these I have, let others chuse,
I would the noble, and the great refuse;
And this is foolish, this a wild design
I'th' crowd's opinion.

Creech.

[(§ *a*) It is true that in the three volumes of the letters of Guy Patin, which were published at Geneva in 1691, we find nothing concerning his family, which does not very well answer to the idea that Mr Bayle here gives of it: but this learned man might have found in the Opuscules of Anthony Loisel a note of Claude Joly, which would have given him a more advantageous notion of the family of Patin, and informed him that this famous Physician was not the first of it that had distinguished himself. Here follows the note: it explains a place of the alphabetical Index of eminent persons, mentioned in the Dialogue of the Advocates of the Parliament of Paris by Anthony Loisel, &c. 'Mr John Patin, after he had spent 'some years at the bar of the parliament of Paris, 'retired to his native place, the city of Beauvais, 'where he was made counsellor and advocate of the 'king in the Presidial, exercising there both these 'offices together, by virtue of an arrêt of parliament 'given in his favour the 15th of February 1588, as 'it appears in the *Conference des Ordonnances* of the last 'edition of the year 1641 Tom. I. pag. 427. Liv. II. 'tit. 6. parag. 5. He exercised those two employ-'ments with much courage and resolution, at the time 'that this city sided with the Leaguers: and maintained there the king's authority with great address, and 'with all the fidelity that can be expected from an 'honest man, till at length being persecuted by the 'factions of the Mayor Godin, and the Lieutenant-cri-'minal, called Nicholas, who were both the 'ring-leaders of the league in Beauvais, haranguing 'according

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I know, from a good hand, that he was corrector to a preſs (c). It is not eaſy to decide, whether it would not have been better, that the letters we have of his ſhould have been

(c) Monſieur DRELINCOURT, profeſſor of Phyſic at Leyden, informed me of it.

'according to the duty of his office, and exhorting the 'people to the ſervice of the king, he was in danger to 'be ſtoned, thro' the practices of thoſe two arch-'leaguers: ſo that he was obliged to leave the city, 'and retire to the king, his maſter, where he found 'ſupport, by the recommendation of Mr de Freſnes-'Forget, ſecretary of ſtate. But at laſt he was re-'eſtabliſhed in his two offices, when the city returned 'to the obedience of the king; and he continued 'there to adminiſter juſtice with reputation, till the 'year 1605, wherein he died of a quinſey upon his 'arrival from Fountainebleau, whither he had been 'ſent on a commiſſion to the king in the name of the 'city. Such commiſſions were commonly given him, 'both becauſe of his office, as king's advocate, and 'becauſe he was eloquent and well verſed in hiſtory 'and politics. When he was obliged to quit Beauvais 'thro' the violence of the league, his houſe was pil-'laged and his fine books loſt, which he valued ex-'tremely, and regretted all his life. He left but one 'daughter, named Frances Patin: he was uncle to 'Francis Patin, advocate in parliament, who was fa-'ther to Mr Guy Patin, Doctor Regent, and Dean of 'the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, who communicated 'to me what is above-written, and moreover an epi-'gram in praiſe of his grand-uncle, which we find *in libello Epigrammatum variorum ad amicos pro xeniis per Petrum Gouſſainuillium, Montfortenſem, pro anno* 1574, printed at Paris, *apud Dionyſium à Prato* 1574:

'AD DOM.

JOANNEM PATIN, BELLOVACUM,

'facundiſſimum in ſupremo Pariſienſi Senatu Patronum.

'Cùm tu facundas ſolitus nunc ire per artes,
'Eloquium & mirum creſcat in ore tuo:
'Caſtidicumque bonum ſic te Polyhymnia reddit,
'Omnes ut ſuperes viribus eloquii:
'Si tua Muſa mihi quædam incrementa dediſſet,
'Ditior & Crœſo redderer arte ſua:
'Sed quia nummorum non extat plena crumena,
'Pro nummis tribuit carmina miſſa tibi (3).

(3) Opuſcules de Loiſel, pag. 736, 737.

To

Mr JOHN PATIN of BEAUVAIS,

a moſt eloquent advocate in the parliament of Paris.

'*Surpriſing eloquence from thy mouth does flow;*
'*This gift Polyhymnia did on you beſtow.*
'*Thy wondrous ſkill in pleading who can tell?*
'*An art in which all others you excel.*
'*Had but thy Muſe been half ſo kind to me,*
'*More rich by far than Crœſus I ſhould be.*
'*But ſince my purſe not much of gold contains,*
'*Pleaſe to accept this product of my brains.*

I ſhall add a paſſage ſtill more curious, and which Mr Bayle could have no knowledge of, ſince it is in a book that was printed ſome years after his death. It is the *New Letters of the late Mr Guy Patin, taken from the ſtudy of Mr Charles Spon*, printed at Amſterdam by Steenhouwer and Uytwerf in 1718 in two volumes in 12mo: a work publiſhed with too great negligence, and wherein proper names eſpecially are very often diſfigured. The manner in which Patin himſelf ſpeaks there of his family is as follows. 'You deſire I 'ſhould tell you ſomething about my family, after 'having informed me concerning your own: I ſhall 'do it very willingly and very freely for your ſake. 'Beſides, *abſit verbo jactantia, --- if I may ſay it with-'out vanity*, you aſk me the ſame thing that twenty 'other perſons have done before, moſt of whom how-'ever knew me only by letters. Thinking there was 'no harm in it, and as I took it in good part, I gave 'them the account which I ſhall now give you. My 'native place is a village, three leagues from Beauvais 'in Picardy, called Houdan, the third barony of the 'county of Clermont in Beauvaiſis. The moſt antient 'of my race, that I have been able to diſcover, was 'one Noel Patin, who lived in the ſame pariſh, above 'three hundred years ago, whoſe family has continued 'down to me. Some of his deſcendants withdrew in-'to cities, and have been Notaries at Beauvais, and 'Drapers at Paris: ſome have been ſoldiers, and others 'have remained in the country. My grand-father, 'whoſe name I bear, had a brother, counſellor in the 'preſidial, and the king's advocate at Beauvais, a per-'ſon of great learning, and whoſe memory my de-'ceaſed father honoured very much. My grand-'father was a military man, as all that time was a 'time of war. My late father had ſtudied in order to 'be advocate here, where he was received in the year '1588, eight days before the barricadoes, after having 'ſtudied at Orleans and Bourges under the late Four-'nier and Cujas. He would have ſettled at Paris for 'his whole life, had not the death of Henry III, and 'the ſiege of Paris which enſued, prevented it. In 'the year 1590 he was taken priſoner by the leaguers, 'and could not be ranſomed under four hundred livres, 'which was to be paid in ready money, a ſum which 'is not conſiderable now, but was then, eſpecially in 'time of war and in the country. My deceaſed 'grand-mother told me, that to make up this ſum 'which was collected here and there, ſhe pawned her 'wedding-rings, and her ſilver girdle, to a goldſmith 'of Beauvais, at a high intereſt: this I have often 'heard her tell with tears in her eyes, and abhorring 'the miſery of that time. The lord of our country 'finding that my father, who was a young man well 'made, talked well, and was not vicious, might 'be of great ſervice to him, found means to keep 'him near himſelf, that he might make uſe of him 'in his affairs, *annuente avo meo, imo urgente, --- my 'grand-father conſenting to it, nay urging it:* and to 'engage him the more, and to detain him in the 'country, procured him the richeſt match thereabouts, 'and with fair promiſes which he never performed, 'made him marry my mother, who was called Clara 'Maneſſier, deſcended of a good and ancient family 'of Amiens. My father's name was Francis Patin, 'an honeſt man if ever there was any. If every body 'were like him, there would be no occaſion for No-'taries. He came to Paris every year about the af-'fairs of his maſter, where he had all the credit ima-'ginable. I have found there abundance of friends, 'with whom I had no manner of acquaintance, who 'were exceeding kind to me upon his account, which 'has made me often regret him more and more. 'From this marriage there came ſeven children *adhuc 'ſuperſtites, --- ſtill alive:* two ſons, whereof I am the 'elder, and a brother who is in Holland: the five 'daughters are all married, and have had amongſt 'them the whole fortune of their mother, which be-'ing divided into five parts, was ſufficient to marry 'them: my brother and I have had the paternal 'eſtate, which does not bring me in as yet, when re-'mitted hither, an hundred crowns a year: but this 'is not the fault of thoſe good people, who lived *'moribus antiquis, --- like the ancients*, without avarice, 'and without ambition. The only misfortune of my 'father was to have an ungrateful and covetous ma-'ſter, and with whom he got nothing, notwithſtand-'ing almoſt thirty years of troubleſome ſervice. His 'concern for having left Paris and ſettling in the 'country upon the fair promiſes of a lord, *qui nimium 'attendebat ad rem ſuam, --- who minded too much his 'own intereſt*, made him think, whilſt I was very 'young, of bringing me up to be an advocate here, 'ſaying that the country was too unfortunate a place, 'that one ſhould go to reſide in cities, and he fre-'quently repeated to me the paſſage of the wiſe man, *'Labor ſtultorum affliget eos qui neſciunt in urbem per-'gere; --- the labour of fools will afflict thoſe who do not 'go to live in towns:* wherefore he made me read a-'loud the lives of Plutarch, when I was a child, and 'taught me to pronounce well. With this deſign, he 'placed me in the college at Beauvais; afterwards he 'took me to Paris, and put me in the college of Bon-'court, where I was two years a boarder, and went 'through my courſe of Philoſophy. Some time after, 'the nobility to reward him in a way that ſhould coſt 'them

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been designed for the public by the author, than that they should be written in a careless manner, for the particular use of those to whom they are directed [B]; but however this be decided, I am sure it will be granted, that it was very fit they should be printed: not but that they much injure the city of Paris, which they represent as infected with an horrible corruption [C], and as filled with such creatures who

'them nothing, would have given him a benefice for 'me, which I flatly refused, protesting absolutely I 'would never be a Priest: *(benedictus Deus, qui mihi 'illam mentem immisit in tenerâ adhuc ætate.) (I thank 'GOD for instilling into me such a disposition in my 'tender age.)* My father, who observed in this re- 'fusal something that was good and ingenious, was 'not very much provoked at it: but my mother con- 'tinued enraged against me upwards of five years, tel- 'ling me that I refused the recompence of long ser- 'vices which .... my father had rendered to these 'noblemen: and nothing else was to be had. GOD 'assisted me: I was five years without seeing her or 'going home. During that time I was acquainted 'with a man, that advised me to improve myself in 'order to be a Physician at Paris: to this end I studied 'very hard from the year 1622 to the year 1624, 'that I was admitted here: and then my father and 'mother were pacified, who assisted me with what 'they were able to take my degrees, and to purchase 'books. Five years after *duxi uxorem, - - I married a 'wife*, by whom I shall have upon the death of her 'father and mother, who are very old, twenty thou- 'sand crowns: and besides there is a collateral, a sister 'without children and very rich. GOD has blessed 'my marriage with four sons, *viz.* Robert, Charles, 'Peter, and Francis. *Annum ætatis attigi* 41, *--- I am 'arrived at the forty-first year of my age*, with more 'practice than merit in my profession, and with less 'health than would be necessary for me, *quam potissi- 'mum labefactarunt Vigiliæ juges & Elucubrationes 'nocturnæ à quibus etiam necdum abstineo, sed hoc erat 'in fatis; --- which has been broken chiefly by continual 'watchings and night-studies, from which I do not even 'yet refrain, but this was my fate.* This is what I 'think you have desired of me, and perhaps much 'more. Excuse the trouble I give you, and my 'prolixity *in re tam vili & exiguâ* (4), *--- in a mat- 'ter of so little weight and consequence.*' He says in some other place of the same letters (5), that he was *pretty near related to the President Miron Intendant of Languedoc*, and that his *wife was cousin to* this Presi- dent's *daughter*.

(4) Lettres de Gui Patin à Charles Spon, Letter xviii, *Tom. I, pag.* 78, 79, 80, 81.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 196, *and* 214.

Mr Bayle having mentioned only the letters of Guy Patin, I shall set down here the list of his other works, as Mercklin has given it in his *Lindenius renovatus*. It contains the following treatises. *De Valetudine tuenda, per vivendi normam, usumque legitimum rerum ad bene salubriterque vivendum necessariarum. Extat pag.* 341 *Medici Officiosi à Phil. Guiberto editi. Parisiis, apud Vid. Th. Pepingué*, 1649, *in* 8vo. *Notæ in Nicolai Ellain Tractatum de Peste. Ibidem, pag.* 485. *Notæ in Galeni Librum de Sanguinis Missione. Ibid. pag.* 538. *Quæstio de Sobrietate. Parisiis*, 1647, *in* 4to, *& Medici Officiosi, pag.* 446. *An totus homo naturâ sit Morbus. Ibid.* 1644, *in* 4to. *Extat etiam cum DD. Virorum Epistolis & Responsis tum Medicis, tum Philosophicis. Roterodami, apud Rudolphum à Nuyssel*, 1665, *in* 4to, *Caspari Hoffmanni Apologiam pro Galeno edidit. Lugduni apud Laurentium Anisson*, 1666, *in* 4to (6). I shall add two articles, whereof this author makes no mention, *viz.* the Latin versions of divers tracts of Andreas Laurentius, inserted in the Latin edition of the works of this Physician, printed at Paris in 1627, in 4to, by the care of Guy Patin (7); and a treatise *de Elephantiasi*, which he speaks of in one of his letters to Charles Spon (8). The first of all these works had been printed separately at Paris in 1632 in 12mo under this title, *A Treatise concerning the preservation of health by a good regimen and lawful use of things requisite in order to live well and healthfully:* I shall transcribe here the judgment, which Patin himself passed on it. *I wonder*, says he (9), *who told you that I was the author of the little Treatise concerning the preservation of health, which follows the charitable Physician. It is not worthy your reading. I wrote it formerly at the entreaty of the good and charitable Physician himself Mr Guybert, who had given me the doctoral cap. He desired me to make it as popular as I could, that he might join it to his book. It does not deserve your spending any time upon it. .... If I can ever have any leisure, I will endeavour to mend this treatise, and make it a little better than it is: and in the mean time I beg you will be so good as not to tell any body that I am the author of it, for I am ashamed of it myself.* REM. CRIT.]

(6) Mercklini Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 396.

(7) See the remark [B] of the article LAURENS.

(8) Lettres de Patin à Spon, *Tom. II, pag.* 115.

(9) Ibid. *Tom. I, pag. m.* 90, 91.

[B] *Whether it would not have been better that his letters should have been designed for the public, than for the use .... of those to whom they were directed.*] If he had written them with a design to publish them, he would have filled them with learning and exact observations upon the history of learned men, and their works; for he had a very good memory, he had read much, and had an excellent Library. He would not have published things which were not well examined, and as they offered themselves to his fancy: In a word, we should find fewer falsehoods in his work; but then we should not find there his natural wit and genius, we should not meet there with so many curious matters of fact, so many lively and bold strokes which divert us, and put us upon making solid reflexions. Some select letters were first published at Geneva in 1683, and reprinted quickly after in Holland. The sale encouraged a Bookseller of Geneva to publish those which had been left out of the first impression, he added them to the former, and by that means gave a collection in three volumes, in 1691. It was reprinted in Holland a little while after; but it had been better if it had been reprinted in Germany, because the German Booksellers have a laudable custom of adding good Indexes to the books they reprint; and never a book had more need of them than this. It was not difficult to perceive, that every thing in them is not true. Here follows the judgment which the author of the *News from the Republic of Letters* gave of them: 'It is fit the reader should be 'advertised, that all the witty sayings, or all the sto- 'ries he relates are not true. There are some places 'wherein he shews a terrible malice and a prodigious 'boldness, in giving a criminal turn to every thing. 'We should be very much to blame to believe these 'passages because they are printed. All that can be 'gathered from them is, That Mr Patin wrote them 'to his friend, as a thing he had heard from others, 'and to continue the custom he had a long time ob- 'served, of conversing with him by letters as he 'would have done, if they had taken a walk toge- 'ther. It is very well known, men in conversation 'talk as soon of a report that is current thro' the city, 'tho' it be not true, as of any news that is true. 'And when one is of a satirical humour, as it must 'be granted Mr Patin was, that which is published to 'the disadvantage of our neighbour is much more 'taken notice of, than that which is spoken to his 'praise (10).' Mr Menage has given the same opi- nion of them. *The letters of Guy Patin are full of falsehoods. Mr Bigot and I have observed a great number of them. Mr Patin was not very cautious in what he wrote, and prejudice made him believe a thousand things which were not true* (11). See the Journal of Leipsic at the month of May 1684 (12). There are some hopes that we shall have the Latin letters of Guy Patin, which will be accompanied with an *eloquent and learned Elogium*, written by *Mr Theveneau, a Physician of Nevers* (13).

(10) News from the Republic of Letters, *April* 1684, *Art.* I, *pag. m.* 115, 116.

(11) Menagiana, *pag.* 279, of the first Holl. Edit.

(12) Pag. 248, *& seq.*

[C] *His letters .... injure the city of Paris, which they represent as infected with an horrible corruption.*] There would be no end in collecting together all the complaints he made upon this subject: let us therefore confine ourselves to what he has observed about the wickedness of those lewd women who murder their infants. 'A great noise is made here about the death 'of Mademoiselle de Guerchi; the midwife had been 'secured in the Châtelet, and thence she is removed 'into the Conciergerie by order of the court. The 'curate of S. Eustache has refused burial to the body 'of this lady: it is said it was carried to the palace 'of Condé, and that it was there put into quick-lime, 'that it might be consumed the sooner, and that no- 'thing of it may be known, if any should come to 'search for it. The midwife has well enough defended 'herself

(13) See the preface to the Letters of Guy Patin, Edit. 1691.

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who having done all that was neceſſary to people the earth, do afterwards all that is neceſſary

' herſelf hitherto, but *aliæ admovebuntur machinæ, aliæ artes adhibebuntur ad eruendum verum:* I believe ſhe will be put to the torture: the Vicars-general and the Penitentiaries are gone to complain to the firſt Preſident, that in a year's time ſix hundred women have confeſſed, that they had killed and ſtrangled their infants, and that they have taken particular notice of it, upon the advice that had been given them (14).' And now I have begun to ſpeak of this adventure, I muſt go on to ſhew the ſequel of it (15). *Here is a libel ſpread about of eight pages in quarto* (16), *wherein it is proved*, That the crime whereof dame Conſtantin, the midwife, was accuſed a little while ago, is nothing but a conſequence of the doctrine of the Jeſuits, and alſo to undeceive thoſe ladies, who have been perverted by this error, under pretence that theſe Fathers teach it in their books. *It is ſaid, that the midwife defends herſelf very well, ſhe confeſſes that Madam de Guerchi died at her houſe, but that ſhe gave her no potion, that ſhe came to her very ſick, where ſhe died, making terrible outcries; that ſhe has heard of a certain potion that lady had taken, but that ſhe knew not what it was, nor who made it.* . . . . (17) *Dame Conſtantin, the midwife, is ſtill in the Châtelet, in priſon, and to-morrow ſhe is to be examined; N. and le Large have received a ſummons to come there and anſwer, as to the facts of the depoſition they have given in*, an ut ibi ſatis cedat pædore carceris, & metu lethalis ſupplicii confecta? *It is ſaid ſhe defends herſelf very well, and that there is not ſufficient proof againſt her to condemn her to death; but ſome monitions are expected, which ſhortly are to be publiſhed thro' all the pariſhes of the city and ſuburbs of Paris: others ſay, that ſhe will be ſaved, and that ſhe is too much recommended by the greateſt perſons. Nevertheleſs it is thought ſhe deſerves death, and more, and that if ſhe were hanged, ſhe would not die innocent. It is ſaid, that her houſe was a public bawdy-houſe, and that abundance of whores went thither, either to be brought to bed*, vel abortum paſſuræ, - - - *or to ſuffer abortion.* . . . . (18) *On Wedneſday the 14th of July Dame Conſtantin, the midwife, was condemned at the Châtelet, to be hanged and ſtrangled, after ſhe had been put to the torture; from whence ſhe has appealed: ſhe has been removed to the Conciergerie. It is thought, that the next week the ſentence will be confirmed at the Tournelle.* . . . . (19) *The midwife is ſtill a priſoner, but it is ſaid, that it will be only for the next week, and that the attorney-general appeals againſt her from her ſentence* à minima; *that he will give in hard concluſions againſt her, that ſhe deſerves to be burnt alive, unleſs ſhe names all her accomplices.* In fine, he informs his friend, in a letter dated Auguſt the 16th, 1660 (20), that Conſtantin was hanged, ' *damnata fuit laqueo infelix obſtetrix & ſuffocata*, in ' good company at la Croix du Tiroir (21).' We have now ſeen the concluſion of the tragedy, as well with reſpect to her that brought the lady to bed, as to her that was brought to bed. But let us now ſee part of the preliminaries concerning the latter. I will not warrant all that is ſaid for truth, but if any thing be falſe, the writer, whom I cite, muſt anſwer for it (22). ' The duke of Joyeuſe courted Mademoiſelle ' de Guerchi, a companion of Mademoiſelle de Pons ' (23), who ſacrificed him quickly after to the com- ' mander de Jars, of the houſe of Rochechouard. . . . ' (24) She forſook the commander de Jars, to deliver ' herſelf up to Jeannin de Caſtile, the king's trea- ' ſurer, and ſhe behaved herſelf with ſo little diſcre- ' tion, that the queen baniſhed her from court. Ne- ' vertheleſs, the duke of Vitry engaged with her, and ' treated her with as much reſpect as if ſhe had al- ' ways been very virtuous, altho' ſhe had had four or ' five children by ſeveral fathers. She was got with ' child yet once more, and the duke would have her ' brought to bed before her time, to preſerve her re- ' putation, which he thought was not ſo far loſt as it ' really was. It was in vain for her to tell him, that ' ſhe would be mightily pleaſed to have this pledge ' of his friendſhip; he was fully reſolved, that ſhe ' ſhould deſtroy this fruit of their amours, and there- ' fore ſent to her a midwife, called Conſtantin, who ' deſigned to bring her to bed by force; but ſhe ' died in the operation, and the midwife was hanged. ' The duke of Vitry was inconſolable for her death, ' and had ſo great a reſpect for her memory, that he ' embarked afterwards with a proſtitute, becauſe ſhe ' reſembled her. This woman being enriched with ' his great gifts, married afterwards the marquis de ' Goudron, a younger brother of the houſe of Ga- ' mache.' Theſe citations do not carry me ſo far from my ſubject as ſome may imagine; for they contain proofs of the text of this remark, or at leaſt they confirm what Guy Patin has publiſhed. Beſides, I do not trouble myſelf about being cenſured for making too long citations, provided I do not diſpleaſe a good part of my readers, by inſtructing them by halves, or giving them the trouble to ſeek out the ſequel of things, by going from book to book: but however this be, here follows a citation which has a nearer relation to the narrative of Mr Patin.

Thuanus relates, That in 1557, a law was made which condemned to death, as guilty of parricide, all thoſe women that ſhould conceal either their pregnancy, or their lying-in, and that ſhould not bring in certificates concerning the ſtate in which their child was born, if there was any proof, that it was buried without ceremony, and without having received baptiſm. *Ea lege ſancitum ut quæ graviditatem partumve celaſſet, neque alterutrius teſtationem aut de edito fœtu ſeu vivo ſeu mortuo proferret, ſi eum lavacro juſtiſve exequiarum privatum probationibus conſtaret, de illa tanquam parricidii rea ultimum ſupplicium ſumeretur* (25). Since that time this crime was puniſhed more ſeverely, than any other; and to the end that no perſon ſhould pretend ignorance, the judges cauſed it to be inſerted in the decree of condemnation, that the Ordinance ſhould be publiſhed with the ſound of a trumpet, in all cities where there are tribunals of juſtice; and that the curates ſhould publiſh it in their pulpits, on the feſtival-days, in all boroughs and villages (26). Nevertheleſs, this crime continued to be more common than all the reſt; for Thuanus ſays, That there paſſed few weeks wherein the judges in criminal matters, at Paris, did not try one or more women, accuſed of this parricide: ſo great is the force of ſhame, that, in a timorous ſex, it prevails over the fear of a gibbet, and the remorſe of conſcience. *In nullum crimen ab eo tempore ſeverius vindicatum fuit. Ac ne qua ignorantiæ excuſatio prætexeretur, ſententiis judicum ſemper additum eſt, ut lex in inferioribus tribunalibus palam & per plateas urbium publica præconis voce promulgaretur, & per oppida ac pagos à curionibus coram populo diebus feſtis recitaretur. Nihilominus nullum frequentius crimen etiam hodie eſt, nec ulla fere ſeptimana abit, quin in claſſe, quæ de judiciis capitalibus cognoſcit, una plureſve tam horrendi flagitii reæ producantur; adeo malus pudor in verecundo & impotenti ſexu ſupplicii terrorem, & quod omni corporis pœna gravius eſt, conſcientiæ morſus vincit* (27). It will not be improper to relate what gave occaſion to this law: notice had been given, that ſeveral women, to ſhun the infamy, killed their children when they were brought to bed, and threw them either into a river or houſe of office, or buried them in ſome profane place, without initiating them into the Chriſtian Church by Baptiſm. Thoſe who were proſecuted in a court of juſtice for this crime, told the judges, that ſhame did not permit them to diſcover that they were with child, and that, contrary to their deſire, their children were born dead. By this means they got off, there was no proof of the contrary, and the greater part of the judges were of opinion, that they ſhould be put to the torture: if they endured it, without confeſſing they had put a child to death, they were diſcharged from all further puniſhment. It was therefore believed, that impunity made the wickedneſs increaſe; and therefore a moſt rigorous law was ſollicited, which was obtained, and ſeverely put in execution; and yet the evil was not cured. Let us hear Thuanus (28): *Altera lex in ſpeciem ſevera, ſed qua impiis & abominandis parricidiis, quæ antea impunita, nunc etiam poſt legem conditam nimis frequentia ſunt, pœna conſtituta eſt, poſtulante Senatu promulgatur V. Non. Martias. Fœminæ, quæ viros non habebant, ubi ex furtivo complexu conceperant, malo pudore territæ utero celato ad extremum partus fere enecabant, geminato ſcelere famæ conſulere ſe exiſtimantes, & enecatos aut in ſterquilinium ſeu profluentem abjiciebant, aut loco profano defoſſos perdebant, atque ita neceſſaria ſacri lavacri relligione ac ſepulturæ honore privabant. Quod ſi quando res in judicium deduceretur, pudorem, quominus culpam confeſſæ eſ- ' ſent,*

(14) Patin, Letter clxxxiv, dated June 22, 1660. See pag. 113, of Tom. ii.

(15) Ibid. Letter clxxxv, pag. 119, of the ſame Tome.

(16) It was burnt by the hand of the common hangman at La Croix du Tiroir, by the order of the lieutenant-civil. *Ibid. Letter* cxc, pag. 142, 143.

(17) Ibid. Letter clxxxvii, pag. 130, 131.

(18) Ibid. Letter clxxxviii, dated July 16, 1660, pag. 136.

(19) Ibid. cxc, pag. 144.

(20) The cxcivth, pag. 162, of Tom. ii.

(21) I believe it is ſhe whom the abbot de Marolles ſpeaks of in the paſſage which ſhall be cited hereafter (63). Compare with this the Memoirs of Chavagnac, *pag. m.* 210.

(22) The Galantries of the Kings of France, Tom. ii, pag. 198, of the Bruſſels Edit. 1694.

(23) That is to ſay, ſhe was maid of honour to the queen-mother, Anne of Auſtria.

(24) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 210.

(25) Thuan. *lib. xix, pag.* 395, *ad ann.* 1557.

(26) See the remark [E], at the end.

(27) Thuanus, ubi ſupra.

(28) Id. ibi.

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sent, causſatæ mortuos ſe enixas dicebant, & ita deficientibus aliunde probationibus debitam inhumano ſceleri pœnam effugiebant. Nam judicum in hujuſmodi cauſſis incertæ plerumque erant & vagabantur ſententiæ, cum ad mortem alii tanti criminis reas damnarent; alii, quod ſæpius accidebat, pronioribus ad miſericordiam animis, quæſtionum violentiæ ſubjiciendas cenſerent, ut vivoſne an mortuos fœtus enixæ eſſent ex ipſarum confeſſione conſtaret; quam ſi obſtinato animo ferrent, liberæ dimittebantur (29).

A COMPARISON of the power of conſcience with that of the point of honour.

This powerfully confirms ſome of the doctrines of the author of the *Thoughts concerning Comets* (30); for who will dare to deny, after he has read this place of Thuanus, that the ideas of the point of honour, are the ſtrongeſt bank which ſtops the torrent of incontinence? who will dare to maintain, generally ſpeaking, that the laws of religion are the moſt effectual remedy, or as effectual as this? If religion had more power over women than the point of honour, would there be ſo many found that ſtifle their children? Is it not a murder more cruel and more barbarous, than to kill a good old man in the corner of a wood? Is there any crime more enormous, and more contrary to nature, than that of thoſe wtetched mothers? They are perſuaded, that by deſtroying the fruit of their womb, they commit a more deteſtable murder in the eyes of GOD, than thoſe who rob and murder on the high-way. Thoſe of whom Thuanus and Mr Patin ſpeak, are, beſides, for the moſt part perſuaded, that they deprive their children of eternal life, and that they throw them headlong into the *Limbo*, where they ſhall ſuffer throughout all eternity. This perſuaſion aggravates their crime to ſuch a degree of cruelty as is not to be imagined: nevertheleſs they commit it in contempt of GOD, and in ſpite of their religion, and all this becauſe they will not loſe their ſhare in human honour; and therefore this honour muſt have more power over them, than the inſtinct of conſcience and all divine laws: Nay, it has even greater power than the fear of death; for after that ſevere law mentioned by Thuanus, they expoſed themſelves to the danger of death, and it was very probable they would be puniſhed with it; and yet this law, tho' it was often put in execution, ſignified nothing, for theſe murders were ſtill as frequent as ever. What can be ſaid more convincing to prove the dominion of the point of honour, and the abſolute power it has over our ſouls? Can it be denied, that it would be alone ſufficient to confine uncleanneſs within thoſe bounds which we now ſee it to have? It is none of it's buſineſs to hinder ſecret crimes; this belongs to conſcience: but when thoſe ſecret crimes draw after them ſuch conſequences as can hardly eſcape the eyes of the public, it is of great force to prevent them. Such is the incontinence of one of the female ſex, who is unmarried. It is in vain to ſay, that the art of abortion is not far from it's perfection; and that if you except the art of curing Venereal diſtempers, there is none which an unhappy induſtry, occaſioned by the wants of an infinite number of people, has improved more than this; for it cannot be denied, but that the conſequences which I have mentioned, are very embaraſſing. How many women are there, who after a thouſand anxious thoughts, and a thouſand inconveniencies, and after they have taken many drugs, yet could not hinder but their fault ſhould be known? The murder does not always conceal it; it becomes, ſometimes, more infamous and diſmal by the puniſhment it undergoes; ſo that, if a violent paſſion, and a furious tranſport of the temper do not wholly take away the uſe of reaſon, theſe women will have a care of expoſing themſelves to ſuch inconvenient and dangerous conſequences as theſe. From whence we may conclude, that ſince Thuanus and Mr Patin declare, that a great number of perſons break thro' this barrier, the female ſex muſt be greatly tormented (31). Obſerve, that they ſpeak only of thoſe who kill the fruit of their womb. If the confeſſors would give in a liſt of thoſe who uſe precaution betimes, and before the ſoul be arrived, their number would not be confined to ſix hundred in a year, in ſuch a city as Paris, a city, as unprejudiced travellers ſay, leſs impure than the greateſt part of the capital cities in the weſt. As for the reſt, theſe untimely or anticipated abortions are really murders, according to the beſt caſuiſts. Read the paſſage of Tertullian, which Guy Patin ſhowed to the lieutenant-criminal, when the midwife was proſecuted. 'Nobis vero homicidio ſemel interdicto, etiam conceptum utero dum adhuc ſanguis in hominem delibatur, diſſolvere non licet: homicidii feſtinatio eſt prohibere naſci, nec refert natam quis eripiat animam, an naſcentem diſturbet: homo eſt & qui eſt futurus; etiam fructus omnis jam in ſemine eſt (32).

(29) We ſhall ſhow hereafter, remark [D], that the procuring of abortions is very antient. See the commentators of Minutius Felix, *in Editione Ouzeliana*, upon theſe words: *Sunt quæ in ipſis viſceribus medicaminibus Epotis, originem futuri hominis extinguant, & parricidium faciant antequam pariant.*

(30) See the articles clxii, clxiii, of the Thoughts upon Comets.

(31) *See the* Thoughts upon Comets, *ubi ſupra.*

(32) Tertull. in Apologet. cap. ix. Patin, Letter clxxxviii, pag. 137, cites him. What he cites pag. 144, out of the ſame *Tertullian de Anima, cap. xxv*, is not to the purpoſe.

'*As murder is once forbid, it is unlawful to deſtroy the fœtus even whilſt it is yet unformed: to hinder the birth, is to precipitate murder. And there is no difference between taking away life already formed, and interrupting it whilſt it is forming. That which would be a man, is in effect ſo: and every fruit is already in the ſeed.*'

I remember I have heard this queſtion put, whether or no to ſpare ſo many crimes to ſuch women as have not the gift of continency, and to ſave ſo many ſubjects to the Republic, of which it is otherwiſe deprived, it would not be neceſſary to weaken a little the dominion of the point of honour, that is, to diminiſh conſiderably the diſgrace of a woman unmarried who has children; for it is obſerved, that in countries which are leſs nice about this affair, and where ſuch perſons may, without difficulty, be married, and appear with confidence in company, that theſe abortions are much more rare, and the judges are leſs employed in puniſhing thoſe who murder their children. A grave man anſwered, and proved by very good reaſons, that the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe, and that there is nothing which the Commonwealth ought to maintain with greater care, than the fear of diſgrace, when it is joined to criminal actions, as in the preſent caſe. For this reaſon, *ſaid he*, magiſtrates ought to be extreamly cautious in inflicting a note of infamy, becauſe one in diſgrace loſes the rein which reſtrained him, and infamy is leſs feared when we ſee it made uſe of every day. 'Da principio ſi hanno in grande horrore gli infami, mentre ſi veggono miſti tra gli altri Cittadini: 'ma con l'aſſuefarſi à tolerarli, pare, che ſi di giorno 'in giorno ſi allegeriſca la macchia, che quaſi al fine 'ſvaniſca in tutto. Così vienſi à poco à poco à porre in 'uſo nella Città il traſcurare l'infamia, errore d'ogni 'altro più grave, e più pericoloſo per il viver Civile. 'Però ſtimo io bene l'andar lento à dichiarar publicamente infami i rei, quando la nota, con cui ſi ſegnano, non ſia perpetua per terrore degli altri. Perche, 'ſe ben l'infamia naſce propriamente dalla operatione, 'di chi commette il misfatto; nondimeno non bene 'manifeſta da tutti ſi diſcerne, finche publica dichiaratione non vi ſi aggiunga (33). - - - '*At firſt infamous perſons are greatly abhorred, whilſt they are mingled with other citizens: but by uſe in tolerating them, the infamy leſſens every day, and at laſt quite vaniſhes. And thus by degrees it becomes cuſtomary in the city to neglect infamy, which is the greateſt and moſt dangerous error in civil life. However, I think caution is to be uſed in inflicting public marks of infamy upon the guilty, when the marks wherewith they are ſtigmatized are not perpetual, to the terror of others. Becauſe, tho' infamy properly ariſes from the action of him that commits the crime; yet it is not evidently diſcerned by all, unleſs public declaration be added to it.*' But ſince I have ſaid ſo much, I beg leave to add a word or two more. Would you plainly ſee, that the force of the point of honour is ſuperiour to that of conſcience, conſider one of the ſix hundred women who had deſtroyed their children. Religion diſſuaded them from it by ſeveral motives: it ſhowed them the murder, the eternal damnation of the infant, the injuſtice of their intention, and the good uſe they ſhould make of their ſin. They deſired to preſerve the reputation of women of honour; this deſign was unjuſt, a robbery, a meer uſurpation of a benefit which did not belong to them: nay, it was an uſurpation deſigned for a very bad uſe, for deceiving the public in general, and a huſband in particular; for they wiſhed they were in a condition to beſtow themſelves upon a man, as a chaſte and modeſt maid, and without the leaſt blemiſh. The advantage they might reap from diſcovering their fault was great, with reſpect to their ſalvation; from thence they might draw a thouſand reaſons of humility and contrition. The point of honour no ſooner appeared, but it overturned all this great number of batteries: muſt it not therefore be acknowledged, that it is a thouſand times more powerful than conſcience. The Italian author is here alſo on my ſide. 'Però ſi dovera à guidicio mio aſ'ſerire, che aſſolutamente la Religione ſia più atta à 'render gli huomini giuſti, & innocenti: ma che all' 'incontro per lo riſpetto degli intereſſi, e per la ripug'nanza degli affetti, i quali quaſi venti contrarii, tur'bano il mare della vita civile, più operi per la felicità 'Morale il zelo dell' Honore. Perche gli huomini ſono 'più facili à moverſi à bene operare per lo premio dell' 'Honore,

(33) Lodovico Zuccolo, Academico Filopono di Faenza, Diſcorſo dell' Honore, *Capitolo xxiii*, pag. 122, *Edit. Venetæ* 1623.

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neceſſary to people the Limbo [D]. This will give me occaſion to ſpeak of an ordinance of Henry II (d), which was ſo rigorous, that a woman might happen to ſuffer death (d) See the remark [C].

‘ Honore, & à guardarſi dal mal fare per la macchia
‘ della infamia, che ſi veggono innanzi à gli occhi, che
‘ per le promeſſe di premii, ô pur di caſtighi futuri, e
‘ lontani (34). - - - *Nevertheleſs, in my opinion, it muſt*
‘ *be owned, that religion is abſolutely the fitteſt to render*
‘ *men juſt and innocent: but, on the other hand, becauſe*
‘ *of intereſts, and the repugnance of paſſions, which, like*
‘ *contrary winds, diſturb the ſea of civil life, the point of*
‘ *honour conduces moſt to moral happineſs. Becauſe men*
‘ *are more eaſily perſuaded to do well from the motive of*
‘ *honour, and to refrain from evil through fear of diſgrace,*
‘ *which they ſee before their eyes, than from the promiſes*
‘ *of rewards or fear of puniſhments, which are future*
‘ *and remote.*’

(34) Id. ib. *Capitulo* xx, *pag.* 106.

[D] *To people the Limbo.*] There is ſcarce any need of a commentary upon this after what we have ſaid; nevertheleſs I will add a paſſage of Mr Drelincourt. *It ſeems*, ſays he (35), ſpeaking to the miſſionaries, *that ſome maſters of your ſchools have really deſcended into the bowels of the earth, and exactly diſcovered and viſited all the ſecret places there. Their moſt common opinion is,* * *that there are under the earth four different places, or one deep place divided into four parts: they ſay that the loweſt place is Hell, where all the ſouls of the damned are, and where their bodies ſhall alſo be after their reſurrection, and there alſo all the Devils are to be ſhut up. That the place next to Hell is Purgatory, or the place where ſouls are purged; but rather where they ſatisfy divine juſtice by their ſufferings. They ſay, that in theſe two places there is the ſame fire, and equal heat, and that all the difference is only in reſpect of duration. They think, that adjoining to Purgatory there is the Limbo of little children who die without the ſacrament; and that the fourth place is the Limbo of the Fathers, that is, the place where the ſouls of the juſt were gatherd together, who died before the death of our Lord* JESUS CHRIST. *They maintain that this place is empty at preſent; ſo that it is a houſe to let.* According this doctrine, the Limbo of little children is become the porch of Hell ſince the aſcenſion of JESUS CHRIST, for the Limbo of the Fathers muſt go for nothing after that time. Here we might put the ſame queſtion which formerly the Cynic Philoſopher aſked, when he ſaw the entry of a little houſe, *Where is the houſe belonging to this gate* (36)? becauſe the entry of it was ſo very great. The frontiers of Hell muſt needs be of larger extent than all the kingdom, which is very monſtrous. Let us put together all the infants who loſe their lives without having received baptiſm, whether they die after their birth, or periſh by a voluntary or involuntary miſcarriage, and doubtleſs you will have the two thirds of of mankind. The numbers of abortives would be aſtoniſhing, if they were certainly known, tho' we ſhould only reckon the victims of the point of honour, thoſe of jealouſy (37), and thoſe of effeminacy (38). All times have been concerned in this crime, in all parts of the earth, as might be eaſily proved; but I ſhall only produce two teſtimonies. Conſider theſe words of Juvenal:

(35) Drelincourt's Dialogue about the deſcent of Chriſt into Hell, *pag.* 309, *Edit.* 1664.

* See Cardinal Bellarmin in his Treatiſe of Purgatory.

(36) Diogenes Laërtius, *lib. vi, num.* 57, *relates it otherwiſe*, Myndum profectus (*Diogenes Cynicus*) cum videret magnificas portas & urbem modicam, Viri, inquit, Myndii portas claudite, ne urbs veſtra egrediatur.

(37) In the countries where Polygamy is allowed, the wives of one and the ſame huſband play a thouſand tricks to hinder the fruitfulneſs of one another.

(38) There are ſome married women who to preſerve their good ſhapes, or to ſave expences, deſtroy their children. It is pretended that certain Caſuiſts lend them a helping hand.

Cum tot abortivis fœcundam Julia vulvam
Solveret (39) - - - - - -

- - - - - - - *Himſelf the while*
With impious drugs and potions did beguile
The teeming Julia's womb, and thence did wreſt
Crude births, that yet th' inceſtuous Sire confeſs'd.

DRYDEN.

(39) Juven. Sat. II, ver. 32.

And elſewhere,

Sunt quas eunuchi imbelles, ac mollia ſemper
Oſcula delectent, & deſperatio barbæ,
Et quod abortivo non eſt opus (40).

There are who in ſoft eunuchs place their bliſs,
To ſhun the ſcrubbing of a bearded kiſs,
And 'ſcape abortion - - - -

DRYDEN.

(40) Idem, Sat. VI, ver. 364. See alſo ver. 593.

Ovid exclaimed againſt this heinous crime before Juvenal, and he alſo repreſented the danger to which they are expoſed who commit it.

Quid juvat immunes belli ceſſare puellas,
Nec fera peltatas agmina velle ſequi;
Si ſine marte ſuis patiuntur vulnera telis,
Et cœcas armant in ſua fata manus?
- - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - -
Hoc neque in Armeniis tigres fecere latebris:
Perdere nec fœtus auſa leæna ſuos.
At teneræ faciunt, ſed non impune, puellæ.
Sæpe ſuos utero quæ necat, ipſa perit.
Ipſa perit, ferturque toro reſoluta capillos:
Et clamant, *Meritò*, qui modocunque vident (41).

(41) Ovid. Amor. lib. II, Eleg. XIV.

What boots it, that the fair are free from war,
And what, that they're forbid the ſhield to bear;
Againſt themſelves, if they new arms employ,
And madly with new wounds, their lives deſtroy?
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -
The tygreſſes, that haunt th' Armenian wood,
Will ſpare their proper young, tho' pinch'd for food;
Nor will the Lybian lioneſſes ſlay
Their whelps; but women are more fierce than they,
More barb'rous to the tender fruit they bear,
Nor nature's call, tho' loud ſhe cries, will hear.
But righteous vengeance oft their crimes purſues,
And they are loſt themſelves, who wou'd their children loſe;
The pois'nous drugs, with mortal juices fill
Their veins, and undeſign'd, themſelves they kill.
Themſelves upon the bier are breathleſs born,
With hair ty'd up, which was in ringlets worn,
Thro' weeping crowds, that on their corps attend,
Well may they weep for their unhappy end.

DRYDEN.

You may ſee ſome other paſſages of this Poet in the remark [F]. This furniſhes me with new proofs of the power of the point of honour. The means which were uſed at that time to kill the infant were dangerous to the mother; they deſtroyed many times the life of both; and nevertheleſs the young women choſe rather to run the hazard of death than of defamation: and even to this day, thoſe who wait too long periſh ſometimes under the remedy; witneſs the lady de Guerchi. Note, that thoſe who preſerve the child are delivered without any crying, unleſs it be in ſuch a place where they are in no fear of being defamed by the diſcovery of the myſtery: And this is a new proof of the inconceivable power of the point of honour: for it ſuppreſſes the effects of the ſharpeſt pain in a tender ſex, which groans, mourns, and cries, for the leaſt things in the world.

It was ſaid one day to a miſſionary, You cannot ſay of the Limbo what the Poets ſay of Hell, that it is a little houſe, *Domus exilis Plutonia* (42). There needs not much place, anſwered he, for embryos. But, replied the other, how many children four or five years old, go to the Limbo? And beſides, do you not know, that embryos and all children ſhall riſe perfect men. Well, anſwered he, do not trouble yourſelf about it, the world is big enough.

(42) Horat. Od. IV, lib. I.

As for the reſt, there are ſome people who think that Virgil, who owned a Limbo, ſhould have divided it into two parts; one for the children that die before they are born, the other for thoſe that die in the cradle. The great number of the former deſerved very well a particular claſs, ſay theſe people. Whence comes it then, that this great Poet ſays nothing of thoſe poor creatures?

Continuò auditæ voces, vagitus & ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo,

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death by virtue thereof, tho' ſhe was not guilty of murdering her child. We will produce upon this occaſion the obſervation of a famous Civilian [*E*], and relate a paſſage of Henry Stephens, which will inform us, among other things, that none but ſervant-maids were put to death upon account of that rigorous law [*F*]. The very letters of Patin ſhow in

Quos dulcis vitæ exſortes, & ab ubere raptos
Abſtulit atra dies, & funere merſit acerbo (43).

(43) Virgil. Æneid. lib. VI, ver. 426.

First ſhrill laments and tender cries are heard,
The ghoſts of infants weeping in the door,
Whom of ſweet life abridg'd, and from the breaſt
Untimely ſnatch'd, the fatal day cut off,
And in a funeral immature involv'd.

TRAPP.

[*E*] *We will produce the obſervation of a famous Civilian.*] He ſays, that the benefit of laws ought not to be ſuſpended upon pretence of ſome inconveniencies that they produce; and upon this occaſion he relates what Cato ſaid, that there is no law that is convenient to all private perſons. Bodin's words are theſe (44): 'I confeſs it would be better to abſolve the 'guilty, than to condemn the innocent, but then I 'ſay, that he who is convicted by ſtrong preſumptions, 'is not innocent; as he who was found with a bloody 'ſword near the murdered perſon, when there was 'none other by but he, and other conjectures we have 'remarked. Wherefore king Henry II made an edict 'in this kingdom that was very uſeful, which was 'publiſhed and regiſtred the fourth of March 1556 (45). 'wherein he ordains, that a woman ſhall be reputed to 'have killed her child, and be puniſhed with death, 'if ſhe concealed her pregnancy, and her delivery, and 'if her child died without baptiſm, and ſhe could pro- 'duce no teſtimony of the one or the other; nei- 'ther ſhall they be believed who ſay, that the child 'was ſtill-born: which has ſince been put in practice 'by ſeveral decrees. . . . . And, nevertheleſs, it is 'poſſible, that a woman, to ſave her honour, will con- 'ceal her pregnancy and her delivery, and that the 'infant which ſhe would willingly have educated, may 'die in the delivery: but foraſmuch as under pretence 'that the child was ſtill-born, many murders were 'committed, it was wiſely determined, that ſuch a 'preſumption is ſufficient to proceed to the puniſhment 'of death, to revenge the innocent blood. For we 'muſt not, for an inconvenience which does not often 'happen, ſuſpend the execution of a good law **, 'and for this cauſe I was of opinion, that a woman of 'Muret, near Soiſſons, ſhould be condemned to death, 'having concealed her pregnancy and her delivery, 'and buried her child in a garden, in the month of 'March 1578.' I know the author of the Dutch Gazette of Haerlem, had publiſhed, in the article from Paris, not very long ago (46), that orders were given, that this edict of Henry II, ſhould be reſtored to it's former vigour, and read on the feſtival-days in all the pariſh-churches. I know not whether any other Gazetteers made mention of it; but I do not remember that I found this news either in the *Mercure-Politique*, or in the Hiſtorical Letters. Nevertheleſs it might have furniſhed many reflexions.

(44) Demonomanie des Sorciers, *lib. iv, cap. v, pag. m.* 447, 448.

(45) Beginning the year after Eaſter.

** *Lib. iii, & iv, de legib. ff.* 9. Sic Cato dicebat nullam legem ſatis commodam omnibus eſſe.

(46) I believe it was in the year 1698.

[*F*] *A paſſage of Henry Stephens informs us, among other things, that none but maid-ſervants were put to death by this law.*] Becauſe thoſe other things may ſerve for a confirmation and ſupplement to the preceding remarks, I ſhall not only relate what concerns the impunity of perſons of quality, but ſhall alſo join with it facts and notes which this author ſets down, before he tells us, that reſpect of perſons took place in the execution of the ordinance of Henry II. The time wherein he wrote ſhews plainly enough, that he had in his view the puniſhments which followed this ordinance. *As to women murderers of their children*, ſays he (47), ... 'the number of them is great, as well thoſe 'who murder them as ſoon as they come into the world, 'as of thoſe who exerciſe the ſame cruelty upon them, 'even before they are born. And firſt, as to the lat- 'ter, it is certain, their wickedneſs is very antient; 'for we find the Greek Poet Phocylides expreſsly 'warning the women to take heed, that they do not 'commit ſuch acts. And Ovid, a pagan as well as 'he, upbraids a woman mightily for it, and adds many 'fine remonſtrances againſt it. Likewiſe we find that 'Hippocrates, among other things, he ſwore to ob- 'ſerve, places this, that he would never give to 'women that whereby they might deſtroy the fruit of 'their womb. This wickedneſs is practiſed for two 'reaſons; by ſome for fear they ſhould be known to 'have loſt their maidenheads, or generally, leſt they 'ſhould be diſcovered to have done that which it was 'not lawful for them to do, whether they be married 'women or widows; by others, for fear they ſhould 'ſhorten the time of their youth (48), and particularly 'for fear of what Ovid ſays,

(47) Henry Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, *book i, cap. xviii, pag.* 223, *&c. Antwerp edition* 1568, *in 8vo.*

Scilicet ut careat rugarum crimine venter (49),
Sternetur pugnæ triſtis arena tuæ!

The belly muſt be ſmooth, no wrinkle there
To ſhock the lover's wanton glance appear.
His touch as well as ſight they fain would pleaſe
And the womb early of its burden eaſe.

DRYDEN.

'And as to what I have ſaid concerning the ſhortning 'of the time of youth, the ſame Poet alſo teſtifies it, 'ſaying, *Adde quod & partus faciunt breviora juventæ 'Tempora.* And without his teſtimony we ſee the 'proof of it every day before our eyes. I have 'heard alſo of ſome ladies, nay, I have known ſome 'who made no ſcruple to wear buſks, at the expence 'of the child that was in their womb, and that they 'might not loſe the honour of having genteel ſhapes, 'they made no conſcience of deſtroying that which 'ſhould be as dear to them as their life. For I ſpeak 'of thoſe very perſons who were got with child in a 'lawful way. As for thoſe who are murderers of 'their children as ſoon as they are born, throwing 'them, or cauſing them to be thrown away, ſome 'years ago, the monaſteries of Nuns might have fur- 'niſhed us with a great many examples of them, (as 'well as of thoſe who murder them in their womb) 'even in the time of Pontanus, witneſs what he ſays, 'Quod quidem execrationis genus maximè ſacerdotes 'attingit, quæ Deo virginitatem quum voverint, pol- 'lutis tamen votis, ritúque ſacerdotali perjuranter at- 'que inceſtè contaminato, gravidæ factæ, ne ſcelus pa- 'teat, execrabiliori conantur ſcelere idipſum prohibere 'ac corrigere: dum aut medicaminibus adhibitis abor- 'tionem procurant, aut partum ſtatim ipſum exani- 'mant, terræque aut cloacis clàm infodiunt. - - - - - 'Which execrable ſort of crime chiefly regards the Nuns, 'who, tho' they have vowed perpetual virginity to GOD, 'yet breaking their vows, and perjuriouſly and inceſtu- 'ouſly profaning the ſacerdotal rite, are got with child, 'and to prevent a diſcovery ſtill commit a more abomi- 'nable crime: ſince by taking medicines they either pro- 'cure abortion, or elſe kill the child as ſoon as born, and 'privately bury it, or throw it into an houſe of office. 'When, I ſay, that a great number of them might 'have been found ſome years ago, I do not mean that 'it would be difficult to find ſome at this very day, if 'any one had occaſion for them, but that the number 'of them was then greater than at preſent; as well 'becauſe the number of Nuns was then greater, as be- 'cauſe they were more afraid of being diſgraced, and 'even of receiving correction, if they were convicted 'of having played tricks, than they are at preſent, 'when their Father-confeſſors are not ſo very ſevere '(50); but, on the contrary, they themſelves, upon 'occaſion, would be forward enough to have a touch. 'Beſides, they ſee many who were Nuns before, as they 'are now, married publickly (51), and well eſteem- 'ed; which makes them look a little better to their 'conſciences, than to attempt ſuch murders. But it 'muſt be confeſſed, that this wickedneſs extends far 'beyond the cloyſters, even to thoſe unmarried wo- 'men that live with their fathers and mothers, or are 'under the inſpection of their relations, and even to 'thoſe of a good family; nay, it extends to many 'that are widows. This is what the abovesaid Pon- 'tanus has not concealed concerning thoſe of his time;

(48) See, above, citation (38): but note, that here Henry Stephens commits a groſs fault; for he applies theſe two verſes of Ovid to mothers who murder their children for other reaſons than that of covering the crime. See in the ſequel of this remark, citation (56), that the fear *rugarum ventris* is not the fear of having convincing ſigns of a preceding pregnancy.

(49) See, below, citat. (56).

(50) Henry Stephens is miſtaken here, for in his time the corruption of the monaſteries, and the connivance of the confeſſors, were leſs than in former times; the reproaches of the Proteſtants having ſtirred them up to ſome ſort of ſhame and watchfulneſs.

(51) I do not underſtand this reaſon of Henry Stephens, for either he ſpeaks of the nuns which became Proteſtants, or of thoſe whom the Pope permitted to marry; and nothing of all this ſeems proper to move a pregnant nun to ſave her child: to declare herſelf with child is not the way to obtain of the Pope a diſpenſation of her vows.

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‘ time; for he adds, to what I have alledged already ‘ from him, *Nec verò monſtroſa hac feritate ſacerdotes ‘ tantùm, verumetiam viduæ ac nubiles puellæ ſplendi- ‘ diſſimæque etiam fœdantur familiæ.* Servant-maids ‘ have alſo plaid that trick very often (52), and it is ‘ of them commonly, and not of others, that the ‘ judges take notice, according to the Proverb above- ‘ mentioned out of Juvenal,

(52) See, above, article LAUNOI (MATTHEW DE), remark [B], why ſervant maids are more liable than others to corruption.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas.

Yet theſe obnoxious men without remorſe
Againſt our tribe will put the laws in force,
Clip the dove's wing and give the vulture courſe.

DRYDEN.

‘ For I have very often ſeen ſervant-maids hanged at ‘ Paris for this crime, but no perſons of quality; and ‘ particularly I remember I ſaw in the Phyſic-ſchools, ‘ the anatomy of a ſervant-maid, who had been ‘ hanged for this fact, *viz.* for throwing her child ‘ into the houſe of office. . . . . (53) None can be bet- ‘ ter acquainted with ſuch ſecrets than the midwives; ‘ were it not the cuſtom, at this day, to go to their ‘ houſes to fetch them, and after they have blind- ‘ folded them, to carry them to the houſe where the ‘ woman is that wants their help, who is then maſk- ‘ ed, or otherwiſe covered, for fear of being known ‘ by them, whoſe eyes muſt needs be then uncover- ‘ ed. . . . (54) It is true that many ladies now have ‘ no need to proceed ſo far, by reaſon of the preſer- ‘ vatives they uſe, to hinder their conception.’ There are ſome faults in this paſſage of the apology for Herodotus, as will appear, if any one will take the pains to read my marginal obſervations: and this alone may ſerve for an excuſe for my relating it at ſo great length.

(53) Henry Stephens, Apology for Herodotus, *pag.* 225.

(54) Id. ib. *pag.* 226.

The firſt paſſage of Ovid, which Henry Stephens has cited (55), is in the fourteenth elegy of the ſecond book *de Amoribus*, and diſcovers to us, that a thing was commonly known at Rome in that age, which an old Apothecary, who had read many books of Surgery and Phyſic, confeſſed to me he did not know, before he ſaw a new book which I lent him. He told me, when he returned it, that he had, by it, learned two obſervations very curious, which he had never heard of before, and which concern the ſigns by which one may know whether a woman has had any children. Mr Lamy, a Phyſician of the faculty of Paris, is the author of the book above-mentioned; and he gives the following account (56): ‘ This wo- ‘ man (57) had had children, and before we opened ‘ her, and without ſuſpecting any thing of what we ‘ found, we knew it by certain ſigns. Mrs la Marche, ‘ chief-midwife of the Hôtel-Dieu was there preſent: ‘ ſhe had a ſingular capacity in her profeſſion, and ‘ much wit and judgment in all things. I aſked her ‘ opinion about many queſtions concerning the ſigns ‘ of virginity; I deſired to know how ſhe knew, at ‘ firſt, that this woman, whom we were now to open, ‘ had had children. She made me obſerve the folds ‘ of the belly: and when I replyed to her, that theſe ‘ might be occaſioned, either becauſe ſhe had been hy- ‘ dropical, or becauſe her belly might be ſwelled from ‘ other cauſes than her being with child, and that ‘ theſe folds might remain. To convince me, ſhe ‘ ſhowed me, and all the company, what the mid- ‘ wives call, among themſelves, the rending of the ‘ fourchete, which is the tearing of the entry of the ‘ external orifice towards the *anus*, which is always ‘ made at the birth of the firſt child, and conſequent- ‘ ly is an undoubted ſign of the delivery which pre- ‘ ceded.’ Of theſe two ſigns of delivery, the firſt is incomparably more terrible than the ſecond, to one that is betrothed to a man, and who paſſes for a maid; for ſhe has good reaſon to hope, that her ſpouſe will not know the ſecond, and to fear that he will know the other. And by this we underſtand the verſe of Ovid, much better than by the commentators; and we plainly know why the young women among the Romans expoſed themſelves to ſuch a dreadful danger, that they might ſhun *rugarum crimen*, that the wrinkles of the ſkin of their belly might not diſcover their crime. Theſe wrinkles therefore were much more to be feared, than the wrinkles of the face; and there is no doubt but the conſequences of them are commonly known in our age, as well as in that of Auguſtus; and that this does create great trouble, even to ſuch perſons as have been relieved by Lucina (58) with the greateſt ſecrecy imaginable. Their invocations conceived according to the form of prayer which was addreſſed to Laverna (59),

(55) Above, citation (19).

(56) G. Lamy's Diſſertation againſt the New Opinion, that all animals are engendered of an egg, *pag.* 218, *&c. ſeq.* This diſſertation was publiſhed with ſome other treatiſes of the ſame author at Paris in 1678, in 12mo.

(57) A woman who was diſſected.

(58) The goddeſs who preſideth over child-bearing.

(59) The goddeſs who was the patroneſs of theſts, and ſuch enterpriſes as people would have concealed.

Labra movet, metuens audiri: Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da juſtum ſanctumque videri:
Noctem peccatis & fraudibus objice nubem (60).

- - - - Whiſpering ſaid:
Good, good Laverna, hear me, grant me aid
For ſuch a cheat, let all believe me good,
Let me ſeem juſt and honeſt to the crowd
And o'er my cheats and forgeries ſpread a cloud.

CREECH.

(60) Horat. Epiſt. XVI, lib. I, ver. 60.

Their invocations, I ſay, being fully heard, according to the deſign of that form, do not free their minds from fear upon the approach of a new huſband, who does not expect to find out wrinkles or folds, and from thence it comes to paſs, that they have recourſe to drugs as ſoon as poſſible. Henry Stephens did rightly obſerve, that in his time *many ladies had ſeveral preſervatives to keep themſelves from being with child* (61). Ancient Greece and ancient Rome were but novices in this wicked art, in compariſon of the XVIth century; and it is pretended that the XVIIth century does even ſurpaſs the preceding; and yet they have practiſed the groſſeſt and moſt dangerous ways mentioned by Ovid. Read the abbot de Marolles, upon this paſſage of Ovid (62): *Veſtra quid effoditis ſubjectis viſcera telis? - - Why do you pierce your entrails with little ſhort pointed darts?* ‘ It is a ſtrange ‘ thing, ſays he (63), that ſo damnable an invention ‘ ſhould have been put in practice, ſo long ago, and ‘ that it ſhould be renewed in our time. A wicked ‘ woman being convicted of this abominable crime, ‘ after ſhe had killed the mother, thinking only to ‘ kill the child in her belly, was puniſhed exempla- ‘ rily at Paris, in the ſame year that I wrote this ‘ book.’ How ingenious ſoever the paſſions be which are kept up by the point of honour, the danger is great, even at this day, for a young woman or a widow, who grants the laſt favour to a gallant; for oftentimes the preſervatives fall ſhort of their end; the ninth month comes upon their backs, and there is the Devil on it, that ſcene is more troubleſome than all the reſt. For a teſtimony to this I cite theſe verſes of Madam des Houlieres.

(61) Henry Stephens, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 226.

(62) Ovid. Eleg. XIV, lib. II, Amorum, ver. 27.

(63) Abbot de Marolles, Remarks upon the ſecond book of Ovid, *Amorum*, *pag.* 269, 270. This book was printed in 1661.

BALADE à Mademoiſelle D***

Ores eſt temps de vous donner conſeil
Sur les perils où beauté vous expoſe.
Fille reſſemble à ce bouton vermeil
Qu'en peu de jours on voit devenir roſe.
Tant qu'eſt bouton on voudroit en jouïr,
Nul ne le voit ſans deſirs de rapine.
Dès que Soleil l'a fait épanouïr,
On n'en tient conte, un matin le ruine,
De roſe alors ne reſte que l' épine.
Lorſqu'un amant, l'exemple eſt tout pareil,
Fait voir deſirs à quoy pudeur s'oppoſe,
Si l'on ne fuit, l'amour eſt un Soleil,
Point n'en doutez, par qui fleur eſt éclоſe.
Alors en bref on voit s' évanouïr
Tranſports & ſoins par qui fille peu fine
Préſume d'elle, & ſe laiſſe ébloüir.
Mépris ſuccede à l'amour qui décline;
De roſe alors ne reſte que l' épine.
Plus de commerce avecque le ſommeil,
Ou ſi par fois un moment on repoſe,
Songe cruel donne fâcheux réveil;
Cent & cent fois on en maudit la cauſe.
Voir on voudroit dans la terre enfouir
Tendre ſecret duquel on s'imagine
Qu'un traiſtre ira le monde réjouïr.
Parle-t-on bas, on croit qu'on le devine,
De roſe alors ne reſte que l' épine.

ENVOI

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in particular, that the author's creed was very ſhort [G], and that he had a great tenderneſs for his children. This is ſufficient to refute the egregious impoſture which a German writer has publiſhed [H]. It is obſerved, that Guy Patin reſembled Cicero [I]. He died in the year 1672, and left a ſon, who became very famous [K], and who excelled

ENVOI.

Galans fiéfez donneurs de gabatine,
J'ay beau preſcher qu'on riſque à vous ouïr,
A coqueter toute fille eſt encline.
Plûtoſt que faire approuver ma Doctrine,
On fileroit chanvre ſans le rouïr,
Mais quand tout bas faut apeller Lucine,
De roſe alors ne reſte que l' épine (64).

(64) Poems of Madam des Houlieres, *pag.* 134, 135, edition of Amſterd. 1694.

*A BALLAD to Mrs D****

Now is the time to give you advice,
As to the dangers to which beauty expoſes you.
A maid reſembles this pretty roſe-bud,
Which in a few days becomes full blown.
While it is a bud people covet to enjoy it,
And every one that ſees it deſires to ſnatch it.
But after the ſun has fully open'd it,
It is no more eſteem'd, one morning ruins it,
Then of the roſe the thorn alone remains.
Thus when a lover (for the inſtance is very parallel)
Diſcovers the deſires which modeſty oppoſes,
Unleſs they be ſhunn'd, love is the ſun
By which, no doubt, the flower is diſcloſ'd.
Then, in a ſhort time, all the tranſports and cares,
For which the ſimple maid was proud of herſelf,
Do vaniſh away, and no longer dazle the eyes.
Contempt ſucceeds to love, which declines.
Then, of the roſe, the thorn alone is thine.
Now ſleep is quite taken away;
And if at ſome time there's a moment's repoſe,
A terrible dream makes you wake in a fright:
Then a hundred and a hundred times the cauſe is curs'd.
You would gladly hide, in the bowels of the earth,
The tender ſecret, which you fear ſome traytor
Will ſpread abroad to make the world rejoice:
When one ſpeaks low, you think they do divine.
Then of the roſe the thorn alone is thine.

The MESSAGE.

Compleat gallants, beguilers of the fair ſex,
'Tis in vain for me to preach, that 'tis dangerous to liſten to you,
Every maid is to coquetry inclin'd,
I could ſooner ſpin unhatchel'd hemp,
Than make women approve my doctrine.
But when with a low voice thou muſt call on Lucina,
Then of the roſe the thorn alone is thine.

[G] *The author's creed was very ſhort.*] Let us ſet down theſe words of his Elogium (65): 'He expreſſed himſelf with the gravity of a Stoic, yet his words 'were biting; in this he might have inſtructed Rabelais. It was ſaid he wrote a commentary upon 'this author, and that he underſtood him perfectly; 'which was the reaſon why he was accuſed of being 'a little inclined to Libertiniſm. The truth is, he 'could not endure bigotry, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy; 'but he had an upright ſoul, and an heart well diſpoſed: he was paſſionately affected for his friends, 'affable and courteous to all the world, and particularly towards ſtrangers and learned men.' Take notice, that in anſwer to the accuſation of Libertiniſm, the author of the Elogium does not ſay, that Mr Patin was at the bottom well perſwaded of the Chriſtian orthodoxy; but he only aſſures us, that he hated ſuperſtition, and that he was an honeſt man. See the *News from the republic of Letters* (66). This is not the anſwer that was made in behalf of the Prince of Condé; for in oppoſition to fame, they publiſhed the declaration he made at his death, *I never doubted of the myſteries of religion, tho' it has been ſaid ſo; but I doubt leſs of them now than ever* (67). It may perhaps be ſaid, that the Bookſellers of Geneva have inſerted into Patin's book all that they thought fit; but that thought would be ridiculous.

(65) Advertiſement to the reader before the Letters of Guy Patin, *fol.* * 6 *verſo.*

(66) The month of April 1684, Art. I, pag. m. 116, 117. See alſo the Journal of Leipſic 1684, pag. 251.

(67) See his funeral oration ſpoken by the biſhop of Meaux, March 10, 1687, pag. 56, 57, of the Hall. edition.

[H] *The egregious impoſture which a German writer has publiſhed.*] His name is Axtius: he publiſhed, *in a letter about Antimony, which is joined to a treatiſe de* Arboribus coniferis *at Jena in* 1679, that Dr Patin would have *poiſoned his own ſon with Antimony, which he believed to be a poiſon, but that happily, contrary to his expectation, it cured him* (68). Charles Patin having complained of this calumny to the faculty of Phyſic at Jena, obtained all the ſatisfaction he could pretend to; for the faculty ordered Axtius, the Phyſician, to make a public recantation: 'Salubérrima facultas 'illum παλινῳδίαν (69) cantare coëgit, quam ſuppreſſa 'calumnia typis mandatam ad me tranſmiſit, it is Charles Patin who ſpeaks (70), *his verbis:* Editioni 'tractatus hujus de arboribus, benevole lector, ſubjunxeram epiſtolam de Antimonio, cui relationem 'de illuſtriſſimo Guidone Patino inſerueram: Quia 'autem certo comperi illam falſam, & ab ipſius male'volis ſine dubio effictam eſſe, epiſtolam rurſus imprimi curavi, fabulam expunxi, & manibus celeberrimi illius viri injuriam factam eſſe aperte profiteor. '- - - *The faculty of Phyſic obliged him to make a recantation, which, when the calumny was ſuppreſſed, they ſent to me in print, in the following words: 'Kind reader, I had joined a letter about Antimony to 'this treatiſe concerning trees, in which I had inſerted 'a ſtory relating to the moſt illuſtrious Guy Patin: but 'as I found it to be certainly falſe, and forged without 'doubt by his ſpiteful enemies, I have cauſed the letter 'to be reprinted, have expunged that ſtory, and do publickly acknowledge the injury done to the memory of that 'renowned gentleman.'

(68) Taken from the Elogium of Guy Patin, prefixed to his Letters.

(69) He ſhould have ſaid παλινῳδίαν.

(70) Carolus Patinus, in Lyceo Patavino, pag. 102, 103.

[I] *It is obſerved that Guy Patin reſembled Cicero.*] 'The late Mr Huguetan, advocate of Lyons, who 'knew him particularly, found that he had the air 'of Cicero, whoſe ſtatue is to be ſeen at Rome (71).' Which brings to my mind what ſome ſay, that the chancellor de le Hoſpital reſembled Ariſtotle: 'Specie 'fuit auguſta, vultu gravi & tranquillo, qui ut ex veteri numiſmate apparuit Ariſtotelis faciem plane re'ferret (72). - - - *He had a noble air, a grave and 'compoſed countenance, which, as appeared from an an'cient medal, reſembled the face of Ariſtotle.*'

(71) Taken from the ſame Elogium.

(72) Sammarth. Elog. *lib. i, pag.* m. 59.

[K] *He left a ſon who became very famous.*] He was called CHARLES PATIN, and was born at Paris, February 23, 1633. He made ſuch wonderful progreſs, that he maintained Greek and Latin Theſes upon all parts of Philoſophy in 1647. His Profeſſor (73), who was an Iriſh-man, and did not underſtand the Greek tongue, was very angry at theſe Theſes, when he was deſired to examine them; but ſeeing the young man prepared to defend them without a moderator, he was forced to preſide at the diſputation, leſt he ſhould proſtitute his reputation. The Pope's Nuncio, thirty four biſhops, and many perſons of quality, of the court and city, were preſent at theſe Theſes: the reſpondent ſtood the ſhock for the ſpace of five hours, in both languages, and was with great glory admitted to his degree of Maſter of Arts. He ſtudied the Civil Law in complaiſance to his uncle by the mother's ſide, who was an advocate in the Parliament: he took his licence at Poitiers, after ſixteen months, and was admitted advocate in the parliament of Paris. He ſpent ſix years in this profeſſion, but he could not forſake the ſtudy of Phyſic, to which his inclination always led him. It was not therefore hard for him to conform to his father's will, which was, that he ſhould give over the law, and devote himſelf to the profeſſion of Phyſic. He reliſhed, without difficulty, the good reaſons that were alledged to him, which were confirmed to him by the teſtimony of Mareſcot. That famous Phyſician confeſſed himſelf indebted to his profeſſion for three things, which he could never have obtained by the prieſthood, for which his father deſigned him. He had enjoyed a perfect health until the age of eighty two years; he had gained a hundred thouſand

(73) He was called *Regnier Dolay.*

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excelled in the knowledge of medals. He had loſt his eldeſt ſon, for whom he had obtained in 1667, the reverſion of his profeſſorſhip (*e*), and who had not the gratitude that was due to the affection of ſo good a father (*f*). This was a great addition to his affliction for the diſgrace of his other ſon [*L*].

(*e*) See his Letter ccclv, pag. 11⁵, of the third Tome.

(*f*) See his Letter DXXXV, pag. 539, of the third Tome.

thouſand crowns; and the intimate friendſhip of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons. 'Artem diſceres docereſque 'non Magiſtratibus tantum ſed Regibus ipſis & Impe- 'ratoribus leges præſcribentem: Sapientiſſimos tan- 'dem quoſque ab ore tuo pendentes, tuoque ſubmiſſos 'arbitrio cerneres. Recorderis, mi Stoice (*ſic quippe 'ob neſcio quam ἀπάθειαν me compellare ſolebat*) Mare- 'ſcottum noſtrum tria ſe ſacræ arti noſtræ debere pro- 'feſſum, quibus caruiſſet, ſi propoſitum à Parentibus 'ſacerdotium ſuſcepiſſet, ſanitatem athleticam ætatis 'anno LXXXII, centum aureorum millia, atque in- 'timam innumerorum illuſtrium amicitiam (74). - - - 'You would learn and teach an art preſcribing laws 'not only to magiſtrates, but even to kings and emperors; 'You would ſee the wiſeſt men attentively liſtening to 'you. Remember, my dear Stoic, (for ſo he uſed to 'call me upon the account of a certain indifference 'he obſerved in me) that our friend Mareſcot confeſſed 'he was indebted to our ſacred profeſſion for three things, '&c.' As ſoon as Charles Patin was admitted Doctor of Phyſic, he applied himſelf to practice, and had a great one. He read Lectures on Phyſic, in the room of Profeſſor Lopez, who was gone to Bourdeaux. Fearing to be impriſoned if he ſhould continue longer in France, he intended to retire into Holland: *Excedere Patria conſultius fuit, quam libertatis diſcrimen ſubire* (75). But the privateers of Oſtend, did ſo diſturb Navigation, that he returned from Havre de Grace to Paris, and afterwards took the road of the Palatinate. He ſtopped ſome time at Heidelberg, and then travelled into Germany, Holland, England, Switzerland, and Italy. He fixed at Baſil, but the war which was between the French and Germans upon thoſe frontiers, made him ſo uneaſy, that he removed with all his family into Italy. He was made Profeſſor of Phyſic at Padua in 1676; three years after he was honoured with the dignity of knight of St Mark. He underſtood, in 1681 that the king of France would receive him into his favour; and perhaps he would have returned into France, if the chief profeſſor's place in Surgery at Padua had not been given him, with an augmentation of his ſalary. I take this from a book which he publiſhed at Padua in 1682, intituled, *Lyceum Patavinum, ſive Icones & Vitæ Profeſſorum Patavii* 1682, *publice docentium*. He died in that city (76), in 1694 (77), leaving two daughters, who became famous for the works they publiſhed (78). His wife was alſo an author (79). Here follows a catalogue of the books which he publiſhed, from the year 1662, to the year 1682. *Itinerarium Comitis Briennæ, Pariſiis*, 1662, *in* 8vo. *Familiæ Romanæ ex ant. Numiſmatibus, Pariſ.* 1663, *Fol. A Treatiſe of combuſtible Turf: Paris*, 1663, *in* 4to. *An Introduction to the Hiſtory of Medals: Paris*, 1665, *and Amſterdam* 1667, *in* 12mo. *Imperatorum Romanorum Numiſmata: Argentinæ*, 1671, *Fol. Theſaurus Numiſmatum: Amſtelodami*, 1672, *in* 4to. *Four Hiſtorical Relations: Baſil* 1673, *and Lyons* 1674, *in* 12mo. *Prattica delle Medaglie: Venezia*, 1673, *in* 12mo. *Suetonius illuſtratus: Baſileæ*, 1675. *De numiſmate antiquo Auguſti & Platonis: Baſileæ*, 1675, *in* 4to. *Encomium Moriæ Eraſmi, cum fig. Holbenianis: Baſil.* 1676, *in* 12mo. *De optima Medicorum ſecta: Patavii*, 1676, *in* 4to. *De Febribus: Patavii*, 1677, *in* 4to. *De Avicenna: Patavii*, 1678, *in* 4to. *De Numiſmate ant. Horatii Coclitis*: 1678, *in* 4to. *De Scorbuto: Patavii* 1679, *in* 4to. *Judicium Paridis: Patavii*, 1679, *in* 4to. *Le pompoſe feſte di Vicenza: Padua*, 1680, *in* 4to. *Natalitia Jovis: Patavii*, 1681, *in* 4to. *Quòd optimus Medicus debeat eſſe chirurgus: Patavii*, 1681, *in* 4to. *Lyceum Patavinum, Patavii*, 1682, *in* 4to. He himſelf gave us this catalogue in his *Lyceum Patavinum*. He forgot his *Epiſtolæ ad Eggelingium de Numiſmatibus quibuſdam abſtrufis Imperatoris Neronis*, publiſhed at Bremen, in 1681, with the anſwers of *Eggelingius* (80). He wrote after this a Latin tranſlation of the introduction to the knowledge of Medals (81), which was printed in 1683 (82). *Diſſertatio Therapeutica de Peſte*, at *Augſburg*, 1683, *in* 4to. *Commentarius in tres Inſcriptiones Græcas Smyrna nuper allatas*, at *Padua*, 1685, *in* 4to. *Commentarius in antiquum monumentum Marcellinæ*, at the ſame place, 1688, *in* 4to. *Commentarius in antiquum Cenotaphium Marci Artorii Medici*, at the ſame place, 1689, *in* 4to. He had a hand in the edition of the *Theſaurus numiſmatum Petri Mauroceni*, done at *Venice*, 1683, and he added ſome notes to it. Perhaps I have forgot ſome of his works. I muſt add, that his hiſtorical relations were printed in Holland, in 1695, and that his *Introduction to the Knowledge of Medals* was printed at Paris the ſame year (83). This book was cenſured by Mr Sallo the firſt time it was printed (84). The author anſwered this cenſure in a piece intituled, *A letter from a friend of Mr Patin, concerning the Journal of the Learned for February* 23, 1665. Mr Sallo, ſpeaking of this letter (85), continued to treat Mr Patin with great contempt; which very much incenſed Guy Patin, as appears by theſe words of his letter 351. I ſet them down ſomewhat at length, becauſe they inform us, among other things, of the reaſon which hindered Charles Patin from continuing his apology. 'I do not know whether you have received a kind of 'Gazette, which is called the *Journal of the Learned*, 'the author whereof having complained in a little ar- 'ticle againſt my ſon Charles, concerning a Medal 'which was made here the laſt year for the Switzers, 'he has anſwered him. I have ſent you his anſwer, 'which is wiſe and modeſt. This new Gazetter has 'replyed to him, and there he ſpeaks as one that is 'ignorant and extravagant. To which reply he 'ſhould doubtleſs have had a ſmart and ſtrong an- 'ſwer, if Charles had not been deſired to ſuſpend 'his reply, and threatened with a letter under the 'king's ſignet. The truth is, Mr Colbert takes into 'his protection the authors of this Journal, which is 'attributed to Mr Sallo, a counſellor in parliament; 'to the Abbot de Bourzé; to Mr Gomberville; to 'Mr Chapelain, &c. ſo that Charles is adviſed to de- 'lay his anſwer; and this is alſo the opinion of the 'firſt president, who deſired it ſhould be ſo: a par- 'ticular reaſon is given for it, *viz.* That he is not in 'favour with Mr Colbert, ſince the ſuit of Mr Fou- 'quet. We ſhall ſee hereafter, whether theſe pre- 'tended cenſurers, *ſine ſuffragio populi & Quiritum, - - - without the ſuffrage of the people and nobles*,' 'have power and authority to criticiſe thus all thoſe 'authors who do not write ſo as to pleaſe their palate. 'Are we in the times of Juvenal, who ſaid boldly, '*Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas? - - - 'Clips the dove's wings, and gives the vulture courſe.* 'Yet there is one thing that comforts us, and that is, 'That we are not in the wrong, and that the learned 'and judicious are of our opinion; but theſe gentle- 'men abuſe their power. The Republic of Learning 'is on our ſide, but Mr Colbert is againſt us; and if 'my ſon defends himſelf, it is ſaid he will be ſent to 'the Baſtille: It is better not to write (86).'

[*L*] *The diſgrace of his . . . . ſon.*] Charles Patin deplored it; he ſays, that calumny had been the true cauſe of it, but he draws a veil before it. 'Cùm ecce 'ἀτυχία, *ſays he* (87), veriùs δυσζολὴν, & calum- 'niam dixero, me præcipitem egit, & κακῶν ἰλιάδα 'intulit. Timanthum (88) imitari liceat, benigne 'lector, qui cûm mœſtos pinxiſſet aſtantes, & tri- 'ſtitiæ omnem imaginem conſumſiſſet, ob Iphigeniam 'ſtantem ad aras peritaram, patris vultum velavit 'quem ſatis mœſtum pingere deſperabat. Velum hic 'protendamus, ſeu dolore commoti ob fortunas per- 'ditas, ſeu charitate ob invidorum nequitiam. - - - - 'When behold misfortune, or more properly I may call 'it detraction and calumny, overwhelmed and involved 'me in abundance of evils. Allow me, courteous rea- 'der, to imitate Timanthes, who, after he had drawn 'the ſpectators with ſorrowful countenances, and expreſ- 'ſed the higheſt image of grief, upon the account of Iphi- 'genia who ſtood at the altar ready to be offered up, 'veiled the face of her father, whom he deſpaired to 'repreſent ſufficiently afflicted. Let me here draw a veil, 'being moved with ſorrow for the loſs of my fortune, or 'with concern for the wickedneſs of my ſpiteful enemies.' His father was not ſo myſterious; he particularly mentions certain cauſes, or rather pretences of I know not what prohibited books found in the ſtudy of his ſon. It will be better to hear him ſpeak: *Every body pities him, no body accuſes him, and he is beloved by every body, except*

(74) Carolus Patinus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 83, 84.

(75) Id. ib. *pag.* 91.

(76) There was found a polypus in his heart, and in the aorta, wherewith he was choaked. I have this from Mr Drelincourt, profeſſor at Leyden, to whom a profeſſor of Padua, who was of the retinue of the Venetian ambaſſadors, told it. I mean the ambaſſadors who arrived in Holland in March 1696, to congratulate his Britannic majeſty. They went, with all their retinue, to a lecture of Mr Drelincourt, April 2, of the ſame year, and paid him many civilities, as he very well deſerved.

(77) See the Journal of Leipſic 1702, *pag.* 83.

(78) See the Journal of Leipſic, in the year 1684, pag. 587; and in 1691, pag. 337, and 547. News from the Republic of Letters, April 1685, pag. 432.

(79) News, &c. Ibid. pag. 453.

(80) See the Journal of Leipſic, 1684, pag. 33.

(81) I give the title which he uſes in his catalogue, although the true title is, *An Introduction to Hiſtory by the Knowledge of Medals.*

(82) At Amſterdam, in 12mo.

(83) See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Dec.* 1694, *pag.* 174.

(84) See the Journal of the Learned, *Febr.* 23, 1665, *pag. m.* 150.

(85) In the Journal of Mar. 9, 1665, *pag. m.* 202.

(86) Guy Patin, Letter ccclı, pag. 34, 35, of the third Tome. See alſo pag. 33, 54, 62, 64, 73, of the ſame volume.

(87) Carolus Patinus, in Lyceo Patavino, *pag.* 91.

(88) He ſhould have ſaid *Timanthem.*

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except some knavish Booksellers. And yet he is absent, and we have obliged him to resolve upon it in spite of his Stoical humour. He always hoped that the justice of the king would extend to him, but our enemies have had too much power. Yet to allay the smart of our wound, it is said, 1. *That it is for contempt of the court that a process was commenced against him, as being one that is absent, and will not defend himself.* 2. *That it was by a sovereign and particular commission, without right of appeal, which is extraordinary, and denotes so much the more the design there was to ruin him.* 3. *That the greatest part of the judges have received letters under the king's signet, and of recommendation to make an example of him.* . . . . 4. *It is alledged, That a man of great power, was our secret enemy, who promoted and managed the thing against us; because they found among those books some volumes of Mr Fouquet's case, and of the History of the enterprize of Gigeri.* . . . . *Three books are named, one full of impiety, which is an Huguenot book, intituled,* The Anatomy of the Mass, *by Peter du Moulin, a minister of Charenton, as if the Inquisition were in France. It is a six-penny book: Paris is full of such books; and there is scarce any Library in France where some of them are not to be found; nay, there are some of them even in the studies of the Monks.* . . . . *The second is a book, as they say, against the service of the king, and that is,* The Buckler of State, *which was sold publickly in the Parliament-house; and to which there are two answers in the press here. The third is,* The Gallant History of the Court; *which are little libels that rather deserve contempt than anger. I think that these three books are only a pretence, and that there is some secret enemy that acts against my son, and is the cause of our misfortune* (89). In all this you see nothing that comes up to the point, I mean the cause which was given out in Paris, to be the true reason of the disgrace. It was said, 1. That Charles Patin was sent into Holland with an order to buy up all the copies of the Amours of the Royal Palace; and to burn them upon the place, without sparing any. 2. That a great prince gave him this commission, and promised to reward him for his pains. 3. That this commissioner having bought up all the copies, did not burn them, but sent a great number of them into the kingdom. This is the common report, I know not whether it be well-grounded.

(89) Guy Patin, Letter ccclxviii. pag. 370, of the third Tome.

PATRICIUS (AUGUSTIN) a canon of Siena, and then master of the ceremonies of the Pope's chapel, and at last bishop of Pienza in Tuscany, flourished towards the end of the XVth century. Cardinal Francis Piccolomini, archbishop of Siena, who was Pope, by the name of Pius the IIId, ordered him to write an abridgment of the acts of the council of Basil. We shall see hereafter in what manner this was performed [*A*]. This is not the only work of Augustin Patricius; he wrote another concerning the ceremonies of the Pope's chapel (*a*) [*B*]. He was secretary to this cardinal Francis Piccolomini, in his legation of Germany, under the pontificate of Paul II (*b*). I shall examine whether Father Mabillon had reason to say, that there was another Augustinus Patricius different from this [*C*].

(*a*) See, above, remark [*D*] of the article GRASSIS (PARIS DE).

(*b*) Taken from Spondanus, ad ann. 1431, num. 9, pag. m. 805.

[*A*] *We shall see . . . . after what manner this was performed.*] Augustinus Patricius, among other books, made use of two great volumes, whereof the Cardinal of St Mark lent him a copy. He affirms, that he saw them at Basil, where they are kept with a particular care, as anciently the books of the Sibyls were kept, and that John of Segovia, a Spaniard, called the Cardinal of St Calixtus by the council of Basil, a man who continued obstinately in the schism until death, is the author of these two collections. He adds, that he made use of an history which Dominic, Cardinal of Ferma had composed of the first part of this council: This Cardinal was present there until the time of the rupture between Eugenius the IV and that assembly. Note, that the work of Augustinus Patricius is not printed. Mr Rigault lent it in manuscript (1) to Spondanus (2).

(1) He took it out of the king's library.

(2) Taken from Spondanus, ad ann. 1431, num. 9, pag. m. 805.

[*B*] *He composed a* Treatise *concerning the ceremonies of the Pope's chapel.*] The Latin words of Spondanus, whom I have followed, are *Librum de* Ritibus Sacelli Pontificii *conscripsit* (3). It is, without doubt, the same with that which I have spoken of elsewhere (4) in relating a passage of Mr Cousin, where we see by whom, and how the book of Augustin Patricius, concerning *the Rites of the Romish Church*, was published, and what were the consequences of that publication. We see there also that Augustin Patricius was nephew to Pius II, *who had given him the surname of Piccolomini*, and that he became Master of the Ceremonies under the same Pope. It is certain, that in the epistle dedicatory to his book *Sacrarum Ceremoniarum*, inserted by Father Mabillon in the second Tome of his *Musæum Italicum* (5), and dated from Rome the first of March 1488, he calls himself *Augustinus Patricius Piccolomineus*; but for all that I dare neither affirm, that Pope Pius II gave him that surname, or that he was his uncle: It seems to me more probable, that he received it from his master Cardinal Francis Piccolomini; however, I affirm nothing. I know that Pius II conferred the name of Piccolomini on an able man, who was his secretary (6), and whom he made Cardinal.

(3) Spondan. ubi supra.

(4) Remark [*D*] of the article GRASSIS (PARIS DE).

(5) Pag. 524, &c.

(6) *James Ammanati*, commonly known by the name of Cardinal of Pavia. See the *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, pag. m. 96.

[*C*] *I shall examine whether Father Mabillon had reason to say, that there was another Augustin Patricius different from this.*] He has inserted in the first tome of the *Musæum Italicum* (7), the life of Fabian Bencius, written by Augustin Patricius, bishop of Pienza, and he says (8) that this bishop, who was Master of the Ceremonies under the pontificate of Innocent VIII, is different from Augustin Patricius, who was secretary to Cardinal Francis Piccolomini, and who wrote an account of what passed in the Diet of Ratisbon, when that Cardinal was Nuncio there. So that there are, if we believe him, two Augustin Patricius's, who were authors; one was Master of the Ceremonies, and afterwards bishop of Pienza, in 1683; the other secretary to Francis Piccolomini. The first writ the life of Fabian Bencius, and an account of the emperor Frederic IIId's entrance into Rome (9): The second drew up the acts of a Diet of Ratisbon. It is of the latter, and not of the other, continues Father Mabillon, that Vossius speaks, in his volume of the Latin historians: You may observe, that Vossius, in effect, gives no other title to his Augustin Patricius, than that of secretary to Francis Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena; and that he attributes to him no other book than the relation of what was done at the Diet of Ratisbon. He takes notice, that it was dedicated by the author in 1471, to James Piccolomini, Cardinal of Pavia (10); and he adds, that Campanus called this Patricius, Cicero's ape (11). I dare say, that Father Mabillon is mistaken; it does not seem necessary to me to find here two authors of the same name, and I adhere to Spondanus, who says, that the same Augustin Patricius, secretary to Francis Piccolomini, was Master of the Ceremonies, and bishop of Pienza.

(7) Pag. 251, &c.

(8) Mabillon, Musæum Italicum, Tom. 1, pag. 255.

(9) It is in the *Mus. Ital. ibi.* pag. 256, & *seq.*

(10) Vossius, de Histor. Latinis, pag. 624.

(11) Augustinum hunc simiam Ciceronis ob studium orandæ Dictionis appellat Campanus epistola quadam inter eas Piccolominæi quas dixmus. *Ibid.*

PATRICIUS (FRANCIS) bishop of Gaëta, a native of Siena shewed a great reading, in his books, *De Regno & Regis Institutione*, and in those, *De Reipublicæ Institutione*. He flourished in the XVth century. He is sometimes mistaken for another FRANCIS PATRICIUS (*a*), a great Anti-peripatetic Philosopher, who was born (*b*) in the territories of the Venetians, in the year 1529, or in 1530 (*c*), and who died at Rome, February the sixth 1597 (*d*). Consult Mr Moreri, as also Mr Teissier (*e*). They have prevented me in most things that I could have said, and therefore I shall only

(*a*) See the remark [*A*].

(*b*) At Cliffa in Istria, according to Thuanus, *lib. cxix, pag.* 817.

(*d*) Thuanus, ubi supra.

(*e*) Additions to the Elogies taken from Thuanus.

(*c*) His effigies before his *Peripatetic Discussions*, imports, that he was in his fifty-first year in 1580; and he says in the beginning of his *Nova Philosophia de Universis*, that in 1588, he was writing it in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

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only collect some errors, and observe some things as to the editions [*A*]. I shall only add,

[*A*] *I shall only collect some errors, and observe some things as to the editions.*] GESNER (1) had no reason to believe, that Francis Patricius, the Sienese, did not, perhaps, differ from *Franciscus Lucius Durantinus*, the author of a book *De optima Reipublicæ Gubernatione*, printed at Venice in the year 1522. He should have said, That these are two different writers; for the work of this Lucius is divided only into three books, whereof the last is partly designed to commend the republic of Venice; but the work of Patricius is divided into nine books, and has nothing particular that regards the Venetians. In the epitome of Gesner (2) Francis Patricius the Anti-peripatetic is mistaken for the bishop of Gaëta. The same fault is to be found in the Oxford Catalogue, for the Peripatetic Discussions, &c. and the books *de Regno*, and *de Reipublicæ Institutione*, are attributed to one and the same author. In theEpitome of Gesner we have two other Patricius's, who are meer chimeras; for the pretended *Fredericus Patricius Venetus*, is no other than the Philosopher who attacked Aristotle. This appears plainly from hence, that the same books are attributed to him (3), which were just before ascribed to *Franciscus Patricius Senensis*. It can hardly be conceived, that there should be any compilers so heedless: they say in the same column of a page, that *Franciscus Patricius Senensis* wrote the Peripatetic Discussions, and ten dialogues in Italian, *de legendæ scribendæque historiæ ratione*, and that *Fridericus Patricius Venetus*, wrote the same dialogues in Italian, and the Peripatetic Discussions. They tell us of one *Franciscus Patricius*, whose commentaries were abridged, and printed at Paris. It is the same author of whom they had already given the article: It is, I say, *Franciscus Patricius Senensis*. The Sieur KONIG deserves some censure; he did not know Patricius, the Sienese, and applies to the other Patricius a passage of Barthius, which cannot agree to him. Take notice, that according to him (4) that Patricius of whom he speaks died at Rome in the year 1597, and that he characterises him after such a manner, that none can take him for any other but the Anti-Peripatetic. It is therefore an absurdity to pretend, that, according to Barthius, he was beheaded. This will easily appear, if any one does but cast his eyes upon these words of Barthius (5): ' Sed quid coacervemus plures? cum hanc rationem æra pulsandi (6), neque ' aliam potuisse inducere videam qui horum clangorum meminerunt, è quibus Pindarum & Stesichorum cum aliis jam olim produxit, & inde Juvenalem enarravit Franciscus Patricius Lib. II. de Regno ' & Inst. Regia, vir omnino meliore fato dignus, quam ' qui in patria sua securi capite truncatus fuerit, Anno ' M. CCCC. XLVII. aut paucis ante, scribente Raphaële Volaterrano Lib. XXI. Comm. Urbanor. ' *But why should I heap up more? since I see this method* ' *of* beating kettles, *and no other could induce those who* ' *remember these noises, among whom Pindar and Stesichorus, with others, in more ancient times, and afterwards Juvenal, are related by Francis Patricius, a* ' *man worthy of a better fate than to be beheaded in his* ' *own country in the year* 1447, *or a little before, as* ' *Raphael Volaterranus writes, lib.* 21. *Comm. Urbanor.*' Can a passage that speaks of a man beheaded in 1447, or a little before, be applied to a man that died in the year 1597 (7), I do not think that Barthius is guilty of an error in Chronology, since although Volaterranus does not set down in what year this Patricius was punished with death, yet he sufficiently intimates, that it was about that time. Having mentioned Gregory of Tifernum, and Antonius Panormita, he adds, ' Joannes Aurispa Secretarius Apostolicus sub Eugenio ' inter eruditos non admodum ignobilis ea tempestate. ' Patricii quoque Senensis, qui in factione Civitatis ' securi percussus fuit; magnopere commendatur oratio ' mul & eruditio. Petrus Candidus Nicolai V. Magister Brevium fuit (8). . . . *John Aurispa, Apostolic* ' *Secretary under Pope Eugenius, had a great reputation* ' *among the learned at that time. And also the eloquence* ' *and learning of Patricius of Siena, who was beheaded* ' *in a sedition of the city, is highly commended. Peter* ' *Candidus was master of the briefs to Nicholas V.*' This seems to shew that he speaks of one Patricius, who flourished under Eugenius IV, and who was not alive under Nicolas V. I confess this is not convincing, but however if Barthius has not hit right upon the year, he is excusable; and this fault ought rather to be pardoned in him, than that which he has committed, in supposing that an author who was beheaded in 1447, is the same Francis Patricius of Siena, who wrote the books *de Regno & Inst. Regia*. The latter lived under Sixtus IV (9), to whom he dedicated his treatise *de Republica, & Reipublicæ Institutione*. Note, that Volaterranus, in the fifth book (10) of his work, gives us to understand that the Patricius, whom the Sienese beheaded, was punished in that manner during the war they had with Picinin, who invaded one of their cities, from whence they drove him away, being assisted by Pope Calixtus. But that Pope was not chosen till the year 1455. Mr MORERI is to blame for not saying, that Patricius, the Sienese, was bishop of Gaëta. He assigns him the bishopric of Carriati in Calabria; probably a fault of the Printer, which he did not perceive in the book of *Aubertus Miræus*, led him into this mistake. He had read in that author, *Franciscus Patritius, Senensis, præsul Caretanus* (11), and not perceiving that it was to be read *Caietanus*, he made him to be bishop of Cariati in Calabria. It is upon the authority of the same writer, that he has placed this prelate in the beginning of the XVIth century; which he had not done, if he had known that Francis Patricius, who was promoted to the bishopric of Gaëta by Pius II (12), died in the year 1494. If Mr Moreri, who refers us to Ughelli (13), had consulted him, he would have seen this. What he says after Miræus concerning the editions of the works of his pretended bishop of Cariati, requires a small supplement. The Latin edition of the nine books *de Regno*, and of the nine books *de Republica*, printed at Paris in 1519, is accompanied with the notes of John Savigni, *Cum Joannis Savigneii scholiis . . . cum ejusdem annotationibus* (14). The *Scholia* relate to the books *de Regno*, and the notes to the books *de Republica*. One Nicodon of Saimmaixent published the books *de Republica* at Paris, in 1580, in 16mo, and added to them the arguments of the chapters, and the citations of authors (15). John le Blond, lord of Branville, made some extracts out of all these works of Patricius, and published them in French at Paris in 1550, as du Verdier informs us (16). Mr Joly (17) observes that this John le Blond turned into French *an extract, or a collection of the finest maxims of Erasmus's book, de Institutione Principis Christiani*, and that this Extract was printed at Paris in 1546, with the Abridgment of the Republic of Francis Patricius. He observes also that this extract was composed by Giles d'Aurigni, called *le Pamphile*, an advocate in the parliament; and that it was printed at Paris in 1543, with an Abridgment of the Republic of Francis Patricius. We find in the Bibliotheque of du Verdier (18), that *John du Tertre, knight of Dur-Escu, a counsellor of the king's privy-council, translated out of Latin the first book of the writings of Francis Patricius, a Sienese, bishop of Gaëta, which treat of the reign or government of one single person, called Monarchy, and of the institution of a good king, at Paris*, 1577, in 8vo. There is a French translation of the nine books *of the Republic*, printed at Paris in 1610, in 8vo. The author of that version, is called the Sieur de la Mouchettiere. I cannot tell, whether the notes which are found at the end of each chapter, are the work of the translator, or only a version of the notes of John Savigni. Who would not imagine, after so many editions, that it is an admirable work, and yet those that are good judges despise it. ' Eodem fermè ' tempore (19) Franciscus Patricius Senensis Farraginem ' quandam exemplorum sub Reipublicæ titulo, pue' rorum credo usui ac chriarum in Scholis compositioni, evulgavit: tantum dissimilis alteri Francisco ' Patricio Romano (20), qui non nihil pariter de hac ' re inter opuscula juvenilia protulit; quantum noctua ' Aquilæ, aut Anser dispar est olori (21). - - - *About* ' *the same time Francis Patricius of Siena published a* ' *certain compilation of examples, under the title of a* ' *Republic, for the use, I suppose, of children, and for* ' *exercises in schools: as unlike the other Francis Patri-* ' *cius of Rome, who also published something of this kind* ' *amongst his juvenile works, as the owl is unlike the* ' *eagle, or the goose the swan.*'

You will find in the treatise of the Origin of Printing at Paris, that the edition which John Savigni caused to be published, did not please him, although the impression was *from a very good letter*. It was full of faults, and this vexed him so much the more, because he had taken

(1) Gesner. in Bibl. *fol.* 250, & 253, *verso.*

(2) *Pag.* 242.

(3) In the Epitome of Gesner.

(4) Konig. Bibl. *pag.* 612.

(5) Barth. *in lib.* II, *and not* I, *as König says*) Thebaidos Statii, *pag.* 437.

(6) He speaks there of the kettles they founded at the time of the expulsion of the tyrants.

(7) In the *Jugements des Sçavans sur les Poëtes*, *Tom.* I, *num.* 1062, it is said, that Francis Patricius (viz. the Philosopher that opposed Aristotle) was beheaded at Rome in 1597.

(8) Volaterran. Commentar. Urbanor. *lib. xxi, pag. m.* 773.

(9) Who was advanced to the Popedom in 1471.

(10) *Pag. m.* 158.

(11) Miræus, de Scriptoribus Sæculi XVI, *pag.* 22.

(12) The 23d of March 1460. Ughelli, ubi infra.

(13) Ughelli, Italia Sacra, *Tom.* I, *pag.* 588.

(14) Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Biblioth. Franc. *pag.* 406.

(17) Joly, Codicille Chrétien, *the preface, pag.* 35, *Edit.* 1666.

(18) *At pag.* 689, 690.

(19) That is, at the time when a book of Robortel, and the treatise of Jerome Vida, *de Republica*, appeared. Naudæus is mistaken; for the book of Patricius was dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV. Robortel and Vida were alive still after the middle of the XVIth century.

(20) Naudæus is mistaken, this Patricius was not a Roman, he was born in the territories of Venice.

(21) Naudæus, Bibliogr. Polit. *pag. m.* 21.

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add, that Francis Patricius, the Philosopher, complains very much of his fate [B].

He disguised himself under the name of Francis Mutus (f) in the title page of his *Disceptationes contra Theodori Angelutii calumnias*. This Angelutius a famous Physician, had undertaken against him a defence of Aristotle. There is in the last edition

(f) Naudæus, de Fato & vitæ termino, *pag.* m. 27.

taken a great deal of pains *to correct those that were in the MS*; for you must know that this edition was made *from a MS, which John Prevost, a counsellor of the parliament, had brought from Italy* (22). From whence one might perhaps conclude, that this edition of Paris is the first.

(22) Chevillier, Origine de l'Imprim. de Paris, *pag.* 187.

[B] *Patricius the Philosopher complains much of his fate.*] He regrets the seven years he had spent in the isle of Cyprus, being removed from his studies, and taken up with such affairs as were profitable only to others, growing weary of a labour, which was so little to his own advantage, he lived with Philip Mocenigo, archbishop of that isle, and after he had been some time in his house, he followed him to Venice, and then to Padua (23). Returning with great satisfaction to his studies, he wrote the life of Aristotle; but his unhappy fate took him off from this pleasant employment, and transported him into Spain, tho' from nine years of age he had scarce done any thing but run from place to place, by sea and by land. *Ecce me fati quædam vis, quæ me novem annorum puerum, ad hanc usque ætatem, peregrinationibus continuis terraque marique exercuerat, in Hispanias abripuit* (24). He returned to Venice at the end of six months, and finished the life of Aristotle. This work contained also a judgment upon the writings of this Philosopher; in a word, it is the first volume of his Peripatetic Discussions (25). This is what the Epistle Dedicatory of this volume informs us of. The dedication of the second discovers to us, that the author found a place of refuge at the court of the duke of Ferrara, and an employ to his mind, since he permitted him to teach in the university of Ferrara the philosophy of Plato. 'Cui melius labores 'meos dicarem,' *thus he speaks to Antony Montecatin, first secretary to Alphonsus d'Este, the second of that name.* '. . . quam ei viro qui me pessum Cyprico bello 'datum, pessimorumque hominum ingratitudine, frau- 'dibus, insidiisque agitatum, perque multos annos for- 'tunæ adversissimæ fluctibus actum, in portum recepit, 'in Sereniss. Principis hujus familiam interposuit. 'Platonicam philosophiam, in singulare hujusce Aca- 'demiæ ornamentum publice profiteri dedit (26)? - - - '*To whom could I better dedicate my labours, than to* 'him who, after I had been overwhelmed in the Cyprian 'war, harrassed by the ingratitude, frauds, and treachery 'of wicked men, and tossed up and down for many years 'with the waves of adverse fortune, received me into an 'harbour, and placed me in the family of this most serene 'prince. He allowed me to teach the philosophy of Plato, 'to the singular honour of this university.' These are the heavy complaints he makes in a few words against the malice of his envious enemies, and the hardness of his fate. He repeats the same thing in the Epistle Dedicatory to the fourth Tome; for in his address to a bishop, who had formerly been his fellow-student at Padua, he informs him of the entertainment he had found after many misfortunes in the city of Modena, and how Ferrara served him at last for an harbour. 'Neque enim 'locorum distantia, qua tu quidem per Italiam perque 'Galliam, ego verò per Dalmatiam, per Græciam, 'per Asiam, ac demum per Hispaniam atque Galliam 'disjuncti postea semper fuimus, potuit eam oblivioni 'tradere, neque ex animis nostris eradere fortuna dis- 'par, quæ te in arduis semper negotiis ac magnis 'magnorum principum habuit, donec ad eam dignita- 'tem, qua nunc frueris, longè meritò es evectus. Ego 'verò pauperie pressus, dum aliena commoda curo, 'mea non curo, continuis itineribus terraque marique 'exercitus, Cyprica clade oppressus, atque ingratissi- 'morum pessimorumque hominum fraudibus insidiis- 'que circumventus, Mutinæ in patria tua, te absente, 'apud veteres amicos, apudque Alexandrum Baranzo- 'num equitem, ac Tarquiniam Molziam singularem 'totius seculi fœminam, primum resedi, postea è ma- 'rinis fortunæque fluctibus in hunc portum sum de- 'vectus (27). - - - *For neither the distance of places* 'whereby you and I have been ever after separated from 'one another; you by Italy and France, and I by Dalmatia, 'Greece, Asia, and at last Spain and France, could make us 'forget it; nor that different kind of fortune, which kept 'you always employed in the grand and weighty affairs of 'great princes, till you was deservedly raised to that dig- 'nity which you now enjoy, has been able to root it out of 'our minds. But for my part, after I had been oppressed 'with poverty, whilst I looked after the affairs of 'others, and neglected my own, continually fatigued with 'journies and voyages, overwhelmed with the Cyprian 'war, and circumvented by the fraud and treachery of 'the most wicked and ungrateful men, I resided first at 'Modena, in your country, with my old friends, and 'with Alexander Baranzoni, knight, and Tarquinia 'Molzia, the most excellent woman of the whole age, 'and afterwards I was carried by the waves of the sea, 'and of fortune, into this harbour.' I do not find that he was professor at Padua, as Lorenzo Crasso (28), and after him Mr Moreri, says. It had been better to have followed Thuanus (29), who says that Patricius having been professor seventeen years at Ferrara, went from thence to Rome (30), being invited by Clement VIII.

(23) See the Epistle Dedicatory of the first Tome of the *Peripatetic Discussions*.

(24) Ibid.

(25) It was printed at Venice 1571, in 4to.

(26) Patricius, Epist. Dedicator. Tom. ii, Discuss. Peripatet. pag. 177, Edit. Basil. 1581, in folio.

(27) Patricius, Epist. Dedicatoria Tom. iv, Discuss. Peripatet. ad Benedictum Manzolium Episcopum Regiensem, pag. 363.

(28) Lor. Crasso, Elogii d'Huom. Letter. *Tom.* i, *pag.* 62.

(29) Thuanus, *lib. cxix, pag.* 817.

A certain person told me the other day, that Patricius was born at Cissa in Istria, as Thuanus affirms, and there is a fortress called Cissa in Dalmatia; it may be therefore that Franciscus Patricius Dalmata, does not differ from this Patricius, although Mr Teissier (31) desires us *to take heed that we do not confound FRANCIS PATRICIUS, of whom we now speak, with . . . FRANCIS PATRICIUS born in Sclavonia, who is the author of a book, intituled,* Espositione delli oracoli di Leone Imperatore (32). I answered positively, that there is no distinction to be made between them. Thuanus, in the first book *de Vita sua*, gives the epithet of Dalmata to Franciscus Patricius, the author of the Peripatetic Discussions. I was not so positive about these words of the book of Mr Teissier, *his new Philosophy about the Predicables* (33). He has ill translated, said that person to me, the *Nova de universis Philosophia* of Thuanus. This translation means that this Philosopher proposed new doctrines concerning the five words of Pophyry, the *genus, species, differentia, proprium, & accidens:* and it is no wise probable, that he would take the pains to refute the schoolmen about such things, in all that work. I durst not be positive.

(30) Lor. Crasso, ubi supra, and Moreri, place his professorship at Rome, before that which it is pretended he had at Padua.

(31) Teissier, Eloges, *Tom.* ii, *pag.* 279, *Edit.* 1696.

(32) See Hankius, de Script. Byzantins, *Part* i, *pag.* 417.

(33) Teissier, ubi supra, *pag.* 277.

Now I know what is the book which Mr Teissier called *new Philosophy about the Predicables:* but he should not have thus translated the Latin title of this work; for it treats not at all of the Predicables. It is a folio, and the edition of Venice, 1593, *apud Robertum Meiettum*, has this title: *Nova de Universis Philosophia libris quinquaginta comprehensa, In qua Aristotelica methodo non per motum, sed per lucem & lumina ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde nova quadam ac peculiari methodo tota in contemplationem venit divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica rerum universitas à conditore Deo deducitur. Auctore Francisco Patricio Philosopho eminentissimo, & in celeberrimo Romano Gymnasio summa cum laude eandem Philosophiam publice interpretante, quibus postremo sunt adjecta Zoroastris oracula* CCCXX, *ex Platonicis collecta. Hermetis Trismegisti libelli & fragmenta quotcunque reperiuntur ordine scientifico disposita. Asclepii discipuli tres libelli. Mystica Ægyptiorum à Platone dictata, ab Aristotele excepta, & perscripta Philosophia. Platonicorum dialogorum novus penitus à Francisco Patricio inventus ordo scientificus. Capita demum multa in quibus Plato concors, Aristoteles vero Catholicæ fidei adversarius ostenditur.* You may see that the title promises only fifty books; yet the whole work is divided into four parts, whereof the first contains ten books, the second twenty-two, the third five, and the fourth thirty-two, which makes in all sixty-nine books. The author intitules the first, *Panaugia*; the second, *Panarchia*; the third, *Pampsychia*; and the fourth, *Pansomata*. He treats of the sublimest questions in Physics and Metaphysics, and this he does upon hypothcies altogether extraordinary. He vents many paradoxes, but not without discovering an admirable and profound genius. He dedicated this work to Pope Gregory the XIVth, and the Epistle Dedicatory is dated at Ferrara, August the fifth, 1591. This book was censured, and the author was obliged to retract (34), which he did a little before his death (35).

(34) Thuan. *lib. cxix, pag.* 817.

(35) Ibid.

[C] *Moreri*

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edition of Moreri's Dictionary, a new article [C], upon which I have a remark to make.

[C] *Moreri has a new article, upon which I have a remark to make.*] This new article is that of PATRICIUS (Francis), and is to be found at page 133, of the Paris edition 1699. It contains this; that this Francis Patricius, *lived in the XVIIth century*; that he *wrote in Italian a history of Poetry, divided into ten books*; that he *does only act the part of an historian in this work, without enlarging much upon the rules of the Art of Poetry*; that *his head was cut off at Rome in* 1597. Janus Nicius Erythræus is cited *in Pinacotheca I*, page 204 and 205. My first observation will be, That this Francis Patricius ought not to be the subject of a new Article, since he does not at all differ from Francis Patricius the Philosopher, who is in page 134. The proofs of this are demonstrative; for it is most evident, that Nicius Erythræus, in the place cited, speaks only of Francis Patricius, the adversary of Aristotle, and that he says two or three things of him, which Moreri attributes to Patricius at page 134. It is certain also, that Erythræus ascribes to Patricius a book *de Arte Poëtica*, which is the same with that wherein, if we may believe Father Rapin cited by Mr Baillet (36), he contents himself with *acting the part of an historian, without enlarging much upon the Rules of the Art of Poetry*. I shall observe by the by, that it is very probable this Jesuit did scarce know this piece of Francis Patricius. It is a work divided into two decads (37), in the first of which the author writes like an Historian, and in the second, like a Disputant who presses Aristotle very hard (38). My second observation is, that since they intended to speak only to the disadvantage of this work, they ought not to have cited only Janus Nicius Erythræus, who speaks very much to its advantage. 'Edidit de scribenda historia tres Dialogos, & de Arte Poëtica totidem decadas, quibus precium statui pro illorum æstimatione vix potest (39). - - - *He published three dialogues about writing history, and as many decads upon the Art of Poetry, which are of an infinite value.*' Neither should they have observed, that this work is divided into ten books; for Erythræus supposes that it contained three decads. I believe he is mistaken, but it is certain that it contains two. Lastly, They should not have said, that Patricius was beheaded; for it is false, and is no where to be found in the author whom they cite. To place in the XVIIth century a man who is believed to have had his head cut off in 1597, is a fault that ought to be ascribed to the Printers, but not that of saying that Gaëta is in Calabria (40).

(36) In the first Tome of the *Jugemens sur les Poëtes*, num. 1062.

(37) Della Poëtica deca Istoriale. Della Poëtica deca Disputata. *This work was printed at Ferrara in* 1586.

(38) Lorenzo Crasso, Elogii, *Tom. i, pag.* 62.

(39) Nicius Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 204, 205.

(40) This is found in Moreri's Dictionary of the Dutch edition 1698, and in that of Paris, 1699, in the article PATRICIUS, author of the book *de Regno & Regis Institutione.*

PATRICIUS (ANDREW) was one of the learned men who were born in Poland in the XVIth century. He studied at Padua, and acquired the esteem of the most famous professors of that country, particularly of Sigonius and Paul Manutius (*a*). He published some books that made him famous [A], and obtained good benefices in his own country. He was provost of the church of Warsaw, archdeacon of Wilna, and at last bishop of Wenden. The king of Poland, Stephen Battori, having recovered Livonia, which the Muscovites had seized, erected a bishopric in the city of Wenden, and gave it to our Patricius, who enjoyed it not very long, for he died quickly after. This was in the year 1583 (*b*).

(*a*) See the three letters which Paul Manutius wrote to Andrew Patricius. They are the 19th and 20th of the 4th book, and the 6th of the 3d.

(*b*) *Taken from* Simon Starovolscius, in Elogiis centum Polonorum, *pag.* 27, 28.

[A] *He published some books which made him famous.*] He had carefully cultivated the study of the *Belles Lettres*, and wrote in Latin with some politeness. Which appears by his commentaries on two orations of Cicero, and by the harangues he made to the king of Poland, Stephen Battori, to congratulate him in the name of the clergy of Warsaw, for having three times beat the army of the Muscovites. The pains he took, and which doubtless were very great, to collect together the fragments of Cicero, discovered very good things, which a great many learned men would never have come to the knowledge of, when they lay scattered up and down before he had collected them. The works of Cicero which are lost by the injury of time, were some of the finest that he wrote. Several passages of them which are found in St Augustin and elsewhere, are admirable; but how many learned men are there, who would never have sought for them in those places? It is therefore a great advantage to them that Andrew Patricius has collected together these fragments. He wrote also some books of controversy, *Paralleli Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ cum Synagoga Hæreticorum. De vera & falsa Ecclesia libri quinque* (1).

(1) *See* Starovolscius, in Elog. centum Polonorum, *pag.* 26.

PAUL II, created Pope the thirty-first of August 1464 (*a*), was son to Nicholas Barbo, a noble Venetian, and to a sister of Eugenius IV. Mr Moreri observes, that *the Protestants have spoken very disadvantageously of this Pontif*; but since he specifies almost nothing, I shall here give some account of that matter. They say then (*b*), that he was an accomplice in the perfidy, wherewith Ferdinand king of Naples caused Picinin to be massacred; that he was a persecutor of learned men [A]: that he sold all offices; that *he did not willingly give bishoprics, but to such as had other employments, from the sale of which they could make him a present; that he extended the Bull of cases reserved to the Popes as far as possibly he could, having by that means so much the more pretence to draw money from all parts: that he purchased at any price what valuable jewels he could get to enrich the Papal mitre, with which he took a pleasure to appear, his face being even painted; that he detained strangers in the city, permitting the holy handkerchief*

(*a*) Platina, in Paulo II.

(*b*) *See* Du Plessis Mornai, Mystere d'Iniquité, *pag. m.* 542, 543.

[A] *The Protestants . . . . say he was the persecutor of learned men.*] 'He had such an aversion to men of 'learning, that he looked on them as heretics, and 'deprived all the learned men of their offices, who 'had been promoted by his predecessors. *Because* '(says an historian, who was a great flatterer of 'Popes *) *he was very ignorant, he cruelly persecuted* 'all men of learning and honesty, he used to call heretics 'all those Romans who applied themselves to the study 'of good literature: and he always exhorted the children of Rome not to study. He not only deprived several learned men of their estates, but threw them into 'prison, and made them suffer cruel torments: amongst 'others Baptist Platina, and Mylverton, an Englishman, 'provincial of the Carmelites (1).' I have related in other places of this Dictionary (2) the persecution of Platina, and what was the cause of it. I shall only set down here the words, in which he represents the taste of this Pope for studies. 'Humanitatis studia ita oderat & contemnebat, ut ejus studiosos uno nomine hæreticos appellaret. Hanc ob rem Romanos adhortabatur ne filios diutius in studiis literarum versari paterentur: satis esse si legere & scribere didicissent (3). - - - *For this reason he exhorted the Romans not to suffer their sons any longer to apply themselves to learning: that it was sufficient if they learned to read and write.*' Mr du Plessis having translated these words of Platina, adds that they were the reason that Genebrard in the second part of his Chronicle calls this Pope *an enemy to virtue and learning* (4). Father Gretser, not

* Wicelius, in Epitome Rom. Pontif.

(1) Jurieu, Prejugez Légitimes contre le Papisme, *Tom. i, pag.* 245.

(2) See the article PLATINA, remark [B], & *seq*; and the article EXPERIENS, remark [A].

(3) Platina, in Paulo II, *sub fin. fol. m.* 362, *verso.*

(4) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniq. *pag.* 543.

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handkerchief to be ſhewn according to cuſtom, that there might be the more people at once to behold him: that he had a baſtard daughter [*B*]; *that he was ſtrangled in the night-time by the devil in the very act of whoredom* [*C*]; that he paſſed the days in ſleeping, and the nights in counting his money, and in viewing his jewels and pictures (*c*); that he was a great drinker, and that in the midſt of Lent he cauſed games of drunkenneſs to be celebrated, to which he invited all ſorts of people, by giving them hopes of prizes and rewards: that he abandoned himſelf to Sodomy and Magic (*d*) [*D*]. Some of

(*c*) Revius, in Hiſtor. Pontificum Roman. *pag.* 245.

(*d*) Id. ib.

not finding that in the Chronicle of Genebrard of the Cologne edition 1581, ſuſpected the quotation to be falſe (5). I ſhall decide nothing; for tho' my edition, which is that of Lyons 1609, has not this remark in the place where Paul II is ſpoken of, yet Genebrard might poſſibly have ſo characteriſed this Pope in ſome other place. Moreover, it is not eaſy to conceive that there is an edition of Cologne 1581 of the Chronicle of Genebrard, ſince the epiſtle dedicatory of the author is dated November 1584, and takes notice that it is the firſt time the book is publiſhed. Perhaps the Printer of Father Gretſer has put M. D. LXXXI inſtead of M. D. LXXXXI. But however, ſince the edition he made uſe of is not the firſt, it would ſtill be a queſtion whether it has not been curtailed of the paſſage which Du Pleſſis might have read in the firſt edition.

(5) Gretſer, in Exam. Myſterii Pleſſæani, *pag.* 535.

[*B*] . . . *that he had a baſtard daughter.*] The proof which is given of it is taken from theſe four verſes of Janus Pannonius:

Pontificis Pauli teſtes ne Roma requiras,
Filia quam genuit, ſat docet eſſe marem.
Sanctum non poſſum, Patrem te dicere poſſum
Cum video natam, Paule ſecunde, tuam (6).

Rome needs not ſearch Pope Paul the ſecond's tail,
His baſtard daughter proves he is a male.
Whene'er, O Paul, I ſee thy child, I may
Thee father call, but Holy cannot ſay.

(6) *See* Du Pleſſis Mornai, Myſt. d'Iniq. *pag.* 543, & Joh. Zuinger. de Feſto Corporis Chriſti, *pag.* 132.

They confirm it by the following verſes of another Poet.

Quum ſit filia, Paule, ſit tibi aurum,
Quantum Pontifices habere raros
Vidit Roma prius, Pater vocari
Sanctus non potes, at potes beatus.

As you've a daughter, Paul, and wealth much more
Than Popes of Rome were wont to have before.
Of Father truly you deſerve the name,
The title rich *not* holy *you may claim.*

(7) Ibid.

They add (7), that Paul II, having read theſe pieces of Poetry, fell a-crying, and lamented the hard law of Celibacy, and that he reſolved to aboliſh it. You will find elſewhere (8) upon what teſtimony this is grounded. I muſt not omit that Platina has ſaid nothing concerning that baſtard, and that his ſilence is taken by the apologiſts of Paul II for a juſtifying proof: for, ſay they (9), that hiſtorian has ſpoken ſo ill of this Pope thro' a ſpirit of reſentment and wrath, that he would not have ſpared him on the ſubject of Incontinency, had he been able to defame him as the father of a girl, known by all the Romans. They make the ſame remark as to other ſlanders not mentioned by him.

(8) In the remark [*B*] of the article ORICHOVIUS.

(9) *See* Gretſer, in Exam. Myſt. Pleſſæan. *pag.* 536, & Coëffeteau, Reponſe au Myſt. d'Iniq. *pag.* 1199.

[*C*] . . . . *that he was ſtrangled in the night-time by the Devil in the very act of whoredom.*] Mr Du Pleſſis Mornai ſays this upon the teſtimony of Peucer. I have conſulted that witneſs, and found he expreſſes himſelf in this manner. ‘ Paulus ſecundus ob ſpurciſſimam libidinem maſculam & artes Dæmoniacas ‘ publice infamis & execrabilis, utpote quem tandem ‘ in concubitu à Dæmone ſtrangulatum, obtorti colli ‘ terribile ſpecie mortis genus oſtendiſſe fama eſt (10). ‘ - - - *That is,* according to the verſion of Simon ‘ Goulart, *Paul II, notoriouſly infamous and execrable,* ‘ *on the account of his ſodomies and magic arts, was at* ‘ *laſt, according to the relation of Hiſtorians, ſtrangled* ‘ *in his bed by the Devil, who twiſted his neck off.*’ I fancy this tranſlator imagined thro' a deception of ſight that there was in his text *cubitu,* and not *concubitu.* Perhaps too he made uſe of an edition, wherein the Printer had forgot the firſt ſyllable of *concubitu.* I cannot conceive any other reaſon, why he ſhould have weakened the narrative of Peucer, by eclipſing the circumſtance of the impure act wherein the Pontif was ſtrangled by the Devil. It is not the cuſtom of Simon Goulart to enervate ſuch things: on the contrary he takes a pleaſure in heightening them. We have here an inſtance of it, ſince he has tranſlated thoſe Latin words *fama eſt* by theſe *according to the relation of hiſtorians.* There is a good deal of difference between *they ſay, there is a report,* and *Hiſtorians relate.* Peucer only uſes the expreſſion *they ſay,* his tranſlator has made uſe of another phraſe: they are both in the wrong, for one ought never thus to defame one's enemies without good quotations: but Goulart is more to blame than Peucer. The illuſtrious author (11), who is contented here with the teſtimony of a Proteſtant, ſhould have foreſeen that he would expoſe him to reproaches. And accordingly it is come to paſs, as we ſee by the following paſſage of a Jeſuit: ‘ Illud Diabolicum mendacium eſt, *Paulum in ipſo actu venereo* ‘ *à Diabolo ſtrangulatum:* nam omnes apoplexia extinctum tradunt, etiam accerrimus hoſtis ejus Platina. ‘ Sed Pleſſæus dicti ſui teſtem laudat Peucerum, hominem mendaciloquentiſſimum: cui qui fidem commodandam cenſet, is neſcit adhuc, quàm in rebus ‘ referendis infidus, & fide indignus ſit Peucerus, etiam apud ipſos Sectarios, præſertim Lutheranos Ubiquiſtas, qui Peucerum ob ſcelera ſua decennali carcere ‘ macerarunt: quo forſan tempore à Diabolo hoc de ‘ Paulo mendacium accepit (12). - - - *It is a deviliſh* ‘ *lie to ſay, that Paul in the very act of whoredom was* ‘ *ſtrangled by the Devil: for all Hiſtorians, even his* ‘ *fierceſt enemy Platina, ſay that he died of an apoplexy.* ‘ *But Du Pleſſis cites Peucer for his author, the greateſt* ‘ *liar that ever lived: whoever thinks, that Peucer is* ‘ *to be believed, does not yet know how unfaithful he* ‘ *is in relating matters, and how unworthy of credit,* ‘ *even amongſt the heretics themſelves, eſpecially the Lu-* ‘ *theran Ubiquitarians, who upon the account of his crimes* ‘ *kept him in jail for the ſpace of ten years: at which* ‘ *time perhaps he learned from the Devil this lie con-* ‘ *cerning Paul.*’ ‘ Du Pleſſis quotes in the margin ‘ Peucher (13), a notorious heretic, ſon-in-law to Me- ‘ lanchton, from whom we cannot expect any true te- ‘ ſtimony with regard to the Popes (14).’ This is the anſwer Coëffeteau made.

(10) Peucer, Chronicorum, *lib. v, pag. m.* 895.

(11) Du Pleſſis Mornai.

(12) Gretſer, in Exam. Myſt. Pleſſ. *pag.* 535.

(13) It ſhould have been ſaid, that Du Pleſſis ought to have writ *Peucer,* and not *Peucher.*

[*D*] . . . . *that he abandoned himſelf to Sodomy and Magic.*] The end of the chapter where Mr Du Pleſſis Mornai ſpeaks of this Pope is thus worded: *but the worſt ſtill is we find an author that imputes to him both Magic and Sodomy* (15). He does not tell who the author is, and by this ſilence expoſes himſelf to very ſevere reflexions. Gretſer challenges him to name that author, and in the mean time treats him as the forger of a calumny, which neither Platina, nor even Bale has ſaid one word about. ‘ Non vult Pleſſæus, ‘ homo religioſiſſimus, Paulum *Magiæ & præpoſteræ* ‘ *Libidinis* accuſare; & tamen dum non vult, impudentiſſime accuſat. At, *non deeſſe, qui illum horum* ‘ *criminum inſimulent.* Quinam illi? Certè non Platina, qui odio Pauli talia flagitia vix latere ſiviſſet. ‘ Non ipſe calumniatorum primipilus Balæus. Quare ‘ nulla injuria Pleſſiæum gravabis, licet ex ipſius officina deteſtabile hoc commentum proceſſiſſe credas: ‘ donec unde acceperit auctorem edat, quem ſi edide- ‘ rit, Pleſſæo tam ſimilem conſpicies, quam ovum ovo, ‘ & lac lacti (16). - - - *Du Pleſſis, a mighty religious* ‘ *man, is unwilling forſooth to accuſe Paul of Magic and* ‘ *unnatural luſt; and yet whilſt he is unwilling, he muſt* ‘ *impudently accuſes him. But, ſays he, there are not* ‘ *wanting ſome who accuſe him of theſe crimes. Who* ‘ *are they? Certainly not Platina, who from his hatred* ‘ *to Paul would hardly have concealed ſuch wickedneſs.* ‘ *Nor even Bale himſelf, the ring-leader of ſlanderers:* ‘ *And therefore no injuſtice will be done to Du Pleſſis, if* ‘ *we ſuppoſe that he forged this abominable lie in his* ‘ *own ſhop: until he tell us the author he had it from,* ‘ *and*

(14) Coëffeteau, Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniq. *pag.* 1198.

(15) Du Pleſſis, Myſt. d'Iniq. *pag.* 544.

(16) Gretſer, in Exam. Myſt. Pleſſ. *pag.* 538.

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of these things are related by Platina, either as certain, or as reports that had been current. The rest are not founded on very good testimonies. However it be, I do not think the Protestants have made mention of a notorious piece of injustice of this Pontif, which we find in the writings of a contemporary cardinal, one of the most illustrious prelates of that age. I shall give it in the very words of one of the writers of Port-Royal[E]. Paul II died of an apoplexy [F] the twenty-eighth of July 1471 (e). It was he who reduced *the Jubilee to twenty-five years in hopes of enjoying this* market in the year 1475 (f).

(e) Platina, ubi supra. *Others say the 25th.*

(f) Du Pleffis, ubi supra, *pag.* 543.

' *and if he does, you will find him as like Du Pleffis,* ' *as one egg is like another, or milk to milk.*' One would be surprised that Mr de Mornai scrupled to cite Peucer in that matter, since he had just cited him about a thing, which was no less infamous. It is Peucer, who relates also, as we have seen above (17), the two abominations contained in the text of this remark. Gretser did not know that.

(17) In the remark [C].

I shall observe by the way, that had Peucer quoted any author of the XVth century, he would have secured himself against the reproach that may be made, for having brought a very uncertain tradition and very remote from it's origin as his only proof. He wrote an hundred years after the death of this Pope: a time sufficiently long to corrupt traditions that were not immediately fixed in some writing (18). There is another observation I would make, which is, that we ought much more to mistrust a tradition of slander, than a tradition of praise, when it regards persons who have incurred the public hatred thro' the severity of their extortions. There was not one story which people did not believe in France, when it defamed either cardinal Richelieu, or cardinal Mazarin. A domestic turned away for very good reasons, a family chastised very justly, needed only to slander their eminencies, and forge whatever they thought fit, and immediately it was believed with all the pleasure in the world, and handed about from one to another. Would an Historian act a prudent part to pick up such stories? To be able to do it without just reproach, one must be cotemporary: for then it might be possible to make instructive inquiries: but at the end of three or four generations there is no possibility almost of finding out the grounds of uncertain and vulgar reports, which no author thought worth their while to adopt. It is proper to remember here that Paul II was of a rough and haughty temper, covetous, &c (19). To conclude, Peucer ought by all means to have quoted some author, and not common fame in general.

(18) See the Answer to the Questions of a Provincial, *pag.* 31.

(19) Morosus erat & difficilis tum domesticis tum externis; & sæpe quod promiserat mutata sententia invertebat. .... Durus interdum & inexorabilis, si quid ab eo peteres habebatur, neque hoc contentus convitia & probra in te conjiciebat. *Platina, in Paulo II, in fine.*

[E] *I shall relate* a notorious piece of injustice of Paul II *in the very words of one of the writers of Port-Royal.*] ' It is the custom of the cardinals assembled to ' chuse a Pope, to make amongst themselves certain ' laws which they judge useful to the church, and to ' oblige themselves by oath to keep them, in case they ' should be promoted to the sovereign pontificate. This ' custom was observed before the election of Pope ' Paul II, and amongst other things it was determined, ' that it should never be inserted in the bulls and decrees ' that any ordinance had been made by the advice of ' the cardinals, unless in truth it had been examined and ' consented to by them: *Nil in diplomatibus factum* ' *dicere ex fratrum consilio, quod ad verum consulentibus* ' *iis decretum non effet*, says the cardinal James di Pavia, ' *Commen.* 2. (20). Nothing could be more lawful ' than this decree, since it only obliged them not to tell ' a lie. So, Peter, cardinal de St Mark, a Venetian, ' having been chosen in this conclave, and having taken the name of Paul II, confirmed as Pope what he ' had sworn as cardinal; adding that he would have ' observed these regulations, tho' he had not been obliged thereto by a vow and solemn oath. Nevertheless, as the mind of man is naturally bent to disengage itself as much as possible from all manner of restraint, and to look upon laws as a troublesome slavery, from which it is convenient to free one's self, ' this Pope gave ear a little while after to some ambitious and flattering prelates, who told him he was not ' tied down to all those regulations that limited the ' papal power, which ought not to be bounded by ' any laws: so that far, from observing what he had ' sworn, he resolved to oblige the cardinals to sign ' the bulls and decrees, without giving them any information about them. This proceeding seemed very ' harsh and odious to the sacred college, who were all ' persuaded that the Pope could not dispense with keeping a promise so solemn and so lawful: and therefore ' their inclination and opinion was, that they should absolutely refuse the subscriptions which the Pope demanded of them. But it evidently appeared on this ' occasion, that the constancy necessary to oppose a ' superior so powerful, and who has so many ways of ' doing hurt, is not a very common virtue: and that ' as there is nothing more easy and more usual than ' that obedience, which complies with all the inclinations of superiors, whatever they be, so there is nothing more difficult and more rare than that holy ' disobedience, which leads one to oppose them in ' things unjust and unreasonable. *The cardinals*, says ' James di Pavia, *were forced to sign briefs which they* ' *had not read, some by flatteries and some by menaces: and* ' *the violence of Pope Paul was so great, that cardinal* ' *Bessarion running out of his chamber that he might not* ' *sign a decree which he had not seen, the Pope stopped him* ' *with his hand, and threatened to excommunicate him un-* ' *less he signed it*, which he did at last, not having ' courage enough to withstand so powerful an authority, ' tho' in a visible piece of injustice. Those cardinals, ' who had more honour and conscience, made likewise ' more resistance to this order of the Pope; and cardinal di Pavia, who had a great deal, at first was not ' contented with refusing to obey it, but moreover ' wrote to the Pope a letter, wherein he took the ' freedom to represent to him the obligation he was ' under to keep the oath he had made, and how unjust the subscriptions were which he would exact of ' them. But at length he was overcome like the rest ' and carried away by the torrent of cowardice: and ' there was but one in the whole sacred college, which ' was cardinal Carvial (21), that had resolution enough ' to hold out to the end, and to remain firm in refusing ' to subscribe those decrees. This is what cardinal ' James di Pavia himself represents, confessing his own ' weakness with much humility, and extolling on ' the contrary, the Christian generosity of cardinal ' Carvial, a Spaniard by nation. ' *We all subscribed*, ' says he in his 182d letter, *some thro' the desire of ob-* ' *taining what we wished for, and some thro' the fear* ' *of being always exposed to the effects of his holiness's in-* ' *dignation. It is true we have been cowardly and too* ' *much wedded to ourselves. We have regarded, not the* ' *interests of God, but the flesh and the good things of this* ' *life. No body however approved the proceeding of the* ' *Pope. But there was none except cardinal John Car-* ' *vial, far advanced in years and illustrious by his merits,* ' *who acquired on this occasion the glory of being constant.* ' *He excused himself from consenting to this infamy, and* ' *could not be diverted from his resolution by all the art-* ' *ful sollicitations of the Pope, who pressed him to it;* ' *telling, in answer to all the motives that were used* ' *with him, that it must not be expected he would aban-* ' *don justice in his old-age, which he had never aban-* ' *doned in his youth. I shall give you, said he to the Pope,* ' *no trouble about those laws, but allow me to have a re-* ' *gard to my own conscience and honour.* Which made ' cardinal di Pavia conclude that this person was wor- ' thy, not only to sit amongst them as cardinal, but ' to preside over them as Pope: VIR *profecto dignus,* ' *non qui nobiscum sedeat, sed qui præsideat ad consilium* ' *Sedis Romanæ* (22).'

(20) *Those words are in the second book of* Jacobi Cardinalis Papiensis Commentarii, *pag.* 371, *of the Francfort edition* 1614.

(21) It should be *Carvagial.*

(22) Les Imaginaires, *Letter IX, pag.* 180, *& seq. Edit. of Cologne* 1683, *in* 8vo. Note, *that the anonymous author, (I believe it is Father* Quesnel) *who published in* 1704 *a book intituled,* Sincere Advices to the Catholics of the United Provinces upon the decree of the Inquisition of Rome against the Archbishop of Sebaste Vicar Apostolic, *has recited this long passage of the* Imaginaires, *pag.* 95, *& seq.*

I am surprised that such a fact should escape so many Protestant authors, who have collected together the wicked actions of Popes.

(23) In the remark [C].

[F] *Paul II died of an apoplexy.*] The complaint against the Protestants, as to what they say concerning the cause of his death, is not rightly represented in Moreri; for there it is supposed *they say, that he was strangled by a man who found him with his wife.* We have seen above (23), that they ascribe this execution to the Devil. It is very certain, no body saw him die (24). Platina thinks he died of an Apoplexy, occasioned by his having eat two large melons. ' Bibacissimus quidem erat: sed vina admodum parva & ' diluta bibebat. Peponum esu, cancrorum, pastillo-

(24) Apoplexia solus in cubiculo nemine vidente, secunda noctis hora moritur. *Genebr. Chron. lib. IV, pag. m.* 701, *& Carranza, in Summa Concilior. pag. m.* 879.

' rum,

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' rum, piſcium, ſuccidiæ admodum delectabatur, qui-
' bus ex rebus ortam crediderim apoplexiam illam, qua
' e vita ſublatus eſt, nam duos pepones & quidem
' prægrandes comederet eo die quo ſequenti nocte mor-
(25) Platina, in Paulo II, *fol.* 362, *verſo.* ' tuus eſt (25). - - - - - *He was indeed a great drinker:*
' *but the wine he drank was very ſmall and mixed with*
' *water. He loved extremely to eat melons, crabs, pa-*
' *ſtils, fiſh, and bacon, whence I ſuppoſe proceded the*
' *Apoplexy which carried him off, for he had eat two*
' *very large melons that day, when he died the night fol-*
' *lowing.*' This Hiſtorian ſays elſewhere, that he be-
lieves the Apoplexy was cauſed by the weight of
jewels, wherewith the Pope loved to load his head.
' Qui (*Leo IV Imperator*) adeo gemmis delectatus eſt, ut
' direpto ſacrario S. Sophiæ coronam magni ponderis
' ac precii ſibi conſtituerit, qua quidem ita frequenter
' utebatur, ut aut propter pondus, aut ob frigiditatem
' lapillorum ſubito morbo correptus ſit. Idem quoque
' accidiſſe noſtra ætate Paulo II putaverim, quod adeo
' his muliebribus delinimentis delectatus eſt, conquiſitis
' undique magno precio gemmis, & exhauſto pene Ec-
' cleſiæ Romanæ ærario ut quotieſcunque in publicum
' prodiret, Cybele quædam phrigia ac turrita, non mi-
' trata videretur. Hinc ego ortam tum ſudore præpin-
' guis corporis, tum gemmarum pondere apoplexiam
' illam puto, qua correptus ſubito morbo interiit (26).
(26) Idem, in Adriano I, *folio* 125, *verſo.* ' - - - *The emperor Leo IV, was ſo delighted with jewels,*
' *that having robbed the ſacriſty of St Sophia, he made*
' *himſelf a crown of great weight and value, which he*
' *wore ſo frequently, that, either becauſe of the weight*
' *or coldneſs of the gems, he was ſeized with a ſudden*
' *illneſs. The ſame I ſuppoſe happened in our time to*
' *Paul II, becauſe he was ſo pleaſed with theſe effeminate*
' *toys, having purchaſed jewels every where at a great*
' *price, and almoſt exhauſted the treaſury of the Roman*
' *church, that whenever he appeared in public, he ſeem-*
' *ed to be ſome Phrygian Cybele with a tower on his head,*
' *and not a mitre. And therefore I am apt to think,*
' *that the Apoplexy whereof he died ſuddenly, might pro-*
' *ceed both from the ſweating of his exceeding fat body,*
' *and from the weight of the jewels.*'

PAUL (FATHER) a religious Servite, and Divine of the republic of Venice. See SARPI [§ *a*].

[(§ *a*) The author had promiſed to give the article of the celebrated Father PAUL, under the name SARPI: But he could not be as good as his word for a reaſon, which he gives in the body of the article PEIRESC. REM. CRIT.]

PAULICIANS. Thus were the Manichees in Armenia called, when one Paul became their head in the VIIth century. ' They arrived at ſo great a power †, either
† Cedrenus, Tom. ii, pag. 480. ' by the weakneſs of the government, or by the protection of the Saracens, or even by
' the favour of the emperor Nicephorus, who favoured that ſect very much, that at
' laſt, being perſecuted by the empreſs Theodora, the wife of Baſil ‡, they were in a
‡ Ibid. *pag.* 541. ' condition to build towns, and to take up arms againſt their princes. Thoſe wars were
' long and bloody under the empire of Baſil the Macedonian, that is, at the end of the
(*a*) Biſhop of Meaux, in his Hiſt. of Variations, *book xi, num.* 13, *pag. m.* 128. ' IXth century (*a*).' And yet there was ſo great a ſlaughter of thoſe Heretics under the empreſs Theodora [*A*], that it ſeemed they would never be able to riſe again. It is thought that the preachers whom they ſent into Bulgaria [*B*], ſettled there the Manichean Hereſy, and that *from thence it ſpread it ſelf ſoon after into the other parts of Europe* (*b*). They condemned the worſhip of ſaints, and the images of the croſs [*C*]; but this was not their principal character. Their fundamental doctrine, was that of two co-eternal principles, and independent one upon another. This doctrine at firſt hearing creates horror, and conſequently it is ſtrange, that the Manichean ſect could ſeduce ſo great a part of the world [*D*]. But on the other ſide, it is ſo difficult to anſwer

(*b*) Ibid. *num.* 16, *pag.* 131.

[*A*] *There was ſo great a ſlaughter of theſe Heretics under the empreſs Theodora.*] There is mention made of it in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary (1). Father Maimbourg is cited there, whoſe words are theſe,
(1) Under the word *Paulicians.* ' Theodora . . . .reſolved effectually to bring about the
' converſion of thoſe Paulicians, or to rid the empire
' of them, if they obſtinately oppoſed their true hap-
' pineſs. . . . . It is true that thoſe to whom ſhe gave a
' commiſſion and forces to compaſs this deſign, uſed
' them with too much rigour and cruelty; for inſtead
' of endeavouring to bring them at firſt by mild and
' gentle ways, and with a charitable diſpoſition, to the
' knowledge of the truth, they ſeized thoſe wretched
' people, that were ſcattered in the cities and boroughs,
' and, as is ſaid, they killed near a hundred thouſand
' of them all over Aſia, by all kinds of deaths, which
' obliged all the reſt to go and yield themſelves up to
' the Saracens, who knew very well how to make uſe
' of them ſome time after againſt the Greeks. But the
(2) Maimbourg's Hiſt. of the Iconoclaſts, *book vi, pag.* 263, *Holl. Edit. ad ann.* 845. ' empreſs who had no hand in this inhumanity of her
' lieutenants, did nevertheleſs reap this advantage from
' it, that the empire at leaſt was purged from this ver-
' mine, during her reign of fourteen years(2).' Theſe ways of converting are altogether Mahometan and confirm what I have ſaid elſewhere (3), that the Chriſtians, have been infinitely more cruel than the followers of Mahomet, againſt thoſe who were not of their religion.
(3) In the article MAHOMET, remarks [*O*], and [*A A*].

[*B*] *The preachers which they ſent into Bulgaria.*] Petrus Siculus who was ſent by the emperor Baſil, the Macedonian ' to Tibrica in Armenia, one of the
(4) Biſhop of Meaux, Hiſt. of the Variations, *lib. xi, num.* 14. ' places of theſe Heretics, to treat with them about the
' exchange of priſoners. . . . (5) diſcovered during the
' time of his embaſſy, that it had been reſolved in the
' council of the Paulicians, to ſend ſome preachers of
(5) Ib. *num.* 16. ' their ſect into Bulgaria, to ſeduce the people that were
' newly converted. Thrace bordering upon this pro-
' vince, had been for a long time infected with this
' Hereſy: and therefore there was but too much reaſon
' to fear for the Bulgarians, if the Paulicians, who
' were the moſt cunning of the Manichees, ſhould at-
' tempt to ſeduce them; and this obliged Petrus Sicu-
' lus, to addreſs to their archbiſhop the book we have
' mentioned (6), that he might fore-arm them againſt
(6) It is a book whoſe title is *Hiſtoria de Manichæis.* Rader-rus tranſlated it out of Greek into Latin, and publiſhed it at Ingolſtad with notes, in 1604, in 4to. ' ſuch dangerous Heretics. But in ſpite of all his care,
' it is certain, that the Manichean Hereſy took deep
' root in Bulgaria.

[*C*] *They condemned the worſhip of ſaints, and the images of the croſs.*] ' Petrus Siculus relates, that a Ma-
' nichean woman ſeduced an ignorant layman called
' Sergius, by telling him the Catholics honoured ſaints
' as deities, and that it was for this reaſon, that the
' laity were hindred from reading the holy Scripture,
' for fear they ſhould diſcover ſeveral ſuch like errors (7).
(7) Hiſt. of the Variations, *ibid.* num. 15. See what has been cited from Maimbourg in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

[*D*] *It is ſtrange that the Manichean ſect could ſeduce ſo great a part of the world.*] We have ſeen elſewhere (8) with what earneſtneſs Pope Leo admoniſhes all the biſhops, that they ſhould not ſuffer thoſe Heretics condemned to baniſhment by the Imperial laws, to find any place of refuge. Yet this Hereſy ſupported itſelf, and it became neceſſary to perſecute it with laws much more ſevere, and to condemn to death all thoſe who ſhould make profeſſion of it; nevertheleſs *it continued and ſpread. The emperor Anaſtaſius, and Theodora, the wife of Juſtinian, favoured it. The followers of it appear under the children of Heraclius, that is in the VIIth century in Armenia* (9). We have already ſpoken of the great progreſs it made there. We have ſeen that the maſſacre of 100,000 Paulicians did not hinder the
(8) In the article MANICHEES, remark [*E*].
(9) Hiſt. of the Variations, *ibid.* num. 13.

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anſwer their objections, about the origin of evil [E], that we muſt not wonder that the hypotheſis

ſpreading of it in Thrace and Bulgaria. It infected afterwards great numbers of perſons in ſeveral provinces of France. Conſult the biſhop of Meaux (10). Lambert Danæus obſerves, that it made a great devaſtation in Perſia, Syria, and Meſopotamia, under the emperor Anaſtaſius, and in Sicily under Pope Gregory the Great. 'Romam ipſam occupavit hæc hæreſis, unde tamen 'expulſa eſt à Leone Pontifice Romano circa annum à 'Chriſto paſſo 414. In Arabia tamen, Perſide, & 'Ægypto maximè viguit patuitque, unde poſtea Ma'hometiſmus tanquam ex ſerpentis viperæque uvo enatus '& excluſus. Diutiſſimè etiam ſubſtitit. Nam & Anaſtaſii 'Imperatoris temporibus adhuc in Perſide; Meſopo'tamia, & Syria graſſabatur apertè: & Gregorii Mag'ni Pontificatu in Sicilia, id eſt, annos poſt Manetem 'mortuum plus quàm 340 ut apparet ex Gregorii E'piſt. 6. lib. 4. & P. Diaconi lib 15. Hiſtoria, ubi 'Indaganam eorum Epiſcopum commemorat (11). - - -

(10) Hiſt. of the Variat. *lib. xi.*

(11) Lambert. Danæus, Notis in Auguſtin. de Hæreſib. *cap. xlvi, fol. m. 119, verſo.*

'*This Hereſy infected Rome itſelf; however, it was expelled from thence by Pope Leo about the year 414. But in Arabia, Perſia, and Ægypt, it flouriſhed and ſpread mightily, from which, as from a ſerpent's or viper's egg, Mahometiſm afterwards was hatched. It likewiſe ſubſiſted a very long time. For under the emperor Anaſtaſius it yet openly prevailed in Perſia, Meſopotamia, and Syria, and in the pontificate of Gregory the Great in Sicily, that is, above 340 years after the death of Manes, as appears from Pope Gregory's Epiſt. and P. Diaconus's hiſtory, where he mentions Indagana their biſhop.*' I dare not affirm, that it ſpread into the provinces of the Eaſt, where we find the doctrine of two principles among ſome Infidel nations; for they might have received it by other means than by the Manichees. I approve the thought of Lewis Thomaſſin. *The relations that are often given us of Aſia, diſcover that there are ſtill,* ſays he (12), *ſome Manichees at this day, beyond the bounds of the ancient Roman empire. I cannot very poſitively affirm, that they are the remainder, or the poſterity, of thoſe who were ſo often baniſhed from the whole Roman empire, and who retired into the neighbouring provinces. There is in this ſome probability, but not the ſame certainty, as when we ſaid the ſame thing of the Arians, Neſtorians, and Eutychians. Theſe are truly Heretics, who could not have their original but from the Catholic church in their time, whoſe bowels they tore to go out of it. But the Manichees originally came from the Eaſt, as deſcending from the ancient idolaters, who admitted alſo two firſt principles, one of good the other of evil, as you may read in Plutarch, and ſeveral other profane Hiſtorians.*

(12) Thomaſſin, Of the Unity of the Church, *Tom. i, Part ii, chap. ix, pag.* 378.

[E] *It is ſo difficult to anſwer the objections of the Manichees about the origin of evil.*] I have prepared my readers (13) to ſee here three obſervations which I ſhould have placed in the article of the Manichees, but that I had a mind to avoid prolixity in that place. Let us now perform our promiſe, and not fruſtrate the expectation of thoſe who have a mind to go after our reference. I ſhall place below by themſelves (14), the ſecond and third obſervation: but here follows the firſt.

(13) In the article MANICHEES, citation (61).

(14) In the remarks [G] and [H].

The Fathers of the church, who have ſo well refuted the Marcionites, the Manichees, and in general all thoſe who admitted two principles, have not well anſwered the objections which relate to the origin of evil. They ſhould have abandoned all the reaſons *à priori*, as the outworks of a place, which may be inſulted, and cannot be maintained; they ſhould have contented themſelves with reaſons *à poſteriori*, and placed all their forces behind this entrenchment. The Old and New Teſtament are two parts of revelation, which mutually confirm one another; ſince therefore theſe Heretics acknowledged the Divine authority of the New, it was no difficult matter to prove to them the Divine authority of the Old, after which it was eaſy to deſtroy their objections by ſhewing that they are contrary to experience. According to Scripture there is but one good principle, and yet moral and phyſical evil have been introduced among mankind: it is not therefore contrary to the nature of a good principle, to permit the introduction of moral evil, and to puniſh crimes; for it is not more evident, that four and four are eight, than it is evident that if a thing come to paſs, it is poſſible. *Ab actu ad potentiam valet conſequentia. - - - From fact to poſſibility the conſequence is good,* is one of the cleareſt and moſt uncontetable axioms in Metaphyſics (15). This is an impregnable rampart, and this is ſufficient to render the cauſe of the orthodox victorious, altho' their reaſons *à priori* may be refuted. But may they be ſo, will ſome ſay? I will anſwer, yes; the manner of introducing evil, under the empire of a ſovereign being, infinitely good, infinitely holy, and infinitely powerful, is not only inexplicable but incomprehenſible; and all that is objected againſt the reaſons why this being has permitted evil, is more agreeable to natural light, and the ideas we have of order, than theſe reaſons are. Let us conſider well this paſſage of Lactantius, which contains an anſwer to an objection of Epicurus. 'Deus, inquit *Epicurus*, aut vult tollere 'mala, & non poteſt; aut poteſt, & non vult; aut ne'que vult, neque poteſt; aut & vult & poteſt. Si 'vult, & non poteſt, imbecillis eſt, quod in Deum 'non cadit. Si poteſt & non vult, invidus, quod æque 'alienum à Deo. Si neque vult neque poteſt, & in'vidus & imbecillis eſt; ideoque neque Deus. Si 'vult & poteſt, quod ſolum Deo convenit, unde er'go ſunt mala? aut cur illa non tollit? Scio pleroſque 'Philoſophorum, qui providentiam defendunt, hoc ar'gumento perturbari ſolere, & invitos pene adigi, ut 'Deum nihil curare fateantur, quod maxime quærit 'Epicurus. Sed nos ratione perſpecta, formidoloſum 'hoc argumentum facile diſſolvimus. Deus enim po'teſt, quicquid velit; & imbecillitas, vel invidia in 'Deo nulla eſt: poteſt igitur mala tollere, ſed non 'vult; nec ideo tamen invidus eſt. Idcirco enim non 'tollit, quia & ſapientiam (ſicut docui) ſimul tribuit, '& plus boni, ac jucunditatis in ſapientia, quam in 'malis moleſtiæ. Sapientia etiam facit, ut etiam Deum 'cognoſcamus, & per eam cognitionem immortalita'tem aſſequamur, quod eſt ſummum bonum. Itaque 'niſi prius malum agnoverimus, nec bonum poterimus 'agnoſcere. Sed hoc non vidit Epicurus, nec alius 'quiſquam; ſi tollantur mala, tolli pariter ſapien'tiam; nec ulla in homine virtutis remanere veſtigia; 'cujus ratio ſuſtinenda & ſuperanda malorum acerbi'tate conſiſtit. Itaque propter exiguum compendium 'ſublatorum malorum maximo, & vero, & proprio 'nobis bono careremus. Conſtat igitur, omnia prop'ter hominem propoſita, tam mala, quam etiam bona '(16). - - - - *God, ſays Epicurus, is either willing to re*'*move evil, and is not able: or he is able, and not wil*'*ling: or he is neither willing, nor able: or elſe he is* 'both willing and able. *If he is willing and not able,* 'he muſt then be weak, *which cannot be affirmed of God.* 'If he is able and not willing, he muſt be envious, 'which is likewiſe contrary to the nature of God. If 'he is neither willing nor able, he muſt be both envious 'and weak, and conſequently not God. If he is both 'willing and able, which only can agree with the no'tion of God, whence then proceeds evil? Or, why does 'he not remove it? I know, that the greateſt part of Phi'loſophers, who aſſert a providence, are commonly embar'raſſed with this argument, and almoſt forced againſt 'their will to acknowledge that God does not concern 'himſelf with the adminiſtration of the world, which is 'the very thing that Epicurus drives at. But we ea'ſily overthrow this formidable argument by clear reaſon. 'For God can do whatever he pleaſes, and there is no 'weakneſs or envy in him: conſequently, he is able to 'remove evil but is not willing, and yet for all that, is 'not envious. He does not remove evil for this reaſon, be'cauſe withal (as I have ſhewn) he beſtows wiſdom, 'and there is more good and ſatisfaction in wiſdom, than 'there is painfulneſs in evil. By wiſdom likewiſe we 'come to know God, and by that knowledge attain to im'mortality, which is the chief good. And therefore un'leſs we firſt know evil, we ſhall not be able 'to know good. But neither Epicurus nor any other 'has obſerved this: if evil be removed, wiſdom muſt 'alſo be removed; no trace of virtue will remain; be'cauſe virtue conſiſts in bearing with and overcoming 'the ſharpneſs of evil. And ſo, for the ſmall advan'tage of the removal of evil, we ſhould be deprived of 'the greateſt, the moſt real, and proper good. It is evi'dent therefore, that all things, evil as well as good, 'were intended for the benefit of mankind.'

(16) Lactant. de Ira Dei, *cap. xiii, pag. m.* 548.

The whole ſtrength of the objection could not be more ſincerely repreſented; Epicurus himſelf could not have propoſed it with greater clearneſs and ſtrength. See the margin (17). But the anſwer of Lactantius is pitiful, and it is not only weak, but full of errors, and perhaps of Hereſies. It ſuppoſes that God muſt produce evil, becauſe otherwiſe he would not be able to communicate to us either wiſdom or virtue, or the knowledge

(17) Note, that this objection of Epicurus does not concern moral evil, and if it did, it would yet be more difficult to be anſwered.

(15) See, above, the article MANICHEES, remark [D], citation (59).

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hypotheſis of two principles, the one good and the other bad, ſhould have dazzled the

ledge of what is good. Can any thing be ſhown more monſtrous than this doctrine? Does it not overthrow all that Divines tell us about the happineſs of Paradiſe, and the ſtate of innocence? they tell us that Adam and Eve in this happy ſtate felt, without any mixture of uneaſineſs, all the pleaſures, which that delicious and charming place, the garden of Eden, where God placed them, could afford them. They add, that if they had not ſinned, they and all their poſterity ſhould have enjoyed this happineſs, without being ſubject either to diſeaſes or ſorrows, and that neither the elements nor animals, had ever done them any harm. It was their ſin that expoſed them to cold and heat, to hunger and thirſt, to pain and ſorrow, and to the miſchiefs which certain beaſts do us. So far is it from being true, that virtue and wiſdom cannot ſubſiſt in a man without phyſical evil, as Lactantius affirms, that, on the contrary, it muſt be maintained, that man has been ſubject to this evil; only becauſe he renounced virtue and wiſdom. If the doctrine of Lactantius were good, we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the good angels are ſubject to a thouſand inconveniencies, and that the ſouls of the bleſſed do alternately paſs from joy to ſorrow; ſo that in the manſions of glory, and in the boſom of the beatific viſion, none are ſecured from adverſity. Nothing is more contrary to the unanimous ſentiment of Divines, and to right reaſon, than this doctrine. It is even true in ſound Philoſophy, that it is no wiſe neceſſary, that our ſoul ſhould feel evil, to the end it may reliſh what is good, and that it ſhould paſs ſucceſſively from pleaſure to pain, and from pain to pleaſure, that it may be able to diſcern that pain is an evil, and that pleaſure is a good thing. And thus Lactantius does not leſs oppoſe the light of nature, than the opinions of Divines. We know by experience, that our ſoul cannot feel at one and the ſame time both pleaſure and pain; it muſt therefore at firſt either have felt pain before pleaſure, or pleaſure before pain. If it's firſt ſenſation was that of pleaſure it found that ſtate to be agreeable, tho' it was ignorant of pain; and if it's firſt ſenſation was that of pain, it found that ſtate to be uneaſy, although it was ignorant of pleaſure. Suppoſe then that it's firſt ſenſation laſted ſeveral years without interruption, you may conceive that during that time it was in an eaſy condition, or in one that was uneaſy. And do not alledge to me experience; do not tell me, that a pleaſure which laſts long becomes inſipid, and that pain in time becomes ſupportable; for I will anſwer you that this proceeds from a change in the organ, which makes that ſenſation which continues the ſame, as to kind, to be different as to degree. If you have had at firſt a ſenſation of ſix degrees, it will not continue of ſix to the end of two hours, or to the end of a year but only of one degree, or of one fourth part of a degree. Thus cuſtom blunts the edge of our ſenſations; their degrees correſpond to the concuſſions of the parts of the brain, and this concuſſion is weakened by frequent repetitions, from whence it comes to paſs that the degrees of ſenſation are diminiſhed. But if pain or joy were communicated to us in the ſame degree ſucceſſively for a hundred years, we ſhould be as unhappy or as happy the hundredth year as the firſt day; which plainly proves that a creature may be happy with a continued good, or unhappy with a continued evil; and that the alternative, which Lactantius ſpeaks of, is a bad ſolution of the difficulty. It is not founded upon the nature of good and evil, nor upon the nature of the ſubject which receives them, nor upon the nature of the cauſe which produces them. Pleaſure and pain are no leſs proper to be communicated the ſecond moment than the firſt, and the third moment than the ſecond, and ſo of all the reſt. Our ſoul is alſo as ſuſceptible of them after it has felt them one moment, as it was before it felt them, and God who gives them is no leſs capable of producing them the ſecond time than the firſt. This is what we learn from the natural idea's we have of theſe objects. Chriſtian Theology confirms this invincibly, ſince it teaches us, that the torments of the damned ſhall be eternal and continued, and as ſharp at the end of an hundred thouſand years as the firſt day; and that on the contrary the pleaſures of Paradiſe ſhall laſt eternally and continually, without ever abating. I would gladly know whether, ſuppoſing a thing which is very eaſy, that there were two ſuns in the world, whereof one ſhould riſe when the other ſets, we muſt not conclude that darkneſs would be unknown to mankind. According to this fine Philoſophy of Lactantius, we muſt alſo conclude, that a man could not know the light, that he would not know it is day, and that he ſees the objects before him, *&c.* See the margin (18).

(18) I ſhall cite hereafter, in remark [G] a paſſage of Plutarch, which may be applied againſt the anſwers of Lactantius.

What I have juſt now ſaid, proves invincibly, I think, that there is no advantage to be gained againſt our Paulicians, by repreſenting to them, that God has mingled good and evil, only becauſe he foreſaw that a pure and unmixed good would ſeem to us inſipid in a little time. They will anſwer, that this property is not contained in the idea we have of a good thing, and that it is directly contrary to the common doctrine about the happineſs of Paradiſe. And as to the experience which teaches us but too much; 1. That the joys of this life are not felt, but in proportion as they deliver us from a troubleſome ſtate. 2. That they draw after them diſguſt, when they have continued a little while: they will maintain, that this phænomenon is inexplicable, unleſs we have recourſe to the hypotheſis of two principles. For if we depend, will they ſay, only upon one cauſe, Almighty, infinitely good, and infinitely free, and which diſpoſes univerſally of all beings, according to the good pleaſure of his own will, we ought not to feel any evil, all our good ought to be pure, and we ought never to have the leaſt diſguſt. The author of our being, if he is infinitely beneficent, ought to take a continual pleaſure in making us happy, and preventing every thing that may diſturb or diminiſh our joy: for it is a character eſſentially contained in the idea of ſupream goodneſs. The fibres of our brain, cannot be the cauſe that God weakens our pleaſures; for acording to you, he is the only author of matter; he is Almighty, and nothing can hinder him from acting according to the full extent of his infinite goodneſs; he needs only will, that our pleaſures ſhould not depend upon the fibres of our brain; and if he wills that they ſhould depend upon them, he can preſerve theſe fibres eternally in the ſame ſtate; he needs only to will either that they ſhould not wear out at all, or that the damage they ſuffer ſhould be quickly repaired. You cannot therefore explain what we experience, but by the hypotheſis of two principles. If we feel pleaſure, it is the good principle that gives it to us; but if we do not feel it perfectly pure, and if we are quickly diſguſted with it, it is becauſe there is an ill principle that thwarts the good. The latter, to be even with him, makes our pains leſs grievous by cuſtom, and gives us always ſome hopes in the greateſt evils. This, and the good uſe that is often made of adverſity, and the bad uſe that is often made of proſperity, are phænomena which are admirably explained, according to the Manichean hypotheſis. Theſe are things which lead us to ſuppoſe, that the two principles made an agreement which reciprocally limits their operations (19). The good principle cannot do us all the good he deſires: it was neceſſary that in order to do us a great deal of good, he ſhould conſent, that his adverſary ſhould do us as much evil; for without this conſent the chaos would ſtill have remained a chaos, and no creature would ever have felt what is good. Thus ſupreme goodneſs finding it a better way for it's own ſatisfaction, to ſee the world ſometimes happy, and ſometimes miſerable, than never to ſee it happy, made an agreement which produced the mixture of good and evil we now ſee in mankind. By aſcribing to your principle an almighty power, and the glory of enjoying eternity alone, you have deprived him of an attribute which goes before all the reſt; for *optimus*, the beſt, precedes always *maximus* the greateſt, in the ſtile of the moſt learned nations, when they ſpeak of God. You ſuppoſe, that having nothing to hinder him from loading his creatures with good things, he oppreſſes them with evils; and if any of them be advanced, it is that their fall may be the greater (20). We clear him from any guilt in all this matter, we explain without impeaching his goodneſs, all that can be ſaid of the inconſtancy of fortune, the jealouſy of Nemeſis, and the continual ſport which Æſop makes the employment of God: he exalts things, ſays Æſop, that are low, and abaſes things that are high (21). He could obtain no more, ſay we, from his adverſary: his goodneſs extended as far as it could; if he does us no more good, it is becauſe he cannot; we have no reaſon therefore to complain.

ONE may feel one of the contraries without having ever felt the other.

WHY cuſtom blunts the ſenſation.

(19) In the remark [I].

(20) Tollantur in altum ut lapſu graviore ruant. *Claudian. in Rufinum. lib. 1. circa init.*

(21) See the article ÆSOP, remark [I].

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the eyes of ſeveral antient Philoſophers, and found ſo many followers in Chriſtendom, where

Who will not admire and deplore the fate of our reaſon? Behold here the Manichees, who with an hypotheſis altogether abſurd and contradictory, explain what we experience, an hundred times better than the orthodox do, with a ſuppoſition ſo juſt, ſo neceſſary, and ſo ſingularly true of one firſt principle, which is infinitely good and almighty.

Let us ſhow, by another example, the little ſucceſs of the Fathers in their diſputes againſt theſe Heretics, with reſpect to the origin of evil. Here follows a paſſage of St Baſil: 'At neque à Deo ipſum malum 'profluxiſſe, pium eſt dicere: propterea quod nihil con- 'trariorum à contrario ſuo gignitur . . . at ſi nec in- 'genitum, inquies, ipſum malum nec à Deo profluxit, 'unde naturam ſortitur? Nam mala eſſe nemo parti- 'ceps vitæ contradixerit. Quid igitur eſt dicendum: 'nempe malum non eſſentiam viventem animaque præ- 'ditam eſſe; ſed affectionem animæ, virtuti contra- 'riam, deſidioſis ac inertibus, propterea quòd à bono 'deciderunt, inditam. Noli itaque malum forinſecus 'circumſpicere, atque inquirere, neque quandam natu- 'ram Principem malignitatis imaginare, ſed malitiæ 'quiſque ſuæ ſeipſum Autorem agnoſcat. Nam ſem- 'per ea, quæ nobis eveniunt, partim è natura profi- 'ciſcuntur, ut ſenectus, ut infirmitas: partim ſuâ 'ſponte proveniunt, quales ſunt caſus inopini alienis 'principiis accidentes . . . partim verò in nobis ipſis 'ſunt collocata, ut cupiditates ſpernere, aut volup- 'tatibus modum non ponere, continere iram, aut ma- 'nus injicere in eum qui injuriâ laceſſivit, vera dicere 'aut falſa, manſuetum moribus eſſe ac moderatum, 'aut faſtu ſuperbum arrogantiaque elatum. Quorum 'itaque tute Dominus es, horum principia non aliunde 'quærere velis, ſed quod propriè malum eſt, id ab ul- 'tronea & voluntaria electione ſumpſiſſe principium 'ſcito, &c (22). - - - - *But to ſay that evil proceeded 'not from GOD is a pious aſſertion: for no contrary can 'ariſe from it's contrary. . . . . But if evil be not (you 'will ſay) innate, nor proceed from GOD, whence has 'it it's origin? For that evil does exiſt, no man living 'will deny. What then muſt be ſaid? I anſwer, that 'evil is not a living eſſence, and endued with ſoul; but 'a quality of the ſoul, contrary to virtue; planted in 'the ſlothful and lazy, becauſe they have fallen from 'good. Do not therefore look about, and enquire abroad 'for evil, nor imagine a firſt principle of malignity, but 'let every one acknowledge himſelf the author of his own 'wickedneſs. For thoſe things that happen to us, partly 'proceed from nature, as old age, and infirmity: partly 'come of themſelves, as ſudden accidents from external 'cauſes . . . but partly we are within our own power, 'as to mortify our deſires, to moderate our pleaſures, to 'govern paſſion, or to lay hands on him that has done us an 'injury, to ſpeak truth or untruth, to be of a meek and 'even temper, or to be puffed up with pride and arro- 'gance. Do not therefore ſeek any where elſe for the 'principles of thoſe things, which you are maſter of your- 'ſelf, but know that what is properly evil, takes it's 'riſe from free-will and choice.* The German Divine (23) who relates this paſſage, had reaſon to ſay, that this Father granted to the Marcionites more than he ought; for he will not ſo much as acknowledge, that GOD is the author of natural evil, ſuch as ſickneſs, and old age, and of a hundred things which proceed from external cauſes, and happen ſuddenly. Thus to diſintangle himſelf from a difficulty, he adopts errors, and perhaps even hereſies. But there is another fault in his anſwer; he fanſies he can extricate himſelf from this difficulty, by clearing Providence; provided he affirms, that vices have their original in the ſoul of man. How came he not to perceive, that he ſhuns the difficulty? or that he gives for a ſolution of it the very thing wherein the principal difficulty conſiſts? The pretence of Zoroaſter, Plato, Plutarch, the Marcionites, and Manichees, and, in general, of all thoſe who admit one principle naturally good, and another principle naturally evil, both eternal and independant, is, that without this ſuppoſition, no account can be given how evil came into the world. You anſwer, that it came into the world by man: but how can that be, ſince, according to you, man is the workmanſhip of a being infinitely holy, and infinitely powerful? ought not the work of ſuch a cauſe to be good? Can it be any thing elſe but good? Is it not more impoſſible, that darkneſs ſhould proceed from light, than that the product of ſuch a principle ſhould be bad? There lies the difficulty. St Baſil could not be ignorant of it. Why then does he ſay ſo coldly, that we muſt not ſearch for evil but in the ſoul of man? But who put it there? The man himſelf, by abuſing the grace of his Creator, who being ſovereign goodneſs itſelf, produced him in a ſtate of innocence. If you anſwer thus, you fall into a *Petitio Principii*, begging the queſtion. You diſpute with a Manichee, who maintains, that two contrary Creators concurred to the production of man, and that man received from the good principle, whatever good he has; and from the bad principle, whatever he has of evil; and you anſwer his objections, by ſuppoſing that the Creator of man is one only and infinite good being. Is not this to give your own theſis for an anſwer? It is plain that St Baſil diſputes ill: but as this is a thing that nonpluſſes all Philoſophy, he ſhould have retired into his ſtrong hold, that is, he ſhould have proved, by the word of GOD, that the author of all things is but one, and that he is infinite in goodneſs and all ſorts of perfections; and that man coming out of his hands innocent and good, has loſt his innocence and his goodneſs by his own fault (24). This is the origin of moral and phyſical evil. Let Marcion, and all the Manichees reaſon as much as they pleaſe, to ſhow, that under a Providence infinitely good and holy, this fall of an innocent man could not happen, they argue againſt matter of fact, and conſequently they make themſelves ridiculous I ſuppoſe always, that they are ſuch people as may be reduced by arguments *ad hominem*, to acknowledge the divine authority of the Old Teſtament. For if one had to do with Zoroaſter, or Plutarch, it would be another thing.

That you may ſee it is not without reaſon I urge, that we muſt only oppoſe to theſe ſectaries, this maxim, *Ab actu ad potentiam valet conſequentia; - - - From matter of fact to poſſibility, the conſequence is good:* and this ſhort enthymem, *This has come to paſs, therefore it is not repugnant to the holineſs and goodneſs of GOD*; I obſerve that we cannot join iſſue in this diſpute, upon any other foot, without ſome diſadvantage. The reaſons for the permiſſion of ſin, which are not taken from the myſteries revealed in Scripture, have this defect (25), how good ſoever they be, that they may be oppoſed by other reaſons more ſpecious, and more agreeable to the ideas we have of order. For inſtance, if you ſay that GOD permitted ſin to manifeſt his wiſdom, which ſhines the more brightly by the diſorders which the wickedneſs of men produces every day, than it would have done in a ſtate of innocence; it may be anſwered, that this is to compare the Deity to a father who ſhould ſuffer his children to break their legs on purpoſe to ſhow to all the city his great art in ſetting their broken bones; or to a king who ſhould ſuffer ſeditions and factions to increaſe through all his kingdom, that he might purchaſe the glory of quelling them (26). The conduct of this father and monarch is ſo contrary to the clear and diſtinct ideas, according to which we judge of goodneſs and wiſdom, and in general of the whole duty of a father and a king, that our reaſon cannot conceive how GOD can make uſe of the ſame. But you will ſay, the ways of GOD are not our ways. Keep to that then, this is a text of Scripture (27), and do not reaſon any more (28). Do not any more tell us, that without the fall of the firſt man, the juſtice and mercy of GOD would have remained unknown; for you will be anſwered, that there was nothing more eaſy than to make man know theſe two attributes: the ſole idea of a being infinitely perfect, clearly informs ſinful man, that GOD poſſeſſes all the virtues that are worthy of a nature infinite in all reſpects: how much more would it have informed an innocent man, that GOD is infinitely juſt? But he had never puniſhed any body: by this very thing his juſtice would have been known, this had been a continued act, a perpetual exerciſe of that virtue. None had deſerved to be puniſhed, and conſequently the forbearing of all puniſhment had been an exerciſe of juſtice. I deſire you to anſwer me: there are two princes, whereof one ſuffers his ſubjects to fall into miſery, that he may deliver them, when they have ſufficiently languiſhed under it; and the other preſerves them always in a proſperous ſtate. Is not the latter much better, and more merciful than the other? Thoſe who teach the immaculate conception of the Virgin, prove demonſtratively that GOD poured upon her his mercy,

(22) Baſilius Magnus Hexaëm. Homil. II, apud Tobiam Pfannerum, Syſtem. Theologiæ Gentilis, *cap.* ix, *pag.* m. 253.

(23) Tobias Pfanner, ibid.

(24) See the article MANICHEES, between the citations (58), and (59); and above, the remark [E] of this article.

(25) *To this may be referred what a father of the church ſaid,* Felix culpa quæ talem meruit habere redemptorem. - - - - *Happy fault that procured ſuch a redeemer.*

(26) See in the article CALISTRATES, citations (7), and (8), the words of Seneca.

(27) Iſaiah, ch. lv, ver. 8.

(28) See, below, the remark [M] towards the end.

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where the doctrine which teaches the capital enmity of the devils to the true GOD, is always

mercy, and the benefits of redemption, more than upon other men. One needs not be a Metaphyſician to know this: a plough-man clearly perceives, that it is a much greater goodneſs to hinder a man from falling into a ditch, than to let him fall in, and then take him out an hour after (29); and that it is much better to hinder an aſſaſſin from killing a man, than to break him upon the wheel after he has been permitted to commit the murder. 'Cur omnium crudeliſſimus tam 'diu Cinna regnavit? At dedit pœnas. Prohiberi 'melius fuit, impedirique ne tot ſummos viros inter-'ficeret, quàm ipſum aliquando pœnas dare. Summo 'cruciatu, ſupplicioque Varius homo importuniſſimus 'periit: ſed quia Druſum ferro, Metellum veneno 'ſuſtulerat, illos conſervari meliùs fuit, quam pœnas 'ſceleris Varium pendere (30). - - - - *Why did Cinna, 'the moſt cruel of all mankind, reign ſo long? But he 'ſuffered for it. However, it had been better to pre-'vent the murder of ſo many great men, than that he at 'length ſhould be puniſhed for it. Varius, a moſt odious 'wretch, ſuffered a moſt painful death and puniſhment. 'But as he had diſpatched Druſus with the ſword, 'and Metellus with poiſon, it had been better that 'thoſe had been preſerved, than that he ſhould have ſuf-'fered for his crime.*' All this ſerves to admoniſh us, that we muſt not engage with the Manichees, till we have before all things laid down the doctrine *of the exaltation of faith, and the abaſing of reaſon* (31).

(29) *See* Garaſſe, Somme Theologique, *pag.* 430.

(30) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, *lib. iii, cap. xxxii, xxxiii.*

(31) Amyraldus has wrote a book that bears that title.

Thoſe who ſay that GOD permitted ſin, becauſe he could not hinder it without deſtroying free-will, which he had given to man, and which was the beſt preſent he had made him, venture very much. The reaſon they give is ſpecious, there is in it *I know not what*, which dazzles the eyes, ſomething that appears great: but nevertherleſs it may be oppoſed by ſuch reaſons as are more ſuited to the capacity of all men, and more founded upon good ſenſe, and the ideas of order. Without having read the fine treatiſe of Seneca concerning benefits, any one knows, by the light of nature, that it is eſſential to a benefactor not to beſtow ſuch favours which he knows will be abuſed in ſuch a manner, that they will ſerve only to the ruin of him on whom they are beſtowed. There is no enemy ſo inveterate, who would not upon theſe terms load his enemy with favours. It is eſſential to a benefactor to ſpare nothing to make the perſon happy with his benefits, whom he honours with them. If he could confer on him the knowledge of making good uſe of them, and ſhould refuſe it him, he would very ill ſuſtain the character of a benefactor; neither would he better ſuſtain it, if being able to keep his client from abuſing benefits, he ſhould not hinder him by curing his bad inclinations (32). Theſe are ideas which are known as well to the common people as to the Philoſophers. I confeſs that if one could not prevent the ill uſe of a favour, but by breaking the arms and legs of one's clients, or by ſhackling their feet with irons in a dungeon, one would not be obliged to prevent it; it were better to refuſe them the benefit: but if one can prevent it by changing the heart, and by giving a man a reliſh of good things, one ought to do it: now this is what GOD might eaſily do, if he would. Obſerve well what Cicero ſays, in oppoſition to thoſe, who alledge that it is not the fault of GOD, if men do not uſe aright his favours. 'Huic loco ſic ſoletis occurrere, Non id-'circo non optimè nobis à diis eſſe proviſum, quòd 'multi eorum beneficio perversè uterentur: etiam pa-'trimoniis multos malè uti: nec ob eam cauſam eos 'beneficium à patribus nullum habere. Quis iſtuc ne-'gat? aut quæ eſt in collatione iſta ſimilitudo? nec 'enim Herculi nocere Deianira voluit, cùm ei tunicam, 'ſanguine Centauri tinctam, dedit, nec prodeſſe Phæ-'reo Jaſoni, is qui gladio vomicam ejus aperuit, quam 'ſanare medici non potuerant. MULTI ENIM, 'ETIAM CUM OBESSE VELLENT, PROFUE-'RUNT, ET CUM PRODESSE, OBFUERUNT. 'Ita non fit ex eo, quod datur, ut voluntas ejus; qui 'dederit, appareat: nec, ſi is, qui accepit, bene uti-'tur, idcirco is, qui dedit, amice dedit (33). - - - *To 'this you commonly anſwer, it does not follow that we 'are not very well taken care of by the gods, becauſe many 'abuſe their benefits: for many people make a bad uſe of 'their patrimonies: and yet for all that, they are not 'deprived of their fathers kindneſs. Who denies that? 'or what reſemblance is there in that compariſon? For 'neither did Dejanira intend to hurt Hercules, when ſhe 'gave him the coat, dipped in the Centaur's blood: nor 'did that man deſign to do good to Jaſon, who opened his 'impoſtume with a ſword, which the Phyſicians were 'not able to cure.* FOR MANY PEOPLE, EVEN 'WHEN THEY INTENDED TO HURT, HAVE 'DONE GOOD; AND WHEN THEY INTENDED 'TO DO GOOD, HAVE DONE HURT. *And there-'fore the deſign of him who gives, does not appear by 'that which is given; and tho' he who receives it, 'makes a right uſe of it, yet it does not from thence fol-'low, that he who gave it, gave it as a friend.*' There is no good mother who having given leave to her daughters to go to a ball, but would revoke that leave, if ſhe were ſure that they would yield to enticement, and leave their virginity behind them; and every mother, who knowing that this would certainly come to paſs, ſhould nevertheleſs ſuffer them to go to a ball, being contented with exhorting them to virtue, and threatening them with her diſgrace, if they ſhould not return maids, would at leaſt juſtly bring upon herſelf the blame of neither loving her daughters, nor chaſtity. It would be in vain for her to ſay, in her own juſtification, that ſhe had no mind to reſtrain the liberty of her daughters, nor to ſhow any diſtruſt of them: ſhe would be anſwered, that this management was very prepoſterous, and favoured more of a provoked ſtep-mother, than of a mother; and that it had been better to keep her daughters in her ſight, than to give them the privilege of liberty to ſuch bad purpoſes, and to grant them ſuch marks of her confidence. This diſcovers the raſhneſs of thoſe who aſſign for a reaſon the regard which, they ſay GOD ſhowed to the free will of the firſt man. They had better believe, and be ſilent, than alledge ſuch reaſons as may be refuted by the examples I have juſt now made uſe of. Cotta in Cicero brings ſo many arguments againſt thoſe who ſay, Reaſon is a gift which the Gods beſtowed upon man, that Cicero found himſelf unable to anſwer thoſe difficulties; for if he had been able, he would have refuted them; his academic ſpirit was in it's element, when he could make it appear, that one may diſpute *pro* and *con*, *in infinitum*. Since therefore he has given no anſwer to the reaſons of Cotta, we muſt believe that he could not do it. Yet Cicero was one of the greateſt genius's that ever lived. Cotta having ſhown that reaſon is an accomplice in all crimes, and therefore the gods ſhould have given it us, if they intended to do us a miſchief (34), propoſes to himſelf the common ſolution, which is, that men abuſe the favours of Heaven. *Sed urgetis identidem hominum eſſe iſtam culpam, non deorum . . . in hominum vitiis ais eſſe culpam* (35). He replies that the abuſe ſhould have been prevented, and, that men ſhould have had ſuch a reaſon, as ſhould have driven away whatever is evil; and that thoſe cannot be excuſed who give what they know will prove pernicious. He proves this by ſeveral examples. 'Eam 'dediſſes hominibus rationem, quæ vitia, culpamque 'excluderet. Ubi igitur locus fuit errori Deorum? 'nam patrimonia ſpe bene tradendi relinquimus, qua 'poſſumus falli: Deus falli quî potuit? An ut Sol in 'currum cùm Phaethontem filium ſuſtulit? aut ut 'Neptunus, cùm Theſeus Hippolytum perdidit, cùm 'ter optandi à Neptuno patre habuiſſet poteſtatem? 'Poëtarum iſta ſunt: nos autem philoſophi eſſe vo-'lumus, rerum auctores, non fabularum. Atque ii 'tamen ipſi Dii poëtici ſi ſciſſent pernicioſa fore illa 'filiis, peccaſſe in beneficio putarentur. Et ſi verum 'eſt quod Ariſto Chius dicere ſolebat, Nocere audien-'tibus Philoſophos iſs qui bene dicta male interpreta-'rentur: poſſe enim aſotos ex Ariſtippi, acerbos e Ze-'nonis ſcholâ exire. Prorſus, ſi qui audierunt vitioſi 'eſſent diſceſſuri, quòd perversè philoſophorum diſpu-'tationem interpretarentur; tacere præſtare philoſo-'phis, quàm iis qui ſe audiſſent, nocere. Sic ſi ho-'mines rationem bono conſilio à Diis immortalibus 'datam, in fraudem, malitiamque convertunt, non 'dare illam, quàm dari humano generi melius fuit, 'ut ſi medicus ſciat eum ægrotum, qui juſſus ſit vi-'num ſumere, meracius ſumpturum, ſtatimque peri-'turum, magnâ ſit in culpâ: ſic veſtra iſta proviſden-'tia reprehendenda, quæ rationem dederit iis, quos 'ſcierit eâ perversè & improbè uſuros. Niſi forte di-'citis eam neſciviſſe. Utinam quidem! ſed non aude-'bitis: non enim ignoro quanti ejus nomen putetis (36). - - - *Such*

(32) See concerning all this the remark [*E*] of the article ORIGEN.

(33) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, *lib. iii, ch. xxviii.* Add to this what has been ſaid of the Eutrapelus of Horace in the article of ORIGEN, citation (43).

(34) *Becauſe it was late he feigns that Balbus did not anſwer Cotta, but put it off till another day, which never came.* Quoniam adveſperaſcit dabis diem ſcilicet mihi ſolvendi, ſi quam ut contra iſta dicamus. *Cotta anſwers that he ſuppoſes he were refuted, and hopes it.* Ego vero & opto redargui me, Balbe, & ea quæ diſputari differe malui quam judicare, & facile me à te vinci poſſe certo ſcio. *Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. iii, ſub fin.*

(35) Non ut patrimonium reinquitur, ſic ratio homini eſt beneficio deorum data: quid enim potius hominibus dediſſent ſi iis nocere voluiſſent. *Id. ib. lib. iii, cap. xxviii, xxxi.*

(36) Ibid. cap. xxxi.

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always accompanied with the doctrine, which teaches the rebellion and fall of one part of the good angels. This hypothesis of two principles would probably have made a greater progress, if the particulars of it had been given less grossly, and if it had not been attended with several odious practices (*c*), or if there had been then as many disputes about Predestination, as there are at this day [*F*], in which the Christians accuse one

(*c*) See the remark [*B*] of the article MANICHEES.

'- - - *Such a reason should have been given to men,* 'as might exclude vice and guilt. *Where then was* 'there room for the mistake of the gods? *We leave* 'estates to children in hopes of doing well, in which we 'may be deceived: but could GOD be deceived? *Either,* 'as Phœbus, when he took his son Phaëton up into his 'chariot? *Or, as Neptune, when Theseus destroyed Hip-* 'polytus, after he had obtained the liberty of three wishes 'from his father Neptune? *These are the fictions of Poets:* 'but we desire to be Philosophers, to treat of realities 'and not fables. *And yet these poetical gods would be* 'thought culpable in bestowing those favours, had they 'known they would prove pernicious to their children. 'And if it be true what Aristo, the Chian, used to say, 'that Philosophers did hurt to those, who misinterpreted 'their good sayings: for voluptuous persons might be edu- 'cated in the school of Aristippus, and cruel persons in 'that of Zeno: undoubtedly, if the hearers were to de- 'part vitious, because they misconstrue the discourse of 'Philosophers; it would be better for Philosophers to be 'silent, than to injure those that hear them. So, if 'men turn the reason, which is given with a good in- 'tention by the immortal gods, into fraud and wicked- 'ness, it would be better not to give, than to give it to 'mankind. As a Physician would be much to blame to 'prescribe to a patient the use of wine, if he knew that 'he would drink it unmixed and immediately die: in 'like manner, that providence of your's would be to blame, 'that should give reason to those, who, it knows, would 'wickedly and perversely abuse it. Unless perhaps you 'will say, it does not foresee this. I wish so indeed: 'but you will not dare to say it; for I know what a 'value you put upon that name.' By these reasons it were easy to show, that the free-will of the first man, which was preserved to him sound and entire, in the circumstances wherein he was to make use of it to his own loss, to the ruin of mankind, to the eternal damnation of the greatest part of his posterity, and to the introduction of a terrible deluge of evils, of guilt and punishment, was not a good gift. We shall never understand, that this privilege could be preserved to him by an effect of goodness, and out of love for holiness. Those who say, that it was necessary there should be free Beings, to the end that GOD might be loved with a love of choice (37), are conscious to themselves, that this hypothesis does not satisfy reason; for when it is foreseen, that those free Beings will choose not the love of GOD but sin, one may plainly perceive, that the intended end is defeated, and that therefore it is no wise necessary, that free-will should be preserved. I shall examine this again in the remark [*M*]. See in the margin our rule (38).

(37) See the treatise of Morality of Father Malebranche.

(38) Sancta illa & profunda fidei mysteria non pari passu cum causis naturalibus ambulant, eoque rectius illa & creduntur clausis oculis, & intelliguntur; *I segreti del cRl sol colui vede, Che serra gli occhi, e crede. Franciscus Redi, de Gener. Insectorum.* Note, that the two Italian verses he cites are those of count Guido Ubaldo Benarelli, at the end of the Pastoral, intituled, *Filli di Sciro.*

[*F*] *If there had been then as many disputes about Predestination, as there are at this day.*] If the Manichees should go no further, they would renounce their principal advantages: For the most terrible objections are these following. 1. It cannot be conceived that the first man could receive from a good principle the faculty of doing ill. This faculty is vicious, and every thing that can produce evil is bad, since evil cannot proceed but from a bad cause; and therefore the free-will of Adam proceeded from two contrary principles: inasmuch as he could take the right way, he depended upon a good principle; but inasmuch as he could embrace evil, he depended upon an ill principle. 2. It is impossible to comprehend, that GOD did only permit sin; for a bare permission of sin added nothing to free-will, and was not a means to foresee, whether Adam would persevere in his innocence or fall from it. Besides according to the idea we have of a created Being, we cannot comprehend that it can be a principle of action, that it can move itself, and that receiving in every moment of its duration its existence and the existence of its faculties, wholly from another cause, it should create in itself any modalities by a power peculiar to itself. These modalities must be either not distinct from the substance of the soul, as the new Philosophers will have it, or distinct from the substance of the soul, as the Peripatetics affirm. If they be not distinct, they cannot be produced but by the cause, which can produce the very substance of the soul; but it is manifest that man himself is not this cause, neither can he be. If they are distinct, then they are created Beings, produced out of nothing, since they are not composed of the soul, nor of any other pre-existent nature; they cannot therefore be produced but by a cause that can create. Now all the sects of Philosophy agree, that man is not, nor can be, such a cause. Some think that the motion which excites him proceeds from some other cause, and that nevertheless he can stop it, and fix it upon a certain object (39). This is contradictory; since there is no less power required to stop that which is in motion, than to move that which is at rest. Seeing therefore a creature cannot be moved by a bare permission of acting, and has not in itself a principle of motion, it is absolutely necessary that GOD should move it; he must therefore do something else than barely permit man to sin. 3. This may be proved by a new reason: *viz.* that it cannot be comprehended, that a bare permission should bring contingent events out of the class of things meerly possible, nor that it should put the Deity in a capacity of being certainly sure that the creature will sin. A meer permission cannot be the foundation of the Divine prescience. This is what obliges the greatest part of Divines to suppose, that GOD has made a decree, which imports that the creature will sin, and which according to them is the foundation of prescience. Others think that the decree imports, that the creature shall be placed in such circumstances, wherein GOD has foreseen that it will sin. Thus some think that GOD foresaw the sin by reason of his decree; others, that he made the decree, because he foresaw the sin. However this be explained, it follows clearly that GOD was willing that man should sin, and that he preferred this to the perpetual duration of Innocence, which it was so easy for him to procure and ordain. Reconcile this if you can with the goodness he ought to have for his creatures, and the infinite love he ought to have for holiness. 4. But if you say with those that come nearer to a method that would justify providence, that GOD did not foresee the fall of Adam, you will gain but little by it; for at least he knew very certainly, that the first man run the hazard of losing his innocence, and introducing into the world all the evils of punishment and guilt, which followed his apostacy. Neither his goodness, nor his holiness, nor his wisdom, could permit, that he should run the hazard of these events; for our reason convinces us very evidently, that a mother who should suffer her daughters to go to a ball, when she knew most certainly that they would run a great hazard with respect to their honour, would shew thereby, that she neither loved her daughters, nor chastity: and if it be supposed, that she has an infallible preservative against all temptations, and that she gives it not to her daughters when she sends them to a ball, it is most evident that she is guilty, and that she takes but little care that her daughters should preserve their virginity. Let us carry on the comparison a little further; if that mother should go to this ball, and through a window should see and hear, that one of her daughters defends herself but weakly in the corner of a closet against the sollicitations of a young gallant; if even when she sees, that her daughter is but one step from yielding to the desires of the tempter, she should not go then to assist her and deliver her from the snare, would not every one have reason to say, that she acts like a cruel step-mother, and that she would not scruple to sell the honour of her own daughter (40)? This is a representation of the conduct which the Socinians attribute to GOD (41). They cannot say, that he knew the sin of the first man, but as a possible event; he knew all the particulars of the temptation, and he must needs have known a moment before Eve yielded, that she was going to ruin herself; he must, I say, have known it with such a certainty, as renders one inexcusable if he does not prevent the evil, and allows him not to say, *I had reason to believe that this would* not

(39) Father Malebranche in the treatise of Nature and Grace.

(40) See, below, citation (50).

(41) I shall say more of this presently.

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one another, either of making GOD the author of sin, or of depriving him of the government

not happen, I had still great hopes. There are no people of so little experience, but without seeing what passes in the heart, and knowing the matter any otherwise than by signs, may be sure, that a woman is ready to yield, if they see through a window how she defends herself when really her fall is near. Before the moment of her consent, there are certain indications wherein they are not deceived. How much greater reason have we to think, that GOD who knew all the thoughts of Eve, as they came into her mind, (this knowledge the Socinians do not deny him) could not doubt but she was just ready to yield. He would therefore let her sin, and this even at the time when he foresaw she would certainly sin. The sin of Adam was yet more certainly foreseen; for the example of Eve gave some light the better to foresee the fall of her husband. If GOD had purposed to preserve man and his innocence, and to prevent all the miseries which were to be the infallible consequence of sin, would he not at least have fortified the husband after the wife had fallen? Would he not have given him another wife sound and perfect, instead of that which had suffered herself to be seduced? Let us say therefore that the Socinian system, by depriving GOD of Prescience, reduces him to slavery, and to a pitiful form of government, and does not remove the grand difficulty which it should remove, and which forces these heretics to deny the fore-knowledge of contingent events (42).

(42) See Arnauld's Reflexions upon the System of Father Malebranche, *lib. i, c. xiii, p.* 256, *&c.* where he shews that unless God combines by particular wills the wills of men, and the motions of matter, the events which are called contingent, would be such even with respect to God.

I refer you to a professor of Divinity yet living (43), who has proved, as clear as the day, that neither the method of the Scotists, nor that of the Molinists, nor that of the Remonstrants, nor that of the Universalists, nor that of the Pajonists, nor that of Father Malebranche, nor that of the Lutherans, nor that of the Socinians, can solve the objections of those who impute to GOD the introduction of sin, or who pretend, that it is not consistent with his goodness, with his holiness, or his justice (44); insomuch that this professor finding nothing better elsewhere, continues in the hypothesis of St Augustin, which is the same with that of Luther and Calvin, and of the Thomists and Jansenists; I say he continues there (45), *being embarrassed with the astonishing difficulties* he has set forth (46), *and oppressed with their weight* (47). Since Luther and Calvin appeared, I do not think that a year has passed wherein they have not been accused of making GOD the author of sin. The professor of whom I speak, confesses, That with respect to Luther, the accusation is just (48); the Lutherans at this day pretend the same thing as to Calvin. The Roman Catholics pretend the same thing as to both. The Jesuits pretend it as to Jansenius. Those who are a little equitable and moderate, do not take it to be an act of insincerity in their adversary, when he protests, that he does not at all impute to GOD the sin of man, that he does not at all make him the author of it: they are willing to grant that he does not expressly teach it, and that all the consequences of his doctrine are not perceived by him; but they add, that *protestatio facto contraria nihil valet, - - - a protestation contrary to fact signifies nothing*, and that if he will take the pains to determine precisely, what was necessary for GOD to have done that he might be the author of the sin of Adam, he will find that according to his doctrine, GOD has done all that was necessary in order to that end. You therefore, add they, act quite contrary to Epicurus; he denied in effect that there were any gods, and yet he said that there were gods (49). You, on the contrary, deny in your words that GOD is the author of sin, but in effect you teach it.

(43) This I write in the beginning of April 1696.

(44) Jurieu's judgment concerning the mitigated and rigid methods of explaining Providence and Grace. See, above, citation (36), of the article NIHUSIUS.

(45) Id. ib. *pag.* 25.

(46) *Pag.* 19, 20, 21, *and* 22.

(47) Ibid. *pag.* 23.

(48) *After he has related the opinion of Luther, he says,* Hæc omnia abdicamus & horremus ut religionem omnem pestilentia & Manichæismum spirantia. *Petrus Jurius, de Pace inter Protestantes inenda, pag.* 214. See the bishop of Meaux in the Addit. to the Variations.

(49) Epicurum verbis reliquisse Deos, re sustulisse. *Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. i, cap. xxx.* See also Lactantius, *lib. de Ira Dei, cap. iv.*

Let us come at last to the text of this remark. The disputes which have arisen in the West among Christians since the Reformation, have so clearly shown that a man does not know which side to take, when he would solve the difficulties about the origin of evil, that a Manichee at this day would be more terrible than in former times, because he would refute every party by the others. You have exhausted, would he say, all the forces of your wit; you have invented the *Scientia media*, which like a *Deus è Machina* (a Machine-deity) is brought in to clear your Chaos. This invention is chimerical; it cannot be conceived, that GOD should foresee things future otherwise than in his decrees, or in the necessity of causes. It is no less inconceivable in Metaphysics, than it is inconceivable in Ethics, that he who is goodness and holiness itself should be the author of sin. I refer you to the Jansenists: See how they run down your *Scientia media*, both by direct proofs, and by retorting your arguments. For it does not hinder that all the sins and all the miseries of man proceed from the free choice of GOD; it does not take off the force of the parallel in comparing GOD, (*absit verbo blasphemia,--- with reverence be it spoken*) see the margin (50), to a mother who knowing certainly that her daughter would yield up her honour, if in such a place and at such a time she were sollicited by such a man, should manage the interview herself, carry her daughter to it, and leave her there to her own conduct. The Socinians overwhelmed with the objection, endeavour to extricate themselves by denying prescience, but they have the disgrace to see that their hypothesis vilifies the government of GOD, without clearing him of the guilt, and that it does not avoid the comparison of this mother, more or less. See above citat. (41). I refer them to the Protestants, who overthrow and utterly confound them. As to absolute decrees, the certain cause of Prescience, see, I pray you, after what manner the Molinists and the Remonstrants oppose them. There is a Divine, as resolute as Bartolus, who confesses almost with tears in his eyes, *That there is no body more perplexed than he with the difficulties of* these decrees, and that he continues in this condition, only because when he had a mind to go over to methods mitigated, *he found himself still oppressed with the same weights* (51). He enlarges with great strength upon all this in another work (52), and you cannot deny but he refutes invincibly all those methods; and consequently you have no recourse left, unless you will adopt my system of the two principles. By this means you will extricate your self from this trouble, all the difficulties will vanish away; you will fully justify the good principle, and you only pass from one Manicheism less reasonable to another more reasonable: for if you examine your system carefully, you will acknowledge, that you as well as I admit two principles, the one of good, and the other of evil; but instead of placing them as I do, in two subjects, you join them together in one and the same substance, which is monstrous and impossible. The one only principle which you admit, determined from all eternity, according to you, that man should sin, and that the first sin should be infectious (53); that it should produce without end and without intermission all imaginable crimes over the face of the whole earth: In consequence whereof he prepared for mankind in this life all the miseries that can be conceived, such as pestilence, war, famine, pain, vexation, and after this life an Hell, wherein all men almost shall be eternally tormented, after such a manner as makes our hair stand on end, when we read the descriptions of it. If such a principle is besides perfectly good, and loves holiness infinitely, must we not acknowledge, that the same GOD is at one and the same time, perfectly good and perfectly bad, and that he loves vice no less than he does virtue? Now is it not more reasonable to divide these two opposite qualities, and to give all that is good to one principle, and all that is bad to another principle? Human history will prove nothing to the disadvantage of the good principle. I do not say, as you do, that of his own will, and only because it was his good pleasure, he subjected mankind to sin and misery, when nothing hindered him from making them holy and happy: I suppose he did not consent to this but to shun a greater evil, and that he did it as it were in his own defence. This clears him of guilt. He saw that the evil principle would destroy all; he opposed him as much as he could, and by agreement (54) he obtained the state to which things are now reduced. He acted like a monarch, who to avoid the ruin of all his dominions, is obliged to sacrifice one part of them to the good of the other. This is a grand inconveniency, and which at first frightens human reason, to talk of a first principle, and a necessary Being, as of a thing that does not all it has a mind to, and which is forced for want of power to submit to conjunctures; but it is yet a greater imperfection to resolve voluntarily to do evil, when one can do good (55). This is what might be said by this

(50) This comparison has given offence to many Protestants: but I beg of them to consider, that it is only to repay the Jesuits and Arminians, who make the most horrible comparisons between the God of the Calvinists, as they talk, and Tiberius, Caligula, &c: it is fit to shew them that they may be beat at their weapons.

(51) Jurieu's Judgment on the Methods, *pag.* 23.

(52) See the remark [1].

(53) According to the Molinists, he decreed to place men in such circumstances wherein he certainly knew they would sin, and he could either have put them in more favourable circumstances, or not have put them in these.

(54) In the remark [1]. another way different from the agreement is proposed.

(55) See what shall be cited out of Plutarch and Cicero in the following remark.

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government of the world. The Pagans could better anſwer than the Chriſtians to the objections of the Manichees [G]; but ſome of their Philoſophers found it a difficult thing

this heretic. I ſhall conclude with the good uſe for which I made theſe remarks.

WHAT uſe is to be made of the diſpute related here above.

It is more uſeful than one would think, to humble the reaſon of man, by ſhowing him with what force, the moſt fooliſh hereſies, ſuch as thoſe of the Manichees are, may confound it, and embroil the moſt fundamental truths. This ſhould teach the Socinians, who make reaſon the rule of faith, that they throw themſelves into the way of error, which only tends by degrees to make them deny or doubt of all things, and that they lay themſelves open to be beaten by the moſt execrable people. What muſt be done then? Men muſt captivate their underſtandings to the obedience of faith, and never diſpute about ſome things: particularly they muſt not oppoſe the Manichees but by the Scripture, and by the principle of ſubmiſſion, as St Auguſtin does. *Their Doctors who were Philoſophers, or rather Sophiſts, profeſſing to follow nothing but reaſon, without paying any deference to authority, very eaſily entangled, by their reaſonings, and the deceitful ſubtilities of a Philoſophy meerly human, thoſe who had not knowledge enough to anſwer them, and could only oppoſe to them the ſcripture, and the authority of the church, to which it belongs to interpret ſcripture according to its true ſenſe. Thus by promiſing to their diſciples that they would diſcover the truth to them by the meer natural light of good ſenſe and reaſon, and making every thing paſs for an error which is above it, as our myſteries are, they perverted many. And this is that which made St Auguſtin* *, *who knew both the ſtrong and weak ſide of that ſect, write againſt them his excellent book of the Uſefulneſs of Faith, and the neceſſity there is of believing, chiefly in things ſupernatural, and which belong to religion* (56).

* Auguſt. de utilit. cred.

(56) Maimbourg, Hiſt. of St Leo, bk. i, pag. 16, 17, of the Holland Edit.

[G] *The Pagans could better anſwer than the Chriſtians to the Manichean objections.*] I do not ſpeak abſolutely of all the Pagans; for we have ſeen elſewhere (57), that the Philoſopher Meliſſus, who acknowledged but one principle of all things, could not have anſwered the objections of Zoroaſter, who acknowledged two principles, the one good and the other bad. If there be but one principle, and this principle is eſſentially good, how comes it that men are ſubject to ſo many miſeries? How comes it that they are ſo wicked (58)? What hath he gained, if he made the world for their ſake? 'An hæc, ut fere dicitis, 'hominum cauſa à Deo conſtituta ſunt; ſapientumne? 'propter paucos ergo tanta eſt facta rerum molitio: 'an ſtultorum? at primum cauſa non fuit cur de improbis bene mereretur: deinde quid eſt aſſecutus, 'cùm omnes ſtulti ſint ſine dubio miſerrimi, maximè 'quòd ſtulti ſunt? Miſerius enim ſtultitiâ quid poſſumus dicere? Deinde quod ita multa ſunt incommoda 'in vita, ut ea ſapientes commodorum compenſatione 'leniant: ſtulti nec vitare venientia poſſint, nec ferre 'præſentia (59). - - - *Were all theſe things made by 'GOD, as you commonly ſay, for the ſake of men; for 'thoſe that are wiſe? It was for a few then that ſuch 'a vaſt creation was made: Or was it for the unwiſe? 'But firſt, there was no reaſon why he ſhould do a kind'neſs to the undeſerving? And ſecondly, What has he 'gained by it, ſince all the unwiſe are undoubtedly the 'moſt miſerable, eſpecially as they are unwiſe? For 'what can be more miſerable than want of wiſdom? 'Beſides, there are ſo many inconveniencies in life, that 'wiſe men can alleviate them by the conſideration of 'ſome conveniencies; but the unwiſe can neither avoid 'the future, nor bear the preſent.*' If this one only principle that you admit be wicked in its nature, how comes it that man enjoys ſo many pleaſures (60). And that he can receive them in crouds, thro' all his ſenſes, as through ſo many doors? Whence comes the paſſionate deſire with which he ſeeks after them? Whence comes the indefatigable induſtry, by which he multiplies them, and invents new ones? Whence comes it that he has not only the idea of honeſty, but alſo that many virtuous and charitable actions are practiſed among men? It is impoſſible, will the Manichees ſay, to give the reaſon of theſe phænomena, unleſs you ſuppoſe that two principles, the one good and the other bad, have regulated the conditions of the union between our ſoul and our body, and in general, every thing which concerns the government of the univerſe. Meliſſus and Parmenides were not the only perſons, who were diſtreſſed with theſe difficulties; the Stoics alſo were much embarraſſed with them; the Stoics, I ſay, who without denying that there were many gods, reduced them all to Jupiter as to the ſovereign diſpoſer of all events (61). To him they attributed Providence, and they acknowledged him as a Being infinitely good and infinitely wiſe. Upon this Plutarch founded the objections he made to them taken from the miſery of mankind. 'There is not a wiſe 'man, ſays he (62), nor ever was upon earth, and 'on the contrary, there are innumerable millions of 'men miſerable to the laſt extremity, under the rule 'and dominion of Jupiter, whoſe government and adminiſtration is very good. And what could be more 'contrary to common ſenſe than to ſay, that Jupiter 'governing extremely well, we ſhould be extremely 'unhappy. If therefore, which is not even lawful to 'ſay, he would be no longer a Saviour, nor a Deliverer, nor a Protector, but quite contrary to all 'theſe fine names; there can no goodneſs be added to 'the things that are, neither as to their multitude 'nor magnitude, as theſe men ſay, all men living to 'the height miſerably and wickedly, and vice neither 'receiving addition, nor unhappineſs increaſe. Nor 'is this the worſt; but they are angry with Menander for ſaying upon the ſtage,

(57) In the article MANICHEES, remark [D].

(58) See the article MANICHEES.

(59) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. i, cap. ix.

(60) Si quidem Deus eſt, unde mala? bona vero unde, ſi non eſt? - - - *If there be a God, whence proceeds evil? If there be none, whence comes good?* Poet. de Conſol. *lib. i, Proſa iv, pag. m. 11.* See what will be cited from Cicero in the article PERICLES, remark [K].

(61) *See* Plutarch, adverſus Stoïcos, *pag.* 1075.

(62) Ibid.

'*The chief beginning of mens miſeries*
'*Are things exceeding good.*

'ſaying that this is againſt common ſenſe. And yet 'they make GOD, who is all good, the cauſe of all 'evils. For matter could not produce any evil of it'ſelf, becauſe it is without qualities, and whatever 'differences it has, it has received them all from that 'which moves and forms it, that is from the reaſon 'within, it not being capable to move and form itſelf. 'So that of neceſſity, evil muſt come either from no'thing, and from what has no Being, or if from ſome 'moving principle, it muſt be from GOD. For if 'they think that Jupiter has not the command of 'theſe parts, nor uſes every one of them according 'to his own reaſon, they ſpeak againſt common ſenſe, 'and imagine an animal, many of whoſe parts are 'not ſubſervient to its will, uſing their own operations 'and actions, to which the whole gives no incitation, 'nor begins their motion. For there is nothing which 'has life, ſo ill compacted, as that againſt it's will, 'it's feet ſhould go, it's tongue ſpeak, it's horns puſh, 'or it's teeth bite; many of which things GOD muſt 'of neceſſity ſuffer, if the wicked do againſt his will, 'lie, cheat, rob, and murder one another. And if, 'as Chryſippus ſays, the leaſt part cannot poſſibly 'act otherwiſe than according to Jupiter's pleaſure, 'much more every living thing muſt reſt and move 'according as he inclines it, and as he guides, ſtays, 'and diſpoſes it: but this ſaying is more impious 'than the former. For it were more tolerable to 'ſay, that innumerable parts through weakneſs and 'want of power in Jupiter, do many abſurd things by 'force againſt his nature and will, than that there is 'not any intemperance or wickedneſs of which Jupiter is not the cauſe.' Obſerve this concluſion: if one of theſe two evils were to be choſen, either that Jupiter ſhould want power, or that he ſhould want goodneſs, Plutarch is of opinion that the firſt ſhould be choſen; and that it is better to ſay, that GOD has not all the power that is neceſſary to prevent crimes, than to aſſert that he moves men to commit them. Μυρία γὰρ ἦν ἐπιεικέστερον ἀσθένεια καὶ ἀδυναμία τῶ Διὸς ἐκβιαζόμενα τὰ μέρη, πολλὰ δρᾶν ἄτοπα παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνε φύσιν καὶ βούλησιν, ἢ μήτε ἀκεφσίαν εἶναι, μήτε κακκργίαν. ὃς ὰκ ἔσιν ὁ Ζεὺς αἰτιῶ. *Tolerabilius enim erat infinitas partes dicere Jovi ob ejus imbecillitatem vi facta agere multa improbè contra ipſius naturam & voluntatem, quàm nullam eſſe libidinem, nullum ſcelus, quod non Jovi autori imputandum eſſet* (63). Cicero took advantage of the ſame doctrine of the Stoics, concerning GOD's almighty power, to oppoſe his providence; as if the only excuſe that could be alledged for the many diſorders of this world, was to ſay that GOD cannot mind every thing. If there were no other excuſe but this, no apology could be made for the Stoics; for they pretended that the

(63) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 1076, *E.*

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(d) See the remark [G].

thing (d). I ſhall obſerve in what ſenſe the power of Jupiter was infinite. Here are the words of Cicero: 'At ſubvenire certe potuit *(Deus)*, & 'conſervare urbes tantas, atque tales. Vos enim ipſi 'dicere ſoletis, nihil eſſe quod Deus efficere non poſ- 'ſit, & quidem ſine labore ullo: ut enim hominum 'membra nulla contentione, mente ipſa ac voluntate 'moveantur, ſic numine Deorum omnia fingi, moveri, 'mutarique poſſe. Neque id dicitis ſuperſtitiosè, at- 'que aniliter, ſed phyſicâ, conſtantique ratione. Ma- 'teriam enim rerum ex qua, & in qua omnia ſint, to- 'tam eſſe flexibilem, & commutabilem, ut nihil ſit, 'quod non ex ea quamvis ſubitò fingi, convertique 'poſſit. Ejus autem univerſæ rectricem, & modera- 'tricem divinam eſſe Providentiam: hanc igitur, quo- 'cunque ſe moveat, efficere poſſe quicquid velit. Ita- 'que aut neſcit quid poſſit, aut negligit res humanas, 'aut quid ſit optimum, non poteſt judicare (64). - - - 'But undoubtedly God was able to ſuccour and preſerve 'ſuch great cities as thoſe were. For you uſe to ſay, 'that there is nothing which God cannot effect, and 'even without any trouble: for as the members of a man's 'body are moved without reſiſtance, by the mind and 'will, ſo all things may be framed, moved, and changed, 'by the power of God. And this you do not maintain 'from ſuperſtition and dotage, but from a phyſical and 'powerful reaſon: becauſe, all matter, of which and in 'which all things conſiſt, is flexible and changeable, ſo 'that there is nothing which may not, tho' ſuddenly, be 'framed and changed from it; but, divine providence 'governs and directs this whole matter, and conſequently 'which ever way it inclines, can effect whatever it 'pleaſes. Therefore providence, either knows not what 'it can do, or neglects human affairs, or elſe is not able 'to judge what is beſt.' He had ſaid before, that the ruin of Corinth was to be aſcribed to Critolaus, and that of Carthage to Aſdrubal, and not to the anger of God; ſeeing God, according to the Stoics, is never angry; nevertheleſs he ought to have come to the aſ- ſiſtance of thoſe two towns (65). The Stoics were ſo hard put to it, that they were forced to aſſert that vice was uſeful; for otherwiſe ſaid they, there had been no virtue (66). '* * * Homines feciſſe dicatur: tan- 'tam vim eſſe ærumnarum & malorum. Adverſus ea 'Chryſippus quum in libro περὶ προνοίας quarto diſ- 'fereret. Nihil eſt prorſus iſtis, inquit, imperitius, 'nihil inſipidius, qui opinantur bona eſſe potuiſſe, ſi 'non eſſent ibidem mala. Nam quum bona malis 'contraria ſint; utraque neceſſarium eſt, oppoſita in- 'ter ſeſe & quaſi mutuo adverſo quæque fulta niſu, 'conſiſtere. Nullum adeò contrarium ſine contrario 'altero. Quo enim pacto juſtitiæ ſenſus eſſe poſſet, 'niſi eſſent injuriæ? aut quid aliud juſtitia eſt, quam 'injuſtitiæ privatio? quid item fortitudo intelligi poſ- 'ſet, niſi ex ignaviæ oppoſitione? quid continentia 'niſi ex intemperantia? quo item modo prudentia eſ- 'ſet, niſi foret contrà imprudentia? proinde, inquit, 'homines ſtulti cur non hoc etiam deſiderant ut veri- 'tas ſit & non ſit mendacium? namque itidem ſunt 'bona & mala, felicitas & infortunitas, dolor & vo- 'luptas. Alterum enim ex altero, ſicuti Plato ait, 'verticibus inter ſe contrariis deligatum eſt. Suſtu- 'leris unum; abſtuleris utrumque. - - - * * * *Men* 'may be ſaid to have done it: there is ſuch a number 'of evils and calamities. In anſwer to theſe things, 'Chryſippus diſcourſing in his fourth book concerning Pro- 'vidence ſays, nothing ſurely can be more ignorant, no- 'thing more ridiculous than thoſe men, who imagine that 'good might have been without evil. For as good is 'contrary to evil, it is neceſſary that both ſhould ſubſiſt 'together, oppoſed to one another, and each ſupported as 'it were by mutual contention. And certainly there is 'no contrary without the other contrary. For, how could 'we have a notion of juſtice, if there were no injuries? 'Or, what elſe is juſtice but the privation of injuſtice? 'So likewiſe, how could fortitude be known but by the 'oppoſition of cowardice? How temperance, but by that 'of intemperance? And how could there be prudence, if 'there were no imprudence? Why, ſays he, do not theſe 'fooliſh men alſo deſire that there ſhould be truth with- 'out falſhood? For good and evil, proſperity and adver- 'ſity, pleaſure and pain, go hand in hand. The one is 'tied to the other, as Plato expreſſes it, back to back. 'Remove one, and you remove both.'

(64) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib. iii, cap. xxxviii, and xxxix.*

(65) Critolaus, inquàm, evertit Corinthum, Carthaginem Aſdrubal. Hi duos illos oculos oræ maritimæ effoderunt, non iratus alicui, quem omnino irafci poſſe negatis, Deus, &c. *Ib. cap. xxxviii.*

(66) Aul. Gel. *lib. vi, cap. i.* The aſteriſks ſignify that there is a chaſm in this place of Aulus Gellius.

Let us ſee how ſtrongly they have been refuted by Plutarch (67): 'Is there then no good among the

(67) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 1065.

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principles [H], and in what ſenſe it cannot be ſaid that, according to the Manichees, God is

thing which his adverſary permitted him to produce, and beſides that, he reſerved to himſelf the right of getting ſome benefit by the ill production. But if he had been alone, neither luxury nor any other vice had ever been ſeen amongſt men: Pure virtue would have been our pleaſure, our deſire, and our happineſs.

I ſhall obſerve by the by, that no body ought to wonder that Cicero and Plutarch ſhould have attacked the Stoics in that manner; for tho' that ſect of Philoſophers admitted of two principles (71), God and matter, God as the agent, and matter as the patient, yet they did not believe that matter was an ill principle; and herein they were more orthodox than Arnobius. 'Quid enim, *ſays he* (72), ſi prima materies quæ in 'rerum quatuor elementa digeſta eſt, miſeriarum omnium cauſas ſuis continet in rationibus involutas.--- '*What if the firſt matter which is digeſted into four elements, contained in itſelf the cauſes of all miſeries.*'

(71) Diogenes Laertius, *lib. vii, num.* 134. See the commentators on that place, and Lipſius, *Phyſic. Stoic. lib. ii, Diſſert. ii.*

(72) Arnob. lib. i, Adv. Gent. *pag.* 6.

The generality of the heathens needed not fear the abovementioned objections; for their public religion moved upon theſe two hinges; that ſome gods were beneficent, and others miſchievous, and that in general the gods had not always the ſame paſſions; that they grew angry, and were appeaſed; that they changed parties; that ſome engaged to favour a nation, and others to perſecute it; in a word, that they oppoſed one another (73). The hiſtory of men might as well be explained by that ſuppoſition, as by that of Zoroaſter. Arnobius has very ſtrongly refuted thoſe two ſorts of gods, ſome whereof are beneficent, and others miſchievous; but he went too far, for he made uſe of a principle which is very favourable to Manicheiſm. He ſays, without any reſtriction, that the nature of God does not allow him to make any one uneaſy: but he might have been aſked, from whence came then the plague, and the famine? are they not called God's ſcourges, by Chriſtians? However, let us ſet down his words (74). 'Quod dici à vobis accepimus, eſſe 'quoſdam ex Diis bonos, alios autem malos, & ad no'cendi libidinem promptiores: illiſque ut proſint, his 'vero ne noceant, ſacrorum ſolemnia miniſtrari: quanam iſtud ratione dicitur, intelligere confitemur non 'poſſe. Nam Deos benigniſſimos dicere, leneſque 'habere naturas, & ſanctum, & religioſum & verum 'eſt: malos autem, & lævos nequaquam ſumendum 'eſt auribus; ideò quoniam divina illa vis ab nocendi 'procul eſt dimota & disjuncta natura. Quidquid autem 'potis eſt cauſam calamitatis inferre, quid ſit primùm 'videndum eſt, & ab Dei nomine longiſſima debet diſ'feritate ſeponi. Itaque ut vobis commodemus aſſenſum, dextrarum, ſiniſtrarumque rerum Deos eſſe fau'tores, ulla nec ſic ratio eſt, cur alios alliciatis ad 'proſpera, alios verò, ne noceant, ſacrificiis commul'ceatis & præmiis. Primùm quod Dii boni male non 'queunt facere, etiam ſi nullo fuerint honore mactati. 'Quidquid enim mite eſt, placidumque natura, ab 'nocendi procul eſt uſu, & cogitatione diſcretum: 'malus vero comprimere ſuam ferociam neſcit, quam'vis gregibus mille, & mille alliciatur altaribus. Ne'que enim in dulcedinem vertere amaritudo ſe poteſt: 'aut ariditas in humorem, calor ignis in frigora: aut 'quod rei cuicunque contrarium eſt, id quod ſibi con'trarium eſt, ſumere in ſuam atque immutare natu'ram. Ut ſi manu viperam mulceas, venenato blan'diaris aut ſcorpio, petat illa te morſu, hic contra'ctus aculeum figat: nihilque illa profit alluſio, cum 'ad nocendum res ambæ non ſtimulis exagitentur ira'rum, ſed quadam proprietate naturæ. Ita nihil pro'deſt promereri velle per hoſtias Deos lævos, cùm ſive 'illud feceris, ſive contrà non feceris, agant ſuam na'turam, & ad ea quæ facti ſunt ingenitis legibus, & qua'dam neceſſitate ducantur. Quid quod iſto modo utri'que Dii definunt eſſe ſuis in viribus, & ſuis in qua'litatibus permanere. Nam ſi bonis ut proſint, res 'divina conficitur, aliis autem ne noceant, iiſdem ra'tionibus ſupplicatur; ſequitur ut intelligi debeat, 'nihil dexteros profuturos, nulla ſi acceperint munera, 'ſierique ex hoc malos: malos autem ſi acceperint, 'nocendi poſituros mentem, ſierique ex hoc bonos. 'Atque ita producitur res eo, ut neque hi dexteri, 'neque illi ſint lævi: aut, quod fieri non poteſt, utrique 'ipſi ſint dexteri, & utrique iterum lævi. ---- '*As to your opinion concerning the gods, that ſome are gracious, and others hurtful, that you worſhip the former to obtain their favour, and the latter to prevent their miſchief; for what reaſon this is maintained, I confeſs I am not able to apprehend. That the gods are moſt gracious; and kind in their natures, it is pious and religious, and agreeable to truth to affirm; but that they are malicious, and hurtful, is monſtrouſly ſhocking to hear: becauſe the Divine Nature is abſolutely incapable of doing miſchief. Whatever is able to produce miſery, is chiefly to be conſidered, and ought by no means to be called by the name of GOD. And tho' I ſhould agree with you; that the gods were the authors of proſperity and adverſity, yet this is no reaſon why you ſhould, by ſacrifices and bribes, allure ſome to ſhew kindneſs, and ſooth others to do no hurt. Firſt, becauſe the good gods can do no ill, although they receive no honours. For whatever is mild and meek by nature, is far from the practice and even the thought of injuring: but the miſchievous cannot reſtrain his fierceneſs, tho' he were allured with a thouſand offerings, and a thouſand altars. For bitterneſs cannot change itſelf into ſweetneſs, nor drineſs into moiſtneſs, nor heat into cold: nor can any thing aſſume and change into it's own nature that which is contrary to it. If you ſhould ſtroke a viper with your hand, or careſs a poiſonous ſcorpion, the one would bite, and the other ſting you: and your ſoothing ſignifies nothing, ſince both are excited to do hurt, not by the inſtigation of wrath, but by a certain property of nature. In like manner, it avails nothing to attempt to cajole the gods by victims, ſince whether you do it or not, they follow nature, and are led to act from innate laws, and a certain neceſſity. Beſides, by that method, both ſorts of gods would be diveſted of their own properties and qualities. For if divine ſervice is performed to the good, in order to procure their favour; and to the evil, in order to prevent their miſchief, we muſt needs imagine that the good will do no kindneſs, if they receive no honours, and thereby become evil: and that the evil, if they do receive them, will lay aſide their deſign of hurting, and and thereby become good. From whence it follows, that neither theſe are kind, nor thoſe unkind: or, which is impoſſible, that both ſorts are kind, and at the ſame time both unkind.*' Tho' this paſſage of Arnobius favours the Manichees, it contains a remark which puzzles them, and overthrows all their worſhip; for the reaſon why they admitted of an ill principle, was, that they believed the good principle could do no harm: they believed therefore that the other principle could do no good; and ſo all their divine worſhip was needleſs; the gracious god had never puniſhed them for their irreligion, and they could never expect that the miſchievous god ſhould be propitious to them. Arnobius urges this objection againſt the heathens with great force; but they might have anſwered him, that the moſt cruel tyrants make a very great diſtinction, between thoſe who honour them, and thoſe who deſpiſe them; and that the mildeſt kings make the ſame diſtinction between thoſe who reſpect them, and thoſe who offend them; and that proportionably the ſame judgment ought to be made of good and miſchievous deities. I think that ſuch a reply cannot be made uſe of with regard to the ſyſtem of Zoroaſter, or that of the Manichees by a man who reaſons conſiſtently.

(73) Sæpe premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem. Mulciber in Trojam, pro Troja ſtabat Apollo: Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit. Oderat Æneam propior Saturnia Turno: Ille tamen Veneris numine tutus erat. Sæpè ferox cautam petiit Neptunus Ulyſſem: Eripuit patruo ſæpè Minerva ſuo. *Ovidius, Triſt. lib. i, Eleg. ii, ver.* 4.

(74) Arnob. *lib. vii, pag.* m. 228, 229. See the paſſage of Aulus Gellius in the article MANICHEES, citation (34).

[H] *The orthodox ſeem to admit of two firſt principles.*] It has been a conſtant opinion amongſt Chriſtians from the beginning, that the Devil is the author of all falſe religions; that he moves the Heretics to dogmatize, and inſpires men with errors, ſuperſtitions, ſchiſms, leudneſs, avarice, intemperance; in a word, with all the crimes that are committed among men: that he deprived Adam and Eve of their innocency; from whence it follows that he is the cauſe of moral evil, and of all the miſeries of man. He is therefore the firſt principle of evil; but becauſe he is not eternal nor uncreated, he is not the firſt ill principle, in the ſenſe of the Manichees which afforded thoſe Heretics I know not what matter of boaſting and inſulting over the orthodox. They might have told them, your doctrine is much more injurious to the good god than ours; for you make him the cauſe of the ill principle; you aſſert that he produced him, and that tho' he could have ſtopped him at the firſt ſtep he made, yet he permitted him to uſurp ſo great a power in this world, that mankind having been divided into two cities, that of God and that of the Devil (75), the firſt was always very ſmall, and even ſo ſmall for many ages, that it had not two inhabitants, when the other had two

(75) *See St Auguſtin, de Civitate Dei.*

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is the author of ſin [I]. I ſhall alſo critize a modern author, who ſays that the doctrine, which

two millions. We are not obliged to enquire into the cauſe of the wickedneſs of our ill principle; for when an uncreated being is ſo or ſo, one cannot ſay why it it is ſo; it is it's nature; one muſt neceſſarily ſtop there: but as for the qualities of a creature, one ought to inquire into the reaſon of them, and it cannot be found but in it's cauſe. You muſt therefore ſay that GOD is the author of the devil's malice, that he himſelf produced it ſuch as it is, or ſowed the ſeeds of it in the ſoil that he created; which is a thouſand times more diſhonourable to GOD, than to ſay that he is not the only neceſſary and independent being. This brings in again the abovementioned objections concerning the fall of the firſt man; it is not therefore neceſſary to inſiſt any longer upon it. We muſt humbly acknowledge that Philoſophy is here at a ſtand, and that it's weakneſs ought to lead us to the light of revelation, where we ſhall find a ſure and ſtedfaſt anchor. Note, that thoſe Heretics made an ill uſe of ſome paſſages of the holy Scripture, wherein the Devil is called the prince (76), and the god of this world (77).

(76) John xiv, 30.

(77) 2 Cor. iv, 4.

[I] *In what ſenſe it cannot be ſaid that, according to the Manichees, God is the author of ſin.*] The ſtyle of the orthodox does not at all vary in this point: to be a Manichee, and to make GOD the author of ſin, are two expreſſions which always ſignified the ſame thing; and when one Chriſtian ſect accuſes another of making GOD the author of ſin, it never fails to impute Manicheiſm to it in that reſpect. It is a juſt accuſation in one ſenſe, ſeeing it is true that the followers of Manes acknowledged that an eternal being was the cauſe of ſin: but if you turn the tables, you will find another ſenſe, according to which they may ſay they do not make GOD to be the author of ſin; for they may maintain that none but the good principle deſerves the name of GOD, and that ſo great and ſo glorious a name, ought never to be beſtowed upon the ill principle, and conſequently that their hypotheſis, of all others, removes fartheſt from GOD any ſhare in evil. All other hypotheſes involve him in ſin, as the abovementioned miniſter acknowledges it. Provided it be ſuppoſed *ſays he* (78), 'That GOD drew a plan of all the events 'of eternity, and that according to that plan he was 'willing that all the evils, diſorders, and crimes, which 'prevail in the world, ſhould come into it, this is e'nough. It will be impoſſible to perſuade any 'one that ſo many crimes crept by chance into 'the project of GOD's providence. And if they came in'to it by the diſpoſition of the moſt profound wiſdom 'of GOD, whether that diſpoſition be called permiſſion 'or will, the minds of raſh men will never be ſatisfied, 'and it will never be clearly ſhewn that this agrees 'with the hatred GOD expreſſes otherwiſe for ſin. It 'will not be in any one's power to hinder the liber'tines from accuſing Chriſtianity of making GOD the 'author of ſin; for the common ſenſe of all men leads 'them to believe, that he who could prevent the fall 'of the firſt man, as eaſily as he permitted it, and who 'opened all the ways wherein men have wandered, 'when he might ſo eaſily have ſhut them, may be 'looked upon as the author of the evil which he ſhould 'have prevented, according to his principles, and his 'hatred for evil, and which he could without any dif'ficulty have put a ſtop to.' Afterwards he anſwers an objection grounded upon the *Scientia media*. 'This 'does not at all leſſen the difficulty, *ſays he*, for I may 'ſtill ſay, that ſince GOD foreſaw that Adam being 'placed in ſuch circumſtances, would undo himſelf and 'innumerable millions of men by his free will, and 'yet he placed him in thoſe ſad circumſtances, it is 'plain that he is the firſt author of all evils. If a 'king knew certainly, that if he ſhould place a man 'in a crowd with a ſword in his hand, it would raiſe 'a ſedition, and occaſion a fight, in which ten thouſand 'men ſhould be killed, he might very well, according 'to ſtrict juſtice, be looked upon as the firſt author of 'all thoſe murders. It would be no ſatisfactory de'fence to ſay, I ordered not that man to ſtrike any 'body with his ſword, nor to raiſe a ſedition; on 'the contrary, I forbad him to do it. I have not 'moved his arm to kill, nor formed his voice to ex'cite the people to fight. He would be anſwered, you 'knew certainly that that man being placed in ſuch 'circumſtances would be the cauſe of thoſe miſeries. 'It was in your power to place him in more favou'rable circumſtances, which might have produced all 'manner of happineſs. I am ſure he could reply no'thing that could put a ſtop to the murmuring of the 'people; and if we will ſpeak ſincerely, we muſt 'confeſs that nothing can be anſwered for GOD, that 'can ſilence the minds of men. . . . . (79). Laſtly 'the very GOD of Socinus may be accuſed of being 'the author of ſin. . . . . (80). To conclude, I main'tain, that there is no convenient medium between the 'GOD of St Auguſtin, and the god of Epicurus who 'concerned himſelf about nothing, or the god of Ari'ſtotle, whoſe care extended not lower than the ſphere 'of the moon. For as ſoon as you acknowledge a 'general providence, which extends to every thing, 'the difficulty ſprings up again, and when you think 'you have ſhut one door, it comes in again by ano'ther.' This is plain dealing. But if the god of the Manichees, I mean the good principle whom they called God, by Excellency, had preſented himſelf to the mind of that miniſter, I fancy he would have expreſſed himſelf ſomewhat differently, and confeſſed that their hypotheſis clears God; for it aſcribes all evil to the ill principle. It will not be needleſs to know what he anſwers to his cenſors. 'There is alſo in 'this traſh, *ſays Mr Jurieu* (81), an obſervation upon 'what I have ſaid ſomewhere, that whatever method 'be made uſe of, we ſhall never be able perfectly to 'reſolve the ſcruples, which the objections of prophane 'men raiſe in one's mind concerning GOD's providence 'about ſin. If thoſe gentlemen have found out the 'way of clearing perfectly thoſe difficulties, we ſhall 'be much obliged to them if they will acquaint us 'with it.'

(78) Jurieu, Judgment about rigid and mitigated Methods, *pag.* 68, 69.

(79) Ibid. *pag.* 72.

(80) Ibid. *pag.* 73.

(81) Jurieu, Apolog. II, *pag.* 30, *col.* 2, *apud* Saurin's Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, *pag.* 340.

Perhaps it will be ſaid you are in the wrong, when you acknowledge that the Manichean hypotheſis clears GOD; for if they pretend that he made an agreement with the ill principle, as you ſaid before (82) he conſented to the introduction of evil, he engaged by an agreement to ſuffer it, and was willing that all the crimes and miſeries of men ſhould be produced. This is more diſhonourable to him, than if one ſhould ſay, as the Socinians do, that he knew not whether a free creature would ſin, and that if he was willing to run the hazard of it, he was in great hopes that the knowledge wherewith his creature was endowed, and his threatnings would keep him from ſinning. I think a Manichee would not find this very difficult: for, I. He might ſay, that God only made that agreement, becauſe he could not otherwiſe have done any good to his creatures. There is therefore a great difference between Manicheiſm and Socinianiſm. The Socinians own, that though God might eaſily have hindred man from being a ſinner and unhappy, yet he let him fall into ſin and miſery; but the Manichees ſuppoſe that GOD conſented to that fall only out of meer neceſſity, and to avoid a greater evil. II. One might deny that GOD made any agreement with the ill principle, and maintain that he continually with all his might oppoſes ſin, and the miſery of his creature, to make him perfectly holy and happy; but that the ill principle acting on his part with all his power, for a quite contrary deſign, the mixture of good and evil which is to be ſeen in this world, reſults from that conflict, as the action and re-action of cold and heat produce a quality between both. You may apply to this what the ſchoolmen ſay concerning the nature of mixed bodies, which reſults from the ſtruggling of the elements. I know very well that either of thoſe two explications lies open to a world of horrible difficulties; but the only queſtion now, is to know whether that Hypotheſis acquits God; now thoſe wretched Heretics pretend, that any difficulty is inconſiderable in reſpect of that which ariſes from making him the author of ſin; and it is certain, that all Chriſtians abhor to acknowledge him to be the cauſe of it.

(82) Above, citation (19). See alſo the article MANICHEES, remark [D], at the fifth paragraph.

WHETHER the doctrine that ſhould make God the author of ſin, would lead to Atheiſm.

The Jeſuits maintain (83), *that it were better for a man to be an Atheiſt, and to acknowledge no deity, than to pay divine honours to a being*, who forbids man to do evil, and yet makes him commit it, and then puniſhes him for it. They maintain, *that the god of Epicurus is more innocent, and if one may ſay ſo, more a god* than the other; *and when the Marcionites and Manichees went about to make a ſecond god author of all evil, they worſhipped another, who was the giver of all good things; whereas*

(83) Father Adam, apud Dallé's Reply to Adam and Cottin, *Part* 2, *chap.* 1, *pag.* 2, 3.

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which makes GOD the author of sin, does not lead a man to irreligion. Nay, he says,

whereas yours, say the Jesuits to the Reformed, *is worse than men.* They who are upbraided with this do not reject those consequences, they only reject the principle; they maintain only that it is a base calumny to charge them with making GOD the author of sin (84). The same Jesuits pretend that the doctrine of Calvin concerning Predestination, is attended with consequences *that destroy altogether the idea we ought to have of GOD, and lead directly to Atheism* (85). The minister who answered Mr Maimbourg, convicted him of having unfairly represented the doctrine of Calvin. He should have stopped there; for when he adds that Mr Maimbourg drew a false consequence from the doctrine which he imputes to Calvin, he reasons pitifully: let the reader judge of it (86). *Besides I say that his conclusion is wrong, and that there is nothing more absurd, and less theological than the consequence which Mr Maimbourg draws from the doctrine of those Divines*; *viz.* that it destroys altogether the idea we ought to have of GOD and leads directly to Atheism. *There was never any thing said more inconsiderately. Let us take things in the worst sense, if that doctrine* destroys the idea we ought to have of God, *it is because it represents GOD to us as being cruel, unjust, and punishing innocent creatures with everlasting torments; and this is precisely what Mr Maimbourg means, when he says that it destroys the idea of GOD, because the idea of GOD implies the attributes of mildness, justice, and equity. But how can a doctrine, which gives us the idea of a severe and tyrannical GOD, who uses his authority with the utmost rigour, lead men to Atheism? . . . It is a foolish thing to say that an hypothesis leads to Atheism, when it brings GOD into every thing* (87), *makes him the cause of all things, and the only aim of all his own actions, and raises him so much above his creatures as to be able to dispose of them in such a manner as seems to be unjust to carnal reason. That opinion of the Supralapsarians is so far from leading to Atheism, that on the contrary it places the Deity in the highest degree of elevation and grandeur that can be conceived. For it does so much debase the creatures before the Creator, that the Creator, according to this system, is bound by no laws to his creatures, but may dispose of them as he thinks fit, and make them subservient to his glory in such a method as he judges most proper, and they have no right to contradict him.*

Here is the most monstrous doctrine, and the most absurd paradox in Divinity that was ever heard of, and I am very much mistaken if any famous Divine ever said any such thing. All imaginable methods have been tried to explain the manner how God influences the actions of sinners: the hypothesis of absolute Predestination was held, as long as it was thought to do no wrong to the holiness of God; but it has been laid aside, as soon as it was perceived that it struck at that Divine attribute. They who were not sensible that free-will is inconsistent with the physical predetermination, have taught that predetermination all along; but they who believed that it destroyed free-will, have rejected it, and admitted only of a simultaneous and indifferent concourse. They who believe that any concourse is contrary to man's liberty, suppose that he only is the cause of his own actions (88). The only reason which moves them to make such a supposition, is because they think that all the decrees whereby providence should be concerned with our will, would make all events necessary, whereby our wicked actions would be no less an effect of God than of his creatures (89). They could not rest satisfied with saying that sin is not a being, that it is only a privation and a nothingness which has no efficient, but a *deficient* cause (90). Lastly, some have gone so far as to maintain, that God cannot foresee the free actions of his creatures. Why so many suppositions? what was the reason of so many steps? It was the desire of clearing GOD; for it was plainly perceived that religion was at stake, and that men would be necessarily led to Atheism, if God was said to be the author of sin. Hence it is that all Christian sects, that are accused by their adversaries of holding such a doctrine, deny it as an horrible blasphemy, and a detestible impiety, and complain that they are devilishly calumniated. But here is a minister who very gravely tell us, that it is a doctrine, *which places GOD in the highest degree of glory and elevation that can be conceived.* He does not scruple to bestow such an encomium upon a doctrine which *represents GOD to us as being cruel, unjust, and punishing INNOCENT creatures with everlasting torments.* He appeals to our consciences, to know whether the idea of a tyrannical GOD leads us to Atheism, taking *things in the worst sense*, that is, supposing Maimbourg was in the right to say, that, according to Calvin, *GOD created the greatest part of mankind to damn them, not because they deserved it by reason of their crimes, but because he will have it so*; *and that he foresaw their damnation only because he ordained it before he foresaw their crimes* (91); supposing, I say, that Maimbourg does justly accuse Calvin of saying, that they who suffer eternal torments are *innocent creatures* (92), and consequently that GOD is the author of their sins, Mr Jurieu cannot suffer that Maimbourg should conclude, *therefore Calvin's doctrine destroys the idea we ought to have of GOD, and leads directly to Atheism.* He is not contented to pretend that *there was never any thing said more inconsiderately* than this conclusion (93), but he also calls it *a foolish thought* (94), and *a piece of ignorance* (95), and says that it shews Maimbourg to be *a silly Philosopher, and a pitiful Divine* (96), and that *there is nothing more absurd and less theological* than such a consequence (97). The fault wherewith Ovid was upbraided is a great one in matters of controversy, *Nescire quod bene cessit relinquere: nescire desinere* (98). *Not to leave off when a thing has succeeded well.* That minister had very well justified the Supralapsarians, by shewing what is wrongfully imputed to them, and by declaring that they disown the consequence wherewith they are charged of making GOD the author of sin (99). He should have retired from the field of battle after this without being so rash as to assert that even if they should make GOD *a cruel and unjust Being, punishing innocent creatures with eternal torments*; that is to say, that tho' they should make GOD the author of sin, and yet a severe judge, who punishes men eternally for sins which they are not guilty of, they would not lead men to atheism; but on the contrary would raise GOD to the highest degree of glory that can be conceived. We may therefore ask him, How comes it that all Christian sects avoid to say that GOD is the author of sin, as the most dangerous rock in Divinity? How comes it that the meer idea of such a doctrine is abhorred by all men? I must needs say that some men are very lucky: if another minister had said any such thing, his readers had been offended at it; he would have been obliged to recant it as an impious thing, and perhaps I am the only man who has taken notice of so strange a doctrine.

But, says he (100), the more you assert that GOD is concerned in every thing, the more you suppose that he exists and is powerful. So that it is a foolish thing to argue thus, *GOD is the author of sin, therefore there is no GOD:* it is therefore false that this doctrine leads to Atheism. What a poor shift is this! At that rate the antient Poets who ascribed all sorts of crimes to Jupiter and the other gods (101), and even that of exciting men to evil (102), yet without saying that the same GOD who moved them to it, punished them for it, advanced nothing that will destroy the idea of GOD, put an end to religion, and introduce Atheism. Note, that there is no difference between a man who commits a crime himself, or by the means of another. It is manifest to any one who reasons, that GOD is a most perfect Being, and that of all perfections, none is more essential to him than goodness, holiness, and justice. If you deprive him of those perfections, to make him a law-giver who forbids men to sin, and yet induces them to sin, and then punishes them for it, you make him a Being in whom men cannot put their trust, a deceitful, malicious, unjust, and cruel Being: he can be no longer an object of worship; to what purpose should any one pray to him, and endeavour to live a sober life? It is therefore the way to Atheism. The fear which religion inspires, ought to be attended with love, hope, and a great veneration. When an object is dreaded only because it has the power and will of doing harm, and exercises that power cruelly and unmercifully, it must needs be hated and detested: this can be no religious worship.

To represent GOD as a Being, who makes laws against sin, which he induces men to transgress, that he may have a pretence to punish them (103), is to expose religion to the rallery of libertines. That Being will

(84) See Daillé in that whole chapter.

(85) Maimbourg, Hist. of Calvinism, *book i, pag. m.* 73. *See also pag.* 56.

(86) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformers, *Part i, ch. xix, pag.* 245, 246, *in* 4*to.*

(87) Yet Spinozism which teaches that all things are God himself, is an execrable Atheism.

(88) *Durandus de Sancto Portiano,* and many other divines suppose it. See an abridgment of a treatise of Mr de Launoi, inserted in Mr Papin's Essay of Theology, printed in the year 1687.

(89) *See the book of Louis de Dole, a Capuchin, intituled,* Disputatio quadripartita de modo conjunctionis concursuum Dei & creaturæ ad actus liberos ordinis naturalis, præsertim vero ad pravos, adversus prædeterminantium & assertorum scientiæ mediæ modernorum opiniones. *That book was printed at Lyons in the year* 1634, *in* 4*to.*

(90) See Papin's Essay of Theology against this doctrine, in the treatise against Physical Predetermination.

(91) Jurieu, ubi supra, *pag.* 241.

(92) Id. ib. *pag.* 246.

(93) Ibid.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Ibid. *pag.* 247.

(96) Ibid.

(97) Ibid. *pag.* 245.

(98) Scaurus, apud Senecam Controv. xxviii, *pag. m.* 272.

(99) Jurieu, ibid. pag. 244, 245.

(100) Ibid. *pag.* 246, 247.

(101) Nec multo absurdiora sunt ea quæ poëtarum vocibus fusa, ipsâ suavitate nocuerunt, qui & ira inflammatos, & libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, fecerunteque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videremus: odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantiâ libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortali procreatos. *Cicero, lib. i, de Nat. Deor. cap. xvi.*

(102) See the remark [C] in the article EGIALEA, and the remarks [X] and [Y] of the article HELENA.

(103) Note, that if it be said, as the Reformed do, that man is the only cause of his sins, their distinction between God as a Law-giver, and as a dispenser of events, is a good one, notwithstanding what Puffendorf says to the contrary, pag. 290, of his *Jus feciale divinum, &c.*

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says, that doctrine raises GOD to the highest degree of glory that can be conceived. The antient Fathers were not ignorant that the question concerning the origin of evil, is a most perplexing one [K]. They could not resolve it by the Platonic hypothesis, which was at the bottom a branch of Manicheism [L], seeing it admitted of two principles:

will not be deprived of it's existence, whilst it is supposed to be the author of sin; which is evident, for a cause must needs exist when it acts: but it will prove at last to be nothing else but the world itself, or the GOD of the Spinozists, a Being, which exists and acts necessarily, without knowing what it does, and is intelligent, only because the thoughts of the creatures are it's modifications.

There is another thing to be blamed in the particular doctrine of this minister. *That opinion of the Supralapsarians*, says he (104), *is so far from leading men to Atheism, that, on the contrary, it places the Deity in the highest degree of glory and elevation that can be conceived. For it does so much debase the creature before the Creator, that the Creator, according to this system, is bound by no laws to his creature, but may dispose of it as he thinks fit, and make it subservient to his glory in such a method as he judges most proper, and it has no right to contradict him. I confess that this opinion is liable to a great many inconveniencies, and is so harsh that it cannot be easily relished. And therefore St Augustin's hypothesis is without doubt to be preferred to it.* What a strange doctrine is this! How can a professor of Divinity be so bold as to say, there are some hypotheses which are undeniably preferable to that which *places the Deity in the highest degree of glory and elevation that can be conceived?* It is certain that all our thoughts and actions ought to aim not only at the glory of GOD, but also at his greatest glory. Our actions and opinions must tend *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. It ought to be the motto not only of a particular society, but also of all communities, and private men. And therefore a Divine, who owns on the one side, that the system of the Supralapsarians tend to the greatest glory of GOD, and attains to it better than any other supposition; and who maintains on the other side, that St Augustin's *hypothesis is without doubt to be preferred*, is guilty of a prophane and blasphemous thought. Nor can that prophanation be excused by reason of the *harshness* of the Supralapsarian system, *which cannot easily be relished*; for under pretence of some difficulties, more or less, none can be allowed to prefer the lesser glory of GOD to the greatest, and *to place* the supreme Being in *an* inferior *degree of glory and elevation*. If St Augustin's system were plain and easy, I should not so much wonder at the ill taste of the author; but he himself owns (105) that he finds an oppressing weight in it, and that he bears that burden only because the mitigated methods cannot free him from it. For the same reason he should be a Supralapsarian; for if the supposition of the Jesuits does not remove the difficulties of St Augustin's hypothesis, it is plain that St Augustin's hypothesis does not remove the harshness of the Supralapsarian system. Every thing being duly considered and weighed, it appears that the Supralapsarians, and they that go by the name of Infralapsarians, maintain the same thing at the bottom; they cannot do one another much harm; they never fail to come off by the help of arguments *ad hominem*, and retortions. You have here the character of this Doctor in little; there is no justness in his censures, and no connexion in his doctrines; his writings are full of wrong consequences, unevenness, contradictions, and variations. If any one would give himself the trouble to examine his works carefully, every page would afford him such matter of critizing as this.

Let us conclude, that a Manichee observing how carefully the several sects of Christianity invent such hypotheses as they think will acquit GOD, without ever owning that they make him the author of sin, will always boldly maintain that this is a more dangerous rock than any other. Consider well what has been said against Chrysippus, who maintained (106), *That it is not unprofitable there should be unprofitable, hurtful, and unhappy persons.* To which Plutarch replies, *What manner of god then is Jupiter? I mean Chrysippus's Jupiter, who punishes a thing that is neither done voluntarily, nor unprofitably; for vice is indeed, according to Chrysippus's discourse, wholly irreprehensible: but, on the other hand, Jupiter is to be blamed, whether he has made vice, being an unprofitable thing, or having made it not unprofitably, punishes it.* Ποῖός τις ὁ Ζεύς, λέγω δὲ τὸ Χρυσίππου, κολάζων πρᾶγμα, μήτε ἀφ' αὑτοῦ, μήτε ἀχρήσως γινόμενον; ἢ μὲν γὰρ κακία πάντως ἀνεγκλητός ἐστι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Χρυσίππου λόγον, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐγκλητέος εἴτε ἄχρηστον ὄντα τὴν κακίαν πεποίηκεν, εἴτε ποιήσας οὐκ ἀχρήσως, κολάζει. *Qualis est Jupiter (de Chrysippeo loquor) rem puniens neque ultro neque inutiliter factam? nam Chrysippi ratio efficit vitia omnino culpanda non esse, sed Jovem; sive is fecit vitia, quæ nihil prodessent: sive punit, cùm fecisset non inutilia* (107).

(104) Jurieu, Abi supra, *pag.* 246.

(105) Above, citation (51).

(106) Plut. de Stoicor. Repugn. *pag.* 1051.

(107) Ibid.

[K] *The . . . Fathers were not ignorant that the question concerning the origin of evil is a most perplexing one.*] I shall only quote a passage out of Origen, which will supply the place of all the other citations I could make. Εἰπερ ἄλλος τις τόπος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐξετάσεως δεόμενος, δυσθήρατός ἐστι τῇ φύσει ἡμῶν, ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἡ τῶν κακῶν ταχθείη ἂν ζήτησις. Si quis alius est locus in rebus humanis, scrutatu difficilis naturæ nostræ; inter hos meritò numerari potest malorum origo (108). - - - *If there is any point in human affairs difficult to be accounted for, the origin of evil, may justly be reckoned such.*

(108) Origenes contra Celsum, *lib.* iv, *pag.* 207.

[L] *The Platonic hypothesis, which was at the bottom a branch of Manicheism.*] I shall only consider that hypothesis as it was explained by Maximus Tyrius in his Treatise concerning this question, *From whence comes evil, seeing GOD is the author of good things* (109)? This author supposes, that in order to know the cause of the good things that are in the world, it is not necessary to consult the Oracle, and that it is plain enough they come from GOD, and that evil cannot come from Heaven, where there are no envious beings, but that in order to know from whence comes evil, one must go to diviners, that is to say, consult Jupiter, Apollo, or some other deity, who propheſies, and takes care of human affairs. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μὰ Δία, οὐκ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἔξωθεν τοῦ γορῶ ἵστασθαι. *Non enim è cælo me hercules, non è cælo. Exulat enim illic invidia* (110). Afterwards he makes an enumeration of the miseries our bodies are subject to, and concludes from thence (111) that man is the most unhappy of all creatures.

(109) Τῶν ὄντων τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοσούτος, τίθεν τὰ κακά. Cum Deus bona faciat, unde sint mala. *This is the subject of the 24th Dissertation of Maximus Tyrius.*

(110) Maxim. Tyrius, Dissert. xxv, pag. m. 2 3. *Ver. Interp. citat.* (111).

(111) Ibid. pag. 255.

Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο, *Nil nutrit tellus homine infelicius uno.*

And then he considers the innumerable evils which torment our soul, and pretends, that the propheſying gods being consulted about it, answered, That men have no reason to ascribe the cause of their miseries to GOD, seeing they themselves are the authors of their unhappiness by their own fault. He makes use of two verses of Homer to express this (112): Τί ἂν ἔπ' περὶ ταῦτα ἀποκρίναιτο ὁ Ζεύς, ἢ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἢ τις ἄλλος μαντικὸς θεός; ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ὑποφήτου λέγοντος,

(112) Ibid.

Ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσι.

Quid quæso ad ista aut Jupiter, aut Apollo respondebit, aut alius fatidicus Deus? Audiamus quid eorum interpres dicat:

Ascribunt superis homines mala, cum tamen ipsi
Criminibus propriis sibi talia damna crearint.

Pray, what would Jupiter, or Apollo, or any other fatidical god answer to these things? Let us hear what their interpreter says:

Men say, those ills are by the gods decreed,
Which wholly do from their own faults proceed.

He goes on and says, that Heaven and Earth are two different places. There are no evils in Heaven; and there is a mixture of good and evil upon Earth; but good things come down from Heaven, and evils spring from a depravation which is natural to the Earth, and contains two kinds, one whereof consists in the qualities

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principles : they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the privilege of the free-will of men ; but the more we reflect on that way of ſolving the difficulty, the more we find that the natural light of Philoſophy ties and entangles this Gordian knot [*M*]. A learned

qualities of matter, and the other in the liberty of the ſoul. Ἡ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἐπίῤῥυ]α ἐκ τῆς ἑτήρας· τὰ δὲ κακὰ, ἐξ αὐτοφυῶς μοχθηρίας ἀνίσα]αι. δί]τὴ δὲ αὕτη ἡ μὲν ὕλης, φα]Θ@, ἡ δὲ, ψυχῆς ἐξουσία. *Ita ut bona quidem, è cælo veniant : mala vero ex innata illi* (terræ) *improbitate oriantur. Improbitas vero ea duplex eſt : aut enim corrupta materiæ affectio eſt, aut animæ licentia* (113).

256. Ibid. pag. As to the firſt of thoſe two ſorts of depravation, he ſays, that matter ought to be conſidered as the ſubject upon which a good artiſt works. All the beauties it acquires ought to be aſcribed to art ; but if there be any works upon earth that are not as they ſhould be, thoſe irregularities ought not to be imputed to art ; for the intention of the workman does not ſwerve from art, no more than that of a law-giver from juſtice ; and we muſt remember that the divine underſtanding will hit the mark much better than the art of man can do. Afterwards he uſes a compariſon, *viz.* That there are ſome things in Mechanics which are the principal object of art, tending to it's deſign, and ſome things which reſult from the work, and are not the effect of art, but depend upon the modification of matter : ſuch are the ſparkles that fly to and fro when the Smith ſtrikes a red-hot iron upon an anvil. They make no part of the deſign which the Smith propoſes to himſelf, they are only an accidental effect, which reſults from his action, without his aiming at it, and it is only annexed to the quality of the iron. We muſt ſay likewiſe, that the evils which are to be ſeen upon Earth, are not the work of the divine art ; the artificer aims primarily, and directly, at the conſtruction of the world, but it happens that thoſe evils do neceſſarily flow from his work. The author adds a remark which is not very conſiſtent with this : he ſays, that the artificer calls the evils which we complain of, the preſervation of the world ; tho' we look upon them as it's ruin and deſtruction. He pretends, that the architect of the world propoſes to himſelf, the preſervation of the whole, and that the parts muſt ſuffer for the ſake of the whole. Ταῦτα ὁ τεχνίτης καλεῖ σω]ηρίαν τῦ ὅλ. μέλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τῦ ὅλ· τὸ δὲ μέρ@· ἀνάγκη κακῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τῦ ὅλ. *Ea conſummationem totius vocat opifex. Qui totum reſpicit, cujus cauſa neceſſe eſt corrumpi partes* (114). Peſtilential diſeaſes, earthquakes, inundations, and the burnings of mount Ætna, do no harm but to ſome parts of the whole, and ſerve for the production of ſome others ; for, as Heraclitus ſays, the latter live by the death of the former, and the former die by the life of the latter. The death of the earth gives life to fire ; the death of fire gives life to the air ; the death of the air gives life to water ; and the death of water gives life to the earth (115). Maximus Tyrius might have been aſked, Why did you maintain then that the phyſical evils of mankind are neither intended nor produced by GOD ? If they are ſo neceſſary for the preſervation of the whole, and if the artificer aims at the preſervation of the whole, he muſt needs have them in view. Notwithſtanding this objection, we may very well ſay, that according to the hypotheſis of that Philoſopher, the plague, famine, and other miſeries of mankind are involuntary with reſpect to GOD, and came only into the work as an unavoidable effect of the diſpoſition of matter (116). Let us now ſee what he ſays about the other ſort of depravation, *viz.* moral evil : he ſays (117), that the power of the ſoul is the mother and nurſe of it, and that the earth being to be formed, which was to produce plants, and living creatures, and to contain evils in it's boſom, evils being baniſhed from Heaven were lodged in it ; that the living creatures were divided into two kinds, *viz.* beaſts and men ; that men were to ſurpaſs all other animals, and be inferior to GOD ; that this inferiority does not conſiſt in their dying, for their death is only the beginning of another immortal life ; that GOD, in order to make them inferior, to the Divine nature (118), placed the ſoul in a mortal body, as a coachman upon a chariot, put the reins in it's hands, and gave it leave to run where it would : he gave it the power to drive that chariot according to the rules, or againſt the rules of art. It directs the chariot, and reſtrains the impetuoſity of the horſes, but they are ignorant of all the rules, and go ſome one way, and ſome another way : ſome towards intemperance, others towards raſhneſs and fury ; others are ſluggiſh, and lazy, ſo that the chariot being driven up and down confounds the coachman, who yields, and runs towards the place whither the moſt unruly horſes draw him : he drives into gluttony and leudneſs, if the ſtrongeſt horſe turns that way, and ſo of the reſt. Such is the ſolution of that Platonic Philoſopher.

It is defective in two reſpects. For 1. He acknowledges two principles, GOD and Matter, the one very good indeed, but who cannot mend all the depravation of the other (119). That natural and abſolutely incorrigible depravation is the cauſe of phyſical evils, and the occaſion of moral evil ; it does ſo violently incline the human body to vices and crimes, that the ſoul is carried away, as it were, by unruly horſes. 2. Maximus Tyrius does not acquit the ſupream goodneſs and holineſs of GOD. A good and virtuous father would never cauſe his children to ride unruly horſes, and ſend them into the army, if he did certainly foreſee, or think, with great probability, that notwithſtanding their ſkill in riding, they ſhould fall, and be killed ; and that notwithſtanding their education, the profeſſion of a ſoldier would make them the moſt infamous of all men. In a word, that hypotheſis ſets bounds to the Divine power, and leaves the other attributes of GOD expoſed to the objections of the Manichees ; ſo that without having the conveniencies of the Chriſtian hypotheſis concerning free-will, it has the inconveniencies of it.

(119) Compare with this the words of Juſtus Lipſius, related above, citation (59) of the article CHRYSIPPUS, and citation (164) of the article EPICURUS. See alſo citation (167).

[*M*] *The more we reflect . . . the more we find that the natural light . . . ties and entangles this Gordian knot.*] I found it ſo by experince, as I was reading this article again to make it ready for a ſecond edition. Some new thoughts came into my mind (120), which convince me a-new, and more ſtrongly than ever, that the beſt anſwer that can be naturally returned (121) to the queſtion, *Why did GOD permit that man ſhould ſin ?* is this, *I do not know, I only believe that he had ſome reaſons for it very worthy of his infinite wiſdom, but they are incomprehenſible to me.* You will ſtop with ſuch an anſwer the moſt obſtinate diſputers ; for if they will go on they muſt talk alone, and ſo they will ſoon hold their tongues. If you ſhould enter the liſts with them, and undertake to maintain, that the inviolable privileges of free-will have been the true reaſon which moved GOD to permit men to ſin, you would be forced to anſwer their objections to their ſatisfaction ; and I do not know how you could well do it, for they might object two things which ſeem moſt evident to reaſon :

(120) See alſo the new remarks of the article ORIGEN.

(121) That is, without conſulting the Revelation, but only philoſophical ideas.

I. The firſt is, That GOD having cauſed his creatures to exiſt by an effect of his goodneſs, he gave them alſo, under the character of a bountiful cauſe, all the perfections which are proper for every kind. We muſt therefore ſay, that he expreſſed a greater love for thoſe which received very excellent qualities from him, than for thoſe who received leſs excellent qualities. He has therefore out of a particular goodneſs beſtowed free-will upon men, ſince that quality raiſes them above all the Beings that are upon earth. But we cannot conceive, how a gracious and beneficent Being can make a conſiderable preſent, without deſigning to increaſe thereby the happineſs of thoſe who receive it, and conſequently that bountiful Being ought to put them in a condition of getting ſuch an advantage by it, and keep them, if it be poſſible, from being utterly ruined and deſtroyed by it. But if there is no other way of preventing that, than by revoking the gift, that gift ought to be revoked ; whereby the character of patron and benefactor may be much better preſerved than by any other means. This is not changing one's mind with reſpect to the donee, but retaining without any ſhadow of variation, the goodwill wherewith that preſent was made him. The ſame goodneſs which moves one to give a thing which he thinks will make happy thoſe that ſhall enjoy it, moves him likewiſe to take it away as ſoon as he obſerves that it makes them unhappy ; and if he has time enough, and a ſufficient power, he will not put off the withdrawing of his gift till it proves the cauſe of miſery, but he will take it away before it has done any harm. What has been ſaid follows from the ideas of order, and the notions whereby we may judge of the

(114) Ibid. pag. 257.

(115) See about this doctrine of Heraclitus, the Notes of Daniel Heinſius, in *Maximum Tyrium*, pag. 110, and above, citation (60) of the article OVID, where Ovid makes Pythagoras deliver the ſame doctrine.

(116) See a like thought in the remark [*T*] of the article CHRYSIPPUS.

(117) Max. Tyrius, ubi ſupra, pag. 257.

(118) This is an abſurd and impious thing, and it does not agree with what was ſaid by the author, above, citation (110), that there are no envious beings in Heaven. Note, that according to the conjecture of Heinſius, θεῖς ought to be joined with χορεῖ in that paſſage.

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learned man pretends, that the Pythagoreans gave occaſion to this difficult queſtion. They looked for ſuperlatives in every thing; that is to ſay, they aimed by their interrogations, at the knowledge of things that are in the higheſt degree, every one in its kind. They aſked, for inſtance, what is the ſtrongeſt, the moſt antient, the moſt common, the trueſt thing? It was anſwered, as to the laſt point, that men are wicked, and

the eſſence and characters of goodneſs, in whatever ſubject it is to be found, whether in the creator or in a creature, a father, maſter, or king, &c. from thence comes this dilemma; either God has given free-will to men by an effect of his goodneſs, or without any goodneſs: You cannot ſay he did it without any goodneſs: You ſay then that he has done it with great goodneſs; but it does neceſſarily reſult from thence that he ſhould have deprived them of it at any rate, rather than ſtay till it ſhould prove their eternal damnation by the production of ſin, which is a monſter he does eſſentially abhor: and if he has been ſo patient as to leave ſo diſmal a preſent in their hands, till the evil happened, it is a ſign either that his goodneſs was altered, even before they left the right way, which you dare not ſay; or that free-will was not given them out of goodneſs, which is againſt the ſuppoſition granted in the above-mentioned dilemma.

Regard ought to be had to a ſtrong obligation; it ſhould never be diſpenſed with but in caſes of neceſſity; but men in ſuch caſes ought to have no ſuch regard. If a ſon ſhould ſee his father ready to throw himſelf out at the window, either in a fit of frenzy, or becauſe he is troubled in his mind, he would do well to chain him, if he could not reſtrain him otherwiſe. If a queen ſhould fall into the water, any footman that ſhould get her out of it, either by embracing her, or taking her by the hair (122), tho' he ſhould pluck off above one half of it, would do a very good action; ſhe would not certainly complain of his want of reſpect to her. If any one ſhould ſuffer a lady finely dreſſed to fall down a precipice, would it not be a very fooliſh excuſe to ſay, that it had not been poſſible to ſtop her without ſpoiling her ribbons and head-dreſs? Upon ſuch an occaſion as that, reſtraint and violence are an effect of goodneſs, and if a man were to be ſnatched even againſt his will out of the jaws of death, it would be a piece of charity to do it, tho' you ſhould run the hazard of putting one of his limbs out of joint, if he could not be ſaved any other way; that man, when his paſſion is over, will not fail to thank you for it. This maxim, *viz.* that to ſave a man againſt his will, who would deſtroy himſelf, is the ſame thing as if one ſhould kill him (123), is of no uſe in this caſe; and the greateſt favourers of toleration, will tell you that the pretended command, *Compel them to come in*, ſhould be executed in a literal ſenſe, if the only ſafe and infallible way of ſaving heretics, were to make them go to the Proteſtant Church, or to Maſs, with a cudgel in one's hand, I take the Philoſophical Commentator to witneſs. *If I ſhould ſee*, ſays he (124), *before the door of a houſe a man very wet whilſt it rains very hard, and if out of pity I would deliver him from that inconveniency, I might uſe theſe two means, either to deſire him to come into the houſe, or to take him by the arm, if I were ſtronger than he, and puſh him in. Thoſe two means are equally good in order to obtain the thing I ſhould aim at*, viz. *to keep that man from being wet, it is no great matter whether he comes into the houſe willingly, or againſt his will, for whether he enters of his own accord, or ſtays until he is aſked, or is puſhed in by main force, he is equally under a ſhelter againſt the rain. If Hell could be avoided the ſame way, I grant that our converters would be well grounded; for if it were enough, in order to do it, to be under the vaults of a church, it would be no great matter whether one came into it willingly, or were dragged into it being bound hand and foot, and ſo the ſtrongeſt labourers and porters ſhould be hired to take hold of heretics as ſoon as they ſhould appear in the ſtreets, and carry them upon their ſhoulders to the neareſt church; nay, their doors ſhould be blown up with a petard, if there were occaſion for it, and they ſhould be carried with all ſpeed from their beds to church.* What I have ſaid concerning the right which men have, by virtue of the laws of charity, to thwart and uſe violence towards thoſe whom they preſerve from death by that means, is truer ſtill with reſpect to fathers. They would be altogether wanting to their duty, if they did not take away from a ſon, a knife or a ſword wherewith he is ready to wound himſelf. They ought, notwithſtanding his tears, to ſnatch away thoſe preſents from him, and if they ſee him ready to ruin himſelf for ever in a certain courſe of life, they are obliged to bring him off by force, and even to implore the aſſiſtance of the temporal power. If they neglect the welfare of their ſons, alledging for their excuſe, that they will uſe no violence, as if their ſons were ſlaves, they ſhew that they have no love, or know not how to uſe it right.

It does clearly appear from all theſe things, that they who would ſubmit to the judgment of reaſon the conduct of the divine providence, with reſpect to the permiſſion of the firſt ſin, would infallibly loſe their cauſe, if they had nothing to ſay but that the privileges of free-will ought not to be violated. They would be anſwered, how can you conceive that God is the father of men, and yet ſay that he had rather ſave them the ſhort and inconſiderable trouble of forcing them to renounce an agreeable converſation, wherein they were ready to make an ill uſe of their liberty, than prevent their eternal damnation, which they incur by the ill uſe of their free-will? Where do you find ſuch ideas of paternal goodneſs? To have a regard to the free-will of a man, and carefully to abſtain from laying any reſtraint upon his inclination, when he is going to loſe his innocence for ever, and to be eternally damned, do you call that a lawful obſervation of the privileges of liberty? You would be leſs unreaſonable, if you ſhould ſay to a man who gets a fall near you, and breaks his leg, *that which hindered us from preventing your fall, is that we were afraid to undo ſome folds of your gown; we had ſo great a reſpect for its ſymmetry, that we would not attempt to diſcompoſe it, and we thought it was much better to let you run the hazard of breaking your bones.*

I will not deny but that the permiſſion of making uſe of a thing, and of abuſing it (125), has had ſometimes the character of a moſt eſpecial favour; but then that permiſſion implies the impunity of the abuſe. This then ſignifies nothing in the preſent caſe. See the margin (126).

II. But the ſecond thing which I am to propoſe will give more trouble to the defendants than the other. I have argued hitherto upon this principle; when thoſe whom we love cannot be preſerved from death, or infamy, or ſome other great evil, unleſs we make them feel a leſſer pain, we are obliged to make them feel it. To indulge them in their capricious or bad inclinations, would be rather an act of cruelty than of goodneſs; and as they would infallibly be angry, as ſoon as they come to know the conſequences of it, ſo they would be ready to thank thoſe who did hurt them ſo much for their good. The evidence of thoſe propoſitions is obvious to every body, and it cannot be doubted that Adam and Eve would have looked upon God's reſtraint to keep them from falling, as a new favour as great as the precedent.

This is what the principles of my firſt obſervation run upon; but now I take another way: I grant to the adverſaries all their demands; let them ſay that ſeeing man had received the privilege of liberty, he was to have the entire poſſeſſion and uſe of it, and no manner of reſtraint was to be put upon him. Let them ſay it was not a proper time to ſave a man by pulling him by the arm, or by the hair, by throwing him upon the ground, and ſaying to him, *It is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks* (127). Let them ſay that the free-will of man was a barrier altogether inviolable, and a privilege which it was not lawful to ſtrike at. I will grant it. But was there no other means of preventing the fall of man? God was not to oppoſe a corporal motion; which is a troubleſome oppoſition: A meer act of the will was the thing in queſtion. But all the Philoſophers ſay that the will cannot be forced, *Voluntas non poteſt cogi*, and it is a contradiction to ſay that a volition is forced, for every act of the will is eſſentially voluntary. Now it is infinitely more eaſy for God to imprint in the ſouls of men ſuch an act of the will as he thinks fit, than it is for us to fold a napkin, therefore, &c. here is another

(122) Thus queen Chriſtina was taken out of a lake whereinto ſhe fell near Stockholm. I think St Amand has pointed out that adventure in his poem, intituled, *Moyſe Sauvé*.

(123) Invitum qui ſervat, idem facit occidenti. *Horat. de Arte Poët. ver.* 467.

(124) A philoſophical commentary upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in, Part iii, pag.* 57, *& ſeq.*

(125) The emperor Nerva permitted thoſe two things to the father of Herodes Atticus, who found a treaſure in his houſe. See *Triſtan's Comment. Tom. i, pag.* 357; and *Spon's Travels, Tom. ii, pag.* 164, of the Dutch edition.

(126) The right way of conferring a benefit is not to permit the abuſe of it, but to add to it the art of making good uſe of it. Otherwiſe a preſent is a body without a ſoul, as Horace intimates, Epiſt. iv, lib. i, ver. 6, *ad Tibullum*: *Non tu corpus eras ſine pectore: dii tibi formam, Dii tibi divitias dederunt, ARTEMQUE fruendi.*

(127) Acts ix, 5.

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and that GOD is good; which gave occasion to this other question, How comes it that GOD being good, men are wicked [N]? The solution of this difficulty seemed to Simplicius to be of very great importance (e).

(e) See the remark [N], citation (138).

another observation more forcible still. All Divines own that GOD can infallibly produce a good act of the will in a human soul without depriving it of the use of liberty (128). A preventing delectation, the suggestion of an idea which weakens the impression of the tempting object, and a thousand other preliminary means of acting upon the mind and the sensitive soul, move infallibly the rational soul to make a good use of its liberty, and to follow the right way without being invincibly forced to it. Calvin would not deny it with respect to the soul of Adam, during the time of innocency, and all the Divines of the Church of Rome, without excepting the Jansenists (129), own it with respect to man considered as a sinner. They acknowledge that his actions may be meritorious, though he acts only by a grace that is either efficacious by itself, or sufficient in such a degree that it never fails to produce it's effect. They must therefore acknowledge a divine help so seasonably bestowed upon Adam, and so tempered that it had infallibly prevented his fall, would have been very consistent with the use of his liberty, and had been no restraint upon him, nor disagreeable to him, and had left sufficient room for merit (130).

(128) See the remark [G] of the article MARCIONITES.

(129) That is to say, considering that they affirm that they condemn the propositions of Jansenius in the sense that the Pope condemned them.

(130) With respect to the reason founded on the necessity of leaving to man the means of meriting rewards. See, above, article ORIGEN, remark [E], num. 1, towards the end.

Thus the defendants are driven from all their entrenchments. Perhaps their last answer will be, That GOD owes nothing to his creatures, and that he was not bound to bestow a necessitating or infallible grace upon them. But why then did they say before, that he was to have a regard to human liberty? If he was obliged to preserve that prerogative of men, he must needs owe something to his own work. But not to insist upon that argument *ad hominem*; one may answer them, That if he owes nothing to his creatures, he is altogether bound to himself, and can do nothing against his essence. But it is essential to the holiness of GOD (131), and to his infinite and almighty goodness, not to suffer the introduction of moral and physical evil.

(131) That is, it seems so to our weak reason.

Well, will they reply at last, but *shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus* (132)? This is well said: we should have stopped there. We are come again to the beginning of the lists; it had been better to stay there, for it is needless to engage in a dispute, if after having run for some time, one must at last shut up one's self in one's own Thesis. The doctrine which the Manichees oppose, ought to be looked upon by the orthodox, as a truth in fact, clearly revealed, and since it must at last be confessed, that the causes and reasons of it cannot be apprehended, it is better to own it from the very beginning, and stop there, and look upon the objections of Philosophers as a vain wrangling, and oppose nothing to them but silence, together with the shield of faith.

(132) Rom. ix, 20.

[N] *That men are wicked, and that GOD is good. Which gave occasion to this other question, how comes it that - - - - men are wicked?*] This is what I find in the learned Daniel Heinsius. ' (133) Antiquissima Pythagoricorum disputatio, & ab iis potissimum quos ' ἀκουσματικοὺς vocabant Pythagorici, qui tria quærere ' solebant: Primo, τὸ τί ἐστι, secundo, τὸ τί μάλιστα, ' tertio, τὸ τί δεῖ πρᾶξαι. . . . . (134) In qua ' quæstione tota constabat septem sapientum philoso- ' phia, qui nihil aliud quærebant quam τί μάλιστα. ' Nec quid bonum sed quid optimum, nec quid difficile sed quid difficillimum. Notum est illud ex Plutarch. Symposio septem sapientum. . . . . Sic cum ' quæreretur, quid verissime diceretur, respondebant, ' ὅτι πονηροὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός. Unde primo manavit πύσμα tale, Τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος πόθεν κακοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Quod testantur ' versiculi apud Jamblichum Hippodamantis antiqui ' poetæ, qui in laudem hujus quæstionis scribebat:

(133) Dan. Heinsius, Not. in Maxim. Tyr. pag. 106.

(134) I have left out what is here in the original, I found it confused, and I guess that the Printers suppressed several lines.

Ω θεῖοι πόθεν ἐστέ, πόθεν τοῖοί δ' ἐγένεσθε;
Ἄνθρωποι πόθεν ἐστέ; πόθεν κακοὶ ὧδ' ἐγένεσθε;

' Unde hoc dimanavit, Θεοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιοῦντος, ' πόθεν τὰ κακά. - - - *The most ancient method of disputing among the Pythagoreans, and especially those called Auditors, who used to ask three things: first, what is, secondly, what excels in the highest degree, thirdly, what ought to be done. . . . . In which question, the whole Philosophy of the seven wise men consisted, who only asked, what excelled in the highest degree, not what was good, but what was best, not what was difficult, but what was most difficult. This we find by Plutarch's symposium of the seven wise men. . . . . So when it was asked, what might be said with most truth, it was answered, men are wicked, GOD is good; whence came this question, how comes it, that GOD being good, men are wicked. This appears by the verses of Hippodamas, an ancient Poet, cited by Jamblichus, who wrote in praise of this question:*

Ye gods, whence are ye, how came ye to be such?
Whence are ye, men, how came ye to be bad?

' *Which gave occasion to this question, as GOD is* ' *gracious, whence comes evil?*' Heinsius says this in his notes upon a dissertation abovementioned (135). He adds, that Maximus Tyrius, the author of that dissertation, examined this subject by reason of Plato's doctrine concerning three attributes of GOD (136). 1. That GOD is essentially good, and goodness itself. 2. That he is immutable. 3. That he is truth itself. The first attribute signifies not only that GOD is good, but also that he is the author of good, seeing he is the idea of good, and the idea of good is the cause which produces good. Now because the Platonic Philosophers affirmed, that every idea is GOD, they acknowledged no idea of evil, and consequently no cause of evil; which gave occasion to this question, from whence comes evil? *Ex primo sequitur, Deo, si talis sit, convenire non tantum bonum καθ' δύναμιν, sed etiam καθ' ἐνέργειαν. nec tantum ut bonus sit, sed etiam ut efficiat bonum: quia idea boni est. Idea autem boni, boni quoque causa est & exemplar. Porro cum ideam mali tollant Platonici, quia, ut Parmenides dicebat, πᾶσα ἰδέα θεός ἐστι, sequitur ut quæratur, Unde mala proficiscantur* (137). Lastly, Heinsius observes that this question was thought to be of great importance to Piety, and refers us to Simplicius's Commentary upon Epictetus. The words of that Commentator seemed to me to be so remarkable, that I thought they would be an ornament to this part of my Dictionary. Here they are (138): Περὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τῶν κακῶν ὁ λόγος μὴ καλῶς διορθωθεὶς, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβείας αἰτίως γέγονε, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἠθῶν εὐαγωγίας τὰς ἀρχὰς διεστάρραξε, καὶ πολλαῖς καὶ ἀλύτοις ἀπορίαις ἐνέβαλε τοὺς μὴ καλῶς αἰτιολογοῦντας αὐτήν. Εἴτε ἀρχὴν τις λέγοι τὸ κακὸν, ὡς εἶναι δύο τῶν ὄντων ἀρχάς, τό, τε ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὸ κακὸν. πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄτοπα συμβαίνει. - - - *Disputatio de natura atque ortu malorum, non bene explicata, tum impietatis erga Deum causa exstitit, tum morum honestaque disciplinæ principia perturbavit: tum multis, iisque inexplicabilibus dubitationibus involvit eos, qui causas illius non veras reddiderunt. Nam sive quis malum à Deo conditum, sive principium esse dicat, ut duo sint principia rerum bonum & malum: multæ magnæque absurditates sequuntur.* He there mentions three great inconveniencies; for he asserts that the false explication of the origin of evil has been the cause of impiety, and has confounded the principles of morals, and involved in many inextricable doubts those who had a wrong notion of this subject. He refutes with great force and solidity the hypothesis of the Manichees considered in general: he refutes it better still when he comes to the particular explications they made use of. But when he undertakes in his turn to clear and prove his own hypothesis, he does not so fully satisfy his reader. He makes use of the same method which the antient fathers made use of, that is he gives no other cause of the origin of evil than the free-will of the human soul: it is the only thing he could do; a man must come to this at last, and then he finds himself in the middle of a cross way. Which gave occasion to a learned abbot at Paris, to say not long since, I am in the middle of four ways, that of the Calvinists, that of the Jansenists, that of the Thomists, and that of the Molinists. I know very well which way I ought not

(135) In the remark [L], citation (109).

(136) In lib. ii, de Republica.

(137) Heinsius, ibid. pag. 107.

(138) *Simplicius, in hæc Enchiridii Epicteti verba, cap. xxxiv.* Ὥσπερ σκοπὸς οὐ τίθεται πρὸς τὸ ἀστυχεῖν, οὕτως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν φύσις ἐν κόσμῳ γίνεται. Quemadmodum aberrandi causa meta non ponitur, sic nec mali natura in mundo existit.

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not to go, but I do not know which way I ought to go. *Quem fugiam habeo, quem ſequar non habeo.* The firſt way is contrary to the Council of Trent; the ſecond, to the Popes conſtitutions; the third, to reaſon; and the fourth, to St Paul. Thoſe that are not Roman Catholics may more eaſily get out of this perplexity, by preferring St Paul's authority to that of the Popes and Councils.

(a) Remark [G].

PAULINA (LOLLIA). See the remarks (a) of the article LOLLIUS.

PECKIUS (PETER) born at Ziric-zee in Zeland in the year 1529, was admitted Doctor of Civil-Law at Louvain in the year 1553, and after having been there profeſſor royal of the Paratitles, was choſen profeſſor of Canon-Law in the year 1562. The reputation he acquired by his lectures, and by his works [A], procured him in 1586 the office of counſellor, in the ſupreme council of Mechlen. He died there the ſixteenth of July 1589, and was carried to Louvain in order to be buried in the church of S. Michael, where his widow and children cauſed a tomb to be erected with an epitaph (a), which is given by Aubertus Miræus, and Melchior Adam (b). His ſon, PETER PECKIUS, was chancellor of Brabant, and counſellor of State, and was eſteemed for his prudence and eloquence in the deputations he was charged with to the emperor Matthias and Henry IV. He compoſed ſeveral Latin poems, and amongſt others, *Votum pro ſtudiis Humanitatis*, which was printed. He died in the year 1625 (c).

(a) See Valerius Andreas, *pag.* 755, of Biblioth. Belgic.

(b) See Melchior Adam, in Vit. Juriſc. *pag.* 302.

(c) Valerius Andreas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 756.

[A] *His works.*] His treatiſe *de Teſtamentis Conjugum*, that *de Jure ſiſtendi*, and that *de Juris Canonici Regulis* are moſt eſteemed (1). There are ſeveral editions of his writings, and one was put out compleat in the year 1647. His Commentary *ad tit. d. Nautæ &c.* printed at Louvain in the year 1556, and at the Hague in the year 1603, was reprinted with excellent notes by Arnold Vinnius in the year 1647. The two former editions were full of faults (2). Vinnius added to it *Leges navales & Jus navale Rhodiorum*, in Greek and Latin. This edition was followed by that of Amſterdam 1668 in 8vo. Summaries, and ſome other things, are joined to it: but the correctors of the preſs have not done their duty well.

(1) See Melchior Adam, in Vitis Juriſc. *pag.* 303.

(2) That of 1647, containing all the works of Peckius, is no leſs ſo.

PEYRAREDE (JOHN DE) a gentleman of Gaſcogne (a), and a Proteſtant [A], was a good Latin Poet, and a good Critic. He began to be known at Paris towards the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. He publiſhed ſome remarks upon Terence, and ſome Hemiſtichs, which filled up the imperfect verſes of the Æneid, to which he added ſome verſes. He dedicated that work to the queen of Sweden (b). His corrections and critical conjectures upon Florus, deſerved the approbation of la Mothe le Vayer, who followed them often, and made an honourable mention of him [B]. Balzac ſpeaks of him ſometimes in his letters. I ſhall ſet down a paſſage out of them which is very much to his honour [C]. We find in a letter which he writ from Paris the twentieth of April 1641, to Iſaac Voſſius (c), that he began to feel the infirmities of old age, and that for the ſpace of thirty years he had laboured under great difficulties in his fortune, or ſpent his time in improving his eſtate. It appears from that letter that he had a ſon.

(a) He called himſelf *nobilis Aquitanus* in his works, as the abbot de Marolles obſerves in the liſt of the authors who obliged him.

(b) See the abbot de Marolles, ibid.

(c) It is the 324th of thoſe that were written to J. Gerard Voſſius.

[A] *And a Proteſtant.*] He was a very zealous Proteſtant, as one may gueſs from a letter of Mr de Balzac to Mr Conrart. *But who told you*, ſays he to him (1), *that I hate the Huguenots? It cannot be Mr Conrart, nor Mr de Saumaiſe, nor Mr Daillé, whom I have ſo much praiſed and celebrated, and whom I ſo publickly profeſs to love, honour, and eſteem infinitely. I perceive that Mr de Peyrarede was not pleaſed to make a difference between jeſt and earneſt, and that in the free converſation we had together, he put an ill conſtruction upon ſome words, which I ſpoke without any ill deſign. Without inſiſting any longer upon it, I proteſt, dear Sir, that I hate the Huguenots no more than you hate the Catholics.*

(1) Balzac, firſt Letter to Conrart, *book i, pag. m.* 25, 26.

[B] *La Mothe le Vayer made an honourable mention of him.*] 'I follow the interpretation of the learned 'Mr Peyrarede,' *ſays he*, in his notes upon the nineteenth chapter of the ſecond book (2). He uſes a noble epithet in another place. *Thoſe words*, ſays he (3), *are pretty obſcure, I have interpreted them according to the expoſition of the illuſtrious Mr Peyrarede.* The abbot de Marolles quotes him often in his remarks upon Statius.

(2) La Mothe le Vayer, Remarks upon Florus, *pag.* 910. See alſo *pag.* 842.

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 933.

[C] *I ſhall ſet down a paſſage . . . . which is very much to his honour.*] 'The poſt of Friday 'laſt, brought me ſome news of Mr de Peyra-'rede. Do you know that his name makes already 'a great noiſe at Paris, and that the Celtæ admire the 'Aquitani? Or, if you had rather I ſhould expreſs 'myſelf another way, and ſpeak poetically of a Poet, 'the God of the Seine is ſurprized to hear the Muſes 'of the Dordogne ſing ſo well. For my part, I am 'charmed with their laſt compoſition, and if the 'ſouls of the bleſſed could be raiſed up by the charms 'of fine verſes, I do not doubt but that the ſoul 'of the duke de Brezé would come down from 'Heaven, at the very moment he ſhould be 'told:

- - - - - Tu nube ſerena
Stellato fulgens apice, & radiante corona,
Ad tua Sacra veni, quæ multo Regia luctu
Concelebrat, ſacrique Chori, ſanctuſque Senatus, &c.
Aſpice ut ipſa gemens, ingenti affixa feretro,
Horridaque & laceris luget Victoria pennis,
Quæ quondam tua caſtra, tuas comitata triremes,
Heſperio toties mutas dum ſanguine Pontum,
Deſeruit tua ſigna ſemel: nunc cædis acerbæ
Invidiam lenire velit, fatiſque malignis
Imputat, infandæque excuſat crimina cladis, &c.

'Did you ever ſee any thing more noble or more pa-'thetical than that poor victory, afflicted with the 'death of that brave duke? What a ſpectacle to ſee 'her with her torn robes, and broken wings, do 'penance for a fault which ſhe thought ſhe had committed; to ſee her faſtened and as it were nailed to 'that great coffin, which ſhe waſhes with her tears? 'She cannot eaſe her grief for the misfortune that hap-'pened at Orbitello: She would fain impute it to a 'bad deſtiny: ſhe, &c. (4).' Mr de Balzac writ this the fourth of December 1646.

(4) Balzac, Choice Letters, *Part ii, book ii, Letter xxxvii, pag. m.* 378.

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PEYRE (JAMES D'AUZOLES (*a*) LA) a gentleman of Auvergne (*b*), one of the moſt ridiculous writers of the XVIIth century, tells us before his works, that he was ſon of Peter d'Auzoles, and of Mary Fabri of Auvergne. He deſerved not to be refuted by learned men, yet he had that honour [*A*]. He was ridiculed as he deſerved in a work of Mr Baillet (*c*), ſpeaking of a book which he intituled *Anti-Babau* (*d*). He died of an Apoplexy at Paris the nineteenth of May, 1642 (*e*). I have ſaid ſomething of him in the article of Balzac (*f*), and I ſhall give an inſtance of the meanneſs of his genius [*B*].

(*a*) What we read in Moreri's Dictionary, that his name was *d'Auzoles la Reme*, is not true.

(*b*) Nobilis Arvernus. *Ludov. Jacob, ubi infra.*

(*c*) In the Anti, Artic. 155.

(*d*) It is an anſwer to a letter of Father Bolduc.

(*e*) Ludov. Jacob, Biblioth. Pontific. *pag.* 343; but Peter de St Romuald, Chronol. Journal, *Tom. i, pag.* 619, ſays, that he died of a malignant Fever the thirtieth of June. (*f*) Citation (43).

[*A*] *He deſerved not to be refuted by learned men, and yet he had that honour.*] His little book *Of the permanent life of Melchiſedech* printed in the year 1622, was refuted by Salian a Jeſuit. His *Job* printed the next year, was refuted by Bolduc a Capuchin, and by the Jeſuit Petavius (1). He ſhould have thanked this Jeſuit, inſtead of being ſo imprudent as to write againſt him a Chronological book intituled *the Diſciples of Times*. It is he that is mentioned, without being named, in the preface of the ſecond part of the *Rationarium temporum - - - by Petavius*, wherein it is ſaid that of all Chronological books, that were come out till then, none was more wretched than that which was intituled *Holy Chronology*. La Peyre was the author of it, and of a ſmall Folio printed in 1629, and intituled *the Holy Geography, or an exact Deſcription of the Earth, and a true Demonſtration of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe*. I wonder that Voſſius placed not this author in his long catalogue of Chronologers.

(1) See Mr Baillet's Anti, *Art.* 155.

[*B*] *I ſhall give an inſtance of the meanneſs of his genius.*] I find it in the abbot de Marolles. *Mr le Fevre Chantereau*, ſays he (2), *maintains that the common way of reckoning the years of our lord, is the beſt, and ought to be preferred to all others, againſt the opinion of Scaliger, Father Petau, and others who reckon ſome few years more, or cut off ſome; and as I ſaw that he praiſed upon that account, the late Mr de la Peyre James d'Auzoles, whom I knew alſo very well, I did a little wonder at it, becauſe the good man had no great genius for it, though he applied himſelf very much to it: which I eaſily perceived, becauſe he was of opinion that the year might be made up of three hundred and ſixty four days, inſtead of three hundred and ſixty five, and ſomewhat more, that it might always begin of a Sunday, and end with a Saturday. Certainly, he underſtood not very well that ſcience; for if his opinion was followed, January would ſoon be found in the ſeaſon of Auguſt, becauſe the years would always be too ſhort by one day and ſome hours; which being laſt upon the months, they muſt neceſſarily change the ſeaſons. But he never could underſtand it, and fell into a great paſſion about it; from whence I inferred that Mr de la Peyre was not ſo great a man as he thought himſelf to be in the ſcience which he profeſſed.* He obſerved ſometimes in his diſputes what is practiſed by thoſe that are at law; for he declared where he made his abode. He dated his *Anti-Babau, at Paris in the houſe of Mr Couturier a man of probity and honour, where he lived the fifth of Auguſt*, 1631 (3). Is not this a ſign of a weak man?

(2) Marol. Memoirs, *pag.* 271, 272.

(3) Baillet, ubi ſupra.

PEYRERE (ISAAC LA) born at Bourdeaux, made himſelf famous by his treatiſe concerning the Pre-Adamites, which was printed in Holland in the year 1655 [*A*], and immediately refuted by a multitude of authors [*B*]. He was then a Proteſtant, and had a place in the houſe of the prince of Condé. Tho' he publiſhed his book without putting his name to it, he was known to be the author of it, and upon that account he

[*A*] *His treatiſe concerning the Pre-Adamites, which which was printed in Holland in the year* 1655 (1).] Mr Heidanus was accuſed of having had a hand in the printing of that book; but he cleared himſelf of it, and his accuſer never durſt reply to it. It is what I find in Petrus ab Andlo. 'Ignorantiam Mareſi ſequitur ejus effrons & immane mendacium, quavis pœna digniſſimum. *Eum* ſcilicet *qui familiam ducit inter hodiernos Carteſianos, obſtetricatum fuiſſe editioni libri de Præadamitis inſcripti.* Sed cum vir ille doctiſſimus deteſtandam hanc calumniam publice à ſe fit amolitus in parte ſecunda ſuarum conſiderationum de Sabbatho & die Dominica pag. 31. Nec ille, *qui* ut inquit Mareſius, *olim per indirectum id exprobraverat*, cujus gonorrhæam & profluvia hic lambere ac reſorbere voluit noſter, quicquam reſpondere potuerit, hoc maledicentiſſimæ linguæ ſpiculum inter ſcruta rejiceremus, niſi dudum in auctoris caput reciditſſet cum immortali ejus ignominia (2). - - - - *The ignorance of Mareſius is attended with an impudent and egregious lie, for which no puniſhment can be too ſevere*: *viz. that*, he, who is now at the head of the modern Carteſians, was concerned in publiſhing the book intituled the Pre-Adamites. *But ſince that very learned man has publickly cleared himſelf of this abominable calumny, in the ſecond part of his conſiderations, on the Sabbath and the Lord's day, pag.* 31. *And ſince he*, who, *as Mareſius ſays*, had indirectly charged him with it before, *whoſe filth and excrements Mareſius thought fit to lick up and ſwallow again, has not been able to make a reply, I ſhould with contempt paſs by this malice of his moſt ſlandering tongue, had it not lately recoiled upon the author's head to his eternal infamy.*' You will find in the Supplement to Moreri the plan of the book concerning the Pre-Adamites.

(1) Note, that I have ſeen in the catalogue of a library which was ſold at Leyden on the firſt of October 1696, that book concerning the Pre-Adamites as printed in 8vo, in 1653, and theſe words are added, *Editio optima.*

(2) Petrus ab Andlo, Animadv. ad Vindicias Diſſertationis, *pag.* 10.

[*B*] *And immediately refuted by a multitude of authors.*] The author of the Supplement to Moreri names only four perſons (3), who wrote againſt the ſyſtem of the Pre-Adamites. Here is a larger catalogue. John Conrad Dannhawerus, profeſſor of Divinity at Straſburg, publiſhed there, *Præadamita utis, ſive fabula primorum hominum ante Adamum conditorum exploſa.* John Micrælius profeſſor of Philoſophy, and rector of a college at Stetin, publiſhed a book againſt la Peyrere (4). John Henry Urſinus printed at Francfort, *Novus Prometheus Præadamitarum plaſtes ad caucaſum relegatus & religatus.* Samuel Mareſius, profeſſor of Divinity at Groningen, printed there, *Refutatio fabulæ Præadamiticæ abſoluta ſeptem prioribus quæſtionibus cum præfatione Apologetica pro αυθεντία ſacræ Scripturæ.* John Hilpertus profeſſor at Helmſtad, publiſhed at Amſterdam *Diſquiſitio de Præadamitis*: The *Non ens Præadamiticum*, of Antony Hulſius, was printed for John Elzevir at Leyden. Philip le Prieur publiſhed at Paris *Animadverſiones in librum Præadamitarum.* He took the name of Euſebius Romanus. All thoſe books were printed in the year 1656, as Thomas Bangius obſerves (5), who adds, that La Peyrere ſhewed him his manuſcript at Copenhagen in 1645; and then he ſays, 'Neutiquam 'tamen perſuadere nobis unquam potuimus eo temerita- 'tis dilapſurum virum alias humanum & ingenioſum 'ut hoc commentum publicis typis excudendum daret, 'niſi res ipſa noſtris oculis expoſita fuiſſet. - - - - - *However, I could never have believed that a man, who was otherwiſe learned and ingenious, would have been guilty of ſuch raſhneſs, as to print and publiſh this fiction, if I had not ſeen it with my own eyes.*' Mr Crenius (6) obſerves that Calovius and Schotanus have warmly diſputed againſt the Pre-Adamitic hypotheſis; the former in the third volume of his Common-places and the latter in his Bibliotheque of the holy Hiſtory. He ſays alſo (7), that there are to be found in the edition of the *Prometheus Præadamitarum* of John Henry Urſinus, *doctiſſimorum quorumdam Gallorum in librum de Præadamitis notæ cenſoriæ. - - - Critical notes of ſome very learned Frenchmen on the book concerning Præ-Adamites*, and (8) that Philip le Prieur put out another edition of his work at Paris, in the year 1658, wherein he praiſes

(3) Mr Morin: (Morinus the Aſtrologer) Antony Hulſius, author of the *Non ens Præadamiticum*. J. Pythius, & J. Hilpertus.

(4) It was printed at Stetin.

(5) Tho. Bangius, in cœlo Orientis Exercit. II. Quæſt. viii, pag. 134, apud Thomam Crenium, faſce ii, Exercitationum Philologico-Hiſtoricarum, *pag.* 13.

(6) Tho. Crenius, ibid.

(7) Id. ib. *pag.* 8.

(8) Id. ib. *pag.* 10.

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he was impriſoned in the Spaniſh Netherlands (*C*]. He found no better way to come off, than to lay his doctrine upon the principles of the Proteſtants, and to promiſe to go to maſs. He went to Rome, where he was kindly received by Alexander VII (*a*). He publiſhed, as is uſual, the motives which induced him to change his religion. Some Catholics laughed at it [*D*]. He ſpent the laſt years of his life in retirement (*b*). He had been in Denmark, where he attended Mr de la Thuillerie ambaſſador of France, and compoſed there two relations which have been printed [*E*]. He is mentioned in the Menagiana [*F*], as you may ſee in the remarks. You will find ſome very curious circumſtances in the fragment of a letter which I ſhall ſet down [*G*].

(*a*) See the remark [*C*].

(*b*) See the remark [*F*].

praiſes his antagoniſt for having embraced the church of Rome. Bangius ſays nothing of a treatiſe printed at Leyden in 1656, with this title, *Reſponſio exetaſtica ad tractatum incerto autore nuper editum, cui titulus* Præadamitæ. *Autore J. Pythio Miniſtro Jeſu Chriſti in Swartewael.*

[*C*] *That he was impriſoned in the Spaniſh Netherlands.*] 'In the year 1655, the biſhop of Namur 'publiſhed a cenſure of the book concerning the Pre-'Adamites, written by the Sieur la Peyrere, but without naming him, becauſe he had not ſaid that he 'was the author of it, tho' it was but too well known. 'But he was uſed worſe upon the ſame account, being 'at Bruſſels in February 1656 (9). Thirty armed men 'ruſhed into his chamber and apprehended him; and 'then having carried him through ſeveral long windings of the ſtreets of Bruſſels, they clapped him up 'at laſt in the tower of Turemberg, with the conſent 'of the arch-duke Leopold. He was told, that it was 'by the authority of the great vicar of the arch-biſhop 'of Mechlin. At laſt after he had been ſome time 'in that tower, he was releaſed by the intereſt of the 'prince of Condé, his maſter, and immediately, by 'his advice, he went to Rome, and threw himſelf at 'the Pope's feet, and ſubmitted himſelf and his book 'wholly to his will: and ſo he became a Catholic, 'and had as good ſucceſs as he could wiſh. It 'is what he himſelf ſays in his petition to the 'moſt Holy Father Pope Alexander VII (10).' See the remark [*G*].

(9) Moreri is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays that la Peyrere retracted his opinion in a book printed at Rome in the year 1655. His Printers have put 1555.

(10) Peter de St Romuald, Chronological and Hiſtorical Journal, December 25, pag. m. 675.

[*D*] *Some Catholics laughed at it.*] Read this paſſage out of a letter of Guy Patin, written the ninth of April, 1658. 'The author of the book concerning the Pre-Adamites, whoſe name is Iſaac de la 'Pereire (11), a Gaſcon, is here, being returned from 'Rome. He has publiſhed a little book in quarto, 'in which he gives an account of the reaſons which 'moved him to change his religion, (which in ſchool 'terms is called, to abjure one's Hereſy) and he 'diſowns his book concerning the Pre-Adamites. I 'have ſeen the book, it does not ſell well. It is 'ſaid that the Pope has given him a ſmall abbey, and 'that Mazarin has promiſed him ſome new favour 'from Heaven or Purgatory. He is here waiting 'for that favour, as greedily as you may fancy of a Gaſcon, who is afraid of ſtarving, and who hath changed his religion only to raiſe himſelf and ſave better, 'at any body's coſt. He ſhews himſelf here as if he 'were a great worker of miracles, or a Publiſher of 'pardons. . . . . (12). A Gaſcon, who is a learned 'man, a courtier, and a converted Huguenot lately 'come from Rome, is very fit for theſe pranks, and 'to act ſuch a Comedy.'

(11) He ſhould have ſaid *La Peyrere.*

(12) Patin, Letter cxvii, *pag.* 454, 455, *of the firſt Tome.*

[*E*] *He compoſed two relations which have been printed.*] He made them for la Mothe le Vayer, his friend; one of them is a relation of Greenland, and the other of Iceland; they are both curious enough: I have quoted ſomething of the latter in the article JONAS (ARNGRIMUS). He dedicated it to the prince of Condé; and he intimates in the Epiſtle Dedicatory that he deſigns to write the life of that Hero. I think he is the author of the Relation of the Battle of Lens.

[*F*] *He is mentioned in the Menagiana.*] 'Iſaac de 'la Peyrere (13), of Bourdeaux, is the author of a 'book intituled, The Pre-Adamites, wherein he pre-'tends to ſhew that Adam was not the firſt man. The 'good man boarded at Noſtre Dame des Vertus, in 'the houſe of the Fathers of the Oratory. He was ſtill 'infatuated with his Pre-Adamites, and it is likely he 'died with that fantaſtical notion. He would have 'been very well pleaſed, had he known that there 'is a Rabbin who mentions Adam's preceptor. But 'that Rabbin was a Rabbin, that is to ſay, an author 'not to be minded. When the book concerning the 'Pre-Adamites came out, it was condemned to be 'burnt by the hangman. I deſired the author, who 'was my friend, to ſend it me before it came to light. 'He underſtood the jeſt, and ſent me a copy of it with 'this verſe of Ovid, changing the word *urbem* into 'that of *ignem*.

(13) He ſhould have ſaid *Iſaac la Peyrer.*

Parve, nec invideo, ſine me liber ibis in ignem (14).

(14) Continuation of the Menagiana, *pag.* 38, of the Dutch Edit.

See the Miſcellanies of Vigneul Marville, pag. 144. tom. I. (15).

[*G*] *You will find ſome very curious circumſtances in the fragment of a letter.*] As I do not rely much on Peter de St Romuald, I deſired a gentleman of great merit, who lived then in the houſe of the Prince of Condé, to let me know whether that good Feuillant has given a true account of the matter. Here is the gentleman's anſwer to me, 'I think I am able to 'give you an exact account of what you deſire of 'me, becauſe Mr de la Peyrere was my very good 'friend. He was arreſted at Bruſſels at the time mentioned by your author. But the ſecret hiſtory of it 'is, that the late prince concerned himſelf in that 'buſineſs by the means of his confeſſor, who was a 'Jeſuit, and loved Mr de la Peyrere, bating his religion, which he would have him to change. The 'machine of the Pre-Adamite was therefore ſet a-going: 'he was arreſted, and was made afraid of the conſequences of his book, unleſs he changed his religion. 'The good man, who was not obſtinate about what 'is called religion, changed it very ſoon, and his maſter gave him wherewith to go and fetch his abſolution at Rome, which he did not much value. He 'returned to his maſter, who loved him to the laſt, 'and maintained him, ſince his return into France, 'in the houſe of the Fathers of the Oratory of Paris. 'I have often ſeen him there, and found that he was 'far from being a true Papiſt; but he was very fond 'of his notion concerning the Pre-Adamites, about 'which he writ and ſpoke ſecretly to his friends to 'his dying-day. The Procurator-general of that order, who is a friend of mine, and who loved him, 'invited me to dine with him, and made him confeſs, 'that he writ books ſtill, which he told me ſoftly 'would be burnt after the death of the good man. 'La Peyrere was an extraordinary good-natured man, 'and calmly believed but a little.'

(15) He is called there *de la Peyrere.*

PEIRESC (NICOLAS CLAUDIUS FABRI, LORD OF) counſellor in the parliament of Aix, was born in Provence (*a*) the firſt of December 1580. I might add many things to what has been ſaid by Moreri; but having little room left me with reſpect to the letters of the alphabet that follow P, I am forced to ſuppreſs many articles, and to touch ſlightly upon many others. I ſhall only ſay that no man was ever more ſerviceable to the commonwealth of learning. He was, if I may ſay ſo, its Attorney-General: he encouraged authors, furniſhed them with knowledge and materials, and ſpent his revenue in buying, or getting copies of the moſt ſcarce and uſeful monuments.

(*a*) In the village of *Beugencier*, which Gaſſendus calls in Latin *Belgenſerium.*

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ments. He kept correſpondence with learned men in all parts of the world [*A*]. Philoſophical experiments, curioſities of nature, productions of art, monuments of antiquity, hiſtory, and languages, were equally the objects of his care and curioſity. You will find an exact account of all thoſe things in his life, which was elegantly and learnedly written by Peter Gaſſendus [*B*]. It will not be needleſs to obſerve, that Peireſc, who was ſo famous all over Europe, and whoſe death was lamented by ſo many Poets, and in ſo many languages [*C*], and cauſed a pompous mourning among the Humouriſts of Rome (*b*), was unknown to ſeveral Frenchmen, though men of merit and learning [*D*]. He died the twenty-fourth of June 1637. The Aſtrologers had foretold, that he ſhould marry and have children; yet he never was married [*E*]. (*b*) See the remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He kept correſpondence with learned men in all parts of the world.*] I have been informed by a letter of the abbot Nicaiſe (1), that Mr Thomaſſin Mazaugues (2), counſellor in the parliament of Aix, has ten thouſand letters *in his hands*, which were found amongſt the papers of Mr de Peireſc, and that he is making a choice collection of them; that there are a great many which that famous Senator had received from Holſtenius, Father Kircher, Cavalier del Pozzo, Salmaſius, Selden, Camden, Pignorius, Gualdo, the Puteani, Rigaltius, and ſeveral other learned men, of which he could make one volume in quarto, and intitle it, *Epiſtolæ virorum eruditorum quæ extant ad Peireſkium*. You will find ſome curious things about thoſe letters in the beginning of the *Menagiana*, ſecond edition. Here is a paſſage of Balzac, which will not be improperly produced here, 'I agree with you in 'all the greateſt and moſt magnificent things you ſay 'of your friend; and if you will allow me to make 'uſe of a phraſe borrowed from Greece, I add, that 'we have loſt in that great man, *a piece of the ſhipwrack of antiquity, and the relics of the golden age.* 'All the virtues of the heroical times had retired into 'that noble ſoul. The univerſal corruption of mankind could not affect his good conſtitution, and the 'evil which touched him could not defile him. His 'generoſity was neither confined by the ſea, nor ſhut up on this ſide of the Alps; it diffuſed its favours 'and kindneſſes every where, and it received thanks 'from the extremities of Syria, and from the very 'top of mount Libanus. With a moderate eſtate he 'had the ſoul of a potent lord, and without the 'friendſhip of Auguſtus, he was a Mæcenas (3).' Again, *The late Mr de Malherbe was one of his particular friends, and ſometimes ſpoke to me of him; but only as of a man extremely curious, a great lover of relations and news, a great ſearcher of medals and manuſcripts, who had abundance of acquaintance in foreign countries, and was a great admirer of all the Doctors of Leyden, &c* (4).

(1) Dated at Dijon the 21ſt of February 1696.

(2) Mentioned before, remark [*B*], of the article MARTELLIUS. He did me the honour to write to me the 4th of Feb. 1699, a long account of it, which I would have inſerted at the end of this remark [*A*], were it not that I thought the public would ſee it in the preface to thoſe choice letters before the ſecond edition of this Dictionary be ended. Thoſe letters are printing at Geneva.

(3) Balzac, Letter to Mr l'Huillier. It is the ſecond of the ſecond book of the firſt part of the Choice Letters, pag. 48, of the Dutch edition.

(4) Ibid. Letter xiii, to Chapelain, *book ii, pag. m.* 73.

(5) Multa perperam neſcio quo fato, in vita Peireſkii à Gaſſendo relata, alias fortaſſe docebimus. *Clementius, in vita Salmaſii.*

(6) Peter Borel: *his* Auctarium ad Vitam Peireſkii, *was printed at the Hague in the year* 1655.

(7) *Pag.* 175, *&c ſeq.*

(8) Naudæus, Dialogue de Maſcurat, *pag.* 138.

(9) Id. ib. *pag.* 139.

(10) Et carmina quidem in defuncti laudem Italicè, Latinè, Græcè recitarunt lectiſſima totius urbis ingenia: funebrem verò orationem copioſam ſanè, & elegantem pronunciavit Joannes Jacobus Buccardus delectus ad id muneris. *Gaſſend. in Vita Peireſkii, lib. vi, pag. m.* 349.

(11) Naudæus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 141.

Indus, Arabs, Medus, Gallus, Germanus, Etruſcus,
Anglus, Idumæus, Sarmata, Grajus, Iber,
Et quicunque venit gelido de cardine, & uſto,
Eoiſque plagis, occiduiſque ſonus;
Omnes Fabricio concordi voce parentant,
Qui norat proprios reddere cuique ſonos.
Proh ſuperi! quanta eſt Romana potentia, quæ nunc
Tot populis, & tot gentibus ora aperit.
Romana verè nunc clauditur orbis in urbe,
Cui tam multifido competit ore loqui.

Indian, Median, Engliſh, and Greek,
Syriac, Arabic, Spaniſh, and French.
Italian, German, Poliſh, and all tongues
Between the northern and the ſouthern pole,
Between the riſing and the ſetting ſun,
Concur to celebrate with one accord
Peireſk's ſun'ral, who could each language talk.
How great the power of Rome! it may be ſaid,
The world is now indeed incloſ'd in Rome,
Since ſhe can ſpeak ſo many diff'rent tongues.

[*B*] *His life . . . . . written by Gaſſendus.*] That work is very much eſteemed. Yet there is an author who pretends that many things have not been well related in it (5), I ſuppoſe he means ſome paſſages wherein Salmaſius is concerned. A Phyſician of Caſtres (6), who has collected ſome facts omitted by Gaſſendus, forgot, on the other hand, ſeveral encomiums on Mr de Peireſc, which Colomeſius has inſerted in his *Gallia Orientalis* (7).

[*C*] *His death was lamented . . in ſo many languages.*] Naudæus will afford me the whole commentary on this text. '(8) I would fain . . . . hear thee diſcourſe 'about that famous Academy of the Humouriſts, 'where, as the baron de Rians ſaid one day, the obſequies of his uncle, the abbot and counſellor Peireſc, 'had been celebrated in more than forty ſeveral lan'guages. . . . . (9) Thou mayeſt well judge how much 'that Academy is eſteemed at Rome, ſince Monſieur 'Peireſc, that ornament of France, that great favourer 'of learned men, that abyſs of learning, deſired to 'be a member of it; and ſince as he had honoured 'that famous Academy with his name, they did alſo 'in their turn honour his memory with ſuch duties as 'they had never before paid but to thoſe by whom 'they had been governed, and that upon the account 'of their extraordinary virtue and learning.' Naudæus quotes thereupon Gaſſendus, who ſays, that beſides the funeral operation, ſpoken in Latin by Mr Bouchard, ſeveral elogies of the deceaſed were recited in Italian, Latin, and Greek, verſes (10), and then Naudæus obſerves that the baron de Rians, *who mentions forty languages, and Gaſſendus who mentions only three, are both in the right: for*, ſays he (11), *the praiſes of Monſieur Peireſc were only celebrated in three languages in the Academy, and before the Cardinals; but afterwards they added to the collection of thoſe elogies printed at Rome, this Pangloſſia*, five generis humani Leſſus in funere delicii ſui Nicolai Claudii Fabricii Peireſcii, - - - *or the lamentation of mankind, upon the death of their darling Nicholas Claude Fabri Peireſc, --- which does effectually contain the elogies of that great man in forty idioms, and I might almoſt ſay, in as many different characters. From whence* Scipio de Grammond, *who was preſent at that ceremony, and who died ſome time after at Venice, took occaſion to compoſe theſe verſes, to ſhew how honourable that Pangloſſia was both to the ſaid Sieur Peireſc, and to the city of Rome.*

Balzac expreſſes ſome contempt for the Pangloſſia (12). 'What does Signor John James (13) mean by his 'frightful title of Pangloſſia? To go as far as forty, 'there muſt be three and twenty which were unknown to Scaliger, and the ſoul of Parnaſſus muſt 'be praiſed in Baſque, and Low-Breton: that is enough 'to make a mad Muſic upon your Parnaſſus. It is to 'introduce the Barbarians into that ſacred place, and 'to commit as great a crime, as thoſe who opened 'the gates of Italy to the predeceſſors of the king of 'Sweden (14).' See alſo what he ſays in two other letters to the ſame Mr Chapelain (15).

(12) Moreri is in the wrong to call it *Pandegloſſie*. The Dutch editions of Moreri have *Leſſus* inſtead of *Leſſus*.

(13) That is to ſay, *Bouchard*, who made the funeral oration, and called himſelf *Joannes Jacobus Buccardus*.

(14) Balzac, Letter xxvi, to Chapelain, *book iv.*

(15) The 28th of the fourth book, and the firſt of the fifth.

[*D*] *He was unknown to ſeveral French-men, tho' men of merit and learning.*] Balzac affords me the proof of it. 'Can you believe that Monſieur de la 'Rochefoucaut, had never heard of our Mr de Peireſc, and that a great many other perſons, who are 'neither Barbarians nor ignorant, knew him not, no 'more than he? You ſee thereby that his reputation 'was good, but that the Italian Signor undertook to 'make it great, and that his Pangloſſia is rather an 'effect of his ſollicitations, than a voluntary duty 'which the people thought of (16).' Here is a ſecond paſſage: *I am fully perſwaded of the merit of Monſieur de Peireſc; but I was ſpeaking of his reputation, and you know that there is a* donum famæ - - - *a gift of fame, which all learned men have not, and whereby they who are in poſſeſſion of it, are not only known to the Senate, and to the order of knights, but alſo to the common people and tradeſmen* (17).

(16) Letter i, of the fifth book to Chapelain, *pag.* 205, 206.

(17) Ibid. Letter iv, of the ſame book, *pag.* 212.

[*E*] *The Aſtrologers had foretold that he ſhould marry and have children; and yet he never married.*] Gaſſendus, the dreadful adverſary of that ſort of men, did not fail to make this obſervation againſt them; for having ſet down the day and hour of the birth of his hero,

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hero, he adds, ‘ Quod attingo ſolum, ne videar circa
‘ temporis circumſtantiam non fuiſſe ſatis diligens ;
‘ non verò ut faciam hariolandi anſam conjectoribus
‘ quò jam poſt viri obitum, certiùs quàm antè, fata re-
‘ texant. Etenim mirum dictu eſt, quàm multa men-
‘ titi Aſtrologi fuerint, ſeu annos ſpectes, quibus non
‘ vixit ; ſeu uxorem, & liberos, aliaque, quibus caru-
‘ erit ; ſeu cætera multa, quæ eſt conſequutus (18). - - -
‘ *Which I only mention, that I may not ſeem to have been*
‘ *too negligent as to the circumſtance of time ; and not*
‘ *that I may give an handle to fortune-tellers to re-caſt*
‘ *his nativity after his death, more certainly than they*
‘ *did before it. For it cannot be imagined, how many*
‘ *things the Aſtrologers falſely foretold, whether with re-*
‘ *ſpect to the number of years, which he did not live :*
‘ *or, a wife and children, and other things, which he*
‘ *never had : or, many other things, which he happened*
‘ *to have.* Theſe words of the *Menagiana* ought therefore to be mended : ‘ Mr Peireſc ordered, by his
‘ laſt will, that Gaſſendus might have a hundred vo-
‘ lumes out of his library, at his choice ; his ſon re-
‘ fuſing to execute his father's will, was compelled to
‘ it by law (19).’

(18) Gaſſend. in Vita Peireſc. *lib. i, circa init.*

(19) Menagiana, *pag.* 2, of the firſt Edition in Holland. That miſtake has been mended in the ſecond Edition.

PELIAS, ſon of Neptune, and of Tyro daughter of Salmoneus, was nurſed by a mare (*a*). He reigned in Theſſaly with great injuſtice ; for after he had uſurped the throne, he maintained himſelf on it by putting to death, or perſecuting thoſe who had a right to it [*A*]. He durſt not make uſe of violence againſt his nephew Jaſon, who went to demand of him the crown of his father (*b*). He choſe rather to evade the juſtice of that demand, by propoſing to that young prince a pious expedition, and ſuch as would get him a great reputation [*B*]. It was the conqueſt of the golden fleece. Jaſon

(*a*) Ælian. Hiſt. *lib. xii. cap. xlii.*

(*b*) Pindar. Od. IV, Pyth.

[*A*] *After he had uſurped the throne, he maintained himſelf on it, by putting to death, or perſecuting, thoſe who had a right to it.*] The kingdom did belong to Æſon, and not to Pelias, as it appears from their genealogy. Æſon was the ſon of Cretheus (1), whoſe father was Æolus (2) ; but Pelias was ſon of Neptune (3), and of a daughter of Salmoneus, brother of Cretheus (4). I add, That the kingdom had been given to Æolus by Jupiter, for himſelf and his poſterity.

(1) Apollod. *lib. i, pag. m.* 45.

(2) Ib. *p.* 27.

(3) Ib. *p.* 45.

(4) Id. ib. *pag.* 27, 43.

- - - - Τάν ποτε
Ζεὺς ὤπασε λαγέτᾳ
Αἰόλῳ, καὶ παισὶ τιμάν.

Quod (regnum) *olim Jupiter dedit populorum duci Æolo & liberis* ut eſſet illis *decus* (5). So that according to the laws of ſucceſſion, it did belong not to Pelias, who deſcended from Æolus only by his mother's ſide, but to Æſon who deſcended from him by the males. Note that Æſon and Pelias were born of the ſame mother ; for Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, after ſhe had had twins by Neptune, *viz.* Pelias and Neleus (6), married Cretheus her uncle, by whom ſhe had three boys, Æſon, Amythaon, and Pheres (7). It is plain that Pelias was an uſurper, having excluded Æſon from the throne. Æſon and his wife dreaded him ſo much, that they durſt not breed up Jaſon their ſon ; but as ſoon as he was born they ſecretly conveyed him into the den of Chiron, and gave out that he was dead ; and the better to deceive the tyrant they performed all the ceremonies of the funeral (8). They ſaved their child by that means, but they could not preſerve themſelves from Pelias's cruelty ; for he forced Æſon to drink of the blood of a bull, and ordered that Amphinome, Æſon's wife, ſhould be put to death, and cauſed Promachus, their ſon, to be killed (9). This happened during the voyage of the Argonauts, and upon a falſe report of their death. Note that Amphinome having retired to the Penates of Pelias, and having made a thouſand imprecations againſt him, ſtabbed herſelf (10). Others ſay that ſhe hanged herſelf (11). I ſay nothing of Pelias's violence againſt Sidero, Tyro's mother-in-law (12). He killed her upon the very altar of Juno, to revenge his mother Tyro, who had been very ill uſed by that ſtep-mother. Τελειωθέντες δὲ ἀνεγνώρισαν τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὴν μητρυιὰν ἀπέκτειναν σιδήρῳ (13). Κακωμένην γὰρ γνόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν μητέρα, ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ φθάσασα, εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τέμενος κατέφυγεν. Πελίας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βωμῶν αὐτὴν κατέσφαξε. Καὶ καθόλου διετέλει τὴν Ἥραν ἀτιμάζων. Qui (*Pelias & Neleus*) cum ad juſtam integramque ætatem perveniſſent, agnita matre, novercam, quòd ejus opera parentem male affectam percepiſſent, facto in eam impetu occiderunt : quæ, tametſi intra Junonis templum confugere antevertiſſet, eam tamen Pelias ſuper aram ipſam jugulavit : & in omnibus rebus Junonem negligebat (14). - - - *Who* (Pelias and Neleus) *when they were grown up, having owned their mother, fell upon and killed her ſtep-mother, becauſe they had heard that their mother thro' her means had been ill uſed : and tho' ſhe had fled for refuge to Juno's temple, yet Pelias ſlew her upon the very altar, and ſhewed no manner of regard to Juno.* The author from whom I have this, adds one thing which will not be foreign to the purpoſe in this place, *viz.* that Pelias and Neleus, twins, could not agree together ; and that Neleus was forced to yield, and to ſeek another habitation : Ἐξαίσιον δὲ ὕστερον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ Νηλεὺς μὲν ἐκπεσών, ἦκεν εἰς Μεσσήνην, καὶ Πύλον κτίζει. Atqui poſtea inter ſe diſcordiam exercere non deſierunt, Neleus demum regno pulſus Meſſenam commigravit, & Pylo urbe condita, &c (15). - - - *But afterwards they lived in continual diſcord. Neleus at laſt being driven out of the kingdom went to Meſſene and built Pylos, &c.* Diodorus Siculus mentions the diſcord of thoſe two brothers, and obſerves, that Pelias having obtained the city of Jolcos, and the adjacent countries, raiſed an army, and brought it into Peloponneſus (16). Pauſanias ſays that Neleus fled from Jolcos becauſe he feared Pelias (17).

(5) Pindar. Pyth. Od. IV, *pag. m.* 341.

(6) Apollod. ubi ſupra *pag.* 43.

(7) Ib. *pag.* 45.

(8) Pindar. ubi ſupra.

(9) Diod. Sicul. *lib. iv, cap.* 51, *pag. m.* 241. See alſo Apoll. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 69.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Apollod. ib.

(12) Diod. Sicul. *lib. iv, cap. lxx, pag.* 257, gives her that name, whereby Meziriac upon Ovid's Epiſt. *pag.* 541, has corrected ſeveral paſſages.

(13) Read Σιδηφοῖ according to Meziriac's correction, which is approved by Tanaquillus Faber, in his Notes upon Apollodorus, *pag.* 268.

(14) Apollod. ibid. *pag.* 45.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 258.

(17) Pauſan. *lib. iv, pag.* 112.

[*B*] *By propoſing to that young prince a pious expedition, and ſuch as would get him great reputation.*] A great many authors agree in this, that he favoured the deſign of the Argonautæ, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he hoped by that means to get rid of his nephew Jaſon, whoſe merit he feared. I ſhall only quote Valerius Flaccus : The paſſage is ſomewhat long, but it is no matter, ſince you ſhall find another fact in it, *viz.* the extent of that tyrant's ſtates.

Hæmoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis :
Jam gravis, & longus populis metus : illius omnes,
Ionium quicunque petunt : ille Othryn & Hemum,
Atque imum felix verſabat vomere Olympum.
Sed non ulla quies animo, fratriſque paventi
Progeniem, divumque minas : hunc nam fore regi
Exitio vateſque canunt, pecudumque per aras
Terrifici monitus iterant : ſuper ipſius ingens
Inſtat fama viri, virtuſque haud læta tyranno.
Ergo anteire metus, juvenemque exſtinguere pergit
Æſonium : letique vias, ac tempora verſat (18).

Pelias from his youth Æmonia rul'd :
A long and grievous ſcourge ; and all thoſe ſtates,
Which to Ionia reach, to him belong'd.
Controll'd by none, he till'd in peace the vales
Of Othrys, Hæmus, and Olympus high.
But yet his mind was not at reſt, he ſtar'd
His brother's ſon, and threatnings of the gods.
The prieſts and victims often had foretold
The king's deſtruction by his nephew's hands.
The fame and merit too of Æſon's ſon
Gave to the tyrant pain : ſo he reſolv'd
To ſlay the youth and rid himſelf of fear,
And of his death the time and way contriv'd.

(18) Valer. Flac. Argon. *lib. i, ver.* 22.

Pindar, if I am not miſtaken, is the only writer who tells us, that Pelias encouraged his nephew to undertake that expedition by a motive of religion (19). Here is the ſubſtance of the diſcourſe of that great Poet,

(19) See Benedictus upon Pind. Od. IV, Pyth. pag. 355.

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Jaſon undertook it. It was reported, that that enterpriſe had proved fatal to him, which made Pelias bolder in his cruelty (*c*). He was puniſhed for it by the craft of Medea; his own daughters cut his throat, in hopes that they ſhould make him grow young again, as ſhe had promiſed them (*d*). He wiſhed ſo ardently that ſhe might do him that ſervice, that he ſaid to her, *I give you leave to ſlea me alive, provided you reſtore me to the ſtate of a young boy* (*e*). Some ſay, that ſhe did effectually reſtore him to his former youth. Cicero is one of them. I do not believe, that he did deſignedly take one Perſon for another, as Muret fancies [C]. Jaſon treated Pelias's daughters generouſly, and

(c) See the remark [A].

(d) *See* Diod. Sicul. *lib. iv, cap. lii, & ſeq.*

(e) See the words of Varro in the remark [C].

Poet, I ſhall uſe the words of Meziriac. *Jaſon being two and twenty years of age, came out of the den of Chiron, and returned to the houſe of his father Æſon, where he was viſited by a great number of his relations, amongſt whom were his uncles Pheres and Amythaon, and his firſt couſins Acaſtus and Melampus. He treated them, and made merry with them five days together, and on the ſixth day he went to Pelias, with all that company, and charged him to reſtore to him the kingdom, which lawfully belonged to him. Pelias ſeeing him ſo well attended, was obliged to give him fair words, and anſwered him, that he was ready to yield him his royalty; but that he would exhort him firſt to execute a pious and glorious enterprize, which was to go to Colchos to appeaſe the manes of Phryxus, and bring back into Theſſaly the Golden-Fleece, foraſmuch as the ſhade of Phryxus had appeared to him for a long time, and warned him to ſend ſomebody into Colchos, to call his ſoul thrice upon his ſepulchre, and bring back the Golden-Fleece from thence, and that having conſulted the Oracle about it, Apollo had commanded the very ſame thing. He added, That had it not been for his old age, he himſelf would have undertaken that voyage; but that Jaſon could alledge no good excuſe againſt it, becauſe he was in the flower of his youth, and of ſuch an age wherein the deſire of acquiring glory ſhould work more upon him, than the vain ambition of reigning. Finally, he promiſed and ſwore, in a ſolemn manner, that he would reſtore the kingdom to him, at his return* (20).

(20) Meziriac upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 542, 543. That diſcourſe of Pindar is in the IVth Pyth. Od.

[C.] *Cicero was one of them. I do not believe that he did deſignedly . . . . as Muret fancies.*] Let Mr Menage perform here the office of a commentator (21) 'That fable of Æſon's being made young again by the 'enchantment of Medea, is to be found at large in 'the ſeventh book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis. But 'what Ovid ſays of Æſon in that book, Plautus in 'his Pſeudolus (22), makes a Cook ſay of 'Pelias:

(21) Menagiana, Obſervations upon Malherbe, *pag.* 349, 350.

(22) It is the 80th verſe of the 2d ſcene of the 3d act, *pag. m.* 541.

Quia ſorbitione faciam ego te hodie meâ,
Item ut Medea Peliam concoxit ſenem;
Quem medicamento & ſuis venenis dicitur
Feciſſe rurſus ex ſene adoleſcentulum;
Item ego te faciam.

As Pelias, with old age become quite grey
Was by Medea's charms made young and gay,
I, with my ſoop will make you ſo to-day.

'Cicero ſays the ſame thing under the name of old 'Cato, in his book *de Senectute:* Quo quidem me 'proficiſcentem haud ſanè quis facilè retraxerit; nec 'ſi tamquam Peliam recoxerit. - - - *Whither indeed 'am I going, and from whence I cannot eaſily be brought 'back, nor made young again, as Pelias was.* But if we 'believe Ovid and Apollodorus, Pelias was not made 'young again by Medea. He was, by the perſuaſion 'of Medea, killed by his daughters, who hoped to 'make him young again, in the ſame manner as 'Medea had made an old ram young again. Muret, 'in the tenth Chapter of the ſixth Book of his *Variæ Lectiones*, thinks, that Plautus and Cicero have 'deſignedly miſtaken thoſe names; Plautus, in the 'perſon of a Cook, who never read any Metamor'phoſis; and Cicero in that of an old man, whom 'his memory fails often; and herein he has been fol'lowed by Camerarius, Scioppius, Freherus, and ſe'veral other Critics. For my part, I am fully per'ſuaded, that Plautus and Cicero ſpoke in earneſt; 'and that what they ſay of Pelias had been ſaid by 'ſome antient authors, whom they followed, as Ovid 'followed ſome others.' Mr Menage adds, that *what Ovid ſays of Æſon, Jaſon's father, was ſaid of Jaſon himſelf, by Pherecydes and Simonides, as we may learn from the argument of Euripides's Medea:* Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φασὶν, ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεθήσασα τὸν Ἰάσονα, νέον ποιήσειε . . . . *Pherecydes and Simonides ſay, that Medea renewed the youth of Jaſon. So that it is likely ſome antient author ſaid, that Pelias was made young again by Medea, as well as his brother Æſon . . . and Plautus and Cicero have followed that author, as Ovid followed the author of a poem, intituled,* Νόστοι, *that is to ſay,* the Returns; *for we learn from the abovementioned argument of the Medea, that that author ſaid of Æſon, in that poem, what Ovid ſaid of him in his Metamorphoſis.*

I cannot believe that Plautus told a lie to keep up the decorum, or the probability, no, not if I were told an hundred times, that it becomes a Cook to falſify hiſtory upon the ſtage. But it would be more difficult ſtill for me to believe what is ſaid of Cicero, that he thought decorum required of him, that the memory of Cato, an old grave man, ſhould fail him. It is better to aſcribe that miſtake to Cicero himſelf, if it be a miſtake: which is alſo one of Muret's ſhifts. 'Tale 'aliquid hic quoque comminiſcendum eſt: nam aut 'decorum id & conſentaneum Catoni credidit, quod '& memoria vacillare γεροντικὸν ἔσιν & interdum 'habet aliquid gravitatis in magnis viris minus accu'rata fabularum & talium rerum cognitio: aut hoc 'quoque inter μνημονικὰ Ciceronis ἁμαρτήμαλα 'numerandum eſt (23). - - *Something of this kind is like'wiſe here to be imagined: for either he thought it ſuitable 'to Cato, becauſe the memory of old men fails them, and 'ſometimes the imperfect knowledge of fables, and ſuch 'things, has ſomething of gravity in great men: or this 'may alſo be reckoned among the defects of Cicero's me'mory.*' It is no eaſy thing to refute Menage, for the Antients did ſo differently relate mythological adventures, that it is not unlikely that ſome ſaid, that Pelias was actually made young again. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that if Medea had done him that good office, ſhe would have done it before ſhe and Jaſon fell out: but how unlikely is it that ſhe would have been willing before that time, to beſtow ſo great a favour upon the murderer of the father and mother of her huſband. This is a weak objection, ſince moſt authors ſuppoſe, that he did not put to death the father of Jaſon. The moſt common tradition ſays, that Æſon, Jaſon's father, was made young again by Medea; and ſome authors ſay, that he died in the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and left the tuition of his ſon to Pelias (24). We have ſeen (25), that the latter ſwore in a ſolemn manner, he would reſtore the kingdom to Jaſon, at his return. Why ſhould not we believe, that ſome authors have ſaid that he kept his word: and then it might be ſaid, without any difficulty, that Medea reſtored his former youth to him at Jaſon's deſire. What is very certain is, that there are ſtill extant ſome teſtimonies of his great deſire that ſhe would do him that favour. See Diodorus Siculus (26), where he relates how Medea acting like a Fanatic, and pretending that ſhe came from the Hyperborean country, to make Pelias and his kingdom happy, perſuaded that prince that ſhe was ordered to reſtore him to the flower of his youth. But eſpecially read theſe words of Varro: 'Peliam Medeæ 'permiſiſſe ut ſe vel vivum degluberet, dummodo red'deret puellum (27). - - - - *Pelias gave leave to 'Medea, even to ſlea him alive, provided ſhe would re'ſtore him to the ſtate of a little boy.*' Let us obſerve that the funeral of Pelias was celebrated with great magnificence; and that Jaſon was one of the heroes who contended for the prize in the funeral games by that ceremony (28). Is it not a ſign that Pelias died, being reconciled with his nephew? It is ſomewhat ſtrange that authors ſhould ſay, that ſhe reſtored her huſband Jaſon to his former youth, for he was very young when he married her; and if ſome years after ſhe was uneaſy to ſee him diſpoſed for a ſecond marriage, it was becauſe ſhe began to grow old (29). Perhaps

(23) Muret. Var. Lect. *lib. vi, cap. x, pag. m.* 983.

(24) Schol. Homeri Odyſſ. *lib. xii,* he quotes Pherecydes. See Meziriac, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 535.

(25) In the abovementioned paſſage of Pindar, citat. (20).

(26) Diod. Sicul. *lib. iv, cap. lii, liii. See alſo* Hyginus, *cap. xxiv.*

(27) Varro, in Marcipore, apud Nonium Marcellum, *v.* puellos, *pag. m.* 158.

(28) Pauſan. *lib. v, pag.* 165.

(29) Diod. Sicul. ibid. *cap. lv, pag.* 244.

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and even left the kingdom to the ſon of that uſurper [D].

haps a wrong daſh of the pen, either by an author or a copyiſt, produced at laſt this tradition, that Medea reſtored Jaſon to his youth. If inſtead of writing Αἴσων, ſomebody writ Ἰάσων, it happened that the ſon and the huſband took the place of the father, and of the father-in-law; I mean, of Æſon whom Medea made young again. Such a miſtake in writing would be only the tranſpoſition of a letter; and I grant that ſuch tranſpoſitions are more frequent in printing than in writing; yet authors and copyiſts are not ſo free from them as it were to be wiſhed. One may therefore have ſome reaſon to believe, that they who ſaid that Medea reſtored Jaſon to his youth, grounded their opinion upon a book into which the word Ἰάσων had crept, through inadvertency, inſtead of the word Αἴσων. Which cannot be ſaid of the writer quoted by Mr Menage (30), for the ſequel of the diſcourſe ſhews, that he ſpeaks of Jaſon's being reſtored to his youth, I fancy Mr Menage would have quoted Lycophron, if he had remembered theſe words: καὶ λέβητι δαιτρευθεὶς δέμας ὐκ ἀσμένως ἔμαρψεν ἐρρέοντα σκύτῳ: Et in lebete corpus excoctus non impune cepit arietis vellus (31). *And as his body was boiled in a kettle, he did not take the Golden-Fleece with impunity.* Upon which Canterus made this note, 'Jaſonem à Medea recoctum fuiſſe, notum eſt. - - - - 'It is known that Jaſon was reſtored to youth by Me- 'dea.'

(30) The author of the argument of Euripides's Medea.

(31) Lycoph. ver. 1313.

Note, that if a woman had the gift which is aſcribed to Medea, ſhe would uſe it eſpecially for her huſband. So that all things duly conſidered, I ſhould not much wonder if ſome authors had ſaid, that Medea reſtored to their youth, not only the nurſes of Bacchus, and and their huſbands (32), and Æſon her father-in-law, and Pelias, Æſon's brother, but alſo her huſband Jaſon. It is a greater wonder that ſhe forgot herſelf: why did ſhe give occaſion that it might be ſaid to her, *Medice, cura teipſum, - - - Phyſician, cure thyſelf*; ſince you make other people young, why do not you part with your old age? It would be at leaſt as uſeful to you as the reſtoration of your huſband's youth. I ſhall conclude this remark with obſerving a miſtake of Aldus Manutius the younger. He ſaid that Pelias was Jaſon's father (33).

(32) Eſchylus, in Nutricibus Bacchi, apud Autorem Argumenti Medeæ Euripidis.

(33) Ald. Manut. P. F. in Cicer. de Senect. ſub fin.

[D] *He treated Pelias's daughters generouſly, and even left the kingdom to the ſon of that uſurper.*] They were three: Jaſon married them very advantageouſly. Alceſtis, the eldeſt of them all, was Admetus's wife. The name of the ſecond was Amphinome; ſhe was married to Andremon. The third had for her huſband, Canas, king of the Phocæans, and ſon of Cephalus; her name was Evadne (34). I find this in Diodorus Siculus. That Hiſtorian obſerves (35), that Jaſon placed Acaſtus, Pelias's ſon, on the throne of his father; yet he ſays, a little before, that Pelias having no ſon, was afraid of being dethroned by his brother (36): It cannot be ſaid, in order to excuſe him, that he obſerves, that the fabulous narrations do very much differ one from another; he makes that obſervation that he may not be condemned, if he does not always agree with other authors, Καθόλε γὰρ τὲς παλαιὲς μύθες ὐχ ἁπλῆν ἐδὲ συμπέφωνημένην ἰσορίαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκε· Διόπερ ὰ χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἐάν τινα τῶν ἀρχαιολογεμένων μὴ συμφώνως ἅπασι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι συγκρίνωμεν. In priſcis enim fabulis nulla omninò ſimplex & per omnia ſibi conſentiens eſt hiſtoria. Haud ergo mirandum eſt, ſi in antiquitatibus illis recenſendis cum poëtis & ſcriptoribus aliis non ubique nobis conveniat (37). - - - *For with reſpect to antient fables, there is no hiſtory altogether of a piece, and in every thing conſiſtent with itſelf. Therefore it is not to be wondered at, if in relating thoſe antiquities, I do not always agree with the Poets, and other writers.* But I do not believe he pretended, that ſuch an obſervation ſhould ſerve for his juſtification, in caſe he contradicted himſelf: he were to blame if he pretended ſuch a thing. Let us therefore boldly ſay, that he deſerves a little cenſure upon this occaſion; for he ſhould not have adopted, pag. 233, the opinion of thoſe who ſaid, that Pelias had no ſon, and a quite contrary opinion, pag. 243. He ſhould, at leaſt, have told his reader, that ſome ſaid one thing, and others another. As for the reſt, he had reaſon to obſerve, that his narrations agreed not with thoſe of other writers. We have an example of it here; for we read in Apollodorus (38), that Alceſtis, during the life of Pelias, was married to Admetus, who had performed the hard conditions which Pelias required of thoſe who courted her (39). Apollodorus ſays, that Pelias had four daughters, and names them one after another (40). Hyginus (41) ſays, that he had five, and tells their names. Pauſanias ſays, that the daughters of that prince being overwhelmed with grief, becauſe they had killed their father, thinking to make him young again, left the country, and retired into Arcadia, where they died, and were buried (42). This author mentions their ſepulchre, and adds, that none of the Poets, whom he has read, told their names; but that Micon, a Painter, put upon their pictures the names Aſterope and Antinoe. He obſerves, in another place (43), that one of them was called Alceſtis, in the repreſentation of Pelias's funeral. I wonder he had not read the books from which Apollodorus and Diodorus had the names of Pelias's daughters, or that he had not read thoſe two authors. Let us obſerve, that the name of Pelias's wife was Anaxibia, and that ſhe was Bias's daughter (44). Others call her Philomache, and ſay ſhe was the daughter of Amphion (45).

(34) Taken from Diodorus Siculus, ubi ſupra, *cap. liv, pag.* 243.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid. *cap. xii, pag.* 232.

(37) Diod. Sicul. *lib. iv, pag.* 172. *Edit. H. Stephani* 1559.

(38) Apoll. *lib. i, pag.* 51. Hygin. *cap. li.*

(39) He required that they ſhould bring a chariot drawn by a lion and wild boar. *Apollod. ibid.*

(40) Apoll. ibid. *pag.* 45.

(41) Hygin. *cap. xxiv.*

(42) Pauſan. *lib. viii, pag.* 245.

(43) Ib. *lib. v, pag.* 165.

(44) Apoll. ibid. Hygin. *cap. xxv, pag. m.* 44, & *cap. li, pag.* 98.

(45) Ibid.

PELIAS was the name of the lance (*a*), which Peleus was preſented with on his wedding-day (*b*) [*A*]. He uſed it in battles, and gave it to his ſon Achilles, who made it extraordinary famous (*c*). It was ſo heavy, that none but he was able to dart it (*d*). It was made of an aſh-tree, which Chiron cut down upon mount Pelion (*e*). See Pliny (*f*).

(*a*) Ovid. Met. *lib. xiii, & alibi.*

(*b*) Schol. Homeri in Iliad. *lib. xvi, ver.* 140.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Homer. ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Plin. *lib. xvi, cap. xvi, pag. m.* 248.

[*A*] *It was the name of the lance which Peleus was preſented with on his wedding-day.*] In Homer it is only an epithet taken from the place where Chiron cut down the aſh-tree. Πηλιάδ' ἀ μελίην: *Peliadem fraxinum* (1). Πηλιὰς μελίη: *Pelias fraxinus* (2). The Latins changed that epithet into a proper name.

(1) Hom. Iliad. *lib. xvi, ver.* 143. (2) Id. ib. *lib. xxi, ver.* 277.

PELLISSON (PAUL) was one of the greateſt wits of the XVIIth century. The ſame reaſon which hindered me from giving a long article of Mr Menage, obliges me to be very ſhort in this article (*a*). All that I could ſay of the particular honour, which the French academy did to Mr Pelliſſon [*A*], and of the praiſes he deſerved during the perſecutions which he was expoſed to, for having been in Mr Fouquet's ſervice; all thoſe things, I ſay, and ſeveral other parts of his life, are ſtill freſh in the memory of every reader. It would be as needleſs to mention his application to the great affair, as it was called in France; for the complaints and railleries of the Proteſtants about it, are known to every body. But there is a circumſtance which, perhaps, is

(*a*) The Eloge and Abridgment of Mr Pelliſſon's Life, are to be found in ſeveral new books, which are very common, as the *Mercure Galant*, the *Journal of the Learned*, the *Hiſtorical Mercury*, the *Hiſtorical Letters*, &c.

(1) That is, the Hiſtory of the French Academy. That work of Mr Pelliſſon has always been looked upon as a maſterpiece. See Mr Baillet, Judgments of the Learned, *tom.* 134.

[*A*] *The particular honour which the French Academy did to Mr Pelliſſon.*] 'The FRENCH ACADEMY having 'deſired to hear, in a full aſſembly, the reading of 'that work (1), which was as yet but in manuſcript, 'ordered ſome days after, of their own accord, in fa'vour of the author, that the firſt place vacant in that

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is not so well known: some persons have assured me, that he wished the great affair of conversions had been always carried on in the same method as had been used for many years, without having recourse to dragooning, which will be eternally abhorred by honest men, whatever country or religion they be of. He had been for a long time about a book of controversy, concerning the Eucharist, but had not time to finish it. Something of it has been published since his death [B]. One may perceive in it the subtlety of his wit; which is all that he could put in it. The same subtlety may be observed in his reflexions upon disputes about religion [C], wherein he forgot not what the church of Rome pretends to be the stumbling-block of the Protestants: I mean the difficulties which arise from the way of examination. This stumbling-block, if it be one, is rather that of Rome, than that of Geneva, as I have said elsewhere [D]. I speak

'that body should be designed for him; and that in 'the mean time he should have a right to assist in 'those assemblies, and to give his vote as an Academi- 'cian: with this clause, That the same favour should 'not be done to anybody else for the time to come, 'upon any account whatsoever.' You will find those words in the History of the French Academy (2). They are attended with a discourse which the author pronounced to thank that assembly, the 30th of December, 1652.

(2) Pag. 369, of the Paris Edition 1672, in 12mo.

[B] *Something of his book concerning the Eucharist has been published.*] See the abstract which Mr de Beauval made of it in his History of the Works of the Learned (3), and of Mr Cousin (4).

(3) August 1694, pag. 513, & seq.

(4) In the 20th Journal of the Learned 1694.

[C] *In his reflexions upon disputes about religion.*] The first part of that work was printed at Paris in two volumes in 12mo, in the year 1686. See the abstract of it in the News from the Republic of Letters (5). The next year the author reprinted it, and added a new tome to it, with this title, *An Answer to the objections from England and Holland*; or, *of the Authority of the greatest number in the Christian Religion.* See the Journal of the Learned (6). Some time after he added another tome to it, divided into four parts, and intituled, *Mr Jurieu's Chimeras*; or, *A general Answer to his Pastoral Letters of the second year, against the book of Reflexions, and a short Examination of his Prophecies.* One may easily guess, that so subtile a man had the advantage of a chimerical interpreter of the Revelations. All those works of Mr Pellisson have been reprinted in Holland. See the Leipsic Journal (7). They make up the three first parts of the Reflexions upon Disputes about Religion. The fourth part was published at Paris 1692, and is intituled, *Of the Toleration of Religions. Some Letters of Mr de Leibnitz, with the Answers of Mr Pellisson.* There is this note upon the first page. *These objections are Mr de Lebnitz's, who is well known by his merit. They were sent into France by the duchess of Hanover * to the abbess of Maubuisson her sister. The author of them was not known at that time.* They who have a thousand proofs of the extent of Mr Leibnitz's genius, cannot too much admire the purity of his French stile, which appears in those objections. He is one of those rare men, who can find no bounds in the sphere of human merit, and who fill it up altogether.

(5) July 1686, Art. I. See also the Journal of the Learned, of the 29th of April 1686.

(6) Of the 12th of April 1688, pag. 540, of the Dutch Edition.

(7) Nov. 1689, pag. 564, and in the Supplement, *Tom. I, pag.* 609.

* Princess Sophia.

[D] *The way of examination .... is rather the* stumbling-block of *Rome, than that of Geneva, as I have said elsewhere.*] See the article of Mr NICOLLE (8), you will find in it, that that doctor having objected several great difficulties, could not answer those which were objected against him. Order required that he should answer the objections retorted upon him, and clear the way of authority. The many incumbrances of that way required the speedy work of his hands; yet he put it off till another time, and even durst not positively engage his word for it. He expressed himself thus (9): *As for the rest Mr Jurieu treating two principal questions in his book, one concerning the system of the church, the other concerning the Analysis of faith, I shall only apply myself to the first in this treatise, adding to it the consequences which have some relation to it, and which Mr Jurieu treats in several places, especially in his third book. We shall see afterwards whether there will be the same necessity to treat of the Analysis of faith. But the question concerning the church is important enough to be examined by itself, and in a separate work. And this is what I design to do here.* Abundance of people have been of opinion, that this partition was made with artifice. One of the two pieces was taken, and the other left; because the one promised, at least, that the victory would be disputed, whereas the other threatened with an unavoidable defeat. Which made some conclude, that Mr Nicolle knew very well that the way of authority is but a chimera. Some wiser people have been contented to believe, that he doubted not but it was the way which GOD has shewn to the simple, tho' it is not possible to answer the objections of the Protestants: so that his silence ought not to be looked upon as a proof of hypocrisy; but as an effect of that prudence which does not permit that Heretics should be made acquainted, that there are some important truths, which cannot be well defended against the objections of the adversaries. I do not take upon myself to judge of what passes in another man's heart; and therefore I will not say, that Mr Nicolle was not persuaded of what he said in one of his books. 'GOD has not only given up 'the material world to the disputes of men, according 'to the Scripture; but by a more terrible effect of his 'justice, he has, in a manner given up to them the 'Divine mysteries, and the holy truths revealed to 'them, by permitting that they should be contradict- 'ed by them, that they should become the subject of 'their contests, and that some rash Sophists should in- 'solently play upon them in their discourses and wri- 'tings. It is true, we cannot say altogether of that 'sort of disputes, what the wise-man says of those 'which have natural things for their object, that 'men can never come to know the truth of them by 'their inquiries: *Mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, 'ut nunquam inveniant opus quod operatus est.* On the 'contrary, it is certain, that it appears, and even shines 'among the clouds which men endeavour to cast over 'it; and that humble, sincere, and understanding men 'will find it out among those intricate questions, and 'false subtleties which they endeavour to hide it with '(10).' Which signifies, that the controversy about the way of authority and the way of examination, is not one of those things which GOD has given up to the disputes of men, without permitting them to discover at any time what he has done. But some fancy, that Mr Nicolle believed the contrary: he had a thousand confounding objections against the way of examination: he knew that they are retorted against the way of authority, and that new ones are added to them, which it was impossible for him to resolve. He believed therefore, that the way whereby revealed truths ought to be discerned, is altogether like the works of nature, about which God permits us to dispute, but does not permit us to discover the mystery thereof (11). Once more, I am not so rash as to judge of another man's conscience.

(10) Well-grounded Prejudices against the Calvinists, in the preface.

(11) Mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ut nunquam inveniant opus quod operatus est. *Salomon, in Ecclesiaste, cap. iii, ver. 11.*

(8) Remark [C].

Mr Pellisson has not been more lucky than Mr Nicolle in the defensive part. I confess, he has, without much difficulty, destroyed the distinction between an examination of attention, and an examination of discussion, and some others; but at last he was at a stand, as well as his brethren, when he came to resolve the objection, retorted upon him, and remove the difficulties which arise from the way of authority. So that we may repeat here, that it had been better for both churches, never to stir that question (12). *Nothing can be more pernicious than Mr Nicolle's method: for if he could once persuade men, that it is impossible to find out truth by the way of examination, as he does his utmost towards it, he would soon perceive that he only laboured to set up Pyrrhonism, and consequently to ruin religion. Every one might then argue thus, it is impossible to find out truth by the way of examination, Mr Nicolle has convinced us of it. It is evident that it cannot be found out by the way of authority, and this is much more certain than the rest. What can we do better therefore than to give over, once for all, the hopes of ever knowing that truth which so many people seek, and which no body can find? This is the natural effect of Mr Nicolle's method, from whence one may conclude how pernicious it is. For nothing can be more opposite to religion than*

(9) Nicolle, Of the Unity of the Church, at the end of the preface.

(12) See the article NICOLLE, remark [D].

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ſpeak of it below in the Commentary, and I ſhall ſay occaſionally, that ſome people think it is very likely that no body makes uſe of the way of examination, properly ſo called, tho' it be very much talked of. Beſides, I do not know but it may be ſaid, that

than Pyrrhoniſm. It is a total extinction not only of faith, but alſo of reaſon; and there is nothing more impoſſible than to reclaim thoſe who have run themſelves to ſuch an exceſs (13). Theſe are the words of an ingenious man (14), who has thought profoundly, who is a perfect maſter of the art of reaſoning, and who has made ſeveral new objections to Mr Nicolle: for he ſhews not only that, in order to make a right uſe of the way of authority, we muſt know the church which is in poſſeſſion of the authority; but alſo that Mr Nicolle's arguments would neceſſarily lead us to the doctrine of probability, in it's whole extent. This laſt point would be very ſtrong againſt Mr Nicolle, who has ſo well refuted the doctrine of probability. The other point requires a great many diſcuſſions. We cannot know where the authority reſides, but by examining what are the marks of the church which is in poſſeſſion of it. *We muſt know the preciſe number of thoſe marks. We muſt know not only that there are ſo many but alſo that there no more* (15). We muſt know whether they who reckon a hundred are more reaſonable than thoſe who reckon fifteen, or twelve, or ten, or ſix, or only four. When we have fixed the number of the marks, we muſt examine, whether they agree with the church of Rome, rather than with the Greek church. Which requires a great deal of pains, and a long ſeries of diſcuſſions: ſo that they who will avoid the way of examination, are neceſſarily brought to it again.

(13) *La Placette, A Treatiſe of Conſcience, pag.* 377. *He had ſaid, pag.* 370, that nothing is more falſe and more pernicious than that objection of Mr Nicolle; that it runs upon ſuppoſitions which are moſt certainly contrary to truth, and that it is only fit to baniſh the certainty of Faith, and Morality, and to ſet up an univerſal Pyrrhoniſm in religion.

(14) Heretofore a miniſter of Bearne, and now at Copenhagen.

(15) La Placette, *Ibid. pag.* 372.

It is to be feared that a third party will ſtart up and teach that men are neither led to the true religion by the way of authority, nor by the way of examination, but ſome by education, and others by grace. Education without grace and examination does only perſwade. Grace with education, and ſometimes without education and examination, or with a ſuperficial examination, perſuades to ſalvation. Every orthodox perſon ought to ſay, *Gratia Dei ſum quod ſum*: I am what I am by the grace of GOD. I am orthodox *by grace* (16), *not of my ſelf, it is the gift of GOD, not by my works*, by inquiries, and diſcuſſions, *that no man ſhould glory*. Let the examination be eaſy, or at leaſt poſſible; let it be difficult, or even impoſſible; this is moſt certain, that no body makes uſe of it (17). Moſt men cannot read; moſt of thoſe who can read, do never read the works of their adverſaries; they know the reaſons of the contrary party only by ſome fragments which they find in the writing of their own authors. The pretenſions of the contrary party are but imperfectly and very weakly repreſented in thoſe fragments. To know the force of objections, they ought to be conſidered as they are placed in their ſyſtem, and connected with their general principles, conſequences and dependencies. Therefore, to examine the opinions of an adverſary, is not merely to compare the anſwer of our authors with the objections alledged by them; this is to judge of the force of a wheel only by the effects it may produce, being ſeparated from it's engine. Such a thing cannot properly be called an examination. As for the doctors, who pore upon the works of their adverſaries, they uſe all their wit not to enquire whether they are in the right, but to find that they are in the wrong, and to invent ſome anſwers. All the anſwers which they invent, ſeem to to them to be good, becauſe they are always ſtrongly perſuaded that their adverſaries are Heretics. This cannot be called an examination neither, but improperly. The firſt thing that ſhould be done, in order to a right examination, ſhould be to doubt of one's religion. But the leaſt doubt about it would be looked upon as an offence againſt God, and a fatal ſuggeſtion of the Devil; ſo that when men go about to diſcern Orthodoxy from Heterodoxy, they are not diſpoſed as St Auguſtin ſays they ſhould be. He would have them to lay aſide the thoughts of being already in poſſeſſion of the truth. ‘ Ut autem facilius miteſcatis, & non ‘ inimico animo vobiſque pernicioſo mihi adverſemini, ‘ quovis judice me impetrare à vobis oportet, ut ex ‘ utraque parte omnis arrogantia deponatur. Nemo ‘ noſtrum dicat jam ſe inveniſſe veritatem: ſic eam ‘ quæramus, quaſi ab utriſque neſciatur. Ita enim di- ‘ ligenter & concorditer quæri poterit, ſi nullâ teme- ‘ rariâ præſumptione inventa & cognita eſſe credatur

(16) Epheſ. ii, 8, 9.

(17) Note, that this is not the diſcourſe of the author of this book, but of a third party, which may be feared. The ſame thing ought to be noted in many other places.

‘ (18). - - - - *But that you may become moderate and may* (18) Auguſt. contra Epiſt. fundam. cap. 3.
‘ *not write with a mind inveterate againſt me and per-*
‘ *nicious to yourſelves, I muſt by all means beg that we*
‘ *may on both ſides diveſt ourſelves of all prejudice. Let*
‘ *neither of us ſay, we have already found out the truth;*
‘ *let us ſo ſearch for it, as if it were unknown to us both.*
‘ *For ſo it may be diligently and amicably ſought for, if*
‘ *by raſh preſumption we believe not that it is already*
‘ *known and found out.*’ They, who ſay that the corruption of the heart hinders a Heretic from diſcovering the truth, are often miſtaken, if they mean that his inclination to drunkenneſs, whoring, and other ſenſual pleaſures, or pride, avarice, &c. corrupt his judgment (19); but they are not miſtaken, if they mean that his prepoſſeſſion hinders him from diſcovering good proofs. He examines the reaſons of the Orthodox, being fully perſuaded that he has the truth on his ſide, and that he ſhould offend GOD, if he fancied that the proofs of the contrary party are ſolid. He thinks he acts like a faithful ſervant of GOD, if he looks upon thoſe reaſons as meer ſophiſms and employs the whole force of his mind to invent anſwers, and he cannot believe that his anſwers are not good, ſince they are directed againſt what he believes to be falſe, and intended to ſupport the truth. He is miſtaken, if he fancies he has very well examined the ſyſtem of the contrary party. But I beſeech you, tell me, whether the orthodox have not the like perſuaſion, when they examine the cauſe of Heretics. They are both like people that are at law, the reaſons of their adverſaries never appear ſolid to them; tho' they read over and over the papers which they produce, they look upon them as meer wrangling; and when they have been condemned by inferiour and ſupreme judges, they believe ſtill that they are in the right, and would appeal to another tribunal, if there were any. From whence comes this? Is it not becauſe they examine every thing with a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion that they have juſtice on their ſide? Nothing can better convince us of the uſeleſſneſs of a partial examination, than what happens every day to noveliſts, or newſmongers. They perſuade themſelves that the party which they eſpouſe has a juſt cauſe, and they paſſionately deſire that it may prevail. They would be extreamly vexed, if a bright light ſhould ſhine in their eyes, whereby they ſhould be convinced of the juſtice and good fortune of the contrary party. Here is the effect of thoſe paſſions. They read the manifeſto's and relations of the enemies as ſo many falſhoods; tho' their reaſons be never ſo probable, they reject them; they apply their minds wholly to conſider what may be anſwered. But whilſt they are attentive to the ſpecious appearances of the anſwer, without minding the fair ſide of the objection, they never acquire any knowledge but what flatters their prejudices. If there be any ill news, they do not believe it; they invent a thouſand reaſons to ſhew it is falſe; they make this their whole buſineſs. If there be any good news, there credulity has no bounds (20), the weakeſt appearances are as good to them as a ſtrong proof; they uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport thoſe appearances; they remove from their fancy the contrary appearances, and ſo they ſpend the year without trouble and uneaſineſs, thanks to their induſtry which removes the unpleaſant objects, and creates every day ſome agreeable chimeras in their fancy. Nothing but an undeniable evidence can undeceive them; and if they will ſeriouſly examine themſelves, they muſt needs confeſs that they reſt ſatisfied with ſuch reaſons as they would deſpiſe, if they were alledged in favour of their enemies. Is it not true that if the reaſons *pro* and *con* in matters of religion, are not more carefully examined than thoſe which concern public news, it does not deſerve the name of examination? Is it not true alſo that the ſame ſpirit, which commonly prevails in the noveliſts, who are zealous for a party, prevails alſo in moſt men zealous for their religion? The loſs of a battle afflicts a noveliſt but he is extreamly pleaſed to hear of a victory; and therefore he exhauſts all the ſtrength of his mind to convince himſelf that the battle was won; and if the proofs of the contrary are not undeniable, if there be three probabilities for the victory, againſt ten or twelve probabilities for the loſs of the battel, it is enough for him to believe that it

(19) See the Philoſophical Commentary upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in, Part ii, ch. x, pag.* 148, & *ſeq.*; & *Part iv, pag.* 215, & *ſeq.*

REFLEXIONS upon the prejudices of the Noveliſts.

(20) Note, that there is another ſort of Noveliſts: they are induſtrious to afflict themſelves. They believe what they fear, and not what they wiſh.

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that the obſtacles to a right examination do not ſo much proceed from want of knowledge, as from prejudices [E]. It would be unjuſt to impute to the Proteſtants what was reported, that Mr Pelliſſon refuſed to confeſs during his laſt ſickneſs [F]. His eldeſt brother

it is won. Men are not leſs pleaſed in a diſpute about religion, when they believe that their adverſaries are worſted; they would not be leſs afflicted if they ſhould ſee their adverſaries triumph. So that the trouble which men endeavour to avoid on both ſides, and the pleaſure which they endeavour to procure to themſelves, hinder them from examining things impartially, and make them uſe a double weight and a double meaſure.

This is what a third party might advance, affirming the right, and denying the fact; affirming that men ought to follow the way of examination, but that no body does follow it. However it be; the difference proves very great in the event; for whereas thoſe that err, would perhaps become orthodox, if they were not perſuaded that they are ſo already; the orthodox, it may be, preſerve themſelves from Hereſy, becauſe they are ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the notion that they are orthodox.

[E] *The obſtacles to a right examination . . . . proceed from prejudices.*] After what has been ſaid, I need not make a long commentary upon this. The example of men that are at law, and of noveliſts which I have made uſe of, is very fit to make us apprehend, that a man, who is a judge and a party, cannot well diſcern truth from falſhood. Men are not allowed to be judges and parties, for two very good reaſons: firſt, becauſe they would be apt to decide in their own favour, tho' they ſhould be ſenſible of their injuſtice: ſecondly, becauſe they would be apt to believe that they are in the right, even when the juſtice of the cauſe of the contrary party might eaſily be known. Every body is a judge and a party in diſputes about religion; for men do not examine the reaſons of their adverſaries with a Sceptical and Pyrrhonian ſpirit. Such a diſpoſition would be looked upon as a crime: they examine them therefore being fully perſuaded, that the religion they profeſs is the only true one. Thus they are almoſt prepoſſeſſed with the abovementioned paſſions of noveliſts. Three probabilities on the ſide of our pre-poſſeſſion prevail over ten or twelve on the other ſide: the reaſon of it is, becauſe we are infinitely more attentive to ſuch probabilities as pleaſe us, than to thoſe which make us uneaſy. Mr Nicolle confirms what I ſay. *Tho' the diſproportion there is between GOD and the creatures, and between eternal and temporal things be never ſo infinite, yet the ſmalleſt pleaſures and the leaſt worldly advantages are every day preferred before GOD and eternal happineſs; becauſe we have a quick ſenſe of thoſe pleaſures and advantages, whereas GOD and eternal things are but weakly conceived: in the ſame manner our minds are carried away by the weakeſt appearances, and the worſt reaſons. They need but apply themſelves ſtrongly to them; for ſuch an application hinders them from ſeeing any other reaſons, and they are ſo full of thoſe, that no other reaſon can find admittance. Moſt queſtions ought to be decided only by comparing reaſons one with another; and it is commonly a piece of raſhneſs to decide a queſtion by examining only the reaſons of one ſide. But how eaſy is it to miſtake in that compariſon, or to proceed in it unfairly? How many are there, who cannot comprehend ſo many things at one time? If they are intent upon the conſideration of one reaſon, they forget the reſt, and ſo do not truly compare them one with another. They are determined by their preſent application; and it is their paſſion that makes them apply, and conſequently their inclination and not their light is the principle of their perſwaſion. That which is moſt terrible, is, that as, on one hand, it is an eaſy thing for men to fall into error and illuſion, ſo, on the other, it is very difficult for them to get out of it, becauſe they know not the defects which engaged them into it, and having no other ſpiritual eyes to diſcern them, they judge both of themſelves and other perſons by thoſe very eyes which are diſtempered.* Ita fit ut animus de ſe ipſo tum judicet, cum id ipſum quo judicat ægrotet (21). Be pleaſed to obſerve, 1. That in ſome caſes the truth which diſpleaſes us, is ſo manifeſt that it cannot be miſtaken. 2. That there are ſome ſuits at law, and ſome controverſies, wherein it is ſo difficult to diſcern truth from falſhood, that the moſt diſintereſted judges, and even the moſt ſubtil Sceptics would not know which way to turn. It is therefore true that men are not always blinded by their prejudices and paſſions, and that the difficulties which they meet with in an examination are ſometimes in the things themſelves.

(21) Nicolle, preface to the *Préjugez légitimes*, (Well-grounded Prejudices,) pag. * 4, of the Dutch edition.

[F] *It would be unjuſt to impute to the Proteſtants the reports . . . . that he refuſed to confeſs during his laſt illneſs.*] Several perſons, having read the Rotterdam Gazette of the 16th of February 1693, believed that the whole memorial inſerted in it concerning Mr Pelliſſon, had been forged in the ſame city, and that the author of that Gazette, out of ſome prudential reaſons, could not diſpenſe with publiſhing that memorial. This opinion was not exactly true; for it is certain, ſeveral letters came from France into Holland, which ſaid that every body in Paris was offended at Mr Pelliſſon's way of refuſing to confeſs. So that theſe words of the Gazette, *Mr Pelliſſon departed this life yeſterday, having refuſed to hear any body ſpeak to him of religion, and without communion and confeſſion* (22), were not invented by the great and ſorry Newsmongers who were ſuſpected of it. It was grounded upon ſeveral letters which came from France. But it will be ſaid, That thoſe letters had been written by ſome Proteſtants of Paris. I know nothing of it; I know only that the Catholics of Paris were the firſt who publiſhed this news and murmured at it. Madam de Scuderi, an intimate friend of the deceaſed, was afflicted at that report, and defired the biſhop of Meaux to acquaint her with the truth of the matter. That Prelate writ a letter to her, which was printed. Some other pieces came out about it in France and in Holland, and a little while after there was no further talk of it. What was undeniable, was that Mr Pelliſſon died without communion and confeſſion. There were three different opinions about this matter, which happens almoſt always. Mr Pelliſſon's friends maintained, agreeably to the biſhop of Meaux's account, that he had ſent for a confeſſor; but that he was ſuffocated by his defluxion before the time appointed for his confeſſion. His enemies gave the worſt turn they could to all the circumſtances. Impartial perſons were contented to ſay that the whole buſineſs was to be left to the ſearcher of hearts, and affirmed only the matter of fact, *viz.* That Mr Pelliſſon did not confeſs. As for the reſt, they condemned thoſe who publiſhed that he died HAVING REFUSED TO HEAR ANY BODY SPEAK TO HIM OF RELIGION (23); for it ſuppoſes that ſome people came to ſpeak to him of religion, and that he refuſed to hear them; which, ſay they, is very falſe. They add, That ſeveral pious perſons have put off their confeſſion and communion in their ſickneſs; either becauſe they did not think themſelves to be ſo ill as they were, or becauſe the concerns of their family required that they ſhould not be thought to be at the point of death (24). Such delays, wherein the conſcience has no ſhare, may be the cauſe why a man dies without confeſſion. However, a Catholic Hiſtorian will doubtleſs be alledged againſt Mr Pelliſſon (25). His hiſtory was printed at Paris with the king's privilege, in the year 1694. Theſe words are to be found in it, pag. 223. of the ſecond tome: *Paul Pelliſſon's religion was variouſly ſpoken of; ſome ſaid that he had none; that he was only a time-ſerver; and that according to him the religion of the prince, and that which ſerves his ambition moſt was always the beſt: others believed that he was a Proteſtant in his heart; and others, that he was a Catholic in earneſt. What is certain is, that he profeſſed thoſe two religions at different times of his life, and appeared zealous in both. But at his dying hour he profeſſed none openly; for he would not receive the ſacraments of the Church of Rome, nor durſt own himſelf to be a Huguenot; but perſiſted to the laſt in a profound ſilence, the reaſons whereof are only known to GOD* (26). But they who know that thoſe words are not to be found in the Paris edition, will not produce this witneſs. I know, the Dutch edition contains ſeveral things, which Mr de Riencourt never thought of. Note, That the Dutch edition contains in the title theſe words, *Paris, for Claude Barbin, in the palace, 1694, with the king's licence.* Will they who ſhall find it forty years hence in ſome library, be able to know that it is a falſe one? Will they not ſeriouſly believe, that whatever it contains was publiſhed

(22) Rotterdam Gazette of the 16th of February 1693, in the Paris article of the 9th of February.

(23) See, above, citation (22).

(24) Mr Paſcal having confeſſed himſelf to the prieſt during his laſt ſickneſs, frighted his friends, and therefore his Phyſicians accuſed him of fear. Whereupon he ſaid, *I would fain communicate, but ſince I perceive that my friends are ſo ſurprized at my confeſſion, I am afraid they would be more ſtill; wherefore it is better to put it off; and the prieſt having been of the ſame opinion, he did not communicate.* See his Life, pag. 43. Whilſt this ſheet is reprinting in January 1701, the Dutch Gazettes give out that Mr Roze, ſecretary of the cloſet, and Mr Stouppe, lieutenant-general, died at Paris without receiving any ſacrament, and no body infers from thence that they were not good Catholics. In the *Menagiana*, it is ſaid that ſick perſons put off making their will and confeſſion as a bad omen.

(25) Mr de Reincourt, corrector of accounts.

(26) Reincourt's Hiſtory of Lewis XIV, *pag.* 224.

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brother died young, and had been an author already (*b*). That family has produced several illustrious persons [G].

I ought not to omit, that his preface to the works of Sarasin is a master-piece. It should be added to the three or four prefaces mentioned above (*c*). It very well deserves the commendations Costar has bestowed upon it (*d*).

(*b*) He is the author of an anonymous book, intituled, *A Miscellany of Various Problems*, printed at Paris in the year 1647, in 12°. See the Antiquities of Castres by Peter Borel.

(*c*) In the article CALVIN, remark [F] in the margin, citation (20).

(*d*) Costar, Letter cclxviii, and cclxxviii, of the first part.

lished at Paris by a corrector of accounts? And if any one objects to them, that his edition does not mention that profound silence, that refusal of the sacraments, *&c* (27), and that they falsify the public History: Will they not produce a copy wherein a thousand witnesses may read, PARIS, FOR CLAUDE BARBIN, *&c?* Will they be at the trouble of appointing some able persons to examine and compare those editions? Not at all: every one will follow his own prejudices, and will take for the false edition that which he does not like. From whence it may be known, how difficult it is for men to avoid error, in the midst of so many clouds which are cast before-hand over the time to come. Our predecessors took no less care to deceive us, than we do now to deceive our posterity. And if men are so bold as to falsify the works of an author, whilst he is alive, who can assure us, that the manuscripts of the Fathers have been spared? Who can assure us that no body suffers persecution, for defending the trick of a falsifyer of books in libraries?

(27) For he would not receive the sacraments of the church of Rome. *Reincourt, ubi supra.*

[G] *That family has produced several illustrious persons.*] 'From the family of the Pellissons came Raimond Pellisson, first president at Chambery: Peter 'Pellisson, second president in the same place: Thomas Pellisson, quarter-master of the troop of Gend'armes of Guy de Maugiron, governor of Chambery, 'and high provost of Dauphine: Benedict Pellisson, 'the only Recorder civil and criminal of the parliament of Dauphiné, six score years ago, which was 'so considerable a place, that it is now divided into 'nine, each whereof is worth eleven thousand crowns: 'John Pellisson de Condrieu, principal of the college 'of Tournon, who made an epitome of the Latin 'Grammar, which Despauterius (28) enlarged, and 'who was the first that composed the Latin Grammar 'and it's rules, with the institution of children in a 'college, printed at Lyons 1530 in 16*mo*, by Thibaut Payen, according to du Verdier in his French 'Bibliotheque. He made also the elogy of Cardinal 'de Tournon, printed at Lyons by Gryphius, in the 'year 1534 in 4to. I could name many other illustrious men, descended from that ancient family 'within these four hundred years, who have distinguished themselves both in the army and in the law, 'with their illustrious alliances; and I might speak 'of Lewis Pellisson, whose great learning has been 'honourably mentioned by the president Faber in the 'treatise *de erroribus pragmat.* and *de conjecturis*, chap. '10. As also of Peter and John James Pellisson, 'counsellors in the parliament of Toulouse, and in the 'chamber of the edict of Castres, men of great learning; the first was so good a Chess-player, that an 'Italian, who played extraordinary well at it, and 'wanted a match, having played with him incognito, 'and being beat, cryed out, *O è il Diavolo, O il Signor Pellissono. - - - It is either the Devil, or Mr Pellisson.* . . . . The family of the Pellissons is also de- 'scended by the women, from that of du Bourg (29), 'which is famous for the great Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the parliament of Paris, and Antony de 'Bourg, chancellor of France under Francis I, and 'from the family of the Cavaignes (whose heirs they 'have been) and of the president Mansencal. . . . . I 'would say more of it, if John Posselius had not written a book on purpose which contains the praises of 'Raimond Pellisson, and of the city of Chambery, 'printed at Lyons by Gryphius (30).' The author from whom I have this long passage, tells us in another place (31) that Claude Pellisson was *knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, two hundred years ago* (32), and that the Pellissons *came from an Englishman, Attorney-general to the Prince of Wales, when he was in Guienne.*

(28) This author so well known in the schools of France, is so far from having enlarged the work of John Pellisson, that the latter made an abridgment of Despauterius. *Vid. Epitom. Bibliath. Gesner.*

(29) See the History of the French Academy, *pag.* m. 61.

(30) Peter Borel, Treasure of the Gallic and French Antiquities, *pag.* 233.

(31) Ibid. *pag.* 377.

(32) This book of Peter Borel was printed in 1655.

PENELOPE, daughter of Icarius, brother of Tyndarus king of Lacedæmon, was the wife of Ulysses, and became so famous for her chastity, that she is recommended as an example to this very day, and is grown into a proverb. It is said, that Ulysses obtained her by the good offices of Tyndarus (*a*), as a reward of the good advice he had given him (*b*). Others say, that he gained her in a race, Icarius having declared to those who asked him his daughter, that the best runner should have her (*c*). Ulysses won the prize. He might be therefore compared with those who run after a benefice, and carry it, because they have the best horses. He could never resolve to live at Lacedæmon, as his father-in-law desired: he set out again for Ithaca, and his wife followed him. What she did, when her father, pursuing them, overtook them in the way, deserves our notice [A]. The new married couple loved one another very tenderly, so that Ulysses did whatever he could not to go to the siege of Troy (*d*). But all

(*a*) Apollod. Bibl. *lib. iii, pag. m.* 217, 218.

(*b*) See in the text of the article HELENA, citation (*a*), what he advised Tyndarus to do about the marriage of Helena.

(*c*) Pausan. *lib. iii, pag.* 93.

(*d*) See the article ULYSSES.

[A] *What she did, when her father, pursuing them, overtook them in the way, deserves our notice.*] Icarius having not been able to perswade his son-in-law to stay in Lacedæmon, endeavoured to prevail upon his daughter to continue there. But his intreaties could not move her to make so great a sacrifice to him, as to prefer the house of her father to that of her husband. She therefore set out with Ulysses, to go to Ithaca. Her father finding that they had made their escape, got into his chariot, pursued them, overtook them, and renewed his intreaties to his daughter. Ulysses tired with this importunity, declared to Penelope, that if she would follow him willingly, he should be very glad of it; but that if she had rather return to Lacedæmon, he would not oppose it. Though Penelope returned no answer, but only let down her veil, yet Icarius discovered her thoughts, and clearly perceived that she had a mind to follow her husband. He consented to it, and erected in that very place, a statue of modesty. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τέως μὲν ἠνείχετο, τέλῳ δὲ ἐκέλευε συνακολουθεῖν Πηνελόπην ἐκοῦσαν, ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἐλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὴν ἀποκρίνασθαι φασιν οὐδὲν· ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν, ἅτε δὴ συνιεὶς ὡς βούλεται ἀπιέναι μετὰ Ὀδυσσέως, ἀφίησιν· ἄγαλμα δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Αἰδοῦς. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τῆς ὁδοῦ προήκουσαν ἤδη τὴν Πηνελόπην λέγουσιν ἐγκαλύψασθαι. *Ulysses tandem vicatus hominis importunitate, puellæ optionem dedit, vel se ut sequeretur, si id mallet; vel cum patre Lacedæmonem rediret: ibi illam ajunt nihil sanè respondisse, sed faciem tantum velasse: Icarium cum sibi probè nosse videretur, quid illa animi haberet, ut cum Ulysse abiret, permisisse: signum vero pudoris ea in viæ parte dedicasse; quò Penelope, cum faciem velavit, pervenerat* (1). Here are some lively strokes of the character of an honest woman. Reason will have a wife to follow her husband, and nature requires it. Yet if it be left to her choice either to go with her husband, or to stay with her father who passionately desires it, she ought to be silent out of modesty, and to intimate only by signs what resolution she has a-mind to take. The modesty and decency of her

(1) Pausan. *lib. iii, pag.* 104.

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all devices proved unſucceſsful, and he was forced to leave his dear wife by whom he had one boy. He was twenty years without ſeeing her. During this long abſence ſhe was courted by a great many lovers [*B*], who urged her to declare her mind; but ſhe eluded their addreſſes [*C*] till the return of her huſband, who deſtroyed them all. She is juſtly praiſed for refuſing to treat Ulyſſes as her huſband, before ſhe was very well aſſured that he was Ulyſſes [*D*]. Though her virtue is celebrated by the greateſt of

her ſex do not permit her to tell her mind boldly and without bluſhing. Icarius was ſomewhat unreaſonable; he aſked a preference which does neither agree with the laws of nature, nor with the matrimonial rights. There being nothing in the word of GOD but what is inſtructive; it has been obſerved that the Pſalmiſt does not make uſe of many reaſons to perſwade a young woman, that ſhe ought to prefer her huſband's houſe to that of her father. It would be needleſs to uſe many arguments to perſwade ſuch a thing; and therefore the Holy Ghoſt is contented to promiſe to this young woman, that ſhe ſhould be happy in children, and that her huſband would love her (2):

(2) Pſalm xlv.

But thou O royal bride give ear,
And to my words attend,
Forget thy native country now,
And ev'ry former friend.
So ſhall thy beauty charm the king,
Nor ſhall his love decay:
For he is now become thy lord,
To him due rev'rence pay.
(3) . . . . . .
Inſtead of parents left,
(O queen, the caſe ſo ſtands,)
Thou ſhalt have ſons, whom thou mayſt ſet
As princes in all lands.

(1) There is here a promiſe that ſhe ſhould receive fine preſents, and be richly cloathed; but that promiſe contained nothing that was new to a daughter of a king of Egypt. See the whole paſſage which I omit.

This is a very fine Pſalm, even when it is conſidered without it's myſtical ſenſe, and as a meer piece of Poetry. But here is a much finer verſion:

Tuque adeo regina audi; & rem pectore conde:
Nec mea dicta nega placidas demittere in aures:
Jam nunc & patriam & patrem obliviſcere, jam nunc
Ex animo caros penitus depone propinquos:
Unum oculis ſpecta, unum animo complectere regem,
Regem oculis animoque, tuo qui pendet ab ore,
Unius & pulchris defixus vultibus hæret.
Hunc dominum agnoſce, & ſupplex venerare: nec ille
Officio, ſtudioque tibi concedet.
. . . . . .
Neu deſiderio nimium tangare tuorum
Virgo, tibi dulcem patriſque & matris amorem
Leniet adnaſcens ſobolis generoſa propago:
Quos regere imperio terras, totumque per orbem
Adſpicies populos ſceptris frænare ſuperbos (4).

(4) Pſalm xlv, according to Buchanan's verſion.

[*B*] *She was courted by a great many lovers.*] Here are the words of a learned commentator. *According to Homer, the number of Penelope's lovers amounted to* 108; *for he ſays Odyſſ.* 16. *that there were* 52 *of the Iſle of Dulichium,* 24 *of the Iſle of Samos,* 20 *of the Iſle of Zacinthus, and* 12 *of Ithaca, which ſeveral numbers make up in all* 108 *preciſely. Euſtathius upon the firſt of the Odyſſes increaſes the number ſtill: for he ſays according to the opinion of ſome writers, they were* 300 (5). Meziriac makes this obſervation to juſtify the verſion of theſe words of Ovid, *quid . . . . alios referam*, which he renders, *I paſs by above a hundred.* Let us ſee the whole paſſage of Ovid (6).

(5) Meziriac upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 101.

(6) Ovid. in Epiſt. Penelop. ad Ulyſſem.

Dulichii Samiique, & quos tulit alta Zacynthos,
Turba ruunt in me luxurioſa proci,
Inque tua regnant nullis prohibentibus aula,
Viſcera noſtra tuæ dilacerantur opes.
Quid tibi Piſandrum, Polybumque, Medontaque dirum (7).
Eurimachique avidas, Antinoique manus,
Atque alios referam? quos omneis turpiter abſens
Ipſe tuo partis ſanguine rebus alis.

(7) Meziriac, *pag.* 100, *ſhews that it ought to be read thus,* Quid tibi Piſandrum, Polybum, Amphimedontaque dirum.

Irus egens pecoriſque Melanthius author edendi
Ultimus accedunt in tua damna pudor.

From Crete and Samos, Rhodes and Zant ſet out,
To court me come a wild unruly rout:
Who revel in your houſe without controul,
And eat and waſte your means, our blood and ſoul.
Of Medon, Polybus, Piſander fell
Eurimachus, alas! why ſhould I tell?
With many more (you ſadly out o'th' way)
Feed here and on your ſubſtance let them prey.
The begger Irus and that goat-herd clown,
Melanthius, range and rummage up and down.

RYMER.

[*C*] *She eluded their addreſſes.*] 'Homer in the ſecond and nineteenth books of the Odyſſes, ſays, that 'Penelope, to free herſelf from the importunity of her 'lovers, declared to them, that ſhe would not marry 'till ſhe had finiſhed a piece of linnen cloth which ſhe 'was weaving, to wrap up the body of Laërtes, her 'father-in-law, when he ſhould die: and ſo ſhe amuſed them for the ſpace of three years, without finiſhing her cloth, becauſe ſhe undid in the night what 'ſhe had done in the day; from whence comes the 'proverb, the web of Penelope, ſpeaking of a work 'which is never ended (8).' This is Meziriac's commentary upon theſe words of Ovid.

(8) Meziriac, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 401

Nec mihi quærenti ſpatioſam fallere noctem,
Laſſaret viduas pendula tela manus (9).

(9) Ovid. ubi ſupra.

Nor ſhould this pains to paſs the evenings take
And work and weave, ev'n till my fingers ake.

RYMER.

[*D*] *Before ſhe was well aſſured that he was Ulyſſes.*] Meziriac having alledged a paſſage which I have ſet down in another place (10), whereby it appears that Helena was deceived by the reſemblance ſhe found between Paris and her huſband, adds the following words: Euſtathius, upon the twenty third book of the Odyſſes, *obſerves, that Penelope behaved herſelf much more prudently; for though ſhe thought that ſhe knew Ulyſſes, yet ſhe would not careſs him in the leaſt, nor lie with him, till he told her many particulars, and gave her ſeveral tokens, whereby ſhe was aſſured that he was truly her huſband, and that ſhe could not be deceived* (11). Penelope's precaution ought to ſerve for a rule on all ſuch occaſions; and if a woman ſhould commit adultery, becauſe ſhe did not take ſufficient time to be fully informed of the truth, ſhe would be juſtly blamed. This has been lately obſerved by Mr Baſnage in a fine book which he has publiſhed. *Let us ſuppoſe*, ſays he (12), *a woman, tranſported with love for her true huſband, runs eagerly to one, whom ſhe takes for him; this woman does not deſign to deceive herſelf; her ardour cannot be blamed: it is lawful, if it be expreſſed to her true huſband: in a word, her ignorance is involuntary, and only the effect of a tender and paſſionate eagerneſs. But if an adulterer has embraced this woman, can ſhe be excuſed? Will ſhe not be ſomewhat aſhamed of her ardour and raſhneſs? will ſhe not condemn them?* The author, who criticized Mr Maimbourg, is of the ſame opinion, or very near it. I add this reſtriction, becauſe he thinks if that woman does not refuſe to examine the matter out of a blameable motive, ſhe ought to be excuſed. Here are his words (13), 'I take it for granted, that 'if a woman, deceived by the reſemblance which may 'be between her true huſband and another man, 'ſhould grant to this other man all the privileges of 'marriage, her chaſtity would not ſuffer by it. Tho' 'this may look like a paradox, I ſay, and I repeat 'it again, that ſuch a woman would do no real in'jury to her huſband, and he would be the moſt unjuſt

(10) In the article HELENA, citation (59)[e].

(11) Meziriac, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 488.

(12) Baſnage, *A* Treatiſe of Conſcience, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 85, *Amſterdam* 1696.

(13) New Letters of the author of the General Criticiſm on Maimbourg, *pag.* 277, 278.

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of all the Poets, and by abundance of writers, yet it has been aſperſed by ill tongues. Some have ſaid that if her lovers were diſappointed, it was becauſe they choſe rather to fare well at the coſt of Ulyſſes, than lie with his wife [*E*]. Others ſay that they actually

' juſt of all men, if he ſhould accuſe her of having ' violated the conjugal faith; provided ſhe had not ' contributed to deceive herſelf. For if the impatience ' of recovering a huſband, made her overlook the ſuſ- ' picions ſhe might have, at the ſight of a man which ' reſembles her huſband, and aſſumes that title; if ſhe ' neglected to examine him well, leſt ſhe ſhould not ' enjoy the pleaſures of marriage without remorſe: In a ' word, if ſhe ſhould believe that he is her true ' huſband, becauſe ſhe wiſhes it may be he, for the ' reaſons I have intimated, ſilencing, every thing that ' might tempt her to doubt of it, I ſhould very much ' abate of the good opinion I had conceived of her ' merit, and truly I ſhould not much blame her huſ- ' band for thinking her but half chaſt, and looking (14) Id. ib. *pag.* 285, 286. ' upon her virtue, as a wavering one. . . . . (14). The ' natural reſemblance which is to be found between two ' men, is never ſo perfect, but they differ in ſome- ' thing, from whence it may be concluded, that a ' woman who is deceived by it, acts very ſuperficially. ' But in this very thing ſhe wants not an excuſe; for ' are there any women that ſcruple to receive their ' huſbands after they have been abſent for ſome months ' unleſs they prove firſt that they are their huſbands? ' When they ſee them come into their chambers in ' the duſk of the evening, before the candles are ' lighted, do not they go and meet them, and are ' they not ready to ſhew them all manner of complai- ' ſance; without making any enquiry? Does any bo- ' dy blame them for it? If they are not blamed for it, ' why ſhould we blame an unfortunate woman who ' has been deceived by an impoſtor, who was in all ' reſpects as like her huſband, as one may appear to ' be in an obſcure room? It is plain, that if ſhe be ' blamed, all women, who behave themſelves in that ' manner towards their real huſbands, are alſo to blame, ' for according to right reaſon, we ought not to judge ' of things by the event; and before GOD two actions ' which proceed from the ſame cauſe change not their ' ſpecies, though the one ſucceeds accidently, and the ' other is attended by accident with unlucky conſe- ' quences.' To reſolve this difficulty, we muſt ſay that any one, who behaves raſhly is to blame, whe- ther any evil reſults from it or not. Whoever will act reaſonably, ought to examine whatever he does.

I ſhall obſerve, by the by, Seneca's precaution. He affirms that a man who knows his wife, believing that ſhe is another man's wife, commits adultery, and that his wife is innocent. But he does not convert the propoſition; he does not ſay, that a man who ſhould know another man's wife, thinking that ſhe is his own wife, would commit a ſin. See, below, the words of Seneca, they prove that Jacob did not commit adultery the firſt time he knew Leah; but that Leah committed the crime; for ſhe knew very well that ſhe was not Jacob's wife. ' Si quis cum uxore ſua tan- ' quam cum alienâ concumbat, adulter erit, quamvis ' illa adultera non ſit. Aliquis mihi venenum dedit, ' ſed vim ſuam remixtum cibo perdidit: venenum il- ' lud dando, ſcelere ſe obligavit, etiam ſi non nocuit. ' Non minus latro eſt, cujus telum oppoſitâ veſte elu- ' ſum eſt. Omnia ſcelera etiam ante effectum operis, ' quantum culpæ ſatis eſt, perfecta ſunt (15). - - - - (15) Seneca, de Conſtantia Sapientis, *cap.* vii, *pag. m.* 683. ' *If a man lies with his own wife believing her to be* ' *another man's wife, he commits adultery, tho' ſhe be* ' *innocent. A man gives me poiſon, but being mixed* ' *with my food it loſes it's virtue: by giving that poiſon* ' *he becomes guilty, even tho' it does not hurt me. A cut-* ' *throat is not the leſs ſo, becauſe the ſtroke of his dag-* ' *ger is avoided by the interpoſition of my cloaths. All* ' *crimes, even before the intended effect, are compleat* ' *with reſpect to guilt.*'

I return to Penelope. They who remember a cer- tain place of the *Hexameron Ruſtique*, will perhaps be- lieve that her precaution ought not to be much ad- mired, becauſe Ulyſſes made himſelf ſuſpicious, by ex- preſſing ſo much eagerneſs to enjoy her. *What makes me believe that Homer deſigned to make uſe of this noble artifice, is the impatience wherewith he repreſents Ulyſſes in the twenty third book, who was extreamly deſirous to lie with his wife. She had ſcarce had time enough to know him, and he had ſcarce ſpoken three words to her, but he bluntly, and in a tranſport commanded his nurſe Euri- clea to get a bed ready for them* (16). This is what Mr de la Mothe le Vayer ſays in his *Haxameron Ruſtique*. Which, you will ſay, ſuggeſts to us that Pe- nelope miſtruſted his impatience, and fancied that the reaſon why he was ſo haſty, was becauſe he was afraid that the diſcovery of his impoſture, would fruſtrate his deſires. Without examining what may be ſaid againſt this reaſoning I ſhall only make this obſervation. La Mothe le Vayer deceives us; he doth not underſtand the paſſage of Homer; if he had well examined it, he might have known that Ulyſſes did not aſk a bed to lie in it with Penelope. He only aſked a bed for himſelf, becauſe his wife vouchſafed not to come near him, and uſed him very cruelly. Here are his words: (16) Hexameron Ruſtique, *pag. m.* 104, 105.

Δαιμονίη, περὶ σοί γε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων.
Κῆρ ἀτέραμνον ἔθηκαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.
Οὐ μὲν κ' ἄλλη ὧδε γυνὴ τετληότι θυμῷ
Ἀνδρὸς ἀφεσσαίη, ὅς οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας
Ἔλθοι εἰκοστῷ ἔτεϊ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
Ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι μαῖα στόρεσον λέχος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὼ
Λέξομαι. ἦ γὰρ τῆγε σιδήρεον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός

Infelix, tibi quidem ſupra fœminas mulieres,
Cor durum poſuerunt [dii] cœleſtes domos habitantes,
Non quidem alia ſic mulier toleranti animo
A viro procul ſtaret, [ac recederet] qui ei mala mul-
ta paſſus
Veniſſet vigeſimo anno in patriam terram.
Sed age, mihi nutrix ſterne lectum; ut & ipſe
Dormiam: certè enim huic [eſt] ferreus in pectori-
bus animus (17). (17) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. XXIII, ver. 166.

And oh! my queen! he cries, what power above
Has ſteel'd that heart, averſe to ſponſal love?
Canſt thou, Penelope, when Heav'n reſtores
Thy loſt Ulyſſes to his native ſhores,
Canſt thou, oh cruel! unconcern'd ſurvey
Thy loſt Ulyſſes on this ſignal day?
Haſte Euryclea, and diſpatchful ſpread
For me, and me alone, th' imperial bed.
My weary nature craves the balm of reſt,
But Heav'n with adamant has arm'd her breaſt.

POPE.

Telemachus was offended at Penelope's indifferency for Ulyſſes; and cenſured his mother as freely as if ſhe had been his ſiſter: *Unhappy mother*, ſaid he to her (18), *you are unmerciful, no wife would behave herſelf towards her huſband as you do. Your heart is ſtill harder than a ſtone.* Homer cannot be accuſed of having committed a fault againſt probability; for ſuch words are common enough in the mouth of great boys. But he ſhould not have copied nature ſo faith- fully; he ſhould have made Telemachus ſpeak ac- cording to the notions of reſpect. (18) Ibid. ver. 97.

[*E*] *If her galants were diſappointed, it was becauſe they choſe rather to fare well at the coſt of Ulyſſes, than to lie with his wife.*] Horace ſuppoſes that Tireſias gave Ulyſſes no other reaſon of Penelope's chaſtity. If your patron *loves women, do not expect that he ſhould intreat you, prevent him and offer him your Penelope with a chearful countenance.* This is what Ulyſſes is adviſed to do: here is his anſwer, *What, do you think that I could perſuade Penelope to it? Penelope, who has been ſo chaſt and ſo virtuous, that the long ſollicitations of her lo- vers could never work upon her.* Tireſias replies, *The reaſon of it is, that all thoſe young men who frequented her houſe, had not much to give, and minded eating and drinking more than love; that is the reaſon why your Pe- nelope has been ſo chaſt, but if ſhe had once taſted of a good old man, and divided the profit with you, ſhe would*

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actually lay with her, and that the god Pan was the fruit of their amours [F]. But some

no more leave him than a hunting-dog could quit a bloody skin.

Scortator erit? cave te roget: ultrò
Penelopen facilis potiori trade: putaſne,
Perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
Quam nequiêre proci, rectò depellere curſu?
Venit enim magnum donandi parca juventus,
Nec tantùm Veneris, quantùm ſtudioſa culinæ.
Sic tibi Penelope frugi eſt: quæ ſi ſemel uno
De ſene guſtârit, tecum partita lucellum,
Ut canis a corio nunquam abſterrebitur uncto.
- - - - - -
Nos numerus ſumus, & fruges conſumere nati;
Sponſi Penelopes (19). - - - -

(19) Horat. Sat. V, lib. II, ver. 75; & Epiſt. II, lib. I, ver. 27.

Mr Dacier, who has tranſlated thus the verſes of Horace, makes this commentary upon them. 'Tireſias gives Ulyſſes no other reaſon of his wife's 'chaſtity, than the avarice of her lovers. And that 'which makes this very pleaſant, is that it is ground-'ed upon a complaint of Penelope herſelf, as we find 'it in the eighteenth book of the Odyſſey. She com-'plains to them that *they are very unjuſt; and that 'when many rivals court a woman to marry her, they 'make ſacrifices at their own charges, and treat and 'give preſents to their miſtreſs's friends, inſtead of eat-'ing what belongs to her.* They were nettled at that 'reproach and therefore thought fit to ſend her, one a 'gown, another a neck-lace, another ear-rings, ano-'ther a bracelet, &c. But till then (which was a 'long time after the converſation that Ulyſſes had 'with Tireſias) they had not the leaſt thought of pre-'ſenting her with any thing. It is therefore no won-'der if they had ſuch bad ſucceſs; and I deſire no o-'ther proof to ſhew the falſity of what has been ſaid 'by ſome authors, that ſhe favoured them all (20).' I have (21) cited ſome verſes of Ovid, whereby it appears that the lovers of Penelope made great waſte in her houſe.

(20) Dacier upon Horace, Tom. vii, pag. 421, of the Dutch Edition.

(21) In the remark [B].

[F] *Others ſay that they actually lay with her, and that the god Pan was the fruit of their amours.*] Some modern authors took delight in collecting ſeveral falſe evidences upon this. Lucius John Scoppa (22) cites in the firſt place this paſſage of the Priapeia:

(22) Lucius Joannes Scoppa, Parthnopæus, Collectaneorum, *lib. I, cap. xxxii.* That book was printed in 1507.

Ad vetulam tamen ille (23) ſuam properabat: & omnis
Mens erat in cunno Penelopeia tuo.
Quæ ſic caſta manes, ut jam convivia viſas:
Utque ſututorum ſit tua plena domus.
E quibus ut ſcires quicunque valentior eſſet,
Hæc es ad arrectos verba locuta procos:
Nemo meo melius nervum tendebat Ulyſſe:
Sive illi laterum, ſeu fuit artis opus.
Qui quoniam periit, modo vos intendite: qualem
Eſſe virum ſciero, vir ſit ut ille meus.

(23) That is to ſay, Ulyſſes.

To old Penelope in haſte he went,
And on her charms his thoughts were all intent.
His wife ſo chaſt, of ſparks maintain'd great ſtore,
And did not ſcruple both to feaſt and whore.
To know which of them all might pleaſe her beſt,
She thus to her gallants herſelf addreſt.
None better than my ſpouſe could bend a bow,
Whether by ſtrength or ſkill, I do not know.
But ſince he's dead, try now this bow to bend,
For I to wed the ableſt man intend.

(24) Acron. in 2 Epiſt. Horat. lib. I.

And then he cites theſe words of Acron (24), 'Penelope 'meretrix fuit, quæ amatores ſuos ſua pulchritudine 'luxurioſos reddebat. - - - - *Penelope was a whore, 'who by her beauty debauched her lovers.*' Afterwards he adds that the Poet Lycophron ſaid (25), 'Penelo-'pen concubitum omnium procantium paſſam, ex eo-'rum uno genuiſſe filium nomine Pana: quod cum re-'ditu cognoviſſet Ulyſſes ſtatim abiit ad inſulam Cor-'tinam, & ibidem obiit. - - - *Penelope lay with all 'her gallants, and by one of them had a ſon named 'Pan: which when Ulyſſes knew at his return, he 'went immediately to the iſland Cortina and there died.*' He goes on and tells us, that Duris of Samos ſaid, 'Penelopen proſtituto pudore conſuetudinem cum om-'nibus procis habuiſſe: unde natus Pan qui caprinis 'pedibus *Tragoſceles* vocabatur. - - - - *Penelope proſti-'tuted her honour and committed whoredom with all her 'lovers: that by them ſhe had Pan, who being born 'with goat's feet was called Tragoſceles.*' Franciſcus Floridus (§ α) Sabinus wrote a chapter on that ſubject (26): he wonders that Petrarch (27) ſhould believe Homer in favour of Penelope, after he had been ſo equitable as to reject the authority of Virgil in favour of Dido. He obſerves that thoſe two Poets have been equally ſucceſsful the one in making Penelope paſs for an honeſt woman, tho' ſhe was a leud woman, and the other in making people believe that Dido was a leud woman, tho' ſhe lived very chaſtly. He obſerves that Penelope was called βασσάρα κασσωρεύουσα by Lycophron, and he does not approve that Tzetzes hath contradicted that Poet. 'Durius Samius antiquus 'ſcriptor cujus Plutarchus Pliniiuſque aliique non pau-'ci egregii ſcriptores mentionem faciunt, idem aſſeruit, 'ut Joannes Tzetzes Lycophronis interpres ait, quam-'vis eum communi Græciæ cauſſæ favens mentiri di-'cat. Illam vocem κασσωρεύουσαν, πορνεύουσαν, 'hoc eſt ſcortantem exponens. Inquit autem: 'νῦν δὲ Βασσάραν λέγει τὴν Πηνελόπην, κασ-'σωρεύουσαν δὲ, ἀντὶ τῦ πορνεύουσαν. Δῶρις γὰρ 'ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους, φησὶ 'αὐτὴν συγγένεσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς μνηστῆρσι, καὶ 'γεννῆσαι τὸν τραγοσκέλη Πᾶνα. ὅπερ οὐκ ἀλη-'θεύει, ὁ γὰρ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἄλλης Πενελόπης. καὶ 'ἕτερος δὲ Πᾶν Διὸς καὶ Ὕβρεως. *Id eſt*, nunc '*Baſſaram* dicit Penelopen, κασσωρεύσαν autem, 'hoc eſt *ſcortantem*. Duris enim Samius in libro de 'Agathocle ipſam cum omnibus procis coiiſſe, ac Pa-'na hircina crura habentem genuiſſe inquit. Quod 'verum non eſt. Hic enim Mercurii & alterius Pe-'nelopes filius fuit: alter autem Pan Jovis & Hybreos (28). - - - - *Duris of Samos, an ancient writer, men-'tioned by Plutarch, Pliny, and many other famous 'authors, has aſſerted the ſame thing, as John Tzetzes 'the interpreter of Lycophron ſays, tho' in favour of the 'common cauſe of Greece he pretends that he tells a lie. 'He interprets the word* κασσωρεύουσαν, *πορνεύουσαν, 'which ſignifies whoring. Theſe are his words: he 'calls Penelope Baſſaram* κασσωρεύουσαν, *that is, a 'whore. For Duris of Samos, in his book de Agathocle, 'ſays, that ſhe lay with all her lovers, and that ſhe was 'the mother of Pan, who had goats feet. But this is 'not true, for he was the ſon of Mercury and another 'Penelope: and there was another Pan the ſon of Jupiter 'and Hybris.*' He pretends that Homer, by the exerciſe of the bow, which Penelope propoſed to her lovers, denoted the amorous myſtery, and the tryal which ſhe had a mind to make of their ſtrength, 'Quid verbis opus eſt? cum & 'ipſe Homerus cujus præconio Penelopes laus con-'ſtat, ex ſuis operibus id colligi poſſe voluerit? An 'forte ille propoſitus procis arcus aliud ſignificat quam 'eam, ut juvenum vires experiretur, id præcipue cer-'tamen quo ſe juvenes exercerent delegiſſe? At hoc 'quidem vel ex eo patet, quod his verbis νευρὴν 'ἐντανύσαι, id eſt *nervum intendere*, ad id quod volebat 'exprimendum, accommodatis admodum, frequenter 'utitur (29). - - - - *What occaſion is there for words? 'ſince Homer himſelf, on whoſe teſtimony the praiſe of 'Penelope depends, deſigned that this ſhould be inferred 'from her own actions. Could the exerciſe of the bow, 'which ſhe propoſed to the young men, ſignify any thing 'elſe than the tryal ſhe had a mind to make of their 'ſtrength. And this appears by his uſing frequently the 'expreſſion, bend the bow, which is exceeding appoſite to 'ſhow his meaning.*' He pretends that Ovid underſtood the true meaning of Homer, and that he tells us that Penelope put her gallants to that tryal (30): *Nam & Ovidius Homerum idem innuiſſe vult, cum ait libro primo Amorum,*

(25) Lycophron does not ſay ſo.

[(§ α) It ſhould be Francis Fleuri; for thus Rabelais, *lib. v, ch. xix*, calls this author who was his cotemporary. REM. CRIT.]

(26) It is the ſecond of the third book of the *Lectionum ſubciſivarum of Franciſc. Floridus Sabinus.*

(27) In an Italian poem intituled, *I Triumfi*, which title he borrowed, as Floridus ſays, of a Greek Poet, who, as Lactantius has it, *lib. I, cap. xi, Divinarum inſtitutionum*, had written a book intituled, *Triumphus Cupidinis.*

(28) Florid. Sabin. ibid.

(29) Id. ib.

(30) Ibid. That paſſage of Ovid is in the eighth Elegy of the firſt book *Amorum.*

Penelope vires juvenum tentabat in arcu
Qui latus argueret, corneus arcus erat

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some authors think rather, that she conceived Pan, when Mercury, assuming the form of a goat, ravished her [G]. It is a pretty general opinion, that her lovers, being disappointed in their hopes of enjoying her, applied themselves to her maids, and debauched them [H]. The inhabitants of Mantinea used to say that she died in their city

Virtuous Penelope is said t'have try'd
With a strong bow, each lusty lover's side.
SIDLEY.

He has not forgot the passage of Horace, nor that of the Priapeia which I have recited, and he concludes with the testimony of Herodotus (31).

Dempsterus quotes a great many authors, but without any exactness. Being to prove that Pan was the son of Mercury and Penelope (32), and that Mercury put on the shape of a goat when he lay with that woman, which was the reason why Pan's feet were like those of a goat; he quotes two epigrams of the Anthologia (33), and a passage of Ausonius (34), which say only that Pan's feet were so made, and not that it proceeded from the figure which his father put on, when he lay with Penelope. Is it not a ridiculous thing to alledge such authorities? He says that an ancient Historian named Lysander gives the same account of the lewd life of Penelope, which Duris has given: and he adds that Tzetzes (35) says that Ulysses being not able to bear the infamy of his house, returned to Circe, and was killed by his son Telemachus; and that Pausanias tells us that Ulysses divorced his wife because of her adulteries, and retired to Sparta, and a little while after to Mantinea where he died. Dempsterus ascribes to the husband, what Pausanias says only of the wife (36). Lastly, he says that the lewdness of Penelope may be known by the presents she accepted, and by the marriage which she contracted with the murderer of her husband: besides, to prevent her being mistaken in her choice, she found out by a very good tryal who was the stoutest of her gallants, 'Proʻbaturque impudicitia ex eo, *quod a procis munera acʻceperit*, quod meretricii animi certissimum argumenʻtum, Homer. lib. 18. Odyss. *& mariti sui Ulyssis interfectori nupsit*, ex quo connubio natus Italus. Jul. ʻHygin. fab. capit. 127. Et ob id, ipse Ulysses ʻapud Sabinum poetam in responsoriis Epistolis:

Tot juvenes inter, tot vina liquentia semper,
Hei mihi! quid credam? pignore casta manes?

ʻ . . . . . Et procorum habito delectu, ut fortiori, valentiorique posset concumbere, arcu tentaʻbat singulos. Auctor incertus Priapeiorum carmiʻnum (37). - - - *Her lewdness is evidently proved* by ʻher accepting presents from her lovers, *which is a ʻsure sign of a lewd disposition*, and by marrying the ʻmurderer of her husband Ulysses, *from which marriage ʻcame Italus. Therefore Ulysses himself, in the Poet Saʻbinus, says,*

Amidst so many youths, whilst thus you feast,
What can I think? can'st thou continue chast?

ʻ . . . . . *And that she might have the lustiest and ʻ ablest of her galants to lie with, she made a trial of ʻ their strength with a bow. See the uncertain author of ʻ the* Priapeia.' You may rely better upon Meziriac's quotations. There are some authors (§ β), says he (38) *who write that Penelope dishonoured herself in the absence of Ulysses, and that she became the mother of the god Pan: but those authors are divided into two opinions. Some say that Pan was the son of Mercury and Penelope. This is the opinion of Herodotus, l. 2. Of Plutarch in the treatise of the Oracles that ceased. Of the Scholiast upon Pindar in the argument of the Pythics. Of Probus upon Virgil's fourth Eclogue. Of Lucian in the dialogue of Pan and Mercury: and of the Scholiast upon the seventh Idyl of Theocritus: But the two last add, that Pan* (39) *lay with Penelope, having put on the form of a goat, whence it is that Pan was born with horns, and goat's feet: . . . . Others say, that Penelope prostituted herself to all her galants, and that the god Pan was born from their mixed seed. Thus Lycophron calls Penelope,* Βασσάραν σεμνῶς πασσαρεύσαν, a whore whoring honourably. *Tzetzes says thereupon,* Δῆρις ὁ Σάμιος, &c (40). . . . *Some Scholiasts not yet printed, upon the Flute of Theocritus, mention the two opinions, saying that Pan, in the opinion of some, was son of Mercury and Penelope, and, in the opinion of others, of Penelope and all her suitors* (41). Observe that Claudius du Verdier (42) is angry with Lycophron; he cannot forgive him for having said, that Penelope prostituted herself; he refutes him by his own scholiast, and by these words of Ovid;

Penelope mansit, quamvis custode careret,
Inter tam multos intemerata procos.

Penelope, without a guard, remain'd
Amongst so many sparks, chast and unstain'd.

[G] *When Mercury having put on the form of a goat, took her maidenhead by force.*] You will find that story in Lucian with this notable circumstance, that Mercury had forgot he had plaid that trick to Penelope. Pan went to make himself known to him, and being received with a scornful countenance, he produced his proofs: Do you not remember, said he to him, that formerly you forced a woman of quality in Arcadia? Why do you bite your fingers, and hesitate so long? She was Penelope, Icarius's daughter. She told me that my horns and goat's feet proceed from your putting on the shape of that creature to lie with her. By Jupiter, answered Mercury, I remember that I did something of that nature. Νὴ Δία μέμνημαι ποτὲ ποιήσας τι τοιοῦτον. *Per Jovem memini me tale quiddam facere* (43). There is a very surprizing slip of memory. The examples of divine forgetfulness, which have been alledged by the defender of Voiture, are not so strange as this is. Costar says that Jupiter's memory failed him sometimes. *I do not remember*, says he (44), *the name of the god, who had much ado to make him remember that wonderful expedient which he had formerly found out, to reconcile two decrees of fate which manifestly contradicted one another: and, by the by, it was then that he took so much pains, that it made him sweat, and cabbages sprung out of his sweat.* I do not know whether any authors say, that he forgot sometimes his amorous exploits. They were so numerous, that his memory might have failed him; but I do not believe there are any examples of his forgetting things of this kind. Mercury might be alledged for it. Observe, by the by, that Costar took that story from Rabelais: his adversary upbraids him with it: *I found that sweat very cold*, says he to him (45), *and Rabelais, from whom you have so ingenious a thought, was, perhaps, formerly looked upon as an excellent buffoon, but now the reading of his works will make very few people laugh.*

[H] *They applied themselves to her maids, and debauched them.*] This we read in the Odyssey, where we find also that Ulysses having put to death his wife's lovers, ordered that the maids who had dishonoured his family by their lewdness, should be beaten to death with swords; but Telemachus being of opinion that they deserved a more ignominious death, caused them to be hanged.

Θεινέμεναι ξίφεσιν ταννήκεσιν, εἶσοκε πᾶσαν
Ψυχὰς ἐξαφέλοισθε, καὶ ἐκλελάθοιντ' Ἀφροδίτης
Τὴν ἄρ ὑπὸ μνηστῆρσιν ἔχον, μίσγοντό τε λάθρη.
. . . . . .
Τοῖσι δὲ Τελέμαχος πεφυμένος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν,
Μὴ μέν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἑλοίμην.
Τάων, αἳ δὴ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὀνείδεα χεῦαν,
Μητέρι θ' ἡμετέρῃ, παρά τε μνηστῆρσιν ἴαυον,
Ὡς ἄρ ἔφη, καὶ σεῖσμα νεὼς κυανοπρῴρου, &c.

Diverberate ensibus longe acutis, donec omnium
Animas auferatis, & oblivisantur Veneris,
Quam sub procis habebant, dum clam miscerentur (46).
. . . . . .
His vero Telemachus prudens incepit dicere,
Absit vero jam pura morte animam ut auferam
His, quæ jam capiti opprobria offuderunt.
Matrique meæ, apudque procos dormierunt,

(31) Ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ, *inquit de Penelope loquens*, καὶ Ἑρμέω λέγεται γένεσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πὰν, *hoc est*, ex hac enim & Mercurio Pan à Græcis genitus dicitur. *Idem, ibid. The passage of Herodotus is in the 145th chapter of the second book.*

(32) Ex Adulterio cum susceptum à Mercurio, matre Penelope. *Dempsterus, in Paralipomenis ad Antiquitates Romanas Rosini, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. m.* 432.

(33) The 84th and 85th of the 12th chapter of the 4th book.

(34) Auson. Eidill. III, Mosella, *ver.* 174. *In the Amsterdam Edit.* 1671, *it is* Edyll. X, *ver.* 172.

(35) In Lycophron.

(36) See the remark [I].

(37) Dempster. *ibid. pag.* 433.

(38) Meziriac upon Ovid's Epistles, *pag.* 117.

(39) It should be *Mercury*.

(40) See the remaining part of this passage, above, citation (28).

(41) *Add to this the words of* Barthius, in Statium, *Tom. i, pag.* 334, 335. Quam (*Penelopen*) cum omnibus procis rem habuisse scripserunt, & inde natum *Panem*, nomine à multis Patribus ducto. Scholiastes Theocriti in Idyllium A. Τὸν Πᾶνα εἰ μὲν λέγουσιν υἱὸν Πηνελόπης· καὶ πάντων τῶν μνηστήρων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λιγυρίζειν καὶ Πᾶνα.

(42) Claudius Verderius, Censura in Auctores, *pag.* 45.

(43) Lucian. in Deor. Dialog. *Tom. i, pag.* 176.

(44) Costar, Defence of Voiture, *pag. m.* 116.

(45) Girac, Answer to the Defence of Voiture, *pag.* 92.

(46) Homer. Odyss. lib. XXII, ver. 445.

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city [I]. They who say that the reason why Homer praised her so much was, because he was descended from her, do not reason very well [K]. You may see in the remark where I treat of this, that Penelope out-lived Ulysses, and married again. I shall say something in particular of the praises which Ausonius bestowed upon her [L].

Sic dixit: & funem navis nigram proram habentis, &c (47).

(47) Id. ib. ver. 401.

Drive to yon court without the palace wall,
And the revenging sword shall smite them all.
So with the suitors let them mix in dust,
Stretch'd in a long oblivion of their lust.
. . . . . .
Then thus the prince; to these shall we afford
A fate so pure, as by the martial sword?
To these, the nightly prostitutes to shame,
And base revilers of our house and name, &c.
POPE.

It is observable that of fifty maids there were but twelve who prostituted themselves to their mistress's lovers.

Τῶν δώδεκα πᾶσαι ἀναιδείης ἐτίσησαν,
Οὔτ' ἐμὲ τίσασαι οὔτ' αὐτὴν Πηνελόπειαν.

Harum duodecim omnes impudentiæ si dederunt,
Neque me honorantes, neque ipsam Penelopen (48).

(48) Id. ib. ver. 424.

Of these, twice six pursue their wicked way,
Nor me, nor chast Penelope, obey. POPE.

I must not forget that, in the opinion of Aristotle, they who left off Philosophy to apply themselves to other sciences, resembled Penelope's lovers. That thought does not appear just to some others. 'Cum Aristoteles NIMIO Philosophiam studio complectebatur, 'asserere non dubitabat eos qui reliquas artes conjectarentur, hanc vero negligerent, esse Penelopes procis 'similes, qui ut Homerus, cum domina potiri nequivissent, ad ancillas divertebant (49). - - - *As Aristotle applied himself to Philosophy* EXCESSIVELY, 'he said, *that those who followed other sciences, and neglected this, were like Penelope's lovers, who, as Homer relates, because they could not enjoy the mistress, took up with the maids.*' This is a lame comparison; for those young men preferred not the maids to the mistress, as they who neglect Philosophy to apply themselves to some other studies; they courted the maids only because they could not prevail upon the mistress. Plutarch says, that Bion made use of that comparison. Ἀσείως δὴ καὶ Βίων ἔλεγεν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι ὥσπερ οἱ μνηστῆρες τῇ Πηνελόπῃ παλισιάζειν μὴ δυνάμενοι, ταῖς ταύτης εἰμίγνυντο θεραπαίναις. οὕτω καὶ οἱ φιλοσοφίας μὴ δυνάμενοι καταζυχεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις παιδεύμασι τοῖς κενοὺς ἀξίοις, ἑαυτὸς καταισκελεύουσι. *Urbanum est etiam Bionis philosophi dictum, qui aiebat, sicut Penelopes proci quum non possent cum Penelopa concumbere, rem cum ejus ancillis habuissent, ita qui philosophiam nequeunt apprehendere, eos in aliis nullius pretii disciplinis sese conterere* (50).

(49) Lucius Joannes Scoppa, Collectaneorum, *lib. i, cap. xxxii.*

(50) Plut. de Liberis educandis, *pag. 7, C.*

[I] *The inhabitants of Mantinea used to say that she died in their city.*] Pausanias (51) affords me the proof which I want: I shall use the words of Meziriac. they are a faithful translation of those of Pausanias, *Pausanias describing one of the ways that went from the city of Mantinea to that of Orchomenus, speaks thus: On the right hand of the way there is to be seen a small rising ground, which the Arcadians will have to be the sepulchre of Penelope: but what they say does not agree with what is written in the verses called Thesprotides; for it is said there, that after the return of Ulysses from Troy, Penelope brought a son to Ulysses, who was called Ptolyporthes; whereas the Mantinians affirm, that Ulysses having convicted Penelope of having drawn her galants into her house, turned her out, and that she immediately retired to Sparta, and a little while after she went to Mantinea, where she ended her life* (52.)

(51) *Lib. viii, pag. 247.*

(52) Meziriac, ubi supra, *pag. 116, 117.*

It is affirmed, in the first tome of the Chevræana (53), that Pausanias says *that Ulysses being returned from Troy, Penelope, who had been extreamly complaisant to her lovers, was brought to bed of a son called Polyporthe* (54); *that her husband did shamefully divorce that lewd woman,* &c. It is plain that Pausanias does not say so: of the two traditions mentioned by him, one whereof was advantageous and the other disadvantageous to the memory of that lady; that which was advantageous, imported that Ulysses had that son by Penelope after his return from Troy. But Mr Chevreau pretends that Pausanias says that she had him by her lovers, and that she was divorced upon the account of that infamy.

(53) Pag. 388, of the Dutch edition.

(54) He should have said Ptolyporthe.

[K] *They who say the reason why Homer praised her so much, was because he was descended from her, do not reason very well.*] Meziriac having set down what has been said by some authors concerning the leudness of this lady, raises an objection, which he answers thus (55): *It might be objected against those authors, that it is not likely that Homer should have proposed her to us as an eminent example of chastity, and should have bestowed so many praises upon a lewd woman, who of all women in the world deserved to be blamed: but that objection may be very well answered two ways. First, it may be said that Homer, who, as many believe, lived in the time of the Trojan war, grew very much in love with Penelope, and lived a long while in Ithaca upon her account, as it is affirmed by Hermesianax in Athenæus, lib.* 13. *cap.* 8; *and therefore it is no wonder, if he appears so fond of singing the praises of Ulysses and Penelope. It may be answered in the second place, that some are of opinion that Homer was descended from Ulysses, being the son of Telemachus and Polycaste, or Epicaste, Nestor's daughter. Thus we find in a little Greek book, intituled the Dispute of Homer and Hesiod, that the emperor Adrian having asked the prophetess Pythia what country Homer was of, and who was his parents, he was answered:*

(55) Meziriac, ubi supra, *pag.* 118.

Ἄγνωτόν μ' ἔρεαι γενεὴν καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν
Ἀμβροσίᾳ σειρῇσιν, ἔδ' ὅ Ἰθακήσιός εἰμι.
Τηλέμαχος δὲ πατὴρ, καὶ Νεσσορίη Ἐπικάστη
Μήτηρ, ἣ μιν ἔτικτε βροτῶν πολὺ πάνσοφον ἄνδρα.

Thou desirest to know of me the unknown extraction, and native country of that divine singer: Ithaca is his country, Telemachus is his father; he had for his mother, the beautiful Epicaste, Nestor's daughter.

Those two answers are weak; for if Homer had been a long time in Ithaca to court Penelope, he must be reckoned among those lovers whom he spoke so ill of; for unless he had joined with them, he must have made a very sad figure, and even exposed himself to many dangerous affronts. Those young men would not have permitted that a private man should have courted Penelope without concerting with them. I add, that they who are in love with a woman, will very seldom make her husband the hero of their poem. Besides, if Homer had known that Penelope had prostituted herself to so many lovers, his love for her would have prompted him to defame her, far from being a reason to move him to bestow so many praises upon her. Jealousy, spite, and the shame of having loved a woman who dishonoured herself, and would not distinguish him from a croud of base admirers, would have violently incited him to disgrace her. Lastly, I observe, that there is no need of having recourse to any other reason but this. Ulysses was the hero of the poem; it was therefore necessary that his wife should appear in it as an heroine, or at least as an honest woman. It would be a fault against the most essential rules not to suppress all the shameful actions of the wife of one's hero. Meziriac adds, *that Ulysses having been killed by Telegonus, Minerva advised Telemachus, Penelope, and Telegonus, to carry his dead body to Circe, in the isle of Ææa, and to bury it there, and that by the advice of the same goddess, Telegonus married Penelope, and Telemachus Circe: that of Telemachus and Circe was born Latinus, from whom the Latins were so called: but that Italus, who gave his name to Italy, was born of Telegonus and Penelope* (56). These are fine advices indeed, and very worthy of Minerva: if Penelope had followed them, I should be more inclined to believe those who say, that she was extreamly kind to her lovers, than those who represent her so faithful to her husband. It had been a fault to marry the involuntary murderer of her husband; but it had been worse still, if we believe Hyginus, for she must have married the son of Ulysses.

(56) Ibid. *pag.* 119. *He quotes* Hyginus, *cap. cxxvii, and he had said that as Eustathius relates it on the 16th book of the Odyssey,* The Colophonian who wrote the Returns, says, that Telemachus married at first Circe, and that Telegonus married Penelope.

[L] *I shall say something of the praises which Ausonius bestowed upon her* (57). Here is a fragment of Balzac's conversations (58). 'The kisses of Penelope were 'scarce known to her son Telemachus, because her 'son was not her husband, for whom she reserved all 'her kisses. The marquis of Montauzier was pleased with

(57) Intemerata procis, & tot servata per annos,
Oscula vix ipsi cognita Telemacho. *Ausonius, Epigr. cxxxv, pag. m.* 83.

(58) Balzac, Entretien xxxix, *pag. m.* 372.

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' with those words: I thought they would please him.
' But you tell me, that he wants to know from whom
' I have them, and that he is resolved to know it from
' me, without your meddling with it. . . . . Those
' words, which please a man, whose pleasures are
' all honest, are the translation, or rather the para-
' phrase of this verse, which a Latin Poet (59) imi-
' tated from a Greek Poet:

Oscula vix ipsi cognita Telemacho.

' I might add to the short paraphrase I made upon it,
' a short commentary, and I have a mind to do so
' since you invite me to speak.' That commentary contains these words, *Mary de Medicis, whom we know to have been as chast, as the Poets make Penelope to be, was also like Penelope in this. Could you believe, that during the four years of her regency, she never kissed not so much as once the king her son? I was told so by an old courtier of that time, who took the liberty to tell her, that those outward marks of affection were necessary to get the love of others, especially of children, because they are commonly less moved with effects than with appearances* (60).

(59) Observe here the same policy of Balzac, which I have spoken of in another place, citation (45) of the article GONTAULT (CHARLES DE): he will not name Ausonius, that one may have a greater idea of his learning.

(60) Balzac, ubi supra, pag. 334.

PERAXYLUS. This is the name which Arnoldus Arlenius took, to express, in Greek, his native country (*a*). He was a very studious man, and a great Grecian, and he took incredible pains to find out old manuscripts. Thuanus (*b*) speaks of him under the year 1561, and declares, that tho' he has not been able to discover the the place and the day of his death, he thinks it happened at that time. He observes, that this learned man had consecrated his labours to the public good, and that posterity would be always beholden to him for his Greek edition of Josephus, which he printed from the excellent manuscript of Don Diego de Mendoza ambassador of Charles the Vth, at Venice. He adds, that the books against Appion were not to be seen any where else, and that Arlenius having left Don Diego, when that lord set out from Venice, retired to Basil, and exercised his talents there for some years, and made a good use of Henry Stephens's assistance. We shall see what Mr Teissier says of him [*A*]. The French translator of Thuanus has translated this passage carelessly [*B*]. I have at last found out that the books of that author which Gesner gave hopes would be published have been mistaken for books actually printed [*C*]. I wonder, that Swertius and Valerius Andreas knew nothing of Peraxylus. He was better known in Italy than in the Low-Countries. See how Corradus praises him [*D*].

For your better understanding how great his application was in the search of manuscripts, and in promoting learning, I shall relate what he did concerning Plato [*E*].

(*a*) A village of the Campine, situated beyond a little river which runs by Boisle-duc, and is called the Deese.

(*b*) Sub fin. lib. xxviii.

I might

[*A*] *What Mr Teissier says of him* (1).] He observes, quoting Gyraldus (2), that Arlenius *composed very fine Greek and Latin epigrams, and that he would have excelled in Poetry, had he not applied himself to more serious studies.* He adds, without quoting any body for it, that the printed works of Arlenius are the following translations: *Dionis Coccæi Romanæ Historiæ libri duodecim. Olympiodori Philosophi Platonici & Peripatetici, Commentarii ad Aristotelis Commentaria. Sermones quidam ex Plutarcho de moribus à nemine antehac versi. Plurimæ Orationes Chrysostomi, Theodoreti, & aliorum S. S. Patrum antea non visæ. Lycophronis Alexandram sive Cassandram, & Isaaci Tzetzis in eam Commentaria edidit & recognovit.*

(1) Teissier, Additions to the Elogies taken from Thuanus, *Tom. i, pag.* 214.

(2) De Poët. sui temporis, *lib. ii.*

[*B*] *The French translator of Thuanus has translated this passage carelessly.*] He has rendered Arnoldus Arlenius (3) by Arnaud de Lens. He says, that Arnaud was called Praxylus, which was a name he gave himself, and that the manuscript he made use of for the edition of Josephus, did belong to Diego Austado Mendosse. I. Why does he pretend that Arlenius and de Lens are the same name? II. Why does he suppress the reason of the name Peraxylus, which Thuanus had alledged? *Trans Diesam amnem qui Silvam seu Boscum-Ducis alluit vico ignobili natus, indeque nomine ingenioso ab ipso effecto Peraxylus nuncupatus.* III. Why does he change Peraxylus into Praxylus? IV. Who does he mean by his Diego Austado? Why did he not say Hurtado? I declare that I have nothing to say to him as to such things as may depend upon the carelessness of the correctors of the Press, and that I have not seen his version any where else but in Mr Teissier's book.

(3) The Francfort edition 1625, says *Artenius.*

[*C*] *The books of that author which Gesner gave hopes would be published have been mistaken for books actually printed.*] I have consulted Father Labbe, Dr Cave, and Mr Du Pin, in such places where they give us a list of the works of St Chrysostom; they mention many translators, but never Arnoldus Arlenius. I have not found him neither in the authors, who treat of several editions and translations of Dion. Whereby I was almost convinced that Arlenius had never printed the translations mentioned by Mr Teissier. I enquired into the cause of this mistake, and found that it ought to be imputed altogether to the abbreviators of Gesner. They say positively (4) that Arlenius translated some moral treatises from Plutarch's Greek, which had never been rendered into Latin; that he translated also twenty-two books of the Roman History of Dion Cocceius, the commentaries of Olympiodorus upon Aristotle's Meteors (5), and some sermons and treatises of Chrysostom, Theodoret, &c. When I go as far as Gesner, I find that those translations were only hoped for. ' Expectamus, *says he* (6), ' ab Arlenio nostro, si Deus vitam extenderit, quod-
' dam ex Plutarcho, &c. - - - *We expect from Arlenius,* (6) Bibl. *fol.* 92, verso.
' *if GOD preserves his life, some treatises from Plu-*
' *tarch, &c.*' They who abridged Gesner, indeed say that Arlenius translated those books; but they do not say that those translations were published. They only tell us that he caused Lycophron with the commentaries of Tzetzes to be printed at Basil in the year 1545, and then Josephus in the same city (7), with a preface, but without a translation.

(4) Epit. Bibl. Gesn. *pag. m.* 80.

(5) *Read* ad Aristotelis Meteora, *and not* ad Aristotelis Commentaria.

(7) Gesner says that Josephus was printed in 1544.

[*D*] *See how Corradus praises him.*] He speaks of him thus (8): ' Ita quidem *(postulabantur interpreta-*
' *tiones epistolarum Ciceronis)* ut Arnoldus Arlenius ho-
' mo eruditissimus ex Germania ad me Regium usque
' venerit, & me suo, Joannis Opporini, Joannis Stra-
' thii, Magni Gruberi, aliorumque doctissimorum ho-
' minum nomine sit hortatus, eas ut primo quoque
' tempore foras darem. - - - *So that* (speaking of the
' notes on Cicero's Epistles) *Arnoldus Arlenius a very*
' *learned man came to me out of Germany, as far as Reg-*
' *gio, and intreated me in the name of himself, of John*
' *Opporinus, John Strathius, Magnus Gruberus, and*
' *other learned men, to publish them as soon as possible.*'

(8) In Quæstiones, pag. 100, Lugd. Bat. 1667.

[*E*] *I shall relate what he did concerning Plato.*] It has been seen elsewhere (9), that Simon Grynæus took great pains to give a better edition of the works of this Philosopher. This edition is that of Basil *apud Joannem Valderum* 1534. Peraxylus compared it from the beginning to the end with several manuscripts, and by that means corrected above a thousand considerable faults in it, either in omissions, transpositions, alterations, or superfluities of words. His labour was made use of in the edition of the works of Plato, which was printed at Basil *apud Henricum Petri* in the year 1556 in folio by the care of Marcus Hopperus, who did not omit to give great praises to Peraxylus. ' Vir ille, *says he* (10), virtutibus & præ-
' stanti doctrina clarus, ARNOLDUS ARLENIUS, ad
' eruendos, vindicandos, & restaurandos bonos autores
' diis ita volentibus, quasi natus, nactus ------ in Italia
' quædam manuscripta Platonis exemplaria, conferre
' cum iis Vualderianum (cui & Aldinum respondebat)
' cæpit. - - - - *That great man,* ARNOLDUS ARLE-
' NIUS, *famous for his virtues and excellent learning,*
' *and*

(9) In the remark [*B*] of the article GRYNÆUS (SIMON).

(10) Marcus Hopperus, Epist. Dedicat. Oper. Platonis.

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I might have juſtly blamed (*c*) the abbreviators of Geſner, for not mentioning his edition of Polybius [*F*]. (*c*) In the remark [*C*].

' *and deſtined, as it were by providence, to bring to light,* ' *recover, and reſtore, good authors, finding . . . in Italy* ' *ſome manuſcript copies of Plato, undertook to compare* ' *with them the copy of Valderus, to which that of Aldus* ' *anſwered.*' Having inſtanced in ſome faults that had been corrected, he adds that 'he does not do it with a deſign to leſſen the glory of thoſe who had given the former editions; but only to ſhew the better the advantages of the new edition, and the merit of Peraxylus, ' Et ut magnum hoc ARLENII noſtri ſtudium, cura & diligentia innoteſcat, collaudeturque, ' quam bonis promovendis literis, inque lucem produ- ' cendis abditis & reconditis authoribus, jam ab annis ' aliquot multis indefinenter impendit, nullis vel ſumptibus vel laboribus parcens: pro quo ſane viri hujus ' indefatigabili ſtudio tota literatorum cohors maximas ' merito gratias agere, & vitam ei longævam ab omnis boni largitore Deo precari debet. - - - - *And to* ' *ſhew and commend the great pains, care, and diligence,* ' *of* ARLENIUS, *which he has continually beſtowed for* ' *many years, without ſparing either coſt or labour, in* ' *promoting good literature, and bringing to light authors* ' *that had lain in obſcurity: for which indefatigable in-* ' *duſtry the whole body of learned men ought in juſtice to* ' *give him the greateſt thanks, and to pray GOD, the* ' *author of all good, to grant him a long life.*' At laſt he ſpeaks of the manuſcripts which Peraxylus had found out, and which might ſerve to give a very fine edition of the ancient commentators on Plato: ' Idem ' ille noſter ARLENIUS, pro ardenti ſuo ſtudio & a- ' more quo erga bonas literas, earundemque cultores ' quaſi flagrat, præter ingentem aliorum plane novo- ' rum librorum ſarcinam, etiam aliquot Græcorum ' commentariorum in noſtrum hunc philoſophum to- ' mos, nobiliores Italiæ bibliothecas ſcrutando nactus ' eſt, eademque ſocero meo Henrico Petri tradidit. - - - ' *The ſame* ARLENIUS, *out of his ardent love and af-* ' *fection, wherewith he, as it were, burns towards* ' *learning, and lovers of it, beſides a vaſt number of other* ' *books entirely new, has obtained, by ſearching the beſt* ' *libraries in Italy, ſome volumes of Greek commentaries* ' *upon this Philoſopher, and has delivered them to my* ' *father-in-law Henric Petri.*'

[*F*] *His edition of Polybius.*] It is that of Baſil by John Hervagius 1549 in folio. It is much better than the former one, which was printed at Haguenau in the year 1530 by John Secerius, by the care of Vincentius Opſopæus. This contained nothing but the five firſt books of Polybius with the Latin verſion of Nicholas Perrotus (11). That of Peraxylus contains alſo the ſixth book almoſt entire, and the abridgment (12) of the twelve following books, taken from the library of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who had cauſed it to be brought from Corfu, and from the library of Janus Moſchus (13). Beſides, it is more correct: for Peraxylus compared the Greek text of the edition of Haguenau with ſome manuſcripts, and corrected and ſupplied ſeveral paſſages. Hervagius printed the Greek by itſelf, and then the Latin verſion of Perrotus, reviſed by Muſculus, and the Latin tranſlation of the abridgment of the twelve following books, done by the ſame Muſculus.

(11) It was not over-againſt the text, but by itſelf at the end of the book.

(12) They are rather extracts than an abridgment.

(13) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of Arnoldus Peraxylus Arlenius, (ſo he places his names there) to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, before his edition of Polybius.

PEREIRA (GOMESIUS), a Spaniſh Phyſician, lived in the XVIth century. He was of a contradicting temper; for he affected to oppoſe the doctrines that were beſt eſtabliſhed, and to maintain paradoxes. The liberty of philoſophizing was a great charm to him; he made uſe of it to a great degree, and even to exceſs. The *Materia prima* which was ſo much talked of by the followers of Ariſtotle, was one of the monſters he undertook to deſtroy [*A*]. What he ſubſtituted in the room of that matter was not better than what he rejected (*a*). He uſed Galen very ill about his doctrine of Fevers. But what was more ſurprizing in his paradoxes was, his maintaining, that beaſts are meer machines, and rejecting the ſenſitive ſoul which is aſcribed to them. All thoſe things may be ſeen in his book intituled *Antoniana Margarita* [*B*]. It is pretended

(*a*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *The* Materia prima . . . . *was one of the monſters he undertook to deſtroy.*] Arriaga, one of the moſt ſubtile ſchool-men of the XVIIth century, acquaints us with what was objected to our Pereira on that ſubject, and ſhews the weakneſs of ſome of thoſe objections. ' Recentiores nonnulli referunt quendam Gomeſium ' Pereiram in ſua Antoniana Margarita, negantem omnino materiam primam: contra quem plura conge- ' runt argumenta, quæ oportet examinare, ne rem cer- ' tam incertis ſuadeamus rationibus (1). . . . . Hæc ar- ' gumenta non urgent Gomeſium (2)? - - *Some moderns* ' *ſay, that Gomeſius Pereira in his Antoniana Margarita* ' *utterly denies the* Materia prima: *And many arguments* ' *are brought againſt him, which ought to be well exa-* ' *mined, leſt we ground a certainty upon uncertain rea-* ' *ſons. . . . . Theſe arguments do not embarraſs Gomeſius* ' *much.*' They objected to him amongſt other things, That if his doctrine was true, it would not be lawful to venerate the bones or relics of ſaints; for after their death, there would remain no matter that had belonged to them. This is one of the five objections which he might eaſily anſwer, if we believe Arriaga, who obſerves that the opinion of that Philoſopher was not well underſtood (3). He thinks himſelf therefore obliged to ſet it down faithfully, and then he oppoſes it with ſome other reaſons. Pereira, ſays he, was not ſuch a mad-man, as to aſſert that forms are not received in a ſubject, and that man is only made up of a ſoul. He only ſaid, that the ſubject to which ſouls and other ſubſtantial forms are united, is a compound of the four elements, and not a *materia prima*, a firſt matter, and he aſcribed the ſame ſimplicity to the elements, which is aſcribed to the firſt matter in the ſchool of Ariſtotle. *Fatetur hic author libentiſſimè, in homine (& idem eſt de aliis mixtis) ultra formam ſubſtantialem dari aliquod ſubjectum recipiens illam formam: neque enim tam amens erat hic author, ut in homine & animantibus nihil aliud præter animam agnoſceret, & poſt mortem illius nihil remanere doceret quod eſſet veneratione dignum in Sanctis, & in quo manerent plura accidentia, quæ prius fuerant in homine vivo, putaretque cadavera nihil eſſe reale ſed apparens & deludens ſenſus noſtros, vel ſaltem nihil illorum antea fuiſſe, quo ſatisfacit ferè omnibus argumentis in oppoſitum. Verum in hoc recedit hic author à vera & recepta ſententia, quod illud commune ſubjectum non dicit eſſe materiam primam ſed ex quatuor elementis unitis, & inter ſe permixtis putat coaleſcere. Elementa autem ipſa omnino adſtruit ſimplicia, ſicut nos materiam primam vel formam ſubſtantialem dicimus eſſentialiter ſimplicem* (4). Arriaga was of opinion that the third objection againſt Pereira was ſomewhat ſtrong; for it proved that one of the elements produced from another, was a thing naturally made out of nothing. Pereira did not much trouble himſelf about it: he maintained that ſome creatures have a power to create, and Arriaga approves his opinion (5).

(1) Rod. de Arriaga, Diſput. II, Phyſica, §. i, pag. m. 217.

(2) Ibid. pag. 218.

(3) Hæc argumenta non urgent Gomeſium, multo aliter opinantem de entibus naturalibus quam iſti Authores cenſeant. Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

[*B*] *His book intituled* Antoniana Margarita.] That title alludes to his father's and mother's name. Don Nicolas Antonio ſpeaks of that book thus, ' Antoni- ' ana Margarita, opus Phyſicis, Medicis ac Theologis ' utile & neceſſarium, *Medinæ Campi* 1554. *fol.* ' *Francofurti deinde* 1610. . . . . *Item* novæ veteriſque ' Medicinæ experimentis & evidentibus rationibus com- ' probatæ primam partem, ſive Antonianæ Margaritæ ' ſecundam, quæ quidem Medica eſt poſt priorem illam Philoſophicam. *Hæc ſcilicet pars de Febribus* ' *tractat, cujus febris eſſentiam, cauſas & ſpecies eſſe* ' *uſque in hæc tempora ignota dilucide (uti Author ipſe* ' *ait) demonſtrat,* Galenumque non dolo ſed ignoran- ' tia excæcatum potiſſimum ſuis de hac re ſcriptis me- ' dicis poſteris impoſuiſſe evidenter docet (6). - - - ' *Antoniana Margarita is a book very uſeful and neceſ-* ' *ſary for Philoſophers, Phyſicians, and Divines, it was* ' *printed at* Medina del Campo in 1554 fol. and afterwards at Francfort in 1610. . . . . Alſo, *the firſt part*

(5) Reſpondet Gomeſius falſum eſſe nullam creaturam poſſe creare, nec facile hanc ſolutionem redargues ut infra patebit. *Ib.*

(6) Nicol. Antonius, Biblioth. Scriptor. Hiſpan. *Tom. i, pag.* 414.

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tended by ſome, that Carteſius took from him his paradox concerning the ſouls of beaſts, and that Pereira was not the inventer of it. We ſhall ſee what is to be found about it in the News from the Republic of Letters [C]. And I ſhall obſerve, that the epocha

' *part of modern and ancient medicine proved by expe-*
' *riments and clear reaſon, or the ſecond part of Anto-*
' *niana Margarita, which indeed is medicinal as the*
' *firſt is philoſophical.* For this part treats of Fevers,
' the nature, cauſes, and kinds of which, he clearly
' proves (as the author himſelf ſays) to have been hi-
' therto unknown, and evidently ſhews that *Galen im-*
' *poſed on poſterity in his writings on this ſubject, not*
' *through malice but ignorance.*' An anonymous author wrote a Spaniſh book againſt him in the year 1556 (7). Antoniana Margarita is grown very ſcarce. It was in Mr Briot's library, which was ſold at Paris in the year 1679. Mr Faure bought it, he had it for two Louis d'ors, he ſhewed it me, and told me, that he did not think he ſhould have had it ſo cheap. I think that book and the whole library of Mr Faure is now in the library of the archbiſhop of Rheims.

(7) Adverſus hanc ſcripſit Anonymus Hiſpanum opuſculum ita nuncupatum, *Endecalogo contra Antoniana Margarita*, Medinæ Campi 1556, 8vo. *Ibid.*

I find in the Bibliotheque of the writers that have been Phyſicians (8), that Pereira's name was Georgius Gomez, and that his Antoniana Margarita, *in qua omnium pene morborum diſcurſus proponuntur, - - - in which almoſt all diſeaſes are treated of*, was printed at Medina (9) by Antony Gratbeet in the year 1554 and 1587, and that he publiſhed in the ſame city in 1558, another book in folio, intituled, *Nova veraque Medicina Chriſtiana ratione comprobata.* Konig has committed ſeveral groſs miſtakes, ſpeaking of that author.

(8) Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 328.

(9) Metymnæ Duelli. *Ibid.*

' Bruta, *ſays he* (10), ſenſu prædita eſſe opere operoſo
' & 30 annis elaborato, cui titulus Antoniana Marga-
' rita, oſtendere conatus eſt. - - - *He endeavoured to*
' *ſhew in a work, intituled, Antoniana Margarita,*
' *that coſt him a great deal of labour, and which he*
' *was* 30 *years in compoſing, that beaſts have no ſenſitive*
' *ſouls.*' Every body will not be ſenſible that the particle *non* was omitted after the word *prædita*; and they, who do not perceive it, will think it is a riddle, or laugh at it. They will look upon Pereira as the greateſt fool that ever was, for having ſpent thirty years to prove that beaſts have ſenſitive ſouls. On the other ſide, they who are ſenſible of that omiſſion, will be apt to believe, that this Spaniſh Phyſician had no other deſign than to prove that beaſts have no feeling; whereas it is but a very ſmall part of his book. Konig goes on, and ſays, ' Ex eo omnia Carteſium
' hauſiſſe quæ de brutorum anima commentatus eſt,
' Olaus Borrichius in Epiſtola quadam *aff.* - - - *Olaus*
' *Borrichius, in a certain epiſtle, affirms, that Des Cartes*
' *had from thence all that he wrote concerning the ſouls*
' *of brutes.*' This is falſe again. We ſhall ſee by and by that Des Cartes was of that opinion, before he heard of Pereira. It is certain at leaſt that the book of that Spaniard could only make him believe in general that beaſts have no feeling. Every thing beſides is particular to the French Philoſopher, and neither ariſes from the hypotheſis, nor from the explanations of Pereira. Nicolas Antonio ſays nothing of the anſwer to the objections of Palacios publiſhed by Pereira in the year 1555.

(10) Konig. Bibl. Vetus & Nova, *pag.* 619.

[C] *What is to be found about it in the News from the Republic of Letters.*] ' Any body would have laid
' a wager that no man would ever be ſo mad as to
' maintain the contrary (11). Yet there was one in
' the laſt century, who ventured to broach that para-
' dox in a country where no body would have ſuſ-
' pected that ſuch a new doctrine ſhould take its
' birth. The reader will know what I mean, if I
' only add, that it was a Spaniſh Phyſician who pub-
' liſhed that doctrine at *Medina del Campo* in the year
' 1554, in a book about which he had been thirty
' years, and which he intituled *Antoniana Margarita*,
' out of reſpect to his father's and mother's name.
' Who would have thought that Spain, where the
' freedom of the mind is leſs tolerated than that of the
' body in Turkey, would produce ſo raſh a Philoſo-
' pher, as to maintain that beaſts have no feeling?
' It is ſo extraordinary a thing that it does very well
' deſerve to be mentioned in this place; and we ought
' not to ſuppreſs the name of this fine gentleman,
' who is the firſt author, that we know, of that un-
' heard of paradox. His name was Gomeſius Pereira,
' he lived in the laſt century, and not in the twelfth,
' as the abbot de Gerard, Doctor of Divinity, ſays
' in his conferences concerning the *Philoſophy of Cour-*
' *tiers.* Gomeſius Pereira was vigorouſly attacked by
' a divine of Salamanca, whoſe name was Michael de
' Palacios, and anſwered him as vigorouſly, ſticking
' to his opinion, *that beaſts are meer machines.* But
' he had no followers, his doctrine died with him.
' No body did him the honour to dread him, ſo that
' he was not better known in our age than if he had
' never lived; and it is very likely that Carteſius, who
' read not much, had never heard of him. Yet
' ſome pretend that he took from that Spaniſh Philo-
' ſopher his opinion concerning beaſts; for by ſaying
' ſo, they think to deprive him of the glory of in-
' vention, and this is ſtill ſo much gained over him
' (12).' Some time after the author of thoſe News publiſhed an abſtract of a letter which he had received from Paris; it contained amongſt other things, the following words, *What you ſay, pag.* 23, *is not true, that Mr Des Cartes's opinion about the ſouls of beaſts is a new one; for there has been formerly ſome diſputes about it, as it appears from this paſſage of St Auguſtin,* de quantitate animæ *chap.* 30. ' Quod autem tibi vi-
' ſum eſt non eſſe animam in corpore viventis anima-
' tis, quamquam videatur abſurdum, non tamen doc-
' tiſſimi homines quibus id placuit DEFUERUNT, ne-
' que nunc arbitror DEESSE (13). - - - *As to your*
' *opinion that there is no ſoul in the body of a beaſt, tho'*
' *it may ſeem abſurd, yet there have been ſome very*
' *learned men, who were of that opinion, and I believe*
' *there are ſome now.*' The author received another letter, wherein he was told that Des Cartes's opinion was much older than St Auguſtin. Mr du Rondel wrote that letter. An abſtract of it was inſerted in the News of October 1684. I am going to tranſcribe it, and, for the ſatisfaction of the readers, I ſhall ſhew in the margin in what books they may find the authorities cited (14). ' There has been ſome doubts about
' the ſouls of beaſts, not only in St Auguſtin's time,
' but alſo in the time of the Cæſars, that is to ſay
' above three hundred years before that Father of the
' church. The Stoics ſpoke of nothing elſe, and
' went ſo far as to maintain in their ſchools, that there
' is but a meer reſemblance between our actions and
' thoſe of beaſts, and that there is a nature altogether
' different in men and beaſts. I would not have you
' think that they ſaid ſo only of certain actions of
' which we have but little or no perception, ſuch as
' digeſtion, ſanguification, conception, &c. They un-
' derſtood it alſo of the moſt lively, violent, and ſen-
' ſible paſſions. They believed that a lion was not
' angry, though he tore in pieces every body he met
' in the amphitheater. They ſaid that his blood fu-
' med and boiled within him, being put into a heat by
' ſome objects diſagreeable to the nature of that ani-
' mal. *Impetus habent feræ, rabiem, feritatem, incur-*
' *ſum; iram quidem non magis quàm luxuriam* (15). ---- *Wild beaſts have violence, rage, fury, and will fall*
' *upon one: but they can no more be ſaid to be capable of*
' *anger than of luxury.* Why ſo? Becauſe, Sir, it
' happened in Seneca's time that a lion ſaved the life
' of an unfortunate man, without pretending that he
' ſhould be obliged to him for it, and without de-
' ſigning to do a good thing, *Quia nec voluit facere,*
' *nec bene faciendi animo fecit* (16). Beſides, if beaſts
' were capable of being angry, they would be alſo
' capable of forgiving. But becauſe clemency is an
' effect of reaſon, and beaſts are deprived of it, thoſe
' Stoics concluded that beaſts are not ſuſceptible of
' anger, nor of any other paſſion. *Iraſci non magis*
' *ſciunt quàm ignoſcere; & quamvis rationi inimica ſit*
' *ira, nuſquam tamen naſcitur, niſi ubi rationi locus eſt.*
' *Tota ferarum ut extra, ita intra, forma humanæ diſ-*
' *ſimilis eſt* (17). - - - *They are no more capable of be-*
' *ing angry than of forgiving: and tho' anger be contrary*
' *to reaſon, yet it never exiſts, but where there is room*
' *for reaſon. The whole form of beaſts, within as well*
' *as without, is unlike the human form.* But, Sir, a
' Cynic ſaid all thoſe things above three hundred years
' before the Stoics of Rome. He believed and taught
' in expreſs words, that beaſts had neither feeling nor
' knowledge. It is pity that Pereira knew nothing of
' all this; he would not have failed to make uſe of it

(11) That is to ſay, that beaſts have no feeling.

(12) News from the Republic of Letters, March 1684, Art. II, p. 20, & ſeq. It is very likely that Furetiere took from hence what we read, pag. 27, of the *Furetiana*, edition of Bruſſels. Read there *Antoniana* inſtead of *Antonina*.

(13) News from the Republic, Auguſt 1684, Art. i, pag. 555, 556.

(14) Ibid. October 1684, Art. xi, pag. 838, & ſeq.

(15) Seneca, lib. i, de Ira, cap. iii.

(16) Ibid. de Benef. lib. ii, cap. xix.

(17) Ibid. de Ira, lib. i, cap. iii.

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‘ againſt thoſe who accuſed him of publiſhing a ſtrange ‘ novelty, and would have laughed at the notable ‘ learning of his adverſaries. Here are the words of ‘ that Cynic: διὰ δὲ τὸ, he ſpeaks of beaſts, τὰ ‘ μὲν πυκνότητι, τὰ δὲ πλεονασμῷ τῆς ὑγρασίας ‘ μητὲ διανοεῖσθαι, μητὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι (18), that ‘ they can have neither knowledge nor feeling, be- ‘ cauſe of the groſſneſs of their conſtitution, and of ‘ their great quantity of moiſture. I do not ſay that ‘ I approve this reaſoning of Diogenes.’ The recan- tation of the firſt abſtract is to be found in the News of April 1685. Read what follows, *He who informed us that St Auguſtin ſays, that ſome maintained in his time that beaſts have no ſouls, has lately acquainted us that having conſulted the* 30*th chapter of the book* de quantitate animæ, *where he had been told that this was contained, he found nothing in it that has any relation to the opinion of Gomeſius Pereira. So that my remark is true ſtill in that reſpect*, viz. that no body before Go- meſius Pereira taught that beaſts are meer machines. *It remains only to enquire, whether the paſſages quoted by Mr du Rondel in the News of October prove what he pre- tends* (19). Theſe laſt words put Mr du Rondel upon collecting ſeveral proofs. He deſigned to impart them to me, but he loſt them, except what follows.

‘ (20) It is certain that Diogenes could not believe ‘ that beaſts have ſouls, by reaſon of his phyſical ‘ principles, and the end of his morals. He taught ‘ that there are ſome Beings and ſome half-Beings. ‘ The firſt are what they are by their own eſſence, ‘ and the ſecond exiſt with the firſt only by participa- ‘ tion, or imitation, as the Cynics ſpeak. The ſecond ‘ are of two ſorts. Some imitate the ſpirit, and affect ‘ a circular motion, and ſome imitate the ſoul, and ‘ move in a ſtraight line: τὰ μὲν Νοῦν μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ ‘ κύκλῳ κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ Ψυχὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας. You ‘ may eaſily gueſs by that circular motion, that he ‘ underſtood the heavenly orbs. But he meant eſpe- ‘ cially the Lactean circle, to which the Cynics, as ‘ well as ſome other Philoſophers, aſſigned the origin ‘ of paſſions, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ παθητὰν ἐρχεσθαι σῶμα. ‘ But if we conſider how the antients deſcribed the ‘ deſcent of ſouls through thoſe circles, it is impoſſible ‘ that beaſts ſhould have any true paſſions. For go- ‘ ing through the ſphere of Jupiter a ſoul puts on ‘ ambition, careleſſneſs in that of Saturn, pride in ‘ that of Mars, covetouſneſs in that of Mercury, &c ‘ (21). . . . So that ſeeing the like paſſions are not ‘ obſerved in beaſts, at leaſt in the ſame manner as ‘ they are obſerved in man, it follows that they have ‘ not ſouls, which are the common ſeat of paſſions, or ‘ that their paſſions are only counterfeit, or ſomething ‘ like thoſe of men, by a fortuitous imitation. And ‘ therefore the Cynics placed beaſts amongſt the bodies ‘ which move in a ſtraight line, that is to ſay, amongſt ‘ heavy bodies which have a tendency towards the ‘ earth. Indeed the nature of beaſts is always the ‘ ſame, and keeps always it's ordinary determination. ‘ There is no difference nor variety in their occupa- ‘ tions. They are all condemned to the ſame rule, ‘ and their capacity does not reach much farther than ‘ to look for ſhelter and food; and therefore it has ‘ been ſaid of them, that they have no inclinations but ‘ what are mean, dull, and baſe, and that nature had ‘ made them on purpoſe to ſtoop towards the earth. ‘ Prona ſunt, & ex ipſa quoque ſuſpiciendi difficultate ‘ à ſuperis receſſerunt, nec ullam divinorum corporum ‘ ſimilitudinem aliqua ſui parte meruerunt, nihil ex ‘ mente ſortita ſunt, & ideo ratione caruerunt, duo ‘ quoque tantum adepta ſunt, ſentire vel creſcere, - - - ‘ *they have only obtained two things, to feel and to* ‘ *grow*, ſays Macrobius (22) with this reſtriction of ‘ Virgil, Quantum non noxia corpora tardant Terre- ‘ nique hebetant artus, - - - *as far as not controlled by* ‘ *their terreſtrial bodies, nor clogged and damped by* ‘ *their dull fleſh*. Becauſe, as he goes on, in anima- ‘ libus hebeſcit uſus animæ DENSITATE corporis; - - - ‘ *the edge of the ſoul is blunted in animals by the* THICK- ‘ NESS *of the body*. Which ſeems to be tranſlated from ‘ Diogenes, who ſays, that *beaſts can have no feeling* ‘ *nor knowledge, by reaſon of the* THICKNESS *and great* ‘ *quantity of their moiſture*. See Plutarch lib. 5. cap. ‘ 20. It ſeems, I ſay, that Macrobius tranſlated it ‘ from Diogenes, and it is likely enough ſince he made ‘ uſe of the ſame word; but I do not know very well ‘ whether Virgil, with his *noxia corpora* (23), had in ‘ view what follows in Diogenes, *That beaſts are like* ‘ *mad-men deprived of reaſon*, διακεῖσθαι τοῖς μεμη- ‘ νόσι, παρεπταικυτῶν τὰ ἡγεμονικά. For the word *noxia* implies damage and loſs, yet μεμηνόσι ſeems to ſignify ſomething more: and therefore a Cynic commentator, to make us apprehend it, ex- plains it, by the image of men poſſeſſed with devils. He ſays, That when human ſouls go out of their bodies, and look for another habitation, if they meet with no other ſubjects but ſuch wherein reaſon never dwelt, they follow and haraſs them, and ne- ver inform them as they do organized bodies de- ſigned for them, ὥσπερ οἱ εἰληχότες ἡμᾶς Δαίμο- νες, - - - *as Devils haunt us*. But you will tell me, that theſe are Platonic thoughts, which do not very well agree with the Cynics opinion. I cannot help it. Salluſt the Cynic ſays ſo: Beſides Diogenes was not ſo far from Platoniſm as it is commonly thought. One Tiberianus tells us in his So- crates, that Diogenes poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole philoſophical patrimony of Plato: Memores Platonis ſententiæ, cujus hæreditatem Diogenes Cynicus in- vadens, nihil ibi plus * aureâ linguâ invenit. - - - ‘ *Remembering the ſaying of Plato, whoſe patrimony Dio-* ‘ *genes the Cynic ſeized on, and found nothing more than* ‘ *a golden tongue*.’

‘ But what I ſay of Diogenes will better appear from ‘ the end of his morals. His opinion was, that if a ‘ man will live as he ought to do, he muſt be inſenſi- ‘ ble; and tho' this ſeems a ſtrange and even impoſſi- ‘ ble thing, yet that Philoſopher muſt needs have ‘ attained to that Philoſophical ſtate of life, for the ‘ Ancients are too poſitive about it to be deceived in it. ‘ I do not know whether, in order to it, he made uſe ‘ of Chiron's precepts mentioned by Maximus Tyri- ‘ us. I do not know neither, whether he followed ‘ the rules of Antiſthenes, who is the author the Apa- ‘ thia: but *as he was an angel of Jupiter, ſent to men,* ‘ *to teach them what is good and what is evil*, as E- ‘ pictetus ſays, I am apt to believe that he was direct- ‘ ed by his own thoughts and inclinations. As he uſed ‘ to ſay, that *reaſon muſt be oppoſed to paſſion, courage* ‘ *to fortune, and nature to cuſtom*, he reſolved at laſt ‘ to follow the deſign of nature, and fancied that who- ‘ ever will be a true ſon of that good mother, ought to ‘ be like beaſts, who are a genuine and true image there- ‘ of in the places of their birth. Diogenes embraced there- ‘ fore that opinion, and put it in practice by poverty, ‘ faſting, and aſcetics, which he had the honour to invent. ‘ It is ſaid that Alexander the Great, being ready to un- ‘ dertake the conqueſt of India, and being ſure of his ‘ deſtiny, had ſo much courage as to wiſh to be Dio- ‘ genes. He envied the ſecurity of that Philoſopher, ‘ and a Cynical life ſeemed to him to exceed nature. ‘ Diſputare cum Socrate licet, dubitare cum Carneade, ‘ cum Epicuro quieſcere, hominis naturam cum Stoi- ‘ cis vincere, cum CYNICIS EXCEDERE (24). - - - - ‘ *One may diſpute with Socrates, doubt with Carneades,* ‘ *be undiſturbed with Epicurus, overcome nature with the* ‘ *Stoics, and* EXCEED IT WITH THE CYNICS. Indeed ‘ ſuch an inſenſibility is a very ſtrange ſtate, and whoever ‘ attained to it, paid always very dear for it: ‘ Iſtuc ‘ nihil dolere, non ſine magnâ mercede contingit, ‘ immanitatis in animo, ſtuporis in corpore (25). - - - ‘ *That unconcernedneſs is not purchaſed but at the great* ‘ *price of inſenſibility of heart, and ſtupidity of body.* ‘ But it is a very convenient ſtate for the miſeries of ‘ this life. Every Heathen had been glad if what ‘ has been ſaid of certain nations not unknown to you, ‘ ſhould have been ſaid of them. Victui herba, veſti- ‘ tui pelles, cubile humus. Id beatius arbitrantur, ‘ quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, ſuas alie- ‘ naſque fortunas ſpe metuque verſare. Securi adver- ‘ ſus homines, ſecuri adverſus Deos, rem difficilli- ‘ mam aſſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus ſit. ‘ - - - - *Herbs are their food, ſkins their cloathing, and* ‘ *the ground their bed. This they think more happy than* ‘ *to ſweat in ploughing the fields, to labour in building* ‘ *houſes, and to be diſquieted with hopes and fears about* ‘ *their own and other peoples wealth. Being ſecure a-* ‘ *gainſt men, ſecure againſt the gods, they have attained* ‘ *to a very difficult point, not to ſtand in need of thoſe* ‘ *things, nor even to wiſh for them.*’

If I could often preſent my readers with a borrow- ed erudition as exquiſite and profound as this is, how great an ornament would it be to this Dictionary? I ſhall quote (26) ſome paſſages of Ariſtotle, which ſeem to prove that he took beaſts for machines.

(18) Plut. de Placit. Philoſ. lib. v, *cap. xx, pag. m.* 909.

(19) News from the Republic of Letters, April 1685, pag. 435.

(20) Mr du Rondel in a Me- moir which he did me the fa- vour to ſend me in March 1696. I have added the citations in the margin.

(21) *See* Macro- bius, in Som- nium Scipion. *lib. i, cap. xii.*

(22) Ibid. *cap. xiv, pag. m.* 55.

(23) Virgil. Æ- neid. lib. VI, ver. 731.

* It is the Art of Living well. That paſſage of Tiberianus is quoted upon the account of Vir- gil's Golden Bough.

(24) Seneca, de Brevitate Vitæ, *cap. xiv, pag. m.* 711.

(25) Cicer. Tuſc. Quæſt. *lib. iii.*

(26) In the re- mark [*H*].

[*D*] *The*

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epocha of that opinion of Carteſius is falſely ſtated in that book [D]. If it be a ſtrange doctrine we ought not to wonder at it; for of all phyſical objects, none is more abſtruſe and perplexing than the ſouls of beaſts. The oppoſite opinions about that ſubject are abſurd or very dangerous; and it is impoſſible to keep a medium. I hope the reader will excuſe me for publiſhing, on this occaſion, ſome collections which I have made concerning the opinions of the antients and moderns, about the nature of thoſe ſouls [E]. Many readers will ſay, that I am too long, but the learned will think that I do

[D] *The epocha of that opinion of Carteſius is falſly ſtated in the News from the Republic of Letters.*] 'Goclenius Pereira inferred not his paradox from its true 'principles, and did not foreſee the conſequences of 'it, and therefore Des Cartes may be looked upon 'as the firſt who found it out by a philoſophical me-'thod. Yet I think it is very probable that he found 'it, without looking for it. It is likely that he begun 'and ended his meditations, without thinking of the ſouls 'of beaſts, and without forſaking the opinion he had of 'them from his tender years: but when he came to con-'ſider the conſequences of his principle concerning the 'diſtinction between thinking and extended ſubſtances, 'he perceived that the knowledge of beaſts deſtroyed 'the whole oeconomy of his ſyſtem. Nay it may be 'that this difficulty did not come into his mind, be-'fore it was objected to him. He was therefore 'neceſſitated to aſſert that beaſts have no ſenſe. 'Had he been able to defend his principles without 'it, he had never oppoſed an opinion which has not 'only appeared undeniable to every body, but is al-'ſo attended with an evidence almoſt invincible (27).' That we may know whether that author was miſtaken, let us ſee how he explained himſelf. His explication is to be found at the end of his preface, which was publiſhed together with the paſſage that wanted to be cleared. *I have ſaid in the ſecond article of theſe News*, that it is likely Mr Des Cartes begun and ended his meditations, without thinking of the ſouls of beaſts, and without forſaking the opinion he had of them from his tender years. *This would be an error in fact if I meant his ſix famous meditations, which were dedicated to the Sorbonne, and againſt which they raiſed ſo many objections; for it does plainly appear from his Method, printed in the year* 1637, *before thoſe ſix meditations, that Mr Des Cartes believed already that beaſts have no ſouls. I declare therefore that by Mr Des Cartes's Meditations I did not mean thoſe which he dedicated to the Sorbonne. My meaning is, that it is likely he built a new ſyſtem in his mind, without thinking of the ſenſitive ſouls of beaſts. I do not doubt but he finiſhed the conſtruction of his work in his mind, before he publiſhed his Method* (28). It is certain notwithſtanding this explication, that this author was miſtaken; for the hypotheſis about Automata is one of the moſt ancient ſpeculations of Des Cartes, as Mr Baillet has made it out. Here are his words (29). *Thoſe who ſuppoſe that thoſe works of Mr Des Cartes were compoſed in the year* 1619, *make his opinion about the ſouls of beaſts twenty years older than his adverſaries, and ſome learned men beſides, did. That opinion was found in the works which he writ in his youth, and therefore it cannot be ſaid, that 'he begun and ended 'his Meditations without thinking of the ſouls of beaſts, 'and without forſaking the opinion he had of them from 'his tender years. Neither can it be ſaid that when he 'came to conſider the conſequences of his principle, concern-'ing the diſtinction between thinking and extended ſub-'ſtances, he perceived that the knowledge of beaſts de-'ſtroyed the whole oeconomy of his ſyſtem.' It will no longer be imagined, that the neceſſity he was under to anſwer the objections ſtarted upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to him a ſentiment for which he was only beholden to the freedom of his thoughts. He was not yet neceſſitated to aſſert that beaſts have no ſenſe, ſince he could not foreſee what might happen to him twenty years after. He had then no principles to defend, for he had laid down none yet for the New Philoſophy: at leaſt he had not yet read at that age, St Auguſtin, nor Pereira, nor any author from whom he might have had that opinion concerning the ſouls of beaſts. Mr Des Cartes being returned from his † travels to Paris five or ſix years after, diſcovered that opinion to ſome of his friends, and gave them to underſtand, that he could not believe that beaſts are any thing elſe but machines. So that they who find it difficult to aſcribe that opinion to him ever ſince the year* 1619, *will more readily believe that it came into his mind about the year* 1625 *at fartheſt. Perhaps they will not refuſe to believe Mr Des Cartes himſelf* ‡, *who tells us, that it came into his mind fifteen or ſixteen years before he publiſhed his Metaphyſical Meditations. As for the reſt, that opinion concerning the ſouls of beaſts is what Mr Paſcal eſteemed moſt in Mr Des Cartes's Philoſophy.* Mr Baillet was ſo civil to the author of the News from the Republic of Letters, as to refute him without naming him; and, on the contrary, he named him when he ſpoke a thought which he approved of. This is, in a manner, an exceſs of ceremony, prejudicial to the liberty which every body ought to enjoy in the commonwealth of learning: it is to introduce into it works of ſupererogation; every body muſt be allowed to name thoſe whom he refutes; and it is enough to forbear ſharp, injurious, and uncivil, expreſſions.

Here is another paſſage of Mr Baillet, which concerns the ſame ſubject. 'It has been thought by ſeve-'ral, that Mr Des Cartes had his famous opinion 'concerning the ſouls of beaſts . . . from the book of 'Gomeſius Pereira . . . But one may very well doubt, 'whether Mr Des Cartes ever heard of Pereira, and 'whether his book, which has been always ſcarce, 'ever fell into the hands of a man who cared ſo little 'for books and reading as our Philoſopher did. But 'all uncertainty in this matter is removed, ſeeing 'Mr Des Cartes had not ſeen Pereira's book the year 'after the publication of his Metaphyſical Medita-'tions ‡, and had made known his opinion about 'beaſts above fifteen or twenty years before, as has 'been ſaid in the firſt book of this Hiſtory. Beſides, 'as Mr Bayle has well obſerved ††, Pereira having 'not inferred his paradox from it's true principles, 'and having not foreſeen the conſequences of it, Des 'Cartes may be looked upon as the firſt who found it 'out by a philoſophical method. Moreover, Pereira 'was not the inventer of that doctrine, it was debated 'by very learned men in St Auguſtin's time *, as a 'thing which might be defended well enough, not-'withſtanding the apparent abſurdity which the vul-'gar found in it. That opinion was older ſtill than 'St Auguſtin, Seneca, and the firſt Cæſars * *, accord-'ing to Mr du Rondel's obſervation, who carries it as 'far as the Stoics and Cynics (30).'

[E] *Concerning the opinions . . . about the ſouls of beaſts.*] Moſt of the antient Philoſophers taught, that the ſouls of beaſts were rational: from whence it follows, that they believed thoſe ſouls differed but as more and leſs from thoſe of men. Anaxagoras placed that difference in this, *viz.* that men are able to explain their reaſonings, whereas beaſts cannot explain theirs. Ἀναξαγόρας πάντα ζῶα λόγον ἔχειν τὸν ἐνεργητικὸν, τὸν δ' οἱονεὶ νοῦν μὴ ἔχειν τὸν παθητικὸν, τὸν λεγόμενον τῇ ὕλῃ ἐμμένειν. *Anaxagoras omnia animalia habere mentem agentem: non item patientem, qui eſt mentis quaſi interpres* (31). Pythagoras and Plato had the ſame thoughts; for they ſaid, that the ſouls of beaſts, tho' truly rational, act not according to reaſon, becauſe they want the uſe of ſpeech, and their organs are not well proportioned (32). It were to be wiſhed, that Plutarch who knew ſo well how to enlarge finely on ſubjects, when he had a mind to it, had not been ſo laconic on this occaſion: but tho' his language be never ſo conciſe, we can have no doubts about the doctrine of Pythagoras. We ſee clearly enough, that according to that Philoſopher, the ſoul of a beaſt does not ſubſtantially differ from the ſoul of a man; for he taught the tranſmigration of ſouls, that is to ſay, that they paſs indifferently from the body of a man into that of a beaſt, and from the body of a beaſt into that of a man. Few opinions have had more followers than that. I do not believe that any Philoſopher ſpoke more advantageouſly of the ſouls of beaſts than Porphyry; he allowed them not only reaſon, but alſo the faculty of making their reaſoning to be underſtood: he believed alſo, that their language had been underſtood by ſome men, and that men are above beaſts, only

‡ Compare the MS treatiſes Thaumantis Regia, wrote in his youth, and another which he quotes in his Method, as having been wrote a great while before, with the letters of the third Tome, pag. 63, and of the ſecond Tome, pag. 9, 37, 230.

(27) News from the Republic of Letters, March 1684, pag. 22.

(28) Ibid. at the end of the preface.

(29) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, Tom. i, pag. 51, 52.

† See the MS Letter of Iſaac Beeckman to Father Merſennes in 1631, from whence it is inferred, that he imparted his opinion about the ſouls of beaſts to his friends a long time before.

‡ He ſent word to Father Merſennes, that he had never ſeen that book, Letter MS of the 23d of June 1641.

†† News from the Republic of Letters, 1684, Tom. i, pag. 22.

* Tom. ii, pag. 12. News from the Republic of Letters, *Auguſtin. cap. xxx, de Quantitate Animæ.*

** News, ibid. pag. 291.

(30) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, Tom. ii, pag. 537.

(31) Plut. de Placit. Philoſ. *lib. v, cap. xx*, pag. 908.

(32) Οὐ μὴν λογικὰς ὑπερτιθέασι τὰς ψυχὰς παρὰ τὴν διανοητικὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ φραστικόν. Non tamen ea agere ſecundum rationem, atque fieri ob incommodum corporum temperamentum & quia loquela deficitur. *Ibid.* pag. 909.

(27) News from the Republic of Letters, March 1684, pag. 22.

(28) Ibid. at the end of the preface.

(29) Baillet, Life of Des Cartes, Tom. i, pag. 51, 52.

† See the MS Letter of Iſaac Beeckman to Father Merſennes in 1631, from whence it is inferred, that he imparted his opinion about the ſouls of beaſts to his friends a long time before.

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I do not say the fourth part of what they might say upon this subject. They will say the same

only because their reasons are more refined. 'Porphy-
'rius, lib. 3. de abstinentia, statuit naturam omnibus
'animantibus, quibus sensum & memoriam dedit, ra-
'tionem quoque, imo & orationem, tam internam
'quam externam, tribuisse: additque, Apollonium
'Tyanæum, Melampum, Tiresiam, & Thaletem,
'brutorem sermones dijudicasse atque intellexisse: quos
'nihil mirum si non intelligamus ipsi, qui plurimarum
'etiam nationum linguam minimè callemus. Asserit
'itaque brutæ rationem participare, neque per eam
'ab illis hominem simpliciter distingui; sed quòd ho-
'mini perfectum rationis acumen insit, illis imperfe-
'ctum (33). - - - *Porphyry, concerning abstinence, says,*
'*that nature, which has given to all animals sense and*
'*memory, has likewise given them reason, nay, and*
'*speech too, both internal and external: and adds, that*
'*Apollonius Tyanæus, Melampus, Tiresias, and Thales,*
'*knew, and understood the language of brutes: which it*
'*is no wonder if we do not understand, who do not even*
'*know the language of most nations. He affirms there-*
'*fore that brutes partake of reason, and that man is*
'*distinguished from them, only because his reasoning is*
'*more refined.*' He proves it by some reasons and au-
thorities: he quotes Empedocles, Plato, and Aristotle.
'Confirmat istiusmodi dogma in primis ex mutua
'significatione, qua inter se bruta utuntur, quod in
'avibus potissimùm apparet, quæ sibi occinunt vicissim-
'que respondent. Deinde, ex admirabili solertia, cu-
'raque in futurum prospiciendi, utilia consectandi,
'declinandi adversa. Præterea, testimonio Empedo-
'clis & Platonis, atque etiam Aristotelis, quos idem
'censuisse, ex eorum dictis scriptisque haberi ait (34).
'*He confirms this doctrine, first, from the mutual infor-*
'*mation which brute animals give to one another, and*
'*particularly birds, which sing to, and answer one another*
'*by turns. Secondly, from their admirable sagacity and*
'*foresight, in pursuing what is useful, and avoiding*
'*what is hurtful to them. And lastly, from the testimony*
'*of Empedocles, Plato, and Aristotle, who, he says,*
'*were of the same opinion, as appears from their sayings*
'*and writings.*' Those who alledge these words, pre-
tend, that Aristotle is not quoted to the purpose (35);
they say, that he ascribes only to beasts an image, or
copy, of reason, and they laugh at that pretended lan-
guage which was understood by Tiresias, Melampus,
&c. whereupon they observe, that a Rabbin followed
the error of Porphyry, and believed that Solomon un-
derstood the same language. *Quod item addebat Por-*
phyrius, bruta inter se colloqui, & à quibusdam intelligi,
non ita est, etsi ita esse crediderit quidam ex Hebræis
doctoribus, teste Abulensi ad capit. 3. lib. 3. Regum quæst.
11. *asserens, eorum voces percaluisse Salomonem* (36.)
Perhaps it would not be an easy thing for them to
shew, that their Aristotle acknowledged a substantial
difference between the souls of brutes and those of men:
for if they should say, that he believed not that beasts
act by reason, it would not be a good proof; since it is
certain that children and mad-people have a soul of
the same species with the most rational men, and that
most beasts shew more reason than children of one year
of age, and distracted persons. So that one would think
Aristotle acknowledged only more or less difference be-
tween the souls of beasts and those of men, and that he
believed the soul of man reasoned subtilly and easily,
and the soul of a beast but confusedly, because of the
difference of their organs. Which might be con-
firmed, by the opinion of those who say, that he be-
lieved not the immortality of the soul (37).

There is one thing to be observed, *viz.* It does
not appear, that the antients, when they left the poe-
tical or oratorian style, acknowledged a real difference
between a human soul and matter. I do not mean
thick, heavy, and palpable matter, but that which the
Chymists call spirits, which is as essentially body and
matter as dirt and flesh can be. They could not there-
fore believe, that the souls of men and beasts should dif-
fer otherwise than more or less, and according to their
several degrees of subtilty; and consequently they must
have believed, that the meer disposition of the organs
hindered reason from appearing in beasts, as it ap-
pears in men. It was, without doubt, the opinion of
Galen; for he believed not that our souls are incorpo-
real; he did not distinguish them from natural heat,
and the harmony of the constitution (38.) I know
that several have said, that the souls of men descended
from Heaven; but it does not prove, that they be-
lieved them to be immaterial (39). Besides, the Stoics
taught, that all souls, without any exception, flowed
from the same source, *viz.* the *Anima Mundi. Per-*
fusum iis, à Deo, id est Mundi animâ, animam hanc
esse. Laërtius †: Τῆς τῶν ὅλων ψυχῆς μέρη εἶναι
τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις: Animæ universi, partes esse ani-
mantium Animas. *Omniumne animantium? omnium:*
sed aliæ aliis magis participant, ut sunt corpora & in-
strumenta. Est Socraticum ‡: Mundi animam, fon-
tem animarum omnium esse. *Sed illam, quæ ratione*
uteretur, cognatam & participem, imo jam partem
divinitatis esse. Plutarchus: ‡ Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ με-
τασχοῦσα νοῦ καὶ λογισμοῦ, ἐκ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος, οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν: Anima mentis & ra-
tiocinationis consors, non opus solum Dei; sed & PARS
est; neque ab ipso, sed ex ipso est facta. *Enimvero*
etiam aliæ (hac ratione) partes Dei, id est mundanæ
animæ: sed ista scilicet eximiè, & quæ proximè vim
naturamque ejus referret (40). Therefore how could
they believe that the souls of beasts had no sense? I
do not think they believed it; and if Seneca said the
contrary in the passages mentioned by the learned Mr
du Rondel, it is plain he has refuted himself in some
others. Read his last letter, and you will see that he
only deprives beasts of reason, wisdom, true goodness,
and felicity, and not of sense. 'In quo non potest
'beata vita esse, nec id potest quo beata vita efficitur:
'beata autem vita bonis efficitur: in muto animali
'non est quo beata vita efficitur: ergo in muto ani-
'mali bonum non est. Mutum animal SENSU com-
'prehendit præsentia: præteritorum reminiscitur, cùm
'id incidit, quo sensus admonetur: tanquam equus
'reminiscitur viæ, cùm ad initium ejus admotus est.
'In stabulo quidem nullæ viæ, quamvis sæpè calcatæ,
'memoria est. . . . Nec illud nego, ad ea quæ vi-
'dentur secundùm naturam, magnos esse mutis ani-
'malibus impetus & concitatos, sed inordinatos ac tur-
'bidos. Nunquam autem aut inordinatum est bonum,
'aut turbidum. Quid ergo, inquis, muta animalia
'perturbatè & indispositè moventur? Dicerem illa
'perturbatè & indispositè moveri, si natura illorum
'ordinem caperet: nunc moventur secundùm naturam
'suam. Perturbatum enim id est, quod esse aliquando
'& non perturbatum potest. Sollicitum est, quod po-
'test esse securum. Nulli vitium est, nisi cui virtus
'potest esse. Multis animalibus talis ex suâ naturâ
'motus est. Sed ne te diu teneam, aliquod erit bo-
'num in muto animali, erit aliqua virtus, erit aliquid
'perfectum: sed quale? nec bonum absolutè, nec vir-
'tus, nec perfectum. Hæc enim rationalibus solis
'contingunt, quibus datum est scire, quare, quatenus,
'quemadmodum. Ita bonum in nullo est, nisi in quo
'ratio (41). - - - *That in which life cannot be happy,*
'*cannot do that whereby life is rendered happy: but life*
'*is rendered happy in the good: in a mute beast there is*
'*nothing whereby life is rendered happy; therefore in a*
'*mute beast there is no goodness. A mute beast by* SEN-
'SATION *comprehends the present, and remembers the*
'*past, when any thing happens to excite that sensation:*
'*as for instance, an horse remembers a road when he is*
'*brought to the beginning of it. In the stable indeed he*
'*remembers nothing of a road, how often soever he may*
'*have gone in it. . . . . Nor do I deny but that mute*
'*beasts by nature have great and violent transports at*
'*those things they see, but those transports are inordinate*
'*and confused. But what is inordinate or confused can-*
'*not be good. What then, say you, are beasts moved in-*
'*ordinately and confusedly? I should say they are moved*
'*confusedly and inordinately, if their nature were capable*
'*of order; now they are moved according to nature.*
'*For that is confused, which may be sometimes not con-*
'*fused. That is anxious, which may be unconcerned.*
'*Nothing has vice but what may have virtue. Brute*
'*animals have such a motion from their own nature.*
'*But not to detain you longer, there will be some good-*
'*ness, some virtue, some perfection in a beast: of what*
'*kind is it? It is not goodness, nor virtue, nor perfection*
'*in an absolute sense. These only happen to rational*
'*Beings, who have a capacity to understand, why, how,*
'*and how far. So there is goodness in nothing, but*
'*what is endowed with reason.*' Seneca lays down a
principle whereby it will appear in what sense he says
elsewhere, That beasts do not grow angry, and are

(33) Conimbricenses, in Phys. Arist. *lib. ii, cap. ix,* Quæst. III, *Art. i, pag. m.* 225.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Quod autem asserebat Porphyrius, ex Aristotelis doctrina scilicet, existimasse eum bruta ratione pollere; falsum est: nisi rationem fumat pro rationis imitatione quam solum brutis quibusdam Aristoteles attribuit, tum loco citato (*that is to say, lib. iv, de Histor. Animal. cap. ix.*) tum 1, Metaphys. cap. i. *Ibid. Art. iii, pag.* 227.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Pomponatius asserted it strongly. See the discourse of La Mothe le Vayer about the immortality of the soul, in the 9th Tome of his works, edition in 12mo.

(38) *See the book, intituled,* Nic. Nancelii Trachyeni Noviodunensis de immortalitate animæ velitatio adversus Galenum, *printed at Paris in* 1587, *in* 8vo.

(39) See, above, remark [R] of the article LUCRETIUS, the Philosopher.

† In Zen.

‡ Apul. de Dogm. Plat.

‡ Quæst. Platonic.

(40) Lipsius, Physiolog. Stoicorum, *lib. ii,* Dissert. viii, *pag. m.* 984.

(41) Seneca, Epist. cxxiv, *pag. m.* 477.

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same thing of some other places, wherein I am somewhat prolix. Afterwards I shall make some reflexions [F]. I shall observe, that Vossius knew no author before Pereira, who asserted, that beasts have no sensation [G]. You may see in the same remark, a pretty

not capable of conferring a benefit. He supposes, that a nature which is not susceptible of the two contraries, is susceptible of neither of them: From whence he concludes, that beasts being not capable of acting according to order, and the rules of reason, and being unable to acquire virtue, do nothing that can be called disorderly, unreasonable, and a vicious action; and therefore he does not call the violence or fury of a lion, anger: for, according to the Stoics, passions are vices, and consequently no Being can be liable to them, but such as partake of virtue and reason, and are able to attain to the perfection of a wise man. See the remark [I]. He asserts positively in another letter (42), that beasts have sense, and he could not have expressed himself more clearly, if he had been of our scholmens opinion. He even goes farther than they, for he maintains they are conscious of their sensation.

(42) *It is the* cxxist *Letter, wherein he proves,* omnibus animalibus esse constitutionis suæ sensum.

'Qualis ad nos pervenit animi nostri sensus, quamvis 'naturam ejus ignoremus, ac sedem, talis ad omnia 'animalia constitutionis suæ SENSUS. Necesse est e- 'nim id SENTIANT, per quod alia quoque SENTI- 'UNT: necesse est SENSUM ejus habeant, cui parent; 'à quo reguntur. Nemo non ex nobis intelligit esse 'aliquid, quod impetus suos moveat: quid sit illud, 'ignorat: & conatum sibi esse scit: quid sit, aut unde 'sit, nescit. Sicut infantibus, sic quoque animalibus, 'principalis partis suæ SENSUS est, non satis dilucidus, 'non expressus (43). - - - *Such a sense as we have of 'our mind, tho' we are ignorant of it's nature and seat, 'the same all beasts have of their own constitution. For 'they must needs* FEEL *that by which they* FEEL *other 'things: they must needs have a* SENSE *of him whom they 'obey, and by whom they are governed. Every one of us 'knows there is something that moves our passions: what 'it is we know not: we know we have an inclination; 'but what it is, or whence it is, we cannot tell. As 'infants, so beasts have* SENSE *of their principal part, 'tho' not very clear and manifest.*'

(43) Ibid. Epist. cxxi, *pag.* 467.

And herein he does but follow the principles of his sect. It is the property of beasts, said the Stoics, to desire their preservation, and to know that nature recommends them to themselves. Τὴν δὲ πρώτην ὁρμὴν φασι τὸ ζῶον ἰσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτὸ, οἰκειώσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· κατά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν, πρῶτον οἰκεῖον λέγων εἶναι παντὶ ζώῳ τὴν αὐτῆ σύσασιν, καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνείδησιν. *Primam autem hanc animantis appetitionem fuisse dicunt, seipsum tuendi atque servandi, naturâ sibi ipsum ab initio conciliante, ut Chrysippus ait in primo De finibus, primum proprium cuique animanti dicens sui ipsius fuisse commendationem, hujusque conscientiam* (44).

(44) Diog. Laërtius, in Zenone, *l. viii, num.* 85, *pag. m.* 416.

As to the Cynics (45), the passage of Plutarch mentioned by Mr du Rondel, says positively, That in the opinion of Diogenes beasts had no sense. I would see the doctrine of that Philosopher more at large, for what Plutarch says of it is very obscure; the beginning and the end are very inconsistent with the middle part. They partake of understanding; there is the beginning. They are almost affected as madmen are; there is the end. But do not mad and furious men often feel? If they had been compared with men ill of a lethargy, or apoplexy, there had been some connection in his discourse. However here is the whole passage. Διογένης, μετέχειν μὲν αὐτὰ τῆ νοητῆ καὶ αἐρῳ, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μὲν πυκνότητι, τὰ δὲ πλεονασμῷ τῆς ὑγεασίας, μήτε διανοεῖσθαι, μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι, περσφερῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διακεῖσθαι τοῖς μεμηνόσι, παρεπταικότι τῆ ἡγεμονικῆ. *Diogenes, rationis & aëris partem ea percipere, sed vel ob crassitiem vel ob abundantiam humoris neque intelligere neque sentire: ac ferè affecta esse eo modo quo sunt insanientes, qui de mentis exiverunt poteſtate* (46). Whatever the doctrine of Diogenes was, concerning that subject, it is certain, that the number of the ancients who opposed it, is much greater than of those who came near it. Plutarch wrote a treatise on purpose to shew that beasts do reason (47). It is also the design of the book, wherein he inquires, whether terrestrial animals are more industrious than those who live in the water (48). I shall draw an observation from it, which seems to be of some importance. The author designing to refute those who say, That as there are rational animals, there must be some that are irrational, maintains that by the same reason it might be said, that there are some animals who do not feel, as there are some that feel. It is to be observed, that he supposes that this last division of animals had never been made before: He alledges it as an example of a doctrine which no body ever would be allowed to advance. His argument is what we call *reductionem ad absurdum*, - - - *reducing one to an absurdity*. Here are his words: Εἰ δέ τις ἀξιοῖ μὴ κολοβὸν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔμψυχον φύσιν ἔχειν, τὸ μὲν, λογικὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον· ἑτερῳ ἀξιώσει τὴν ἔμψυχον φύσιν ἔχειν· τὸ μὲν, φανταστικὸν, τὸ δὲ, ἀφανταστον. καὶ τὸ μὲν, αἰσθητικὸν. τὸ δὲ, ἀναίσθητον· ἵνα δὴ τὰς ἀντιζύγους ταύτας καὶ ἀντιθέτους ἕξεις καὶ στερήσεις περὶ ταυτὸν ἡ φύσις ἔχοι μέν οἷον ἰσορροπήσας. εἰ δὲ ἄτοπον ὁ ζητῶν τὸ ἔμψυχα τὸ μὲν, αἰσθητικὸν, τὸ δὲ, ἀναίσθητον εἶναι· καὶ τὸ μὲν, φανταστικὸν, τὸ δὲ, ἀφανταστον. ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἔμψυχον αἰσθητικὸν εὐθὺς εἶναι καὶ φανταστικὸν πέφυκεν. ὅδε ὅταν ἐπιεικῶς ἀπειτήσω τὸ μὲν λογικὸν εἶναι τῆ ἐμψύχῳ, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον. Quod si quis postulet, ne natura sit manca, debere animatorum alia rationem habere, alia esse bruta: invenietur qui eodem jure flagitet, animalium alia debere esse vi imaginandi prædita, alia ea carere: alia sensum habere, alia non habere: scilicet ut oppositas habitibus istis privationes æqualibus veluti momentis natura habeat. Quòd si hæc postulare absurdum est, cum quodvis animal simul & sentiendi & imaginandi vim nanciscatur: ne hoc quidem recte postulabitur, esse animalium alia ratione prædita, alia bruta (49). - - - *But if any alledge that some animals ought to be rational, and some irrational, that nature may not be defective: others may as justly maintain, that some animals ought to have the faculty of perception, and some to be without it: that some should have feeling and some not have feeling: that so nature may have at the same time privations contrary to those faculties. But if this be absurd, since every animal has both the faculty of feeling and perceiving: then it cannot be right to alledge that some animals should be rational and some irrational.* A little while after he refutes the Stoics, with a remark of the same force. Beasts, say they, have no passions; their desires are no desires, but almost desires, &c. What would you answer therefore, says he to them, if any body should teach that they neither see nor hear, but that their fight is almost a fight. Οὐκ οἶδά τί χρήσονται τοῖς λέγουσι μηδὲ βλέπειν μηδὲ ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ βλέπειν αὐτὰ, καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἀκούειν· μεδὲ φωνεῖν. ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ φωνεῖν· μηδὲ ὅλως ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ ζῆν. *Nescio quid responsuri sint iis, qui animalia etiam non videre, non audire, non vocem emittere, sed quasi videre, quasi audire, quasi vocem edere, denique omnino non vivere, sed duntaxat quasi vivere dicerent* (50). Which shews, that Plutarch was persuaded, that no Philosopher had ever rejected the sensitive souls of beasts. From whence it follows, that he understood the opinion of Diogenes, otherwise than we understand the opinion of Pereira.

(49) Plut. de Solert. Animal. circa init. *pag. m.* 960, C.

(50) Ibid. *pag.* 961, E. You will see Amyot's version below, in the remark [I].

Lest I should be too prolix, I refer to another place (51), the remaining part of this compilation.

(51) To the article RORARIUS.

[F] *Afterwards I shall make some reflexions.*] I refer them to the article of RORARIUS.

[G] *Vossius knew no author before Pereira, who asserted that beasts have no sensation.*] He observes that there have been some Philosophers, who made no distinction between thought and sensation. From whence they should have concluded, either that beasts have reason (52), or that they have no sensation (53). He adds, that the last proposition pleased nobody, that he knew of, among the Antients; but that it was asserted by Gomesius Pereira, in the XVIth century. 'Hoc 'constituto, consequitur, vel bestias non habere sen- 'sum, cum non habeant rationem; vel eas, cum sensu 'præditæ sint, etiam rationales esse. Prior sententia, 'quod sciam, veterum placuit nulli. Sed avorum 'nostrorum temporibus amplexus illam fuit Gometius 'Pereira, Philosophus ac Medicus Hispanus, in opere 'triginta à se annis elaborato; quod ab Antonii, & 'Margaritæ, parentum suorum, nominibus, *Antonia-* 'nam Margaritam inscripsit. Eandemque opinionem 'tuetur

(52) Vossius, de Orig. & Progress. Idolol. *lib.* iii, *cap.* xli, *pag. m.* 939.

(53) See Francis Valesius, *de Sacra Philosophia, cap.* iv, *pag.* 4, 274, where he says something by the by, against Pereira, without naming him.

(46) Plut. de Placit. Philos. *lib.* v, *cap.* xx, *pag.* 909. *According to Amyot's version, Diogenes says,* that beasts have some UNDERSTANDING, but by reason of the grossness and thickness of their constitution, and because of the great quantity of their moistness, they have neither reasoning nor feeling, no more than madmen, because they are crack-brained, and have not a free use of reason.

(47) Περὶ τῆ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι Bruta animalia ratione uti.

(48) Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα, τὰ χερσαῖα ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα. Terrestriane an aquatilia animalia sint callidiora?

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pretty large account of the opinion of that Spaniard. Some endeavour, in vain, to find in Ariſtotle the ſeeds of Mr Des Cartes's opinion [*H*]. We are alſo referred in vain to the

' tuetur in Margaritæ hujus apologia, qua objectioni-
' bus Michaëlis à Palacios, Theologi Salmanticenſis,
' reſpondet : Utrobique docet, (ut verbis ejus inſiſtam)
' *illos motus brutales, quicunque in brutis viſuntur, non*
' *fieri à brutis videntibus, aut audientibus, aut guſtanti-*
' *bus, ſeu per quemcumque alium ſenſum exteriorem, ſeu*
' *interiorem, vitaliter ſenſificè immutatis : ſed vel ab*
' *ſpeciebus objectorum inductis in eorum organis, noſtris*
' *ſenſitivis ſimilibus, cum præſentia ſunt ſequenda, vel*
' *fugienda : vel à phantaſmatis, cum hæc abſunt.* Ni-
' mirum cenſet ea, quæ nos facultati ſenſitivæ tribui-
' mus, proficiſci à quadam ſympathia, & antipathia :
' quemadmodum enim ſuccinum trahit paleas, magnes
' ferrum ; ſic muta animantia trahi à ſpeciebus rerum
' amicarum : à natura quippe hanc vim eſſe inditam
' rebus, ut non omnia moveat, ſed res certas : itaque,
' re amica præſenti, maxillas animantis natura moveri
' ad illam recipiendam : re præſenti inimica, eaſdem
' natura refugere cibum, planeque adverſari. Quod
' ſi natura voluiſſet ſenſum mutis dare animantibus,
' daturam etiam fuiſſe mentem : at ea ſic habitura
' fuiſſe animas indiviſibiles, eoque à corpore ſepara-
(54) Voſſius, ubi ſupra. ' biles (54). - - - - *From hence it follows, either that*
' *beaſts have no ſenſation, ſince they have no reaſon ; or*
' *that they have reaſon, ſince they have ſenſation. The*
' *former propoſition pleaſed none, that I know of, among*
' *the Antients. But in the time of our grand-fathers it*
' *was aſſerted by Gomeſius Pereira, a Philoſopher and*
' *Phyſician of Spain, in a work which he had been thirty*
' *years about, intituled,* Antoniana Margarita, *from*
' *Antonius, and Margarita, the names of his father and*
' *mother. He defends the ſame opinion in the apology of*
' *this Margarita, where he anſwers the objections of*
' *Michael de Palacios, a Divine of Salamanca : in both*
' *theſe books he maintains (to uſe his own words)* that
' thoſe brutal motions, which are obſerved in beaſts,
' are not performed by them, either ſeeing, hearing,
' or taſting, nor is there any change made upon them
' with reſpect to life and ſenſation by any other exter-
' nal or internal ſenſe : but they proceed from the
' images of objects imprinted on their organs, which
' are like our ſenſitive organs, when things to be pur-
' ſued, or avoided are preſent ; and from phantaſms,
' when theſe are abſent. *He thinks that what we im-*
' *pute to a ſenſitive faculty, ariſes from a certain ſym-*
' *pathy and antipathy : for as amber attracts ſtraws,*
' *and a load-ſtone iron, ſo beaſts are attracted by the ima-*
' *ges of things agreeable : this virtue being given by*
' *nature, not to move all, but ſome particular things ;*
' *ſo when an agreeable thing is preſent, the jaws of a*
' *beaſt are moved by nature to receive it : and when a*
' *diſagreeable thing is preſented, they, by nature, refuſe*
' *and reject food. But if nature had intended to give*
' *ſenſation to brutes, he ſays, ſhe would likewiſe have*
' *given underſtanding : and then they would have had*
' *indiviſible ſouls, and conſequently ſeparable from the*
' *body.* Conſider theſe two things : Firſt, That he explained not the motions of beaſts by mechanical principles, but by the occult qualities of antipathy and ſympathy. Secondly, that he rejected the ſenſitive ſouls, becauſe he believed not that material, diviſible, and mortal ſubſtance was capable of feeling ; from whence he concluded, that if beaſts had a ſenſitive ſoul, it was not corporeal. When he was put in mind of the actions of beaſts, for example, of a dog, he anſwered, that it was not neceſſary they ſhould proceed from a ſenſitive faculty ; for if it was ſo the Peripatetics would be in the wrong not to aſcribe to a rational ſoul ſo many actions of a dog which are like thoſe of a man. He had ſubtilty enough to take advantage of the weak ſide of the cauſe of his averſaries. It is the common ſhift
(55) Ibid. of thoſe who undertake to maintain abſurdities (55).
' Ictus hoſce levi amictu exire ſe poſſe Pereira arbitra-
' tur. Putat enim, ut nos non ideo rationem tribui-
' mus beſtiis, quia tam multa actibus faciant ſimillima
' humanis : ita neque iis adſcribendum eſſe ſenſum,
' etſi, quæ agant, ſimillima ſint actibus animæ ſenſi-
' tivæ. Nec eo movetur, quòd tam diſſimiles ſint
' animarum actus, imò contrarii prorſus : quia, ut ait,
' natura etiam pro rebus, in quas agit, contraria ope-
(56) That is to ſay, *Virgil, Ecl.* VIII, ver. 80. ' retur. Unde Poëta (56) :

Limus ut hic dureſcit, & hæc ut cera liqueſcit,
Uno eodemque igni.

' Sed longum eſſet omnia ex opere tam operoſo homi-
' nis & acuti & docti, adferre pro ridicula ſententia,
' quam diximus. - - - *Pereira believes he can eaſily parry*
' *theſe thruſts. For he thinks that as we do not aſcribe*
' *reaſon to beaſts, becauſe they do many things like human*
' *actions : ſo neither ought we to aſcribe to them ſenſa-*
' *tion, tho' they do things like the actions of a ſenſitive ſoul.*
' *Nor is he much embarraſſed with the objection, that the*
' *actions of ſouls are very unlike, nay directly contrary*
' *to one another ; becauſe, as he ſays, nature produces con-*
' *trary effects according to the ſubject it works upon. And*
' *therefore the Poet ſays,*

As fire this figure hardens, made of clay,
And this of wax, with fire conſumes away.

' *But it would be tedious to bring from ſuch an huge*
' *work, all that this ingenious and learned man ſays for*
' *the ridiculous opinion I have mentioned.*' I thought the reader would be glad to find here a ſpecimen of the doctrine and genius of this Spaniard.

[*H*] *Some endeavour in vain to find in Ariſtotle the ſeeds of Mr Des Cartes's opinion.*] Father Pardies endeavoured it. *Perhaps,* ſays he (57), *it will not be need-*
(57) Ignatius Gaſton Pardies, Of the Knowledge of Beaſts, *num.* 69, *pag. m.* 136. *leſs to examine ſome paſſages of Ariſtotle, that we may know whether ſo great a Philoſopher will not afford us ſomething, that may authorize an opinion which ſeems now to be ſo new and ſo extraordinary.* Afterwards he quotes this paſſage taken from the ninth chapter of Ariſtotle's book *de Spiritu.* ' One may conceive, with-
' out any great difficulty, that heat is an effect of
' nature : but it is difficult to apprehend, how the
' nature of bodies can ſo well manage that heat, and
' uſe it as an inſtrument to give to every thing what
' it ought naturally to have, and to imprint upon
' each of them it's particular character with as much
' juſtneſs, as if thoſe bodies were endowed with know-
' ledge and reaſon. And * certainly all thoſe things * V. Interpretem Latinum hujus loci.
' cannot be performed without knowledge and the di-
' rection of reaſon : but, on the other ſide, how can
' the faculty of knowing be aſcribed to material be-
' ings ? This art can, by no means, be aſcribed to the
' force of fire and ſpirits, or of the moſt ſubtile bodies :
' But if we ſhould ſay, that there is within theſe bo-
' dies ſome principles that have the faculty of know-
' ing ; it is a thing which exceeds all admiration.
' And we have as much reaſon to wonder, when we
' conſider the very ſouls of beaſts, ſeeing they are of
' the ſame nature with fire and ſpirits.' *It appears from that paſſage,* ſays Father Pardies (58), *that Ari-*
(58) Pardies, ubi ſupra, *num.* 71, *pag.* 140. *ſtotle knew very well how difficult it is to aſcribe knowledge to bodies and beaſts. But he ſeems to have poſitively aſſerted, in another place, what he propoſes here only by way of admiration ; for, ſpeaking of beaſts, he uſes theſe expreſs words* †*:* Of all animals, man only has the † Hiſt. Animal. cap. i. faculty of thinking. *Homo unus ex numero animalium omnium vim obtinet cogitandi.* . . . And tho' other animals be endowed with memory, and capable of diſcipline, yet none but man is capable of reminiſcence. *It ſeems from theſe words, which Ariſtotle has repeated word for word in another place* ‡*, that he granted that* ‡ De Mem. & Rem. cap. ii. *beaſts have knowledge, ſince he acknowledges they are endowed with memory ; and that if he deprives them of knowledge, it is only of that ſort of knowledge, which is attended with a particular reflexion in our deliberations, and the enquiries we make to recal things to mind. But it is certain, that Ariſtotle has diſtinguiſhed otherwiſe memory and reminiſcence ; for, in his opinion, memory conſiſts only in an* image ‡ and a repreſentation, im- ‡ Ibid. cap. i. printed upon the ſubſtance of that part of the body wherein common ſenſe reſides, much in the ſame manner as figures are repreſented upon wax by the impreſſion of ſeals : *ſo that to have the memory of ſome things,* is to have the figures of things thus repreſented ‡‡. *Whereas reminiſcence implies beſides a certain* ‡‡ Ibid. *perception of the mind, whereby when* we re-call ſome things to mind, we know that very thing, *viz.* that we re-call ſomething to mind : *which is common to all ſorts of thoughts, ſince it is impoſſible to think, without knowing that one thinks. So that Ariſtotle ſaying, that beaſts have no reminiſcence, and that man only has that faculty, it is no wonder if he ſaid alſo, that of all animals none but man is capable of thinking. That Philoſopher believed therefore, that beaſts have no true thoughts.*

It

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the fourth book of Cicero's Tuſculan Queſtions, and to the teſtimony of Porphyry, Proclus, &c. There is no reſemblance [I] between the doctrine which makes them machines,

It remains only, that Ariſtotle ſhould acknowledge, that beaſts are meer Automata, *and that they move only mechanically, and by the help of ſome ſprings. But he has clearly done it; for he ſpeaks thus, explaining how the motion of animals is performed.* As thoſe machines, ſays he *, which are called *Automata*, are no ſooner moved a certain way, but they perform their motions by the force of the unbent ſprings. . . . ſo animals move in the ſame manner, having bones and nerves, as ſo many inſtruments fitted for that end by the induſtry of nature, which produce the ſame effect in them which pieces of wood and iron, with their ſprings, produce in machines. *He ſays the ſame thing elſewhere.* It may be, ſays he **, that in animals one thing moves another, and that their bodies are like thoſe wonderful *Automata*: for in effect, they are made up of members which have the faculty, even when they are at reſt, *to perform certain motions as ſoon as they are determined to them.* And as there is no need at all to touch thoſe machines, when they are moving, provided they have been touched before, *ſo the ſame may be ſaid of animals.*

* De Animal. motione, cap. vii.

** 2 De Gen. Anim. cap. i, poſt med.

Theſe paſſages do great honour to Ariſtole, and ſhew, 1. That he knew the mechanical conſtruction which nature has produced in the bodies of animals, and which it daily exerciſes. 2. That he knew how unconceivable it is that matter ſhould think. But he never advanced, either as a certain thing, or as a ſuppoſition, that beaſts have no ſenſe; he never deprived them of thought, taking that word in the ſenſe which the Carteſians put upon it, but taking it in a particular ſenſe, for what is called meditation, reflexion, deliberation. It is not at all likely that he defined memory as Father Pardies ſays he did; for by that definition there will be no difference between imagination and memory. Beſides, beaſts will never be meer machines, whilſt they are able to form the image of an object that is abſent: this is what memory implies, according to the very explication of Father Pardies. Laſtly, This Jeſuit had no reaſon to oppoſe the critical obſervation made againſt the tranſlator of Ariſtotle (59). Βαλεύεσθαι is a kind of thought, and not thought in general; ſo that tho' man only were capable of the βαλεύεσθαι, as Ariſtotle will have it, yet it would not follow from thence, that there is no other animal that thinks.

(59) By Scaliger. See Pardies, ibid. *num.* 72, *pag.* 140.

[I] *We are alſo referred in vain to the fourth book of Cicero's Tuſculan Queſtions. . . . There is no reſemblance between the doctrine of the Automata, and what thoſe antient authors ſay.*] A learned prelate, who wrote againſt Des Cartes, accuſes him of advancing no doctrine but what is to be found in the authors who lived before him. Here are his proofs, with reſpect to the doctrine concerning the ſouls of beaſts: 'Quid hoc eſt vero, 'quod † apud Ciceronem legimus, beſtias ſimile quid-'dam facere perturbationem animi, in perturbationes 'non incidere, quod hæ eveniant ſolum ex aſpernatione 'rationis, qua carent beſtiæ? Quid aliud, inquam, 'ſuadet hoc nobis, quam beſtias mera eſſe automata? 'nam ſi perturbationibus carent, neque herum diligit 'canis, neque lupum ovis reformidat: imo, nec ci-'bum appetunt, nec dolorem fugiunt, nec mortem 'timent; ſed ex coacto cœcæ materiæ motu id face-'re videntur quod non faciunt. Scribit conceptis ver-'bis ‡ Plutarchus credidiſſe Diogenem brutas animan-'tes, neque intelligere, neque ſentire: Quod & con-'futavit ‡ Porphyrius. Sciſcit * Proclus animalia 'tantum rationalia anima eſſe prædita; additque 'decretum eſſe à Platone animam vere eſſe eam 'quæ ratione polleat, cætera ſimulacra animarum. 'At nemo doctrinam hanc vel tradidit apertius, vel 'fuſius propugnavit, quam Gomethius Pereira (60). '- - - - *What is the meaning of that expreſſion we find 'in Cicero, that beaſts do ſomething which reſembles the 'paſſions of the mind, but that they do not fall into paſ-'ſions, becauſe theſe happen only from a contempt of reaſon, 'which beaſts have not? What, I ſay, can be the 'meaning of it, but that beaſts are meer machines? For 'if they are without paſſions, a dog cannot love his ma-'ſter, nor a ſheep fear a wolf? Nay, they cannot deſire 'food, nor avoid pain, nor dread death; but from the 'neceſſary motion of blind matter they ſeem to do what 'they really do not. Plutarch expreſsly ſays, that Dio-'genes believed that beaſts have neither underſtanding 'nor feeling: which Porphyry likewiſe confuted. Proclus 'declares that rational animals only have a ſoul, and adds 'that Plato maintained that the ſoul endowed with rea-'ſon was properly ſuch, and others only the images of 'ſouls. But none has more clearly taught, or more fully 'defended this doctrine than Gomeſius Pereira.' He alledges four authorities, *viz.* of Cicero, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Proclus. Let us examine them in order: we need not ſay any thing more about Pereira, whom that learned prelate mentions in the laſt words of that paſſage: we have ſaid enough of him in the foregoing remarks.

† Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. iv.

‡ Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. lib. v, cap. xx.

‡ Porphy. de abſt. ab anim. lib. iii.

* Proclus, in Platon. Philoſ. lib. iii, cap. i.

(60) Pet. Daniel Huetius, Cenſ. Philoſ. Carteſianæ, *cap. viii, pag.* 208, *Edit. Pariſ.* 1689.

I. The paſſage of Cicero is not a good proof; it contains nothing elſe but the diſtinction which the Stoics made uſe of, and which I have mentioned above (61). They pretended that the paſſions and reaſon were two things contrary one to another, and conſequently, that they could have but one and the ſame ſubject; they could not therefore be found in any animals but ſuch as are rational, and conſequently beaſts could not be capable of them. 'Illud animorum 'corporumque diſſimile eſt quod animi valentes 'morbo tentari non poſſunt, corpora poſſunt. Sed 'corporum offenſiones ſine culpa accidere poſſunt, 'animorum non item, quorum omnes morbi & per-'turbationes ex aſpernatione rationis eveniunt. Ita-'que in hominibus ſolum exiſtunt. Nam beſtiæ ſimile 'quiddam faciunt, ſed in perturbationes non incidunt '(62). - - - - *There is this difference between minds and 'bodies, that ſound minds cannot be ſeized with diſorders, 'but bodies may. The diſorders of the body may hap-'pen without any fault, but thoſe of the mind cannot; 'all the diſorders and paſſions of which happen from the 'contempt of reaſon, and conſequently they exiſt only in men, 'beaſts do ſomething that reſembles them, but they never 'fall into paſſions.*' Thus Cicero repreſents part of the Stoical ſubtilties about the doctrine of paſſions (63). What he ſays does not at all ſignify, that the Stoics deprived beaſts of the ſenſations which we call love, hatred, anger, &c. They acknowledged that beaſts do ſomething like what men do when they grow angry, and give themſelves up to pleaſure, fear, or ſome other paſſion; but they pretended, that ſuch a ſtate was not really love, or hatred, or anger, or, in general, a paſſion in beaſts; for to be ſuch, ſaid they beaſts muſt fall into it out of contempt of reaſon. But they are irrational, and conſequently reaſon is not their rule, they do nothing which tends to ſwerve from that rule, or to conform to it: ſeeing therefore paſſions ariſe in men becauſe they ſwerve from reaſon which is their rule; and ſince the nature of paſſions conſiſts in being contrary to reaſon, which men ought to follow; it muſt be concluded, that what paſſes in beaſts is not a paſſion, tho' it ſeems to be one. This is what the ſubtilties of the Stoics came to. It was, properly ſpeaking, a diſpute about words; and it is at leaſt, very certain, that they did not deny, that what the other Philoſophers called anger, or love, or fear in beaſts was a true and real ſenſation. They did not deny that a dog knew his maſter, and that a ſheep knew a wolf, as a thing it ought to avoid. I will not make a collection of proofs, whereby the truth of that point might appear with the greateſt evidence. It is enough to ſay, that thoſe who endeavoured moſt to refute what was paradoxical in the ſyſtem of the Stoics, never objected to them that they made meer machines of beaſts. Would they have ſpared them about ſuch a doctrine?

(61) Remark [E].

(62) Cicer. Tuſcul. *lib.* iv, *fol.* m. 267, C.

(63) Habes ea, quæ de perturbationibus enucleatè diſputant Stoici, quæ logica appellant, quia difficiuntur ſubtilius. *Ibid.*

II. I have already examined the paſſage of Plutarch (64). We have already ſeen that it is obſcure, and made up of inconſiſtent parts. I add, that one may plainly obſerve in it an extream oppoſition between the doctrine of Diogenes and that of Mr Des Cartes. Diogenes ſaid, that beaſts are made up of a body and a ſoul, and that if their ſoul does not actually feel and reaſon, it is becauſe the thickneſs of it's organs, and the great quantity of humours reduce it to the condition of mad men. Whereas Des Cartes acknowledges no ſenſitive principle in beaſts; he ſays, they are only made up of matter, and have a body without a ſoul. I obſerve, that if there was any probability in the doctrine of Diogenes, it would be only about oxen, hogs,

(64) Citat. (45).

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machines, and what thoſe antient authors ſay.

hogs, &c. but it appears ridiculous when it is applied to ſwallows, flies, bees, and ants, whoſe organs are incomparably thinner and leſs moiſt than thoſe of men.

III. I ſhall inſiſt ſomewhat longer upon the paſſage of Porphyry. The learned biſhop affirms, that this Philoſopher refuted what Diogenes ſaid of beaſts, that they had neither underſtanding nor feeling; but it is certain, that Porphyry refutes no body, who had ſaid that they are inſenſible. His ſilence is a plain proof, that no body had yet vented ſuch a paradox; for there being nothing more contrary to the deſign of Porphyry in all that work, he would not have failed to refute that hypotheſis. He was about to prove, that men ſhould not eat the fleſh of beaſts; he found ſeveral inconveniencies in it, and, amongſt others, that it is an introduction to cruelty (65). He gathered together as many anſwers as he could get, to the objections of his adverſaries: but was there any objection ſo ſtrong as this, *viz.* That beaſts have no feeling? Is it not certain, that this being ſuppoſed, there would be no more cruelty in killing an ox, than in plucking up turneps (66)? Here is another obſervation which convinces me, that Porphyry had not heard of that paradox, which it is pretended he refuted. He lays down, as a principle generally approved, that beaſts feel (67), from whence he draws this conſequence, *they are therefore rational* (68), and he finds in that conſequence, the moſt ſpecious arguments he can alledge to defend his opinion. He propoſes this objection to himſelf, *ſeeing the animal nature includes ſome rational ſubjects, it muſt alſo include ſome that are irrational* (69), and he anſwers as Plutarch does, or rather he tranſcribes, word for word, three or four pages of Plutarch, without naming him. What he ſteals from him, contains, in particular, what has been ſeen above in the remark [*E*] (70). They are two paſſages which demonſtratively prove, that all the Philoſophers of that time believed, that there are no inſenſible animals. Amyot has ſo ill tranſlated the firſt, that it is impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of it: he has been more ſucceſsful in the ſecond. I ſhall ſet down his words, and I ſhall ſay, by and by, why I give them in this place. 'As for thoſe who 'ſpeak ſo ſtupidly and impertinently of it as to ſay, 'that beaſts neither rejoice nor grow angry, nor fear, 'that the ſwallow makes no proviſion, that the bee 'has no memory, but that it ſeems only that the 'ſwallow has ſome forecaſt, that the lion ſeems to be 'angry, and the hind to quake with fear: I do not 'know how they would anſwer thoſe who ſhould ſay 'that one may as well affirm, that they neither ſee 'nor hear, and have no voice, but that they ſeem on-'ly to ſee and hear, and have a voice, and, in ſhort, 'that they do not live, but only ſeem to live: for 'the one is not more againſt plain evidence than the 'other (71).' I have tranſcribed that paſſage, to ſtrengthen the conſequence I drew from it, *viz.* that the doctrine of *Automata*, or machines, was then looked upon, not as a doctrine which had ever been aſſerted by any body, but as a doctrine which the Stoics would not be able to refute, if any one ſhould undertake to make uſe of ſuch an objection, to beat them at their own weapons. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that Plutarch and Porphyry uſe the word λέγωσι, which is the participle of the preſent tenſe: from whence it will follow that this objection was actually made by ſome againſt the Stoics. I anſwer that the French tranſlator of Plutarch agrees herein with Xylander (72), approved by the learned Holſtenius (73), that the word λέγωσι ought to be taken in the future conditional tenſe. Grammar allows of it, and Hiſtory requires it in this place; for Plutarch and Porphyry, thoſe two great defenders of the reaſon of beaſts, had not failed to diſpute againſt the doctrine of meer machines, had they known that there was, or that there had been ſuch an opinion. But they ſay nothing of it.

IV. As to Proclus, it is true he ſays that, according to the doctrine of Plato, the rational ſoul is properly a ſoul, and that other ſouls are but images or repreſentations of a ſoul; but he ſays at the very ſame time that they partake of knowledge and life, and that rational animals are not the only ones which partake of underſtanding; that all other animals which are endowed with imagination, memory, and feeling, do alſo partake thereof. Whereby he plainly teaches that beaſts have a ſenſitive ſoul, and ſuch in a word as the diſciples of Ariſtotle repreſent it to us. Tho' the paſſage of Proclus is ſomewhat long, I ſhall ſet it down here, that the reader may have no doubts about the true ſenſe of it, and that he may be ſure it could not ſerve as a prelude to the Carteſian doctrine concerning beaſts. Καὶ ὅλως πολλαχῇ δῆλός ἐστι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ψυχὴν τὴν λογικὴν εἶναι τιθέμενος, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας, εἰδώλα ψυχῶν καθόσον εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται νοεραὶ καὶ ζωτικαί, μετὰ τῶν ὅλων παράγουσαι τὰς περὶ τὰ σώματα ζωάς· νῦν δὲ ἡ μόνον τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα μετέχειν συγχωρήσομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα γνωστικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν· φαντασίαν λέγω, καὶ μνήμην, καὶ αἴσθησιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἐν Φιλήβῳ Σωκράτης, ἐπὶ τὴν νοερὰν ἄγει τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα σειράν. *Denique multis in locis conſtat & ipſum Platonem ſtatuere illam ratione præditam animam*, veram eſſe *animam, alias verò, animarum* eſſe, *ſimulacra, quatenus ſunt & illæ intellectuales & vivificæ, cum ipſis univerſis producentes, illas vitas, quæ circa ipſa corpora*, & in ipſis corporibus ſunt. *Concedemus autem non ſolum animalia ratione-prædita participare Mentem: ſed etiam alia, quæcumque cognoſcendi-facultatem habent. Phantaſiam* autem *dico, & memoriam, & ſenſum. Quoniam & ille Socrates, qui in Philebo* diſputans introducitur, *hujuſmodi omnia ad intellectualem rerum ſeriem reducit* (74). That this may be the better underſtood, I ſhall obſerve, that, according to the Platonic doctrine, there is a difference between the ſoul and the underſtanding, which is not unlike the difference which the Peripatics acknowledge betwen Species and Genus. The Platonics ſaid, that four things anterior one to another, *viz.* eſſence, life, underſtanding, and the ſoul, had preceded bodies; that life partakes of eſſence; that the underſtanding partakes of life and eſſence; and that the ſoul partakes of underſtanding, life, and eſſence, and has reaſon beſides as it's particular nature. This would be called in the ſchools the ſpecific difference of the ſoul. Τεττάρων τοίνυν τούτων ὄντων πρὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ὑποστάσεως αἰτίων, ὑσίας, ζωῆς, νῦ, ψυχῆς, ψυχὴ μὲν ἁπάντων μετέχει τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν λόγον, κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἰδιότητα λαχοῦσα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ὄν, ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰτίων. *Cum igitur hæ quatuor cauſæ ſint ante corpoream hypoſtaſin, Eſſentia, Vita, Mens, Anima, Anima quidem, particeps eſt omnium eorum, quæ ſunt ante ipſam, ipſam quidem rationem, ſecundum ſuam proprietatem ſortita, Mentem vero, & Vitam, & ipſum Ens ab antiquioribus cauſis* adepta (75). Thus the ſoul may concur four ſeveral ways in the diſpoſing of all poſterior beings. It extends it's influences as far as bodies, in as much as it exiſts; it extends them as far as plants, in as much as it lives; and as far as beaſts, in as much as it partakes of underſtanding; and as far as the firſt natures that are ſuſceptible of reaſon together with the other attributes, in as much as it is rational. As for the underſtanding which precedes the ſoul, and is the fulneſs of life, and even of being; it influences three ſeveral ways the oeconomy of the univerſe. It illuminates by it's ſpecific virtue whatever is endowed with the faculty of knowing; and it concurs in communicating life to a greater number of things, and eſſence to every thing which being has formed. Νοῦς ... τριχῶς διακοσμεῖ τὰ πάντα, τῇς μὲν νοερᾶς ἰδιότητος ἅπασι, τοῖς γνωστικοῖς ἐλλάμπων τὴν δύναμιν. *Mens .... trifariam omnia digerit ipſius quidem intellectuales proprietatis facultatem omnibus cognoſcendi vim habentibus per ſuam illuminationem largiens* (76) Beaſts are comprehended in the claſs of creatures that receive the irradiation of it's virtue: which is manifeſt from the words that Proclus makes uſe of, ſpeaking of what the ſoul does, in as much as it partakes of underſtanding. Κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὂν τὸ ἑαυτῆς, τὰ πάντα (ὑφίστησι) καὶ μεχρὶ σωμάτων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ζωὴν, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ζῆν, καὶ μεχρὶ τῶν φυτῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν νοῦν, πάντα τὰ γνωστικὴν ἔχοντα δύναμιν, καὶ μεχρὶ τῶν ἀλογωτάτων. *Secundum quidem ipſum ipſius Animæ Ens, omnia* (conſtituit) *vel uſque ad ipſa corpora. Secundum vero vitam, omnia quæ vivere dicuntur, & uſque ad ipſas plantas. Secundum vero Mentem, omnia quæ cognitione præditam facultatem habent, & uſque ad ipſa maxime bruta* (77).

Nothing would be more eaſy than to heap up a great many authorities, whereby it would clearly appear, that when Plato ſays, that the ſoul of beaſts is an image of ſoul, he pretended not to deprive them of ſenſe. See Plotinus chap. 11. of the firſt book of his firſt

(65) Porph. de Abſtin. *lib. iii, cap. xx, pag.* 125. *Cantabr.* 1655. See alſo *cap. xix, pag.* 122.

(66) I do not ſay but men would thereby uſe themſelves to ſhed blood, and grow by degrees leſs compaſſionate, and more cruel to thoſe of their kind.

(67) Id. ib. *cap. xxi, pag.* 125.

(68) Id. ib. *cap. i, pag.* 101, & *cap. xxi, xxii, & alibi.*

(69) Id. ib. *cap. vii, pag.* 109.

(70) Citations (49) and (50).

(71) Plutarch. What animals are moſt wary, *pag. m.* 472.

(72) The Latin tranſlator of Plutarch.

(73) In his Latin tranſlation of Porphyry *de Abſtinentia.*

(74) Proclus, in Platonis Theologiam, *lib. iii, cap. i, pag.* 128, *Hamburg.* 1618, *in fol. ex verſione Æmilii Porti.*

(75) Id. ib. *pag.* 129.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

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first Ennead. Conſider alſo theſe words of a modern Platonic Philoſopher (78). ‘ Irrationalem animam ‘ Platonici non tam ſubſtantiale aliquid, quam accidentale quiddam eſſe putant, quaſi rationalium VESTIGIUM animarum, in quo SENSUS quidem ſint, ſed per diverſa corporis inſtrumenta diviſi atque patibiles. ‘ - - - *The Platoniſts think the irrational ſoul to be ſomething rather accidental than ſubſtantial, a* VESTIGE *as it were of rational ſouls, in which indeed are the ſenſes, but by the ſeveral organs of the body divided and paſſive.*’ I have given elſewhere (79) an analyſis of ſome paſſages of the twenty-fifth diſſertation of a Platonic Philoſopher, who very clearly ſhews what diſtinguiſhes the ſoul of a beaſt from a human ſoul; but he is contented to deprive beaſts of reaſon, without depriving them of ſeeling. Ἄλογον, ἄφρονα, ἀλληλοφθόρον, ἀνόητον θεῖ ἀ.. τῆς ἀμοίρον ὑπ᾽ αἰσθήσεως ἐφημέρε βοσκομένην καὶ δημαγωγεμένην ἰσχυρὰν μὲν τῷ σωματι, ἀμήχανον δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ. Sine ratione aut prudentia; ita ut alterum in perniciem alterius natum, improvidum, divinæ virtutis expers, ſoloque ſenſu in diem gauderet & duceretur: corporis viribus excelleret, intellectu autem nihil poſſet (80). - - - - *Without reaſon or prudence: ſo that being formed to the deſtruction of one another, without forecaſt, without divine virtue, they only delight in and are guided by ſenſe; they excel in ſtrength of body, but have no underſtanding.*

(78) Marcil. Ficin. in Compendio in Timæum Platon. *cap. xli, pag. m.* 1038, *operum Platonis.*

(79) In the remark [*L*] of the article PAULICIANS.

(80) Maxim. Tyrius, *pag.* 238.

PEREZ (JOSEPH) in Latin *Perezius*, a Spaniſh Monk, and profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Salamanca, took a great deal of pains to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of Spain, eſpecially in what concerns the order of the Benedictins. He publiſhed (*a*) ſome Eccleſiaſtical Diſſertations in the year 1688, wherein he refuted ſome things which Father Papebroch had advanced in his Prolegomena of April; he found him too rigid as to the acts of St Eleutherus, but he confeſſed it was well done to lay aſide many apocryphal writings which have been publiſhed concerning the ſaints [*A*]. It is not long (*b*) ſince he died (*c*).

(*a*) In Latin at Salamanca.

(*b*) I write this in September 1697.

(*c*) Taken from Father Papebroch's anſwer *ad exhibitionem errorum, Act. XI, num.* 232, 233.

[*A*] *Too rigid as to the acts of St Elutherus but he confeſſed it was well done to lay aſide may writings . . . concerning the ſaints.*] St Eleutherus, biſhop of Æcana (1), and St Anthia, his mother, have been very famous in the Greek church, ever ſince their relics were tranſmitted from Rome to Conſtantinople, under the empire of Arcadius. Their acts were compoſed by Leontius and Theodulus, who are ſaid to have lived at that time. But Father Papebroch is not of that opinion. he thinks they are ſuppoſititious, and proves it by many reaſons. Nevertheleſs he has publiſhed them under the eighteenth of April. His cenſure ſeemed to Father Perez to be too ſevere, and therefore he endeavoured to refute him, praiſing at the ſame time the vaſt labours of the Jeſuits who publiſh the *Acta Sanctorum*, and reject many of them. ‘ Pleraque enim (fatendum ‘ eſt) Sanctorum acta, *ſays he*, circumferebantur, partim tenebris denſiſſimis obſita, ‘ tim apertè falſa, partim tenebris denſiſſimis obſita, ‘ quæ ab doctiſſimis patribus admodum falce juxta & ‘ face egere videbatur (2). - - - *For (it muſt be owned) many acts of the ſaints were publiſhed, ſome evidently falſe, and others full of obſcurity, which by the learned Fathers were thought to want both the fire and ſword.*’ The judgment which Melchior Canus gave about the lengendary writers has been approved at laſt: he ſaid that the lives of the ancient Philoſophers had been written with more judgment than thoſe of the Chriſtian ſaints. They are now more nicely examined: the acts of the new ſaints are not filled with ſo many abſurdities; yet they are not ſo carefully examined as they ought to be. Here is the remaining part of a paſſage which I have alledged elſewhere (3): *but what is moſt diverting of all, dear goſſip, (ſaid an attorney's wife of St Germain's pariſh) is that as I was going to the church of the bare-footed Carmelites, I heard ſome body cry the life and miracles of my lady St Thereſa: I bought one to gain the indulgences. But when I came home, my huſband fell a reading, and was ſurprized to find that St Thereſa had two fathers, the firſt was king Dom Bermude, and the ſecond, Alonſe Sanchez de Cepede (4).*’ It is ſuppoſed that this diſcourſe was held upon occaſion of St Thereſa's canonization in the year 1622. The author of that book was not of the Reformed religion; he ſpeaks very ill of the Proteſtants.

(1) It was a city of Italy.

(2) Taken from Daniel Papebroch, *in Reſponſ. ad exhibitionem errorum, pag.* 303, 304.

(3) In the remark [CC] of the article HADRIAN VI.

(4) Caquet de l'accouché, Second Journée, *pag.* 7.

PERGA, a city of Pamphylia. There was a temple of Diana built near it, upon a very high place (*a*). It was very antient, and very much reſpected (*b*); and tho' the Diana of Epheſus was above the Diana of Perga, yet the latter had a great ſhare in the devotion of the people. There was an aſſembly kept there every year (*c*), it was then, without doubt, that they ſung the hymns which Damophila, cotemporary of Sappho, compoſed to the honour of that goddeſs, and which were ſung ſtill in the time of Apollonius Tyanæus (*d*). The Diana of Perga, Περγαία Ἄρτεμις, is mentioned upon ſeveral medals (*e*). It is one of the cities where St Paul preached the goſpel (*f*). The famous Geometer, Apollonius Pergeus (*g*), whoſe book of conic ſections is extant, was born there. It is now in a bad condition; the archiepiſcopal ſee was transferred from thence to Attalia (*b*), one of the fourteen cities which before depended upon it. Perga ſtands eight miles from the ſea.

(*a*) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 459.

(*b*) Pergæ fanum antiquiſſimum & ſanctiſſimum Dianæ ſcimus eſſe, id quoque à te nudatum & ſpoliatum eſſe, ex ipſa Diana quod habebat auri detractum atque ablatum eſſe dico. *Cicero, in Verrem, Orat. VI.*

(*c*) Strabo, *ibid.*

(*d*) Vide Philoſt. in ejus Vita, *lib. i.*

(*e*) Spanh. de præſt. & uſu Numiſm. *pag.* 782.

(*f*) Acts, chap. xiii, xiv.

(*g*) I have given his article.

(*b*) Baudrand, Geograph.

PERGAMUM, a city of Aſia in Myſia, became very famous under the kings who ſucceeded Philetærus. It's ſituation was very advantageous [*A*]. It was at firſt a fortreſs built upon a mountain (*a*). Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's ſucceſſors, ſhut up his treaſures in it, and gave the government of it to a man, who taking hold of the preſent conjunctures made himſelf maſter of it [*B*], as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The ſtately

(*a*) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 428, 429.

[*A*] *It's ſituation was very advantageous.*] Eſpecially becauſe of the conveniency of the rivers: ‘ Longeque clariſſimum Aſiæ Pergamum quod intermeat ‘ Selinus, præfluit Cetius profuſus Pindaſo monte (1). ‘ - - - - - *Cetius ariſing from mount Pindaſus, runs before Pergamus, which is by far the moſt famous city of Aſia, and Selinus runs thro' it.*’ Pliny ſays this. I wonder that he ſaid nothing of the Caicus, another river which ran near Pergamum, and the only one mentioned by Strabo in the deſcription of that city. Παραῤῥεῖ δ᾽ ὁ Κάϊκος καὶ τὸ Πέργαμον διὰ τῶ Κάϊκος πεδίου πεσσαγορευομένε, σφόδρα εὐδαίμονα γῆν διεξιὼν, σχεδὸν δέ τοι καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς Μυσίας. Pergamum præterfluit Caicus per campum valdè opulentum, quí Caicus dicitur, ac ferè optimam partem Myſiæ (2). - - - *Caicus runs near Pergamum through a very fertile plain, which is called Caicus, and through the beſt part of Myſia.*

(1) Plin. *lib. v, cap. xxx, pag. m.* 611.

(2) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 439.

[*B*] *A man . . . made himſelf maſter of it.*] His name was Philetærus. He had been an eunuch ever ſince his infancy, by an accident. His nurſe, who carried him to a funeral pomp, was ſo crowded by the ſpectators,

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ſtately library [C] which the kings of Pergamum ſet up, and the temple of Æſculapius [D], were the chief ornaments of that city. You will find in Moreri that the inhabitants

tors, that the child's teſticles were cruſhed. Συνέζη γάρ ἔν τινι ταφῇ θέας ὄσης, καὶ πολλῶν παρόντων, ἀπολῃθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ τὴν κομίζουσαν τροφὸν τὸν φιλέταιρον ἔτι νήπιον, συνθλιβῆναι μέχει τοσοῦδε, ὥς τε πηρωθῆναι τὸν παῖδα· ἦν μὲν δὴ εὐνοῦχος. *Nam ſpectaculo quodam funebri, in magna hominum frequentia, nutrix eum geſtans etiamnum infantem in turba hominum deprehenſa, adeò fuit oppreſſa, ut pueri etiam colliderentur genitalia. Erat ergo eunuchus* (3). He was ſo well educated that he made himſelf capable of noble employments; and he had, without doubt, the reputation of an honeſt man, ſince Lyſimachus truſted him with the government of the fortreſs wherein all his treaſures were. Philetærus was very faithful to his truſt, till he found himſelf perſecuted by the calumnies of Arſinoë, Lyſimachus's wife. From that time he began to withdraw himſelf from his allegiance, and to take ſome meaſures to maintain himſelf in the independency which he had uſurped. The conjunctures proved very favourable to him. Lyſimachus being diſtreſſed with domeſtic diviſions, was forced to put his ſon Agathocles to death. Nevertheleſs he was oppreſſed by Seleucus Nicator; and at laſt killed by the treachery of Ptolemy Ceraunus. During thoſe broils Philetærus ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Pergamum: he was ſo cunning as to amuſe with words and compliments the party, which ſeemed to him to be moſt formidable, ſo that he remained maſter of the caſtle and money of Lyſimachus for the ſpace of twenty years. His nephew, Eumenes (4), was his heir, and enlarged his dominions by invading ſeveral places about Pergamum. He won a battle near Sardes againſt Antiochus, ſon of Seleucus, and died after a reign of twenty-two years (5). Attalus, his firſt couſin, who ſucceeded him, took the title of king. See the following article. Chronologers place the beginning of Philetærus's dominion in the year of Rome 468. He lived eighty years (6). Some ſay that his mother's name was Boa, and that ſhe was of Paphlagonia, a profeſſed courtezan, and a player upon inſtruments (7). He was born at Teium on the Euxine ſea (8).

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 428.

(4) Son of Eumenes, brother of Philetærus.

(5) Taken from Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 428, 429.

(6) Lucian. in Macrobiis.

(7) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 577, *B.*

(8) Strabo, *lib. xii, pag.* 374.

[C] *The ſtately library.*] I begin this remark with Lomeierus's words: 'Attalus & Eumenes Pergami Reges nobilem bibliothecam conquiſitis undique ſupra 'ducenta millia exemplaribus, in hædinis pellibus, 'quæ ab hoc loco pergamenæ dictæ ſunt, deſcriptis, 'conſtruxiſſe feruntur (9). - - - - *Attalus and Eumenes, 'kings of Pergamum, are ſaid to have erected a noble 'library, having collected every where above two hundred thouſand books, written on kid ſkins, which from 'this place were called pergamenæ, or parchment.*' He quotes Pliny in the ſecond chapter of the thirty-fifth book; but we read only theſe words in that place, 'An priores cœperint Alexandriæ & Pergami Reges, 'qui bibliothecas magno certamine inſtituere, non fa- 'cile dixerim. - - - - - *I cannot well tell, whether the 'kings of Alexandria and Pergamum, who vied with 'one another in ſetting up libraries, began firſt to do ſo.*' That quotation out of Pliny is not therefore exact. It is true that Pliny tells us in another place, that the art of dreſſing ſkins to make uſe of them in the room of paper, was found at Pergamum. *Mox æmulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi & Eumenis, ſupprimente chartas Ptolemæo, idem Varro membranas Pergami tradidit repertas* (10). We learn from thoſe words that the king of Egypt and the king of Pergamum contended who ſhould ſet up the fineſt library; and that this was the reaſon why the king of Egypt forbad the exportation of paper, which occaſioned the invention of parchment. St Jerom ought to be quoted on this ſubject: 'Chartam, *ſays he* (11), defuiſſe non puto, 'Ægypto miniſtrante commercia, & ſi alicubi Ptolemæus maria clauſiſſet, tamen Rex Attalus membra- 'nas à Pergamo miſerat, ut penuria chartæ pellibus 'penſaretur. Unde & Pergamenarum nomen ad hanc 'uſque diem, tradente ſibi invicem poſteritate, ſerva- 'tum eſt. - - - - *I do not think there was any want of 'paper, as Egypt maintained commerce with other nations, and if Ptolemy had ſhut up the ſeas any where, 'yet king Attalus had ſent ſkins from Pergamum to ſupply the want of paper. Whence the name of Pergamena, 'i. e. parchment, is continued and preſerved to this very 'day.*' As to the number of books mentioned by Lomeierus, we muſt conſult Plutarch (12), who ſays, that Marc Antony preſented Cleopatra with the library of Pergamum, which contained two hundred thouſand volumes. Father Jacob, in his treatiſe of Libraries, pag. 28, of the firſt part, ſays very falſly that, according to Strabo, that library contained two hundred and eighty thouſand volumes. Mr le Gallois (13) ſays more falſly ſtill, that, according to Pliny, they amounted to a greater number. Lipſius raiſes an objection, about the words of Plutarch, which is unworthy of him. Strabo, ſays he (14), who wrote under Tiberius, aſſures us that the library of Pergamum was ſtill extant, and the ſame as it was when king Eumenes ſet it up. It had not been therefore tranſported to Alexandria to be given to Cleopatra; or it muſt be ſaid that Auguſtus, who undid moſt things which Marc Antony had done, cauſed it to be carried back to Pergamum; or that after it had been loſt under Marc Antony, there was another ſet up altogether like the firſt. This is *nodum in ſcirpo quærere; - - - to ſtumble on plain ground*; for Strabo does not mean that Pergamum had ſtill the library and the other embelliſhments wherewith Eumenes adorned it; he means only that it had not been enlarged ſince Eumenes. That prince, ſays he, made it ſuch as it is now. This is the ſenſe of the Greek words (15). Κατεσκεύασε δ' ὅτῳ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ἄλσῳ καὶ τεμένεσι, καὶ ἀναθήμασι, καὶ βιβλιοθήκαις, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε κατοικίαν τῇ Περγάμῳ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἐκείνῳ προσεφιλοκάλησε. *Hic urbem adornavit, & lucum Nicephorium conſevit, ac donaria & bibliothecas & habitationis locum in Pergamo tantum quantus hodieque eſt conſtituit luculenter* (16). Lipſius's objection againſt Vitruvius is better grounded. *Reges Attalici magnis Philologiæ dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bibliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem inſtituiſſent, tunc item Ptolemæus, infinito zelo cupiditatiſque incitatus ſtudio, non minoribus induſtriis ad eundem modum contenderat Alexandriæ comparare* (17). Theſe are the words of Vitruvius, which plainly ſignify that Ptolemy Philadelphus (18) adorned the city of Alexandria with a fine library, in emulation of that which the kings of Pergamum had ſet up in the chief town of their dominions. Lipſius is in the right to ſay that this is falſe: the library of Alexandria was ſet up before the kings of Pergamum, who made a collection of books, were in being. This is not inconſiſtent with what Pliny ſays of the emulation of Ptolemy and Eumenes: for without doubt the king of Egypt, who lived in the time of Eumenes, was ſorry to ſee that the king of Pergamum was able to obſcure the glory of the Alexandrian library. It is to be obſerved, that the emulation of thoſe princes occaſioned many impoſtures about books, as Galen obſerves. 'Scribit 'Galenus, Comment. 1. in lib. Hippocr. de natura 'hum. inter Alexandriæ & Pergami reges, contentio- 'nem fuiſſe, quis plura veterum volumina compararet. 'Tum vero multos ab hominibus pecuniæ avidis fal- 'ſis auctorum nominibus libros inſcriptos eſſe, quo 'vetuſtatis plurimum iis & auctoritatis accederet (19). '- - - - - *Galen writes that there was an emulation be- 'tween the kings of Alexandria and Pergamum, who 'ſhould have moſt books of the Antients. And then many 'books were by covetous perſons put under falſe names of 'authors, that they might be thought of the greateſt anti- 'quity and authority.*' I have juſt now found in a fine book (20), *that it is thought the kings of Pergamum began to* adorn their city with a library, *and that Attalus made his library twenty-two years before that of Alexandria.* I do not criticize the author of that book; for, what he ſays that it is thought ſo, is certainly true of ſeveral people: many perſons may be of that perſuaſion. I only ſay that they are miſtaken. The firſt of the kings of Pergamum, who was named Attalus, was born ſome years after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to whom the library of Alexandria owed it's beginning. The author adds in the ſame book (21), *that the library of the kings of Pergamum was tranſported to Rome.* I wiſh an author had been quoted for it.

(9) Lomeier. de Bibliothecis, *cap. vi, pag.* 96.

(10) Plin. *lib. xiii, cap. xi, pag. m.* 78, 79.

(11) Hieron. Ep. ad Chromat. Jovin. & Euſeb.

(12) Plut. in Vit. Marci Antonii.

(13) Gallois, Treatiſe of Libraries, *pag.* 27.

(14) Lipſ. Syntagm. de Bibl. *cap. iv.*

(15) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429, 430.

(16) *So thoſe words ought to be rendered, and not as Lipſius has done it, chap. iv,* Eumenes urbem inſtruxit, & donariis, ac Bibliothecis, uti nunc eſt, eleganter excoluit. *Mr* le Gallois, ubi ſupra, *adopts all thoſe thoughts of Lipſius, without quoting him.*

(17) Vitruv. in Præfat. *lib. vii.*

(18) The words of Vitruvius, as they are connected, cannot be underſtood of any other but Ptolomæus Philadelphus.

(19) Harduin. in Plin. *lib. xxxv, cap. ii, pag.* 175.

(20) Jaquelot, Of the Exiſtence of God, *pag.* 126.

(21) Id. ib. *pag.* 127.

[D] *And the temple of Æſculapius.*] That god is ſirnamed *Pergamean* by Martial (22), and a Roman Hiſtorian tells us, that when an inquiry was made at Rome

(22) Mart. Epigt. XVII, lib. ix.

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inhabitants of Pergamum built a temple to the emperor Auguſtus, and to the city of Rome (*b*), and that Galen was born there. Several other illuſtrious men were born in that city. Strabo (*c*) will tell you who they were. Add to them Oribaſius, Phyſician to Julian the apoſtate (*d*).

(*b*) *So ſays* Tacitus, *lib. iv, cap. xxxvii.* Cum divus Auguſtus ſibi atque urbi Romæ templum apud Pergamum ſiſti non prohibuiſſet. (*c*) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429, 430. (*d*) Eunapius, in Vita Oribaſii.

Rome into falſe aſylums, the proofs which the Pergameans produced for the aſylum of Æſculapius were found valid. ‘ Conſules ſuper eas civitates quas me- ‘ moravi, apud Pergamum Æſculapii compertum aſy- ‘ lum retulerunt: ceteros obſcuris ob vetuſtatem ini- ‘ tiis niti (23). - - - - *The conſuls, of thoſe cities I men-* ‘ *tioned, reported, that an aſylum of Æſculapius was* ‘ *found at Pergamum: that the reſt relied on old and un-* ‘ *certain traditions.*’ This paſſage of Tacitus puts one in mind of the inquiry into the titles of thoſe who falſly pretend to be gentlemen, which is from time to time ſo neceſſary in France. But the inquiry made about falſe aſylums was more important. So great an abuſe had crept into the Grecian cities, that the magiſtrates could no longer exerciſe the rigour of the laws; all the criminals and debtors found places of refuge; the mob protected them, and looked upon it as a duty of religion. *Crebreſcebat enim Græcas per urbes licentia atque impunitas aſyla ſtatuendi: complebantur templa peſſimis ſervitiorum: eodem ſubſidio obærati adverſum creditores, ſuſpectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum ſatis validum imperium erat coërcendis ſeditionibus Populi, flagitia hominum ut cæremonias deum protegentis* (24). To remedy that diſorder, it was decreed that all the cities, which had ſome privileged temples, ſhould ſend to Rome the proofs of their aſylums (25). Some of thoſe cities being ſenſible of the uſurpation, renounced it (26). Several others depending upon ſome old traditions, or ſome ſervices done to the Roman people, ſent their deputies. The ſenate gave them audience; but being weary of the ſtories which they told, and of the factions that grew thereupon, they referred that inquiry to the conſuls. *Auditæ aliarum quoque civitatum legationes. Quorum copia feſſi patres, & quia ſtudiis certabatur, conſulibus permiſere, ut perſpecto jure, & ſi qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram rurſum ad Senatum referrent* (27). The conſuls were not very rigid, they approved of ſeveral titles of nobility which were only grounded upon chimeras; for example, they admitted as an authentic proof what the Epheſians told them, that the olive tree, upon which Latona leaned when ſhe was delivered of Apollo, was ſtill extant. ‘ Eſſe ‘ apud ſe Cenchrium amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi ‘ Latonam partu gravidam & oleæ quæ tum etiam ‘ maneat adniſam, edidiſſe ea numina, deorumque mo- ‘ nitu ſacratum nemus (28). - - - - *That near them was* ‘ *the river Cenchrius, and the grove Ortygia, where La-* ‘ *tona being big with child, and leaning upon an olive* ‘ *tree, brought forth thoſe deities, and that by the order of* ‘ *the gods the grove was conſecrated.*’ Judges would be not leſs indulged at preſent, if every pariſh was ſummoned to produce the proofs of it's devotions and relics. Tho' it is well known how blindly the Heathens maintained their traditions; yet people will not open their eyes and ſee the abſurdity of the ſtories, which are told in all the places, that boaſt of a privileged devotion.

Polybius will afford us as good a reflexion as that. Pruſias having overcome Attalus, entred into Pergamum (29), and offered a pompous ſacrifice to Æſculapius, and then he returned to his camp. The next day he cauſed all the temples to be plundered, and laid upon his own ſhoulders the ſtatue of Æſculapius (30), to whom he had offered ſome ſacrifices, and whom he had invoked the day before. Polybius calls it the action of a man furious and mad. ‘‘Αμα μὲν θύειν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸ θεῖον προσκυνοῦντα καὶ λιπαροῦντα τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς βωμοὺς ἐξάλλως, ὅπερ ὁ Πρυσίας εἰθίσο ποιεῖν, γονυπετῶν καὶ γυναικιζόμενος· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων καταφθορᾶς τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριν διατίθεσθαι, πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι θυμῷ λυττῶντι ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξεσηκυίας τῶν λογισμῶν. Etenim ſimul victimas cædere, deoſque propitios orare, omnemque aram ac lapidem exquiſito quodam genere adorare & venerari flexis genibus & muliebri ſuperſtitione, quod Pruſias facere ſolebat, atque interim eadem fana labefactare, eorumque everſione contumeliam diis facere, quis neget id eſſe rabie perciti hominiſque de ſtatu mentis deturbati (31)? - - - - *For to offer ſacrifices and implore the favour of the gods, to worſhip and adore the altar in the humbleſt poſture, and with an effeminate ſuperſtition, as Pruſias uſed to do, and yet to ruin the ſame temples, and thereby affront the gods, is undoubtedly to act like a furious mad-man.* I am ſure that Polybius would not have ſpoken ſo harſhly of thoſe who ſhould have plundered the temples without having at any time worſhipped the deities thereof. What he ſays that Pruſias entred into Pergamum, is conſiſtent with what Diodorus Siculus relates, that this prince having loſt the hopes of making himſelf maſter of the Perſon of Attalus, fell a plundering the temple of Nicephorus, which was not far from the city (32). But here is a better argument againſt Polybius, will ſome ſay. King Eumenes declares expreſly in the ſpeech he made to the ſenate of Rome, that he was beſieged in Pergamum, and was ſo happy as to prevent the taking of the city. ‘ Quod miſerrimum eſt in bello, obſidionem ‘ paſſus ſum, Pergami incluſus cum diſcrimine ultimo ‘ ſimul vitæ regnique, liberatus deinde obſidione, cum ‘ alia parte Antiochus, alia Seleucus circa arcem reg- ‘ ni mei caſtra haberent, relictis rebus meis tota cla- ‘ ſe ad Helleſpontem L. Scipioni Coſ. veſtro occurri, ‘ ut eum in trajiciendo exercitum adjuvarem (33). - - - - ‘ *I underwent a ſiege, which is the greateſt calamity that* ‘ *can happen in war, being ſhut up in Pergamum with* ‘ *the utmoſt riſque of my life and kingdom; and being af-* ‘ *terwards freed from the ſiege, tho' Antiochus on one ſide,* ‘ *and Seleucus on another, were encamped round the capi-* ‘ *tal of my kingdom, I left my affairs and went with* ‘ *my whole fleet to the Helleſpont to meet L. Scipio, your* ‘ *conſul, that I might aſſiſt him in tranſporting his* ‘ *army.*’ I anſwer that neither Polybius, nor Diodorus Siculus, ſay any thing of what happened under king Eumenes. They mention a ſiege of Pergamum, which was made afterwards, and ſuſtained by Attalus Philadelphus againſt Pruſias king of Bithynia. See Appian (34).

(23) Tacit. Annal. *lib. iii, cap. lxiii, ad ann.* 775.

(24) Ibid. *cap. lx.*

(25) Igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates jura, atque legatos. *Ib.*

(26) Quædam quod falſo uſurpaverant ſponte omiſere: multæ vetuſtis ſuperſtitionibus, aut meritis in populum Romanum fidebat. *Ibid.*

(27) Ibid. *cap. lxiii.*

(28) Ibid. *cap. lxi.*

(29) Πρυσίας μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον, μετὰ τὴν παρελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ Περγαμηνῶν. Pruſias victo Attalo, Pergamum ingreſſus. *Polybius, in Excerptis à Valeſio edit. pag.* 169.

(30) An admirable piece of Phylomachus, περιττῶς ὑπὸ Φυλομάχου κατεσκευασμένον. *Ibid. Diodorus Siculus, ubi infra,* calls him *Phyromachus:* it is the name of an excellent ſtatuary who ſourriſhed in the CXXth Olympiad according to *Pliny, lib. xxxiv, cap. viii.*

(31) Polyb. ubi ſupra.

(32) Diod. Sicul. in Excerpt. à Valeſio publicatis, *pag.* 336. He obſerves that Pruſias took away all the gods, and amongſt others Æſculapius.

(33) T. Liv. *lib. xxxvii, cap. liii.*

(34) Appian. in Mithridat. *circa init.*

PERGAMUM (ATTALUS KING OF) ſucceeded, in the year 512 of Rome, to Eumenes, his couſin [*A*], who had been the ſucceſſor of Philetærus their uncle. He took

(1) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429.

(2) Labbe, French Chronologer, *Tom. ii, pag.* 300, *ad ann. Rom.* 512.

(3) In his article of Eumenes.

(4) Hen. Valeſ. Not. ad Excerpta Polybii, *pag.* 19.

[*A*] *Eumenes his couſin.*] Philetærus had two brother's, the name of the elder was Eumenes; the other's name was Attalus. The ſon of the former had the ſame name with his father, and ſucceeded Philetærus. The ſon of Attalus was called Attalus, and ſucceeded Eumenes (1). If Father Labbe had read Strabo attentively, he would not have quoted him as having ſaid that Attalus was brother and ſucceſſor of Eumenes (2). Moreri has tranſcribed that fault (3). I wonder that Mr Menage did not obſerve a fault of Diogenes Laërtius which Valeſius had cenſured (4). That Hiſtorian of the Philoſophers ſays that Eumenes was Philetærus's ſon (5). He ſhould have ſaid that he was his nephew; as we find it in Strabo and Athenæus. I ſhall ſet down the words of the latter, becauſe they contain a curious fact, viz. That Eumenes died by too much drinking, ὑπὸ μέθης ἀποθανεν Ευμένης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ὁ Φιλεταίρε τῦ Περγάμε βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφιδῆς, ὡς ἱσορεῖ Κτησικλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ χρόνων (6). *Eumenes Pergamenus Philetæri* (7) *qui Pergami regnavit ex fratre nepos, ebrietate periit, ut refert Cteſicles libro tertio de temporibus.* Note that Athenæus uſes elſewhere (8) the ſame word βασιλεύσας, ſpeaking of Philetærus.

(5) Diog. Laërt. *lib. iv,* in Arceſilao, *num.* 48.

(6) Athen. *lib. x, pag.* 445.

(7) There is *Attali* in *Dalechampius*'s tranſlation.

(8) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 557.

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took the title of king, which they had not taken [B], and he thought he could do it without arrogance, after the glory he had acquired in winning a battle againſt the Gauls (a). He made an alliance with the Romans (b), at a time when ſuch a friend was very neceſſary to them; for beſides that they were to oppoſe Hannibal in Italy, they were alſo obliged to make head againſt Philip king of Macedon, who had declared himſelf their enemy. Attalus took the part of the Romans with great zeal, and continued their friend as long as he lived. He undertook a journey to Athens, to prejudice the king of Macedon. The Athenians did him great honours [C]. He made another journey into Greece being above ſeventy years of age, to procure ſome allies to the Romans againſt the king of Macedon (c). He harangued the Thebans with ſo much force [D] to engage them in that league, that his ardour, ſomewhat too great for an old man, was the cauſe of a giddineſs, or defluxion, which hindered him from making an end of his ſpeech. He fell into a ſwoon in the middle of his diſcourſe, and having embarked ſome days after, he returned to Pergamum, where he died (d) in a ſhort time, after he had reigned forty-four years (e). He lived ſeventy-two years (f). He was a prince that loved Philoſophers (g), and made uſe of his riches like a man of honour, and a great ſoul. He was faithful to his allies, he lived very well with his wife [E], and took care that his four ſons ſhould have a very good education (h). EUMENES, the eldeſt of all, ſucceeded him. He was a man of a weak conſtitution, but he had a great ſoul which ſupplied the weakneſs of his body. He loved glory above all things, he was magnificent, and he heaped up benefits upon many Grecian cities, and private men. He very much enlarged his territories, and was only beholden to his own induſtry and prudence for it. He knew ſo well how to keep his brothers

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) In the year 542. See Livy, *lib. xxvi, pag. m.* 451.

(c) Livy. *lib. xxxiii, pag.* 610.

(d) In the year of Rome 556.

(e) Livy, ibid. Polyb. in Excerptis Valeſianis, *pag.* 103.

(f) Polyb. ibid.

(g) See the article LACYDES.

(h) Ex eodem Polybio, ibid.

[B] *He took the title of king which they had not taken.*] Strabo ſays ſo in expreſs words. Ἀνηγορεύθη βασιλεὺς ἔτ῾ πρῶτ῾ νικήσας Γαλάτας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. Hic primus rex ſalutatus eſt cum magna pugna Galatas viciſſet (9). - - - *He was firſt ſaluted king, when he had defeated the Gauls in a great battle.* Polybius ſaid the ſame thing before him (10): Νικήσας γὰρ μάχῃ Γαλάτας, ὁ βαρύτατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἔθν῾ ἦν τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀν]ὸν ἐδ[ειξε βασιλέα. Superatis enim prælio Gallis, quæ gens maxime terribilis ac bellicoſiſſima tum in Aſia erat, tum primum regium nomen palam ſibi adſcivit. - - - *For having overcome the Gauls in battle, who were then the moſt terrible and moſt warlike nation in Aſia, he firſt aſſumed openly the title of king.* Livy is of the ſame opinion *Victis deinde prælio uno Gallis quæ tum gens recenti adventu terribilior Aſiæ erat, regium adſcivit nomen cujus magnitudini ſemper animum æquavit* (11). Thoſe three teſtimonies are to preferred to the authority of Juſtin and Diogenes Laërtius; for 1. Juſtin has committed a miſtake, which ſhews that he did not carefully enquire into the truth of the matter. He ſays that Eumenes was king of Bithynia. This might be alledged by thoſe who ſhould deny that our Attalus was the firſt who took the title of king. They might ſay that Eumenes, his predeceſſor, is ſtiled king by Juſtin (12). But, I ſhall anſwer, Did he command in Bithynia? Did he not command in Pergamum? Can Juſtin be excuſed, unleſs he has recourſe to ſome Critics, who read Nicomedes inſtead of Eumenes in that paſſage? 2. Diogenes Laertius does not treat hiſtorically of Pergamum, and mentions Eumenes only accidentally, and therefore we have no reaſon to believe that he carefully inquired whether that prince took the title of king; it was enough for him to know that Eumenes had a ſovereign authority in Pergamum, which made him uſe an expreſſion that ſignifies royalty. He ſays (13) that Eumenes having heaped up benefits upon Arceſilaus, was the only king to whom that author dedicated ſome books. The paſſage of Athenæus, which I have quoted, ought not to be objected. We read in it that Philetærus reigned in Pergamum; but this does not ſignify that he took actually the title of king. Read the modern hiſtorians of the dukes of Savoy, the electors of Bavaria, or Brandenburg, &c. and you will often find in them the words *reign*, and *to reign*, which denote only an authority exerciſed under the name of a duke, or an elector. The medals which give the title of king to Philetærus, if we believe Goltzius (14), are a better proof againſt Strabo, if they are not falſe. Thoſe which Mr Spanheim has ſeen, do not give him that title (15). As for the reſt, the victory Attalus obtained over the Gauls happened the laſt year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad (16). It was the 512th year of Rome.

(9) Strabo, ubi ſupra.

(10) Polyb. *lib. xviii*, in Excerptis Valeſianis, *pag.* 103.

(11) Livy, *lib. xxxii, pag. m.* 610.

(12) Rex Bithyniæ Eumenes. *Juſt. lib. xxvii, cap. iii.*

(13) Ἔχορήγει αὐτῷ πολλὰ Εὐμενὴς ὁ τοῦ φιλετάιρου· διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προσεφώνει. Diogen. Laërt. *lib. iv, num.* 38.

(14) Vid. Valeſ. Not. ad Excerpta Polyb. *pag.* 29.

(15) Ezech. Spanheim. de præſt. & uſu Numiſm. *pag.* 468.

(16) Valeſius, ubi ſupra.

[C] *The Athenians did him great honours.*] The whole town, men and women, and the prieſts in their habits, went to meet him. The gods were like to be forced to do him the ſame honour. Livy affords me that thought: *Rex Piræeum, renovandæ firmandæque cum Athenienſibus ſocietatis cauſa trajecit. Civitas omnis obviam effuſa cum conjugibus ac liberis, ſacerdotes cum inſignibus ſuis intrantem urbem, ac dii propè ipſi exciti ſedibus ſuis exceperunt* (17). He obſerves that Attalus thought it became his dignity to communicate his propoſals in writing, rather than expoſe his modeſty to the neceſſity of ſetting forth his ſervices, and of receiving a vaſt number of praiſes from a flattering people. The Hiſtorian expreſſes it admirably well: *In concionem extemplo populus vocatus, ut rex quæ vellet, coràm ageret: deinde ex dignitate magis viſum, ſcribere eum, de quibus videretur, quàm præſentem aut referendis ſuis in civitatem beneficiis erubeſcere, aut ſignificationibus acclamationibuſque multitudinis, aſſentatione immodica pudorem onerantis* (18). The war was concluded againſt Philip king of Macedon. It was then propoſed to add a new tribe to the ten, and to call it Attalis, in honour to king Attalus: *Ingenti conſenſu bellum adverſus Philippum decretum. Honores regi primùm Attalo immodici, deinde & Rhodiis habiti: tum primùm mentio illata de tribu, quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda* (19).

(17) T. Liv. *lib. xxxi, pag.* 572.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid. *pag.* 573.

[D] *He harangued the Thebans with ſo much force.*] This is ſo ſingular, that it deſerves to be read in the very words of Plutarch (20): Καὶ μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτ῾, ὡς ἐκ ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν ἑλέσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Ἀττάλ῾ τῷ βασιλέως συναγορεύοντ῾ αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμῶντ῾ τὸς Θηβαίους. ἀλλ᾽ Ἀττάλ῾ μὲν, (ὡς ἔοικεν) τῷ γήρως πεσθυμότερον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ῥήτορα παρασχεῖν φιλοτιμούμεν῾, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν περσπεσόντ῾ ἰλίγγῳ τινὸς ἢ ῥεύματ῾, ἄφνω τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐπιληφθεὶς ἔπεσεν, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀ πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποκομισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. Titus (21) inde, quaſi urbe non potiretur, affatus eos eſt, ſuadens ut in partes Romanorum diſcederent adjuvante Attalo & Thebanos incitante. Sed Attalus quidem, quum præter ætatem, (ut mihi quidem videtur) majore contentione oratorem Quintio præſtare vellet, & vertigine quadam vel pituita eſſet in media oratione correptus, collapſus eſt, nec multis diebus poſt in Aſiam navibus devectus expiravit. - - - *And then Titus, as if he had not been maſter of the city, addreſſed himſelf to them, and adviſed them to ſide with the Romans, Attalus at the ſame time endeavouring to perſuade the Thebans to agree to it. But Attalus haranguing too eagerly (in my opinion) for one of his years, was ſeized with a giddineſs, or defluxion, in the middle of his ſpeech, and dropped down, and a few days after, having ſailed into Aſia he died.* You may ſee in Livy (22) how Eumenes, the ſon of Attalus, repreſented that accident to the ſenate of Rome, after he had ſet forth, in a few words, the ſervices which his father had done to the common-wealth.

(20) Plut. in Vit. Flaminii, *pag.* 371, *B.*

(21) That is to ſay, Titus Quinctius Flaminius who then was conſul.

(22) T. Liv. *lib. xxxvii, cap. liii.*

[E] *He lived very well with his wife.*] She was of Cyzicus, and of a mean extraction; her name was Apollonis.

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brothers to their duty [F], that they concurred with him in promoting the public good, and never entered upon any factious design (i). He kept inviolably his alliance with the Romans,

(i) Ex eodem Polyb. ibid. *pag.* 166, *& ſeq.*

Apollonis. She had the title of queen, and kept it as long as ſhe lived, not by the addreſs of a courtezan (23), but by her modeſty, probity, prudence, and gravity. She loved her four ſons tenderly, and ſhe loved them to the laſt, tho' ſhe out-lived her huſband ſeveral years. This clauſe is not ſuperfluous; for it happens but too often, that queens dowagers raiſe cabals to the prejudice of their children. King Attalus her ſon had a great reſpect for her; it was a thing very much admired by the inhabitants of Cyzicus, when they ſaw him and his brother lead their mother by the hand to all the temples, and other places of the city. They got a thouſand praiſes and good wiſhes for it (24). No body would be much ſurprized now to ſee ſuch a thing in the weſt.

(23) Οὐχ ἑταιρικὴν προσφερομένην τιθανότητα. Non meretriciis illecebris. *Polyb. ubi infra.*

(24) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſian. *pag.* 113, 114.

[F] *He knew ſo well how to keep his brothers to their duty.*] Polybius giving us the character of Eumenes obſerves, as his laſt diſtinguiſhing ſtroke, that he behaved himſelf ſo wiſely towards his brothers, that they proved the inſtruments of the ſafety of his reign. Ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων τρεῖς καὶ καλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν πάντας τούτους συνέσχε πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ δορυφοροῦντας, καὶ σάζοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα· τοῦτο δὲ σπανίως εὔροι τις ἂν γεγονός. *Fratres cum haberet tres & ætate & induſtria pollentes, eos in officio omnes continuit & morigeros cuſtodeſque regni ac dignitatis ſuæ habuit ſatellites. Quod raro admodum contigiſſe reperias* (25). He is in the right to ſay that it is a rare thing (26): Hiſtory is full of cruel wars, wherein princes have been engaged againſt their brothers or their own children. So that they, who have carefully read it, may make this aphoriſm, *That it is more difficult for a king, who has brothers and children to govern his family, than to govern his kingdom.* The preventing of civil wars requires troubleſome and continual precautions; and if a prince does not prevent them, how careful muſt he be to put an end to them? How great are the uneaſineſs and dangers he is expoſed to? The politics of the Turks are horrible, they barbarouſly ſacrifice to the reigning prince, the life or the liberty of all his brothers; but it is a neceſſary evil: for otherwiſe that vaſt empire would be expoſed to the moſt terrible deſolations. See the Hiſtorical Meditations of Camerarius, Chap. 88. of the firſt volume. However that be, let us not look upon the union, wherein king Eumenes kept his brothers, as good luck, but rather as the effect of a conſummate prudence, ſupported by a great merit. It was ſo much the more difficult to keep them to their duty, as they were ſurrounded with ill examples. Syria and Egypt were cruelly torn by diſputes about the ſucceſſion. The royal family of Macedonia was imbrued with blood by reaſon of the jealouſy of authority. It was an abominable age. There was nothing to be ſeen but horrible attempts of brothers upon brothers, and of fathers upon children, or of children upon fathers. This might very well tempt the brothers of the king of Pergamum. Their mother had great reaſon to think herſelf happy to ſee them ſo well united. Ἀπολλωνίδα ἓν τὴν Κυζικηνὴν, Εὐμενὴς δὲ τὸ βασιλέως μητέρα, καὶ τριῶν ἄλλων Ατ]άλε, καὶ Φιλεταίρε καὶ Ἀθηναίε, λέγεσι μακαρίζειν ἑαυτὴν ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θεοῖς χάριν ἔχειν, ὃ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἑώρα τὸν πρεσβύτατον δορυφοροῦντας, κἀκεῖνον ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς δόρατα καὶ ξίφη φορῆσιν, ἀδεῶς διαιτώμενον. Apollonidem Cyzicenam, Eumenis regis matrem ac trium præterea filiorum Attali, Philetæri, & Athenæi, prædicaſſe ſubinde ſe beatam, diiſque egiſſe ajunt gratias, non propter divitias vel imperium, ſed quòd tres filios videret natu maximi eſſe ſatellites, eumque in medio ipſorum gladios haſtaſque ferentium abſque metu verſari (27). - - - *They ſay that Apollonis of Cyzicus, the mother of king Eumenes, and of three other ſons, viz. Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus, would now and then call herſelf happy, and thank the gods, not upon the account of riches or empire, but becauſe ſhe ſaw her three ſons guards to the eldeſt, and becauſe he was continually in the midſt of them without fear, tho' they were armed with ſwords and ſpears.* Attalus, the eldeſt of the three brothers, who did not reign, had the greateſt ſhare in important affairs. I confeſs he expreſſed a great love to Eumenes on ſeveral occaſions. Knowing that he was very much afflicted by reaſon of what the cities of Peloponneſus had done (28), he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſwade them to give him ſatisfaction for it (29). He called a city Eumenia, in honour of his brother (30): In a word, he was ſirnamed Philadelphus. Nevertheleſs the king did ſuſpect him, and not without reaſon, as we find it in Livy. That Hiſtorian tells us, that after the conqueſt of Macedonia (31), Attalus, who had ſerved the Romans very well in that famous expedition, came to Rome with ſecret hopes of ſupplanting his brother, and that he would have diſcovered the whole intrigue, had not the Phyſician who attended him, diſſwaded him from it. Now this Phyſician was given him by Eumenes, and he was ordered to obſerve him. He was properly the king's ſpy; and the king's ſuſpicion was well grounded. ' Suberat & ſecreta ſpes honorum præmiorumque ' ab ſenatu, quæ vix ſalva pietate ejus contingere po- ' terant. Erant enim quidam Romanorum quoque non ' boni authores qui ſpe cupiditatem ejus elicerent: ' eam opinionem de Attalo & Eumene Romæ eſſe, ' tanquam de altero Romanis certo amico, altero nec ' Romanis, nec Perſi fido ſocio. Itaque vix ſtatui ' poſſe, utrum quæ pro ſe, an quæ contra fratrem pe- ' titurus eſſet, ab ſenatu magis impetrabilia forent: ' adeò univerſos omnia & huic tribuere, & illi verò ' negare. Eorum hominum (ut res docuit) Attalus ' erat, qui quantum ſpes ſpopondiſſet cuperent, ni ' unius amici prudens monitio velut frænos animo ejus ' geſtienti ſecundis rebus impoſuiſſet. Stratius cum ' eo fuit medicus, ad idipſum à non ſecuro Eumene ' Romam miſſus ſpeculator rerum, quæ à fratre age- ' rentur, monitorque fidus ſi decedi fide vidiſſet. Is ' ad occupatas jam aures ſolicitatumque jam animum ' cùm veniſſet, aggreſſus tempeſtivis temporibus rem ' prope prolapſam reſtituit (32). - - - *He entertained ſecret hopes of honours and rewards from the ſenate, which he could not well receive with a ſafe conſcience and unſpotted honour. For there were ſome Romans about him, who gave him bad advice, and raiſed his expectations by telling him, that he was looked upon at Rome as a ſure friend to the Romans, but that Eumenes was conſidered neither as a faithful ally to the Romans nor to Perſes. And therefore it was not eaſy to ſay, whether what he ſhould aſk in his own behalf, or to the prejudice of his brother, would be more readily granted by the ſenate: all were ſo forward to give the one and refuſe the other every thing. Attalus was one of thoſe men (as experience ſhewed) who eagerly deſire to enjoy what they hope for, had not the prudent advice of a friend checked the tranſports of his mind. The Phyſician Stratius attended him, being ſent to Rome by Eumenes, who entertained ſome ſuſpicion of his brother, to be a ſpy on his actions, and to give him faithful advice if he ſhould depart from his duty: Stratius finding him already engaged in intrigues, ſeaſonably applied to him, and retrieved affairs that were almoſt ruined.*' I do not ſet down the ſolid reaſons which that Phyſician made uſe of to keep Attalus to his duty. I ſhall only ſay that they deſerve to be read in Livy, and that it is likely this was not the leaſt moving. He repreſented to Attalus that king Eumenes was an old man and had no children, ſo that he might in a ſhort time lawfully ſucceed him (33). It is neceſſary to know that the ſon of Eumenes had not been legitimated. Some things happened three or four years before, which ſhewed that fraternal love and ambition ſtruggled together in the heart of Attalus. King Eumenes having been dangerouſly wounded with two ſtones thrown at him near Delphi, was carried to the iſle of Ægina. His wounds were dreſſed ſo ſecretly, that it was ſcarce known by any body whether or no he was alive. So that it was reported every where that he was dead. Attalus believed it more readily than a good brother ought to have done. He ſpoke like a king to his ſiſter-in-law, Eumenes's wife, and to the governour of the citadel. In a word he ſhewed himſelf too haſty to ſucceed. Eumenes was not ignorant of it, and tho' he was reſolved to bear it without expreſſing any reſentment, he could not refrain upbraiding his brother, at the very firſt converſation, with his exceſſive impatience of marrying the queen. Livy ſays no more of it; but the truth is, if we believe ſome other authors, that Attalus lay actually with the queen.

(25) Ibid. *pag.* 169.

(26) Compare citat. (7) of the article DRUSILLA, daughter of Agrippina; with citat. (4) of the article DRUSUS, ſon of Germanicus.

(27) Plut. de fraterno Amore, *pag.* 480, C.

(28) They had pulled down the ſtatues of Eumenes by a public decree. *Polyb. in Excerpt. pag.* 133.

(29) Polyb. ibid.

(30) Stephan. voce Εὐμένεια.

(31) In 585.

(32) T. Liv. *lib.* xlv, *pag.* 877.

(33) Haud ambiguum propediem regnaturum cum infirmitate ætateque Eumenis eſſet nullam ſuppem liberum habentis. (Nec dum enim ſuperverat eum, qui poſtea regnavit.) Quid attineret vim afferre rei ſua ſponte mox ad eum adventuræ? *Ibid.*

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Romans, which proved very useful to him. He himself brought a great fleet to the consul Flaminius during the war against Philip king of Macedon (*k*). He stirred up the Romans to make war against Antiochus, and found by experience that the principles upon which his advice was grounded were very just (*l*); for he was gratified with several provinces, which were taken from Antiochus, after the battle of Magnesia (*m*) [G]. He excited also the Romans to make war against Perseus king of Macedon (*n*), and in order to it, he took a journey to Rome. As he was returning to Pergamum by the way of Delphi, where he designed to offer a sacrifice, he was dangerously wounded by some assassins whom Perseus had suborned (*o*); he did not die of it, but the report of his death went as far as Pergamum. He did somewhat conceal his resentment against his brother Attalus, who had appeared a little too eager to succeed him (*p*). He assisted not at the war against Perseus (*q*), and some say that he made himself suspected by the Romans. We must not forget, that he lost a battle at sea by a stratagem of Hannibal [H], and

(k) T. Liv. *lib. [illegible], pag. [illegible].*

(l) See Livy, *lib. xxxv, pag.* 631.

(m) It was fought in the year of Rome 563.

(n) Ibid. Liv. *lib. xlii, pag.* 813.

(o) Id. ib. *pag.* 815.

(p) See the remark [F].

(q) Liv. *lib. xliv, pag.* 853.

queen. (34) *Compotem jam sui regem, amici postero die deferunt ad navem: inde Corinthum. à Corintho per isthmi jugum navibus traductis* (35), *Æginam trajiciunt. Ibi adeò secreta ejus curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, ut fama mortuum in Asiam perferret. Attalus quoque celerius quàm dignum concordia fraterna erat, credidit. Nam & cum uxore fratris, & præfecto arci, tanquam jam haud dubius regni hæres est locutus. Quæ postea non fefellere Eumenem: & quanquam dissimulare & tacitè habere id patique statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperavit, quin uxoris petendæ præmaturam festinationem fratri objiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.* Plutarch has turned the whole matter into a panegyric both upon Eumenes and Attalus: it was necessary to give it such a turn, for he was writing a treatise of brotherly love, wherein the royal family of Pergamum ought to appear a good example, after what he had already said of the mother of the four brothers (36). For my part, I find the account, which Livy gives of it, more likely. Plutarch relates the matter thus: 'Having heard 'that he came from the sea coast towards the city to 'consult the oracle of Apollo, they assaulted him be- 'hind, and threw some great stones at him, which 'fell upon his head and neck, and so stunned him 'that he swooned away and fell to the ground, so 'that it was thought he was dead, and the report of 'it went every where, and even some of his servants 'and friends, made all the haste they could to bring 'the news of it to Pergamum, as of a thing at which 'they had been present. Wherefore Attalus, the el- 'dest of his brothers, who was an honest man, and 'had always behaved himself more faithfully and 'loyally towards his brother than any other, was not 'only proclaimed king, and crowned with the royal 'diadem, but, which is more, he married queen Stra- 'tonice his brother's wife, and lay with her. But 'afterwards when the news came that Eumenes was 'alive, and that he was a coming; he laid down his 'diadem, retook his javelin, which he used to carry 'to guard his brother, and went to meet him with 'the other guards. The king received him kindly, 'saluted and embraced the queen with great honour 'and great caresses; and having lived a long time 'after without any complaint or suspicion, he died 'at last, leaving his kingdom and his wife to his 'brother Attalus. But what did Attalus do after his 'death? He would never breed up any of his 'children which he had by his wife Stratonice, and 'they were many; but he bred up and educated the 'son of his deceased brother, till he came to be a man, 'and then he himself put the royal diadem on his 'head, and called him king (37).'

(34) Ibid. *lib. xlii, pag.* 815.

(35) Here is a thing very remarkable. There was a ship carried by land from one of the gulphs of Peloponnesus to the other. The same has been done on some other occasions.

(36) See, above, remark [E].

(37) Plutarch, of Brotherly Love, pag. 489, of the Greek and Latin edition.

[G] *He was gratified with many provinces, which were taken from Antiochus after the battle of Magnesia.*] That prince having been forced to accept the peace upon such terms as the Romans imposed on him, all the allies of the Romans endeavoured to have a share in his spoils, their demands were heard, and they were answered: 'Decem legatos more majorum senatum 'missurum ad res Asiæ disceptandas, componendasque: 'summam tamen hanc fore, ut cis Taurum montem 'quæ intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent, Eumeni at- 'tribuerentur; præter Lyciam Cariamque, usque ad 'Mæandrum amnem, ea civitatis Rhodiorum essent. 'Cæteræ civitates Asiæ, quæ Attali stipendiariæ fuis- 'sent, eædem Eumeni vectigal penderent: quæ vecti- 'gales Antiochi fuissent, eæ liberæ atque immunes 'essent (38). - - - *That the senate, after the manner of 'their ancestors, would send ten commissioners to examine 'and settle the affairs of Asia: that the conclusion how- 'ever would be this, that what Antiochus had possessed 'on this side mount Taurus should be given to Eumenes, 'and what was beyond Lycia and Caria, as far as the 'river Mæander, should belong to the Rhodians. The other 'cities of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, 'should pay tribute to Eumenes: and those which had 'been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and exempted 'from paying tribute.*' After so formal a testimony it is not necessary to hear Cicero: nevertheless I shall quote him to observe a fault which he has committed: 'Antiochum illum magnum, *says he* (39), majores 'nostri magna belli contentione terra marique superatum intra montem Taurum regnare jusserunt: Asiam 'qua illum multarunt, Attalo ut is regnaret in ea, 'condonaverunt. - - - *Our ancestors, having subdued 'the great Antiochus in a formidable war by sea and 'land, limited his territories within mount Taurus, and 'gave that part of Asia, which they took from him, to 'king Attalus.*' Cicero is mistaken about the name of the king who obtained so noble a present from the Roman people. It was Eumenes and not Attalus, who received it. I know not whether any commentator has observed this mistake (40); but I have just now consulted two, who, instead of observing it, have committed another fault: ATTALO, says Manutius (41), *Eumenis fratri, qui eam postea populo Romano moriens testamento legavit.* Another says, ATTALO *Pergami Regi qui moriens populum Romanum fecit hæredem* (42). It is not true that Attalus, brother of Eumenes, received from the Roman people the provinces which were taken from Antiochus, and it is false that he restored them to the Roman People by his last will. He, who chose such an heir, was Attalus son of Eumenes. Father Abram has committed another fault; he thinks that Cicero speaks of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the same Antiochus was overcome by Lucius Scipio (43). He is mistaken; for Antiochus Epiphanes did not reign till after Seleucus Philopator, the successor of Antiochus the great, and it was Antiochus the great that the Romans conquered under the command of Lucius Scipio. As for the rest, the mistake of Manutius is but a copy of that of Valerius Maximus. 'Liberalis Populus Romanus magnitudine muneris, quod 'Attalo regi Asiam dedit dono. Sed Attalus etiam 'testamenti æquitate gratus, qui eandem Asiam Populo 'Romano legavit (44). - - - *The Roman people were 'very liberal in giving such a noble present as Asia to 'king Attalus. And Attalus was also grateful and just, 'in leaving by his last will the same Asia to the Roman 'people.*'

(38) T. Liv. *lib. xxxvii, pag.* 713, *cap. lv.* See the passage of Strabo, which I shall quote in the remark against Moreri.

(39) Cicero, in Orat. pro Sextio, *pag. m.* 92.

(40) See the last lines of this remark.

(41) P. Manutius, in Orat. Cic. pro Sextio, *pag.* 93.

(42) Nic. Abramus, in eamd. Orat. *pag.* 100.

(43) Antiochum Epiphanem five illustrem de quo auspiciis Luc. Scipionis Asiatici superato Appianus in Syriacis, &c. *Ibid.*

(44) Val. Max. *lib. v, cap. ii, num.* 3, *in extern.*

Note, That when I writ this article, the edition of Cicero's orations, which Mr Grævius has published, was not then come out. It came out since (45), I have consulted it as I was reading this again before I gave it to the Printers, and I have found that the mistakes of Father Abram, Manutius, and Cicero, have been observed by Mr Grævius. See pag. 78 and 79 of the fifth volume.

(45) That is, in the year 1699.

[H] *He lost a battle at sea by a stratagem of Hannibal.*] Antiochus being not able to protect Hannibal against the Romans, who would have him to deliver him up to them, advised him to make his escape. Hannibal retired to the isle of Crete, and then to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia, and persuaded him to break the peace which the Romans had established between him and our Eumenes. The consequences of that rupture proved at first prejudicial to Prusias; he was beaten by land, and obliged to try whether a sea-fight would be more favourable to him (46). He

(46) Justin, *lib. xxxii, cap. iv.*

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and that he had like to have periſhed in it. He was then at war with Pruſias king of Bithynia. He died very old [*I*] in the year 596, leaving the tuition of his ſon, and the adminiſtration of the kingdom to his brother ATTALUS (*r*). The latter, properly ſpeaking, reigned till he died. He began his regency with a glorious action, which was to re-eſtabliſh Ariarathes in the kingdom of Cappadocia (*s*). He ſignalized himſelf by ſeveral other actions (*t*), and died in the year 566, and then ATTALUS, his pupil, reigned alone, who was ſirnamed Philometor [*K*]: he was a great lover of agriculture [*L*], and even wrote ſome books about it. He was very cruel (*u*). He ſent very

(*r*) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429.

(*s*) Polyb. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 168.

(*t*) See the remark upon the miſtakes of Moreri.

(*u*) See the remark [*L*].

won the battle at ſea by this means. Hannibal cauſed all manner of ſerpents to be ſhut up in earthen pots, and ordered that thoſe pots ſhould be thrown into the enemies ſhips. That order was obeyed, and the victory got by it; for Eumenes's men were frighted to ſee themſelves ſurrounded with ſo many ſerpents. *Cum Pruſias terreſtri bello ab Eumene victus eſſet, & prælium in mare tranſtuliſſet, Annibal novo commento auctor victoriæ fuit. Quippe omne ſerpentium genus in fictiles lagenas conjici juſſit, medioque prælio in naves hoſtium mittit. Id primum Ponticis ridiculum viſum, fictilibus dimicare, qui ferro nequeant. Sed ubi ſerpentibus repleri naves cœpere, ancipiti periculo circumventi, hoſti victoriam ceſſere* (47). Cornelius Nepos relates this more at large, and obſerves that the chief deſign of Hannibal was to deſtroy Eumenes, and therefore it was neceſſary to know what ſhip he was in. It was diſcovered by means of a ſloop, which was diſpatched under pretence of carrying a letter to him; afterwards Hannibal commanded the officers of the ſhips to apply themſelves chiefly to that of Eumenes: they did ſo, and would have taken her, but ſhe ſtood off, making all the ſail ſhe could. 'Claſſiarios convocat (Hannibal) hiſque 'præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concur-'rant navem, à ceteris tantum ſatis habeant ſe defen-'dere. Id facilè illos ſerpentium multitudine conſecu-'turos. Rex autem quâ nave veheretur, ut ſcirent, 'ſe facturum: quem ſi aut cepiſſent, aut interfeciſ-'ſent, magno his pollicetur præmio fore (48). - - - - '*Hannibal called the ſea-officers together, and ordered 'that they ſhould all at the ſame time fall upon the ſhip 'of king Eumenes, and ſhould only defend themſelves againſt 'the others. He told them this might eaſily be done by 'the multitude of ſerpents, and that he would let them 'know what ſhip the king was in: and promiſed them 'great rewards, if they ſhould either kill or take him 'priſoner.*' The other ſhips of Pergamum fought ſtoutly, but the ſerpents thrown into them forced them to run away (49). The Romans having heard theſe things ſent ambaſſadors into Aſia, to make a peace between thoſe two princes, and to demand of Pruſias that he ſhould deliver Hannibal to them; but he prevented it by poiſoning himſelf (50). It was about the 570th year of Rome.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Cornel. Nepos, in Vita Hannibalis, *pag. m.* 369.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Juſtin. & Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *He died very old.*] He lived eighty-two years, if we may believe Lucian. Ἄτ]αλ@· δὲ, ὁ ἐπικλη-θεὶς Φιλάδελφ@·, τῶν Περγαμηνῶν καὶ οὗτ@· βα-σιλέων, πρὸς ὃν καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ τῶν Ρωμαίων στρα-τηγὸς ἀφίκε]ο, δυὸ καὶ ὀγδοήκον]α ἐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον. Attalus, cognomento Philadelphus, rex etiam Pergamenorum, ad quem etiam Scipio Romanorum imperator venit, duos & octoginta annos natus è vita migravit (51). - - - *Attalus, ſirnamed Philadelphus, king of Pergamum, to whoſe aſſiſtance Scipio the Roman general came, was eighty-two years of age when he died.*' I do not doubt but Lucian has committed a fault in this place. The Roman general he ſpeaks of, is, without doubt, Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus, who defeated Antiochus. But Attalus reigned not at that time.

(51) Lucian. in Macrob. *pag.* 637, *Tom. ii, Edit. Salmur.*

(52) Dacier, Remarks upon the firſt Ode of the firſt book of Horace, *pag. m.* 14.

[*K*] *He was ſirnamed Philometor.*] 'By reaſon of 'his love for his mother, which was the cauſe of his 'death; for as he was digging up a ſepulchre for her, 'the heat of the ſun made him ſick; and he died in 'ſeven days (52).' That the reader may know from whence Mr Dacier had that circumſtance, I ſhall ſet down theſe words of Juſtin: *Matri deinde ſepulchrum facere inſtituit, cui operi intentus morbum ex ſolis fervore contraxit, & ſeptima die deceſſit* (53). His mother's name was Stratonice (54), ſhe was daughter of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia: ſhe was married to Eumenes a little while after the victory which the Romans got over Antiochus at Magneſia (55). Since Strabo (56), Appianus (57), and ſeveral others, give him the ſirname of Philometor; I fancy that Plutarch gives him that of Philopator (58) through a ſlip of memory. It is in the life of the Gracchi. In other places he calls him Philometor. See the paſſage quoted by me in the following remark. Volaterranus had related well enough what concerns the kings of Pergamum, but he ſpoils all as to the laſt. He pretends that he was called Philometor by way of irony: 'Is Philometor 'ex ſcelere per antiphraſin cognominatus eſt, quod 'matrem interfecerit (59). - - - *He was ironically ſir-'named Philometor from his wickedneſs, becauſe he kil-'led his mother.*' Nay, which is worſe, he quotes Juſtin, as ſaying that that prince having ſecretly put his mother, and his wife to death, let his hair and beard grow to conceal his crime. Juſtin ſays quite another thing.

(52) Juſt. *lib. xxxvi, cap. iv, pag. m.* 537.

(54) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429.

(55) Liv. *lib. xxxviii. pag.* 733.

(56) Strabo, ibid.

(57) Appian. in Mithrid.

(58) Plut. in Vit. Gracchor. *pag.* 830.

(59) Volater. *lib. xiii, pag. m.* 497.

[*L*] *He was a great lover of agriculture.*] It was not his firſt inclination, and it ſeems that it was an effect of his melancholy. He put to death ſeveral illuſtrious perſons (60), and then he grew extreamly melancholy; he put on, as it were, ſack-cloth and aſhes, and minded nothing elſe but the culture of his garden. But he did not lay aſide his cruelty, for his chief delight was to cultivate the moſt venomous herbs; he diſtilled the juices thereof, which he mixed afterwards with good remedies, and ſent that ſort of compoſition as a preſent to his friends. Here is my author (61). 'In Aſia Rex Attalus florentiſſimus ab Eumene (62) 'patruo acceptum regnum, cædibus amicorum, & cog-'natorum ſuppliciis, fœdabat, nunc matrem anum, 'nunc Berenicem ſponſam, maleficiis eorum necatas 'confingens. Poſt hanc ſceleſtam violentiæ rabiem, 'ſqualidam veſtem ſumit: barbam capillumque in mo-'dum reorum ſummittit: non in publicum prodire, 'non populo ſe oſtendere, non domi lætiora convivia 'inire, aut aliquod ſignum ſani hominis habere, pror-'ſus ut pœnas pendere manibus interfectorum videre-'tur. Omiſſâ deinde regni adminiſtratione, hortos 'fodiebat, gramina feminabat, & noxia innoxiis per-'miſcebat, eaque omnia veneni ſucco infecta, velut 'peculiare munus, amicis mittebat. - - - - *Attalus, a 'moſt flouriſhing king in Aſia, polluted the kingdom he 'had received from his uncle Eumenes*, with the ſlaughter 'of his friends, and murder of his relations, pretending 'ſometimes, that his mother, an old woman, and ſome-'times that Berenice, his wife, were killed by their trea-'ſonable practices. After this violence and wickedneſs, 'he cloathed himſelf in rags, he let his hair and beard 'grow after the manner of criminals: he would not ap-'pear in public, nor ſhew himſelf to the people, nor live 'ſplendidly at home, nor give any indication of a ſound 'mind, that ſo he might ſeem to do penance to the ghoſts 'of thoſe he had ſlain. Then laying aſide the admini-'ſtration of his kingdom, he employed himſelf in digging 'and ſowing in his gardens; he mingled poiſon with 'wholſome herbs, and ſent them as a particular preſent to 'his friends.*' Let us add theſe words of Plutarch: Ἄτ]αλ@· ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐκήπευε τὰς φαρμακώδεις βοτάνας, ἃ μόνον ὑοσκύαμον καὶ ἑλλέβορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κώνειον καὶ ἀκόνι]ον καὶ δορύκνιον αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς κηπο῀ς βασιλικοῖς σπείρων καὶ φυ]εύων ὁπωὺς τε καὶ καρπὸν αὐτων ἔργον σεσοιημέν@· εἰδέναι καὶ κομίζεσθαι καθ' ὥραν. Attalus Philometor herbas venenoſas colebat, non tantùm hyoſcyamum & helleborum, ſed & cicutam, aconitum, dorycnion, ipſe in hortis regiis ſeminans & plantans: liquoreſque & ſemina & fructus horum elaborabat coquere, ac ſuo quæque tempore colligere (63). - - - - *Attalus Philometor diverted himſelf in cultivating henbane, hellebore, hemlock, aconite, dorychnium, and other noxious plants, which he uſed to ſow himſelf in the royal gardens, and with great diligence to gather their ſeeds in their ſeaſon, their fruits and juices, and to try experiments of their natures, qualities, and virtues.* Attalus left that occupation, and applied himſelf to the melting of metals. 'Ab hoc ſtudio æreariæ artis fabricæ ſe tradit ceriſque 'fingendis, & ære fundendo procudendoque oblecta-'batur (64). - - - - *Leaving that ſort of ſtudy, applied 'himſelf to working in braſs, to the making of images 'in*

(60) Vid. Excerpta Didor. Siculi à Valeſio collecta, *pag.* 370.

(61) Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

(62) Juſtin is miſtaken, he ſhould have ſaid *ab Attalo.*

* It ſhould be *Attalus.*

(63) Plut. in Demetrio, *pag.* 897, *D.*

(64) Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

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very rich presents to Scipio before Numantia [*M*], and died a little while after about the year 621, and having no children, he made the Roman people his heir (*x*). Aristonicus, bastard of Eumenes, despised that will, and declared himself to be the lawful successor; he won some battles (*y*) but he was overcome and taken in the year of Rome 623 (*z*). Thus ended the kingdom of Pergamum which grew very powerful in a short time, and there was so much magnificence in it, that it became a proverb (*N*). I shall observe some faults of Moreri [*O*].

(*x*) Flor. *lib. ii, cap. xx, & multi alii.*

(*y*) Justin. *lib. xxxvi, cap. iv.*

(*z*) Ibid.

'*in wax, and to melting and forging of metals.*' His books concerning husbandry were not unknown to Varro (65), Pliny (66), and Columella (67). Father Hardouin observes, that according to the testimony of Galen, that prince understood all sorts of remedies, and composed some books about them. 'Haud dubium ab eo puto Attalum esse eum, quem Medicum appellat Plinius in indice l. 32. & 33. cum hunc ipsum Pergamenorum regem, omnis generis medicamentorum perquam studiosum fuisse Galenus affirmet, l. 1. κατὰ γένη, c. 13. p. 657. & l. 1. de antidotis c. 1. p. 865. De medicinis ex animalibus scripsisse, l. 10. de facult. simp. medic. c. 1. p. 275. (68). --- '*I do not think this Attalus is different from him whom Pliny calls a Physician, since Galen affirms that this king of Pergamum was very skillful in all sorts of remedies.*' Mr Menage ascribes to another what concerns the gardens of this Attalus (69).

(65) He mentions them in the first chapter of the first book *de re Rustica.*

(66) Plin. *lib. xviii, cap. iii.*

(67) Colum. *l. i, cap. i, but instead of* Attalus & Philometor, *read* Attalus Philometor. *See Father* Hardouin, in Indice Pliniano, *pag.* 100.

(68) Harduin, ibid.

[*M*] *He sent some rich presents to Scipio before Numantia.*] I have read this no where but in Cicero. 'Quo in loco Dejotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus in Africanum fuit, cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asia, quæ Africanus inspectante exercitu accepit (70). --- *In which respect you have found Dejotarus the same to you, as king Attalus was to Scipio Africanus, to whom, as we find it written, he sent very rich presents out of Asia as far as Numantia, which Africanus received in the sight of the army.*' What did Father Abram think of when he said that Livy does not agree with Cicero (71)? Thereupon he quotes a passage of the fifty-eighth book of Livy (72), which says that Scipio having received great presents from Antiochus shewed them to the whole army, and ordered the quæstor to enter them into his book of accounts. Cicero meant not that Scipio, who overcame Antiochus.

(69) See the remark [*B*] of the article LACYDES.

(70) Cicero, in Orat. pro Rege Dejotaro, *pag. m.* 647.

(71) Abramus, Com. in Orat. Cic. pro Dejotaro, *pag.* 441.

(72) What remains of Livy goes no further than the 45th book.

[*N*] *The magnificence of Pergamum, ... became a proverb.*] See the commentators upon these words of Horace:

(73) Horat. Od. I, lib. i. ver. 12.

- - - - - - Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare (73).

And hopes of wealth, and worlds of gain
Shall never tempt him from the plain;
Nor draw his fearful soul to ride
In feeble ships, and stem the tide.

(74) Propert. Eleg. XIII, *lib. ii.* See also Eleg. XXXII, *ejusdem libri.*

Consider also these verses of Propertius.

Nec mihi tunc fulchro sternatur lectus eberno,
Nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa toro (74).

Let not the bedstead be of ivory made,
Nor lay my corps upon a stately bed.

(75) Ibid. Eleg. XVII, lib. iii. See also Eleg. V, lib. iv.

Attalicas supera vestes, atque omnia magnis,
Gemmea sint ludis, ignibus ista dabis (75).

Tho' in attire more rich than one can tell,
And vast magnificence you should excel.

(76) See the notes *Variorum* upon Virgil, Georg. lib. iii, ver. 20.

(77) Ideo *aulæa* dicta sunt quod primum in aula Attali, Regis Asiæ, qui populum Romanum scripsit hæredem, inventa sunt. *Servius, in Æn. lib. i, ver.* 697.

It is pretended that hangings were not known at Rome before those of Attalus were carried thither, who made the Roman people his heir (76). Servius says (77) that they were invented at the court of the kings of Pergamus, and called *aulæa, ab aula Attali* (78). He is mistaken as to the last point, for the Romans called them so, because they were called αὐλαῖαι in Greek (79). However it be, the Attalic hangings were very famous. 'Quid illa attalica, tota Sicilia nominata, ab eodem Heio peripetasmata emere oblitus es (80)? - - - - *Why did you forget to buy of the same Heius those hangings, which are called Attalic throughout all Sicily?*' King Attalus invented the gold embroidery: *Aurum intexere in eadem Asia invenit Attalus Rex* (81). Read this passage of Silius Italicus:

(78) *Servius, in hæc Verba Georg. lib. iii, ver.* 25. Purpurea intexti tollun taulæa Britanni.

(79) *See* Plut. in Vit. Themistoclis.

(80) Cicero, in Verrem, *lib. vi, fol. m.* 70, *B.*

Quæ radio jactat Babylon, vel murice picto
Læta Tyros, quæque Attalicis variata per artem
Aulæis scribuntur acu (82).

What, Babylon, in cloth, Tyre in purple die,
Or Attalus in gold embroidery,
Does boast.

(81) Plin. *lib. viii, cap. xlviii, pag. m.* 232. *He says, chap. iii, of the thirty-third book* Attalicis jampridem autum intexitur invento regum Asiæ.

(82) Sil. Ital. *lib. xiv, pag. m.* 636.

Pliny does often mention the excessive price which king Attalus paid for good pictures (83).

(83) Plin. *lib. vii, cap. xxxviii, and lib. xxxiv, and xxxv.*

[*O*] *I shall observe some faults of Moreri.*] What I say here concerns the Dutch edition. I. It is not true that Attalus the first of that name, *extended his conquests in Asia, as far as mount Taurus*; for the kingdom of Pergamum had that extent under king Eumenes; and it was by the liberality of the Romans. Before that time it was but a small state, as I am going to prove. Συνεπολέμησε δὲ καὶ ἕτῳ (Εὐμένει) Ῥωμαίοις πρός τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν, καὶ πρὸς Περσέα. καὶ ἐλαβεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντιόχῳ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. Πρότερον δ' ἦν τὰ περὶ Πέργαμον ὀλίγα χωρία μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τὴν καλὰ τὸν Ἑλαΐτην κόλπον, καὶ τὸν Ἀδραμυττηνόν. Hic quoque *(Eumenes)* Romanorum socius fuit in bellis adversus Antiochum Magnum, & Perseum: accepitque à Romanis quidquid Asiæ intra Taurum Antiochus possederat, cùm antè sub Pergami ditione fuissent pauca quædam loca usque ad mare, juxta sinum Elaiticum & Adramyttenum (84). - - - - *Eumenes also was an ally of the Romans in the wars against Antiochus the Great, and Perseus: and he received from the Romans whatever Antiochus had possessed of Asia on this side Taurus: before that time, there were but some few places under the dominion of Pergamum towards the sea, near the bay of Elæa and Adramyttium.* Father Labbe has been the occasion of that fault of Moreri, for here are his citations about Attalus. '*Justin.* 27. *Tit. Liv.* 34. '*Polyb.* 5. where he says that he extended his con-'quests in Asia, as far as mount Taurus (85).' I have not found this in the fifth book of Polybius, but only that Attalus, during the war against Achæus, forced the inhabitants of several cities to declare for him. This does not go by the name of conquest, and it does not appear that after his return to Pergamum those cities were subject to him. II. He should not have been contented with Father Labbe's quotation of those three authors, since they say nothing of the love of the four brothers which is *commonly proposed as a model of the union which ought to be between brothers.* He should have quoted Plutarch for it, as Father Labbe did (86). III. The wife of Attalus, mother of those four brothers, was called Ἀπολλωνὶς (87). He should not therefore say that her name was *Apollonia*, but *Apollonis*, or *Apollonida.* IV. The article of Attalus the second is a pitiful one. He begins with saying that he *was first sent to Rome by his brother Eumenes, in the year* 596, *where he obained whatever he desired of the senate.* This is a meer transcript of Father Labbe (88). Attalus was above sixty years old at that time; his History should not therefore begin there, considering the memorable things he had done before. V. I do not think that he was his brother's ambassador at Rome in the year 596, and I fancy that the times have been confounded: the journey he made to Rome about the year 584, after the last king of Macedon had been taken, has been transferred to the year 596. VI. It is an absurd thing to quote Polybius, l. 5. and Justin, lib. 36. seeing they say nothing of that Attalus. Note, that the History of Polybius did not reach the year of Rome 596. VII. Attalus the third, was surnamed Philometor, and not Philopator. That fault is also to be found in Father Labbe (89). But Moreri is most to blame for having inserted among these three Attalus's

(84) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429.

(85) Labbe, Chron. Franc. *Tom. ii, pag.* 300, *ad ann. Romæ* 512.

(86) Labbe, ubi *supra, pag.* 338, *ad ann.* 556.

(87) Strabo, *lib. xiii, pag.* 429.

(88) Labbe, *pag.* 365, *ad ann.* 596.

(89) Labbe, ibid. *pag.* 391, *ad ann.* 621.

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Attalus's an Attalus Philadelphus, without saying that it is not a new Attalus; for the reader would think, by the omission of that caution, that that Attalus Philadelphus is different from the other three, and yet he is the same with Attalus the second. Let us see whether his article be right. VIII. What he did before he was a king is not distinguished from what he did under the reign of his brother: every reader has all the reason in the world to fancy that whatever is said of this Attalus, was done by him, after he was made his nephew's guardian, *with the title of king*. But this is false. IX. It was not he who *sustained the siege of Pergamum against Antiochus*. We have seen (90) that king Eumenes himself was in Pergamum during that siege. X. He did not make war against Perseus king of Macedon: Moreri should have said that he was concerned in that war as an ally of the Romans. XI. Strabo and Appianus, quoted by Moreri, do not say that Attalus made Prusias a prisoner. XII. Nor that he sent presents to Scipio Æmilianus before Numantia. XIII. Nor that he perished by the ambush of his nephew Attalus. He died before that Scipio went to Numantia.

(90) In the last remark of the foregoing article at the end.

PERIANDER, tyrant of Corinth. He was reckoned one of the seven wise men of Greece; but there was more reason to rank him among the most wicked men that ever lived: for he changed the government of his country [*A*], and oppressed its liberty, and settled the monarchical power upon himself (*a*); and to maintain himself in his usurpation, he caused the principal men of the city to be put to death, thinking they would be able to restore things to their first state (*b*). On the day of a solemn feast he took from the women all their ornaments, and made of them a golden statue which he had vowed (*c*) [*B*]. He committed incest with his mother [*C*]; he kicked his wife to death whilst she was big with child; he caused his concubines to be burnt, because their calumnies had exasperated him against his wife. He was so angry with his second son (*d*), because he lamented the death of his mother, that he turned him out, and disinherited him. He formed a villainous plan of revenge against the inhabitants of Corcyra: which was to send their young boys (*e*) to king Alyattes to be gelded: and when he heard that the ship which carried those innocent victims, had put into Samos, and that those youths had been preserved from the misery to which they were destined, he

(a) Diog. Laërt. *lib. i, num.* 98.

(b) Herodot. *lib. v, cap. xcii, pag. m.* 324.

(c) Diog. Laërt. ubi supra, *num.* 96.

(d) His name was Lycophron. See his article wherein I have set down what Herodotus says of him.

(e) Diog. Laërt. does not limit the number of them. Herodotus, *lib. iii, cap. xlviii*, says, they were three hundred of the best families of that island.

[*A*] *He changed the government of his country.*] Diogenes Laërtius says so positively. Οὗτος πρῶτος, says he (1), δορυφόρους ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τυραννίδα μετέστησε. PRIMUS hic armatis circumseptus incessit, magistratumque ad tyrannidem transtulit. - - - *He was the first that went guarded with armed men, and turned the government into tyranny.* Aldobrandinus observes upon those words, That if we believe Aristotle, Periander must be looked upon as the inventer of the great number of ways whereby tyranny is established and kept up (2). *Omnium autem earum rerum quæ ad tyrannidem faciunt constituendam & conservandam, auctorem fuisse Periandrum Cypseli filium, tum aliis locis, tum præcipue eodem lib. 5. polit. ait cap. 11.* Τύτων, inquit, τὰ (3) πολλὰ φασι καλασῆσαι Περίανδρον. Mr Menage upon the same words of Laërtius, quotes Suidas, who says, That Periander had three hundred guards, and that he forbad the Corinthians to keep any servants, and to live in idleness. He invented every day something to keep them busy, and fined those whom he found sitting in the public places: he was afraid they should contrive something against him. Herodotus however does not ascribe to him the first institution of tyranny, but to Cypselus, who reigned thirty years in Corinth very cruelly, and left all his authority to his son Periander. Τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος, τοιοῦτος δή τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλὰς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλὰς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείους τῆς ψυχῆς. Cypselus vero tyrannide potitus, talis extitit ut Corinthiorum multos insequutus sit, multos pecunia, longe plurimos anima privaverit (4). - - - *But Cypselus during his tyranny persecuted and fined many Corinthians, and put vast numbers of them to death.* Periander was not at first so hard a Prince as his father, but afterwards he became much more cruel than he.

(1) Diog. Laërt. in Periandro, *num.* 98, *lib. i.*

(2) Aldobrandin. in Diog. Laërt. ibid.

(3) Aldobrandinus should not therefore use the word *omnium*. What he quotes of Aristotle is against him.

(4) Herod. *lib. v, cap. xcii, pag.* 324.

[*B*] *The golden statue which he had vowed.*] Observe here a very sensible proof of the disorder wherein false religions leave the hearts and minds of men. They do not correct mens inclinations to sin. Here we see Periander makes a vow, and dares not dispense with accomplishing it, even when he has no money. Ἔφορος ἱστορεῖ ὡς ἠυξαίτο, εἰ νικήσειεν Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ, χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθεῖναι. νικήσας δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν χρυσίου, &c. Ephorus in historia, vovisse illum tradit, si Olympia quadriga vicisset, auream statuam deo sacraturum, victoria verò potitum, & auro egentem, &c (5). - - - *Ephorus in his history writes that Periander made a vow, if he should gain the victory with his chariot and four, in the Olympic games, to consecrate a golden statue to the god, but having obtained the victory, and wanting money, &c.* He therefore believes there are gods; he believes a providence: and yet he pollutes himself with incest, he sheds innocent blood, he kills his wife, &c. Let us proceed to the disorders of the mind. The same tyrant is not afraid of being punished for his incests and murders; but he fears, that if he should not offer to the gods a lump of gold, which he promised them, they will oppress him with miseries, and severely punish him. Nay, he persuades himself, that tho' he fulfils his vow with a most unjust robbery, which extremely vexes all the women of Corinth, yet the golden statue which he consecrates will be acceptable to the gods, and preserve him from the misfortunes they would have inflicted upon him, if he had not offered the statue he promised them. Next to the violence done to the honour and virtue of chast women, there is none they are more sensible of, than to see themselves stript of their ornaments. The desire of being well dressed, and wearing fine things, has always prevailed in that sex. 'Φιλόκοσμον genus femineum 'est: multasque etiam insignis pudicitiæ, quamvis 'nulli virorum, tamen sibi scimus libenter ornari (6). '... Ut taceam de inaurium pretiis, candore margaritarum, rubri maris profunda testantium, smaragdorum virore, ceraunorum flammis, hiacynthorum pelago, ad quæ ardent & insaniunt studia matronarum (7). - - - *Women are fond of ornaments, and we know many of them that are even noted for their modesty, who love to dress to please themselves tho' not the men. . . . To say nothing of the value of ear-rings, the whiteness of pearls brought from the bottom of the red-sea, the greenness of emeralds, the redness of carbuncles, and the blueness of jacinth, which women eagerly desire to have.*' I observe this only, to make the tyrannical spirit of that pretended wise-man of Greece more odious. See the remark [*D*].

(6) Hieron. Epist. ad Gaudentium de Pacatulæ Instit. *pag. m.* 268.

(7) Ibid. Epist. ad Demetriadem de servanda virginitate, *pag.* 291.

[*C*] *He committed incest with his mother.*] Her name was Cratea (8): some say (9), that being not able to restrain the impetuosity of her passion, she proposed to her son to lie secretly with a woman, who was extreamly in love with him, and who would not be known. He consented to it, and so he lay with his mother without knowing it; for Cratea was in the bed where the pretended woman, whom she mentioned to her son, was to lie. This secret intrigue lasted a long time; but at last Periander would know who was the woman whom he had so often been with: He ordered somebody to hide himself in the chamber, and as his mother was going to bed, he came to her with a flambeau. He had killed her upon the spot, had not a genius, who appeared to him, prevented it. Ever after that time he lived like a mad-man, he was cruel, and put several people to death. As for Cratea she complained mightily of her destiny, and killed herself. Others relate this adventure differently: They say indeed (10) that the intrigue of Periander and

(8) Diog. Laërt. *lib. i, num.* 96.

(9) Parthenius, in Eroticis, *cap. xvii.*

(10) Aristippus, apud Diog. Laërtium, ubi supra.

(5) Diog. Laërt. ubi supra, *num.* 96, *pag.* 60.

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he died with grief for it. He was then about eighty years old (*f*). Some ſay, that he lay with his wife after her death [*D*]; a brutality almoſt as horrible as that of the Lydian monarch who eat his wife [*E*]. Some authors are (*g*) ſo ſimple as to reckon that action of Periander among the great examples of conjugal love. He reigned forty-four years, according to Ariſtotle (*b*), or forty according to Diogenes Laërtius (*i*). He flouriſhed about the XXXVIIIth Olympiad (*k*). Mr Moreri has committed ſome faults [*F*].

(*f*) *Taken from* Diog. Laërt. in Vita Periandri, *lib. i.*

(*g*) Ravifius Textor, in Officina, *lib. v, cap. iii*, in the title *de amore conjugali, pag. m.* 553, and ſeveral others after him.

(*b*) Ariſt. Politic. *lib. v, cap. xiii.*

(*i*) Ubi ſupra, *num.* 98.

(*k*) Ibid.

There

and his mother was covered with a veil of great ſecrecy, but that he was not ignorant that he lay with his mother. They affirm, that he was very well pleaſed with the ſport, and that he grew angry only becauſe his inceſt was diſcovered. He vented his anger upon his ſubjects, and ever after behaved himſelf tyrannically.

After his mother had killed herſelf he ceaſed to honour the goddeſs Venus, and to offer ſacrifices to her; but he began again to practiſe that worſhip, by reaſon of ſome dreams of his wife Meliſſa. It is what Plutarch obſerves in the beginning of the feaſt of the ſeven wiſe men; and he ſuppoſes that Periander began again to ſacrifice to that goddeſs on the day of that feaſt.

[*D*] *Some ſay that he lay with his wife after her death.*] Here is one of Herodotus's ſtories, which he tells upon occaſion of the injuſtice which the women of Corinth ſuffered under Periander. That tyrant ſent to conſult the oracle of the dead, deſiring to know what was become of a certain *depoſitum*. His wife Meliſſa appeared, and declared, that ſhe would by no means reveal that ſecret; for I am very cold, ſaid ſhe, I am ſtark naked, the cloaths wherewith I was buried are of no uſe to me, becauſe they have not been burnt. To prove the truth of what I ſay, continued ſhe, it is enough for me to obſerve, that Periander has put his bread in a cold oven. When Periander was told of it, that diſcourſe ſeemed to him to be very true, becauſe he remembered that he had lain with Meliſſa, even after ſhe had given up the ghoſt (11). Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, πιστὸν γὰρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νεκρὰ ἐόσῃ Μελίσσῃ ἐμίγη. *Hæc Periandro renunciata, ob illud argumentum fidem fecere, quod ipſe cum Meliſſa quamvis defuncta coierat* (12). He therefore ordered by a proclamation, that all the women of Corinth ſhould repair to the temple of Juno. They obeyed, and put on the fineſt things they had, as on a feſtival-day; but the guards who lay hid in the temple ſtript them all, without exception; the miſtreſſes and their maids were treated alike. All their cloaths were burnt upon the grave of Meliſſa. She was daughter of Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus; and ſhe was related, by her mother's ſide, to ſome great lords who reigned almoſt all over Arcadia (13). Another author in Athenæus does not ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of Meliſſa's quality: he ſays, That Periander grew very much in love with her (14), having ſeen her fill ſome drink to ſome workmen (15).

(11) Herod. *lib. v, cap. xcii.*

(12) Ibid. *pag. m.* 325.

(13) Diog. Laërt. *lib. i, num.* 94.

(14) Pythænetus, *lib. iii*, de Ægina apud Ath. *lib. xiii, pag.* 589.

(15) Ὑποζεύξαι τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. Operariis vinum miniſtrantem. *Ibid.*

(16) Rampalle, that the world does not grow worſe and worſe, *pag.* 94.

[*E*] *The Lydian monarch who eat his wife.*] The Sieur de Rampalle deſigning to prove that our age doth not exceed paſt ages in vices, brings in, amongſt other examples of intemperance, the voracity of Maximinus, Albinus, Phagon, and Aſtidamas; and then he ſays, that *Cambyſes king of Lydia ſupped one night upon his wife* (16). He is miſtaken as to the name; I do not think that any king of Lydia was called Cambyſes; however, he who eat up his wife had not that name. His name was Cambles. He was a great eater and a great drinker. The Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks of him, intimates, that he committed that crime without knowing what he did, and that he knew not his barbarity, but when he felt his wife's hand in his mouth as he waked, he killed himſelf when he knew that this action was diſcovered. Κάνδαυλος δὲ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Λυδιακοῖς, Κάμβλητα φησὶ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Λυδῶν πολυφάγον γενέσθαι καὶ πολυπότην, ἔτι δὲ γαστρίμαργον. τοῦτον δὲ ποτε νυκτὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα κατακρεουργήσαντα καταφαγεῖν· ἅτε πρωὶ ἐγείροντα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνέσαν ἐν τῷ στόματι, ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξαι περιϊόντα τῆς πράξεως γενομένης. Xanthus in Lydiacis narrat Cambleta Lydorum olim regem, edacem, bibacem, guloſum fuiſſe, noctuque uxorem ſuam in fruſta diſſectam voraſſe: deinde craſtino manè, repertâ conjugis manu, quæ ad ejus os hæſerat, re cognitâ, & in vulgus ſparſa, ſeipſum jugulaſſe (17). - - - *Xanthus in his Lydian hiſtory tells us, that Cambleta, formerly king of the Lydians, was a great eater and drinker, and that one night he cut his wife into pieces and eat her: next morning he felt her hand in his mouth, and the matter being known and blazed abroad, he killed himſelf.* I can ſcarce believe but this ſtory is like old wives tales, full of giants, man-eaters.

(17) Athen. *lib. x, cap. iii, pag.* 415.

[*F*] *Moreri has committed ſome faults.*] I ſhall ſay nothing of his faults of omiſſion; every body may know them by comparing his Periander with mine. I. He does not reckon well, when he ſays, that Periander began his reign in the XXXVIIIth Olympiad, and died in the XLVIIIth, after he had reigned forty-four years. He might have ſaid ſo, if Periander having ſucceeded his father in the beginning of the XXXVIIIth Olympiad, had died towards the end of the XLVIIIth Olympiad: But then he ſhould have ſaid ſo preciſely. II. He ſhould not have quoted Euſebius; for he does not ſay, that the reign of Periander laſted forty-four years. He places the beginning of it in the firſt year of the XXXVIIIth Olympiad, and the end (18) in the firſt year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad. I find a great miſtake in theſe words of Scaliger: 'Obiit (*Periander*) anno ultimo Olympiadis XLVIII. Tyrannidem obtinuit, an. XL. auctore Laërtio. Ergo ejus initium an. primo Olympiadis XXXVIII ut hic rectè aſſignatum (19). - - - - *Periander died the laſt year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad. He reigned forty years according to Laërtius. Therefore the beginning of his reign is rightly placed as it is here in the firſt year of the XXXVIIIth Olympiad.*' It is not true, according to Euſebius, that Periander died the laſt year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad. But if Euſebius had placed the death of that prince in that year, he would not agree with Diogenes Laërtius, who ſays, that he reigned only forty years. Scaliger expreſſes himſelf better five pages after (20). III. Periander *anſwered* not *thoſe, who aſked him why he kept the government, that it was as dangerous to quit it as to loſe it.* This is an equivocal and perplexed anſwer: it is falſe, whenever a man loſes his power together with his life; for they who loſe it in that manner, run no longer any hazard. Moreri ſhould have ſaid that he anſwered, It is as dangerous to part willingly with tyranny, as to be deprived of it by one's enemies. We have not the privilege of ſpeaking obſcurely in French; we are obliged to uſe more precautions than the ancients, to avoid being criticized. I ſay ſo, becauſe I ſet down in this place the words of the original. Πότε ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τυραννεῖ, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἑκουσίως ἀποσῆναι, τὸ καὶ ἀφαιρεθῆναι κίνδυνον φέρει. *Rogatus aliquando cur in tyrannide perſiſteret; quia, inquit, & ſponte & invitum cedere æque periculoſum eſt* (21). IV. To what purpoſe does Moreri cite Soſicrates (22), who has nothing of what he ſays in the article of Periander, and who is of a contrary opinion to that which he adopts concerning the age of that tyrant? He ſays, that he died forty-one years before the XLIXth Olympiad (23). I know that by altering the punctuation his opinion might come nearer that of Euſebius (24). But did Mr Moreri know this? And muſt an author be quoted upon dubious readings? This cannot be permitted to any body, but to thoſe who have given notice that they adopt the correction of ſuch or ſuch a critic.

(18) He only mentions the end of the monarchical government of Corinth: but it is the ſame thing with Periander's death.

(19) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. *num.* 889, *pag. m.* 84, *col.* 1.

(20) Ibid. *num.* 929, *pag.* 89.

(21) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, *num.* 97.

(22) In the 2d Dutch edition there is Socrates.

(23) Apud Diog. Laërt. ibid. *num.* 95.

(24) Vid. Menag. in Diog. Laërt. *lib. i, num.* 95, *pag.* 55.

Here are ſome words of Balzac, which relate to Periander's anſwer. *It is no leſs dangerous to part with tyranny, than to ſet it up. Phalaris * was ready to leave it; but he would have a god to be ſecurity for his life, if he ſhould deprive himſelf of his authority; and it has been always a common opinion, that they who took up arms againſt their country or their prince, are in a manner reduced to the neceſſity of doing miſchief, becauſe it is not very ſafe for them to do good. They dare not become innocent, leſt they ſhould be at the mercy of the laws which they have violated, and they go on in their faults becauſe*

Or the danger tyrants expoſe themſelves to, when they abdicate.

* *Phalar. in Epiſt.*

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There are several things to be found in a work of Heraclides, which are not disadvantageous to Periander. If he forbad the inhabitants of Corinth to keep any servants, he forbad them also to live voluptuously, which is no ill law. He laid no taxes upon any body, and was contented with the customs which accrued to him from the sale, and the importation, and exportation of commodities. He hated wicked men, and caused all pimps and bawds to be drowned (*l*). In fine, he established a senate, and regulated the expence of its members (*m*).

(*l*) So I render τὰς προαγωγὰς πάσας κατεπόντισε. Cragius understands by it prostituted women.

(*m*) Taken from Heraclides de Politis, *pag.* 17, *Ed. Cragii* 1593, *in* 4*to*.

because they do not believe that people would be satisfied with their repentance (25). This was one of the maxims which Mæcenas made use of when Augustus was deliberating with him and Agrippa, whether he should restore the Roman people to their liberty. Agrippa advised him to do it, and Mæcenas dissuaded him from it. Let us set down here what the learned Meibomius has collected about it ‘ Tan-
‘ git Xiphilinus, *says he* (26), ex parte caussam,
‘ qua motus Mæcenas, Augusto suaserit, ut imperium
‘ retineret. *Regnum nempe justum & legitime compara-*
‘ *tum imprimis conducere rerum magnitudini* gubernandæ:
‘ *nec aliud discordantis patriæ remedium esse, quam ut*
‘ *ab uno*, ut loquitur Tacitus Ann. lib. iv. cap. ix.
‘ unumque Reip. corpus *unius præsidis nutu, quasi*
‘ *anima & mente regatur*, ut monet Florus lib. iv.
‘ cap. iii. Potior tamen, & altera caussa fuit, quam
‘ Suetonius adducit, loco quem dixi (27) quod Augu-
‘ stum, *si privatus viveret non sine periculo fore* cense-
‘ ret. Eam etiam inculcat Zonaras; quod qui semel
‘ imperitarint, tuto privatam vitam agere nullo modo
‘ possint. Quo sensu jam olim Periander interrogatus,
‘ cur non deponeret imperium, respondit: *Quoniam*
‘ *per vim imperanti, etiam ultro imperio abire periculo-*
‘ *sum*, ut ex Xenophontis lib. de Memorabil. Socrat.
‘ refert Stobæus Serm. xli. Quin & Mæcenas ipse in
‘ Orat. apud Dionem, non alia ratione depositionem
‘ imperii Augusto dissuadet, quam quod ostendat *ne-*
‘ *minem Senatui populoque reddita Rep. ipsi parciturum,*
‘ *qui multos offenderit. Hos enim rerum summam ad*
‘ *se trahendo, id acturos, ut se vel ulcisantur, vel*
‘ *ipsum sibi adversantem è medio tollant.* Docet id ex-
‘ emplis Pompeji, Julii Cæsaris, Marii ac Sullæ:
‘ Quos abdicata potestas vel pessum dederit, vel pes-
‘ sum datura fuisset, si diutius vixissent. - - - - - *Xi-*
‘ *philinus partly touches on the reason that induced Mæ-*
‘ *cenas to persuade Augustus, to keep the empire in his*
‘ *own hands: viz.* that dominion, justly and lawful-
‘ ly acquired, was of the greatest service in govern-
‘ ing affairs: and that there is no other remedy for
‘ the divisions of a country, than that it be govern-
‘ ed, *as Tacitus says*, by one single person, and that
‘ one body of a commonwealth, *as Florus expresses*
‘ *himself*, be swayed and directed by the will of one
‘ man, like one soul and mind. *But the other and*
‘ *better reason, alledged by Suetonius in the place I men-*
‘ *tioned, was, that he did not think* it safe for Augustus
‘ to live in a private capacity. *Zonoras likewise incul-*
‘ *cates it; that those who have once exercised tyranny*
‘ *can by no means lead a private life in safety. And*
‘ *upon that account, Periander being formerly asked, why*
‘ *he would not resign his dominion, answered:* because it
‘ is dangerous for one, that reigns by force, even vo-
‘ luntarily to abdicate power, as Stobæus relates it.
‘ *But even Mæcenas himself dissuades Augustus from re-*
‘ *signing the empire, meerly for this reason*, because if
‘ the commonwealth be restored to the senate and peo-
‘ ple, no body would spare him who had disobliged so
‘ many. For by taking the government into their own
‘ hands they would either revenge themselves or kill
‘ him if he made opposition. *This he proves by the*
‘ *examples of Pompey, Julius Cæsar, Marius, and Sylla:*
‘ *who by laying down their power were either ruined,*
‘ *or would have been ruined had they lived longer.*’ To which Solon's answer may be added: his friends wondered that the name of monarchy should fright him, and that he durst not take advantage of the present conjuncture to acquire the supream authority. He answered them (28), *Dominion and Tyranny are indeed a fine place, but there is no way to come out of it when one is once got into it.* It seems to me that Xenophon has illustrated that thought better than any body else. He introduces a tyrant, who gives a lively description of the miserable condition he is in: and then Simonides asks him, why do you remain in it? why do not you leave it? mind well the answer: the greatest unhappiness of tyranny is, that there is no way to renounce it. How can a tyrant, who abdicates, repay the great sums he has extorted; indemnify those whom he has imprisoned; restore life to those whom he has put to death? If ever a man has just cause to hang himself, it is when he exercises tyranny, they who understand Greek will be charmed with the Greek words: I shall therefore set them down to please them. Καὶ πῶς (ἔφη) ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ ὕτω πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν, καὶ τυτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττῃ ὕτω μεγάλης κακῆς; ἔτε σὺ ἔτε ἄλλῳ μέν δή ὑδείς πώποτε ἑκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδι ἀφείτο, ὅσπερ ἂν ἅπαξ κτήσαιτο; Ὅτι (ἔφη) ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ταύτη ἀξιωτάτον ἐστιν ἡ τυραννὶς ὑδὴ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ποτὲ ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννῳ ἢ χρήματα ἐκ τίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο, ἢ δεσμὰς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ ὅσους κατέκτανε, πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανομένας; ἀλλ' εἰ ᾧπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπαξασθαι, ἴσθι (ἔφη) ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω μάλιστα τῦτο λυσιτελῶν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔτε ἔχειν ἔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ. *Et qui fit, inquit Hieron, ut si adeo misera res est tyrannidem gerere, idque te non fugit, non abjicias tam ingens malum? Neque tu neque alius quisquam unquam lubens tyrannidem depositi, ubi semel nactus est. Quoniam, inquit, ô Simonides, isto nomine miserrima est tyrannis, quod ab ea non licet discedere. Quomodo enim quisquam tyrannus unquam suffecerit ad pecuniam rependendam iis quos spoliavit? aut quomodo vincula repensset iis quos detrusit in vincula? aut quomodo restituet tot animas extinctas iis quos occidit? Sed si cuiquam alteri, ô Simonides, expedit laqueo finire vitam, scito, inquit, me compertum habere, ut id faciat nulli magis expedire quàm tyranno, quandoquidam huic uni mala nec retinere nec deponere expedit* (29). Dionysius the tyrant said, that instead of returning to a private man's condition on horseback, one must be dragged to it by the feet. Livy relates this but he adds another thought to it which enervates the first, *ultima primis obstant*, and destroys the commonplace which I am about. The reader may judge of it for I set down the whole passage. ‘ Sed evocatum
‘ eum (30) ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis,
‘ inflata adhuc regiis animis, ac muliebri spiritu, ad-
‘ monet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis: Qua
‘ pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo relinquere ty-
‘ rannidem dixerit debere. Facile esse momento quo
‘ quis velit, cedere possessione magnæ fortunæ: facere
‘ & parare eam, difficile atque arduum esse. Paulu-
‘ lum sumeret spacii ad consultandum ab legatis; eo u-
‘ teretur ad accersendos ex Leontinis milites, quibus
‘ si pecuniam regiam pollicitus esset, omnia in potesta-
‘ te ejus futura. Hæc muliebria consilia Andronodo-
‘ rus neque tota aspernatus est, neque extemplo acce-
‘ pit (31). - - - - *But the embassadors having demanded*
‘ *an audience, his wife Demerata, the daughter of Hi-*
‘ *ero, full of ambition and a womanish spirit, put him in*
‘ *mind of a saying frequently used by Dionysius the tyrant:*
‘ *that instead of returning to a private station on horse-*
‘ *back, one must be dragged to it by the feet. That it was*
‘ *an easy matter, whenever one pleased, to yield up the*
‘ *possession of a great fortune, but very hard and diffi-*
‘ *cult to make and acquire it. That he should have some*
‘ *time allowed by the embassadors to consider of it; and in*
‘ *the mean while should send for soldiers from Leontini, to*
‘ *whom if he promised a good deal of mony, he might have*
‘ *every thing in his own power. These womanish coun-*
‘ *sels Andromodorus did not wholly despise, nor immediate-*
‘ *ly comply with.*’ It is not necessary to suppose that the second maxim is of Dionysius; for in all likelihood it is the maxim of that ambitious woman whom Livy introduces speaking, Cicero observes, that Dionysius could not have renounced the condition he was in, and his wicked life, without undoing himself. ‘ At-
‘ que ei ne integrum quidem erat ut ad justitiam remi-
‘ graret civibusque libertatem & jura redderet. His
‘ enim se adolescens improvida ætate irretierat erratis,
‘ eaque commiserat ut salvus esse non posset si sanus
‘ esse cœpisset (32). - - - - *And indeed it was not safe*

(25) Balzac, chap. xlv, of the Prince, *pag. m.* 33, 34.

(26) Joan. Henr. Meibom. in Vita Mæcenatis, *pag.* 87, 88.

(27) That is in Octavio, *cap. xxviii.* Meibomius quotes the 29th chapter.

(28) Καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν. Præclarum fundum tyrannidem esse, sed non habere exitum. *Plut. in Solone, pag.* 85.

(29) Xenoph. in Hieronе, sive Tyrannico, *pag.* 533, *Edit. H. Steph.* 1581.

(30) That is to say Andronodorus, who was exhorted in Syracuse to give over the too great power he had usurped.

(31) T. Liv. *lib. xxvo, cap. xxii.*

(32) Cicero, Tuscul V, *cap. xxi.*

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'for him to return to justice, and to restore to the 'people their rights and liberties. For in his unwary 'youth he had so entangled himself by these errors, and 'had committed such faults, that he could not be secure 'tho' he had a mind to be wise and just.'

PERIBOEA, daughter of Alcathous king of Megara, wife of Telamon king of Salamis, and mother of Ajax. See the remark [C] of the article TELAMON.

PERICLES was one of the greatest men that ever lived in Ancient Greece. His ancestors by his father's and mother's side were very illustrious. He was educated with all imaginable care; and he had, amongst other masters, Zeno Eleates, and Anaxagoras, two of the most illustrious Philosophers who taught in Athens. He learned of the latter, amongst other things, to fear the gods without superstition [A], and to give an account of eclipses, which proved once very beneficial to the Athenians [B]. They were

[A] *He learned of Anaxagoras to fear the gods without superstition.*] The Athenians were alarmed without any reason, as soon as any uncommon phænomenon appeared in the air: they looked upon them as signs of the anger of the gods. The Philosopher Anaxagoras freed Pericles from that fear, explaining to him, by natural reasons the apparition of those meteors. And so he inspired him with a more rational religion, and he was not disturbed with superstitious fears, but he expected heavenly favours with a quiet mind. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου συνουσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ δαισιδαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὅση πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θάμβος ἐργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα δαιμονῶσι καὶ ταρατ]ομένοις δι' ἀπειρίαν αὐτῶν. ἣν ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων, ἀντὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ φλεγμαινούσης δεισιδαιμονίας, τὴν ἀσφαλῆ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐνεργάζηται. *Nec verò hunc solum fructum tulit Pericli Anaxagoræ usus, verùm omni etiam liberavit eum superstitione, quæ terrorem ex rebus æthereis imprimit ignorantibus earum causas, & iis qui rerum divinarum metu pavent, percellunturque rudes earum: quem eximens naturalis ratio, pro terrifica & æstuante superstitione, securam inserit cum bona spe religionem* (1).

(1) Plut. in Pericle, pag. 154, E.

A REFLEXION upon the doctrine of presages.

What follows in Plutarch deserves to be taken notice of. It happened one day that a ram's head, had but one horn which was brought to Pericles. That ram was yeaned in a country house of Pericles. Lampon, the diviner, declared that it was a sign that the power of the two factions, which were then in Athens (2), would fall into the hands of the person in whose house that prodigy happened. Anaxagoras went another way to work. He dissected that monster, and finding the scull smaller than it should be, and of an oval figure, he explained the reason why that ram had but one horn, and why it came out in the middle of the forehead. That method of giving an account of prodigies was admired; but some time after Lampon was admired, when they saw the faction of Thucydides overthrown, and all the authority in the hands of Pericles. The Historian says thereupon, that the diviner and the Philosopher might be both in the right, the one in guessing at the effect, and the other in guessing at the cause. It was the Philosopher's business, adds he, to explain from whence and how that single horn was formed; but it was the diviner's office to declare why it was formed, and what it portended. For they, who say that as soon as a natural reason is found out, the prodigy vanishes away, are not aware that they destroy artificial as well as celestial signs. Watch-lights upon towers, sun-dials, &c. depend upon certain causes, which act according to certain rules; yet they are appointed to signify certain things. This is the most specious and strongest reason that can be alledged for the vulgar opinion which Anaxagoras opposed. That a natural phænomenon may be a prodigy, or a sign of a future evil, it is not at all necessary that Philosophers should not be able to give any account of it; for tho' they may explain it by the natural virtues of second causes, yet it may very well be appointed to presage something. Watch-lights are explained by natural reasons, nevertheless they are a sign of the course which pilots ought to steer. It must be therefore confessed that Plutarch has defended the common opinion as learnedly as it can be maintained. The efficient cause, when found out, does not exclude the final cause, and even necessarily supposes it in every action directed by an intelligent being. What grounds therefore do Philosophers go upon, when they maintain that eclipses being a natural consequence of the motion of the planets, cannot be a presage of the death of a king, and that the overflowing of rivers being a natural effect of rains, or melted snows, cannot portend a sedition, the dethroning of a prince, or such like public calamities? I answer, that they go upon this ground, that the effects of nature cannot be presages of future contingents, unless they be appointed for that end by a particular intelligent being. It is evident that the laws of nature being left in their general course, would never raise any towers, nor set up watch-lights upon them for the use of pilots. It must be the work of men; it is necessary that their particular wills should apply the virtue of bodies in such a manner as may relate to the end which they propose to themselves. On the other hand, it is manifest that the laws of nature being left in their general course cannot produce any meteors, or the overflowing of a river whereby the inhabitants of a kingdom may know that there will arise a sedition in two or three years time, which will overthrow the monarchy. It is manifest that a particular intelligent being must needs form those meteors, or those great inundations, that they may be the signs of a change of government. But then it will be impossible to explain them by physical reasons; for that which depends upon the particular will of a man or an angel, is not the object of a science: the causes thereof cannot be founded out by Philosophy. From whence it follows, 1. that an event which may be explained by physical reasons, is not a presage of a future contingent, and that such a presage cannot be explained by the laws of nature. So that when Plutarch says, that the diviner found out the final cause, and the Philosopher the efficient cause, he must suppose that a particular spirit so disposed the scull of that ram, that his brains being straitned, and ended sharping over against the middle of the forehead, produced but one horn which came out in that very place. He must also suppose that this spirit modified the brains of that ram in such a manner, to the end that the Athenians might know that the faction of Pericles would overthrow that of Thucydides, and have all the power in it's hands. But that supposition being contrary to the notions whereby we know that none but God can foresee future contingents, cannot be admitted; and so the vulgar opinion about presages cannot be adopted without acknowledging that God produces miraculously, and by a particular will all the natural effects which are looked upon as prognostics. According to that supposition, miracles, properly so called, would be almost as frequent as natural effects; which is a prodigious absurdity. Observe, that if God had been willing to work a miracle, to inform the Athenians that one of their factions would be destroyed, he needed not straiten the brains of that ram. He would have produced an horn in the middle of the forehead without making any alteration in the brains, which would have been a stronger proof of the prodigy. However, I hope the reader will find no fault with me, for having made a reflexion upon a thought of Plutarch, which is so specious that it might seem to most readers to be a solid one.

(2) That of Pericles, and that of Thucydides, son of Myleſius.

[B] ... *and to give an account of eclipses, which proved once very beneficial to the Athenians.*] I shall set down a passage of Plutarch, which concerns a naval expedition in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. 'And now the vessels having their complement of 'men, and Pericles being gone aboard his ship, it hap- 'pened that the sun was in an eclipse, and it grew 'dark on a sudden, to the extream affrightment of them

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were ſo unjuſt as to ſuſpect him of Atheiſm, becauſe he had thoroughly learned the doctrine of the Philoſoper [C]. He ſignalized himſelf by an undaunted courage, and an extraordinary force of eloquence (a), which was increaſed and ſtrengthned by the knowledge of nature; and he knew ſo well how to accommodate himſelf to the humour of the people according to the times, that, under a republican government, he acquired almoſt as great authority as if he had been a monarch. [D]. It is true that he was not free

(a) See the remark [D].

'them all, looking upon it as a diſmal, and unlucky, omen. Wherefore Pericles perceiving the pilot, or ſteerſman, ſeized with a great fear, and at a ſtand what to do, he took his cloak and put it before the man's face, and muffling him up in it that he could not ſee, he aſked him whether he did imagine there was any dreadful thing or great hurt in this that he had done to him, or whether he thought it was the ſign of any hurt: he anſwering, no; then ſaid he, there is no other difference between this and that, except that the body which cauſes the darkneſs is bigger than my cloak which covers your eyes (3).' Quintilian obſerves that Pericles freed the Athenians from a great fear at that time. 'An verò cum Pericles Athenienſes Solis obſcuratione territos, redditis ejus rei cauſis, metu liberavit: aut cùm Sulpitius ille Gallus in exercitu L. Pauli de Lunæ defectione diſſeruit, ne velut prodigio divinitus facto militum animi terrerentur, non videtur eſſe uſus oratoris officio (4)? --- *But does not Pericles, when he freed the Athenians from the great fear they were in about an eclipſe of the ſun, by aſſigning the natural cauſe of it: or Sulpitius Gallus, when he diſcourſed in the army of L. Paulus about an eclipſe of the moon, that the minds of the ſoldiers might not be frightened as at a prodigy ſent by the gods, I ſay, do they not ſeem to have acted the part of Orators?*' Valerius Maximus does not ſay as Plutarch does, that Pericles was in the fleet; he pretends that this Aſtronomical lecture was given in the middle of Athens. 'Cùm obſcurato repentè ſole inuſitatis perfuſæ tenebris Athenæ ſolicitudine agerentur, interitum ſibi cœleſti denuntiatione portendi crederentes; Pericles proceſſit in medium, & quæ à præceptore ſuo Anaxagora pertinentia ad ſolis & lunæ curſum acceperat, diſſeruit: nec ulterius trepidare cives ſuos vano metu paſſus eſt (5). - - - - *Whilſt Athens was in a great fright at the unuſual darkneſs occaſioned by a ſudden eclipſe of the ſun, believing their deſtruction was portended by a declaration from Heaven: Pericles went out amongſt the people, and told them what he had learned of his maſter Anaxagoras, concerning the courſe of the ſun and moon; and by that means delivered his countrymen from their vain fear.*' Frontinus mentions the explication of the lightning, and not of an eclipſe. 'Pericles, *ſays he* (6), cum in caſtra ejus fulmen deciditſet, terruiſſetque milites, advocata concione, lapidibus in conſpectu omnium collifis, ignem excuſſit, ſedavitque turbationem, cum docuiſſet ſimiliter nubium attritu excuti fulmen. - - - *Pericles, when the lightning fell upon his camp and terrified the ſoldiers, called them together, and by knocking ſtones againſt one another, ſtruck fire in the ſight of them all, and ſo calmed their minds, telling them that in like manner lightning was produced by the colliſion of clouds.*'

(3) Plut. in Vit. Pericl.

(4) Quintil. Inſtitut. Orat. *lib. i, cap. x, pag. m. 55.*

(5) Val. Max. *lib. viii, cap. xi, num. 1. ext.*

(6) Front. Stratag. *lib. i, cap. xii.*

If all the Athenian generals had had the Philoſopher Anaxagoras for their maſter, the misfortune, which befel to the Athenian fleet before Syracuſe, had not happened. It was ready to ſet ſail in order to return to Athens, but the moon being eclipſed, the general, Nicias, put off the departure, which occaſioned the ruin of the fleet. Let us hear Plutarch. 'The moon became 'eclipſed in the night, to the great fright of Nicias, 'and others, who, for want of experience, or out of ſu'perſtition, are ſcared with theſe appearances. That the 'ſun would be darkened about the thirtieth day of the 'month by the moon going between, this even the or'dinary people now well enough underſtood; but the 'moon itſelf to be darkened, how that could come about, 'and how on the ſudden a broad full moon ſhould 'loſe all her light, and ſhew ſuch various colours, 'that was not eaſy to be comprehended; but they 'concluded it to be ominous, and a ſign from God of 'heavy calamities to enſue. For he, who the firſt 'and the moſt plainly of any, and with the greateſt 'aſſurance, committed to writing, how the moon is 'enlightned, and overſhadowed, was Anaxagoras; yet 'neither was he ancient, nor his notion much taken no'tice of, but was looked upon as heterodox, and kept 'ſecret, paſſing only among a few, under ſome kind of 'caution and confidence, becauſe the people could not 'endure Naturaliſts and μετεωρολέσχας, as they then 'called them, that is, ſuch who diſpute of things that 'happen in the air; looking upon it as leſſening the Di'vine Power, by deducing things from natural ſenſeleſs 'cauſes, and a long chain of neceſſity, without any thing 'of providence, or a free agent. Hence it was that 'Protagoras was baniſhed Athens, and Anaxagoras caſt 'in priſon, and Pericles had much ado to procure his 'liberty (7).' Theſe words of Plutarch may afford matter enough for ſeveral reflexions.

(7) Plut. in Nicia.

[C] *They were ſo unjuſt as to ſuſpect him of Atheiſm, becauſe he had learned the doctrine of Anaxagoras.*] I ſhall quote a grave author for it. Ἤκουσε δὲ διδασκάλων, Ἀναξαγόρου μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ὅθεν, φησὶν Ἀντυλλος, καὶ ἄθεος ἠρέμα ἐνομίσθη, τῆς ἐκεῖθεν θεωρίας ἐμφορηθείς. *Doctores autem audivit in Philoſophia quidem, Anaxagoram: unde etiam, Antyllo teſte, atheus paulatim haberi cœpit, quòd illius philoſophiæ diſciplinam avidius hauſiſſet* (8). See a paſſage of Plutarch at the end of the remark [O]. Here is another paſſage out of Diodorus Siculus. Διόπερ ἐκκλησίας συνελθούσης περὶ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ τῶν Περικλέους ἔπεισαν τὸν δῆμον συλλαβεῖν τὸν Φειδίαν, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Περικλέους κατηγόρων εἰσεισυλίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν σοφιστὴν διδάσκαλον ὄντα Περικλέους, ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐσυκοφάντων. συνέπλεκον δ' ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς τὸν Περικλέα, διὰ τὸν φθόνον, σπεύδοντες διαβαλεῖν τὴν τἀνδρὸς ὑπεροχήν τε καὶ δόξαν. Advocatâ igitur ob hoc concione, malevoli Periclis ſuaſores populo exiſtunt, ut Phidiam comprehendant, ipſumque Periclem ſacrilegii requirant. Anaxagoram præterea ſophiſtam, qui præceptor Periclis erat, quod impiè de diis ſentiat, criminantur. Eiſdem interim criminibus & calumniis etiam Periclem involvunt, hoc unicè agentes, ut excellentem viri auctoritatem & gloriam calumniis ſuis convellerent ac labefactarent (9) - - - *An aſſembly being for this reaſon called, the enemies of Pericles perſwaded the people to ſeize on Phidias, and to impeach Pericles himſelf of ſacrilege. They moreover accuſed the Philoſopher Anaxagoras, who was maſter to Pericles, becauſe he entertained impious notions of the gods. In the mean time they involved Pericles in the ſame calumnies and accuſations, intending thereby to weaken his power and to ſully his glory.* That author adds, that Pericles found no better way to calm that ſtorm, than to engage the republic in an important war. He knew the genius and humour of the people (10). They eſteem a great man, when they are involved in a great war; but the ſweetneſs of peace plunging them into idleneſs, they diſcover their jealouſies, and proſecute him as a criminal.

(8) Marcell. in Vit. Thucyd.

(9) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xii, cap. xxxix, pag. m. 433.*

(10) Ibid.

[D] *He acquired almoſt as great an authority, as if he had been a monarch.*] It has been ſaid that he got that authority by his eloquence. 'Pericles feliciſſimis 'naturæ incrementis, ſub Anaxagora præceptore ſummo ſtudio perpolitus & inſtructus, liberis Athenarum 'cervicibus jugum ſervitutis impoſuit: egit enim ille 'urbem, & verſavit arbitrio ſuo. Cumque adverſus 'voluntatem populi loqueretur, jucunda nihilominus '& popularis ejus vox erat. Itaque veteris comœdiæ 'maledica lingua, quamvis potentiam viri perſtringere cupiebat, tamen in labris ejus hominis melle 'dulciorem leporem fatebatur habitare: inque animis 'eorum, qui illum audierant, quaſi aculeos quoſdam 'relinqui prædicabat (11). - - - *Pericles, endowed with an extraordinary genius, educated and inſtructed with great care under his maſter Anaxagoras, laid a yoke of ſervitude upon the free necks of the Athenians: for he managed and governed their city at his pleaſure. And whenever he ſpoke, tho' contrary to the inclinations of the people, yet his ſpeech was always agreeable to them. Therefore the ancient comic Poets, inveighing againſt his power, acknowledged notwithſtanding, that eloquence ſweeter than honey ſat upon his lips, and left a ſting in the hearts of his hearers.*' Valerius Maximus

(11) Val. Max. *lib. viii, cap. vii, pag. m. 699, 700.*

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mus adds, that the only difference between Piſiſtratus and Pericles was, that the one exerciſed tyranny with arms, and the other without arms. *Quid enim inter Piſiſtratum & Periclem interfuit, niſi quod ille armatus, hic ſine armis tyrannidem geſſit?* To give a greater weight to that teſtimony of Valerius Maximus, I ſhall obſerve that he had it from Cicero: *Quid Pericles? de cujus dicendi copia ſic accepimus, ut quum contra voluntatem Athenienſium loqueretur pro ſalute patriæ, ſeverius tamen id ipſum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus, & jucundum videretur, cujus in labris veteres comici etiam quum illi malediceremt, quod tum Athenis fieri licebat, leporem habitaſſe dixerunt, tantamque in eo vim fuiſſe, ut in eorum mentibus qui audiſſent, quaſi aculeos quoſdam relinqueret. At hunc non declamator aliquis ad clepſydram latrare docuerat, ſed, ut accepimus, Clazomenius ille Anaxagoras vir ſummus in maximarum rerum ſcientia. Itaque hic doctrina, conſilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, & urbanis eodem tempore, & bellicis rebus* (12). We have here a proof of what I ſhall ſay, concerning the liberty which the comic Poets took againſt Pericles. Their ſatirical ſtrokes ſet off the praiſes they could not refuſe him, upon the account of his eloquence. If any body deſires to know the names of the Poets who praiſed it, he needs only conſult Cicero, who tells us that Eupolis ſaid that the goddeſs of perſwaſion had her ſeat upon Pericles's lips (13), and that the eloquence of that man left a pleaſant ſting in the hearts of his hearers. *Non quemadmodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis, cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus eſſet auditus* (14). Diodorus Siculus (15), and Pliny the younger, have preſerved to us the very words of that comic Poet. *Nec me præterit ſummum oratorem Periclem ſic à comico Eupolide laudari,*

- - - Πρὸς δέ γ' αὖ τούτῳ τάχ' ἡ
Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖσι χείλεσιν.
Οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων,
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις (16).

You will find in the Scholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes the ſame verſes of Eupolis with ſome others that go before, and contain an Encomium upon the eloquence of Pericles, which pleaſed, was admired and feared: *Hujus ſuavitate maxime hilaratæ ſunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem & copiam admiratæ, ejuſdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt* (17). It charmed by it's ſweetneſs, it was admired by reaſon of it's copiouſneſs, and feared by reaſon of it's force. Do not think it therefore an incredible thing that it made Pericles reign in the middle of a republic. His words have been compared with the thunder. *Qui* (Pericles) *ſi tenui genere uteretur, nunquam ab Ariſtophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſſet* (18). That paſſage of Cicero was paraphraſed by Pliny the younger. 'Ad-'de, quæ de eodem Pericle comicus alter, ἠσχαπτ', 'ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Non enim am-'putata oratio & abſciſſa, ſed lata, & magnifica, & 'excelſa tonat, fulgurat, omnia denique perturbat ac 'miſcet (19). - - - *For his ſtile was not looſe and bro-'ken, but copious and ſublime; it lightned, thundered, 'and confounded all things.*' The firſt time Cicero publiſhed his book, he aſcribed thoſe words to Eupolis; but he acknowledged his miſtake in another work. 'Mihi quidem gratum, & erit gratius ſi non 'modo in libris tuis, ſed etiam in aliorum per libra-'rios tuos Ariſtophanem repoſueris pro Eupoli (20).— '*You will oblige me by putting Ariſtophanes inſtead of 'Eupolis in your own books, and the obligation will be 'ſtill greater if you cauſe the ſame alteration to be made 'in the books of others by your amanuenſes.*' Ariſtophanes mentions only the lightning and the thunder; but Plutarch mentions the thunder-bolt. *The comedies,* ſays he, *of the then maſters of the ſtage, who both in good earneſt, and out of merriment too, let fly many ſhrewd words at him, do plainly ſhew that he got that appellation* of Olympian, *eſpecially upon the account of his being an able ſpeaker, by ſaying that he thundered and lightened when he harangued the people, and that he carried a dreadful thunder-bolt on his tongue.* Αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν περσωνυμίαν γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, βεβροντᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀστράπτειν ὅτε δημηγορεῖ, δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν λεγόντων. *At comœdiæ, quod qui ea tempeſtate docebant eas, & ſerias & ridiculas voces in eum multas ejacularentur, traxiſſe ex vi dicendi eum oſtendunt hoc cognomen:* (Olympii) *Tonare enim & fulminare concionantem, & vehemens eum in lingua fulmen dicebant gerere* (21). The author adds an anſwer of Thucydides which confirms this. *When Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, aſked him, whether he or Pericles were the better wreſtler? he made this anſwer; when I, ſaid he, have thrown him and given him a fair fall, he by ſtanding out in the denial, ſaying that he had no fall, gets the better of me, and perſwades people into a belief of what he ſays whether they will or no, though they ſaw the quite contrary.*

I have not done yet with the eloquence of Pericles. Some ſay he was the firſt that wrote his harangues before he recited them. Πρῶτος γεγραπτὸν λέγον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ εἶπε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδιαζόντων. *Primus ſcriptam orationem habuit in judicio, cum illi qui ipſum anteceſſerant ex tempore dicerent* (22). Corradus methinks is in the wrong when he fancies this meant that Pericles read his manuſcript (23); for an harangue, when read, is not very fit to produce the effects which are aſcribed to the eloquence of that Orator. Some harangues of Pericles were ſtill extant in Quintilian's time; but that learned Rhetorician finding them diſproportioned to the high reputation of this great man, approved the opinion of thoſe who looked upon them as a ſuppoſititious work (24). *Cicero in Bruto negat ante Periclem ſcriptum quicquam quod ornatum oratorium habeat: ejus aliqua ſtrri. Equidem non reperio quicquam tanta eloquentiæ fama dignum: ideoque minus miror eſſe qui nihil ab eo ſcriptum putent: hæc autem quæ feruntur, ab aliis eſſe compoſita* (25). But an indifferent harangue being recited by an excellent Orator, may charm the hearers. Action is almoſt all. See the remark [C] of the article NARNI. I ſhall conclude with a paſſage of Thucydides, who tells us that Pericles having the gift of reſtraining the Athenians when they were too bold, and of animating them when they wanted courage, was, in reality, the king of a titular republic. Ὁπότε γὰρ αἰσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λόγῳ κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι. καὶ δεδιότας, αὖ ἀλόγως, ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν, ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν, δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. *Quoties itaque intelligebat eos quippiam intempeſtive ferociterque conantes, orationis acrimonia deterrebat: quoties ab re formidantes, rurſus ad fiduciam erigebat. Denique verbo quidem, popularis ſtatus, re autem ipſa, penes primarium virum principatus erat* (26). Plutarch has wonderfully paraphraſed that paſſage of Thucydides (27); to which he adds very much to the purpoſe what Plato ſays concerning the force of eloquence: he obſerves alſo, that the Poets laughed at the republic for granting ſo much power to one man, and that they exhorted Pericles to promiſe upon his oath, that he would not be a tyrant. Αὐτὸν δ' ἀπομόσαι μὴ τυραννήσειν κελευόντες, ὡς ἀσυμμέτρου πρὸς δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν ὕσης ὑποστρωχῆς. ὁ δὲ Τηλεκλείδης παροδωκέναι φησὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Ἀθηναίων πόλεων τε φόρους, αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις, τὰς μὲν δεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν· λαῖνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πάλιν καταβάλλειν, σπονδὰς, δύναμιν, κράτος. εἰρήνην, πλοῦτόν τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε. Ipſumque jubent, ut cujus ſint immodicæ opes & intolerabiles liberæ civitati, tyrannidem ſe uſurpaturum abjurare. Teleclides permiſiſſe ei refert Athenienſes urbium tributa, ipſaſque adeo urbes has ligare, illas ſolvere, muros lapideos nunc extruere, nunc eoſdem demoliri, fœdera, opes, vires, pacem, opulentiam, fortunaſque omnes (28). - - - *And they require of him to ſwear that he will not be a tyrant, becauſe his power was too great and intolerable to a free ſtate. Teleclides ſays, that the Athenians gave him the tribute of the cities, and conſequently a power to bind ſome and exempt others, to build or demoliſh ſtone-walls, and left to his management their alliances, riches, forces, peace, and all their fortunes.*

I muſt not forget to obſerve that, with the extraordinary force of his genius, he made a very good uſe of his philoſophical knowledge, the better to ſet off his eloquence. The ſublime ſpeculations, and the phyſical and metaphyſical depths wherewith Anaxagoras had ſtored his mind, would have proved an obſtacle to ſeveral others, who had been deſirous of acquiring the glory of being great Orators. But as for him, he found in them wherewith to give a wonderful force to his harangues. We learn this fine particular of Plato: his expreſſions are noble, and will charm

(12) Cicero, de Oratore, *lib. iii, fol. m. 95, B.*

(13) Πειθὼ quam vocant Græci, cujus effector eſt orator, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius. Ejus autem Cethegum medullam fuiſſe vult, ut quam deam in Periclis labris ſcripſit Eupolis feſtivaſſe, hujus hic medullam noſtrum oratorem fuiſſe dixerit. *Idem, in Bruto, pag. m. 104.*

(14) Ibid. *pag. 62.*

(15) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xii, cap. xl, pag. m. 434.*

(16) Plin. Epiſt. XX, *lib. i, pag. m. 60.*

(17) Cicero, in Bruto, *pag. 91.*

(18) Ibid. in Oratore, *fol. m. 118, B.*

(19) Plin. ubi ſupra, *pag. 61.*

(20) Cicero. ad Attic. Epiſt. VI, *lib. xii, pag. m. 301, 302.*

(21) Plut. in Pericle, *pag. 156, B.*

(22) Suidas, in Περικλῆς.

(23) Corrad. in Brutum Cicer. *pag. 77.*

(24) *Plutarch, ubi ſupra,* ſays, that Pericles left no other writings but ſome decrees.

(25) Quint. Inſtit. Orat. *lib. iii, cap. i, pag. m. 115.*

(26) Thucyd. *lib. ii, pag. 141, Franeof. 1614, fol.*

(27) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag. 161.*

(28) Ibid.

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free from the satirical railleries of the Comic Poets [*E*]. He was defamed by them upon

charm those who understand Greek. Πᾶσαι ὅσαι μεγάλαι τῶν τεχνῶν προσδέονται ἀδολεσχίας καὶ μετεωρολογίας φύσεως πέρι. τὸ γὰρ ὑψηλόνουν τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πάντη τελεσιουργικὸν ἔοικεν ἐντεῦθεν ποθὲν εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ Περικλῆς πρὸς τῷ εὐφυὴς εἶναι ἐκτήσατο. προσπεσὼν γάρ, οἶμαι, τοιούτῳ ὄντι Ἀναξαγόρᾳ, μετεωρολογίας ἐμπλησθεὶς, καὶ ἐπὶ φύσιν νῷ τε καὶ ἀνοίᾳ ἀφικόμενος (ὧν δὴ περὶ τὸν πολὺν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο Ἀναξαγόρας) ἐντεῦθεν εἰλκυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην τὸ πρόσφορον αὑτῷ. Magnæ quælibet artes exercitatione dialectica, contemplationeque sublimium in natura rerum indigent. Ipsa enim mentis sublimitas, & vis efficax in quavis re perficienda, hinc quodammodo proficisci videntur: quod Pericles ad ingenii acumen adjunxit. Anaxagoræ namque hujusmodi rerum indagatoris familiaritate fretus contemplationi se tradidit mentisque & dementiæ naturam illam comprehendit, de qua Anaxagoras diffusè disseruit. Unde ad dicendi artem quod ipsi conducere videbatur, traduxit (29). - - - *The practice of Logic, says he, and sublime contemplations are necessary to every noble profession. For an exalted capacity of mind, and an admirable address in bringing about any thing, seem in some measure to proceed from thence: which Pericles, &c.* Cicero, who, as I think, had that passage of Plato in his view, does not express all the sublimity of it. *Pericles*, says he (30), *primus adhibuit doctrinam, quamquam tum nulla erat dicendi, tamen ab Anaxagora physico eruditus exercitationem mentis à reconditis abstrusisque rebus ad causas forenses populareque facile traduxerat, hujus suavitate, &c* (31).

(29) Plato, in Phædro, *pag. m.* 1237, *A, B.*

(30) Cicero, in Bruto, *pag. m.* 72, 73.

(31) You will find the rest above, citation (17).

[*E*] *He was not free from the satirical railleries of the comic Poets.*] He was ridiculed by Cratinus, Teleclides, Eupolis, Plato the comic Poet, and Dexippus. Plutarch does not only say so, but even sets down their very words (32). Tanaquillus Faber observes (33) that *Cratinus was resolute and bold in his compositions*, and that *his pen spared not the principal officers of the republic, and the great and Olympian Pericles.* Let us see what he says in another place. ‘ Hermippus did ‘ a thing which St Augustin was doubtless ignorant ‘ of: for that great doctor, who understood not Greek ‘ so well as some might think, and studied more carefully the *doctrine of grace*, than the Greek history or ‘ the comic Poets, says somewhere in his book *de Civitate Dei*, that the licentiousness of the stage was ‘ never so impudent as to offend Pericles: whereas ‘ Terence made no scruple to offend Jupiter himself, ‘ (that passage is to be found in the Eunuch.) He was ‘ therefore mistaken, for Hermippus made some verses ‘ against Pericles (34).’ There was never a more unjust censure than this is; for St Augustin does not say what the Salmurian critic imputes to him. That Father has quoted a long passage, wherein some body deplores the case of the great Pericles, because he was not spared by the stage Poets. ‘ Quid autem hic senserint ‘ Romani veteres, Cicero testatur in libris, quos de ‘ Republica scripsit, ubi Scipio disputans ait, Nunquam comœdiæ nisi consuetudo vitæ pateretur, probare sua theatris flagitia potuissent. Et Græci quidam antiquiores vitiosæ suæ opinionis quandam convenientiam servaverunt, apud quos fuit etiam lege concessum, ut quod vellet comœdia nominatim, vel ‘ de quo vellet, diceret. Itaque sicut in eisdem libris ‘ loquitur Africanus, quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit, cui pepercit? Esto: populares homines improbos, in repub. seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum læsit. Patiamur, inquit, etsi hujusmodi cives, à censore melius est quàm à poëta notari: sed Periclem, cùm jam suæ ‘ civitati maxima autoritate plurimos annos domi & ‘ bello præfuisset, violari versibus, & eos agi in scena non plus decuit, quàm si Plautus, inquit, noster voluisset, aut Nævius, Publio & Cneo Scipioni, aut Cæcilius Marco Catoni maledicere. Deinde paulò post nostræ, inquit, contrà duodecim tabulæ cum ‘ perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque ‘ sanciendam putaverunt. si quis actitavisset, sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret, flagitiumve ‘ alteri. Præclarè. Judiciis enim ac Magistratuum disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non ‘ poëtarum ingeniis habere debemus, nec probrum audire, nisi ea lege ut respondere liceat, & judicio defendere. Hæc ex Ciceronis quarto de Republica libro ad verbum excerpenda arbitratus sum, nonnullis ‘ propter faciliorem intellectum vel prætermissis, vel paululum commutatis (35). - - - *But what the opinion of the ancient Romans was in this case, Cicero shews in his books* de Republica, *wherein Scipio is introduced saying, that Poets could never have vented their scandal upon the stage, if common usage had not permitted it. And some of the more ancient Greeks, suitably to their bad notions, granted a liberty even by law to the comic Poets, to name expressly what and whom they pleased. Therefore as Africanus speaks in the same books, they attacked every body, they lashed every body, and spared none. But, may one say, they exposed those who were factious and seditious in the common-wealth, as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus. This I could bear with, replies he, tho' such persons ought rather to be disgraced by the Magistrate than the Poet: but that Pericles, who had governed his country for many years with great authority, both in peace and war, should be abused in Poems, even upon the stage, was no more to be suffered than that Publius and Cneus Scipio should be defamed by Plautus, or Marcus Cato by Cæcilius. And then a little after he adds, on the contrary, says he, the twelve tables amongst other very few things have made this a capital crime, either to act any thing or write verses, which may, injure the reputation of another. Excellently well. For a man's life ought to be set forth by the decision of the Magistrate and not the wit of the Poet, nor ought one to suffer ignominy, who has not an opportunity to defend and answer for himself. I thought proper to transcribe this from the fourth book of Cicero de Republica, having omitted or a little altered some things to be better understood.*’ All authors ought to learn from this mistake of Tanaquillus Faber to mistrust their memory, and never to alledge any thing, without consulting over again the books wherein they remember they have read it. He had read in St Augustin, that the Romans would not have permitted that their players should offend Scipio, tho' they permitted that Terence should offend Jupiter: his notions were confounded; he mistook Pericles for Scipio, and then he thought he had a good reason to rail at St Augustin. Let us see the words of that Father, they are fine and judicious, they upbraid the Roman legislators with a very great fault; they forbad the Poets to abuse their magistrates, and permitted them to ridicule their gods. ‘ At Romani, sicut in illa de Re‘ pub. disputatione gloriatur Scipio, probris & injuriis ‘ poëtarum subjectam vitam famamque habere noluerunt, capite etiam punire sancientes tale carmen con‘ dere si quis auderet. Quod erga se quidem satis ‘ honestè constituerunt, sed erga Deos suos superbè & ‘ irreligiosè. Quos cùm scirent non solùm patienter, ‘ sed etiam libenter poëtarum probris maledictisque la‘ cerari, se potius hujuscemodi injuriis indignos esse ‘ duxerunt, seque ab eis etiam lege munierunt, illorum ‘ autem ista etiam sacris solennitatibus miscuerunt. ‘ Itane tandem Scipio laudas, hanc poëtis Romanis ‘ negatam esse licentiam, ut cuiquam opprobrium in‘ fligerent Romanorum, cum videas, eos nulli Deorum ‘ pepercisse vestrorum? Itane pluris tibi habenda est ‘ existimatio vestræ curiæ, quàm Capitolii, imò Romæ ‘ unius quàm cœli totius: ut linguam maledicam in ‘ cives tuos exercere poëtæ etiam lege prohiberentur, ‘ & in Deos tuos securi, tanta convitia nullo Senatore, ‘ nullo Censore, nullo Principe, nullo Pontifice pro‘ hibente jacularentur? Indignum videlicet fuit, ut ‘ Plautus aut Nævius Publio & Cneo Scipioni, aut Cæ‘ cilius M. Catoni malediceret: & dignum fuit, ut ‘ Terentius vester flagitio Jovis optimi maximi adole‘ scentium nequitiam conciteret (36). - - - *But the Romans, as Scipio boasts in that dissertation concerning the common-wealth, would not suffer the life and reputation of a man to be exposed by the slanders and railleries of Poets, making it even a capital crime to write verses of that kind. Which regulation was indeed decent enough with regard to themselves, but arrogant and impious with respect to the gods. For whilst they saw, not only with patience, but also with pleasure, that the gods were reviled by the Poets, and ridiculed even at sacred solemnities, they thought themselves more undeserving of such injuries, and provided against them by law. Do you indeed think it worthy of commendation, O Scipio, that the Roman Poets are prohibited to offer the least indignity to a Roman, when at the same time you find they spare none of your gods? Have*

(32) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 153, 154, 160, 165, 170.

(33) The Lives of the Greek Poets, *pag. m.* 90.

(34) Ibid. *pag.* 81, 82.

(35) August. de Civ. Dei, *lib. ii, cap. ix, pag. m.* 166.

(36) Aug. *lib. cap. xiii. pag.* 180, 181.

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upon several accounts, but especially by reason of his love to Aspasia. His immoderate love of women was one of the vices he was most upbraided with (*b*). He bore patiently those railleries [*F*], and he might have been looked upon as a happy man, had he not been exposed to some other evils; but he felt the malignity of fortune in several respects, especially in his family (*c*) [*G*]; for his wife and children gave him a great deal of trouble.

(*b*) See the remark [*G*].

(*c*) Taken from Plutarch's Life of Pericles.

'*Have you so much an higher regard for your court, than for the capitol, for Rome alone than for all Heaven; that a Poet shall be restrained by law from railing at your citizens, and yet may securely inveigh against your gods, without the least check from senator, censor, prince, or priest? It would have been an heinous crime, forsooth, if Publius and Cneus Scipio had been defamed by Plautus or Nævius, or M. Cato by Cæcilius: but it was decent enough for Terence to stir up youth to wickedness, from the vicious example of almighty Jove.*' Arnobius had already upbraided the Heathens with the same thing. Here are his words which very well deserve to be read, *Nec à vobis saltem istum meruerunt honorem, ut quibus expellitis à vobis, eisdem ab his legibus propulsaretis injurias. Majestatis sunt apud vos rei, qui de vestris sequius obmurmuraverint aliquid regibus. Magistratum in ordinem redigere, Senatorem aut convitio prosequi, suis esse decretis periculosissimum pœnis. Carmen malum conscribere, quo fama alterius coinquinetur & vita, decemviralibus scitis evadere noluistis impune: ac ne vestras aures convitio aliquis petulantiore pulsaret, de atrocibus formulas constituistis injuriis. Soli Dii sunt apud vos superi inhonorati, contemptibiles, viles: in quos jus est à vobis datum, quæ quisque voluerit dicere: turpitudinum jacere, quas libido confinxerit atque excogitaverit, formas* (37).

(37) Arnob. *lib.* iv, *pag.* 150, 151.

[*F*] *He bore patiently those railleries.*] We do not find that any of the Poets who abused him, were punished for it. Yet it was very likely, that a man of so great an authority, might have easily punished the boldness of those men. They touched him in his most sensible part; for they called Aspasia an impudent and leacherous concubine, they called her so, I say, upon the stage. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμῳδίαις Ὀμφάλην τινὰ καὶ Δηϊάνειραν καὶ πάλιν Ἥραν πεῤῥαγοροῦσαι. Κρατῖνος δ' ἀνελικρυς πασαλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἰρηκεν ἐν τούτοις, Ἥραν τε οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει, καὶ παλαπυγοσύνην πασαλλακὴν κυνώπιδα. In comœdiis nova Omphale & Deianira, alias Juno nominatur. Cratinus diserte pellicem appellavit hisce versibus:

Junonem Aspasiam parit,
Et impudicam & pellicem, inverecundamque (38).

(38) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 165, *D.*

She was called in plays a new Omphale and Deianira, and in other places Juno. Cratinus expressly calls her a concubine impudently lewd. His indolence proceeded partly from policy; for if Pericles had endeavoured to stop the mouth of the Poets, he would have made the Athenians sensible of a thing which it was not his interest they should see: they would have perceived that they had only the name of a Republic, and that all the power was in reality re-united in one man. Nothing will more effectually hinder the people from perceiving the extinction of their liberty, than to be permitted to abuse, without being punished for it, those who enjoy the reality of a monarchical power, under such names as have nothing that is odious. It was therefore necessary that Pericles should despise the licentiousness of the stage: but we must not ascribe his patience to meer art and policy: it was also an effect of his great soul; for a man of such courage and spirit as he was, had never endured such ill usage with so much patience, had he not had an extraordinary great soul. Read this passage of his life. *One time being reviled and ill spoken of all day long, in his own hearing, by a villainous and ill-tongued rascal, that cared not what he said, he bore it patiently all along without returning him one word; all this in the open court, or the assembly of the people, where he was at the same time engaged in the prosecution and dispatch of some weighty urgent affair. In the evening he went home in very good order, as one unconcerned, this fellow dogging him at the heels, and belching him all the way he went with all the hard words and foul language he could take up. As he was entring his house, it being by this time dark, he ordered one of his servants to take a light, and to go along with the man and see him safe home* (39). He shewed the force of his courage and his great patience in the beginning of the Peleponnesian war. Whilst the enemies were ravaging Attica, Pericles being not able to repulse them, was contented to provide for the security of Athens. The Athenians murmured at his conduct, made sharp verses against him, and reviled, and threatened him. He despised their railing, and followed his own judgment with the greatest tranquillity. Ἔχρῆτο τοῖς αὐτοῖς λογισμοῖς, βραχέα φερντιζων τῶν καταβοώντων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων. καὶ τοι πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων δεομενοι πεῤῥεκινησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ καταγορεύοντες. πολλοὶ δ' ἤδον ἄσματα καὶ σκώμματα πρὸς αἰσχύνην, ἐρυθρίζοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν, ὡς ἀνανδρουν καὶ πεῤῥεμένην τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεφερὸ δὲ καὶ Κλέων ἤδη διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργῆς τῶν πολιτῶν πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν δημαγωγίαν . . . . πλὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ὑπεισάμενος. *Sua sequens consilia, contempsit obstrepentes & stomachantes: quamvis multi eum amici obtunderent precibus, multi minitarentur adversarii infectarenturque, multi carmina canerent & dicteria probrosa, convitiisque incesserent ejus imperium ut molle & prodens hostibus rempubl. Et verò etiam Cleon, incensam conspiciens in illum civitatem, mordebat eum, auram popularem captans. . . . . Verum istorum movit Periclem nihil: sed comiter & tacitè tulit ignominiam & invidiam* (40). What courage! what constancy! what force of mind is this!

(40) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 170, *D*, & *E*.

[*G*] *He felt the malignity of fortune . . . . in his family.*] The woman he married was related to him, and had been already married to Hipponicus, by whom she had a boy. Pericles had two sons by her, and grew weary of her. She was not pleased with him neither, and she consented, without any reluctancy, to marry the man he proposed to her (41). I believe she was not altogether in the wrong; for Pericles behaved himself so, as to give his wife just cause of being angry with him. He loved some other women; for to say nothing of Chrysilla (42), with whom he was in love whilst he was a husband, it is certain that he kept Aspasia. He was so fond of her that he married her, tho' she had an ill reputation. The ill-tongued Athenians spread abroad a thousand stories, which could not but exasperate his wife against him, and perhaps there was some truth in the matter. They said that Phidias, the most excellent sculptor in the world, and surveyor-general of all the works which Pericles ordered to be made for the ornament of the city, drew in the ladies, under pretence of shewing them the works of the greatest masters; but, in truth, to debauch and deliver them to Pericles. Πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπισάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν φθόνον, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτώσας ὑποδεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ, πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ καλέσασαν, εἰς τε τὴν Μενίππου γυναῖκα διαβάλλουσιν, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρατηγοῦντος. εἰς τε τὰς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἑταῖρος ἦν Περικλέους, αἰτίαν εἶχε ταῶνας ὑφαίνειν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίαζε. *Omnia ferè hic ob Periclis necessitudinem curabat, artificibusque præerat omnibus: id quod huic convitia, illi conflavit invidiam, quasi ingenuas matronas, ad spectanda opera commeantes, in gratiam Phidias Periclis reciperet. Eos rumores excipientes comici, insolentem lasciviam ei impegere, ac Menippi uxorem amici atque in bello legati improperavere, Pyrilampisque avium vivaria, cui quum familiaris Periclis esset, infligebatur, ipsum mulieribus quibus confluebat Pericles, subjicere pavones* (43). 'The comic wits of the town, taking occasion from that story, bespattered him with all the ribaldry they could invent, as if he had been the errantest whoremaster that ever lived; charging him falsly with the wife of Menippus, one who was his friend, and had been a lieutenant-general under him in the wars; and reproaching him with Pyrilampes's places for breeding and keeping birds, who being an acquaintance of Pericles, they pretended was wont privately to present peacocks (44), and

(41) Ibid. *pag.* 165.

(42) Αὐτὸς δὲ (Ιων) ἐν τοῖς ἐπαγγελίοις ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὁμολογεῖ Χρυσίλλης τῆς Ὁρινθίας, Ταλὴν δὲ θυγατρὸς, ἧς καὶ Περικλέα τὸν Ολύμπιον ἐρᾶν φησὶ Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ησιοδοις. Fatetur ille (*Ion*) sanè in elegis suis dilectam à se fuisse Chrysillam Corinthiam, Telei filiam, cujus amore captum quoque fuisse Periclem Olympium ait Teleclides in Hesiodis. *Athen. lib. x, pag.* 436, *F*.

(43) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 160, *C*.

(44) Those birds were at that time extreamly valued. See *Athen. lib. xiv, cap. xx, pag.* 654, 655.

(39) Idem, in Pericle.

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trouble. An obſervation ought to be made upon the ſcandalous ſtories, which were ſpread againſt him [*H*]. He died in the third year of the Peloponneſian war (*d*), after a long

(*d*) Thucyd. *lib. ii, pag. m.* 118; it was the third year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad.

(45) Plut. in Pericle.

'and ſuch fine birds, to Pericles's miſſes, the women 'whom he galanted and kept company with (45).' If Pericles was not pleaſed with his wife, he was leſs pleaſed ſtill with his eldeſt ſon. He was a very ill-natured and prodigal young man; he was continually finding fault with his father's œconomy, eſpecially when he married a very extravagant woman. He borrowed ſome money in his father's name, and when he ſaw that his father, inſtead of repaying that ſum, entered an action againſt the man who had lent it, he horribly inveighed againſt him. 'The young man 'Xanthippus thought himſelf ſo heinouſly uſed and 'highly diſobliged, that he openly reviled his father; 'and firſt by way of droll raillery, and he ridiculed him 'by telling ſtories, what his carriage and converſation 'were at home, and what kind of diſcourſes he had 'with the ſophiſters and ſcholars that came to his 'houſe. As for inſtance, how Epitimius the Theſſa-'lian, (one who was a practicer of all the five games 'of ſkill) having, with a dart or javelin, unawares 'againſt his will, ſtruck, and killed a horſe that 'ſtood in the way, his father ſpent a whole day with 'Protagoras in ſerious and learned diſpute, whether 'the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the maſters 'of the game, who appointed theſe ſports, were, 'according to the ſtricteſt and beſt reaſon, to be ac-'counted the cauſe of this murder; whereas, and 'make the worſt of it, it was but chance-medley. 'Further, beſides this Steſimbrotus tells us, that it 'was Xanthippus himſelf, who ſpread abroad among 'the people that infamous ſtory concerning his own 'wife, how his father would make him a cuckold, 'and that this untoward grudge of the young man 'againſt his father, and unnatural breach betwixt 'them, which was never to be healed or made up,

(46) Ibid.

'continued with him to his very dying-day (46).' Xanthippus gave out that his wife had been debauched by Pericles. This is Plutarch's meaning; but it cannot be known neither by the Greek words nor by the Latin tranſlation; it muſt be gueſſed at by another paſſage out of the ſame Hiſtorian. He ſays, pag. 160, that Pericles was accuſed by Steſimbrotus, as having lain with his ſon's wife. Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος δεινὸν ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθώδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὸν γυναῖκα τῆ υἷῆ καλὰ τῆ Περικλέους. *Quum Steſimbrotus quoque Thaſius atroci ſcelere & fabuloſo Periclem aſperſerit in filii conjugem admiſſo* (47). By the help of that paſſage one may underſtand this, which otherwiſe would be a riddle. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς διαβολὴν ὑπὸ τῶ Ξανθίππε φησὶν ὁ Στησίμβροτος εἰς τὰς πολλὰς διαπαρῆναι. Infamiam etiam à ſua ipſius uxore Steſimbrotus per Xanthippum memoriæ prodidit vulgatam (48). *Steſimbrotus ſays that Xanthippus ſpread the infamous ſtory concerning his wife.* I am going to ſpeak of another domeſtic trouble, which is not very great if compared with the former; but it is no ſmall one, if it be conſidered without any compariſon. Pericles had a ſteward, who regulated the expences of his houſe with ſuch frugality (49), that the meaneſt citizens could not be more careful to avoid unneceſſary charges. The ſon of Pericles, and all the women in the houſe grumbled at it. This was ſufficient to check his joy. One may reaſonably believe that Pericles did not think himſelf happy, when he loſt his eldeſt ſon, who gave him ſo much trouble; for we are naturally inclined to wiſh that a ſon ſhould live rather than die, tho' he be undutiful. But one may be ſure that this great man was not unconcerned, when his ſecond ſon, the only lawful begotten ſon that was left, died of the plague. He bore the death of his eldeſt ſon, and of his ſiſter, and of moſt of his friends and relations, with great conſtancy: but he could not forbear ſhedding tears when he was ſtruck with this laſt blow (50). *However he did not ſhrink upon theſe occaſions, nor betray or lower his high ſpirit, and the greatneſs of his mind under all his misfortunes, and thoſe calamities which befel him. Nay, ſo unconcerned, and ſo great a maſter of his paſſions he was, at leaſt ſeemed to be, that he was never known to weep or mourn, at the funerals of any of his dead friends, nor was ſo much as ſeen at the burial of any of his relations, till at laſt he loſt the only ſon which was left of thoſe who were lawfully begotten, his ſon Paralus. This touched him home, and made him bow, and relent, and yet he ſtrove what he could to maintain his principle of gravity, and to preſerve and keep the greatneſs of his ſoul: but all would not do, for when he came to perform the ceremony of putting a garland of flowers upon the head of the corps, he was vanquiſhed by his grief at that ſight, ſo that he burſt out a crying, and poured forth abundance of tears, having never done any ſuch thing before* (51). This puts me in mind of a king of Egypt mentioned by Herodotus (52), and of an omiſſion of Valerius Maximus. 'Pericles intra quatriduum duobus mirificis adoleſcentibus filiis ſpoliatus; iis ipſis diebus & vultu priſtinum habitum retinente, & oratione nulla ex parte infractiore concionatus eſt. Ille vero caput quoque ſolito more coronatum gerere ſuſtinuit, ut nihil ex vetere ritu propter domeſticum vulnus detraheret (53). - - - - *Pericles in four days time loſt two ſons, admirable young men: and yet on thoſe days harangued with his uſual energy, and without the leaſt alteration in his countenance. He likewiſe performed, according to cuſtom, the ceremony of putting a garland of flowers on the head of the corps.*' I look upon the ſteps which Pericles made in favour of his baſtard, to be very diſadvantageous to him. He cauſed a law to be enacted, which proved the ruin of many people; and then he deſired that it ſhould be repealed in favour of his baſtard; which was granted him meerly out of compaſſion for his misfortunes. Ὅτ' ἐν δήμῳ τὸν καλὸ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύσαντα τὸν νόμον, ὑπ' αὐτῶ πάλιν διαλυθῆναι τὸ γράψαντος, ἢ παρέσα δυσυχία τῶ Περικλεῖ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τὸς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ δίξαντος αὐτὸν νεμεσητά τε παθεῖν, ἀνθρωπίνως τε δείσθαι, συνεχώρησαν ἀτογράφασθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τὸς φράτορας, ὄνομα δέμενον τὸ αὐτῦ. *Quum eſſet igitur res indigna, ut quæ contra tam multos vim habuerat, ab eodem lex qui tulerat eam, rurſus abrogaretur: præſens Periclis clades domeſtica (ut qui pœnam luiſſe jam faſtus & arrogantiæ illius ſuæ videretur) infregit populum Athenienſem, putavitque eum, Deorum oppreſſum invidia, eſſe humanitate allevandum, quare indulſit ei ut in curia ſua nothus cenſeretur nomine patrio* (54). A favour muſt be very grating which is purchaſed at that rate. It was without doubt a great trouble to him to think that the whole town would reflect upon the conduct of a man, who having made a law, whereby part of the inhabitants were to be ſacrificed, I mean, reduced to ſlavery, demands afterwards that it be repealed for his particular intereſt. It was ordered by the law I ſpeak of, that all thoſe who were not born of Athenian parents, ſhould be reputed baſtards, and accordingly near five thouſand citizens were ſold off.

[*H*] *An obſervation ought to be made upon the ſcandalous ſtories, which were ſpread againſt him.*] It is Plutarch's reflexion, and it tends to ſhew the uncertainty of Hiſtory: it is one of the reaſons for doubting in the ſyſtem of hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm. Plutarch having related how Pericles was abuſed by the Poets, and ſhamefully calumniated by Steſimbrotus, cries out, that it is a difficult thing to find out truth. The cotemporary authors ſuppreſs, or pervert it, ſome out of hatred and jealouſy, others out of love and flattery. Thoſe that come after them meet with the time paſt, which proves a kind of a barrier, whereby they are excluded from the true knowledge of things. Οὕτως ἔοικε πάντη χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ δυσθήρατον ἱστορίαν τάληθες, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ὕστερον γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπίπεδον δεῖν ὕλα τῇ γνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων. ἡ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἡλικιώτις ἱστορία, τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ δυσμενείαις, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα, λυμαίνηται καὶ διαστρέφῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. *Tantæ molis eſt & difficultatis aſſequi ex hiſtoria veritatem, quam poſteriores, antequam cognoſcant res, præveniantur tempore: æqualis rerum geſtarum & hominum hiſtoria partim invidia & odio, partim gratia & adulatione opprimat & pervertat veritatem* (55). Plutarch knew thoſe difficulties by experience. He was obliged to ſay, that the cauſe of the Peloponneſian war was not well known (56). What is there then that will be known? The reaſon why the cauſe of that war was obſcure takes place on a thouſand occaſions. The glory and power of Pericles made him odious; hence it is that his enemies invented an hundred falſe ſtories againſt him. They were reſolved by all means to impute to him the misfortunes

(47) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 160, *E.*

(48) Ibid. *pag.* 172, *B.*

(49) Ibid. *pag.* 162.

(50) Ibid.

(51) This does not agree with the tears he is reported to have ſhed at the trial of Aſpaſia. See the remark [0], citation (171), and (172).

(52) *Lib. iii, cap. xxv:* he ſays that Pſammenitus wept not for the misfortune of his daughter and ſon, and that he wept when he ſaw the misfortune of one of his friends. See in the ſame place what he anſwered, being aſked what was the reaſon of ſuch a behaviour. See alſo *Montegue's* Eſſays, *ch. ii, book i.*

(53) Val. Max. *lib. v, cap. x.* *See alſo* Ælian, Var. Hiſt. *lib. ix, cap.* 6. *Note, that* Protagoras apud Plutarch. de Conſol. ad Apollon. *pag.* 118, *relates the thing as Valerius Maximus does, only he reckons eight days between the death of the two ſons.*

(54) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 172, *E.*

(55) Ibid. *pag.* 160, *E.*

(56) Ibid. *pag.* 169, *A.*

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long ſickneſs which had weakened his judgment [I]. Yet a little before he died, he ſaid a very judicious thing, which has given Plutarch occaſion to make a ſolid reflexion upon the nature of God [K]; but that author went too far; he over-ſtrained the idea of

misfortunes of that war: ſome invented one thing, ſome another. Which ſide can a reader take in the midſt of ſo many malicious ſtories? He was no ſooner expoſed to the hatred of the multitude, but ſeveral ſatirical wits ſtarted up, who ſacrificed to that hatred, as to an ill genius, ſuch victims as they judged moſt proper for it. Καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀνθρώπως σαλυευκὼς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὥσπερ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύονλας ἐκάστοτε, θαυμάσειεν. *Et quidem quis miretur, peculanti homines lingua, ſi maledicta in principes invidiæ multitudinis, tanquam malo dæmonio, aſſiduè conſecraverint* (57). But they found none more proper than the ſlanders whereby he was defamed. Plutarch is to be praiſed for having had little regard to the pretenſions of the Megarians (58), tho' they were grounded upon the teſtimony of Ariſtophanes. They were parties in that affair againſt Pericles, and what has been lately ſaid of a modern author (59), may be ſaid of Ariſtophanes and all the comic Poets of that time, *that they are only good to make one doubt of the cleareſt truths, when they are advanced by them.* If Plutarch were now alive, he would ſay that our poſterity will have very great difficulties to diſcover the true Hiſtories of our time; for there are ſo many falſities ſpread abroad, and ſo many victims offered to the ill genius of the hatred and envy of the people, that if the Athenian ſatiriſts ſhould come again into the world, they would think themſelves to be meer novices. Beſides, there are ſo many encomiums publiſhed every day, that if the flatterers of that country ſhould riſe again from the dead, they would be convinced that they were meer ſchool-boys.

(57) Ibid. *pag.* 160, *D.*

(58) They ſaid that the rape of two whores of Aſpaſia had engaged Pericles in that war. See, below, remark [O].

(59) The author of *l'Eſprit de Mr Arnauld.* See the article ARNAULD (ANTONY) Doctor of the Sorbonne, citation (64).

I remember a very fine paſſage of Plutarch, wherein Pericles is concerned (60). When a fact is certain, and the intention of the author not well known, it is a wicked and malicious thing to aſcribe it to an ill motive. This was practiſed by the comic Poets: they ſaid poſitively, that Pericles kindled the Peloponneſian war for the ſake of his courtezan Aſpaſia, and Phidias, and not at all out of a noble and courageous ambition of bringing down the pride of the Peloponneſians, and from a reſolution to yield nothing to the Lacedemonians. They, who being forced to acknowledge that an action is worthy of praiſe, ſearch the intention of the heart, and ſuppoſe that it was not good, are come to the higheſt pitch of envy and malignity. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἔργοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπαινημένοις αἰτίαν φαύλην ὑποτίθησι, καὶ καταγεται ταῖς διαβολαῖς εἰς ὑποψίας ἀτόπως περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀφανεῖ προαιρέσεως τοῦ πράξαντος αὐτὰ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐμφανῶς ὑ δυνάμενος ψέγειν . . . εὔδηλον ὅτι φθόνῳ καὶ κακοηθείας ὑπερβολὴν ὑ λείπετε. *Præclaris enim & laudatis factis atque rebus maligni cauſam qui ſubjiciunt vitioſam, calumniandoque in ſiniſtras abducunt ſuſpiciones de latente ejus qui rem geſſit conſilio, quando ipſum factum palam vituperare non poſſunt . . . hoc liquet ad ſummam invidentiam & nequitiam nihil ſibi feciſſe reliquum* (61). I would fain know whether Duris of Samos and Theophraſtus aſcribed to Aſpaſia the two wars, which the Poets imputed to her. Harpocration quotes them in the ſame manner as he alledges Ariſtophanes. Δοκεῖ δὲ δυοῖν πολέμων αἰτία γεγονέναι, τοῦ τε Σαμιακοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ ὡς ἔστι μαθεῖν παρά τε Δέρδος τῷ Σαμίῳ. καὶ Θεοφράστῳ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀχαρνέων. *Duorum bellorum, Samiaci & Peloponneſiaci cauſſa conſtetur: ut è Duride Samio, Theophraſti libro quarto Politicorum, & ex Ariſtophanis Acharnenſibus cognoſcere licet* (62). But who knows whether they ſaid ſo of their own head, or whether they related it as being the opinion of Pericles's enemies, and the Poets.

(60) Plut. de Herodoti malignitate, *pag.* 855, *F.*

(61) Ibid. *pag.* 856, *A.*

(62) Harpocrat. in Ἀσπασία, *pag.* m. 79.

[I] *He died . . . after a long ſickneſs, which weakened his judgment.*] 'The plague ſeized Pericles, not 'with ſharp and violent fits, as it did others that had 'it; but a dull and lingering diſtemper, through va'rious changes and alterations, leiſurely by little and 'little waſting the ſtrength of his body, and under'mining the noble faculties of his ſoul. So that 'Theophraſtus, in his morals, having made a que'ſtion, whether mens manners do change with their 'fortunes, and their ſouls being jogged and diſturbed 'by the ailings of their bodies, do ſtart aſide from 'the rules of virtue, hath left it upon record, that 'Pericles, when he was ſick, ſhewed one of his friends 'that came to viſit him, an amulet, or charm, that 'the women had hung about his neck; as much as 'to ſay, that he was very ſick indeed, when he 'would admit of, or endure, ſuch a foolery as that 'was (63).' I have ſet down the Greek words of Plutarch in the article DESBARREAUX (64). There is without doubt a fault in the chapter wherein Ælian ſays, that Pericles, Callias, and Nicias, having ſpent all that they had, drank off a great glaſs of hemlock. It was the laſt health they drank, being reſolved to live no longer, ſince they could no longer make merry. Κώνειον τελευταίαν πρόποσιν ἀλλήλοις πεσπίνοντες ὥσπερῶν ἐκ συμποσίᾳ ἀνέλυσαν. *Cicutam invicem propinantes extremam potionem quaſi è convivio ad inferos migrarunt* (65). If Ælian's memory failed him not, we muſt ſay that his tranſcribers wrote Pericles inſtead of Epicles: for we read in Athenæus, that Antocles and Epicles having reſolved to live together, and to ſacrifice every thing to voluptuouſneſs, poiſoned themſelves with a glaſs of hemlock, when they ſaw they had ſpent all their money (66).

(63) Plut. in Pericle.

(64) Citat. (22).

(65) Ælian. Variæ Hiſt. *lib. iv, cap. xxiii.*

(66) Athen. *lib. xii, pag.* 537.

[K] *Plutarch makes a ſolid reflexion upon the nature of God.*] What follows is to be found immediately after the words which I have ſet down in the foregoing remark (67). 'When he was drawing on 'and near his time, the beſt of the citizens, and 'thoſe of his friends who were left alive, ſitting a'bout him, were diſcourſing of his virtue and autho'rity, how great it was, and were reckoning up his 'famous actions and atchievements, and the number 'of his victories; for he had gained nine battles, and 'there were no leſs than nine trophies, which he, as 'their chief commander and conqueror of their ene'mies had ſet up for the honour of the city and 'ſtate. Theſe things they talked of together among 'themſelves: as though he did not underſtand, 'or mind what they ſaid, but had been utterly de'prived of his ſenſes. But he had liſtened all the 'while, and given good heed to all the paſſages of 'their diſcourſes, and ſpeaking out among them ſaid, 'that he wondered they ſhould commend and take 'notice of thoſe things in him, which were as much 'owing to fortune as to any thing elſe, and had hap'pened to many other captains in former times, as 'well as to him, and that at the ſame time they 'ſhould not ſpeak or make mention of that which 'was the moſt excellent and greateſt thing of all: 'For, ſaid he, there was never any of all my fellow'citizens that ever wore black, or put on mourning 'upon my account.' Here is Plutarch's reflexion (68). 'And to me it appears, that this one thing of him, 'did make that otherwiſe childiſh and arrogant title 'they gave him, in nicknaming him Olympian, (that 'is, the Heavenly, or Godlike) to be without envy, 'and truly becoming him: I mean his kind and 'courteous carriage, and a pure and unblemiſhed con'verſation in the height of power and place: accord'ing to thoſe notions that we have of the gods them'ſelves, in their kind; whom, upon this account, 'that they are naturally the authors of all good 'things, and are not the authors of any evil, we do 'think worthy to rule and govern the world. Not 'as the Poets rudely fancy, who, confounding us 'with their fooliſh unmannerly conceits and opinions, 'contradict themſelves in their own poems and fictiti'ous ſtories, when they call the place indeed where'in they ſay the gods make their abode, a ſecure 'and quiet ſeat, free from all hazards and commo'tions, not troubled with winds, nor darkened with 'clouds, but at all times alike, ſhining round about 'with a ſoft ſerenity, and a pure light; in as much 'as ſuch a tempered ſtation is moſt agreeable and 'ſuitable for a bleſſed and immortal nature to live 'in: and yet in the mean while do affirm, that the 'gods themſelves are full of trouble, and enmity, and 'anger, and other paſſions, which no way become 'or belong even to men that have any underſtanding.' Καίπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἀξιοῦμεν, αἴτιον μὲν ἀγαθῶν,

(67) Plut. in Pericle.

(68) Ibid.

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of the infinite goodneſs, he affirmed that it could do no harm, and he would rather impute

ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιον δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς, ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὄντων. οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ, &c. *Sicut dignam arbitramur deorum gentem, quæ per ſe eſt propitia, & nullius autor mali, ut rebus præſit & moderetur, non ut Poëtæ, &c* (69). What Plutarch ſays here againſt the Poets is very fine and ſolid: the reſt is a deceitful beauty, and may be compared with poiſoned flowers, that cover a ſerpent, *latet anguis in herba*. Perhaps it will be thought that I mean that there are in thoſe words ſome ſeeds of the falſe doctrine of Epicurus, concerning the tranquillity of the gods, free from hatred and anger; but it is not that: Plutarch does not preſent us the poiſon of Epicurus, but that of Manicheiſm. We have ſeen elſewhere (70) that he poſitively declared for the doctrine of two principles. He mentions it again in this reflexion upon Pericles's anſwer. He does not believe, as Epicurus did, that God enjoys an idle reſt; he aſcribes to him action and providence; but it is only a bountiful providence, which diſtributes favours and happineſs. It is not a providence which grows angry ſometimes, which puniſhes and corrects, and oppreſſes mankind with miſeries. He does not approve that Pericles ſhould have had the ſirname of Olympian, that is to ſay, divine and heavenly, becauſe his eloquence lightened, thundered, and fulminated, but becauſe he never made uſe of his authority to revenge himſelf, and not one family did ever put on mourning upon his account. Plutarch's opinion was not the moſt common: moſt people knew better the divinity of Jupiter by thunder and lightening (71), than by the diſtribution of benefits: the religious ceremonies of the Heathens were rather appointed to avert the anger of the gods, than to obtain favours from them. Yet there was a general notion which prevailed every where, that nothing is more agreeable to the divine nature than to do good. The epithet of *optimus* (*beſt*) went before that of *maximus* (*greateſt*), when they praiſed Jupiter. 'Sed 'ipſe Jupiter, id eſt juvans pater, quem converſis caſi- 'bus appellamus à juvando Jovem, à poëtis pater Di- 'vumque, hominumque dicitur; à Majoribus autem 'noſtris *Optimus, Maximus*, & quidem ante Opti- 'mus, id eſt beneficentiſſimus, quàm Maximus: quia 'majus eſt, certeque gratius prodeſſe omnibus, quàm 'opes magnas habere (72). - - - - - *But Jupiter, that 'is, helping father, whom we call ſo, becauſe he re- 'lieves us in our affliction, is called by the Poets the 'father of gods and men: but by our anceſtors he was 'ſtiled* Optimus, Maximus; *the epithet* Optimus, *which 'ſignifies moſt gracious, being put firſt: becauſe it is bet- 'ter to be good than great.*' See the remark [G] of the article JUPITER. Plutarch ſays, that king Amaſis having ſeveral queſtions to reſolve, wherein the ſuperlative was looked for, I mean the ſupreme degree of things; for example, what is moſt antient, moſt great, moſt wiſe, moſt beautiful, moſt common, moſt beneficial, moſt pernicious (73)? anſwered us to the two laſt articles, *God and the Dæmon*. Τί ὠφελιμώτατον; θεός· Τί βλαβερώτατον; δαίμων. *Quid utiliſſimum? Deus. Quid damnoſiſſimum? Genius* (74). Here is the doctrine of the two principles, and even what the Chriſtians ſay concerning the Devil. I do not know whether theſe words, or this notion of the δαίμων of the ancients have been taken notice of. I reſume the thread of my diſcourſe. The Philoſopher Antipater defined God an animal, happy, immortal, and good to all men (75). The Heathens were moſt inclined to deify thoſe, who had been the inventers of uſeful things. 'Perſæus ejuſdem Zenonis 'auditor, eos dicit eſſe habitos Deos, à quibus magna 'utilitas ad vitæ cultum eſſet inventa, ipſaſque res 'utiles & ſalutares Deorum eſſe vocabulis nuncupa- 'tas: ut ne hoc quidem diceret, illa inventa eſſe Deo- 'rum, ſed ipſa divina (76). - - - - *Perſæus the diſciple 'of Zeno ſays, that thoſe were accounted gods, who were 'the authors of uſeful inventions, and that the inven- 'tions were called by the names of gods: he does not 'ſtile them the inventions of gods, but divine inventions.*' It was the way of obtaining the Apotheoſis, if we believe Pliny. 'Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem, '& hæc ad æternam gloriam via. Hac proceres iere 'Romani: hac nunc cœleſti paſſu cum liberis ſuis 'vadit maximus omnis ævi rector Veſpaſianus Augu- 'ſtus, feſſis rebus ſubveniens. Hic eſt vetuſtiſſimus 'referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales nu- 'minibus adſcribantur. Quippe & omnium aliorum 'nomina Deorum, & quæ ſupra retuli ſiderum, ex 'hominum nata ſunt meritis (77). - - - *It is god-like, 'for one man to help another, it is the road that leads 'to eternal glory. In this way the Roman heroes tra- 'velled, and in this heavenly path the moſt excellent 'prince Veſpaſian, with his children, now walk, re- 'lieving thoſe that are in miſery. It was the cuſtom of 'the Antients to ſhew their gratitude, by deifying thoſe 'who had done great and good actions. For the names 'of all the other gods, and of the conſtellations I have 'above recited, take their riſe from the good offices per- 'formed by men.*' Others giving a more reaſonable turn to it, ſaid that the gods had inſpired men with the invention of arts.

Κεῖνοι γὰρ τέχνας πολυκερδέας ἀνθρώποισι
Δῶκαν ἔχειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιφρεσύνην ἐδίδαξαν.

Illi etiam artes multum lucroſas hominibus
Dederunt habere, & omnem ſolertiam docuerunt (78).

Laſtly, they ſaid that the beſt way of imitating God was to do good (79), and that man never came nearer to the divine nature than when he ſaved a man. 'Homines ad Deos nulla re propius accedunt, *ſaid 'Cicero to Julius Cæſar towards the end of his ora- 'tion for Ligarius*, quam ſalutem hominibus dando. 'Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quàm ut poſſis, 'nec natura tua melius, quàm ut velis conſervare 'quamplurimos. - - - - - *Men reſemble the gods in no- 'thing ſo much as in ſaving men. The greateſt advan- 'tage of your fortune is, that it makes you able, and the 'beſt excellency of your nature is, that it makes you will- 'ling, to preſerve men.*' The Scythians told Alexander: if thou art a god, thou muſt do good to men, and not take from them what is their own; *ſi Deus es, tribuere mortalibus beneficia debes, non ſua eripere* (80). Sound Theology agrees with all theſe notions of the ancient Heathens. There are innumerable paſſages in the Scripture, whereby it appears, that God is infinitely more inclined to uſe mercy than ſeverity. To which may be added theſe fine words of Gregory Nazianzen, who ſays, that man becomes a god to his miſerable neighbour, when he helps him. Γένου τῷ ἀτυχοῦντι θεὸς τὸν ἔλεον θεῷ μιμησάμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτως ὡς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀνθρώπῳ ἔχει θεόν. *Eſto miſero Deus Dei miſericordiam imitando. Nihil enim tam ex Deo habet mortalis quàm ut beneficia largiatur* (81).

Strabo has limited that thought: he ſays that a happy life, which is ſpent in feſtivals, in mirth, in philoſophizing and ſinging, is a better imitation of the divine nature, than to confer benefits. His words deſerve to be ſet down. Εὖ μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται καὶ τοῦτο, τὸς ἀνθρώπους τότε μάλιστα μιμεῖσθαι τὸς θεὸς, ὅταν εὐεργετῶσιν· ἄμεινον δ' ἂν λέγοι τὶς ὅταν εὐδαιμονῶσι· τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ χαίρειν, καὶ τὸ ἑορτάζειν, καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ μουσικῆς ἅπτεσθαι. *Bene quidem dictum eſt, homines tum maximè Deum imitari, cum beneficia conferunt: rectius autem diceretur, cum fæliciter vivunt: id autem ſit gaudendo, dies feſtos agitando, philoſophando, muſicam tractando* (82).

I have read in the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, that the inhabitants of New-Albion took the Engliſh for gods, and paid divine honours to them, becauſe *when they ſhewed their wounds to them, they received plaiſters and ſalves which cured them*. On the contrary, the Spaniards were looked upon as gods in America, becauſe they did a great deal of miſchief with their cannons. Their ſhip was taken for a bird that brought them down from Heaven (83). Which ſhews that two oppoſite things lead men to the knowledge of God; *viz.* the power to do ill, which he exerciſes ſo ſeverely, and the goodneſs wherewith he beſtows a thouſand benefits upon mankind. It may be a queſtion, whether one of thoſe two attributes is more knowable than the other. Tacitus pretends, that the gods are more inclined to puniſh men, than to let them be quiet. 'Nec enim unquam, *ſays he* (84), 'atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magiſve juſtis 'judiciis approbatum eſt, non eſſe curæ deis ſecuritatem 'noſtram

(69) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 173, *C.*

(70) In the article MANICHEES, remark [C]. See alſo the remark [G] of the article PAULICIANS.

(71) Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem regnare. *Horat. Od. V, lib. iii.* Namque Dieſpiter Igni coruſco nubila dividens, &c. *Idem, Od. xxxiv, lib. i.*

(72) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib. ii, cap. xxv.*

(73) Compare the text of the article PAULICIANS towards the end, and citation (133).

(74) Plut. in ſeptem Sapientium Convivio, *pag.* 153, *A.*

(75) Ζῶον μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ εὐποιητικὸν ἀνθρώπων. Plut. de Repug. Stoic. *pag.* 1051.

(76) Cicero, ubi ſupra, *lib. i, pag.* 60. Virgil. Æneid. *lib. vi, ver.* 663, *was contented to place them in the Elyſian fields.* Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes, Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

(77) Plin. *lib. ii, cap. viii, pag. m.* 143, 144.

(78) Oppian. *lib. ii,* Ἁλιευτικῶν.

(79) Strabo, *lib. x, pag. m.* 322. See his words below, citation (82).

(80) Q. Curtius, *lib. viii, cap. viii, num.* 26. See Freinſhemius, ibid. who alledges ſeveral ſuch ſentences.

(81) Nazianz. Orat. de Amore Pauperum.

(82) Strabo, *lib. x, pag.* 322.

(83) See La Mothe le Vayer, Diſcourſe concerning Hiſtory.

(84) Tacit. Hiſt. *lib. i, cap. ii.*

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impute evil to another cauſe. We ſhall ſee upon this occaſion, one of his proofs of the malignity

‘ noſtram, eſſe uitionem. - - - - *The dreadful cala-*
‘ *mities of the Roman people evidently prove, that the*
‘ *gods deſire not our quiet, but our miſery.*’ A Journaliſt maintains that the effects of goodneſs are more extended than the effects of puniſhment. Here are his words: ‘ Of all the perfections of God, goodneſs ‘ would be moſt viſible, if men would conſider it. ‘ Is it not great goodneſs to have ſo ordered things, ‘ that all our neceſſary actions are attended with plea‘ ſure, and to have made us ſuſceptible of pleaſure a ‘ thouſand ways. It is in vain to ſay that we are ‘ more ſuſceptible of ſorrow and pain; this is not true, ‘ and if it were true, we ſhould not for all that forget ‘ the great goodneſs of God, ſince we might eaſily ‘ ſee that the pleaſures we enjoy, come from the laws ‘ he has eſtabliſhed in nature, and that, on the con‘ trary, moſt of our ſorrows proceed from the ill uſe ‘ we make of our reaſon. But it is not true that men ‘ are more unhappy than happy; our ingratitude, ‘ pride, and inſatiable deſires, make us ſay ſo. *Fal‘ ſo queritur de naturâ ſuâ genus humanum. - - - It is a*
‘ *groundleſs complaint which men have made concerning*
‘ *the condition of their nature.* This is a true ſaying of ‘ a famous Hiſtorian in the preface to the war of Ju‘ gurtha. Mankind are more happy than they de‘ ſerve, and it is true in a literal ſenſe, that for one ‘ pain men feel a thouſand pleaſures, except perhaps ‘ a ſmall number of unhappy ſouls, which a Heathen ‘ would aſſert to have been produced by deſtiny in a ‘ ſpiteful moment (85).’ Note, by the by, that the difference he ſpeaks of, and which he grounds upon the conſequences of the ill uſe we make of liberty, could not ſatisfy a difficult adverſary, who would ſay that this very thing, *viz.* the ill uſe a man makes of his reaſon, to vex himſelf to no purpoſe, is a great unhappineſs, and ought neceſſarily to be placed amongſt afflictions; ſo that if we make a parallel between the good and evil which providence imparts to men, we muſt reckon the evils which proceed from the weakneſs of our reaſon, as well as ſickneſſes, hunger, thirſt, &c.

(85) News from the Republic of Letters, *Auguſt* 1684, *Art. VI, pag.* m. 603, 604.

Ovid obſerves, that there are more fine days than cloudy ones in the year (86): it may be ſaid likewiſe, that the days wherein men enjoy their health, are in greater number than thoſe wherein they are ſick. But there is perhaps as much miſery in fifteen days ſickneſs, as there is pleaſure in fifteen months health: for pleaſure is ſuch in as much as it is felt: but men do not much feel their health when they enjoy it without any interruption. Obſerve that I conſider health, as being ſeparated from the other pleaſures, which may be enjoyed with it. The Journaliſt I have quoted, might have alledged a fine paſſage of Cicero, wherein, after an exact enumeration of the advantages which men receive from plants and animals, he ſays, that one would think that providence laboured to procure pleaſures to mankind, as if it had been Epicurean. *Ex quibus tanta percipitur voluptas*
ut interdum Pronœa noſtra Epicurea fuiſſe videatur (87). However it be, men are more apt to perceive the character of the divine nature in the effects of goodneſs, than in the diſtribution of puniſhments and miſeries. The goodneſs of providence has been perceived in the ſervice which great men have done to their country. ‘ Multos præterea & noſtra civitas & Græcia tulit ‘ ſingulares viros, quorum neminem niſi juvante Deo ‘ talem fuiſſe credendum eſt . . . nemo igitur vir mag‘ nus ſine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit (88). - - - ‘ *Both our own country and Greece have produced many*
‘ *excellent men, none of whom could have been ſuch with‘ out the aſſiſtance of God . . . . and therefore no man*
‘ *was ever great without ſome divine influence.*’ And Seneca ſays in general, that none can be a good man, and a great man, without the aſſiſtance of God. ‘ Bo‘ nus vir ſine Deo nemo eſt. An poteſt aliquis ſupra ‘ fortunam, niſi ab illo adjutus, exſurgere? ille dat ‘ conſilia magnifica, & erecta. In unoquoque viro‘ rum bonorum, (*Quis Deus incertum eſt habitat Deus.*
‘ . . . . Si hominem videris interritum periculis, inta‘ ctum cupiditatibus, inter adverſa felicem, in mediis ‘ tempeſtatibus placidum, ex ſuperiore loco homines ‘ videntem, ex æquo deos: non ſubibit te veneratio ‘ ejus? non dices, iſta res major eſt altiorque, quàm ut ‘ credi ſimilis huic, in quo eſt, corpuſculo poſſit? Vis ‘ iſtuc divina deſcendit: animum excellentem, mode‘ ratum, omnia tanquam minora tranſeuntem, quid‘ quid timemus optamuſque ridentem, cœleſtis poten‘ tia agitat. Non poteſt res tanta ſine adminiculo nu‘ minis ſtare. Itaque majore ſui parte illic eſt, unde ‘ deſcendit (89). - - - - - *None can be good without the*
‘ *help of God; none can be great without his aſſiſtance.*
‘ *It is he that inſpires men with noble reſolutions.* A ‘ God dwells (what God we know not) in every good ‘ man. . . . . *If you ſhould ſee a man undaunted in dan‘ gers, uncorrupted with pleaſures, happy in adverſity,*
‘ *calm in the midſt of ſtorms, would you not have a high*
‘ *veneration for him? Would you not think ſuch perfec‘ tion inconſiſtent with a mortal ſtate? That divine vir‘ tue is from above; an excellent mind, endowed with*
‘ *moderation, deſpiſing earthly things, laughing at our*
‘ *hopes and fears, is actuated by an heavenly power.*
‘ *Such extraordinary qualities cannot ſubſiſt without the*
‘ *influence of a deity.*’ As to evils, they made uſe of a thouſand ſhifts not to aſcribe them to God; they formed to themſelves a phantaſm, which they called Fortune, and to which they imputed their misfortunes: they repreſented to themſelves I know not what beings miſchievous by their nature; and Plutarch tells us here that the gods can do nothing but what is good. In another place he laughs at Chryſippus, who aſcribed evil to the negligence and malice of the genii, whom Jupiter ſet over certain things. Τὸ δὲ φαύλως δαίμονας ἐκ προνοίας ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπισασίας καθίσασθαι· πῶς ἐκ ἐσὶν ἔγκλημα τῦ θεῦ, καθάπερ βασιλέως κακοῖς καὶ ἐμπλήκτοις σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς διοικήσεις ἐπιτρέποντ@, καὶ περιοῶντ@ ὑπὸ τύτων ἀμελυμένυς καὶ παροινυμένυς τὰς ἀρίσυς; καὶ μὴν εἰ πολὺ τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης μέμικται τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἔτε κρατεῖ πάντων ὁ θεὸς, ἔτε πάντα κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνυ λόγον διοικεῖται. Malos autem genios à providentia his præfici muneribus, qui non ſit vitio vertendum Deo, qui tanquam rex malis & vecordibus ſatrapis ac præfectis provincias mandaverit, patiaturque ab his deſpici & contumelioſe tractari optimos? Et quidem, ſi multum, neceſſitatis admixtum rebus eſt: neque omnia Deus habebit in ſua poteſtate, neque omnia ſecundum ejus rationem gubernabuntur (90). - - - *But to*
ſuppoſe that evil genii are appointed by providence for ſuch
offices, is a reflexion upon God, as if he were like a
prince, who commits provinces to the care of wicked and fooliſh governors, and ſuffers good men to be deſpiſed and harraſſed by them. And to imagine that events happen by a fatal neceſſity, is to deprive God both of his power and providence. Again in another place he accuſes an Hiſtorian (91) of a malicious impiety, for having made Solon ſpeak thus: *Why ſhould I be aſked whether man is happy, ſeeing I know that all the gods are envious and turbulent.* Τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λοιδορυμέν@ ἐν τῷ Σόλων@ προσωπείῳ ταῦτα εἴρηκεν, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπισάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπαίρωτας ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ πραγμάτων, ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφρόνει περὶ τῶν θεῶν τῷ Σόλωνι προσριβόμεν@, κακοήθειαν τὴ Βλασφημία προσίθησι. *Diis autem maledicens ſub perſona Solonis: Me, inquit, gnarum omne numen invidum eſſe ac tumultuoſum, de rebus humanis interrogas. Suam enim de diis Soloni tribuens ſententiam, malignitatem impio ſermoni adjunxit* (92). I am ſure he would have laughed at the mitigated gloſs of the ancient prieſts of Etruria. They aſcribed two ſorts of thunderbolts to Jupiter, a favourable one and a fatal one; and they pretended he never threw the ſecond but with the advice of the gods; whereas he threw the other of his own accord, and without any one's advice. This would not have ſatisfied Plutarch: he believed not that ſuch a goodneſs as that of mild princes was ſufficient for God. Good princes take pleaſure in diſtributing their favours to men, and intruſt their miniſters with the care of puniſhing them; they are ready to reward, and ſlow to puniſh (93). They rejoice when they do good, and are ſorry when they inflict any puniſhment. Herein they reſemble fathers. But once more, Plutarch would have been very much diſpleaſed with the gloſs of the Etrurians; he would perhaps have ſaid of their Jupiter, what others ſay of an emperor (94) who perſecuted the Chriſtians very much, and would not begin the perſecution without conſulting his friends. ‘ Placuit ergo amicorum ſen‘ tentiam experiri. Nam erat hujus malitiæ. Cùm ‘ bonum

(86) Si numeres anno ſoles & nubila toto,
Invenies nitidum ſæpius eſſe diem. *Ovid. Triſt. lib. v, Eleg. viii, ver.* 31. See the remark [F] of the article XENOPHANES.

(87) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib. ii, cap. lxiv.* Compare what David, Pſalm viii, obſerves concerning the goodneſs of God in giving beaſts for the uſe of men, and what Seneca ſays, *de Ben. lib. iv, cap. v, vi, & vii, uſque in delicias amamur*, which may be ſeen more at large in the remark [F] of the article XENOPHANES.

(88) Cicero, ibid. *cap. lxvi.*

(89) Seneca, Epiſt. XLI, *pag. m.* 236. *See alſo Epiſt. LXXIII, pag.* 305.

(90) Plut. de Stoic. Repug. *pag.* 1051, *D.*

(91) Herodotus.

(92) Plut. de malignit. Herodoti, *pag.* 857, 858.

(93) Sed piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Quique dolet quoties cogitur eſſe ferox. *Ovid. de Ponto, lib. i, Eleg. ii, ver.* 123.

(94) Dioclefian.

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malignity of Herodotus, and what has been answered to it. That proof is grounded upon the jealousy and envy which that Historian pretends the Divine Nature is subject to [*L*]. Valerius Maximus has committed a mistake, which I shall take notice of: it will

' bonum quid facere decrevisset, sine consilio faciebat, ' ut ipsa laudaretur. Cum autem malum, quoniam ' id reprehendendum sciebat, in consilium multos ad- ' vocabat, ut aliorum culpæ adscriberetur quidquid ' ipse deliquerat (95). - - - *And therefore he thought fit* ' *to advise with his friends. For, he was a man of such a* ' *malicious turn, that when he designed to do any good, he* ' *did it without advice, that all the praise might redound* ' *to himself. But when he intended evil, he consulted others* ' *about it, that his own faults might be laid upon them.*' It is a cunning trick of an old politician, witness Pius IV, beeing urged to terminate the disputes about precedency, between the embassadors of the most Christian King, and those of the Catholic King; he put it off for some time, and at last he advised them to leave the thing to the decision of the sacred college. He would not be the only man exposed to the ill consequences of that judgment; and he said in jest, that he conformed himself to the conduct of Jupiter. ' Ad extremum utrique occultè ' suadere ut ad sacrum Cardinalium Collegium causam ' integram remitterent: interea à publicis in Pontificio ' sacello cæremoniis abstinerent. Ratus eâ ratione ob ' diversa Cardinalium studia producendum infinitè ju- ' dicium, se certè à ferendæ sententiæ necessitate, at- ' que adèo ab invidiâ subtrahendum. Nempe imitandum ' Principi Jovem facetè dicebat: qui (ut est vetus Etrus- ' corum disciplinæ commentum) ex duplici fulminum ' genere, prosperum ipse per se, at infaustum adhibito ' Deorum consilio contorquere solitus sit (96). - - - - - ' *At last he advised them both in secret, to refer the* ' *whole matter to the sacred college of cardinals: and* ' *that in the mean time they should forbear assisting at* ' *the public ceremonies in the Pope's chapel. He thought* ' *by this means the determination of the affair would be* ' *very much prolonged, because of the various factions a-* ' *mongst the cardinals, and that he himself would be* ' *freed from the necessity of giving judgment, and conse-* ' *quently not exposed to ill-will. For he said, wittily, that* ' *a prince ought to imitate Jupiter: who (according to* ' *the notion of the ancient priests of Etruria) threw fa-* ' *vourable thunderbolts of his own accord, but never* ' *threw fatal ones without consulting the other gods.*'

(95) Lactant. de Mortib. persecut. *cap. xi, pag.* 99, 100, of the noble edition of Mr Bauldri. See his notes, and those of Columbus, ibid. *Part ii, pag.* 287.

(96) Famian. Strada, Dec. I, *lib. iv, pag. m.* 175. *See* Seneca, Nat. Quæst. *lib. ii, cap. xli, & seq.* Compare citations (96) and (97), of the article NESTORIUS.

Thus the mind of man, being too narrow to comprehend clearly, how the miseries and crimes which cover the whole earth, can be consistent with an infinitely good Being, has run itself into the hypothesis of two principles. This is what I had to say concerning Plutarch's observation.

(97) Τὸ γὰρ τρέφον με τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω θεόν.

(98) See the article GREGORY I, citation (54).

I shall only add that the Greek proverb (97), *Every thing that nourishes me, is a god to me,* is more deceitful than people think. See the answer which was made to Philip de Comines (98), and that of a Surgeon to a monk of St Denis. ' It is certain, that the pox was ' unknown in France before the reign of Charles VIII; ' the greatest part of that prince's army died of it; ' because that disease being not yet known, they knew ' no remedy for it; which shews, that it was not the ' leprosy. Necessity put men upon finding some re- ' medies to cure it, whereby many Surgeons grew very ' rich. One of them, very thankful for his happiness, ' went one day to St Denis, and kneeled down before ' the statue of Charles VIII, to thank him for it: but a ' monk having told him that he was mistaken, and ' that it was not the image of a saint: hold your ' tongue, father, said he, I know very well what I do, ' he is a true saint to me, since I have got by his ' means thirty thousand livres a year, so that it is a ' piece of justice for me to thank him for it (99).' The author of *Moyen de Parvenir* makes the sum less, and names the Surgeon. Here are his words *You put me in mind of that monk of St Denis in France, who was an assuming fellow. When he saw Thierre de Hery, upon his knees before the statue of Charles VIII, he told him my friend, you are mistaken, that is not the image of a saint. I know it very well, said the Surgeon, I am not so great a fool as you are, I know it is the statue of king Charles VIII, for whose soul I pray, because he brought the pox into France, whereby I have got six or seven thousand livres a year* (100). I will not conclude without quoting Virgil. He was very much disposed to deify his benefactors: his lands having been spared by a particular favour of Octavius, he styled him a God.

(99) Fureteriana, pag. 113, of the Dutch Edit.

(100) Moyen de Parvenir, *pag. m.* 578, 579.

O Melibœe, DEUS *nobis hæc otia fecit:*
Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus: illius aram
Sæpè tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus (101).

(101) Virgil. Eclog. I, ver. 6.

O Melibœus, 'twas a god to us
Iudulg'd this freedom: for to me a god
He shall be ever; from my fold full oft
A tender a lamb his altar shall imbrue.
TRAPP.

Good Maturinus Corderius (102) out of a pious fraud, which may be well excused, made school-boys believe that those words were very pious. He translated them, thus, Melibœus, *that favour comes to us from the only wise God.* Virgil had no such thought, he only meant Augustus. Compare the nineteenth verse with the forty-third, and following.

(102) See his Colloquies.

Sed tamen ille Deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis,
- - - - - -
Hic illum vidi juvenem, Melibœe, quotannis
Bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.
Hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti:
Pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri, submittite tauros (103).

(103) Virgil. Eclog. I, ver. 19, 43, 44, 45, 46.

- - - *but who that god should be*
You mention'd, give me, Tityrus to know
- - - - - -
There, Melibœus, that sweet youth I saw,
To whom, twelve days each year, our altars smoke,
There to my suit this answer first he gave,
Swains, feed as erst your heifers, yoke your steers.
TRAPP.

[*L*] *One of his proofs of the malignity of Herodotus, and what has been answered to it. That proof is grounded upon the jealousy which that Historian pretends the Divine Nature is subject to.*] See the words of Plutarch, which I have set down before (104). I wonder that he confined himself to the answer which Solon gave to king Croesus, and that he did not at least intimate, that many such passages are found in Herodotus. He might thereby have strengthened his accusation, and shewed that Herodotus cannot be justified, by saying that he let fall that raillery against the gods out of inadvertency: he would have shewed that a man who makes often the same reflexion is throughly penetrated with the venom it contains, and with the desire of spreading it, and infecting his readers with it. It is certain, that Herodotus has often repeated the same maxim which he made Solon utter. See above (105) what he put in the mouth of Artabanus; and here is what he supposes that a king of Egypt wrote to Polycrates tyrant of Samos; *I am glad to hear that a man, who is my friend, is happy. But your great prosperity does not please me, for I know how envious the deity is.* Ἐμοὶ αἱ σαι μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. *Tuæ magnæ prosperitates mihi non placent, qui intelligo* QUAM INVIDUM NUMEN SIT (106). Henry Stephens, who justifies that Historian as well as he can in several others respects, takes no notice of this accusation of Plutarch. I do not find that he intimates any where that he knew it. He has carefully collected many maxims and observations of Herodotus, which may prove his pious Orthodoxy about providence; nay, he has placed amongst them a passage of the seventh book, wherein Artabanus does very much insist upon the envious nature of GOD. Artabanus says, that GOD throws his thunder-bolts only at great bodies (107), because he takes delight in oppressing whatever is eminent. Φιλέει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. *Gaudet enim Deus eminentissima quæque deprimere* (108). Hence it is that a great army is beaten by a small one, when GOD out of envy (109) terrifies them, or throws his thunderbolt. Thus some have been precipitated into misery

(104) Citation (92).

(105) Citation (7) of the article ARTABANUS, son of Hystaspes.

(106) Herod. *lib iii, cap. xl, pag. m.* 178.

(107) Ibid.

(108) Ibid. *lib. vii, cap. x pag.* 388. Valesius, in Amm. Marcel. *lib. xxv, cap. xv. pag.* 99. quotes this as having been taken from the book of Herodotus.

(109) Ἐπεὶ σφι ὁ θεὸς ἐφθόνησε. Quia Deus iis quasi invidebat.

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ry otherwiſe than their dignity required; for GOD will by no means endure, that any one beſides him ſhould have a great opinion of himſelf. Δι' ὧν εσφάλησαν ἀναξίως ἑαυτῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονεῖν ἄλλον μήτε ὁ Θεὸς ἢ ἑαυτόν. *Propterea quidam ſecus ac dignitas ſua poſtulabat in calamitatem inciderunt, quia Deus neminem alium quam ſeipſum finit magnifice de ſe ſentire* (110). This is one of the examples which Henry Stephens gives of the piety of Herodotus, a piety, ſays he, as great as it could be in a man deſtitute of the light of the goſpel. Nay, he affirms, that this opinion of Herodotus about the power and providence of God, is the ſame which Chriſtians ought to have: he pretends that it is impoſſible to ſay any thing more divine upon this ſubject, than what has been ſaid by that Hiſtorian (111) *Multæ ſententiæ ſive γνῶμαι tum quas aliis locis adhibuit, tum quas narrationibus vel præfixit, vel tanquam corollaria adjunxit, tanta illum pietate præditum fuiſſe teſtantur, quanta in hominem Chriſtianæ religionis ignarum cadere poteſt: imo vero ea de divina potentia providentiaque ſenſiſſe quæ Chriſtianum ſentire & deceat & oporteat. Hujuſmodi ſunt hæc in Thalia,* SED *profectò . . . . . Conſideremus & hæc ex Polymnia,* VIDEN' *ut Deus* (112) . . . . . *quid, obſecro, de divina potentia divinius iſtis dici potuit?* Afterwards he alledges four Greek verſes (113), much the ſame with ſome words of Horace (114), which he does alſo alledge, and which ſignify that GOD can make low what is high, and that he depreſſes great men, and raiſes mean perſons, and he concludes, that the praiſes beſtowed upon that ſentence are very juſt; but that Herodotus goes much further, *& meritò quidem certè illam veteris poëtæ ſententiam laudibus extollant: ſed quanto tamen ulterius progreditur hic noſter hiſtoricus?* I cannot apprehend by what miſtake Henry Stephens could take this the wrong way. He ſees only the fair ſide of it, and does not at all perceive the moſt viſible defect. He is charmed with the great idea which Herodotus gives of the divine Power; but he is not aware that a power directed by jealouſy of the proſperity of others, is an odious and ill quality. There lies the ſtreſs of Plutarch's objection.

(110) Ibid.

(111) H. Steph. in Apolog. pro Herodoto, præfixo Editioni Latinæ Herodoti Francof. 1595, in 8vo, pag. 24, 25.

(112) He ſets down here the words which I have quoted out of book vii, cap. x, of Herodotus.

(113) Of Heſiod.

(114) Valet ima ſummis
Mutare & inſignem attenuat Deus,
Obſcura promens. *Horat. Od. XXXIV, lib. i.*

Camerarius, who before Henry Stephens undertook to juſtify Herodotus knew very well where the evil lay; but he found no better remedy than to change the ſtate of the queſtion, and to call the main point of the objection a meer cavil. Here are his words. 'Nam quod exagitat (*Plutarchus*) præclaram ſententiam de inſtabili & incerta fortuna rerum humanarum, quam Herodotus † Soloni attribuerit (cui quidem ſimiles & alibi leguntur) nimiæ ſapientiæ & pietati hominis concedatur: qui veritus ſit, ne ſi ita de Deo loquamur, ut humanus intellectus quæ dicuntur percipere poſſit, parum pii eſſe videamur. Cur ergo Deo oculos, manus, pedes, aures attribuimus? cur dicimus Deum iraſci? cur ulciſci? etiam vereri profectò, tentare, pœnitere, lætari, dolere. πόρρω γὰρ λύπης καὶ χαρᾶς ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον. fine quibus illa ne intelligi quidem poſſunt. Quid Xenophon? (quo nemo fuit numinis colentior, nemo obſervantior, nemo impietatis erga Deum acrior hoſtis) nonne eandem ſententiam ponere non dubitavit in præclaro illo opere ſuo hiſtoriæ rerum Græcarum? ſic enim ait ‡, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τὰς μὲν μικρὰς μεγάλας ποιῶν, τὰς δὲ μεγάλας μικράς. Hæc igitur ſacrilega eſt in Herodoto ſententia, quia ſecundum hominum intelligentiam φθονερὸν dixit eſſe τὸ θεῖον. Sed hæc quàm ſint futilia quis non videt (115). - - - - *For as to Plutarch's cavilling at that noble ſentence, concerning the inconſtant condition of human affairs, which Herodotus makes Solon ſpeak, (and we find many ſuch paſſages in this Hiſtorian) we may impute it to an over-tenderneſs of conſcience: he was afraid, it might be impious to ſpeak of God in a manner adapted to our capacities. But why then is God ſaid to have eyes, hands, feet, and ears? why do we aſcribe to him anger, revenge, and even fear, temptation, repentance, joy, and ſorrow? without which thoſe things could not be apprehended. Why did Xenophon (who had the greateſt reverence for the deity, and was the fierceſt enemy to impiety) ſay the ſame thing in his excellent Hiſtory of Greece: for,* God as it ſeems good to him, *ſays he,* often delights to make the little great, and the great little. *This paſſage then in Herodotus ſeems profane, becauſe he ſaid God was jealous according to our manner of apprehending things. But how ridiculous is this?* It is manifeſt that he changes the ſtate of the queſtion; for Herodotus was not blamed for ſaying that the condition of human things is very inconſtant; but he was blamed for ſaying, that the jealouſy of God is the cauſe of that great inconſtancy: and it is not at all neceſſary, in order to repreſent to us the inconſtancy of fortune, to have recourſe to an image, whereby we may concieve the deity as a being that envies the happineſs of men. Beſides, there is a very great difference between the things which ſome other authors, and even the holy Scriptures, have aſcribed to God, and the jealouſy which Herodotus imputes to him. An eye, hands, anger, repenting, joy and fear, may ſerve as images to repreſent to men the conduct of providence; for thoſe weakneſſes do not ſeem to us to be inconſiſtent with an honeſt man, and an excellent prince. To be jealous of one's glory, and not to ſuffer that it ſhould be uſurped, is not looked upon as a fault among men; nay, they believe it is a quality worthy of great kings and heroes. Wherefore the Scriptue does not ſcruple to aſcribe ſuch a jealouſy to God. But to be jealous of the happineſs of other men, and to ruin them, becauſe their proſperity makes us feel the bitings of envy, is one of the moſt ſhameful qualities that can be conceived; the baſeſt tradeſmen could not bear to be accuſed of it. It is a diſeaſe that few people can avoid, but no body dares own that he is affected with it. We are ready to own, that a noble emulation of equalling or ſurpaſſing the merit and glory of great men, excites us to form glorious projects; but not that the envy of the proſperity of our neighbours prompts us to ruin them. Camerarius cannot be therefore well excuſed for having made ſuch compariſons. The expreſſions of Xenophon cannot very well ſerve to juſtify Herodotus; for if they ſignify, that GOD does often delight in overturning the diſpoſition of things, by reducing the great ones to the condition of the little ones, and by raiſing the little ones to the condition of the great ones; if they ſignify that GOD does ſo in his hours of recreation, and that it is his tennis, as princes take pleaſure in ſetting great beaſts one againſt another at a bull-feaſt, whilſt they make much of a little dog; they are as impious as the expreſſions of Herodotus, and ſo one impiety would ſerve to juſtify another impiety. But nothing requires that ſuch a ſenſe ſhould be put upon the words of Xenophon. They are capable of a reaſonable ſenſe, by ſuppoſing he meant that GOD is pleaſed with that frequent viciſſitude of conditions, becauſe his quality of judge, and common father of mankind requires it from him (116). Great men abuſe their power; it is therefore neceſſary that the fall of ſome ſhould be a warning to others, and ſhould prevent the miſchief they might have done, and comfort thoſe who were vexed by them. And ſince the condition of human affairs does not permit that all men ſhould be in great poſts at the ſame time, every body muſt be raiſed in his turn, and the common father of mankind muſt diſpoſe of them ſometimes in favour of one, ſometimes in favour of another. The little ones muſt riſe, and the great ones go down in their turn. It is likely that Xenophon underſtood it ſo, and that he inſiſted not upon the meer idea of the ſupreme authority which GOD has over the goods of fortune. It would be a thing unworthy of the moſt perfect Being, to overthrow great men, and to raiſe little ones only to ſhew his power. Any prince would be juſtly blamed, if out of a meer oſtentation of his power, he ſpent his time in levelling mountains, filling up vallies, drying up marſhes, and overflowing ſandy plains. He muſt propoſe the public good to himſelf, or elſe it is meer tyrannical pomp and luxury, and a ſubject of ſcandal or juſt complaints. Read theſe words of Salluſt. 'Nam quid ea memorem, quæ niſi iis, qui videre, nemini credibilia ſunt, à privatis compluribus ſubverſos montes, maria conſtructa eſſe? quibus mihi ludibrio videntur ſuiſſe divitiæ, quippe quas honeſte habere licebat, per turpitudinem abuti properabant (117). - - *What need I mention other things, that will hardly meet with credit from thoſe, who have not been eye witneſſes of their truth? Such as levelling of hills and mountains, and raiſing palaces in the ſea itſelf by private men for the purpoſes of pleaſure: to whom their riches, in my opinion, prove the greateſt ſcandal in the world, by the prodigal uſe they make of that which they might as eaſily employ with honour.*' Read alſo theſe words of Suetonius concerning the emperor Caligula: 'In exſtructionibus prætoriorum atque villarum omni ratione poſthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiſcebat quam quod poſſe effici negaretur. Et jactæ itaque moles

† Clione, cap. xxiii.

‡ Helenican. lib. v.

(115) Joach. Camerarius, Proœmio in Herodot. pag. 5, Genev. 1618, in folio.

(116) Compare this with the remark [F] of the article LUCRETIUS.

(117) Salluſt. de Bello Catil. *pag. m.* 28. *See alſo pag.* 53, *in the harangue of Catiline,* Quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium eſt, tolerare poteſt illis divitias ſuperare, quas profundant in extruendo mari, & montibus cœquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad neceſſaria deeſſe?

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' moles infesto ac profundo mari, excisæ rupes duris-
' simi filicis, & campi montibus aggere æquati, & com-
' planata fossuris montium juga, incredibili quidem
' celeritate, cum moræ culpa capite lueretur (118).
' --- *He utterly despised the building of country-seats*
' *and palaces, and coveted nothing so much as what*
' *seemed impossible to be attained. Therefore huge struc-*
' *tures were raised in the deep and dangerous sea, the*
' *hardest rocks cut through, the highest mountains level-*
' *led, the deepest vallies raised, and that with incre-*
' *dible dispatch, because the smallest delay was punished*
' *with death.*' And to add a modern example to the ancient, read also a passage which concerns Mr Fouquet: ' Fouquetus . . . . . Lucillianis sumptibus na-
' turam possessor domuit, & contumaciam situs repug-
' nantem in delicias suas manuescere coëgit nullo
' læso, nisi se & arca Regia (119). --- *Fouquet . . . . .*
' *at an infinite charge subdued nature, and compelled the*
' *resistance of situation to yield to his delight, without*
' *injuring any but himself and the king's coffers.*' I do not doubt but Xenophon understood in an orthodox sense the maxim he advanced. Having so much improved under his professor (120), he could not say that if GOD is pleased to raise the little ones, and to overthrow the great ones, it is to divert himself, or to make a shew of his power. He believed without doubt, that GOD did so only for the public good of mankind, and consequently Camerarius has alledged him without reason in favour of Herodotus, who was censured for having attributed to GOD a jealous humour, which is the cause of the overthrow of human prosperity. Observe that it signifies nothing to the earth or rocks to be in a valley or in a high place. They are insensible bodies, any situation is equally good and indifferent to them. Water is neither more nor less unhappy, when it runs in the channel of a river, than when it is forced out of a pipe into the clouds; but the fall of a monarch, the disgrace of a prime minister, and other such overthrows of worldly prosperities, overwhelm a great many people with sorrow. It would be therefore a less disorder to overturn the situation of some parts of the earth, meerly to satisfy one's fancy, and make a shew of one's riches, than to precipitate the high fortune of men, meerly to divert one's self, and make a shew of one's power. From whence you may conclude, that all those who have had a right notion of providence, have understood the maxim of Xenophon in the sense I have mentioned. They believed without doubt, that the ruin of great men was an act of justice, whereby the misfortunes of some private men were compensated by a greater advantage of the public.

(118) Suet. in Calig. *cap. xxxvii.*

(119) Priolus, de Rebus Gallicis, *lib. ix, cap. ii, pag. m.* 320, 321.

(120) Socrates.

Valesius's way of justifying Herodotus is somewhat more ingenious than that of the other apologists. See his commentary upon a place, wherein Ammianus Marcellinus gives us the description of the goddess Nemesis. That Historian having mentioned the tragical end of some great criminals, adds: ' Hæc & hujus-
' modi quædam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impio-
' rum, bonorumque præmiatrix aliquoties operatur
' Adrastia, (atque utinam semper) quam vocabulo du-
' plici etiam Nemesim appellamus: . . . . Hæc ut
' regina causarum, & arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix,
' urnam sortium temperat, accidentium vices alter-
' nans: voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio,
' quàm quò contendebant, exitu terminans, multiplices
' actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis
' insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus tu-
' mentes incassum, & incrementorum detrimentorum-
' que momenta versans, ut novit, nunc erectas mentium
' cervices opprimit & enervat: nunc bonos ab imo
' suscitans, ad bene vivendum extollit (121). --- *Adra-*
' *stia, who is likewise called Nemesis, the revenger*
' *of impious deeds, and the rewarder of good ones, some-*
' *times (I wish I could say always) does these and a*
' *thousand other things of the same kind: . . . . She go-*
' *verns causes and regulates events, she manages the urn*
' *of lots, and dispenses the vicissitudes of fortune: she*
' *turns and winds the various acts of our wills, and*
' *makes us sometimes conclude contrary to what we first*
' *proposed. She fastens the vain pride of mortality with*
' *the indissoluble chain of necessity, and by turning the*
' *scales of prosperity and adversity, she sometimes depresses*
' *the haughty, and sometimes exalts the humble.*' You may plainly see, he supposes that the goddess Nemesis presides over the vicissitudes of elevation and overthrow, which are to be seen in the course of human things, and that she directs the play of the swipe, which I have mentioned in another place (122), upon occasion of an answer of Æsop, which is altogether like the maxim of Xenophon; but we must not forget, that he supposes at the same time, that she dispenses this alternative with a supreme equity. ' Jus
' quoddam sublime numinis efficacis . . . . substanti-
' alis tutela . . . . quam Theologi veteres fingentes
' justitiæ filiam ex abdita quadam æternitate tradunt
' omnia despectare terrena (123). --- *A certain sub-*
' *lime equity of a powerful deity . . . . a powerful pro-*
' *tectress . . . . the ancient Theologers feigning her to be*
' *the daughter of Justice, say that from some hidden*
' *eternity, she looks down upon all earthly affairs.*' Valesius observes, 1. That she is called Nemesis, because she renders to every one his due. 2. That Plato in the fourth book *de Republica*, calls her the messenger of Justice. 3. That Dion Chrysostom observes in his sixty-fourth oration, that fortune, as it is equitable, went by the name of Nemesis, τὸ ἴσον αὐτῆς Νέμεσις. *Æquitas ejus* (Fortunæ) *Nemesis dicta est.* 4. That the ancients ascribed to GOD a certain power which mortified proud men, and destroyed all sublime things. 5. That that power was called either envy φθόνος, or indignation νέμεσις. 6. That indignation, or Nemesis, has a great affinity with envy, and that in the second book of Aristotle's morals, it holds the middle place between envy and the vice which makes one rejoice at other mens misfortunes (124). 7. That Herodotus upon this account makes Solon say, that all the deities are envious, and Artabanus, that GOD was envious. ' Artabanus apud eumdem Herodotum in
' lib. 7. iisdem verbis alloquitur Xerxem: ὁ δὲ θεὸς
' γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν σύτῳ ἐυ-
' ρίσκεται ἐών. At Deus qui suavi perfruitur ævo,
' invidus ipse esse deprehenditur. Quæ quidem Hero-
' doti verba immeritò reprehendit Plutarchus (125). ---
' *Artabanus, in the same Herodotus, speaking to Xerxes*
' *uses these words. But GOD himself, who enjoys a*
' *blessed eternity, is envious. Which words of Herodo-*
' *tus Plutarch censures undeservedly.*' 8. That Plutarch had no reason to censure those words of Herodotus (126), for if Nemesis is justly attributed to GOD, why should not envy φθόνος be ascribed to him? one of those vices is not less than the other among men: but when such things are spoken of GOD, they are divested of all imperfection, and ought to be understood in a favourable sense; or else Plutarch himself would be convicted of the same fault, since he said in the life of Paul Æmilius (127), Οὐδενὶ γὰρ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίφθονον, πλὴν εἴ τι δαιμόνιον. . . . . &c (128), that is to say, ' Æmilius was admired and accounted
' happy by all men, and unenvied by every one that
' was good: only that it seems the province of some
' GOD, to lessen the happiness which is too great and
' inordinate, and so to mingle the affairs of human
' life, that no one should be entirely free and exempt
' from calamities; but, as it is in Homer, that those
' should think themselves truly blessed, to whom for-
' tune has given an equal share of good and evil. Æ-
' milius had four sons, &c.' You will see hereafter (129) what follows in Plutarch.

(121) Amm. Marcel. *lib. xiv, cap. xi, pag. m.* 59, 60.

(122) Above, remark [*I*], of the article Æsop.

(123) Ammian. ubi supra, *pag.* 59.

(124) Ex Henr. Vales. in Marcel. *pag.* 59.

(125) Vales. ibid. *pag.* 60, you will see at the end of this remark, why I quote this passage.

(126) Note that Valesius has not well ordered this discourse; for Plutarch does not censure the words of Artabanus, but those of Solon, which Valesius had quoted before he alledged those of Artabanus.

(127) Plut. in Paulo Æmilio, *pag.* 273, F.

(128) Ex Valesio, ibid.

I shall make some short observations upon this apology of Valesius. I say, 1. That all the Heathen authors, who ascribe the functions of Nemesis to the deity, are not to blame; for they who ascribe them to GOD, according to the above-mentioned notions of Ammianus Marcellinus, or according to that equality and equity which Dion Chrysostom speaks of, attribute nothing to him that is unworthy of him, or that includes a moral imperfection. But there have been I do not know how many Poets, Orators, and other people, who understood by Nemesis a morose Being, whose greatest delight was to overturn human prosperity, and to poison with some misfortunes such events as were able to give most joy to illustrious men. In that sense it is as impious a thing to use the word νέμεσις as that of φθόνος, with respect to GOD; and therefore Valesius had no reason to say that the last may be excused by the first. I say, 2. That the chapter of Aristotle's morals, which he refers us to, is not favourable to him. It is true, that we read there, that there are three sorts of envy, two at the extreams, and one in the middle. That which is in the middle, is called νέμεσις, Nemesis, and consists in being sorry that a man, who deserves not to be happy, should be happy notwithstanding. The excessive extream is called φθόνος, and consists in being sorry that there are any men happy. The defective extream is called ἐπιχαιρηκακία.

(129) After citation (123).

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will give me occaſion to mention a Political aphoriſm [*M*]. Cimon's ſiſter undertook one day to criticize the conduct of Pericles, for which ſhe received a mortifying anſwer.

ἐπιχαιρεκακία, and conſiſts in rejoicing at the misfortune of others (130). This doctrine is not very exact, and has been very well refuted by the commentator Euſtratius. He ſhews that a man who rejoices at the miſery of others, is vexed at the happineſs of others, and conſequently that the paſſion called φθόνος, and the paſſion called ἐπιχαιρεκακία belong to the ſame perſons, and not one to this and the other to that man. They are not therefore two extreams, between which the paſſion called νέμεσις may be placed. But I leave that diſpute, and I ſhall only obſerve, that the popular ſtyle, which men conformed themſelves to in matters of religion, admitted not of thoſe ſcrupulous diſtinctions, which Ariſtotle made uſe of in his morals, and which are moſt times meer logical abſtractions. We muſt not therefore fancy, that they, who feared Nemeſis, and ſpoke of her conduct, had in their minds, as the rule of the nature or character of that goddeſs, the difference which that Philoſopher obſerves between νέμεσις indignation, and φθόνος envy. I ſay, 3. That nothing can be more prejudicial to the deſign of the apologiſt, than his having recourſe to Ariſtotle's morals; for, according to that Philoſopher, the word φθόνος ſignifies the uneaſineſs and vexation occaſioned by the happineſs of others in general, whether the perſon that is happy deſerves it or not. He that is ſubject to that paſſion is called φθονερὸς (131). He exceeds the perſon called νεμεσητικὸς, who feels what goes by the name of νέμεσις, being ſorry for the proſperity of thoſe who are unworthy of it. Now, it is certain that Herodotus has given the epithet of φθονερὸς to God; therefore, by Ariſtotle's doctrine, he is more to blame than if he had uſed only the word Nemeſis or Nemeſiticus. Therefore to alledge the ſecond book of Ariſtotle's morals, is to furniſh the accuſers of Herodotus with proofs againſt him, and not his apologiſts with proofs for him. What did therefore Valeſius think of? Had he not forgot his uſual exactneſs, when deſigning to prove that φθόνος and νέμεσις are as vicious the one as the other among men, he confirmed his opinion by the doctrine of that Philoſopher? I ſay, 4. That he is in the wrong to aſſert, that when envy, or ſuch like imperfections, are aſcribed to God, they loſe what is vicious in them, and that they muſt be favourably underſtood. This cannot reach ſo far as moral imperfections, or that ſort of faults we think to be inconſiſtent with an honeſt man. Such are fraud, cruelty, treaſon, and that ſort of baſe envy which cannot bear any one's proſperity, and prompts one to perſecute all thoſe that excel. All the blaſphemies of the Poets, and all the impious doctrines upon which the religious worſhip of the Heathens was grounded, and which have been very ſolidly refuted by the Fathers of the Church, would be excuſable, if the maxim of Valeſius was admitted. Let us therefore reject it, and not triſle in putting a figurative ſenſe upon Herodotus's words. Let us rather ſay, that he took the word *envy* in an odious ſenſe. We may judge of it as we judge of the complaints, which the Pagans made of their gods in their calamities. Their reviling of fortune, and the cruelty whereof they accuſed the gods, were underſtood not in an allegorical ſenſe, but in a literal one: they deſigned to offend them by their words, as they deſigned to offend them by their actions, when they threw ſtones at their temples. Did the Roman people purifie the idea of cruelty, did they diveſt it of ſomething that was vicious, when they murmured at fortune during the triumph of Paulus Æmilius? Let us make uſe of Plutarch's words, which immediately follow thoſe which we have ſeen above (132). They properly concern the goddeſs Nemeſis, or that pretended divine virtue which Herodotus called Envy. 'Æmilius had four ſons, of which Scipio and Fabius 'were adopted into other families . . . . the other two 'which he had by a ſecond wife, and were yet but 'young, he brought up in his own houſe. One of 'theſe died at fourteen years of age, five days before 'his father's triumph, the other at twelve, three days 'after. So that there was no Roman without a deep 'ſenſe of his ſuffering, and every one dreaded the 'cruelty of fortune, that did not ſcruple to bring ſo 'much ſorrow into a houſe repleniſhed with happineſs, rejoicing and ſacrifices, and to intermingle 'tears and complaints with ſongs of victory and 'triumph.' It is ſo true that the word *envy* was taken in the moſt odious literal ſenſe, that ſome wiſe men oppoſed that impiety, and ſaid in expreſs words, that the gods were not ſubject to that paſſion. We have ſeen above (133) the remark of a famous Platoniſt, and we find in Stobœus four Greek verſes of Phocylides, which ſay, that there is no envy among the gods, ἄφθονοι ὁρανίδαι, &c. 5. Laſtly, I ſay that Plutarch cannot be guilty of Herodotus's fault, becauſe he ſpeaks only in a doubtful way, he makes uſe of an *if*, he confines himſelf to a certain god, whoſe particular commiſſion or lot ſhould be to croſs the happineſs of men. Whereas Herodotus affirms, that all the gods are envious and turbulent. Let us conclude, that Henricus Valeſius has not been very happy in undertaking to juſtify Herodotus, and to refute Plutarch's cenſure.

He has put (134) quite a different ſenſe from mine, upon a paſſage of Herodotus. I give the reader notice of it, and I confeſs that his tranſlation is more literal than that of Laurentius Valla, which I have followed (135). I did ſomewhat ſcruple to make uſe of it, but conſidering on the one ſide, that Henry Stephens did not criticize it, and on the other ſide, that according to that tranſlation, Herodotus reaſons more nicely and more clearly, I preferred it to that of the learned Henricus Valeſius: perhaps I am in the wrong.

[*M*] *The miſtake of* Valerius Maximus *will give me occaſion to mention a Political aphoriſm.*] He ſays that Ariſtophanes in one of his comedies, introduces Pericles returning from Hell, and declaring that a lion ought not to be brought up, and that if he be brought up and ſuffered to grow, he muſt be obeyed. *Ariſtophanis quoque altioris eſt prudentiæ præceptum, qui in comœdia introduxit remiſſum ab inferis Athenienſem Periclem, vaticinantem, non oportere in urbe nutriri leonem; ſin autem ſit alitus, obſequi ei convenire. Monet enim, ut præcipuæ nobilitatis & concitati ingenii juvenes refrenentur. Nimio verò favore ac profuſa indulgentia paſti, quò minus potentiam obtineant, ne impediantur: quòd ſtultum ſit, & inutile, eas obtrectare vires, quas ipſe foveris* (136). It is Æſchylus, and not Pericles that ſays ſo in Ariſtophanes. Here are the words of that Poet:

Οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν,
Μάλιστα δὲ λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν.
Ἢν δ' ἐκτραφῇ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

Catulum ne alas leonis in republica,
Ac maxime ipſum leonem ne alas ibi.
Quod ſi quis alitus; obſequendum moribus (137).

They were thus tranſlated by Eraſmus, who obſerves that Valerius Maximus quotes that paſſage (138), but he does not cenſure him for having taken Pericles for Æſchylus (139). He underſtood that ſentence better than Valerius Maximus: the latter reaſons thus; ſince you have bred up a man, you ought to conſider his power as your own work; it would be therefore a piece of folly to go about to deſtroy it, nay, you would not be able to ſucceed in it. This is pitiful reaſoning. The Greek Poet meant no ſuch thing. His meaning was without doubt, that the beſt way to avoid the miſeries which ariſe from oppoſing a power, which was ſuffered to grow too great, is to yield to the ſtream. 'Admonet ænigma, *they are the words of* 'Eraſmus (140), non eſſe fovendam potentiam quæ 'leges poſſet opprimere: quod ſi forte talis quiſpiam 'extiterit, non eſſe è rep. decertare cum illo, quem 'nequeas niſi magno reip. malo devincere. Tyran'nus aut ferendus eſt, aut non recipiendus. - - - *The* 'meaning of the parable is, that a power is not to be 'nouriſhed which may be able to oppreſs the laws: but 'if there ſhould happen to be any ſuch, it is not for the 'intereſt of a ſtate to contend with him, whom you can'not conquer without great detriment to the common'wealth. A tyrant is either to be born with, or not to 'be received.' It is a great fault in a republic, when they

(130) *See* Ariſtotle's Morals, *lib. ii, cap. viii, pag. m.* 19, and the paraphraſe of Andronicus, *pag. m.* 110.

(131) Ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεμεσητικὸς, λυπεῖται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναξίως εὖ πράττουσιν· ὁ δὲ φθονερὸς ὑπερβάλλων τοῦτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι λυπεῖται. Nam qui ad indignandum propenſus eſt is dolet eorum rebus ſecundis qui eis indigni ſunt. Invidus hunc ſuperans, rebus omnibus ſecundis contabeſcit. *Ariſt. ubi ſupra.*

(132) After citation (128).

(133) Citation (110) of the article PAULICIANS.

(134) Above, citation (125).

(135) In the article ARTABANUS, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, citation (7).

(136) Val. Max. *lib. vii, cap. ii, num.* 7, *in Exter.*

(137) Ariſtoph. in Ranis, *Act. v, Sc. iv, pag. m.* 264.

(138) Eraſmus, Adag. lxxvii, Chil. ii, Cent. III, pag. m. 451.

(139) Leopardus, Emendat. *lib. viii, cap. xii,* & Pighius, Comment. in hunc locum Val. Maximi, *cenſure Valerius Maximus for it.*

(140) Eraſmus, ubi ſupra.

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anſwer. That anſwer ſhews that Pericles had a ready wit [*N*]. I promiſed to give here the Hiſtory of the famous ASPASIA [*O*], and I will be as good as

they ſuffer a factious and bold ſubject to get too great an authority. But it is a greater fault ſtill to oppoſe that man, when they have ſuffered him to become maſter of a republic. There are a thouſand abuſes which ought to be prevented; but when they are grown ſtrong, it is very often a leſſer evil to tolerate them, than to undertake to reform them. Thoſe who undertake it, do moſt times as Sylla did, they make uſe of a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe (141). An Hiſtorian ſaid very judiciouſly, that it had been better to let the ſick and wounded republic lie quiet, than to ſtir it up, in order to give it ſome remedies, and dreſs its wounds. *Expediebat quaſi ægræ ſaucíæque reipublicæ requieſcere quomodocunque, ne vulnera curatione ipſa reſcinderentur* (142). I might alledge a great many things concerning the inconveniencies of certain remedies, which are made uſe of to cure public evils; but it would look too much like an affectation of common-places.

(141) Ingratus L. Sylla, qui patriam durioribus remediis quam pericula erant, ſanavit. *Seneca, de Benef. lib. v, cap. xvi.*

(142) Flor. *lib. iii, cap. xxiii.* See Balzac's Letters to Chapelain, *pag.* 107.

[*N*] *The anſwer of Pericles to Cimon's ſiſter, ſhews that he had a ready wit.*] Cimon and Pericles had very different intereſts, and were of two contrary parties. The latter became ſuperior to the other, and cauſed him to be baniſhed (143) It was not the only advantage he had over him; for he contributed to his recalling. That mark of credit to do and undo things, did but increaſe the jealouſy of Cimon's family: the victories of Pericles increaſed alſo that paſſion. Wherefore Elpinice, Cimon's ſiſter, being diſpleaſed with the praiſes beſtowed upon Pericles's victories, could not forbear reflecting upon them out of ſpite: Pericles paid her off with this ſmart anſwer contained in a Greek verſe: You ſhould uſe no paint, you are too old for that. Let us ſee the words of Plutarch (144). *Pericles after the overthrow of Samos, as ſoon as he returned back to Athens, took care that thoſe who died in the war, ſhould be honourably buried, and made ſuch a funeral harangue, as the cuſtom is, in their commendation at their graves and monuments, that he was highly admired and eſteemed for it. As he came down from the pulpit (or place where they delivered their ſpeeches) the reſt of the ladies came and complimented him, taking him by the hand, and crowning him with garlands and ribbons, as they uſed to do to gameſters that won the public prizes; only Elpinice coming near to him, ſaith ſhe, Theſe are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, and ſuch as deſerve our chaplets, who have loſt us ſo many brave worthy citizens, not in a war with Phœnicians or Medes, (enemies and foreigners) as my brother Cimon was wont to do, but for the overthrow of a city that was in alliance, and of the ſame country and kindred with us. As Elpinice ſpoke theſe words, he gently ſmiling, as it is ſaid, returned her this verſe of Archilochus for anſwer.*

(143) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 157.

(144) Ibid. in Pericle.

Old woman as you are,
You ſhould not powder hair,
Nor, as you walk, perfume the air,
Leave theſe things to the young and fair (145).

(145) Ταῦτα τῆς Ἐλπινίκης λεγούσης, Περικλῆς μειδιάσας ἀτριμα, λέγεται τὸ τὲ Ἀρχιλόχυ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν· Οὐκ ἂν μύροισι, γραῦς ἐὼν ἀλείφοο. Sic fata Elpinice, ſubriſit Pericles, & ſubmiſſe hoc ei reſpondit Archilochi, *Quando anus es, nugi minus tibi convenit.* Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 167.

Could any thing be ſaid more to the purpoſe to mortify that lady? We are told of another anſwer, which is not ſo glorious to Pericles. He was one of Cimon's accuſers in a capital affair. Elpinice went and humbly beſought him to be favourable to her brother: *You are too old*, ſaid he to her, *to ſucceed in ſuch a requeſt.* Ἐλθόσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐλπινίκης καὶ δεομένης, μειδιάσας εἶπεν, Ὦ Ἐλπινίκη γραῦς εἶ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικαῦτα δράσειν. *Quum adiſſet autem eum ſupplex Elpinice, ridens, at enim anus es, inquit, Elpinice: anus es nimium, quàm ut res tantas tranſigas* (146). The meaning of thoſe words ſeem to be this; if your youth could perſuade me, that by granting me the poſſeſſion of your body, you would pay the ſervice I ſhould do to your brother, I would ſerve him; but you are too old to make me wiſh for this mark of gratitude; you ſhall therefore obtain nothing from me. Two things might be ſaid for Pericles: Firſt, that he ſpoke in jeſt: Secondly, that he meant only, that the other perſons whom ſhe would endeavour to prevail with, would deſpiſe her old age. A young and beautiful ſollicitreſs may obtain a thouſand things, which an old woman will never obtain. Plutarch obſerves, that notwithſtanding that anſwer, Pericles did but weakly purſue his accuſation, and only for faſhion-ſake. Others ſay, that he liked Elpinice very well, and lay with her as a reward of the good offices he had done Cimon. It was no very difficult thing to gain her, for ſhe lay with her brother. Καὶ Κίμωνος δ' Ἐλπινίκη τὴ ἀδελφῇ παρεγνόμως συνόντος, εἰδ' ὕστερον ἐκδοθείσης Καλλίᾳ, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος, μισθὸν ἔλαβε τῆς καθόδυ αὐτῷ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τὴ Ἐλπινίκη μιχθῆναι. *Cum Cimon Elpinice ſorore, quam poſt nuptum Calliæ dedit, contra leges abuteretur, exilioque damnatus fuiſſet, ejus reditus mercedem Pericles accepit Elpinices concubitum* (147). Beſides, ſhe proſtituted herſelf to a Painter (148). Obſerve, 1. That Athenæus from the teſtimony of Antiſthenes, ſuppoſes ſhe obtained Pericles's vote for the recalling of her brother, by granting him the enjoyment of herſelf (149). 2. That according to Plutarch, ſhe received Pericles's denying anſwer becauſe of her old age, as ſhe was ſolliciting him in a criminal proceſs which concerned Cimon, and which happened before the time mentioned by Athenæus (150). It is neceſſary to obſerve this; for if Plutarch had ſpoken of a ſollicitation that was poſterior to the recalling of Cimon, we might believe that the only reaſon why Pericles favoured that exile, was his engagement to Elpinice. The anſwer mentioned by Plutarch would make me believe, that Elpinice remembring that the laſt favours ſhe granted to Pericles, made him conſent that Cimon ſhould be recalled, applied herſelf to him again, to deſire him not to be againſt her brother, who was concerned in a criminal proceſs, and that Pericles anſwered her in words to this effect: *Do not expect to obtain any thing from me by your ſollicitations, you are no more what you was, when the amorous ſport you granted me, moved me to do your brother a good ſervice; you are now too old, to deſerve that I ſhould make ſuch an exchange of courteſy with you:* but, as I have already ſaid, Plutarch ſuppoſes that anſwer was made before Cimon's oſtraciſm. However it be, Athenæus tells us that Pericles was very much given to women. Ἦν δ' ὅτι ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καὶ γυναῖκας φερής. *Fuit quidem ille ad venerem multum propenſus* (151).

(147) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 589, *F.*

(148) To Polygnotus. *See* Plut. in Cimone, *pag* 480.

(149) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(150) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 157, *E. See alſo* in Vita Cimonis, *pag.* 487, *E, where he quotes Steſimbrotus, a contemporary Hiſtorian.*

(151) Athen. ubi ſupra.

[*O*] *I promiſed to give here the hiſtory of Aſpaſia.*] She was born at Miletus: ſhe followed the ſteps of Thargalia, who gained the affection of the principal Grecians of Ionia by her wit and beauty, and engaged them to favour the king of Perſia (152). Aſpaſia was a woman of ſo great parts, that Socrates went to ſee her, and carried his friends with him (153); and to ſpeak more clearly, ſhe taught him Rhetoric and Politics. Ἀσπασία μέν τοι ἡ σοφὴ τὰ Σωκράτης διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων. *Aſpaſia ſapiens fœmina Socratis in eloquentiæ ſtudiis magiſtra* (154). Πλάτων τε τῷ Μενεξένῳ τὸν Σωκράτην παρ' αὐτῆς φησι μαθεῖν τὰ πολιτικά. *Plato in Menexeno teſtatur, Socratem ab ea didiciſſe politica* (155). That which is moſt ſtrange, is, that they who frequented her, carried their wives to her houſe, that they might hear her diſcourſes and lectures, though ſhe kept ſeveral courtezans at home. Τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκροασομένας οἱ συνήθεις ἤγον εἰς αὐτὴν, καίπερ ἡ κοσμίη περιεσῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας ἑταιρίσας τρέφουσαν. *Fœminaſque ad audiendam eam duxerunt familiares: licet officinam tractaret parum decoram & honeſtam, quæ puellas ad quæſtum corpore faciendum aleret* (156). She underſtood Politics very well, and it was ſaid that Pericles kept company with her, becauſe ſhe had a great knowledge of the maxims of government; but their great acquaintance proceeded from ſome other cauſes. Love had a ſhare in it: Pericles loved not his wife, and parted with her with all his heart to give her to another, and then he married Aſpaſia, and loved her paſſionately. The Hiſtorian (157) who relates all theſe things, alledges as a very ſingular proof of his love, a thing which would be looked upon now as moſt ridiculous. Pericles, ſays he, never went to, or came from the ſenate without kiſſing Aſpaſia. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαζὼν, ἐσερῴ διαφερόντως· καὶ γὰρ ἐξιὼν ὥς φασι, καὶ εἰσιὼν ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς, ἠσπάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τῦ καταφιλεῖν. *Aſpaſiam uxorem duxit*

(152) Plut. in Pericle, *pag.* 165.

(153) Ibid.

(154) Athen. *lib. v, pag.* 220. *See alſo* Lucian, de Saltatione, *pag.* 923, *Tom. i.*

(155) Harpocration, Voce Ἀνθεσατηρία.

(156) Plut. ubi ſupra, *C.*

(157) Ibid.

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as my word. See the remark [O]. I will make alſo a ſmall collection of ſome miſtakes,

duxit, quam mire dilexit, nam ſive exiret, ſive rediret à foro, ſalutabat ſemper eam oſculo (158). Perhaps this author underſtood not well what he read upon that ſubject. I had rather ſay, as an author intimates in Athenæus, that Pericles went to ſee Aſpaſia twice a day, and kiſſed her when he went in, and when he came out; which was before he married her. Ἀνησθένης δὲ ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐρασθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας, δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρωπον. *Antiſthenes Socraticus narrat amatorem illum Aſpaſiæ, bis quotidie ſalutaturum ad eam introire, exireque inde ſolitum* (159). It has been reported, that he turned out his wife, and lodged with Aſpaſia, a Magarian whore, and plunged himſelf into leudneſs, and ſpent a great part of his eſtate upon her (160). Ηρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡδονῆς, ὡς ἀπηλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡδονῆς βίον περείλετο, ᾧκει τε μετὰ Ἀσπασίας τῆς ἐκ Μεγάρων ἑταίρας, καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς οὐσίας εἰς ταύτην καταλώσε. *Pericles Olympium Heraclides Ponticus ſcribit, libro de voluptate, exacta domo uxore voluptati ſe tradidiſſe, cum Aſpaſia ſcorto Megarico* (161) *habitaſſe, & magnam rei familiaris partem in eam dilapidaſſe.* Aſpaſia, after the death of Pericles, became acquainted with a man of mean extraction, whom ſhe raiſed to the principal dignities of the Republic (162). Which ſhews that nothing was impoſſible to her wit and eloquence. She muſt needs have well underſtood the art of ſpeaking, ſince ſeveral Athenians learned Rhetoric of her. She acquired ſo great a reputation, that young Cyrus gave the name of Aſpaſia to a miſtreſs whom he loved and eſteemed above all things (163). Our Aſpaſia was the cauſe of the war, which the Republic of Athens declared againſt the Samians. They were at war with the Mileſians for the city of Priene, which the two parties laid claim to. The Samians got the victory. Aſpaſia, out of love for her countrymen, deſired Pericles to make the Athenians declare war againſt the Samians (164). It is ſaid alſo that ſhe was the cauſe of the Megarian war, which was the beginning of that of Peloponneſus, and that the motive which induced her to it was a very ſhameful one. Some young Athenians having drunk too much, went to Megara, and carried away a famous whore. The Megarians carried away, by way of reprizals, two whores belonging to Aſpaſia. This was the ſubject of her anger, which moved her, as it is ſaid, to make uſe of all her credit to have the Megarians attacked, to which Pericles was well enough diſpoſed. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ . . . . . τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρώμενοι τοῖς περιοῦσι καὶ δημώδεσι τούτοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων σκιδίοις, Πόρνην δὲ Σίμαιθαν, ἰόντες Μεγάδε νεανίαι κλέψωσι μεθυσοκότταβοι· κἄθ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι. ἀνεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίᾳ πόρνα δύο. *Megarenſes verò . . . . cauſam omnem in Aſpaſiam detorquent & Periclem, allegantque celebratos & vulgatos hoſce verſus Ariſtophenis ex Acharnibus,*

Juvenes profecti Megaram ebrii auferunt
Simætham ex ſcortatione nobilem:
Megarenſis hinc populus dolore percitus,
Furatur Aſpaſiæ duo ſcorta haud impiger (165).

Plutarch had done well to ſet down the two following verſes; for they contain the concluſion which the Poet draws from that narrative, *viz.* that three whores were the cauſe of a general war in Greece (166).

Κἀντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τῷ πολέμῳ καταῤῥάγη
Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν, ἐκ τριῶν λαικασίων.

Hinc initium belli prorupit
Univerſis Græcis, ob tres meretriculas.

Athenæus, who alledges the ſix verſes of Ariſtophanes, ſays juſt before, that the ſchool of Aſpaſia filled the whole country with courtezans (167). Καὶ Ἀσπασία δὲ ἡ Σωκρατικὴ ἑταιρευόμενον πλήθη καλῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης ἑταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς καὶ ὁ χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης παροινῆσαι λέγων τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὅτι Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀσπασίας ἔρωτα, καὶ τὰς ἁρπασθείσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἑταίρας ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, ἀνερρίπισε τὸ καταὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα τὸ δεινὸν (168). Dalechamp us renders thoſe Greek words thus: Aſpaſia Socratica formoſas mulieres, & eas quidem multas, Athenis præbuit. Jam inde ſcortis abundavit Græcia, ut indicat facetus Ariſtophanes, Peloponneſiaci belli cauſam explicans, nempe ob amorem Aſpaſiæ, & raptas à Megarenſibus ejus ancillas, Periclem decretum luctuoſum illud de bello Megarenſibus indicendo, velut ignem flabello, excitaſſe, accendiſſe. - - - *The Aſpaſia of Socrates ſupplied Athens with many beautiful women. And from thence all Greece ſwarmed with whores, as the witty Ariſtophanes ſays, explaining the cauſe of the Peloponneſian war, viz. that Pericles, becauſe of his love for Aſpaſia, and becauſe her whores were carried away by the Megarians, declared war againſt the Megarians, and ſo kindled, and blowed a fire as with a pair of bellows.* I muſt not forget that Aſpaſia was accuſed of two crimes by the comedian Hermippus. They were not the ſlanders of the ſtage, or of comedy. He made himſelf a party againſt her in due form, and accuſed her before the judges of impiety, and of drawing women into her houſe to ſatisfy the luſt of Pericles. Ἀσπασίᾳ δίκην ἔφευγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἑρμίππου τοῦ κωμῳδοποιοῦ διώκοντος, καὶ προσκαταγορεύοντος ὡς Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώσας ὑποδέχοιτο. *Aſpaſia violatæ religionis eſt rea facta, accuſatore comœdiarum ſcriptore Hermippo: objecit præterea eam liberas fœminas, quibus illudebat Pericles, recipere* (169). I do not know very well whether he pretended that ſhe had carried on the trade after he had married her: in ſuch a caſe, the ſecond crime had been as extraordinary as the firſt; for it is almoſt as rare a thing, that a woman ſhould be her huſband's bawd, as it is a rare thing that ſhe ſhould have no religion. During the trial of Aſpaſia, Pericles uſed ſo many intreaties with the judges, and ſhed ſo many tears, that he obtained her abſolution. He expected not the ſame favour for Anaxagoras, who had been accuſed of irreligion at the ſame time, under pretence that he explained meteors by philoſophical reaſons (170), he ſent him out of Athens to ſave him. Ἀσπασίαν μὲν ἐν ἐξηλήσατο πολλὰ πάνυ παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Αἰσχίνης φησίν, ἀφεὶς ὑπερ αὐτῆς δάκρυα, καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν δικαστῶν· Ἀναξαγόραν δὲ, φοβηθεὶς, ἐξέπεμψε καὶ προέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. *Ac Aſpaſiam quidem eripuit Pericles precibus, pro qua vim lacrymarum in cauſa dicenda (ut ſcribit Æſchines) profudit, obſecravitque judices: Anaxagoram trepidans ablegavit, atque ex urbe deduxit* (171). Athenæus mentions another author who relates the ſame fact, and who obſerves, that when Pericles was in danger of loſing his life, he ſhed not ſo many tears as he did upon the account of Aſpaſia. Καὶ φεύγοντος τοῦ αὐτῆς γεραιὰν ἀσεβείας, λέγων ὑπερ αὐτῆς, πλείονα ἐδάκρυσεν, ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευσεν. *Et cùm impietatis accuſata fuiſſet, orationem pro illa habuiſſe, effuſius lacrymantem, quàm cùm vitæ ac fortunarum periculum adiiſſet* (172). Tanaquillus Faber, in the lives of the Greek Poets, pag. 81, wraps up this accuſation of Aſpaſia in words which every one does not underſtand. *Aſpaſia*, ſays he, *deſerves that honour, ſince ſhe was the miſtreſs of a man who was maſter of Attica, and of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea; ſince ſhe was the Juno of the Olympian Pericles; ſince ſhe made verſes and harangues; and laſtly, ſince ſhe knew as much Rhetoric as Prodicus and Gorgias the great Cymbaliſt of Greece. But ſhe knew ſomething elſe, which I would never tell you, were it not that I am reſolved to ſpeak of* HERMIPPUS, *a comic Poet, who lived at the ſame time. Hermippus . . . . made ſome verſes againſt Pericles, and even accuſed Aſpaſia of driving a certain trade which Pericles hated not. That trade is a thing which I do not know how to expreſs. However, let us ſee whether ſo naſty a ſubject may not be explained with honeſt words. She did, Sir, for Pericles what Livia did for Auguſtus, when he was diſguſted, and the nights ſeemed to him to be too long*, &c. What Tanaquillus Faber ſays of Livia, is to be found in Suetonius, Chap. LXXI of the Life of Auguſtus. 'Circa libidines hæſit, poſtea 'quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, 'quæ ſibi undique ETIAM AB UXORE conquirerentur.

(158) Ibid. D.

(159) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 589, *E.*

(160) Ibid. *lib. x, pag.* 533.

(161) She was born at Miletus according to Plutarch. Perhaps Heraclides gives her the ſirname of Megarian, becauſe ſhe kept a bawdy-houſe at Megara before ſhe came to Athens.

(162) Plut. ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Harpocration, *voce* 'Ασπασία, *and the Notes of Valeſius.*

(163) See the remark [C] of the article CYRUS.

(164) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 165, 166.

(165) Ibid. *pag.* 168, *E.*

(166) Note, that Plutarch does not adopt this fact. See the remark [H].

(167) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 570.

(168) Ibid. *pag.* 569, 570.

(169) Plutarch. *pag.* 169, *D.*

(170) Ψῶ Φιάμα Διοπειθης ἔγραψεν εἰσαγγελασθαι τὸς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας. ἦ λύγος περὶ τῶν μετεωρολεσχούντας ἀπορρησίων διδάσκοντας ἀπορρησίαν εἰς Περικλέα δι' Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν ὑπονοιαν. Rogationem tulit Diopithes, nomina ut deferrentur eorum qui eſſe deos negarent, aut qui ſermones de rebus æthereis ferrent, ea ſuſpicione perſtringens Anaxagoræ cauſa Periclem. *Ibid.*

(171) Ibid. *E.*

(172) Athenæus, *lib. xiii, pag.* 589, ex Antiſthene Socratico.

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miſtakes, which concern that woman [*P*]. Moreri [*Q*], nor thoſe of his continuator, nor I ſhall not forget the faults of Mr Moreri [*Q*], nor thoſe of another French writer concerning Pericles

' tur. - - - *He was very much given to women, and,* ' *as it is reported, maids were procured for him even* ' *by his own wife.*' I ſhall ſet down Plutarch's words, that one may ſee the whole extent of the crime which Aſpaſia was accuſed of: it will appear that ſhe debauched not ſlaves and outlandiſh women, but the noble ladies of Athens. *About this time Aſpaſia was charged with impiety or irreligion, upon the complaint of Hermippus, a writer of comedies, who alſo laid further to her charge, that ſhe was bawd to Pericles, and entertained citizens wives and daughters for his uſe; and Diopithes propoſed a decree, that information ſhould be given in againſt ſuch perſons as deny a Deity, and thoſe who teach certain new doctrines concerning meteors, and other appearances in the ſky; by theſe laſt words aiming in ſhew at Anaxagoras, but really ſtriking at Pericles* (173). See above remark [*C*].

(173) Plut. in Pericle.

[*P*] *Some miſtakes which concern Aſpaſia.*] Quintilian has committed a miſtake in the account he gives of the queſtions which were put to Xenophon's wife. She was aſked: *If the gold of your neighbour were better than your's; which had you rather have, your's or her's?* Her's, anſwered ſhe. *If her cloaths and ornaments were finer than your's, had you rather have her's than your's?* Yes, anſwered ſhe. *But if her huſband were better than your's, had you rather have him than your's?* She was aſhamed of that queſtion, and anſwered nothing. Cicero relates this (174), and plainly ſays, thoſe queſtions were put to Xenophon's wife by Aſpaſia. But Quintilian ſays, that they were put to Aſpaſia by Xenophon's wife: *Ut apud Æſchinem Socraticum male reſpondit Aſpaſia Xenophontis uxor: quod Cicero his verbis tranſfert* (175). Voſſius cenſured that miſtake, but he was miſtaken in his turn (176); for he believed that Quintilian had admitted of two Aſpaſias (177). The miſtake does not conſiſt in that; but in believing that Aſpaſia mentioned by Cicero, was Xenophon's wife. Colomeſius cenſures that fault of Quintilian (178), and obſerves that Bruſonius follows it (179). I believe that over-ſight comes from the tranſcribers, and that Quintilian ſaid, *Apud Æſchinem Socraticum male reſpondit Aſpaſiæ Xenophontis uxor.* A half learned copier may have fancied it ſhould be Aſpaſia inſtead of Aſpaſiæ, and that it was the name of Xenophon's wife. Note, that Aſpaſia having, by her captious queſtions, reduced the wife to ſilence, applied herſelf immediately to the huſband, aſked him the ſame queſtions, and made him bluſh at the third, and reduced him to the ſame ſilence; and then ſhe made a very judicious diſcourſe to both of them (180). The learned Leopardus knew not that Quintilian, as we have him now, was the cauſe of Bruſonius's miſtake; he was contented to cenſure the modern author. ' Idem Bruſonius, *ſays* ' *he* (181), eodem capite: Aſpaſia, inquit, Xenophontis uxor quum eſſet (ut muliebre ingenium eſt) ' rerum alienarum appetens atque invida, interrogata, ' ſi vicina tua, *&c.* - - - *Bruſonius, in the ſame chapter, ſays, that Aſpaſia, the wife of Xenophon, envious,* ' *and covetous, (as it is the nature of women to be ſo)* ' *of other peoples goods, being aſked, if your neighbour,* ' &c.' Here is a fault which Leopardus took no notice of. Bruſonius ſuppoſes, of his own authority, that Aſpaſia, Xenophon's wife, was a covetous and envious woman. Where did he find ſuch a thing? Is it lawful to forge things of this nature? To what purpoſe is his parentheſis? As for the reſt, having ſhewed my ſmall correction of Quintilian to a learned Humaniſt, he approved of it, and ſome days after, he ſhewed me his edition of *Quintilian Variorum*, whereby it appears that Turnebus had already corrected that paſſage.

(174) Cic. de Invent. *lib. i, fol. m.* 30, *A.*

(175) Quintil. *lib. v, cap. xi, pag. m.* 243.

(176) Voſſ. Inſt. Orat. *lib. iii, cap. v, pag. m.* 406.

(177) Quintiliani lapſus in duabus Aſpaſiis. *Ibid. in Indice rerum & verborum.*

(178) Falſus eſt Fabius, quique eum ſecutus eſt Bruſonius in Apophthegm. *Colomeſ. Not. ad Quintil. pag. m.* 224, *Opuſculor.*

(179) Here are all the titles of that author: *L. Bomitius Bruſonius, Contorſinus, Lucanus.* He made a collection of apophthegms, intituled *Septem facetiarum libri.*

(180) *See* Cicero, ubi ſupra.

(181) Leopard. Emendat. *lib. xii, cap. xiii.*

Suidas ſays falſly, that Pericles had two ſons by Aſpaſia, *viz.* Xanthippus and Paralus, for he had them by his other wife.

Lloyd has robbed our Aſpaſia of a paſſage of Xenophon, which might have made her very glorious: he underſtands it of another Aſpaſia, wife of Cleobulus. But it is plain he is miſtaken, for, 1. The name of Xenophon's interlocutor is not Cleobulus, but Critobulus. 2. Socrates, who is the other interlocutor, does not ſpeak of Critobulus's wife; he ſpeaks of the Rhetorician and learned Aſpaſia; he ſays that ſhe will give Critobulus better precepts than he (Socrates) can give him. Συσήσω δέ σοι ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀσπασίαν ἣ ἐπιστημονέστερον ἐμοῦ σοὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιδείξει. *Ego tibi exempli cauſa Aſpaſiam conſtituam, quæ doctius hæc omnia quam ego tibi monſtrabit* (182).

(182) Xenoph. in Oeconom. *pag. m.* 482.

Theſe words of a commentator upon Minutius Felix are not very exact: ' De Pythagora referunt Diogenes ' Laërtius lib. 8. & Lucianus in Gallo eum dixiſſe ' ſe primum fuiſſe Æthalidem Mercurii filium, inde ' Euphorbum Panthi filium, mox Aſpaſiam nobile Pe- ' riclis ſcortum, deinde Cratem Cynicum (183). - - - ' *Diogenes Laërtius, and Lucian relate that Py-* ' *thagoras ſaid, he had been firſt Æthalides the ſon of* ' *Mercury, and then Euphorbus the ſon of Panthus, after-* ' *wards Aſpaſia, a noble whore of Pericles, and laſtly, Crates the Cynic.*' We have in thoſe words three removes of Pythagoras one after another: from the body of Æthalides he went into that of Euphorbus, and then into that of Aſpaſia, and laſtly into that of Crates. If the commentator was exact, that liſt would be found entire both in Diogenes Laërtius and Lucian; but there is only part of it in the one, and part of it in the other. This is no good way of quoting authors. This is the firſt miſtake of that author. The ſecond conſiſts in giving a wrong account of the narrative of Diogenes Laërtius, who ſays that Pythagoras boaſted to have been ſucceſſively Æthalides, Euphorbus, Hermotimus, Pyrrhus, and Pythagoras. 3. He does not give a better account of Lucian's narrative; for had he tranſcribed him well, he would have ſaid that the ſoul of Pythagoras was firſt in the body of Euphorbus; and then in that of Pythagoras; and then in that of Aſpaſia; and then in that of Crates; afterwards in that of a king, &c. and laſtly in that of a cock. IV. He ſhould not have quoted upon this ſubject, a man who does nothing but banter, and who takes an age poſterior to Pythagoras. He ſhould have quoted thoſe authors only, who relate what Pythagoras himſelf ſaid, ſpeaking of the ſhare he had in the tranſmigrations of the ſoul.

(183) Origen. in Mirac. Felic. *pag.* 321, *Edit.* 1672, *in fol.*

Moreri has not committed very many miſtakes. I find fault with him only for having ſaid, that Aſpaſia was *very learned in Philoſophy and Eloquence, but eſpecially in Poetry.* I do not blame Moreri for ſaying that ſhe underſtood Philoſophy, and the art of ſpeaking. I only ſay, that he was in the wrong to affirm, that Poetry was the ſcience that ſhe excelled moſt in. This is ſo falſe, that one may very well doubt, whether ſhe ever made any verſes. I think Athenæus is the only author who might be alledged for her underſtanding Poetry, but his teſtimony is very weak; for he only ſays, that there were ſome verſes aſcribed to Aſpaſia (184), which had been publiſhed by Herodicus. To ſpeak exactly of what ſhe excelled in, we muſt ſay that it was Rhetoric. Pericles was not aſhamed to recite the harangues which ſhe compoſed (185). She underſtood Politics better than Philoſophy, and ſeeing Pericles conſulted her about the art of governing, it ſhould not ſeem ſtrange, that ſome other great Politicians ſhould very much eſteem the counſels of that woman. I ſaid before, that the great Socrates learned that ſcience of her.

(184) Ἐν τοῖς ὑφεσμένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔστιν ἃπερ ὁ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτιος παρέθετο. *In carminibus ipſi attributis, & ab Herodico Cratetio publicatis. Athen. lib. v, pag.* 219. *Oporaldus, de Poëtis Græcis, pag.* 170, *Edit.* 1696, ſays that Athenæus mentions Aſpaſia's verſes in ſome other places which he (Gyraldus) does not quote. I have not had time enough to verify it.

[*Q*] *The faults of Mr Moreri.*] I. I doubt whether the maſters, who taught Pericles Philoſophy, were *jealous* of the *univerſal knowledge he acquired* of it. The three authors quoted by Moreri (186) ſay no ſuch thing. I do not find that circumſtance in any ancient author: yet I dare not ſay that Moreri invented it, or that the modern author, from whom he might have it, was the inventer thereof; I only ſay, that his way of quoting authors, in a general indeterminate manner, hinders me from pointing out ſeveral falſities, and makes me ſpeak doubtfully. II. Seeing Plutarch ſays only that Pericles got a victory over the Sicyonians at Nemea (187), why does Moreri affirm, that this battle was fought *near the . . . river Nemea?* III. If it be a river, it is not conſiderable enough to be called a great river. The following miſtakes are to be found in the Supplement. IV. *Pericles did not fortify the Iſthmus of Corinth with a good wall.* Two things extremely different one from another have been confounded together. He cauſed to be built at Athens what went by the name of *the long wall* (188). It was rather the buſineſs of the Peloponneſians to fortify the Iſthmus of Corinth, than that of the Athenians.

(185) Plato, in Menexeno, *pag. m.* 517.

(186) Plut. in his Life: *Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Thucyd. lib. ii, iii, & ſeq.*

(187) Ἐν δὲ Νεμέᾳ, apud Nemeam. *Plutarch. in Pericl, pag.* 163, *D.*

(188) Μακρὰ τείχη, longum murum. *Ibid. pag.* 160, *init.*

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Pericles [*R*]. Which will give me occaſion to obſerve the unjuſt acts and diſorders which

V. Plutarch and Herodotus are not well quoted; the latter ſays nothing of the apophthegms or actions of Pericles; and the other mentions only part of the things related in the Supplement. The fine ſaying *Amicus uſque ad aras, - - - to be-friend one as far as religion gives leave*, being not in the life of Pericles, the book of Plutarch wherein it is mentioned, ſhould have been quoted (189). VI. The article of Pericles's ſon is very bad: any reader would think that he commanded in chief the Athenian fleet, which defeated that of Lacedæmon near the iſlands called Arginuſæ; for we are told, that *he did wonders in that expedition, and burnt the fleet of the enemies.* This author ſhould have expreſſed himſelf ſo, if he had meant a man who had the whole command. He ſaid juſt before, that *the Athenians choſe him to ſucceed Alcibiades:* Which will deceive more and more thoſe who are not ignorant that Alcibiades had been captain-general of the Athenians (190). The truth is, that ten generals were choſen in the room of Alcibiades, and that Pericles's ſon was one of the ten (191). Xenophon ſays ſo poſitively, and does not ſay that the Lacedæmonian fleet was burnt; he only ſays, that it was beaten, and went off, having loſt ſeventy ſhips (192). Note, That the commander on the day of the battle, was not Pericles, but Thraſybulus (193). If it be objected that the colleagues of Pericles are mentioned in the Supplement, for it ſays that *he was condemned with the other ſeven captains of the army, to loſe his head*; I anſwer that my cenſure is well grounded notwithſtanding. An author, who contradicts himſelf by uſing ſome expreſſions which deſtroy one another, gives an ill account of a fact, and confounds and deceives his reader. Here is another deceit; for a reader being undeceived by this laſt phraſe, as to Pericles his commanding in chief, will be apt to believe that there was but eight commanders on board that fleet. He will be therefore miſtaken, for there were ten: it is true, there was but eight of them condemned to loſe their lives. The author of the Supplement ought to have expreſſed himſelf thus, *he was condemned with ſeven others.* Xenophon obſerves that ſix only were put to death, and that the other two were abſent (194). He or Diodorus Siculus ſhould have been quoted in the Supplement, and not Plutarch, who mentioned only the ſon of Pericles by the by (195), and without telling the circumſtances of the cauſes of his death. They were ſo unjuſt, that a more enormous thing was perhaps never ſeen under the moſt deſpotic monarchy. The Athenians put to death ſix generals, who had lately obtained the moſt glorious victory, that Grecians ever obtained over Grecians, and who had ſignalized themſelves on many other occaſions; they were put to death, I ſay, becauſe they had not buried thoſe who died in the battle; no regard was had to the reaſon that juſtified them. What they alledged in their defence was not at all minded, *viz.* that thoſe whom they had intruſted with that care, met with a ſtorm, which hindered them from executing that commiſſion (196). Socrates, one of their judges, oppoſed vigorouſly that injuſtice; but his reaſons were not minded (197). Theſe brave men ſuffered death after ſuch a manner as rendered that iniquity moſt execrable. Diomedon ſpoke for all, and inſtead of imprecations and complaints, inſtead of ſetting forth their ſervices paid with ungratefulneſs, he was contented to wiſh, that their death might prove happy to their country, and to deſire the aſſembly to perform the vows which they had made in order to obtain the victory. Τὰ μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν κυρωθέντα συνενέγκαι τῇ πόλει· τὰς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης εὐχὰς ἐπειδὴπερ ἡ τύχη κεκώλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἀποδοῦναι, καλῶς ἔχον ὑμᾶς φρονῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς ἀπόδοτε. τοῦτοις γὰρ εὐξάμενοι, τὺς πολεμίους κατενανμαχήσαμεν. *Quod in capita noſtra jam decretum eſt, id fauſtum ac felix civitati huic eveniat. At vota pro victoriâ Diis nuncupata, quia fortuna reddere nos prohibuit, vos accurare pium & honeſtum eſt. Jovi igitur ſervatori & Apollini & venerandis Deabus illa perſolvitote. Horum enim numine invocato hoſtes profligavimus* (198). The Hiſtorian who relates this, adds a reflexion upon the fury which moved the people to ſuch an injuſtice, the people, I ſay, incenſed by their Orators. Οὕτω δὲ ὁ δῆμος τότε παρεφρόνησε, καὶ παροζυνθεὶς ἀδίκως ὑπὲρ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἃ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ σεφάνων ἐξίως. Tam perditè tunc populus inſanivit, ut ab Oratoribus præter jus & fas exacerbatus, iram ſuam in viros, non modo nullâ pœnâ, ſed magnis inſuper laudibus & coronis dignos, exonerarit (199). - - - *The people were ſo exceſſively enraged, being incenſed by their Orators, contrary to all juſtice and equity, that they vented their fury upon men, who not only deſerved no puniſhment, but even merited the greateſt commendations and marks of honour.* But why ſhould this ſort of men go by ſuch a name? An Orator is defined, *an honeſt man who underſtands the art of ſpeaking, vir bonus dicendi peritus* (200). The name of Orator, or Preacher, ought not therefore to be given to a turbulent, factious, and wicked man, who uſes his eloquence and the ſtrength of his lungs, to move the people to violence. I have ſaid elſewhere (201), That Thomas Hobbes undertook the tranſlation of Thucydides, to put the Engliſh out of conceit with the republican ſpirit. It was well enough thought of; but it had been better ſtill, if he had written a book concerning the internal ſtate of Athens. The hiſtory we have of that people is only fit to impoſe upon us; we are charmed with the fair ſide of it; we are dazzled with the battles of Marathon and Salamis; with their land and ſea-forces, their conqueſts, the wealth of the inhabitants, the pomp of their public ſhews, and the magnificence of their public buildings. All thoſe things induce us to think, that to live under another form of government, is to be a ſlave. But if we had a Hiſtory which ſhould but touch upon thoſe things, and ſet forth at large the tumults of their aſſemblies, the factions which divided that city, the ſeditions wherewith it was agitated, the moſt illuſtrious ſubjects perſecuted, baniſhed (202), puniſhed with death at the will of a violent harangue-maker, we ſhould be convinced, that the Athenians who boaſted ſo much of their liberty, were in truth but ſlaves to a few factious perſons, whom they called Demagogues, and who made them turn ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, according as their paſſions changed: as the ſea drives the waves ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, according as it is toſſed with the winds (203). If you inquire into the hiſtory of Macedonia, which was a monarchy, it will not afford you ſo many examples of tyranny, as the hiſtory of the Athenians will. But this is too long a digreſſion. See the remark [*S*].

[*R*] The faults *of another French writer concerning Pericles.*] He did not put his name to his book, which was printed at Paris in two volumes in 12mo in the year 1669, and is intituled, *A general hiſtory of Greece.* He ſays, That Phidias was accuſed *of having in his hands a great deal of ſacred money, which was given him by Pericles* (204). . . . . That the Athenians *charged Pericles with that ſacrilege, and accuſed Anaxagoras the Philoſopher, his preceptor, of being an accomplice of it, and of having given him ſuch inſtructions* (205). This author has not well underſtood the Hiſtorian whom he tranſcribes; for we read in Diodorus Siculus, that Phidias was accuſed of having converted to his own uſe a great ſum of money, not without the knowledge of Pericles, who ordered him to make the ſtatue of Minerva. Whereupon the enemies of Pericles moved the people to impriſon Phidias, and to bring an action of ſacrilege againſt Pericles. They alſo accuſed Anaxagoras of impious doctrines, and involved Pericles in the ſame accuſation (206). It muſt be confeſſed that an Hiſtorian, who repreſents that fact as the modern author has repreſented it, does falſify, and conſiderably diſguiſe it. Some pages after he ſays, That Pericles having made the funeral oration which is *in the ſecond book of Thucydides . . . . was ſo much careſſed and courted by the Athenian ladies, that as he came down from the pulpit, they embraced him, kiſſed his hands, and crowned his head with flowers, as if he had returned victorious from the Olympic games* (207). This author confounds the times: the harangue of Pericles, mentioned by Thucydides, was pronounced in commendation of thoſe who had been killed in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. But the Orator was not careſſed by the ladies at that time. If our modern author had carefully examined Plutarch whom he quotes, he might have known that Pericles received thoſe

(189) It is the treatiſe *de uxoriſo Pudore, pag. m.* 531. See alſo Aulus Gellius, *lib. i, cap. iii.*

(190) See Plutarch in the Life of Alcibiades, *pag.* 210.

(191) *See* Xenophon, *lib. i*, de Geſtis Græcor. *pag. m.* 259. *See alſo* Diod. Sicul. *lib. xiii, cap. C.*

(192) Xenoph. ibid. *pag.* 262.

(193) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xiii, pag. xcvii.*

(194) Xenoph. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 265.

(195) Plut. in Vit. Periclis, *ſub fin. pag.* 172.

(196) *See* Xenoph. ibid. *pag.* 263.

(197) See the Life of Socrates, written by Mr Charpentier, *pag. m.* 168, & *ſeq.*

(198) Diod. Sic. *lib. xiii, cap. cii, pag. m.* 553. It is the 221ſt page of the Greek and Latin Edit. 1604, *in fol.*

(199) Ibid.

(200) *See* Quintil. *lib. xii, cap. i, pag. m.* 552.

(201) Above, in the text of the article HOBBES, at the beginning.

(202) Hos libros tum ſcripſiſſe dicitur (*Thucidydes*) quum à Rep. remotus, atque id quod optimo cuique Athenis accidere ſolitum eſt, in exilium pulſus eſſet. - - - *Thucydides is ſaid to have written thoſe books, when he was removed from the government and baniſhed, which commonly happened to the moſt illuſtrious perſons.* Cicero, de Oratore, *lib. ii, fol.* 73, *D.*

(203) Compare this with citation (75) of the article EDWARD IV.

(204) A General Hiſtory of Greece, *Tom. ii, pag.* 390.

(205) Ibid. *pag.* 391.

(206) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xii, cap. xxxix.*

(207) General Hiſt. of Greece, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 409.

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which often prevailed under the republican ſtate of Athens [S].

Of all the actions of Pericles, his expedition to Samos, the motives whereof I have mentioned in one of my remarks (e), was miſrepreſented with the greateſt malignity (f). You will find it in Plutarch, but he has omitted an odious circumſtance, which he might have found in Alexis the Samian, in the ſecond book of the confines of Samos. That author obſerved that the whores who followed Pericles in that expedition, got ſo much money, that they built the temple of Venus, ſirnamed of the reeds, or of the marſhes in Samos [T]. Which was a reflexion upon that General, as if he had not well obſerved Military diſcipline.

(e) Above, citation (164).

(f) See Plutarch in the Life of Pericles, *pag.* 166, *& ſeq.*

thoſe careſſes after the funeral oration he made for thoſe who had loſt their lives in the Samian war (208). There was a ſpace of ten years between thoſe two harangues (209). Here is another miſtake of that author. Having related what happened in the two firſt campaigns of the Peloponneſian war, he ſays, that Pericles being diſpleaſed with the reproaches of the people, harangued the council of Athens, and repreſented ſeveral things, which made no great impreſſion upon them (210), ſince *that great man was fined* (211). *But*, (the Hiſtorian goes on) (212), *he was elected again general of the Athenian army, an honour he enjoyed not long, for he died two years and a half after.* He muſt then have lived till the fifth year of the Peloponneſian war; but Thucydides who knew it very well (213), ſays he died two years and a half after the beginning of that war. If that general Hiſtory of Greece was thus carefully examined, I believe we ſhould find it abounding in ſuch miſtakes.

(208) See the remark [N], citation (144).

(209) The war of Samos happened in the LXXXIVth Olympiad, and that of Peloponneſus in the LXXXVIIth.

(210) General Hiſtory of Greece, *Tom. ii, pag.* 413.

(211) Ibid. *pag.* 415.

(212) Ibid. *pag.* 416.

(213) Thucydides, *lib. ii, pag. m.* 118.

[S] *The unjuſt acts and diſorders which often prevailed among the Athenians.*] See in the remark [Q] what I have ſaid upon this ſubject by way of digreſſion. I would add nothing to it, were it not that I know ſome perſons have been diſpleaſed with that digreſſion, and even affirmed that I am the only man who ever made a remark of that nature. I will ſhew them that they have not read much, and that the authorities which might be alledged againſt them, will not be more favourable to them than reaſon: Reaſon, I ſay; for can any one have a good opinion of a government, wherein the oppoſite factions of declaimers were a neceſſary evil. Ὁ μὲν ἔν Μελάνθιῳ εἴτε παίζων εἴτε σπουδάζων, ἔλεγε διασώζεσθαι τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων διχοστασίας καὶ ταραχῆς. ἐ γὰρ ἀποκλίνειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖχον, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι τινα τῇ βλάπτοντι ἀνθολκὴν ἐν τῇ διαιρᾷ τῶν πολιτευομένων. Sanè Melanthius, five ſerio id, five joco, Athenienſium civitatem conſervatam fuiſſe dixit oratorum diſſidiis atque turbis. Ita enim non in unum univerſos parietem inclinaſſe, ſed eorum qui rempublicam tractabant in diſſidio quippiam fuiſſe quod repelleret à damnoſa parte urbem (214). - - - *Melanthius ſaid, whether in jeſt or earneſt, I cannot tell, that Athens was preſerved by the parties and factions of the declaimers. For they were not all inclined the ſame way, but the diviſions amongſt thoſe in the adminiſtration ſaved the city from deſtruction.* I deſire you to compare two paſſages of Ariſtotle together, that wherein he deſcribes the diſorders of Democracies, and another wherein he obſerves how the city of Athens came to a democratical government. You will find by conferring thoſe two paſſages one with another, that he muſt needs have looked upon the government, which was eſtabliſhed at Athens, after the victories obtained over the Perſians, as a perfect tyranny. He ſays, that after Solon intruſted ſome judges, elected by the people, with the ſupreme authority, the people were flattered as tyrants uſe to be; that Ephialtes and Pericles leſſened the authority of the Areopagus; that Pericles rendered magiſtracy mercenary, and that the other Demagogues following thoſe examples, introduced Democracy at laſt. He pretends that they acted not therein according to Solon's intentions; and that the pride of the inhabitants, after the glory they acquired in the war againſt the Perſians, and the ill qualities of the Demagogues, produced that effect (215). Thus he acknowledges that Democracy reigned in Athens, that is, according to the deſcription he made of that form of government in another place of the ſame book (216), a ſtate wherein all things, even the laws themſelves, depend upon the multitude made a tyrant, and governed by the flatteries of ſome declaimers. Boëtius brings in Philoſophy ſpeaking theſe words, which are not advantageous to the Athenians: ‘ Si cujus oriundus ſis ‘ patriæ reminiſceris, non uti Athenienſium quondam, ‘ multitudinis imperio regitur: ſed εἷς κοίρανος ἐστὶν, ‘ εἷς βασιλεύς: qui frequentia civium non DEPULSIONE lætatur (217). - - - *Your native country is ‘ not like Athens, governed by the multitude: but it has ‘ one prince, one king, who rejoices in the great number ‘ of his ſubjects and not in their* BANISHMENT.’ There is ſcarce any thing more ſatirical againſt the Athenians, than the verſes of Julius Cæſar Scaliger, wherewith a learned Profeſſor of Hiſtory, in the univerſity of an imperial city, was extraordinary well pleaſed. I obſerve this, that one may ſee that a Profeſſor who received his ſalary from a republic, did not think himſelf obliged to have any regard for the government of Athens. He is not contented to ſet down the invective of Scaliger, the Father, and to praiſe it; but he ſtrengthens it with examples, and with an apoſtrophe of Demoſthenes to Minerva, O goddeſs, ſaid that Orator, being ready to go into baniſhment, how come you to be ſo fond of three very troubleſome beaſts, the owl, the dragon, and the people? ‘ Cùm nulla cœna tam parca ſit, in qua non ‘ hilaritatis poculum circumeat; propinabo ejus loco ‘ lepidiſſimos hoſce verſus *Julii Scaligeri* de inſaniente ‘ *Athenienſium* vulgo:

Nulla eſt, puto Reſpublica nativè vera,
Commentitia, fictavè cogitatione,
Aut ſtultitiâ aut nequitiâ Atticâ priores.
Ita conſiliis flagitiiſque Demagogos
Tetris nugivoram excruciaſſe cerno plebem:
Fecem pelagi turbine turbulentiorem.
Juſtos opibus, patria & exuiſſe vita.

(214) Plut. de audiendis Poëtis, *pag.* 20, *C.*

(215) Ariſt. Politic. *lib. ii, cap. xii, pag. m.* 252.

(216) Ibid. *lib. iv, cap. iv, pag.* 278.

(217) Boët. de Conſol. Philoſ. *lib. i, pag. m.* 16. See the notes of Renatus Vallinus upon that place of Boëtius.

‘ Nihil ſolemnius hoc poſtremo; & exemplo eſt *Diomedon* apud *Valerium noſtrum*, qui *ad non meritum ‘ ſupplicium ductus nihil aliud locutus eſt, quam ut vota ‘ pro incolumitate exercitus ab ipſo nuncupata ſolverentur.* Fertur, cum *Demoſthenes* jam exulaturus urbe ‘ cederet, extenſis verſus arcem manibus exclamaſſe: ‘ *O Domina Polias* (ita Minervam cognominabant) ‘ *quid ita gaudes tribus moleſtiſſimis beſtiis, Noctua, Dracone & Populo* (218). - - - *At there is no entertainment, ‘ however ſcanty, without a chirping cup; I ſhall give ‘ in the room of it theſe pretty verſes of Julius Scaliger, ‘ concerning the mad people of Athens:*

The ſtrongeſt fancy cannot well conceive,
How any ſtate or nation ſhould ſurpaſs
Athens in folly, or in wicked deeds.
Factious leaders us'd ſo to ſet on flame,
By horrid counſels and ſtand'ring moſt vile;
The giddy mob, more boiſterous than the ſea;
They plunder'd, baniſh'd and put to death the juſt.

‘ *Nothing can be more ſolemn than the laſt verſe: and* ‘ Diomedon *in our Valerius is a proof of the truth of* ‘ *it, who being brought to an undeſerved puniſhment* ‘ *made no complaint, only deſired that the vows he had* ‘ *made for the ſafety of the army might be performed.* ‘ *Demoſthenes being ready to go into exile, &c.*’

(218) Chriſtophorus Adamus Rupertus, Diſſert. in Val. Max. *lib. i, cap. i, pag.* 33, 34, *Edit. Norimberg* 1663. What he ſays of Demoſthenes is in Plutarch, in the Life of Demoſthenes, *pag.* 858, *B.*

[T] *The whores . . . got ſo much money that they built the temple of Venus . . . . of the marſhes.*] We find this particular in Athenæus. Ἀλέξις δ' ὁ Σαμιῶς, ſays he, ἐν δευτέρῳ ὅρων Σαμιακῶν τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Ελεατικαῖς φησὶν, ἑταίρας ἱδρύσαντο αἱ συνακολουθήσαι Περικλεῖ, ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Σάμον, ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας. *Alexis Samius libro ſecundo de Samiorum finibus, ſcribit, ædem Veneris in Samo, quam in arundinibus quidam vocant, alii in paluſtribus, meretrices Periclem ſecutas, cùm obſideret Samum, ædificaſſe, ingenti quæſtu proſtituta forma ditatas* (219). Let us wonder at the blindneſs of the human mind; here are ſome conſcientious proſtitutes,

(219) Athen. *lib. xiii, cap. iv, pag.* 572.

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tutes, who consecrate to religion a considerable part of the money they have got by their infamous debaucheries. They cannot be better compared than with those Financiers, who being grown rich with the blood and sweat of the people, build a magnificent chapel, and adorn the great altar of a cathedral with their offerings.

Si l'on vient à chercher pour quel secret mystere
Alidor à ses frais bâtit un monastere.
Alidor, dit un fourbe, il est de mes amis,
Je l'ai conu laquais, avant qu'il fût Commis:
C'est un homme d'honneur. de pieté profonde,
Et qui veut rendre à Dieu ce qu'il a pris au monde (220).

(220) Boileau, Sat. IX, ver. 139.

These soft-mouth'd satirists would thus declaim
At M - - - - r, whose charity records his name;
The knight had known how needy wretches fare,
His parents were, it seems, the parish care;
A saint profound . . . to make his reck'ning ev'n,
The wealth he stole from man, he gave to Heav'n.

Some Heathens have been more discerning men than the Samians. Do you think the emperor Alexander would have permitted that the courtezans of Rome should spend part of their gain in the building of a temple? He would not so much as permit that the tribute paid by public whores and pimps, should be brought into his treasury; he ordered that it should serve for the repairing of the amphitheatre, &c. *Leonum vectigal & meretricum, & exoletorum in sacrum ærarium inferri vetuit, sed sumptibus publicis ad instaurationem theatri, circi, amphitheatri, & stadii, deputavit* (221).

(221) Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo, *cap. xxiv, pag. m. 917, 918, Tom. I,* Hist. August. Scriptor.

PERIERS (BONAVANTURE DES) born at Bar upon the river Aube in Burgundy, was Valet de Chambre to Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I (*a*). He wrote several pieces of French Poetry, which were printed after his death at Lyons, by John de Tournes, in the year 1544, in 8vo; translated (*b*) the *Andria* of Terence (*c*), and wrote several tales in prose, intituled *New Recreations* (*d*) [*A*]. I never saw his *Cymbalum mundi*: which is said to be a most impious book [*B*]. He came to an

(a) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 36.

(b) Into French verse.

(c) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 131.

(d) La Croix du Maine, ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote several tales in prose, intituled,* New Recreations.] La Croix du Maine says, that *the two first authors of that work are James Peletier of Mans, a Physician, and a Philosopher, and Nicolas Denisot, surnamed the count de Alsenois* (1). Stephen Pasquier speaks otherwise of it in a letter which he writ to Tarbourot, Sieur des Accords, the author of a book, intituled, *Les Bigarrures.* 'I find, says he (2), that in this second edition, you ascribe the recreations of Bonaventure du Perier to James Pelletier. Give me leave to tell you that I think you are not well informed. I was one of Pelletier's greatest friends, and he imparted his most secret thoughts to me. I know what books he told me he had composed. He never mentioned this to me. He was a true Poet, and very jealous of his name, and I can assure you he would not have concealed it from me, the book being so valuable for it's subject, that it does not deserve to be disowned by it's author, no more than the *Facetiæ* of Poggius Florentinus. Du Perier is the author of them, and of another book, intituled, *Cymbalum Mundi*, which is a Lucianism, that deserves to be burnt, together with the author, if he were alive.' What is certain, is, that Des Periers is not the author of all the tales which are in his New Recreations. He cannot be the author of that which is the first in the edition mentioned by Voëtius. It is that of Rouen in 1606, for Raphaël du Petit-Val. It is said in the first tale, that this book comes out very seasonably, to afford the ladies some diversion during the civil wars, which caused so many public misfortunes. Des Periers could not say that, for he died a great while before the first civil wars of France. Let us see what that famous Divine thought of that book. 'Eum *(librum)* carptim percurrens, offendi nihil aliud esse quam *colloquia prava*; hoc est, narrationes & dissertationes, meris morologiis, vanitatibus, obscœnitatibus, nominis divini abusibus refertas, quo quidem nemini nisi Epicureis (quibus voluptas summum bonum) placere potest. Et tamen librum cum autore in cœlum tollit, quisquis præfationem præfixit . . . suffecerit ex primâ novella quæ instar præambuli est, annotasse, quod dicat se libellum illum opportunè tunc edere, ut in mediis bellis civilibus & publicis calamitatibus habeant unde se oblectent imprimis matronæ & virgines, quas ad lectionem nominatim scurrilium quæ ibi occurrunt, contentiose invitat. Summam autem & maximè convenientem huic vitæ nostræ doctrinam esse. *Bene vivere & lætari*; quod postea interpretatur ridere (3). --- *I ran over that book slightly, and found it contained nothing but wicked dialogues; that is, narratives and dissertations stuffed with buffoonry, vanity, obscenity, and the profanation of* G O D's *name, so that none can be pleased with it but Epicureans, whose chief good is pleasure. And yet the writer of the preface extols the book and the author to Heaven . . . let it suffice to observe from the first story, which serves by way of introduction, that the book is said to come out very seasonably at that time, to afford diversion during the civil wars and public calamities to the ladies and young women, who are earnestly invited to read it, and especially the scurrilous things contained in it. That the chief and most proper rule of life, is* to be merry and rejoice, or laugh.' Des Periers is not the only author who published such tales. The nine Matinées of the lord de Cholieres are of the same stamp, *merry and recreative*, and very full of obscenities. I think the first edition is that of the year 1585, Paris, for John Richer, in 8vo, with the king's licence.

(1) Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 36. See also *pag.* 193.

(2) Pasquier, Letters, *book viii, Tom. I, pag.* 493, *Edit. Paris.* 1619, *in 8vo.*

(3) Gisb. Voët. Disp. Theol. *Vol. I, pag.* 200.

[*B*] *His* Cymbalum Mundi: *it is said to be a most impious book.*] He wrote it *first in Latin*, and then he translated it *into French under the name of Thomas du Clevier, printed at Paris in the year* 1537 La Croix du Maine, who expresses himself thus (4), says that it is a *detestable book, and full of impieties.* We have already seen that Stephen Pasquier had the same opinion of it. I have found a kind of analysis of the *Cymbalum Mundi* in the French Bibliotheque of du Verdier Vauprivas, and because most of my readers cannot conveniently have recourse to that Bibliotheque, I thought they would be glad to find an abstract of it here. 'Thomas 'du Clevier translated out of Latin into French, a 'treatise, intituled, *Cymbalum Mundi*, containing four 'poetical dialogues very antique, merry, and pleasant, 'printed at Lyons, in 16mo, by Benoit Bonnyn, '1538. I have found nothing in that book that deserves a greater censure than Ovid's Metamorphosis, 'the Dialogues of Lucian, and the books of wanton 'subjects and fabulous fictions. In the first dialogue 'the author introduces Mercury, Bryphanes, and Curtalius, who being in an inn at Athens, at the sign 'of the White Coal, whether Mercury happened to 'come, being descended from Heaven by Jupiter's order, who sent him to get a book bound; those two 'rogues, whilst he went to divert himself, take this 'book out of a packet he had left upon the bed, steal 'it, and put another in the room of it, containing 'all the amorous tricks and follies of Jupiter, as when 'he turned himself into a bull to ravish Europa; when 'he put on the shape of a swan to go to Leda; when 'he took the form of Amphytrion, &c. In the second 'dialogue he brings in some Philosophers, looking 'for pieces of the Philosophers stone in the sand of the 'theatre, where, as they were formerly disputing about 'it, Mercury shewed it to them, and those fools importuned him so much with their entreaties, that not 'knowing to whom he should give it entire, he reduced it to powder, and threw it into the sand, that 'every one might have something of it, bidding them 'look well for it, and that if they could find a little 'piece of it, they would do wonders, transmute metals, break the bars of doors that are open, cure people that are not sick, and obtain any thing from the 'gods that was lawful, and would necessarily happen, 'as rain after fair weather, flowers in the spring, dust 'and heat in the summer, fruits in autumn, cold and 'dirt in winter: whereby the author laughs at the 'vain labours of Alchymists (5). . . . In the third 'dialogue

(4) Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 36, 37.

(5) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 1277.

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an unhappy end, for *he killed himſelf with a ſword, which he thruſt into his belly, being grown mad* (e). Several authors ſpeak of his deſpair [C]. Mr Allard ſays, that the name of our Bonaventure was Perier, and that he was born in the *Ambrunois*, and that *he wrote an apology in verſe for Marot abſent, againſt Sagon in the year* 1580 (f). It is certain that he made that apology, but not in that year: for he died before the year 1544.

(e) Ibid. *pag.* 37.

(f) Allard. Bibl. of Dauphiné, *pag.* 172.

' dialogue he reſumes the diſcourſe of the firſt dia-
' logue, about the book ſtolen from the author, of all
' thefts, intituled, Quæ in hoc libro continentur:
' Chronica rerum memorabilum quas Jupiter geſſit an-
' tequam eſſet ipſe. Fatorum præſcriptum: Sive,
' eorum quæ futura ſunt, certæ diſpoſitiones. Cata-
' logus Heroum immortalium, qui cum Jove vitam
' victuri ſunt ſempiternam. - - - *The contents of this* ' *book are; Chronicles of the memorable things which* ' *Jupiter performed before he exiſted. The Decree of* ' *Fate, or certain Diſpoſitions of thoſe things that are to* ' *happen. A catalogue of immortal Heroes, who are to* ' *live eternally with Jupiter.* Wherein the author ' ridicules firſt the idolatrous Heathens, and their ' falſe god Jupiter, meaning that he never exiſted; or ' that if he did ever exiſt, he was a man, and never ' did any wonderful actions, nor ſuch as have been ' fabulouſly written of him. By the ſecond head of ' the title of the book, he laughs at deſtiny, and ' fatal neceſſity, and tacitly at judicial Aſtrology. ' And by the third, he laughs at thoſe who look upon ' themſelves as gods, by reaſon of their grandeur. After-
' wards he brings in Mercury diſcourſing of the ſeveral
' commiſſions which the gods and goddeſſes have in-
' truſted him with; and the ſame Mercury, by virtue
' of ſome words which he mutters, makes a horſe, cal-
' led Phlegon, ſpeak, and reaſon with his groom. In
' the fourth and laſt dialogue, two dogs . . . diſ-
' courſe together of ſeveral pleaſant things (6).' It does not appear that du Verdier Vau-Privas found any thing dangerous in that book, but only the ridiculouſneſs of the Pagan religion, *&c.* Moſt other readers are of opinion, that Bonaventure des Periers wrote againſt the true religion, under pretence of ridiculing Paganiſm. It was the opinion of Father Merſenne. That man, ſays he, brings in the fables of Jupiter and Mercury, *&c.* and deſigns by ſuch means to open the way to ridicule the Catholic faith, and reject the greateſt truths that we teach and believe concerning God. *Per quas* (fabulas) *fidem Catholicam irridere, & ea quæ de Deo veriſſima eſſe, dicimus & credimus, rejicere velle videtur* (7). He ſays that Bonaventure des Periers was only the tranſlator of the *Cymbalum Mundi*, and that he was a moſt impious knave, *impiiſſimum nebulonem*, and looked upon as an Atheiſt by a great many people. Voëtius, who had not ſeen that book, does not ſay that the author was an Atheiſt, nay, he acquits him of Atheiſm, ſuppoſing the *Cymbalum Mundi* to be only a ſatire againſt Purgatory, and many other inventions of Chriſtians. He adds, that a man may inſinuate Atheiſm, or Epicureiſm, in a trifling and fabulous book, and make uſe of that artifice to come off, if he is proſecuted for it. He adds alſo, that in a ſtage-play, intituled *Iphigenia*, one may laugh at Hecate, who had three ſeveral ſhapes, and ridicule the gods who will have human victims, and run down the prieſts who adviſe to offer ſuch ſacrifices. A man may deſign to ridicule the Trinity, and the Paſſion of the Son of God, and to open a door to Deiſm and Turkiſh Socinianiſm; but he may alſo maintain, if there is any neceſſity for it, that they who underſtand it ſo, are calumniators, and that he only deſigned to turn the fables of Paganiſm into ridicule. I ſhall ſet down the words of Voëtius, they intimate that ſome ſuch thing had happened upon the ſtage in a town of Holland. *Quibus reponi poteſt: nihil vetare, quin Lucianum omneſque prophanos & impios poetas atque antiquos literiones imitando quis ſubdolè Atheiſmum, Epicureiſmum, Gentiliſmum hominum animis inſtillet; quamvis ſtylum ludicris ambiguitatibus, & jocis, item mimeſibus, proſopopœis, &c. ita moderetur, ut ſi quis hæc ad examen revocet, colore aliquo eludere & elabi poſſit. Quomodo meminimus à Sceptico-Libertinis & Epicureis nebulonibus alicubi in Belgio omnem pietatem & fidem Chriſtianam dicteriis quibuſque apud homines traductam eſſe: exempli gratia, Tragœdia ſcribitur, & in theatro exhibetur tit.* Iphigenia: *in quâ Ethnica illa, de Hecate triformi, de diis ſanguine humano, idque ex conſilio ſacerdotum, placandis perſtringuntur. Si quis pius metuat (ut quidem autores illos novit) eos myſterium Trinitatis, & redemptionis noſtræ per ſanguinem Chriſti velle deridendum proponere & ſic Epicureiſmo, Deiſmo, aut Turco-Socinianiſmi viam munire: quomodo hoc evincet; cum promptum ſemper ſit effugium; rideri tantum fabulas Gentilium* (8).

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 1178.

(7) Merſen. in Geneſim, *pag.* 669, apud Voët. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 199.

(8) Voët. ubi ſupra.

The reflexions of that profeſſor of Divinity are very judicious: there are two ways of ridiculing ſuperſtition, the one very good, the other very bad. The Fathers of the church, who have expoſed the ridiculouſneſs of falſe deities, are very much to be praiſed, for they propoſed thereby to open the eyes of the Pagans, and to confirm the Faithful. They knew that by inſpiring the Chriſtians with contempt and averſion for Paganiſm, they ſtrengthened their faith, and gave them ſome arms to reſiſt perſecution. But Lucian, who did ſo much ridicule the falſe gods of the Heathens, and made a moſt lively and agreeable deſcription of the follies and impoſtures of the religion of the Grecians, deſerves notwithſtanding to be deteſted, ſince inſtead of doing it out of a good motive, he had no other deſign than to ſatisfy his ſcoffing ſatirical humour, and was no leſs indifferent or averſe to truth than to lies. Thoſe two models, that of the Fathers of the church, and that of Lucian, may ſerve to make one judge rightly of ſeveral ſatires, which have been made in theſe latter times, againſt abuſes in matters of religion. Rabelais ought to be looked upon as a copier of Lucian, and I think the ſame ought to be ſaid of *Bonaventure des Periers*; for I find that the Proteſtants (9) are not leſs angry with the *Cymbalum Mundi* than the Catholics. Only we muſt obſerve that a great many abuſes have crept into Chriſtianity, which are ſo like thoſe of the Heathens, that one cannot write againſt the Pagans, without affording many devout men a pretence to ſay, that the Chriſtian religion is wounded through the ſides of the Pagan religion. It is the duty of thoſe, who give occaſion for ſuch reproaches, to examine ſeriouſly what was their intention, and whether they did actually deſign, that their deſcriptions of the faults of the Heathens ſhould be looked upon as a picture of modern abuſes. Some diſſenting Proteſtants in England, are accuſed of having made a lively deſcription of the corruption of the antient Romiſh clergy, only to draw a picture which might caſt an odium upon the preſent ſtate of the Epiſcopalians. We find in Milton's life (10), that his Hiſtory of England, as far as William the Conqueror, was printed in the year 1670, but not ſuch as he wrote it, for the licenſer ſtruck out ſeveral paſſages, which contained a deſcription of the ſuperſtition, luxury, and craft of the eccleſiaſtics, who lived under the Saxon kings. The reviſors of the manuſcript fancied, that it was a reflexion upon the clergy under the reign of Charles II. The author of that life adds (11), that Sir Robert Howard having heard, that he was accuſed of having whipped, in a certain book, the clergy of England, upon the back of the Pagan and Popiſh prieſts, anſwered maliciouſly and ſubtilly, *what had they to do there* (12)?

(9) La Croix du Maine, whom I have already quoted, and Henry Stephens, whoſe words you will ſee in the next remark.

(10) Toland, the Life of Milton, *pag.* 138.

(11) Ibid.

(12) The reader will perhaps remember the comedy intituled, *The Cheats of Scapin*, where, when the father is told of his ſon's ranſom, he aſks ſo often, *what the devil had he to do in that ſhip?*

[C] *Several authors ſpeak of his deſpair.*] I ſhall only ſet down the words of Henry Stephens (13). ' I
' will not forget Bonaventure des Periers, the author
' of a deteſtable book, intituled *Cymbalum Mundi*,
' who, notwithſtanding the care that was taken to ob-
' ſerve him, (becauſe it was known that he deſigned
' to make away with himſelf) was found run through
' with his ſword, upon which he threw himſelf,
' having faſtened the pommel againſt the ground,
' ſo that the point run through his ſtomach to his
' back.' See alſo John Chaſſanæus, chap. 24, of the firſt book of the memorable Hiſtories of the great and wonderful Judgments and Puniſhments of God (14).

(13) Henry Stephens, Apology for Herodotus, *cap. xxviii, ſub fin. pag.* m. 231. See alſo *cap. xxvi, pag.* 309.

(14) *Pag.* 170, *Genev. Edit.* 1586, *in* 8vo.

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PERIMEDE, a famous witch, whom Theocritus equals to Medea and Circe (*a*), and who according to the ſcholiaſt on that Poet was the ſame with Agamede mentioned in the Iliad. This Agamede was the eldeſt daughter of Augeas king of Elis (*b*), and wife of Mulius, a brave man, killed by Neſtor (*c*), who was then very young (*d*). I make this remark in order to ſhew the time wherein Perimede lived, if ſhe was not different from Agamede. It is thought, Propertius ſpoke of Perimede [*A*].

(a) Theocr. Idyll. II, ver. 16.

(b) Homer. Iliad. lib. XI, ver. 739.

(c) Id. ib. ver. 737, & ſeq.

(d) Id. ib. ver. 683, 718.

[*A*] *It is thought, Propertius ſpoke of Perimede.*] The manuſcripts vary much in the paſſage relating to that; and therefore ſeveral editions give it in this manner:

Non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Citeis
Non per Medeæ gramina cocta manus (1).

All the charms of Citeis here will fail,
Herbs by Medea boil'd will not avail.

(1) Propert. lib. II, Eleg. IV.

Muretus, having conſidered that *Citeis* ſignifies Medea, did not believe that ſhe was ſpoken of in the following verſe; and therefore he ſays it ought to be read thus:

Non Perimedeæ gramina cocta manu,

And Perimede's herbs will not avail,

and he obſerves that Beroaldus found this reading in ſome old manuſcripts (2). Grævius has followed it in his edition of Propertius. Brockhuſius has alſo followed it, and approved the reaſoning of Muretus. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that inſtead of *cocta, boiled,* he would put *lecta, gathered,* and confirms his conjecture in a very learned manner (3).

(2) Muret. Notis in Propertium, Eleg. IV, lib. ii.

(3) See his excellent edition of Propertius.

PEROT (NICOLAS) in Latin *Perottus*, born at Saſſoferrato in Italy, was one of the moſt learned men of the XVth century. He was of a family which had been formerly illuſtrious in his country [*A*], but it fell into an obſcure condition, as it may be gathered from the ſmall eſtate he had, and from his firſt profeſſion, which was to teach the Latin tongue (*a*). He acquitted himſelf very well in it, and got a great number of ſcholars. He put the rudiments of the Latin tongue into a better order, and a ſhorter method, and publiſhed them to the great advantage of his ſcholars. Afterwards he went to Rome, where he ſtudied the Greek tongue with great application. To let the public know what progreſs he had made in it, he undertook to tranſlate Polybius into Latin. That tranſlation was very much eſteemed [*B*]. He engaged in another work,

(a) Huic quum deeſſent opes, corporis vires municipali frugalitate, atque duritia conſtitutæ, perpetuis lucubrationum vigiliis minimè defuerunt. Juvenis in ludo pueros honeſtos docuit, &c. *Jovius, Elog. cap. xviii, pag. m.* 45.

[*A*] *He was of a family, which had been formerly illuſtrious in that country.*] The inſcription of a monument ſet up for him in the year 1624, ſays, that the town of Saſſoferrato was delivered from tyranny by his anceſtors, and was beholden to them for it's liberty and happineſs (1). James Philip Tomaſini explains that fact. He ſays (2), that whilſt Innocent VI kept his ſee at Avignon, the towns of Italy, which did belong to St Peter's patrimony, were expoſed to a thouſand miſeries. Seditions were frequent there, every place had it's tyrant. Innocent VI, to remedy thoſe diſorders, gave the government of that province to cardinal Giles Albornoti, a man well ſkilled in military affairs, and very well qualified for ſuch an employment. He made war againſt all thoſe petty tyrants, who oppreſſed the country, and was very well ſerved therein by ANDREW PEROT, and amongſt other things in the conſtruction of the fortreſſes, which are to be ſeen ſtill at Saſſoferrato, whereby that place was ſo well ſecured, that they who had tyrannized over it for a long time, loſt the hopes of getting it again. That Perot was the father of JUSTINA PEROT, a young lady, illuſtrious for her wit, and application to learning. Petrarch had a great eſteem for her, and anſwered a ſonnet which ſhe addreſſed to him: it is to be found in the *Petrarcha redivivus* of Tomaſini (3). See alſo the *Meſcolanze* of Menagius (4). Note, that Tomaſini calls that lady JUSTINA DE LEVIS PEROTTA, and ſays (5), that Andrew de Levis Perot, her father, was of the houſe of Levis, one of the moſt noble and illuſtrious houſes of France, and that this extraction is proved not only by old records, but alſo by ſome letters, which the lords of that houſe wrote from France to Rome, to Torquato Perot, chamberlain to Pope Urban VIII. They acknowledged in thoſe letters, that he was iſſued from the ſame ſtock with them: *quibus* (litteris) *illum unius ſecum ejuſdemque radicis & familiæ ingenuè agnoſcunt* (6). If this be true, it muſt be confeſſed that our archbiſhop of Siponto was of a good extraction, for the houſe of Levi is one of the nobleſt in France. I have read in a book (7), printed at Paris in 1657, that it *comes from Levi,* one *of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, out of which the Virgin Mary iſſued, whom Meſſieurs de Vantadour* (8) *call their couſin.*

(1) *See* Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. *Tom. viii, pag.* 1169.

(2) Jac. Phil. Tomaſinus, in Petrarcha redivivo, *pag.* 111.

(3) *Pag.* 111, 112.

(4) Pag. 279, & ſeq. of the Rotterdam Edit. 1692.

(5) Tomaſin. ibid. *pag.* 110.

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Intituled,* The Preſent State of France. *See the 429th page of that book.*

(8) It is a branch of the houſe of Levi.

[*B*] *His tranſlation of Polybius was very much eſteemed.*] He made it by order of Pope Nicolas V. It was looked upon as a better tranſlation than thoſe of Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Appian, and ſome envious people fanſied it was the work of an ancient author, and that Perot ſtole it. *Non defuere tamen ex æmulis, qui ejus auctoris traductionem antiquiſſimam fuiſſe, furtoque ſurreptam exiſtimarint, quod Thucydidem, Diodorum, Plutarchum, & Appianum, clariſſima ingeniorum certamine converſos, unus Polybius egregia fide Latinus, æquabili, & prædulci Romani ſermonis puritate prorſus antecedat* (9). It may be, that our Perot exceeded the tranſlators who appeared ſome time before, and that he made a maſter-piece, conſidering that he lived when the ſtudy of learning was but lately revived; but abſolutely ſpeaking, and even if he be compared with the tranſlators of the XVIth century, his tranſlation cannot be accounted a tolerable one, and conſequently Mr Varillas could not give a better proof of his ignorance of the Belles Lettres, than by paraphraſing, as he has done, the abovementioned words of Paul Jovius. 'His firſt eſſay was the tranſlation of Polybius, wherein he did 'ſo admirably ſucceed, that it was queſtioned whether 'he had made it, and whether he had not found an 'ancient tranſlation of Polybius, which he printed un'der his own name (10). . . . . He that made his epi'taph, was in the right to uſe no other words but 'this, *Here lies the tranſlator of Polybius*; for if Pe'roty be the author of it, none of thoſe who have 'tranſlated Greek . . . . . into Latin, can be com'pared with, or ſo much as come near, him (11). What a ſhame had it been for Varillas, if any body had ſhewed him what Caſaubon ſays of Perot's tranſlation? He does not deny, but he was learned in Latin and Greek according to the ability of the time wherein he lived (12), and that he may be looked upon as a man that has but one eye, in the kingdom of blindmen; but he accuſes him of having very ill performed the commiſſion of Nicolas V. *Jam ille eruditus Italus, quo ipſe* (Nicolaus Quintus) *uſus eſt interprete, partim ſæculi vitio, partim propria culpa, provinciam ſibi demandatam, ita geſſit male, facile ut appareat, non ob ſingularem aliquam eruditionem, in Græcis præſertim literis, Polybium interpretari fuiſſe juſſum; ſed quia nemo erat qui amplius ſciret, velut cœlitem inter cæcos captum, qui in vacuam ſtationem pro tempore ſubſtitueretur* (13). It would be an abſurd thing to ſuſpect that Caſaubon ſaid ſo out of envy; for what advantage could it be to him to leſſen the glory of a man, who had been dead above a hundred years? Beſides, he owns that ſuch places of Polybius as Perot had well underſtood, were ſo excellently tranſlated, that they looked like an original. 'Nicolaus Perottus, *ſays he* (14), Literarum Latinarum, 'quas perdiu docuit, exquiſitè, ut illa erant tempora 'fuit peritus, & cumprimis curioſus. . . . Erat præte'rea in hoc viro non vulgaris induſtria in *Græcis* ita 'vertendis

(9) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xviii, pag. m.* 45, 46.

(10) Varillas, The Secret Hiſt. of Florence, *pag.* 170.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 171.

(12) Partem illius (*Polybii*) librorum aliquam nactus (*Nicolaus Quintus*) ejus in Latinum ſermonem transferendæ, viro Græcæ & Romanæ linguæ ut erat captus ejus ætatis non ignaro, munus delegavit. *Caſaub. Epiſt. Dedicat. Polybii.*

(13) Caſaubon. ibid.

(14) Idem, in Præfat. ad Lectorem.

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work, in which he exhausted his learning. It was a commentary upon Martial [C], but finding himself invested with a considerable employment, and a very eminent Ecclesiastical dignity, he did not think fit to publish that commentary. He thought it was beneath him, and not suitable to the decorum of an archbishop's dignity, by reason of the obscenities which are in Martial (*b*). That commentary was published after his death. The author had a great share in the benefits and esteem of cardinal Bessarion; but it is said

(*b*) Taken from Paul Jovius, ubi supra.

'vertendis (quæ quidem intelligeret) ut nullum per-'fæpè *Græci Idiomatis* in *Latina* ejus Versione vesti-'gium appareret: quam interdum esse opus αὐτοφυὲς 'dicas, non alieni *Interpretationem*. Quòd si par fides 'responderet, inter excellentissimos *Interpretes* poterat 'sine dubio *Perottus* recenseri. Nemo enim illis tem-'poribus *Italorum* erat, qui amplius *Græce* sciret, 'quàm hic *Interpres*: pauci qui tantum, quantum ille. '- - - - *Nicholas Perot was (considering the age he 'lived in) very skillful in, and a great lover of, the Latin 'tongue, which he had taught for a long time. . . . . 'He had likewise such an uncommon talent in translating 'Greek (where he understood it) that very often you 'could not discern any vestige of the Greek idiom in his Latin 'version: and sometimes you would take it for an origi-'nal, and not a translation. If his fidelity had been 'proportionable, he might undoubtedly have been reckoned 'among the most excellent translators. For there was no 'Italian at that time, who understood Greek better than 'he, and very few came up to him.' One may there-fore believe him as to what he censures in the work of that translator. He pretends that it is a copy so unlike the original, that Polybius is altogether disfi-gured. 'Nos vero affirmamus, *Perottum* à fidelis *In-'terpretis* laude tantum abesse, quantum qui longissimè. 'Nullo enim pacto ferendus aut excusandus est hic 'Interpres*, homo *Bellicarum rerum & totius Tacticæ* 'adeo rudis & imperitus, ut qui in cæteris partibus '*Historiæ Polybianæ* multa nesciret, in descriptionibus '*Præliorum* omnia ignoraret, omnia peccaret; atque 'eâdem operâ tanto *Scriptori*, quod erat ferè præci-'puum ejus decus, adimeret. Omninò prælium nul-'lum, facinus militare nullum, à *Polybio* fuerat pau-'lo diligentiùs narratum, in quo gravissima & mo-'menti maximi peccata ab hoc *Interprete* non sint ad-'missa (15). - - - - *But I affirm he does not deserve in 'the least the commendation of a faithful interpreter. In 'many places of Polybius's history he shews his want of 'knowledge; but his ignorance of military affairs is so 'great, that in the descriptions of battles, every thing he 'says is a blunder, which destroys the merit of his style, 'that was almost his chief glory. There is not one battle, 'not one military exploit, accurately related by Polybius, 'in which he has not committed the most grievous mistakes.' He blames him in another place, for having inserted in his translation, many words of Livy in the room of Polybius's thoughts, and for having scarce translated any one period without being guilty of some faults (16). 'Non nescimus fuisse olim, & nunc quoque esse quibus 'Perotti versio, propter aliquam Latinitatis speciem, 'mire arrideat. Sed quo ista Latinitas si deest fi-'des, abest veritas? Nihil dicam de locis infinitis 'quos propterea aut transiit, aut malè interpretatus 'est Perottus, quia vel codices erant corrupti, vel oc-'currebat dictio aut phrasis aliqua minus vulgaris: 'cujusmodi multas sanè habet Polybius. Verum ubi 'nihil erat ejusmodi, quis ferat longè adeo ab auctoris 'sui verbis discedentem? aut quis neget flagitium esse 'insigne, tot locis verba, periodos, atque adeo perico-'pas integras è Livio desumpsisse, & lectoribus Græ-'cæ linguæ imperitis obtrusisse pro Polybianis? ubi fides? 'ubi pudor? in tanta igitur errorum omnis generis co-'pia, singula velle persequi, quod petiverunt à nobis non-'nulli, ejus sit hominis, qui vetus dictum velit tol-'lere in lente unguentum (17). - - - *I know there have 'been and still are, some, who are, mightily delighted 'with Perot's version, because it seems to be a fine La-'tin style. But what signifies the Latin style, if there 'be no fidelity, no truth in it? I shall say nothing of a 'multitude of places, which he has skipped over or mis-'interpreted, either because the copies were corrup-'ted, or because there occurred some uncommon phrase or 'diction: in which Polybius indeed abounds. But when 'the case was otherwise, who can bear that he should 'depart so far from the words of his author? Is it not an 'egregious crime, to have taken so frequently words, pe-'riods, and whole paragraphs, from Livy, and obtruded 'them on his readers, that are ignorant of the Greek, for 'those of Polybius? where is the honesty? where is the 'modesty of this? Since therefore he abounds in faults of 'all sorts, to go about to shew them particularly, as some 'have desired of me, would be an endless piece of work.' What would Varillas have said, if his friends had shew-ed him how contrary his opinion was to that of so good a judge, and so excellent a critic as Casaubon? If the very first time he made bold to pass such rash judgments, he had been corrected by such means, it had been a good service done to him. Note, that Perot did not translate all that we have of Polybius. The first five books of his history were only found out at that time, which Perot translated. The abridgment of the twelve following books, and the *Excerpa Legationum* were found out since. Perot has also published a translation of Hippocrates's oath.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Multa quidem in singulis fere periodis Perottus perperam interpretatur. *Idem. in Comment. ad Polyb. pag.* 112.

(17) Ibid. *pag.* 60.

[C] *A commentary upon martial* (18).] He intituled it *Cornucopiæ*. I have already told you (19), why he did not publish it. His nephew PYRRHUS PEROT gave it to the public after the death of the author. He said, in his preface, that he had added very few things to it, except that he had explained more at large some obscene places, which his uncle had but slightly touched upon. *Nihil fere de meo addidi, præterquam quod loca quædam, quæ ille, quoniam impuritate quadam atque obscœnitate verborum castis ac pudicis auribus execrabilia viderentur, curfim breviterque tetigerit, ipse latius exposui* (20). From whence it appears, that Mr du Cange was mistaken, when he said, that Nicolas Perot, bishop of Siponto, published in the year 1470, a great volume of Commentaries upon the Latin tongue, *cui Cornucopiæ nomen indidit cum duobus singularum dictionum indicibus, Græco altero, altero Latino, qui justi Dictionarii vicem præstant* (21). We must remember that our Perot lived till the year 1480. Gesner observes that the *Cornucopiæ* was printed at Venice by Aldus, and at Basil by Curio and Valderus more than once in folio. He forgets the main thing, he does not set down the year of the first edition. I cannot tell it neither, I can only say that the Strasburg edition 1506, was better than the preceding or those that went before; and that of Venice 1513, was more correct than that of Strasburg (22). Gesner adds, that this is a very learned work: 'Plena Philologiæ & 'eruditionis variæ, ex optimis quibusque veterum den-'sissima testimonia citans, multiplici cum ad rerum, 'tum ad vocabulorum cognitionem usu (23). - - - - - - *'Full of various sorts of learning, abounding with quo-'tations from the best of the Ancients, and extremly useful 'for acquiring the knowledge both of things and words.' Perot is accused of having transcribed what others had said, without naming them. Martinius upbraids him with it, having convicted him of having stollen a pas-sage of Laurentius Valla, and he makes this obser-vation in his preface: 'Ambrosius Calepinus. . . . judicio 'usus barbara à Latinis segregavit, & auctoritate vete-'rum verba sua firmavit: rectius, quàm Perottus qui 'suum copiæ cornu diligenter quidem, at latenter, 'contexuit, ut eorum nomina à quibus sua sumpserat, 'ferè subticeret (24). - - - - *Ambrosius Calepinus. . . . . 'judiciously distinguished the barbarous words from the 'Latin, and confirmed his opinion by the authority of the 'Ancients; in this he acted more sincerely than Perot, 'who indeed composed his* Cornucopiæ *diligently, but se-'cretly, concealing the names of the authors from whom 'he had his materials.' Several people will wonder to find in this passage the sincerity of Calepinus prefer-red to that of Nicolas Perot; for great complaints have been made of Calepinus, as being an impudent plagiary of Nicholas Perot. 'To say something 'more particular about the conduct of Calepinus, I 'shall observe, that being not a literate man, he had 'no thoughts of setting up for an author, till he saw 'the *Cornucopiæ* of Nicolas Perot; and having heard 'that Perot seemed to be resolved to disown and give 'over that fruit of his secular and prophane studies, 'and to renounce the quality of father, as if that of 'archbishop would be dishonoured by it, he thought 'he could take advantage of his dislike, and resolved 'to insert that work in his Dictionary, as if he had 'been

(18) It is only a commentary upon Martial's *Spectacula*, and the first book of his epigrams.

(19) In the text.

(20) Pyrrhus Perottus, in Præfat. Cornucop. apud Gesnerum Bibl. *fol.* 523.

(21) Du Cange, Præf. Glossarii Latin. *pag.* 41.

(22) *See* Borrichius, in Analectis ad Cogitata de Linguæ Latinæ, in Appendice, *pag.* 42.

(23) Gesner, ubi supra.

(24) Matthias Martinius, in Lexico Philolog. voce farcina.

(21) Baillet, the Judgment of Learned Men. *n.* 630, of the Latin Gram. *See also num.* 303, of the Crit. Gram. & Borrichius, *ubi supra, citatum* (22).

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that he hindered him from being made Pope by a very great imprudence [D]. The Emperor Frederic III gave him the poetical crown in the city of Bologna (c), and honoured him with the title of his counsellor. That dignity was less real than the government of Perugia and Ombria, which was given to Perot (d), and the archbishopric of Siponto (e) to which he was promoted the seventeenth of October 1458 (f). He built a house of pleasure near Sassoferrato, and called it *Fugicura* [E], meaning that it was a place of retirement, where he recreated himself after the fatigue of affairs, and where he lived without any cares. He died in that place (g) in the year 1480. He fell out with Domitius Calderinus [F]. Nature gave him a quality that goes a great way;

(c) ..., ibid.

(e) The modern name of that archbishopric is Manfredonia; but they say always in Latin *Archiepiscopus Spontinus.*

(f) Jovius, ubi supra.

(g) Jovius, ubi supra.

† *Franc. Florid. Sab. Apol. lib. i, pag.* 111.

'been the author of it. Floridus Sabinus † says that 'he did it most wretchedly, because he mixed the 'Cornucopiæ with a world of filthy stuff, which he gathered together out of the worst authors of the barbarous and ignorant ages. He adds, that it contributed on the one side to celebrate the merit of Perot, 'and to make people look for his original book, and 'on the other side to shew the impertinence of Calepinus, and the impurity of his Dictionary. This 'is also the opinion of the anonymous author of the 'apology for the Latin Poets ‡, of the German author of the *Bibliographia curiosa* ‡, and of Leonardo 'Nicodemo in his additions to Toppi *.'

‡ *Ap. Obert. Giffan. pag.* 505, *item ap. G. M. Konig. Biblioth. V. & N. pag.* 253.

‡ *Bibliogr. cur. Philologic. Hist. pag.* 28.

* *In additionib. ad Biblioth. Neapolit. Nic. Topp. pag.* 184.

[D] *He hindered Cardinal Bessarion from being made a Pope by a very great imprudence.*] Varillas relates that adventure thus: 'That cardinal, *says he* (26), 'would have been made a Pope, after the death of 'Paul II, had it not been for the imprudence of Nicolas Perroty . . . . who served him as a conclavist. 'One evening, as Bessarion was at his study according 'to his custom, without much caring for the intrigues 'of his colleagues; three cardinals, heads of so many 'factions in the conclave, who agreed at last upon 'his election, went to his cell, and desired to speak 'with him. Perroty fancied, that they came only to 'beg his patron's vote, and because he knew him well 'enough, to be persuaded that the sollicitations of 'those cardinals would be to no purpose, he thought 'there was no need of interrupting Bessarion's studies. 'He therefore obstinately refused to introduce them, 'and to acquaint his patron that they wanted to speak 'with him; and what is most strange is, that the 'more Perroty was caressed, intreated, conjured, and 'threatened, the more he resolved to keep the door 'shut, because he confirmed himself so much the more 'in his chimerical supposition, that they were so earnest to come in, only to beg the single vote they 'wanted for the cardinal upon whom they were agreed. The contest lasted so long, that the three 'cardinals being weary of it, said amongst themselves, 'that it was not proper to raise to the holy see a man, 'who not only would not be beholden to them for his 'election, but also would make them depend upon 'the caprice of his domestics, whenever they wanted 'to speak with him. Then they took some other 'measures out of spite and indignation: and because 'cardinal Riairo flattered their fancy most in that instant, they made him Pope, tho' they had agreed 'before not to give their votes to any monk, and tho' 'Riairo had been a Franciscan. They thought that 'the trouble cardinal Bessarion would be in, for having lost the papacy by the fault of his conclavist, 'would afford them some pleasure, and therefore they 'acquainted him with what had passed. But Bessarion 'changed neither his countenance nor behaviour towards them, and was contented to tell Perotty that 'he had hindred him from making him a cardinal.' There are few passages in Varillas, whereby we may better know the liberty he took to join his fancies and conjectures to the histories he found in other authors. All that long narrative is only a paraphrase of these Latin words of Paul Jovius. 'Paulo morte 'sublato, in comitiis fatilis casus tantæ spei Fortunam 'avertit. Ferunt enim tres summæ auctoritatis Cardinales, quum eo decreto, ut Pontificem salutarent, 'abditum in cella Conclavis adissent, nec admitterentur à Nicolao Perotto janitore, quòd tum vir ineptus lucubranti parcendum diceret, usque adeò stomachatos, ut sese indignanter avertentes responderent, 'Ergo nec prensanti, nec roganti quidem, summa 'dignitas erit inculcanda: ut quum è cœlo suffragia 'expectet, superbis demum ac stolidis janitoribus pareamus? statimque suffragia Xysto detulisse, quo repentè renunciato, adoratoque Bessarion dixisse fertur: 'Hæc tua, Nicolae, intempestiva sedulitas, & tiaram mihi, & tibi galerum eripuit (27). - - - - *Paul 'being dead, a fatal accident at the election deprived 'him of the papal dignity. For it is said, that three 'cardinals of the greatest authority, having determined 'to make him Pope, went to him when he was shut up 'in his cell, but were not admitted by Nicholas Perot, 'the Porter, who like a fool told them that they should 'not interrupt his studies, which they resenting, and 'turning away with indignation said, what, shall we 'urge one to accept the supreme dignity, who neither 'courts nor desires it; that when he expects suffrages 'from Heaven, we may be subject to haughty and foolish 'Porters? and forthwith gave their votes for Xystus, 'who being quickly declared Pope, and adored, Bessarion is reported to have said: O Nicholas, your unseasonable officiousness has deprived me of a mitre and you 'of a cardinal's cap.'* I have set down that Latin narration, that by comparing it with that of a French author, one may see the circumstances he has added to the text, which was his original. He has forged them, as he thought fit; which is an intolerable thing. The latter Historians ought not to adorn a fact; they must publish it such as they find it. Note, by the by, that if that French writer had read all the manuscripts he quotes, which is very much doubted of, yet one might very well believe that he says a thousand things of his own invention; for since he was so bold as to flourish on Paul Jovius, who is a printed author, much more did he think he might be allowed to romance on the manuscript relations which he has only quoted in a very general way. Gyraldus ascribes Bessarion's ill luck to another cause (28), but he does also mention what is said of Perot the conclavist, and he is much shorter than Paul Jovius about that incident. Menagius supposes that Perot committed that fault in the conclave wherein Paul II, was elected (29). I think he is less to be credited as to this circumstance of the time, than the two Italian authors whom I have alledged (30).

(27) Jovius, in Elog. *cap. xxiv, pag.* 57, 58.

(28) Gyrald. de Poet. suor. tempor. *Dialog. i, pag. m.* 551.

(29) Menagiana Mescolanze, *pag.* 280.

[E] *He built an house of pleasure . . . . and called it* Fugicura.] Moreri did not at all understand this, and has so much falsified it, that there is neither rhime nor reason in it. Yet nothing can be clearer than these words of Paul Jovius: 'Excessit è vita 'senex apud Sentinum in villa viridariis & fontibus 'peramœna, quam à pingui ocio Fugicuram appellavit. (31). - - - *He died an old man, at a country-seat 'near Sassoferrato, a very delightful place for it's fountains and groves, which from the great ease and pleasure he enjoyed there he called* Fugicura.' Moreri has Figurica instead of Fugicura, in the very verses of Myrteus, which he quotes, and which run upon the allusion to the avoiding of cares.

(30) Paul. Jovius, & Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus.

(31) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xviii, pag.* 46.

[F] *He fell out with Domitius Calderinus.*] I shall set down a passage of Alexander ab Alexandro, which contains a thing that Paul Jovius has not mentioned, and which he should have mentioned, *viz.* that Nicolas Perot read public lectures to the youth of Rome. He and Calderinus explained some passages of Martial at the same time; and were more earnest in contradicting one another, than in explaining that Poet; which occasioned a world of injurious and empty words, and, after all, the sense of Martial was less understood than if they had been silent. 'Nicolaus Perottus Sipontinus præsul, homo fuit accurato ingenio, & lectione multa exercitus: eum Domitius 'Calderinus, vir, ut in ea tempestate, doctus, & æmulatione doctrinæ, & morum dissimilitudine osum 'habebat, jurgiisque & conviciis apud suos sectatores 'plerunque incessebat, sæpiusque apud studiosos in invidiam illum crimenque vocabat: & ut sunt fere ingenia, in explicandis auctoribus si quid in controversiam veniret, uterque potius, quo pacto diversus 'ab altero dissentiret, quam quid veræ lectionis esset, 'rimabatur. Cum autem in scholis Romæ eodem

'tempore

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way; for when he heard of any thing that was unknown to him, he applied himſelf altogether to it (*b*), and laid aſide all other buſineſs, and left off ſleeping, the better to mind it. TORQUATO PEROT, who was of the ſame family, and chamberlain to Pope Urban VIII, and biſhop of Ameria, cauſed a monument to be erected for him in the great church of Saſſoferrato, in the year 1624 (*i*), with a fine inſcription (*k*), whereby it appears amongſt other things, that the Popes Eugenius IV, Nicolas V, Calixtus III, and Pius II, had a great kindneſs for him, eſpecially becauſe he applied himſelf very much to re-unite the Greek church during the council of Ferrara. The ſame Torquato deſigned to put out a new edition of Nicolas Perot's works (*l*), conſiſting of tranſlations, letters, harangues, commentaries upon Statius, Martial, &c. He deſigned alſo to publiſh the elogies of the illuſtrious men of Saſſoferrato, which he had compoſed. He is the author of ſome Italian verſes, printed with thoſe of Antony Brunus (*m*).

(*b*) Volaterr. *lib. xxi, pag. m.* 776.

(*i*) Jovius, ibid.

(*k*) *It is to be found entire in* Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. *Tom. vii, pag.* 1168.

(*l*) Allatius, in Apibus Urbanis.

(*m*) Ibid.

' tempore Martialis apophoreta publice lectitarent, cu-
' jus hoc diſtichon fuit:

In precio ſcopas teſtatur palma fuiſſe,
Ocia ſed ſcopis nunc analecta dabunt.

' Ita iſtos verſus uterque interpretatus eſt (32), ut poſt
' multa deblatterata verba, vix aliquem ſenſum illorum
' ex dictis elicere queas, cum modo mendum in verſu
' poſtremo fuiſſe alter aſſeveret, & pro ocia, precium
' poni oportere, modo aſarota, non ab à privativa,
' ſed intenſiva dicta eſſe affirmet: aliter ita pleraque
' nugalia jurgiis & maledictis plena effundat, ut equi-
' dem ſingula enarrare & referre pigeat (33). - - - -
' *Nicholas Perot, archbiſhop of Sitonto, was a man of a*
' *fine genius, and much reading: Domitius Calderinus, a*
' *learned man, conſidering the time he lived in, had an*
' *averſion to him, which proceeded from an emulation*
' *in learning and unlikeneſs of manners; he frequently*
' *railed at and abuſed him amongſt his followers, and*
' *procured him the hatred and ill-will of his ſcholars:*
' *and as it commonly happens, if there was any point of*
' *controverſy in explaining authors, they both ſtudied ra-*
' *ther to oppoſe each other, than to find out what might*
' *be the true reading. As Martial's Apophoreta were*
' *then publickly read by them in the ſchools of Rome, one*
' *diſtich of which was this:*

In precio ſcopas, &c.

' *they both interpreted thoſe verſes in ſuch a manner,*
' *that after a deal of prating, you could hardly find any*
' *ſenſe in what they ſaid: one of them ſometimes alledged*
' *there was an error in the laſt line, and that* precium
' *inſtead of* ocia *ought to be put, and ſometimes affirmed*
' *that* aſarota *was derived, not from à privative, but*
' *intenſive: the other vented abundance of impertinent*
' *and abuſive language, ſo that it would be tedious to*
' *relate every particular.*' Here is another paſſage whereby it appears, that Perot examined and criticized in his letters, the notes of Calderinus upon Martial's epigrams, and that Calderinus was accuſed of being Perot's plagiary. ' Domitii Calderini in Martialem
' commentarios notans, quamvis ſuppreſſo nomine, &
' furta ex ſcriptis patrui ſui, ſubdit: Recognoſci au-
' tem furta facillime poterant ex errorum multitudine,
' cujus commentarii ejus undique ſcatent, quorum bo-
' nam partem patruus meus duob. epiſtolarum, Roma-
' narum ſcilicet ac Peruſinarum, præclaris volumini-
' bus oſtendit (34). - - - *Taking notice of the commen-*
' *taries of Domitius Calderinus on Martial, without*
' *mentioning his name, and of his pilfering from his*
' *uncle's writings, he ſaid: But his theft might eaſily be*
' *known from the multitude of errors which his commen-*
' *taries are ſtuffed with; my uncle ſhewed a good part*
' *of them in his two excellent volumes of Roman and Pe-*
' *ruſian letters.*' Angelus Sabinus having a quarrel with Calderinus about learning, was aſſiſted by Perot. The latter had the name of Fidentius given him in the writings of Calderinus, and the other that of Brotheus. See Gyraldus in the firſt dialogue *de poëtis ſuorum temporum* (35).

(32) *Tiraquellus makes this note upon it:* Perottus in Cornucopia ſecus interpretatur, quam hic accuſatur. - - - *Perot in his Cornucopiæ interprets them otherwiſe than it is here pretended.*

(33) Alexander ab Alexandro, Genial. Dier. *lib. iv, cap. xxi. pag.* 1155, *Edit. Lugd. Bat.* 1673.

(34) Celsen. ubi ſupra.

(35) *Pag.* 532, *Oper. Gyraldi. Lugd. Bat.* 1696.

PERROT (FRANCIS) author of an Italian book, which Bellarmin refuted. See the remark [*A*] of the following article, towards the end.

PERROT (NICOLAS) Sieur d'Ablancourt, one of the great wits of his age, was born at Châlons upon Marne (*a*), the fifth of April 1606 (*b*). He was of a family very much diſtinguiſhed among thoſe of the Long Robe [*A*], and he was educated with a particular care. He *was ſent to the college of Sedan to ſtudy there* (*c*), and he made ſuch a progreſs in his ſtudies, that *being thirteen years of age, he had gone through a courſe of claſſic learning* [*B*]. *Then his father ſent for him home, and gave him a learned man, not only to run over all his ſtudies, but alſo to give him a tincture of Philoſophy. Thoſe exerciſes laſted about three years, and then he was carried to Paris, where he ſtudied the Civil-Law, for five or ſix months. Being eighteen years of age, he was made an advocate in the parliament, and frequented the bar* (*d*). He ſoon took a diſguſt to it, and plainly ſhewed his repugnancy for the law. His uncle *Cyprian Perrot, counſellor of the Great Chamber* (*e*), was diſpleaſed

(*a*) And not at *Vitry le Françoiſe*, as it is ſaid in the *Menagiana, pag.* 324, of the firſt Dutch Edit.

(*b*) The Life of Mr d'Ablancourt, in the ſecond Tome of Mr Patru's works, pag. 334. of the Dutch Edit. 1692.

(*c*) Ib. p. 335.

(*d*) Ib. p. 339.

(*e*) Ib. p. 336.

[*A*] *He was of a family very much diſtinguiſhed amongſt thoſe of the Long Robe.*] PAUL PERROT de la Salle, his father, *famous for his works in verſe and proſe*, and who *had a hand in the compoſition of the Catholicon*, was grandſon of ÆMILIUS PERROT, counſellor in the parliament, and ſon of NICOLAS PERROT, counſellor of the Grand Chamber. *He ſtudied at Oxford, where he embraced the Proteſtant religion, and returning into France*, he retired to Chaalons, *where part of the parliament of Paris was then:* CYPRIAN PERROT, *his eldeſt brother, was a counſellor in that parliament.* He married at Chaalons, Anne des Forges, a noble lady, by whom he had our Nicolas Perrot, Sieur d'Ablancourt, and two daughters, the eldeſt whereof was mother of Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt (1) of whom I ſhall ſpeak below (2). CYPRIAN PERROT, uncle of him who is the ſubject of this article, was father of JOHN PERROT, Preſident of the Inqueſts, who left a ſon, CYPRIAN PERROT, who was maſter of the Requeſts. The Perrots of Geneva, the good Perrotto of Fra Paolo, my lord Perrot, who was for ſome time in queen Elizabeth's favour, *the Perrots of the Malmaiſon, one whereof was proveſt of the merchants, and the beautiful Perrot of the princeſs of Conti, are all iſſued from the ſame ſtock.* Chriſtophorus Thuanus firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris married one Perrot. The chancellor Boucherat was grand-ſon of another Perrot, *not to mention many other alliances in the Long Robe* (3). This is what I have taken out of a manuſcript letter. The life of Mr d'Ablancourt, written by Mr Patru, may ſerve as a printed proof. It begins thus: ' The fa-
' mily of the Perrots is ancient in the parliament, and
' related to the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the Long
' Robe (4).'

Thuanus (5) reckons amongſt thoſe who were killed in the maſſacre of Paris, DENYS PERROT, moſt worthy ſon of ÆMILIUS PERROT, counſellor in

(1) Taken from a letter which Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt wrote to me the 13th of April 1693.

(2) In the remark [*D*].

(3) Taken from the ſame letter.

(4) Patru's works, Tom. ii, pag. 334. of the Dutch Edit. 1692.

(5) Thuan. *lib. lii, pag. m.* 1077.

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displeased with it, but he eased his grief by forsaking the Protestant religion, in which he was born. He abjured it at twenty years of age; yet he would not follow the intentions of his uncle, who designed *to make him a churchman, hoping that he would prove a great preacher in time* (*f*). *He spent five or six years in such diversions as are suitable to those of his age* (*g*), yet without neglecting *learning altogether* (*b*). *It was then that he wrote the preface to the book intituled* L'honneste femme, *to please his friend Father du Bosc.* That preface, *one of the master-pieces of our tongue*, was scarce published, *when being about five or six and twenty years of age he thought fit to return to the religion he had left* [C], *the impressions whereof were never quite blotted out of his mind* (*i*). ' To do nothing rashly, he ' betook himself first to the study of Philosophy, and then to the study of Divinity, and ' had for his master Mr Stuart, a Scotchman and a Lutheran, but a very learned ' man. He laboured with so much eagerness and ardour, that he spent twelve and ' fifteen hours every day in his studies, without acquainting any body with his design, ' and he did so very near three years. . . . . He set out. . . . . from Paris to go ' into Champagne, where he made his second abjuration in the temple of a village called ' Helme near Vitry, and almost at the same time he went into Holland, to let the ' rumour of his new change drop. He was near a year at Leyden, where he learned ' the Hebrew tongue, and got acquainted with Salmasius. From Holland he went over ' into England (*k*). ' He returned to Paris, and after he had been five or six weeks in Mr Patru's house, he *took lodgings near the Luxembourg, and sent for two of his nephews to live with him* (*l*) [D]. ' He lived a very pleasant life, and though he spent most of his ' leisure hours in reading, yet he saw the world, he conversed with the ladies, and the ' most eminent men of Paris for learning. He went almost every day to Messieurs ' Dupuy, to that famous place whither all curious and learned men resorted (*m*). . . . . ' In September 1637, he was admitted into the French academy with a general ap- ' plause. He undertook almost at the same time the translation of Tacitus. . . . . ' But whilst he was about that laborious translation, he was forced to leave Paris, and ' to go into his province, to take care of his estate, which was not considerable, and ' which the war lessened every day. He therefore left off house-keeping, and retired with ' his sister to his country seat called Ablancourt, where he resided tell he died. When ' he first retired into the country, he came pretty often to Paris, where he passed all the ' winter. . . . . But at last he quite left Paris, and never went thither but to get his ' works printed (*n*). . . . . He had been troubled with the gravel all his lifetime: nay, ' there was a time that he could neither ride on horseback, nor in a coach, and stood in ' need of a stick to walk. But he fell a digging his garden to use some exercise, whereby ' his pain was much abated, and he recovered his strength in some measure. So that he could

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid. *pag.* 337.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid. *pag.* 338.

(*l*) Ibid. *pag.* 339.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid. *pag.* 340.

in the parliament of Paris, and as illustrious for his probity as for his learning. I have said elsewhere (6), that I do not believe this Æmilius Perrot to be a different person from him, who makes a very great figure in Bunel's letters.

(6) Above, the remark [*A*], of the article FERRET.

The good Perrotto of Fra Paolo, mentioned in the manuscript letter, is without doubt the same FRANCIS PERROT mentioned in the eighty-second book of Thuanus's history (7), as the author of a piece which contained a refutation of Pope Sixtus's bull against the king of Navarre. That piece was intituled *Avviso piacevole dato alla bella Italia.* ' (8) That ' book (which was refuted by Bellarmin) is a censure ' of the court of Rome; the style whereof is so fine, ' that the Italians themselves admired it. The author ' is a Frenchman, named Perrot, who, as Thuanus ' says in his history upon the year 1585, accompanied ' in his youth Gabriel Aramont, ambassador of his ' majesty to Solyman. Afterwards, being come into ' Italy, he got some considerable acquaintances there. ' He knew, amongst other great men, Father Paul, a ' Divine of the republic of Venice, to whom he vowed ' so great an affection, that he continued it to him ' till he died. The Italians on their part had a par- ' ticular esteem for him, stiling him commonly a true ' Israelite, by reason of his candor and meekness. ' We have also an Italian translation by the same Per- ' rot, of the truth of the Christian religion, written ' by Mr du Plessis-Mornay, and printed at Samur in ' the year 1612. Amongst our French authors, Lewis ' des Masures in his Latin Poems, Hubert Languet in ' his letters to Sir Philip Sidney, and Mr de Liques in ' the life of Mr du Plessis (9), speak honourably of ' him.'

(7) *Pag. m.* 33, *ad ann.* 1585.

(8) Colomiés, Bibliotheque Choisie, *pag.* 20, 21.

(9) Pag. 13, where he is called *lord of Mesmeres Parisian.*

[*B*] *Being thirteen years of age, he had gone thro' a course of classic learning.*] I would make no observation upon this, were it not that I must take notice of a fault very common among the makers of elogies. They love to exceed one another, and by this means they spoil the truth. Richelet (10) not thinking it to be so admirable a thing that d'Ablancourt should have made an end of his classic studies at thirteen years of age, adds Philosophy to the classic studies. We may rectify that mistake, seeing we have the life of that illustrious man written by Mr Patru: but if we had no other author but Richelet, we should believe what he says, and mention it as a kind of prodigy; for there were six classes in the college of Sedan, the promotions of the scholars were made but once a year, and the course of Philosophy lasted two years at least.

(10) Richelet, The Lives of the French authors, *pag.* 34, *of the Dutch Edit.* 1699.

[*C*] *Being about five or six and twenty years of age, he thought fit to return to the religion he had left.*] The continuator of Moreri, who took the article Ablancourt from Mr Patru stumbled in this place. He did not perceive that Mr Patru reckons three years between the beginning of d'Ablancourt's design, and the execution thereof: He says that d'Ablancourt left the Catholic Church being twenty-five years of age, and went into Holland, and was near a year at Leyden, and got acquainted with Salmasius. His first mistake was the occasion of another; for he supposes that d'Ablancourt left Leyden before he was quite twenty-six years old, that is, before the fifth of April 1632. But Salmasius was not then at Leyden, he came thither only towards the end of the same year (11). It is almost impossible to misplace a fact, without committing some other anachronisms one after another.

(11) Anton. Clement. in Vita Salmas. *pag.* 42.

[*D*] *And he sent for two of his nephews to live with him.*] They were his eldest sister's sons, and their name was Fremont. ' Never any children had a bet- ' ter education. The second is dead; but Mr Fre- ' mont d'Ablancourt, who was the eldest of the two, ' has shewed that they did not cultivate a barren soil. ' He is the author of the dialogue of the letters of ' the alphabet, and of the supplement to the true ' history, which are to be found at the end of his ' uncle's Lucian, and were so well received by the ' public. One of the great princes of Europe desired ' to have him to be his son's governor; and the im- ' portant employments which he has so well discharg- ' ed, are sufficient proofs of his capacity and parts (12).

(12) Patru's works, ubi supra, *pag.* 339.

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‘ could bear all ſorts of carriages, and even lay aſide his ſtick, but he retook it ſoon ‘ after. . . . . In the year 1664, in the beginning of October, he was ſo violently ‘ tormented with the gravel, that it was expected every moment he would die of it. ‘ But at the end of three or four days his pain began to abate (o).’ It returned upon him ſoon after, *and laſted till he died. He bore his long and violent pains with great conſtancy* [E]. *He was attended all the time of his ſickneſs by the miniſter of Vitry, and by Mr du Boſc, a famous miniſter of Caen, who was then baniſhed to Châlons. At laſt he died in the arms of his ſiſter and his nephew d'Ablancourt, the twenty-ſeventh of November, being eight and fifty years, eight* (p) *months and twelve days old* (q). The catalogue of his works, moſt of which are tranſlations, may be ſeen in Moreri. The reaſon, why he choſe rather to be a tranſlator than an author, deſerves to be mentioned [F], as alſo the reaſon why he that princes ſhould underſtand Latin [G]. He never was married; *he was not of a very amorous complexion, and had a blunt way with him which did not very well ſuit with love* (r). ‘ He uſed to ſleep, to eat, and to work, indifferently at ‘ any hour of the day or of the night. But after he had been about two hours at work, ‘ he refreſhed himſelf either by walking, or by reading a pleaſant book, and after half ‘ an hour's relaxation he returned to his work. He wrote a very ill hand, ſo that being ‘ in his declining age, he could not very often read it himſelf. He drank but little ‘ wine at his uſual meals, but he had a ſtrong head, and bore it well, ſo that he never ‘ was injured by it (s). . . . . He was the ſon of a man who made in his life-time an ‘ hundred thouſand verſes; yet he could never make two verſes together (t).’ His converſation

(o) Ibid.

(p) It ſhould be ſeven.

(q) Ibid. *pag.* 342.

(r) Ibid. *pag.* 349.

(s) Ibid. *p.* 347.

(t) Ibid.

Mr Patru might have added to it the eſteem which Marſhal de Turenne had for Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt. That Marſhal procured him to be ſent as envoy of France to the court of Portugal in the year 1663 (13), and to be reſident of France in the city of Straſburg in the year 1675. That reſident returned into France after the death of his patron, and lived retired, reading good books, and enjoying the company of ingenious men, till the laſt blow of the perſecutors obliged him to look for liberty of conſcience in foreign countries. He made ſome ſtay at Groningen, and then he came to the Hague, where he ſettled, and was very much eſteemed by the prince and princeſs of Orange. He was even gratified with a penſion, together with the title of Hiſtoriographer. He died at the Hague, about ſix or ſeven years ago (14). He was a man of merit, very zealous for the Proteſtant religion, and who did not think it beneath him to write a French catechiſm. He knew a world of thoſe things which are proper to be ſaid in converſation, and told them with a good grace. The ſweetneſs which appeared in his behaviour, occaſioned the ſurprize of thoſe who read a little book he publiſhed againſt Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie, in the year 1686 (15). He expreſſed much more anger and paſſion than could be expected from a man of his gravity and age, and who had left his country for his religion. Several people endeavoured to excuſe him, upon the account of the tenderneſs he had ſtill for his dear uncle Mr d'Ablancourt; but as the queſtion was not whether his uncle had been an honeſt man, but only whether his tranſlation of Tacitus deſerved to be blamed, inſtead of enjoying the great reputation it was in, I think his apology might have been made with a more ſedate mind. He publiſhed ſome dialogues in the year 1684. They were mentioned in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (16). His memoirs, containing the hiſtory of Portugal from the Pyrenean treaty in 1659 to 1668, have been publiſhed within theſe few days (17). They are worth reading.

(13) See Mr d'Ablancourt's Memoirs, *pag.* 127, *&c.*

(14) I write this in January 1701.

(15) See the News from the Republic of Letters, *December* 1686, *pag.* 1460, *& ſeq.*

(16) March, in the catalogue of new books, *num.* 4, *pag.* 90, *& ſeq.*

(17) I write this in January 1701.

[E] *He bore his long . . . . pains with great conſtancy.*] Mr Patru does not mention what I am going to relate out of the Menagiana (18). ‘ Mr d'Ablancourt . . . . ſtudied in the winter over an oven at a ‘ Paſtry-Cook's (19). Being about threeſcore and three ‘ years old (20), he was tormented with the ſtone, ‘ whereof his father died, and had a-mind to go to ‘ Paris to be cut; but conſidering that it being then ‘ the month of November, he ſhould be obliged to ‘ ſtay for the ſpring, and that he ſhould be at great ‘ charges; he reſolved to forbear eating, to ſee an ‘ end of his pain the ſooner, which he accordingly ‘ forbore. However, being urged to eat ſomething, ‘ he was perſuaded to it, but it was too late, and he ‘ died.’ It is likely that Mr Patru would have ſuppreſſed this circumſtance, even if he had known that it was true.

(18) Menagiana, pag. 324, 325, of the firſt Dutch Edit.

(19) See the Menagiana, *pag.* 397.

(20) There is a miſtake here, for d'Ablancourt lived not full 59 years.

There are ſome things, the remembrance of which we rather chuſe entirely to ſuppreſs, than to ſhew the falſity of them. We often believe, that it is more advantageous to the memory of our friends, that no body ſhould know that they were calumniated, than to diſcover the falſity of thoſe ſlanders. But there are ſome occaſions in which we think ourſelves obliged to let the public know how cruelly innocence has been abuſed. It is what Mr le Gendre did with reſpect to d'Ablancourt. ‘ God permitted that Mr du ‘ Boſc ſhould attend him at his latter-end, to undeceive ‘ the world, as to the falſe reports that were ſpread ‘ abroad, and which even reached the king's ears, as ‘ if he had died in deſpair. It was a horrid calumny, as Mr du Boſc made it appear in his letter to ‘ Mr Conrart, who was ſo much the more afflicted ‘ at the injury done to his friend's memory, becauſe ‘ it concerned all thoſe of the Reformed religion; for ‘ the king was further told, that it was the diſpoſition ‘ in which all the Huguenots died (21).’

(21) Le Gendre's Life of Mr du Boſc, *pag.* 37.

[F] *The reaſon, why he choſe rather to be a tranſlator than an author, deſerves to be ſet down.*] ‘ His genius was much like that of Montagne; and if he ‘ had been willing to work out of his own ſtock, he ‘ wanted nothing that was neceſſary for it. He had ‘ a very fruitful imagination, and his mind was full ‘ of good learning. But when he was told of it, he ‘ ſaid that he was neither a preacher nor an advocate, ‘ to make pleas or ſermons; that the world was full ‘ of political books; that all moral diſcourſes were ‘ but repetitions of Plutarch and Seneca; and that to ‘ ſerve his country, it was better to tranſlate good ‘ books, than to write new ones, which moſt times ‘ contain nothing that is new (22)’.

(22) Patru, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 346, 348.

[G] *Why he thought that princes ſhould underſtand Latin.*] He ſaid, that it was fit they ſhould learn that tongue, *becauſe they might learn thereby ſeveral things of the ancients, which they cannot be told of, and ſee the honeſt men of antiquity condemn princes who are wanting in their duty* (23). There is ſome wit in that thought, and I know not what, that may dazzle and charm thoſe who do not examine things to the bottom. A ſtroke of cenſure that is well drawn, does very much ſet off a moral picture, eſpecially when human grandeur is the object of that cenſure. This is our caſe. Mr d'Ablancourt's thought impoſes upon us for that reaſon, it takes it's greateſt beauty from thence, but it is only an outward beauty. Examine what he ſays, found it well, and you will find it is like gilt-wood. It is but an appearance and a ſuperficial ornament. All learned nations tell princes of their faults in their mother-tongue, and may inſtruct them in their duties as well as Latin books. How can the books of ancient Rome teach modern princes? It is not by telling them, *You have committed an injuſtice, and a very great fault in this or in that:* It is only by the cenſure of the injuſtices and faults committed in ancient times. But do we now want books written in vulgar tongues, that repreſent the duties of princes with great force, and defame the memory of thoſe who have reigned ill, either lately in ſome other countries, or formerly in the very country where thoſe books are written? To ſay nothing of ſermons or political writings,

(23) Menagiana, *pag.* 389, 390.

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verſation was admirable [*H*]. He made good uſe of the advices of his friends, for the correction of his works; but he might have made a better uſe of them [*I*], had he not been ſo much in haſte to return into the country when he was at Paris to get his books printed. *His way of tranſlating was not approved by every body, though it was admired by all the illuſtrious men of our age. It is true, that ſometimes he takes ſome liberty* (*u*). He made an apology for it in his *prefaces*, wherein he ſhewed, *that he propoſed to himſelf the true notion of a good tranſlator, who ought to render the ſenſe of the original, without taking any thing from its force, or beauty. This is.* . . . . . what he has *ſo happily performed; and his lively and bold expreſſions are ſo far from any ſervileneſs, what whoever reads his tranſlations, would think he reads originals and not tranſlations* (*x*). So ſays the author of his elogy; but every body does not agree, that he took no other liberty but ſuch as he might take (*y*). He had a large extent of Learning, and applied himſelf more particularly to the ſtudy of the Bible [*K*]. We ſhall ſee what he thought concerning the immortality of the ſoul [*L*]. See his elogy written by Mr Patru, from which I have taken moſt

(*u*) Ibid. *pag.* 345.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) *See* Baillet's Jugement des Sçavans, *on the French tranſlators, num.* 960. *Menagius uſed to call d'Ablancourt's tranſlation of Tacitus, the fair unfaithful.* Menagiana, *pag.* 324, *of the firſt Dutch Edit.*

writings, let us only inſiſt upon hiſtorians, Mezerai, for inſtance, who lived in the time of d'Ablancourt. I confeſs he has not written the hiſtory of his own time, but he comes infinitely nearer it than Livy, or Tacitus, or any of the ancient Latin authors, and cenſures, with great liberty and force, the ill adminiſtration of the kings of France that come under his conſideration. He laſhes them and their miniſters as meer ſchool-boys, when truth requires it. Varillas uſes the ſame freedom, tho' he was ſo great a flatterer of his cotemporaries; and the greateſt flatterers of the preſent times do commonly cenſure the faults of paſt times with the greateſt freedom (24). So that the reaſon why Mr d'Ablancourt pretends, that princes ſhould underſtand Latin, is falſe. It is ſo much the worſe, becauſe he could not be ignorant that the writings of ancient Rome have been tranſlating for above theſe hundred years; and if he thought it ſo uſeful a thing for princes to underſtand that language, why did he afford them ſo fair a pretence not to ſtudy it? They needed but ſay, that his tranſlations excuſed them from it. He deſtroyed therefore his own theſis by his conduct.

(24) See, above, citation (17) of the article marſhal de MARILLAC.

[*H*] *His converſation was admirable.* ' (25) He ' was, in his youth, as gay as any one can be; he ' was full of vivacity and wit, which was attended ' with a certain turn, which none but the genteel ' part of the world can give . . . . his gay humour ' laſted till he died. The ſuburbs of St Germain af- ' forded him the acquaintance of all thoſe lords who ' made up the court of the prince of Condé, and went, ' at that time, by the name of *Petits Maîtres* (26). ' But Mr de Colligny and Mr de la Mouſſaye were ex- ' tremely fond of him. When any of them went ' through Vitry or Châlons, or through ſome other ' place, not very far diſtant from his houſe, they ' would have him; and a dinner had not been good ' if Mr d'Ablancourt had not been at it. He had al- ' ways ſomething to ſay at table, and in converſation. ' He ſpoke a great deal, but he was never tedious; ' what he ſaid was always new and agreeable. One ' would have thought he had ſtudied every thing he ' ſaid, ſo proper and pertinent were his railleries, but ' he uſed them to defend himſelf, and not to offend ' any body.' I ſhall confirm this by a paſſage of the Menagiana. *Mr d'Ablancourt . . . . uſed to ſay ſo many good and agreeable things in converſation, that Mr Peliſſon ſaid, it were to be wiſhed that he had had always a regiſter by him, to write down every thing he ſaid* (27).

(25) Patru, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 349.

(26) Vigneul Marville is therefore in the right, when he ſays in his Miſcellanies, pag. 324, of the firſt Tome, that *the prince of Condé had ſome of thoſe Petits-Maîtres.* What he ſays concerning the origin and character of thoſe men is curious. To which you may add what the continuation of la Bruyere, or the *Modern Theophraſtus* ſays of them, pag. 322, and following, of his *New Characters of Manners*, of the Dutch Edit. See alſo the *Diverſitez Curieuſes* of Mr Bordellon, *Part* x, *pag.* 359, of the Dutch Edit.

(27) Menagiana, pag. 325, of the firſt Dutch Edit.

[*I*] *He made good uſe of the advices of his friends . . . but he might have made a better uſe of them.*] What I am going to ſay, is not only a conſiderable part of the character and hiſtory of the ſtudies of our Perrot; but alſo an inſtruction which may ſerve ſome other authors, if they avoid what is wrong in this example. *At firſt he conſulted no body but Mr Patru. But ſince he became acquainted with Mr Conrart and Mr Chapelain, he alſo took their advice, eſpecially Mr Conrart's, with whom he reviſed all his works, and ſo much the more willingly, becauſe underſtanding neither Greek nor Latin he gave him leſs trouble: For when he came to Paris to print his works, he was always in haſte to return into the country; and for that reaſon, when any thing was objected to him, he anſwered it with great warmth, and, as it were, in anger; becauſe thoſe difficulties put him to work, and conſequently retarded his return. And that humour did ſo far prevail upon him, that towards the end of his life, and in his laſt tranſlations, he conſulted, or at leaſt believed no body: Which was neither out of preſumption or vanity, but only out of haſtineſs, and a precipitate deſire of eaſing himſelf of his burden: For when his book was printed, he willingly received all the advices that were given him; and even preſſed his friends to give him their opinion about it, that he might make uſe of their remarks in a ſecond edition, and therefore it will not be improper to mention a notable particular. He had, till then, reviſed all his works with Mr Patru; but ever ſince his Arrianus, which they examined together, from the beginning to the end, in eight or ten afternoons, he printed all his books, for the firſt time, without acquainting him with it in the leaſt, becauſe he vexed him too much. He did the ſame as to his Lucian, but when it was printed and publiſhed, he deſired that dear friend to reviſe it. That dear friend reviſed it, and ſent him his remarks: he approved moſt of them; and as for thoſe which he approved not, he referred them to Mr Conrart or Mr Chapelain. Mr Patru joined with them, and they reſolved thoſe difficulties together: So that the ſecond edition, which was made upon thoſe obſervations, is much more correct than the firſt* (28).

(28) Patru, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 348, 347.

[*K*] *He had a large extent of learning, and he applied himſelf . . . . to the ſtudy of the Bible.*] ' He had ' a quick and penetrating wit: When he undertook ' to examine any difficulty, he preſently ſaw into the ' very bottom of it; he underſtood Philoſophy, Theo- ' logy, Hiſtory, and all the Belles Lettres. He un- ' derſtood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spa- ' niſh; he was very well inſtructed in his reli- ' gion, and more than was required for his ſalva- ' tion. But ſo great a variety of knowledge, ſo deep ' a learning, neither dulled his wit, nor confounded ' or impaired his judgment; he clearly underſtood ' every thing, the ancient authors as well as the mo- ' dern. In his declining age he ſcarce read any books ' beſides the holy ſcripture, and the relations and hi- ' ſtories of the new world; but eſpecially the holy ' ſcripture, which may be ſaid to have been his moſt ' tender and laſt love. He had all the good commen- ' tators on the Bible, either general or particular ones. ' There was not any one difficulty in the Bible, but ' what he was throughly acquainted with (29).'

(29) Ibid. *pag.* 348, 349.

[*L*] *We ſhall ſee what he thought concerning the immortality of the ſoul.*] Having aſſerted in a converſation, *That religion, and not reaſon, teaches us the immortality of the ſoul* (30), he writ a diſcourſe, which he ſent to Mr Patru, to juſtify his opinion (31). He ſays in that diſcourſe, ' That the perfect knowledge of our ' ſouls is above the ordinary ſtrength of our minds, ' and that there are no reaſons that can prove their ' immortality (32). He alledges the chief of thoſe ' reaſons, and adds, *That they are good indeed to confirm in that belief a ſoul that is already enlightened with grace, but that they are not ſufficient to ſatisfy a man who has no other light than that of nature.* He ſpeaks (33) of the blindneſs of Philoſophers, and of the confuſion of Ariſtotle's doctrine concerning this ſubject, and he pretends that we ſhould not wonder at it: *The light of the Goſpel had not yet enlightened the world; and that truth being above human reaſon, ſtood in need of a ſupernatural help to be known* (34). . . . *You muſt confeſs*, ſays he (35), to Mr Patru, his friend, *that we are made Chriſtians by faith, and not by natural reaſon; and that I may be allowed to ſay, ſpeaking as a natural Philoſopher, that the reſurrection is impoſſible, provided I believe that GOD by his infinite power can do things that are impoſſible to nature. So that I ſaid nothing but what I might*

(30) Patru, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 355.

(31) It is to be found in the ſecond Tome of Patru's works, *pag.* 354, & *ſeq.*

(32) Ibid. *pag.* 356.

(33) Ibid. *pag.* 357.

(34) Ibid. *pag.* 358.

(35) Ibid.

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moſt of what has been ſaid: It contains ſeveral other things, which will not be unacceptable to thoſe who are pleaſed with a particular account of the lives of illuſtrious men. Note,

I might ſay, when I affirmed, that human reaſon cannot make me comprehend, that our ſouls are immortal; and that the holy Scripture, and the revelations of GOD to his church have taught me that truth, which is the foundation of our religion. Afterwards he maintains, that his opinion is much better than it would be, if it was grounded upon ſome philoſophical proofs (36). 'You believe the immortality of the ſoul, becauſe your reaſon tells you ſo; 'as for me, I believe it againſt my reaſon: I believe 'that our ſouls are immortal, becauſe our religion 'commands me to believe it. Conſider thoſe two opinions, and you will certainly confeſs, that mine is 'much better: yours is not ſo much as Catholic . . . '(37). As . . . it is not ſufficient to do good works in 'order to be a virtuous man; but, beſides, our intentions ought to be innocent, and our actions to 'proceed from a good motive: ſo it is not ſufficient, 'in order to be a Catholic, not to doubt of any thing 'which the church will have us to believe, we muſt, 'beſides, believe like Chriſtians, and humility, and 'not preſumption, ought to be the cauſe of our 'faith . . . . (38) We have not a perfect truſt in GOD, 'if we rely upon our reaſon in things which he will 'have us to believe. If our reaſon never deceived us, 'and if we had a perfect knowledge of ſuch things as 'fall under our ſenſes, perhaps our raſhneſs would be 'excuſable; and it would be no wonder, if finding 'nothing upon earth that could puzzle us, we enquired 'after ſuch things as are above us. But you know 'better than I do, what the knowledge of man is; 'and that there are ſtill ſo many things in nature that 'are above philoſophical enquiries, that we may very 'well miſtruſt our ſtrength and our reaſon. None 'but a novice in Philoſophy will think that all manner of queſtions may be eaſily reſolved. They who 'go farther into the knowledge of things, meet with 'greater difficulties: two contrary opinions are often 'equally probable; and if they embrace one of them, 'it is rather out of inclination than out of reaſon. 'Man cannot judge certainly of any thing whatſoever; 'his reaſon deceives him as well as his ſenſes; we 'live among errors and doubts, and we have no certain truths here below, but thoſe which GOD has 'revealed to his church. Take a view of all the 'ſchools of Philoſophy, conſider what they do, and 'teach there; you will find preſumption in ſome, 'obſtinacy in others, and ignorance, error, and weakneſs, in all of them. Certainly we ſtand in need of 'our imbecillity to keep to our duty . . . (39) ſince 'our reaſon is ſo weak that the leaſt difficulties puzzle 'it, and that it is deceived, and miſtaken at every 'turn, let us be ſure not to truſt ſuch a blind guide, 'and not to ground our belief upon ſo weak a foundation. We muſt not rely upon our arguments, but 'upon him who made Heaven and Earth . . . . (40) 'Let us always remember that we muſt believe in 'GOD, and not in ourſelves, and that if we ſhould 'uſe our reaſon in what concerns divine things, we 'ſhould imitate the Cynic, who not contented with 'the light of the ſun, looked for a good man with a 'candle at noon-day.'

(36) Ibid. *pag.* 361.

(37) Ibid. *pag.* 362.

(38) Ibid. *pag.* 363.

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 364.

(40) Patru, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 365.

Des Cartes and his moſt faithful followers might find fault with ſome of thoſe thoughts, but it would be only as meer Philoſophers; for as ſoon as they conſider themſelves as Chriſtians, they muſt entirely approve d'Albancourt's opinion. They are perſuaded, that their proofs of the immortality of the ſoul are demonſtrative; they would therefore take it ill that he ſhould ſay, that the light of reaſon affords no good proofs of that immortality: but, after all, he would be only looked upon as heterodox in Philoſophy; and they would confeſs, that as a Chriſtian he had the fulneſs of orthodoxy (41). A perſuaſion grounded upon the light of nature ought to be conſidered in a Chriſtian as eloquence in a Philoſopher, or as agreeableneſs in a Hiſtory, or as beauty in a Wreſtler (42). They are things the privation whereof can be no great prejudice, tho' it be no diſadvantage to enjoy them. *A Philoſopho ſi afferat eloquentiam, non aſperner: Si non habeat, non admodum flagitem* (43). It is an advantage to be able to reconcile the truths of the Chriſtian religion with the principles of Philoſophy; it is a benefit not to be neglected, but rather improved as much as it can be: but one muſt be always ready to loſe it without regret, when it cannot be extended to the doctrines that are above it's reach, and which, by the nature of the myſtery, are above the capacity of our reaſon. One muſt be affected with reſpect to that advantage, as wiſe men are affected with reſpect to fortune: if ſhe is conſtant in her favours to them, they are glad of it; if ſhe runs away they are not much troubled at it: *I praiſe her*, ſaid Horace, *when ſhe ſtays with me; but as ſoon as I perceive that ſhe is ready to forſake me, I return her her gifts, and wrap up my ſelf in my virtue* (44). True Chriſtians do the ſame, with reſpect to Philoſophical knowledge: if after they have proved ſome tenets of religion, it ſeems to be againſt them, and to ſerve the contrary tenets, we let it go, ſay they, and we wrap up ourſelves in our faith. It is a thick and impenetrable vail againſt the injuries of the air, that is to ſay, againſt all the aſſaults of human reaſon. Mr d'Albancourt did the ſame. There is nothing more judicious and ſolid than his reflexions upon the nature of faith, and upon the good uſe which ought to be made of the uncertainty of reaſon: the certainty of divine faith is above that of ſcience. It would be therefore a very unjuſt thing to pretend, that a Chriſtian wants ſome Philoſophical proofs to be ſure that his ſoul is immortal. Is it not enough for him to be certain of it by his ſubmiſſion to the divine authority, and by a firm perſuaſion, that there is no foundation ſo immutable and ſo immoveable as the word of GOD? and muſt not a Chriſtian, if he will act as a Chriſtian, believe the immortality of the ſoul, becauſe GOD has promiſed us an eternal felicity? If he believed the immortality of the ſoul for ſome Philoſophical reaſons, it would be no act of faith, which yet he ought to perform, if he deſires to fulfil the duties of religion, and to be acceptable to GOD. Chriſtians have no regard to the light of reaſon in an act of faith, they lay it aſide, and rely only upon GOD's veracity. See what the ſchoolmen ſay when they enquire, whether opinion, ſcience, and faith, can be in our minds at the ſame time, with reſpect to the ſame object.

(41) Compare this with remark [*M*] of the article DICÆARCHUS.

(42) Lucianus in libello de hac re, unum ait eſſe opus Hiſtoriæ, unumque finem, utilitatem: jucundam verò ſi & ipſum ſequatur, melius hoc eſſe: perinde atque in athleta vires requiruntur, forma ac venuſtas laudantur. *Famian. Strada, Proluſ. ii, lib. ii, pag. m.* 223.

(43) Cicero, de Finib. *lib. i, cap. v.*

(44) Laudo manentem: ſi celeres quatit Pennas, reſignat quæ dedit, & mea Virtute me involvo. *Horat. Od. xxiii, lib. iii.*

I have now a very fair opportunity to ſet down a paſſage which I have promiſed in another place (45). Mr Locke found himſelf almoſt in the ſame caſe with Mr d'Albancourt: he was blamed for having ſaid, that natural reaſon does not clearly prove the immortality of the ſoul. Let us ſee his anſwer (46). 'This your 'accuſation of my leſſening the credibility of theſe 'articles of faith, [the immortality of the ſoul, and the 'reſurrection of the body] is founded on this, that the 'article of the immortality of the ſoul abates of it's 'credibility, if it be allowed, that it's immateriality '(which is the ſuppoſed proof from reaſon and philoſophy of it's immortality) cannot be demonſtrated 'from natural reaſon: which argument of your lordſhip's, bottoms, as I humbly conceive, on this, 'that divine revelation abates of it's credibility in all 'thoſe articles it propoſes, proportionably, as human 'reaſon fails, to ſupport the teſtimony of GOD. And 'all that your lordſhip in thoſe paſſages has ſaid, when 'examined, will, I ſuppoſe, be found to import thus 'much, *viz.* Does GOD promiſe any thing to mankind to be believed? It is very fit and credible to 'be believed, if reaſon can demonſtrate it to be true. 'But if human reaſon comes ſhort in the caſe, and 'cannot make it out, it's credibility is thereby leſſened; which is, in effect, to ſay, that the veracity 'of GOD is not a firm and ſure foundation of faith to 'rely upon, without the concurring teſtimony of reaſon, *i. e.* with reverence be it ſpoken, GOD is not 'to be believed on his own word, unleſs what he reveals be in itſelf credible, and might be believed 'without him. I could not have imagined to find 'this in a book, written in defence of the Myſtery of 'the Holy Trinity. Your lordſhip ſays, *You do not queſtion whether GOD can give immortality to a material ſubſtance; but you ſay it* takes off very much *from the evidence of immortality, if it depends wholly upon GOD's giving that which, of it's own nature, it is not capable of.* To which I reply, any one's not being able to demonſtrate the ſoul to be immaterial, *takes off* not *very much*, nor at all from the *evidence of it's immortality*, if GOD has revealed that it ſhall 'be immortal, becauſe the veracity of GOD is a demonſtration

(45) Cited (65) of the article DICÆARCHUS.

(46) Mr Locke's Reply to the biſhop of Worceſter, Anſwer to his ſecond Letter, *pag.* 418, 419. See alſo the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Nov.* 1699, *pag.* 510.

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Note, that Mr Patru aſcribes to Perrot the moſt excellent moral qualities that can be wiſhed for.

' demonſtration of the truth of what he has revealed, ' and the want of another demonſtration of a propo- ' ſition, that is demonſtratively true, takes not off ' from the evidence of it. For where there is a clear ' demonſtration, there is as much evidence as any ' truth can have, that is not ſelf-evident (47). . . . ' Can any one who admits of divine revelation . . . ' think this propoſition leſs credible, the bodies of ' men, after the reſurrection, ſhall live for ever; than ' this, the ſouls of men ſhall, after the reſurrection, ' live for ever? For that he muſt do, if he thinks ' either of them is leſs credible than the other. If ' this be ſo, reaſon is to be conſulted, how far GOD ' is to believed, and the credit of divine teſtimony ' muſt receive it's force from the evidence of reaſon, ' which is evidently to take away the credibility of ' divine revelation, in all ſupernatural truths, wherein ' the evidence of reaſon fails.'

(47) Mr Locke, ibid. pag. 420, 421.

. The reader may find ſeveral things in the article of Pomponatius, which concern this matter; but it is to be obſerved here, that many ſchool-men have aſſerted, that the natural reaſons of the immortality of the ſoul are not convincing. *Naturæ rationes Henricus atque Scotus probabiliter ſuadere aiunt, non neceſſario demonſtrare* (48). Cajetanus, who had openly and haughtily rejected that opinion (49), embraced it at laſt; I believe, ſays he, that our ſouls are immortal, but I do not know it: *Se credere quidem animam rationalem incorruptibilem eſſe, at neſcire tamen* (50). He and Scotus, and Joannes de Janduno, having examined all the arguments alledged by Thomas Aquinas declared that they were not demonſtrative, *pronunciarunt tandem rem non eſſe demonſtratam ſed creditam* (51). Scotus anſwered all the arguments of Thomas Aquinas. The latter propoſed twenty-one probable reaſons for the immortality of the ſoul, to which Joannes de Janduno added many more (52).

(48) Melch. Canus, Loc. Commun. *lib. xii, cap. ult. pag. m.* 724.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Ibid. *pag.* 725.

(52) Ibid. *pag.* 727.

PERSIUS (CAIUS) (*a*) was one of the moſt learned men of his time [*A*]. He was Quæſtor in the year of Rome 608, and Prætor two years after (*b*). The poet Lucilius dreaded him, and ingenuouſly confeſſed that he did not write for ſuch men, and that he deſired not his readers ſhould be ſo learned as he was. It was thought by ſome, that Perſius made the harangue which was pronounced by the conſul Caius Fannius againſt Caius Gracchus (*c*), in the year of Rome 631. The reaſon of it was that Fannius was but an indifferent Orator, and that his harangue was ſo fine (*d*), that others believed ſeveral great men had contributed to it every one according to his capacity. It was not at that time a thing without example, that a man ſhould make a diſcourſe, and another recite it. Nevertheleſs Cicero refutes thoſe who aſcribed not that harangue to Fannius. Some by a ſtrange error in Chronolgy have confounded our Perſius with the Poet I ſpeak of in the next article [*B*].

(*a*) Pliny calls him *Maximus* in Harduin's edition. See the remark [*A*].

(*b*) *According to* Voſſius, de Poët. Lat. *pag.* 41.

(*c*) Alii à C. Perſio literato homine ſcriptam eſſe ajebant, illo quem ſignificat valde doctum eſſe Lucilius; alii multos nobiles quod quiſque potuiſſet in illam orationem contuliſſe. *Cicero, in Bruto.*

(*d*) Eam ſuſpicionem propter hanc cauſam credo fuiſſe, quod Fannius in mediocribus Oratoribus habitus eſſet, oratio autem vel optima eſſet illo quidem tempore orationum omnium. *Ibid.*

[*A*] *He was one of the moſt learned men of his time.*] Cicero mentions him in two or three places. He brings in the Orator Craſſus, who declares, that, in imitation of the Poet Lucilius, he does not deſire that his readers ſhould be altogether ignorant, or very learned men: and upon this occaſion he tells us that Perſius, one of thoſe whom that Poet would not have to be his reader, was, in a manner, the moſt learned man that was ſeen at Rome (1). ' Nam ut Cajus Lucilius homo ' doctus & perurbanus dicere ſolebat ea quæ ſcriberet ' neque ab indoctiſſimis neque ab doctiſſimis legi velle, ' quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortaſſe quàm ' ipſe de ſe; quo etiam ſcripſit; Perſium non curo legere, ' hic enim fuit, ut noramus, omnium fere noſtrorum ' hominum doctiſſimus; Lælium Decimum volo, quem ' cognovimus virum bonum & non illiteratum, ſed ' nihil ad Perſium; ſic ego ſi jam mihi diſputandum ' ſit de his noſtris ſtudiis, nolim equidem apud ruſticos, ' ſed multo minus apud vos, malo enim non intelligi ' orationem meam, quàm reprehendi. - - - - *For as,* ' *Caius Lucilius, a learned and very polite man, uſed to* ' *ſay, that he did not deſire his writings ſhould be read* ' *either by the moſt ignorant, or moſt learned man: be-* ' *cauſe the former knew nothing, and the latter, perhaps,* ' *more than himſelf; he likewiſe ſaid, he would not have* ' *ſuch as Perſius to read them, who was known to be* ' *the moſt learned of all the Romans; but ſuch as Lælius* ' *Decimus, a good man, and not illiterate, but nothing* ' *in compariſon to Perſius: ſo, were I to reaſon concerning* ' *theſe my ſtudies, I ſhould not like to do it before thoſe* ' *that are altogether ignorant, and much leſs before you;* ' *for I would rather my oration were not underſtood than* ' *cenſured.*' Cicero declares in another place (2) that he is not of Lucilius's mind; he wiſhed that Perſius might have read his works. ' Nec enim ut noſter ' Lucilius recuſabo quo minus omnes mea legant. Uti- ' nam eſſet ille Perſius; Scipio vero & Rutilius multo ' etiam magis, quorum ille judicium reformidans Ta- ' rentinis ait ſe & Conſentinis & Siculis ſcribere. ' *Nor will I, like Lucilius, be againſt every body's read-* ' *ing my works. I could wiſh they were read by ſuch* ' *as Perſius, but much more by Scipio and Rutilius,* ' *whoſe judgment he feared, and therefore he ſays he* ' *wrote to the people of Tarentum, Conſentia, and Sicily.*' Pliny deſigning to make uſe of Lucilius's thought, choſe rather to take it from Cicero than from it's author; and it appears that he had in view a paſſage of Cicero, wherein the thing was related with ſome different explications from thoſe we have ſeen. ' Prætexta, ſays Pliny (3), eſt quædam publica etiam erudi- ' torum rejectio. Utitur illa & M. Tullius extra omnem ' ingenii aleam poſitus, & (quod miremur) per advo- ' catum defenditur. *Nec doctiſſimis: Manium Perſium* ' *hæc legere nolo, Junium Congum volo* (4.) Quod ſi ' hoc Lucilius qui primus condidit ſtyli naſum dicen- ' dum ſibi putavit: ſi Cicero mutuandum, præſertim ' cum de Republica ſcriberet, quanto nos cauſatius ab ' aliquo judice defendimus. - - - - *Beſides, one may in* ' *ſome meaſure reject the judgment of learned men. Cicero,* ' *who has nothing to apprehend, does ſo, and (which is* ' *ſtrange) is defended by an advocate.* Neither do I deſire that the moſt learned men, ſuch as Manius Perſius, but ſuch as Junius Congus, ſhould read theſe my writings. *If Lucilius, who firſt wrote ſatire,* ' *thought fit to ſay ſo; if Cicero thought fit to imitate* ' *him, eſpecially when he wrote concerning the Repu-* ' *blic, how much more reaſon have I to except againſt* ' *a judge?*' That paſſage of Cicero was, without doubt, in the preface to his books *de Republica*; he had not then the ſame thought that he had in the firſt book *de Finibus*, but the ſame that he had in the ſecond book *de Oratore*. We ought not to wonder at thoſe variations, for the ſubjects are different. It is a more ſurprizing thing, that every time he mentioned that thought of Lucilius, he brought in ſeveral perſons oppoſite to Perſius, ſometimes Lælius, ſometimes the Sicilians and Tarentines, ſometimes Junius Congus. The reaſon of it may be, either becauſe Lucilius mentioned ſeveral perſons in the ſame place, whoſe penetration he did not much fear; or becauſe he made uſe of the ſame thought in ſeveral places, ſometimes againſt one, ſometimes againſt another: for when an author declares that he is afraid of being criticized by a man by reaſon of his great learning, it may preſently afford him a ſatirical ſtroke againſt thoſe whom he deſigns to expoſe, as ignorant or half-learned men, by oppoſing them to the perſon whoſe judgment he fears. Lucilius's deſign was not ſo much to praiſe the learning of Perſius, as to exerciſe his ſatirical wit. He might, in both caſes, give occaſion to Cicero to diverſify the perſons oppoſed to Perſius: and therefore Father Harduin did very well to expunge Lælius Decimus out of Pliny, and in the room of it to inſert Junius Congus, by virtue of the beſt and moſt antient manuſcripts. See the remark [*F*] of the article LUCILIUS.

(1) Cicero, de Orat. *lib. ii.*

(2) De Finib. *lib. i, cap. iii.*

(3) In Præf. *nihil ad Perſium,*

(4) *So Father Hardouin reads. In the other editions it is* Hæc doctiſſimum Perſium legere nolo, Lælium Decimum volo.

[*B*] *Some have confounded him with the Poet I ſpeak of in the next article.*] Fungerus (5) taking, without any reaſon for it, theſe words of Cicero,

(5) In nova Proverbior. Farragine, apud Voſſium, Inſt. Orat. *lib. iv. cap. xi,* & de Poët. Lat. *pag.* 41.

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Perſium, for a proverbial expreſſion, fancied, ſtill more unreaſonably, they were meant of Perſius, the ſatirical Poet, born towards the end of the Empire of Tiberius. Thoſe two faults have been obſerved by Voſſius. He complains of a great number of ſuch over-ſights, which he found in antient and modern authors. *Vellem*, ſays he (6), *ut juventus hinc videat quàm neceſſaria ſit doctrina temporum, cujus neglectu ſpiſſe fædeque peccatur à viris alioqui non ineruditis. Quamquam nec tanti id foret, ſi unus ille* (Fungerus) *ſic exorbitaret. Sexcenta id genus poteram ex aliis adferre, pluſcula etiam ex veteribus ipſis.*

(6) De Poet. Lat. ibid.

PERSIUS (AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS) [*A*], a ſatirical Poet under the empire of Nero, was born at Volterra in Tuſcany [*B*]. He was a Roman knight, and related and allied to perſons of the firſt rank. He ſtudied at Volterra till he was twelve years of age, and then he continued his ſtudies at Rome, under the Grammarian Palæmon, the Rhetor Verginius, and Cornutus a Stoic Philoſopher, who entertained ſo great a love for him, that there was ever after a moſt intimate friendſhip between them. Perſius has immortalized in his works that friendſhip, and his thankfulneſs for the good offices of this friend (*a*). Which he expreſſed more fully by a codicil. for he left him his library and a great deal of money (*b*): but Cornutus kept only the books, and left the money to the heirs (*c*). He adviſed the mother of his friend to ſuppreſs ſome pieces of poetry, which her ſon made in the beginning of his youth. He thought, without doubt, they would not anſwer the great reputation of thoſe which had been publiſhed, and received by the public with ſo great an admiration, that all the copies were preſently ſold off. This is a model to be propoſed to thoſe who publiſh ſo many ſorry poſthumous books, in hopes that the glory of the deceaſed will be a ſafeguard to them. They ſuppreſſed, amongſt other works of Perſius, ſome verſes which he had made upon Arria, that illuſtrious Roman lady, who killed herſelf to give an example to her dear huſband. Moreri fancied that it was a ſatire againſt Arria [*C*], which is falſe; it was rather

(a) Perſius, Sat. V, paſſim.

(b) Five and twenty thouſand crowns acording to the ſupputation of ſome. See the preface of Perſius's tranſlation by the Jeſuit Tarteron.

(c) That is, to Perſius's ſiſters.

[*A*] *Aulus Perſius Flaccus.*] Thoſe who ſaid that the ſirname of Flaccus was given him, becauſe he imitated Horace, did not obſerve that his father had the ſame ſirname (1), and have not been more lucky in their gueſs, than when they ſaid that he was called Severus, becauſe he profeſſed the Stoic Philoſophy. Caſaubon (2) affords me thoſe two remarks. He believes, as to the ſecond, that an inſcription found at Volterra occaſioned that error. Here is the inſcription *A. Perſius A. F. Severus V. an.* VIII. M. III. D. XIX. Which ſuppoſes that thoſe whom that great Critic cenſures, pretended that the title of Severus was given to Perſius as a ſirname of a family, and if it be ſo, they might be cenſured for it; but if they conſidered that title only as an epithet, like that of *Ardens*, which Juvenal beſtowed upon Lucilius (3), they could not be blamed, in my opinion, for having taken notice of that Poet's application to the Stoic Philoſophy, nor could it be pretended that they had any regard to the inſcription of Volterra. No man ever better deſerved the title of *Severe* than that Poet, conſidering the imperious tone of his invectives and cenſures; which is the reaſon Barthius gives of that title. It was therefore an unreaſonable thing to apply to him the ſevere reprimand of Caſaubon. What I ſay concerns Magirus (4) for having ſet down theſe words of Barthius (5); 'Severum veteres libri ab auctoritate caſtigandi & invectione in malos mores nominant, *he adds*, ſed videtur huic vaniſſimo commento occaſionem præbuiſſe inſcriptio illa memoria avorum Volaterris inventa, ubi *Aul. PERSII* cujuſdam oſtenis pueri ſit mentio, cui cognomen fuit Severo. Caſaub. not. ad Perſii vitam. - - - - *Antient books call him Severus, from the keenneſs of his cenſures, and invectives againſt vice; but this idle fiction ſeems to have been occaſioned by that inſcription found at Volterra, in the memory of our fore-fathers, wherein mention is made of one* Aul. PERSIUS, *a boy of eight years old, whoſe ſirname was Severus.*' This application does not ſeem to be judicious.

(1) Sueton. in Vita Perſii.

(2) Notis in Vitam Perſii.

(3) Sat. I. So Perſius calls Horace, *Vaſer*, and Ovid gives the epithet of *Doctus* to Catullus.

(4) Eponymolog. Critic. *pag.* 648.

(5) VI. Adverſar. 1.

[*B*] *Born at Volterra in Tuſcany.*] All authors do not agree herein; Etruria and Liguria contended for it. Perſius might boaſt of having a good ſhare in Homer's deſtiny, two great provinces ſtrive which ſhall have him. The Etrurians ground their pretenſion upon the teſtimony of ſome ancient authors, who ſay that Perſius was of Volterra (6). The Ligurians ground theirs upon theſe words;

- - - - Mihi nunc Ligus ora
Intepet, hibernatque meum mare, qua latus ingens
Dant ſcopuli, & multa littus ſe valle receptat
Lunai portum eſt operæ cognoſcere cives (7).

For me, my warmer conſtitution wants
More cold than our Ligurian winter grants.
And therefore to my native ſhores retir'd,
I view the coaſt old Ennius once admir'd;
Where cliffs on either ſide their points diſplay,
And after opening in an ample way.
'Tis worth your while, O Romans, to regard
The port of Luna, ſays our learned Bard.
DRYDEN.

(6) The author of Perſius's Life. *Euſeb. in Chronic. Caſſiodor. in Faſtis.*

(7) Perſius, Sat. VI, ver. 6.

They pretend that the Poet ſpeaks of his native country, and conſequently that he was born at Portus Lunæ, which is called now the gulph della Spezzia. Don Gaſparo Maſſa has treated that matter learnedly, in a diſſertation printed at Genoa in 1667, *della vita, Origine, è patria di Aulo Perſio Flacco.* He believes that the town formerly called Luna was ſituated in Tuſcany (8), and therefore he is far from granting that it was the native country of our Poet; for his not being born at Volterra would ſignify nothing to him, if he could not deprive Tuſcany of him, and prove that he was born in the ſtate of Genoa. He therefore ſays, that the place of his birth was Tigulia, near Portus Lunæ, ſituated in Liguria, eighty ſtadia diſtant from Luna (9). You muſt obſerve that the town of Luna and the port of Luna are diſtinguiſhed one from the other. Lewis Aproſio is of the ſame opinion with Gaſparo Maſſa, as it appears from his diſſertation *della Patria d'A. Perſio*, printed at Genoa in the year 1664. See how little one can rely upon Moreri, he pretends that Aproſio *maintains that Perſius was of Volterra, and that Gaſpar Maſſa ſays he was born at Luna or la Spezzia.* Which is very falſe with reſpect to Aproſio, and far from being exact with reſpect to Maſſa. For the reſt, tho' the arguments of thoſe two gentlemen are none of thoſe which cannot be anſwered, yet they are probable enough, and if I was to chooſe, I had rather follow their opinion (10) than that of Euſebius. I ſhall acquaint my reader, that Soprani being not contented to place Perſius in his catalogue of the writers of Liguria (11), and to give ſome reaſons for it, cauſed thoſe two diſcourſes to be printed at the end of his work.

(8) Pag. 40.

(9) Aproſio della Patria d'A. Perſio, *pag.* 14.

(10) It is alſo the opinion of Bartholomew Fontius, in his commentary upon Perſius, printed at Venice in 1491, and of Hippolytus Landinelli, *Nell' origine di Lavi, cap. xi, apud* Michael. Juſtiniani, Script. Ligur. *pag.* 108.

(11) Printed at Genoa in 4to, in the year 1667.

[*C*] *Moreri fancied that it was a ſatire againſt Arria, which is falſe.*] I think the true reaſon of his miſtake proceeds from theſe words: *Scripſerat in puritia Flaccus . . . . paucos in ſororem Thraſeæ & in Arriæ matrem verſus quæ ſe ante virum occiderat* (12). The Critics (13) have corrected theſe words thus, *in ſocrum Thraſeæ Arriæ matrem*, or *Arriam* (14) *matrem.* The Præpoſition *in* is equivocal (15); it ſignifies ſometimes *againſt*, and ſometimes *upon.* One may eaſily perceive that it ought to be taken here in the ſecond ſenſe; for is it likely that Perſius ſhould have written verſes againſt a lady who was his kinſwoman, and mother of his beſt friend's wife, and famous for having died in a moſt heroical manner, according to the

(12) Suet. in Vita Perſii.

(13) Caſaub. Not. in Vitam Perſii.

(14) Gronovius, in emend. Vitam in Edit. Suetoa. Graviana.

(15) Vid. Caſaub. in Perſ. Sat. I, *pag.* 110.

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rather an elogy, and it cannot be reaſonably doubted of conſidering the great love of the author for Thraſeas, ſon-in-law to Arria, his kinſwoman (*d*). He ſtudied with Lucan, under Cornutus, and was ſo much admired by his ſchool-fellow, that when Perſius recited his verſes, Lucan could ſcarce forbear breaking out into acclamations: which is a rare thing among Poets of the ſame rank, but ſometimes too common out of cunning and vanity [*D*]. Perſius became acquainted with Seneca very late, and could never like his temper. He was a good friend, a better ſon ſtill, a better brother, and a better kinſman [*E*]. He was very chaſte, though a beautiful young man: he was ſober, as meek as a lamb, and as modeſt as a young virgin: ſo true it is, that we muſt not judge of a man's morals by his writings; for the ſatires of Perſius are licentious: beſides, they are ſharp and full of bitterneſs. Nay, it is believed that he ſpared not the cruel Nero, and that he did ſo plainly hint at him, that Cornutus thought

(*d*) Ipſe etiam decem fere annis ſumme dilectus apud Thraſeam eſt, ita ut peregrinaretur quoque cum eo aliquando, cognatam ejus Arriam (*the daughter of that Arria who killed her ſelf*) uxorem habente. *Suet. in Vit. Perſii.* *Inſtead of* dilectus apud Thraſeam, *Lipſius, in Ann. Tacit. lib. xvi, reads* dilectus à Pæto Thraſea.

the notions of the ſect wherein our Poet was bred up? The friendſhip of Perſius and Thraſeas, ſon-in-law of that lady, laſted near ten years, which ſignifies, as Caſaubon obſerves, that Perſius did not live above ten years from the time he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Thraſeas. Now becauſe he lived but twenty-eight years, any one may ſee that their friendſhip began whilſt Perſius ſtudied Philoſophy under Cornutus: and it is likely that he made the verſes in queſtion after he had got ſuch a friend.

Cum primum pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis laribus donata pependit,
Me tibi ſuppoſui (16). - - -

When firſt my childiſh robe reſign'd the charge
And left me unconfin'd to live at large.
When now my golden bulla (hung on high
To houſhold gods) declare me paſt a boy.
And my white ſhield proclaim my liberty,
Under thy care I put myſelf. - - -

(16) Perſ. ad Cornutum, Sat. V.

The word Pueritia is uſed by the beſt Latin authors for young men of eighteen or twenty years of age. I ſhall place here in order the other miſtakes of Moreri. He ſays *that Perſius wrote a book againſt Arria, which his maſter, Cornutus, made him burn.* Suppoſe this to be true, it was not a book, but ſome few verſes, *paucos verſus*. His maſter's name was not Cornutus, but Cornutus; and it was only after the death of the author, that he adviſed his mother to ſuppreſs thoſe verſes, and all thoſe he had made in his youth. *Omnia autem Cornutus auctor fuit* MATRI *ejus ut aboleret* (17). Whereby the author of the Epiſtle, which ſerves inſtead of a preface to the new tranſlation of Perſius, may be convinced of a miſtake. His words run thus (18): 'He compoſed ſome verſes upon that ſubject (19), which were no commendation of that generous and faithful wife (20): but he followed the advice that was given him, he ſuppreſſed thoſe verſes, and he did well.' Moreri calls the Rhetorician, under whom Perſius ſtudied, Virginius Fulvius; he ſhould have called him Verginius Flaccus. He ſays that this pretended Virginius Fulvius and Rhemnius Palæmon *took care of Lucan's education*. To what purpoſe does he make ſuch a remark, ſince he was to ſay nothing of Lucan's love for Perſius? But beſides, none of the authors quoted by him, mention that pretended education. It is with reſpect to Cornutus, that the author of the life of Perſius obſerves, that he taught Lucan and Perſius at the ſame time. We ſhall ſee hereafter (21) a Chronological error of Moreri.

(17) Suet. ubi ſupra.

(18) Epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Perſius by Father Tarteron.

(19) That is, upon the action of Arria.

(20) It is a miſtake, which I refute.

(21) In the remark [*G*].

(22) *De quo infra.* remark [*F*], at the end.

(23) Epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Perſius by the Jeſuit Tarteron.

(24) Lucanus adeo mirabatur ſcripta Flacci, ut vix retineret ſe illo recitante à clamore quin illa eſſe vera poemata diceret. - - - - *Lucan ſo much admired the writings of Perſius, that when he read them to him, he could not forbear crying out, that they were excellent poems indeed.* Sueton. in Vit. Perſii.

Mr Marais was pleaſed to acquaint me, that Moreri might have taken from Mr Geffrier (22) what he ſays of Arria,; for the reputation of that lady was ſo dear to Mr Geffrier, *that to make amends for the wrong* which he pretends Perſius had done her, he cauſed a ſonnet to be printed before his tranſlation, which Father le Moine compoſed to the praiſe of Arria, and which is to be found in his *Galerie des Femmes fortes*.

[*D*] *A thing . . . ſometimes too common out of cunning and vanity.*] This is finely explained by a modern author, who does not pretend that Lucan was free from that fault. 'Perſius, (ſays he) (23), was much better pleaſed with 'Lucan, who perhaps inſinuated himſelf into his favour with much exclaiming at the fineſt paſſages of 'his ſatires, and often repeating theſe words with great 'admiration (24), *theſe are excellent pieces indeed!* for 'tho' an author be never ſo modeſt, he will be eaſily 'allured by the charms of flattering applauſes, which 'he receives from a good judge in a full aſſembly. 'But, Sir, had not Lucan a view in it? Did not he 'expect the like from Perſius? Poets and authors, you 'know, do ſeldom give any thing for nothing; and 'when they come to engage one another with praiſes 'and compliments, they do not ſpare themſelves; 'they make paſſes at one another with great 'force. You know ſome at preſent, as well as I, who 'are accounted for bravery of wit, if I may ſay ſo, 'the Boutevilles of this time: they challenge thoſe 'that have moſt ſkill, and whether it be in a rencounter, or in formal duels, which were never prohibited 'by the king, they ſtrive to conquer one another, and 'are on both ſides extremely free of the moſt obliging and civil expreſſions, even in writing and in 'print, that poſterity may not doubt of it. In this 'ſort of duels the weakeſt man is always the aggreſſor; it is he who ſends or even carries the challenge. 'This is, Horace's metaphor, and it will appear to 'you, at leaſt, as pleaſant as it is bold; you may 'find it in his epiſtle to Florus. As for me, if the 'title of writer made me greedy of praiſes, I had rather be commended by a good author, whom I ſhould 'neither know by his name, nor by ſight, and who 'could have no intereſt in praiſing me; for ſuch 'praiſes could not be ſuſpected.'

(22) *De quo infra.* remark [*F*], at the end.

(23) Epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Perſius by the Jeſuit Tarteron.

(24) Lucanus adeo mirabatur ſcripta Flacci, ut vix retineret ſe illo recitante à clamore quin illa eſſe vera poemata diceret. - - - - *Lucan ſo much admired the writings of Perſius, that when he read them to him, he could not forbear crying out, that they were excellent poems indeed.* Sueton. in Vit. Perſii.

[*E*] *He was a good friend, a better ſon ſtill, a better brother, and a better kinſman.*] The author who affords me theſe words, will afford me alſo a Commentary upon them. *You wonder at it,* ſays he (25) *and perhaps you have your reaſons for it: Nevertheleſs, there is nothing truer than this; and they who knew him beſt, ſay, that he might be propoſed as an example in that reſpect* (26). *In effect, he had a ſolid and true love for his ſiſters, and a reſpectful tenderneſs for his mother Fulvia, tho' ſhe was married again: and if he was but a child when his father died, if he was but ſeven or eight years of age when ſhe did that . . . . I had almoſt let fall the word folly, but we muſt be ſomewhat circumſpect in favour of thoſe women; he was already clear-ſighted enough to perceive that it was not an agreable thing, for reaſon diſplays itſelf much in ſuch junctures, it grows ſtrong and lively, and does not always wait for the time appointed to make it's reflexions, eſpecially when it happens to be in a ſubject that has a diſpoſition to be ſatirical. But, Sir, we muſt have the whole truth, the ſecond huſband died in a ſhort time, and left Perſius in a condition of reſpecting and loving his mother, as ſincerely as he did, when he was but a child.* 'Pater 'ejus Flaccus pupillum reliquit moriens, annorum fere 'ſex. Fulvia Siſennia mater nupſit poſtea Fuſio, E-'quiti Romano: & eum quoque extulit intra paucos 'annos (27). - - - - *He was but young when his father 'Flaccus died, being about ſix years of age: his mother 'Fulvia Siſennia afterwards was married to Fuſius a 'Roman knight: and ſhe buried him too within a few 'years.' I do not know whether Fulvia took great care of her ſon's education, and whether ſhe loved not herſelf too much to mind an affair of ſo great importance; this I cannot be ſure of, for a ſecond wedding, and even the condition of a young widow, is a great hindrance to it; but that which I am ſure of, is, that the Roman knight, though never ſo young, neglected nothing to make himſelf as accompliſhed a man as I have repreſented him to you.* I ſhall add theſe words of Suetonius to that pretty commentary; 'Reliquit circa H. . .SXX matri & ſo-'rori. . . . . Cornutus, ſublatis libris, pecuniam ſo-'roribus, quas frater hæredes fecerat, reliquit. - - - - 'He left to his mother and ſiſter about twenty-five thou-'ſand crown . . . Cornutus kept the books, but gave the mo-'ney to his ſiſters, whom their brother had made his heirs.' What ſhall we ſay of an Hiſtorian, who in the ſame page, where he ſays twice, that Perſius had but one ſiſter, obſerves that Perſius left his eſtate to

(25) Epiſtle prefixed to the new tranſlation of Perſius and Juvenal, by Father Tarteron.

(26) Pietatis erga matrem & ſororem & amitam exemplo ſufficientis. *Sueton. in Vita Perſii.*

(27) Ibid.

his

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thought fit to alter ſome of his words (e) [F]. He died when he was twenty-eight years

(e) Taken from his Life written by Suetonius, as it is thought.

his mother and ſiſter, and made his ſiſters his heirs?

[F] *It is believed that he did ſo plainly hint at Nero, that Cornutus thought fit to alter ſome of his words.*]

He made uſe of theſe words in his firſt ſatire;

Auriculas aſini Mida rex habet.

An aſs's ears king Midas has.

Cornutus adviſed them to change them into theſe:

Auriculas aſini quis non habet (28)?

(28) Sueton. in Vita Perſii.

An aſs's ears who has not got?

If Cornutus thought that Nero was too plainly hinted at by theſe words, he did wiſely to uſe that precaution, tho' perhaps, that emperor was ſtill in his happy days, which continued the firſt five or ſix years of his reign, but how comes it that Cornutus made no alteration in the four verſes inſerted in the ſame ſatire, and taken from a tragedy of Nero? Was it a dangerous thing to ſay *king Midas has aſſes ears*, whilſt his verſes might be propoſed as a model of ridiculous poetry without any danger? I find ſome difficulty in it, and perhaps theſe four verſes,

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput allatura ſuperbo
Baſſaris, & Lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis
Evion ingeminat: reparabilis adſonat Echo (29).

(29) Perſ. Sat. I, ver. 99.

Their crooked horns, the Mimallonian crew
With blaſts inſpir'd; and Baſſaris, who ſlew
The ſcornful calf, with ſword advanc'd on high
Made from his neck his haughty head to fly,
And, Mænas, when with ivy bridles bound,
She led the ſpotted lynx, then Evion rung around,
Evion from woods and floods repairing echo's ſound.

Theſe verſes, I ſay, perhaps were at moſt but an indirect and obſcure raillery; for if Nero had been the author of thoſe verſes, how could any body be ſo bold, as to ſet them down word for word to laugh at them, ſince it was thought neceſſary to mend thoſe other words, *Auriculas aſini Mida rex habet?* This is a very ſtrange diſparity; a great cowardice on the one hand, and a great raſhneſs on the other. But I have more ſcruples ſtill about it. Methinks Cornutus ſpoils the thought of his friend without any neceſſity, his fear ſeems to me to be ill grounded. Perſius being told that it was dangerous to cenſure the faults of other men, and that he ſhould not ſo much as ſpeak of them to a pit, anſwers, that he will at leaſt tell his book buried in the ground what he has ſeen, *viz.* that king Midas had aſſes ears?

Men' mutire nefas, nec clam nec cum ſcrobe? nuſquam.
Heic tamen infodiam. Vidi, vidi ipſe, libelle,
Auriculas Aſini Mida rex habet.

Like the ſam'd Barber I ſhall dig a hole,
And there diſcharge the burthen of my ſoul,
And whiſper to the reeds that Midas wears,
Beneath the royal crown, an aſs's ears.

It is a manifeſt alluſion to the hiſtory of Midas's Barber, which was very well known to Nero.

- - - Secedit humumque
Effodit, & domini quales aſpexerit aures
Voce refert parva terræque immurmurat hauſtæ (30)

(30) Ovid. Met. lib. xi, ver. 186.

Reſtleſs, at laſt, a private place he found,
Then dug a hole, and told it to the ground;
In a low whiſper he reveal'd the caſe,
And cover'd in the earth, and ſilent left the place.

CROXALL.

It was not therefore very likely that he ſhould take it ill, that any one ſhould faithfully relate the beſt paſſage of that hiſtory, *Auriculas aſini Mida rex habet.* If you change thoſe words into theſe, *Auriculas aſini quis non habet*; it is no more the Barber's text, but a looſe imitation of it. If I ſhould be told, that it is better to leſſen the beauty of a thought, than to exaſperate a tyrant, I would anſwer as I did before, *Why do not you take off the four verſes; you ought to force the author to blot them out, not only if they are borrowed from a poem of Nero, but alſo if they only contain ſome of his phraſes.* In effect, it cannot be doubted but that Malherbe would have been offended at theſe verſes of Mr Boileau, even if he had not been named in them:

Irai-je dans une ode en phraſes de Malherbe,
Troubler dans ſes roſeaux le Danube ſuperbe,
Delivrer de Sion le peuple gemiſſant,
Faire trembler Memphis & pâlir le Croiſſant,
Et paſſant du Jourdain les ondes allarmées
Cueillir *mal à propos* les palmes Idumées (31)?

(31) Boileau, Sat. IX, ver. 251.

Mr Boileau names no body when he ſays:

Tout chantre ne peut pas ſur le ton d'un Orphée,
Entonner en grands vers la Diſcorde étouffée:
Peindre Bellone en feu tonnant de toutes parts,
Et le Belge effrayé fuyant ſur ſes remparts. (32).

(32) Ibid. ver. 39.

Yet can any body doubt but that it muſt raiſe the indignation of the author of thoſe lines? Therefore it ſeems to me that the *torva Mimalloneis*, &c. can neither be a fragment of Nero's Poems, nor a parody or an imitation of his verſes: for once more if he would have been diſpleaſed with the *Auriculas aſini Mida rex habet*, which was an old ſtory, how could it be expected that he ſhould patiently bear ridiculous cento's made up of his own expreſſions? Wherefore, with the old ſcholiaſt's leave, I will not ſubſcribe to theſe words of Mr Boileau till my ſcruples be removed: *Let us examine Perſius*, ſays he (33), *who wrote under Nero's reign. He does not only rail at the Poets of his time, but alſo ridicules the verſes of Nero himſelf. For every body knows, and the whole court of Nero knew it, that thoſe four verſes*, torva Mimalloneis, *&c. which Perſius does ſo ſharply reflect upon in his firſt ſatire, were Nero's verſes. Yet we do not find that Nero, as cruel as he was, cauſed Perſius to be puniſhed for it; and that tyrant, though an enemy to reaſon, and very fond of his works, as it is well known, was ſo reaſonable as not to be offended at it, and did not think that upon ſuch an occaſion the emperor ſhould concern himſelf for the Poet.* I have done with that ſcruple. Caſaubon pretends, that the four verſes in queſtion, were part of a tragedy (34) intituled Bacchæ (35), and to prove that Nero had compoſed ſuch a piece, he quotes Dion Caſſius, who only ſays, that Nero acted the part of a Muſician when that tragedy was acted. But is this a proof that he was the author of it? Beſides, Hexameter verſes, I think, were not uſed in tragedies; but the four verſes in queſtion are Hexameter. If that learned commentator had compared his opinion about *torva Mimalloneis* with his preface on the fourth ſatire, I doubt he would not have perſiſted in that opinion. In effect, he ſays in that preface, that the chief deſign of Perſius in his fourth ſatire was to cenſure the conduct of Nero; and that to avoid bringing himſelf into trouble, he ſo diſguiſed his deſign, that he made uſe of no ſtroke hinting at that prince, and contrived the matter ſo as to be able to come off, in caſe he ſhould be accuſed of aiming at the government. Caſaubon obſerves alſo, that this ſatire was compoſed before Nero had ſhewn all his ill-nature. ‘ Cujus *(ſatiræ quartæ)* etſi præ- ‘cipuus erat Scopus in Neronem invehi, atque ipſum ‘ fatirico ſale defricare . . . . ſic tamen poëta in hoc ‘ argumento indignationi ſuæ habenas laxavit, ut ne- ‘que palam neque plenis velis in flagitioſiſſimum prin- ‘cipem inveheretur, verum tectè & longè mollius ‘ quam vel natura ipſius ferebat, vel Neronis flagitia ‘ ac ſcelera merebantur. Nos autem putamus tum ‘ ſcriptam eſſe hanc ſatiram cum nondum totus inno- ‘ tuerat Nero, cujus principium laude digna habuit ‘ multa

(33) Idem, Diſcours ſur la Satire.

(34) Hinc intelligimus Bacchas Neronis ejuſdem argumenti fuiſſe cum Bacchis Euripidis. - - - - *Hence we find that the Bacche of Nero were on the ſame ſubject as the Bacche of Euripides.* Caſaub. in 1. Sat. Perſii, pag. 142.

(35) Sunt autem Neronis verſus ex ejus Bacchis, ex quibus carminibus etiam Dio nominatim facit mentionem. - - - - *They are verſes from the Bacche of Nero, which poem Dion expreſſly mentions.* Ibid. pag. 140. Vide etiam, pag. 134.

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years of age [G]. His panegyrists may say what they please, it is certain that he wrote harshly and obscurely [H]. He might almost be called the Lycophron of the Latins

' multa. . . . . Probè verò norat Persius cum ad hanc ' satiram scribendam se accingeret, quantam rem & ' quàm periculosam moliretur. Quamobrem consilio ' prudentissimo hoc argumentum Platonis imitatione ' sibi tractandum censuit, non solum nominibus inde ' petitis, sed etiam sententia propemodum universa ; ' ut si quis forte Coryczus aut Cercops nomen ipsius ' deferret, probabili excusatione posset factum suum ' defendere quasi exercendi tantum stili causa petitum ' è libris summi philosophi argumentum latinis versi- ' bus tentasset complecti. Quare etiam ab omnibus ' illum videmus abstinuisse, quæ Neronis personam ' propriè erant denotatura. - - - *Tho' the fourth satire* ' *was chiefly intended as a censure and invective against* ' *Nero . . . . yet the Poet so managed the matter, that* ' *he did not openly and directly reflect on that wicked* ' *prince, but covertly and much more gently than either* ' *his own temper was inclined to, or Nero's crimes de-* ' *served. But in my opinion this satire was written,* ' *when Nero's disposition was not perfectly known ; for* ' *in the beginning of his reign he did many commendable* ' *things. . . . Persius knew very well when he set him-* ' *self to compose this satire, how great and dangerous an* ' *attempt it was. And therefore he very prudently re-* ' *solved to handle this subject in imitation of Plato, not* ' *only by borrowing names from him, but even almost all* ' *his thoughts : that so, if any envious person should in-* ' *form against him, he might give this plausible excuse* ' *in his own defence, that only to exercise his pen he had* ' *attempted to turn the argument of that great Philosopher* ' *into Latin verse. Wherefore we see he abstained from* ' *every thing that could properly describe the person of* ' *Nero.*' Is it not a strange thing, that a man who was of that opinion, should believe that Persius made bold to ridicule Nero's verses, and quoted them word for word without any disguise? Perhaps it will be said, that Nero was not much concerned for his quality of Poet: but one must give good proofs of it or not say so; for every body is commonly fond of his own poetry (36). The crown and scepter cure not a man of that fault; and we particularly know that Nero was more sensibly affected with the censure of his Music, than with that of his crimes (37). Which is a reason to make one believe, that as a Poet he could not bear to be reflected upon. Did he not banish Cornutus, and had he not like to have put him to death, for having had the boldness to say, that Nero would make too many verses, if he composed four hundred books of them, and that the example of Chrysippus should not be alledged in the case, seeing the books of that Philosopher were useful to human life (38)? Did not he grow jealous of the Poet Lucan, and did not he forbid him to make any verses (39)? ' Lucanum propriæ cauſſæ accendebant, quod famam ' carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque osten- ' tare, vanus adsimulatione (40). - - - *Lucan was in-* ' *duced from private motives, because Nero stifled the* ' *reputation of his Poems, and forbad him to make any* ' *more.*' Lucan was so exasperated at it, that he joined with the conspirators who endeavoured to kill that prince.

It would be an endless thing to quote all the authors (41) who believe that the four verses so cruelly ridiculed by Persius, were Nero's. I shall only cite the notes which have been added to the new translation of Petronius (42): *It has been lawful at all times to critize sorry books, when they are published. The defects of the mind may be censured every where, and that liberty is as ancient as the world. The* Torva, *&c. which we read in Juvenal* (43), *shews, that Nero himself, as cruel as he was, was not offended at it, and never thought of treating as enemies to the state, those who critized his works : he was only out of humour with those who made verses better than he.*

Note, That the life of Persius written by Suetonius (44), as it is thought, does not tell us that the *torva Mimalloneis* had any relation to Nero. It alledges no other example of the liberty that Poet took to critize him, than the verse wherein *Mida Rex* was to be found, which Cornutus advised him to alter. We have therefore but one witness for the *torva Mimallonis*, viz. The scholiast upon Persius. An English author, who made good notes upon the satires of that Poet, does not say positively, as so many others do, that Nero was the author of the four verses in question: ' Sive à Nerone, *says he* (45), five ab alio quo- ' piam nobili Romano composita. - - - *Whether they* ' *were composed by Nero, or any other noble Roman.*' Mr Marais has acquainted me that there is such a passage in the English commentator, and that Mr Geffrier, who published a French translation or a paraphrase of Persius at Paris in 1658, says those four verses were Nero's.

[G] *He died when he was twenty-eight years of age.*] This appears from the consulships of his death and birth. He was born *Fabio Persico, L. Vitellio Coss.* the fourth of December, and he died *Rubrio Mario, Asinio Gallo Coss.* the twenty-fourth of November. Now there being but twenty-eight years between these two consulships, it follows that Persius lived twenty-eight years, within some days. Therefore the author of his life made a very wrong reckoning, when after he had fixed the day and year of his death and birth with so much exactness, he placed his death in the thirtieth year of his age. St Jerome's mistake is not so great, but he has not been exact enough. He says that Persius was born in the second year of the CCIIId Olympiad, and died in the twenty-ninth year of his life, and the second of the CCXth Olympiad. Which cannot be true, but by saying that he was born in the first months of the year, and died some months later: but besides that St Jerome makes no such distinction, we have seen that Persius was born in December, and died in November. I am more surprized at Scaliger's approving St Jerome's supputation, than at St Jerome's mistake. Scaliger says, that Father was in the right to reckon twenty-nine years from the number 2050 to the number 2078. He finds also twenty-nine years between the two above-mentioned consulships, but he had done better to find but twenty-eight. The first of those consulships falls upon the year of Christ 34, the twentieth of Tiberius, and the 786th of Rome; the other falls upon the year of Christ 62, the eighth of Nero, and the 814th of Rome, according to Calvisius's Chronology. Moreri is not at all exact in this point. He places the birth of Persius at the end of the thirty-second year of Christ, and his death *when he was twenty-nine years of age, in the ninth of Nero's reign, and the 62d of Christ.* To say this with any shew of reason, he should have added, that he died in the beginning of the sixty-second year of the Christian Æra; but then it had been false, since he died on the twenty-fourth of November. It is therefore certain, according to Moreri's supputation, that when Persius died he was near thirty years old. Besides, according to Moreri, the 32d year of Christ answers the 18th of Tiberius (46); but it is certain that there are thirty-one years from the 18th of Tiberius to the ninth of Nero: so that it would follow that Persius died being thirty-one years of age. The Dutch edition places his death in the year of Christ 26. That mistake comes from a transposition of numbers, which is but too common among Printers. Augustin Oldoini has committed some childish faults in his supputation about the life of Persius. He says he was born in the year of Rome 795, and died being thirty-three years of age, in the ninth year of Nero's empire. He pretends that the time of his birth answers the CCIIId Olympiad, and the twenty-second year of Tiberius's reign (47). Consult Calvisius, and you will see that the first year of the CCIIId Olympiad is the 785th year of Rome, and that the ninth year of Nero is the 815th of Rome, and that there are but twenty-eight years between the twenty-second of Tiberius and the ninth of Nero.

Mr Marais has acquainted me in a letter, that Mr Geffrier places the death of Persius in the CCIIId Olympiad, in the year 785 of Rome, and in the twenty-second of Tiberius's reign.

[H] *His Panegyrists may say what they please . . . . he wrote obscurely.*] I reckon Isaac Casaubon amongst them (48). I grant that the praises he bestows upon Persius, are not so great as those of Quintilian and Martial, for he intermixes them with some censures; but after all he acknowledges that Persius was a man of great merit and parts, and makes himself his champion against the great Julius Scaliger, tho' at the same time he humbles himself with great respect at the foot of

(36) Scripsit summo vir ingenio & scientia singulari Philosophus artifices omnes opus suum adamare, Poetas tamen præcipue. - - - *A Philosopher, who was a man of a great genius and extraordinary learning, said that all artists were fond of their own works, and especially Poets.* Menag. Ep. Dedic. Carmin.

(37) Nihil æque doluit, quam ut malum se citharædum increpitum. *Sueton. in Nerone, cap. xii.*

(38) Xiphil. in Nerone.

(39) Id. ib. & Tacit. Ann. *lib. xv, cap. xlix.*

(40) Tacit. ibid.

(41) You will find one mentioned in the remark [K].

(42) Pag. 24, Tom. i, of the Dutch Edit. 1694.

(43) He should have said Persius.

(44) It is at the end of Suetonius's treatise *de Claris Rhetoribus.*

(45) Joan. Bond in Pers. Sat. I. pag. m. 24.

(46) He says in the article of Tiberius, that this emperor died in the 23d year of his reign, and the 37th of Christ.

(47) Athen. Liguſt. *pag.* 80, 81.

(48) In the Prolegomena of the commentary he published upon that author at Paris in 8vo, in the year 1605. It was inserted in the edition of Juvenal and Persius in Holland 1696, in 4to.

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Latins [I]. Scaliger the father, and several other excellent Critics speak very ill of him (f). Perhaps they run into an extreme, which is less tolerable than if they had a great esteem for that Poet. Note, that the rigour of the time wherein he lived can be no excuse for the obscurity of his stile [K], as some pretend. Some Italian Genealogists will

(f) See the Poets of Mr Baillet, *num.* 1158.

of the throne of that terrible antagonist. I shall only mention that part of the dispute, which concerns the obscurity of our Poet. Casaubon wonders that Scaliger spoke of it more than once, considering that nothing was obscure to him; but it seems to me that he falls into the Sophism, which Logicians call *ignorationem Elenchi*, mistaking the question, and which is not less common among Critics than among Philosophers. Scaliger pretended not that Persius was obscure to him; on the contrary he declares, that he understood him from the beginning to the end (49); he only says, that Poet was formerly placed in the number of things that were unknown, and charges him with impertinency, for having written to be read, and not to be understood. He seems to insult over him, because the interpreters have frustrated his expectation, by removing the darkness he had designedly spread over all his writings, to be eternally buried in it, and eternally admired by fools.

(49) Persii stilus morosus, & ille ineptus qui cum legi vellet quæ scripsisset, intelligi noluit quæ legerentur, quamquam nunc à nobis omnia intelliguntur. At fuit tempus cum inter ignota haberetur. *Jul. Cæsar Scaliger, Poëtic. lib. vi, cap. vi, pag. m.* 773. *See also cap. xcvii, of the third book, pag.* 343.

Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt (50).

\- - - - *For only fools regard,*
What seems obscure, and intricate, and hard.

(50) Lucret. lib. I, ver. 642.

The encomiums which Quintilian and Martial bestow upon him, put me in mind of those which are bestowed upon two of our French Poets. *It is not the quantity of a man's works that makes him immortal. Two sheets of paper have transmitted Persius to us: The abbot de Cerisi will live longer only by his Metamorphosis of Phillis's eyes into stars, than many authors who take up a great deal of room in our libraries, and the temple of death* (51) *will more easily break thro' the rigour of time, than the six hundred volumes of the bishop du Bellay* (52). Which does pretty well agree with these two Latin verses:

(51) Mr Habert, of the French academy, is the author of it.

(52) Guerre des Auteurs, pag. 239.

Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide (53).

More fam'd is Persius by one single book,
Than Marsus by the whole Amazonid.

(53) Martial. Epigr. XXIX, lib. IV.

And with these words of Quintilian, 'Multum & veræ 'gloriæ quamvis uno libro Persius meruit (54). - - - '*Persius deserved much glory tho' he wrote but one* 'book.'

(54) Quintil. *lib. x, cap. i.*

[I] *He might almost be called the Lycophron of the Latins.*] I have read somewhere (55), that the sense of the troublesome volumes of the Talmudists *is so unknown to us, out of envy to their successors, that their books might be cut and tore with better reason than the satires of Persius were by a Father of the church, who said, that since he could not be understood by the outside, as other writers are, he would see whether he was more intelligible in the inside.* Here is another passage wherein Lycophron and Persius are coupled together (56). *For my part I think that Trithemius's book should be sawn in two, as some body sawed formerly Lycophron's Cassandra, to see what there was in the inside, since nothing could be known of it by the out-side. Or, as it is also reported of St Jerome, that he did the like with the satires of Persius, whose riddles and obscurities being not able to understand,* intellecturis ignibus ille dedit (57). - - - *He committed them to the fire to be unfolded.* I would have this last story, and the others also, to be well warranted; for I see that Casaubon relies upon St Jerome's testimony, to refute those who censure Persius (58).

(55) In the first Tome of the *Conférences du Bureau d'Adresse.*

(56) Vigenaire, Traité des Chifres, *pag.* 12.

(57) Ex Ovidio Trist. lib. IV, Eleg. X.

(58) Certe aliud Quintilianus judicabat cum vera laude dignum pronunciaret, aliud Hieronymus cum disertissimum satiricum vocaret. - - - - *Certainly Quintilian thought otherwise when he pronounced him worthy of true glory, and St Jerome, when he called him a most eloquent satirist.* Casaub. ubi supra.

Here is another observation which Mr Marais has imparted to me. The elogy of John Bond's commentary is to be found in a place where no body would look for it; *viz.* in the preface to the *Aloisiæ Sigeæ Toletanæ Satyra Sotadica* (59). The words which contain that elogy, contain also a description of Persius's obscurity: 'Gratuleris tibi, Aule Persi. Ob-'volvisti te ipse cœca nocte, videri nolebas, altam ver-'sibus & versuum sensibus profudisti caliginem. No-'lebas intelligi: forte & tu te non intelligebas. Non 'fecerunt ad te nox & caligo ut exerraret, Joannes 'Bond, venit, vidit, discussit noctem & caliginem. 'Perspectum id omne habet, ut tute loqueris, *quod* '*latet arcanâ non enarrabile fibrâ.* Eripuit tibi te ne-'ganti conspectum. Latebas intra te, ne te curiosa '& erudita inveniret sagacitas. Eras ipse involucrum 'tibi. Quis vero fuit furor ille tuus? - - - *You may* '*please yourself, O Persius, with the thoughts of it. You* '*have involved yourself in thick darkness, you desired not* '*to be seen, and have spread a mist upon your verses* '*and the sense of them. But yet your obscurity could* '*not mislead John Bond: he came, he saw, he dispelled* '*night and darkness. He discovered all that which, as* '*you say,* lay hid in a secret nerve. *He got a sight of* '*you, against your will. You lay lurking within your* '*self, that no learning or penetration might find you out.* '*What madness was this?*' As for the rest, that commentary of John Bond upon Persius was printed a year after the death of the author, by the care of Roger Prowse his son-in-law. I have the London edition of 1614. If it be the first, as I think it is, we may know that John Bond died in the year 1613. The *Diarium* of Mr Witte says nothing of it.

(59) The preface of my Edit. of *Alcifiæ*, &c. *Satyra Sotadica* does not contain what Mr Marais found in his.

[K] *The rigour of the time wherein he lived can be no excuse for the obscurity of his stile.*] I am sorry I cannot be of the opinion of the author of the preface, who has afforded me two passages, the reading whereof is so agreeable. *I know very well,* says he (60), *that Persius is not at first very intelligible, and that he might have expressed himself more clearly; but how could he do it under Nero's reign? He was a terrible man, and could not bear a jest; and because he had more reason than any body else to think he was concerned in the sharpest and most ingenious part of a satire, if there had been the least colour for it, I am not surprized to see that Persius affected to be enigmatical and mysterious. Therefore when Julius Scaliger called him a feverish learned man, it is likely he did not mind what he said; and I am sure this proud and terrible Critic would have been seized with a violent shivering, at the meer sight of Nero. Nay, I admire the boldness of Persius in venturing once to ridicule that emperor; for these words* Auriculas Asini Mida Rex habet, *were put in on purpose for him. Persius had been undone, if the wise and discreet Cornutus had not suppressed the proper name, and substituted in the room of it a word which concerns all mankind. Nay, I cannot apprehend how that Philosopher, who was banished afterwards by the tyrant, because he could not in conscience approve the design of his Poem, suffered his disciple to expose himself, by producing with a malicious design, the* Torva Mimalloneis, *&c. as a model of most excellent verses.* Here are two observations upon that passage.

(60) Epistle prefixed to the translation of Father Tarteron.

I. It is evident to any one who reads Persius attentively, that he is obscure, not out of policy, but because he had such a taste, and had given such a turn to his genius; for if the fear of bringing himself into trouble at court had moved him to cover his conceptions with a thick cloud, he would have done it only in such matters as had some relation to the life of the tyrant. But we see that he twists his words, and has recourse to allusions and enigmatical figures, even when he is about to insinuate only a moral maxim, the clearest explication whereof could not have afforded Nero the least pretence of being angry with him. I shall give no examples of it, and I refer my readers to the very satires of that Poet; they make but a little book; every body will be able to know in a little time whether I am in the right, or whether I am mistaken. But if any one had rather not be at that trouble, and refer himself to the judgment of a learned Critic, he needs go no farther. Here is the sentence. 'Obscuritatis hujus diversas afferre causas possumus, 'easque certissimas: in auctore sunt aliquæ, aliæ extra 'illum, quædam in interpretibus. Non negabo per-'obscura quædam esse in quarta, prima quoque: sed 'poëtæ facilè ignosco, cum cogito crudelissimi & *φο-*'*νικωτάτε* tyranni, in quem illa erant, metu, de in-'dustria atramenti sepiarum aliquid esse affusum: ne-'que dubito sapientissimum præceptorum Cornutum 'scribenti

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will have it that the Falconcini of Volterra draw their original from his father [*L*].

'scribenti adfuisse, qui vetus verbum crebrò illi insu-
'surraret, Σκότιον. . . . . Cùm scribit idem βιογρά-
'φος, verecundiæ virginalis Partheniam nostrum fu-
'isse, aliud agens caussam nos docet cur ille locus te-
'nebricosè fuerit tractatus, cui vix alius toto libro ob-
'scuritate par, obscœnitate similis nullus, περιεκτὴν
'illam dico è quarta. *At si unctus cesses.* Etiam illud
'ultrò concedimus, nonnulla Persii loca tropis parum
'usitatis & audacioribus esse offuscata, hujus quoque
'non culpam, sed caussam, ita enim dicere æquius,
'ingenio poëtæ assignamus: quod cùm esset magnum,
'magna sectabatur (61). . . . . Fuit præterea Flaccus
'noster ὁ φιλόμυθος πως, sed amans brevitatis: quæ
'res obscuriorem est ubi illum reddit (62). - - - *Va-*
'rious reasons, and those very certain ones, may be assign-
'ed for this obscurity: some relate to the author, some to
'outward circumstances, and some to his interpreters.
'I will not deny but there are very obscure passages in
'the fourth satire and in the first too: but I can easily
'forgive the Poet, when I consider that he studied to be
'intricate, from the fear of that most cruel and murder-
'ing tyrant, and I do not question but his prudent master,
'Cornutus, assisted him when he wrote, and frequently
'inculcated that saying, be obscure. . . . . Since the same
'Biographer tells us, that our Poet had the modesty of a
'virgin; he gives this as another reason why that place
'was handled so obscurely, to which hardly any other in
'the whole book is equal for difficulty, and none like it
'for obscenity. I mean that passage of the fourth satire,
'At si unctus cesses. *I must likewise grant that some*
'places of Persius are obscured by unusual and bold fi-
'gures, but this cause, for it is not just to call it a fault,
'is to be ascribed to the genius of the Poet; which, as
'it was great, loved great things. . . . . Besides, our
'Persius was not given to talk much, but affected bre-
'vity, which rendered him the more obscure.' Casaubon ascribes the obscurity of Persius to four causes. 1. He was afraid of Nero. 2. He was modest. 3. He had a great genius. 4. He loved brevity. Why should these four causes be reduced to the first, in the preface of the new translation?

(61) Casaub. in Prolegomenis ad Pers. *fol. m.* eij.

(62) Ibid. *fol.* eiij.

II. This author having said, that Persius expressed himself obscurely, because he was afraid of Nero, should not suppose that the *Torva Mimalloneis, &c.* were that prince's verses. It is not enough to say, that one cannot apprehend how Cornutus permitted it; we must say positively that he would not have consented to it, and that Persius wanted no corrector. Otherwise this will be a monstrous disparity, which seems to surpass all the caprices and extravagances of the minds of men.

[*L*] *Some Italian Genealogists will have it that the Falconcini of Volterra draw their original from his father.*] Francis Stelluti (63) makes use of this reason to prove that Persius was born at Volterra. They believe, say he, by tradition, that the Falconcini came from Flaccus, a Roman knight, who was Persius's father; which is so much the more likely, because the name of Persius was preserved in that family, and constantly appeared in it for above these three hundred years. But it is answered, that Persius had no brother, nor children; that the surname of Flaccus was to be found in several cities of Italy, and that the noble and illustrious family of Persius has been in Genoa above four hundred years. See the above-mentioned dissertation of Gasparo Massa. Hippolitus Landinelli (64), says, that they shew at Volterra a house which is supposed to be that of Persius.

(63) In the Life of Persius before the Italian paraphrase on the same Poet.

(64) Nell' Origine di Luni, *cap. xi*, apud Mich. Justiniani, Scritt. Liguri, *pag.* 108.

PERSONA (CHRISTOPHER) a Roman by birth, and prior of the convent (*a*) of Santa Balbina (*b*), of the order of the Guillelmites (*c*), upon mount Aventinus, was a considerable man in the XVth century, for his skill in the Greek tongue. It is said that he went into Greece to learn it (*d*). He translated Agathias and some other authors into Latin [*A*]. We are told that he died of the Plague in the year 1486 (*e*). Vossius speaks of him with the greatest contempt [*B*]. Yet some strive who shall have him; the

(*a*) Jovius, Elog. *cap. cxvi.*

(*b*) Gesner, *in his* Bibliotheca, *says* Sancta Albina.

(*c*) Jovius, ibid.

(*d*) Konig. Bibl. Vet. & Nova.

(*e*) Ibid. Baillet, Jugemens des Traduct. Lat. *Tom. iii, num.* 812.

[*A*] *He translated Agathias, and some other authors, into Latin.*] He translated into Latin the History of the Goths, written by Procopius; but those who say, as well as Paul Jovius (1), that he did also translate the History which the same Procopius wrote concerning the war of the Persians, and that of the Vandals, are mistaken. What he published of Procopius shewed the impostor of Leonard Aretinus (2), which I have mentioned in another place (3). He made several other translations, he translated Origen's books against Celsus, twenty-five homilies of St Chrysostom, some treatises of Athanasius, and some treatises of Theophylactus (4). Those translations are not very good; but Paul Jovius, and so many other authors, who speak of him, cannot be excused for saying nothing of them. Mr du Pin, I presume, will not take it ill that I should say, there is some obscurity in these words of his first volume. *The treatise of Origen against Celsus is divided into eight books, which were published in Greek a great while ago, with the translation of Gelenius, and some notes of Eschelius, and of one Christopher Persona, printed at Rome in* 1471, *and since very correctly in England in the year* 1658 (5). I observe, 1. That the change of Hoeschelius into Eschelius may deceive a reader; he would be apt to believe that there was a writer named Eschelius, different from the learned man of Ausburg, to whom the public is beholden for the edition of several Greek books. 2. Mr du Pin gives us clearly to understand that Persona made no translation of that book of Origen, but only some notes to explain it. But Gesner tells us (6), that Persona dedicated to Sixtus IV his Latin version of the eight books of Origen against Celsus. 3. The meaning of Mr du Pin's words is, that those eight books were printed at Rome in 1471, in Greek, with Gelenius's translation, and some notes of Eschelius and Persona. Which ought not to be said, for Gelenius lived in the XVIth century, and the Greek edition with Gelenius's translation came out in 1605. It was a present of Hoeschelius.

(1) Jovius, Elog. *cap. ix.*

(2) Id. ib. & cap. cxvi.

(3) Above, remark [*F*] of the article ARETINUS (LEONARD).

(4) Gesn. Bibl.

(5) Du Pin, Bibl. of Eccles. Writers, Tom. i, pag. 133, of the Dutch Edit.

(6) Gesner, Bibl. fol. 167, *verso.*

I shall set down here a good supplement which Mr Simon affords me. The Printers have committed two great mistakes in it, by putting the year 1581 instead of the year 1481 (7), and Suschelius instead of Hoeschelius. 'We learn from Theodore Gaza *, that 'Pope Nicolas V sent a man on purpose to Constanti-'nople, to fetch the books which he wrote against 'Celsus, and that as soon as he received them, he 'promised a good reward to any one that would 'translate them into Latin. But this Pope being dead, 'they were not printed at Rome in Latin only, till 'the year 1581, under Sixtus IV. Gaza, who ex-'pected not the same reward from Sixtus, as from his 'predecessor, engaged Christopher Persona, prior of 'St Balbina, to translate them into Latin, and we have 'had no other translation of them till Suschelius pu-'blished them in Greek and Latin at Ausburg from 'some Greek MSS which he found in the libraries 'of Germany. Lastly, Spencer, an English Pro-'testant, published a very fine edition of them at 'Cambridge 1658, which does not differ from that of 'Ausburg, because he had no Greek MSS. He was 'contented to correct the translation in some places, 'and to add some new notes to it (8).'

(7) I suppose Mr Simon had written 1481, and not as Mr du Pin did 1471.

* Theod. Gaza, Epist. ad Christoph. Person.

[*B*] *Vossius speaks of him with the greatest contempt.*] The publication of Procopius's Greek, says he, was a present so much the more considerable, because they had at that time but sorry translations of it. He adds, that the most impertinent Christopher Persona omitted many things, and published his dreams, rather than the thoughts of that Historian. 'Estque hoc egre-'gii viri (*Davidis Hæschelii*) beneficium eo majus, 'quòd Latini interpretes toties abeant à Græcis: im-'primis ineptissimus ille Christophorus Persona qua-'tuor rerum Gothicarum libros vertit; si vertisse, & 'non pervertisse dici is debet, qui multa adeo omittit, '& in iis, quæ refert, toties nobis sua narrat som-'nia (9). - - - - *The present of that excellent man, David 'Hoeschelius, is so much the greater, as the Latin transla-'tors so much vary from the Greek, especially that most 'impertinent*

(8) Simon, Choice Letters, *pag.* 94, *Edit.* 1700.

(9) Vossius, de Hist. Græc. *pag.* 269, 270. *See also* de Arte Hist. *pag.* 94.

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the Auguſtins will have him to be one of their order; but the Servites claim him, and place him in the catalogue of their authors (*f*).

(*f*) Proſper Mandoſius, Bibl. Romana, *Cent. I, num.* 82, *p.* 59.

'*impertinent Chriſtopher Perſona, who has tranſlated four books of the Hiſtory of the Goths: if that work may be called a verſion, and not a perverſion, ſince he has omitted many things, and inſerted many of his own dreams.*' I have obſerved in another place (10), a miſtake of Voſſius, which Sandius's Critic took no notice of. Voſſius ſays, that Leonard Aretinus having aſcribed to himſelf a book of Procopius, it moved Perſona to tranſlate Agathias (11). He ſhould have ſaid, that it moved him to tranſlate that book of Procopius into Latin. 'Procopium Latine loquentem fecit, non 'dubia in Leonardum Aretinum conflata invidia, qui 'ſuppreſſo Græci authoris nomine Gothicam hiſtoriam tanquam è variis ſcriptoribus decerptam pro 'ſua Juliano Cæſarino Cardinali qui ad Varnam ab 'Amurathe cæſus periit, nullo pudore nuncuparat (12). '*He tranſlated Procopius into Latin, from a manifeſt reſentment to Leonardus Aretinus, who ſuppreſſing the name of the Greek author had impudently dedicated the Hiſtory of the Goths as his own work, as if he had collected it from ſeveral authors, to Cardinal Julianus Cæſarinus, who was ſlain at Verna, by Amurath.*' Voſſius, who quotes that paſſage, has thereby given himſelf up to his Critics.

(10) See the remark [*F*] of the article ARETINUS (LEONARD).

(11) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 558.

(12) Jovius, Elog. *cap.* cxc, *pag.* 258.

PETAVIUS (DIONYSIUS), in French, *Petau*, born at Orleans in the year 1583, entered into the ſociety of the Jeſuits in the year 1605. He taught Rhetoric in their college at Paris, and then Divinity, with an extraordinary capacity (*a*). He was one of the moſt learned men in Europe. I ſhall not give the character of his vaſt and deep learning, for it may be found in a new book (*b*) ſold by all the Bookſellers. One may conſult alſo the funeral oration of that Jeſuit, written in Latin by Henricus Valeſius (*c*), and read in the *Gallia Orientalis* (*d*) a large collection of ſeveral things which have been ſaid of him, with the titles of moſt of his works, and the time wherein they were printed. The titles and dates of moſt of them are alſo to be found in Moreri's Dictionary. Mr Baillet has collected abundance of things which concern that great author. See his Jugemens des Savans, on the Grammarian Critiques chapter DXIII; on the Latin Tranſlators, chapter CMXXI; and on the Poets, chapter MCDLXXIV. It is enough for me to have directed the reader to thoſe books. I ſhall only add, firſt, that Petavius died at Paris (*e*), on the eleventh of December (*f*) 1652, thirteen weeks after Salmaſius, his antagoniſt [*A*]. 2. That without deſigning it, and even againſt his intention,

(*a*) Alegambe, Bibl. Script. Societ. *pag.* 96.

(*b*) The Elogies of Illuſtrious Men, by Mr Perrault, *Tom. i, pag.* 63, *& ſeq. of the Dutch Edit.* 1698.

(*c*) It is in the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, collected by William Bates, and printed at London 1681.

(*d*) *Pag.* 217, *& ſeq.*

(*e*) The Paris Gazette, Decemb. 14, 1652, where it is obſerved, amongſt other Elogies, that he was invited by ſeveral princes, eſpecially by Urban VIII, but that he refuſed that honour as much out of modeſty, as out of obedience to Lewis XIII, *who thought it was for the good and glory of his kingdom to keep ſo great a man in it.* (*f*) And not of November, as Father Labbe ſays, *Chronol. Franç. Tom. w, pag.* 894.

[*A*] *Salmaſius, his antagoniſt.*] They had a very long and very violent diſpute: it was not poſſible to match two better wreſtlers together. It is pity they did not write with more moderation. Their firſt quarrel began, if I am not miſtaken, a little after Salmaſius had publiſhed his commentary upon Tertullian's treatiſe *de Pallio*, in the year 1622. Petavius criticized (1) that commentary under the falſe name of Antonius Kercoëtius Aremoricus. He was anſwered in a book printed (2) in the year 1623, and intituled, *Confutatio animadverſorum Antonii Cercoëtii ad Claudii Salmaſii notas in Tertullianum de pallio. Auctore Franciſco Franco J. C.* He replied, in a book divided into three parts, the firſt whereof was printed at Paris in the year 1622, and the other two one after another the next year in the ſame city. The firſt is intituled, *Antonii Kerkoëtii Aremorici Maſtigophorus primus, ſive elenchus confutationis quam Claudius Salmaſius ſub mentito nomine animadverſis Kerkoëtianis oppoſuit.* The ſecond, *Antonii Kerkoëtii Aremorici Maſtigophorus ſecundus, ſivi elenchi confutationis. . . . . pars ſecunda*; and the third, *Antonii Kerkoëtii Aremorici Maſtigophorus tertius, ſive elenchi confutationis . . . pars tertia.* I do not know whether his Reply was refuted, but I know that ever ſince that firſt attack, he never ceaſed to look for his adverſary, and to fight him wherever he found him. Thoſe who know Salmaſius's temper, may eaſily imagine that he defended himſelf, and attacked his adverſary in his turn. He made ſome very fine Latin verſes, which Menagius inſerted in one of his books, as I have obſerved in another place (3), and which run upon a thing which has been ſaid of apes. Scaliger had uſed the ſame compariſon, not only againſt Lydiat (4), but alſo againſt Scioppius. Scioppius, ſays he (5), *ſcripſit adverſus Jeſuitas, - - - wrote againſt the Jeſuits: he goes up too high, and makes himſelf as ridiculous as an ape, who the higher he goes, the more he ſhews his back-ſide.* The author of the Apology for Stephen Paſquier againſt Garaſſe, made uſe of the Latin verſes of Salmaſius without naming him; he made a kind of a paraphraſe upon them, and cited ſome of them as they are. Here is the paſſage (6): 'They tell a pleaſant ſtory of a 'monkey, which I may very well apply to Garaſſe's 'humour and actions, which are meer monkey tricks. 'One day an old monkey without hair, but ſtuffed 'with malice in the in-ſide, poſted up bills in all the 'croſs-ſtreets of the common-wealth of apes and baboons, to give notice, that whoever deſired to ſee 'a fine ſhow, ſhould come to a certain place, at 'a certain hour, and that he would afford them good 'ſport. The day being come, every one makes himſelf ready, great and little monkies, apes, and baboons, come from all parts in crowds to the appointed place, expecting to ſee wonderful performances. Such a concourſe was never ſeen before.

Conveniunt omnes, Cercopitheci, Simiæ,
Clurinæ pecudes, omne genus Cercopium:
Quæ ſunt caudatæ, quæ ſine caudis ambulant,
Similes hominibus beſtiæ turpiſſimæ.
Erat inter illos ingens expectatio:
Quidnam editurus, & miri novi foret,
Tam grandium Minator ille SIMIUS.

'Every one takes his place, and they ſtaid a great 'while for the farce-player; at laſt, after he had kept 'them waiting a matter of four or five hours, he 'comes, and gets up a tree, which was to ſerve 'him inſtead of a ſtage, he ſkips from bough to 'bough, comes down, goes up again, gets up to the 'top of the tree, comes down again; and laſtly, after 'ſo many turns, he ſtops and ſhews his back-ſide to 'the aſſembly, to ridicule, by ſuch an action, thoſe 'who truſted the promiſes of a monkey. Poggius 'ſays, that a certain Jack-pudding plaid the ſame trick 'in the city of Bologna, but Garaſſe affords us a new 'example of it.' The ſtory mentioned by Poggius was applied to Laurentius Valla, and perhaps Menagius would have cited it, if he had remembered it. Here is the ſtory with it's application: 'Perſimilis eſt 'Valla noſter homini ridiculo: qui cum aliquando ſe 'ex quadam turri volaturum certo die profiteretur: '& populos ad id ſpectaculum conveniſſet: homines 'Suſpenſos variis alarum oſtentationibus ad noctem 'uſque detinuit. Deinde omnibus volatum cupide exſpectantibus: populo culum oſtendit. Ita Laurentius 'noſter poſt multas atque ingentes verborum pollicitationes; poſt tantam expectationem promiſſorum: 'tandem non quidem cuium, ut ille, ſed volantis cerebri inſaniam, & pergrandem ignorantiæ ſupellectilem 'oſtendit (7). - - - - *Valla is like a ridiculous fellow, who gave out that he was to fly from a tower on a certain day: and when the people were all met to ſee this fight, kept them in ſuſpence till evening by ſhewing them* 'his

(1) That criticiſm intituled, *Animadverſorum Liber*, was printed at Rhemes in the year 1622, in 8vo.

(2) At Paris, and not at Middelburg as the title ſays.

(3) Citat. (111) of the article HOSPITAL (MICHAEL DE L').

(4) Citat. (112), ibid.

(5) Scaligerana, voce Scioppius, *pag. m.* 222.

(6) Apology for Stephen Paſquier, *book i*, §. *viii*, *pag.* 93, *& ſeq.*

(7) Poggius Invect. *lib. i.*

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tention, he did a great ſervice to the Socinians [B]. 3. That it has been ſaid the Jeſuits were

' *his wings: and at laſt, whilſt they are eagerly expe-*
' *cting the performance, turns up his back-ſide to them.*
' *In like manner Valla, after many and vaſt promiſes,*
' *after much expectation to ſee them fulfilled, at length*
' *ſhews, not his back-ſide indeed, as the other, but the*
' *madneſs of his ſoaring brain, and a great deal of igno-*
' *rant ſtuff.*

It cannot be denied but that the Jeſuit Petavius ſhewed too much paſſion and haughtineſs, not only againſt Salmaſius, but alſo againſt Scaliger, and many others. It was well done to inſert a parentheſis upon that ſubject, in the article of that Jeſuit, in the Dutch edition of Moreri. I wonder Mr Perrault choſe rather to paraphraſe a paſſage out of Henry Valeſius's harangue, than ſuppreſs it entirely. *Tanta ejus viri* (Scaligeri) *auctoritas omnium prope præjudicio roborata Petavium noſtrum à ſcribendo minime deterruit. Immo vero ipſum eo magis impulit, ut quæ ab illo emendatore temporum peccata fuerant, ipſe in ſuis de doctrina temporum libris emendaret. Non quod illius viri gloriæ obtrectaret; ſed ne plerique forte auctoritate Scaligeri inducti, minime diſcuſſa rei veritate, in errorem præcipites laberentur* (8). This is what Henry Valeſius ſays, and here are Mr Perrault's words: *That work of Scaliger was looked upon as a rule to which every body was to conform. Which hindred not Petavius from undertaking the ſame work, and correcting in his book* de Doctrina temporum *many faults which are to be found in Scaliger's book* de Emendatione temporum; *which he did, obſerving all the rules of civility which ſcholars ought to obſerve one towards another; ſo that without obſcuring the glory of his predeceſſor, he acquired a very great one in the ſame ſcience* (9). If you read a paſſage of Mr Morus, and another of Guy Patin (10), you will not have ſo good an opinion of the civil behaviour of Scaliger's adverſary.

(8) Henr. Valeſ. in Orat. Funebri Dionyſ. Petav. pag. 682, collect. Bateſianæ.

(9) Perrault, Illuſtrious Men, *Tom. i, pag.* m. 65, 66.

(10) See the New Letters againſt Maimbourg, *pag.* 182.

[B] *Without deſigning it . . . he did a great ſervice to the Socinians.*] I ſhall tranſcribe a long paſſage of Mr Simon, which concerns that ſubject, and contains ſome other things relating to Petavius. ' Mr Hardy ' told me that Mr de l'Aubeſpine had alſo ſome difference with Petavius, and threatened him to cauſe ſome of his notes upon St Epiphanius to be condemned; but I am perſuaded, that this learned Jeſuit would have made a very good apology for himſelf. If there be any thing to blame in Petavius's works, it is eſpecially in the ſecond volume of his *Dogmata Theologica*, wherein he ſeems to favour the Arians: It is true, that he has ſoftened thoſe paſſages in his preface; but becauſe the body of the book remains entire, and the preface, which is an excellent piece, came too late, he has not altogether remedied the harm which that book may do at this time, wherein the new Unitarians boaſt, that Petavius has given up tradition to them. I have ſeen ſome perſons here, who believe that Grotius, who kept correſpondence with Crellius, and ſome other Socinians, impoſed upon that learned Jeſuit; but it is not at all likely that ſo underſtanding a man as Petavius ſhould have been deceived by Grotius who was his friend. It is more likely that he ingenuouſly wrote his own thoughts. It would be for the honour of the ſociety to continue the *Dogmata Theologica* of their brother, and to follow his method, which is an excellent one. It is certain, that he himſelf had ſuch a deſign; for I have ſeen the plan he performed of it, whereby I knew the courſe he followed in his ſtudies, wherewith I ſhall perhaps acquaint you in another letter. A friend of mine aſſured me, that he was not accounted a great Divine among the Jeſuits, and that he was often obliged to have recourſe to ſome other Fathers of his ſociety, when the queſtion was about theological matters. Many of ours (11) ſay the ſame of Father Morin, who is really a poor man for the reaſoning part. But whatever may be ſaid of Petavius in his ſociety, I admire him in all reſpects. Can any thing be more charming than his fine Latin ſtile in ſuch thorny ſubjects? I only wiſh he had not been ſo diffuſe in his expreſſions. An author can never be too conciſe when he treats of doctrines; he ought to avoid long phraſes as much as he can: this is what Father Sirmond excelled moſt in, who found out the ſecret of explaining himſelf in few words, and with great clearneſs. Yet he was very much inferior to Petavius as to learning (12).' Mr Simon is in the right to ſay, that the preface of Petavius was not a good remedy; for the Socinians and new Arians have, notwithſtanding, taken advantage of the collections of that Jeſuit, about the tradition of the three firſt centuries. Thoſe collections encouraged Sandius to write a book, which vexed the orthodox and gave them a great deal of exerciſe. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, in the abſtract of one of Dr Bull's book (13). See alſo Mr Jurieu's *Tableau du Socinianiſme, pag.* 224, *and* 363. But obſerve that this miniſter deſigning to take advantage of Petavius's teſtimony, falſified it, and that the biſhop of Meaux took him up for it. This I am going to prove.

(11) That is, the Fathers of the Oratory; for Mr Simon was amongſt them when he wrote this.

(12) Simon, Choice Letters, *pag.* 12, & 13.

(13) Sept. 1685, in the Catalogue of New Books, num. 4. See alſo June 1685, Artic. II, pag. 611, & June 1684, Artic. VIII, pag. 399, of the ſecond Edit.

Laſtly the Theology of the ancient Fathers, ſays Mr Jurieu (14) *was ſo imperfect* about the doctrine of the Trinity, *that the Jeſuit Petavius was forced to own in expreſs words, that they gave us* only the firſt lineaments of it *. Here is the biſhop of Meaux's anſwer (15). ' Now how can you truſt your miniſter when ' he quotes ſome paſſages? No, my brethren, he does ' not read them, or he reads them curſorily; he looks ' for difficulties in them, and not for ſolutions, that ' he may thereby perplex your minds, inſtead of inſtructing you, and he omits nothing to impoſe upon ' you, as when to make you believe †, *that the Theology of the Fathers was imperfect* about the myſtery of ' the Trinity, he makes Petavius ſay *in expreſs words, that they gave us only the firſt lineaments of it.* But ' that learned author ſays the contrary in the place ' quoted by the miniſter, which is the preface to ' the ſecond volume of his *Dogmata Theologica*. For ' he ‡ undertakes to prove, that the Catholic doctrine ' was always the ſame on that ſubject. and in the ' very firſt chapter of that preface he ſhews, that the ' *main and ſubſtance of that myſtery* was always very ' well known by tradition; that the Fathers of the ' firſt centuries *agree with us in the main, in the ſubſtance, and in the thing itſelf, tho' not always in the manner of expreſſing it:* which he further proves in ' the ſecond ‡ chapter by the teſtimony of St Ignatius, St Polycarp, and all the ancient doctors: laſtly, ' in the third †† chapter which the miniſter objects to ' us ſpeaking of St Juſtin, who of all the ancients is ' moſt ſuſpected by Mr Jurieu, that learned Jeſuit ſays ' poſitively, that this holy martyr *has excellently and clearly propoſed the main and ſubſtance of that myſtery:* ' which he proves alſo ** with reſpect to Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, and others, *who all believed*, as he ſays, *the main and ſubſtance of that doctrine without any ſpot*; from whence he concludes, ' that if there are ſome paſſages more obſcure in the ' writings of thoſe holy men, it is becauſe having to ' do *with Heathens and Philoſophers, they declared not with the greateſt ſubtilty and preciſion the ſecret of that myſtery in the books which they publiſhed; and in order to gain thoſe Philoſophers, they explained it in a manner more agreeable to Platoniſm, which they had learned; as it was likewiſe practiſed for a long time after in the catechiſms that were made to inſtruct thoſe whom they had a mind to bring over to Chriſtianity, to whom they gave only in the beginning the firſt ſtrokes,* or as the miniſter renders it, *the firſt lineaments of the myſteries:* Not that they were not well known, but becauſe ' it was believed thoſe weak ſouls could not bear the ' whole weight of them; ſo that it was thought fit ' to introduce them into ſo great a ſecret with a caution ſuitable to their weakneſs: this is what that ' Father ſays *in expreſs words.* Your miniſter makes ' him ſay the quite contrary *in expreſs words.* He ' makes him ſay that *their Theology was imperfect*, becauſe he ſays that it was tempered and accommodated ' to the capacity of the ignorant, and he takes for ignorance in the maſters, the wiſe temperament which ' they made uſe of towards their diſciples.' The biſhop of Meaux had ſaid before, that *the learned preface of Petavius is the unravelling of all his doctrine about that ſubject* (16). I think it is as good an unravelling as a moſt learned man could give; but notwithſtanding this, it appears that this Jeſuit contradicted himſelf, or fell into thoſe perplexing variations, which all writers are ſubject to, when they come to have a different intereſt and different motives during the courſe of their writings. He deſigned at firſt, ingenuouſly to repreſent the doctrine of the three firſt centuries. He did

(14) Jurieu's ſixth Paſtoral Letter of the 3d year, pag. 134, in 12mo.

* *Theol. Dogm. Tom. ii, Præf. cap. iii.*

(15) Boſſuet, firſt advertiſement to the Proteſtants, *num.* 27, & 28, *pag.* 28, of the Dutch Edit.

† *Lat. VI, pag.* 45.

‡ *Theol. Dogm. Tom. ii, Præf. cap. i, num.* 10, 12.

‡ *Ibid. cap. ii.*

†† *Ibid. cap. iii.*

** *Ibid. num.* 3.

(16) Boſſuet, ubi ſupra, *num.* 25, *pag.* 25.

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were very much displeased with his way of speaking of St Augustin's hypothesis concerning Grace [C]. 4. That his *Dogmata Theologica*, which were very dear and scarce, have been lately reprinted at Amsterdam (g), with several treatises added to them.

(g) In the year 1700. See what Mr Bernard says of it in his *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lett. Aug.* 1700, *p.* 180, *& seq.*

did not disguise the opinion of the Fathers, who had false notions of the mystery of the three persons. He was contented to set down things as they were, and to add to them the most natural explications which the words were capable of. Whereby he acquainted the public, that several Fathers of the primitive church had published very absurd falsities about the generation of the word, and the mysteries that are annexed to it. Which strikes much at the authority of the canons of the council of Nice; for it might be concluded from thence, that the article of the Trinity is not a fundamental doctrine, since those who erred in that point were saved notwithstanding. The new Anti-Trinitarians could draw many consequences from it. Petavius was told of it, and found himself obliged to remedy that evil as well as he could. He therefore made his preface with such a design, having now a quite different aim, and quite different motives; he made it now his business to assert the orthodoxy of the Fathers, he was obliged to give them satisfaction; in a word, he was forced to contradict himself. Mr Jurieu has undergone the same trial. He wrote a Pastoral Letter (17), wherein he used his utmost endeavours to ruin the foundation of the *History of the variations*. It was then necessary for him that the Fathers should have erred in the most important doctrines of the Christian faith. He therefore depressed them as much as he could, and enlarged upon the absurd notions they had of the Trinity. He minded only his present interest, and was not able to contain himself. But some time after (18) he had occasion to oppose those who say, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not necessary to salvation, and consequently that the Socinians ought to be tolerated. It was then necessary for him that the Fathers should have been orthodox; he therefore asserted their orthodoxy, and made them whiter than snow; he set up for their apologist, and panegyrist, and lastly, for the accuser of those who despised them, and relied upon his example (19). This is to banter the public, and to expose one's self to shame: notwithstanding his variations, it has been proved to him that he had saved the Socinians against his will (20). Compare with this the remark [C] of the article RODON.

(17) The sixth of the third year, dated the 15th of November 1688.

(18) See his 6th and 7th Letters of the *Tableau du Socinianisme*, printed in the year 1690.

(19) See Mr Saurin's Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, *pag.* 670, *& seq.*

[C] *The Jesuits were very much displeased with his way of speaking . . . . of Grace.*] It has been said, that they vexed him so much, that he was ready to leave their house: but they maintain that it is a meer story. Let us quote a printed book. Dom Denys de Sainte Marthe, a Benedictin, observes (21), that it is pretended that Petavius retracted in the tenth book of his first volume what he had said in the ninth book, in favour of St Augustin's doctrine. But it has been answered (22), that it is false, and that 'The society never 'gave any trouble to that learned old man upon that 'account, and that had they had any such design, they 'would have taken another course; for instead of ob- 'liging him to retract himself in the tenth book, they 'would have made him correct the ninth, since those 'books made part of the same volume.' From whence it is concluded (23). *That Petavius never thought of removing, and that it is but a poor story contrived by the Jansenists, Father de Sainte Marthe being only their eccho.* What is certain is, that some passages of Petavius, which favour the hypothesis of the Augustinians, have been cited in the writings of the Jansenists (24), and it has been said, that when he wrote against Jansenius's friends, he renounced his first opinion. Read this passage of the History of Jansenism: 'Petavius . . . . could not 'refuse to come to the assistance of his brethren, to 'defend the honour and doctrine of his society, a- 'gainst his own opinion, and at the cost of his re- 'putation. He published at first a treatise *de Lege* '*& Gratia*, against Jansenius, which came out in that 'year; and then he endeavoured to refute what 'Mr Fromond had written against his dissertation con- 'cerning liberty. And that book came out towards 'the end of the same year, with this title: *Elenchus* '*Theriacæ Vincentii Lenis, sive Liberti Fromondi, Docto-* '*ris Lovanienſis. Parisiis* 1648 (25).' This happened in the year 1648, but the following passage concerns the year 1651. *Petavius, a Jesuit, who, after he had taught in his* Dogmata Theologica *the doctrine of St Augustin, as that of the church, which every body ought to follow, renounced it to defend the interest and opinions of his society, undertook to explain, according to Molina, St Augustin's distinction between that grace, whereby a man is enabled to do something*, auxilium quo, *which is an efficacious grace; and that grace, without which a man can do nothing*, auxilium sine quo non, *which is a sufficient grace. He intituled that book*, Dissertatio brevis de Adjutorio SINE QUO NON & de Adjutorio QUO; ad mentem B. Augustini (26).

(20) *See the book intituled*, Januæ Cœlorum reseratæ, *pag.* 126, *& seq.*

(21) *See the book intituled*, How the Benedictin Fathers behaved themselves since their edition of St Augustin was censured, *p.* 56.

(22) Ib. *pag.* 57, *& seq.*

(23) Ib. *pag.* 58, 59.

(24) See, above, citat. (24), of the article St AUGUSTIN; and the abridged History of the Congregation *de auxiliis*, *pag.* 73, *& seq. Edit.* 1687.

(25) History of Jansenism, Tom. I, *pag.* 247, *ad ann.* 1648. See also *pag.* 377, 378, *ad ann.* 1650.

(26) Ib. *pag.* 505, *ad ann.* 1651.

That my readers may see more amply and clearly what the Anti-Molinists have published on this head, I shall copy one passage more. 'Father Petavius 'had almost a general knowledge, and his name is famous among the learned. If his judgment had been 'answerable to his reading, those who set a greater 'value on that part of a man than upon a vast reading 'and believe that an excellent man is such an one 'who can judge well of things with an indifferent 'learning, would be more satisfied with his works 'than they are. It is somewhat surprizing and incom- 'prehensible to see, how in his *Dogmata Theologica*, 'he has delivered up the Fathers of the three first cen- 'turies to the Arians, and how he makes them all fa- 'vourers of that Heresy. I am far from thinking 'that he was not a good Catholic, nor will I draw 'from this all the other extravagant consequences 'which the Calvinists, the other Protestants, and the 'Socinians, have drawn. I only find fault with his 'judgment. It is true, that he thought to mend his 'fault in some measure, by a preface, which the 'doctors of the Sorbonne obliged him to write; but 'this was only to place the remedy near the sore, 'and not to heal it: he should have burnt that unfor- 'tunate work, and by that means he would have a- 'voided a great deal of shame. His judgment appeared 'no better in what he wrote about Grace. For being 'obliged by order of his superiours to retract the Au- 'gustinian doctrine of Grace and Predestination, which 'he had embraced and maintained as the doctrine of 'the church in the ninth book of his first tome; 'he declared against that doctrine in the tenth, for 'fear he should be conformable to the adversaries of 'his society: but it was without removing the foun- 'dation which he had laid in the preceding book. . . . 'I do not say this to insult the author, who was cer- 'tainly a man of merit, nor for the ill-natured pleasure 'of speaking slightingly of a Jesuit; but to shew that 'it is fit to beware of great Bookmakers and compilers 'and to take good heed not to rely on them, without 'considering, 1. Whether they write with judgment, 'and give themselves time to consider of what they 'write. 2. Whether they write freely and without 'interest; that is to say, whether they are not of a 'body which professes not to suffer certain opinions, 'and to embrace others, and which obliges every 'member blindly to follow the engagements of the 'society, under the pain of removing, as Father Pe- 'tavius told one of his friends, giving him the reason 'of his change. *I am too old to remove*, said he to 'Mr de Marolles, abbot of Villeloin. (27).'

(27) Notes on the third Answer of the prince of Conti to Father des Champs, *p.* 74, &c.

PETIT (JOHN) professor of Divinity in the university of Paris, in the beginning of the XVth century, acquired a great reputation by his eloquence and learning; but he made sometimes an ill use of his talents, to defend bad causes. He spoke for the university of Paris before the king's council in the year 1460 (*a*), to shew that cardinal de Chalant, Pope Benedict's Legate, complained without reason of those who had forsaken their obedience to that Pope. *His conclusion was, that* their withdrawing *should be observed and executed for the time to come . . . . . and the Gallican church delivered from*

(*a*) History of Charles VI by a monk of St Denys, translated into French by Mr le Laboureur, *book xxvi, cap. ii, pag.* 543.

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from the exactions unjuſtly introduced by the court of Rome. The king's council referred that cauſe to the parliament. It was pleaded in the great chamber the ſeventh of June in the ſame year (*b*). John Petit made a long diſcourſe, and as ſtrong as could be wiſhed. The parliament gave no ſentence, but were forced ſome time after to give one which favoured the demands of the univerſity (*c*). John Petit was in the famous embaſſy which France ſent into Italy, for the pacification of the ſchiſm, and he made an harangue in Rome the twentieth of July 1407 (*d*). Every thing goes well hitherto, he makes uſe of his eloquence in lawful things; but we ſhall ſee by and by that he made an ill uſe of it. The duke of Burgundy having cauſed the duke of Orleans, the king's only brother, to be aſſaſſinated, was ſo bold as to own that action, which was an enormous crime in all its circumſtances [*A*]. He returned to Paris as it were in triumph, and demanded audience to ſhew that he had good reaſons to cauſe the duke of Orleans to be killed (*e*). He choſe John Petit to be his Orator, a mercenary ſoul and ſold to iniquity [*B*], who maintained, in the great hall of the royal Hôtel of St Paul, on the eighth of March 1408, that the murder of that duke was lawful (*f*). His plea was printed (*g*): the honour of the duke of Orleans was torn with greater rage by it, than his body had been by the aſſaſſines. The duke's widow cauſed it to be refuted by the abbot of St Denys who pleaded for her, and for the memory of the deceaſed before the king's council, with great eloquence, on the eleventh of September 1408 (*b*). The doctrine of the duke of Burgundy's Orator was ſo enormous, and ſo proper

(*b*) Id. ib. *pag.* 544.

(*c*) Id. ib. *cap.* iii, *pag.* 547.

(*d*) Id. ib. *book* xxvii, *cap.* xvi, *pag.* 606.

(*e*) Id. ib. *book* xxvii, *cap.* xxvii, *pag.* 631.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) You will find the ſubſtance of it in the monk of St Denys, *book* xxvii, *cap.* xxvii, and you may ſee it entire in Monſtrelet, *book* i, *cap.* xxxviii, xxxix.

(*b*) Hiſtory of Charles VI, *book* xxviii, *cap.* x, *pag.* 660, 661.

[*A*] *An enormous crime in all it's circumſtances.*] I have ſpoken of it in the article of that duke (1), but without mentioning a fact which does very much aggravate the enormity of that murder. The monk of St Denys, who wrote the hiſtory of Charles VI, which Mr le Laboureur tranſlated into French, ſays, that the princes of the royal family no ſooner heard that the Burgundian had cauſed the duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated, *but they deteſted ſo execrable a treaſon, and wiſhed, that the author of it were already in the everlaſting torments which the enormity of his crime deſerved. That which ſhewed them better ſtill the blackneſs of the Burgundian's ſoul, is, that he had very lately, not only reconciled himſelf, but alſo made an alliance of brotherly friendſhip with the duke of Orleans. Beſides, they had newly confirmed it both by letters and oaths, even ſo as to take God to witneſs, and communicate together. They ſeemed to be perfectly united in the management of the war, which they took upon themſelves; they had defended one another's honour in the ill ſucceſs they had: it ſeemed as if they had but one and the ſame intereſt, and for a greater ſign of union and love the duke of Burgundy knowing that the duke of Orleans, his couſin, was indiſpoſed, viſited him with all the marks, I will not ſay of civility, but of tenderneſs, and even was perſuaded to come and dine with him the next day, which was a Sunday. The other princes of the blood, who knew that, could not but conceive an extreme indignation for ſo horrible a proceeding, and therefore they refuſed to hear his excuſes, they retired with tears in their eyes from the king's council, and the next day, as he was coming to the parliament, they ſent him word to retire* (2). The widow's Orator did very much inſiſt upon theſe circumſtances (3). Obſerve here how human nature can join in the ſame ſoul the baſeneſs of hypocriſy with the moſt inſolent boldneſs. There was never a prince more haughty nor more courageous than John duke of Burgundy; he was ſirnamed *Without Fear*. Nevertheleſs, what deceit and diſſimulation do not we find in his conduct? Here is one inſtance of it. He repaired to the church whither the body of the duke of Orleans was brought. *He pretended to be as much afflicted as any body elſe, he put on mourning afterwards, as all the princes did, and was not aſhamed to aſſiſt with them at the funeral pomp in the church of the Celeſtins, where that duke, when alive, deſired to be buried* (4). He pulled off his maſk only when he ſaw that the king's council was upon the point of ordering that Robert de Canni (5), ſuſpected of the murder (6), ſhould be impriſoned.

(1) Of BURGUNDY (JOHN), remark [*B*].

(2) Hiſtory of Charles VI, tranſlated into French by Mr le Laboureur, *book* xxvii, *cap.* xxiii, *pag.* 627.

(3) Ibid. *book* xxvii, *cap.* x, *pag.* 666.

(4) Id. ib. *book* xxvii, *cap.* xxii, *pag.* 625.

(5) Id. ib. *cap.* xxiii, *pag.* 626.

(6) He hated the duke of Orleans, becauſe that duke loved his wife for a long time. *Ibid.*

[*B*] *A mercenary ſoul, and ſold to iniquity.*] The greateſt blot in the reign of Charles VI, is the triumphant impunity of the duke of Orleans's aſſaſſin: but it is not ſo much a blot in the king, as in his kingdom; for moſt times that unhappy prince had not the uſe of his reaſon, he was not therefore anſwerable for the diſorders of the ſtate. The French nation is to blame: the French did not ſupport, and join with the princes who deſired to take vengeance of that crime; they were ſo divided, as to make the party of the aſſaſſin more formidable than the other. The city of Paris, where the king's only brother was maſſacred, is moſt of all to blame, for not endeavouring to have that crime puniſhed; the Burgundian would have been treated according to the exigency of the caſe, if that city had deſired it. It would be a piece of injuſtice to tax the univerſity of Paris, becauſe one of their profeſſors of Divinity was ſo wicked, as to undertake to make an apology for that murder; for they approved not the wicked principles of that furious declaimer, and ſeconded the biſhop who condemned them authentically, as ſoon as he could do it ſafely. It is what we ſhall ſee in the next remark. Before I make an end of this, I muſt obſerve, that John Petit was very ſure of the peoples approbation, when he engaged in the defence of ſo deteſtable a cauſe; beſides, he knew that he ſhould ſpeak for a prince whom the king himſelf dreaded. It is certain that Charles VI ſent the count de St Paul to the Burgundian, *to offer him a public audience, with impunity as to himſelf, and the only thing that was demanded of him, was, that he ſhould deliver up the aſſaſſins, that they might be tried according to law; but he ſent him back very much diſappointed, ſeeing the king was obliged to treat with honour about the reparation of an action that was more than wicked, and to ſend to him the duke of Berry, and the king of Sicily at Amiens. The noble duke of Bourbon was named to be one of that embaſſy, but he generouſly excuſed himſelf, he would not ſo much as ſtay at court, he deſired leave to retire to his houſe, and choſe rather to part with the ſhare he had in the government, than to give his conſent to compound with the ſtate, for the murder of his nephew; and therefore he ſaid openly, and at ſeveral times, as I have been informed, that he would never ſee with a favourable eye the author of ſo baſe and villainous a treachery* (7). Thoſe two conſiderations, I mean the peoples favour, and the credit of the duke of Burgundy, cannot excuſe the advocate. For the reſt, the reaſon why the people did not much care that the aſſaſſin ſhould be puniſhed, was the hatred they had conceived againſt the duke of Orleans, who was the author of ſeveral taxes. Hence it is, that they rejoiced at his death, and applauded the duke of Burgundy; ſo true it is, that men are more tender of their private and domeſtic intereſt, than of the fundamental laws of the ſtate. *Tantum nimirum ex publicis malis ſentimus quantum ad privatas res pertinet: nec in eis quicquam acrius quam pecuniæ damnum ſtimulat* (8). Montagne knew very well that fault: *They are not concerned*, ſays he (9), *for the cauſe in common, and in as much as it is prejudicial to the intereſt of all perſons, and of the ſtate; but they are only concerned, becauſe it touches them perſonally. Hence it is that they are ſo earneſt about it, and even beyond juſtice and public reaſon.* Non tam omnia univerſi, quam ea, quæ ad quemque pertinent, ſinguli carpebant. The impunity of the duke of Burgundy was a mortal wound given to the juſtice, authority, and the majeſty of the ſtate. What then? Private men did not feel it, they ſaw but afar off the pernicious conſequences of it; and every body hoped to avoid them. But the taxes of the duke of Orleans fell upon every citizen. This is the reaſon why

(7) Id. ib. *pag.* 627.

(8) Annibal ad Carthaginienſes, apud Livium, *lib.* xxx, *ſub fin. pag. m.* 566.

(9) Montagne's Eſſays, *book* iii, *cap.* x, *pag. m.* 410, 411.

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proper to introduce all manner of confuſion into the ſtate, that it was condemned by the biſhop of Paris [C], as ſoon as the duke's faction proved leſs powerful. The proxies of that prince appealed to the Pope, and he himſelf wrote to the council of Conſtance, to recommend the cauſe of John Petit (i): his ambaſſadors and partizans maintained, that the propoſitions that were condemned, were not to be found in the book of that doctor; the commiſſioners of the council annulled the ſentence of the biſhop of Paris [D]. Gerſon

(i) See the remark [D].

why they did not much care to revenge his death. We ſhall ſee by and by that the populace of Paris changed their mind, when the biſhop had condemned the apology for the duke of Burgundy (§ α).

[(§ α) Two reaſons, which John Petit ingenuouſly and impudently alledged in the king's council, to excuſe himſelf for aſſiſting the duke of Burgundy in ſuch an odious affair, deſerve to be known. The firſt is, becauſe he was obliged to ſerve this duke, to whom he had taken an oath of fidelity three years before. And the ſecond, that it was the leaſt thing he could do out of gratitude to this prince, who for a long time had granted him a ſmall annual penſion, conſidering he had but a poor benefice. Monſtrelet has preſerved the memory of this fact, and Innocent Gentillet has inſerted it with the very plea of John Petit, l. 3. Max. 8. of his *Antimachiavel*. REM. CRIT.]

[C] *The doctrine of John Petit was ſo enormous .... that it was condemned by the biſhop of Paris.*] Before the condemnation many learned and virtuous men were offended at the propoſitions of that profeſſor of Divinity, and were afraid that they would have *very dangerous conſequences, if they were not cenſured. For my part*, ſays a Monk of St Denys (10), *I did often very much wonder that the biſhop of Paris, and the inquiſitor of the Faith, neglected a cauſe that was ſo prejudicial to good manners, and the ſervice of GOD; but I was always anſwered, that the formidable authority of the duke of Burgundy was the reaſon of it, and that it was prudently done of them to let that plague lie as it were buried in a deep ſilence, rather than venture to ſee it authorized by the credit of that prince. Which proved but too true in it's time, for that ſafety ſo much deſired, did no ſooner appear, than they ordered the members of the venerable univerſity of Paris, under the penalty of the law, to bring and repreſent without delay whatever they had in their ſheets and collections relating to the propoſition of the ſaid John Petit, which ſerved to the pretended juſtification of the duke of Burgundy. They called together in the great hall of the biſhopric, the famous Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and the Doctors of the Canon and Civil Law, that by their advice, what was erroneous in them might be examined; and after they had applied themſelves to it for ſeveral days with all the diligence which the intereſt of faith required, on the ſixteenth of January they elected out of that numerous company ſixteen doctors, choſen in the colleges of Paris, who made an abſtract of the aſſertions and propoſitions advanced by that Doctor, which they judged to be condemnable as follows.* That Hiſtorian ſets down afterwards nine propoſitions of John Petit, with the cenſure paſſed upon them, and then he adds (11), 'Such was the advice of all the doctors and regents 'there met, and that the whole piece of John Petit was 'unworthy of a man of parts, and even deſerved not 'to be mentioned: wherefore, on the twenty-third of 'February (12), the ſaid biſhop and inquiſitor of the 'faith, being met in the hall of the biſhopric, in pre'ſence of ſeveral prelates and eminent doctors, and 'a great croud of people, thought fit to cenſure it, as 'being erroneous as to faith and good manners, and 'to condemn it, as being ſcandalous in ſeveral re'ſpects, to be burnt before the porch of Noſtre-Dame. 'two days after, the execution was made in their 'preſence upon a ſcaffold ſet up for that purpoſe, be'fore a great multitude of people, after Benedict Jencien, 'a famous Doctor, had loudly and very learnedly ſhewed 'the enormity of thoſe opinions.' You ſhall ſee now an example of the people's inconſtancy: *It was a ſenſible affront to the duke of Burgundy, who learned by an experience neceſſary to give an example, how ſhameful it is for great men to degenerate from the glory of their birth; but his greateſt vexation was to hear, that that fooliſh juſtification had made him odious to the wiſeſt and moſt moderate men, that he was laughed at and deſpiſed by them, that the people and the mob derided him, and that he was the public talk, and the ſubject of a thouſand ſatirical ſongs, wherein he was publickly called a traytor and an aſſaſſin* (13).

Note, that Gerſon, chancellor of the univerſity, did very much contribute to that cenſure (14). He preached often againſt the propoſitions of John Petit, and refuted *in the name of the univerſity, before the king, all the parts of the diſcourſe and book* of that profeſſor (15). Note alſo, that the nine propoſitions that were cenſured, may be reduced to this: 'That it is 'lawful for any body, and even a commendable and 'meritorious thing, to kill a tyrant by one's private 'authority; and that, in order to it, all manner of 'ways may be made uſe of, and even treaſons and 'flatteries, to make him fall into the ſnare that is pre'pared for him, notwithſtanding any alliances and 'oaths whatſoever (16).'

[D] .... *his partizans maintained, that the propoſitions, that were condemned, were not to be found in the book of that Doctor; the commiſſioners of the council annulled the ſentence of the biſhop of Paris.*] It was the only way they could take, for unleſs they had renounced all ſhame, they could not deny that the cenſure of thoſe nine propoſitions was a lawful one. They were therefore obliged to do what the Janſeniſts did a long time after, to have recourſe to the diſtinction *de facto & de jure*, and to maintain that the nine propoſitions were not to be found in the book of John Petit. They failed not to do it. Read what follows. I go ſomewhat higher, that my reader may be more fully informed of that affair.

(17) 'That ſentence (18) being extreamly ſhameful 'to the duke of Burgundy, whoſe juſtification was 'burnt in that book, with an eternal reproach to his 'name; his proxies appealed to the holy ſee †. The 'duke undertook to protect the Pope, to make a friend 'of him. . . .‡ But when he heard that he had been 'arreſted at Friburg, before he could get into the 'county of Burgundy, he wrote again to the council, 'in anſwer to the advice the council had given him of 'the Pope's flight, that having promiſed to protect 'him only upon condition that he would keep his 'word ‡, he was now reſolved to forſake him, ſeeing 'they approved not of his conduct, and to adhere en'tirely to the council. Having thus artfully diſpoſed 'their minds, he added, that he was informed his 'enemies had undertaken to defame him, under pre'tence of cauſing certain heretical propoſitions to be 'condemned by the council, which they aſcribed to the 'late Dr John Petit, who had defended his cauſe like an 'honeſt man; that foraſmuch as his honour was con'cerned in it, he entreated the Fathers, that before 'they ſhould decide a point of that importance, and 'condemn the book of that Doctor, they would exa'mine in the preſence of his ambaſſadors, whether 'thoſe propoſitions were truly his, or whether they 'were not maliciouſly contrived by others, who en'deavoured to cauſe them to be condemned under the 'name of that famous profeſſor, and even under his 'own name ‡‡. The council thereupon appointed ſome 'commiſſioners, *viz.* the cardinals of Albano, Aqui'leia, Florence, and d'Ailli. The ambaſſadors of the 'duke of Burgundy, who had made a powerful party 'by their intrigues, and had at their head Martin 'Porrée, biſhop of Arras, and Doctor of Divinity, 'excepted againſt cardinal Peter d'Ailli, as having 'been John Gerſon's maſter, whom they took for 'their chief adverſary, and maintained boldly, that 'the propoſitions which the biſhop of Paris had 'condemned, as being in the book of Dr John Petit, 'intituled, *The Juſtification of the Duke of Burgundy*, 'were not to be found in it in ſuch terms as they 'were produced; that John Gerſon being jealous of 'the glory Dr Petit had acquired in the univerſity, 'framed them according to his fancy, to give them an 'heretical ſenſe, which they themſelves would readily 'condemn; but that as they were worſted in the do'ctor's book, they were ready to prove that they were 'very orthodox *. On the other hand, cardinal 'd'Ailli, who had been excepted againſt, joined with 'Dr John Gerſon, and Dr Jordan Morin, and theſe 'three proteſted, that nothing could be more falſe ** 'than what the ambaſſadors of Burgundy durſt ad'vance, that any one who had eyes, and could read, 'and

(10) Hiſtory of Charles VI, *book xxxiii, cap. xxviii, pag.* 931, 932.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 933.

(12) It was in 1414, reckoning the beginning of the year from January.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Cancellarius contra Joannis Parvi aſſertiones concionatur ſæpius, has accurato & diligenti ſtudio expendit, & detectos in iis contra fidem errores configit. Tum curante potiſſimum Gerſone errorum cenſura à Theologiæ facultate & Pariſienſi Epiſcopo confecta eſt. *Joh. Launoius, Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. pag.* 482.

(15) Maimbourg, Hiſt. of the Great Schiſm, *book* 1, *pag.* m. 236.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ib. p. 237.

(18) That is, the ſentence of the biſhop of Paris.

† *J. Juvenal.*

‡ *Cod. Victor. ep. Spond.*

‡ *Alt. Victor. ep. Spond.*

‡‡ *Tom. 2, Hiſt. Univ. pag.* 299, *ex Monſtrel. J. Juvenal. Cod. Victor.*

* *J. Juvenal.*

** *Cod. Victor.*

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Gerſon appealed from their judgment to the council, and obtained not all the ſatisfaction he might reaſonably expect [E]. That aſſembly ſhewed, that a prince who has an army is a very good protector of an Heretic. The council made only a general deciſion, which prejudiced neither the book of John Petit, nor the Burgundian. The king of France, on the contrary, cauſed that libel to be condemned with the greateſt ſeverity, and expelled ſeveral doctors from Paris, who oppoſed the good deſign the others had of engaging the univerſity in the cauſe of the biſhop [F]. But, two years after, that prelate was obliged to cauſe his ſentence to be revoked out of complaiſance to the duke of Burgundy [G]. John Petit died in the year 1411, at Hedin, a town belonging to that duke (k). He fled thither for refuge, fearing the ſons of the duke of Orleans, who deſigned to proſecute him as a Heretic. He was not a Cordelier, as ſome have ſaid, but a ſecular prieſt (l).

(k) Monſtrelet, *lib. i, cap. xxxix*, apud Spond. *ad ann.* 1408, *num.* 1, *pag.* 704.

(l) Spond. ibid. *pag.* 703.

' and underſtand French, would plainly ſee that the ' propoſitions which had been condemned, but eſpe- ' cially that which all the reſt had been reduced to, ' were not only advanced by John Petit, but contained ' alſo the ſubſtance and ſummary of his libel, wherein ' he makes it his buſineſs to eſtabliſh them by his pre- ' tended proofs and falſe reaſonings. At laſt, after ' long debates about that point, the queſtion being only ' a plain matter of fact which the Burgundians de- ' nied obſtinately, the three cardinals commiſſioners, ' who were for them, made uſe of a very ill expe- ' dient. For, on the one hand, not approving thoſe ' wicked propoſitions, and, on the other hand, being ' not willing to condemn the advocate of the duke of ' Burgundy ††, they declared that the biſhop of Paris ' was an incompetent judge in that cauſe, which did ' belong to the holy ſee; and thereupon annulled his ' ſentence.' Their judgment was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet before the porch of the cathedral church of Paris (19). You may ſee in a book of Gerſon by what intrigues the faction of Burgundy compaſſed the whole matter. ' Inſtituit inter Volucrem & Monimum, id ' inter ſe & fratrem ſuum dialogum, ubi κατ' ἐκλεσιν ' & ſingillatim exponit, quibus molitionibus Burgun- ' diones uſi ſunt ut Pariſienſis cenſura caſſa & irrita ' declararetur (20). - - - - *He made a dialogue between* ' *Volucer and Monimus, that is, between himſelf and his* ' *brother, wherein he particularly ſets forth the intrigues* ' *which the Burgundians uſed to get the cenſure of the bi-* ' *ſhop of Paris annulled.*'

†† *J. Juvenal.*

(19) Dati ſunt à Concilio & ſelecti judices, qui repugnante Gerſone, & aliis qui ab ejus ſtabant partibus, Pariſienſem cenſuram abrogarunt, politicis potius quam Theologicis rationibus ducti. Cenſuræ abrogatio & lecta & publicata eſt buccis concrepantibus in propylæo Ædis beatæ Mariæ Pariſ. Hæc Juvenalis Urſinus ut vidit, ita & retulit in Hiſtoria Caroli VI. *Jo. Launoius, ubi ſupra, pag.* 489.

(20) Ibid.

[E] *Gerſon appealed from their judgment to the council, and obtained not all the ſatisfaction he might reaſonably expect.*] He deſired, without doubt, that the council ſhould confirm the ſentence of the biſhop of Paris, by condemning expreſsly the book which contained the duke of Burgundy's apology; but the council did it not. ' Whether it be that they had not the libel of ' John Petit at Conſtance, but only an abſtract which ' contained his propoſitions; or whether they would ' not examine it, to diſoblige nobody, as * the empe- ' peror adviſed them; they were contented according ' to his advice, to apply themſelves to the doctrine in ' general, and to condemn the fundamental propo- ' ſition which contained the ſubſtance of all the reſt; ' which they did in theſe words: *It has been remon-* ' *ſtrated to this holy council, that ſome propoſitions have* ' *been taught, which are erroneous and moſt ſcandalous,* ' *and tending to the ſubverſion of the ſtate of the whole* ' *commonwealth, amongſt which this has been preſented to* ' *the council* †. *Any tyrant may, and ought lawfully and* ' *meritoriouſly to be killed by any of his vaſſals or ſubjects,* ' *and even they may uſe, in order to it, ſnares, flatteries,* ' *and feigned careſſes, notwithſtanding any oath or alliance* ' *made with him, without waiting for the ſentence or* ' *command of any judge whatſoever. The holy council, in* ' *order to exterminate that error, declares, and defines,* ' *upon mature deliberation, that ſuch a doctrine is againſt* ' *faith and good manners, and reproves and condemns it* ' *as heretical and ſcandalous, and giving occaſion to* ' *frauds, cheats, lies, treaſons, and perjuries. Further,* ' *it defines, and declares, that they who obſtinately main-* ' *tain that moſt pernicious doctrine, are Heretics, and,* ' *as ſuch, ought to be puniſhed according to the ordinance* ' *of the holy canons.* Such was the decree of the council, ' which, for certain conſiderations, and eſpecially for ' fear of diſobliging the duke of Burgundy, would not ' join the fact with the right, in this cauſe (21).'

* *Cod. Victor.*

† *Act. Concil. Conſt. Seſſ. XV.*

(21) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 240.

(22) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1415, *num.* 51, *pag.* 752.

That conduct did ſo much the more vex John Gerſon, becauſe he had been accuſed of acting not out of love for truth, but upon the account of ſome differences he had had with John Petit (22). They reproached him alſo, that he had reduced all the doctrine of that man to one propoſition, and then that he had made nine propoſitions, when he knew that the examinators were not ignorant that he had mutilated the opinion of his adverſary (23). He expoſed himſelf ſo much to the hatred of the houſe of Burgundy, that he ran a great many dangers after the ſitting of the council. He had not the liberty to go to Paris, to re-aſſume his place of chancellor. He was forced to retire thro' ſome by-ways; he went to hide himſelf for ſome time in the mountains of Bavaria, and then he croſſed Swiſſerland, and arrived at Lyons, where he ſtaid till he died (24).

(23) Sentiens nihilominus Gerſonius Theologos illos agnoviſſe fraudem in truncatione propoſitionum Parvi illas alias novem concluſiones propoſuerit. *Ibid.*

(24) Launoius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 490.

[F] *The king of France . . . . cauſed that libel to be condemned with the greateſt ſeverity, and expelled ſeveral doctors from Paris, who oppoſed the good deſign . . . . of the biſhop.*] The following account begins with the laſt of thoſe two facts. ' Our doctors who were at Con- ' ſtance, ‡ fearing what came to paſs, that the cardi- ' nals commiſſioners would favour the Burgundians, ' had written to their brethren at Paris, that they ' ſhould endeavour to get the univerſity to ſide with ' the biſhop, that his ſentence againſt the doctrine of ' John Petit might be confirmed: But it happened ' that ſeveral members of that great body, having been ' gained by the party of the doctor, and of the duke ' of Burgundy, raiſed ſo great a cabal againſt them, ' that they prevented them from obtaining what they ' demanded. The honeſt doctors, eſpecially thoſe of ' the illuſtrious Sorbonne and of Navarre, ſticking ' cloſe to the good party, which Gerſon defended with ' great zeal and force, having made their complaints ' to the king; his majeſty, to clear the univerſity ' from thoſe turbulent ſpirits, who diſturbed the ' church and ſtate, ordered above forty of the moſt ' factious to depart from Paris that very day upon ' pain of death. . . . . Afterwards, leſt ſo abominable ' a doctrine ſhould be revived, if the book which ' contained it, ſhould remain; his majeſty ſent his ' declaration to the parliament, againſt the errors con- ' tained in the libel of ‡ John Petit, intituled, *The ju-* ' *ſtification of the duke of Burgundy*, ordering them to ' tear, in a full court, as many copies of it as could ' be found, forbidding every body to keep any of ' them upon pain of forfeiting their lives and goods; ' ordering further, that this declaration be regiſtred ' with the ſentence of the biſhop of Paris, containing ' the right and the fact joined together, in the con- ' demnation of the moſt pernicious errors of the libel ' of Dr John Petit, intituled, *The duke of Burgundy's* ' *juſtification*, which begins with theſe words, *Before* ' *the moſt noble and moſt high royal majeſty*, and was ' publickly ‡‡ ſold in Paris and other places. The ' whole was regiſtred in the parliament, on the fourth ' of June 1416; and on the ſixteenth of September in ' the ſame year, the parliament at the requeſt of the ' univerſity, publiſhed a ſevere decree againſt all thoſe ' who ſhould be ſo bold as to maintain ſtill the ' doctrine of that deteſtable libel, declaring them li- ' able to all the puniſhments which they that are ' guilty of high treaſon deſerve (25).'

‡ *John. Juvenal, pag.* 328, *printed at the Louvre.*

‡ *Hiſt. Univ. Tom.* vi, *pag.* 300. Quam M. Joannes Parvi nuncupatus juſtificationem Ducis Burgundiæ fecit appellari, ejus quaternos & particulas apud quemcumque inveniri poterunt, &c. Prædicta Propoſitio M. J. Parvi in ſeſe, & in ſuis aſſertionibus principaliter intentis & in ea contentis eſt abolenda atque damnanda tanquam in fide erronea, &c. & eam ſic abolemus & damnamus, &c. Quam juſtificationem D. Ducis Burgundiæ appellavit complures in ſe errores peſtiferos continentem, & quæ in tantum in dictis villa & Diœceſi Pariſienſi publicata extitit, quod venditioni publicè expoſita & à pluribus empta fuerit. *Pag.* 301.

‡‡ Publicæ venditioni expoſita, quæ ſic incipit. *Before, &c. pag.* 302.

One may eaſily perceive that Mr Maimbourg gives a touch to the Janſeniſts.

[G] *That prelate was obliged to cauſe his ſentence to be revoked out of complaiſance to the duke of Burgundy.*] What has been ſeen at all times was ſeen in the cauſe of John Petit: Toleration, condemnation, abſolution, *&c.* as the prince, his protector, grew ſtronger or weaker. His credit was loſt at Paris in the year 1414. Then they proceeded rigorouſly againſt his apologiſt. He could do any thing in that city in the year 1418, then the cenſure was annulled. I ſhall quote for this an author of the ſame century. *At this time*, ſays he (26), *a general proceſſion was made at Paris, wherein the univerſity appeared, and eſpecially the vicars of the biſhop*

(25) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 242, 243.

(26) John le Fevre, lord of St Remi, Hiſt. of Charles VI, *cap. lxxxviii, pag.* 124.

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bishop of Paris, who was then sick at St Omer. Which vicars revoked there, in a sermon before the whole assembly, the condemnation which the said bishop had passed heretofore against the proposition of Dr John Petit, and against the honour of the duke of Burgundy, repairing, in that respect, his honour and fealty, as of a true champion of the crown of France, and they made appear the power they had received from the bishop to that effect, so that the duke of Burgundy was satisfied.

PEZELIUS (CHRISTOPHER) a Protestant Divine, was born the fifth of March 1539 at Plawen a city of Germany, in Voitland (*a*). He taught for the space of five years in the college of his own country, and was afterwards professor of Theology and minister at Wittemberg (*b*): but as he was one of those doctors, who under-hand opposed Lutheranism, and wanted to introduce Calvinism, he was deprived of his offices, and put in prison in the year 1574, with several others of his colleagues; and they were set at liberty only upon condition that they should depart the country of Saxony, and not write any thing either against the elector, or his academies and churches (*c*) [*A*]. He retired to Egra, and after he had resided there a little while, he was called to teach the school at Sigen by Count John of Nassau, brother to William of Nassau prince of Orange. Some time after that, he had a call to be minister at Herborn (*d*): and from thence he dated the epistle dedicatory of one of his books (*e*) in the month of September 1580. He was professor of Divinity at Bremen in the year 1588, and likewise superintendant of the churches there till his death, which happened the twenty-fifth of February 1604 (*f*). He published many books [*B*]. He was at Heidelberg in the year 1599, and assisted at the assembly of the faculty of Theology, before whom Conrad Vorstius gave an account of his faith (*g*). It is very strange, that neither Melchior Adam, nor Paul Freher have written his life.

(*a*) Christoph. Pezelius, Epist. Dedicat. Part vii, Argumentor. Melanchth.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Epist. Dedicat. Part ii, Argumentor. Melanchth.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) *Secundæ Partis* Argumentor. Melanchth.

(*f*) Witte, in Diario Biograph.

(*g*) See the Life of David Pareus, *pag.* m. 56, 58. See also the remark [C] of the article VORSTIUS (CONRAD).

[*A*] *Pezelius, and his colleagues, were set at liberty only upon condition . . . . that they should not write any thing either against the elector, or his academies and churches.*] However, they reserved to themselves the liberty of declaring their sentiments. *Sic autem Deus Opt. Max. eventus postea rexit, ut à tristi servitute atque obligatione prius nobis impositâ unà cum collegis liberatus, duris quidem conditionibus (ut patria tota excederemus, nec adversus illustriss. Electorem Saxoniæ ejusque Scholas & Ecclesias stylum stringeremus, confessione tamen veritatis & conscientiæ nostra ratione integrâ & liberâ nobis, ut verbi ministris, relicta) in exilium ire jubberemur* (1). How he reconciled his promise with the writings he published against the doctrine of the Lutherans about the Eucharist, I cannot tell. I only know that he maintained a paper-war with the most violent doctors of the other side, such as Nicolas Selneccerus, Daniel Hoffman, Giles Hunnius, and Philip Marbachius. The very title of a book, which he printed at Bremen in the year 1591, shews that he wrote with heat: The title is as follows, 'Defensio 'contra vanissimas calumnias quas N. Selneccerus evo- 'muit in Responsione Christophori Pezelii Confuta- 'tionis quatuordecim causarum Selnecceriarum de con- 'demnationibus Calvinistarum (2). - - - *A defence 'against the silly calumnies, which N. Selneccerus has 'vented in his answer to*, &c.' The title of another book which he published in the year 1593, contains this amongst other things, *quam* (Pezelii explicationem) *Hermannus Hamelmannus libello, cui titulum fecit*, de depravatione, fraudulentia, impostura, & falsitate D. Christophori Pezelii & omnium Sacramentariorum, *temerario ac stolido conatu oppugnare ausus fuit* (3). Hospinian mentions some other works of Pezelius, published during the Sacramentarian war, and he gives (4) the analysis of that which was published at Bremen in the year 1589: *Tractatus Christophori Pezelii propositus in Gymnasio Bremensi, in explicatione Examinis Philippi Melanchthonis de Cœna Domini, &c.*

(1) Christoph. Pezelius, Epist. Dedicat. Part ii, Argument. Melanchth. *folio* 65.

(2) See the *Historia Sacram.* by Hospinian, *Tom. ii, pag.* 670.

(3) Hospin. ibid. *pag.* 80.

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 662.

[*B*] *He published many books.*] For besides those I have just mentioned, he printed at Wittemberg in 1565 an harangue *de generatione hominis*, and in 1571 *Apologia veræ doctrinæ de definitione Evangelii opposita Thrasonicis præstigiis Joan. Wigardi* (5). His commentary on Genesis was printed at Neustat in the year 1599 in 8vo, and his exposition of the first chapters of the Gospel of St John in the year 1586 in 8vo. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the others. I shall only say that his *Mellificium Historicum* is a large commentary on John Sleidan's treatise *de quatuor Monarchiis*, which comes to the empire of Heraclius, that it was printed at Marpurg in two parts in 4to in the year 1610, and that in the year following Lampadius added to it a third part, which reached to his own time. I shall also observe, that Pezelius published some extracts of Melanchthon's works, in which he put the objections and answers concerning theological matters in a very good method, and that he interlarded some short observations. This work contains seven or eight volumes in 8vo, which have been printed several times at Neustat. The first tome was published in the year 1578.

(5) Epit. Bibloth. Gesneri, *pag.* 146.

PHAON, of Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, was a handsome man, extraordinarily beloved by the fair sex. The poor Sappho fell in love with him, as well as many others; but she found him so unkind that she fell into despair, as I shall say in her article. The Poets, who have recourse to miracles at every turn, say, that his beauty, so powerful upon the hearts of the ladies, was given him by the goddess Venus, as the reward of the services she had received from him, when he was master of a ship. One day he took her on board his ship, without enquiring who she was, and conveyed her with all speed to the place she was to go to (*a*) [*A*]. He asked nothing for his trouble (*b*), but he was very well paid notwithstanding. Venus presented him with a vessel of alabaster full of an ointment, wherewith he had no sooner rubbed himself, but he became the most beautiful of all men (*c*). He inflamed the women of Mitylene with love. His youth

(*a*) Ælian, Hist. div. *lib. xii, cb. xvii.*

(*b*) Palæphatus de Fabulis.

(*c*) Ælian. ubi supra.

[*A*] *He conveyed . . . . Venus to the place she was to go to.*] There is a passage of Lucian from whence we learn, not whether she was conveyed, but where she took shipping. Μῶν καὶ σύ τινα ὥσπερ ὁ Φάων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ Χίου διαπορθμεύσας εἶτά σοι εὐξαμένῳ ἔδωκε νέον εἶναι καὶ καλὸν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ ἀξιέρασον. Num tu quoque, *says Simylus to Pohystratus*, ut & Phaon ille venerem è Chio transvexisti, ut optanti tibi illa dederit juvenescere, ac denuo formosum atque amabilem fieri (1)? - - - *Did you, like Phaon, transport Venus from Chios, that she granted your request to grow young again, and to become beautiful and lovely.* It might be inferred from these words, that Phaon demanded as his reward, that his youth and beauty should be restored to him; but Palæphatus says nothing like it: he says that Phaon had been a seaman all his life-time, and never abused any body, nor made poor people pay for their passage; that upon this account he was admired in the isle of Lesbos; that Venus having put on the shape of an old woman, went on

(1) Lucian. Dial. Mort. *Tom. i, pag.* 234.

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youth returned to him, and what follows (*d*). He made an ill uſe of it, and at laſt it coſt him his life; for he was killed in the fact, I mean, being ſurprized in adultery (*e*). Some ſaid that the virtue of a certain herb was the cauſe of Sappho's love for him [*B*].

(*d*) Palæph. ibid. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. *Tom. i, pag.* 234.

(*e*) Ælian. ubi ſupra.

on board his ſhip; that he carried her over with all ſpeed, and aſked nothing for it; but that of an old man as he was, ſhe made him a beautiful young man. Servius touches upon that ſtory (2), and adds a particular to it which he borrows from two comic Poets (3), *viz.* That Phaon built a temple to Venus upon mount Leucate, from whence a woman, who was very much in love with him, threw herſelf into the ſea. For the reſt, Lucian thought that Phaon was of the iſle of Chio (4), but I think he was miſtaken.

(2) Servius, in Æn. IH, *ver.* 279. *Read in the Leyden edition of* 1680, in anus *for* nam, *inſtead of*, in navis formam.

(3) Menander & Turpilius.

(4) Lucian. in Navigio, *Tom. ii, pag.* 696.

[*B*] *Some have ſaid that the virtue of a certain herb was the cauſe of Sappho's love for him.*] It is a ſtrange thing, that the paſſionate love of Sappho ſhould not be aſcribed meerly to her conſtitution. Pliny aſcribes it to a cauſe which is as fabulous as the ointment of Venus; he is in the right to ſay, that the virtue of that herb is a monſtrous thing (5). 'Portentoſum eſt 'quod de ea traditur, radicem ejus alterutrius ſexus 'ſimilitudinem referre, raram inventu: ſed ſi viris 'contigerit mas, amabiles fieri. Ob hoc & Phaonem 'Leſbium dilectum à Sappho. Multæ circa hoc non 'Magorum ſolum vanitates, ſed etiam Pythagorico-'rum (6). - - - *It is monſtrous what is related of it; 'that it's root reſembles either the one or the other ſex, 'and is very rare to be found: but if men happen to 'have the male kind, they become lovely. For this rea-'ſon Phaon was beloved by Sappho. Many ſilly things 'are told about it, not only by the Magi, but alſo by the 'Pythagoreans.*' He ſpeaks of the white Eryngo, which the Latins call *centum capita*.

(5) Plin. *lib. xxii, cap. viii.*

(6) Father Hardouin refers us hereupon to a book falſly intituled, *Kiranidum Kirani, pag.* 37.

PHASELIS, a ſea-town in Lycia upon the borders of Pamphylia (*a*). It was one of the towns that grew rich by the piracies of the Cilicians; which was the reaſon why Publius Servilius ruined it (*b*), after the victories he obtained over thoſe pirates. It was in a miſerable condition when Pompey landed there after the battle of Pharſalia [*A*]. It it ſaid that it was built by Mopſus (*c*). That town has been very much ſpoken of, upon the account of the miraculous favour which Alexander was ſaid to have received from the gods in that place [*B*]. I ſhall

(*a*) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 458. *See alſo* Livy, *lib. xxxvii, cap. xxiii.*

(*b*) Nec mari ſubmoviſſe contentus, validiſſimas urbes eorum & diutina præda abundantes, Phaſelin & Olympon evertit, Iſaurumque ipſam arcem Ciliciæ. *Flor. lib. iii, cap. vi.*

(*c*) Pomponius Mela, *lib. i, cap. xiv.*

[*A*] *It was in a miſerable condition when Pompey landed there after the battle of Pharſalia.*] If we believe Lucan, there was more people in Pompey's ſhip than in that town.

- - - - Te primum parva Phaſeli
Magnus adit. Nam te metui vetat incola rarus,
Exhauſtæque domus populis, majorque carinæ ●
Quam tua turba fuit (1).

- - - - *But Pompey durſt,*
Commit his perſon to no town but thee,
Little Phaſelis; thy ſmall company,
And few inhabitants could cauſe no fear,
More in his ſhip than in thy walls there were.

(1) Lucan. *lib. viii.*

Yet Strabo, who lived after Pompey, ſpeaks of Phaſelis as of a conſiderable town, which had three ports. It is likely he repreſents it as it had been (2), but he ſhould not have expreſſed himſelf in the preſent tenſe. Εἶτα φασηλὶς. τρεῖς ἔχουσα λιμένας, πόλις ἀξιόλογος. *Ac deinde Phaſelis, tres habens portus, urbs memorabilis* (3).

(2) Note, that it is not at all likely that town was re-peopled from the battle of Pharſalia, to the time of Strabo.

(3) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 458.

[*B*] *A miraculous favour which Alexander was ſaid to have received from the gods.*] Let us firſt cite Joſephus who having deſcribed the paſſage thro' the Red-ſea, makes this obſervation upon it. *No body ought to look upon it as an impoſſible thing, that men who lived an innocent and ſimple life in thoſe firſt times, ſhould have found a paſſage through the ſea to make their eſcape, whether it opened of itſelf, or whether is was by the will of GOD, ſince the ſame thing happened a long time after to the Macedonians, when they went thro' the ſea of Pamphylia under the conduct of Alexander, GOD being willing to make uſe of that nation to deſtroy the Perſian empire, as it is reported by all the Hiſtorians who wrote the life of that Prince. However, I leave to every body the liberty of judging of it as he thinks fit* (4). It is not true that all the Hiſtorians of Alexander repreſented as a miracle, his paſſage through the ſtreights of Pamphylia near Phaſelis. I ſhall quote a great author, who clearly ſhews that there was nothing miraculous on that occaſion. *Alexander paſſed his army along the ſea-coaſts of Pamphylia with ſuch expedition, that ſeveral Hiſtorians have deſcribed and extolled it with that height of admiration, as if it were no leſs than a miracle, and an extraordinary effect of divine favour, that the waves which were wont to come rolling in from the main, and hardly ever leave ſo much as the beach under the ſteep broken cliffs at any time uncovered, ſhould on a ſudden retire to afford him paſſage. Menander, in one of his comedies, alludes to this wonderful event, when he ſays,*

How this reſembles Alexander's high
Exploits? This fellow of his own accord is here.
Aſk him to wade the ſea, and he'll reply,
Ev'n that to him does paſſable appear.

(4) Joſeph. Ant. Jud. *lib. ii, ſub fin.*

Alexander himſelf in his epiſtles, mentions nothing unuſual in this at all, but ſays, he went from Phaſelis, and paſſed through the ſtreights which they call the Ladders (5). We are beholden to Plutarch for having mentioned the letters of that conqueror; for they reſolve the difficulty, and ſhew the impoſture of thoſe who deſcribed that paſſage as ſomething ſupernatural and a ſignal miracle. If there had been any prodigy in it, and an extraordinary favour from Heaven, Alexander had certainly mentioned it in the letters he wrote concerning that march of his army. He could have no political reaſon to be ſilent about ſo wonderful an event; on the contrary, ſeveral important motives might have induced him to ſpeak of it. It was a thing of the greateſt conſequence, to convince all the world, that the gods had viſibly declared for him, that the moſt untractable elements were ſubjected to him, and that nature left it's uſual courſe to haſten the ruin of the king of Perſia. He ſhould have therefore acquainted his mother, and Antipater, and all the nations of Greece with that great miracle; he ſhould have ſent the news of it where-ever he deſired it ſhould be known. He ſhould have taken care to make his letters as authentic as they could be; yet nothing could be plainer than what he wrote upon that occaſion. Let no body ſay that he would be beholden to his valour only; it is not true: We have ſhewed in his article (6) that the extravagant ambition he expreſſed of being accounted a god, was in a great meaſure the effect of policy. His whole conduct ſhewed, that he deſired nothing ſo eagerly as to ſee the nations perſuaded of the aſcendant of his fortune, and of the immutable happineſs of his deſtiny. A man may go a thouſand times farther with ſuch a reputation, than with the fame of a moſt valiant and ſkillful captain: for every body knows that the valour and prudence of a general have their bounds; whereas people are apt to think that nothing can ſtop a conqueror for whom fortune openly declares, and who has heaven and earth, the ſea and the winds, at his diſpoſal, *Cui militat æther, Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti* (7). So that the greateſt and moſt eſſential intereſt of conquerors, is to be looked upon as men, whom GOD has appointed for great revolutions, and

(5) Plut. in Vit. Alexand. *pag.* 673, 674, *of the Greek and Latin edition.*

WHETHER Alexander could have any reaſons to ſuppreſs a miracle wrought in his behalf.

(6) See the article MACEDON, remark [*H*], and that of OLYMPIAS, remark [*F*].

(7) They are Claudian's words, *in III Conſul. Honorii Auguſti, ver.* 95. This concerns a prodigy whereby Theodoſius obtained a victory over Eugenius in the year 394. See Flechier's Life of Theodoſius, *lib. iv, pag.* 479, *Edit. in* 12*mo*, & Barth. *in* Claudian. *pag.* 509, & *ſeq.* Here is the whole paſſage of Claudian: *O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris*
Æolus armatas hiemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

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shall make a remark upon that subject, as I have promised (*d*)

(*d*) Article MACEDONIA, in the text, citation (*d*).

and favours with miracles. If it abates something of their glory, with respect to their courage or genius, that loss is plentifully made up in some other respects. The extent of their conquests, the number of their victories, the rapidity wherewith great exploits are performed when fortune directs them, and when she takes almost all upon herself, without caring for the help of prudence, all those things, I say, are an object of admiration, a thousand times more dazzling, than those limited and mean conquests, which are only owing to the most consummate prudence and intrepidity. Are there any human virtues that can inspire us with the same respect, veneration, and esteem, which we do naturally conceive for those whom we look upon as chosen vessels, men appointed by GOD for the founding of empires, and his favourites and darlings? Men are much more admired on that account, than if they were only commendable for their prudence and courage. Lastly, we must observe, that there are some things independent upon the valour and wisdom of a conqueror. Those qualities can never open a way through the sea and rivers for the passage of an army. When therefore it is said that the sea and rivers opened in his behalf, and miraculously gave way to his troops, he is not deprived of his due praises, that they may be bestowed upon fortune; for every body knows that the courage and skill of a great captain can never produce these effects: he would be looked upon by every body as a fool, and laughed at, if he should venture to say, that he had found out the invention of passing a great army through an arm of the sea, without pontons and ships. No good reasons then can be given, why Alexander should have suppressed the miracle in question: We must therefore conclude, that he made no mention of it in the letters he wrote concerning his march, because there had been nothing extraordinary in it.

I will strengthen this reasoning with a very good observation. The most ambitious princes, the warriors that are most greedy of praises, are not so inventive as their flatterers, nor so ingenious as a panegyrist (8), in things that may set off the glory of a conqueror. Since therefore the flatterers of Alexander, the Orators and the Poets, who bestowed praises upon him, said that the sea of Pamphylia withdrew its waves, to facilitate the passage of his army, and that this happened by a great miracle, we may very well believe they were persuaded, that by taking such a turn, they might more easily immortalize his glory, and make it more admirable. He himself did not think of such an invention; he did not equal in that sort of devices the fecundity of the wits, of the flatterers and rhetoricians, and therefore he plainly and ingenuously related how he got over that place. If there had been any policy in the matter, if he had been silent about that prodigy, for fear of lessening his glory, by confessing that the gods had seconded him; the flatterers would have known his judgment about it, they would have accommodated themselves to it, and had never spoken a word of the miracle. If we had all the verses and loose sheets which came out about this subject, during the life of that prince, we should find a great many idle fancies in them; but because it is the fate of those little books to die as soon as, or sooner, than their authors, posterity has not been troubled with them. We have only the reduction of them made by some more grave writers; and it is no difficult matter to have a just notion of that adventure, by consulting a learned Geographer. Strabo tells us, that mount Climax lies so near the sea of Pamphylia, that it is only parted from it by a narrow way, which one may walk when that sea is calm; but it is covered with water when that sea is rough. Alexander trusting his good fortune, ordered his army to go thro' that place, without waiting for the time of the year when the waters go off. The soldiers went over, being up to their bellies in the water: this is all the miracle: Περὶ Φασηλίδα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν στενὰ, δι' ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγε τὴν στρατείαν· ἔστι δ' ὄρος Κλίμαξ καλούμενον· ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει, στενὴν ἀπολείπων πάροδον ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ταῖς μὲν νηνεμίαις γυμνευομένην, ὥς τε εἶναι βάσιμον τοῖς ὁδεύουσι πλημμύρῃ δὲ τῷ πελάγους, ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτομένην ἐπιπολύ. ἡ μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ὄρους ὑπερβασις, περίοδον ἔχει καὶ πρασάντης ἐστὶ, τῷ δ' αἰγιαλῷ χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς εὐδίας. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς χειμέριον ἐμπεσὼν καιρὸν, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐπιτρέπων τῇ τύχῃ πρὶν ἀνεῖναι τὸ κῦμα ὥρμησε, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ὕδασι γενέσθαι τὴν πορείαν συνέβη, μέχει ὁμφαλῶν βαπτιζομένων. *Apud Phaselidem sunt ad mare angustiæ, per quas exercitum traduxit Alexander. Est enim ibi mons Climax, Pamphylio incumbens mari, & propter litus arctum relinquens transitum: qui tranquillo mari nudatur, & à viatoribus perambulari potest: mari exundante, fluctibus admodum obtegitur. Alexander autem hybernam incidit in tempestatem, cumque fortunæ maximam eventus partem crederet, antequam defluerent undæ profectus est: itaque contigit, ut totum diem milites per aquam iter facerent usque ad umbilicum in eam demersi* (9). Others say, that the southerly winds, which had blown for several days, and overflowed all the way to the foot of the mountain, ceased as soon as Alexander appeared, and that a north wind arose, which drove the waters toward the sea. Freinshemius (10) quotes the authors who mention this, I shall transcribe his words and quotations. ‘ * Parte exercitus ad Pergensium urbem per montes præ- ‘ missa; cæteros ipse per litus ducebat, qua Climax ‘ mons Pamphylio mari imminens angustam euntibus ‘ semitam relinquit, quoties mare tranquillum est; at ‘ quum æstus incubuit, fluctibus operitur. Idque hye- ‘ me frequens & prope perpetuum est. At Alexander ‘ nihil æque ac moram metuens, exercitum per æqua, ‘ per iniqua, eodem ardore atque impetu rapiebat. ‘ Continui per eos dies Austri flaverant, qui mare in ‘ litus propellentes, omnia itineris vestigia altis palu- ‘ dibus opplent: adsiduæ etiam magnæque pluviæ, ut ‘ ventis istis spirantibus solet, ruebant. Sed adven- ‘ tante Alexandro subito exortus Aquilo cœlum purga- ‘ vit imbribus, undas rejecit in mare, & Macedonibus ‘ transitum aperuit. Sic quoque unius ** diei itinere ‘ per incerta vada emergendum fuit; aqua ad umbi- ‘ licum ferme pertingente. Tantam in periculis A- ‘ lexandri fiduciam, ut ab ipsius ingenio profectam ‘ non dubito; ita frequentibus prodigiis & ominibus ‘ auctam confirmatamque fuisse crediderim: postquam ‘ decreto numinis, clarissimis maximisque rebus se de- ‘ stinari conjecit. - - - *Having sent part of the army ‘ before, over the mountains to the city of Perga; he led ‘ the rest himself along the shoar, where mount Climax, ‘ adjoining to the Pamphylian sea, leaves a narrow path ‘ for travellers, when the sea is calm; but when it is ‘ rough, the way is covered with water. This frequent- ‘ ly and almost always happens in the winter-time. But, ‘ Alexander fearing nothing so much as delay, carried ‘ his army, thro' the most difficult places with the same ‘ eagerness as thro' the most easy. Continual southerly ‘ winds had blown for several days before, which drove ‘ the waves upon the shoar, and thereby the path was ‘ overflown with deep water: there had likewise fallen ‘ great and constant rains, as commonly happens with ‘ those winds. But upon Alexander's approach, a north- ‘ wind suddenly arose, which kept off the rain, and ‘ drove back the waters towards the sea, and so opened ‘ a passage for the Macedonians. Thus the army went ‘ over in one day, the water reaching up to their bellies. ‘ As I do not question but this boldness of Alexander in ‘ the midst of dangers proceeded from his natural dispo- ‘ sition, so I believe it was increased and confirmed by ‘ frequent prodigies and omens, after that he imagined he ‘ was destined by the gods to great and glorious exploits.’ Josephus shews no great judgment, when he compares the passage thro' the Red-sea, with the passage thro' the sea of Pamphylia. He hoped that the miracle of Alexander would make the Greeks believe that of Moses; but he should have feared that the passage thro' the Red-sea would be ascribed to some natural causes, as that of the sea of Pamphylia was ascribed to the north-wind. If Genebrard had not made use of so severe a censure, one could not blame the remark he made upon these words of Josephus: *The Egyptians were mistaken, they knew not that GOD had opened that way only for his people, and not for their persecutors, who followed them only to destroy them* (11). Here is his note. ‘ From hence thou mayst know how execrable ‘ is the impiety of Joachim Vadianus, who was so ‘ bold as to say in his commentary upon Pomponius ‘ Mela

(8) *To this may be applied the words of Pliny the younger*, in Paneg. Traj. *cap. lv.* Ingeniosior est ad excogitandum simulatio veritate, servitus libertate, metus amore.

(9) Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag. 453.*

(10) Supplem. in Q. Curt. *lib. ii, cap. xi, num. 18. See also the index upon* Q. Curtius, *at the word* Pamphylia.

* *Strab. l. xiv, Curt. 5. 3. 22. 6. 3. 16. Arrian. in Scenæ fusior v. Arrian. 1, 8, 8. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 855, & 857, Appian. lib. ii. de bell. civ. Josephi. Ant. lib. ii. extreme. Plut. c. 27, & 28.*

** *Strabo, lib. xiv.*

(11) Joseph. ubi supra.

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'Mela, that Moſes waited for the time when the Red-'ſea was to retire into the ocean, and leave the bot-'tom dry, as it happens twice in a day at mount St 'Michael in Normandy. For, beſides that GOD de-'ſigned to ſhew his power by it, the Red-ſea never 'leaves it's channel by a flux and re-flux, being always 'full, as it is certain by Geography and Sea-charts '(12).' Joſephus ſhould have ſo much the more ab-ſtained from ſuch a parallel, becauſe there was ſome reaſon to fear, that the Greek Philoſophers would take advantage of what is obſerved by the ſacred Hiſtorian, that GOD *cauſed the ſea to go back by a ſtrong wind all that night* (13). They might have ſaid, that thoſe two miracles were like one another, and both the effect of the wind. There aroſe a north-wind for Alexander, which drove back the waters of the ſea; another wind did the ſame for Moſes. Several Hiſtorians, to make the conqueſts of the Macedonian army wonderful, took for a miracle a north-wind which proved uſeful to him by chance. The Hiſtorian of the Hebrews did the like (14). Therefore to prevent thoſe objections, Joſephus ſhould have avoided the parallel which he made uſe of very improperly. A Commentator for the uſe of the Dauphin cenſures him ſeverely for it. 'Ut imperite, ne dicam impie, fe-'ciſſe Joſephus videatur, qui narrato Iſraelitarum 'tranſitu per rubrum mare, quo credibile probaret 'eſſe miraculum, ſimile quiddam Alexandro contigiſſe 'agnoſcit, & ab omnibus affirmari tradit qui res ejus 'geſtas literis mandarunt (15). - - - *Joſephus, hav-'ing given an account of the paſſage of the Iſraelites 'through the Red-ſea, to prove the credibility of that 'miracle acknowledges that ſomething like it happened to 'Alexander the great, and ſays that the ſame is aſſerted 'by all thoſe who wrote his Hiſtory; whereby he ſhews 'his want of judgment, if not the want of piety.*'

Note, That it is a very eaſy thing to obſerve a vaſt difference between what paſſed near Phaſelis, and what happened in Egypt. The wind which drove the Red-ſea back, was preceded by an human action, which ſhews that GOD interpoſed therein after a ſpecial manner: *Moſes ſtretched out his hand over the ſea* (16). Beſides, there happened a thing which cannot be aſcribed to the wind; the ſea opened, and the Iſraelites went upon the dry ground, *and the waters were as a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left.* If it be ſaid that the wind was the cauſe of that opening, it muſt be confeſſed that it was not natural, I mean, that it blew only upon a very ſmall part of the ſea, and that leaving the waters at reſt on the right, and on the left, it made a way in the middle; it drove only the waters that were in that intermediate ſpace, and kept up the reſt on each ſide. If any one ſhould aſk me why it was neceſſary that the wind ſhould blow all night, ſeeing GOD does not at all want the help of ſecond cauſes to dry up an arm of the ſea in a moment: I would anſwer, that creatures are not to preſcribe to their Creator the manner of his conduct. Beſides, thoſe who ſay, that the miracles of the ancient law were produced upon occaſion of the will of a creature, are not perhaps miſtaken. See what Father Mallebranche and Mr Arnauld think of it (17). If the angel, who was entruſted with the conduct of the Iſraelites, had been the occaſional cauſe of all the miracles of Moſes; it would be no wonder that the action of bodies, the violence of the winds, *&c.* ſhould have been made uſe of. Several difficulties may be ſolved by that principle. Perhaps, a Heathen would ſay, according to the language of thoſe who ſpoke ſo much of the *Genii* of the emperors, that the genius of Alexander ſtopped the ſouth-wind, and formed a north-wind the very ſame day that conqueror deſigned to go along the ſhoar of Phaſelis. But to perſuade us of it, it would be neceſſary to ſhew, that ſuppoſing Alexander had been quiet in Macedonia, a north-wind had not ſucceeded a ſouth-wind the ſame day that he marched his army along that coaſt: which is a thing that can neither be proved nor known. One may apprehend that the *Genii* of the emperors might, by uſing their Phyſics, *applicando activa paſſivis, - - - by applying actives to paſſives*, ſtop one wind, and raiſe another; but it cannot be known whether they do it in ſuch a place, or at ſuch a time.

(12) Genebrard, in the margin of his tranſlation of Joſephus, *ſub fin. lib. ii, Ant. fol.* 53, *Pariſ.* 1604, *in fol.*

(13) Exod. xiv, 21.

(14) Let all this be aſcribed to thoſe Greek Philoſophers, whom I mentioned before.

(15) Michael le Tellier, Not. in Q. Curt. *lib. v, capite ipſi undecimo, pag.* 193.

(16) Exod. ubi ſupra. See Mr le Clerc's Diſſertation mentioned in the *Hiſt. des Ouvrages de, Sçavans, Octob.* 1695, *pag.* 59, 60.

(17) Mr Arnauld publiſhed in the year 1685, a Diſſertation concerning the manner how God wrought the miracles of the old law by the miniſtry of angels. He refutes Father Maleſbranche.

PHASIS, a river that runs through Colchis and diſcharges itſelf in the Euxine ſea, had that name after a young man had thrown himſelf into it. Before, it was called Arcturus. That young man was the ſon of Apollo and Ocyroë (*a*), and killed his mother whom he had taken in the very fact [*A*], I mean in the arms of a galant. The furies appeared to him, and tormented him to ſuch a degree that he threw himſelf into the Arcturus. In this river there was found a plant named *Leucophyllus*, which was endowed with an admirable virtue; for it hindered women from committing adultery. Certain

(*a*) Who was the daughter of Oceanus.

[*A*] *He killed his mother whom he had ſurprized in the fact.*] Thoſe who have read Pontus de Tyard will perhaps wonder, that I ſpeak of the young Phaſis without beſtowing on him the encomiums which he has. *Phaſis*, ſays he (1), *being then grown up, and a ſtrict obſerver of chaſtity, ſurprized his mother in adultery. Vexed, and provoked at her crime, and not able to command his paſſion, he ſlew her.* If you want to know how he expreſſes this poetically, read what follows.

Leur fils Phaſis ja grand, mais de chaſte nature,
D'un adultere bras voit ſa mere embraſſée,
Dont d'un glaive vangeur l'ayant morte laiſſée,
Il choiſit en Arcture & mort & ſepulture (2).

(1) Pontus de Tyard, *in the* Douze Fables de Fleuves, ou Fontaines, *fol.* m. 11.

(2) Ib. *fol.* 12.

But to account for my conduct, it is ſufficient to obſerve that the author from whom Pontus de Tyard had this ſtory, does not ſay that Phaſis was chaſt: and therefore I thought nothing ſhould be added to the original. It is a bad method which a world of tranſcribers take: they confound a fact with their own conjectures, or with the conſequences they draw from it: for they inſert them in the body of the narrative, as if the author, who furniſhed them with the fact, had alſo vented them. It would be proper to diſtinguiſh what is added from what is copied, and eſpecially when the facts that are added do not neceſſarily reſult from the others. Pontus de Tyard did not follow this rule, he fanſied Phaſis was a rigid obſerver of continency, ſince the adultery of Ocyroe had induced him to kill her. He has affirmed thoſe two things as if Plutarch had equally related them. He has confounded his conſequences with the narrative of that antient author. Now, they are conſequences which at moſt amount but to a probability: for, without being very chaſt one might conceive ſuch an horror at ſeeing one's mother in the arms of a galant, as to be thereby induced to kill her. All thoſe who puniſh leudneſs in their families are not chaſt themſelves. There is ſuch a one, that debauches as many women as he can, that yet would cruelly uſe his ſiſters and ſiſters-in-law, and even his mother, if they ſuffered themſelves to be debauched, and eſpecially if he catched them in the act of adultery (3). I ſhould not enlarge ſo much on this fault of Pontus de Tyard, did I not ſee that even now-adays very great authors are guilty of it.

I do not allege the teſtimony of Valerius Flaccus to prove that Phaſis was not continent; for when that Poet tells that Phaſis, deſperately in love with a beautiful nymph, violently purſued her, he means only the god of the river.

Barbarus in patriis ſectatur montibus Aëan
Phaſis, amore furens: pavidas jacit illa pharetras
Virgineo turbata metu; diſcurſibus & jam
Deficit: ac volucri victam deus adligat unda (4).

Cruel Phaſis the beauteous Æa views
With luſtful eyes, her eagerly purſues
O'er their native hills; then with trembling heart
The fearful virgin at him throws a dart.
But faint, and tir'd with running, yields at laſt,
The god then hugs her in the river faſt.

(3) Ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, in flagranti crimine. *Plut. de Fluviis, pag. m.* 16. See the notes of Mauſſac, *pag.* 234, on that expreſſion of Plutarch.

(4) Valer. Flac. Argonaut. *lib. v, ver.* 425, *pag. m.* 304.

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Certain precautions were to be uſed in gathering it (*b*) [*B*]. Nothing ever made the Phaſis ſo much talked of as the expedition of the Argonauts, ſince all the Poets who have ſung it were obliged to mention this great river, which the Argonauts were forced to ſail up, before they could ſeize on the Golden Fleece. As to that, and ſeveral other things, I refer you to Lloyd's Dictionary: but, as to the preſent ſtate of the Phaſis, you had better conſult Moreri.

(b) Taken from Plutarch in the treatiſe *de Fluviis*, *pag.* 16, 17.

(5) Πρὸς πανισμόν ἴυθυον, ad divinum panis Dei afflatum. *Plut. ibid. pag.* 17.

(6) This puts me in mind of a popular tradition of ſome provinces in France: which is, that the ſeed of fern cannot be gathered but on Midſummer Eve, preciſely at mid-night, and in order to ſucceed in it, one muſt be aſſiſted by a ſorcerer: that it has admirable virtues, &c.

(7) Id. ib. *pag.* 16.

(8) Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμ. De Mirabili Auſcultatione, *ſub fin.*

(9) Mauſſac. in Plutarchum de Fluviis, *pag.* 235.

(10) Ἐαν τις τὴν ἀσυβεστέρων διὰ μέθην. Si quis impurus ob ebrietatem. *Plut. ibid. pag.* 16.

(11) *Taken from* Plutarch. ibid. ex Cteſippo, *lib. ii*, Rerum Scythicarum.

[*B*] *There was found . . . a plant . . . which was endowed with an admirable virtue. . . . . Certain precautions were to be uſed in gathering it.*] It was found at break of day in the beginning of the ſpring, when the myſteries of Hecate were celebrated: the god Pan was very neceſſary in that affair (5). See the margin (6). Jealous huſbands having gathered it, uſed to throw it round about their beds, in order to preſerve them pure and undefiled: ἦν οἱ ζηλότυποι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ῥιπτοῦσι περὶ τὴν παρθένιον θάλαμον, καὶ ἀσύλευτον τηροῦσι τὴν γάμον. *Quam poſtquam hominum zelotypi collegerunt, circa thalamum virginalem jaciunt, ut puras conſervent nuptias* (7). We find the ſame words in a book of Ariſtotle (8): but they have been foiſted in there, and Mr de Mauſſac does not queſtion (9) but that they were taken from the treatiſe *de Fluviis*, which I have juſt quoted. Furthermore, if any impure drunken perſon (10) approached the place where this plant grew, he loſt his underſtanding, and confeſſed all the crimes he had committed, or intended to commit. He was ſeized, and wrapped up in a ſkin, and thrown into a round hole, which was called The Little Mouth of the Impious, and reſembled a well. The body of this man appeared in the lake Mœotis thirty days after, full of worms, and was immediately torn in pices by vultures that had not been ſeen before (11).

I do not know whether the Hiſtory of this plant has not been corrupted by thoſe, who abridged the authors that ſpoke of it firſt, and by thoſe who have quoted ſome part of the abridgments. Theſe are two grand ſources of falſification, becauſe there are ſome people who frame a new ſtory, by taking ſomething from abbreviators, and ſomething from thoſe who have applied to their own particular deſigns what fitted them, leaving and abandoning the reſt of the circumſtances, and even extending ſuch as might ſerve their purpoſe. However, it is probable the firſt foundation of this ſtory was, that the men, being obliged to contain themſelves during the celebration of the ſolemn rites of Hecate, uſed to put in their wives bed a ſort of herb which cooled nature. We have ſeen below (12) that ſuch a thing was ſaid to be practiſed among the Athenians, at the time of their Theſmophoria, or the myſtical Rites of Ceres. But it muſt be owned, the plant of the Phaſis was much more remarkable than the *Agnus Caſtus* of the Athenians, ſince it's virtue was not confined to the duration of a feſtival, but could calm the anxiety of jealous huſbands for their whole life. Here are ſome more verſes of Pontus de Tyard:

(12) In remark [*B*] of the article THESMOPHORIA.

Depuis du nom Phaſis eſt appellé ce fleuve,
Où le chaſte arbriſſeau Leucophile ſe treuve,
Remede à jealouſie en un froid cueur tombée.
Car quinconque au Printemps en ſon lit cachera
Ceſte plante trempée en Phaſis: treuvera
Que jamais ſa Venus ne ſera deſrobée (13).

(13) Pontus de Tyard, ubi ſupra, *folio* 12.

The modeſt plant, called Leucophyllus, grows
(A cure for jealous love) where Phaſis flows.
Whoe'er this ſhrub, there ſteep'd, will in his bed
In ſpring-time hide, from horns ſecures his head.

PHŒBADIUS, biſhop of Agen in the IVth century, expreſſed a very great zeal for Orthodoxy, and againſt Arianiſm. He wrote a book againſt the ſecond form of faith [*A*], which Oſius and Potamius had drawn up at Sirmium in the year 357 (*a*). He aſſiſted at the ſynod of Ariminum in the year 359, and maintained the Nicene form of faith to the end of that council, and refuſed to ſubſcribe to that which was propoſed there. 'Neither fear nor threatnings could make him change his reſolution; but 'Taurus, the governor, perceiving that he could not overcome his conſtancy by that 'means, betook himſelf to intreaties, and beſought him with tears to take the mildeſt 'courſe, to deliver a great number of biſhops who had been ſhut up in a town ſeven 'months, and were very much incommoded, by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of the winter, 'and the ſcarcity of all things . . . . . Phœbadius anſwered, that he was ready to go 'into baniſhment, and ſuffer all ſorts of torments rather than do what was required of 'him, and that he would never approve of a form of faith made by the Arians. Some 'days were ſpent in that conteſt; but at laſt, ſeeing there was no hopes of a peace, he 'abated of his conſtancy, when Urſacius and Valens had declared, that the profeſſion 'of faith they propoſed was Catholic, and that thoſe to whom it ſhould not appear to 'be ſufficient, might add to it what they ſhould think fit (*b*).' Some orthodox propoſitions were added to it, namely this, that the Son of GOD was not a creature; but Urſacius and Valens did cunningly add to it, that he was not a creature as others are; and by ſuch a fraud they obtained the ſubſcriptions they deſired (*c*). *Phœbadius being returned into his country, was one of the biſhops who expreſſed the greateſt ſorrow for their fault, and made amends for it by their declarations and proteſtations againſt what they had done by ſurprize. He aſſiſted at the council of Valence in the year* 374. *We have a letter of St Ambroſe directed to him and Delphinius biſhop of Bourdeaux. St Jerom aſſures us in his book concerning illuſtrious men, that Phœbadius was ſtill alive in his time* (*d*), *and that he was very old. He adds, that he had compoſed ſome other works, beſides that which we have mentioned. The memory of that ſaint is particularly honoured at Agen, where he is commonly*

(a) Du Pin's Biblioth. *Tom. ii, pag.* 107, *of the Dutch Edit.*

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) *That is, in the year* 392, *when St Jerom wrote that book. See Father* Labbe, Diſſert. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, pag.* 221.

[*A*] *He writ a book againſt the ſecond form of faith.*] That work is extant. You will find the ſubſtance of it in Mr du Pin's *Bibliotheque* (1). Father Labbe ſays, that Petrus Pithœus was the firſt who publiſhed it. *Primum prodiit ſtudio Petri Pithœi cum aliquot aliorum Veterum Galliæ Theologorum ſcriptis, Pariſiis apud Nivellium* 1586, *in* 4*to hoc titulo: Liber contra Epiſtolam ſive edictum ſub nomine Conſtantii Imp. emiſſum in Synodo Mediolanenſi* (2). He adds, that it was inſerted ſince in the editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and that Barthius made ſome notes upon it. Mr du Pin ſays alſo, that the firſt edition is that which was publiſhed by Petrus Pithœus, but he places it in the year 1589. John Darnalt in his Antiquities of Agen, chap. 5, mentions a preceding edition. *That epiſtle of Phœbadius*, ſays he (3), *was found in our time, and immediately publiſhed by Robert Stephens, and ſince by Nivelle, in* 1586. Let them that have libraries enquire whether it be ſo.

(1) *Pag.* 107, & 108, *of the ſecond Tom. Dutch Edit.*

(2) Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, pag.* 221.

(3) Darnalt the King's attorney in the preſidial of Agen, *Antiq. of Agen, fol.* 32, *verſo, Pariſ.* 1606, *in* 8vo.

[*B*] *His*

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commonly called St Fiari [*B*].

[*B*] *His memory is particularly honoured at Agen, where he is commonly called St Fiari.*] The name of that illuſtrious prelate has undergone ſeveral ſtrange metamorphoſes. *Sulpicius Severus calls him Fegadius. He is called Sæbadius in St Jerom, and in the Greek tranſlator of his book. . . . . We read Fygadius in St Ambroſe* (4). Arnalt bewails thoſe alterations, and the deſtruction of the church conſecrated to that biſhop. *I ſhall ſay by the by, that the name of that holy biſhop has been ſo unfortunate, that it is at this day ſo changed and altered, not only amongſt the vulgar, but alſo in the books of his own church, that ſome call him Fœdarium, others Phœbadium and Feudarium, Ephionius calls him Sebaudium, he is commonly called St Fiari. I ſhall add to the alteration of his name, that the injuries of time, and of the age, have been ſo great, and ſo deplorable, that his church was firſt pulled down, and levelled to the ground in this city, and the place where it ſtood was converted to a profane uſe* (5). Beza mentions a thing that is ſomewhat curious, which belongs to the year 1561. 'At that time John Barrelles, a miniſter at Toulouſe, 'being left at Agen by reaſon of his illneſs, where he 'went through a courſe of Phyſic, preached in the 'day-time in the houſe of Rouſſanes a counſellor, and 'the aſſembly grew ſo numerous every day, that at 'laſt, on the ſixteenth of March, he preached in a 'little church called St Fiari, who was formerly biſhop 'of Agen, and a very learned man, having written 'againſt the Arians in St Jerom's time, as he himſelf 'ſays in his treatiſe concerning eccleſiaſtical writers, 'where his name is ill written Sebadius inſtead of 'Fedarius. There was in that church a marble ſe'pulchre, which was ſaid to be that biſhop's; the 'nurſes were wont to ſcrape it, and to ſwallow the 'ſcrapings with their porridge, that they might have 'abundance of milk. Yet there is a little town near 'Toulouſe called Benerque, upon the river Rege (6), 'where, on the twenty-fifth of April, which is the 'feſtival of the ſaid St Fiari, the neighbours uſe to 'meet in arms, which is an antient cuſtom among 'them, for fear, as they ſay, that the inhabitants of 'Agen ſhould come and carry away the body of that 'ſaint, which they maintain to have been ſtollen from 'them. Let him debate the matter amongſt themſelves; but the ſepulchre having been opened at laſt 'at Agen, there was nothing found in it but a ſcull 'with the teeth very well preſerved, conſidering the 'ſaid biſhop had been buried there above twelve hun'dred years (7).'

(4) Du Pin, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 109.

(5) Arnalt, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 33.

(6) He ſhould have ſaid Ariege.

(7) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib.* v, *pag.* 790, 791.

PHÆDRUS, the author of the five books of fables in Latin Iambic verſes, was a Thracian by birth (*a*). He was made free by Auguſtus [*A*], and lived till after the death of Sejanus (*b*). He had been oppreſſed by that favourite of Tiberius (*c*). He ſpeaks of himſelf as of a man who did not care to grow rich [*B*]. All the Critics do not agree that he is the ſame Phædrus mentioned in one of Martial's epigrams [*C*]. It is to be obſerved, that Caſaubon, who was ſo learned a man, knew not that there was

(*a*) Phædrus, in Præf. *lib.* iii.

(*b*) Vid. Schefferum in Vit. Phædri.

(*c*) See the ſame author, ibid.

[*A*] *He was made free by Auguſtus.*] He is called *Auguſti Libertus* in the title of his fables. Lipſius, Andreas Scotus, Dempſterus, Borrichius, and ſeveral other Critics, underſtand by it that he was made free by Tiberius (1). But Florens Chriſtianus, Voſſius, Schefferus, *&c.* had rather underſtand it of Auguſtus. I follow the laſt opinion, though I confeſs that the proofs that can be given for it, are not demonſtrative. That which is certain, is, that our Phædrus relates, as an eye-witneſs, ſome things that happened under the empire of Auguſtus. See the XIth Fable of the IIId Book, but not the VIIIth of the Vth Book, wherein Bathyllus is mentioned; for Voſſius (2) is in the wrong to ſay that Phædrus ſpeaks of that as having ſeen it.

(1) See the notes of Schefferus, *in Phædrum, init.*

(2) Voſſ. de Poët. Lat. *pag.* 38.

[*B*] *He ſpeaks of himſelf as of a man who did not care to grow rich.*] See the preface of his third book: he mentions this amongſt the things which ſhould facilitate his promotion to the rank of Poets:

Quamvis in ipſa natus ſim pene ſchola,
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraſerim,
Et laude invita in hanc vitam incubuerim,
Faſtidioſe tamen in cœtum recipior.

Tho' in the very ſchool almoſt
I had my birth: and from my heart
All thoughts of growing rich are fled;
Tho' this way I have bent my mind,
Yet with diſdain I am receiv'd.

(3) *He ſays* Hujus reſpectu fabulæ deterritus, periculoſum ſemper vitavi lucrum.

See alſo the fifth fable of the fifth book (3).

[*C*] *All the Critics do not agree that he is the ſame Phædrus that is mentioned in one of Martial's epigrams.*] Here are the words of this Poet:

Dic Muſa quid agat Canius meus Rufus?
Utrumne chartis tradit ille victuris
Legenda temporum acta Claudianorum?
An quæ Neroni falſus adſtruit ſcriptor?
An æmulatur improbi jocos Phædri (4)?

Acquaint me, Muſe, with what my Rufus does.
If laſting annals of the Claudian age,
Or ſomething under Nero's name, he writes,
Or imitates the ſaucy Phædrus' jokes.

(4) Mart. Epigr. XX, lib. III.

The note of Scriverius upon the laſt of thoſe five verſes is extremely injurious to thoſe, who think that Martial ſpeaks of our Phædrus: 'Poſſunt ne magis 'decoquere de judicio, ac magis ludere de otio ſuo 'viri docti, qui exiſtimant Fabulatorem Phædrum à 'Clariſſimo Pithœo editum, & cujus Avienus quidam, 'ſive Avianus, in præfatione Fabularum ſuarum Æſo'piarum ad Theodoſium meminit, hunc eundem eſſe, 'de quo loquitur Martialis? Volunt nos credere ſcili'cet, Libertum illum Auguſti Cæſaris fuiſſe, ſtilo at'que tempore parem proximumve Laberio vel Publio 'Mimo, & quidem, quantum conjiciunt, ſub Tiberio 'vixiſſe, atque adeo poſt Sejanum damnatum: Nugæ. 'Certè niſi vehementer fallor, ævo illo dignus cenſeri 'minime poteſt ſcriptor iſte, cuicui tandem ille ala'pas & libertatem debeat (5). - - - *Thoſe learned men* 'cannot miſapply their time and parts worſe, who think 'that Phædrus the fable writer, publiſhed by the learn'ed Pithœus, and mentioned by one Avienus, or Avia'nus, in the preface of his Æſop's Fables to Theodoſius, 'is the ſame that is ſpoken of by Martial. For they 'would have us believe that he was the freed man of 'Auguſtus Cæſar, equal, or next, to Laberius, or Publius 'Mimus, in ſtile and time, and that he lived, as they 'imagine, under Tiberius, and therefore after Sejanus 'was condemned: meer ſtuff. Certainly, if I am not 'exceedingly miſtaken, that writer cannot be thought 'worthy of that age, whoever he was indebted to for 'his freedom.' Scriverius boaſts that he can prove his opinion by ſeveral reaſons, and obſerves, amongſt other things, that Perot, archbiſhop of Siponto, is the author of one of the fables publiſhed under the name of Phædrus (6). It is certain, that the fable which Perot ſays he took from Avienus, and publiſhed in Iambic verſes, differs very little from the other. *Alluſit ad fabulam*, ſays he in his commentary on the 77th epigram of the firſt book of Martial (7), *quam nos ex Avieno in Fabellas noſtras adoleſcentes Iambico carmine tranſtulimus:*

Olim quas vellent eſſe in tutela ſua
Divi legerunt arbores, &c (8).

But the critics did not fail to ſay, that prelate aſcribed it unjuſtly to himſelf. However, one may very well wonder, that ſo pleaſant a book as that of Phædrus ſhould have been almoſt unknown for many ages. Suppoſing that Martial ſpeaks of it, we have but two authors that ſpoke of it (9). I have ſaid in another place (10), that Seneca knew nothing of it, and I 'am

(5) Scriverius, in Mart. Epigr. XX, *lib.* iii, *pag. m.* 88.

(6) It is the 18th of the 3d book in my Hamburg Edit. 1673.

(7) And not the 20th of the 3d book as Menagius ſays in his *Meſcolanze, pag.* 280.

(8) You may ſee what follows in Menagius, ibid.

(9) Avienus mentions it, as Scriverius obſerves in the above-cited words.

(10) In the article ÆSOP, remark [*M*]. See the words of the Jeſuit Vaſſeur in the next remark.

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was one Phædrus among the ancient authors, until Petrus Pithœus publiſhed Phædrus's Fables [D]. Since that firſt edition which came out in 1596, there has been many others with the notes of the greateſt Critics. See the Catalogue of them in the preface of John Schefferus upon that author, to which you may add the edition (d) of the year 1698, publiſhed by Mr Burman, which contains the notes of Gudius, never before publiſhed, the intire Commentaries of Conradus Ritterſhuſius, Nicolas Rigaltius, Nicolas Heinſius, John Schefferus, and John Lewis Praſchius, with abſtracts of ſome other commentaries. The edition which came out ſince that (e), by the care, and with the notes of Mr Hoogſtraten, is the fineſt that has been ſeen as yet, both with reſpect to the character and figures. It is for the uſe of the young prince of Naſſau, Governor of Frieſland and Groningen. The French tranſlation, which Moreri commends, comes

(d) At Amſterdam by Henry Wetſtein.

(e) At Amſterdam for Francis Halma 1701, in 4to.

am going to ſay that Caſaubon was for a long time in the ſame caſe. Which ought to make us leſs wonder at the obſcurity wherewith the name and glory of Quintus Curtius has been covered during ſo many years. To which I add that Paterculus had the ſame fate. See above the article PATERCULUS, remark [D], citation 23.

[D] *Caſaubon . . . . . knew not there was one Phædrus, until Petrus Pithœus publiſhed Phædrus's fables.*] He wrote the following words to Petrus Pithœus: 'Ex epiſtola tua primum de Phædro Auguſti liberto cognovi: nam plane mihi ante id nomen incognitum, prorſuſque de eo qua ſcriptore qua ſcripto vel legi nihil, vel ſi eſt aliter non memini. - - - *The firſt time I knew any thing of Phædrus the freed man of Auguſtus was when I read your epiſtle: before that, the name was quite unknown to me: I never read of him either as a writer, or as written of, that I remember.*' That letter of Caſaubon was written in the year 1596, and Petrus Pithœus publiſhed Phædrus's fables in the ſame year at Troyes. He ſent a copy of it to Father Sirmond who was then at Rome. That Jeſuit ſhewed it to the learned men of Rome, who thought at firſt that it was a ſuppoſititious book; but having more carefully examined it, they changed their opinion, and found ſome characters of the age of Auguſtus in it. 'Memini equidem Jacobum Sirmundum narrare mihi ſolitum, cum Petrus Pithœus hos Phædri Æſopiarum fabularum quinque libros Lutetiæ (11) edidiſſet primum, & ad ſe Romam pro veteri amicitia muneri miſiſſet; percuſſos illico Romanos novitate voluminis, atque ut gens eſt *emunctæ naris, natura nunquam verba cui potuit dare*, ſuſpicari cœpiſſe num quidnam partus iſte recens ac ſuppoſititius eſſet, qui tanto intervallo appareret, tamque delituiſſet diu: veruntamen libro perlecto toto, neminem dubitaſſe, quin ætatem redoleret Auguſti, ac ſummam illam facilitatem ſtili & ſcripturæ, & beatam copiam repræſentaret; tuncque vixiſſet auctor, cum laus bene loquendi temporum potius, quam hominum fuit; ibique etiam apud Cæſarem ſerviſſet, ubi ſedem ac domicilium eruditio collocaſſe videretur; qua in domo filiæ & neptes, intimi & familiares, ſervi & liberti literas egregie didiciſſent (12). - - - *I remember indeed Father James Sirmond uſed to tell me, when Petrus Pithœus firſt publiſhed at Paris Phædrus's five books of Æſop's fables, and ſent them to Rome as a preſent to him upon the account of their old friendſhip, that the Romans were at firſt ſurpriſed at the novelty of the book, and like cunning people that are not eaſily impoſed upon, began to ſuſpect whether it might not be a ſpurious and modern piece, ſince it appeared at ſuch a diſtance of time, and had been ſo long concealed: but having read it quite through, no body queſtioned but that it ſavoured of the age of Auguſtus, and reſembled the copious and eaſy way of writing uſed at that time; and that the author lived, when the praiſe of ſpeaking well was due to the times more than to perſons: and that he had ſerved the emperor in the place, where learning ſeemed to have taken up it's reſidence: in the houſe where his daughters and nieces, his intimate and familiar friends, his ſlaves and freed men had received a learned education.*' Theſe are the words of a Jeſuit, who immediately after makes ſome reflexions upon this paſſage of Seneca, *Æſopeos logos intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus. - - - Æſop's fables, a work unattempted by Roman wits.* He pretends, that Seneca does not ground what he ſays upon Phædrus's being not a Roman, but a Thracian; he does ſolidly refute thoſe who have recourſe to ſuch an explication, and believes either that Seneca's memory failed him, or that the ſucceſſors of Tiberius cauſed Phædrus's book to be immediately ſuppreſſed, becauſe their tyranny was repreſented in it, and ſo Seneca knew not that book. I ſhould not like the laſt conjecture; for if that work had been ſuppreſſed for that reaſon, Seneca would have more eaſily remembered it. Let us hear the Jeſuit (13): 'Miror vehementer, cur affirmarit Seneca, Æſopios logos eſſe intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus: cum Phædrum hunc haberet, quem opponere poſſet toti Græciæ. Nam quod, clariſſima lumina ſuperioris ſæculi duo, Petrus Pithœus & Juſtus Lipſius prodiderunt, vere id à Seneca dictum; quia Phædrus non genere aut ortu Romanus, ſed Thrax, ſicut ipſe teſtatum reliquit, eſſet: minus ea probabilis videtur expoſitio Senecæ. Quaſi vero Romanis ingeniis opus intentatum, ſit quidquam aliud, quam Latinis literis nondum illuſtratum nec elaboratum opus: aut comœdia fuerit carmen intactum Romanis, quamvis id ſolus natione Afer Terentius tractaſſet: aut ſi percenſeret Seneca, qui philoſophiam ſcriptores Latine explicaſſent; de eo ſe numero eximeret ipſe; propterea quod natione foret Hiſpanus, patria Cordubenſis. At non eximit Quintilianus, qui quo loco de Philoſophis egit Latinis, his illum potiſſimum annumeravit; cum inter oratores, & poëtas, & alios diverſi generis ſcriptores potuiſſet referre. Citius dixerim Senecam vel parum hic attendiſſe, quid ſcriberet: vel iſtud, ut alia, oblitum prorſus, memoriæ vitio peccaſſe. . . . . (14) Illud veriſimilius, iniquiſſimis Tiberii, Caligulæ, Claudii, Neronis temporibus, cum ſcripta edictis abolerentur & ſenatuſconſultis, ſi cui poëtæ aut hiſtorico verbum excidiſſet opportunum delationi & calumniæ; cum ne liberæ quidem relictæ cogitationes; & opinio tacita de principe, ſicunde vel ex vultu argui poſſet, majeſtatis rea fieret: libellum fabularem, cujus in apologis pleriſque mera illius ſæculi tyrannis notaretur, ſuppreſſum fuiſſe continuo, ac evanuiſſe tandem, & ignoratum a Seneca, & reliquæ poſteritatis oculis ſubductum. - - - *I am very much aſtoniſhed that Seneca ſhould ſay, Æſop's fables are a work unattempted by Roman wits: ſince he had this Phædrus, whom he might oppoſe to all Greece. For as to the opinion of thoſe two bright luminaries of the former age, Petrus Pithœus and Juſtus Lipſius, that Seneca ſpoke the truth, becauſe Phædrus was not by birth or family a Roman, but a Thracian, as he himſelf teſtified: that explication of Seneca does not ſeem reaſonable. A work unattempted by Roman wits, can ſignify nothing elſe but a work not yet written or performed in the Latin tongue: Comedy could not be ſaid to have been untouched by the Romans, tho' Terence only, an African by birth, had writ it: and were Seneca to reckon up the Latin writers on Philoſophy, he would not exclude himſelf from the number, becauſe he was a Spaniard by nation, and born at Corduba. Quintilian has not excluded him, for in the place where he treated of Latin Philoſophers, he has reckoned him particularly among them: tho' he might have ranked him amongſt Orators and Poets, and other writers of various kinds. I ſhould rather ſay, that Seneca either did not attend to what he wrote, or that his memory failed him in this as well as other things. . . . . It is very probable, that in the cruel times of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, when writings were aboliſhed by edicts and decrees of ſenate, if any Poet or Hiſtorian happened to drop a word liable to accuſation or ſlander, when even thoughts were not left free, and when a ſecret opinion concerning the prince, if it could be diſcovered even by the countenance, was made high treaſon: I ſay, it is very probable that this book of fables, which frequently repreſents the tyranny of that age, was then ſuppreſſed, and at laſt forgot; that it was unknown to Seneca, and concealed from poſterity.'*

(11) He publiſhed Phædrus at Troyes in Champagne.

(12) Franc. Vaſſor, de Ludicra dictione, pag. 206, 207.

(13) Ib. p. 207.

(14) Ib. p. 208.

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comes from Port-Royal. However good it may be Tanaquillus Faber found many faults in it [E].

(15) Thuan. lib. xxviii, sub fin. pag. m. 578, ed. ann. 1761. Si Phædri cujus sive imitatione sive æmulatione luceret, nomen non dissimulasset.

'*posterity*.' We must not forget that Gabriel Faërnus dealt unfairly with the public, if we believe Thuanus (15). He had a manuscript of Phædrus, but he took care not to boast of it, or to impart it to the public. He was afraid of lessening the value of the fables he had made in Latin verses, in imitation of Æsop, if the world should know that a little book of Phædrus, Augustus's freed-man, was still extant. We must not forget neither Mr Perrault's remark upon that passage of Thuanus. It is to be found in the preface of his translation of Faërnus's fables into French verse, which was published at Paris in the year 1699. These are his words: 'Faërnus has been called a second Phædrus, 'by reason of the excellent style of his fables, tho' he 'never saw Phædrus, who did not come to our knowledge, till above thirty years after his death; for 'Pithœus having found that manuscript in the dust of 'an old library, published it in the beginning of this 'century. Thuanus, who makes a very honourable 'mention of our author in his History, pretends, that 'Phædrus was not unknown to him, and even blames 'him for having suppressed that author, to conceal 'what he had stolen from him: but there is no 'ground for what he says, and it is only the effect of 'the strong persuasion of all those who are so great 'admirers of antiquity, as to think that a modern 'author can do nothing that is excellent, unless he 'has an ancient author for his model. Out of the 'hundred fables which Faërnus published in Latin 'verses, there are but five that have been treated on 'by Phædrus, and out of those five there is but one or 'two that have been treated on almost in the same manner: which happened only, because it is impossible 'that two men, who treat on the same subject, 'should not agree sometimes in the same thoughts, or 'in the same expressions.' The latter part of this passage is as full a vindication of Faërnus as he could have wished.

[E] *Tanaquillus Faber found many faults in it.*] He published very good notes upon Phædrus, in the year 1657, and he was already very famous for his learning; yet the learned Schefferus had not heard of him in the year 1660. He knew then the name of that author, and the worth of his Phædrus, by a letter which he received from Gronovius (16). 'Mihi sane, (16) *Scheffer. Præf. in 2 Edit. Phædri.*
'*says he* (17), adeo ad Diem illum Faber fuit ignora-
'tus, ut illius nihil ante, ac ne notas quidem in scrip-
'torem nostrum nisi fero, ut prædixi, viderim vel (17) Ibid.
'legerim. - - - *Indeed Faber was so unknown to me be-*
'*fore that time, that I had never seen or read any thing*
'*of him, and not even his notes upon our author till late-*
'*ly, as I have said above*.' This I observe, that one may see that the most learned men are sometimes unknown to one another, though they flourish at the same time.

PHÆDRUS (THOMAS) professor of Eloquence at Rome, towards the end of the XVth century, and in the beginning of the XVIth, was accounted the Cicero of his time [A]. He was Canon of Lateran, and keeper of the Vatican library (a). He was beholden for the beginning of his fortune to the acting of Seneca's Hippolytus, wherein he acted the part of Phædra (b). Hence it is that he was called Phædrus. The cause of his death was very singular [B]. One day as he was riding upon a mule in the city, he met some oxen which drew an huge cart. His mule startled and threw him. He was so lucky, that the cart went over him without hurting him: he happened to be just between the wheels; but his fright and his fall did so spoil the mass of his blood, that he contracted a sickness, of which he never was cured. Had he lived longer, it is likely he would have published some books [C], which would perhaps have confirmed what was said of him, that his tongue was better than his pen (c). Parrhasius's colleage,

(a) Parrhas. de Quæstis per Epist. *pag.* 34.

(b) See the remark [A].

(c) See the remark [A].

[A] *We accounted the Cicero of his time.*] I shall quote Erasmus, who tells us some curious things concerning this Phædrus. 'Romæ . . . cognovi & amavi
(1) Parrhasius and Pierius Valerianus call him Thomas. 'Petrum (1) Phædrum, linguâ veriùs quàm calamo
'celebrem: mira erat in dicendo tum copia, tum au-
'toritas. Magna felicitatis pars est Romæ innotuisse:
'ille primùm innotuit ex Senecæ Tragœdia, cui titulus
'Hippolytus, in qua repræsentavit personam Phædræ,
'in area, quæ est ante Palatium Cardinalis Raphaelis
'Georgiani. Sic ex ipso Cardinale didici, unde &
'Phædro cognomen additum. Is obiit minor annis,
(2) Erasm. Ep. V, *lib.* xviii, *pag.* 1210. 'ni fallor, quinquaginta, dictus sui seculi Cicero (2).
'- - - *At Rome . . . . I knew and loved Petrus Phædrus,*
'*more famous for his tongue than his pen. There was a*
'*wonderful copiousness and majesty in his way of speak-*
'*ing. It is a great happiness to be known at Rome:*
'*he became famous at first by the tragedy of Seneca, in-*
'*tituled Hippolytus, wherein he acted the part of Phæ-*
'*dra, in the court before the palace of Cardinal Raphael*
'*Georgianus. This I had from the Cardinal himself,*
'*and he was from thence firnamed Phædrus. He was*
'*not fifty years of age when he died, if I am not mi-*
'*staken, and was called the Cicero of his time*.' Pierius Valerianus commends our Phædrus for his eloquence: 'Neque diu felix fuit Thomas Phædrus af-
'fluentissimum eloquentiæ flumen, quo non alius eo
'tempore orando clarior, neque vehementior fuit, Ro-
'manæ ipse quoque cathedræ decus, & ornamentum
(3) Pierius Valerian. de Litter. Infelicit. *lib.* i, *pag.* 25. '(3). - - - *Thomas Phædrus, that most copious torrent*
'*of eloquence, was not long fortunate. He was the most*
'*famous and powerful Orator of that time, the glory*
'*and ornament of the Roman chair*.' To which you may add what I have quoted out of Parrhasius in the remark [C], and the testimony of Petrus Bembus: he was a good judge of eloquence; he praises very much our Thomas for it, in the third letter of the fourth book, dated at Venice the 13th of January 1505, out of which I shall observe this particular. Some body writ to him, that Phædrus grew big: All the better, said he, for then we may treat him after the manner of the ancient heroes, *illum certe possumus heroum more* ἡύττε μέγαντε dicere, - - - *and call him good and great.*

[B] *The cause of his death was very singular.*] This is very well expressed by Pierius Valerianus. *Quàm verò miserabiliter, quàmque inopino mortis genere surreptus interiit, dum scilicet mula media urbe vehitur junctis factus obviam bubalis, qui visendæ magnitudinis carrucam trahebant: Consternata siquidem mula, bubalisque identidem perterrefactis simul ab ea calcitrosa excussus est tam magnæ corporaturæ vir, quantum hominem nostis, simul à plaustro superatus, quamvis in rotarum medium intervallum incidens elisionem evitarit, corrupto tamen præ timore, & gravi casu intra viscera sanguine, multa inde longæ, & occultæ valetudinis incommoda perpessus, in ejusmodi ærumna vita functus est* (4). (4) Ibid.

[C] *It is likely he would have published some books.*] The reader would be glad to know the titles of them, which Parrhasius has preserved, and therefore I shall transcribe the following words. It is a great encomium upon Phædrus; but we must remember, that the author of it is an Orator, who had received many favours from him. 'Quis est in hoc orbis terrarum domici-
'lio, (cujus antiquum scenæ decus instauravit) quis
'in hac excultissima academia, (quæ Phædro rhetore
'cœlum vertice contingebat) quis adeo barbarus à
'Musis abest & Gratiis, qui ad extincti Phædri no-
'men ubertim non fleat? O detestandam fati importu-
'nitatem. Silet, heu, T. Phædre, vox illa tua jucundè
'sonora: illa argutæ linguæ suadela, quæ mentes ho-
'minum in omnes affectus impellebat, quæ Romanam
'facundiam à Goticis usque temporibus amissam resti-
'tuit. Ubi nunc est ille gestus cum sententiis congru-
'ens? Ubi illa incorrupti Latini sermonis integritas?
'Quis ultimam manum tot inchoatis operibus impo-
'net? Quæ (non secus ac Apellis illa decantatissima
'Venus)

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colleague, who was very much obliged to him (*d*), regretted mightily the loſs of that friend. I do not know whether Phædrus made the ſermon which Eraſmus criticized with great reaſon [*D*]. Voſſius thought that our Roman profeſſor was the author of the Antiquities of Hetruria [*E*], which were publiſhed under the falſe name of Proſper.

(*d*) See the remark [*B*], of the article PARRHASIUS.

‘ Venus) interrupta pendent: luculentiſſimæ ſcilicet ‘ orationes, Apologia Ciceronis in obtrectatores, quam ‘ mihi paucis ante diebus quam cœpiſſet æſtuare, domi ſuæ per ſummam voluptatem legit: Annalium ‘ breviarium, quo res omnes à populo Romano geſtas ‘ complexus eſt: in Horatii poëticam vigilantiſſima ‘ commentaria: in Plauti comœdias ſcrupuloſiſſimæ ‘ quæſtiones (5). - - - - *Who is there in this part of the* ‘ *world (whoſe antient glory of the ſtage he revived), who* ‘ *is there in this polite academy (whoſe reputation by* ‘ *the Orator Phædrus was raiſed to Heaven), who is* ‘ *there ſuch a barbarous enemy to the Muſes and Graces,* ‘ *as not to ſhed a flood of tears at the name of the de-* ‘ *ceaſed Phædrus? Horrid cruelty of fate! Alas! O* ‘ *Phædrus, that ſweet and harmonious voice of thine,* ‘ *that powerful perſuaſion of thy lips, which commanded* ‘ *all the paſſions of the ſoul, and which reſtored the* ‘ *Roman eloquence that had been loſt ever ſince the Gothic* ‘ *times, is now heard no more. Where is now that grace-* ‘ *ful action which was ſuited to thy expreſſions? Where* ‘ *is that purity of ſtile and diction in the Latin tongue?* ‘ *Who is there to put the laſt hand to the works thou* ‘ *haſt begun? which, like the celebrated Venus of Apelles,* ‘ *remain unfiniſhed*, viz. *Moſt elegant orations, the apo-* ‘ *logy of Cicero againſt ſlanderers, which he read to me* ‘ *with great pleaſure at his own houſe, a few days before* ‘ *he began to be feveriſh: An abridgment of annals,* ‘ *containing the Hiſtory of the Roman people; moſt excel-* ‘ *lent commentaries on Horace's Art of Poetry: and moſt* ‘ *curious queſtions on the comedies of Plautus.*’ If we knew the date of that oration, we might know the year of Phædrus's his death. Note, that Volterranus, having ſhewed the ſeries of antient wars, expreſſes himſelf thus: ‘ Bellorum igitur hujuſmodi excurſum ‘ T. Phædri noſtri ex magna parte diligentia colle- ‘ ctum, non ab re fuerit ſimul ordine repetiiſſe (6). - - ‘ *It will not be foreign to the purpoſe to repeat in order the* ‘ *irruptions of thoſe wars, as they are carefully collected* ‘ *by T. Phædrus.*’

(5) Janus Parrhaſius, in Orat. ante Prælectionem Epiſt. Ciceron. ad Atticum, *pag.* 145, 146.

(6) Volaterr. Comm. Urban. *lib. xxxviii, pag. m.* 1459.

(7) *See his* Ciceronianus, *pag. m.* 39, *& ſeq.*

(8) Nomen Oratoris non edam ne cui videar hominis probi & eruditi famam arrodere voluiſſe. *Eraſm. in Ciceroniano, pag.* 39.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 38.

[*D*] *The ſermon which Eraſmus criticized with great reaſon* (7).] That ſermon was preached before Pope Julius II, upon a Good-Friday. Eraſmus heard it, and was not pleaſed with it; the preacher made it his only buſineſs to appear Ciceronian. Eraſmus does not name him (8), but one may believe that he denotes one of the profeſſors of Eloquence, of whom he had ſaid: ‘ Florebant id temporis Romæ præter cæteros ‘ dicendi laude Petrus Phædrus & Camillus hoc ætate ‘ minor, ſed eloquendi viribus major, niſi quod ille ‘ jam hujus laudis arcem occuparat (9). - - - - *Petrus* ‘ *Phædrus and Camillus flouriſhed at that time in Rome,* ‘ *and excelled all others in Rhetoric: the latter was in-* ‘ *deed inferior to the former in age, but ſuperior in force* ‘ *of eloquence, only the other had engroſſed the reputation* ‘ *of that art.*’

[*E*] *Voſſius thought that Phædrus was the author of the antiquities of Hetruria.*] Here are his words: ‘ Fu- ‘ ere qui fœtum crederent Guilielmi Poſtelli. Sed ve- ‘ rus auctor eſt Thomas Phædrus qui vixit anno CIↃ ‘ CCCC XC. (10). - - - - *Some have thought they were writ* ‘ *by Gulielmus Poſtellus. But the true author is Thomas* ‘ *Phædrus who lived in the year* 1490.’ A great deal of wrong has been done to Voſſius, in the treatiſe of Placcius *de Scriptis Anonymis*; for next to the words, which I have juſt now ſet down, and thoſe that go before, we read theſe following words. ‘ Cujus Thomæ ‘ ulteriorem nullam nec apud ipſum, nec apud Geſne- ‘ rum, alioſve illius generis auctores invenio mentionem. ‘ Verum enim vero non opus eſt ut de eo multum hic ‘ ſolliciti ſimus, cum non illum, ſed ipſum CURTIUM ‘ INGHIRAMIUM, qui fragmenta illa primus ac ſi Scor- ‘ nelli prope Vulterram ea ſub terra inveniſſet, Floren- ‘ tiæ publicavit, parentum hujuſce ſuppoſititii figmenti ‘ ſuiſſe prolixè docuerit *Leo Allatius* in ſuis ad dictas ‘ antiquitates annotationibus, Pariſiis 1640, & biennio ‘ poſt Romæ iterum excuſis (11). - - - - *Of which Tho-* ‘ *mas Fædrus I find no further mention, either in him,* ‘ *or Geſner, or other authors of that ſort. But we need* ‘ *not be very ſollicitous about it, ſince Leo Allatius in his* ‘ *notes upon the ſaid antiquities, printed at Paris in* 1640, ‘ *and reprinted two years after at Rome, has fully ſhewn* ‘ *that he was not the father of this ſuppoſititious work,* ‘ *but* CURTIUS INGHIRAMIUS, *who firſt publiſhed* ‘ *thoſe fragments at Florence, as if he had found them at* ‘ *Scornelli near Volterra under ground.*’ This whole paſſage is printed in Italic, as well as the words that are cited out of Voſſius, and there is nothing whereby one may diſtinguiſh the firſt part of the paſſage from the laſt; ſo that any reader may very well fancy that Voſſius is the author of all thoſe words, and conſequently that he knew not what Parrhaſius, Eraſmus and Pierius Valerianus ſaid of Phædrus. But the worſt of all is, that one may think he did ſo far blunder as to ſay in the ſame page, that Thomas Phædrus is the true author of a book which Curtius Inghiramius compoſed. For the reſt, the falſe ſpelling of Voſſius has been the occaſion of Konig's (12) multiplying one author into two: he gives us Thomas Fœdrus as a different author from Thomas Phædrus, and refers us to Halervord.

(10) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. *lib. i, cap. ix, in fin. pag.* 41.

(11) Placcius, de Scriptis Anonymis, *in Appendice, pag.* 30.

(12) *See his* Biblioth. Vetus & Nova, *pag.* 310, *&* 628.

PHERON, king of Egypt, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Seſoſtris, undertook no war, and became blind, as a puniſhment of his boldneſs in throwing a dart upon the waters of the Nile. They were upwards of eighteen cubits high above the fields, and very much agitated by the wind. When the king ſaw this, he threw a dart, and loſt his ſight immediately. He was ten years in that condition, and then he was told by an Oracle, that the time of his misfortune was almoſt ended, and that he ſhould recover his ſight, if he waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman that never lay with any man but her huſband. He began to make uſe of his wife's urine, but got no benefit by it. Afterwards he uſed the water of other women, and at laſt he recovered his ſight. He cauſed all the women, whoſe water had not been beneficial to him, to be carried into a certain town, and to be all burnt together with the town, and then he married the woman to whom he was beholden for the recovery of his ſight, and conſecrated in the temples ſeveral monuments of his thankfulneſs to the gods, and particularly two obeliſks, an hundred cubits high, and eight cubits broad, in the temple of the Sun [*A*]. A man of Memphis, whom the Greeks called Proteus, reigned after him (*a*). This Article

(*a*) Taken from Herodotus, *lib. ii, cap. cxi, cxiii, pag. m.* 129, 130. *See alſo* Diodorus Sicul. *lib. i, cap. lix.*

[*A*] *And particularly, two obeliſks in the temple of the ſun.*] Sir John Marſham (1) thinks they are both at Rome, and that one of them is that which Sixtus V, cauſed to be ſet up before St Peter's church. He thinks alſo that Caligula cauſed one of thoſe obeliſks to be carried to Rome. He grounds his opinion upon ſome paſſages of Pliny, which import no ſuch thing. Here are the words of Pliny, according to Father Hardouin's edition, wherein the wrong reading, which Sir John Marſham followed, has been corrected. ‘ Tertius (*obeliſcus*) Romæ in Vaticano Caii & Neronis ‘ principum Circo, ex omnibus unus omnino factus ‘ eſt imitatione ejus, quem fecerat Seſoſtridis filius Nun- ‘ coreus. Ejuſdem remanet & alius centum cubitorum, ‘ quem poſt cæcitatem viſu reddito, ex oraculo Soli ‘ ſacravit (2). - - - - *The third obeliſk at Rome in the* ‘ *Vatican*

(1) Marſham. Chron. Can. *Seculo xv, pag. m.* 413, 414.

(2) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. xi, pag. m. 299.

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ticle being to be found in Moreri's Dictionary, I was resolved to pass it by; but I changed my mind, having observed that some have taken the liberty to falsify that fact. As I designed to censure that licentiousness, it was requisite that I should set before the eyes of the reader, a faithful exposition of that old story, that he may compare it with the false copy of some modern writers [B].

[B] *I have set . . . a faithful exposition of that old story, that he may compare it with the false copy of some modern writers.*] I have nothing to say against Mr Chevreau, for he has not falsified the narrative of Herodotus (5). It is true, that he adds a circumstance to it, *viz.* That the woman who restored Pheron's sight was a Gardener's wife; the Greek Historian whom he cites does not mention it, but that addition is of no consequence: and indeed, an ancient Historian (6) whom he does not quote, says that she was a Gardener's wife. I do not blame the reflexion which follows that history in the *Chevræana*. Any author, who relates what he has read, may add some moral reflexions to it: he must only take care that the reader be not at a loss to know whether those reflexions are his, or whether they are to be ascribed to the author that has been quoted. Mr Chevreau does not keep us in suspence; we easily apprehend that these following words are his, and not Herodotus's: 'If there was a Pheron at this day, 'if the remedy which cured him was in use, and the 'same punishment renewed, many women would not 'be afraid of starving with cold (7).' This is a gloss which suits the text; for there is no doubt but this is a meer story, or satirical invention against women. I need not tell my readers, I. That there was no Oracle that foretold, that a king having been blind for the space of ten years, should recover his sight soon after. II. That it is not true that the urine of a chaste woman did ever restore any one's sight. Christians are persuaded that this whole relation of Herodotus is a meer fable, and a story forged in the times of ignorance, for the same end as the apologues, or the fictions of Æsop, I mean, to inspire men with the fear of the gods, and to censure vice. They were sometimes attended with raillery and sorry jests against women. This was not forgotten in the story of Pheron: but some modern authors finding it too plain, and too carelessly dressed, have been at the charges of embellishing it. It is to be found in the Saint-Evremoniana dressed in this manner: 'That a king called Pheron having lost his sight, and 'asking the Oracle how he should recover it, was or-'dered to use the urine of a woman faithful to her hus-'band; that his own wife, and all the other wives 'of his kingdom wanting that virtue, he was obliged 'to dispatch some embassadors to look for one in the 'neighbouring kingdoms; that after a long search, 'there was one found by chance who cured him; 'that he caused his wife to be burnt first, and then 'married the woman who had restored his sight, that 'she proved not so chaste afterwards, and the king ha-'ving asked her, why she had been faithful to her first 'husband, she ingenuously answered him, that *she was 'never asked before* (8). Let Boccacio and Douville make a story as pleasant as ever they can, no body ought to find fault with them for it. The ground they work upon is altogether their own, and consequently they may flourish it as they please; but when an author relates a story which is to be found in the best ancient writers that are extant, he is not allowed to adorn it with a new dress, by adding to it some circumstances just invented. Yet this has been done in the Saint-Evremoniana. We are told that Mr de St Evremont is not the author of that book, and that he disowns it from the beginning to the end (9). Yet there are very good things in that work, and they seem to have been expressed upon his model; but whoever is the author of it, Mr de Vigneul Marville would freely give him this advice: *The more particulars, like those that are to be found in Brantome, a writer publishes, the more he raises himself above common writers, and makes himself useful to the public. Those who publish them, must only take care that they be true and well grounded:* FOR *a writer is not allowed to invent chimeras to adorn his history* (10).

I shall observe by the by that this is not the first time that Authors and Booksellers have published some works under the name of Mr de St Evremond. That trick begins to be thread-bare, and one cannot think of it without comparing this illustrious author with that man to whom seven women should say, *We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach* (11).

(3) Marsham, ubi supra.

(4) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. ix, pag. 296, 297.

(5) See the 2d part of the *Chevræana*, pag. 395, of the Dutch Edit.

(6) Diodor. Sicul. *lib. i, cap. lix.*

(7) Chevræana, ibid. *pag.* 396.

(8) St Evremoniana, pag. 132, 133, of the Dutch Edit.

(9) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Feb.* 1701, *pag.* 145.

(10) Vigneul Marville, Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérat. *Tom. ii, pag.* 159, *of the Dutch Edit.*

(11) Isaiah iv, 1.

PHILELPHUS . . . . . .

The book, which he intituled *Florentinarum de exilio Commentationum, pro exulibus Florentinis à Cosmo Medicæo atque ejus factione ejectis, conscriptarum Libri tres*, and which he dedicated to Vitalian Borrhomæus, is not in the catalogue of his works that is published with his life. It is probable it was never printed. The author mentions it in a letter to Anthony Metallus, and in another letter to John Olzina (*a*). This I read in a piece of Don Nicolas Antonio (*b*), to whom Martin Vasques Sirvela (*c*) had lent that manuscript.

(*a*) See the 16th book of the Letters of Philelphus.

(*b*) Nicol. Antonius, de Exilio, *lib. i, cap. i, pag.* 4.

(*c*) He had a fine library at Seville.

PHILETAS, a Grammarian, a Critic, and a Poet, was born in the isle of Cos, and lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and of Ptolemy, first of that name, king of Egypt, who made him preceptor of his son Ptolemy Philadelphus (*a*). He published several pieces of Poetry, whereof we have only some fragments in Athenæus, and in some other ancient authors who quoted him [A]. He did so well succeed in elegy, that several authors gave him the second rank in that sort of Poetry. It is not certain that Propertius, a good Judge of such things, was contented to give him the second

(*a*) Suidas. *See also* Strabo, *lib. xiv, pag.* 452.

[A] *Some ancient authors quoted him.*] Parthenius borrows from him the second of his amorous adventures (1). Stephanus Byzantinus quotes him in the words ἰχναι & φλιῦς. He is quoted three or four times in the great *Etymologicum*. Stobæus mentions something of his *Pægnia* in the discourse, which contains the subjects of consolation παιγνοεικά. I suppose that the Philetas quoted by them is that of Cos; for it does not appear that Philetus of Ephesus, mentioned only by Suidas, wrote any book. I will not say, as many do, that Claudian mentions Philetas in this verse,

Fors juvat audentes, Coi sententia vatis:

Fortune does help the bold, the bard of Coos said:

For

(1) Parthenius is quoted wrong in Moreri's Dictionary, in the article of Philetas. Instead of *in Erat.* read *in Erot.* that is *in Eroticis.*

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ſecond rank [*B*]. If we conſider that elegies were chiefly made uſe of on ſorrowful occaſions, and about the diſgraces of lovers, it cannot be denied that Philetas had a peculiar talent to keep up by his mien, and by his out-ſide, the character of the Poems wherein he excelled, and to prevent the want of occaſions which makes the Muſes faint and languid. He was ſo little and ſo thin, that he was obliged to put ſome lead to his ſhoes, leſt the wind ſhould carry him away [*C*]. He was not therefore liable to the reproaches which Lent-Preachers are ſo often expoſed to, when with a freſh ruddy complexion they bewail the corruption of the world, and the contempt of the laws of mortification. It would become them better, if they were as lean as our Philetas. Beſides, one may eaſily apprehend, that he had very often reaſon to ſigh for the cruelty of his Battis (*b*); for ſuch an air as his was, and a body ſo waſted and ſo lean, that the leaſt wind could throw him down, was no very great charm in point of love. Perhaps this was the reaſon of his great ſkill in elegies. It is very likely he was ſeldom fortunate in his amorous attempts, and that he ſuffered continual repulſes. However, the hectic and waſting condition he was in, of which he died at laſt, was not aſcribed in his epitaph to his good or ill luck in point of love, but to his watchings and intent ſtudies [*D*]: which would be much more advantageous to his memory than it is, if he had ſpent his time in things of great moment; but the poor man wore out his ſtrength and his health in running after the captious and intricate ſophiſms of the Logicians (*c*), particularly after that which was called the Liar which was a meer childiſh ſubtilty [*E*]. It is thought that he intituled one of his Poems *Telephus*, becauſe it was his father's name. The Scholiaſt upon Apollonius mentions it under that title (*d*), but according to Voſſius pag. 401 of his Greek Hiſtorians, that Scholiaſt ſpeaks of a Poem intituled *Templum*.

(*b*) Nec tantum Coo Battis amata viro. *Ovid. Triſt. lib. i, Eleg. VI, ver. 2.*

(*c*) Athen. *lib. ix.* Suidas.

(*d*) *In lib. iv, apud* Andr. Schottum, in Procli Chreſtom.

For it is not certain whether we ought to read Coi rather than Cei, or Chii, or Priſci (2).

(2) *See* Barthius, in Claud. Epiſt. ad Probin. *pag.* 967.

[*B*] *Several authors gave him the ſecond rank . . . It is not certain that Propertius . . . . was contented to give him the ſecond rank.*] I refer it to the judgment of any one who conſiders theſe three paſſages of Propertius:

Tu ſatius memorem muſis imitere Philetam,
Et non inflati ſomnia Callimachi (3).

(3) Propert. lib. II, Eleg. xxxiv.

Inter Callimachi ſat erit placuiſſe libellos,
Et ceciniſſe modis Coe poëta tuis (4).

(4) Idem, lib. III, Eleg. viii.

Callimachi manes & Coi ſacra Philetæ
In veſtrum quæſo me ſinite ire nemus (5).

(5) Idem, lib. III, Eleg. i. There is another paſſage, Eleg. vi, lib. iv, where he hints at thoſe two Poets, and firſt at Philetas. *Statius, Silv. II, lib. I*, names Philetas before Callimachus.

Philetas imitate the Muſes friend,
And, not high-flown, Callimachus's ſtrain.
If like Callimachus you pleaſe, or ſing
As did the Bard of Cos, it will ſuffice.
Of Callimachus and Philetas both
Ye ſhades, permit me in your grove to go.

I do not deſire that theſe paſſages ſhould be underſtood in the ſenſe which Joſeph Scaliger put upon them; for I think he is miſtaken when he ſays that Propertius adviſes not to imitate the ſwoln Callimachus, and when inſtead of *Coe poëta tuis*, he reads *pure poëta tuis*, to conclude from thence that Propertius looks upon Philetas as a Poet whoſe verſes are the ſweeteſt. I deſire no ſuch thing; I am ſure that without ſuch a help one may perceive that, all things duly conſidered, Propertius does not place Philetas beneath Callimachus. I do not know why Ælian reckons Philetas among the heroic Poets (6), nor why Lorenzo Craſſo (7) makes Callimachus ſay, that Philetas obtains the ſecond rank in point of elegy. He ſhould have quoted Quintilian; *Elegiæ princeps habetur Callimachus*, ſays he chap. i. of the tenth book of his Inſtitutions, *ſecundus confeſſione plurimorum Philetas occupavit. - - - Callimachus is reckoned the chief in elegy, and, by the confeſſion of moſt, Philetas has obtained the ſecond rank.* See alſo Proclus in the abſtracts of his *Chreſtomathia* to be found in Photius (8).

(6) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib. x, cap. vi.*

(7) Iſtor. de Poët. Græc. *pag.* 231.

(8) Phot. *cap. ccxxxix.*

[*C*] *He was obliged to put ſome lead to his ſhoes, leſt the wind ſhould carry him away.*] He tied ſome leaden balls to his feet, if we believe Athenæus (9), or ſoled his ſhoes with lead, if we believe the authors tranſcribed by Ælian, tho' he looks upon it as a meer ſtory (10). The reaſon of his not believing it, is, that a man who was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the wind, could by no means wear ſo heavy ſhoes.

(9) Athen. *lib. xii, cap. xiii, pag.* 552.

(10) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib. ix, cap. xiv.* See alſo *lib. x, cap. vi.*

[*D*] *It was to his watchings and ſtudies, they aſcribed his waſting condition, in his epitaph.*] Athenæus has preſerved that particular fact. Κινδυνεύεις ὄν ποτε διὰ ταύτας τὰς φενακίδας ὥσπερ ὁ Κῶος Φιλητᾶς ζητῶν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδολόγον τῶν λόγων, ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι· ἰσχνὸς γὰρ πάνυ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος ἀπέθανεν· ὡς τὸ παρὸ τὺ μνημείῳ αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ, Ξεῖνε, Φιλητᾶς εἰμὶ, λόγων ὁ ψευδομένος με Ὦλεσε, καὶ νυκτῶν φενακίδες ἐσπέριοι. Eſt itaque periculum ne ob has curas aliquando ut Philetas Cous perveſtigans rationem mentientem dictam exolutus pereas: Nam corpore ob id ſtudium valde attenuato is obiit, quod inſculptum ejus monumento declarat hoc epigramma, Hoſpes Philetas ſum mendax & captioſa ratio Me perdidit, veſpertinæque ac nocturnæ ſtudiorum curæ (11). - - - - *You run the hazard*, ſays he, (ſpeaking to a curious man, who never touched any meat, without inquiring how long ſince it had the name it went by) *of wearing out your life by ſuch inquiries, as Philetas wore out his in examining a ſophiſm; for that ſtudy did ſo waſte his body, that he died of it. As it appears from this inſcription of his ſepulchre,* Ὦλεσε, &c. Muretus, in his notes upon the firſt elegy of the third book of Propertius, ſtretches out the teſtimony of Athenæus a little more than he ſhould have done; for he makes that author ſay, that Philetas loſt his life, with over much ſtudying, and becauſe he was vexed that he was not able to find out the ſolution of a ſophiſm. Athenæus ſays nothing of that vexation. If Muretus had ſaid ſo out of conjecture, I ſhould not blame him for it; but one muſt always ſcruple to impute to people what they have not ſaid. The reader does not deſire to confound our paraphraſes, and, our gloſſes and conjectures, with the text of the ancient authors quoted by us (12).

(11) Athen. *lib. ix, pag.* 401.

(12) See the remark [*B*], of the art. PHERON.

[*E*] *The* Liar *was a meer childiſh ſubtilty.*] The ſophiſm which the Greeks called ψευδόμενον, is called *Mentiens, (the Liar)* by Cicero in the ſecond book *de Divinatione*. It was one of the moſt renowned ſophiſms that Eubulides, ſucceſſor of Euclid, produced (13). It conſiſted in certain terms which ſeem to deſtroy one another, or, as Africanus the Civilian ſays (14), it is a way of a reaſoning, *Qua quicquid verum eſſe conſtiteris falſum eſſe reperietur. - - - Whereby whatever you eſtabliſh for truth, is found to be falſe.* Here is an example of it (15): *If you ſay that you lie, and if by ſaying ſo you ſpeak truth, you lie: but you ſay that you lie, and herein you ſpeak the truth; therefore you lie when you ſpeak truth.* It is a ſyllogiſm whereby you prove that a man does not ſpeak truth, for that very reaſon that he ſpeaks it. One may make the ſame ſophiſm by ſuppoſing that a man who perjures himſelf, ſwears that he perjures himſelf; for at one and the ſame time he ſwears truth, and conſequently he does not perjure himſelf; and he ſwears a falſity, and conſequently he perjures himſelf. They drew the ſame contradictory conſequences from what was ſaid by Epimenides, a Cretan Poet, that all Cretans were liars. The Stoics fell headlong into thoſe falſe ſubtilties of the ſect of Megara. Our modern Logicians uſe ſometimes the propoſitions which they call *ſeipſas falſificantes*; ſuch

(13) Diog. Laërt. *lib. ii.*

(14) *L. qui ita drong* 88 *ff. de Fals.*

(15) See Cicero, Academ. IV.

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such as this is, *semper mentior, I lie always.* A little judgment is sufficient to know the illusion of that sort of sophisms; yet Aristotle (16) declares very seriously, that the sophism called the Liar is a very perplexing one. I am not so well pleased to hear him say so, as to see Seneca laugh at the great number of books that were made upon that sophism (17). 'Quid 'me detines in eo quem tu ipse pseudomenon appellas, 'de quo tantum librorum compositum est (18)? ecce 'tota mihi vita mentitur, hanc coargue, hanc ad 'verum, si acutus es, dirige. - - - - *Why do you detain me in what you call the Liar, about which so many books have been writ? Lo, my whole life is made up of lies; disprove this, and direct it to truth, if you are ingenious.*' See the remark [D] of the article EUCLID.

(16) Ethic. Nicom. *lib. vii, cap. iii.* See the remark [D] of the article EUCLID.

(17) Seneca, Epist. XLV.

(18) Chrysippus wrote eleven books on that subject. *Diog. Laërt. in ejus Vita.*

PHILYRA, daughter of Oceanus, was so sensible of the declaration of love which Saturn made her, that she granted him the last favours. Rhea, Saturn's wife, knew nothing of it for some time; but at last suspecting something, she had a watchful eye over these two lovers, and surprised them in the fact. Saturn put on the shape of a horse to conceal himself [A], but Philyra was so confounded that she left the country [B], and wandered thro' the mountains of the Pelasgi, where she was delivered of the centaur Chiron (a). She was so afflicted at her bringing forth such a child, made up of the nature of a horse, and of a man, that she besought the gods to change her into something else [C]. They heard her prayers, and transformed her into a tree (b).

(a) *Taken from* Apollonius, Argon. *lib. ii, ver.* 1235, *& seq.*

(b) Viz. a lime-tree. See the remark [C].

[A] *Saturn . . . . put on the shape of a horse.*] Virgil adds, that he run away as fast as ever he could, and that mount Pelion rung all over with his neighing (1):

(1) A mountain in Thessaly.

Talis & ipse jubam cervice effundit equina
Conjugis adventu pernix Saturnus, & altum
Pelíona hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto (2).

(2) Virgil. Georg. lib. III, ver. 92.

In such a shape grim Saturn did restrain
His heav'nly limbs, and flow'd with such a mane.
When half surpriz'd, and fearing to be seen,
The leacher gallopp'd from his jealous queen,
Ran up the ridges of the rocks amain,
And with shrill neighings fill'd the neighb'ring plain.

This is not unlikely, for a husband surprized by his wife in the fact, is exposed to such a storm of hard words, and to such scoldings, that the best thing he can do is to run away. Some say (3) that Saturn put on the shape of a horse to enjoy Philyra. The presence of his wife was not therefore the reason of it. Perhaps he used that trick out of precaution: he was afraid of the vigilance of Rhea, and so he was resolved before-hand to deceive her.

(3) Pherecydes, ap. Scholiast. Apollonii, *in lib. ii, ver.* 1237.

[B] *Philyra was so confounded that she left the country.*] Authors do not agree about the scene of this act. Some place it in Thrace (4), others in Thessaly (5), others in an island of the Euxine sea. Apollonius (6) follows the last opinion; he says Philyra run away as far as Thessaly, from whence you may judge how much ashamed she was.

(4) Hygin. *cap. cxxxviii.*

(5) Philargyrius, in Virgil. Georg. *lib. iii, ver.* 93.

(6) Apollon. *lib. ii, ver.* 1236.

Ἡ δ' αἰδοῖ χῶρόν τε καὶ ἤθεα κεῖνα λιποῦσα.
Ὠκεανὶς Φιλύρη, εἰς ἔρεα μακρὰ Πελασγῶν
Ἦλθ'.

Sed loco & sedibus illis relictis pudore
Philyra Oceani filia in celsos Pelasgorum montes
Migravit (7).

(7) Id. ib. ver. 1242.

Confounded at the thoughts of her disgrace,
Ocean's daughter, Philyra, left that place,
And to the mountains of Thessalia fled
With speed.

Some pretend that Saturn changed her into a mare (8), to save her the shame of her fault. Note, that he was then in prosperity: he enjoyed his kingdom (9), his son, Jupiter, was still at nurse; but some will have it, that, even after he was dethroned, and after he retired into Italy, he plunged himself into his former debauchery.

(8) Adventante uxore & in equum, illam in equam convertit, atque ita uterque effugerunt. *Philargyr. ubi supra.*

(9) Apollon. ibid. *ver.* 1237.

Advena quos profugus gignens, & equina libido
Intulit Italiæ: Tuscis namque ille puellis
Primus adhinnivit simulato numine mœchus.
Mox patre deterior silvosi habitator Olympi
Juppiter, incesta spurcavit labe Lacænas (10).

(10) Prudent. in Symmach. *lib. i, ver.* 56.

Which exil'd Saturn, in a courser's shape
Assum'd on purpose to commit a rape,
To Italy did bring. He, by surprize,
First Tuscan maids debauch'd in this disguise.
But Jove, his son, still more than he prov'd vile,
And Spartan dames with incest did defile.

This is likely enough; for as I have observed in another place (11), the banishment of leud kings is not a remedy for love. For the rest, that passage of Prudentius does not agree with these following verses:

(11) In the text of the article BASINE, after citation (a).

Credo pudicitiam Saturno Rege moratam
In terris visamque diu: cum frigida parvas
Præberet spelunca domos, ignemque laremque
Et pecus & dominos communi clauderet umbra (12).

(12) Juven. Sat. VI, init.

In Saturn's reign, at nature's early birth,
There was that thing call'd chastity on earth,
When in a narrow cave, their common shade,
The sheep, the shepherds, and their gods, were laid.
When reeds, and leaves, and hides of beasts were spread
By mountain-housewives for their homely bed,
And mossy-pillows rais'd for their rude husbands head.

[C] *She was so afflicted . . . . . that she besought the gods to change her into something else.*] Hyginus pretends that she addressed herself to Jupiter: but because Apollonius observes that Chiron was born during the infancy of Jupiter, it is better to say that Philyra had not recourse to him; for it is not at all likely that she staid till he became master of Heaven, after he had expelled Saturn from it. 'Philyra postquam inusitatam 'speciem se peperisse vidit, petit ab Jove ut se in aliam 'speciem commutaret, quæ in arborem Philyram hoc 'est tiliam commutata est (13). - - - - *When Philyra 'saw she had brought forth a monster, she begged of 'Jupiter to change her into something else; and so she 'was turned into a lime-tree.*

(13) Hygin. *ubi supra.*

PHILISTUS, a Greek Historian, born at Syracusa, had a great share in the friendship of Dionysius the tyrant, and did very much help him to establish his power (a). He obtained of him the government of the citadel of Syracusa. Nay, it is thought that he lay with the mother of that tyrant, with her son's knowledge. He lost his favour after he had married, without acquainting that prince with it, the daughter of Leptines, his brother (b), and being banished, he pitched upon the town of Adria for his retirement. He was recalled after the death of that tyrant: those who persuaded young Dionysius to send for him, were contrary to Dion (c), and feared that Plato would change the mind of the tyrant, and thought that none could be fitter than Philistus to cross that Philosopher. They were not mistaken; for as soon as Philistus was restored, he made

(a) Plut. in Dion. *pag.* 968.

(b) That is to say, brother of Dionysius.

(c) He was brother of the second wife of old Dionysius.

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made it his buſineſs to oppoſe Plato, and induced the tyrant to expel Dion (*d*). The latter found himſelf quickly in a capacity of making war againſt Dionyſius, he beſieged him in the fortreſs of Syracuſe, and beat the fleet which Philiſtus brought to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged (*e*), the firſt year of the CVIIth Olympiad (*f*). Some ſay that Philiſtus having loſt the battle, killed himſelf; others ſay, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, who cauſed him to be cruelly put to death [*A*]. He was a man of merit, if we conſider only his wit, his learning, and his writings, and even his bravery (*g*): but his moral qualities are not to be praiſed, ſince he made uſe of his talents to hide under fair pretences the injuſtice of tyranny (*b*). There would be ſome generoſity in his conduct, if it had not been mixed with ſelf-love [*B*]. Of all the books he wrote [*C*], his Hiſtory of Sicily was moſt eſteemed [*D*]. He imitated the conciſe ſtyle of

(*b*) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 974, C. See the remark [*B*].

(*d*) *Taken from* Plutarch. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 962, 963.

(*e*) Id. ib. *pag.* 970, 973.

(*f*) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, cap. xvi.*

(*g*) See the remark [*A*], towards the end.

[*A*] *Some ſay that Philiſtus killed himſelf; others ſay* that his enemies *cauſed him cruelly to be put to death.*] The beſt thing I can do is to ſet down the account which Plutarch gives of it (1). *Thoſe who took Philiſtus priſoner, uſed him in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner. Ephorus relates, that when he ſaw that his ſhip was taken, he ſlew himſelf. But Timonides, who from the beginning of the war was with Dion in all the conſiderable actions, writing to Speuſippus the Philoſopher, relates the ſtory, That Philiſtus's galley running a-ground, he was taken priſoner alive, and firſt diſarmed, then ſtripped, and expoſed ſtark-naked, tho' an old man, to all ſorts of ſcorn and contumely; afterwards they cut off his head, and gave the rabble his body, who dragged it along the Acradina, and then threw it into a common-ſhore. Timæus upbraiding him, adds further, that the boys tied him by his lame leg, and ſo drew him thro' the ſtreets of the city, while the Syracuſans inſulted over his carcaſe, to ſee him tied by the leg, who ſaid, it would not become Dionyſius to be beholden to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe to fly from his throne* (2), *but rather to be dragged from thence by the heels; tho' Philiſtus relates, that this was ſaid to Dionyſius by another, and not by himſelf* (3). Diodorus Siculus is one of thoſe who ſay, that Philiſtus killed himſelf for fear of falling into the hands of the enemies, and to avoid the torments and the ignominy they would have expoſed him to (4). Note, That the fight was obſtinate, and that Philiſtus had the advantage in the beginning, by reaſon of his great bravery: but at laſt he was ſurrounded with many ſhips of the enemies, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to take him (5). The ſame Hiſtorian relates, that his dead body was moſt ignominiouſly uſed, and left unburied (6). He obſerves, 1. That Philiſtus did very great ſervices to the two Dionyſius's, and with a much greater fidelity than all the reſt of their friends. 2. That the tyrant finding nobody that was worthy to fill up the place vacant by the death of Philiſtus, the moſt valiant of his friends, began to deſpond, and offered firſt one half of his kingdom, and then his whole crown to Dion. 3. That Philiſtus ſhewed great courage in a land-expedition, and that young Dionyſius gave him the command of all his naval-forces, as ſoon as he heard that the Syracuſians had promoted Heraclides, a great friend of Dion, to the ſame employment (7).

(1) Plutarch. in Dion. *pag.* 973.

(2) Compare with this citation (31), of the article PERIANDER.

(3) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xiv, cap. viii, pag.* 571, ſuppoſes that Philiſtus ſaid ſo.

(4) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, cap. xvi, pag. m.* 748.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Id. ib. *pag.* 747.

[*B*] *There would be ſome generoſity in his conduct, if it had not been mixed with ſelf-love.*] Dionyſius the tyrant loved, and beſtowed ſeveral benefits upon him, and afterwards baniſhed him. It is a common thing for an Hiſtorian to follow the reſentment of a preſent injury, rather than the remembrance of paſt favours; I mean, that if he writes his Hiſtory during the baniſhment which his patron and benefactor condemned him to, he ſpeaks more ill of him than good. Philiſtus did quite otherwiſe; he wrote a Hiſtory during his diſgrace, and ſaid nothing in it whereby it appeared that his reſpect was changed towards Dionyſius; on the contrary, he had a great regard for him, and excuſed, and praiſed him. One would have thought that he wrote in Syracuſe, under that prince's favour, and enjoying the noble employments he had obtained of him. If the good offices which princes receive from the pen of an Hiſtorian, to the prejudice of truth, were ſometimes to be commended, none could better deſerve it, than thoſe that are done by an Hiſtorian to a prince who has baniſhed him. It is a ſign of a great ſoul to preſerve more carefully the remembrance of a favour, than the remembrance of an injury; but becauſe Philiſtus flattered Dionyſius in hopes of being recalled to Syracuſe, that perſonal intereſt, that mixture of ſelf-love, ſpoils his action, and we muſt by no means excuſe him, as Pauſanius does. Εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστον αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἶληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον ἀποκρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα. Nam ſi Philiſtius venia dignus habetur, qui cum Syracuſas ſe reſtitutum iri ſperaret multa Dionyſii flagitia diſſimulavit (8). --- *For if Philiſtus be thought to deſerve favour, becauſe he concealed many crimes of Dionyſius, in hopes of being re-called to Syracuſe.*

(8) Pauſanias, *lib. i, pag.* 13.

[*C*] *Of all the Books he wrote* . . .] Suidas (9) aſcribes to him a treatiſe concerning Oratory; *Ægyptiaca* in twelve books; *Res Siculæ* in eleven books; ſome orations, and one amongſt others concerning the city of Naucratis; the hiſtory of Dionyſius the tyrant; three books about the Theology of the Egyptians; a treatiſe concerning Libya and Syria. He obſerves firſt of all, that Philiſtus was born at Naucratis, or at Syracuſe; which makes me ſuſpect that he makes but one author of two. There are many works in his catalogue, which do not ſeem to have been written by our Philiſtus, and I ſhould willingly aſcribe them to another Philiſtus born at Naucratis. The Jeſuit Raguſa (10), who quotes Conſtantin Laſcaris, admits of two Philiſtus's, the one of Syracuſe or Naucratis, and the other of Syracuſe. The firſt, ſays he, was related to Dionyſius the tyrant, and died in a war againſt the Carthaginians: He wrote ſeveral things concerning Sicily. The ſecond was baniſhed by old Dionyſius, and compoſed in his baniſhment a good part of his hiſtory. *Plura ſcripſit de rebus Ægyptiacis, lib.* 12. *de Sicanicis lib.* 11. *item de Baccho: de Theologia Ægyptiorum lib.* 6. *de Syria & Libya.* This author confounds the matter; for admitting of two Philiſtus's, he divides what he ſhould have left entire for the one or for the other of them, he changes the circumſtances (11), and aſcribes to the Syracuſan, what it had been better to aſcribe to him, whoſe native country is doubtful.

(9) Suidas, in Φιλιστος.

(10) Hieron. Raguſa, in Elogiis Siculorum, *pag.* 232, 233.

(11) Philiſtus who died in the war, did not fight with the Carthaginians, but againſt the troops of Dion of Syracuſe.

[*D*] . . . . . *His hiſtory of Sicily was moſt eſteemed.*] It was divided into two parts: the firſt contained in ſeven books, the hiſtory of above 800 years, and ended with the taking of Agrigentum, that is, in the third year of the XCIIId Olympiad; for that city was then taken by the Carthaginians (12). The ſecond part, which contained four books, began with the reign of old Dionyſius, that is, where the firſt ended; for that Dionyſius made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe the year after the taking of Agrigentum (13). Theſe are the eleven books *Rerum Sicularum* which Suidas aſcribes to Philiſtus; but beſides, he aſcribes to him the particular hiſtory of the tyrant Dionyſius in ſix books. Voſſius pretends, that Cicero in the paſſage which I am going to quote, has regard only to the abovementioned diviſion, *viz.* That of the hiſtory of Sicily into two parts; one whereof contained ſeven books, and the other four: ‘ Siculus ille (Philiſtus) capitalis, ‘ creber, acutus, brevis, pene puſillus Thucydides: ſed ‘ utros ejus habueris libros (duo enim ſunt corpora) ‘ an utroſque, neſcio. Me magis de Dionyſio dele- ‘ ctat: ipſe eſt enim veterator magnus & perſamiliaris ‘ Philiſto Dionyſius (14). --- *The Sicilian Philiſtus is* ‘ *compendious, cloſe, acute, conciſe, and almoſt a little* ‘ *Thucydides; but which of his books you would have* ‘ *(for there are two) or both, I know not: I am beſt* ‘ *pleaſed with that concerning Dionyſius; for Dionyſius* ‘ *was a cunning fox, and very familiar with Philiſtus.*’ The opinion of Voſſius is perhaps very reaſonable: but it may be alſo that Cicero placed, on the one hand, the two parts of the general hiſtory of Sicily, and on the other, the particular hiſtory of the tyrant Dionyſius, mentioned by Suidas. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ſeems to be a little more favourable to thoſe, who ſhould ſay, that the hiſtory of the tyrant does not differ from the ſecond part of the hiſtory of Sicily, than to thoſe who ſhould ſay the contrary (15). However, Cicero was pleaſed with our Philiſtus, conſidered

(12) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xiii, cap. cvi, pag. m.* 554.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Cicer. ad Quint. Frat. Ep. XII, *lib.* ii.

(15) *See* Dionyſ. Halicarn. Epiſt. ad Pompeium, *pag. m.* 261.

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of Thucydides, and avoided digreſſions to an exceſs [*E*]. The Hiſtorian Timæus uſed him as an Hiſtorian, and conſequently they who deſpiſed him may be looked upon as men who had a depraved taſte, or were too nice. ‘ Dionyſii mater ejus qui Syracuſanorum tyrannus fuit ut ſcriptum apud Philiſtum ‘ eſt, & doctum hominem & diligentem & æqualem ‘ temporum illorum, quam prægnans hunc ipſum ‘ Dionyſium alvo contineret, ſomniavit ſe peperiſſe Satyriſcum (16). - - - *The mother of Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, as we find it in Philiſtus, a learned, careful, and contemporary author, being with child of him, dreamed that ſhe brought forth a hairy monſter.*’ Thoſe who will weigh the praiſes which Cicero beſtowed upon Thucydides, will lay great ſtreſs upon his declaring immediately after, that Philiſtus has very well imitated Thucydides: ‘ Hunc conſecutus eſt ‘ Syracuſius Philiſtus, qui quum Dionyſii tyranni familiariſſimus eſſet ocium ſuum conſumpſit in hiſtoria ‘ ſcribenda, MAXIMEQUE Thucydidem eſt, ſicut ‘ mihi videtur, IMITATUS (17). - - - *Philiſtus of Syracuſe followed him, who, being very intimate with Dionyſius the tyrant, ſpent his leiſure time in writing hiſtory, and in my opinion,* VERY MUCH IMITATED *Thucydides.*’ Quintilian ſays, that Philiſtus is clearer than Thucydides (18); which is a fine encomium; for obſcurity is a great fault, and it may very well balance the advantage which ſome think Thucydides has over Philiſtus. Perhaps, if we could compare their writings together, we ſhould find that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus placed Thucydides a little too much above Philiſtus (19). However, this may be ſaid for the honour of Philiſtus, that he was called *the little Thucydides* by Cicero. Thoſe who ſtiled a comedian of Paris, the little Moliere, deſigned to beſtow no ſmall encomium upon him.

I ſhall obſerve two faults, which have been committed upon the *pene puſillus Thucydides*, of Cicero. One of them was criticized by Voſſius, and the other by a Jeſuit. A learned commentator was of opinion, that Philiſtus was ſo called by Cicero, becauſe he wrote but little in compariſon of Thucydides. It is a miſtake. ‘ Id referri eo minime debet ‘ quod præ Thucydide pauca admodum ſcripſerit, quæ ‘ † Pauli Manutii ſententia eſt, (nam longe aliud appa- ‘ ret ex iis quæ ex Suida & Diodoro adduximus) ſed ‘ quia non paullo quidem infirmior ſit Thucydide, ut ‘ Fabius ‖ quoque cenſet, attamen imitetur eum non in- ‘ feliciter (20). - - - *The reaſon is not becauſe he wrote very little in compariſon of Thucydides, as Paulus Manutius thinks, (for it appears quite otherwiſe from what I have alledged out of Suidas and Diodorus) but becauſe he was, indeed weaker than Thucydides, as Fabius alſo imagines, but yet a ſucceſsful imitator of him.*’ An author, who made a collection of the miſtakes of great men, fancied that Cicero ſpoke of Thucydides with great contempt, and called him *little Thucydides*. Here is the refutation of that over-ſight. ‘ Iſto fere pacto ‘ hullucinatum fuiſſe virum doctum, qui de erroribus ‘ magnorum virorum ſcripſit, illico ſenſi, ut hic iſtius ‘ liber in manus meas incidit. Is pagina nonageſima ‘ extrema ait, Thucydidem hiſtoricum videri ne enarratorem quidem interdum, ideoque *pæne puſillum Ciceroni dictum*. Non animadvertit ſcriptor, tum profecto aliud agens, neque quemquam ab ullo vocari ‘ ſolere pæne parvum, aut pæne magnum, ſed omnino ‘ parvum, aut magnum; neque ibi apud Tullium, ubi ‘ pæne puſillus Thucydides dicitur, uſurpari hoc de ‘ Thucydide (21). - - - *And thereby I perceived immediately that the learned author, who wrote of the miſtakes of great men, was deceived, as ſoon as his book fell into my hands. In page* 90, *towards the end,* he ‘ ſays *the Hiſtorian Thucydides ſometimes deſerves not the name even of a relator, and therefore* is called by Cicero, pene puſillus. *He did not obſerve, his mind being employed upon ſomething elſe, that one is not called* ‘ pene parvus, *or* pene magnus, *but abſolutely* parvus *or* ‘ magnus; *and that in Tully, the expreſſion* pene puſillus ‘ Thucydides, *is not meant of Thucydides.*’ Father Vavaſſeur ſhews afterwards that Cicero means our Philiſtus.

I muſt make another obſervation. Cicero ſays, that he was better pleaſed with the hiſtory of Dionyſius, than with the other work of Philiſtus, becauſe Dionyſius was a very crafty man, and lived familiarly with that Hiſtorian. Voſſius being afraid that it would give occaſion to ſpeak ill of Cicero, takes care to clear the matter. Cicero, ſays he, does not praiſe Philiſtus's diſpoſition of mind, he only regards in that hiſtory the uſe that can be made of the knowledge of the craft of that tyrant. *Non animum Philiſti laudavit Tullius, ſed utilitatem libri prædicavit: atque id imprimis quidem propter prudentiam quam ex vafri adeo tyranni vita capere eſſet: ſed & propter dictionem quam Thucydidæ æmulam fuiſſe etiam ex ſecundo de oratore cognoſcimus, ac propterea idem in Bruto,* &c. (22). Theſe laſt words are altogether needleſs, not to ſay worſe; for the queſtion was not to excuſe Cicero, becauſe he took pleaſure in the reading of Philiſtus; but becauſe he was better pleaſed with the hiſtory of the tyrant Dionyſius. It is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, that Philiſtus wrote well. We do not know whether that talent was more conſpicuous in his hiſtory of Dionyſius, than in the other. We may therefore ſay, that Voſſius had rather make way for a tranſition, than argue as he ſhould have done. Thoſe who know how difficult it is to write in a coherent manner, I mean ſo as to manage tranſitions well, and yet to obſerve very exactly the diſtinctions of Logic, will leſs wonder, that faults, like that of Voſſius, ſhould be ſo frequent in authors.

For the reſt, Voſſius's apology for Cicero is very ſolid. Any curious man, eſpecially if he meddles with the affairs of the common-wealth, will be of that illuſtrious Roman's mind, without acting againſt probity. He will rather chuſe to read the particular hiſtory of a cunning Politician, who is a very wicked man, and a bold and crafty uſurper, than general hiſtories, eſpecially when the writers of it were familiarly acquainted with the tyrant. If it be ſaid that they will miſrepreſent things, and give a good turn to the crimes of their hero, as Philiſtus did: I anſwer, that a judicious reader will diſcover thoſe artifices, and make a good uſe of them. I do not queſtion but ſeveral perſons would part with four or five ancient authors that are extant, in order to recover that ſingle book of Philiſtus. We ſhould find a great many things in it, that are unknown to us. We know very little of Dionyſius the tyrant, beſides his cruel actions, and his diffidence; which is but a very ſmall part of his character. A man who makes himſelf maſter of a potent republic, and maintains himſelf many years in his uſurpation, notwithſtanding a thouſand obſtacles, is commonly a man that has many good natural qualities. We are ignorant of that mixture with reſpect to this Dionyſius, we have no particular account of his conduct, and of ſeveral defects of the Syracuſans. It would be an uſeful thing to ſee how Philiſtus deſcribed all thoſe things: the maxim, *Intereſt reipublicæ cognoſci malos, - - - It is for the good of the ſtate that wicked men be known,* ought to reach as far as that. Who hears but one party, knows nothing, or cannot judge right; and if he ſhould judge right, it would be only by chance.

[*E*] *He avoided digreſſions to an exceſs.*] It is a fault to delight in rambling from one's ſubject; the hiſtorian Theopompus was juſtly blamed for it (23), but it does not follow that it is a virtue never to leave the main ſubject; on the contrary it is to over-do a good thing, and to ſpoil it.

> Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
> Ultra quam ſatis eſt virtutem ſi petat ipſam (24).
>
> *The juſt will be unjuſt, wiſe void of wit,*
> *That ſeek e'en virtue more than what is fit.*

There is a medium between thoſe two extremes, as Theon judiciouſly obſerves. Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς χρὴ (παρήνεσάν) πᾶσαν παραιτεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ὁ Φίλιστος, ἀναπαύει γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροατῶν· ἀλλὰ τὴν τηλικαύτην τὸ μῆκος, ἥτις ἀπαλλοτριοῖ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων, ὥστε δεῖσθαι πάλιν ὑπομνήσεως τῶν προειρημένων, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν ταῖς Φιλιππικαῖς. Neque enim oportet ſimpliciter fugere digreſſiones, quod Philiſtus fecit: quia in hâc animus audientium acquieſcit. Verùm illas, quæ adeò ſunt prolixæ, ut abducant auditorum animos, ut neceſſe ſit ea, quæ antè dicta ſunt, in memoriam revocari: cujuſmodi digreſſionibus utitur Theopompus in Philippicis (25). - - - *We ought not abſolutely to avoid digreſſions, as Philiſtus did: becauſe the mind might may be thereby relieved. But only ſuch as are too long, to bewilder the minds of hearers, and make it neceſſary to repeat what has been ſaid before: Such digreſſions Theopompus uſes in his Philippics.* You ſee

(16) Cicero, *lib. i.* de Divin. *cap. xx.*

(17) Idem, *lib. i.* de Oratore, *fol.* 73, *D.*

(18) Philiſtus quoque meretur qui turbæ quamvis bonorum poſt hos authorum eximatur, imitator Thucydidis, & ut multo infirmior ita aliquatenus lucidior. *Quintil. lib. x, cap. i, pag. m.* 469.

(19) Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. *pag.* 261, & 262. *See alſo pag.* 190.

† *Notis ad eum Ciceronis locum.*

‖ *Lib. x, cap. i.*

(20) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis, *lib. i, cap. vi, pag.* 27.

(21) Franc. Vavaſſor, de Iudicra Dictione, *pag.* 166, 167.

(22) Voſſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 27.

(23) See the article THEOPOMPUS, in the remarks [*E*] and [*F*].

(24) Horat. Epiſt. VI, lib. I, ver. 15.

(25) Theon in Progymnaſm. *cap. iv, pag.* 44.

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him very ill. Plutarch cenſures him for it, though on the other hand he blames Ephorus for having beſtowed ſome praiſes upon Philiſtus [*F*].

ſee that he blames Philiſtus for making no digreſſions, and ſays that they are ſometimes neceſſary, and ſerve as ſo many reſting-places. He is in the right, a little variety is neceſſary in all ingenious works, and it is obſerved, that the moſt regular writers are not read with the greateſt pleaſure. I could mention ſome hiſtories, which make the reader gape, and even ſleep, tho' they are written with an exact obſervation of all the rules of art; a grave ſtyle, conciſe, correct, and ſententious; a narrative free from incidents and trifling niceties; no particulars, no excurſions; and always upon the ſtrait line, becauſe it is the ſhorteſt (26). Other writers, who ſometimes lay aſide their gravity, either with reſpect to the language, or to the ſubject, and make no ſcruple to go out of the way to take in an epiſode, write a hiſtory that continually draws the attention of the reader. He goes thro' it before he is weary of it. I ſhall not examine whether it be a proof of the one of theſe things, rather than of the other, either that the rules, or the judgment of the reader, are falſe. I inſiſt upon the fact, and refer myſelf to the obſervation of a man of a very good taſte. *What a prodigious diſtance*, ſays he (27), *there is between a fine work, and a perfect or regular work! I do not know whether there has been any yet of the latter ſort. It is, perhaps, leſs difficult for a rare genius to attain to greatneſs and ſublimity, than to avoid all manner of faults. The Cid had but one voice at its birth*, viz. *that of admiration; it prevailed over authority and policy, which endeavoured in vain to deſtroy it; it reunited in its favour thoſe that are always divided in their opinions and ſentiments, great men, and the common people; they all agree in learning it by heart, and in preventing the actors upon the ſtage when they recite it. In ſhort, the Cid is one of the fineſt poems that can be made; and one of the fineſt criticiſms that ever was made of any ſubject, is that of the Cid* This is the fineſt example that can be alledged of the inſufficiency of the rules. The author of the Cid obſerved almoſt none of them. The French academy declared him an infringer of them; yet he charmed, and ſtill charms the public. He loſt his cauſe before the maſters, but he carried it every where elſe: he appealed to the people, as that Horatius who killed his ſiſter, and cauſed the ſentence of the judges to be revoked by that tribunal. Montagne's eſſays are another example of a happy irregularity. Whoever ſhould undertake to make that book very methodical, would deprive it of its chief beauties.

(26) A puncto ad punctum linea recta eſt omnium breviſſima.

(27) La Bruyere, The Characters of this Age, in the chapter concerning ingenious works, *pag. m.* 76, 77.

For the reſt, I am not ſo much concerned in vindicating digreſſions, as one might think; for the hiſtorical part of this work is a thouſand times more agreeable to the manner of Philiſtus than to that of Theopompus; and as for my commentary, I need not make an apology if it contains ſeveral digreſſions. It is a ſort of work which requires or naturally bears them. It is a compilation, it is what we call miſcellanies. Variety is eſſential to that ſort of compoſitions, and it ought chiefly to be allowed to thoſe who cannot hope to prevent any other way the wearineſs of the reader (28). Note, that a digreſſion cannot be ſaid to be too long, only becauſe it fills up ſeveral pages, but when every part of it takes up too much room; for though you be never ſo ſhort upon every one of them, the conjunction of many will make you prolix. *Solet enim eſſe quædam partium brevitas quæ longam tamen efficit ſummam* (29). I make uſe of that thought of Quintilian in another ſenſe than he.

(28) Liber fuit & opuſcula varius & metris: ita ſalemus qui ingenio parum fidimus fatietatis periculum fugere. *Plin. Ep. XXI, lib. viii.*

[*F*] *Plutarch cenſures Timæus, though on the other hand he blames Ephorus, for having beſtowed praiſes upon Philiſtus.*] 'But Timæus takes this occaſion, 'and truly a juſt one, of his zealous and conſtant adherence to the tyranny, to vent his own ſpleen and 'malice againſt him. Thoſe indeed who were injured 'by him are the more excuſable, if they expreſſed their 'reſentment to his dead body; but thoſe who write 'his hiſtory after his death, and were no way wronged 'by him in his life-time, but have had the advantage 'of his learned writings, in honour ought not, with 'opprobrious and ſcurrilous language, upbraid him for 'thoſe misfortunes, which many times by unhappy 'accidents have befallen even the beſt of men. On 'the other ſide, Ephorus is as much out of the way 'in the laviſh encomiums he beſtows on Philiſtus; 'for tho' he is very good at diſguiſing baſe and unworthy actions, with fair and colourable pretences, 'and in his expreſſions is very florid and rhetorical, 'yet when he has done his beſt, he can never acquit 'him of the imputation he lies under, of being of all 'mankind the moſt zealous aſſertor of arbitrary government, and that no man ever more induſtriouſly 'promoted, or fondly admired the luxury, power, 'riches, and alliances of tyrants. But between both 'theſe extreams, he that neither praiſes Philiſtus for 'his faults, nor inſults over his misfortunes, ſeems to 'me beſt to conſult his own credit, and perform the 'part of an Hiſtorian (30).' What Plutarch ſays of thoſe alliances of tyrants may be confirmed by theſe words of Cornelius Nepos: 'Philiſtum Hiſtoricum 'Syracuſas reduxit hominem amicum non magis ty'ranno quam tyrannidi (31). - - - *He recalled the 'Hiſtorian Philiſtus to Syracuſe, who was as great a 'friend to tyranny as to the tyrant*,' and by theſe words of Dyoniſius Halicarnaſſeus: 'Philiſtus Thucydidem 'ſequitur moribus exceptis: hic enim liber eſt & animi 'magnitudinis ac gravitatis plenius: ille tyrannorum '& aliorum cupiditati plus nimio ſubſervit (32). - - - '*Philiſtus imitated Thucydides, except in his morals: for 'the latter was a man of great gravity, and of a noble 'ſoul: but the former was too obſequious to tyrants and 'others.*'

(29) Quint. *lib. IV, cap. ii, pag. m.* 183.

(30) Plut. in Dione, *p.* 974.

(31) Corn. Nep. in Vit. Dionyſ. *cap. iii.*

(32) Dionyſ. Halic. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 190.

PHILLA, one of the moſt illuſtrious ladies of antiquity, was daughter of Antipater, governor of Macedon, during the abſence of Alexander. She was a very witty woman, and very fit to manage great affairs (*a*). She did ſo dexterouſly behave herſelf, according to the ſeveral humours of thoſe whom ſhe was to bring or keep to their duty, that ſhe hindered an army full of factious and turbulent ſpirits from making an inſurrection: ſhe married poor maids at her own charges, and oppoſed the oppreſſors of innocency with ſo much vigour, that ſhe ſecured many perſons who were upon the point of being overwhelmed by their calumniators. Her capacity was not the fruit of experience; for being but a young woman, ſhe was conſulted about affairs of the greateſt moment by her father Antipater, one of the wiſeſt Politicians of that time (*b*). We might know the particulars of this princeſs's capacity (*c*), if we had all the books of Diodorus Siculus; but we have loſt that part of his Hiſtory which contained them. Philla married firſt (*d*) Craterus (*e*), who of all the captains of Alexander was moſt beloved by the Macedonians. After the death of Craterus ſhe married Demetrius (*f*), and was the chief of her ſecond huſband's wives [*A*], but ſhe had no great ſhare in his love: he

(*a*) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xix, cap. lix, pag. m.* 1013.

(*b*) Ib. *p.* 1014.

(*c*) *See* Diod. Sic. ibid.

(*d*) Ib. *p.* 1013.

(*e*) Plut. in Demetrio, *pag.* 895, *A.*

(*f*) Diod. Sic. & Plut. ibid.

[*A*] *She was the chief of Demetrius's wives.*] He had ſeveral at the ſame time: our Phylla: Eurydice iſſued from Miltiades, and widow of Opheltes king of Cyrene (1). Deidamia, daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus (2). Phylla was moſt eſteemed, and moſt in credit. I wiſh the author who ſays ſo, had imputed that preference to the great merit of this lady; but he aſcribes it only to the glory of Antipater, and to that of Craterus. Πολλαῖς ἅμα συνῆν γυναιξὶν ὧν ἀξίωμα μεγιστον εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν Φίλλα, διὰ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διὰ τὸ προσυνῳκηκέναι Κρατερῷ. *Multas uno tempore conjuges*

(1) Plut. in Demetrio, *pag.* 894, *E.*

(2) Id. ib. *pag.* 900, *B.*

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he was a voluptuous prince (g), who kept ſeveral miſtreſſes at the ſame time, ſome of whom had been common whores. He grew weary of Philla under pretence that he was younger than ſhe (b); yet he was extremely fond of the courtezan Lamia, though ſhe was upon the decline (i). Philla died after a tragical manner; for when ſhe heard that Demetrius had loſt his dominions, ſhe had not the courage to ſee him as a miſerable fugitive, but ſhe poiſoned herſelf, curſing the fortune of her huſband (k), who had been leſs conſtant in her favours to him, than in her ill uſage (l). She had by him a ſon (m), and the famous Stratonice (n), who was Seleucus's wife, and whom Seleucus yielded to his ſon Antiochus (o). A niece of the deceaſed quickly ſupplied her place [B].

(g) Plut. ibid.

(b) Id. ib. pag. 902, C.

(i) See the article LAMIA, (Courtezan) remark [C].

(k) Plut. ib. pag. 911.

(l) Μισήσασα τὴν τύχην ἐντεῦθεν βαθυτέραν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἔσεσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πικρὰ φάρμακον ἐκπίουσα. Fortunam ejus execrata quæ in adverſitatibus eſſet quam ſecundis rebus ſtabilior, atque hauſto veneno extincta eſt. *Plut. Ibid.*

(m) Id. ib. pag. 906, E. His name was Antigonus. *Id. ib.* pag. 915.

(n) Id. ib. pag. 903, D.

(o) Id. ib. pag. 907.

conjuges habebat (Demetrius) quarum erat maxima in dignatione & honore Philla, tum propter patrem Antipatrum, tum quod etiam matrimonio juncta fuiſſet Cratero (3). I believe that Antigonus pitched upon her to be his daughter-in-law, conſidering that ſhe was a good match for thoſe two reaſons. Demetrius was very much diſpleaſed with it, by reaſon of the diſproportion of their age; but his father whiſpered to him in the ear a paſſage of Euripides, wherein he made ſome alteration. The meaning of it was, that a man ought to marry a woman in ſpite of nature, when ſhe brings a good portion. Ἀπροθύμως δ' ἔχοντι, λέγεται πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδειον εἰπεῖν, Ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον· ὁμοιότροπόν τι τῷ Δαλευτίου εὐθυρρημονήσας. *Abhorrenti vero dicitur in aurem hoc Euripideum inſuſurraſſe.*

Ubi lucrum ſuadet, reluctetur licet
Natura, ducas conjugem.

(3) Id. ib. pag. 894, 895.

Ubi Ducas conjugem, pro Servias, ſcite ſubjecit (4). It is likely that Demetrius eſteemed Philla, and took care to give her ſome outward marks of his regard, but that he kept her not for his pleaſure. Note, that he deputed her to Caſſander to juſtify his conduct towards Pliſtarchus, who complained very much of him (5). It is a ſign that he thought his wife was fit for a negociation. Note alſo, that he highly reſented the Rhodians giving the king of Egypt a ſhip which they had taken, wherein was the letter which Philla writ to him, and the fine goods ſhe ſent him (6).

(4) Id. ib. pag. 895.

(5) Id. ib. pag. 904, A.

(6) Id. ib. pag. 898. *See alſo* Diod. Sicul. *lib. xx, cap. xciv.*

[B] *A niece of the deceaſed quickly ſupplied her place.*] She was daughter of Ptolemy and Eurydice, ſiſter of Philla, and her name was Ptolemais (7). She had been betrothed to Demetrius during the life of Philla (8). He had a ſon by her called Demetrius, who was afterwards king of Cyrene (9). It is without doubt the ſame whom I have mentioned in the article of ARSINOE.

(7) Id. ib. pag. 911, F.

(8) Id. ib. pag. 904.

(9) Id. ib. pag. 915.

PHILOMELUS, general of the Phoceans, in the beginning of the war that was called Sacred, found no better expedient to reſiſt the enemies of his country [A], than to ſeize upon the temple of Delphos. He took a journey to Lacedæmon to impart his deſign to Archidamus (a), who anſwered him, that he could not openly aſſiſt him in this undertaking, but that he would ſecretly furniſh him with men and money. With ſuch a ſuccour, Philomelus made himſelf maſter of the temple, and put to the ſword thoſe who oppoſed him. He was attacked ſoon after by the Locrians, and he beat them. He was ſo fluſhed with that victory, that he took the decrees of the Amphictyones out of the temple of Delphos, and forced the prieſteſs to give him an Oracle. The anſwer he received could not but be acceptable to him, for the tenor of it was, that it was lawful for him to do any thing he had a mind to. He procured an authentic inſtrument of that revelation, and cauſed it to be read publickly, that every body might know he ſhould act for the time to come under the authority, and with the approbation of the god, whatever he ſhould undertake. He ſent ambaſſadors to all the nations of Greece. The Athenians and Lacedemonians made an alliance with him [B]; but the Thebans and

(a) He was king of Lacedæmon.

[A] *The enemies of his country.*] *Viz.* the Thebans: for they cauſed the ſenate of the Amphictyones to lay an exorbitant fine upon the Phoceans, and they were upon the point of ordering, that if it were not paid, the lands of the Phoceans ſhould be forfeited to the benefit of Apollo (1).

(1) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, cap. xxiii.*

[B] *The Athenians and Lacedemonians made an alliance with him.*] We learn from this Hiſtory one of the political cuſtoms of ſtates. We have already ſeen (2) that the king of Lacedemon, inſtead of diſſuading Philomelus from invading the temple of Delphos, encouraged him to it, and furniſhed him with the means of doing it. Only he ſo managed the buſineſs, that it could not be proved that he had openly eſpouſed the party of Philomelus. He took care that the public authority ſhould not appear in the ſuccours of men and money wherewith he ſupplied the Phocean general. The ſucceſs of that enterprize being doubtful, it was certainly a piece of prudence not to expoſe the glory of Lacedemon by ſome public ſteps againſt the intereſt of religion: but becauſe the invaſion of that temple was like to prejudice a nation (3), which was then the moſt dreaded by all it's neighbours, it was political to favour the impious deſign of thoſe who had a mind to ſubdue the Oracle of Delphos. Such was the cauſe of the conduct of the king of Lacedemon. When that deſign was executed, he pulled off the maſk, and joined openly in a league with Philomelus, tho' he was to have for his enemies, thoſe who declared that they took up arms to ſet the Oracle of Delphos at liberty, and to puniſh the impiety and ſacrilege of the Phoceans. The Athenians and Lacedemonians ſhewed themſelves the moſt ready and zealous to maintain the uſurpers of the temple, either during the life of Philomelus, who began to plunder it, or during the adminiſtration of his ſucceſſors, who profaned all it's treaſures, thoſe ancient and rich monuments of the piety of ſo many nations and princes. Nevertheleſs, the cities of Athens and Lacedemon pretended to be very religious. Feaſts, vows, and ſacrifices, were great things amongſt them. Wo to any one that ſhould have had the boldneſs to ſay any thing againſt the worſhip of the gods: the greateſt Philoſopher in the world would have run the hazard of his life, if he had been ſo bold. How comes it therefore to paſs, that thoſe two cities ſupported and made a league with the Phoceans, who were guilty of an impious action, and had prophaned and deſtroyed the greateſt object of the devotion of all Greece, and even of the Barbarians? The reaſon of it is this: the Phoceans could not have been puniſhed for their impiety, without letting the glory and power of the Thebans grow more formidable than before. But the political intereſt of the Athenians and Lacedemonians required that the Thebans ſhould be weakened: therefore, tho' the intereſt of religion required that the Phoceans ſhould be puniſhed, it was thought more expedient to ſupport and enter into a confederacy with them againſt the Thebans, who were the heads of a kind of Cruſade for the liberty of Apollo. The temporal good of the ſtate has been in all times preferred to religion.

(2) In the text of this article.

(3) The Theban.

An example ſhewing that the temporal good of the ſtate is preferred to religion.

Diodorus Siculus obſerves, that the Phoceans furniſhed the Athenians and Lacedemonians with more ſubſidies than was neceſſary for the payment of the troops (4). It was not therefore a chargeable alliance, but

(4) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, cap. lviii.*

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and ſome others joined in a league againſt him. Which occaſioned the Sacred War. Philomelus left the treaſures of the temple untouched; he was contented to lay great taxes upon the inhabitants of Delphos, who were grown rich with the ſpoils of the devotion of other nations. He took the field with a great army, and beat the Locrians. That victory ſwelled his courage, and abated that of the vanquiſhed, but it increaſed the number of his enemies. Therefore finding himſelf obliged to oppoſe greater forces to them, he laid aſide the thoughts of reſpecting the temple [C], and took great treaſures from it. Having promiſed great pay to all ſtrangers that ſhould liſt themſelves under him, he eaſily raiſed many troops, though conſcientious men refuſed to ſerve under him [D]. He entred into the country of the enemies, and had the advantage in the firſt rencounters: but ſoon after there happened an occaſion which forced him to maintain a running fight thro' very bad ways: ſo that being unwilling to be taken, and ſeeing no way to avoid it, but by killing himſelf, he threw himſelf headlong from a rock. Onomarchus, his brother, ſucceeded him. His other brother, Phayllus, ſucceeded Onomarchus. The latter compleated the plundering of the treaſures of the temple. They uſed ſome caution at firſt; but at laſt they totally plundered it, and yet the Athenians and Lacedæmonians departed not from their alliance (b). Theſe things happened in the time of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. The Hiſtorian who relates them, does not forget the tragical end of thoſe who committed theſe ſacrileges [E].

(b) *Taken from* Diodorus Siculus, *lib. xvi, cap. xxiii, & ſeq. ad Olympiadem CVI.*

Nay, but it was a very odious one; for every body knew that the Athenians and Lacedemonians had a ſhare in the profit of the ſacrilege. They furniſhed the Phoceans with troops, and received from them a ſubſidy more than ſufficient for the pay of thoſe troops. There happened another thing which gave occaſion to talk againſt the Athenians. Dionyſius, tyrant of Sicily, was ſending into Greece ſome gold and ivory ſtatues, which he deſigned to conſecrate in the temples of Delphos and Jupiter Olympian. Iphicrates commanded then an Athenian fleet near Corcyra. He took among other ſhips thoſe which carried the ſtatues, and aſked his maſters what he ſhould do with them. The people being aſſembled about it, made a decree whereby Iphicrates was ordered not to examine ſo narrowly what concerns the gods, but to take a ſpecial care of the ſubſiſtence of the troops. Πειτυχῶν ταῖς κομιζέσαις αὐτὰ ναυσὶν ὁ Ἰφικράτης καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν, διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπερωτῶν τί χρὴ πρᾶξαι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προσέταξαν αὐτῷ μὴ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως στρατιώτας διατρέφῃ (5). *Iphicrates in naves, quæ dona votiva portabant, fortè fortuna incidens, in poteſtatem redactas Athenas mitteret, cum hac ſciſcitatione, quid facto nunc opus eſſet? populuſque contra, non ſcrupuloſè Deorum res examinare, ſed quomodo militem alat, providere, ipſum juberet.* He underſtood ſo well the meaning of that decree, that he cauſed all the ſtatues to be ſold, as well as the other goods taken by his privateers. The Athenians were ſeverely upbraided with it (6), and Diodorus obſerves, that they plundered Apollo by ſea and land, tho' they acknowledged him to be their founder. He obſerves likewiſe the fantaſtical humour of the Lacedemonians, who pretended to be beholden to the Oracles of Apollo for their glory and proſperity, and yet joined in a confederacy with thoſe impious men who plundered the temple of Delphos. So the world goes, and ſo it will go. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἓν περὶ τὸ θεῖον τοιαῦτα ἔπραξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' εὐχόμενοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῷον αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόγονον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῷ περὶ Δελφὸς μαντείῳ χρησάμενοι, καὶ τὴν θαυμαζομένην παρὰ πᾶσι πολιτείαν διὰ τῆτο κτησάμενοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν ἐπερωτῶντες, ἐτύλμησαν τοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσασι κοινωνῆσαι τῆς παρανομίας. *Hæc tum Athenienſes in Numen committere non verebantur, qui tamen Apollinem Deum patrium & progenitorem ſuum eſſe gloriari ſolebant. Lacedæmonii etiam, quamvis Rempublicam ſuam cunctis gentibus admirabilem Delphici oraculi conſilio inſtituiſſent, deque rebus maximis (ut ad hanc uſque tempeſtatem factitant) Dei voluntatem exquirerent, cum profligatiſſimis tamen ſani expilatoribus ſacrilegæ impietatis ſocietatem inire non dubitant* (7).

(5) *Id. ib. pag.* 453. The Latin tranſlation of thoſe words in the edition in 8vo, is in the 781ſt page.

(6) See in *Diodorus Siculus, ibid.* the letter which Dionyſius the tyrant writ to them.

(7) Ibid.

[C] *He laid aſide the thoughts of reſpecting the temple.*] I ſhall quote Diodorus Siculus. Ὁ Φιλόμηλος ἐκεῖνε μισθοφόρων ἀθροίζειν ἐπήδα, προσδεόμενος δὲ τῆ πολέμε χρημάτων πλειόνων, ἠνεγκάζετο τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συλᾶν τὸ μαντεῖον (8). Philomelus majore conductitii militis robore ſe confirmare ſtatuit. At quia majores bellum ſumptus flagitabat, donariis ſacris manus injicere coactus, templum deprædatur (9). - - - *Philomelus reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf with a greater number of mercenary troops. But as he wanted more money to carry on the war, he plundered the temple, and ſeized on its gifts and treaſures.* It does plainly appear from theſe words, that Philomelus ſpared not the treaſures, or the *ex votos* and other gifts of the temple of Delphos. Nevertheleſs, Diodorus Siculus affirms the contrary in the ſame book. I do not know whether this contradiction was ever taken notice of. Τῶν δὲ προγεγενημένων στρατηγῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀρξας φιλόμηλος ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος προσαγορευόμενος μὲν Ὀνόμαρχος ἀδελφὸς δ' ὢν φιλομήλε πλεῖστα τῶν τῆ θεῆ χρημάτων καθιδάπανησε, τρίτος δὲ Φάυλλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνομάρχε στρατηγήσας ἐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων καθιερώθη εἰς τὰς τῶν ξένων μισθοφοράς (10). Priorum ſanè ducum, qui primus imperium geſſerat, Philomelus à ſacris templi donariis ſe continuerat, ſucceſſor verò ejus & frater Onomarchus plurimum de conſecratis Deo ad belli ſumptus convertit. Tertius inde Phayllus Onomarchi frater, dum Prætoris munere fungitur, non pauca de repoſitis in templo, ad perſolvendum conductitiis ſtipendia, concidit (11). - - - *Philomelus the firſt general abſtained from the ſacred gifts of the temple, but Onomarchus, his brother and ſucceſſor, applied many of them to defray the charges of the war. Phayllus, brother to Onomarchus, the third general, converted moſt of the treaſure to the payment of the mercenary ſoldiers.*

(8) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, pag.* 430, 431, *Edit. Hanov.* 1604.

(9) They who have no other edition but the Latin one in 8°, 1611, will find this in the 30th chapter of the 16th book, *pag.* 759.

(10) Diodor. ibid. *pag.* 432.

(11) Pag. 782, of the Edit. in 8vo.

[D] *Conſcientious men refuſed to ſerve under him.*] Τῶν μὲν ἓν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν πολεῖς ἀπεγράψατο πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς θεὰς εὐσέβειαν· οἱ δὲ πονηρόταλοι καὶ θεῶν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν καταφρονήσαντες, προθύμως συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν φιλόμηλον. Modeſtorum tamen virorum nullus eam in militiam nomen ſuum eſt profeſſus, quòd pietas erga deum aliud ſuadebat. Interim deterrimus quiſque, deoſque lucri ſui gratiâ nauci habens, cupidè Philomelo ſeſe aggregat (12). - - - *No pious man would liſt himſelf in that war, becauſe religion diſſuaded him from it. But every profligate fellow, for the ſake of gain deſpiſing the gods, willingly offered their ſervice to Philomelus.*

(12) Diod. Sicul. *lib. xvi, cap. xxx, pag.* 779, *Edit. Lat. in 8vo.*

[E] *Diodorus Siculus does not forget the tragical end of thoſe who committed theſe ſacrileges.*] This obſervation of the Hiſtorian (13) ought not to be looked upon as a ſuperſtitious one; for tho' the temple of Delphos was conſecrated to a falſe god, yet it was an impious thing, and a ſacrilege to plunder it, when they believed that Apollo was a true god. I own, that none but the true GOD can change the nature of prophane things, they cannot become ſacred but by his inſtitution. Thus all the gifts conſecrated in the temple of Delphos remained in their former ſtate. The golden tiles which king Croeſus had conſecrated in it (14), were nothing but gold; it was as lawful to coin it, as it is to coin an ingot that comes from the mine; it was, I ſay, lawful for thoſe who profeſſed not the religion of the Heathens; but they who believed that the gifts of the temple of Delphos were conſecrated to GOD, could not invade them without committing a downright ſacrilege, which the true GOD, who is the only

(13) Ubi ſuprà, *cap. laſt, pag.* 779, 780.

(14) Id. ib. *pag.* 780.

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Nay, he obſerves that the divine juſtice did ſeverely purſue the women who made bold to adorn themſelves with the ornaments taken by their huſbands from the temple of Delphos (*c*), but he does not mention a woman dancer, to whom ſuch a preſent proved very fatal [*F*]. Juſtin obſerves, that tho' the action of the Phoceans was abhorred by every body, yet they were leſs hated for it, than thoſe (*d*) who reduced them to that neceſſity (*e*). The envy or hatred of an infamous action is commonly divided in ſuch a manner, and that diſtribution is not altogether unjuſt; for they who force a man to do a deſperate thing, act more freely than he. Pauſanias makes an obſervation which will not be improperly ſet down in this place. Philomelus, ſays he, having adviſed the Phoceans to plunder the temple of Delphos, and having made uſe of ſeveral plauſible reaſons, perſuaded them to do it, whether God had blinded them, or whether they naturally preferred gain to religion (*f*). He tells us (*g*), that Philomelus was a native of Ledon, a town of Phocis, and that the temple was plundered the fourth year of the CVth Olympiad.

(*c*) See the remark [*A*] of the article CALLIRHOE, at the end, and the remark [*S*] of the article HELENA.

(*d*) Viz. the Thebans.

(*e*) Juſtin. *lib. xiii, cap. i.*

(*f*) Εἴτε τὴν γνώμην σφίσι τοῦ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, εἴτε καὶ ἀ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐπιπροσθεν ἐυσεβείας τὰ κέρδη ποιεῖσθαι. Sive quod mentem Deus à rectis conſiliis avertiſſet, ſeu quod is populus ſuapte natura religioni ſolitus eſſet quæſtum antepone re. *Pauſan. lib. x, pag.* 318.

(*g*) Id. ib. *pag.* 317.

only infallible judge of the quality of human actions, and the only diſpenſer of rewards and puniſhments, thought fit to puniſh; I ſpeak of the puniſhments which the Jews had deſerved if they had plundered the temple of Solomon (15).

That the reader may know how great was the devotion of the Heathens towards their falſe gods, I ſhall obſerve by the by, that the gold and ſilver taken out of the temple of Delphos on that occaſion, and turned into current money, amounted to ten (16) thouſand talents (17). Some ſay that the wealth which the Phoceans took out of it, equals what Alexander found ſince in the treaſures of king Darius (18).

(16) It is about one million nine hundred and thirty eight thouſand pounds.

(17) Diod. ubi ſupra.

(18) Ibid.

[*F*] *He does not mention a woman dancer to whom ſuch a preſent proved very fatal.*] That is, a preſent taken out of the ſpoils of the temple of Delphos. Our Philomelus gave the golden crown of the Cnidians to Pharſalia, a woman-dancer. A fine deſtination this, and how agreeable to the intention of the Cnidians! *Non hos quæſitum munus in uſus.* What a leap from the arch of a temple, to the head of ſuch a woman! However, ſhe had an ill bargain of it: She went over from Greece into Italy, and one day, as ſhe was dancing at Metapontum, in the temple of Apollo, ſome young men ruſhed upon her crown, and ſtrove ſo hard to take away the booty from one another, that they tore in pieces the body of Pharſalia, as we read in Plutarch (19).

(19) Plut. de Pythiæ Oracul. *pag.* 397, 398.

(15) *See the* Penſées ſur les Cometes, *num.* 118. *See alſo theſe words of Seneca, lib. vii, cap. vii, de Benef.* Injuriam ſcrilegus Deo quidem non poteſt facere, quem extra ictum ſua divinitas ponuit: ſed punitur, quia tanquam Deo fecit. Opinio illum noſtra, ac ſua, obligat pœnæ. - - - *A ſacrilegious perſon cannot properly do an injury to God, becauſe by his divine nature he is placed above our reach; but he is puniſhed, becauſe he did it with that wicked intention. Our own opinion, as well as his, ſubjects us to puniſhment.*

PHILO. Peter Bellier, Doctor of the Civil Law, tranſlated into French a part of Philo's works, and dedicated it to Mr de Chiverni, Chancellor of France. The verſion was reviſed, corrected, and augmented with three books, tranſlated from the Greek original by Frederic Morel, Dean of the Lecturers and Interpreters of the king, and in that ſtate it was reprinted at Paris in the year 1612 in 8vo, and dedicated by the ſame Morel to Philip Huraut biſhop of Chartres, ſon to the Chancellor de Chiverni.

PHLEGON, ſurnamed *Trallianus* (*a*), compoſed ſeveral books, of which there is but little extant [*A*]. He was a freed-man of the emperor Hadrian. Thoſe who were of opinion that he was Auguſtus's freed-man (*b*), had never read his books. He lived, at leaſt 'till the eighteenth year of the empire of Antoninus Pius (*c*), for he mentions

(*a*) That is, born at Trallis, (a city of Lydia).

(*b*) Suidas, in Φλέγων, mentions that opinion.

(*c*) The year of CHRIST 156.

[*A*] *He compoſed ſeveral books, of which there is but little extant.*] He writ a Hiſtory of the Olympiads, divided into ſixteen books (1). It was an univerſal Hiſtory (2), which reached from the firſt Olympiad (3), to the CCXXIXth (4). It is ſometimes quoted under the name of Olympiads, and ſometimes under the name of Chronicles. Photius joins thoſe two titles together, ἀναγνώσθη, ſays he (5), Φλέγοντος Τραλλιανὸς . . . ὀλυμπιονικῶν καὶ χρονικῶν συναγωγή. *Lecta mihi Phlegontis Tralliani . . . . Olympicorum & Chronicorum collectio.* Origen (6) and Maximus (7) have quoted it under the title of Chronicles; Stephanus Byzantinus did the ſame (8), but he quoted it oftner under the name of Olympiads. Salmaſius was of opinion, that Phlegon's Chronicles were, perhaps, a diſtinct work, and divided into eight books (9). But would he have ſaid ſo, if he had taken notice of the title mentioned by Photius, and of the citations to be found in Origen and Maximus. The former quotes the thirteenth or fourteenth book of the Chronicles, and the latter the fourteenth, to prove, by the teſtimony of a Heathen, the ſame matters of fact which Euſebius relates (10) as being contained in the thirteenth book of Phlegon's Olympiads. I do not think that theſe words of Suidas, τὰ πραχθέντα πανταχῆ. *res ubique geſtæ, - - - an univerſal Hiſtory*, ought to be ſeparated from what goes before, and only referred to what follows; for they do exactly ſuit with the Hiſtory of the Olympiads which he mentions juſt before. But if I do not follow the opinion of Salmaſius herein (11), I do not reject it as to this, *viz.* that Suidas meant that Phlegon compoſed another work, divided into eight books, which contained alſo τὰ πεπραχθέντα πανταχῆ, *res ubique geſtas.* It happens pretty often, that a general Hiſtory is compoſed according to different methods, by the ſame author. Photius, who had read the five firſt books of Phlegon's Olympiads (12), gives a ſummary of the CLXXVIIth Olympiad, where they ended. One may judge of the whole piece by that ſpecimen, and it muſt be acknowledged, as Voſſius ſays, that if we had that Chronicle, it would be very uſeful to clear up a great many things; but this does not prove, that Photius had no reaſon to blame the trifling niceties upon which Phlegon enlarged, and which tired the readers, and covered the moſt memorable facts with their ſhadow (13). And therefore there is ſomething in the following words of Voſſius, which may be diſapproved: 'Non penitus probare poſſum quod idem (*Photius*) 'reprehendit anxiam illam curam in Olympiadibus 'recenſendis, atque iis annotandis quæ ſingularum 'tempore contigerunt. Imo vero utinam totum 'Chronicon extaret. Multum enim lucis abſque du'bio priſcæ inde Eccleſiæ temporibus accederet (14). '- - - *I cannot altogether commend Photius, for blam'ing that ſcrupulous care in relating the Olympiads, and 'obſerving thoſe things which happened under each of 'them. I wiſh the whole Chronicle were extant. It 'would undoubtedly afford great light to the Hiſtory of 'the primitive church.*' It will appear from the words of Photius, which I ſhall quote in the remark [*E*], that what he cenſures has been miſrepreſented by Voſſius. There is nothing extant of that work of Phlegon, beſides a fragment, which does not take up ſix pages in the Leyden edition 1622, in 4to. His treatiſe περὶ μακροβίων, *de longævis, - - - of thoſe who have lived to a great age*, is ſhort enough, and it is likely we have it not entire (15), for there is nothing

(1) Suidas, in Φλέγων.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Phot. Bibl. n. 97, *p.* 265.

(4) Suidas, ibid. Anonymus in Deſcript. one Olymp.

(5) Phot. ibid.

(6) Orig. *lib. ii,* contra Celſum.

(7) Maxim. in Schol. ad Dionyſii Areopag. Ep. VII, apud Meurſium, Not. ad Phlegontem, *pag.* 170.

(8) Vid. Meurſ. ibid. *pag.* 169.

(9) Salmaſ. in Spartian. Hiſtor. Adriani, *cap. xvi, pag. m.* 151, *Tom. i.*

(10) See the remark [*D*].

(11) Salmaſ. ubi ſupra.

(12) Phot. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 268.

(13) I have ſet down the words of Photius in the remark [*E*].

(14) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græc. *lib. ii, cap. xi, pag. m.* 219.

(15) Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

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tions the consuls of that year (*d*), which is 142 years after the death of Augustus. He had a freed-man, who was an author [*B*]. It was thought that the History of Hadrian, which was published under the name of Phlegon, was written by Hadrian himself [*C*]. Phlegon speaks of the resurrection of a young woman as an ocular witness (*e*). See Mr de Tillemont (*f*). It is pretended that he spoke of the darkness which hapenned during our Saviour's passion [*D*]. Photius blames him for enlarging too much upon insignificant

(*d*) Phleg. de Rebus mirabilib. *cap. x.*

(*e*) Phleg. ibid. *cap. i.*

(*f*) Tillemont, Hist. of the Emperors, *Tom. ii, pag. 467. Edit. of Brussels.*

thing in it concerning some illustrious persons, who lived to a very great age. As for his treatise περὶ θαυμασίων, *de rebus mirabilibus, - - - of things wonderful*, it contains one hundred and thirty five chapters, most of them very short, and there is something wanting in the beginning. These are the broken remnants of Phlegon's works. Xylander rendered them into Latin, and published them at Basil, together with the Greek, and some notes, in the year 1568. Meursius put out a new edition of them at Leyden, with his own remarks, in the year 1622. You will find in Suidas the title of part of the other writings of Phlegon.

[*B*] *He had a freed-man who was an author.*] This appears from these words of Spartianus: 'Legisse me apud Ælium Maurum Phlegontis Tralliani 'libertum memini, Septimium Severum immoderatissi- 'me cum moreretur lætatum quod duos Antoninos pari 'imperio reipublicæ relinqueret (16). - - - *I remember* 'I have read in Ælius Maurus, the freed-man of Phlegon 'Trallianus, that Septimius Severus, when he died, was 'extremely glad that he left two Antonini equal sharers 'in the government of the empire.' Andreas Schottus pretends, without any good reason for it, that there is a fault in these words, and that they ought to be read thus: *apud Ælii Hadriani libertum Phlegontem Trallianum* (17.) He wonders the critics had not yet made that correction: *Quod mendum magnos ævi nostri criticos fugisse quos nihil pæne fugit, equidem miror: sed & posteris spicas relinquunt non inviti* (18). He had no reason to wonder at it, for it is not at all likely that Spartianus quoted Phlegon in that place. How can any one fancy that this freed-man of Hadrian outlived Severus, who died 74 years after Hadrian? See Vossius, who made use of this chronological reason against Andreas Schottus (19). The Printers have been very faulty in that place (20).

(16) Spartian. in Vita Severi, *cap. xx, pag. m. 632, Tom. i.*

(17) Andreas Schott. Observat. humanar. lib. ii, cap. xix, pag. 57.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. *lib. ii, cap. ii, pag.* 276.

(20) They have put in *Trullanus* twice, instead of *Trallianus*, and *anno* instead of *uno*. They have also left out several words.

[*C*] *It is thought the history of Hadrian, which was published under the name of Phlegon, was written by Hadrian himself.*] I have already made that observation in another place (21), but I repeat it here, and I shall add to it the very words of Spartianus; 'Famæ celebris 'Adrianus tam cupidus fuit, ut libros vitæ suæ scriptos 'à se libertis suis literatis dederit, jubens ut eos suis 'nominibus publicarent: nam Phlegontis libri Adri- 'ani esse dicuntur (22). - - - *Adrian was so greedy of* 'fame, that he gave the books of his own life, writ- 'ten by himself, to his freed-men, ordering them to pub- 'lish them under their names: for Phlegon's books are 'said to be writ by Adrian. Those words have been taken in a wrong sense by a German author, who says, 'Eos (*libros de mirabilibus, Olympiadibus, & longævis*) tanti æstimavit Hadrianus, famæ percelebris 'cupidus, ut pro suis venditarit, ut collegere licet ex 'Ælio Spartiano *in vita Hadriani* (23). - - - *Adrian* 'so much esteemed those books concerning wonderful things, 'the Olympiads, and long-lived persons, and was so greedy 'of fame, that he gave out they were done by himself, 'as we may gather from Ælius Spartianus in the life 'of Adrian.' How strangely are the words of Spartianus perverted! This German author pretends, that Hadrian put his name to Phlegon's writings; and, in order to prove it, he quotes an author who says, that Hadrian caused the name of Phlegon to be put to his own work. Before I leave off I must observe a mistake of Moreri: He has committed few faults that deserve more than this to be mended. *Phlegon*, says he, *the emperor Adrian's freed-man, had a great share in that prince's friendship, who published a history of his life under his name. He relates in his 14th book, that the fourth year of the* CCII*d Olympiad*, &c. The construction of these words is so odd, that it is a very hard matter to understand them: they signify, according to the laws of our Grammarians, that Hadrian set his name to the history of his life which he published; but this is false and against Moreri's intention: Now those words being contrary to the rules of Grammar, they may be understood as if that emperor had published Phlegon's history under Phlegon's name; or, as if he had published it under his own name. Here is another fault. The construction of those words is such, that every reader will think, the event of that fourth year of the CCIId Olympiad, is to be found in the fourteenth book of the history published by Hadrian. The reader will be therefore deceived; for if he gets out of that snare, he will fall into another, he will think that Phlegon composed but one work.

(21) Above, citation (49), of the article ADRIAN.

(22) Spartian. in Adriano, *cap. xvi, pag. m.* 150.

(23) Tobias Magirus, Eponymolog. Critic. *pag.* 659, *Edit.* 1687.

[*D*] *It is pretended that he spoke of the darkness which happened during our Saviour's passion.*] As the book, which contained the words on which this pretension is grounded, is not extant, the best thing I can do is to set down the words of Eusebius: That author does not affirm, in a general way, that Phlegon said this or that; he quotes his very words, Γράφει δὲ καὶ λέγει ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας . . . . . περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ιγ, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε. τῷ δ' ὅτε τῆς σζ Ὀλυμπιάδ@ ἐγενήθ ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν γνωρισμένων πρότερον. καὶ νὺξ ὥρα ς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι. σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμεν@ τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατέσκαψε, καὶ ταῦτα ὁ ἁλωβὴς ἀνήρ (24). That is according to St. Jerom's translation; 'Scribit vero super his & Phlego qui Olym- 'piadum egregius supputator est, in tertio decimo 'libro ita dicens: *quarto autem anno* CCII *olympiadis* 'magna & excellens inter omnes quæ ante eam accide- 'rant, defectio solis facta: dies hora sexta in tenebro- 'sam noctem versus, ut stellæ in cælo visæ sint, terræ- 'que motus in Bithynia Nicææ urbis multas ædes sub- 'verterit. Hæc supradictus vir (25). - - - Phlegon 'likewise writes of these things, who was an excellent 'calculator of Olympiads: in the thirteenth book he 'thus speaks: *But in the fourth year of the* CCII*d Olym-* 'piad there was a great eclipse of the sun, greater than 'any that had happened before: noon-day was turned in- 'to obscure night, so that the stars were seen in the 'heavens, and an earthquake in Bithynia overthrew 'many houses in the city of Nicæa. Thus far the above- 'mentioned writer.' You see that Eusebius pretends, that those words of Phlegon relate to the prodigies which attended the crucifixion of Christ. Several other Fathers pretended the same thing; but it is a pretension liable to some difficulties, the greatest whereof in my judgment, lies in this. No man was more fond than Phlegon to compile wonderful events, and to observe the supernatural circumstances thereof (26.) How comes it then, that a man of such a character did not observe what was most prodigious in the eclipse, which, it is said, he speaks of, I mean, that it happened when the moon was in the full? This objection was, without doubt, proposed; and, it is likely, that some found the best way to answer it was to assert, That Phlegon had set down that circumstance. Φλέγων ἱστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρ@ ἐν πανσελήνῳ ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου γεγονέναι: *Narrat Phlegon imperante Tiberio Cæsare solis eclipsin plenilunio contigisse* (27). Those words of Africanus are quoted by Syncellus, wherein it is positively said, that Phlegon mentions an eclipse of the sun which happened under the empire of Tiberius at a full moon. But Phlegon said no such thing: if he had, Eusebius had not failed to mention it; and Origen would not have said, that Phlegon omitted that circumstance. *Et Phlegon quidam in Chronicis suis scripsit in principatu Tiberii Cæsaris factum: sed non significavit in luna plena factum* (28). If it be objected, that he does not say neither, that the eclipse in question happened at the new moon (29). I answer, that there was no need for him to say so, it being a thing to be supposed. The observation of Philoponus is of no use; it is a false gloss: He pretends that Phlegon having mentioned an eclipse not like those that were observed till then, intimated the darkness which happened at the time of our Saviour's passion. Ἐγένετο ἡλίου ἔκλειψις ὐκ ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον . . . . . μὴ ἐγνῶσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἔκλειψιν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις. *Contigit eclipsis solis cujusmodi nulla ante cognita est . . . . superioribus non esse cognitam eclipsim hujusmodi . . . .* (30.) That author shews too great an inclination

(24) Euseb. in Chron. d Olymp. 68. *pag.* 202, *Edit. Scaligeri Amstel.* 1658.

(25) See the same *Edit. of Scalig. pag.* 158.

(26) Ex quo loco apparet quale fuerit argumentum librorum Olympiadum Phlegontis. Nam sub quaque Olympiade, quid toto orbe factum effert recenseat, prodigia præcipue & monstra, reliquas alias mirabiles memorabilesque. *Salmas. in Spart. pag.* 158, *Tom. i.*

(27) Africanus, apud Georgium Syncellum in Chronographia, citante Hieron. Demonstr. Evangel. *Prop. III, pag. m.* 49.

(28) Orig. in Matthæum, *Tract. XXIV.*

(29) Atque ne quis interpretetur id factum ut Moon vir. Quæ in medio reliquit. *Hist. mund.*

(30) Philoponus, de Mundi Creatione, *Lib. ii, apud Hist. mund.*

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insignificant things, and for having collected too many answers of the Oracles. That censure is so judicious, that it deserves to be recited here [*E*].

elination to make people speak according to the interest of his party, and at the cost of sincerity. Phlegon did not say in general, that the eclipse we speak of was of another nature than all those that were seen before. Such a general way of speaking would bear several interpretations, and might favour the cause of Philoponus. But Phlegon made use of a limited expression; he said, that eclipse was greater than those that were observed before. That expression may be fully understood, by supposing that he mentions an eclipse which happened during the Perigæum of the moon, and was a central one. Such an eclipse happens so seldom, that an Historian who relates such things according to the impression they make upon the minds of men, and not according to the exact observations of an Astronomer, who has consulted the ephemerides of all ages, might very well make the observation which Phlegon made. See what the French Historians observe about the eclipse of the second of October 1605.

Note it is not certain that Phlegon said, that the earthquake which overthrew several houses in the city of Nicea, happened at the time of the eclipse. Perhaps he meant only, that those two events were observed in the same year. If you will have it by any means that Phlegon denoted the same day, you lie open to another difficulty; for you must suppose that the light of the sun disappeared at noon in Bithynia, and consequently that the darkness at the time of our Saviour's passion, was general over all the earth. That opinion was always opposed by some persons who had no design to prejudice orthodoxy (31), and it is liable to a difficulty, the weight whereof is not easily born; for how can it be apprehended, that if that darkness had happened all over the world (32), Phlegon should be the only man, or almost the only one (33) that mentioned it? We must not forget that Mr Huet (34) blames Kepler for asserting that Phlegon's eclipse ought to be placed under the 24th of November, of the second year of the CCIId Olympiad.

I come now to a critical observation of another kind. Eusebius pretends, that Phlegon writ this in the 13th book of his history. Origen says, that it was in the 13th or 14th (35). Maximus quotes only the 14th (36). Meursius is of opinion, that the quotation of Maximus is the right one; for which he gives this reason: Phlegon, says he (37), had a mind that each book of his history should contain fifteen Olympiads: but having not lived long enough to make an end of the last book, it contain'd only four Olympiads. It appears, by supputation, that he was to treat of the CCIId Olympiad in the fourteenth book, and therefore he mentioned the eclipse in that book. The supputation of Meursius is right, but his supposition is false; for that distribution of fifteen Olympiads for each book is a meer fancy, since Photius affirms (38), that the first five books of Phlegon reached to the CLXXVIIth Olympiad. It had been as necessary for Salmasius, as for Meursius, to remember that passage of Photius; he fancied, for want of knowing it, that Phlegon did so divide his work, that the eleven first books contained each fourteen Olympiads, and the five last contained each fifteen (39). This is all false; but here is a reasonable conjecture. Phlegon divided that history into sixteen parts, almost equal: he found materials for it more and more, as he came nearer his own time; and therefore every one of his last books contained but a small number of Olympiads, whereas the five first contained 177. Thus Mezerai's chronological abridgment contains in the first volume the reigns of 31 kings, and the space of 518 years, and only the reign of Henry IV in the last volume (40). The like observation may be made about all the histories of a nation divided into books (41). The first contain more years than the last. If Salmasius had considered this, he had not undertaken to correct a passage of Stephanus Byzantinus. 'In voce Ολύμπιον, (42), says he (43), citat (Stephanus) Phlegontem ἐν πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Ὀλυμπιάδων: in quo nisi fallor mendosæ sunt editiones, legendum enim ἐν ἕκτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ Ὀλυμπιάδων. Cujus emendationis hæc ratio est. Meminerat eo libro Phlegon olympii ab Hadriano vel potius sumptibus Hadriani ab Atheniensibus ædificati. Atqui ejus rei mentionem non nisi ultimo libro, id est decimo sexto facere poterat Phlegon. Nec enim ultra tempora Hadriani olympiadas suas contexuit. - - - *Under the word Olympion, Stephanus cites Phlegon in the fifteenth book of his Olympiads: wherein, if I mistake not, the editions are faulty, for it should be read the sixteenth book. The reason of which amendment is this. Phlegon had mentioned in that book that Olympeium was built by Hadrian, or rather by the Athenians, at the expence of Hadrian. But Phlegon could mention it only in the last book,* viz. *the sixteenth. For his Olympiads go no further than the time of Adrian.*' This critical observation is grounded upon two insignificant reasons; the first is, that Phlegon could not speak of a building erected at the charges of the emperor Hadrian, but in the book which contained the Olympiads belonging to the reign of that emperor. The second is, that he writ the history of those Olympiads only in his last book. If you desire to know the falsity of the first reason, you need only consider, that the best annalists are apt to make some incidental observations, wherein they relate both what happened before, and what came to pass since. If they mention the burning of a town, they do not scruple to observe, that it was founded by such a one, who flourished at such a time, and to say, by way of anticipation, that it was rebuilt thirty years after. They are pleased with those anticipations, especially when they serve to praise the reigning prince. It may very well be, therefore, that Phlegon spoke of an Olympeium under an Olympiad prior to the empire of Hadrian, his master and benefactor; for treating of a thing which happened in the isle of Delos, before the reign of that prince, he might say, that the place where it happened, received afterwards a great honour, seeing the Athenians built there an edifice, which they called Hadrian's new Athens (44), because that emperor furnished them with the money they wanted. It is very likely, that he took hold of every occasion that offered to praise that prince, and spoke of him *in season and out of season*; and therefore the reason alledged by Salmasius is not good. Nevertheless I will not deny that Phlegon mentioned the construction of that building, under the very same year that it was built; but this does not prove, that he spoke of it in his last book. In all likelihood he enlarged more upon the reign of Hadrian, than upon the time that went before. It is the constant practice of all historians. It is therefore likely, that his fifteenth and sixteenth books contained only the Olympiads of Adrian's reign; and so the second reason of Salmasius is not better than the other. He might be further criticised, because he affirms, that Phlegon's history did not reach farther than the reign of that emperor; yet Father Pagi (45), and some other learned men maintain, that the whole CCXXIXth Olympiad was in it; from whence it follows, that it contained also the first four years of the empire of Antoninus.

[*E*] *That censure of Photius is so judicious, that it deserves to be recited here.*] Here it is intire. Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ὕτε λίαν χαμαιπετὴς, ὕτε τὸν ἀτ]ικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διασώζων χαρακτῆρα· ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ὀνόμα]α, καὶ τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς χρεσμὰς ἀκαιρ@ φιλοπονία τε καὶ φιλοτιμία, εἰς κόρον ἀπάγουσα τὸν ἀκροατὴν, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ προκύπ]ειν συγχωρῦσα, ἀηδῆ τε σχεδὸν τὸν λόγον δεικνύει, καὶ χάρι]@ ἐδὲν ἔχειν παρατίθησι. χρησμοῖς δὲ πανοίοις ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐσὶ κεχρημένη@. Auctoris stylus neque omnino humi serpit, neque Atticum usquequaque characterem servat. Alioquin illa nimis putida ipsius accuratio atque diligentia in Olympiadibus percensendis singulorumque certaminum nominibus, & rebus gestis, atque ipsis etiam oraculis referendis, non tædium modo lectori adfert, dum per eam reliqua omnia in hoc libro obteguntur, neque apparere sinuntur: verumetiam injucundum propemodum reddit sermonem, quique gratiæ nihil habere judicetur. Et vero omnis generis Deorum responsa sine modo inculcat (46). - - - *The author, in his stile, is neither altogether mean, nor does he every where keep up to the Attic way of writing. But otherwise, his too much affected accuracy and care in reckoning the Olympiads, and in relating names, facts, and even the very oracles themselves, is not only tedious*

(31) Vid. Anton. Bynæum, de morte Christi, lib. v, pag. 405, & seq.

(32) Vid. Voss. Harm. Evang. lib. ii, cap. x, pag. 322.

(33) I use that restriction because Mr Huet, ubi supra, *pag.* 51, says, that it was mentioned likewise by the Historian Tallus, to which he adds the testimony of the Chinese as it is to be found in the History of China, written by Hadrian Gresson.

(34) Huet. ubi supra, *pag.* 49.

(35) Orig. cont. Cels. *lib. ii.*

(36) Max. Schol. ad Epist. VII, Dionys. Areopag.

(37) Meurs. Not. ad Phlegont. pag. 170.

(38) Phot. ubi supra.

(39) Salmas. ubi supra, *pag.* 151.

(40) Of the Dutch edition divided into six volumes in 12mo.

(41) See the Hist. of France, written by Gaguin, Paul Æmilius, &c.

(42) It should be Ὀλυμπιείων.

(43) Salmas. ubi supra.

(44) Steph. Byzant. voc. Ὀλυμπιείων.

(45) Pagi against Baronius, *ad ann.* 136, *num.* 4.

(46) Phot. Bibl. *num.* 97, *pag.* 268.

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to the reader, whilſt all other things in the book are covered, and not ſuffered to appear; but alſo the language is thereby rendered unpleaſant and ungraceful. And indeed he inculcates without meaſure the anſwers of the gods of every kind.

PHLEGYAS, ſon of the god Mars and Chryſe [*A*], reigned in a diſtrict of Bœotia after the death of Eteocles. This diſtrict which was called *Andreis*, was from him named *Phlegyantis*. He built there a city, to which he gave his own name. He drew thither the braveſt and moſt intrepid warriors of all Greece (*a*): and as he was the moſt valiant man of his time, wherever he went to make incurſions, he never returned without carrying off the corn, cattle, and every thing elſe (*b*). He took his meaſures exceeding well: for, having had a deſign, for inſtance, to ravage Peloponneſus, he went firſt as a traveller to view the ſituation of the country, and to know what number of men could be raiſed to ſerve in that expedition. It is ſaid that his daughter Coronis, who accompanied him, was at that time delivered of Æſculapius near Epidaurus (*c*). The inhabitants of the country where he reigned were called Phlegyans, and continued the way of life which he had led [*B*]. As he left no children, one of his couſins ſucceeded him (*d*) [*C*]. The Poets feigned, that having burnt the temple of Delphos to be revenged on Apollo for getting his daughter Coronis with child, he was caſt down to hell, and expoſed to a very grievous torment [*D*], after Apollo had ſhot him dead with arrows (*e*). Some ſay that Ixion was his ſon (*f*), and others that he was his brother (*g*). I do not find in any ancient author that Phlegyas was king of the Lapithæ in Theſſaly, as Charles Stephens, Lloyd, Hofman, and Moreri, affirm.

(*a*) Ex Pauſania, *lib. ix, cap. xxxvi.*

(*b*) Idem, *lib. ii, cap. xxvi, pag. m.* 170.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Idem, *lib. ix, cap. xxxvi.*

(*e*) Servius, in Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 618.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Strabo, lib. ix, pag. 304.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of Mars and Chryſe.*] Andreus the ſon of the River Peneus was the firſt that ſettled in a province of Bœotia, which upon his account was called Andreis. He married a daughter of Leucon, the ſon of Athamas, and by her had a ſon named Eteocles who ſucceeded him, and who granted a part of the country to Halmus the ſon of Siſyphus (1). This Eteocles leaving no children, Phlegyas, the ſon of Chryſe, daughter to Halmus, ſucceeded him (2).

(1) Pauſan. lib. ix, cap. xxxiv.

(2) Ibid. cap. xxxvi.

[*B*] *The Phlegyans continued the way of life which he had led.*] Homer has mentioned them as a people extremely courageous (3), inſolent, outrageous, and impious (4). They uſed to make incurſions into the neighbouring countries, and carry off whatever they were able, and even undertook to pillage the temple of Delphos (5). Philammon marched againſt them with a choice body of the Argians, and was killed in the engagement, both he and the braveſt of his troops. The impiety and violence of the Phlegyans did not go unpuniſhed: many of them periſhed by lightning and earthquakes, and the reſt were taken off by the plague, excepting a few who retired into Phocis (6). Servius, upon the teſtimony of Euphorion, affirms, that the Phlegyans inhabited an iſland which Neptune, provoked at their ſacrileges, ſtruck with his trident and deſtroyed (7). The ſcholiaſt on Homer relates upon the authority of Pherecydes, that the Phlegyans, otherwiſe called Gortynians (8), an atheiſtical people in Phocis, practiſed a thouſand violences againſt their neighbours, that they burnt the temple of Delphos; that after the death of Amphion and Zethus, who had hindered them from inſulting the city of Thebes, they took it; and that preparing to commit new acts of injuſtice, they were exterminated by Apollo (9). We muſt not forget what Ovid ſays, that Ceyx intending to conſult the Oracle was forced to go to Claros, becauſe the impious Phorbas with the Phlegyans hindered him from going to that of Delphos.

(3) Homer. Iliad. lib. xiii, ver. 302.

(4) Idem, Hymno in Apoll. pag. m. 786.

(5) Pauſan. lib. ix, cap. xxxvi.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Servius, in Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 618.

(8) Strabo, *lib. ix, pag.* 304, obſerves, that the Gyrtonians lived about Peneus and Peleus, and that antiently they had been called Phlegyans. *Stephanus Byzantinus, voce* Γύρτων, ſays, that Gyrton, a town in Theſſaly, was ſo named from Gyrton the brother of Phlegyas.

(9) Schol. Homeri, in Iliad. lib. xiii, ver. 302.

(10) Ovid. Metam. lib. xi, ver. 413.

Ad Clarium parat ire Deum: nam templa profanus
Invia cum Phlegyis faciebat Delphica Phorbas (10).

He purpoſes to ſeek the Clarian god,
Avoiding Delphi, his more fam'd abode,
Since Phlegyan robbers made unſafe the road.

According to Philoſtratus (11), the Phlegyans had choſen Phorbas to be their king, both upon the account of his high ſtature, and becauſe he ſurpaſſed all in cruelty. He ſtopped all thoſe that were going to Delphos, and ſent to the Phlegyans the old men and children; he fought with the young men and beat them, and then cut off their heads: but he was conquered and killed by Apollo.

(11) Philoſtr. in the picture of the Phlegyans.

(12) In Ovid. Metam. lib. xi, ver. 413.

(13) *Lib. v, cap. i, pag. m.* 377.

(14) Vigener. on Philiſtr. in the picture of the Phlegyans, *pag. m.* 815.

It is difficult to diſtinguiſh this Phorbas amongſt all thoſe, that have had that name. Farnaby (12) will have it, that he is the Phorbas, ſon of Lapitha, mentioned by Pauſanias (13): but produces no proof. Vigenere is very much embaraſſed on this head (14). I do not wonder at it, the ſubject is too intricate. We find in Pauſanias a Phorbas, who commanded in Athens before the Olympiads (15): a Phorbas, ſon of Argus and father of Triopus (16): a Phorbas, ſon of Triopus and father of Pellen (17): and the Phorbas, who, according to Farnaby was king of the Phlegyans. There was a Phorbas, ſon of Triopus, that deſtroyed the ſerpents which the iſle of Rhodes abounded with (18). Homer mentions a Phorbas ſon of Triopus (19).

(15) Pauſan. *lib. vi, cap. xix.*

(16) Idem, lib. ii, cap. xv.

(17) *Id. lib. vii, cap. xxvi, pag.* 593.

(18) Hygin. in Aſtronom. *lib. i, cap. xxv. See* Meurſius, in Rhodo, *lib. i, cap. v, pag.* 12, & 13.

(19) Homer. Hymno in Apollin. *pag. m.* 782.

[*C*] *One of his couſins ſucceeded him.*] *viz.* Chryſes the ſon of Neptune and Chryſogenea, daughter to Halmus and ſiſter to Phlegyas's mother. The ſon and ſucceſſor of this Chryſes was named Minyas, and therefore his ſubjects were called Minyans, and they were ſtill called ſo in the time of Pauſanias. It is true that under the reign of Orchomenus, the ſon of Chryſes, they were named Orchomenians: but they kept the ſirname of Minyans, and were thereby diſtinguiſhed from the Orchomenians in Arcadia (20). Note that the Argonauts were commonly ſirnamed Minyans, becauſe ſeveral of them were deſcended from Minyas on the mother's ſide (21): other reaſons are given for it. See Lloyd upon the word *Minyæ*, and Munckerus in his notes upon Hyginus (22).

(20) Ex Pauſan. lib. ix, cap. xxxvi.

(21) *See* Apollonius, *and his* Scholiaſt, Argonaut. *lib. i, ver.* 229.

(22) Cap. xiv, pag. 44.

[*D*] *He was caſt down into Hell, and expoſed to a very grievous torment.*] Theſe words of Virgil are ambiguous,

- - - Sedet, æternumque ſedebit
Infelix Theſeus, Phlegyaſque miſerrimus omnes
Admonet & magna teſtatur voce per umbras
Diſcite juſtitiam moniti & non temnere divos (23).

(23) Virgil. Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 617.

Unhappy Theſeus, damn'd for ever there,
Is fix'd by fate on his eternal chair.
There wretched Phlegyas warns the world with cries
Could warning make the world more juſt and wiſe,
Learn righteouſneſs and dread th' avenging deities.
DRYDEN.

It is not certain whether Phlegyas be the nominative ſingular, or the accuſative plural (24). In the latter caſe, the paſſage of Virgil is no proof of my text: but here are other paſſages without any ambiguity.

(24) *See* Servius in Æneid. *lib. vi, ver.* 618.

- - - - Diſcumbitur altis
Porticibus: ſua cuique furens feſtinaque conjunx
Adjacet. Inferni qualis ſub nocte barathri
Adcubat attonitum Phlegyan & Theſea juxta
Tiſiphone, ſævaſque dapes & pocula libat,
(Tormenti genus) & nigris amplectitur hydris (25).

(25) Valerius Flaccus, Argonaut. *lib. ii, ver.* 190.

You ſee there that the fury Tiſiphone ſat by the victuals, which was preſented to Theſeus and Phlegyas, and that ſhe firſt taſted of it, to inſpire them with an horror and averſion to it, however hungry they might be. Statius has expreſſed it ſtill more clearly:

- - - Ultrix

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- - - Ultrix tibi torva Megæræ
Jejunum Phlegyam ſubter cava ſaxa jacentem
Æterno premit accubitu, dapibuſque profanis
Inſtimulat: ſed miſta famem faſtidia vincunt.
Adſis ô memor hoſpitii, Junoniaque Arva (26).

Wrinkled Megæra is thy miniſter
Tormenting hungry Phlegyas, who does fear
The ever falling ſtone; ſhe proffers meat
To's empty ſtomach, but he loaths to eat.
Great GOD be preſent, think upon the place
That entertain'd thee; ſhew a ſmiling face
To Juno's land. STEPHENS.

(26) Stat. Theb. *lib. i, ſub fin. ver.* 712, *pag. m.* 141. See Barthius on this paſſage.

Virgil has finely deſcribed this kind of puniſhment; but he does not expreſsly ſay, that it was inflicted on Phlegyas: he only names Ixion and Pirithous (27).

(27) Quid memorem Lapithas Ixiona Pirithoumque, &c. *Virgil. Æneid. lib. vi, ver.* 601.

PHRÆA (*a*) (JOHN) a learned Engliſhman, taught the *Belles Lettres* in Italy with great reputation [*A*]. He tranſlated out of Greek into Latin ſome treatiſes of Xenophon, and ſome books of Diodorus Siculus (*b*). He had tranſlated before that a diſcourſe of Syneſius (*c*). It was his firſt eſſay [*B*]. Pope Paul II was ſo well pleaſed with the tranſlation which that learned Engliſhman dedicated to him, that he intended to make him biſhop of Bath (*d*), but death permitted not John Phræa to enjoy that favour. He died in the year 1465 [*C*], before he was inſtalled (*e*). It was thought that he was poiſoned by his competitor (*f*).

Phræa was Fellow of Baliol-College in Oxford (*g*). It is ſaid that Poggius appropriated to himſelf Phræa's tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus [*D*].

(a) See remark [*A*].

(b) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 634.

(c) The encomium of baldneſs.

(d) In England.

(c) Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

(f) Veneno à competitore ex ſtinctum fuiſſe ſuſpicio erat. *Ibid.*

(g) See the remark [*D*].

[*A*] *He taught the Belles Lettres in Italy with great reputation.*] This I find in a dedicatory epiſtle of Beatus Rhenanus (1): 'Is Joannes Phræa, *ſays he*, 'quod non ſine publico Britanniæ, quam nunc Ang' liam vocant, honore dixerim, utramque linguam 'egregie percalluit, bonas literas ſumma cum laude 'non paucos annos, idque in Italia profeſſus. - - - - 'This John Phræa perfectly underſtood both languages, 'which I mention to the public honour of Britain, now 'called England, and for many years he taught the Belles 'Lettres in Italy with great reputation.' Obſerve that he calls him Phræa, and not Phreas, or Phreus, as Voſſius calls him (2). He calls himſelf Joannes Phræa, in the title of a book which I am going to ſpeak of.

(1) *Prefixed to the tranſlation of the* Encomium Calvitii. *See remark* [*B*].

(2) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 634.

(3) Jo. Phræa, in Epiſt. Dedicat. Encomii Calvitiei.

[*B*] *The tranſlation of a diſcourſe of Syneſius, was his firſt eſſay.*] He ſays, in his epiſtle dedicatory, that he would not follow the method of other tranſlators. They begin with ſome authors that are not difficult; and when time and labour have increaſed their ſtrength, they undertake more difficult tranſlations. He does not blame them for it; but he declares, that he thought he ſhould do well to take quite another way, and to begin with Syneſius, one of the moſt obſcure writers that is. Every body, ſays he, ought to know what is proper for him: and Syneſius muſt needs be a difficult author, ſince none of the learned men, who have tranſlated out of Greek into Latin, undertook to tranſlate him. Here are his words. 'Nos vero 'etſi nonnullis perſuaſi rationibus, quas nunc conſulto 'præterire libet, converſum ordinem magis ad doctri- 'nam conducere arbitramur: ea tamen modeſtia hanc 'noſtram defenſamus opinionem, ut neque mihi ipſi 'arrogare, neque quod ſecus alii ſenſerint, id vitio 'illis dare velim. Suis enim quiſque in rebus, quid 'magis, quidve minus ſibi conducat, explorator eſt, '& judex optimus. Itaque mihi in hoc à reliquis 'diſſentienti, à Syneſio ſummo Philoſopho, autoreque 'graviſſimo, interpretationis initium auſpicari placuit. 'quos autem hic ſcripſit libros, tot ac tantis obſtructi 'ſunt difficultatibus, ut haud ſciam ſi qua alia apud 'Græcos extent volumina, quæ cum his aut ſententia- 'rum perplexitate, aut obſcuritate verborum auſim 'conferre. Cujus profecto rei argumentum eſt non 'mediocre, quod in tanto numero interpretum, quos 'noſtra, quoſve prior ætas vidit, nemo unquam in- 'ventus ſit, quod ſciam, qui hujus autoris opus ali- 'quod attigerit (3). - - - - *But tho' I think it con- 'duces more to learning to invert the common method, 'being perſuaded thereto by ſeveral reaſons, which I now 'purpoſely omit: yet I would defend this my opinion with 'ſuch modeſty, as neither to take too much upon myſelf, 'nor to blame others for their different ſentiments. Every 'one is the beſt judge, in his own affairs, of what is 'proper, or not proper for him to do. And therefore I 'thought fit, though in this I differ from others, to 'begin the work of tranſlating with Syneſius, a very 'great Philoſopher, and a very grave author. The books 'he wrote abound with ſo many, and ſo great difficulties, 'that I do not know whether there be any Greek writings 'to be compared with them, either for intricacy of 'thoughts, or obſcurity of words. This evidently appears 'by conſidering, that amongſt ſuch a vaſt number of 'tranſlators, in our own, or the former age, there is not 'one, that I know of, who undertook any of this author's 'works.' Amongſt the writings of Syneſius, Phræa pitched upon his encomium of baldneſs to tranſlate it. Beatus Rhenanus publiſhed that tranſlation at Baſil in the year 1515, to which he added a commentary. It is not mentioned by Father Labbe, nor by Mr du Pin.

[*C*] *He died in the year* 1465.] It is ſtrange that Moreri having faithfully ſet down that date (4), ſhould ſay, notwithſtanding that Phræas *lived in the XIVth century*.

(4) There is a tranſpoſition of numbers in the Dutch edition. It ſhould be 1465, inſtead of 1456.

[*D*] *It is ſaid that Poggius appropriated to himſelf Phræa's tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus.*] Read theſe words: '*Burton hiſt. linguæ Gr. p.* 55. ait Johannem 'Phræam Anglum Colleg. Baliolenſis Socium Diodori '6, libros vertiſie, illamque verſionem Poggium na- 'ctum fuiſſe, & pro ſuo in publicum extruſiſſe, idque 'teſtari quoque *Brian Twyn. Antiq. Oxon.* l. 3. (5). '*Burton, in his hiſtory of the Greek tongue, ſays, that 'John Phræa, an Engliſhman, fellow of Baliol-college, 'tranſlated ſix books of Diodorus Siculus, and that Pog- 'gius having got that tranſlation, publiſhed it under his 'own name, and that this is atteſted likewiſe by* Brian 'Twin. Antiq. Oxon. l. 3.'

(5) Henr. à Sypeſtein, in Epiſtola de Plagiariis, *pag.* 70, *at the end of Almeloveen's* Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ.

PIASECKI (PAUL) in Latin, *Piaſecius*, biſhop of Premiſlia in Poland, lived in the XVIIth century. He publiſhed in 1646 *a fine Hiſtory of what paſſed in the kingdom* of Poland *from Stephen Batthory to that year* (*a*). He *accidentally inſerted, in it the principal affairs of Chriſtendom*. Mr le Laboureur, of whom I have borrowed thoſe words, will tell us what he thought of that work [*A*].

(a) Le Laboureur, A Relation of the Queen of Poland's Journey, *Part ii, pag.* 117.

[*A*] *Mr le Laboureur . . . . will tell us . . . what he thought of that work.*] He ſays that prelate was not ſufficiently informed of ſome affairs of France: *Abating that*, ſays he (1), *it is a piece worthy of the labour of a man of his rank; for he is very impartial, and has ſo generous an abhorrence of flattery, that he does no more ſpare the faults of the late king* (2), *than thoſe of his ſon who reigns at preſent, whom he never praiſes without having a good reaſon for it. He cenſures the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria; he blames the injuſtice of their proceedings, and praiſes, with great ingenuity, the reaſon of our taking up arms, and the alliances we made, to oppoſe the deſign they had upon all the ſtates of Europe.* Here is the judgment which a German author gives on that Hiſtory: 'Quæ noſtram ætatem ſpectant, ea 'Paulus PIASECIUS in *Chronicis geſtorum in 'Europa ſingularium* luculentiùs ſubminiſtrat; negant 'tamen PIASCECIO in omnibus ſecurè fidem 'adhiberi aliqui, & certum eſt, non eſſe ipſum ab 'omni in hiſtoria errore immunem (3). - - - *What re- 'lates to our own age is excellently well written by Paul 'PIASECKI, in his chronicle of the Affairs of 'Europe:*

(1) Le Laboureur, *ubi ſupra.* That relation was written in the year 1646.

(2) That is, of the king of Poland.

(3) Maurit. de Princip. Jur. Publ. c. ii, n. 25, apud Magirum, Eponymolog. *pag. m.* 662.

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'*Europe: but ſome ſay he is not entirely to be relied on* '*in all things, and it is certain he is not without faults* '*in his hiſtory.*' Piaſecki's hiſtory has been re-printed at Amſterdam from the Poliſh edition. Mr Amelot de la Houſſaie quotes it, in his notes upon cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, and elſe-where, which is a proof that he eſteems it.

PICARDS. That name was given to the followers of a certain man, who, about the beginning of the XVth century, over-ſtretched the error of the Adamites, with reſpect to nakedneſs. His name was Picard: he went from Flanders into Germany, and as far as Bohemia. It has been ſaid that he deceived the people with juggling tricks. However it be, he had in a little time a great number of followers, both men and women. He commanded them to go always naked: which was more than was practiſed by the Adamites mentioned by St Epiphanius, who were contented to ſtrip themſelves naked in their aſſemblies. He ſtyled himſelf the Son of God, and pretended that he was ſent into the world by his father, as a new Adam, to reſtore the law of nature, which he ſaid did chiefly conſiſt in two things, viz. the community of women, and the nakedneſs of all the parts of the body (*a*). He fortified himſelf in an iſland of the river Luſmik, ſeven leagues from Thabor, the place of arms of the famous Ziſca. It happened unluckily for him, that forty of his followers having committed great diſorders, drew the forces of that famous General upon the whole crew. Thoſe forty Adamites being gone upon a party, plundered ſome country-houſes, and killed above 200 people. Whereupon Ziſca (*b*) cauſed the iſland to be attacked, made himſelf maſter of it, and put all the Picards to the ſword, except two [*A*], whoſe lives he ſaved, that he might know from them what was their religion. It is ſaid, that though there was no marriages amongſt them, yet no man lay with a woman without the permiſſion of the head of the ſect. Any one, who had an inclination for a woman, was obliged to take her by the hand, and to bring her before Picard, to whom he ſaid, *my ſpirit is grown hot for this woman* (*c*). Picard anſwered him, *go increaſe and multiply*. One of the great principles of that ſect was, that they were the only free perſons in the world: all other men being ſlaves, eſpecially when they hid their privy-parts. This is what ſome women of that ſect meant, whom a Bohemian lord kept priſoners for ſome time. They ſaid that thoſe who wore cloaths, eſpecially thoſe who wore breeches, ought not to be accounted free. They were brought to bed in priſon; and having been condemned to be burnt with their huſbands, they ſuffered that puniſhment laughing and ſinging (*d*). There have been ſome extravagant men among the Anabaptiſts, who had a mind to renew the hereſy of the Picards, with reſpect to nakedneſs [*B*]. That ſort of men have been as much abhorred by the Proteſtants, as by the Catholics, as it is acknowledged by cardinal Hoſius (*e*). Nevertheleſs, the brethren of Bohemia were called *Picards* [*C*], though they had nothing common

(*a*) Varillas, the Hiſt. of Wicleſianiſm, *Part ii, pag.* 43, *and* Hiſt. of Hereſy, *lib. ii, ad ann.* 1420.

(*b*) John Slechta, in a letter to Eraſmus in the year 1519 (it is the 20th of the 14th book of Eraſmus's Letters) ſays, that Picard communicated his errors to Ziſca, and his whole army.

(*c*) In hanc ſpiritus meus concaluit.

(*d*) Ex Æneâ Silvio, de Origine Bohemor. cap. xli.

(*e*) Lib. de utriuſque ſpeciei commun. apud Prateol. *voce* Pikardi.

[*A*] *Except two.*] Mr Varillas pretends, that there was not one man ſaved; but that the *women who proved to be big with child* were ſaved (1). He adds, *that after they were delivered, they refuſed to renounce the licentiouſneſs of their ſect, and ſo they were condemned to be burnt, and threw themſelves into the fire laughing.* I do not know why he does not keep to the account which Æneas Silvius gives, who ſays that Ziſca gave quarter only to two men, 'Adamitas 'omnes gladio delevit, duobus tantum reſervatis, ex 'quibus gentis ſuperſtitionem cognoſceret. - - - - *He* '*put all the Adamites to the ſword except two, by whom* '*he might be informed of the ſuperſtition of the ſect.*' Perhaps he had a mind to rectify that narrative by another paſſage of the ſame Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks of ſome women of that ſect, who lay-in in priſon, and then endured the puniſhment of fire with joy. But that paſſage cannot juſtify Mr Varillas, for we ſee that thoſe women were in priſon with their huſbands, and condemned to be burnt with them. To adjuſt all the parts of that piece, we muſt ſuppoſe either that all the Adamites were not in the iſland that was forced by Ziſca, or that ſome of them were impriſoned before the ſlaughter. If thoſe two ſuppoſitions be denied, it is not true that he ſaved only two Adamites. For the reſt, the Proteſtants have praiſed Ziſca very much for that action (2).

(1) Varillas, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *There have been ſome extravagant men amongſt the Anabaptiſts, who had a mind to renew . . . nakedneſs.*] I have touched upon this in the article of the ADAMITES, and quoted Lindanus, an author of no great authority. But here is a much more credible author, *viz.* Lambertus Hortenſius (3) in his relation of the tumults of the Anabaptiſts, dedicated to the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, whilſt the memory of thoſe things were ſtill freſh. He ſays, that on the thirteenth of February, 1535, ſeven men and five women met at Amſterdam, in the houſe of John Sibert. One of thoſe men, whoſe name was Theodoret Sartor, pretended to be a prophet; he lay upon the ground to pray to God, and having made an end of his prayer, he told one of his brethren, that he had ſeen God in his majeſty; that he had ſpoken to him; that he had deſcended from Heaven into Hell, and that he knew the day of judgment was near at hand. They met again the ſame day, and after they had ſpent four hours in prayer and explications, the Prophet, all of a ſudden, pulls off his helmet and his armour, and throws them into the fire with the reſt of his arms, and ſhews himſelf naked to all the company. He bids them all to do the like: every one obeys ſo exactly, that they did not ſo much as leave a ribbon upon their heads to keep their hair tied. They throw every thing into the fire, as a burnt-offering unto the Lord. Then the prophet bids them follow him, and do as he does. They go out all of them, and run into the ſtreets with moſt horrid cries, *Væ, væ, væ, divina vindicta, divina vindicta, divina vindicta!* Wo, wo, wo, divine vengeance, divine vengeance, divine vengeance! The people being frightened with ſuch howlings, think that the town is taken by the enemy, and take up their arms. The naked crew are apprehended, and brought before the judges: they ſcorn to put on the cloaths that are offerred them. In the mean time the houſe, from which that infamous proceſſion ſet out, was burning, and they had much ado to put out the fire. On the twenty-eighth of March the ſeven men were put to death; and nine of their accomplices were puniſhed in the ſame manner ſome few days after. *Gui de Bres*, a miniſter, relates that hiſtory in a book againſt the Anabaptiſts, printed in 1565 (4). He did not underſtand well the Roman way of dating, *tertio Id. Februarii, quinto Kal. Mart.* which Hortenſius makes uſe of; for he renders it *the third of February*, and *the fifth of March*. He gives a faithful account of the reſt, only he ſays that thoſe men were put to the rack, and beaten. The Latin original does not mention the rack, and the word *percutiuntur* ſignifies a capital puniſhment.

(2) See du Pleſſis Mornai, in his Myſtery of Iniquity, *pag.* 512, and Rivetus, Remarks on the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, *Part ii, pag.* 594.

(3) He was rector of the college of Naërden, his book was printed at Baſil in 1548.

(4) *Intituled*, The Root, Spring, and Foundation, of the Anabaptiſts of our time. *See alſo the Hiſt. of the Anabaptiſts, printed at Amſterdam in the year* 1695, *pag.* 96, *& ſeq. There is a tranſpoſition of numbers, pag.* 95, *viz. the year* 1533 *inſtead of* 1535.

[*C*] *The brethren of Bohemia were called Picards.*] Such they called all thoſe who oppoſed Popery with the greateſt vigour in Bohemia: for Sleidan divides the

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common with those that were exterminated by Ziska. Those who pretend that Tandemus revived the heresy of the Adamites in the XIIth century, as Picard revived it in the XVth (*f*), are not exact; for it is not true that Tandemus (*g*) commanded his followers to wear no cloaths. They have more reason to say so of the Turlupins, as I shall shew in its proper place.

(*f*) Moreri in the article of the Adamites.

(*g*) See his article.

the Bohemians in this manner: 'Ad Bohemos 'quod attinet, sic habet. A morte Joannis Hussi in 'tres potissimum sectas divisus est populus. Una est 'eorum, qui Pontificem Romanum ut Ecclesiæ Prin- 'cipem, & Christi Vicarium agnoscunt, altera eo- 'rum qui cœnam Domini percipiunt integram, & 'in Missis nonnulla recitant lingua populari; cæteris 'autem in rebus à Pontificiis nihil differunt: tertia est 'eorum qui dicuntur Picardi; Pontificem hi Roma- 'num & clientelam ejus omnem appellant Antichri- 'stum, & meretricem illam in Apocalypsi depictam; 'præter biblica scripta nihil recipiunt; Sacerdotes & 'Episcopos sibi deligunt ipsi; matrimonio nemini in- 'terdicunt; mortuis nullas faciunt exequias; dies 'festos & ceremonias habent perpaucas (5). - - - *What 'concerns the Bohemians is as follows. After the death 'of John Hus they were divided chiefly into three sects. 'One of them acknowledges the Pope of Rome, as head 'of the church, and vicar of CHRIST. Another partakes of the Lord's-Supper in both kinds, and in 'that service they recite some things in the vulgar-tongue: 'but in other respects they do not differ from the Papists: 'the third sect is named Picards; they call the Pope, 'and all that adhere to him Antichrist, and the Whore, 'described in the Revelation: they receive nothing be- 'sides the scriptures: they chuse their own bishops and 'priests, they forbid none to marry, they perform no fune- 'ral rites, and have very few festivals and cere- 'monies.*' But Rudigerus, in his history of the brethren of Bohemia, rejects (6) the name of Picards that was imposed on them, and conjectures that it was given them by their enemies, *to dishonour them by so infamous a title, as if we had been only*, says he, *the wretched remains of the lewd Picard, who renewing the ancient heresy of the Adamites, introduced nakedness and infamous actions.* This conjecture is probable enough.

(5) Sleid. *lib. iii. See also* Thuan. *lib. vi, and the letter of John Slechta among those of Erasmus, lib. xiv, pag.* 675.

(6) *Pag.* 148.

PICCOLOMINI (ALEXANDER) archbishop of Patras, coadjutor of Siena, deserves to be reckoned among the illustrious men of the XVIth century. He was born at Siena, and of the same family with Pope Pius II (*a*). He had a great extent of learning, as he shewed by the books he composed upon several subjects [*A*]. Yet I would not have every body believe all that is said of him by his Panegyrists [*B*]. He wrote some Philosophical books in his mother tongue, and is accounted the first who did so [*C*]. The treatise he published by order of Francis de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, concerning the reformation of the calendar, had the approbation of the most learned (*b*). He is very much to be praised for having joined good manners and a most exemplary life with the theory of the Mathematics and Physics (*c*). As for the rest he was a strict follower of Aristotle's opinions (*d*), and a member of the academy of the *Infiammati* at Padua (*e*). Notwithstanding his gravity, and his great application to Philosophical works, he composed some plays, which were very much esteemed

(*a*) Thuan. Hist. *lib. lxv, pag.* 233.

(*b*) Joh. Imperial. in Mus. Hist. *pag.* 82, 83.

(*c*) Ibid. *pag.* 82.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ghilini, Teatr. *Part i, pag.* 8.

[*A*] *The books he composed on several subjects.*] Ghilini mentions these that follow: *La Filosophia morale: la Theorica de' pianetti: l' instituzione dell' homo: l' Instituzione del Prencipe Christiano: della Grandezza dell' acqua e della terra: Parafrasi sù la Rettorica d' Aristotile: della creanza delle Donne: delle Stelle fisse: due Comedie cioè l' Alessandra e l' Amor Constante: la Sfera: i Sonetti: Traduzione della Poëtica d' Aristotile: Annotazione sopra la medesima Poëtica d' Aristotile: Tesoro dell' huomo in tre parti diviso tratta del buon nome, e nella terza fa menzione dell' amor sopra-naturale* (1). Vossius observes that our Piccolomini published at Venice, in 1565, a Latin commentary upon Aristotle's Mechanical Questions (2). He praises that author very much: 'Philosophus planè eximius fuit; 'tum ob ingenium, & industriam; tum quia feliciter 'adeò Matheſin & Philosophiam conjunxit. Utrâque 'sanè excelluit; ut præclara tot ejus opera osten- 'dunt (3). - - - *He was certainly a great Philosopher; 'both with respect to his genius and application, and be- 'cause he so happily united Mathematics and Philosophy 'together. He was eminent in both, as his excellent 'works shew.*'

(1) Ghilini, Teatro d'Huomini Letterati, *Tom. i, pag.* 8.

(2) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. *pag.* 302.

(3) Ibid.

[*B*] *All this is said of him by his panegyrists.*] I believe there is an hyperbole in this passage of Thevet (4). 'Certainly he was a man who shewed a divine elo- 'quence in his writings, and his graceful way of speak- 'ing was so admirable, that he seemed rather to charm 'the ears of his hearers, than persuade them by the 'artifice of his eloquence. He was inferior to none 'in his time as to languages, either for the antiquity 'and propriety of the Hebrew tongue, or for the ele- 'gancy and sweetness of the Latin stile, which he 'understood so well, that Cicero, and the other ex- 'cellent Orators, could not have expressed their 'thoughts better than our learned Alexander did. He 'made such a progress in Divinity, the Civil Law, 'Physic, Mathematics, and Philosophy, that there 'is no secret, or recess, but what he carefully looked 'into, as may be attested by those who had the hap- 'piness to frequent and converse with him, and to 'cast their eyes upon his learned and excellent works. 'The facility wherewith he explained and made the 'most difficult authors intelligible, is particularly 'praised. Let any one take his commentaries upon 'Aristotle's Meteors, and some other books of that 'antient Philosopher (5), and it will be found that 'he has so dexterously dived into the sense of his 'author, that Aristotle himself could scarce have ex- 'plained his opinions better than our Piccolomini 'did.'

(4) Thevet, Elogies of Illustrious Men, *Tom. viii, cap. iii, pag.* 32, 33, *Edit. in* 12*mo*, 1671.

(5) The abbreviators of Gesner say only that he translated the commentaries of Alexander Aphrodisiensis upon the four books of Aristotle's Meteors.

[*C*] *He is accounted the first who did so.*] Imperialis blames him for it, as being a thing which makes learning contemptible, and does not agree with the respect due to the language of ancient Rome. 'Effer- 'buit mire, *says he* (6), ingenium Alexandri Piccolo- 'minei Senensis in cogendo sub Etruscis vexillis agmine 'scientiarum omnium, quo intentato alias facinore im- 'mortalem sibi pararet in Italica celebritate trium- 'phum. Memorabilis profecto industria nisi trito pro- 'teri sermone rerum apices præclarissimarum esset, con- 'temptum ipsarum quendam apud viliores inducere, & 'quod magis interest, esset Latinæ locutionis majesta- 'tem ac studium abdicare qua ultro utilissima quæque 'comprehensa & consignata esse palam est. - - - - *Alex- 'ander Piccolomini of Siena was wonderfully zealous in 'lifting the whole troop of sciences under Tuscan banners, 'by which enterprise, unattempted before, he might obtain 'an immortal triumph amongst the crowd of Italians. 'His industry indeed would be very commendable, did 'it not tend to bring the most excellent things into contempt, 'and to extinguish the majesty and study of the Latin 'tongue, in which the most useful things are always writ- 'ten.*' See what Boccalini makes our Alexander say upon Parnassus (7). Some men would be glad that the key of learning should not be imparted to the people. They would have all Philosophical and learned books to be published in Latin, and the commonwealth of learning to deal with ancient books, as the church of Rome deals with the Scripture. She does not allow the reading of it in a vulgar tongue, but with a thousand precautions. It is a sanctuary where profane men are not permitted to enter. See the complaint (8), which Mr du Pin has refuted in the preface of his *New Bibliotheque of Ecclesiastical Writers.*

(6) Imper. in Musæo, Hist. *pag.* 82.

(7) Beccal. Ragugli, di Parnaso, *cent. i, cap. lxxiii, pag. m.* 221, 222.

(8) *It is mentioned in the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *June* 1686, *Art. IV, pag.* 653. *See a passage of Cicero,* in Orat. pro Murænâ, *alledged by Erasmus under the adage* Cornicum oculos configere. *It is the* 75*th of the* IIId *century of the first Chiliad, pag. m.* 123.

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esteemed [D]. He died at Siena the twelfth of March 1578 (f), being threescore and ten years old, and was buried in the cathedral church (g). What Thuanus says of him [E] is pretty curious, and a good example for those who study: he speaks of it as an ocular witness. I must criticize his translator [F].

(f) He was not therefore alive in 1600, as Moreri affirms.

(g) Imper. ubi supra.

[D] *He composed some plays, which were very much esteemed.*] I shall quote John Imperialis for it: 'Neque tamen his dicatus gravioribus muniis abstinuit interdum à lusibus poetarum comicas concinnando fabulas, quarum insigniores duæ amoris censtantis, & Alexandri titulo feruntur impressæ, in quibus sic excelluit, ut ideo comicorum Italicorum princeps Trajani Boccalini judicio censeatur (9). - - - *But notwithstanding his application to these graver studies, he sometimes amused himself in writing Plays; two of the most remarkable of them are said to be printed with the title of* Constant Love, *and* Alexander, *in which he so excelled, that Boccalini thinks him the prince of Italian Comic Poets.*' I think that by virtue of these words Menage might have placed our Piccolomini among the Ecclesiastics, who wrote amorous verses (10).

(9) Imper. in Mus. Hist. *pag.* 83.

(10) Menage mentions those Ecclesiastics in the cxlvth chapter of his *Anti-Baillet, Tom. ii.*

[E] *What Thuanus says of him.*] He followed Paul de Foix, whom Charles IX, sent embassador into Italy in the year 1573. That embassador being come to Siena, went to see our Piccolomini, and found him revising his commentaries upon Aristotle. All the servants of the good old man were gone out, so that having had no notice of the embassador's visit, he was surprized by him as he lay upon a couch. I shall set down in Latin what he told him about the comfort he found in reading in the midst of the infirmities of old age. 'Dum in urbe esset Foxius, Alexandrum Picolomineum veneranda canicie senem in ædibus suis invisit, quem culcitræ incumbentem, & Aristoteli suo, hoc est à se diversis explicationibus illustrato, recognoscendo vacantem improvisus invenit. Nam solus erat, & famuli huc illuc per festum diem diversi abierant. Quod ille anxietate summa excusavit, & gratias Foxio pro tam honorifica salutatione egit, tum sedere jussis qui cum Foxio aderant, in iisque Thuano. Multa de studiis suis disseruit, eorumque se demum in ea ætate dulcissimum fructum capere dixit, aliis oblectamentis deficientibus quibus aliæ ætates innocenter & citra offensam gaudere possunt. Quod cum dicebat, non tam senectuti solatium quærere dicebatur, quam adolescentes qui aderant, qua humanitate erat, ad desidiam vitandam & Philosophiæ studia capessenda exemplo suo cohortari (11). - - - *He earnestly begged to be excused because he was alone and without his servants. He thanked de Foix for the honour of his visit, and then having desired those who accompanied him, and amongst them Thuanus, to sit down, he talked much concerning his studies, which he said afforded him great satisfaction in his old age; since he was not capable of other pleasures, which might be innocently and without offence enjoyed in other parts of life. This he spoke, not so much to intimate that he wanted comfort in his old age, as courteously to exhort the young men that were present to follow his example in avoiding idleness and studying Philosophy.*'

(11) Thuan. de Vit. sua, *lib.* i, pag. m. 1170, col. 1.

[F] *I must criticise Thuanus's translator.*] Let us compare his translation with the Latin words of Thuanus. *Alexander Piccolomini*, says he (12), *would make people believe that he was of Æneas Silvius's family, who being raised to the papal dignity, took the name of Pius II.* Here are Thuanus's words: *Alexan. Piccolomineus Æneæ Silvii, qui Pontifex Pius II. dici voluit, Gentilis*, &c. (13). It is evident that Thuanus affirms, that our Alexander was related to Pius II, but the translator makes him say a thing very injurious to the memory of that learned man, as if he had falsly pretended to be related to that Pope. If it be an enormous oversight, because it wrongs an illustrious man, it is no less enormous if it be considered how easy it was to understand the words of the original. The translator adds, that John Baptist Sacristan, Deiphobus Archpriest, *and his other brothers bestowed upon him* (14) *an honourable elogy*. I think these words of Thuanus are not well rendered, *in majore patriæ urbis templo sepultus, & honorifico à Jo. Baptista ædituo, Deiphobo Archipresbytero aliisque fratribus elogio ornatus.* I fancy that these words, *aliis fratribus* signify the other canons of the cathedral of Siena, and not the brothers of Alexander Piccolomini.

(12) Apud Teissier, Eloges tirés from Thuanus, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 484, 485.

(13) Thuan. Hist. *lib. lxv, pag.* 233, *ad ann.* 1578.

(14) That is, upon Alexander Piccolomini.

PICCOLOMINI (FRANCIS) was born at Siena, being of the same family with the foregoing. He was a very famous Philosopher in the XVIth century. Though he was very young when he taught Logic in the university of Siena, yet the whole town admired him upon the account of his lectures. Afterwards he taught Philosophy in the university of Macerata, and then for the space of ten years in that of Perugia [A]. His reputation increased to such a degree, that the city of Padua resolved to have him for the same employment. He was made extraordinary professor of Philosophy there in the year 1560, and about four years after ordinary professor in the same faculty. He published several commentaries upon Aristotle, which were very much esteemed, by reason of their clearness and subtilty. He endeavoured to revive the Platonic Philosophy

[A] *He taught Philosophy in the university of Macerata, and then . . . . of Perugia.*] He was twenty-five years of age when he left Siena to go to Macerata, and his design was rather to sit down amongst the scholars, than to get into the pulpit as a professor; but as soon as he appeared at Macerata he was made first professor of Philosophy. So says Imperialis (1). He does not intimate in the least what is affirmed by Tomasini, *viz.* that Piccolomini was professor of Logic at Siena before he went to Macerata. Imperialis adds, that he staid no longer than one year in this last town, and that being called to Perugia, he took hold of that opportunity of shewing his capacity upon a nobler stage. He taught Philosophy there for the space of ten years, and published a volume *de Morali Philosophia*, which was admired: 'Tantis omnium cœtuum laudibus exceptum, cum nihil eo, vel ad efformandos mores utilius, vel ad rempublicam rectè gerendam accommodatius, vel ad omnem bonorumque malorumque notitiam suavius excogitari possit (2). - - - - *It was so much extolled by all, because nothing could be imagined more useful for forming the manners, or more adapted to the well governing of the state, or more acceptable for the universal knowledge of good and evil.*' Father le Moine (3) speaks well of that book, and criticizes some passages in it. Take notice of this title, *Francisci Piccolominei Senensis universa philosophia de moribus* nunc primum *in decem gradus redacta & explicata. Venetiis in fol.* 1583. It seems to intimate that the first edition came out in the year 1583. If it be so, Imperialis is mistaken when he says, that Piccolomini published that book being professor at Perugia, and deserved, by reason of so fine a work, to be called to Padua (4), for according to Imperialis's reckoning, he began to teach Philosophy at Padua being about thirty-seven years of age, that is to say, in the year 1557. That Historian cannot be excused, but by saying that Piccolomini published his Moral Philosophy before the year 1557, and put it afterwards in a new order, and so the above-mentioned title will denote a second edition. Note, that he inserted in his morals printed in the year 1583, a treatise *de Methodo*, wherein he refuted Zabarella, his colleague and rival: the latter answered him, but Piccolomini made a reply intituled *Comes politicus adversus Jacobum Zabarellam.*

(1) Jo. Imper. in Mus. Hist. *pag.* 114.

(2) Ibid.

(3) *In his* Peinctures morales.

(4) Hoc unum efficit postea ut gravissimo Venetorum judicio ad Patavinum Gymnasium fuerit convocatus. *Imper. ubi supra.*

[B] *He*

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ſophy [B], and to ſhew that at the bottom it agreed with that of Ariſtotle (a). The famous James Zabarella was the antagoniſt, againſt whom he publiſhed ſomething. I ſhall ſay in another place wherein he exceeded him [C]. Having obſerved that the diſputations which the profeſſors had appointed in the afternoon, were the cauſe of many diviſions and quarrels, he wiſely ſuppreſſed them (b); which he was the more willing to do, becauſe he enjoyed a penſion of 1400 florins (c). He would have been a happy man, had he been able to put an end to the quarrels of his family, as he did to thoſe of his ſcholars: but his ſons hated one another ſo violently, and were ſo wicked, that they made him extreamly uneaſy in his old age. He gave over the function of a profeſſor, after he had gloriouſly exerciſed it for the ſpace of fifty-three years [D], and retired to Siena, where he died very old [E]: he left a great eſtate to his heirs (d). It appeared by his funeral how much he was eſteemed by the inhabitants of Siena; for every body went in mourning, and all the courts of judicature were ſhut up (e). He had been a diſciple of the famous Zimara, and ſchoolfellow of Felix Perrette, who was Pope by the name of Sixtus V, and boaſted, as long as he lived, that he had been able to anſwer his objections at a publick diſputation (f) [F]

(a) Taken from James Philip Tomaſini, Elog. Part i, pag. 208, & ſeq.

(b) Ibid.

(c) This ſhews that the profeſſors got ſomething by thoſe diſputes.

(d) Ex eodem, ibid.

(e) Fœlix etiam quod inſolito civium ſqualore, juſtitio, Lacrymis ejus in patria funus elatum. *Imper. in Muſæo Hiſt. pag.* 115.

(f) Ibid. *pag.* 114.

[B] *He endeavoured to revive the Platonic Philoſophy.*] Imperialis ſays, that he began to apply himſelf to that ſtudy, after he had given over the function of a profeſſor; but Tomaſini ſays, that he read lectures, and wrote ſomething about it even at Padua. Here are the words of Imperialis (5): ' Hac igitur egregie navata ' Venetis opera per annos duos & viginti patriam ſibi ' tandem viſendam cenſuit, in qua extremos etiam ſpi- ' ritus hauſit. Ac interim pluribus ad magnum Etru- ' riæ Ducem legationibus (6) perfunctus plurimiſque ' honoribus auctus amœniſſimæ Platonis philoſophiæ ' vacare cœpit, quam etiam commentariis exornandam ' ſuſceperat, ipſum namque dicere ſolitum accepimus, ' Platonis & Ariſtotelis philoſophiam duos quaſi ocu- ' los humani aciem intellectus dirigere, quorum alteru- ' tro ſi quis careat Cyclopis inſtar in hac rerum uni- ' verſitate labatur neceſſe eſt: ſed communia fata præ- ' claros hoſce illius conatus interciderunt. - - - *Having* ' *thus laboured for the Venetians twice twenty years, he re-* ' *ſolved at laſt to viſit his native country, in which like-* ' *wiſe he died. And in the mean time, after he had* ' *executed ſeveral deputations to the Great Duke of Tuſca-* ' *ny, and received many honours, he began to apply him-* ' *ſelf to the agreeable Philoſophy of Plato, upon which alſo* ' *he had undertaken to write commentaries, for I have* ' *heard he was wont to ſay, that the Philoſophy of Pla-* ' *to and Ariſtotle, like two eyes directed the ſight of hu-* ' *man underſtanding, and whoever had but one as a Cy-* ' *clops, muſt need tumble down in the world: but the common* ' *lot of all mankind put an end to theſe his glorious under-* ' *takings.*' Here are alſo the words of Tomaſini, with which make the neceſſary compariſons. ' Platonicam ' diſciplinam fere collapſam & legendo & ſcribendo in ' integrum reſtituere conatus eſt, illud in primis enitens ' ut Platonem cum Ariſtotle in pluribus conciliaret (7). ' - - - *He attempted to revive the Platonic Philoſophy* ' *both by his lectures and writings; endeavouring eſpeci-* ' *ally to reconcile Plato with Ariſtotle in many points.*'

(c) Ibid. *pag.* 115.

(6) He mentions one of thoſe deputations in the Dedicatory Epiſtle of his book *de rerum definitionibus*, dated from Siena in 1600.

(7) Tomaſin. Elog. *Part i, pag.* 209.

[C] *I ſhall ſay in another place* (8) *wherein he exceeded Zabarella.*] But I muſt obſerve here that he was inferior to him in ſome reſpects. He did not dive into the bottom of his ſubject, as Zabarella did, he rambled from one ſubject to another, and preſented them rather as a wine to be taſted, than to be drank off. This ſeems to be the meaning of Imperialis. ' Pic- ' colomineus, *ſays he* (9), oratione quidem utitur ex- ' pedita, gravi, & illaborata, cæterum ſententiarum ' nexu frequentior quam forte conveniat, excurrit e- ' nimvero, nec in concluſionibus hæret, novis at ſu- ' binde doctrinæ cumulis urget, ut libanda potius quàm ' guſtanda propoſitorum veritas offerri videatur, prop- ' terea bene ſentientium calculis ſancitum, hujus ſcrip- ' ta magis provectiorum auribus inſervire, illius autem ' juniorum. - - - *Piccolomini indeed uſes a ſhort, grave* ' *and eaſy ſtile, but is guilty of too many excurſions. He* ' *does not examine matters thoroughly, but introduces new* ' *ſubjects every now and then, ſo that the truth of his* ' *propoſitions is preſented, to be touched with the lips ra-* ' *ther than taſted with the tongue, and therefore in the* ' *opinion of good judges his writings are fitter for thoſe that* ' *are more advanced in years, and thoſe of the other for* ' *ſuch as are younger.*'

(8) In the remark [A], of the article ZABARELLA.

(9) Imp. ubi ſupra.

[D] *He gave over the function of a profeſſor after he had exerciſed it for the ſpace of fifty-three years.*] So ſays Tomaſini: but the account he gives of it cannot be reconciled with the words of Imperialis, who ſays that Piccolomini was one year at Macerata, ten years at Perugia, and two and twenty at Padua, which makes up but thirty three years. It would be in vain to ſay that he forgot his profeſſing of Logic at Siena; for it could not laſt twenty years, ſeeing Piccolomini was but twenty-five years old, when he was made profeſſor of Philoſophy at Macerata. Ghilini adopts the fifty three years of Tomaſini (10), and he is more excuſable than Paul Freherus (11), who admits of them after he had ſaid that Francis Piccolomini was made profeſſor at Macerata, being twenty-five years of age, that he kept that profeſſorſhip but one year, that he exerciſed that of Perugia only ten years, and that of Padua twenty-two years. Such are the miſtakes, which an author will be guilty of when he joins together ſeveral oppoſite relations.

(10) Ghilini, Teatro, *Tom. i, pag.* 62. Witte in Diario Biogr. *ad ann.* 1604, *mentions only* 52 *years.*

(11) Freher. in Theatro, *pag.* 1498.

[E] *He died very old.*] Tomaſini and Imperialis agree in making him live eighty-four years: they have forgot to ſet down the year of his death; but we know from the date of his epitaph as it is in Ghilini (12), that it was the year 1604. Imperialis obſerves that this venerable old man was ſo happy as never to ſtand in need of ſpectacles (13).

(12) Ibid. *Part i, pag.* 62.

[F] *Sixtus V, boaſted as long as he lived, that he had been able to anſwer his objections at a public diſputation.*] I ſhall ſet down this particular, as it is related by Imperialis. ' Et quidem Fœlix adhuc Mino- ' rita quod ſemel propoſitarum in Templo Theſium ' ex utraque philoſophia publicum impugnatorem ſor- ' titus erat Franciſcum, ſæpius porro pontifex ejus diei ' memoriam recolebat, ſibi digniſſimum reputans cum ' acerrimo, ut ipſe ajebat, ingenio in celebri confeſſu, ' haud ſegniter doctrinæ atque ingenii gloriam ſuſtinuiſſe ' (14). - - - *Fœlix, after he was made Pope, often re-* ' *membered the day, when being as yet a Minorite, he* ' *publickly defended ſome theſes in both kinds of Philoſophy,* ' *and happened to have Francis for his opponent, thinking* ' *it the greateſt honour, that he was able, before a re-* ' *nowned aſſembly, to contend in point of learning and* ' *parts with the moſt acute genius, as he uſed to* ' *ſay.*'

(13) Ex eo fœlix in tanto ſenio quod oculorum vim nullo unquam chryſtalli ſubſidio juvit. *Imper. ubi ſupra.*

(14) Imper. ibid. *pag.* 114.

PIENNE (JOAN DE HALLUIN) maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis, was paſſionately beloved by Francis de Montmorenci (a), eldeſt ſon to the Conſtable Anne de Montmorenci. He promiſed her to marry her, but did not acquaint his father or his mother with it [A], ſo much he feared leſt they ſhould oppoſe his deſign. It

(a) Who was made Mareſchal of France in the year 1559.

[A] *He promiſed her to marry her, without acquainting his father or mother with it.*] Mr le Laboureur who had *the originals of all the proceedings*, ſays (1), they *began with the interrogatory of the two lovers made in the Louvre* on the fifth of October 1556, that *Jane de Halluyn was called firſt, and ſaid ſhe was about nineteen or twenty years old*, and that five or ſix years before Meſſire Francis de Montmorenci ' had ſpoken to her

(1) Le Laboureur, Addit. to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 419.

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It is not likely they would have conſented to it, though that lady was very illuſtrious by her birth, and commendable for her beauty and virtue; but there was a particular reaſon which moved them to oppoſe that engagement openly, viz. becauſe Henry II was deſirous that his natural daughter, widow of the duke of Caſtro, ſhould marry the lover of the lady de Pienne. The conſtable's ambition was too much favoured by ſuch an alliance, to ſuffer that his eldeſt ſon's engagement ſhould paſs for a good one. Therefore he omitted nothing to get it broke, and being in the greateſt favour with Henry II that ever a ſubject was in with his king, he perſwaded that prince to uſe all imaginable means to get the promiſe, which might be alledged by the lady de Pienne, declared null. *That affair became the greateſt in Chriſtendom, becauſe of the deſigns of Pope* Paul IV, *who had a mind to marry* that daughter of Henry II *(who was already the widow of an Italian, and a Pope's grand-ſon) to another Italian his nephew. . . . . The Pope's intereſt was the only obſtacle to the diſpenſation which was demanded of him, and which* Francis de Montmorenci went to ſollicit in perſon (*b*). The king did not believe *that the Pope would deny him any thing, in ſo favourable a time as that of the League which they were then treating of againſt Spain.* Nevertheleſs, Paul IV appeared ſo averſe to it, that the king was obliged to have recourſe to ſome other expedients [*B*]. He publiſhed an edict,

(*b*) Le Labourer, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 419.

'her of marriage, in the palace of Paris, or at St 'Germains, where *he ſaid that he took her for his 'wife, and ſhe anſwered, that ſhe took him for her huſ-'band: that he had ſpoken to her about it ſeveral times 'before, but ſhe would not have him, becauſe he was 'too young, and beſides, ſhe was afraid that the con-'ſtable would take it ill; to which he anſwered, that 'he would ſtay ſo long, and be ſo obedient to him, that 'he would make him approve of it: and ſhe would not 'have declared it, if the ſaid Montmorenci had not ſpoken 'of it, becauſe of the marriage of the ducheſs of Caſtro.* 'She ſaid further, that ſhe had received no gift nor 'any preſent upon account of marriage, and that every 'thing was done by word of mouth, without witneſ-'ſes, and without acquainting any of her relations 'with it. That he wrote to her about it whilſt he 'was in priſon, but that ſhe burnt his letters, *that he 'continued to ſpeak of it ſince his return, namely, in the 'abbey of Vauluiſant where he was lately, and even ye-'ſterday in the conſtable's houſe, he repeated the ſame 'things to her, and deſired her not to be uneaſy. She 'added that ſhe knew not that the ſaid marriage was 'clandeſtine and prohibited, and that ſhe thought he 'might marry of himſelf, tho' he had a father and a 'mother, becauſe marriage belongs to GOD, and cere-'monies to the church.* For the reſt, ſhe referred it to 'the Sieur de Montmorenci, and ſhe put her hand 'to her anſwer. That lord made a like anſwer, and 'after he had ſaid that he was twenty-ſix years of 'age, he confeſſed every thing, even that the day be-'fore in the evening, he had made a new promiſe 'of marriage to her, as he was ſpeaking of the 'trouble he was in; only being aſked, whether hav-'ing a father and a mother, he knew not that it was 'not in his power to contract a marriage without 'their conſent, he ſaid, *that when he did that folly, 'he conſidered not all thoſe things, and that his age, it 'ſuited not, and that if he was to do the ſame again, 'he would think more of it.* . . . . (2) Thoſe depoſitions 'were ſent to Rome, with all the paſſages they could 'collect out of the Scripture and the Fathers, againſt 'marriages contracted without the conſent of parents, 'and the Pope received the whole graciouſly enough 'at firſt, gave a kind reception to the Sieur de Mont-'morency, and promiſed him all manner of ſatiſ-'faction: but either he diſſembled, or had not yet 'thought of this opportunity of allying his family with 'the houſe of France, which made him put off that 'buſineſs, that he might have time to conſider by 'what means he might effect his deſign.' In an act of proteſtation which Mr de Montmorenci cauſed to be drawn up in the houſe of Cardinal du Bellai at Rome, the 23d of March 1557, he declared: *That five years ago and above, being in the heat of his youth, he fell in love with the lady Jane de Halluin de Pienne, and contracted a marriage with her by word of mouth, without the conſent of the king, and of his father and mother; that ſince that time the king and his father being reſolved to marry him to Diana of France, he came to Rome by their order to have the Pope's abſolution and diſpenſation; that for the ſpace of four months he had not ceaſed to ſollicit His Holineſs about it, and even juſtified the lawfulneſs of his demand by a diſpenſation granted by him in a like caſe. Whereupon he had been amuſed with hopes, and referred to a congregation of Divines and Canoniſts, ſummoned to meet on the twenty-third of this month, with the cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops, under pretence of making the thing more legal; but in effect, as he had it from very good hands, to prejudice his deſign, notwithſtanding the promiſes of the Pope, who favoured the opinions of his adverſe party, tho' without any ſollicitation, and was diſpleaſed with, and uſed very ill, thoſe who were for his abſolution, and appeared evidently to be contrary to him. Wherefore having had notice of the renunciation of the lady de Pienne, he proteſts againſt whatſoever the Pope may order for the future, againſt the liberty which he pretends to have of marrying, and demands that the petitions preſented by him to His Holineſs, and the diſpenſation granted by the Pope in a like caſe, be recorded* (3). We ſhall ſee below the reaſons of his complaints againſt the Pope's conduct (4).

(2) *Id. ib. pag.* 420. *Obſerve theſe words of Brantome in his encomium on the Conſtable of Montmorenci, Tom. ii, of his Memoirs, pag.* 137. As the Conſtable had procured a match between him and the natural daughter of king Henry . . . . . when his father told him of it, and of the day appointed for the wedding, M. de Montmorenci anſwered him that he could not hearken to it, becauſe he was engaged to marry the lady de Pienne. The old man was ſtrangely ſurprized, and had more recourſe to tears, &c.

(3) Le Labourer, ibid. *pag.* 432.

[*B*] *Paul IV appeared ſo averſe to it that the king was obliged to have recourſe to ſome other expedients.*] Mr le Labourer goes on (5). The Pope *kept a great while Francis de Montmorenci in Rome, putting him off from congregation to congregation; till at laſt his game was found out, and the king and conſtable being diſappointed in their hopes of the Pope, reſolved to bring to a concluſion that buſineſs, which had made ſo great a noiſe to their diſadvantage, and in order to it they cauſed an edict to be drawn up, which was made on purpoſe, publiſhed and verified, whereby clandeſtine marriages were declared to be null: on the other hand, the poor lady was forced to deſiſt; for ſhe was ſhut up in the convent of the Filles Dieu at Paris, where deſpairing to ſucceed in her hopes, and afraid of being treated worſe, ſhe was at laſt perſuaded that the Sieur de Montmorency had obtained the Pope's diſpenſation.*

(4) See the remark [*B*].

(5) Ib. p. 420.

That we may well underſtand how much the intereſt of the Pope's family did work upon him, we muſt not loſe the ſight of this capital point, *viz.* That Paul IV deſired to marry his nephew with the natural daughter of Henry II, and that he could not ſucceed in it, if he declared the promiſe made to the lady de Pienne to be null. We ſhall ſee that he wiſhed on this occaſion that the Papal authority were leſſened, and that he was deprived of a right, of which he would have been very jealous in another caſe. The particular advantage of his family was more dear to him than the privileges of the Papacy, whether it be that he believed his ſucceſſors could eaſily remedy the prejudice he deſigned to do them, or that he abſolutely preferred perſonal advantages to thoſe of the Holy See. This affair was purſued with great heat by the court of France; they omitted nothing to make it ſucceed. They preſented the act whereby the lady de Pienne renounced her pretenſions, and the edict againſt clandeſtine marriages (6). They obtained (7) *a copy of a diſpenſation* which the Pope *had granted in a like caſe.* Here is a paſſage of the relation which Doctor de la Haye ſent to the conſtable (8): it is curious: Paul IV ſent (9) *immediately for the datary to know how that diſpenſation had been granted, wondering at it, and much more how it came into our hands: to which the datary anſwered, that it had been granted in a full ſignature, and by His Holineſs himſelf; which he might remember, being deſirous to know and underſtand, more than any of his predeceſſors did, what paſſes in his ſignature. His Holineſs was amazed at it, and aſked*

(6) Le Labourer, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 424.

(7) Ib. p. 425.

(8) Ib. p. 424.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 426. See alſo the remark [*D*].

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edict, whereby clandeſtine marriages were declared null, and ordered that the lady de Pienne ſhould be ſhut up in a nunnery, and a declaration of her deſiſting was extorted from her; and at laſt the Pope was not regarded; for the marriage of Mr de Montmorenci and the daughter of Henry II, was celebrated with pomp, although the diſpenſation had not been granted [*C*]. The Pope made an acknowledgment which deſerves to be here related [*D*]. There was a great deal of unfair dealing in thoſe proceedings

aſked the Datary, by what means the ſaid diſpenſation might be retracted, a thing which the Datary ſaid could not be done, becauſe it was already in the hands of the parties, and that they were married by virtue of the ſame. I ſhall alſo give ſome abſtracts of the reſult of the firſt congregation held for the diſpenſation of that marriage. The Pope preſided in it (10): *many Divines and Canoniſts* were called to it . . . . . *the Pope began*, and having propoſed the matter of fact, he ſaid (11): 'We aſk whether a marriage contracted by 'word of mouth, which is a true marriage and a true 'ſacrament, according to the opinion of the moſt ho- 'ly divines, may be diſſolved and broke by us, I 'mean when carnal copulation has not intervened. 'And then he added, Do not inſiſt, I deſire you, on 'the examples and facts of our predeceſſors, which I 'proteſt I will not follow, but in as much as the au- 'thority of the ſcripture, and the reaſons of the di- 'vines will induce you to it. He went on and ſaid, 'I do not doubt but that my predeceſſors and I may 'have erred ſometimes, not only in this fact, but alſo 'in many others; nevertheleſs, we ought not to be 'condemned for it; for GOD does ſo direct his 'church as to conceal many things from her for a 'time, which he reveals afterwards: this Chriſt him- 'ſelf has clearly enough intimated to us, as when he 'ſaid to St Peter, *What I do now thou doſt not under- 'ſtand, but thou ſhalt underſtand it hereafter.* And 'in another place he ſaid, *I have many things to ſay, 'which you cannot comprehend now, but the ſpirit, 'which my father ſhall ſend in my name, will teach 'you all things.* Who knows therefore but that GOD 'will now declare by us what he permitted to be 'formerly unknown to others, concerning the indiſſo- 'lubility of holy marriage? Therefore, my brethren 'and children, uſe your endeavours to help me in this 'affair; and without regarding what ſuch and ſuch a 'one of my predeceſſors did, as I have already ſaid, 'ſee whether it be not true, that they have not well 'underſtood what we are now examining, concerning 'the indiſſolubility of marriage. Having thus ſpoken, 'he addreſſed himſelf to archbiſhop Couſance, hereto- 'fore the Pope's nuncio at the court of the emperor, 'and commanded him to give his opinion. Couſance 'did his utmoſt to ſhew, that ſuch a marriage could 'not be diſſolved by any means, and the Pope ap- 'peared to be very well pleaſed with his opinion; 'which moved the ſaid archbiſhop to ſay a great deal 'more than he deſigned, as it appears from his writ- 'ings and former conferences about this matter, from 'ſo many ſmiles, winkings, nods, and clappings of 'hands. The Pope ſaid further, with a loud voice, 'That the ſaid archbiſhop had very well explained 'that affair. Biſhop Antoniellus ſpoke next to him, 'a very old and venerable man, who was of a contra- 'ry opinion; and in a few words gave and made out 'this concluſion, That the Pope might do the thing 'which was in queſtion. Whom the Pope anſwered, 'That he would not thank him for giving him ſo 'great a power on this occaſion. And becauſe the 'ſaid biſhop had made uſe of ſome paſſages out of 'St Thomas, the Pope added, That St Thomas might 'have ſaid many things when young, which he after- 'wards retracted, having acquired a greater degree of 'knowledge; adding theſe words of St Paul, *When I 'was a child I ſpoke like a child, but when I grew a 'man I left childiſh things.* Afterwards he went on 'and ſaid, It is not without reaſon that I give you 'this warning; I do it that none of thoſe who are to 'deliberate concerning this matter, may rely upon 'ſuch paſſages of St Thomas, which he may have 'writ in his youth. The ſacriſt ſpoke next, and was 'of the ſame opinion with biſhop Antoniellus, *viz.* 'That the Pope might and ought to diſſolve ſuch mar- 'riages, when there is a reaſonable cauſe for it. And 'becauſe in his proofs, which were very long and 'learned, he happened to mention a paſſage of Duran- 'dus, concerning marriage, which we do not approve 'of, and which he alledged only as that doctor's opi- 'nion, and not to defend it; the Pope being already 'offended at his determination, grew very angry with 'him, as if he had been the author or defender of Du- 'randus's error. And the ſaid ſacriſt excuſing him- 'ſelf to His Holineſs, he ſtopped his mouth with hard 'words and great threatnings, often repeating, that 'he deſerved to be turned out of his place, and that 'he would ſpeak to him further about it in private. 'Which ſo diſcouraged the reſt, that many of them 'reſolved to alter their reſolutions.'

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 427.

(11) Ibid.

There were ſeven perſons only who gave their opinions in this congregation; *the others* were reſerved *to be heard another time* (12). The cardinals went out very much diſſatisfied, and one might perceive, *without any further intelligence of what paſſed in it . . . . that there had been as much confuſion and diſorder in it as there is amongſt ſheep, when their ſhepherd is wounded: for every body went home, one one way, another another way, in a great conſternation, and almoſt with tears in their eyes, without being able to tell any friend or ſervant how the thing went, and what reſolution had been taken* (13). Cardinal du Bellay, and Mr de Montmorenci having informed the conſervator of Naples, that the king's edict might be ſufficient without the Pope's diſpenſation; and that he ſhould remember, *that a leſſer thing than that occaſioned the withdrawing of Germany and England from their obedience to the Holy See* (14), the conſervator ſent the datary to tell cardinal Caraffa, and cardinal de Piſa, 'That he very 'much wondered at the manner of proceeding of His 'Holineſs, and that he could never believe he would 'be judge and party in this affair, and think that the 'Holy Ghoſt was in his head, and in no body's elſe, 'deſpiſing every one's opinion, with little reſpect for 'himſelf, and for thoſe whom he had appointed and 'commanded to ſpeak their thoughts freely and im- 'partially; and that for a leſs thing than this, by 'reaſon of cardinal Cajetan's obſtinacy, Germany was 'in ſuch a condition as every body knew, without 'any great hopes of amendment, except by the meer 'grace of GOD. And that they ſhould well conſider 'the tenor of the ſaid edict; by virtue whereof, to- 'gether with the cenſure of the Sorbonne, and the 'authority of the ordinary, without any other diſpen- 'ſation of His Holineſs, the ſaid Mr de Montmoren- 'cy might ſet himſelf at liberty, and take ſuch a 'wife as he thinks fit (15).' This was repreſented to the Pope, but made him not change his conduct. From whence it may be concluded, that the court of France looked upon this negotiation as a thing of the greateſt moment; but the Pope thought it not leſs important for his intereſt to come to no concluſion thereupon. If we had two or three volumes in folio of ſuch relations, like that of Dr de la Haye, and that of cardinal du Bellay (16), it would be one of the moſt curious works that could be put into a library.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 429.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid. *pag.* 430, 431.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Mr le Laboureur ſets it down at full length, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 432, *&c.*

[*C*] *The Pope was not regarded; for the marriage . . . . . was celebrated . . . . . although the diſpenſation had not been granted.*] 'The king and the conſtable 'thought that they could not better revenge them- 'ſelves upon the Pope, for the little regard he had 'ſhewn to their recommendation, than by paſſing on 'to the marriage, by virtue of the edict againſt clan- 'deſtine marriages; and it was kept with the greater 'magnificence at the arrival of Mr de Montmorency 'in the month of May 1557, the court being at Vil- 'liers-Cotretz (17).'

(17) Ibid. *pag.* 437.

[*D*] *The Pope made an acknowledgment which deſerves to be related.*] This was done in the congregation abovementioned. *I am not ignorant*, ſaid he (18), *that the Popes, my predeceſſors, have granted ſeveral diſpenſations in this caſe; they are, in the preſence of GOD, to give him an account of it. If they have been miſtaken I have no mind to follow them; perhaps they may have done it through ignorance, and that age might not then know certainly, what the other ages clearly perceive, according*

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 433.

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proceedings [*E*], and the conſtable's ſon felt ſome remorſe of conſcience, which obliged him

cording to the words of JESUS CHRIST: ‘ Scietis ‘ autem poſtea, &c. non poteſtis omnia portare mo- ‘ do, &c. veniet paracletus, &c. - - - *But ye ſhall know* ‘ *afterwards, &c. ye cannot bear all things now, &c.* ‘ *the comforter will come, &c.*’ *And as to what is ſaid, That I have granted a diſpenſation in a like caſe, I would not have this to cauſe any prejudice to this matter; for* GOD *knows that I never underſtood it. In the ſignet-office there is a multitude of people, prelates, referendaries, and others, who make a great noiſe; ſo that an old decrepit Pope cannot mind every particular thing. As to myſelf I proteſt that I never underſtood it: and moreover, that though I ſhould have erred in one thing or another, yet I would not continue in my error.* This is a paſſage taken out of a relation of cardinal du Bellay, which Mr le Laboureur has inſerted in his Additions to Caſtelnau's Memoirs. And here you may ſee a man who built upon a very weak diſpenſation; for the Pope himſelf, who granted it, declared to the ſacred college, that he never underſtood that queſtion, and that a perſon of his great age could not give ear to all the particular matters, amidſt the great noiſe that is raiſed in the place where the diſpatches are ſigned. And yet the man who had obtained this diſpenſation thought himſelf well married; but if it was null he committed adultery every time that he had to do with his wife. Nothing appeared ſhameful to Paul IV, provided he might find pretences not to annul the marriage of Mr de Montmorency.

[*E*] *There was a great deal of unfair dealing in thoſe proceedings.*] Nothing could be more proper for the Pope's deſign, than to be able to ſay, that the Lady de Pienne demanded the accompliſhment of the marriage. Therefore to take that weapon out of his hands, they provided themſelves with an act in due form, whereby it appeared, that ſhe had no pretenſions to Mr de Montmorenci. But to obtain ſuch a declaration from her, they were forced to make her believe, that the Pope had already granted the diſpenſation. Wherefore her lover made no ſcruple to write ſuch an untruth to her. Here is his letter, it is as dry as thoſe which he wrote to her before, were ſweet and paſſionate. ‘ MADEMOISELLE DE PIENNES, Being ‘ ſenſible of the error into which I fell unawares, and ‘ being ſorry that I have offended GOD, the king, ‘ my lord, and the conſtable, and his lady, I have ac- ‘ quainted our holy father, the Pope, how things paſſed ‘ between us, and begged his Holineſs's pardon, ‘ which he, out of his bounty and clemency, has ‘ granted me; and, inaſmuch as it was neceſſary, ‘ he has given me a diſpenſation, to be reſtored to ‘ my former liberty, which I thought fit to give you ‘ notice of: and in order to free ourſelves from the ‘ miſeries and trouble we are in, I revoke and deſiſt ‘ from all the words and promiſes of marriage which ‘ paſſed between us, from which, by virtue of the ‘ ſaid diſpenſation, we remain diſcharged; and I de- ‘ clare you to be ſo, beſeeching you to do the like to- ‘ wards me, and to take ſuch other match as you will ‘ like beſt; for I am reſolved to keep no longer any ‘ correſpondence with you; not but I look upon you ‘ to be a ſober and virtuous lady, and of a good fami- ‘ ly, but to do my duty, and avoid the miſchiefs and ‘ inconveniencies which might enſue from it; but ‘ eſpecially to give thereby an occaſion to his majeſty, ‘ and my ſaid lord and lady to forget the offence I ‘ have committed againſt them, that I may be able, ‘ not only to repair it, and endeavour to make myſelf ‘ worthy of their favour, but alſo to perform what I ‘ owe them, according to the command of GOD, ‘ whom I beſeech to keep you, Mademoiſelle de Pien- ‘ nes, under his holy proteſtion. Rome, the fifth of ‘ February. He, whom you will find ready to ſerve ‘ you, MONTMORENCY (19).’ Francis de la Porte, gentleman to Mr de Montmorenci, a maſter of the requeſts, and one of the king's ſecretaries, *attended* with two Notaries of the Chaſtelet, went to the nunnery, where the lady had been ſhut up. They were admitted (20) *by virtue of a letter ſigned with the king's own hand. They called for the lady*, and when ſhe had read aloud Mr de Montmorenci's letter, the Sieur de la Porte told her, *Madam, all that I have to ſay comes from Mr de Montmorency, and I ſhall tell it you, if you pleaſe, becauſe he has ordered me ſo to do. You have ſeen by his letter, which you have juſt now read, how greatly he thinks he has offended* GOD. . . . . (21), *and he has moſt humbly ſupplicated his Holineſs to pardon him the offence he had committed, by promiſing to marry you, and to grant a diſpenſation both to him and you, that you might marry to another when ever you ſhall think fit. This our holy Father has done, and by this means reſtored Mr de Montmorency and you to your former liberty, as he has mentioned to you in his letter, which I have now delivered to you for that purpoſe. And he being diſpenſed with, and by that diſpenſation made free as he was before, to marry another whenever he ſhall think fit, I declare to you, by his command, that he acquits you from all promiſes, which may have been in any manner between you two before this time; and I pray, and require you, in his name, that you likewiſe declare to me, whether you do not alſo acquit him from them on your part. To which the ſaid Lady de Pienne, with tears in her eyes, mournfully anſwered in theſe words: Mr de la Porte, I had much rather that the breach of the promiſes of Mr de Montmorency, and of mine, ſhould come from him than from me. He ſhows plainly, by the words you have ſpoke to me in his name, that he has a meaner ſoul than a woman, and is not ſuch a man as he pretended to be, when he told me ſo often, that he would loſe his life rather than change his reſolution. He has very much injured me; and I ſee plainly, that he had rather be rich than an honeſt man.* This anſwer containing nothing poſitive, Mr de la Porte returned to the charge, and inſiſted chiefly upon the Papal diſpenſation, and deſired her to declare her mind plainly: ‘ Whereupon ‘ the ſaid lady, weeping, as before, ſpoke theſe ‘ words: Alas, Mr de la Porte, what anſwer would ‘ you have me to make? Had Mr de Montmorency ‘ the heart to write me ſuch a letter?’ This ſecond anſwer being as indefinite as the former, a third queſtion was put ſo preciſely, that the lady muſt needs needs anſwer to the matter in hand. *Mr de la Porte* ſaid ſhe (22), *ſince the deſire of Mr de Montmorenci is, that I ſhould acquit him from the promiſes of marriage between us, and that now he leaves me, I neither will, nor can hinder him from doing what he pleaſes; and I cannot have a will contrary to his.* Mr de la Porte was not ſufficiently ſatisfied with this third anſwer, but he urged her ſtill, and at laſt obtained that which follows: ‘ Mr de la Porte, ſince Mr de Montmorency does now ‘ acquit me from the promiſes of Marriage which were ‘ made betwixt him and me, if he were the ſon of a ‘ king, or a prince, having written to me as has done ‘ in his letter which you juſt now delivered, I would ‘ not marry him, and ſo I acquit him. Nevertheleſs ‘ I wonder at his way of writing in that letter, and I ‘ cannot well believe that he writ it, ſince he was ‘ wont to write to me in another way and ſtile (23)’. To this it was replied, That Mr de Montmorency had been ſeen to write this whole letter with his own hand. As the lady retired ſhe made ſome efforts of courage to excuſe the tears ſhe had been ſeen to ſhed; but it was impoſſible for her to appear unconcerned; every thing ſhe ſaid favoured of humiliation, grief, and trouble, for not marrying this fickle lover. It is commonly ſaid in jeſt, or by way of gallantry, that a miſtreſs has much ado to ſpeak the terrible *Yes*, when ſhe is to anſwer to the queſtion, *Do you conſent to be the wife of ſuch a man?* But it is very probable, that there never was a *yes* of that nature more grievous than that, which the lady de Pienne anſwered to the queſtion, *Do you conſent that Mr de Montmorency ſhould not marry you?*

There happened another thing, wherein, according to all appearance, he was perjured; which was this: *Being returned from Rome he gave a declaration in writing, before the chief perſons of the king's council, importing, that there had been no marriage between him and the lady de Pienne, really contracted in words; but only an agreement between them to make it believed, that by this means they might endeavour to induce the conſtable, his father, to agree to it* (24). He affirmed upon oath, that this declaration, written with his own hand, *contained the truth* (25), and that if he had deſired a diſpenſation of the Pope, by confeſſing to him more than he ſhould, he did it in hopes to obtain it eaſily, by means whereof it would not have appeared that he had impoſed a falſity; but that finding at Rome many difficulties, he, at laſt, reſolved to declare to his majeſty and the conſtable, the truth of the matter

(19) Ibid. *pag.* 421.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid. *pag.* 422.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid. *pag.* 423.

(24) Ibid. *pag.* 437.

(25) Ibid. *pag.* 433.

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him to ask the absolution of Pope Pius IV [F]. The lady was married, some time after, to a man who was very much inferior to the galant she had lost [G]. We have here

matter. This is as if he had said, I never promised marriage to the lady de Pienne, but only agreed with her to say, that we had mutually given our promise to one another, and we had no other design but to induce by this lie, my father and mother to consent to this marriage. Having many times uttered this falshood, I was sorry to unsay it again; and that I might not be forced to contradict myself, I chose rather to desire of the Pope a dispensation, and I persisted in my lie to the holy Father: but not being able to avoid contradictions this way, I acknowledge, at last, that my discourses were false, and I swear before the principal members of the king's council, and attest in writing, that I have lold a lie for a long time, on purpose to deceive my father and mother, the Pope, &c. Must not ambition have a very tyrannical power to engage people to make such confessions? And is there any probability that this lover had only so slight an engagement with so young and so beautiful a mistress? The scruples wherewith he was tormented, as I shall now show, justify my opinion (26).

(26) Add to this the discourses which the lady de Pienne held with the Sieur de la Porte, which may be seen above.

Here I intend to examine an answer which appears to me very sophistical: the cardinal of Lorrain, after the insult which I have mentioned in another place (27), caused a letter to be published, wherein are found these words: *I have heard some others ascribe the bad disposition of the said marshal de Montmorency to a more antient cause, from the very time when he was perplexed and embarrassed about his marriage with the lady de Pienne, which he confessed, and declared before the said lord Cardinal, and other lords deputed in this case by the late king Henry, and quickly after denied, and swore to the Pope, that he had never made any promise to the said lady; insomuch that the said Mr de Montmorency was ashamed to be known by the said lord Cardinal to be a perjured man, and one that might be excepted against in courts of judicature, and degraded from all honour* (28). See here what the Protestant answered who refuted this letter: 'The second cause of the hatred of Mr de 'Montmorency proceeds from hence, as you say, be- 'cause you take him to be a perjured man, upon the 'account of the marriage of the lady de Pienne. Be- 'fore I purge him from this calumny, by true testi- 'monies and authorities, I humbly pray the king's 'majesty to consider your boldness, whereby you have 'exceeded the bounds of reason, in daring to publish, 'that the marriage of his sister is unlawful. Is it pos- 'sible to draw any other consequence from your dis- 'course? I should willingly pardon your ignorance, 'if it were not attended with malice. Can the pro- 'mise of the children of distinction (although your ac- 'cusation were as true as it is false) be of any validity 'to fullfil their marriage, unless it be approved by the 'consent of their parents, under whose authority they 'live? the examples of Abraham and Isaac show us 'sufficiently that it belongs to fathers to marry their 'children as they please. And if a vow (which is a 'promise we make to GOD) made by a daughter with- 'out the consent of her father, is null by the law of 'Moses; much more a promise of marriage, made by 'one person to another, will be null if the father 'consent not to it. And although the Greeks were 'too indeterminate and uncertain in these marriages, 'yet they were not so far deprived of the light of 'nature, but a maid made answer, to one who courted 'her, in these verses of Euripides,

I cannot marry a man
Without the will of my father,
To whom I subject am.

'If any one alledges, that the authority of fathers is 'not so great over their sons as over their daughters, 'all the laws are against him; by which the fathers 'can even sell them in their necessity (29).' After this the author alledges the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and the Civilians, to prove that the marriage of children ought to be subject to the will of those from whom they received life. But all this long discourse is nothing but a sly evasion; for this is to shift the state of the question, and to pass *de genere in genus*. The question was not whether the marriage of Mr de Montmorency with the natural daughter of Henry II was lawful: the author of the letter had not touched upon that string; but he had only said, that the marshal was perjured for confessing and denying solemnly, that he had promised marriage to the lady de Pienne. These two facts are a plain proof of perjury, whether the promise was obligatory or not: for if a man should promise to commit a crime, he would easily obtain, before all the courts of justice, a release from his promise; but if he should swear before one court, that he did promise it; and before another, that he did never promise it, he would be found guilty of perjury. This was the case of Mr de Montmorency, as was pretended; this was the subject of the accusation. The enquiry was not whether he ought to keep his promise of marriage, nor whether it was lawful or unlawful: and yet the Protestant who answered the letter of the cardinal of Lorrain supposes, that all the accusation was grounded upon this, that lawful promise had not been kept, having made this false supposition, he rambles about, he alledges the divine laws, and the law of nature, he handles the common-place of paternal right, he says an hundred needless things, and says nothing at all to the purpose. This is the common practice of those who cannot make a good answer, and are afraid lest they should do a prejudice to their cause by being silent. They change the state of the question, that they may open a way for excursions. I believe many readers thought, that the apologist for Mr de Montmorency had obtained a full victory, and were very much pleased to see that he brought Henry the second's daughter into his cause: a stratagem too frequent in Polemical writings, and which, at the bottom, is a meer imposition.

(27) Remark [L] of the article LORRAIN (CHARLES).

(28) A letter of a lord of the country of Haynault, sent to his neighbour and friend who followed the court of Spain, *pag. m.* 5, 6.

(29) An Answer to the Epistle of Charles de Vaudemont, Cardinal of Lorrain, *fol. R iij, verso.*

[F] *Some remorse of conscience, which obliged him to ask the absolution of Pope Pius IV.*] 'Thus things stood 'while the Pope and the king lived; but either be- 'cause Mr de Montmorency had afterwards some 'scruple about it, and attributed to it the bad suc- 'cess of the many pregnancies of his wife, who had 'but one live child of the many she had conceived, 'which died immediately after, or for some other 'reasons, he had recourse once more to the holy See, 'and sent a supplication to Pope Pius IV, after the 'death of Paul, whereof I have the original memo- 'morial; wherein he declares, how by a surprize of 'love he had formerly made a promise of marriage 'to the lady *de Piennes*, on condition, nevertheless, 'that he should obtain the consent of his father, and 'not otherwise; which he being not able to obtain, 'the said lady did freely acquit him from his pro- 'mise, as well by word of mouth, as by a declaration 'signed by her, in the presence of witnesses, wherein 'she persists to this day: and he was married; and ne- 'vertheless, upon account of some assertions made by 'him, he desires absolution, by way of caution, and 'that the commission should be addressed to the bishop 'of Paris. Pope Pius IV, who had not the same in- 'terest with his predecessor, made not so much ado 'about it, and sent him a good and ample dispensa- 'tion (30). . . . This dispensation quieted his con- 'science, but did not change the condition of his 'marriage, which continued still to be barren (31).' Mr le Laboureur was very much inclined, for some domestic reasons, to justify, as much as possible, those of the house of Montmorency; nevertheless, he seems to believe that it was not true, that the promise I speak of was not made but upon condition: *If this marriage of Diana of France with the marshal duke of Montmorency*, says he, *was both advantageous and glorious in the eyes of the world, yet it is justly doubted whether it was pleasing to* GOD, *because it was contracted with more violence than justice, to the prejudice of an engagement, of affection and promise on the part of the marshal with Jane de Halluin* (32).

(30) Le Laboureur, ubi supra, *pag.* 439.

(31) Ibid. *pag.* 440.

(32) Ibid. *pag.* 419.

[G] *The lady married, some time after, a man who was very much inferior to the galant she had lost.*] It is Brantome who informs me of this, in a parenthesis which he has inserted in a narrative he has given us of the restitution of the places of the duke of Savoy. What he says is a proof that love creeps in every where, and serves as a spring to the most important affairs of state. There were some wise heads in the king's council, who were of opinion, that all the

towns

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here a very remarkable instance, whereby it appears that the passions of a prince, which frequently occasion several abuses, prove sometimes a remedy for the disorders of the state. The edict whereby all clandestine marriages were declared void, occasioned the enacting of a very good and beneficial law [*H*], but it was not out of zeal for the public

towns which the duke of Savoy demanded back again should not be restored to him. The king of Navarre (33) argued, *That this restitution should be made absolutely, otherwise he should not have the kingdom of Sardinia, which was in dispute, and that the duke of Savoy had acquainted, and promised him, he would use his interest for him with the king of Spain. . . . . In conclusion, after many debates, the weaker party carried the cause against the stronger; and therefore they dispatched into Piedmont, from the Bois de Vincennes, after the taking of Bourges, the lord d'Alluye (Florimond Robertet) one of the four secretaries to the king, who was then very much in love with the lady de Pienne* (34). . . . . *whom he desired very much to marry. The king of Navarre promised him, that if he managed the business to his content, he should marry her, of which there was no probability, but by his favour; forasmuch as this lady was of one of the best and most honourable houses of France, and one who had refused, in her time, so high and so great matches, that there was no reason to think a meer secretary should marry her; who, nevertheless, married her afterwards, more out of humour, and a capricious fancy in the lady, than upon any reasonable motive. This I have heard many of our courtiers say, and not that the thing had been done by the favour of the king of Navarre, for he had been dead above a year; nevertheless it was he who first countenanced his love, and encouraged and assisted him in it as much as he could: thus, in these matters, the grandees at court can do very much, and be very serviceable, and even their companions and particular friends.*' The king of Navarre knew very well how to make choice of his tools, since he made use of a man who was very much in love, whom he filled with hopes of possessing the beloved object.

(33) Brantome, Memoir. apud Le Laboureur, ubi supra, *Tom. 2, pag.* 848.

(34) All this chasm contains a parenthesis in the text of Mr le Laboureur, which would serve to no purpose here.

[*H*] *The edict whereby clandestine marriages were declared void, occasioned the enacting of a very good and beneficial law*] One of the ablest advocates of the parliament of Paris argues very well upon this subject, in his letter to Robert and Fournier, professors of the Civil Law at Orleans, and he is troubled that the law was not severe enough. He would not have had things done by halves, but that absolutely all marriages contracted without the knowledge, or against the will of the fathers, should have been annulled. Here follows the beginning of his letter: 'The EDICT concerning 'marriages has been published in our court of par- 'liament, which is indeed great and magnificent, 'but greater still, if you understood the motive of it; 'because some of those who hold the chief places of 'France, were the cause of it. It is said, that the 'greatest part of bad examples, proceed commonly 'from such things, as were formerly wisely and ho- 'lily ordained, but turn into abuses in process of time. 'On the contrary, never was there a good law which 'did not proceed from some scandalous practice; the 'disease must first come, before the remedy be found 'out. As to this edict, every one rejoices at it, as 'being excellent and worthy of a king: I alone, 'like another Timon, or man hater, mourn, sigh, and 'lament, not but that I am glad of the authority that 'is given to fathers over their children; but because 'I am sorry it is not granted more fully, and that as 'Alexander the Great being arrived in Asia, did not 'amuse himself with untying the twistings of the Gor- 'dian knot, like the other princes who had gone that 'way before him, but for a greater dispatch, cut it 'quite asunder; so I wish this matter had been fully 'settled, and that by an ordinance made with the com- 'mon consent of the Gallican church, all marriages 'of children had been declared null, for which there 'are only promises, without the authority and con- 'sent of the fathers and mothers. Upon this account 'I pity France, which tho' it was never weary of 'bringing all ecclesiastical matters under a good and 'laudable discipline, dares not put the last hand to this 'work (35).' What he adds, contains several judicious remarks; but his conclusion is too severe, for he would have those who allure any body with fair words into the snare of marriage, to be punished with death. *Our ancestors*, says he (36), *being sensible, that it was a thing of a very ill example, that any one under five and twenty years of age, should be thought to be lawfully married by verbal engagements, to the prejudice of the paternal authory, introduced the action of Rape, (which we commonly call* Raptum in parentes) *which is unknown to all other nations. Whereby fathers and mothers, and even guardians, were permitted to bring an accusation before the royal judge, against a man or a woman, who with such fair and affected words, should entice and draw any of their children into the snare of marriage: and such is the power and effect of this prosecution, that whilst it lasts, it suspends and stops all the proceedings which might be made before an official, or an ecclesiastical judge, for the validity of the marriage. But what advantage did you ever get by such an accusation? None at all; only like true Frenchmen, we are in the beginning stronger than men, but we prove at last weaker than women. Every body stirs himself in the beginning of the prosecution, the very judges seem mightily to favour the plaintiffs. But when all is done, you never saw an exemplary punishment made upon such an account, and at last he, who committed the rape, triumphs over the law and the afflicted family, remaining in full possession of the person ravished. For my part, I am of opinion, either that such an accusation should not have been introduced amongst us, or that it should terminate with the death of the guilty; that the dissolution of his life might also produce the dissolution of his marriage.* Perhaps he did not speak his whole mind, he meant perhaps those, who, not contented to seduce a young woman, persuade her to consent to her being stolen. Supposing that out of inadvertency he omitted this part of the definition of a rape, and that he had it in his mind, his conclusion cannot be looked upon as too severe in France, for the French punish with death all those who steal a maid, whether she consents to it or not. I think that law was not established, when Pasquier wrote his letter to the two professors of Orleans. I fancy it was established since, because they perceived that the law which punished only the stealers of a maid not consenting, was almost of no use. It was easily eluded, for it was no difficult thing to persuade a young woman to confess that she had consented to it: such a confession saved a man's life, and the maid was not unwilling to save the life of a man, who professed that love had forced him to steal her: besides, she found herself dishonoured, very much suspected, and in danger of meeting with no good match, and of being looked upon as the remains of another, having been for some time in the power of a stealer (37); and all those things being duly considered by the daughter and her parents, they resolved to save the man, and in order to it, the stolen maid was only to confess that she had consented to it: so that such an affair ended as those mentioned by Pasquier (38), and therefore rapes became very common; the old law proved useless, and it was thought necessary to make another more severe, that should have no regard to the declaration which maids should make of having consented to their being stolen. It was thought fit to punish their consent; for impunity tends very much to the multiplying of such ill examples: those who succeed first, are an encouragemt to others, and then no body is ashamed of treading in a way that several others have safely gone in. See the remark of the article ARIOSTO.

(35) Pasquier, Letters, *book iii, pag.* 111, *of Tom. i.*

(36) Ibid. *pag.* 112, 113.

(37) Compare this with the remark [*E*] of the article HELENA.

(38) When there has been a rape there is at first a great stir about it, the rather is fued and threatened with punishment; but that eagerness cools by degrees, the ravisher remains master of his prey, and it is declared to be a lawful prize. The worst is, and it happens pretty often, that he makes himself feared. They are afraid that when he has had sport enough with his mistress, he will leave her in the lurch. He must be intreated, and so he becomes master of the terms of the contract.

(39) Pasquier, ubi supra, *pag.* 113.

(40) Is it not to make my old age miserable, that I must see that fool unhappy in a great measure for having foolishly bound himself, and that I can have no comfort but by making him altogether miserable, by disinheriting him as the law impowers me to do? *Ibid. pag.* 114.

(41) Ibid.

Our advocate examines the permission which the edict gave *to fathers and mothers to disinherit their children, who have been so imprudent as to enter into the bond of marriage without their consent* (39). He shews that it is neither a remedy, nor a consolation, but a new calamity (40), and maintains that the only remedy is, that *such marriages should be declared null* by an ordinance of a council (41). He alledges the Scripture, the Fathers, the Roman law, the French law under king Charles the Bald, and he says that *he does not find that there has been any council since, that took away that noble jurisdiction from parents with respect to their children.*

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public good that Henry II enacted so just a law, it was to promote the private interest of his favourite, and to avoid the shame of yielding to the artful intrigues of the Pope (*c*). The house of Guise did mightily contribute to the opposition which Francis de Montmorenci met with at the court of Rome [*I*]. (*c*) See the remark [*C*].

children. He goes on and says, 'This indeed I know, 'that some hundred years since, some monks, patchers 'of old glosses, have insinuated to us this barbarous 'and brutish opinion, that by the canon law the 'consent of fathers and mothers was requisite for the 'marriage of their children, only out of honour, and 'not out of necessity. Those monks made a perpe-'tual profession of celibacy, and would to God, that 'as that wise king of Sparta, Agesilaus, being surprif-'ed by a friend, as he was playing with his children, 'desired him to suspend his judgment about it till he 'was a father; so those monks had not been so busy 'as to interpose their opinion concerning marriage, 'since their vow and their rule exempted them from 'being fathers. Hence it is that they measure pater-'nal affection by their own, I mean by a common 'and trivial affection (42).' I wonder how he forgot to say, that the permission of disinheriting is not a sufficient terror to young lovers; for there are so many fathers, who have easily forgiven the fault of marrying against their will, and we have so few examples, of fathers who have kept their resentment as long as they lived, and expressed it by their last will and testament, that children flatter themselves with the hopes of being soon reconciled. They relie much upon the natural force of paternal love (43), and they know very well, that a short mortification will expiate great faults with a father, *pro peccato magno paulum supplicii satis est patri* (44).

(42) Id. ib. *pag.* 117.

(43) O nimium potens
Quanto parentes sanguinis vinclo tenes
Natura! quàm te colimus inviti quoque!
Oh powerful Nature, with how strong a chain dost thou bind parents! How unwilling do we reverence thee!
Seneca, in Hippolyto, *Act. IV, ver.* 1114.

(44) Terent. in Andria, *Act. V, Sc. III, in fine.*

Pasquier's censure is at the bottom a great encomium upon the edict of Henry II. For since that learned Civilian would have the rebellion of children under age, to be more severely punished, he praises and approves the new degrees of punishment, which it was made liable to. Besides, it is to be observed, that he declares that what is wanting therein ought to proceed from the ecclesiastical, and not the royal authority.

A REFUTATION of those, who endeavour to justify clandestine marriages and rapes.

Let no body say, that such an edict is prejudicial to those persons, whose fathers are so covetous or capricious, that they will never consent to the marriages of their children. This is no reasonable objection, there is no law absolutely convenient to every body (45), we must be therefore contented with such laws as remedy the greatest evils. Now there are infinitely more children, who, in the heat and folly of youth, will marry improperly, than there are fathers who will oppose reasonable matches. It is therefore better that the laws should restrain the liberty of children, than that they should lessen the paternal authority. Besides, children after a certain age were no longer restrained by the edict of Henry II. Let no body say neither, that the liberty of marrying without the consent of the fathers, gives honest people, who have no estates, an opportunity of making their fortune. This I have heard some Englishmen say, who endeavoured to make an apology for the privileges of some churches in London, where a priest may give the nuptial benediction without the observation of any preliminary formalities, and hereby legitimate the most clandestine marriages. It has been seen by such means, said they to me, that the patrimony of a very rich heiress dropped into a poor family, which flourished afterwards, and was the glory of the country. The very same argument might serve to justify the impunity of rapes. But this is a weak apology; for the greatest abuses will sometimes prove convenient to some private persons: but that is not a reason to keep them up. Can any one be a true honest man, a man of true merit, who endeavours to enrich himself by depriving a father of the power which divine and human laws give him over his children? If we reckon right, we shall find, that for one man of merit, who raised himself that way, there are twenty who have only the art of wheedling a young woman, who is either very simple, or discontented with the severity of a mother, or a guardian, *&c.* and the falsity of the apology for the privileges of those churches has been plainly perceived; for we have read not long since in the Gazettes, that the parliament of England was about to take them away.

(45) See, above, remark [*E*], of the article PATIN, citation 99.

[*I*] *The house of Guise did powerfully contribute to the oppositions of the court of Rome.*] 'The presence of the 'duke of Guise at Rome, and the mutual jealousy, 'with regard to power, between him and the con-'stable, gave so much the more occasion to suspect 'that he crossed that dispensation, because the in-'tended marriage was very advantageous to the house 'of Montmorency. He and the cardinal his brother, 'were strictly allied to Pope Paul IV, and all the 'house of the Caraffa's, they had been the chief au-'authors of the rupture of the truce with Spain in 'their behalf, and the constable had opposed it; and 'therefore it was likely that they set the Pope at 'work, and that if they did not propose to him to 'ask Diana of France for one of his nephews, they 'made him hope, however, that he might obtain 'her by starting some difficulties against the dispen-'sation, and made him sensible of the advantages 'which would accrue to his relations by it. So that 'they would not only have broke off a marriage of 'great importance to the house of Montmorency, 'but also made another with a most noble house in-'deed, but unequal in riches and grandeur (46).' The Guises found so many advantages in the marriage of Francis de Montmorency with the lady de Pienne, as Mr le Laboureur shews, that there can be no doubt but that they played the game which he speaks of; and if they had not prepossessed the Pope, and sollicited him, it is not likely that so cunning and crafty a Pope would have had so little power over his passions. You have seen (47) how he expressed his partiality by his rough proceeding, and inveighing against those who gave not their opinion according to his desire. Had he left to every one the liberty of giving their votes, he could not have compassed his design, that is to say, the execution of the projects which the Guises put him upon. Had it not been for that, he had commanded his passion, concealed his game, and persuaded many people that his zeal for discipline obliged him not to violate the holy canons in the least, though he might thereby please the most Christian king, and only exercise the Papal authority in the same latitude as his predecessors had done, more than once. Had the Pope's conduct been such, it might have afforded Mr Esprit an example *of the deceitfulness of human virtues.*

(46) Le Laboureur, ubi supra, *Tom. II, pag.* 437.

(47) In the remark [*B*].

PIGHIUS (ALBERTUS) was born at Campen, in the province of Over-Yssel, and is reckoned among the learned men of the XVIth century. Moreri speaks of him at large, but he has not observed a gross mistake of Lewis Guicciardin [*A*], which I shall

[*A*] *A gross mistake of Lewis Guicciardin.*] He says that Albertus Pighius, a great Divine, and a great Mathematician, left Italy, where Hadrian VI, Clement VII, and Paul III, had heaped up honours and riches on him, and returned into his country, and died in it gloriously some years after; and then he adds, that nevertheless some authors have said that he died in the year 1530, at Bologna, by the fall of a bridge. He observes, that Paul Jovius is the first who told that story, and that Surius, and some others, did blindly transcribe him: and from thence he takes occasion to censure the rashness of some copiers. *Paulus tamen Jovius, quem secuti sunt postmodùm Frater Laurentius Surius, & alii quidam Scriptores, qui non instituta priùs collatione, neque adhibitâ ullâ consimili diligentiâ, (digni sanè hoc nomine qui reprehendantur) alienâ fide subnixi ad alios sese perpetuò referunt: Paullus (inquam) Jovius, libro historiarum suarum vigesimo sexto, Albertum hunc, multò anteà tempore, anno scilicet Christi* 1530, *& in ipsa Caroli Quinti Cæsaris inauguratione, fortuita pontis ruinâ Bononiæ mortuum perhibet* (1). Here is a censure very ill placed! Guicciardin does sharply condemn the authors, who admit of any relations, without examining whether they be true or not, he speaks of them, I say,

(1) Ludovicus Guicciardinus, in Descriptione Belgii Provinciarum, *pag. m.* 237.

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ſhall cenſure, nor the extream uglineſs, and the bad pronunciation of Albertus Pighius [B]. Moreri has committed ſome conſiderable faults [C]. Beza ſays, that Pighius wrote a book againſt Calvin, to be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal [D]. Others affirm that the reading of Calvin's works made Pighius heterodox [E], with reſpect to the merit

I ſay with great contempt, and yet for all that he moſt egregiouſly commits the ſame fault for which he blames them. For if he had been at the pains to conſult Paul Jovius, and Brother Laurentius Surius, he might have ſeen that they do not ſay Pighius loſt his life in the year 1530. He muſt therefore have blindly tranſcribed ſome writers, who imputed that falſhood to thoſe two authors. I have conſulted Paul Jovius in the place quoted by Guicciardin, and I found nothing in it relating to the matter in hand: I looked for the place where he deſcribes the coronation of Charles V, and I found only that Pighius was one of thoſe who fell, when the bridge tumbled down. 'Ibi 'plerique militibus immixti, fœdo caſu procidentes, ſeſe pilis atque ſecuribus induerunt; inter quos 'fuit Albertus Pighius Belga theologus Lutheromaſtix, (2) 'minima tamen pro tumultu clades incidit. - - - - 'Many being mingled amongſt the ſoldiers fell under 'halberts and battle-axes, amongſt whom was Albertus 'Pighius, a Dutch Divine, a great ſcourge to the Luthe'rans, but yet there was more noiſe than hurt.' A man who ſays that the fall of the bridge made more noiſe than it did hurt, and doth not ſay that Pighius, the only perſon he names amongſt thoſe that fell, was killed by it, intimates plainly enough, that he recovered of it. Note, that he calls him Lutheromaſtix, the ſcourge of the Lutherans, whereby Guicciardin may be convicted of a new over-ſight, for he accuſes Paul Jovius of having charged Pighius with Lutheraniſm (3). His charge againſt Surius is very ill grounded, for that Carthuſian doth faithfully tranſcribe Paul Jovius (4), and beſides, he ſays in another place, that Pighius died only in the year 1543 (5). To which I ſhall add, that Paul Jovius obſerves, that the piety of Pighius preſerved him from the diſmal conſequences of the fall of the bridge. 'Quum id volumen (*de hie'rarchia*) commentaretur . . . . eum è ſummo vitæ 'periculo certiſſimum Dei maximi numen eripuit. 'Bononiæ enim in celeberrima pompa, quum tranſ'eunte coronato Cæſare Carolo Quinto, pars lignei 'pontis juxta Cæſarem turbæ pondere corruiſſet, Al'bertus tignorum atque hominum ruina ita oppreſſus 'eſt, ut probitatis, ac inſtituti operis merito ſervare'tur. Obiit nondum ſenex in patrio ſolo, ſacerdotiis 'à Clemente & Paulo liberaliter honeſtatus (6). - - - 'Whilſt he was compoſing that book concerning the hie'rarchy . . . . he was reſcued from imminent danger by 'the ſignal providence of GOD. For during the grand 'proceſſion at the coronation of the emperor Charles V at 'Bologna, when part of the wooden bridge tumbled down 'by the weight of the crowd, he was almoſt cruſhed to 'death with the pieces of timber and numbers of people 'that fell upon him, but was preſerved upon the account 'of his piety, and the merit of the work he was about. 'He died before he was old in his native country, hav'ing received great honours and benefices from Clement 'and Paul.' Hoſpinian, in anſwer to thoſe who alledged, as an argument againſt the doctrine of Zuinglius, that he died a violent death, retorts this argument upon them amongſt other reaſons. He names ſome perſons, zealous for Popery, who ended their days after a tragical manner, and reckons Pighius amongſt them. 'De Pighio aliqui ſcribunt, *ſays he* '(7), fuiſſe illum in tumultu oppreſſum in magna ho'minum frequentia una cum pecunia illa quam à Papa '& Cardinalibus propter operam ſuam in cauſa pon'tificia defendenda collocatam, acceperat. - - - *Some 'write that Pighius periſhed in a great crowd of people, 'with all the riches he had received from the Pope and 'Cardinals, upon the account of his ſervice in defending 'the Papal cauſe.*' We find in all Chriſtian ſocieties, ſome Hiſtorians who take advantage of a falſe report: The orthodox themſelves are not free from that fault. See in the remark [F] a Divine of the confeſſion of Augſburg, who advances the ſame falſity with Hoſpinian.

(2) Paulus Jovius, Hiſt. *lib. xxvii, fol. m. 111, verſo.*

(3) Lutheraniſmi inſuper, etſi injuſtiſſimè quidem, eum inſimulans: cùm (ut diximus) à doctrinâ Lutheri fuerit alieniſſimus, adeoque ſummus illius hoſtis & antagoniſta. *Ludov. Guicciardin. ubi ſupra.*

(4) Surius, Commentar. *pag. m. 239, ad ann. 1530.*

(5) Ibid. *pag. 491, ad ann. 1543.*

(6) Jovius, in Elogiis, *cap. cv, pag. 246.*

(7) Hoſpinian. Hiſt. Sacrament. *Tom. ii, pag. 210.*

[F] *The extreme uglineſs and the bad pronunciation of Pighius.*] Paul Jovius pretends, that nature inſulted Pighius with a kind of impudence, by covering his great learning and Chriſtian eloquence with a hideous face. *Magna hercle naturæ illudentis inverecundia, excellentem doctrinam cum illuſtri eloquentia conjunctam ſi Chriſtiani ſcriptoris decus ſpectetur, multa infaceti oris truculentia opertam, in Alberto Pighio conſpeximus . . . . In differendo vultus Scythico more contuſus & enormis, & aſpero gutture vox educta, & graviter reſonantis naſi tumultus, totam ferè ſapientiæ gloriam deformabant* (8).

(8) Jov. in Elog. *pag. 245.*

[C] *Moreri has committed ſome conſiderable faults.*] I. I will not be poſitive about this queſtion, whether Pighius's father was a gentleman; but I dare ſay that Moreri aſſures it ſomewhat raſhly. The word *Patricius*, upon which he relies, is an equivocal word; it does commonly ſignify, when it is uſed for modern families, a man, whoſe anceſtors have been ſenators, burgo-maſters, &c. The Patrician families in ſome imperial towns, and in ſome other places, are ſometimes noble; but whether they be ſo or not, they are called Patrician families, provided they have been for ſome time in poſſeſſion of the magiſtracy from father to ſon. Perhaps this was all the *Gentility* of Pighius's father (9). I am not ignorant that Pighius had ſeveral fine lordſhips (10), and that it is commonly a ſign of a noble extraction; but becauſe it is not a demonſtrative proof of it, I will not decide poſitively about it. It is enough for me that I have obſerved the ambiguous ſenſe of the word, which gave occaſion to Moreri's obſervation. II. This expreſſion is wrong, *Mark of Benevento had miſrepreſented the opinion of Alphonſus, concerning the ſituation of the eighth circle.* There are two blunders in thoſe words, for Moreri ſhould have ſaid, that that man had miſrepreſented the hypotheſis of Alphonſus concerning the motion of the eighth Heaven (11). III. Theſe words, *he wrote in* 1538 *an apology for the general council, which Pope* Paul III *had publiſhed*, are abſurd; for that Pope did not publiſh an apology for the council, but a bull for the celebration of a council. IV. That apology of Pighius was not rewarded with a *preſent of two thouſand ducats*, and with the *provoſtſhip of St John at Utrecht*; for Pighius received thoſe two gratifications in the year 1535 (12), three years before the publication of the apology. V. When Moreri ſays that he died at Utrecht the 24th of December 1543, he miſtakes the ſenſe of Valerius Andreas, who ſaid *obiit*, VII. *Kalend. Januarii, anni ineuntis* CIↃ IↃ XLIII. The meaning of it is, that Pighius departed this life the 26th of December 1542: Valerius Andreas is not miſtaken, and ſo Spondanus committed a fault when he ſaid that Pighius and Eckius died in the year 1543, within the ſpace of one month. He places Eckius's death on the 10th of February (13). Swertius places that of Pighius on the 29th of December 1543 (14), in which Bullart copies him (15). They are miſtaken, for cardinal Sadoletus mentions the death of Pighius in a letter bearing date June 17th, 1543 (16). See the remark [F].

(9) Albertus Pighius campenſis Tranſitalanus patricio ſanguine natus. *Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 38.*

(10) See the remark [F].

(11) *The words of* Valerius Andreas, *ubi ſupra, pag. 39, which Moreri has not well tranſlated, are,* poſtquam Alphonſinam de motu octavi orbis deprayantem.

(12) Valer. Andreas. *ibid.*

(13) Spond. Ann. Eccleſ. *ad ann.* 1543, *num.* 11, *pag. m.* 470. *He took this from Surius, except the day of Eckius's death, which is not to be found in Surius.*

(14) Swert. Ath. Belg. *pag.* 115.

(15) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, *Tom. ii, pag.* 14.

(16) See page 636, of Sadoletus's Letters, Lyons 1554.

[D] *Beza ſays that Pighius wrote a book againſt Calvin, to be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.*] That book of Pighius, ſays Beza, was deſpiſed by honeſt men, and the author was deceived by Satan. Such was his reward. 'Adverſus Albertum Pighium Cam'penſem, ſophiſtam illius ætatis facile principem, à 'quo etiam fuerat pro Antagoniſta delectus, ex quo 'videlicet reportata inſigni victoria, galerum mox, à 'Pontifice conſequeretur. At ille hoc ſuo labore fru'ſtratus, id unum aſſequutus eſt quod merentur verita'tis hoſtes, nempe ut & doctis ſaniſque hominibus fœ'teret, & ab ipſo Satana deciperetur (17). - - - *Alber'tus Pighius born at Campen, the greateſt ſophiſt of that 'time, had choſen Calvin for his antagoniſt, that by 'gaining a notable victory over him, he might get a 'cardinal's cap from the Pope. But he was diſappoint'ed in his expectation, and only obtained the reward 'which the enemies of truth deſerve, viz. to be de'ſpiſed by learned and wiſe men, and deceived by Satan 'himſelf.*'

(17) Beza, in Vita Calvini, *ad ann.* 1565.

[E] *The reading of Calvin's works made Pighius heterodox.*] Theophilus Raynaud having ſaid, that there are ſome heretics, who cannot be read without danger by one that has not a deep learning, but that there are ſome other heretics, who vent their errors in ſo groſs a manner, that a reader, though not very learned, needs not be afraid of reading them; that author,

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merit of good works, and the justification of sinners. It is pretended by others, that Pighius examined Calvin's works with so great a desire of refuting them, that his aversion for the opinions of that adversary made him run into another extream. They say, that he followed the steps of the Pelagians, and therefore cardinal Bona advises the reader to read Pighius's works with caution (*a*). His treatises concerning Free-will against Calvin, and concerning Original Sin, have been placed among the prohibited books by the Spanish Inquisition. Possevinus acquaints his reader, that Pighius's doctrine concerning Original Sin, and Grace, are not approved by the Divines, because he seems to have departed from the doctrine of St Augustin, which the church approves of (*b*). The Jansenist, who published some letters of the prince of Conti, has expressed himself more strongly. He says, that Pighius must needs be looked upon (*c*) *as a wretched Divine*, since he is *a man who suspects the doctrine of St Augustin, a man who advises those who are desirous to understand the true doctrine of Free-will, rather to read the other works of St Augustin, than those which he writ against the Pelagians, &c* (*d*). I shall set down some remarks that have been made against John Gerhard, which contain some particulars, not unfit to be inserted in this article [*F*], and I shall not forget to observe that

(*a*) Albertus Pighius ita præfert Pelagianorum scholasticorum vestigia ut opera ejus cautè legenda merito censuerit Cardinalis Bona. *Narratio Chronol. Causæ Michaëlis Baji, pag.* 192, *Tom. II, Oper. Bai Edit.* 1696. See remark [*G*], citat. (32), (33).

(*b*) Possevin. in Apparatu.

(*c*) See at the end of the prince of Conti's Letters to Father des Champs, printed in 1689, the treatise which is intituled, *St Augustin justified from Calvinism, pag.* 181, 182.

(*d*) You will see the sequel of this passage towards the end of the remark [*G*].

author, I say, having once laid down that foundation, brings in Luther and Calvin. He reckons Calvin amongst the heretics of the first class, and Luther amongst those of the second, and alledges Pighius as a pregnant example of what he says. ' Qua ratione ' Lutherus, qui ubique stercora, & cœnum crepat, ' suamque animi impotentiam ubique prodit, minorem ' legentis peritiam exposcit, quàm Calvinus, cujus in ' scribendo vafrities, etiam mediocriter doctis fraudi ' esse queat, ut in Alberto Pighio est deprehensum, ' quem constat ex lectione librorum Calvini impactum ' non rarò esse in scopulos: tametsi homo erat non ' ineruditus, quod edita ab eo volumina testatum fa- ' ciunt (18). - - - *Wherefore Luther, who every where* ' *throws about his dung and nastiness, and shews the* ' *impotency of his mind, requires less learning in his reader* ' *than Calvin, whose subtile way of writing may im-* ' *pose even upon them that are tolerably learned; as we* ' *find by Albertus Pighius, who by reading Calvin's books* ' *frequently split against rocks: though he was a learned* ' *man, as the works he published testify.*' An English Protestant assures us that Pighius is altogether orthodox in his belief concerning Justification (19). Another Protestant of the same country says, that the Papists accuse Pighius of having been seduced by reading Calvin, but that Pighius maintained he took his doctrine only from the Scripture. ' Dicunt Pontificii ' Pighium, alioqui Catholicum Doctorem, seductum ' ex Lectione librorum Calvini. At Pighius, ipse te- ' statur, sententiam suam se è lectione Scripturarum ' hausisse: O Calvinum vel Adversariorum testimo- ' nio beatum, cujus Scripta tantum cum Sacris Scrip- ' turis consensum retinent, si quod Pontificius Doctor ' celeberrimus fatetur se ex Sacræ Scripturæ lectione ' habuisse, id alii Pontificii lectioni librorum Calvini ' tribuant. Profectò nisi Scholasticorum sententia cum ' manifestis Scripturis pugnasset, nunquam illam de- ' seruisset Pighius (20). - - - *The Papists say that Pig-* ' *hius, otherwise a Catholic doctor, was led away by* ' *reading Calvin's works. But Pighius himself affirms,* ' *he had his doctrine only from the scriptures. O Calvin,* ' *happy even by the testimony of thy adversaries, since* ' *thy writings are so conformable to the holy scriptures,* ' *that what a very famous Popish doctor confesses he took* ' *from the scriptures, other Papists impute to the reading* ' *of thy books. Certainly, had not the opinion of schola-* ' *stick Divines evidently clashed with the scriptures, Pig-* ' *hius would never have forsaken it.*' I shall add a French minister to these two Englishmen: ' Cardinal ' Rossensis and Pighius who wrote also against Luther, ' maintained the doctrine of Grace; nay, the latter ' affirmed, that we are not justified *by an inherent right-* ' *eousness that is within us:* but he was sharply cen- ' sured by the * dean of the university of Louvain, ' who upbraided him with having shamefully departed ' from the doctrine which they had received together ' in the school of Adrian VI, and that he was corrupt- ' ed by the reading of Calvin's Institution (21).' I have just now perused the treatise *de Fide & Justifi-* *catione*, which is the second of the nine controversies which Pighius published at Cologne in the year 1542, with this title, *Controversiarum præcipuarum in comitiis Ratisponensibus tractatarum, & quibus nunc potissimum exagitatur Christi fides & religio, diligens & luculenta explicatio*, and I have found some things in it which make me wonder, how any body could say with any shew of reason, that his opinion about Justification was altogether the same with the opinion of the Protestants. He refutes them with all his might, and says in expres words, that when God justifies and saves a sinner, he has a special regard to his good works. ' Ad amorem nostrum atque opera præcipuum à Deo ' & majorem quam fidei respectum haberi in donando ' nobis justificationis & salutis gratiam. - - - *In bestow-* ' *ing upon us justifying and saving grace, GOD has a* ' *special regard to our love and good works, and even* ' *more than to our faith.*' This is the summary which he put in the margin, folio 63 *verso*, and in the next folio, *opera nostra coram Deo esse meritoria, - - - our good works in the sight of GOD, are meritorious.* I find that the doctrine of the text does perfectly agree with the summary of the margin. We shall see hereafter (22), that Calvin and the Jansenists charge him with being a downright Pelagian.

(18) Theoph. Raynaudus, de malis ac bonis Libris, *num.* 453, *pag. m.* 263.

(19) Mortonus, Antidot. contra merita, *cap. vii,* §. 1, apud Pope Blount, Cens. Author. *pag.* 418.

(20) Episc. Carleton. Consens. Eccles. Cathol. contra Tridentin. *cap. iii,* apud Pope Blount, ubi supra.

* Tapperus.

(21) Basnage, Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées, *Tom. ii, pag.* 39, *Edit.* 1690, *in* 12*mo.*

(22) In the remark [*G*], towards the end.

[*F*] *I shall set down some remarks, that have been made against John Gerhard, which contain some particulars not unfit to be inserted in this article.*] The author of those remarks was of Utrecht, and a Lawyer by profession: his name was Gisbertus Lappius à Waveren. He sent them to Nihusius, who inserted them in his Hypodigma, printed in the year 1648. They contain a sharp censure of a passage of John Gerhard, professor of Divinity at Iena. That passage is to be found in the 5th tome of the *loci communes* of that Professor, sect. 14. where he refutes the fourteenth mark which Bellarmin has given of the true church, viz. that her opposers die a miserable death. John Gerhard retorts this argument against Bellarmin, and speaks of the unfortunate death of the persecutors of the Protestant religion, and reckons Pighius amongst them. ' Eodem anno Christi CIↃ IↃ XLIII, *says he,* ' mortuus est Albertus Pighius, Papatûs defensor non ' postremus; de quo scribunt, fuisse illum in tumultu ' oppressum, in magna hominum frequentia, unà cum ' pecunia, quam à Papa, & Cardinalibus propter ope- ' ram suam, in causa Pontificia defendenda collatam, ' acceperat. - - - *In the same year of Christ* 1543 *died* ' *Albertus Pighius, a strenuous defender of the Papacy:* ' *who is said to have perished in a tumult in a great* ' *croud of people, together with the money he had receiv-* ' *ed from the Pope and Cardinals for the service he had* ' *done in defending the Popish cause.*' The Critic proves by the words of Paul Jovius which I have quoted (23), that the fall of the bridge happened in the year 1530, and that Albertus Pighius was not killed by it. He adds, that the Pope's liberality towards him happened after the year 1530. So that at the worst, he could not have been crushed by the fall of the bridge with his money, as the Professor of Iena supposes. Afterwards he shews that Albertus Pighius *Præpositus & Archidiaconus Ecclesiæ Divi Johannis, liber Dominus in Midrecht, Wilnes, Cudelsteert, Zevenhoven, Tamen; Dominus in Achtienhoven, Blocklant, Nuythoorn* (24), died having duly received the sacraments of the Church, and with a great presence of mind on the 26th of December 1542, in a magnificent house which he had at Utrecht. *Ultrajecti in ædibus clausstralibus, quas in immunitate collegiatæ Ecclesiæ Divi Johannis magnificas possidebat* (25). This date of the day and year of his death is to be found in a letter which John Vorstius de Lombeca, dean of the cathedral church of Utrecht, and one of the executors of the last will of Albertus

(23) See the remark [*A*].

(24) Gisbertus Lappius à Waveren, apud Nihusium in Hypodigmate, *pag.* 339, 340.

(25) Ibid.

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(e) Calvin, Bucer, &c.

that Pighius is accuſed of being a plagiary [G], and that thoſe who wrote againſt him(e) own that he was an eloquent and ingenious man, and that he had all the qualities of a good

Albertus Pighius, wrote the 29th of December 1542, to Gerard Hamont, prior of the charter-houſe of Cologne. The Critic gives an abſtract of that letter: There is a remarkable thing in it. Pighius was ſo provoked at a book which Bucer wrote againſt him, that notwithſtanding his illneſs, he was employed every day in writing his apology, and no body was able to perſuade him to have ſome regard to the ill ſtate of his health. He would never leave off writing an anſwer to Bucer's book, and this haſtened his death. This anſwer remained imperfect, and was printed notwithſtanding (26). Here are the very words of the dean's letter (27): *Hoc adjiciam, præfatum Præpoſitum, D. Pighium, libello quodam, nomine Buceri emiſſo, quo eum acrius punxit, ita, durante ſua ægritudine, fuiſſe commotum, ut nullâ perſuaſione induci potuerit, ut aliqua ſuæ valetudinis habita ratione, Apologiam quandam reſponſivam edere, & indies ſcribere, voluerit omittere. Quam quidem, inchoatam tantum, morte præventus, reliquit: quæ certe indubitata fuit cauſa celerioris ejus deceſſus. Eandem Apologiam, ſic inchoatam, curabo viſitari, ac deinde typis excudi.* As to what Gerhard ſays, that the cardinals gave a great deal of money to Pighius; the dean anſwers, that it is very likely they expreſſed only in words the eſteem and affection they had for him. He quotes two letters, one of cardinal Sadoletus, written in the year 1539, and the other of cardinal Marcellus Cervinus, written from Rome the 27th of October 1542. Sadoletus aſſures Albertus Pighius that he will recommend him to the Pope and to the Cardinals. Cervinus promiſes him to repreſent his ſervices and his want to the Pope, and proteſts that if he could afford him wherewith to ſatisfy his creditors, he would do it with all his heart: ‘ Quantum verò attinet ad æs alienum tuum, ſi ejus ‘ diſſolvendi facultas in mea poteſtate eſſet poſita, non ‘ laborares. Et tamen, quamvis S. S. D. N. multis ‘ magniſque hoc tempore impenſis ſimul gravetur, ‘ non decro tua merita atque neceſſitates commemorare, & juvare rem tuam familiarem, quantum potero (28). - - - *As to your debts, were it in my power to pay them, you ſhould be in no diſtreſs. And though his Holineſs at preſent is put to vaſt charges on many accounts, I will not fail to repreſent your ſervices and wants, and to aſſiſt you as much as I can.*’ Laſtly, he obſerves that Pighius grew poor by reaſon of ſeveral ſuits at law, the chief whereof was that which he ſtoutly maintained againſt the emperor, and againſt the court of the province, who called the high juriſdiction of the provoſtſhip of St John into queſtion.

(26) *See* Cochlæus, in Actis Lutheri, *ad ann.* 1542, *fol. m.* 322.

(27) Apud Nihuſium, ibid. *pag.* 340.

(28) Ibid. *pag.* 342, 343.

It cannot be denied by one who narrowly obſerves all his ſteps, that he was an intriguing man, and a great *Faciendaire* (§ α). I uſe this old French word, which ſeems to me to be very expreſſive, and which I found in ſome good authors, who lived in the beginning of the XVIIth century (29). I wiſh it had been kept up, and I wonder it is not to be found in Nicot, nor in Monet, nor in Furetiere. But there are many other words as remarkable as that, which they knew nothing of.

(29) Du Pleſſis Mornai makes uſe of it ſometimes.

[(§ α) This word comes from the Italian *facenda*, from whence is derived *facendaro*, another Italian word anſwering to the French *faciendaire*. Therefore tho' this word is not in Nicot, nor Monet, nor Furetiere, yet we find *facende* in Oudin, later than the two firſt. *Facienda* in the Spaniſh, French, and Italian Dictionary, printed in 4to, at Geneva 1671. For the reſt, the word *faciendaire* itſelf is found in Paſquier, l. 6. ch. 12. of his Recherches. REM. CRIT.]

[G] *Pighius is accuſed of being a Plagiary.*] Calvin accuſes him of it. The catalogues of Plagiaries, which we have ſeen hitherto, ſay nothing of it. Pighius began his book concerning Free-will, with the connexion that is between the knowledge of GOD and the knowledge of man. He found that method in Calvin's Inſtitution, and made uſe of it, without acknowleding from whence he had it. Calvin blames him for it, and cannot apprehend what ground there is for ſo great a familiarity. He can find no other reaſon for it but the right of preſcription, becauſe Pighius had been uſed for a long time to this ſort of plundering. ‘ Miror ‘ qua fronte auſus fuerit, nulla mei mentione facta, ‘ tam familiariter ſumere de meo libro, quod in ſuum ‘ transcriberet. Neque enim quo jure id faciat, video: ‘ niſi fortè preſcriptionem obtendat, quia ſic facere ‘ pridem ſolitus ſit. Nam in magno illo libro, quem ‘ adverſus noſtram confeſſionem edidit, integras ſæpe ‘ ex inſtitutione mea paginas, ubi viſum eſt, inſercit, ac ‘ ſuo commodo ſic adaptat, quaſi aliunde non ſumpſiſſet. Velim nunc ſcire quo jure aut titulo mea ſic ‘ pro ſuis uſurpet. Si qua magna eſſet inter nos neceſſitudo, ego hanc confidentiam amicitiæ non difficulter concederem. Sed nunc huic veniæ non eſt ‘ locus. An quia hoſtis ſum, ſe jus direptionis in ‘ omnia mea habere putat? At hoc prædæ genus ‘ nullo, nec jure, nec more, defendi poteſt. Unus ‘ ergo prætextus reſtat, homini docto potuiſſe non minus venire in mentem quæ dixeram, quàm mihi ‘ prius venerant. Sed lectores obſecro, ſi tantum habeant ocii, ut caput primum libri Pighiani cum primo Inſtitutionis meæ cap.te conferant. Nihil dico: ‘ niſi quod non ſine riſu ac ſtomacho perſpicient nimis ‘ perditam hominis impudentiam. Quod ſi ulterius ‘ pergere libeat, percurrant quæ de Juſtificatione tractat in altero illo opere, & ad ſextum Inſtitutionis ‘ meæ caput exigant: mirum ſi bilem continere ‘ queant. Neque enim clanculum furatur aut carptim: ‘ neque artificio tegere ita ſtudet ſuas rapinas, ut apud ‘ ſe natum videatur, quod apud me legit, ſed ita palam mea ad verbum recitat, ut videat r pagi.as ipſas ‘ totas pigritia aſſuiſſe, quò deſcribendi laborem fugeret. Si fateretur authorem, eum dicendum mutuari: ‘ nunc quid cauſari poteſt, quo minus plagiarius palam vocetur (30).’ - - - - *I am ſurprized at his aſſurance in taking the liberty to tranſcribe from my book, without making the leaſt mention of me. Nor do I ſee what he can alledge for himſelf, unleſs it be the right of preſcription, becauſe he had been uſed to this way for a long time. For in that great book, which he put out againſt my Confeſſion. he has frequently inſerted whole pages, taken from my Inſtitution, and ſo adapted them to his own purpoſe, as if he had not had them elſewhere. Now I would fain know, what right or title he has to make uſe of what belongs to me, as if it were his own. Were there any great acquaintance between us, I could readily forgive his confidence upon the ſcore of friendſhip. But now there is no room for ſuch an indulgence. Does he think that he may lawfully plunder my goods, becauſe I am his enemy? This kind of plunder can be juſtified by no law or cuſtom. The only pretence then is, that the ſame thoughts might have occurred to this learned man, as had occurred to me. But I would entreat my readers, if they have ſo much time, to compare the firſt chapter of Pighius's book with the firſt chapter of my Inſtitution: and then they will ſee his intoleſable impudence, not without contempt and indignation. And if they will pleaſe to go further, and run over his treatiſe on Juſtification, and examine it by the ſixth chapter of my Inſtitution, I believe they will hardly be able to govern their paſſion. For he does not ſteal in ſecret, and by picking out here and there; nor does he artfully endeavour to hide his theft, that what he has from me might appear to be his own; but he repeats verbatim what I ſay, in ſuch a bare-faced manner, that he ſeems to have ſtitched entire pages to his book, on purpoſe to avoid the trouble of tranſcribing them. Had he named his author, I ſhould call him a borrower: but as he has not, he deſerves the name of a Plagiary.*’ You ſee that he is accuſed of having ſtollen ſeveral pages, word for word, out of Calvin's Inſtitution, to make them his own, without any alteration or diguiſe. It is a ſurprizing ſecurity; but Calvin adds, to excuſe him, that he was contented to pleaſe thoſe who never conſulted the writings of the other party, and approved of every thing that was publiſhed againſt the Proteſtants. ‘ Mirabitur qui‘ cunque leget, unde tantus homini ſtupor: qui nihil ‘ veritus ſit, in ipſo ſtatim veſtigio deprehendi. Ego ‘ verò dum omnia benè reputo, habeo quod pro hominis excuſatione dicam: eum ſecuritate magis ‘ quàm ſocordia id feciſſe. Satis enim habuit, ſi ‘ modò iis placeret, qui non minori religione à noſtris abſtinent, quàm facilitate omnia laudant ac mirantur, quæ nos quovis modo impugnant (31). - - - - *The reader will wonder how he came to be ſo ſtupid, as not to apprehend he would be found out immediately. But when I conſider it, there is one thing may be ſaid in his excuſe, viz. that he did ſo more out of ſecurity* ‘ *than*

(30) Calvin. Reſponſ. contra Pighium de libero arbitrio, *pag.* 10, Optical. Theolog.

(31) Ibid.

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good ſophiſt, and of a good defender of a bad cauſe; that he knew how to give an odious turn to the doctrines of his adverſaries, and how to declame, when he found an occaſion of ſtirring up the indignation of the reader againſt them, by the help of certain principles which the common people will eaſily reliſh; that he knew very well how to hide the weak ſide of his cauſe, to put on an aſſurance, and ſo to perplex the matter, as to make one loſe the ſight of the main difficulty; and that in general he treated his ſubject very methodically. He took care to inſert in a preface, what his adverſaries owned concerning his great parts (*f*).

(*f*) *See* Cochlæus, in Actis & Scriptis Lutheri, *ad ann.* 1542, *ſub fin. fol. m.* 322.

' *than imprudence. For he was contented, if he could* ' *pleaſe thoſe, who as conſcientiouſly forbear to read our* ' *writings, as they readily commend and admire every* ' *thing that is writ againſt us.*' Note, that Calvin does not acknowledge that his works had made Pighius orthodox in the leaſt: on the contrary, he calls him a Pelagian. ' Hoc totum non modo Pelagii ' ſcholam redolet, ſed mera eſt Pelagianæ impietatis ' magna ex parte profeſſio (32). . . . . Quòd autem ' toties cum Pelagianis nihil ſe habere commune ja- ' ctat, neſcio quos hic Pelagianos comminiſcatur. Ne- ' que enim tantùm cum iis, quos deſcribit Auguſtinus, ' multa habet ſimilia, ſed eorum quibuſdam multo eſt ' deterior . . . . (33). Ergo, ut aliquando claudatur ' hic liber, fruſtra, aut ſe à Pelagio disjungere cona- ' tur Pighius, cujus ſocietate eum teneri implicitum ' tam apertè demonſtravimus: aut nos Manichæo, ' aliiſque hæreticis adjungere, à quibus non minus ' diſſidemus, quàm ipſe ab orthodoxo Eccleſiæ ſenſu ' (34).' - - - - *All this not only favours of the ſchool of* ' *Pelagius, but in a great meaſure is an open profeſſion* ' *of the Pelagian impiety. . . . As to his bragging ſo often* ' *that he has nothing in common with the Pelagians, I* ' *do not know who he means here by Pelegians. For he* ' *not only maintains many things as thoſe did, whom* ' *Auguſtin deſcribes, but he is much worſe than ſome of* ' *them were. . . . . And therefore, to conclude, Pighius* ' *in vain attempts either to disjoin himſelf from Pelagius,* ' *with whom I have evidently proved he agrees: or to* ' *join us to the Manichees, and other Heretics, from whom* ' *we differ no leſs, than he does from the orthodox ſenſe of* ' *the church.*'

(32) Ibid. *pag.* 163, 164.

(33) Ibid. *pag.* 188, *col.* 1.

(34) Ibid. *pag.* 191, *col.* 1.

The Janſeniſt, ſome of whoſe words I have ſet down (35), calls him alſo a Pelagian. *He is a man,* ſays he (36), *who could not apprehend the doctrine of St Auguſtin, nor that of the church, having but an imperfect knowledge of the corruption of nature, and original ſin, which is the key of that doctrine. He is a man full of Pelagian errors about that matter; he ſpeaks againſt divine Predeſtination, and the doctrine of efficacious and free Grace, with great indiſcretion and ignorance, to ſay no more, tho' he acknowledges it is the opinion of St Auguſtin. He takes the writings of Gennadius, a Semi-Pelagian, for a rule of faith, and the confeſſion of faith made by Pelagius for a work of St Auguſtin. Laſtly, having thus abuſed his doctrine, he throws out perſonal reflexions, and repreſents him as a caviller*; declinat, fugit, diſſimulat; aliquid quærit quod cavilletur; *as a dangerous writer on the ſubject of Free-will, and an open enemy to it*; ſtudio iniquiſſimus libero arbitrio: *He aſcribes to him as little as he can, deprives him of all his ſtrength, and uſes diſſimulation and craft to depreſs and weaken him.* This Janſeniſt concludes (37), ' That it is no ' wonder if the whole faculty of Louvain in the fa- ' mous cenſure of the year 1587, calls . . . . Pighius ' a favourer and a colleague of the Semi-Pelagians; if ' the faculty of Douay likewiſe in their cenſure, ' reckons him among the diſciples of Fauſtus Rejenſis; ' if the learned Eſtius . . . . ſpoke of him much in ' the ſame manner; and if Dr John Molanus ſays, ' that *the moſt learned Divines blame him for having* ' *departed from the doctrine of St Auguſtin,* WHICH IS ' THAT OF THE CHURCH, *concerning Original Sin,* ' *Predeſtination, and Grace:* to which Aubertus Miræus ' ſubſcribes.'

(35) In the text of this article.

(36) St Auguſtin juſtifié de Calviniſme, *pag.* 182.

(37) Ibid. *pag.* 183.

PYGMALION, king of Cyprus, lived before the Trojan war, if we may believe thoſe who ſay that he was the father of Metharme wife of Cinyras, by whom ſhe had Adonis (*a*); for Cinyras reigned in Cyprus when the Grecians made war againſt Troy (*b*). Some affirm that Pygmalion ſucceeded his father Delus (*c*), and that he was born in Phœnicia (*d*). A prieſt who had eat of the fleſh of a ſacrifice, and his wife whom he had made to eat of it too, were both thrown headlong from a precipice (*e*), by the order of this prince, who otherwiſe did not ſhew himſelf very religious; ſince he entertained a criminal love for a ſtatue of Venus [*A*], and cauſed it to be put into his bed in order to gratify his brutality. According to Ovid, who does not make him king of Cyprus [*B*], he was ſo ſcandalized to ſee in that iſland the proſtitution of ſome women, and beſides conceived ſuch a diſlike to that ſex, upon the account of their natural imperfections, that he determined to lead a ſingle life [*C*]: but he made a ſtatue of ivory, with

(*a*) Apollodor. *lib. iii, pag. m.* 239.

(*b*) See the remark [*B*] of the article CINYRAS.

(*c*) Porphyr. de Abſtin. *lib. iv.* Hieronym. in Jovinian. *lib. ii, cap. ix,* apud Bochart. Geogr. Sacræ, *Part ii, lib. i, cap. iii, pag. m.* 370.

(*d*) Porphyr. ibid. apud Meurſium, in Cypro, *pag.* 124.

(*e*) Porphyr. ibid. *pag.* 126.

[*A*] *He entertained a criminal love for a ſtatue of Venus.*] Clemens Alexandrinus alledges that, to ſhew the Pagans the vanity of Idols. Ὁ Κύπριος, ὁ Πυγμαλίων ἐκεῖνος, ἐλεφαντίνης ἠράσθη ἀγάλματος· τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ἦν, καὶ γυμνὴ ἦν. νικᾶται ὁ Κύπριος τῷ σχήματι, καὶ συνέρχεται τῷ ἀγάλματι. καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφάτους ἱστορεῖ. Pygmalion ille Cyprius eburneam amavit ſtatuam: erat ea ſimulachrum Veneris, & erat nudum. Movetur figura Cyprius, & coït cum imagine quod quidem Philoſtephanus teſtatur (1). - - - - *Pygmalion the Cyprian fell in love with an ivory ſtatue, which was a naked image of Venus. His luſt was inflamed by the figure, and he lay with the ſtatue, as Philoſtephanus atteſts.* Arnobius makes a like uſe of this adventure. *Perdocent* (Dii) *aſpernari ſe illa* (ſimulacra) *in quibus ſpretos ſe ultione in aliqua ſignificare non curant. Philoſtephanus in Cypriacis auctor eſt, Pygmaleonem regem Cypri ſimulachrum Veneris, quod ſanctitatis apud Cyprios & religionis habebatur antiquæ, adamaſſe ut fœminam, mente, animo, lumine rationis judiciique cæcatis: ſolitumque dementem, tanquam ſi uxoria res eſſet, ſublevato in lectulum numine copularier amplexibus atque ore, reſque alias gerere, libidinis vacua imaginatione fruſtrabiles* (2).

(1) Clemens Alexandrin. Admonit. ad Gentes, *pag.* 38, C.

(2) Arnobius, *lib. vi, pag.* 206.

[*B*] *Ovid . . . does not make him king of Cyprus.*] I am ſurpriſed he was not more careful to prevent his readers from taking Pygmalion for a meer ſtatuary, that got his livelihood by that trade. It is true that by calling him *Paphius heros* (3) he intimates that he was not an ordinary perſon, and it is certain there are ſome princes that can paint and make ſtatues: but however it had been better to leave no room to doubt concerning the ſovereignty of Pygmalion. It has been atteſted by Apollodorus and ſeveral other authors (4). Add to this that he founded the city Carpaſia in the iſle of Cyprus (5).

(3) Ovid. Met. *lib. x, ver.* 290.

(4) See the citations of the text of this article.

(5) Steph. Bezant. in Καρπασία.

[*C*] *He was ſo ſcandalized at . . . . the proſtitution of ſome women, and . . . . conceived ſuch a diſlike to that ſex, upon the account of their natural imperfections, that he determined to lead a ſingle life.*] Here I have only copied the text of Ovid:

Quas quia Pygmalion ævum per crimina agentes
Viderat, offenſus vitiis, quæ plurima menti
Fœmineæ natura dedit, ſine conjuge cœlebs
Vivebat, thalamique diu conſorte carebat (6).

Pygmalion, who their proſtitutions view'd,
And ſcar'd, that women could be form'd ſo lewd,

(6) Ovid. Metamorph. *lib. x, ver.* 243, *pag. m.* 240.

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with which he was ſo ſmitten, that he behaved himſelf towards it in the ſame manner as is commonly practiſed to gain the affections of young women. He careſſed it, commended it, gave preſents to it, and loaded it with jewels. Nay, he went much further, he fumbled it, kiſſed it, and lay with it. The great feſtival of Venus being come, he proſtrated himſelf before the altar of that goddeſs, and humbly beſought her with a trembling voice, to grant him a wife that might reſemble the ſtatue he loved. His intent was to beg that this ſtatue might become his wife, but he durſt not expreſs his meaning. Venus gueſſed it, and he was heard according to the deſire of his heart. He was no ſooner returned home but, renewing his careſſes to this ivory maid, he found by degrees ſhe grew ſenſible, and at laſt became a living woman, who ſaw her lover in her arms as ſoon as ſhe beheld the light of the day. At the end of nine months, ſhe was delivered of a boy whom they named Paphus, and who was the father of that Cinyras, which lay with his own daughter without knowing it, and had by her the beautiful Adonis (*f*), as I have related it elſewhere (*g*). Some confound this Pygmalion with him I am going to ſpeak of [*D*].

(*f*) Taken from Ovid, *book x*, (and not *iii*, as in Charles Stephens and Lloyd) of the Metamorphoſes, *ver.* 243, *& ſeq.*

(*g*) In the articles CINYRAS and MYRRHA.

Shunning the ſex, preferr'd a ſingle life,
And long forbore the dangerous bliſs a wife.

This Poet had juſt been ſpeaking of the Propætides, whom Venus had inſtigated to proſtitute themſelves, becauſe they would not own her to be a goddeſs (7).

(7) See the Continuation of *my* Miſcellaneous Thoughts on Comets, *pag.* 748.

[*D*] *Some confound this Pygmalion with him I am going to ſpeak of.*] Lloyd, Hoffman, and Moreri, are of that number, and Meurſius too: for he applies to Pygmalion king of Cyprus ſeveral things, which agree only to Pygmalion king of Tyre and brother of Dido. He quotes (8) Lutatius, who in his abridgment of Ovid's Metamorphoſes ſays, that Pygmalion king of Tyre, ſhocked at the impudence of the Propætides, reſolved never to marry. Pygmalion, continues he, killed Sichæus Dido's huſband, and being afterwards king of Cyprus, he fixed his royal ſeat at Paphos; for which reaſon Ovid calls him *Paphius heros*. He became enamoured of Venus's image, or according to others, of a ſtatue that he had made; he had a daughter who was wife to Cinyras; he puniſhed a prieſt who had eat of the fleſh of a ſacrifice; he reigned forty-ſeven years, and lived fifty-ſix as Joſephus aſſures us: it was therefore with regard to his reign rather than his life that Venus preſerved him a long time. All this ſhews that Meurſius knew of but one Pygmalion (9), and that he did not attend to the difference of times: for if he had, he muſt have ſeen that it is impoſſible the brother of Dido could have been father-in-law to Cynyras, or him to whom he applied theſe verſes of Nonnus.

(8) Meurſius, de Cypro, *pag.* 124.

(9) Unleſs he ſpeaks of a PYGMALION, one of the kings of Cyprus whom Ptolomy put to death, as we are told by Diodorus Siculus, when he treats of the wars of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

Οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυγμαλίωνος ἔχεις γενεὴν, ὦ πόρε Κύπρου
Μηλεδαντὴν βιότοιο πολυχρονίοιο πορεῖτην.

Non à Pygmalione habes genus, cui dedit Venus
Longum vitæ diuturnæ tranſitum (10).

(10) Nonnus, Dionyſ. *lib.* xxxii, *pag.* m. 813.

Not from Pygmalion is thy race deriv'd,
Who was a prince, by Venus' gift, long liv'd.

Nonnus ſpeaks there of Pygmalion, who was not poſterior to the expedition of Bacchus.

I ſhall obſerve by the way that the ſame Meurſius applies to king Cinyras the *Paphius heros* (11), which in Ovid concerns only the Pygmalion that was in love with a ſtatue, grandfather to Cinyras by the father's ſide. He ſays likewiſe, it was he that had been in love with a ſtatue, which being turned into a young woman brought him a ſon called Paphus (12).

(11) Meurſ. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 106.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 107.

PYGMALION, king of Tyre, ſhould have reigned jointly with his ſiſter by his father's laſt will; but the people conferred the ſupream power upon him alone. His ſiſter, who was very handſome, and was called Eliza, is infinitely better known by the name of Dido. She was married to Sicharbas (*a*), her uncle by the mother's ſide, who poſſeſſed the ſecond dignity of the ſtate, (which was the prieſthood of the temple of Hercules) and was vaſtly rich. Pygmalion, eager to ſeize on his treaſures, put him to death [*A*], but yet did not obtain the booty he longed for: the wealth of his brother-in-law was buried in the ground, his widow found means to eſcape with thoſe riches, and to go and build Carthage. Her brother intended to purſue her, but was diſſuaded from it by the intreaties of his mother, and the threatnings of the gods (*b*). He was then in the ſeventh year of his reign. He died at the age of fifty-ſix years, whereof he had reigned forty-ſeven (*c*). Thoſe who deſire to know what time he lived in, need only obſerve that according to Joſephus the city of Carthage was built an hundred and twenty ſix years after the temple of Solomon (*d*). We muſt not forget that he is ſaid to have had another ſiſter named Anne, and to have perſecuted her after the death of Dido [*B*]. A diſpute aroſe becauſe the famous author of the Adventures of Telemachus was cenſured, for

(*a*) Virgil *calls him* Sichæus.

(*b*) Ex Juſtino, *lib.* xviii, *cap.* iv, *& v.*

(*c*) Joſephus, contra Apion. *lib.* i, *pag.* 1043.

(*d*) Joſeph. ibid. But note, that in his text, followed by the Latin tranſlator, and by Genebrard in his French tranſlation, there are 143 years and eight months, which by no means reſult from the particular numbers he aſſigns to each king's reign.

[*A*] *Pygmalion . . . . put him to death.*] At the foot of the altar according to Virgil (1), and Ovid (2): *but Euſtathius, on Dionyſius the Geographer, and Cedrenus* do not ſay ſo: *for Euſtathius affirms, that Sichæus going into the fields with Pygmalion was there killed by him, and Cedrenus relates that being gone a hunting, as Sichæus purſued a wild boar, Pygmalion ſtruck him behind with a javelin, and threw his body down a precipice, and then being returned to his palace, gave out that Sichæus purſuing the boar too eagerly, fell from that precipice* (3).

(1) See, below, citation (31).

(2) *Occidit in terras conjux ma-ctatus ad aras.* Ovid. Epiſt. Dido. *Some Critics will have it, that inſtead of* in terras, *it ſhould be read* Herculeas, *others* internas, *and others* infernas. *See* Meziriac on Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 743, 744.

(3) Meziriac, ibid. *pag.* 745.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have had another ſiſter named Anne, and to have perſecuted her after the death of Dido.*] 'Few 'authors mention this ſiſter of Dido. Virgil in the '4th of the Æneid tells us it was ſhe, that ſeeing Dido 'in a doubt whether ſhe ſhould accept of the love of 'Æneas, adviſed her to make no difficulty about it, 'for ſeveral reaſons which ſhe alledged, and afterwards 'ſhe ſerved frequently as a faithful meſſenger between 'thoſe two lovers. . . . . Servius ſays, that according to Varro, ... *it was not Dido but Anne 'that being in love with Æneas, burnt herſelf on the 'pile, which ſhe had cauſed to be built.*' Ovid, lib. 3, Faſtor. relates *that after Dido had killed herſelf through deſpair, becauſe Æneas had forſaken her, Jarbas king of Mauritania ſeized on the city of Carthage by force. Anne with a good number of Tyrians fled by ſea, and retired at firſt to the iſle of Malta, where king Battus, who was her hoſt, received her very courteouſly, and promiſed her his aſſiſtance. But afterwards dreading the power of Pygmalion, who threatened to make war upon him, unleſs he ſent back his ſiſter to him, he begged of his gueſt to ſeek out another retreat, if ſhe had not a mind to be the ruin of him. Anne therefore put to ſea again, fearing above all things the fury of her brother, and extremly apprehenſive of falling into his hands. Her veſſel was driven by a great tempeſt upon the coaſt of Italy* (4) where Æneas very kindly received her. See the ſequel of the narrative in Ovid himſelf: it is curious, but probably a fiction

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 760.

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for repreſenting Pygmalion as a profligate wretch, plunged in all ſorts of crimes, and particularly exceſſive incontinency [C]. It has been alleged that this was departing too a fiction of that Poet. His authority however is not ſufficient to induce us to believe, that Pygmalion deſigned to perſecute his ſiſter Anne.

[C] *The famous author of the Adventures of Telemachus was cenſured, for repreſenting Pygmalion as a profligate wretch, plunged into all crimes, and eſpecially exceſſive incontinency.*] 'He deſcribes him as a man paſſionately fond of women, as an idolizer of Aſtarbe's beauty, as the greateſt debauchee, as the moſt addicted of all men to ſenſual pleaſures, and as a monſter of incontinency. But this prince was very far from being ſo. He had an averſion to women. He could not endure them. He never would marry and divide his crown with a lawful ſpouſe, and much leſs with one unlawful, and a concubine. Venus and her ſon Cupid were both vexed, that they were not able to bring him under their ſubjection. The love of gold and ſilver was his predominant vice. Avarice ſtifled in him all other paſſions, and rendered him inſenſible to the attractive beauties of his court. Hiſtorians pretend, that it was meerly to puniſh his contempt and inſenſibility towards the women, that the gods deſtroyed him. The Poets on their ſide affirm, that Venus and Cupid, out of revenge for not being able to reduce him under their empire, made him to fall in love with a ſtatue, and in order to puniſh him for the hatred he bore to the living and animated idols of fleſh, they inſpired them with a mad fondneſs to an idol of ſtone. One may conſult upon this ſubject, and all the other particulars of the life and qualities of Pygmalion the following authors, Trogus Pompeius, or Juſtin, his abbrieviator, *l.* 18. *c.* 5. Velleius Paterculus *l.* 1. *c.* 2. Silius Italicus in the firſt and third book of the *Punic War*. Ariſtotle in his treatiſe of *Marvellous things*: Joſeph. *againſt Appion. l.* 1. Samuel Bochartus in his *Canaan l.* 1. *c.* 3. Theophilus Antiochenus in his third book againſt Antilochus, the Servius of Daniel on the firſt book of the Æneid, and laſtly the *parallel of the Hiſtory of Spain by John biſhop of Gyronne*. We ſhall ſee by all thoſe authors, that the Pygmalion of the romance of Telemachus is no more like the Pygmalion of the ancient Hiſtorians and Poets, than it is like a wind-mill and a crocodile. The author of a romance repreſents him to us, as a tyrant frighted by the horror of his crimes, and fearing every moment to be aſſaſſinated, as a man whom *every thing ſtartles, diſquiets, and frets, who is afraid of his own ſhadow, and who ſleeps neither day nor night:* as an owl that ſhuns the light. . . . . The ancient Hiſtorians on the contrary repreſent him as an eaſy, peaceable, and quiet man. His very name intimates ſo much: for as the learned Bochartus obſerves, the word *Pygmalion*, in the Phœnician tongue, ſignifies, *the reſt of God*. He was the beſt brother that ever lived. He deſired to ſhare his crown with Eliza, or Dido, his ſiſter, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, as he had no wife, to get her declared and acknowledged queen. After the death of the king their father, he wanted to put the government in her hands, but the people not willing to be governed by a woman oppoſed it, and gave the crown to Pygmalion alone, tho' he was extremely young, and tho' Dido had been appointed heir to the kingdom jointly with him by their father, whom ſome call Murgon, and others Agenor the ſon of Belus: whereas the author of the romance ſuppoſes that Pygmalion had always been abhorred and deteſted by the people, on the contrary he was their darling and delight. The people made him ſole ſovereign by force, contrary to the laſt will of his father, contrary to the laws of the land, and before he was of an age to reign. *Interim rex Tyri decedit, filio Pygmalione & Eliſſâ filiâ inſignis formæ virgine hæredibus inſtitutis. Sed populos Pygmalioni admodum puero regnum tradidit*, ſays Juſtin *. He behaved always like a father to his ſiſter Dido, and having married her to Acerbas, or Sicharbas, or Sichæus, ſovereign Pontiff of the Phœnicians, and high-prieſt of the god Hercules of the Tyrians, which was the ſecond dignity of the kingdom, and the firſt perſon after the king, he never called him otherwiſe than his ſon-in-law, whereas he was but his brother-in-law, and at the ſame time his uncle, his mother's brother, *Avunculum ſuum, eundemque generum*, ſays Juſtin † (5).'

* Juſtin. *lib. xviii, cap. xv.*

† Ibid.

The Critic thinks it ſtrange in particular, that it ſhould be ſaid Pygmalion was an impious wretch. *On the contrary*, replies he (6), he was *a very religious prince, and ſo devout toward the gods, that how great reaſon ſoever he had to be incenſed againſt his ſiſter, who had ſtolen from him all his treaſures, and fled into Africa, and how eaſily ſoever he might have overtaken her, or cauſed her to be apprehended in the iſle of Cyprus, where ſhe landed firſt before ſhe went into Africa, he would not make the leaſt attempt againſt her, becauſe having conſulted the gods in a ſacrifice which he offered up to them, before he undertook any thing, the Diviners aſſured him it was the will of the gods, that Dido ſhould not be in the leaſt obſtructed in the execution of her deſigns, and that ſhe was to found a city in which they ſhould be greatly intereſted:* Victus minis Deorum quievit, cui cum inſpirati vates canerent, non impune laturum, ſi incrementum urbis toto orbe auſpicatiſſimæ, interpellaſſet; *ſays Juſtin* ‡. *So we find that all the reproaches, which the Poets and Hiſtorians have uttered againſt Pygmalion, amount only to this, to ſay that he was covetous.*

(5) The abbot Faydit, *Telemachomanie, pag. m.* 126, *& ſeq.* I uſe an edition of 1700, in which the place where it is was printed is named *Eleutheropole.*

(6) Telemachomanie, *pag.* 129, 130.

‡ *Lib. xviii, cap. v.*

- - - - - Portantur avari
Pygmalionis opes pelago: dux fœmina facti‡.

‡ Virgil. Æneid. I.

The covetous Pygmalion's wealth to ſea
In ſhips is ſent: a woman leads the way.

That was his only vice, which ſurely is a ſlight foundation for the author of the Romance to paint him in ſuch black colours as he has done.

Here follows the reply of an anonymous writer to this charge. 'The author of the cenſure pretends 'here to prove, that Pygmalion king of Tyre was 'not debauched, becauſe there was about four hundred 'years before him a famous ſculptor in the iſle of 'Cyprus, who had the ſame name, and who was 'very chaſt. In effect, this Pygmalion he ſpeaks of 'and whom he confounds with the king of Tyre, was 'a noted Statuary of the iſle of Cyprus, who had made 'himſelf the ſtatue wherewith he fell in love. Venus, 'moved at his paſſion, changed the marble into a woman, as beautiful as was the work of Pygmalion. It 'was by this woman he had Paphos, who gave his 'name to his native country. Paphos was father to 'Cinyras, and Cinyras had by Myrra, his own daughter, Adonis the favourite of Venus. That whole fable is ſo well known, that one cannot enough admire the ignorance of the author, who values himſelf upon his great learning, in confounding matters 'that are ſo clear. This error is not the only one into which he is fallen, on the ſubject of Pygmalion: 'he pretends that this prince, whom the archbiſhop 'of Cambray repreſents as an impious wretch, was a 'very religious man, and that his inſatiable avarice, 'and the murder committed on the perſon of Sichæus, 'his ſiſter Dido's huſband, were but a trifle, and that 'notwithſtanding that, he was an honeſt man, and the 'darling of his people. Fine ſentiments indeed, for 'a man that would make it a crime to write a romance which inſpires nothing but virtue (7).'

(7) Preface to the Adventures of Telemachus, in the laſt edition of the Hague, *pag. m.* 24.

Let us now ſee the reply of the Critic (8). *The anonymous apologiſt of the romance of Telemachus, in his preface to the new edition of Moetjen's, accuſes me of having taken Pygmalion, king of Tyre, and brother to Dido, whom Virgil ſpeaks of* †, *for Pygmalion the Sculptor and maker of ivory ſtatues, who became enamoured with one of his figures, and of an ivory woman which he himſelf had made, and is mentioned by Ovid* ‡. *And for having committed this pretended blunder in point of learning, that fine gentleman, as well as he that compoſed the new book, intituled* §, The Characters of Antient and Modern Authors, *are of opinion that I ſhould be ſhamefully driven out of Athens and Delphos, and ſhut up in little houſes. . . . All I can ſay, is, that their Apollo is a lying, ignorant fellow. I never commited the blunder they impute to me. I know the two Pygmalions better than they do. But I made them only one in temper and diſpoſition. I ſaid, with all the Antients, that the vice of the Pygmalions was ſo far from conſiſting in laſciviouſneſs and debauchery*

(8) *The Abbot* Faydit, Supplemens aux Eſſais de Litterature, *Part w, pag.* 124, *& ſeq.*

† *Æneid I.*

‡ *Metam. lib. x.*

§ *Pag.* 161.

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too far from the truth of Hiſtory. I ſhall give an account of that diſpute (e), and ſubjoin a few notes [D].

(e) See the remark [C].

bauchery with women, and there was ſo little reaſon to make them ſerve as patterns of the diſorders produced by leudneſs, (as the author of Telemachus makes them) that, on the contrary, they both had an extream averſion and antipathy to all women whatſoever, and both of them led a ſingle life: and conſequently no example in all antiquity could have been picked out leſs proper to repreſent a king, proſtitute and abandoned to the love of women, than that of Tyre, who never was ſo, no more than Pygmalion the Sculptor, or Turner, and whoſe only pleaſure on the contrary was to inveigh againſt the female ſex (9).

(9) The author relates here theſe words of the 16th book of Ovid's *Metam.* *Quas quia, &c,* which may be read above, in the remark [C] of the preceeding article.

[D] *I ſhall ſubjoin ſome notes.*] Probably I ſhall make fewer than might be made: no matter; he, that has a mind to glean after me is welcome.

I. I aſk who thoſe antient authors are, that have ſaid that Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, could not endure women, and that this was the only reaſon why the gods deſtroyed him, or made him fall in love with a ſtatue. I conſult the writers that are referred to, and can find nothing of what I was made to expect. Juſtin, who is the firſt, ſays not one word about it; and yet he ſpeaks the moſt largely of any concerning Pygmalion. Nothing relating to this prince is to be found in Velleius Paterculus, who only tells us in a few words, that the Tyrians built Utica (10), and that Dido built Carthage (11). Silius Italicus (12) mentions the unfortunate Dido more than once, but without acquainting us with any of the particulars that are here in queſtion. The paſſage of Ariſtotle (13) concerns only the building of Utica. Joſephus informs us only of what we have ſeen above (14). The remarks of Bochartus amount only to the etymological obſervation which the Critic has related. Theophilus Antiochenus is contented to name the father of Pygmalion, and to take notice of the time in which Pygmalion lived and reigned (15). The Servius of Daniel is no more capable of ſatisfying my curioſity; and as to the pretended *parallel of the hiſtory of Spain by John biſhop of Gironne* (16), what end would it anſwer to find any particulars in it? That biſhop having lived in the XVth century could deſerve no credit but in proportion as he quoted the Antients.

(10) Vel. Paterc. *lib. i, cap. ii.*

(11) Ibid. *cap. vi.*

(12) *See lib. i, pag. m.* 8, 11; *lib. ii, pag.* 82.

(13) You will find it in *Juſtin Variorum, pag.* 370, *Edit. of Grævius* 1683.

(14) In the text of this article.

(15) *See* Meurſius in Cypro, *pag.* 126.

(16) *The Latin title is* Paralipomena Hiſtoriæ Hiſpanicæ.

We find there no teſtimony, either as to the chaſtity of Pygmalion, or the puniſhments he ſuffered on that account. Let us ſee whether the other good qualities aſcribed to this prince are better founded.

II. It is ſaid, he was *an eaſy, peaceable, and quiet man*; and that ſo *the antient Hiſtorians repreſent him.* His very name intimates it, as the learned Bochartus obſerves; but unluckily for the Critic of Telemachus, it happens that the Pygmalion of Bochartus was the ſon of one Belus, who conquered the iſle of Cyprus in the time of the Trojan war (17): and conſequently he was not the brother of the founder of Carthage. Beſides, it is well known that the ſame name is given ſucceſſively to ſeveral perſons, who do not at all reſemble the firſt that had it, to whom, perhaps, it had been given to deſcribe his manners. In a word, I cannot find thoſe antient Hiſtorians who have drawn this fine picture of our Pygmalion. That tender love, which he is ſaid to have had for his ſiſter, thoſe mighty endeavours to get her declared queen, are only a paraphraſe on two or three words of Juſtin, which inform us that the people created Pygmalion king, tho' Dido had been declared heir to the crown, as well as he, by the laſt will of their father. By what alembic can one draw off, by what preſs can one ſqueeze out, from this paſſage (18), the ſenſe which our Critic pretended to find in it? May not one believe, with great probability, either that Pygmalion's faction laboured underhand to get the princeſs excluded, or that the people were induced to exclude her becauſe they thought it would pleaſe the prince, and be a good method to prevent the bad effects of a partition, ſince Dido was married to the ſecond perſon of the kingdom (19), ſince ſhe was handſome, and, undoubtedly, was known to be capable of great deſigns (20). In fine, there never was a gloſs worſe founded than that which makes the text of Juſtin ſay, that Pygmalion *deſired to put the government into the hands of his ſiſter, ... but that the people oppoſed it . . . . and made him ſole ſovereign by force.*

(17) *See* Bochart. in Geogr. Sacra, *Part ii, lib. i, cap. iii, pag. m.* 369, 370.

(18) Note, that Faydit cites it as we have ſeen above.

(19) Huic conjux Sichæus erat. . . Cui PATER intactam dederat, primiſque jugarat Ominibus. *Virgil. Æneid. lib. i, ver.* 343.

(20) She ſhewed it by the building of Carthage.

III. As Pygmalion was then but nine years of age, it cannot well be imagined that the crown was conferred upon him, and his ſiſter excluded, only becauſe he was *the darling and delight* of the Tyrians: and it is evident he had not had time to become ſo by his actions, but at moſt by the fair hopes of what he would be one day or other: a deceitful matter, upon which it cannot be affirmed that he reigned juſtly; for how many very lovely and promiſing children are ſpoiled and corrupted ſo as to become profligate wretches?

IV. It was not very neceſſary to remark, that Pygmalion *having no wife uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get* his ſiſter Dido *declared queen.* One ought almoſt always to ſuppoſe (21) that a child of nine years of age is not married; and one ought never to ſuppoſe that he conforms his conduct to the reſolution of never having a wife: after all, it is not upon his celibacy that Juſtin grounds himſelf, when he ſays that the princeſs was deprived of the right, which, by her father's laſt will, ſhe had acquired.

(21) I uſe this reſtriction, becauſe princes ſometimes marry their children before they are of ripe age.

V. Neither Juſtin, nor any other antient writer, tells us, that Pygmalion always *acted like a father to his ſiſter Dido,* nor that he married her to Sicharbas (22), nor that he never called *the latter otherwiſe than his ſon-in-law.* The words of Juſtin, quoted by the Critic, *Avunculum ſuum eundemque generum,* are intended only to exaggerate the crime of Pygmalion; for they ſhew that he killed Sicharbas, his uncle by the mother's ſide, and his brother-in-law (23). The term *gener* is taken indifferently, in antient writers, for father in-law, brother-in-law, and ſon-in-law, though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it has been . . . . appropriated to the laſt ſignification (24).

(22) We have ſeen, above, citation (18), that Dido was married by her father.

(23) Pygmalion oblitus juris humani avunculum ſuum eundemque generum ſine reſpectu pietatis occidit. *Juſtin. lib. xviii, cap. iv, pag. m.* 372.

(24) See the Note of Bernegerus on this paſſage of Juſtin.

VI. What the cenſor of Telemachus affirms (25), that Pygmalion ſeized on the riches of Sicharbas, and that Dido ſtole from him all his treaſures (26), is not exact. Pygmalion could not ſeize on the riches of his brother-in-law, who had buried them under-ground: he hoped to be maſter of them, when Dido ſhould come and live with him: but inſtead of chuſing that retreat, ſhe removed from Tyre, as far as ſhe could, with her huſband's treaſures. Juſtin relates this in the cleareſt manner imaginable. The words of Virgil cited by the cenſor (27), *Portantur avari Pygmalionis opes pelago, dux fœmina facti* (28), ſhould not have perſuaded him that Pygmalion's riches were carried away by his ſiſter. What goes before evidently ſhews that ſhe only took her huſband's treaſures, which Virgil calls *Pygmalionis opes,* becauſe Pygmalion had entertained hopes of making himſelf maſter of them. Commentators expreſsly take notice of it, and the matter is beyond all diſpute.

(25) *Pag.* 128.

(26) *Pag.* 129.

(27) *Pag.* 130.

(28) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1, ver. 363.

VII. The proof alledged for the piety of Pygmalion is very ambiguous: the wrath of the gods denounced by the diviners hindered him from purſuing Dido. It is neither a certain mark of love, nor of filial fear for the deity: irreligious perſons, terrified by prodigies, have ſometimes altered their reſolutions.

I ſhall make only two remarks on the reaſoning of the apologiſt.

VIII. The firſt is, that he paſſes over a multitude of faults (29) which he might have obſerved in the reaſoning of the Critic.

(29) Thoſe I have juſt enumerated.

IX. The ſecond is, that he has neglected to improve an advantage which Virgil and Juſtin might have furniſhed him with. He very well juſtifies the archbiſhop of Cambray, with regard to the anachroniſm, in ſuppoſing that Pygmalion, king of Tyre, and brother of Dido, lived at the time of the ſiege of Troy: he juſtifies him in it, I ſay, very well; for he ſhews that therein he was to conform himſelf *to the method of Virgil* (30): but for the ſame reaſon, one had a right to ſuppoſe that this king of Tyre was a monſter of tyranny. That great Poet makes him the moſt profligate of all men:

(30) Preface to the Adventures of Telemachus, *pag.* 22.

- - - - - Regna Tyri germanus habebat
Pygmalion, ſcelere ante alios immanior omnes.
Quos inter medius venit furor. Ille Sichæum
Impius ante aras, atque auri cæcus amore,
Clam ferro incautum ſuperat, ſecurus amorum
Germanæ: factumque diu celavit, & ægram,
Multa malus ſimulans, vana ſpe luſit amantem (31).

(31) Virgil. Æneid. lib. i, ver. 346.

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Pygmalion then the Tyrian ſcepter ſway'd
One who contemn'd divine and human laws,
Thence ſtrife enſu'd, and curſed gold the cauſe.
The monarch blinded with deſire of wealth,
With ſteel invades his brother's life by ſtealth.
Before the ſacred altar made him bleed,
And long from her conceal'd the cruel deed.
Some tale, ſome new pretence, he daily coin'd
To ſooth his ſiſter, and delude her mind.
DRYDEN.

A little after, he obſerves that Dido was accompanied in her flight by perſons that hated or feared this cruel tyrant (32). Juſtin affirms the ſame thing, with this particular circumſtance, that thoſe fugitives were very conſiderable for their quality: he even calls them ſenators. 'Eliſſa diu fratrem propter ſcelus averſata, 'ad poſtremum diſſimulato odio, mitigatoque interim 'vultu, fugam tacitè molitur: aſſumptiſque quibuſ-'dam principibus in ſocietatem, quibus par odium in 'regem eſſe, eandemque fugiendi cupiditatem arbitri-'batur . . . . Junguntur & Senatorum in eam noctem 'præparata agmina (33). - - - *Eliza had long deteſted* 'her brother upon the account of his crimes: but at laſt, 'diſſembling her hatred, and putting on a pleaſant counte-'nance, ſhe ſecretly contrives her flight. Several of the 'chief men were let into the deſign, whom ſhe imagined 'to have the ſame hatred towards the king, and the 'ſame deſire of leaving the kingdom. . . . . Many of the 'ſenators were likewiſe got ready to accompany her that 'night.'

(32) Conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni Aut metus acer erat. *Virgil. ibid. ver.* 361.

(33) Juſtin, *lib. xviii, cap. iv.*

Here a ſmall difficulty occurs. Pygmalion reigned forty-ſeven years, and lived fifty-ſix, and it was in the ſeventh year of his reign that Dido fled, and founded Carthage. This we are told by the Tyrian Hiſtorians whom Joſephus quotes. What he did during the laſt forty years of his reign we know nothing of: the writers we have extant ſay neither good nor bad of it: and what we find in Ovid is only a fiction (34). All that Virgil and Juſtin tell us concerning his cruelties, relate to the time which preceded Dido's flight. Now, he was but ſixteen years of age at the time of that flight. Is it likely that he had already exerciſed ſuch a barbarous tyranny? Ought we not to impute to ſome miniſter of ſtate rather than to this young prince ſo many diſorders? The Cenſor of Telemachus has touched on part of this objection: *The murder of Sichæus*, ſays he (35), *happened when Pygmalion was but fifteen years old, ſince it was committed a year before Dido's flight, and conſequently it happened not ſo much by his orders, and by his own inclination, as that of his council.* I add, that it would be a prodigy, if his whole reign had reſembled the idea Virgil gives of it, and yet that it ſhould have laſted till forty years after the flight of Dido, and nobody informs us that it ended otherwiſe than by a natural death. The ſaying of Juvenal is well known (36).

(34) See the remark [B].

(35) *Pag.* 130, 131.

(36) Ad generum Cereris ſine cæde & vulnere pauci Deſcendunt reges & ſicca morte tyranni. *For rarely tyrants to the ſhades deſcend, By a dry death, or with a quiet end.* Juv. Sat. X, ver. 112.

As to the reply of this Critic, I have the following objections to offer.

X. Let one examine never ſo little what he had ſaid (37), it will evidently appear that he ſpoke only of Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, and that he did not make uſe of one word which could give room to ſuſpect that he had in his eye the Pygmalion of Cyprus. I cannot therefore conceive, why he affirms in his reply, *that he ſaid, with all the Antients, that the vice of the Pygmalions was ſo far from conſiſting in laſciviouſneſs . . . that, on the contrary, they had both of them a mortal averſion to all women.* The falſity of that propoſition is plain to every one that can read.

(37) See, above, remark [C], citation (5).

XI. It is ſo falſe that all the Antients tell us, that Pygmalion, brother of Dido, hated women, and that his only pleaſure was, to inveigh againſt the ſex, that we defy the Cenſor of Telemachus to cite one antient author who has affirmed it, or who has ſaid it without ſuppoſing, that Pygmalion, king of Tyre, and Pygmalion, in love with a ſtatue, were the ſame perſon.

XII. It is not true that either the one or the other of the Pygmalions lived a ſingle life: he of the iſle of Cyprus was married to the young woman, into which Venus turned the ſtatue he was in love with, and he left a ſon by her (38.) I confeſs, Joſephus does not ſay that Pygmalion, king of Tyre, had had children: but as his deſign was only to bring the ſucceſſion of the kings of Tyre down to that prince, it cannot be inferred from his ſtopping there, that Pygmalion was never married, and that he left not the kingdom to one of his ſons. One cannot therefore by the ſilence of Joſephus confute (39) the fiction of the archbiſhop of Cambray, that one of Pygmalion's ſons, in ſpite of his father, ſucceeded to the crown. The following words of the Critic are fallacious: *After Pygmalion we find no more kings amongſt the Tyrians till Ithobalus, under whom Tyre, upon the continent, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar. . . . . Therefore it is probable, that after the death of Pygmalion, Tyre ceaſed to have kings, and that perpetual judges were ſubſtituted in their place, like the conſuls at Rome, and that it happened to old Tyre, after the death of Pygmalion, as it happened to new Tyre in the iſland after Ithobalus was depoſed. They put judges in his place, who were changed from time to time, to govern the people with a ſovereign authority. After which the Tyrians went to Babylon to demand a king, and Merbal was given them, who reigned four years; and after his death, the Babylonians nominated Iromus, his brother, to ſucceed him, who reigned long over the Tyrians at the time that Cyrus reigned in Perſia *. All this is taken verbatim from Joſephus, or rather from Menander and Dius, whoſe very words Joſephus recites* (40). Very well! but it ſhould have been obſerved that Joſephus only relates ſcraps of thoſe authors, which he thought neceſſary in order to confirm by the teſtimony of ſtrangers, what the Jews aſſerted concerning the antiquity and the deſtruction of their temple, *&c.* he proves from the Phenician hiſtory the correſpondence between Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre: and to ſhew that the temple of Solomon was an ancient building, he computes how many years the foundation of Carthage was poſterior to the reign of Hiram. He therefore gives a ſucceſſion of the kings of Tyre from Hiram down to Pygmalion, in whoſe time Carthage was built: but as it was nothing to his purpoſe to enumerate the following kings of Tyre, he ſays nothing of them; can it be concluded from his ſilence that the ſucceſſion was interrupted after the death of Pygmalion, that Pygmalion lived in celibacy, *&c?* It was neceſſary for him to confirm in another place, by the teſtimony of the Phenician Hiſtorians, what concerns the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the liberty granted to the Jews of returning into their own country. It would have been needleſs for him to go back to the time that followed the death of Pygmalion, and therefore he goes no higher than the reign of Ithobalus, under whom the city of Tyre was ſubdued by Nebuchadnezzar; and is contented to give the ſucceſſion of the government of Tyre from this Ithobalus down to Irom, who reigned there in the time of Cyrus.

(38) See Ovid's Metamorphoſes, *lib. x.*

(39) As is done in pag. 130, of the *Telemacomanie.*

* *Joſeph. contr. Appion. pag.* 1046.

(40) Telemacomanie, *pag.* 131.

XIII. Note, that the judges did not immediately ſucceed Ithobalus, as our Critic will have it: they were not eſtabliſhed till after the death of Baal, who ſucceeded Ithobalus, and whoſe reign laſted ten years (41).

(41) Joſeph. contr. Appion. *lib. i, pag.* 1043.

However it be, Joſephus can by no means hinder us from thinking, that a ſon of Pygmalion ſucceeded to the crown of Tyre, and that this city was governed by kings, and not by judges, from the ſucceſſor of Pygmalion, down to that Ithobalus, who was cotemporary with Nebuchadnezzar.

XIV. Since the Cenſor refers us to Ovid, with regard to Pygmalion the Sculptor, he ought to retract his aſſertion, that Venus made him fall in love with a ſtatue, to puniſh him for his contempt of the women: for, it is certain Ovid did not ſay ſo; on the contrary, he has repreſented this goddeſs as being ſo gracious, that ſhe readily heard the Prayers of Pygmalion, by giving life to the ſtatue, which was the object of his paſſion (42).

(42) See the 10th book of the Metamorphoſes, *ver.* 277, *& ſeq.*

XV. The beſt reply the Cenſor could have made, is, that which never entered into his thoughts: he ſhould have made uſe of the teſtimony of ſome authors, who put no difference between the Pygmalion of Tyre, and him of the iſle of Cyprus. This may be ſeen above (43).

(43) In the remark [D], of the preceding article.

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PYLADES, born in Cilicia [*A*], was a very famous Pantomime at Rome, under the empire of Auguſtus. He perfected, by ſome new inventions, the art of dancing a whole play [*B*], as I have already ſaid in the article of BATHYLLUS. He wrote a book concerning that ſubject (*a*). One may judge of the ſkill wherewith he performed his art, if it be conſidered that Auguſtus having recalled him to Rome (*b*), from whence he had been expelled by a faction, did ſo pleaſe the people, that it was one of the reaſons for which they ceaſed to be diſcontented with ſome inconvenient laws which that emperor had made. Others do not aſcribe the baniſhment of Pylades to the credit of a contrary faction (*c*), and ſay, that it was a puniſhment which Auguſtus inflicted upon him, becauſe he had pointed with his finger at one of the ſpectators [*C*]. But it may be that Mæcenas, who favoured Bathyllus the rival of Pylades, took hold of this opportunity to remove the latter. Pylades had another competitor, whoſe name was Hylas [*D*], who had been his diſciple. We find ſeveral particulars concerning it in Macrobius (*d*), as that there was a popular inſurrection upon the account of this competition (*e*); and that Hylas dancing one day a ſong, which ended thus *Great Agamemnon*, expreſſed the thing by the poſture of a man who ſhould meaſure an high ſtatue. Pylades, to find fault with him, cried out, *you make him a tall man, and not a great man*, and was forced by the aſſembly to dance the ſame ſong. He did it, and when he came to *Great Agamemnon*, he aſſumed the poſture of a meditating man (*f*). One day as he was dancing the tragedy of *Hercules Furens*, ſome people found fault with his ſteps; he pulled off his maſk, and told the laughers, *O ye fools, do not you ſee that I act a fool?* That very day he threw ſome arrows among the ſpectators; he threw ſome alſo, when he acted the ſame play in the chamber of Auguſtus. That prince expreſſed no reſentment for being treated as the Roman people were. All theſe things are a great deal more graceful in the original (*g*): the curious will do very well to have recourſe to it. There are ſome epigrams in the Anthologia, to the honour of our Pylades

(*a*) Athen. *lib. i, cap. xvii.* Suidas, in Πυλάδης.

(*b*) Dio, *lib. liv.*

(*c*) Sueton. in Auguſto, *cap. xlv.*

(*d*) Macrob. Saturnal. *lib. ii, cap. vii.*

(*e*) See the remark [*E*], in the article BATHYLLUS.

(*f*) Nihil magis ratus magno duci convenire quam pro omnibus cogitare. - - - - *Thinking nothing more ſuitable to a great general than to be thoughtful.* Macrob. ibid.

(*g*) Ap. Macrob. ibid.

[*A*] *Born in Cilicia.*] This appears clearly from Suidas: what follows, wherein he had perhaps ſet down the name of his native country, is ſo dark, that the Critics have not been able yet to clear it. Bulengerus (1), fancied without any reaſon for it, that there was an oppoſition between thoſe who make Pylades a Cilician, and the Anthologia which ſays, as Bulengerus underſtands it, that he came from Thebes in Egypt; whereupon he quotes theſe words:

- - - - - - Βάκχας
Ἐκ Θηβῶν Ιταλὴν ἤγαγε πρὸς θυμέλην
Ἀνθρώποις Πυλάδης.

Id eſt quando Bacchas ex Thebis ad pulpitum Italicum hominibus Pylades adduxit. The meaning of them is only that Pylades ſhewed to the Romans the repreſentation of a thing which happened at Thebes, and not that he was born at Thebes, or had lived there before he came into Italy: beſides, it is plain that no other town can be meant here but Thebes in Bœotia, where Bacchus and his feaſts had their principal ſtations. For the reſt Ιταλὴν πρὸς θυμέλην is very well rendered *ad pulpitum Italicum, upon the Italian ſtage*; but thoſe who have rendered it *Italicum ad ſacrificium* (2), have committed a very groſs miſtake.

[*B*] *He perfected, by ſome new inventions, the art of dancing a whole play.*] I obſerved in general in the article of Bathyllus what alterations were made under Auguſtus in the dances of the Pantomimes. But to be more particular, I ſhall ſay now that Pylades, if we believe St Jerome, is the firſt who danced at Rome, whilſt others played upon flageolets, and whilſt the chorus ſung, and that before him the Pantomimes danced and ſung themſelves at the ſame time (3). Salmaſius does not grant all this (4): He ſhews that from the time of Livius, a Poet and a Comedian, the dancer was excuſed from the fatigue of ſinging, and that they gave him a boy, who ſung, whilſt another was playing on the flute (5); but he owns that Pylades is the firſt who danced whilſt the chorus ſung, and others played upon flageolets, *fiſtulas & chorum ſibi ſaltanti ut præcineret curaviſſe.* This agrees with the anſwer he returned to Auguſtus, who aſked him what he had joined to dancing, Αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐναπὴν, ὁμαδὸν τ' ἀνθρώπων, *the ſound of flageolets and flutes, and the ſymphony of men* (6); becauſe before him there was but one flute appointed for the uſe of the Pantomimes, whereas ſeveral were appointed for him. We read in Lucian that ſeveral other inſtruments, *citharæ, cimbala, - - - lutes, cymbals*, were uſed when the Pantomimes danced, as well as certain ſtampings of the feet, which, as Salmaſius thinks, were of the ſame uſe as the motion of the hands, which we call now *to beat time*. The ſame author has obſerved, that it was chiefly under Auguſtus that dancing came to its perfection (7). Pylades is to be praiſed for it, 'qui ferebatur mutaſſe rudis illius ſaltationis ritum 'quæ apud majores viguit, & venuſtam induxiſſe no-'vitatem (8). - - - *who was ſaid to have altered the 'ancient unpolite method of dancing, and to have intro-'duced a new and genteel way.*'

[*C*] *He had been expelled . . . becauſe he pointed with his finger at one of the ſpectators.*] Auguſtus muſt needs have been very indulgent to thoſe who hiſſed in a play, for that ſpectator hiſſed at Pylades. *Pyladem urbe atque Italia ſummoverit quod ſpectatorem à quo exſibilabatur demonſtraſſet digito, conſpicuumque feciſſet* (9). If an actor at Paris ſhould now revenge himſelf in ſuch a manner, he would not be blamed for it (10). We have ſeen in the public news, that a ſevere regulation has been made in France againſt thoſe who hiſs, whoſe boldneſs was arrived to the higheſt degree. The petition which a Poet preſented to the king, in order to get their fury reſtrained, is a very pretty piece of Poetry. It has been printed in the Mercure Galant, and again in the collection which comes out every month at the Hague. An epigram about the origin of Hiſſing has been inſerted in the *Furetieriana*. It is aſcribed to an author very illuſtrious for his tragedies; but the reputation of the ingenious man, who is abuſed in it, is ſo well eſtabliſhed, that it can do him no hurt (11). There is a fault in the Dutch edition, *Hiſtorien* inſtead of *Hiſtrion* (12).

[*D*] *He had another competitor, whoſe name was Hylas.*] So ſays Macrobius: 'Hylam diſcipulum ufque ad æqualitatis contentionem eruditione provexit: 'populus deinde inter utriuſque ſuffragia diviſus eſt '(13). - - - *His ſcholar Hylas was ſo learned as even 'to rival him: and the people were divided in their 'ſuffrages between them.*' Some learned men take Hylas and Bathyllus to be one and the ſame perſon (14): they ſay he had that name given him, becauſe he had the ſame ſhare in the love of Pylades, his maſter, which Hylas had in the love of Hercules. In a word, they fancy that there was a commerce of Pæderaſty between them. But this ſeems to me farfetched, ſilly, and ſtrained. No body ſays that Bathyllus had been Pylades's ſcholar, as Macrobius ſays Hylas was. We muſt therefore be contented to ſay, that it is likely they have been miſtaken the one for another, as to the reaſon which moved Auguſtus to be angry with Pylades; and let us believe that Hylas and Bathyllus have been two different Pantomimes. See the remark [*E*] of the article BATHYLLUS.

(1) Jul. Cæſ. Bulengerus, de Theat. *lib. i, cap. xliii, fol. m.* 115, & 117, *verſo.* You will ſee in the remark [*E*], citation (15), where thoſe Greek verſes are to be found.

(2) *That fault is in the* Anthologia, of Lubin's Edit. in 4to, pag. 760.

(3) Pylades Cilix Pantomimus, quum veteres ipſi canerent & ſaltarent, primus Romæ chorum ſibi & fiſtulas præcinere fecit. *Hieronymus, in Chron. Euſeb. ad ann.* 1995.

(4) Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. *pag.* 836, *Edit. Lugd. Batav. in* 8vo.

(5) Valer. Max. *lib. ii, cap. iv, pag. m.* 161. *See alſo* Lucian, de Saltatione, *pag. m.* 925, *Tom. i.*

(6) It is the 13th verſe of the 10th book of the Iliad.

(7) Οἱ πάλαι ἀρχαιότητι εἰς τοσοῦτον κάλλος ἐτελέσθησαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν Σεβαζὼ μάλιστα. Lucian. ubi ſupra, apud Salmaſium, ibid. *pag.* 836.

(8) Macrob. Saturn. *lib. ii, cap. vii.*

(9) Sueton. in Auguſto, *cap. xlv.*

(10) I write this in the year 1696.

(11) See the Hiſtorical Letters of March 1696, *pag.* 288, 289.

(12) Furetieriana, *pag.* 72.

(13) Macrob. ubi ſupra.

(14) Iſacius Pontanus, in ſuum locum Macrobii.

[*E*] *There*

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Pylades [*E*]. He left ſome diſciples who went ſucceſſively by his name. We find under the empire of Trajan, a dancer whoſe name was Pylades, particularly beloved by that prince (*b*). We read of another, whom Didius Julianus cauſed to dance in the palace where Pertinax had been murthered juſt before (*i*). Galen ſpeaks of a Pantomime named Pylades, and diſcovers that a woman was paſſionately in love with him (*k*): he is without doubt one of them. The inſcriptions of Gruterus mention ſome Pantomimes who had the ſame name (*l*).

(*b*) Xiphilin. in Trajan.

(*i*) Id. in Did. Juliano.

(*k*) *See* Voſſius, Inſt. Poët. *lib. ii, pag.* 184. *He refutes Brodæus, who ſays in his Notes upon the* Anthologia, *that there have been only two Pantomimes, named Pylades.*

(*l*) *See* Scaliger, in Euſeb. *pag.* 169. Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. *p.* 834, *Edit. in* 8vo.

[*E*] *There are ſome epigrams in the Anthologia to the honour of our Pylades.*] That which Bulengerus and Lubinus have miſinterpreted, aſcribes to Pylades hands that ſpeak every thing, παμφώνες (15). If any one undertook to collect all the paſſages, wherein the ancients have happily repreſented the manual language of the Pantomimes, it would make a large volume: I ſhall only ſet down one out of Caſſiodorus (16): 'His 'ſunt additæ Orcheſtarum loquaciſſimæ manus, linguoſi digiti, ſilentium clamoſum, expoſitio tacita, '---*To theſe are added the talking hands, the ſpeaking 'fingers, the noiſy ſilence, and the ſilent declaration of 'the Pantomimes.*' And another out of Nonnus (17), Νεύματα μῦθον ἔχειν, παλάμην γλῶσσαν, δάκτυλα φωνήν. *Nutus ſermonem habens, manum os, digitos vocem.* Let this ſuffice; I paſs by St Cyprian, who ſays, *cui ars ſit verba manibus expedire* (18).

(15) Anthol. *lib. iv, cap. xxv, num.* 8, *pag. m.* 760.

(16) Lib. iv, Variorum.

(17) Dionyſ. *lib. vii, ver.* 18.

(18) Lib. de Spectac.

PIN (JOHN DU) in Latin *Pinus*, biſhop of Rieux in the XVIth century, was born at Toulouſe. He went into Italy to cultivate his mind, he ſtudied Eloquence and the Civil Law at Bologna, and publiſhed there ſome books for which he was eſteemed. Thoſe which he publiſhed ſince, confirmed and increaſed his reputation [*A*]. He ſtudied the politeneſs of the Latin ſtyle [*B*]. He was counſellor in the parliament of Toulouſe, and ambaſſador of France, I know not where, but I think it was in Italy. I would not expreſs myſelf in ſuch general terms, but ſhould be more particular, if I had his books, or if the authors who ſpeak of him, and whom I have been able to conſult, had ſaid ſomething relating to his Hiſtory; but they know nothing of it. Catel, his countryman, knew him ſo little, that he made a pitiful Anachroniſm in ſpeaking of him [*C*]. I cannot tell at what time Du Pin was made biſhop of Rieux, nor when he died, I know only that he was in poſſeſſion of that biſhopric in 1530, and that he did not live after the year 1538 [*D*].

[*A*] *He . . . . publiſhed ſome books, for which he was eſteemed. Thoſe he publiſhed ſince confirmed and increaſed his reputation.*] He wrote the life of Philip (1) Beroaldus the father, and that of Catherine of Siena: they were printed at Bologna in the year 1505. A letter and ſome epigrams to the praiſe of Codrus Urceus were printed with the works of that author. He wrote alſo a treatiſe *de vita aulica*: His book *de claris fœminis*, of illuſtrious women, was printed at Paris in the year 1521 in folio (2). His Life of St Roch was printed at Paris in 4to, *apud Joannem Parvum*. He was then *Senator Toloſanus & Orator Regius* (3). The *Allobrogicæ narrationis liber* was printed at Venice in 4to in the year 1516, and after at Paris by Badius in the ſame year (4).

(1) And not *Peter* as Moreri has it.

(2) Ex Epit. Bibl. Geſneri, *pag.* 485, vel ex Voſſio de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 662.

(3) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, in Supplem. Epit. Bibl. Geſner. *pag.* 53.

(4) Ibid.

[*B*] *He ſtudied the politeneſs of the Latin ſtyle.*] I ſhall prove this by a paſſage of Eraſmus. 'Poſſet inter hujus laudis (*Tullianæ dictionis*) competitores numerari, (*Joannes Pinus*) niſi & hunc negotiorum tumultus & eccleſiaſtica dignitas à ſtudiis avulſiſſent. 'Olim certè præclarum ſui ſpecimen dedit, quùm 'Bononiæ Muſarum ſacra coleret. Nunc epiſcopum 'audio factum, quid acceſſerit eloquentiæ neſcio. Fieri poteſt ut plus acceſſerit eruditionis quàm dignitatis (5). ---*Amongſt thoſe that excel in this accompliſhment (of the Ciceronian ſtile) I might reckon John 'du Pin, had not hurry of buſineſs and eccleſiaſtical 'dignities diverted him from his ſtudies. He eminently 'diſtinguiſhed himſelf formerly at Bologna, when he ſpent 'his time in the ſervice of the Muſes. Now I hear he 'is made a biſhop. What improvement he has made in 'Eloquence, I know not. Perhaps he has acquired more 'learning than dignity.*'

(5) Eraſmus, in Ciceroniano, *pag. m.* 74.

[*C*] *Catel . . . . made a pitiful Anachroniſm in ſpeaking of him.*] See in his Memoirs concerning the Higory of Languedoc (6), the catalogue of the biſhops of Rieux, and you will find John du Pin two degrees higher than *Peter Lewis de Voltan biſhop of Rieux in the year* 1515.

(6) *Pag.* 1035.

[*D*] *He was in poſſeſſion of that biſhopric in* 1530 . . . . *he did not live after the year* 1538.] The firſt of theſe two facts may be proved by a letter which Sadoletus wrote *Pino Rivenſi Epiſcopo* the firſt of March 1530 (7). It contains ſeveral great encomiums upon our du Pin, to whom the author ſent a copy of his firſt production, which was a commentary on the XCth Pſalm. The ſecond fact is proved by ſome verſes of Hubert Suſſanneau *in obitum Pini Rivorum Epiſc. cum interfuiſſet ejus funeri.* They are in folio forty-one *verſo* of the four books *Ludorum* of that author, of the Paris edition, *apud Simonem Colinæum* 1538 *in* 8vo. There we find that this prelate was buried at Toulouſe with great pomp.

(7) In the fourth book of Sadolet's Letters, *pag.* 150, *Edit. Lugd.* 1554, *in* 8vo.

PINCIER (JOHN) was born at Wetteraw in the country of Heſſe, in the year 1521. He ſtudied at Marpourg, and then at Louvain, and afterwards at Paris, Zurich, and Straſbourg, and was miniſter of the Proteſtant church in his own country for above thirty years. After which he exerciſed the ſame function in another place (*a*), till the infirmities of old age obliged him to demand his diſcharge. Having obtained this favour, he retired to Francberg where his wife had a houſe. He died there the twenty-ſixth of January 1591 (*b*). He publiſhed ſome books, and deſerves a place amongſt pſeudonymous authors [*A*]. He oppoſed the Lutherans as to the doctrine of Ubiquity, and the real preſence. I have ſaid elſewhere (*c*), that he was brother-in-law to Hyperius.

(*a*) In Cœnobio Heneienſi.

(*b*) Taken from the epitaph which his daughter, and James Altſteten, his ſon-in-law, miniſter of the goſpel, drew up for him. It is in the *Deliciæ Itinerum* of *Nathan. Chytræus, pag. m.* 651.

(*c*) In the article KUCHLIN, in the margin, citation (*a*).

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſome books, and deſerves a place amongſt pſeudonymous authors.*] He publiſhed two books under the name of Helias Palingenius, one is intituled *Dipnoſophiſticæ Tragœdiæ procataſtrophe tractans & explicans controverſiam de Cœna Domini*, at Geneva 1569 in 8vo; the other is intituled, *Elenchus ſanæ de Euchariſtia doctrinæ atque fidei ab incommutabili tam ſententiarum quam connexionum veritate inſtructus ad Auguſtini præſcriptum*, at Heidelberg 1575 in 8vo (1). This I find in epitome Biblioth. Geſn. where it is conjectured that Elias Palingenius is a falſe name, but it is not ſaid what the true name was. In another place it is obſerved (2) that John Pincier wrote a learned and pious book *de Cœna Domini*, which was printed at Baſil in 8vo: it was in the year 1561, according to Hoſpinianus (3). The epitaph of the author informs us, that the two books he publiſhed under the falſe name of Helias Palingenius were printed at Heidelberg, and that

(1) Ex Epit. Bibl. Geſn. pag. 212.

(2) Ib. p. 485.

(3) Hoſp. Hiſt. Sacram. *Tom. ii, pag.* 480.

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that his *Antidotus* was printed at Geneva first with the name of Johannes Pincierus, and afterwards without any name (4). Mr Placcius has said nothing of this pseudonymous author, and Mr Baillet has not put him in his catalogue. I fancy that *Antidotus* is the same book, whereof we find the summary in Hospinian (5), who says it was reprinted at Heidelberg in the year 1575. He observes (6) that the *Elenchus* was printed the first time at Neustad in the year 1575, and afterwards at Heidelberg in 1583.

(4) See the epitaph of Pincier, in *Nathan. Chytræus, Delic. Itinerum, pag.* 651, 652.

(5) Hosp. ubi supra, *pag.* 602.

(6) Ib. p. 604.

PINEAU (SEVERIN) in Latin *Pinæus*, born at Chartres (*a*), published at Paris, where he practised Surgery, a Latin book in 1598, which has been reprinted several times (*b*). He treats of the signs of a maid's virginity, which in all appearance has been the chief cause of the sale of that book. It is affirmed, that the German translation of it, published at Francfort about the beginning of the XVIIth century, was prohibited by the magistrates [*A*]: they did not approve that such a subject should be treated in a vulgar tongue. The author wrote his book in French at first, and designed to publish it in that language; but when he saw that the specimen, which he shewed to some persons, gave occasion to several obscene discourses, or sorry jests, he resolved to write only for learned men [*B*], and he put, at the end of his preface, these verses of an ancient Poet (*c*).

(*a*) Carnutensis, *and not* Cornutensis, *as in* Draudius, *or* Camutensis, *as in* Lindenius renovatus.

(*b*) Lindenius renovatus mentions eight editions of it.

(*c*) Horace, Ode I, lib. iii.

Odi profanum vulgus, & arceo:
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
Audita, Musarum sacerdos
Virginibus puerisque canto.

Nor mysteries, prophane behold:
To boys and maids unstain'd with crimes,
The Muse's priest in sacred rhimes
Doth unknown songs and wond'rous truths unfold.

Be gone, Be gone, I hate you all,
Both you great vulgar, and you small,

[*A*] *It is affirmed that the German translation of his book was prohibited by the magistrates.*] I have found this particular in a letter written to Goldastus, which is the CLXXIId of the collection printed at Francfort in 1688. One of his friends, whose name was Segeth, writing to him from Hanaw the fifth of August 1607, desires him to buy that translation for him at any rate, and he is so much the more desirous to have it, because he heard that it was prohibited. *Si in libellum quendam Severini Pevini* (1) *de dignoscendis virginibus è Gallica in Germanicam linguam versum incidas, eum mihi quocunque pretio compares, quod cum gratiarum actione reddetur. Audio isthic apud Spiessium excusum, & interdictum ejus venditione, quod fateor mihi calcar addidit ad poscendum.*

(1) *Read* Pinæi.

[*B*] *He wrote his book in French . . . . and designed to publish it in that language, but when he saw . . . . he resolved to write only for learned men.*] He had a good intention: he designed to do service to the judges, who found themselves very often perplexed in some causes, where women were plaintiffs, sometimes because they had their virginity still, sometimes because they had lost it. In the first case, a woman complained of being married to an impotent man, and in the second case, of having been ravished. Perhaps there was some abuse in those two sorts of complaints, as well as in the information of the fact; for either the matrons and other persons appointed to search and inspect their parts, were ignorant of nature, or unfair in their proceedings: and therefore Pineau thought himself obliged to impart his discoveries to the public, and to make them intelligible to those who understood not Latin; but he changed his mind for other reasons. Here are his words (2): *Te autem monitum volumus (amice lector) hoc opusculum primum nos Gallicum feciſſe, ſicque in publicum proditurum decreviſſe ad eorum ſublevationem, qui judicibus & parentibus referre debent de conformatione naturali, aut vitiata pudendorum virginum nuptarum aut innuptarum, quarum hæ maximam vim à procis integritati ſuæ: illæ vero nullam à maritis aut ſaltem ſponſis imbecillioribus & fatuis illatam fuiſſe conqueruntur. Sed cum primas delineationes quibuſdam expoſuiſſemus, cognoviſſemuſque horum alios ad laſciviam, alios ad vaniloquium & procacitatem potius quam ad fructum aliquem ex eo ſibi & reipublicæ utilem colligendum expetere, inſtituti noſtri rationem mutavimus, atque in ſermonem Latinum convertimus, philiatriſque ſolis & literatis hominibus devovimus Horatii exemplo impulſi* (3). Note, that his book is divided into two parts. He examines in the first part, the signs of virginity, and he maintains in the second, that there are two bones (4) which part asunder, when women bring forth children. He exhorts the Physicians and Surgeons to remember his hypothesis; either to facilitate the disjunction of those two bones, or to rejoin them when the child is born. 'Propterea mulieres in utero habentes, & pueros adhuc in eo degentes ac ſtabulantes non ſic negligendos eſſe hortamur, ſed omni auxilio & arte juvandos, ut non minus ſaltem diligentes ſe præbuiſſe videantur Medici & Chirurgi in partibus dilatandis, per quas exit fœtus de utero matris, quam quum editus eſt, in iiſdem conſtringendis ſolliciti ſunt. Quod ſit apte & convenienter, ſi medicamenta emollientia qua voles forma parata ſymphyſibus prædictorum oſſium pubis & ilium adhibita fuerint, ut natura docet, atque ipſamet quantum poteſt, præſtat. Quæ oſſa his in ſymphyſibus adeo vehementer conſtricta ſunt reliquo vitæ tempore, ut citius alibi, puta, in medio ſui frangerentur, quam à cauſa quadam procatarctica ab invicem diducerentur, quæ tamen tempore partus diſtrahuntur (5). - - - *This he ſays may be conveniently done, by applying emollient medicines to the place where the* Os pubis *and the* Os ilium *join, as nature itſelf directs, and even aſſiſts as much as poſſible. He adds, that the ſaid bones are ſo ſtrongly compacted at other times, that they would ſooner break any where elſe, than be parted aſunder by any procatarctic cauſe, and yet at the time of birth they are ſeparated.*'

(2) Severin. Pinæus, in Præfat. ad Lector. *pag.* 22.

(3) He places here the verses of Horace, which I have alleged at the end of the text of this article. The application of those verses is agreeable to the title of a book *de Organis Generationis*. It has been intituled *Sacra Eleuſinia patefacta*. See the *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lett. July* 1684, *pag.* 535. But observe, that Reinerus Rolfinckius, the author of that book, did not intitle it so. It was by a Bookseller's trick, that his book came out as new under that title, in the year 1684, and without the name of the author.

(4) Os Pubis, and Os Ilium.

(5) Pinæus, ubi supra, pag. 21, 22.

PINEAU (GABRIEL DU), in Latin *Pinellus*, counsellor in the presidial of Angers, was a famous man. He died at Angers in the year 1644, being in his seventy-third year (*a*).

(*a*) See Mr Menage, Remarks on the Life of William Menage, pag. 333, where he gives a catalogue of Pineau's books that are published, or not published.

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PINET (ANTONY DU) lord of Noroy, was born in the XVIth century, in the Franche Comté, at Bezançon according to la Croix du Maine (*a*), or at Baume les Nonnes, according to Lewis Gollut (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*], ſome of which ſhew, that he was zealous for the Proteſtant religion. Which does chiefly appear from the notes which he added to the French tranſlation of the tax of the Chancery of Rome [*B*]. He vented ſome extravagant notions concerning the genealogy of ſome families

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 19.

(*b*) Gollut, Mémoires de la Franche Comté, *pag.* 6.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] The moſt conſiderable are only French tranſlations. I ſhall ſpeak of the beſt of them in the laſt remark of this article. His other tranſlations are that of the third part of the letters of Don Antonio de Guevara, and that of a *treatiſe* of the ſame Guevara, *concerning the work and privileges of gallies* (1). That of the *commentaries of P. Andreas Matthiolus of Siena, upon the Hiſtory of plants of Pedacius Dioſcorides Anazarbeus*, Lyons in folio (2) 1566 (3). That *of the ſecret wonders of nature, of Levinus Lemnius, a Phyſician of Zirixee*, Lyons 1567 (4). That of the *common places of the Holy Scripture, collected by Wolfgangus Muſculus in ſixty-ſix titles*, at Geneva, by Euſtace Vignon, in folio 1577 (5). That of the *tax of the caſual forfeitures, &c.* I ſhall ſpeak of it in the following remark. Amongſt the books of his own compoſing, there are ſome which treat of controverſy, *the conformity of the Reformed Churches of France, and of the Primitive Church in policy and ceremonies*, Lyons 1564 in 8vo (6). *Sermons upon the Revelation* (7). Here is a book of another kind. *Plans, draughts, and deſcriptions, of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes, as well in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, as in the Indies and America, their foundations, antiquities, and manner of living: with ſeveral general and particular maps*, &c. Lyons, by John d'Ogerolles in the year 1564 in folio (8). See in the remark [*C*], a critical obſervation againſt that compilation.

(1) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 76, who ſays, that thoſe two tranſlations were printed together at Lyons in 4to, in the year 1560.

(2) Ib. p. 78.

(3) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 19.

(4) Ib. p. 20.

(5) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 78.

(6) Ib. p. 75.

(7) Ib. p. 76.

(8) Ib. p. 75.

[*B*] *The notes which he added to the French tranſlation of the tax of the Chancery of Rome.*] Here is the title of the book: *The tax of the caſual forfeitures of the Pope's ſhop, in Latin and French, with ſome annotations taken from decrees, councils, and canons, either ancient or modern, for the verification of the diſcipline anciently obſerved in the Church, the whole enlarged and reviſed.* By A. D. P. The epiſtle, dedicated *to all faithful Chriſtians*, is dated from Lyons the 26th of March 1564. I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage out of it, that the reader may judge of this author's freedom in ſpeaking. It was the cuſtom of that time. *Which is the reaſon I have only ſet before them the aſſeſſment of their ſouls, according to the rates which their terreſtrial GOD has ſet upon them: To the end, that ſeeing the trade they make of them, and of their conſciences, and the tyranny they are reduced to, and how dangerous it is, they may lift up their eyes towards Heaven, and know at laſt how great is the grace of GOD to thoſe whom he delivers from ſuch a ſlavery. And leſt any dataries, auditors, bulliſts, copiſts, expeditionary bankers, and ſuch like, ſhould fancy that this is a* quid pro quo, - - - one thing for another, *I have truly ſet down the Latin text of the tax of the Papal chamber, with the French tranſlation, adding ſome annotations to it for the good of the church. For the contents of the text are ſo ſhameful and deteſtable, that I muſt intreat you, my brethren, to forgive me for having dedicated it to ſo holy a company as yours, amongſt whom nothing is to be heard but holy ſongs, pſalms, and praiſes to the LORD our GOD. But it behoves us to ſhew a villain his villany, and a fool his folly, leſt we ſhould be thought to be like him* (9). One may eaſily conjecture, that a man who ſpeaks ſo in his preliminary epiſtle, has expreſſed himſelf very bluntly in his gloſs upon a text ſo liable to invectives as that of the tax of the Roman Chancery. I wiſh that all the notes of du Pinet did not ſavour of controverſy, and that he had explained certain ways of ſpeaking, which come in very often. But I fancy he was not verſed enough in the Canon Law, nor in the ſtile of the court of Rome, to be able to clear ſuch obſcurities. He undertook in the beginning of his commentary, to ſhew the price of every tax, but he was forced to confeſs, that it was above his capacity. No reader can remain ſatisfied with what he ſays on that ſubject. I ſhall convince you of it. The three ſorts of money mentioned in that apoſtolical Tarif of Rome, are *turonenſes*, *ducatus*, and *carlinus*. Du Pinet has rendered thoſe words *tournois d'or*, *ducat de chambre*, and *carlin*; upon which he makes this obſervation: 'As to the 'gold *tournois*, ſome take it for a *livre Pariſis*; others 'ſay that it is an old crown; others are of opinion, 'that it is worth a *Philippus*. In ſhort, I have not 'hitherto found out any thing certain concerning that 'money, though the *Tournois de Chambre* is common'ly worth a *Real:* a Ducat is worth a Piſtolet and 'four pence *Tournois:* and a Carlin is worth four 'pence (10).' Thoſe who love to underſtand every thing they read, want an explication much better than that; and it is certain that this was one of the paſſages which the author of the notes ſhould have explained with the greateſt clearneſs, if he could have done it. His work was reprinted at Leyden in the year 1607 (11). It was reprinted at Amſterdam, with a new preface, in the year 1700. The author of that preface tells us, that all poſſible care has been taken to reduce to our money the Tournois, Ducats, and Carlins, mentioned in the tax of the Pope's Chancery; but that nothing could be found out to clear that matter, and that if any diſcovery be made about it hereafter, it ſhall be inſerted in a new edition. He alledges what du Pinet has obſerved concerning the value of thoſe three ſorts of coins, and he adds, that the author of the notes upon the *Confeſſion of Sanci* aſſures, that there is at the end of the book of the taxes of the Roman Chancery, *a Tarif which reduces the Groſs to four pence Tournois, the Ducat to forty pence, and the Carolus to eight blanks* (12). The author of thoſe notes makes that obſervation in his commentary, upon a part of this paſſage of d'Aubigné. 'There is ano'ther book which thoſe whom I mentioned before, 'were very deſirous to deſtroy; but the Holy See 'will never permit it. . . . . It is the book of taxes, 'wherein a good Catholic ſees a low price ſet upon 'ſins, and knows in a moment what he is to pay for 'them. He, who has defloured a virgin, ſhall pay 'ſix groſſes for it. Whoſoever has carnally known '(but with a mutual conſent) his own mother, ſiſter, 'couſin-german, or god-mother, let him pay five 'groſſes. But if it be known in the church, he 'muſt pay ſix. For having killed one's father or 'mother, one ducat, and five carlins (13).' Upon theſe words *five groſſes*, the commentator ſays, that this is to be found in the 36th folio *verſo*. He means without doubt, the edition mentioned by d'Aubigné, which is that of Paris 1570 (14), by Touſſaint Denis, in St James-Street, at the Wooden-Croſs, with this title, *Cancellaria Apoſtolica*; for here is his note upon theſe words, *it is the book of Taxes.* 'Taxæ Cancel'lariæ Apoſtolicæ, & Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ itidem Apo'ſtolicæ, printed at Paris with the king's licence for 'three years in 1520, by Touſſaint Denis, in St 'James-Street, at the Wooden-Croſs, having in the 'frontiſpiece the arms or the eſcutcheon of France, 'and thoſe of the houſe of Medicis, of which Leo X 'was (15).' He pretends that *that ſame book tranſlated into French in the year* 1564, *by Antony du Pinet, reprinted in the ſame year in* 8vo *at Lyons, by John Saugrain, and reprinted with the Latin* (16) *at Leyden in* 1607, *with this title*, Taxe des Parties Caſuelles de la Boutique du Pape, *is to be found among the condemned anonymous authors of the letter A, in the catalogue of prohibited books in* 1685, *by an order of the archbiſhop of Paris: and the authors of that catalogue did not think it neceſſary to mention the Latin Gothic original; becauſe the book of du Pinet is written in French, and full of annotations, wherein the author pretends to ſhew a great deal of turpitude in the old book of taxes; whereas, it may be thoſe gentlemen believed that the original was no more to be found; and beſides, they durſt not, without doubt, ſuppreſs it, by reaſon of the two great authorities wherewith it is attended. For the reſt, the* tax of the Chancery, &c. *was reprinted in* 1613 *with the pragmatic ſanction.* He will give me leave, I am ſure, to tell him, that the book which du Pinet tranſlated, is not the ſame with the book quoted by d'Aubigné. There is no money called a Groſs in the tax which du Pinet tranſlated and explained with notes. The chapter of *perpetual Diſpenſations* mentioned by d'Aubigné, is not to be found in it, nor any thing concerning

(9) Pinet, Epiſt. Dedicat. *of the* Taxe des Parties Caſuelles, &c.

(10) Du Pinet, Taxe des Parties Caſuelles, &c. *pag.* 7.

(11) Note, that the Leyden edition is not the ſame in every thing with the Lyons edition 1564.

(12) Notes upon the Confeſſion of Sanci, *pag.* 101, *Edit.* 1699.

(13) Confeſſion of Sanci, *lib. i, cap. ii, pag.* 66.

(14) It ſeems to be a fault of the print inſtead of 1520.

(15) Notes upon the Confeſſion of Sanci, *pag.* 100, 101.

(16) The meaning of it is, that the edition of 1564 did not contain the Latin; but it is certain that it did.

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families [C]. Of all his works, the tranſlation of Pliny was moſt eſteemed [D].

cerning the tax of thoſe who have committed inceſt with their mothers, ſiſters, &c. but ſince the author of the notes affirms, that thoſe men are only taxed five Groſſes, folio 36 *verſo*, we have reaſon to believe that d'Aubigné does not tell a lie. How comes it therefore to paſs, that neither du Pinet, nor thoſe who reprinted his tranſlation and his commentary, knew that other tax which is much more infamous than that which they took care to print? I very much wonder at it, and he is to blame for not ſaying what edition he made uſe of. The commentator of d'Aubigné gives us for the firſt edition, that of Paris 1520. But I know that in 1664, Stephen du Mont, Bookſeller of Boiſleduc, put out in Latin and Dutch from an edition of Rome 1514, a book intituled, *Taxæ Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ, & Taxæ Sacræ Pœnitentiariæ Apoſtolicæ*, which he had compared word for word with the edition of Rome; whereof a ſecretary of the town of Boiſleduc gave a certificate, which is printed page 131. It is ſaid in the preface, that this book was printed at Cologne in 1515, *apud Goſuinum Colinium* (17). I know alſo, that a Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the univerſity of Franeker (18), publiſhed in 1651, with ſome notes, *Taxa Cameræ Apoſtolicæ*, which differs from the book printed at Boiſleduc.

(17) See the article BANCK.

(18) Laurentius Banckius.

If what d'Aubigné alledges, is really to be found in the book of taxes quoted by him, one may very well wonder how ſuch a book came out, and how it came to be authentically reprinted, even after it had afforded the Proteſtants the matter of ſo many triumphs. I ſhall ſet down the reproachful words of a miniſter of Paris upon that head to the biſhop of Belley. ‘ I dare ‘ not ſay of this book all that Dr Deſpenſe † ſaid of ‘ it, even ſo as to apply theſe words to it;

Proſtat & in quæſtu pro meretrice ſedet.

And like a common whore let out for hire.

† In Epiſt. ad Titum, cap. i, Digreſ. II. *You will find this in pag. 479, of the Paris Edit.* 1619.

‘ Thoſe of your communion are ſo far from being a- ‘ ſhamed of that book, which invites cuſtomers with ‘ ſound of trumpet, that they ceaſe not to pub- ‘ liſh and expoſe it to ſale. I have ſeen three Paris ‘ editions of it. The firſt came out in the year 1520 and ‘ it has been often quoted by our authors. The ſecond ‘ in the year 1545 ‡. And the third in the year 1625, ‘ by that very man who prints your books ‡. I have ‘ among my books the edition of 1520, and that ‘ which was publiſhed in our time, in the year 1625. ‘ I have compared them, and found them the ſame. ‘ But eſpecially theſe words, which cry for vengeance ‘ before God. ‘ *Et nota diligenter quod hujuſmodi gra- ‘ tiæ & diſpenſationes non conceduntur pauperibus, quia ‘ non ſunt, ideo non poſſunt conſolari.* That is to ſay, ‘ *and be ſure to obſerve* (and indeed the thing deſerves ‘ it) *that ſuch graces and diſpenſations are not granted ‘ to the poor: for, becauſe they have not wherewithal ‘ to pay, they cannot be comforted.* Thoſe words, I ‘ ſay, which are in folio 23 of the old edition 1520, ‘ are alſo to be found pag. 208, of the new edition ‘ of 1625, and thoſe who have the edition of the ‘ year 1545, will find them folio 130 (19).’

‡ Apud Galeanum à Prato.

‡ Apud Gervaſium Alliot.

(19) Drelincourt, Reply to the Anſwer of the biſhop of Belley, *pag.* m, 370, 371.

If any one had aſked d'Aubigné how it came to paſs that the court of Rome, ſo much cried down for her covetouſneſs, taxed but twenty pence Tournois the worſt of inceſts, he had without doubt, anſwered, that the ſeller who has wares which coſt him nothing, gets more by ſelling them at low rates, becauſe he ſells a greater quantity of them upon that account, and ſo he indemnifies himſelf by reaſon of the great number of buyers who flock to him, moſt of whom could eaſily be without thoſe wares, if they were exceſſively dear. But let no body miſtake the matter: the tax ſet down in that book is not all that muſt be paid: one muſt beſides treat with a datary, and compound with him according to one's ability (20).

(20) See the remark [C], in the article PARRHASIUS.

[C] *He vented ſome extravagant notions concerning the genealogy of ſome families.*] One of our beſt Hiſtoriographers ſpeaking of Francis d'Agoult, count de Sault (21), *the greateſt lord of Provence, and one of the greateſt captains in his time*, and very much attached to the party of the Huguenots, *for which he was killed with John d'Agoult, his brother, in the battle of St Denys*, in the year 1567. This Hiſtoriographer, I ſay, giving that lord's encomium, expreſſes himſelf thus (22). ‘ He was brave, generous, magnificent, and a ‘ man of great parts, he loved learning, and it was out ‘ of reſpect to him (23), that Antony du Pinet Sieur ‘ de Noroy collected in his treatiſe of the cities and for- ‘ treſſes of the world, ſome trifling traditions concern- ‘ ing the origin of the houſe of Sault; to make a ro- ‘ mance of it leſs credible than the apologues and the ‘ converſations of men with beaſts, and by which the ‘ reputation of that author had been ruined, had he ‘ not maintained it by his tranſlation of Pliny's works. ‘ I do not believe that Poetry would allow of ſuch ‘ fictions, ſo wonderful and incredible this ſeems to be, ‘ as well as the fable of Berold of Saxony, the pretend- ‘ ed anceſtor of the dukes of Savoy, and Ferry Bor- ‘ ſtelſtickel, whom Thevet the romancer makes the head ‘ of the illuſtrious houſe of Chabots: and it is a ſtrange ‘ thing that ſome daughter of a king or emperor, muſt ‘ loſe her honour to lay the foundation of a falſe tranſ- ‘ migration. All that can be ſaid to excuſe du Pinet, ‘ is, that he wrote in a time when phantaſms were gi- ‘ ven for anceſtors to ſuch, as having loſt the memory ‘ of thoſe from whom they iſſued, afforded, in order ‘ to dreſs them up, ſome traditions, and old wives tales, ‘ whereof flatterers made myſteries with the alluſions ‘ they looked for in the names and arms of thoſe fa- ‘ milies; not knowing that arms and ſirnames have ‘ their limited time, and not ſuſpecting that a know- ‘ ing age, ſuch as ours is, ſhould ſucceed an ignorant ‘ one, ſo as to penetrate into the foreign countries, ‘ whither they went to look for the firſt heroes of ‘ every race. He, whom du Pinet choſe for the houſe ‘ of Agoult, is one Hugh prince of Tric, an imagi- ‘ nary ſtate in Pomerania, whom his bravery and ‘ beauty made worthy of the love of the Infanta ‘ Valdugue, daughter of king Valdugue of Pomerania. ‘ He had a ſon by her, whom that princeſs, who was a ‘ priſoner, letting down from a window, to deliver him ‘ into the hands of a country-man, who was to carry him ‘ to his nurſe, a ſhe-wolf came in of a ſudden, and ſnat- ‘ ched him out of his hands, and carried him to her den ‘ to her young ones. She ſuckled him till the next ‘ day, when the king finding her as he was a hunting, ‘ purſued and killed her with her young ones, and ‘ found the child wrapped up in a rich cloth, whom ‘ he cauſed to be baptized; and having heard the hi- ‘ ſtory of his birth, he legitimated him by marrying ‘ his daughter to prince Hugh. She died a little while ‘ after, and the prince went to make war againſt the ‘ Grecians, and married the daughter of the emperor ‘ of Conſtantinople, where he ſettled, and had many ‘ children by her. Wolf of Tric, his ſon by his firſt ‘ marriage, ſo named in memory of ſo wonderful an ‘ accident, married Sidrac, daughter of the king of ‘ Ruſſia; and his eldeſt ſon of the ſame name having ‘ married a princeſs of Saxony, came with Berold of ‘ Saxony to the ſervice of the king of Arles (of Bur- ‘ gundy) and conquered the territory and valley of ‘ Sault in Provence, where he built the caſtle of Agoult, ‘ and his poſterity took their ſirname from it, and quit- ‘ ted that of Tric. He adds, that the country of Sault ‘ was infeoffed to him in the year 1200. Here is a ‘ fine hotch-potch of Hiſtory, Chronology and Coſmo- ‘ graphy, and the whole is grounded upon this, that the ‘ arms of Agoult are, not a ſhe-wolf, as they ſhould have ‘ been, but a he, and that ſome of that houſe took in the ‘ Latin titles, the ſeveral ſirnames de Agouto and de ‘ Tritis, becauſe of the manor of Trez, an ancient lot ‘ of the viſcounts of Marſeilles, which fell to them by ‘ marriage.’

(21) Le Laboureur, Addit. to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 511.

(22) Ibid.

(23) *I fancy that this count de Sault was one of thoſe whom du Pinet means in his preface to Pliny's tranſlation, when he ſays,* for fifteen months that I have been labouring hard *at this tranſlation,* I have been often ſick, and charged with ſome affairs for the ſervice of ſome great lord to whom I am devoted.

This is not the only place, where le Laboureur inveighs with great reaſon againſt the abſurd impertinencies of the Genealogiſts. See pag. 801. of the 1. Tom. of his Additions to Caſtelnau's Memoirs, and you will ſee that du Cheſne has undeceived the houſe of Rochefoucaut, *(with honour to that houſe as well as to himſelf) as to the filly and fooliſh impoſtures of Brother Stephen de Luſignan, who derives more tribes from his Melluſine* (24), *than God promiſed Abraham.* See alſo pag. 559 of the ſecond tome, where he ſays, that, in 1560, Renatus de Sanzay *compiled with John le Feron, king at arms of France, that Genealogy of the houſe of Sanzay, made up of near fifty degrees of generation, moſt of them given year by year, with the names, ſirnames, and arms of the women, and all thoſe names, families, and arms are mere phantaſms. . . . . Brother Stephen de Luſignan, a friar, having had that fine piece of work imparted to him, made uſe of it to build his Romance of the ſixty ſeven illuſtrious houſes ſprung from that of Luſignan, more incredible ſtill than*

(24) See what he ſays of Melluſine, pag. 703, of the firſt Tome of his Addit. to Caſtelnau.

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than that of Melusine; out of whose tub, as out of a public fountain, ... et out the nobility and blood of Lusignan to any that was ambitious of it. See the margin (25).

[*D*] *The translation of Pliny.*] I believe that the first edition of it is of the year 1562, at Lyons, in two volumes in folio. Du Verdier Vau-Privas mentions none but that of the year 1566, at Lyons, by Claudius Senneton. I make use of the fourth, printed at Paris 1608, by John Houzé. It may be said without flattering du Pinet, that he deserved great praises on account of that translation. He took great pains about it, he consulted the ancient MSS. and the old editions of Pliny; he corrected and compared with them, what he wrote; he made a great many marginal annotations; he drew up two large indexes; he composed *a treatise of ancient weights and measures, reduced to the French,* and prefixed it to his translation: which required abundance of time. I know he has committed a great many faults, some whereof are very absurd. 'He 'made two Roman gentlemen of two sorts of marble, 'the one called *Lapis Numidicus*, and the other *Sinan-'dicus*: it is in the first chapter of the thirty-fifth book. '(26).' He who has afforded me that remark, adds, *that he has observed a great number of other faults in that author, whose work is notwithstanding very useful.* Any one that has never so little equity, and knows the difficulty of the undertaking, will be much more disposed to value this author, by reason of so many passages which he has happily translated, than to despise him by reason of his over-sights. Read his preface, and you will see that he knew very well where the difficulty lay, and what helps were necessary for such an undertaking.

(26) La Mothe le Vayer, Hexamer. Rustiq. *pag.* m. 30.

(25) At that time, says le Laboureur, pag. 320, of the second Tome, they had not the method of drawing up genealogies upon deeds and records, they were contented with traditions, and old womens stories, to supply the defect of memory: they scarce knew their grand-fathers by rules, and above that they received for true whatever was vented by certain false antiquarians, and downright visionaries, such as John le Maire de Belges, author of the romance intituled, *Le Chevalier du Cygne*, composed in the behalf of the house of Cleves; Forcatel, a Civilian, author of the *Montmorency Gaulois*, Brother Stephen de Lusignan, a great impostor, and John le Feron, whom I shall only charge with credulity, who, as a king at arms, suffered his name to be put to several false genealogies, as did, after his example, Bernard de Girart Sieur du Haillan, a Genealogist of the order of the Holy Ghost.

PINON (JAMES) Abbot of Condé, canon of the church of Paris, and son to JAMES PINON, dean of the parliament of the same city (*a*), lived in the XVIIth century. He was esteemed upon the account of his Latin Poetry (*b*), though *it was very late before he applied himself to it* [*A*]. Mr de Marolles, Abbot of Villeloin dedicated to him in 1661 his French version of Ovid's Poem *in Ibin*, and put at the end of the volume a letter he had writ to him. He commends him much in those two places, and ascribes to him excellent qualities. He inserted at the end of the same tome several pieces of Poetry of *James Pinon*. We are beholden to the latter for an edition of Plutarch by Amiot in four volmues *in folio* (*c*). His father likewise published some Latin Poems: that *de Anno Romano* is stiled famous by the Abbot of Villeloin: that which he composed *de Crucifixo* was exceedingly praised by a good Poet, I mean by Nicholas Bourbon (*d*).

(*a*) *The Abbot* de Marolles, Dénombrement des Autheurs, *pag.* 431.

(*b*) Id. Epistle Dedicatory of the French translation of Ovid *in Ibin.*

(*c*) Marolles, ubi supra.

(*d*) Nicolai Borbonii Poëmatia, *pag.* 144, *Edit.* 1630.

[*A*] *He was esteemed upon the account of his Latin poetry, tho' it was very late before he applied himself to it.*] 'I have been told, says the abbot de Villeloin '(1), that you was at least thirty years of age, when 'you first tried this fine talent: which you did in a 'time of Piety, on the subject of David's penitential 'Psalms: and I know, that your father, who likewise made very good Latin verses, having seen this 'noble production of your genius (he was an excellent judge in every thing) was surprized at it, as well as 'Mr Bourbon of the Oratory, your dear friend, who 'was no less a judge in it: so that you would have 'excited a jealousy in the one and in the other, whatever powerful relation and great friendship there was 'between you, had they not at least been as much 'concerned for your glory, as yourself. And the latter 'advised you to publish that excellent work; but not 'without accompanying it with a very singular mark 'of his esteem, by the Hendecasyllaba, worthy of 'himself, which he put at the beginning.' *In his fine Epistles, he says of you, alluding to the name you bear,*

- - - - Uni condere carmen
Condæo latius atque exercere camœnas.

And else where, after having spoken of your extraordinary knowledge in sacred and prophane learning, he adds with his usual eloquence; that being possessed of all those riches, neither the graces of Poetry, nor the Latin Muses have any secrets or mysteries, which are not revealed to you.

Instructo tantis opibus, veteriq; ue Latinæ,
Arcana, & Musarum adyta haud adeunda prophanis,
Tota patent,

. . . . . *You acquired immediately* by your verses *an extraordinary reputation, and some learned men of Germany, who saw a Panegyric you had composed for the late king, spoke of it to Mr Davaux, embassador for the peace at Munster, as one of the finest pieces they had ever seen. This did not surprise that excellent man, who was acquainted with your merit; and who knew very well the esteem that the Beliévres and the Depesses had for you, as well as Father Gondran, general of the Oratory, who said of your verses, that it was not a mortal who had dictated them. . . . . Make a collection of all your excellent works, which are in loose sheets, some printed, and others not printed: it will be a valuable one, and I am persuaded it will maintain it's place with honour in the best chosen libraries. The variety of it will be wonderful, for besides the subjects which are very different from one another, you have very aptly employed all sorts of stiles and characters of the best authors of antiquity, without taking however their verses or periods entire, tho' the terms be the same, or their thoughts either, having enough to spare out of your own fund, which is not easily exhausted. And as to your Elegiac Poetry, the versification of Tibullus and Propertius is not more polite than yours: there appears no less wit in it than in the works of Ovid: your Hendecasyllaba are in the manner of those of Catullus. Your Epistles and Satires very much resemble those of Horace: and your Epigrams contain a spirit which equals that of Martial. I shall say nothing of your heroic Poetry, which you have sufficiently shewn in your Panegyric on the late king, and in several works of piety that you dedicated to cardinal Richelieu, the year in which the king was born* (2). Mr de Marolles tells us elsewhere (3) that he keeps amongst the pieces he composed an 'Epistle to the abbot Pinon, who delights 'so much in Latin Poetry, that there is not one person now-a-days who has done more than he in every 'kind, wherein all judges allow he has perfectly succeeded: and were there nothing but his forest of 'Pines, called *Pinea Sylva*, which is so finished a piece, 'it might be questioned whether any of the Antients 'ever had more wit, genius, and invention, than he, 'to express always his thoughts agreeably and clearly 'in that kind, wherein is considered the vast number 'of those of all conditions who have been employed 'in it, to whom likewise great commendations could 'not be refused, were particulars to be examined of 'which we have spoken largely in another place. But 'certainly the abbot Pinon could not be out-done.'

It will seem surprizing, without doubt, that Poems, which have been honoured with so much public applause, should be entirely unknown in foreign countries, and that even in France they should be so little talked of, that Mr Baillet has not mentioned them in his vast collection of Poets: but two things ought to be considered; first, that a great abatement should always be made with regard to public encomiums bestowed by friends: secondly, that the abbot de Condé probably did not follow the advice of his friend

(1) Marolles, *Abbot* de Villeloin, Epitre à Mr l'Abbé de Condé, *at the end of the French translation of Ovid* in Ibin.

(2) Epist. Dedicat. of the translation of Ovid *in Ibin.*

(3) Idem, in the catalogue of his works, *pag.* 220.

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friend in collecting the loose sheets of his Poems. This was the only method almost to preserve the memory of them: for small pamphlets, however good they be, are easily dissipated (4): thirty years time will make an end of them, unless they are bound up; and therefore they should be joined together again by a new edition. Booksellers are ready enough to take that trouble with respect to French poems, which have had the good fortune to please separately: but they must be sollicited and encouraged to it, with respect to Latin Poems.

(4) One might, by a sense of accommodation, apply to Poets these words of *Virgil. Æn. lib. vi, ver.* 74. Foliis tantum ne carmina manda; Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis. *See the* Nouv. de la Rep. des Lett. *Feb.* 1687, *at the end of the first article.*

PINSSON (FRANCIS) professor of the Civil Law at Bourges, was installed in that employment on the eighth of February 1611. He had already taught, for some time, the Institutes in that city. He was so exact in the exercise of his profession, that he never failed to make his lectures, and rather than miss any of them, he often came from his country house, which was five leagues off, to be in the school at the hour he was expected there. He taught the Canon-Law for a long time, and he had always five or six hundred scholars. He died at Bourges in the year 1643, being sixty-three years of age. His first wife was Mary Bengy, daughter of Antony Bengy, of whom I shall speak below [*A*], and his second wife was N. d'Amours: he had no children but by his first wife. We are promised the publication (*a*) of what he dictated in the schools of Bourges in the year 1625, *ad Philippi Imperatoris rescripta*, and his funeral oration pronounced at the opening of the schools of Bourges in the year 1643, by Mr de Roye, who was afterwards professor of law at Angers (*b*).

(*a*) Mr Pinsson des Rioles, his grand-son designs to publish it.

(*b*) Taken from a MS Memoir.

[*A*] *Daughter of Antony Bengy, of whom I shall speak below.*] Antony Bengy, Esq; Sieur de Puy-Vallée, was called from the bar, being twenty-six years of age, to succeed Cujas in the profession of the Law at Bourges, in the year 1595. He exercised it with great diligence till the year 1616, wherein he died. He had sometimes two thousand scholars. He dictated, among other things, the treatise concerning Benefices, as far as the fourth chapter *de oneribus & immunitatibus Ecclesiarum*. I shall speak of it afterwards (1). He was made echevin of Bourges in the years 1603 and 1604. The discourse he made, when he began his lectures, in the year 1600, was printed in the same year at Bourges, with this title, *Concio funebris in memoriam defuncti Joannis Mercerii Juris utriusque Doctoris in Schola Biturigum* (2). He is the author of an epitaph of Cujas, which is to be found only in the collection of the *privileges and antiquities of* Bourges, by John Chenu, but not in the last collection of the works of *Cujas* in ten volumes, made by Mr Fabrot. In the year 1614, he made an epitaph for the marshal de la Châtre, which was never printed. Note, that he had been a counsellor in the provostship of Bourges. He left, among other children, a son, who was counsellor and the king's advocate in the prefidial of Bourges, and then the king's advocate in the court of finances, and who married in the year 1618 Frances Chenu, daughter of John Chenu, a famous advocate, who has wrote many books (3).

(1) In the remark [*A*] of the following article, in the title of the first book published by Francis Pinsson the advocate.

(2) *That funeral oration was printed with honestorum virorum lamenta Latinis Græcis & Gallicis versibus scripta: which makes in all* 38 *pages in* 4*to.*

(3) Taken from a MS Memoir.

PINSSON (FRANCIS) son of the foregoing, was born at Bourges, the fifth of April 1612, and having finished his studies there, and taken his degree, he came to Paris, where he was admitted an advocate the fifth of November 1633. He applied himself to the Châtelet at first, and afterwards to the courts of parliament, where he had a great deal of practice, especially in what relates to benefices. He published several books on that subject. You will find below the catalogue of all the books he printed [*A*], from which you may rightly conclude that he was a man of great capacity, and reputation.

[*A*] *The catalogue of all the books he printed.*] It appears to me to be so well done, that I shall give it as I have received it. 'The first book which Francis 'Pinsson published, is his treatise of Ecclesiastical Be- 'nefices in Latin, which he finished after the death of 'Mr Bengy his grand-father by the mother's side; 'which is the reason why the title of that book runs 'thus: *Antonii Bengii in Alma Biturigum Academia 'Antecessoris primicerii, & Francisci Pinssoni Parisiensis 'Advocati ejusdem ex filia Nepotis Tractatus de Beneficiis 'Ecclesiasticis ex definitione desumptus ad usum fori Gal- 'lici & libertatum Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ accommodatus, 'Parisiis sumptibus Antonii de Sommaville* 1654, in 'folio, dedicated to the first president de Bellievre. He 'has revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged 'that work, which is ready to be printed, having ob- 'tained a licence for it from the chancellor. He caused 'to be printed in 1663, by Francis Muguet, in 4to, '*Sancti Ludovici Francorum Regis Pragmatica Sanctio, '& in eam historica præfatio & Commentarius*, dedi- 'cated to the king. In 1666, he published the Prag- 'matic Sanction of Charles VII, with this title: '*Caroli Septimi Francorum Regis Pragmatica Sanctio cum 'glossis Domini Cosmæ Guymier Parisini Supremæ Gallia- 'rum curiæ Senatoris, & Inquisitionum præsidis, & 'additionibus Philippi Probi Biturici ad Pragmaticæ 'Sanctionis & Concordatorum dissidia componenda; acce- 'dunt historia Pragmaticæ Sanctionis & Concordatorum, 'annotationes marginales, & veterum instrumentorum sup- 'plementa, opera & studio Francisci Pinssonii Biturici Ad- 'vocati Parisiensis, Parisiis apud Franciscum Clouzier* 'in 1666, in folio, dedicacated to the king. He answered, 'in 1674, some treatises, which came out at that time 'under the title of *L'Abbé Commendataire*, a work in two 'little volumes, in 12mo, printed at Cologne, by Nico- 'las Schouten in 1673, one under the name of the Sieur 'des Bois, Doctor of Law, who is thought to be Dom 'Gabriel Gerberon, a Benedictin Monk; and the se- 'cond part in 1674, under the name of the Sieur Fro- 'mont, done, as is said, by Dom . . . . Delfau, 'another Benedictin. That answer was never printed: 'it will be inserted in the new edition of his treatise 'concerning Benefices. In 1668, on the eighteenth 'of December, he wrote a Consultation, printed since 'in his second volume of his treatise concerning the 'Regale, to shew that the king, by virtue of the 'treaty of peace of Aix la Chapelle, containing the 'cession of the city of Ath, has a good claim to the 'strong place of Condé, as being a dependency of 'the Chatellaney of Ath. He wrote another since, 'on the seventeenth of June 1669, printed in the 'same place, which is a continuation of the foregoing, 'wherein he shews, that the additions made to the town 'of Condé ought to belong to the king, as well as 'the body of the place. In the year 1673, he pub- 'lished some summary notes upon the indults granted 'to the king, printed in two volumes in 12mo, by 'Charles de Sercy, and dedicated to the king. In 'the year 1681, he printed his notes on the body of 'the Canon-Law, which are to be found among the 'works of Charles du Moulin, in the fourth volume 'of his last edition, with this title, *Francisci Pins- 'sonii Biturici Parisiensis Advocati Manuale juris Pontificii 'Cæsarei & Gallici, compactum ex annotationibus Caroli Molinæi*

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tation. He was Bâtonnier of the ſociety of Advocates and Attornies of the Parliament in 1682 [*B*], and was made one of the twenty-four honorary doctors of the faculty of Law at Paris, in the room of Mr Boſcager, the twenty-fifth of February 1688. He died ſub-dean of the ſociety of the advocates, the tenth of October 1691, being above ſeventy-nine years old, and was buried at St Stephen du Mont. He left ſeveral children (*a*), and, amongſt others, Mr PINSSON des Riolles, an advocate in the parliament of Paris, a man of merit, and very well known to the learned, and one of the moſt obliging friends that ever were. He is writing, amongſt other things, the lives of the profeſſors of Bourges.

(*a*) Taken from a MS Memoir.

'*Molinæi ad jus Pontificium ſive Canonicum; adverſariis Gabrielis du Pineau* (1) *Senatoris Andegavenſis ad Molinæanas annotationes, animadverſionibuſque ejuſdem Pinſſonii ad utrumque; in quibus jus quotidianum & forenſe exhibetur ex libertatum Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ uberiori penu: Conſtitutionum Regiarum tùm antiquiorum, tùm recentiorum inexhauſto fonte, & ſuperiorum Galliæ tribunalium decretorio ſtylo.* Thoſe notes are dedicated to Mr Colbert, in folio, Paris, for Guignard, &c. Finally, in the year 1688, his ſingular treatiſe concerning the *Regale*, or the King's Rights over Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and dedicated to the king, was printed for John Guignard and Antony Dezallier, in two volumes in 4to (2). He added to that work the Conference about the Edict of the *Controll*, and the Declaration of Eccleſiaſtical Inſinuations (3), with ſeveral other Inſtructions concerning Beneficiary Matters, dedicated to the advocate-general de Lamoignon, and to Mr de Lamoignon de Baſville, intendant of Languedoc. He alſo had a hand in the edition of the works of Antony Mornac, printed in four volumes in folio, for Antoni de Sommaville, in the year 1654, and in the two laſt editions of Charles du Moulin's works. He made alſo ſome remarks upon a book of Mr du Bois, advocate in Parliament, intituled Maxims of the Canon-Law, which have been publiſhed with that book ſeveral times, for John Guignard, in two volumes in 12mo, in 1678, 1684, &c. by Denis Simond, counſellor in the Preſidial, and aſſeſſor in the Marſhalſey of Beauvois (4).'

(1) It is he whom I have mentioned before, article PINEAU (GABRIEL DU).

(2) See an abſtract of it in the Journal of Leipſic, in the firſt Tome of the *Supplem. pag.* 570, & *ſeq.*

(4) Taken from the MS Memoir.

[*C*] *He was* Bâtonnier *of the ſociety of the Advocates and Attornies of the parliament in* 1682.] I ſhall ſet down here the explication of the word *Bâtonnier*, for the ſake of thoſe who ſhall read this without having Furetiere's Dictionary. '*Baſtonnier* is a Law-term, and ſignifies an ancient Advocate, who is choſen every year, according to ſeniority, to be the head of the ſociety of Advocates and Attornies, to be maſter of their chapel and fraternity, and to preſide, when they meet, for the maintaining of the diſcipline of the court of juſtice, and of the regulations. To him alſo belongs the commiſſion of the places of inferior judges when they are interdicted (5).'

(5) *See the word* Baſtonnier *in Furetiere's Dictionary.*

(3) *The Journaliſts of Leipſic excuſe themſelves for not giving an abſtract of that part of the work, and give a very good reaſon for it t* Quia, *ſay they, ibid. pag.* 574, nec res nec verba facile intelligi poſſunt ab iis qui extra Galliam vivunt, & tabem illam fori Eccleſiaſtici, liteſque innumeras, ut & diſſenſiones ignorant quæ non ſolum inter partes fervent, ſed & ſæpe inter Parlamentum & Tribunal regium. - - - - *Becauſe neither the things nor the words can be underſtood by thoſe who live out of France, and are unacquainted with the quarks of the eccleſiaſtical courts, and the innumerable law-ſuits, and alſo the warm debates that happen not only between parties, but often between the parliament and the king's council.*

PYRRHO, a Greek Philoſopher, born at Elis in Peloponneſus, was a diſciple of Anaxarchus, and accompanied him as far as India (*a*). Without doubt, he then followed Alexander the Great, from whence one may know in what time he flouriſhed. He had been a Painter (*b*) before he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. His opinions did not differ much from thoſe of Arceſilaus [*A*]; for he did almoſt teach, as well as he, the incomprehenſibility of all things. He found in all things reaſons to affirm and to deny; and therefore he ſuſpended his aſſent after he had well examined the arguments *pro* and *con*, and reduced all his concluſions to a *non liquet*, *let the matter be further enquired into.* Hence it is that he ſought truth as long as he lived, but he ſo contrived the matter, as never to grant that he had found it. Though he is not the inventer of that method of philoſophizing, yet it goes by his name: the art of diſputing about every thing, without doing any thing elſe but ſuſpending one's judgment, is called *Pyrrhoniſm* (or Scepticiſm): this is its moſt common name. It is juſtly deteſted in the ſchools of Divinity [*B*], where it endeavours to get a new, though a chimerical, ſtrength; but

(*a*) Diog. Laërt. in Pyrrhone, *lib. ix, init. num.* 61.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *His opinions did not differ much from thoſe of Arceſilaus.*] Did I follow punctually Aſcanius Aberita, I ſhould ſay that there was no difference between thoſe two Philoſophers. Γενναιότατα δοκεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαι τὸ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας καὶ ἐποχῆς εἶδος εἰσαγαγὼν, ὡς Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησί. *Nobiliſſimè philoſophiam tractaſſe videtur, commentus modum quo de omnibus nihil decerneret, neque quicquam comprehendi poſſe diceret, ut Aſcanius Abderites auctor eſt* (1). This is poſitively to affirm, that, according to Pyrrho, the nature of things is incomprehenſible: now this was the doctrine of Arceſilaus. Nevertheleſs, I had rather acknowledge that there was ſome difference between them, becauſe Pyrrhoniſm does not formally ſuppoſe incomprehenſibility. They were called, Sceptics, Zetetics, Ephectics, Aporetics (2), that is to ſay, *examiners, inquirers, ſuſpending, and doubting men.* Which ſhews, that they ſuppoſed it was poſſible to find out truth, and that they did not poſitively affirm that it was incomprehenſible. We find in Aulus Gellius, that they condemned thoſe who affirm that it is incomprehenſible; and therein, according to that author, lies the difference between the Pyrrhoniſts and Academics (3): in every thing elſe they were perfectly alike, and they gave one another the above-mentioned names (4). *Cum hæc autem conſimiliter tam Pyrrhoni dicant quàm Academici; differre tamen inter ſeſe & propter alia quædam, & vel maximè propterea exiſtimati ſunt, quòd Academici quidem ipſum illud nihil poſſe comprehendi, quaſi comprehendunt; & nihil poſſe diſcerni, quaſi diſcernunt: Pyrrhonii ne id quidem ullo pacto videri verum dicunt, quòd nihil eſſe verum videtur* (5). Sextus Empiricus found another difference between them (6). Arceſilaus pretended, that the ſuſpenſion of the mind was naturally good, and affirmation naturally bad; but, according to Pyrrho, they were only ſo in appearance, ε κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φαινόμενον, *non ſecundum naturam, ſed ſecundum id quod apparet.* After all, the one was not more for doubting than the other, and there was nothing more eaſy than to reconcile them. They ſhould only have been deſired to expreſs themſelves more clearly and ſincerely (7).

(1) Diog. Laërt. *lib. ix, num.* 61.

(2) *See* Gaſſendus, in Libro Proœmiali de Philoſophia Univerſè, *cap. viii, pag. m.* 24. *See alſo* Aulus Gellius, ubi infra.

(3) *Viz. thoſe of the ſecond academy founded by Arceſilaus.*

(4) Aulus Gellius, *lib. xi, cap. v.*

(5) Ibid.

(6) *See* Voſſius, de Philoſophorum Sectis, *pag.* 107.

(7) *See the paſſage of* Ariſtocles, apud Euſebium Præpar. Evangelic. *lib. xiv, quoted by Voſſius, ibid. pag.* 106.

[*B*] *Pyrrhoniſm is juſtly deteſted in the ſchools of Divinity.*] Pyrrhoniſm is dangerous with reſpect to that divine ſcience; but it is not very dangerous with reſpect to Natural Philoſophy or the ſtate. There is no harm in ſaying, that the ſouls of men are too narrow to diſcover any thing in natural truths, in the cauſes which produce heat, cold, the flux of the ſea, &c. It is enough for us to endeavour to find out ſome probable hypotheſes, and to make a collection of experiments; and I am ſure that there are very few good Natural Philoſophers in our age, but are convinced, that nature is an impenetrable abyſs, and that it's ſprings are known to none, but to the maker and director of them. So that all thoſe Philoſophers are, in that reſpect, Academics and Pyrrhoniſts. The civil life needs not be afraid of them; for the Sceptics did not

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but it may be of uſe to oblige man out of a ſenſe of his ignorance, to call for the help of God,

not deny, but that men ought to conform to the cuſtoms of their country, and practiſe moral duties, and reſolve upon thoſe things from a probable reaſon, with out ſtaying for certainty (8). They might ſuſpend their judgment upon this queſtion, Whether ſuch a duty was naturally and abſolutely lawful; but they did not ſuſpend it upon this queſtion, Whether it was to be practiſed on ſuch and ſuch an occaſion. From whence it follows, that Pyrrhoniſm is only dangerous to religion; for it ought to be grounded upon certainty: the deſign, the effects, and uſe of religion, vaniſh, as ſoon as the firm perſuaſion of it's truth is blotted out of the mind. But, on the other ſide, we need not be uneaſy at it; there never was, and there never will be, but a ſmall number of men capable of being deceived by the arguments of the Sceptics. The grace which God beſtows upon the Faithful, the force of education in other men, and, if you will, ignorance (9), and the natural inclination men have to be peremptory, are an impenetrable ſhield againſt the darts of the Pyrrhoniſts, though that ſect fancies it is now more formidable than it was anciently. Let us ſee upon what grounds they build ſuch a ſtrange pretenſion.

About two months ago a learned man gave me a full account of a conference at which he had been preſent. Two abbots, one whereof had but common learning, the other was a good Philoſopher, grew ſo hot by degrees in their diſpute, that they were like to fall out in earneſt. The firſt had ſaid, ſomewhat coldly, that he forgave the Heathen Philoſophers, their floating in the uncertainty of their opinions; but that he could not apprehend how there could be any Pyrrhoniſts under the light of the Goſpel. To which the other anſwered, You are in the wrong to reaſon in ſuch a manner. If Arceſilaus ſhould return into the world, and was to diſpute with our Divines, he would be a thouſand times more formidable than he was to the Dogmatiſts of old Greece; the Chriſtian Theology would afford him unanſwerable arguments. All the company heard this with great ſurprize, and deſired the abbot to explain himſelf, and doubted not but he had vented a paradox which would turn to his confuſion. He anſwered thus, applying himſelf to the firſt abbot. I will not make uſe of the advantages which the new Philoſophy gives to the Pyrrhoniſts. The name of Sextus Empiricus was ſcarce known in our ſchools; what he propoſed with ſo great ſubtilty concerning ſuſpending one's judgment, was not leſs unknown there, than the Terra Auſtralis, when Gaſſendus (10) gave an abridgment of it, which opened our eyes. Carteſianiſm has put the laſt hand to the work, and none among good Philoſophers doubt now but the Sceptics are in the right to maintain, that the qualities of bodies which ſtrike our ſenſes, are only meer appearances. Every one of us may ſay, *I feel heat before a fire*, but not *I know that fire is ſuch in itſelf as it appears to me*. Such was the ſtyle of the ancient Pyrrhoniſts. But now the new Philoſophy ſpeaks more poſitively: heat, ſmell, colours, &c. are not in the objects of our ſenſes; they are only ſome modifications of my ſoul; I know that bodies are not ſuch as they appear to me. They were very willing to except extenſion and motion, but they could not do it; for if the objects of our ſenſes appear to us coloured, hot, cold, ſmelling, tho' they are not ſo, why ſhould they not appear extended and figured, at reſt, and in motion, though they had no ſuch thing (11). Nay, the objects of my ſenſes cannot be the cauſe of my ſenſations: I might therefore feel cold and heat, ſee colours, figures, extenſion, and motion, tho' there was not one body in the world. I have not therefore one good proof of the exiſtence of bodies (12). The only proof they can give me for it, is, that God would deceive me, if he imprinted in my ſoul the ideas I have of body, if there were no bodies (13), but that proof is very weak; it proves too much. Ever ſince the beginning of the world all men, except, perhaps, one in two hundred millions, do firmly believe that bodies are coloured, and yet it is a miſtake. I aſk, whether God deceives men with reſpect to thoſe colours? If he deceives them in that reſpect, what hinders but he may deceive them with reſpect to extenſion. This latter illuſion will not be leſs innocent, nor leſs conſiſtent, than the former, with the moſt perfect being. If he does not deceive them, with reſpect to colours, it is without doubt, becauſe he forces them not to ſay, *thoſe colours exiſt out of my ſoul*, but only *it appears to me there are ſome colours there*. The ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to extenſion. God does not force you to ſay, that *it does exiſt*, but only to judge that you feel it, and that it appears to you to exiſt. A Carteſian can as readily ſuſpend his judgment about the exiſtence of extenſion, as a peaſant affirm that the ſun ſhines, that the ſnow is white, &c. And therefore if we are miſtaken in affirming the exiſtence of extenſion, God will not be the cauſe of it, ſince you acknowledge that he is not the cauſe of that peaſant's error. Such are the advantages which the new Philoſophers would procure to the Pyrrhoniſts, but I will not take advantage of them.

Immediately the ſame abbot, who was a Philoſopher, declared to the other, that if he would have the better of a Sceptic, he muſt, before all things, prove, that truth may certainly be known by ſome marks. They are commonly called *Criterium veritatis*. You will juſtly maintain againſt him, that evidence is a certain character of truth, for if evidence was not that character, we ſhould have none. Let it be ſo, will he ſay, it is what I would have you be at: I will ſhew you ſeveral things of the greateſt evidence, which you reject as falſe. I. It is evident, that things which do not differ from a third, do not differ from each other (14), it is the baſis of all our reaſonings, all our ſyllogiſms are grounded upon it; nevertheleſs we are aſſured by the revelation of the myſtery of the Trinity, that this is a falſe axiom. You may invent as many diſtinctions as you pleaſe, but you will never be able to ſhew, that that maxim is not contradicted by this great myſtery. II. It is evident, that there is no difference between *individuum*, *nature*, and *perſon*: nevertheleſs, the ſame myſtery has convinced us, that perſons may be multiplied and that individuums and natures will not ceaſe for all that to be one. III. It is evident, that for a man to be really and perfectly a perſon, it is enough to unite together a human body and a reaſonable ſoul. But the myſtery of the Incarnation has taught us, that this is not ſufficient. From whence it follows that neither you nor I can be ſure whether we are perſons: for if it was eſſential to a human body and a reaſonable ſoul, united together, to conſtitute a perſon, God could never cauſe that thus united they ſhould not conſtitute a perſon: we muſt therefore ſay, that perſonality is meerly accidental to them. But every accident may be ſeparated from it's ſubject ſeveral ways: God therefore may hinder us ſeveral ways from being perſons, tho' we are made up of a body and a ſoul: and can any one aſſure us, that he does not make uſe of ſome ſuch means to ſtrip us of our perſonality? Is he obliged to reveal to us the ſeveral ways he diſpoſes of us? IV. It is evident, that a human body cannot be in ſeveral places at one time, and that it's head cannot be penetrated, with all it's other parts, under an indiviſible point: nevertheleſs the myſtery of the Euchariſt teaches us, that thoſe two things happen every day (15), from whence it follows, that neither you nor I can be ſure whether we are diſtinguiſhed from other men, and whether we are not at this very moment in the ſeraglio of Conſtantinople, in Canada, and in Japan, and in every town of the world, under ſeveral circumſtances in each place. Would God, who does nothing in vain, create ſeveral men, when one man only created in ſeveral places, and cloathed with ſeveral qualities, may ſuffice? This doctrine deprives us of the truth, we find in numbers; for we know no longer what two or three are; we know not what identity and diverſity are. If we judge that John and Peter are two men, it is only becauſe we ſee them in diſtinct places, and becauſe the one has not the accidents of the other. But that ground of diſtinction becomes null from the doctrine of the Euchariſt. It may be that there is but one creature in the world multiplied in ſeveral places by production, and by the diverſity of qualities: we caſt up long accounts in Arithmetic, as if there were many things diſtinct (16); but this is only a vain imagination. We are not only ignorant whether there are two bodies in the world; but we do not ſo much as know whether there is a body and a ſpirit: for if matter is penetrable, it is plain that extenſion is only an accident of the body, and ſo the body, according to it's eſſence, is a ſubſtance not extended: it is therefore capable of all the attributes which we conceive in a ſpirit, as the underſtanding, the will, the paſſions, and the ſenſations: ſo that we are left without any rule whereby we may diſcern whether a ſubſtance

(8) See Diogenes Laërtius, at the end of Pyrrho's Life.

(9) It is a ſaying of Simonides, thoſe men are not ſubtle enough to be deceived by ſuch a one as I am. Balzac ſaid the ſame thing of the maids of his village. Ageſilaus complained that he had to do with enemies who underſtood not the war, his ſtratagems were uſeleſs, he could not deceive unexperienced troops. See Plutarch in his Life, towards the end.

(10) *In his book* de fine Logicæ, *cap. iii, pag. 72, & ſeq. of the firſt volume of his works, Lyons 1658.*

(11) The Abbot Foucher propoſed this objection in his *Critique on the Search of Truth*. Father Mallebranche made no anſwer to it. He was ſenſible of the ſtrength of this objection. See the following citation.

(12) Father Mallebranche ſhews in one of his explications of ſome paſſages of the *Search after Truth*, *That it is very difficult to prove the exiſtence of bodies, and that nothing but faith can convince us that bodies do really exiſt.*

(13) See the 28th chapter of Mr Arnauld's treatiſe *Concerning True and Falſe Ideas*, where he refutes the above-mentioned explication of Father Mallebranche, by ſome reaſons taken from this principle.

(14) *Quæ ſunt idem uni tertio ſunt idem inter ſe.*

(15) Note, that this is the diſcourſe of an Abbot. I am obliged to give the reader notice of this in this ſecond edition, becauſe I know that ſeveral perſons of the Proteſtant religion have been offended to ſee the myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, paralleled with the doctrines of the Real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation.

(16) Note, that if a body may be produced in ſeveral places, any other being, ſpirit, place, accident, &c. may be multiplied the ſame way; and ſo there will not be a multitude of beings, but all things will be reduced to one only created being.

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God, and to ſubmit to the authority of faith [C]. Now becauſe what I have related (c) concerning

(c) In the remark [B].

ſtance is ſpiritual by it's nature, or whether it be corporeal. V. It is evident, that the modes of a ſubſtance cannot ſubſiſt without the ſubſtance, which they modify; but the myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation has taught us that this is falſe (17). All our ideas are confounded by it; we can no longer define a ſubſtance: for if an accident can ſubſiſt without any ſubject, a ſubſtance may in it's turn ſubſiſt dependently upon another ſubſtance, as accidents do: a ſpirit may ſubſiſt after the manner of bodies, as in the Euchariſt, matter exiſts after the manner of ſpirits: the latter may be impenetrable, as matter is penetrable in the Euchariſt. Now if by coming from the darkneſs of Paganiſm to the light of the Goſpel, we have learned the falſity of ſo many evident notions, and of ſo many certain definitions (18), what will it be when we ſhall come from the darkneſs of this life to the glory of heaven? Is it not very likely that we ſhall then learn the falſity of a thouſand things which appear to us undeniable? Let us make a good uſe of the raſhneſs of thoſe who lived before the Goſpel, and who affirmed that ſome evident doctrines were true, the falſity whereof has been revealed to us by the myſteries of our Theology.

(17) See the marginal note (15).

(18) Thoſe who hold Tranſubſtantiation place the eſſence of matter in the faculty of receiving extenſion, and ſo with the eſſence of every thing: nothing is actual; every thing is a paſſive capacity: but that capacity may conſiſt with a ſpirit, &c. which confounds all definitions.

I come now to morals. I. It is evident, that evil ought to be prevented, if it be poſſible, and that it is a ſinful thing to permit it when it can be prevented. Nevertheleſs, our Theology ſhews us, that this is falſe: it teaches us that GOD does nothing but what becomes his perfections, when he permits all the diſorders that are in the world, and which he might eaſily have prevented. II. It is evident, that a creature which does not exiſt, cannot be an accomplice of an ill action. III. And that it is unjuſt to puniſh that creature as an accomplice of that action. Nevertheleſs, our doctrine concerning original ſin ſhews us the falſity of thoſe evidences. IV. It is evident, that what is honeſt ought to be preferred before what is profitable, and that the more holy a Being is, the leſs freedom he has to prefer what is profitable to what is honeſt. Nevertheleſs, our Divines tell us, that it being in GOD's choice to make a world perfectly well regulated, and adorned with all virtues, and a world like ours, wherein ſin and diſorder prevail, preferred the latter to the former, as being more conſiſtent with the intereſt of his glory. If you ſhould tell me, that the duties of the creator ought not to be meaſured by ours, you will fall into the net of your adverſaries. They would have you there; the main thing they aim at is, to prove that the abſolute nature of things is unknown to us, and that we know only ſome relations they have one to another (19). We know not, ſay they, whether ſugar be ſweet in itſelf, we only know that it ſeems to us to be ſweet, when we taſte it. We know not whether a certain action is honeſt in itſelf and by its nature, we only believe that with reſpect to ſuch an one, and by reaſon of certain circumſtances, it has the appearance of honeſty. But it is another thing in other reſpects, and under other relations. See therefore how you expoſe yourſelf, by telling them that the ideas we have of juſtice and honeſty are liable to exception, and are relative. Beſides, I would have you to obſerve, that the more you raiſe the rights of GOD to the privilege of acting contrary to our ideas, the more you deſtroy the only means left you to prove that there are bodies, *viz.* that GOD does not deceive us, and that he would do it if the corporeal world did not exiſt. To ſhew a people a thing which does not exiſt out of their minds, would be a deceit: but they will anſwer you, *diſtinguo, - - - I diſtinguiſh*; if a prince did ſo, *conceda, - - - I grant it:* if GOD did it, *nego, - - - I deny it:* for the rights of GOD are quite different from thoſe of kings. Beſides, if the exceptions you make to the principles of morality are grounded upon the incomprehenſible infinity of GOD, I can never be ſure of any thing; for I ſhall never be able to comprehend the whole extent of the rights of GOD. I conclude therefore, that if truth was to be known by any mark, it would be by evidence: but evidence is no ſuch mark, becauſe it ſuits with falſities; therefore, *&c.*

(19) *The ſtrongeſt part of their Logic or Topics conſiſted in one common place, viz.* in that of relation, which was the eighth out of ten, whereby thoſe of that ſect ſhew that we judge of things only by compariſon, which they expreſs thus, *πάντα πρός τι, omnia ſunt ad aliquid.* La Mothe le Vayer de la Vertu des Payens, *Tom. v, pag.* 217.

(20) Compare this with what la Mothe le Vayer relates in the ſecond part of his *Proſe chagrine*, in the 9th Tome of his works.

The abbot, to whom this long diſcourſe was directed, had much ado to forbear interrupting him: he heard him with great uneaſineſs, and when he perceived that every body was ſilent, he fell into a great paſſion againſt the Pyrrhoniſts (20), and ſpared not the abbot for having mentioned the objections which they take from the ſyſtems of Divinity. This abbot replied modeſtly, that he knew very well thoſe objections were very inconſiderable and meer Sophiſms; but that it is reaſonable, that thoſe who ſo much deſpiſe the Pyrrhoniſts, ſhould not be ignorant of the ſtate of things. He went on, and ſaid, you did believe hitherto that a Pyrrhoniſt could not puzzle you, anſwer me therefore: you are forty-five years of age, you do not doubt of it, and if there be any thing that you are ſure of, it is that you are the ſame perſon to whom the abbey of . . . . was given two years ago. I am going to ſhew you, that you have no good reaſon to be ſure of it: I argue from the principles of our Theology. Your ſoul has been created; GOD muſt therefore at every moment renew it's exiſtence; for the conſervation of creatures is a continued creation. How do ye know but that GOD permitted this morning your ſoul to relapſe into nothing, which he had continued to create till then, ever ſince the firſt moment of your life? How do ye know but that he has created another ſoul modified as your's was (21)? That new ſoul is that which you have now. Shew me the contrary; let the company judge of my objection. A learned Divine who was there, anſwered, and acknowledged, that the creation being once ſuppoſed, it was as eaſy for GOD to create a new ſoul at every moment, as to reproduce the ſame; but that the ideas we have of his wiſdom, and eſpecially the light which his word affords us, are ſufficient to aſſure us, that we have the ſame numerical ſoul to day, which we had yeſterday, the day before, *&c.* and he concluded that it was needleſs to diſpute with the Pyrrhoniſts, and that their Sophiſms could not eaſily be eluded by the meer force of reaſon; that before all things they ſhould be made ſenſible of the weakneſs of reaſon, that they may have recourſe to a better guide, *viz.* Faith. This is the ſubject of the following remark.

(21) That is to ſay, with the reminiſcence which he would have re-produced, if he had continued to create the ſoul of the Abbot.

[C] *It may . . . . oblige men . . . . to call for the help of GOD, and to ſubmit to the authority of faith.*] A modern author, who made a more particular ſtudy of Pyrrhoniſm than of any other ſect, looks upon it as a party the leaſt contrary to Chriſtianity, and that *will receive the myſteries of our religion with the greateſt docility* (22). He confirms his opinion by ſome reaſons, and then he ſpeaks thus (23): *It is not without reaſon that we believe the ſyſtem of the Sceptics, which is grounded upon an ingenious acknowledgment of human ignorance, to be leſs contrary to our belief than any other, and the fitteſt to make one receive the ſupernatural light of faith. We ſay nothing herein but what is agreeable to the beſt Theology, ſeeing that of † St Dionyſius teaches nothing in more expreſs terms, than the weakneſs of our minds, and their ignorance, eſpecially with reſpect to divine things. Thus that great Doctor explains what GOD himſelf ſaid by the mouth of his prophets, ‡ that he made his retreat in darkneſs. For this being ſo, we cannot come near him, without entering into that myſterious obſcurity: from whence we draw this important inſtruction, that he cannot be known but obſcurely, covered with enigmas or clouds, and as the ſchools ſay, by being ignorant of him. But as thoſe, who have always profeſſed humility and ignorance, will be better pleaſed than others with that ſpiritual obſcurity; the Dogmatiſts, on the contrary, who never feared any thing ſo much as to appear ignorant, are preſently loſt in it: and being ſo preſumptuous as to believe, that they are clear-ſighted enough to overcome all manner of obſcurity, their blindneſs increaſes ſo much the more, as they fancy that they move forward in a darkneſs, into which human nature cannot penetrate. However, I am of opinion, that Scepticiſm is of no little uſe to a Chriſtian ſoul, when it loſes by ſuch means all thoſe magiſterial opinions which St Paul does ſo much deteſt.* He enlarges more exactly and more ſtrongly upon that ſubject in another book (24).

(22) La Motke le Vayer, de la Vertu des Payens, *Tom. v, of his works, pag.* 229. *See alſo the diſſertations of the Abbot Foucher concerning the Philoſophy of the Academics.*

(23) La Mothe le Vayer, ibid. *pag.* 231.

† *Lib. i, de Myſt. Pb. cap. i, & ii.*

‡ *Poſuit tenebras latibulum ſuum.*

When a man is able to apprehend all the ways of ſuſpending his judgment, which have been laid open by Sextus Empiricus, he may then perceive that that Logic is the greateſt effort of ſubtilty that the mind of man is capable of; but he will ſee at the very ſame time, that ſuch a ſubtilty will afford him no ſatisfaction: it confounds itſelf; for if it were ſolid, it would prove that it is certain that we muſt doubt. Therefore there would be ſome certainty, there would be a certain

(24) In the ſecond part of the *Proſe chagrine*, in the 9th Tome of his works.

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concerning a conference wherein two abbots disputed about Pyrrhonism, might perplex many readers, I design to clear that matter in a dissertation at the end of this work. The stories of Antigonus Carystius (*d*), concerning Pyrrho, ought to be looked upon as sorry jests, or rather as impostures, viz. that Pyrrho did not prefer any thing to any thing, and that a cart and a precipice never made him go a step backwards or aside, and that his friends who followed him, saved his life very often. It is not at all likely, that he should have been mad to that degree [*D*]: but there is no doubt that he taught

(*d*) Apud Diog. Laërt. ubi supra, *num.* 62.

tain rule of truth. That system would be destroyed by it; but you need not fear that things would come to that: the reasons for doubting are doubtful themselves: one must therefore doubt whether he ought to doubt. What chaos! what torment for the mind! it seems therefore, that this unhappy state is the fittest of all to convince us, that our reason is the way to wander, since when it displays itself with the greatest subtilty, it throws us into such an abyss. What naturally follows from thence, is to renounce that guide, and beseech the cause of all things to give us a better. It is a great step towards the Christian religion, which requires of us, that we should expect from GOD the knowledge of what we are to believe, and do, and that we should captivate our understanding to the obedience of faith. If a man is once convinced, that he can expect no satisfaction from his philosophical enquiries, he will find himself better disposed to pray to GOD, to ask him the persuasion of the truths which he ought to believe, than if he should flatter himself with a good success in reasoning and disputing. It is therefore a happy disposition to faith, to know the defects of reason: hence it is that Pascal and some others have said, that to convert Libertines, they must be made sensible of the weakness of reason, and taught to mistrust it. Calvin is admirable on this subject, for thus he speaks in the liturgy for baptism (25), that is to say, thus he begins his instructions for those that want to be initiated in the Christian religion. *Herein* (26) *therefore GOD admonishes us to humble and be displeased with our selves; and by that means he prepares us to desire and require his grace, whereby all the perverseness, and malediction of our first nature may be removed. For we are not capable of receiving it, before we are void of all manner of confidence in our virtue, wisdom, and justice, even so as to condemn every thing that is in us. But after he has represented to us our misery, he does likewise comfort us by his mercy, promising us to regenerate us by his Holy Spirit into a new life, which may be to us as an entrance into his kingdom. This regeneration consists of two things*, viz. *That we deny ourselves, following not* OUR OWN REASON, *our pleasure and will; but that* CAPTIVATING OUR UNDERSTANDINGS, *and our hearts to the wisdom and justice of GOD, we mortify whatever belongs to us and to our flesh. And then that we* FOLLOW THE LIGHT OF GOD, *to comply with and obey his good-will, as he teaches us by his word, and we are directed to it by his Holy Spirit.* However, there are some learned men who maintain, that there can be nothing more opposite to religion than Pyrrhonism. ‘ (27) It is the ‘ total extinction not only of faith, but also of rea- ‘ son, and there is nothing more impossible than to ‘ reclaim those who run themselves into such an ex- ‘ cess. The most ignorant men may be instructed, ‘ the most conceited may be convinced, and the most ‘ incredulous may be persuaded. But it is impossible, ‘ I will not say to convince a Sceptic, but to reason ‘ close with him; for it is not possible to urge him ‘ with any argument, but what is a Sophism, and ‘ even the grossest of all Sophisms, I mean a begging ‘ the question. In effect, there is no argument that ‘ can be conclusive, but by supposing, that whatever ‘ is evident is true, that is to say, by supposing what ‘ is in question. For Pyrrhonism, properly speaking, ‘ consists only in not admitting that fundamental ‘ maxim of the Dogmatists (28).’ See Vossius, who having said that Pyrrhonism and Epicureism are very contrary to the Christian religion, confirms his opinion by a passage out of Clemens Romanus (29). ‘ Hinc Nicetas de se, & fratre Aquila in epitome Clementis Romani, de gestis B. Petri pag. 56. ed. Adr. ‘ Turnebi, in Latinâ Perionii tralatione ex Parisiensi ‘ editione Sonnii folio 596. Ἡκειβώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων, ἐξαιρέτως τὰ ἀθεώτατα. λέγω δὲ τὰ Ἐπικούρου καὶ Πύῤῥωνος. ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασκευάζειν δυνάμεθα. *Accuratè etiam ea inquisivimus, quæ à philosophis traduntur: præcipuè illa, quæ maximè repugnant pietati erga Deum: Illa, inquam, Epicuri ac Pyrrhonis, quò magis ea refellere possemus.* Nempe Nicetas quidem fuerat Epicureus: ‘ Aquila verò Pyrrhonios erat secutus, ut apud ipsum ‘ est Clementem in octavo Recognitionum libro ‡, ‘ quod opus Græcè non exstat, sed Latinè ex trala- ‘ tione Rufini Aquilejensis (30). - - - *Hence Nicetas says* ‘ *concerning himself and his brother Aquila*; we have ‘ carefully examined those things that are laid down ‘ by Philosophers, especially such things as are repug- ‘ nant to religion: I mean, what is advanced by Epi- ‘ curus and Pyrrho, that we might the more easily re- ‘ fute them. *For Nicetas had been an Epicurean, and* ‘ *Aquila a Pyrrhonist, as we find in Clemens in his eighth* ‘ *book of recognitions, which work is not extant in Greek,* ‘ *but translated into Latin by Rufinus.*’

(25) Observe that this Liturgy is used by all the churches of the Confession of Geneva, and so the maxims contained in it ought to be looked upon as the general opinion of those churches, and not as a particular opinion of John Calvin.

(26) That is, by telling us we must be born again.

(27) La Placette, Traité de la Conscience, *pag.* 377.

(28) That maxim was formerly more invincible, for example, in the hands of the Stoics than it is now, that one may maintain to divines *ad hominem*, that some evident propositions are false. See, above, the dispute of the two abbots, remark [*B*].

(29) Vossius, de Philosoph. Sectis, *pag.* 107, 108.

‡ *Fol.* 81, 6.

(30) Ib. p. 108.

Observe that la Mothe le Vayer excludes the Pyrrhonists from the favour he bestowed upon several ancient Philosophers: what he says thereupon, contains some facts which belong to this article. ‘ I despair of ‘ the salvation of Pyrrho, and of all his disciples, ‘ who entertained the same opinions concerning the ‘ Deity as he. Not that they professed themselves to ‘ be Atheists, as some have believed. One may see ‘ in * Sextus Empiricus that they admitted the exi- ‘ stence of the gods, as the other Philosophers did, ‘ that they paid the common worship to them, and ‘ denied not their providence. But besides that they ‘ never acknowledged a first cause, whereby they ‘ would have despised the idolatry of their time; it ‘ is certain, that they believed nothing concerning the ‘ divine nature, but with a suspension of mind, and con- ‘ fessed nothing of what we have said but in a doubt- ‘ ing way, and only to accommodate themselves to ‘ the laws and customs of their age, and of the coun- ‘ try where they lived. And consequently seeing they ‘ have not had the least light of that implicit faith, ‘ on which we have grounded the hopes of the salva- ‘ tion of some heathens, who enjoyed it together with ‘ an extraordinary grace of GOD, I cannot see how ‘ any Sceptic, or Pyrrhonist of that kind, could avoid ‘ going to Hell (31).’

* *Lib. iii, Pyr. Hyp. cap. i.*

(31) La Mothe le Vayer, de la Vertu des Payens, *pag.* 226.

[*D*] *That he should have been mad to that degree.*] I shall set down another passage out of la Mothe le Vayer (32). *I know that Antigonus Carystius said, that Pyrrho would not go out of his way for a cart, nor for a precipice, or a mad dog, and that his friends only preserved him from all those dangers. But why should we rather believe Antigonus, than Ænesidemus, who wrote eight books concerning the sect ** of the Pyrrhonists, and assures, that their leader never committed any such extravagancies? Indeed they are so unlikely, and it is so difficult to imagine how so many Philosophers should have approved of them, that I should scruple to believe them, even though they had not been contradicted by any body, and though the remaining part of Pyrrho's life did not shew the falsity thereof. In effect, it is agreed that he lived near fourscore and ten years, and spent the greatest part of that time in travelling, for he went to see the Magi of Persia, and the Gymnosophists of India. Is it likely that a man, who had exposed himself to all manner of dangers, should have attained to so great an age? And how could he have friends enough every where to deliver him from so many perils, which can scarce be avoided by those who travel with the greatest care and prudence? However it be, he is to be looked upon as the founder of a great sect, and which consequently was, without doubt, considerable in many respects. If we had nothing to alledge but what we read in his life, that he was made high-priest by his countrymen, it would be sufficient to shew the calumny of his enemies; for it is not at all likely, that so important a charge should have been bestowed upon a man subject to so great caprices. . . . .* (33) *He never wrote any thing; so that one cannot judge of his capacity by his works. But besides what we may presume from his great reputation; the mere privilege of immunity which the city of Elis, the place of his birth, granted to all Philosophers upon his account, and the honour*

(32) Ibid. pag. 213, 214.

** Diog. Laërt. & Plutarch, in Bibl.

(33) La Mothe le Vayer, ubi pag. 227.

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taught that the honour and infamy of actions, and their juſtice and injuſtice depended only upon human laws and cuſtom (e). That doctrine, though never ſo abominable, does naturally ariſe from that Pyrrhonian principle, that the abſolute and internal nature of objects is unknown to us, and that we can be ſure only of what they appear to us in ſome reſpects. The indifference of Pyrrho was ſurpriſing [E]: he loved nothing, and was never angry at any thing (f); and no man was ever more perſuaded of the vanity of things [F]. When he ſpoke, he did not care much whether any body gave ear to what he ſaid or not, and he went on ſtill, though his hearers retired (g). He kept houſe with his ſiſter, and had an equal ſhare in the ſmalleſt domeſtic concerns [G]. Thoſe

(e) Ibid. *num.* 61.

(f) Do not take this in a ſtrict ſenſe; there is no doubt but that he had rather enjoy his health than be ſick, &c.

(g) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, *num.* 62.

honour which the Athenians did him by making him one of their citizens (34), *which they granted to few perſons, are ſufficient to perſuade us that he was a man of great merit.*

(34) I will ſhew in the remark [H] that this is falſe.

[E] *The indifference of Pyrrho was ſurpriſing.*] I ſhall alledge but one example of it. Anaxarchus being fallen into a ditch, was ſeen by Pyrrho, but received no help from him. Pyrrho went his way, without vouchſafing to reach his hand to him. He was juſtly blamed for it, for he ſhould have helped in ſuch a caſe, a man unknown to him, but much more his profeſſor. The maſter knew more than the diſciple about that point, for Anaxarchus did not ſo much as complain of Pyrrho, and approved not that he ſhould be cenſured; but beſides, he praiſed him for his indifferency, and for loving nothing. Could any one do a thing more ſurpriſing under the diſcipline of the monks of la Trape? Καὶ ποτε Ἀναξάρχου εἰς τέλμα ἐμπεσόντος, παρῆλθεν ὁ βοηθήσας. τινῶν δὲ αἰτιωμένων, αὐτὸς Ἀναξάρχου ἐπῄνει τὸ ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἄοργον αὐτοῦ. *Et cùm aliquando Anaxarchus in ſcrobem incidiſſet, ille pertranſiit nihil ei opem ferens. Idque cùm plerique culparent, Anaxarchus ipſe laudabat, ut indifferenter & ſine affectu ſe habentem* (35). This puts me in mind of a repartee to be found in a book of the abbot de St Real. *I might,* ſays he (36), *anſwer you as an ancient did, who being told in a reproachful manner, that for a Philoſopher he had no great value for Philoſophy:* it is that very thing, *replied he,* which I call to be a Philoſopher. This is worthy of Pyrrho and Anaxarchus.

(35) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, *num.* 63.

(36) Ceſarion, ou Entretiens divers, *pag.* 31, 32, *of the Hague edition.*

I add that Pyrrho maintained, that to live and to die were indifferent. Why do not you die then, ſaid one to him; becauſe, anſwered he, death and life are indifferent. Diogenes Laërtius does not mention this, but Stobæus has preſerved it. Πύῤῥων ἔλεγε μηδὲν διαφέρειν ζῆν, ἢ τεθνάναι· καὶ τις ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν, τί ἐν σὺ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις, ὁ δὲ, Ὅτι, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει. *Pyrrhon ajebat, nihil intereſſe inter vitam & mortem. Et cùm quidam ad eum diceret, cur igitur ipſe non moreris? Quia nihil intereſt, reſpondit* (37). Let no body ſay that he would have forgotten his maxims, if the danger of death had been preſent. Let no body ſay.

(37) Stobæus, Sermone 118.

Era fuor de perigli un ſacripante,
Ma ne perigli havea cara la vita.

He was, when out of danger, brave,
But glad, in danger, his life to ſave.

He ſhewed the contrary when he was in great danger of ſuffering ſhipwrack. He was the only one that was not afraid of the ſtorm; and when he ſaw every body ſtruck with fear and ſorrow, he deſired them with a great ſedateneſs of mind, to look upon a hog that was there, and eat as he uſed to do: Such ought to be, ſaid he, the inſenſibility of a wiſe man (38). Τῶν γὰρ ἐμπλεόντων ἐσκυθρωπακότων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, αὐτὸς γαληνὸς ἂν ἀνέῤῥωσε τὴν ψυχὴν, δείξας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χοιρίδιον ἔσθιον, καὶ εἰπὼν, ὡς χρὴ τὸν σοφὸν ἐν τοιαύτῃ καθησθαι ἀταραξίᾳ. *Navi aliquando vehebatur, & cum ſocii tempeſtate acti mœſtiores eſſent, ipſe tranquillo animo porcellum in navi edentem oſtendebat, dicens,* oportere ſapientem tali animi tranquillitate eſſe (39).

(38) Compare with this the doctrine of Diogenes the Cynic, mentioned by Mr du Pondel in the article PERERA, remark [G], at 2 and 3 *à linea.*

(39) Diog. Laërt. ibid. *num.* 68.

[F] *No man was ever more perſwaded of the vanity of things.*] He deſpiſed above all things human nature, and he was never weary to repeat the words wherein Homer compares men with the leaves of trees. Θαυμαζων αυτου, και συνεχες λεγων (40).

(40) Ibid. num. 67.

Οἵηπερ φύλλων γενεὴ, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν (41).

(41) It is the 146th verſe of the 6th book of the Iliad.

Miratum eum (*Homerum*) *aſſidueque pronuntiare ſolitum ejus verſiculum,* tale quidem genus eſt hominum quale eſt foliorum. Gaſſendus is of opinion, that he was pleaſed with that parallel (42), becauſe he found in it the mortality of men, and the inconſtancy of their opinions, which makes them turn like leaves with the wind. He uſed to praiſe very much ſome other paſſages of Homer, wherein men are compared to birds and flies, and wherein their infirmity and childiſhneſs are deſcribed (43). Καὶ ὅτα συρίσινε εἰς τὸ ἀξέσιον, καὶ κενόσπουδον ἅμα καὶ παιδαριώδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Sicut & cætera illius, quibus infirmitas & inania ſtudia atque pueriles hominum motus indicantur* (44). I wonder they do not ſay that he was a great admirer of this ſaying of Homer:

(42) Quaſi exindè ſignificetur non hominum modo, perinde ac foliorum natura caduca, ſed opinio quoque inconſtans & perinde mutabilis ac minimo vento ſunt arborum folia mobilia. *Gaſſend. de Logicæ fine, cap. ii, pag. m.* 70.

Τοῖῳ γὰρ νόῳ ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
Οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγησι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

(43) Diog. Laërt. ibid. *num.* 68.

(44) Ibid.

Talis enim ipſorum eſt hominum mens terricolarum,
Qualem ipſis hominum & divum pater indit in horas (45).

(45) Homer's Odyſſes, *lib. xviii, verſ.* 135. *See St Auguſtin,* de Civitate Dei, *lib. v, cap. viii.*

For, frail man's reaſon daily ebbs and flows,
Juſt as almighty God his grace beſtows.

It ſignifies, that the mind of man is unſtable, and that God gives them their proviſion of reaſon as a kind of daily bread, which he renews every day. Which ſuits admirably well with the Pyrrhonian hypotheſis; they were always ſeeking, and always unſteady, and ready at all times to reaſon after a new manner, according to the various occurrences they met with. A certain Doctor of Divinity does the ſame, if we believe his adverſary: but above all things he does not forgive him his variations, and perpetual contradictions (46). He ſhews him that he lays down principles, according as he ſtands in need of them; and that as ſoon as they begin to incommode him, he ſubſtitutes others in the room of them: and to uſe his expreſſions, he upbraids him with *reaſoning, if one may ſay ſo, from hand to mouth,* and according to the paſſion, *whoſe turn it is* to command in his ſoul: and yet that doctor is very peremptory; he magiſterially and readily affirms and denies. He is as bold as the Sceptics were reſerved. He ſhould not encroach upon their rights, but leave them the privilege of reaſoning from hand to mouth, which they aſcribe to themſelves in Tully (47). For the reſt, the inconſtancy of human opinions and paſſions is ſo great, that one would think man is a little republic which often changes its magiſtrates.

(46) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *Octob.* 1694, *pag.* 72, *in the extract of Mr Saurin's book, intituled,* Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu.

(47) Tuſcul. *lib. vi, fol.* 273, *D.*

[G] *He had an equal ſhare in the ſmalleſt domeſtic concerns.*] He carried chickens, pigs, &c. to ſell in the market, and ſwept the houſe, and cleaned the goods, juſt as if he had been the maid of the houſe (48). Every thing was indifferent to him; he believed not that one thing was better than another. Τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας καθαρὰ ἀδιαφόρως, *domique indifferenter munditiem curabat* (49). He was not always the ſame man, for he happened one day to be angry with his ſiſter; and being told that his anger was not conſiſtent with the indolence he profeſſed, he anſwered. Do ye think that I will practiſe that virtue for a woman? Κολάσας τι περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς πρὸς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐν γυναίῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. *Cum ſororì quandoque ſuccenſuiſſit, arguereſque illum quaſpiam ut immemorem inſtituti ſui, non, inquit, muliercula documentum erit noſtræ indifferentiæ.* Do not fancy his meaning was, that he did not renounce love; it was none of his thoughts; he meant, that every ſubject does not deſerve that a man ſhould exerciſe his doctrine againſt anger. The cauſe of his anger was very unworthy of a Philoſopher, and eſpecially of ſuch a Philoſopher as he was; he grew angry with his ſiſter becauſe he had been forced to buy the things

(48) Diog. Laërt. ibid. *num.* 66.

(49) Ibid.

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Thoſe who ſay that he was made citizen of Athens for having killed a king of Thrace, are groſsly miſtaken [*H*]. I cannot charge Moreri with being guilty of many faults [*I*].

(*b*) See the remark [*E*].

The equality he put between life and death (*b*) was commended by Epictetus, who otherwiſe had the greateſt contempt for Pyrrhoniſm [*K*].

which ſhe wanted to offer for a ſacrifice; a friend who had promiſed to provide them, kept not his word. This we learn from Euſebius. Φιλίσης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῷ θυούσης, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑποσχομένου τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ μὴ παραγενομένου. τῷ μὲν οὖν Πύῤῥωνι ταραττομένῳ, καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντι, ἐπειδὴ περὶ φίλου ἔλεγεν, ὡς ὑποίησαιτο σύμφορα τοῖς λόγοις, ὃ δ' ἀξία τῆς ἀπαθείας· εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἐν γοῦν γυναικὶ ὀφεῖ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι δικαίως ἂν εἶπεν ὁ φίλος, ὅτι ματαία καὶ ἐν γυναικὶ. καὶ κυνὶ, καὶ πᾶσιν. Cum Philiſta ejus ſoror ſacrificium adornaret, quendam ex amicis, qui res ad illud neceſſarias pollicitus fuerat, promiſſis non ſtetiſſe. Pyrrhonem igitur eos ſumptus facere coactum, graviter id acerbeque cum ferret, ex ſuo illo amico audiiſſe, parum ſe omnino ſuorum ex decretorum præſcripto facere, atque ab omni perturbatione vacuum oſtendere. Tum enimvero Pyrrhonem homini repoſuiſſe, hujus rei fidem in mulierculæ cauſa fieri non debere. Cui ſane amicus ille ſuus merito reſponderet, in muliere, in cane, in reliquis omnibus inane totum hoc diſputandi genus futurum (50). - - - *When his ſiſter Philiſta was preparing to offer up a ſacrifice, one of his friends promiſed to provide what was neceſſary for that purpoſe, but kept not his word. Pyrrho was therefore obliged to be at the charge of buying thoſe things, and being upon that account very angry, his friend told him, he did not act agreeably to his profeſſion, nor ſhew himſelf altogether free from paſſion. Pyrrho anſwered, that a woman was to be excepted out of the caſe. Upon which his friend juſtly replied, that all this ſort of philoſophy, with regard to women, dogs, and every thing elſe, would ſignify nothing.* In theſe laſt words the author alludes to the anſwer which Pyrrho returned, when he was jeſted upon for having fled from a dog which purſued him: It is a difficult thing, ſaid he, to put off the man. Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος χρόνους, καὶ ἀναγράψας αὐτῶν τὸν βίον, φησὶ τὸν Πύῤῥωνα διωκόμενον ὑπὸ κυνὸς, ἀναφυγεῖν ἐπί τι δένδρον· σκωπτόμενον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, εἰπεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν εἶη τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκδῦναι. Antigonus Caryſtius, qui ſub eadem vivebat tempora, quique illorum vitam conſcripſit, Pyrrhonem commemorat, ut ſeſe inſequenti cani eriperet, quandam ad arborem confugiſſe: qua de cauſa cum ab iis, qui aderant, rideretur, ægre admodum hominem exui reſpondiſſe (51). - - - *Antigonus Caryſtius, who lived at that time, and who wrote their lives, ſays that Pyrrho fled to a tree to ſave himſelf from a dog which purſued him: and being laughed at by thoſe that were preſent, he anſwered, it was very hard to put off the man.*

(50) Ariſtocles, apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. *lib. xiv, cap. xviii, pag. m. 763.*

(51) Ibid.

[*H*] *Thoſe who ſay that he was made a citizen of Athens, for having killed a king of Thrace, are groſsly miſtaken.*] The conformtty of the name has occaſioned that falſity. A certain Pytho, diſciple of Plato, was (52), made citizen of Athens for having killed Cotys king of Thrace (53). From thence comes the miſtake of thoſe who ſay, that our Pyrrho committed this murther, and obtained that reward for it (54).

(52) Plut. Adverſ. Colotem, *circa fin. pag. 1126. See alſo* de laudando ſeipſo, *pag. 542*; & de gerenda Republica. *pag. 816.*

(53) Demoſthenes adverſus Ariſtocratem, *pag. m. 445.*

(54) Diocles *ſays ſo*, apud Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, *num. 65.*

[*I*] *I cannot charge Moreri with being guilty of many faults.*] Five only. I. Theſe words, Pyrrho *pretended that men do every thing out of cuſtom*, are abſurd. He was not ſo great a fool as to ſay ſo; he knew very well, that ſome Philoſophers maintained, that there is an eſſential difference between virtue and vice, and that abundance of people do a thouſand things in compliance with the laws. He ſhould have expreſſed himſelf thus. Pyrrho maintained that there was not really any one thing that was this or that, and that the nature of things depended upon laws and cuſtoms; that is to ſay, that men by their laws and cuſtoms made ſome things to be good, laudable, ill, blameable, &c. Such was his doctrine. If Diogenes Laërtius underſtood it otherwiſe, he is to be blamed. I ſay ſo, becauſe his words are not clear enough to make one believe that their meaning is, that *men by their laws and cuſtoms make every thing to be ſo or ſo.* Καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων, μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· ἃ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον. *Eadem ratione & de omnibus, nihil verè eſſe: cæterum lege atque conſuetudine cuncta homines facere. Neque enim eſſe quicquam iſtud potius quam illud* (55). II. I do not know where he found *that Pyrrho loved not to be interrupted in his Philoſophical meditations.* Diogenes Laërtius does not ſay ſo, though he makes him a lover of ſolitude; nay, he ſays, that thoſe who asked him queſtions, were never diſſatisfied with his anſwers (56). III. That is but a ſmall fault if compared with this. *Yet it is confeſſed that he lived fourſcore and ten years.* As if a man, who loves to be alone, and not to be interrupted in his meditations, could not live long. Moſt men, who love meditation, are extreamly deſirous to go on with it; for the leaſt interruption breaks the ſeries of their thoughts, and makes them loſe time: and if a man deſires to be alone, and is weary of company, the beſt way to prolong his life, is to permit him to be alone as long as he will. I conclude therefore that Moreri made uſe of a *yet* very ill placed. IV. I do not find that Pyrrho was made citizen of Athens. That fault has been tranſcribed out of la Mothe le Vayer (57). V. If that author had been faithfully tranſcribed by Moreri in another thing, theſe remarks would be ended already. La Mothe le Vayer ſays, that by the eighth manner of doubting, which is that of relation, the Pyrrhoniſts *ſhew, that we judge of things only by compariſon* (58). Moreri adds to it, the word prejudices; *The Sceptics*, ſays he, *pretend that we judge only by prejudices or by compariſon.* It is no good diſjunction; for the manner ſpoken of there does not concern prejudices; but only the judgments we make of relative qualities, ſuch as heavineſs, hardneſs, bigneſs, ſmallneſs, &c.

(55) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, num. 61, *pag. 581.*

(56) Ibid. num. 64.

(57) See the remark [*D*].

(58) La Mothe le Vayer, de la Vertu des Payens, Tom. v, *pag. 217.*

[*K*] *The equality he put between life and death was commended by Epictetus, who otherwiſe had the greateſt contempt for Pyrrhoniſm.*] ‘ Epictetus held Pyrrho in ‘ particular veneration, becauſe he put no difference ‘ between life and death. He admired eſpecially the ‘ reply he made (59), &c. (60). - - - - - - Though he ‘ very much eſteemed Pyrrho, yet he deſpiſed the ‘ Pyrrhoniſts to ſuch a degree, that he could not endure them. One day he told a Pyrrhoniſt, who endeavoured to prove that the ſenſes were always deceitful; which of you, ſays he, ever went to a mill ‘ when you deſigned to go to a bagnio? He uſed likewiſe to ſay *, were I a ſervant to thoſe Pyrrhoniſts, I ſhould take a pleaſure in teazing them. If ‘ they ſhould bid me pour ſome oil into the bathing tub, I would throw ſome brine upon their head. If ‘ they ſhould ask me to give them ptiſan, I would ‘ bring them vinegar. And if they offered to complain, ‘ I would tell them they were miſtaken, or perſwade ‘ them that the vinegar was ptiſan, or elſe make ‘ them renounce their notions (61).

(59) You will find it in the remark [*E*], citation (38).

(60) Gilles Boileau, in the Life of Epictetus, *pag. m. 43.*

* *Arrier . ii, Diſſ. cap. xx.*

(61) Gilles Boileau, ibid. *pag. 49, 50.*

PYRRHUS, ſon of Achilles, and Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, king of the iſle of Scyros, was born in that iſland a little while before the Trojan war. He was educated there till Ulyſſes and Phœnix came to fetch him (*a*) thence, and to lead him to that famous ſiege after his father's death. He went to it notwithſtanding the tears of his grand-father by his mother's ſide [*A*]. The Grecians had been told, that they ſhould never

(*a*) Sophocl. in Philoct. *See alſo* Homer, Odyſſ. lib. xi.

[*A*] *Notwithſtanding the tears of his grand-father by his mother's ſide.*] We find this particular in Cicero, chap. xx. of his book *de Amicitia*, pag. 515, of Grævius's edition. ‘ Rectè etiam, *ſays he*, præcipi ‘ poteſt in amicitiis, ne intemperata quædam violentia ‘ (quòd perſæpe fit) impediat magnas utilitates amicorum, nec enim (ut ad fabulas redeam) Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuiſſet, ſi Lycomedem, apud quem ‘ erat

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never take Troy without the ſon of Achilles. He was called Neoptolemus, by reaſon of his youth (*b*) [*B*], and Pyrrhus, by reaſon of the colour of his hair (*c*) [*C*]. He ſhewed himſelf worthy of the blood from which he ſprung; for he was a valiant, bruti ſh, and fierce man. His warlike exploits and good counſels have been as admirable as Homer a long while after, and other Poets were pleaſed to make them (*d*). One of his nobleſt combats was againſt Eurypylus, ſon of Telephus (*e*). He killed him, and he was ſo pleaſed with this victory, that upon this occaſion he inſtituted the dance which was called Pyrrhic from him (*f*). The dancers were to be armed from top to toe. He appeared bolder than any of the reſt, when the Grecians were to get into the wooden horſe (*g*): and his great intrepidity freed them from the fear they were ſtruck with. The night that the town was taken he made an horrible ſlaughter (*h*), and even barbarouſly murthered king Priamus [*D*], without any regard to his old age, or the holineſs of the place where he had taken ſanctuary. With the ſame barbarity he threw head-long from the top of a tower young Aſtyanax, Hector's ſon (*i*); and it was he who ſacrificed, with his own hands, Polyxena upon the grave of Achilles (*k*). He proved not ſo hard-hearted to Andromache, widow of the valiant Hector; he contented himſelf with ſome remains of beauty he found in her, and made her his wife, or concubine (*l*). Authors do not agree about the country that he went to after the ſacking of Troy; ſome ſay that he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, which was Phthia in Theſſaly (*m*), others maintain that he went directly to Epirus, and that he ſettled and founded a ſtate there (*n*). It is ſaid that Helenus, Priamus's ſon, and a good diviner, one of the priſoners that fell to him by lot, adviſed him to return into his country by land, becauſe of the great ſtorms which he foreſaw the Grecian fleet would meet with (*o*). It is likely enough that Pyrrhus followed his advice, for we read, that in his way he made war againſt Harpalicus in Thrace (*p*). He married the beautiful Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helena (*q*); but it proved not a happy marriage. Hermione had no children by him, and grew jealous of Andromache, by whom Pyrrhus had a ſon (*r*). Her jealouſy made her reſolve to kill her rival (*s*), together with her ſon: but ſhe met with ſome obſtacles; and her deſign being known, ſhe feared her huſband's reſentment, which made her hearken to Oreſtes, who propoſed to ſteal her away, to bring her back to her father, and to marry her. She had been promiſed to him before ſhe was promiſed to Pyrrhus [*E*]. Others ſay, that Oreſtes

(*b*) Euſtath. in Iliad. XIX.

(*c*) Servius, in Æn. II, ver. 469.

(*d*) Odyſſ. lib. xi. Quint. Calab. lib. vii, viii.

(*e*) Q. Calab. ib.

(*f*) Heſychius, & Scholiaſtes Pindari in Pyth. Od. II.

(*g*) Hom. Odyſſ. xi.

(*h*) Virgil. Æn. l. ii, v. 500, 550. Quint. Calab. *lib. xiii.* Vid. etiam Pauſan. *lib. x, pag.* 343.

(*i*) Pauſan. *lib. x, pag.* 342.

(*k*) Euripid. in Hecub. Lycophr. Ovid. Met. *lib. xiii.* Seneca, in Troad. Hygin. *cap. cx.*

(*l*) Virgil. Æn. *lib. iii, ver.* 319, & *ibi* Servius.

(*m*) Euripid. in Troad. Dictys, *lib. vi.* Homer. Odyſſ. *lib. iv.*

(*n*) Pauſan. *lib. i, pag.* 10. Pindar. Nem. VII, Juſtin. *lib. xxii.*

(*o*) Servius, ibid.

(*p*) See the ſucceſs of that war in the article HARPALICUS, & *apud Hyg. cap. cxciii.*

(*q*) Hygin. *cap. cxxiii.*

(*r*) Pherecydes, ap. Schol. Eurip. in Oreſte. Pauſan. *lib. i, p.* 10.

(*s*) Euripid. in Androm.

'erat educatus, multis cum lacrymis iter ſuum 'impedientem, audire voluiſſet. - - - - *It may like-* 'wiſe be a good rule in friendſhips, not to hinder the 'great advantages of friends through violence, as very 'frequently happens: for (to return to fables) Neopto- 'lemus had never taken Troy, if he had complied with 'Lycomedes, with whom he had been educated, and 'who oppoſed his going to the Trojan war with many 'tears.' Langius pretends that there is a voluntary or involuntary miſtake in thoſe words; but he is miſtaken. Here are his words, pag. 515 of Græ- vius's edition. 'Quod de Neoptolemo Lælius ait, 'omnes de Achille narrant. Itaque vel errat per me- 'moriam Cicero: vel, quod potius credo, de indu- 'ſtria Lælio, ut illa ætate, Græcanicarum fabularum 'ignorationem concedit: quod etiam in Catone ma- 'jore factum videmus; tametſi iſte jam ſenex Græ- 'cis litteris ſedulam operam navaverit. - - - *What* 'Lælius ſays of Neoptolemus, all authors aſcribe to Achil- 'les. And therefore Cicero either miſtakes through a 'ſlip of memory: or rather, conſidering that age, he de- 'ſignedly connives at Lælius's ignorance of the Greek 'fables: which we find likewiſe in Cato the elder, 'though being old, he applied himſelf vigorouſly to the 'Greek language.'

[*B*] *He was called Neoptolemus by reaſon of his youth.*] Pauſanias (1) gives another reaſon for it, but it is a pitiful one, *viz.* that Phœnix gave him that name becauſe his father Achilles was very young when he began to bear arms.

(1) *Lib. x, pag.* 343.

[*C*] *He was called Pyrrhus by reaſon of the colour of his hair.*] Some authors ſay that he was named Pyrrhus for another reaſon (2), *viz.* becauſe his father was called Pyrrha, whilſt he wore woman's cloaths in the court of Lycomedes (3). That fact was not very well known to the Grammarians, ſince Tiberius having a mind to puzzle them with ſome hard queſtions, asked them amongſt other things, what name Achilles went by when he was in a woman's dreſs (4).

(2) Hygin. *cap. xcvii.*

(3) Hygin. *cap. xcvi.* Sidonius Apollin. Carm. IX, ver. 137.

(4) Sueton. in Tiber. *cap. lxxi. See ſome like queſtions in* Juvenal, Sat. VII.

[*D*] *And even barbarouſly murdered king Priamus.*] This is elegantly deſcribed by Virgil:

- - - Hoc dicens, altaria ad ipſa trementem
Traxit, & in multo lapſantem ſanguine nati
Implicuit comam læva, dextraque coruſcum
Extulit, ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit enſem.
Hæ finis Priami fatorum: hic exitus illum
Sorte tulit (5).

(5) Æn. l. II, ver. 550.

- - - With that he dragg'd the trembling ſire
Slidd'ring thro' clotter'd blood and holy mire,
(The mingled paſte his murder'd ſon had made)
Haul'd from beneath the violated ſhade
And on the ſacred pile the royal victim laid.
His right-hand held the bloody fauchion bare,
His left he twiſted in his hoary hair.
Then with a ſpeeding thruſt his heart he found,
The lukewarm blood came ruſhing thro' the wound,
And ſanguine ſtreams diſtain'd the ſacred ground.
Thus Priam fell. DRYDEN.

The altar mentioned in this place, is that of Jupiter Herceus (6). It is true, that all authors did not agree that Priamus was killed there: Some (7) ſay that he was taken out of his palace by Neoptolemus, and that having been dragged to the grave of Achilles, he was beheaded, and that his head was carried upon a pike all over the town. Others (8) affirm, that he was taken by force out of the temple of Jupiter, and that afterwards Pyrrhus having met with him at the gate of his palace, killed him. It ſeems that others have ſaid, that Pyrrhus killed him near an altar of Mercury (9). Thus the learned Meziriac (10) underſtands theſe words of Quintus Calaber, Ἑρμείῃ ποτὶ βωμόν. Rhodomanus renders them *ad aram Jovis Hermæi*; but it is very likely that we muſt read Ἑρκείῃ, *Hercæi*, inſtead of Ἑρμείῃ. See the notes of Dauſquejus on that Poet, pag. 35.

(6) Eurip. in Troad. Senec. Agamemn. Pauſan. *lib. iv, pag.* 127.

(7) Apud Servium, in Æn. *lib. ii, ver.* 506.

(8) Leſches apud Pauſan. *lib. x.*

(9) Quint. Calab. *l. xiii, v.* 222.

(10) Upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 847.

[*E*] *Hermione had been promiſed to him before ſhe was was promiſed to Pyrrhus.*] Ovid ſays (11), that Tyndarus, her grandfather by the mother's ſide, had promiſed her to Oreſtes, during the war of Troy, in the abſence of Menelaus, who, during the ſame time, promiſed her to Pyrrhus (12). Sophocles, as he is cited by Euſtathius (13), ſaid ſo in a tragedy which is not now extant. On the contrary, Euripides (14) ſays that Hermione was promiſed to Oreſtes by Menelaus, to prevent her being killed by Oreſtes, as he had killed Clytemneſtra, his own mother. Therefore that promiſe was made eight years after the taking of Troy. Sophocles relates the thing differently in another tragedy (15); he ſays, that Menelaus promiſed Hermione

(11) Epiſt. Hermion. ad Oreſt.

(12) Homer. Odyſſ. IV.

(13) In Odyſſ. *lib. iv.*

(14) In Oreſte.

(15) In Androm.

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Oreſtes being reſolved to revenge himſelf upon his rival, had recourſe to a more fatal expedient, than that of taking away his wife, with whom he lived not very well (*t*), and that he killed him, or cauſed him to be killed, in the very temple of Delphos [*F*]. It is certain enough that Pyrrhus was killed in it; but it is not ſo certain, whether he was buried there [*G*]. He had had three wives, Hermione, by whom he had no children, Lanaſſa, and Andromache: he had ſome by the two laſt. But it is not known whether the kings who have been in poſſeſſion of Epirus, to the time of him who is the ſubject of the following article, deſcended from the ſons of Lanaſſa, or from thoſe of Andromache [*H*]. Authors are divided about it. They agree only in this, that they deſcended from our Pyrrhus.

(*t*) Ovid. Epiſt. Herm. ad Oreſtem.

to Oreſtes, before the expedition of Troy; and that he promiſed her to Pyrrhus during the ſiege. Hyginus (16) follows a particular opinion, *viz.* that Menelaus, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had made to Pyrrhus before Troy, gave his daughter to Oreſtes, and then took her away from him to keep his firſt promiſe, when Pyrrhus went to Lacedæmon to require the performance of it. Here are many different opinions; but it is a common thing, and we ought not to wonder at it. We ſhould rather wonder how authors came to place among facts, the intrigues of a tragedy, and relate, as the Hiſtory of Hermione and Oreſtes, what a Poet was pleaſed to fancy, in order to fill up his play with ſurpriſing things and incidents. A man muſt have a great deal of leiſure, a thouſand years hence, if he thought himſelf obliged not to omit in the Hiſtory of Cæſar and Pompey, what we read in Scuderi's and Corneille's tragedies concerning the circumſtances of the death of thoſe two illuſtrious Romans.

(16) *Cap. cxxiii.*

[*F*] *Some ſay that he killed him in the temple of Delphos.*] Here is a fact attended with the fictions of tragic Poets: For thoſe who relate the various accounts of writers concerning the unhappy death of Pyrrhus, do not forget what Euripides ſays (17), *viz.* That Pyrrhus, who was gone to Delphos to upbraid Apollo with the death of Achilles, and to aſk him ſatisfaction for it, returned thither to beg his pardon for that inſult, and to appeaſe his anger. Authors have given ſome other reaſons of that journey: 1. That Pyrrhus went to Delphos to offer up the ſpoils of the Trojans (18). 2. That he went to know of the Oracle by what means he might get children by Hermione his wife (19). 3. That he deſigned to plunder the temple (20). However, he was killed in that temple by the command of Apollo (21), and by a Prieſt, whoſe name was Machareus, Μαχαιρεὺς. For ſo we ought to read in the ſcholiaſt upon Euripides (22), in that place where the death of Pyrrhus is mentioned: here is the paſſage according to the vulgar editions: καὶ ὁρᾷ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον κρέα διαρπάζοντας τὸς Δελφὸς ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ κρέα αὐτὸς. ἑαυτὸν δὲ κτείνει μαχαίρᾳ. Meziriac (23) reads in the beginning ὁρᾶν, and at the end, αὐτὸν δὲ κτείνει Μαχαιρεύς: So that inſtead of ſaying, that Pyrrhus killed himſelf with his own hand, we muſt ſay, *That perceiving that the Delphians, near the place of the Oracle, took away the fleſh of his ſacrifice, he took it away from them, and was killed by Machæreus.* The ſcholiaſt upon Pindar, and Pindar himſelf, mention the occaſion of that quarrel (24). But the moſt common opinion is, That Oreſtes was the chief author of Pyrrhus's death (25); whether he put himſelf at the head of the Delphians to attack him, having made them believe, that they were to prevent the plundering of the temple; or whether he ſuborned ſome aſſaſſins, without being preſent at it (26). Virgil ſays, that Pyrrhus was killed by him:

(17) In Androm. Schol. Pind. in Nem. Od. VII. Strabo. *lib. ix.*

(18) Pind. Nem. Od. VII.

(19) Pherecydes, apud Schol. Euripid. in Oreſte.

(20) Schol. Pind. & Strabo, ubi ſupra, Vid. etiam Pauſan. *lib. x.*

(21) Pauſan. *lib. i, pag.* 13.

(22) In Oreſt.

(23) Upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 855.

(24) Od. VII, Nem.

(25) Eurip. in Andr.

(26) Dictys, *lib. vi.* Juſtin. *lib. xvii, cap. iii.* Pauſan. *lib. ii, pag.* 72.

Aſt illum ereptæ magno inflammatus amore
Conjugis, & ſcelerum furiis agitatus Oreſtes,
Excipit incautum patriaſque obtruncat ad aras (27).

(27) Virgil. Æn. *lib. iii, v.* 330.

Till young Oreſtes pierc'd with deep deſpair,
And longing to redeem the promis'd fair,
Before Apollo's altar ſlew the raviſher.

DRYDEN.

Velleius Paterculus (28), and Hyginus (29) affirm the ſame thing.

(28) Paterc. *Lib. i, cap. ii.*

[*G*] *It is not ſo certain whether he was buried there.*] For ſome authors maintain, that his bones were ſcattered upon the frontiers of Ambracia. *Cujus oſſa per fines Ambraciæ ſparſa ſunt quæ eſt in Epiri regionibus* (30). Ovid is of the ſame opinion:

(29) Hygin. *cap. cxxiii.*

(30) Ibid.

Nec tua quam Pyrrhi felicius oſſa quieſcant,
Jacta per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias (31).

(31) Ovid. in Ibin, ver. 505.

Mr de Boiſſieu in his commentary on theſe two verſes, juſtly cenſures Caſaubon and Corradus, for having underſtood them of that Pyrrhus, who made war againſt the Romans; for it is certain, from the teſtimony of three authors (32), that this Pyrrhus had an honourable burial. He alſo cenſures Reineccius for applying the ſame words to another Pyrrhus than the ſon of Achilles. Beſides, it is moſt certain, that we find very great authorities to prove that our Neoptolemus was interred at Delphos. Some ſay, that his ſepulchre was to be ſeen in the grove conſecrated to Apollo (33). Others obſerve, that he was buried under the door of the temple, and that Menelaus cauſed him to be removed into the ſacred grove (34). Pauſanias, not contented to ſay, that his ſepulchre was to be ſeen on the left hand as one goes out of the temple, adds, That the Delphians made every day ſome funeral expiation to his honour (35). It is true, that they uſed him for a long time as an enemy, without paying any honour to his memory; for they did not honour him before he appeared in the heat of the battle, fighting for them againſt the Gauls, who endeavoured to take the town, and plunder the temple (36). Dictys of Crete (37) and ſome others likewiſe teſtify that he was buried in that place.

(32) Valer. Max. *lib. v, cap. i.* Plut. in Pyrrho. Auctor. de Viris illuſtrib.

(33) Strabo, *lib. ix.*

(34) Schol. Pindar. in Od. VII, Nem.

(35) Pauſan. *lib. x, pag.* 341.

(36) Ib. *lib. i, pag.* 4.

(37) *Lib. vi.*

[*H*] *It is not known whether the kings . . . . of Epirus deſcended from the ſons of Lanaſſa, or from thoſe of Andromache.*] Juſtin tells us, that this Lanaſſa, granddaughter of Hercules, was ſtolen away by Pyrrhus, who met her in the temple of Jupiter Dodonaus (38). He adds, That Pyrrhus had eight children by her, and that his ſon Pialis was his ſucceſſor. Meziriac (39) maintains againſt him, from the teſtimony of Plutarch, that Lanaſſa was grand-daughter of Hyllus; but Hyllus was the ſon of Hercules. On the other ſide, he obſerves, that, according to Pauſanias (40), he who ſucceeded Pyrrhus was called Pielus, and was Andromache's ſon.

(38) Juſtin. *Lib. xvii, cap. iii.*

(39) Upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 301.

(40) *Lib. i.*

PYRRHUS, king of the Epirotes, ſprung from the preceding [*A*], and famous by reaſon of his wars with the Romans, was one of the greateſt captains of all antiquity [*B*]. He was ſon of Æacides and Phthia, daughter of Menon the Theſſalian. He

[*A*] *Sprung from the preceding.*] See the laſt remark of the foregoing article, and the remark [*E*] of the article of ANDROMACHE. Lloyd and Hofman have adopted, for want of attention, this miſtake of Charles Stephens, *viz.* That Pyrrhus deſcended from Achilles, by his mother's ſide, and from Hercules, by his father's ſide: This was ſaid of Alexander the Great, not of Pyrrhus. They ſhould have ſaid quite the contrary, as Aurelius Victor did (1).

(1) Pyrrhus ex Epirotarum patrio genere ab Achille, materno ab Hercule oriundus.

[*B*] *He was one of the greateſt captains of all antiquity.*] He was ſo valiant, that thoſe who ſaw him fight with ſo much bravery, ſaid, That Alexander was revived in him; and that whereas other kings were the picture of that conqueror, only by their purple,

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He was expoſed to a violent perſecution in the beginning of his life; for the Moloſſians who had dethroned Æacides, and killed as many of his friends as they could apprehend, endeavoured to ſeize on his ſon, who was ſtill at nurſe: but ſo much diligence was uſed to ſave him, that, notwithſtanding their purſuits, he was carried into Illyricum to king Glaucias, who took great care of his education, and reſtored him to his kingdom, being twelve years of age. Five years after there happened a new inſurrection, whereby Pyrrhus loſt his kingdom. He retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius (*a*). He was with him at the memorable battle of Ipſus (*b*) [C], where he gave great proofs of his courage. The peace being made between Demetrius, and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, Pyrrhus was ſent an hoſtage to the court of the latter, where he became ſo conſiderable, that he married Antigone, whom Berenice had by her firſt huſband, before ſhe married Ptolemy. By that marriage, he got the troops and money he wanted, to recover his kingdom. He divided it with the uſurper (*c*), but that partition did not laſt long. Pyrrhus having diſcovered that this man deſigned to poiſon him, prevented him; for, having invited him to dinner, he killed him in cold blood. Not long after he began to think of ſatisfying his ambition, by the conqueſt of Macedonia. The miſunderſtanding between the ſons of Caſſander afforded him an occaſion for it. Alexander demanded ſome ſuccours of him againſt Antipater, his eldeſt brother. He obtained them; but he paid ſeveral provinces for it. Demetrius, of whom Alexander had alſo demanded ſome ſuccours, came to him very late, and yet too ſoon; for he killed Alexander to prevent him, and got himſelf proclaimed king of Macedonia. This occaſioned a war between him and Pyrrhus, in which there was a battle fought, and Pyrrhus, who behaved himſelf with a wonderful bravery, got the victory. The irruption he made afterwards

(*a*) He had married Deidamia, Pyrrhus's ſiſter.

(*b*) In the year of Rome 452, according to Calviſius.

(*c*) His name was Neoptolemus.

purple, their life-guards, their wry necks, and the loud tone of their voice, Pyrrhus repreſented him by his valour and noble exploits. He had compoſed ſome books concerning the art of war (2), which were an undeniable proof of his ability in encamping, and drawing up an army in order of battle, *&c.* and he invented the art of teaching that diſcipline, by a kind of game at Cheſs (3). Therefore he was early looked upon as one who would prove the greateſt captain of his age, if he lived (4). Hannibal gave him the upper-hand of all the greateſt captains, when he told Scipio, that Pyrrhus was the firſt of all, he (Scipio) the ſecond, and himſelf the third (5). But it muſt be confeſſed, that Livy relates the matter quite otherwiſe: He ſays, That Hannibal having given the firſt place to Alexander, and the ſecond to Pyrrhus, aſcribed the third to himſelf. *What would you ſay,* ſaid Scipio to him, *if you had overcome me? If I had,* anſwered Hannibal, *I ſhould think myſelf to be above Alexander, above Pyrrhus, and above all the captains of the world.* I ſhall ſet down the words of Livy, that one may know from whence he had this. 'Claudius ſecutus Græcos 'Acilianos libros, P. Africanum in ea fuiſſe legatione 'tradit: eumque Epheſi collocutum cum Annibale. 'Et ſermonem etiam unum refert, quo quærenti Afri-'cano, *quem fuiſſe maximum imperatorem Annibal cre-'deret,* reſpondiſſe, *Alexandrum Macedonum regem; 'quod parvâ manu innumerabiles exercitus fudiſſet, 'quodque ultimas oras, quas viſere ſupra ſpem humanam 'eſſet, peragraſſet.* Quærenti deinde, *quem ſecundum 'poneret; Pyrrhum* dixiſſe. . . . . Exſequenti, *quem 'tertium duceret; haud dubiè ſemetipſum* dixiſſe. Tum 'riſum obortum Scipioni & ſubjeciſſe. *Quidnam tu 'diceres, ſi me viciſſes? Tum me verò,* inquit, *& ante 'Alexandrum, & ante Pyrrhum, & ante omnes alios 'imperatores eſſe.* Et perplexum Punico aſtu reſpon-'ſum, & improviſum aſſentationis genus Scipionem 'moviſſe: quod è grege ſe imperatorum velut ineſti-'mabilem ſecreviſſet (6). - - - *Claudius, following the 'Greek books of Acilius, ſays that P. Africanus was em-'ployed in that embaſſy: and that he happened to be in 'company with Hannibal at Epheſus. He likewiſe tells 'a paſſage of their converſation:* Africanus aſking, who 'he thought to be the greateſt general that ever was, '*Hannibal anſwered,* Alexander king of Macedon; 'becauſe with a handful of men he had routed vaſt 'armies, and had extended his conqueſts, beyond all 'human expectation, to the remoteſt parts of the 'earth. *Then being aſked,* whom he took to be the 'ſecond, *he replied,* Pyrrhus. . . . . *And to the next 'queſtion,* whom he reckoned to be the third, *he 'made anſwer,* himſelf. At which Scipio ſmiling, '*added,* and what would you have ſaid, if you had 'had the good fortune to beat me? Then indeed, *re-'plied Hannibal,* I would have put myſelf before Alex-'ander, before Pyrrhus, and before all other generals. '*Scipio was ſurprized at this ſubtile anſwer, and un-'expected complement of the Carthaginian, in excluding 'him from the number of generals as being infinitely a-'bove them.*' Here follow the reaſons for which Hannibal eſteemed Pyrrhus: 'Caſtra metari primum do-'cuiſſe, ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepiſſe, præ-'ſidia diſpoſuiſſe, artem etiam conciliandi ſibi homi-'nes eum habuiſſe, ut Italicæ gentes regis externi, 'quam populi Romani tamdiu principis in ea terra, 'imperium eſſe mallent (7). - - - *He firſt taught the 'art of encamping: none knew better how to chuſe the 'ground than he, to place garriſons, and to gain the af-'fections of people: ſo that the nations of Italy choſe ra-'ther to be under the government of him though a fo-'reign prince, than of the Roman people who had reign-'ed ſo long in that country.*' Add to this that Juſtin ſays, That beſides his military virtues he was a man of great probity, and lived a very holy life. 'Satis 'conſtans inter omnes auctores fama eſt, nullum nec 'ejus, nec ſuperioris ætatis regem comparandum Pyr-'rho fuiſſe; raroque non inter reges tantum, verum 'etiam inter illuſtres viros, aut vitæ ſanctioris, aut ju-'ſtitiæ probatioris viſum fuiſſe: ſcientiam certe rei 'militaris in illo viro tantam fuiſſe, ut cum Lyſimacho, 'Demetrio, Antigono, tantis regibus, bella gerens, in-'victus ſemper fuerit. Illyriorum quoque, Siculorum, 'Romanorumque, & Carthaginienſium bellis, nun-'quam inferior, plerumque etiam victor extiterit, qui 'patriam certe ſuam anguſtam, ignobilemque, fama 'rerum geſtarum, & claritate nominis ſui, toto orbe il-'luſtrem reddiderit (8). - - - *All authors agree, that no 'king, either of that or the former age, was to be com-'pared with Pyrrhus; and that one rarely ſees a king, 'or any illuſtrious perſon, endowed with ſo much piety 'and probity as he was: and that he was ſo ſtillful in 'military affairs, that in his wars with thoſe great 'kings, Lyſimachus, Demetrius, and Antigonus, he al-'ways came off conqueror. In the Illyrian, Sicilian, 'Roman, and Carthaginian wars he was never worſted, 'but moſt commonly had the better. His kingdom, which 'was but ſmall and obſcure, he rendered famous all o-'ver the world by his name and exploits.*' Cicero praiſes him alſo for his great probity. 'Cum duobus du-'cibus de imperio in Italia decertatum, Pyrrho & An-'nibale. Ab altero, propter probitatem ejus non ni-'mis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crude-'litatem ſemper hæc civitas oderit (9). - - - *The Ro-'man people contended for empire in Italy with two ge-'nerals, Pyrrhus and Hannibal. The former we loved 'for his probity, and the latter we always hated for 'his cruelty.*' We ſhall ſee in the remark [L], that he knew very well how to make uſe of thoſe intrigues, the art whereof is one of the beſt parts of a great captain.

(2) *Cicero mentions them,* Ep. Fam. XXV, *lib.* ix.

(3) Pyrrhus peritiſſimus ſtratagematon fuit, primuſque quemadmodum ea diſciplina per calculos in tabula traderetur oſtendit. *Donat. in Terent. Eun. Act. IV, Sc. VII.*

(4) Antigonus foreſaw it. *Plut. in Vit. Pyrrhi, pag.* 387.

(5) Plut. ibid.

(6) Tit. Liv. *lib. xxxv, pag. m.* 652.

(7) Id. ib. *See alſo* Ammian. Marcel. *lib. xxiv, init.*

(8) Juſtin. *lib. xxv, ſub fin. pag. m.* 452, 453.

(9) Cicero, de Amicitia, *cap. viii.*

[C] *He was with Demetrius at the battle of Ipſus.*] Moreri ſays, That at the battle of Ipſus, *Victory favoured the party of Pyrrhus, againſt Antigonus and Demetrius.* There is nothing of truth in all this; for the party of Pyrrhus was, at that time, the ſame with that of Antigonus and Demetrius; or, to ſpeak more exactly,

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afterwards into Macedonia, might have been very happy, had he not been obliged to retire with great precipitation, and the loſs of part of his army. Notwithſtanding the peace which was made ſoon after, he favoured the ſucceſſors of Alexander, who deſigned to attack Demetrius [D]. The Macedonians forſook Demetrius, and gave up themſelves to Pyrrhus. who finding himſelf by that means maſter of Macedonia, did, notwithſtanding, divide it with Lyſimachus. He loſt his half in the ſame maner he had got the whole; for the Macedonians forſook him to join with Lyſimachus, who was their country-man. Thus Pyrrhus was reduced to his patrimony. He ſtaid not long in it; for he was of a reſtleſs ſpirit, and knew not how to ſpend his time, without attacking his neighbours, or being attacked by them [E]: ſo he willingly hearkened to the propoſals of the Tarentines [F], who deſired him to come over into Italy, to be their general againſt the Romans. Cineas of Theſſaly, a diſciple of Demoſthenes, endeavoured to diſſuade Pyrrhus from that expedition; but it was to no purpoſe, *Sic erat in fatis:* It was ſo decreed. That prince went over therefore into Italy, with very good troops (*d*), and becauſe the Romans ſaved him part of the way, he advanced as far as Heraclea towards the river Siris [G], without ſtaying for all the troops of the allies, and offered his mediation to the conſul Lævinus, who anſwered him, *that the Romans would have none of his arbitration, and were not afraid of having him for their enemy.* He went to take a view of the Roman army, and ſaid, that thoſe Barbarians had nothing barbarous in their manner

(*d*) In the year of Rome 473, the laſt of the CXXIVth Olympiad.

exactly, Pyrrhus was in that battle only in the quality of an adventurer, or a volunteer of Demetrius's party. Hoſman has committed the ſame fault.

[D] *He favoured the ſucceſſors of Alexander, who deſigned to attack Demetrius.*] Pyrrhus did eaſily yield to the temptation (10), when the heads of the confederacy repreſented to him, that he took not a prudent courſe. He had a mind to obſerve the treaty of peace whilſt Demetrius would be engaged in a great war; whereby he would have loſt the occaſion of ſucceeding in his deſign, and his neighbour might have had time enough to expect a favourable opportunity for himſelf. Why, ſaid they to Pyrrhus, had you not rather take Macedonia from a prince who cannot defend it, by reaſon of the great number of enemies who will attack him, than expoſe yourſelf to the trouble of defending your own country againſt him, when he has made a treaty of peace? They alſo repreſented to him, how he had been wronged by Demetrius, who had raviſhed his wife, and taken the iſle of Corcyra from him. In order to underſtand this, we muſt know that Lanaſſa, daughter of Agathocles tyrant of Syracuſe, brought that iſland to Pyrrhus for her portion; but perceiving that her huſband ſhewed more kindneſs to his other wives than to herſelf, ſhe looked out for another huſband: and becauſe Demetrius was accounted a prince more eaſily to be induced to a new marriage than any other, ſhe propoſed to him to come and meet her in the iſle of Corcyra, whither ſhe had retired. He did it, and married her, and left a garriſon in the iſland (11). Thoſe reaſons were more than ſufficient to move ſo ambitious a prince as Pyrrhus was, not to obſerve a treaty of peace. I ſhall add, by the by, that he had by Antigone, a ſon called Ptolemy, who was killed by the Lacedæmonians (12), and by Lanaſſa he had Alexander, who ſucceeded him, and by Bircenna, Helenus (13) of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the remark [P]. I ſhall ſpeak of his daughters in the next article.

(10) *See* Plutarch. ubi infra.

(11) *Taken from* Plutarch, in Vit. Pyrrhi, *pag.* 388, 389.

(12) See the remark [B], in the article CLEONYMUS.

[E] *He knew not how to ſpend his time without attacking his neighbours, or being attacked by them.*] Pyrrhus was a man of an exorbitant ambition, and of a ſtirring and reſtleſs ſpirit. Plutarch (14) compares him with Achilles,

- - - - φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ
Αὖθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' ἀϋτήν τε πόλεμόν τε.

- - - - macerabat ſuum cor
Illic manens, deſiderabat autem clamoremque pugnamque (15).

- - - - - *Who languiſh'd there,*
When left alone, deſiring noiſe and war.

(13) Plut. in Vit. Pyrrhi: *but* Juſtin. *lib. xxiii, cap. iii, ſays, that Helenus was ſon of the daughter of Agathocles.*

(14) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 390.

(15) Hom. Iliad. *lib. i, ver.* 491.

He underſtood war to admiration (16), he executed his deſigns with an incomparable courage and reſolution: but he was much fitter to conquer than to preſerve what he had conquered; becauſe, at the very ſame time he made new conqueſts, he framed vaſt deſigns, and filled his mind with new hopes, which kept him from thinking by what means he might preſerve what he had acquired. *Ut ad devincenda regna invictus bababatur, ita devictis acquiſitiſque celeriter carebat. Tanto melius ſtudebat acquirere imperia quam retinere* (17). Antigonus compared him with a gameſter, who throws well, but knows not how to make an advantage of it. The ſame thing was ſaid of Hannibal; 'Non omnia 'nimirum eidem Dii dederunt; vincere ſcis Annibal, 'victoria uti neſcis (18). - - - *The gods do not beſtow all 'on one man: O Hannibal, you know how to vanquiſh, 'but not how to uſe a victory.* It is not an unuſual fault: our age affords us ſeveral examples of generals, who knew not how to make an advantage of their victories. Things are directed by God in that manner, leſt a nation be too much oppreſſed at one time. One might quote a thouſand ſayings like theſe two.

(16) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 400.

(17) Juſtin. *lib. xxv, cap. iv.*

(18) Liv. *lib. xxiii.* *See alſo* Florus, *lib. ii, cap. vi*; *and the remark* [B] *of the article* CÆSAR, *towards the end.*

Non minor eſt virtus quàm quærere parta tueri (19).

No leſs a virtue it is to keep than get.

(19) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, *lib. ii, ver.* 13.

'Pararі ſingula acquirendo facilius poſſunt, quàm uni-'verſa teneri (20). - - - - *It is more eaſy to get by degrees, 'than to keep all when got.*'

(20) Liv. *lib. xxxvii.* *See* Florus, *lib. ii, cap. xvii.*

[F] *He willingly hearkened to the propoſal of the Tarentines.*] That people fell out with the Romans without a cauſe, and afterwards, tho' they were inferior to them, they could never reſolve to make a peace with them. Μήτε φέρειν τὸν πόλεμον δυνάμενοι, μήτε δέεσθαι δεσύτητι καὶ μοχθηρία δημαγογέν. *Pares cum eis armis non eſſent, neque poſſent ea ob ferociam & pravitatem concionatorum ſuorum deponere* (21). A certain ſort of men called Demagogues, put all things in a combuſtion by their harangues, and ſtirred up every body to take up arms, ſo far as to move the people to call in a foreign prince, rather than make a peace. What was the conſequence of all this? They were forced to ſubmit to the Roman yoke ſooner than they would otherwiſe have done.

(21) Plut. in Pyrrho, *pag.* 390.

I ſhall obſerve, that the deputies of the Tarentines repreſented to Pyrrhus the ſervice they had done him in the war againſt the Corcyreans, and added, that Italy was a finer country than Greece. But obſerve eſpecially, that that prince flattered himſelf with good ſucceſs, conſidering that he was ſprung from Achilles, and that the Romans were a Trojan colony (22). We can never too much reflect on the weakneſs and fooliſh ſuperſtition of great men.

(22) Pauſan. *lib. i, cap. xii.*

[G] *Near Heraclea towards the river Siris.*] Florus committed a fault in Geography, ſaying: 'Apud 'Heracleam & Campaniæ fluvium Lirim, Lævino 'Conſule, prima pugna (23). - - - - *The firſt battle was 'at Haraclea in Campania, by the river Liris, under 'Lævinus the conſul.*' Salmaſius, in his notes upon that author, ſhews very well, that Heraclea was not in Campania, and that Florus has confounded the river Liris with the river Siris. The former is in Campania, and not the latter: but becauſe it was certain that the firſt battle was fought near Hereclea, they who confounded thoſe two rivers, placed Heraclea in Campania. See Cluverius, chap. xiv. of the fourth book

(23) Flor. *lib. i, cap. xviii.*

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manner of encamping [*H*]. There was a battle fought not long after, in which Pyrrhus was in great danger of being killed, and the event was extremely doubtful; for they gave ground ſeven times on both ſides, but at laſt the Epirotes got the victory, by means of the Elephants [*I*], whoſe ſmell frighted the Roman horſes. The conſequences of this victory proved very conſiderable, though Pyrrhus had loſt a great many brave men, and many good officers. He remained maſter of the field, and advanced within thirty-ſix miles of Rome (*e*); which did not alter in the leaſt the conſtancy and reſolution of the Romans, nor ſo much as move them to take the command from Lævinus, though many people complained of his conduct [*K*]. Pyrrhus being deſirous to make a peace, ſent Cineas to Rome (*f*) [*L*]. The eloquence and inſinuating ways of that ambaſſador had in ſome meaſure prevailed upon the ſenate. But Appius Claudius, who, by reaſon of his great age and want of ſight, had quite laid aſide the care of public affairs, was carried to the aſſembly, and made a ſpeech, which induced the ſenate to declare to Cineas, that if Pyrrhus deſired the friendſhip of the Roman people, he muſt firſt draw his forces out of Italy, and then they would treat with him. The conſul Fabricius was leſs unfortunate than Lævinus, and did an action which was as good as a victory, with reſpect to the true glory of a nation; for he let Pyrrhus know that his Phyſician offered to poiſon him (*g*). The battle fought (*b*) near Aſculum, was very bloody. Some Hiſtorians ſay that the Epirotes plainly won it; others maintain, that it was doubtful [*M*], and that the retreat was founded on both ſides. Pyrrhus's army was

(*e*) *Eutropius reckons but* 18 *miles.* Florus 20, Victor primo prælio Pyrrhus, *ſays he, lib. i, cap. xviii,* totam trementem Campaniam, Lirim Fregellaſque populatus, prope captam urbem à Prænestina arce profexit, & viceſimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.

(*f*) In the year of Rome 474.

(*g*) See the remark [*D*] of the article FABRICIUS.

(*b*) In the year of Rome 475.

book of his *Italia antiqua*. He reads in Florus, *Apud Heracleam & Lucaniæ fluvium Sirim*, &c. - - - *At Heraclea by Siris a river of Lucania.*

[*H*] *He ſaid that thoſe Barbarians had nothing barbarous in their manner of encamping.*] Aurelius Victor makes him ſay a thing on this occaſion, in which there is no ſenſe, becauſe it has been removed out of it's place. 'Viſo, *ſays he*, Lævini exercitu eandem ſibi 'ait adverſus Romanos, quam Herculi adverſus hydram, fuiſſe fortunam - - - - *Having ſeen the army 'of Lævinus, he ſaid he had the ſame fortune with reſpect to the Romans, as Hercules with reſpect to the 'Hydra.*' According to Plutarch (24), Cineas made uſe of that compariſon, when he ſaw how eaſily the Romans had encamped their army after the firſt battle, and what a multitude of inhabitants remained in Rome, after all thoſe new levies. It was then very proper to remember the heads of the Hydra; but it had been an abſurd thing to think of it before the firſt battle. Now becauſe authors ſeem to have ſworn never to agree in their relations, Florus aſcribes that very thought to Pyrrhus himſelf. 'Video me planè Herculis ſidere procreatum, cui quaſi ab angue Lernæo tot cæſa 'hoſtium capita de ſanguine ſuo renaſcantur (25). - - - 'I perceive I am born under the very ſame ſtar with 'Hercules; for this people, like the Hydra's heads, grow 'out of their own blood.

(24) Plut. in Pyrrho, *pag.* 395.

(25) Florus, ubi ſupra.

[*I*] *Becauſe of the elephants.*] The Romans called them *Boves Lucas*, becauſe, as it is reported, the Romans ſaw them for the firſt time in Lucania, in the time of Pyrrhus's war (26). Pliny ſays that this happened in the year 472, and he obſerves that ſome were ſeen at Rome ſeven years after at a triumph. He ſeems thereby to ſuppoſe, that that war laſted ſeven years, and according to Pliny it ended in the year 479. Plutarch ſays, that Pyrrhus returned into his country ſix years after his departure. According to the ſupputation of Calviſius, as you may ſee in the margin, that war began in the year 473, and ended in the year 478. But Father Labbe places the beginning of it in the year 474, and the end in the year 480. Is it not a ſad thing, that authors ſhould not agree about matters of that importance! As for the reſt, the elephants proved both uſeful and miſchievous to Pyrrhus, they did him good ſervice in the firſt battle: but they were not much feared in the ſecond; one of them was wounded, whereby it appeared they were not immortal (27): in the third fight they cauſed a great diſorder among Pyrrhus's troops. 'Eædem feræ, *ſays Florus*, quæ primam victoriam abſtulerant, ſecundam parem fecerant, tertiam ſine controverſia tradidere. - - - *The 'ſame beaſts who got the firſt victory, and made the ſecond battle a drawn match, did our work for us this 'third time, and left us conquerors.*' That Hiſtorian knew not that ſome few lines before he had ſaid, Pyrrhus was quite overcome in the ſecond battle, which he confirms before he ends his chapter. He had ſaid juſt before, that the Romans did not leave off killing till the night put a ſtop to it, and that Pyrrhus was the laſt of thoſe who fled; and then he affirms, in the recapitulation of his narrative, that the king's camp was plundered twice, *bis exuto caſtris*, he muſt needs mean that the firſt plundering happened in the ſecond battle. What was therefore his meaning, when he ſaid *ſecundam parem fecerant?* - - - *They had made the ſecond battle a drawn match.*

(26) Plin. *lib. viii, cap. vi.* Varro, de Ling. Lat. *lib. vi.*

(27) Cajus Minucius quartæ legionis haſtatus unius probroſcide abſciſſâ, mori poſſe belluas oſtenderat. *Florus, lib. i, cap. xviii.*

[*K*] *Tho' many people complained of the conduct of Lævinus.*] Fabricius ſaid, that the loſs was not to be aſcribed to the Roman ſoldiers, but to their general and that the Epirotes had not overcome the Romans, but that Pyrrhus had overcome the conſul Lævinus (28). Pyrrhus had already beſtowed this encomium upon himſelf; for he cried out, oh how eaſy it would be for Pyrrhus to conquer the world, if the Romans were his ſoldiers, or for the Romans, if Pyrrhus was their king! *O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis* (29)?

(28) Plut. in Pyrrho, *pag.* 394.

[*L*] *He ſent Cineas to Rome.*] Pyrrhus's courage and bravery were ſo great, that one would think he ſcorned to be beholden to any thing beſides his ſword: but he had too much experience to have ſuch thoughts; for the greateſt warriours have moſt times made uſe of intrigues and negotiations (30). Pyrrhus uſed to ſend Cineas before him, that he might prepare his way, and remove difficulties. Cineas made out by his eloquence the truth of Euripides's ſaying that any thing that may be done with the ſword, may be done likewiſe with words. Ὅτι πᾶν ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος ὁ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων ἀφάσειεν ἄν. *Omne id expugnare verba compta ferrum quod minax poſſit* (31). Pyrrhus confeſſed, that he had got more towns by the fine ſpeeches of Cineas (32), than by his arms. Methinks Cicero is not juſt enough to Pyrrhus, becauſe he does not except him from thoſe who were involved (33) under this hard ſentence of the Poet Ennius, 'Semper fuit ſtolidum genus Æacidarum, belli po- 'tentes ſunt magis quam ſapientipotentes: - - - *The 'race of the Æacidæ were always fooliſh: and are more 'powerful in war than in wiſdom.*' He only believes that that prince underſtood the ambiguity of this oracle,

(29) Florus, ubi ſupra.

(30) See the remark [*B*] in the article ATILA.

(31) Plut. in Pyrrho, *pag.* 391, *B.*

(32) Ibid.

(33) Cicero, de Divinat. *lib. ii.*

Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe.

This only, Pyrrhus, I ſhall ſay,
That you the Romans vanquiſh may.

I ſhall obſerve, by the by, that Cicero alledges four reaſons to prove that this oracle was invented by Ennius: 1. The Grecians never ſaid any thing of it: 2. Apollo never anſwered in Latin: 3. He had ceaſed to anſwer in verſe in the time of Pyrrhus: 4. That prince was too ſharp-ſighted not to perceive the illuſion of it. But if he ſhould be anſwered, that Ennius rendred in a Latin verſe, an anſwer which was given in Greek proſe, it would very much weaken his arguments.

[*M*] *That it was doubtful.*] It is not an invention of our age for thoſe that are worſted to have recourſe to this ſhift out of vanity, ſhame, or policy; tho' perhaps that ſort of inſincerity is now more in vogue than formerly (34). The Romans did not deny that Pyrrhus

(34) See the remark [*F*] of the article FABRICIUS.

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was so much lessened, that he answered those who came to congratulate him, *we are undone, if we get another victory*. He was therefore very well pleased to have a pretence to carry his arms alsewhere, that is to say, to go over into Sicily (*i*), from whence ambassadors had been sent to him to come to their assistance, and to free that island from the yoke of the Carthaginians, and several other petty tyrants. That expedition was attended with a very good success; but those islanders, whose republican spirit did not suit with Pyrrhus's humour, could not endure that he should not treat them as kindly and civilly as he did in the beginning: so that the same spirit, which moved them to have recourse to his protection, made them soon look out for other masters. In this difficult juncture, he very seasonably received letters from the Tarentines, who acquainted him that they stood in great need of his assistance, so that he had a fair pretence of boasting, that he was not forced to leave Sicily, but that he went to succour some other allies. He had much ado to get into Italy, the Carthaginians destroyed his fleet, and the Mamertines did very much annoy his troops after their landing. It was then (*k*) that Pyrrhus, though wounded in the head, fell with such a fury upon a Barbarian, who had challenged him, that he cut his body asunder with a blow he struck on his head with a hanger [*N*]. As soon as he came to Tarentum, he hastened his march against the Romans and lost a battle near Beneventum (*l*): after which he resolved to return into his country, where so many vicissitudes of fortune that he had gone through, could not teach him to be quiet. He for ever engaged in new expeditions. He succeeded in that of Macedonia; he beat the army of Antigonus, son of Demetrius, and took from him the best part of his kingdom. Afterwards he made war against the Lacedemonians (*m*), at the sollicitatiton of Cleonymus (*n*), who was discontented because he reigned not in Sparta: but he was so vigorously repulsed by them, that he was forced to rest contented with wasting the country, and taking winter quarters in it. In the mean while Aristias persuaded him to go to Argos, where a faction had lately broke out between the same Aristias and Aristippus. Antigonus came to the assistance of the latter. Though Pyrrhus was introduced into the city by Aristias, he could not make himself master of it; he was obliged to fight in the streets with the inhabitants and the troops of Antigonus, and there he died (*o*), being wounded in the head with a tile [*O*]. Antigonus treated him very generously after his death [*P*]. Very strange things have been reported of Pyrrhus [*Q*], as for example, that he cured the spleen with the touch of his right foot, and that his great toe had a divine virtue in it (*p*).

(*i*) In the year of Rome 475.

(*k*) In the year of Rome 478.

(*l*) In 478.

(*m*) In 480.

(*n*) See the article CLEONYMUS.

(*o*) In 480 according to Calvisius, or 482 according to Father Labbe.

(*p*) Taken from Plutarch in the Life of Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus won the first battle, but some of their Historians have said, that the advantage was equal in the second, and others, that Pyrrhus was defeated (35). Plutarch quotes two authors, one of whom says that the Romans lost about 15000 men in the first battle, and Pyrrhus 13000; the other says, that the Romans lost seven thousand men, and Pyrrhus near four thousand. As to the second battle, the one says that the Romans lost six thousand men, and Pyrrhus 3505, as it appeared from the records of that prince; the other says in general, that fifteen thousand men fell on both sides. From whence it appears that Moreri should not have said, that the loss of the Romans in the two first battles, was less than that of the Epirotes. He is mistaken also as to the time to which he applies that reflexion of Pyrrhus, *we are undone, if we get another victory*: that reflexion was made after the second battle. As for the rest, the two authors mentioned by Plutarch do very much differ from Eutropius, who says that the Romans had all the advantge of that day. 'Pyrrhus, 'says he, vulneratus est, elephanti interfecti, viginti 'millia cæsa hostium, & ex Romanis tantum quinque 'millia. Pyrrhus Tarentum fugatus. - - - - *Pyrrhus 'was wounded, the elephants slain, and twenty thousand 'of the enemy, and only five thousand of the Romans kil-'led. Pyrrhus was forced to fly to Tarentum.*' Frontinus (36) makes the loss amount to the same number of men.

(35) See Florus's contradiction in the remark [*I*].

(36) Stratagemata, *l. ii, cap. iii.*

[*N*] *He cut his body asunder.*] This is one of the feats of our ancient knight-errants, who cut asunder the most daring giants to the very saddle-bow. It is certain that Plutarch has related some actions of Pyrrhus, which looked rather like the actions of a knight-errant, than of a real hero: he did well to fortify himself with the authority of Homer, who has observed somewhere, that of all virtues, bravery is only subject to fanatical transports, and fits of frenzy. Τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φοραὶς πολλαχοῦ ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην. *Fortitudinem unam identidem lymphatico & phanatico motu ferri* (37). The northern nations in the time of Paganism, believed that the god Odinus, who presided over the war, inspired men with so great a fury, that one of the weakest was able to fight ten men. *Horum primarius Deus erat Odinus, qui res bellicas dirigere credebatur, furoremque hominibus, quem* Berserkicum *vocabant, immittere, quo qui correptus erat, vel decem aliis paterat obsistere, utut infirmus extra raptum ac debilis* (38).

(37) In Vit. Pyrrhi, *pag.* 398.

There is in Plutarch another passage, which it will not be improper to set down here (39): 'Not 'only in Poetry, (as Plato very well observes) he that 'is inspired by the Muses, and as it were possessed by 'a Poetical fury, will make him, who is otherwise a 'master of his trade, and an exact Critic in Poetry, 'appear ridiculous (40): but also in fighting, 'those who are elevated and inspired with a noble 'rage, and a resolution and courage above the com-'mon pitch, become invincible, and are not to be 'withstood, and this is that war-like fury which the 'Gods, as Homer will have it, infuse into men of 'honour.'

He spoke . . . . and every word new strength inspir'd.

And again,

This more than human rage is from the gods.

(38) See the Journal of Leipsic, 1690, *pag.* 30, *in the abstract of a book of Thomas Bartholinus, intitled,* Antiqu tatum Danicarum de causis contemtæ à Danis adhuc Gentilibus mortis.

(39) Plut. de Virtute morali, *sub fin. pag.* 452.

(40) Περὶ τὰς μάχας τὸ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνθεαστικὸν ἐκπλῆττον καὶ ἀνίστατον καὶ τοὺς θεούς; Ὅμηρος ἐμποιεῖν φησι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὃς αὐτὸν, ἐμπειρίαν μὲν τέχνης ἔχοντα, ἀπειρίαν δὲ πολέμου μηδὲν ἀποδεικνύντα. Οὐχ' ὅτ' ἄνεσθε θοὸς πάλαι μαρνασθαι.

In prælia etiam animo concitati ac furore correpti subsistit superare nequeunt: qualem instinctum Homerus ait à diis homini inferi. *Sic aut aquæ ductu per magnas flumine vires Inferunt: & rursum mox objecta furit ire minantes.*

[*O*] *With a tile.*] It was a woman, who from her windows threw that tile at the king's head. The Argivi, to make a miracle of that accident, or to keep up the credulity of the people, published, that Ceres, disguised like a woman, had done it. The Poet Leuceas failed not to insert that tradition in his history of the Argivi (41).

(41) Paus. *lib. i, pag.* 12, 13.

[*P*] *Antigonus treated him generously.*] Pyrrhus's head being cut off, came into the hands of Alcyoneus, who carried it to his father Antigonus. The latter having known it, cudgelled his son for it, called him cruel and barbarous, covered his face, and wept. Afterwards he caused the head, and the rest of Pyrrhus's body to be honourably interred. Alcyoneus afterwards behaved better, for having found Helenus, son of Pyrrhus, he treated him very kindly, and carried him to Antigonus. That prince praised that action, and told his son, that it had been more acceptable to him, if he had taken from Helenus the sorry cloak he had on. Afterwards he shewed a great deal of friendship to Helenus, and sent him well equipped into Epirus (42).

(42) Ex Plutarcho, *sub fin.* Vit. Pyrrhi. See *also* Justin. *lib. xxv, cap. iv.* Val. Max. *lib. v, cap. i.*

[*Q*] *Very strange things have been reported Pyrrhus.*] When he was to cure any body of the spleen, he prepared himself for it by sacrificing a white cock; and then

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then the ſick perſon lay upon the ground, and Pyrrhus preſſed the ſpleen gently with his right foot. He was always ready to cure thus the pooreſt ſort of people. He was preſented with a cock after he had performed his ſacrifice, and that preſent was very acceptable to him. His upper gum was an entire bone, with ſome lines in it, which marked the number of his teeth. The divine virtue of the great toe of his right foot appeared when his corpſe was burnt, for that toe was found entire. This is what we find in Plutarch (43). We read in Pliny (44), that the ſame toe had the gift of healing, and that having not been damaged by the flames, it was buried by itſelf in a temple. Who doubts but it was honoured as a holy relic: and can we now object againſt the Heathens, that they had no kings like our Chriſtian princes, who cure the jaundice and king's evil? Now becauſe I have promiſed elſewhere (45), to ſpeak in this place of a falſity which concerns Achilles, I ſhall ſet it down here. Camerarius (46) having ſaid that Pyrrhus's great toe had a divine virtue, and that it was found entire in the midſt of the fire, which had conſumed the reſt of the body, adds immediately after, that Homer affirms the ſame thing concerning Achilles. Caſpar à Reies ſays more than once, but always in general (47), that Pyrrhus's finger cured thoſe that were ſick of the ſpleen; to which he adds, in one place, *that Homer writes almoſt the ſame thing of Achilles* (48). He was deceived by Camerarius. I would fain know who deceived Camerarius. Homer ſays no ſuch thing, and I can ſcarce believe that any of the Ancients mentioned it. That toe of Pyrrhus puts me in mind of a ſtory of the Rabbins. It is mentioned by Agrippa. They ſay that there is in the body of a man a little bone called *Luz*, which cannot be broken nor burnt, out of which our bodies ſhall grow up again at the time of the reſurrection, as a plant grows up again out of it's ſeed. *Eſt in humano corpore os quoddam minimum, quod Hebræi Luz appellant, magnitudine Ciceris mundati, quod nulli ruptioni obnoxium, nec igne quidem vincitur, ſed ſemper conſervatur illæſum: ex quo (ut dicunt) velut planta ex ſimine, in reſurrectione mortuorum corpus noſtrum animale repullulaſcet* (49). I am beholden for this paſſage to Dr Drelincourt, profeſſor of Phyſic; and it is a great ſatisfaction to me to make this public acknowledgment of it.

(43) Pyrrho, *pag.* 384.

(44) *Lib. vii, cap. ii.*

(45) Remark [*H*] of the article ACHILLEA, *ſub fin.*

(46) Horat. Sacchvar. *cent. iii, cap. xlii.*

(47) He never obſerves that it was the great toe of the right foot. See his *Elyſius Campus, Quæſt. XXIV, num.* 4, & 31, & *Quæſt. XXVIII, num.* 24, & 26.

(48) Quæſt. XXVIII, *num.* 26.

(49) Agrippa, de Occulta Philoſophia, *lib. i, cap. xx, pag. m.* 32. See the remark [*K*] of the article BARCOCHEBAS, and citat. (42), of the article NIHUSIUS.

PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, grand-ſon to the former, ſucceeded his father Alexander, and was at firſt under the tuition of his mother Olympias. During his minority, the Ætolians were ſo unjuſt as to undertake to deprive him of that part of Acarnania, which fell to the ſhare of his father, in the partition of a conqueſt which he had made with them. Olympias had recourſe to Demetrius king of Macedonia; and the better to engage him to ſuccour her, ſhe gave him in marriage her daughter Phthia. The Hiſtorian (*a*) ſtops here, without acquainting us with any other conſequences of the deſign of the Ætolians, except the irruption which they made into the frontiers of Epirus in the time of Ptolemy, brother and ſucceſſor of our Pyrrhus. There muſt be a chaſm there, for undoubtedly ſome years paſſed between the minority and death of Pyrrhus. However, the princeſs Olympias made uſe of too violent a remedy, to cure her ſon of his amours; for ſhe cauſed his miſtreſs to be poiſoned (*b*) [*A*]. Ptolemy, who ſucceeded his brother Pyrrhus, did not out-live him long. Their mother followed them ſoon after, being overwhelmed with grief for the loſs of her two ſons. There remained but two princeſſes of the royal family, Nereis and Deidamia, Olympias's ſiſters (*c*), and daughters of Pyrrhus, grand-father of this. Nereis was the wife of Gelon, king of Sicily. Deidamia was killed near the altar of Diana in a ſedition. The gods, to puniſh that crime, afflicted the Epirotes ſo many ways, that they were almoſt deſtroyed by famine, and by Civil and foreign wars (*d*).

(*a*) Juſtin. *lib. xxviii, cap. i, & ſeq.*

(*b*) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 589.

(*c*) She had married her brother Alexander. *Vid. Juſt. ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Ibid.

[*A*] *His mother cauſed his miſtreſs to be poiſoned.*] She was of Leucas, and her name was Tygris (1). Mr Boiſſieu (2) rejects all the explications that have been given of theſe two verſes of Ovid:

Utque nepos dicti, noſtro modo carmine, regis
Cantharidum ſuccos dante parente bibas.

And like the grand-ſon of the king juſt nam'd,
By parent's hand rank poiſon mayſt thou drink.

and is of opinion that they are meant of our Pyrrhus, and that his mother Olympias gave him no quarter no more than to his concubine Tigris. If it be ſo, Juſtin ſhould not have aſcribed the death of that princeſs to her grief for the loſs of her two ſons. An honourable name ought not to be given to the deſpair of a mother tormented with the remorſes of conſcience, for having put her ſon to death.

(1) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 589.

(2) In Ibin, *pag.* 65.

PISTORIUS (JOHN) ſirnamed *Niddanus*, becauſe he was born at Nidda in the country of Heſſe, acquired great reputation by his learning and by his works. JOHN PISTORIUS, his father, had been knight of Malta; but he very early embraced the reformation of Luther, and was one of the miniſters who aſſiſted at the reading of the Augſburg confeſſion in the emperor's chamber, the twenty-fifth of July 1530. He was the firſt ſuperintendant of the churches of the county of Nidda, and died the twenty-fifth of January 1583, being eighty-one years of age (*a*). His ſon, who is the ſubject of this article, was born the fourth of February 1546. He intended to practiſe Phyſic, and received his degree of Doctor: but afterwards he applied himſelf to the Law.

(*a*) Ex Frehero in Theatro, *pag.* 348.

PYTHAGORAS, is the firſt of the ancient ſages who took the name of Philoſopher [*A*]. He flouriſhed in the time of Tarquin, the laſt king of Rome, not in Numa's

[*A*] *He is the firſt . . . . who took the name of Philoſopher.*] Before him, thoſe who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and made themſelves conſpicuous by an exemplary life, were called *Sages*, σοφοὶ. That title appearing to him too aſſuming, he took another, which ſhewed that he aſcribed not to himſelf the poſſeſſion of wiſdom, but only the deſire of poſſeſſing it. He therefore called himſelf Philoſopher that is to ſay, a Lover of Wiſdom. The profeſſors of the ſcience of nature, and of morals, have retained that name ever ſince. Cicero tells us the native country of that new title, what gave occaſion to it, and it's ſignification. 'A quibus ducti deinceps omnes, 'qui in rerum contemplatione ſtudia ponebant, ſapientes & habebantur, & nominabantur: idque eorum 'nomen uſque ad Pythagoræ manavit ætatem: quem, 'ut

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Numa's time [*B*], as many authors say. He made himself very illustrious by his learning and virtue, and proved a very useful man in reforming and instructing the world. His

'ut scribit auditor Platonis Ponticus Heraclides, vir 'doctus in primis, Phliuntem ferunt venisse, eumque 'cum Leonte, Principe Phliasiorum, doctè, & copiosè 'disseruisse quædam: cujus ingenium, & eloquentiam 'cùm admiratus esset Leon, quæsiviſse ex eo, qua 'maximè arte confideret: at *illum* artem *quidem se* 'scire nullam, *sed esse philosophum*: admiratum Leon'tem novitatem nominis, quæsisse, *quinam essent Phi*'losophi, & *quid inter eos*, & *reliquos interesset*, Pytha'goram autem respondisse, SIMILEM sibi videri vi'tam hominum, & mercatum eum, qui haberetur 'maximo ludorum apparatu totius Græciæ celebri'tate: nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam, '& nobilitatem corona peterent: alii emendi, aut 'vendendi quæstu, & lucro ducerentur: esset autem 'quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maximè ingenuum, 'qui nec plausum, nec lucrum quærerent, sed visendi 'causa venirent, studioseque perspicerent, quid agere'tur, & quo modo: item nos quasi in mercatus quan'dam celebritatem ex urbe aliqua, sic in hanc vitam 'ex alia vita, & natura profectos; alios gloriæ ser'vire, alios pecuniæ: raros esse quosdam, qui, cæte'ris omnibus pro nihilo habitis, rerum naturam stu'diosè intuerentur: hos se appellare sapientiæ studio'sos, id est philosophos: & ut illic liberalissimum es'set, spectare, nihil sibi acquirentem, sic in vita longè 'omnibus studiis contemplationem rerum, cognitio'nemque præstare. Nec verò Pythagoras nominis 'solum inventor, sed rerum etiam ipsarum amplificator 'fuit (1). - - - - *From whom all afterwards who studied* 'nature were accounted, and called wise men: and that 'name continued till the time of Pythagoras, who, ac'cording to Ponticus Heraclides, the disciple of Plato, 'and a very learned man, is said to come to Phlius, and 'to have disputed on some points with Leon, the prince of 'that place, in a learned and copious manner. Leon 'admired his parts and eloquence, and asked what art 'he chiefly excelled in: to which Pythagoras made an'swer, that he knew no art, but was a Philosopher: 'Leon, wondring at the novelty of the name, enquired 'who Philosophers were, and what difference there was 'between them and others. Pythagoras replied, that 'the life of man seemed to him to resemble that fair, 'which was kept by all Greece with the celebration of 'games. For as there, some sought for glory by the exer'cise of the body, and nobility by obtaining a crown: and 'others aimed at profit and gain in buying and selling: 'but a third sort, who were people of the best fashion, 'neither wanted applause nor gain, but came only to see 'and consider what was a-doing, and in what manner: 'so likewise we are come from another life and nature 'into this life, as from some city to the celebration of a 'fair; and some hunt after glory, and others money: 'and some few, despising every thing else, diligently study 'nature: these are called lovers of wisdom, that is 'Philosophers: and as in the other case, it is more noble 'to look on, than to acquire any thing, so in life, the 'knowledge and contemplation of nature is preferable to 'all other studies. Pythagoras not only invented the 'name, but improved the science itself.'

(1) Cicer. Tuscul. Quæst. *lib. v, cap. iii. Diogenes Laërtius relates much the same thing. See his* Proœm. *num.* 12, *where he quotes* Heraclides Ponticus ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἕξεως, in libro de femina septem diebus exanimi. *He says that this discourse was made in Sicyon. See also what he says in the life of Pythagoras, where he quotes* Sosicrates in Successionibus.

[*B*] *He flourished in the time of Tarquin,... and not in Numa's time.*] I cannot set down the birth-day of the word Philosopher, the very year of it's birth is unknown. We only know that Pythagoras made that discourse before he came over into Italy (2), and we are only told in general, that it was under the reign of Tarquinius (3). 'Hanc opinionem (*de immortalitate* 'animæ) discipulus ejus (4) Pythagoras maxime confir'mavit, qui cum regnante Tarquinio superbo in Italiam 'venisset, tenuit magnam illam Græciam cum honore '& disciplina, tum etiam authoritate (5). Pythago'ras fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem quibus L. Brutus 'patriam liberavit. - - - *This opinion concerning the im*'mortality of the soul, *was confirmed by Pythagoras, his* 'disciple, *who, when he came into Italy in the reign of* 'Tarquinius Superbus, *maintained great Greece, as they* 'called it, *in honour, discipline, and authority. Pytha*'goras *was in Italy at the time, when Brutus delivered* 'his country.' The mistake of those who said that he came over into Italy in the time of Numa (6), is glorious to him; for the only reason which made them fancy so, is, that they could not believe that Numa should have been so able a man, and so great a Philosopher, had he not been a disciple of Pythagoras. 'Quinetiam arbitror, *says Cicero*, propter Pytha'reorum admirationem, Numam quoque regem, Py'thagoreum à posterioribus existimatum: nam cùm 'Pythagoræ disciplinam, & instituta cognosceret, re'gisque ejus æquitatem & sapientiam à majoribus suis 'accepisset, ætates autem & tempora ignorarent, prop'ter vetustatem, eum qui sapientia excelleret, Pytha'goræ auditorem fuisse crediderunt (7). - - - - *I believe* 'also that Numa was thought to be a Pythagorean by 'posterity, because that sect was held in great admira'tion: for as they were acquainted with the doctrines 'and institutions of Pythagoras, and had been informed 'by their ancestors of that king's equity and wisdom, but 'were ignorant of those very ancient times, they imagined 'that as he excelled in wisdom, he must have been the 'disciple of Pythagoras.' Note, that Cicero alledges only some slight conjectures, to shew that the Romans were acquainted with the doctrine and reputation of Pythagoras (8). He had not said so, if that Philosopher had been a citizen of Rome, as Epicharmus published it (9). I shall say, by the by, that an oracle having ordered that the Romans should erect a statue to the bravest and wisest of the Grecians, they erected one to the honour of Alcibiades, and another to the honour of Pythagoras (10). Pliny tells us in what time this happened. 'Invenio, *says he* (11), & 'Pythagoræ & Alcibiadi, in cornibus Comitii posi'tas, cum bello (12) Samniti Apollo Pythius fortis'simo Græiæ gentis jussisset & alteri sapientissimo, si'mulacra celebri loco dicari: ea stetere donec Sylla 'Dictator ibi Curiam faceret. Mirumque est, illos 'patres Socrati cunctis ab eodem Deo sapientia præ'lato Pythagoram prætulisse, aut tot aliis virtute Al'cibiadem aut quenquam utroque Themistocli. - - - - 'I find that statues were erected to Pythagoras and Alci'biades in the corners of the Comitium, when Pythian 'Apollo, during the Samnitian war had ordered images to 'be dedicated, in a noted place, to the bravest, and 'wisest of the Grecians: they continued till Sylla, the 'dictator, builded a palace there. It is surprizing, that 'those Fathers should prefer Pythagoras to Socrates for 'wisdom, when the same God preferred the latter to all 'others, or Alcibiades to so many others for bravery, or 'any to Themistocles for both.' Pliny wonders how the Romans came to chuse Pythagoras rather than Socrates. But how did he know, that they had heard of the Oracle which concerned Socrates. All things considered, it will be found they chose best. Besides, they may be justified by these two reasons (13). They knew not Socrates so well as they knew Pythagoras, for the latter had taught for a long time in Italy with great reputation; and their minds were prepossessed in behalf of Pythagoras, because they fancied that Numa had been his disciple. It was the common opinion, and though it was never so false, the magistrates took care to keep it up. Which appeared, when it was reported, that Numa's sepulchre and books had been found out (14), for it was published abroad, that they concerned the Pythagorean Philosophy. and some Historians followed that opinion. 'Adjicit Valerius An'tias libros Pythagoricos fuisse: vulgatæ opinioni 'qua creditur Pythagoræ auditorem fuisse Numam, 'mendacio probabili accommodata fide (15). - - - - 'Valerius Antias adds, that those books were Pythago'rean, in order to support the vulgar opinion, that Numa 'was a disciple of Pythagoras.' Calsius Hemina and Lucius Piso followed that popular opinion in their writings (16). If I should be asked, why the Romans had rather believe that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras, than ascribe to Italy the glory of having produced so wise a king, who was not beholden for his Philosophy to the instructions of any foreigner. I should answer, 1. That in all likelihood they did not think of that interest of their country, when they began to propagate that opinion. 2. That perhaps they fancied the merit of that prince would be more easily believed, by giving him so famous a tutor. Was it an easy thing to believe, that a Barbarian should have attained to such a degree of capacity without the help of the Grecians? St Augustin would have easily believed that Numa was one of Pythagoras's disciples, for he says that Thales lived during the reign of Romulus (17). But we know that Thales and Pherecydes were cotemporary; and that

(2) Qui quum post hunc Phliasium sermonem in Italiam venisset, exornavit eam Græciam quæ magna dicta est, & privatim & publice, præstantissimis & institutis & artibus. *Cicero, ibid. cap. iv.*

(3) Ibid. *cap. xvi.*

(4) That is, of Pherecydes.

(5) Cicero, ubi supra, *lib. iv, cap. i.*

(6) Ovid follows that false tradition, in the 15th book of his Metamorphoses.

(7) Cicero, ibi.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Plut. in Numa, *pag.* 65.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Plin. *lib. xxxv, cap. vi, pag. m.* 99.

(12) It was a long war: it began in the year 411 of Rome.

(13) Vossius, de Philosoph. Sect. *pag. m.* 39, *edit. ibid.*

(14) 555 Years since the beginning of his reign. *Plin. lib. xiii, cap. xiii*; and not about 400 years after his death, as Plutarch says in Numa, *pag.* 74.

(15) Liv. *lib. xl, pag. m.* 785.

(16) Vid. Plin. *lib. xiii, cap. xiii.*

(17) Eodem Romulo regnante Thales Milesius fuisse perhibetur unus e septem sapientibus. *Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, cap. xxix.*

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His eloquence must needs have been very powerful, seeing his exhortations moved the inhabitants of a great city, plunged in debauchery, to avoid luxury and good cheer, and to live according to the rules of virtue (*a*). Nay, he prevailed upon the ladies to part with their fine cloaths, and all their ornaments [C], and to make a sacrifice of them to the chief deity of the place. He engaged his disciples to practise the most difficult things:

(*a*) Justin. *lib. xx, cap. iv.* See the remark [C].

that Pythagoras was disciple of Pherecydes. Some pretend that Thales himself was also his disciple (18). However, it is certain that Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, and Pythagoras, lived at the same time (19). None of the commentators of Diogenes Laërtius tell us that these words are not well rendered, Φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγόνασι διαδοχαὶ ἥ τε ἀπὸ Ἀναξιμάνδρου, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου. τοῦ μὲν, Θαλοῦ διακηκόστος. Ceterum Philosophiæ duæ fuere successiones: quarum altera ab Anaximandro; altera à Pythagora fluxit. Anaxamandri Thales auditor fuit (20). - - - *But there were two successions of Philosophy, one flowed from Anaximander, and the other from Pythagoras: Thales was disciple to Anaximander.* It is plain they signify not that Thales was disciple of Anaximander; on the contrary, that Anaximander was disciple of Thales.

(18) *Tzetzes affirms it. See his words*, ap. Menag. in Laërt. *cap. i, num.* 119.

(19) Diog. Laërt. *lib. ii*, says, that Anaximander flourished chiefly in the time of Polycrates tyrant of Samos.

(20) Laërt. in Proœm. *num.* 13.

I shall conclude with a passage of Pliny (21), who says, that Pythagoras was in Egypt in the reign of Semneserteus. Which can scarce be reconciled with what we read in Laërtius, that Pythagoras went into Egypt with letters of recommendation from Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to Amasis, king of Egypt, of this Laërtius assures us (22). Father Hardouin (23) thought he could clear the difficulty, by supposing, that Pythagoras went into Egypt under the reign of Amasis, and staid there long enough to see the death of that prince, and the reign of Semneserteus, his successor. But that supposition is inconsistent with the account given us by Herodotus, who says, that Cambyses subdued Egypt half a year after the death of Amasis, whom Psammenitus, his son, succeeded (24). Perhaps it might be said, that the name of Psammenitus, was by degrees changed into that of Semneserteus; and we must not forget, that it seems that Pythagoras was in Egypt when Cambyses took possession of it; for it appears that he was one of the slaves which that monarch transported into Persia. This cannot be better proved, than by a passage of Apuleius, but it must be corrected by changing *Ægyptum* into *Ægypto*. Which would too much confound the sense of the author. It is better to say, that this passage only proves that Pythagoras was in Egypt in Cambyses's time. See the remark [B] of the article ZOROASTER, towards the end. These are Apuleius's words. 'Sunt qui Pythagoram aiunt eo 'temporis inter captivos Cambysæ Regis Ægyptum 'cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum Magos, 'ac præcipue Zoroastrem, omnis divini arcani antisti-'tem: post eaque à quodam Gallo Crotoniensum prin-'cipe recuperatum. Verum enim vero celebrior fama 'obtinet sponte eum petisse Ægyptias disciplinas, at-'que ibi à sacerdotibus cerimoniarum incredendas po-'tentias, numerorum admirandas vires, Geometriæ so-'lertissimus formulus didicisse (25). - - - - *Some say 'that Pythagoras, who was amongst the prisoners of 'king Cambyses, when he went to Egypt, had the Magi of 'Persia for his teachers, and especially Zoroaster, the 'chief in all divine mysteries: and that afterwards he 'was redeemed by one Gallus, prince of the Crotonians. 'But the most common opinion is, that he went of his own 'accord to acquire the Egyptian learning, and that he 'was taught there by the priests the incredible force of 'ceremonies, the wonderful power of numbers, and the 'ingenious rules of Geometry.*' John Bernartius did not succeed in criticizing Pliny; for he alledges Eusebius against him, as saying, that the reign of Semneserteus began in the XLIIId Olympiad, and ended in the XLVth, that is to say, that king Amasis came to the throne about thirty years after the death of Semneserteus (26). If it were so, it would be impossible to justify Pliny, or to reconcile him with Diogenes Laërtius. But we need not be concerned for him; for John Bernartius is mistaken; Eusebius does not speak of a king of Egypt, whose name was Semneserteus.

(21) Is obeliscus quem Divus Augustus in circo magno statuit, excisus est à rege Semneserteo, quo regnante Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit. *Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. ix, pag. m.* 297.

(22) Diog. Laërt. *lib. viii, num.* 3.

(23) In hunc loc. Plinii.

(24) Herodot. *lib. iii, cap. xiv.*

(25) Apul. Florid. *lib. ii, pag. m.* 351.

(26) Joann. Bernartius, in Boëtium de Consol. Philosoph. *lib. i, pag.* 169.

[C] *He prevailed upon the ladies to part with their fine cloaths, and all their ornaments.*] All that Justin tells us concerning the reformation introduced by Pythagoras into the city of Crotona, is so remarkable, that I shall set down the whole passage. 'Crotonam venit, 'populumque in luxuriam lapsum, auctoritate sua ad 'usum frugalitatis revocavit. Laudabat quotidie vir-'tutem; & vitia luxuriæ, casusque civitatum ea peste 'perditarum enumerabat; tantumque studium ad fru-'galitatem multitudinis provocavit, ut aliquos ex his 'luxuriatos incredibile videretur. Matronarum quo-'que separatam à viris doctrinam, & puerorum à pa-'rentibus frequenter habuit. Docebat nunc has pudi-'citiam, & obsequia in viros; nunc illos modestiam, '& literarum studium. Inter hæc velut genitricem vir-'tutum frugalitatem omnibus ingerebat, consecutusque 'disputationum assiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas 'vestes, ceteraque dignitatis suæ ornamenta, velut in-'strumenta luxuriæ deponerent, eaque omnia delata 'in Junonis ædem ipsi Deæ consecrarent, præ se fe-'rentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non 'vestes esse. In juventute quoque quantum profliga-'tum sit, victi feminarum contumaces animi manife-'stant (27). - - - - *He came to Crotona, and, by his au-'thority, reclaimed the people, who were sunk in luxury, 'and brought them to a frugal way of living. He daily 'recommended virtue, and laid open the vice of luxury, 'and shewed the misery of those cities that were infected 'with it: he inspired the multitude with such a love to 'frugality, that it was extremely rare to see any of them 'extravagant. He frequently instructed the married 'women, separately from their husbands, and children 'from their parents. The former he taught chastity and 'obedience to their husbands: and the latter modesty, and 'the love of learning. In the mean time he inculcated 'frugality on all, as the parent of virtues, and by conti-'nual exhortations prevailed on the ladies to part with 'their fine cloaths, and all their other ornaments, as in-'struments of luxury, to bring them to the temple of Juno, 'and dedicate them to that goddess, declaring that they 'looked on chastity, and not on cloaths, as the true orna-'ments of women. What reformation was wrought 'amongst the young men, evidently appears from the con-'quered obstinacy of the women.*' The last words of this author are somewhat satirical; for he reasons thus: If Pythagoras was able to overcome the obstinacy of women, you may judge of the progress he made in the reformation of young men. It is certain, that the love of fine cloaths is a piece of so great resistance (28), that nothing will so much reflect back the darts of a preacher. See the efficacy of Capistran's sermons against gamesters (29). It is not said that he had the same success against jewels. Conecte made more conquests over head-dresses with stones thrown by children, than with rhetorical figures (30). These Christian preachers could not do what an heathen Philosopher did. But let us not forget the action of the Roman ladies in the time of Camillus (31).

(27) Justin. *lib. xx, cap. iv, pag. m.* 395.

(28) See the article PERIANDER, citations (6) and (7).

(29) Remark [E] of the article CAPISTRAN.

(30) See the article CONECTE. remark [D].

(31) See the article CAMILLUS, remark [C].

A modern author has given us, in a few words, the finest strokes that may serve for the picture of Pythagoras's eloquence, 'According to the same Porphy-'rius, when he came into Italy, he altered the policy 'of a great many cities, and restored their liberty; by 'one exhortation he gained and brought over above 'two thousand men to his Philosophy. He taught 'them to overcome their passions, to suppress all the 'motions of avarice and ambition, to have all their 'wealth in common, and to love silence, retreat, and 'contemplation (32).' Let no body object to me that I represent that Philosopher under the notion of a Rhetorician; it is not my intention: I am fully persuaded that he assaulted not vice with harangues set with flourishes, and composed according to the rules, and the shining subtilties which the sophists of the following ages made use of. But notwithstanding, we may very well ascribe a wonderful eloquence to him, seeing his discourses were so persuasive. The force of his eloquence consisted, without doubt, in the grave expostion of his reasons, and in the authority which the wisdom of his conduct gave to his words. He preached by his life: his very silence was eloquent, and contributed as much as his voice to the reformation, as an ancient Poet has very well observed;

(32) Thomassin, Méthode d'étudier & d'enseigner la Philosophie, *livr. i, ch. xv, pag.* 153.

Annon Pythagoræ monitus annique silentes
Famosum Oebalii luxum pressere Tarenti (33) ?

(33) Claudian. de Mallii Theodori Consulatu, *ver.* 156. *Read* annon, *and not* non *without an interrogation, as in the edition of Barthius: and observe that Barthius, who is too prolix every where else, says almost nothing on this passage. Claudian, a little before, says,* Quicquid Democritus risit, dixitque tacendo Pythagoras. *Ibid. ver.* 90.

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things: for he made them undergo a noviciate of ſilence [D], which laſted two years at leaſt; but he made it laſt five years for thoſe whom he knew to be moſt inclined to ſpeak (b). What I have ſaid in another place (c), perſuades me of the force of his cenſures. He made them live all in common (d); they renounced their property to their patrimony, and brought all they had to the feet of their maſter. An ill conſtruction was put upon their union, and it proved very fatal to them [E]. One of his greateſt cares was to correct the abuſes committed by married perſons [F]; he did not believe that

(b) Aulus Gellius, *lib. i, cap. ix.*

(c) Citation (27), of the article HIPPONAX.

(d) See the remark [E], at the end.

By words and ſilence Pythagoras reclaim'd,
Tarentum, which for luxury was fam'd.

[D] *A noviciate of ſilence.*] It was a hard diſcipline. Ἐστὶ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον ἐγκρατεύματων τὸ γλώττης κρατεῖν (34), that is, the moſt difficult victory that can be gotten, is to have the maſtery of one's tongue. See among Cato's diſtichs, the encomium that is beſtowed on thoſe who know how to be ſilent when it is fit they ſhould (35). Servius mentions the noviciate of five years (36), and here is what Apuleius obſerves concerning that which was impoſed for about the ſpace of five years on ſuch diſciples as were not ſo cautious and diſcreet as others. 'Non in totum tamen '(Pythagorici) vocem deſueſcebant, nec omnes pari 'tempore elingues magiſtrum ſectabantur; ſed gravio- 'ribus viris brevi ſpatio ſatis videbatur taciturnitas mo- 'dificata. Loquaciores enim vero ferme in quinquen- 'nium, velut in exilium vocis mittebantur (37). - - - 'But the Pythagoreans were not entirely to forbear ſpeak- 'ing, nor were all to be ſilent for the ſame ſpace of time. 'A ſhort time was thought ſufficient for thoſe that were 'reſerved. But the ſpace of five years was impoſed on 'them, who were more inclined to talk.'

(34) Jamblichus, *lib. i, cap. xxxi.*

(35) Proximus ille Deo eſt qui ſcit ratione tacere.

(36) Servius, *in illud Æneid. X, ver. 564,* tacitis regnavit Amyclis.

(37) Apul. in Florid.

[E] *An ill conſtruction was put upon that union, and it proved very fatal to them.*] That ſociety of ſtudents was looked upon as a faction which conſpired againſt the ſtate; ſixty of them were deſtroyed, the reſt run away. 'Sed tercenti ex juvenibus cum ſodalitii juris 'ſacramento quodam nexi ſeparatam à ceteris civibus 'vitam exercerent, quaſi cœtum clandeſtinæ conjura- 'tionis haberent, civitatem in ſe converterunt, quæ 'eos, cum in unam domum convenisſent, cremare vo- 'luit. In quo tumultu ſexaginta ferme periere, ceteri 'in exilium profecti (38). - - - - - *But three hundred 'young men, formed into a ſociety by a kind of oath, lived 'together by themſelves, and were looked upon as a pri- 'vate faction by the ſtate, who intended to burn them as 'they were aſſembled in one houſe. Almoſt ſixty of them 'periſhed in the tumult, and the reſt went into baniſh- 'ment.*' We can neither learn from that paſſage of Juſtin, nor from what follows, whether that ſtorm was excited during the life of Pythagoras. It ſeems more reaſonable to believe, that this Philoſopher was not involved in that perſecution, than to believe he was. One would think therefore that Juſtin relates the ſame fact which Polybius ſpeaks of. Now according to Polybius, the Pythagoreans were burnt in Great Greece, ſome time before the war, which Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, made againſt the Crotoniates (39): it ſeems therefore that they were not burnt during their maſter's life; for there are one hundred and twenty years between the expulſion of Tarquinius, and that war of Dionyſius againſt Crotona (40). But Pythagoras came into Italy under the reign of Tarquinius, and died at Metapontum, after he had been twenty years in Crotona (41). Voſſius obſerves, that Juſtin, Polybius, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, mention the ſame accident (42), but the two latter obſerve that none but two men, viz. Archippus and Lyſis, eſcaped the fire: it will be ſaid therefore, that it was not a cruelty exerciſed on the ſchool of Pythagoras during his life. For Lyſis having retired to Thebes, was there preceptor to Epaminondas (43) who died one hundred and forty five years after the expulſion of Tarquinius. Theſe are doubts, I grant it, but no ſtrong proofs againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain, that the fire from which Lyſis was preſerved, happened during the life of Pythagoras. Note, that according to Plutarch the two Pythagoreans who made their eſcape, were Philolaus and Lyſis. He ſays ſo in his treatiſe concerning the genius of Socrates (44), and calls Cyclonians thoſe who ſet Pythagoras's college on fire in Metapontum. He calls them Cylonians in another place, and obſerves that they burnt Pythagoras alive. Καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρου ζῶν]ος ἐμπρησμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Κυλωνείων. *Quod Pythagoræ vivo à Cyloneis illatum eſt incendium* (45).

(38) Juſtin. *lib. xx, cap. iv. See the remark [O].*

(39) Polyb. *lib. ii.*

(40) See Calviſius, *pag. m. 95, 165.*

(41) Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

(42) Voſſius, de Philoſoph. Sectis, *cap. vi, num. 26, pag. m. 38.*

(43) Diog. Laërt. *ibid. num. 7.* Corn. Nepos, in Epaminonda. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib. iii, cap. xvii.*

(44) Plut. in Socrat. Genio, *pag. 583.*

(45) *Idem,* de Stoicor. Repugn. *pag. 1051.*

If you deſire to know the name of the author, who tells us, that the diſciples of that Philoſopher deprived themſelves of the property to their eſtates, I ſhall refer you to theſe words of Aulus Gellius: 'Omnes ſimul 'qui à Pythagora in cohortem illam diſciplinarum re- 'cepti erant, quod quiſque familiæ pecuniæque habe- 'bat, in medium dabant, & coibatur ſocietas inſepa- 'rabilis, tamquam illud fuerit antiquum conſortium, 'quod re atque verbo appellabatur κοινόβιον (46). - - - - - *All the diſciples of Pythagoras brought what 'money and ſubſtance they had into a common ſtock, and 'were formed into a ſociety, like that ancient community, 'which was properly called Cœnobium.*'

(46) A. Gellius, *lib. i, cap. ix.* See alſo Laërt. *lib. viii, num. 2.*

[F] *One of his greateſt cares was to correct the abuſes committed by married perſons.*] He repreſented to them, that the thing which is to be aimed at in the joining of the ſexes, is to produce in a lawful way another perſon like one's ſelf; that one muſt endeavour to get well made, ſound, and luſty children; that they muſt be uſed to labour and ſobriety, and removed from venereal pleaſures till they come to be twenty years of age, and then they muſt be told not to enjoy them too often. 'Neceſſum eſſe ut pueri & virgines in laboribus & ex- 'ercitationibus omnibuſque tolerantiæ ac temperantiæ 'generibus congruentibus educentur; ut conveniens 'victus ipſis adhibeatur, & laborum amans, temperans '& continens eorum vita ſit: ut de uſu rei venereæ ſero 'erudiantur; ac pueros ſic inſtitui & educari oporteat, 'ut intra viceſimum ætatis annum talem congreſſum 'nullo modo quærant. Cum autem ad ætatem veneri 'maturam pervenerint, hac raro utendum eſſe; incon- 'tinentiam enim, bonamque corporis habitudinem, 'rarius conjunctas eſſe (47). - - - *That it was neceſſary, 'that young men and women ſhould be enured to labour 'and exerciſe, patience and temperance, that a proper 'kind of food ſhould be given them, and that they 'ſhould lead an induſtrious and ſober life: that they 'ſhould not be early inſtructed about the uſe of venery, and 'that youth ſhould be told to abſtain from it, till they 'are at leaſt twenty years of age; and that when they 'are ripe for it, they ſhould uſe it rarely, becauſe in- 'continency and a ſound conſtitution ſeldom go together.*' He altogether condemned thoſe who perform that act after they have eaten too much, but much more thoſe who perform it whilſt they are drunk (48). He would have huſbands not only to leave off concubinage, but alſo to obſerve the laws of chaſtity and modeſty towards their wives. Before that time they neither did the one nor the other: but it is ſaid that they were ſo ſenſibly moved with his remonſtrances, that they ſhewed a great zeal in reforming themſelves. *Fertur & Pythagoras Crotoniatas à pellicum & illegitimarum feminarum conſuetudine abduxiſſe; maritos etiam monuiſſe, ut erga uxores ſuas caſti & pudici forent: quo factum, ut Crotoniatæ omnem incontinentiam & luxuriam, quæ tum temporis in urbe, ceu peſtis, graſſabantur, è medio tollere laborarint* (49). The inhabitants of Crotona lived a very looſe and diſſolute life. They married only for form's ſake, they took a wife *ad honores,* they neglected and deſpiſed her, and minded only their concubines. They gave a very ill example; their conduct was contagious; they did not conſider that it was to be feared they might be imitated, and perhaps they had not much care about it. The maxim *frangenti fidem frangatur eidem - - to pay one in his own coin,* is but too common with reſpect to conjugal fidelity. Pythagoras undertook to correct ſuch a diſorder. If we may believe Juſtin, the force of his inſtructions proved ſufficient for it; but ſome authors intimate, that they proved not effectual enough, and that he was obliged to have recourſe to a more powerful machine. He pretended therefore that he had deſcended into hell, and had ſeen in great torments ſuch huſbands as do not pay the matrimonial duty to their wives. He became very conſiderable upon that account. Φησὶ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος καταδῦναι αὐτὸν εἰς ᾅδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν· τὴν

(47) Omiſſus, in Ethica Pythag. *pag. 38,* ex Jamblicho in Vita Pythag. *lib. i, cap. xxii.*

(48) *Idem, pag. 39,* ex eodem, *ibid.*

(49) Jamblich. *ibid. cap. xviii,* ap. Omiſſum, *ibid. pag. 40.*

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that without this the public peace, and liberty, a good form of government, and other such things, about which he was very zealous [G], would be able to make private men happy.

δὲ Ὁμήρου, κρεμαμένην ὑπὸ δένδρου, καὶ ὄφεις περὶ αὐτὴν, ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπε περὶ θεῶν. κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας συνεῖναι ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναιξί. καὶ δὴ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κρότωνι. Hieronymus vero ait descendisse ad inferos atque Hesiodi quidem animam columnæ æreæ vinculis adstrictam, stridentemque vidisse; Homeri autem, ex arbore pendentem, serpentesque illam circumdantes, propter ea quæ de diis finxerat. Eos item cruciari qui suis uxoribus congredi nollent: ejusque rei gratia à Crotoniatis honoratum (50). - - - - *Jerom says he went down to hell, and there saw the soul of Hesiod tied to a pillar of brass, and making an hideous noise: and also the soul of Homer, hanging on a tree, and surrounded with serpents, because of his fictions about the gods. And likewise that those were tormented that would not pay matrimonial duty to their wives: and upon that account was honoured by the people of Crotona.* That story is without doubt the same which Hermippus relates. He says (51), that this Philosopher being arrived in Italy, shut himself up in a subterranean place, having desired his mother to keep an account of what should happen. When he had been in that place as long as he thought fit, his mother delivered her table-book to him, as it had been agreed between them. He found in it the dates, and other circumstances of what passed: he came out of that place with a pale and lean face; he called the people together, and assured them that he came from hell, and to persuade them of the truth of it, he told them what had passed in the city. All his hearers were so moved with what he said, that the whole assembly fell a groaning and crying; and they doubted no longer but he was a divine person, and they gave him their wives to instruct them. It was without doubt on that occasion that he frighted ill husbands by telling them that those who refuse to pay the matrimonial duties to their wives, are tormented in hell with great severity. In all likelihood he spoke also of the punishments that are inflicted upon intriguing women, and we ought to believe it was one of the reasons which moved the Crotoniates to send their wives to his school. Observe the contradiction of that great master. He taught the Metempsychosis on the one hand, without confining himself to the three removings mentioned by Pindar (52): and on the other hand, he was so bold as to say, that he had seen in hell the souls of Homer, Hesiod, &c. very much tormented. The Metempsychosis destroyed hell, as he declares it in Ovid.

(50) Diog. Laërt. *lib. viii, num.* 21, *pag.* 505.

(51) Apud Diog. Laërt. ibid. *num.* 41, *pag.* 521, 522. See also the Scholiast upon Sophocles. *Menagius in* hunc locum Laërtii, *pag.* 372, 373, *quotes his words.*

(52) Olymp. Od. II.

O genus attonitum gelidæ formidine mortis,
Quid Styga, quid tenebras, & nomina vana timetis,
Materiem vatum, falsique pericula mundi?
Corpora sive rogus flamma, seu tabe vetustas
Abstulerit, mala posse pati non ulla putetis (53).

(53) Ovid. Met. *lib.* xv, *ver.* 153.

Why thus frighted at an empty name,
A dream of darkness, and fictitious flame?
Vain themes of wit! which but in poems pass,
And fables of the world that never was.
What feels the body when the soul expires,
By time corrupted or consum'd by fires.

DRYDEN.

But he rather chose to acquire authority, and make him self fit to extirpate debauchery by contradicting himself, than to follow a coherent method of teaching, which would not have proved so useful.

I said that he confined not himself to the three removings mentioned by Pindar, and I shall give an evident proof of it by the verses of Ovid, which I shall quote below (54). Therefore Forcatulus doth not speak the truth when he says the contrary. 'Constat, *says he* (55), Druidum imitatorem Pythagoram, desultoriam animarum migrationem nonnisi tertiam asseruisse. 'Nam si perenni serie animas in alia atque alia corpora transcripsisset, quis quæso locus fuisset Elysiis campis, aut cœli sedibus? quod miror satyricis scriptoribus falsis admodum insulse derelictum. Quicunque, inquit Pindarus, ter in utraque vita à vitiis alieni fuerunt, viam sibi à Jove destinatam adiere ad Saturni urbem. Ἔνθα μακάρων νᾶσον Ὠκεανίδες ἀῦραι περιπνέουσιν, ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσῷ φλέγει, id est, Ubi beatorum insulam Oceanides auræ circumstant, & flores aurei fulgent. - - - *It is certain Pythagoras imitated the Druids, in maintaining that the transmigration of souls extended only to the third remove. For if souls were for ever shifting bodies, what occasion would there be for Elysian fields, and heavenly habitations. Which I am surprised that satirical writers should foolishly suppose to be abandoned. Whoever, says Pindar, have been free from vice in transmigrations, they go to the city of Saturn, according to the decree of Jupiter, that is, where sea-breezes fan the island of the blessed, and golden flowers cast a lustre.*'

(54) In the remark [*M*].

(55) Forcat. de Gallor. imperio & Philosophia, *lib. i, pag. m.* 90.

[G] *About which he was very zealous.*] His affection for the public good moved him to carry his instructions to the palaces of great men (56): he easily perceived that if he could work upon the minds of princes, and of the chief magistrates, other men would plentifully reap the fruits of his Philosophy. He had the happiness and the glory of teaching some disciples, who proved excellent law-givers, such as Zaleucus, Charondas, and some others (57). A law-maker ought to be looked upon as the best present that can be given a society. Those who made laws are more worthy of admiration, and of an immortal glory, than the greatest conquerors. Yet their memory is not come to us with the same noise as that of Cyrus and Alexander. The reason of it is, that our minds being not very capable of knowing true grandeur, do falsly join the idea of it with such actions as make a noise. They cannot distinguish what is great from what is shining (58); and so the life of a man who makes it his business to cure the internal distempers of a state with good laws, is an object that makes no great impression, because such a work goes on slowly. But if a man subdues cities and provinces, and destroys millions of men, and reduces ten times as many to beggary, he acquires so much glory, that the remotest posterity will speak of him with transports of admiration. However, it will be an eternal glory for Pythagoras, in the opinion of those who know how to judge of things, to have furnished the world with some good law-givers. It is a glory which redounds upon the whole Philosophy, as Seneca has well observed. 'Postquam, surrepentibus vitiis, in tyrannidem regna versa sunt, opus esse cœpit legibus, quas & ipsas inter initia tulere sapientes. Solon, ... Lycurgus . . . . . Zaleuci leges Charondæque laudantur: hi non in foro, nec in consultorum atrio, sed in Pythagoræ tacito illo sanctoque secessu didicerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Siciliæ, & per Italiam Græciæ ponerent (59). - - - *After governments, by the growth of vice, were turned into tyranny, laws became necessary, which at first were made by wise men. Solon, ... Lycurgus . . . . . The laws of Zaleucus and Charondas are esteemed: those they enacted in Sicily, then in a flourishing condition, and in Greece, they did not learn at the forum or in courts of law, but privately of Pythagoras.*' Besides, he took a particular care to pacify the wars which arose in Italy, and the intestine factions of the cities (60). He used to say, that war should be made only against these five things, the diseases of the body, the ignorance of the mind, the passions of the heart, the seditions of cities, and the discord of families. They are five monsters which ought to be prosecuted to the utmost with fire and sword. 'Sustulisse penitus omnes discordias, non à notis solùm & familiaribus, eorumque posteris ad aliquot secula, sed ab omnibus omnino Italiæ atque Siciliæ civitatibus, tam intestinas quam externas, auctor est Porphyrius in ejus Vita: qui addit, hoc apophthegma crebrò ei in ore fuisse, Fugandum omni conatu, & igni atque ferro, & quibuscumque denique machinis præcidendum, à corpore quidem morbum; ab anima, ignorantiam; à ventre, luxuriam; à civitate, seditionem; à familia, discordiam (61). - - - *Porphyrius in his life relates, that he not only removed all differences between friends and acquaintances, and their posterities for several ages, but likewise put an end to those wars that arose in Italy and Sicily, both intestine and foreign: he adds, that he frequently used this apophthegm, that we ought by fire and sword and all other means whatever to drive diseases from the body, ignorance from the mind, sensuality from the heart, sedition from cities, and discord from families.*' It is

(56) Πυθαγόρας τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν Ἰταλιωτῶν. Ac Pythagora principes Italorum. *Plutarchus, cum principibus viris Philosopho esse disputandum, pag.* 777, *A.*

(57) Vid. Jambl. in Vit. Pythag. lib. i, cap. xxx.

(58) Vid. Plin. Epist. XVI, lib. iii, *where he shews* alia esse clariora, alia majora.

(59) Seneca, Epist. XC, *pag. m.* 369. *Vid.* Miscellaneæ observationes *of* Petrus Petitus, *pag.* 265.

(60) See the letter which they say he wrote to Anaximenes, *apud Laërt. lib. viii, num.* 49.

(61) Menag. in Laërt. *lib. viii, num.* 50.

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happy. I wonder that a Philoſopher, ſo learned in Aſtronomy, Geometry, and the other parts of Mathematics, ſhould take delight in delivering his fineſt precepts under the veil of enigmas. That veil was ſo thick that it has afforded the interpreters a large field of conjectures [*H*], and as many myſtical ſenſes as they pleaſed. Some take in a literal ſenſe the order he gave to abſtain from eating of beans [*I*]. Few men, in thoſe times, travelled no wonder if the inhabitants of Crotona deſired, that their ſenate ſhould be directed by the counſels of ſo excellent a man. Valerius Maximus ſays ſo, to ſhew that the authority of Pythagoras was acknowledged out of his college. ‘ Pythagoræ tanta veneratio ab ‘ auditoribus tributa eſt, ut quæ ab eo acceperant, in ‘ diſputationem deducere nefas exiſtimarent: Quin- ‘ etiam interpellati ad reddendam cauſſam, hoc ſolum ‘ reſpondebant, ipſum dixiſſe: Magnus honos, ſed ‘ ſchola tenus. Illa urbium ſuffragiis tributa eſt. E- ‘ nixo Crotoniatæ ſtudio ab eo petierunt ut ſenatum ‘ ipſorum, qui mille hominum numero conſtabat, con- ‘ ſiliis ſuis uti pateretur (62). - - - *Pythagoras was held* ‘ *in ſuch veneration by his diſciples in his ſchool, that* ‘ *they thought it a crime to call in queſtion what he* ‘ *ſaid; and when they were deſired to give a reaſon for* ‘ *any thing, they only anſwered, he ſaid ſo. He was* ‘ *alſo greatly reſpected by the inhabitants of Crotona,* ‘ *who earneſtly intreated him to aſſiſt their ſenate, which* ‘ *conſiſted of a thouſand men, with his counſels.*’ The ſame author tells us, that ſeveral cities of Italy felt the good effects of that Philoſopher's ſtudies (63).

(62) Val. Max. *lib. viii, cap. vii, num.* 1, *in extern.*

(63) Plurimis & opulentiſſimis urbibus effectus ſuorum ſtudiorum approbavit. *Ibid. cap. vii, num.* 2, *extern.*

[*H*] *It has afforded interpreters a large field of conjectures.*] See, for example, what they have ſaid upon this precept of Pythagoras, *Do not ſit upon a Chœnix, Chœnici ne inſideas*; ſee it, I ſay, in the learned diſſertation which I have mentioned in another place (64). Mr du Rondel is the author of it. That ſymbolical way of teaching was very much in uſe in the eaſtern countries and Egypt. Pythagoras had it, without doubt, from thence. He came from his travels loaded with the learning he had got in all the countries he went through. It is thought that he made a plentiful harveſt among the Jews, and that he learned a great many things of Ezekiel and Daniel. Nay, it is pretended that his *Tetractys* is the ſame thing with the name *Tetragrammaton*, a name not to be pronounced, and full of myſteries, as the Rabbins ſay. See the learned Huetius, *Adde*, ſays he (65), *& veri perſimilem conjecturam Seldeni, & Wendelini, qua mirificam illam Pythagoræ* τετρακτὸν *ipſum eſſe ſuſpicantur Dei nomen* τετραγράμμαϑον, יהוה, *atque ejus notitiam à Daniele jam ſene Pythagoram, cum in Babylonia degeret, acceptiſſe. Danieli adjungi poterat & Ezekiel, ut oſtendam infra.* Others ſay, That the *Tetractys*, that great object of veneration, and by which they uſed to ſwear, was only a myſterious way of teaching by numbers. Διὸ καὶ ἐφθέγγοντο οἱ Πυθαγορειοι, ὡς μεγίϛη ὅρκῳ ὕντ@ τῆς τετράδ@, Οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτὸν. Παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ' ἔχουσαν. Itaque ſanctiſſimum jusjurandum Pythagorei quaternario ſunt complexi, quam tetractyn vocant. *Per tibi noſtræ animæ præbentem tetrada juro Naturæ fontemque & firmamenta perennis* (66). Conſider theſe words of the Leipſic Journal, page 204 of the year 1685, in the abſtract of an Engliſh book of John Turner. *Ex hac ipſa tamen gentilium notitia inſcite à quibuſdam colligi ait, Pythagoræorum Tetractyn, quam tam reverenter habuerunt, & per quam jurare etiam ſoliti leguntur, eſſe unum idemque cum nomine tetragrammato, quod à Judæis ipſi acceperint. . . . . Aliam proinde viam demonſtrat Autor tetractyn iſtam explicandi, deſumptam puta à methodo Pythagoræorum myſtica, qua dogmata ſua fere per numeros certos indicare & explanare fuerint ſoliti.* But we muſt not forget to ſay, that Pythagoras and his ſucceſſors had two ways of teaching, the one for thoſe that were initiated, and the other for ſtrangers and profane men. The firſt was clear and perſpicuous, the ſecond was ſymbolical and enigmatical. See the XIIIth chapter of a book of John Scheffer us, Profeſſor at Upſal, intituled, *De natura & conſtitutione Philoſophiæ Italicæ*, printed at Upſal in the year 1664, in 8vo.

(64) In the article EPICURUS, remark [*L*].

(65) Dem. Evangel. Prop. IV, *cap. ii, num.* 8, *pag.* 89, *Edit. Lipſ.* 1694. *See alſo Marſham's* Chron. Can. Ægyptiac. Sæc. XI, *pag. m.* 277, 278.

(66) Plut. de Placit. *lib. i, cap. iii, pag.* 877, *A.*

[*I*] *The order he gave to abſtain from eating of beans.*] They who explain that prohibition in a literal ſenſe, alledge, amongſt other reaſons, that Pythagoras was inſtructed by the Egyptians, and even ſuffered himſelf to be circumciſed, that he might be admitted to their moſt ſecret myſteries. Διὶ ἓς καὶ περιετέμετο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα καϑελϑὼν, τὴν μυϛικὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐκμάϑοι φιλοσοφίαν. *Propter quos* (Prophetas Ægyptios) *etiam fuit circumciſus, ut adyta ingrediens Ægyptiorum myſticam diſceret philoſophiam* (67). Now the Egyptians abſtained from beans: they ſowed none, and if they found any that had grown up without being ſown, they would not touch them (68). Their prieſts carried the ſuperſtition farther, they durſt not ſo much as look upon them, they accounted them unclean, and had rather choſen to eat the fleſh of their fathers. Θᾶττον ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς φαγεῖν φασι τῶν πατέρων ἢ κυάμους. *Dicunt ſe parentum capita citius eſuros quam fabas* (69). From whence they conclude, that Pythagoras, who had been their diſciple, forbad the eating of beans in a literal ſenſe. Several grave authors among the ancients underſtood that prohibition ſo. Some ſay he choſe rather to be killed by thoſe that purſued him, than to make his eſcape thro' a field of beans (70), ſo great was his reſpect or abhorrence for that plant! I think Ariſtoxenus is the only author who ſays, that Pythagoras would eat them often. ‘ Ariſtoxenus muſicus vir litterarum veterum di- ‘ ligentiſſimus, Ariſtotelis philoſophi auditor, in libro, ‘ quem de Pythagora reliquit, nullo ſæpius legumento ‘ Pythagoram dicit uſum quàm fabis: quoniam is ci- ‘ bus & ſubduceret ſenſim alvum & lævigaret. Verba ‘ iſta Ariſtoxeni ſubſcripſi: Πυθαγόρᾳς δὲ τῶν ὀσ- ‘ ῳίων μάλιϛα τὸν κύαμον ἐδοκίμασε λίαν κινη- ‘ τικόν τε γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ διαφορητικόν. διὸ καὶ ‘ μάλιϛα κέχρηται αὐτῷ (71). - - - *The Muſician A-* ‘ *riſtoxenus, a great lover of ancient learning, and a diſ-* ‘ *ciple of Ariſtotle, ſays in a book which he left concerning* ‘ *Pythagoras, that Pythagoras uſed to eat beans more* ‘ *often than any other kind of pulſe: becauſe that ſoft* ‘ *gently purged and cleanſed the body. I am of the ſame* ‘ *opinion with Ariſtoxenus: for Pythagoras thought beans* ‘ *very proper to diſſolve and diſcuſs humours: and there-* ‘ *fore uſed them moſt.*’ Our learned men do not much value the teſtimony of Ariſtoxenus; they believe he was miſtaken, and look upon that Pythagorean abſtinence as a certain matter of fact, and enquire into the reaſons of it. Ariſtotle gives four or five reaſons for it. He pretends that Pythagoras prohibited the eating of beans, either becauſe they are like certain parts, which I will not name, or becauſe they are like the gates of Hell, or becauſe they provoke luſt, or becauſe they reſemble the nature of the univerſe, or becauſe they were made uſe of in the election of magiſtrates (72). Thoſe who pretend that that prohibition was a moral precept, and that Pythagoras underſtood it only in an allegorical ſenſe, fancy that he forbad thereby his diſciples to meddle with the government. This is grounded upon the cuſtom of ſome cities, wherein every body gave his vote with beans, when they proceeded to the election of magiſtrates. Others think that he forbad the venereal pleaſure. Here is a paſſage of Aulus Gellius, taken from the chapter wherein the author alledges and approves the teſtimony of Ariſtoxenus. ‘ Videtur autem de ‘ κυάμῳ non eſitato cauſam erroris fuiſſe, quia in Em- ‘ pedocli carmine quo diſciplinas Pythagoræ ſecutus ‘ eſt, verſus hic invenitur:

(67) Clem. Alexandr. Strom. *lib. i, pag.* 302.

(68) Herod. lib. ii, cap. xxxvii.

(69) Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhonic. Hypotypoſ. *lib. iii, pag.* 136. *See alſo St Chryſoſt.* Hom. II, in Joann.

(70) See the remark [*P*], citation (128).

(71) Aul. Gell. *lib. xv, cap. xi, pag. m.* 131.

(72) Ariſt. in Libro de Fabis, ap. Diog. Laert. in Pythagora, *lib. viii, num.* 34.

Δειλοὶ, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

‘ opinati enim ſunt plerique κύαμον legumentum vul- ‘ go dici. Sed qui diligentius anquiſitiuſque carmina ‘ Empedocli arbitrati ſunt, κυάμους hoc in loco teſti- ‘ culos ſignificare dicunt; eoſque more Pythagoræ o- ‘ portè atque ſymbolicè κυάμους appellatos, quia ſint ‘ εἰς τὸ κυεῖν δεινοὶ καὶ αἴτιοι τὸ κυεῖν; & geni- ‘ turæ humanæ vim præbeant, iccircoque in Empedo- ‘ li verſu iſto non à fabulo edendo, ſed à rei venereæ ‘ proluvio voluiſſe homines deducere (73). - - - *The* ‘ *precept about not eating the* κυάμῳ *ſeems to have* ‘ *been the foundation of an error, becauſe in a verſe of* ‘ *Empedocles, who followed the doctrines of Pythagoras,* ‘ *the word* κυάμοι *is taken by many for beans. But* ‘ *thoſe, who have more carefully examined the Poem of* ‘ *Empedocles, ſay that it ſignifies the teſticles in that* ‘ *place: which after the manner of Pythagoras are ſi-* ‘ *guratively*

(73) Aul. Gell. ubi ſupra.

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travelled in so many places as he did (*e*). He is looked upon, by some, as a great Magician [*K*]: we shall see upon what grounds. I shall also observe that Naudæus clears

(*e*) *See* Apul. *in* Florid.

'guratively so called, from κυειν, because they produce 'conception, and give a force in generation; and there- 'fore in that verse of Empedocles, men are not forbid 'the eating of beans, but the immoderate use of venery.' Mauro in a Poem, wherein under the name *della Fava* he denotes something that is lascivious (74), joins together the opinion of Aristoxenus, and that which is contrary to it. He pretends that Pythagoras prohibited the use of beans, that is to say, venereal pleasures; and nevertheless that there was no food which he used more frequently than that: he forbad others what he himself practised; and if we believe Mauro such a conduct is very common.

(74) See the article MOLZA, remark [*D*].

Non fè Natura mai cosa sì ghiotta,
Che senza quasi romperla co i denti
Pare, ch'ogni persona se la inghiotta.
Furon certi Filosofi prudenti,
De' quali fu Pitagora il maestro,
Che vietava la Fava a quelle genti.
Eran ribaldi, e ladri da capestro.
Che ingannavan con arte gli ignoranti.
E poi se ne mangiavano un canestro.
Così fanno hoggi certi mormoranti,
Che ogni persona sepelisson viva,
Chiamando Amore, Venere i furfanti.
Riprendono in altrui la vita attiva,
Et essi ogn'hor di vespro, e di mattino
Hanno in uso l'attiva, e la passiva.
Così Maometto già per torre il vino,
Seppe persuader provincie, e regni
Co'l suo sottile ingegno, e diavolino.
Gli parue, che i plebei non fosser degni
Di quel liquore, e così sempre al mondo
Sovra la forza son stati gl'ingegni.
Pitagora, c'havea pescato al fondo,
E de le cose la ragion sapea,
Ogni gran savio sta parer secondo.
E de le Fave nemico parea,
Ma se ne confortava il gusto, e'l tatto,
E d'altra cosa quasi non vivea (75).

(75) Mauro, Capitolo in lode della Fava, *fol.* 76, *verso*, *in a collection of* Rime Piacevoli, *printed at Vicenza* 1603.

Cicero intimates, that the prohibition of beans was grounded upon their hindering men from dreaming divinatory dreams; for they heat too much, and by that irritation of the spirits they suffer not the soul to enjoy that quietness which is necessary for the search of truth. 'Ex eadem item opinione M. Cicero in li- 'bro de divinatione primo, hæc verba posuit; *Jubet* 'igitur Plato sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, 'ut nihil sit quod errorem animis perturbationemque af- 'ferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagoreis interdictum putatur, 'ne faba vescerentur; quod habet inflationem magnam 'is cibus tranquillitatem mentis quærentibus contrariam (76). Hæc quidem M. Cicero (77). - - - According 'to the same opinion, Cicero in the first book of Divina- 'tion has these words:' Therefore Plato advises that 'one should go to sleep in such a disposition of body, 'that nothing may occasion error or disturbance to 'the mind. And for the same reason, it is thought 'the Pythagoreans were forbid to eat beans, because 'that sort of food is extremely apt to breed wind, 'and to discompose the spirits.' The learned Windet has inquired more learnedly than any body else into the reasons of that abstinence: he lays the greatest stress upon the gates of Hell. We have seen that one of Pythagoras's reasons was taken from the resemblance between beans and those gates. Windet does not approve the opinion of those who say, that by κύαμος, Pythagoras understood a woman's breast, or the testicles (78). He sticks to the literal sense, but he owns that beans were forbidden out of a principle of chastity. What he says is full of exquisite learning: he shews, that in the opinion of Pythagoras, to descend into Hell, signified to be begotten, and denoted only the change which a soul undergoes when it comes out of the upper regions, to be united with an organized body upon earth. *Cum autem* ἄδης (localiter) sit regio naturæ corruptibilis, *hinc* Pythagoricis *animæ cæleste solum vertentes atque* ἰέναι εἰς γένεσιν *dicuntur etiam* καταλήγειν εἰς ἅδην (79). He shews, that beans having no knots in their stalks, resemble the gates of Hell, through which the souls have always a free entrance, in order to generation. He adds, that Pythagoras considering this life as a kind of death or banishment, endeavoured to persuade men not to beget children, but to return to the heavenly places (80). *Atque in eo* Portæ Inferni *similis est* Faba, διὰ τὸ ἀγόνατον εἶναι, quod genuum expers sit, *ut loquitur* Aristoteles (81), *vel* διὰ τὸ δι ὅλου τετρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐγκόπτεσθαι, ταῖς μεταξὺ τῶν γονάτων ἐμφράξεσιν, *id est*, propterea quod penitus perforetur, nec articulorum sive geniculorum obicibus intercipiatur: *perinde* ac porta inferni nunquam oppessulata animabus εἰς γένεσιν κατίουσαις in generationem descendentibus perpetuo patet. Pythagoras *ergo* Fabas vetando, cavit à generatione continua ac perpetua; *insinuans suis, satius fuisse pollutum corruptibilis hujusce regionis hospitium nunquam intrâsse, sed quando id integrum jam non fuerit, saltem ut admissi quàm primùm* generationem sistant, *atque ad superiora redire nitantur*. He refutes those, who believe that the disciples of Pythagoras were forbidden to eat beans, because they are unclean food; and he says that it was for some holy and mysterious reasons, which they kept to themselves. *Nimis autem populariter dictum est* Ægyptios & Pheneatas *ipsumque* Pythagoram Fabas *utpote* immundas *adspernatos: cùm revera non ob* immunditiem *sed* ob sacras rationes *abstinuerint* (82). Some of them chose to die rather than to reveal so great a secret. A Pythagorean woman cut out her tongue, lest the severity of the torments should force her to speak (83). 'Ipsum 'autem *Pythagoram* ferunt se vita potiùs spoliandum 'persequentibus ultrò stitisse, quam per *Fabetum* fuga 'sibi consulere voluisse. *Jamblichus* decem, *Suidas* 'quinquaginta *Pythagoreis* itidem factum memorat. 'Millias Crotoniata mori maluit, quàm *Dionysio* causas 'exponere propter quas *Pythagorei Fabis* abstinerent. 'Peninde etiam est quod de ipso *Pythagora* refert *Sui- 'das*. *Milliæ* uxor *Timycha*, in similem quæstionem 'veniens, suam sibi linguam præmordit, ne, tormen- 'tis victa, cogeretur τῶν ἐγχειρουθμένων τι ἀνακα- 'λύψαι, *arcanorum quidpiam detegere*, referente *Jam- 'blicho* (84). - - - *They say that Pythagoras himself 'chose rather to be killed by those that pursued him, than 'to make his escape through a field of beans. Jambli- 'chus tells that ten, and Suidas that fifty Pythagoreans 'did the same thing: Millias of Crotona would rather 'die than declare to Dionysius the reasons, why the Py- 'thagoreans abstained from beans: This Suidas relates of 'Pythagoras himself. Timycha, the wife of Millias, being 'put to the same trial, bit off her tongue, lest the severe 'rity of the torments should force her to discover any se- 'cret, as Jamblichus relates it.' Menagius quotes a passage taken from the life of St Artemius, which says that Theano, a scholar and wife of Pythagoras, refusing to tell the reason why they abstained from beans, was put to death; but her tongue was cut off, before she was put to death. Θεανὼ δὲ, ἡ τότε γαμετὴ καὶ μαθήτρια, μὴ θέλουσα τὴν αἰτίαν κατειπεῖν, δι ἣν τὸν κύαμον οὐκ ἐσθίουσι, τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθεῖσα προτέρων, καὶ αὐτὴ προαπόλλυται, &c (85).

(76) *There is in* Tully, inflationem magnam is cibus tranquillitati mentis quærenti vera contrariam. *Aul. Gellius must needs have quoted those words without book. See* Philip. Caroli, Animadvers. in A. Gell. *pag. m.* 266, 267.

(77) Aul. Gell. ubi supra.

(78) Est qui nixus parum firmo tibicine de papillis mulierbribus intellexit; alii testes operte significari volunt, alii, alia quæ parumper attinet despicere. *Ja. Windet, de Vita functorum statu, pag.* 79, *Edit. Lond.* 1677.

(79) Ib. p. 106.

(80) Ibid. *pag.* 110, 111.

(81) Apud Diog. Laërt. *lib. viii, num.* 34. Ἤ ὅτι ἅδῃ τύλαις. ἀγονατον γὰρ μονον. Sive quod inferni januis *(similes sunt fabæ)* solæ enim geniculatæ non sunt.

(82) Windet, ibid. *pag.* 81.

(83) Compare with this what the courtezan Læna did at Athens. *Plin. lib. xxxiv, cap. viii, pag. m.* 122. Athen. *lib. xiii. pag.* 596. Pausan. *lib. i, pag.* 41, *and* Polyen. *lib. viii, speak of it. See Father* Bouhours, Entretien du Secret, *pag. m.* 197, 198.

(84) Id. Windet. ibid. *pag.* 84.

I shall observe by the by, that the *Schola Salernitana* in the edition of Renatus Moreau, forbids to eat beans; 'Manducare fabam caveas, facit illa podagram. - - - 'See that you abstain from beans: they breed the gout.' The learned and large collections which that Physician has published on that precept, deserve to be consulted. They contain a great many remarks which concern Pythagoras.

(85) Vita Sancti Artemii in codice MS Bibliothecæ Colbertinæ, *num.* 82, *pag.* 48, apud Menagium notis in Diogen. Laërt. *lib. viii, num.* 50, *pag.* 378.

[*K*] *He is looked upon as a great Magician.*] I shall quote a passage out of the apology for great men accused of Magic. *He was looked upon as a sorcerer and an enchanter, because, first, he made a long stay in Egypt, and read the books of Zoroaster, wherein he learned, as one may imagine, the properties of certain herbs, which he called* Coracesia, Callicia, Menais, Corinthas, *and* Aproxis, *the two first whereof turned water into ice, when they were put into it, the two next were an excellent remedy against the biting of serpents, and the last would*

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clears him from that accuſation [L]. I might obſerve a great many other things; but I muſt

*would be kindled of a ſudden at any diſtance from the fire. Likewiſe in one of his ſymbols he expreſsly forbad the uſe of beans, which according to the ſame ſuperſtition he boiled and expoſed to the moon for ſome nights, till by a great power of Magic they turned into blood; which perhaps ſerved him to do that other trick mentioned by Cœlius Rhodiginus * after Suidas and the interpreter of Ariſtophanes in the comedy of the Clouds, who ſay, that that Philoſopher uſed to write with blood upon a looking-glaſs, any thing that he had a mind to, and holding thoſe letters againſt the face of the moon when it was at full, he ſaw in that planet every thing he had written upon his looking-glaſs. To which may be added, that he appeared at the Olympic games with a golden thigh, that he was ſaluted by the river Neſſus, that he ſtopped an eagle that was flying, tamed a ſhe-bear, killed a ſerpent, and drove away an ox which ſpoiled a field of beans, only by the virtue of ſome words. Beſides, he was ſeen the very ſame day, and at the ſame hour in the cities of Crotona and Metapontum, and uſed to foretel things to come with ſo great a confidence, that many are of opinion he was named Pythagoras, becauſe the anſwers he gave were not leſs certain and true than thoſe of Apollo Pythius.* Thus far Naudæus in the xvth chap. page 215 of his apology for great men. He tells us, page 214, that what he has ſaid may be collected out of *Jamblichus, Pliny, Tertullian, Origen, St Auguſtin, Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Jeſuit *Delrio*, and *Boiſſardus*.

* Lib. ix, cap. xxiii.

[L] *Naudeus clears him from this accuſation.*] See his Apology for great Men: I ſhall only tranſcribe the following words. 'The proofs which are grounded 'upon that Philoſopher's prohibiting the uſe of beans, 'and his way of turning their juice into blood, may 'be as eaſily refuted as the foregoing, ſince Reuchlin 'deſpiſes, with great reaſon, all the fooleries which 'many crack-brained and fantaſtical men have in-'vented about that prohibition, ſuch as that of Her-'mippus in Diogenes, who believed that Pythagoras 'choſe to be killed near a field of beans, rather than 'go through it to eſcape from his enemies; and if it 'be true that he forbad them, he did it for no other 'reaſon than the firſt out of the five, which Mr Mo-'reau ** gives for it in the above-mentioned place of 'his commentary on the *Schola Salernitana* (86). . . . 'In like manner it may be ſaid, that there was 'nothing extraordinary in his converting beans into 'blood; for Mr Moreau very clearly ſhews in 'the ſaid commentary, that, according to the prin-'ciple of Chymiſts, who reckon ſimilitude and re-'ſemblance as cauſes of actions, it is a thing that may 'be done and explained by natural principles: but 'there is no need to believe that Pythagoras made uſe 'of that elixir of beans, or human blood, to write 'upon his looking-glaſs: for beſides that, he could 'have no reaſon to uſe blood rather than any other 'liquor, Campanella † proves, with very ſolid rea-'ſons, that ſuch an operation is altogether impoſſible; 'and when Agrippa ‡ boaſted that he had that ſecret, 'and Natalis Comes ‡ wrote that in the time of 'Francis I, and Charles V, they knew at Paris, in 'the night, every thing that paſſed at Milan in the 'day; the former ſaid ſo only to commend him-'ſelf, and to be cried up, as we ſhall ſhew more 'fully in his chapter, and what the latter ſays is 'a meer fable and lie, contrived by thoſe who had a 'mind to add Magic to the arms of thoſe two great 'princes (87), as we are told that Ninus and Zoro-'aſter, Pyrrhus and Crœſus, Nectanebus and Philip 'of Macedon formerly did. From whence we may 'judge, that all that is ſaid of Pythagoras's looking-'glaſs is as falſly aſcribed to him, as the ſuperſtitious 'Arithmetic, and the wheel of Onomancy, or that 'if he practiſed it any time, it was doubtleſs ſome 'trick, preſtige, and ſubtilty; and to conclude with 'Suidas, *παίγνιον διὰ κατόπτρου* (88), *a trick with 'a looking-glaſs.* It would be needleſs to inſiſt any 'longer upon his killing, with the muttering of ſome 'words, a ſerpent which waſted the country of Italy, 'becauſe Boiſſardus, who alledges Ariſtotle for it, does 'not quote the book out of which he had it, and if 'any one will more narrowly enquire into the truth 'of that ſtory, it will be found to be altogether falſe, 'being founded only upon the ignorance of thoſe who 'change Socrates into Pythagoras, and take, as a true 'hiſtory, the fable concerning the former, which may 'be read in a book of the Cauſes and Properties of the 'Elements, which Patricius ſhews †† to have been 'falſly aſcribed to Ariſtotle. But that inadvertency of 'Boiſſardus might be eaſily excuſed, had he not com-'mitted another much worſe, and more remarkable, 'when he quotes Plutarch in the life of Numa, to 'give credit to the hiſtory of the ox, which Pythago-'ras ‡‡ drove out of a field of beans, after he had 'whiſpered ſomething in his ear. He had better have 'confeſſed that he had it from Cœlius Rhodigi-'nus, who does indeed quote Plutarch in the be-'ginning of his chapter, but upon a ſubject different 'from that ſtory, of which he never made any men-'tion (89).'

** Cap. xix.

(86) Naudæus, Apology for Great Men accuſed of Magic, *pag.* 225, 226.

† *Lib iv, de ſenſu, cap. xvi.*

‡ *Lib. i, de occult. Philoſoph. cap. vi.*

‡ *Lib. iii, cap. xvii, Mytholog.*

(87) See the article FRANCIS I, remark [K].

(88) Naud. ibid. *pag.* 226, 227.

†† *Diſcurſus Perpat. Tom. i, lib. iii.*

‡‡ *Lib. xix, cap. vii.*

(89) Naudæus, ibid. *pag.* 237.

I believe the reader will be glad to find here the Greek words of Ariſtophanes's Scholiaſt, corrected by the learned Meziriac. *I ſhall conclude this diſcourſe*, ſays he (90), *with a pretty remark which is made by the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes's comedy of the Clouds, and by Suidas, upon theſe words,* Θετταλὴ γυνὴ, *concerning a Magical operation relating to the Moon. Theſe are the words of the ſcholiaſt.* Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρου παίγνιον διὰ τοῦ κατόπτρου ποιοῦτο. πληροσελήνῳ τῆς σελήνης ὄσης, εἴτις ἐσοπτρον ἐπιγραψειεν αἵματι ὅσα βάλεται, καὶ παρεστὼν ἑτέρῳ, σαίνῃ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ, δεικνὺς πρὸς τὴν σελήνην τὰ γράμματα, κἀκεῖνος ἀτενίσειεν ὁ πλησίον εἰς τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον, ἀναγνοίη πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κατόπτρῳ γεγραμμένα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης γεγραμμένα. There is a trick of Pythagoras's invention, which is performed with a looking-glas in this manner. The moon being at full, ſome body writes on a looking-glaſs any thing that he has a mind to with blood, and having given notice of it to another perſon, he ſtands behind him, and turns towards the moon the letters written in the looking-glaſs, and the other looking fixedly on the orb of the moon, reads in it all that is written on the looking-glaſs, as if it were written on the moon. *I have corrected two faults in that paſſage, reading* πληρ᾽σελήνῳ *inſtead of* περσελήνῳ, *according to the opinion of the learned Meurſius, in his book concerning the Grecian games, who had this correction from Suidas; and reading alſo* ἀτενίσειεν *inſtead of* ἀτενίσαι. *As for Suidas, it ſeems that he only tranſcribed that paſſage word for word; but there are many faults in all the printed books of that author.* You will find the correction of thoſe faults in Meziriac. Conſult the remarks on the *Berger Extravagant* (91). The impertinent ſtory of *Natalis Comes* (92) has crept into many books: ſo true it is, that any one who prints hearſays, does the public wrong. There are but too many authors who will adopt it one after another. Becauſe the fryar, St Romauld, inſerted that ſtory in his Chronological Treaſure, Father l'Enfant has inſerted it in his general hiſtory of all the centuries of the new law. *The manner*, ſays he (93), *how to know what paſſes abroad, without magic: write thoſe things in large letters upon a looking-glaſs, and hold it againſt the moon, and the ſame things will be read in another looking-glaſs wherein the moon is to be ſeen. Thus Francis I, being at war with Charles V for the duchy of Milan, it was known the next night at Paris* (94). If ſuch things were related to be laughed at, one might avoid being cenſured for it. Thus John Leo relates a fable, which was current in Egypt. *Among the Ptolemies*, ſays he (95), *there was one formerly king of Alexandria, who, for the ſecurity of the city, and to make it impregnable, and put it in a condition of avoiding, without any danger, the aſſaults of the enemy, cauſed a column to be erected, and a ſteel looking-glaſs to be ſet on the top of it, which had ſuch a virtue, that all the ſhips of the enemies that ſailed by that column (the looking-glaſs being uncovered) were miraculouſly ſet on fire, which is the only reaſon why he cauſed it to be erected in that manner, in the mouth of the port. But it is ſaid that the Mahometans ſpoiled the looking-glaſs at their arrival, whereby it loſt that virtue, no leſs admirable than unuſual, and then they carried the column away. But this is a ridiculous ſtory, and only fit for children, and not for thoſe who have any judgment.* Add to this what I have ſaid in the remark [L], of the article HERCULES, and theſe words of William Bouchet: *That woman's looking-glaſs muſt needs have been enchanted, and full of diabolical magic of Toledo, ſince the inhabitants of Rhodes could ſee*

FABULOUS ſtories about looking-glaſſes.

(90) Meziriac, upon Ovid's Epiſtles, *pag.* 607, 608.

(91) Upon the 7th book, *pag.* 321.

(92) See his Mythologie, *lib. iii, cap. xvii, pag.* 253.

(93) David l'Enfant, a Dominican, Hiſt. Générale de tous les Siecles, *on the* 218 *of* Jeſus, *pag.* 347. He quotes Trefor, Chronol. *pag.* 519, *Tom. i.*

(94) See, below, remark [Q].

(95) Deſcript. of Africa, *fol.* 356, *Antwerp* 1556.

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must be short, and I avoid every thing that may be found in Moreri. Nevertheless, though he speaks of the Metempsychosis, I shall say something of it [*M*]. I think it was

see the ships that sailed into Syria or Egypt in a looking-glass, which hung at the sun's neck upon their Colossus (96).

(96) Will. Bouchet, Serée XIX, *pag. m.* 171, 172.

The story of Nostradamus's looking-glasses is not better than the foregoing. It is said that he saw in some Talismanic looking-glasses, things to come, which he so happily foretold, as it is pretended. 'Fuit, qui 'narravit, speculis quibusdam Astrologicis Nostrada-'mum ad has prædictiones usum. Nam qui arcaniora 'Physica & Astrologica cognita habent, ajunt è me-'tallis, tanquam Planetis terrestribus, eâdem configu-'ratione, qua Planetæ in Thematibus Natalitiis po-'nuntur, sub certis constellationibus specula fieri posse, 'in quibus futura cernantur. Talia specula non pro 'hominibus tantum, sed & nationibus, urbibus, seculis, 'ut illi ajunt, fabricari possunt (97). ---- *It was said* 'that Nostradamus made use of certain Astrological look-'ing-glasses in foretelling those things. For such as un-'derstand the greatest Physical and Astrological secrets, 'say, that future things may be discerned in looking-'glasses, which may be made of metals under certain con-'stellations, like terrestrial planets, with the same con-'figuration as planets in erecting nativities. Such look-'ing-glasses, they say, may be made not only for particular 'persons, but for nations, cities, and ages' (§ *α*).

(97) Morhofius, Polyhist. *lib. i, cap. x, pag.* 96.

[(§ *α*) In a satire against the Jesuits, intituled, *De studiis abstrusioribus Jesuitarum*, it is reported, 'That 'Father Cotton shewed the king (Henry the Great) 'in an Astrological looking-glass, whatever passed in 'the courts and cabinets of all the princes of the 'world *': and the Jesuit who informs me of this, takes too much pains in refuting that story. Nicholas Pasquier relates just such another: and note, that he does not do it by way of ridicule, but tells it in the most serious manner that can be, in a letter full of *prognostications, which preceded the death of Henry the Great*. I shall subscribe it here so much the more willingly, as it is one of the most circumstantiated of that kind, and consequently the most proper to shew the ridiculousness of them. 'The late queen 'dowager (Catherine de Medicis) *(says Pasquier)* † 'desirous to know whether all her children should be 'kings, a Magician in the castle of Chaulmont, which 'is situated on the bank of the river Loire between 'Blois and Amboise, shewed her in a hall, round a 'circle which he had drawn, all that had been, or 'should be, kings of France, who took so many 'turns round the circle, according to the number of 'years they had reigned, or should reign: and as 'soon as Henry the third had walked fifteen rounds, 'the late king begins the race, brisk and nimble; he 'took twenty turns entire, and going to finish the 'twenty-first, he suddenly disappeared. After him 'came a young prince, between eight and nine years 'of age, who went thirty-seven, or thirty-eight, times 'round; and then all things became invisible, be-'cause the late queen dowager would see no more of 'it.' Observe, that his pretended enchantment grows lame as soon as it enters upon the future. He says very well, that Henry the third took fifteen turns, and that Henry the fourth took twenty, and disappeared in the twenty-first, because he wrote after the event happened ‡; but when he speaks of the reign of Lewis XIII, he loses his way. He makes him go thirty-seven or thirty-eight rounds; which should have brought him down to the year 1647, or 1648: whereas every body knows he went no farther than the year 1643. The author of a small libel, intituled, *Remarks upon the Government of the kingdom during the reigns of Henry IV, Lewis XIII, and Lewis XIV*, printed at Cologn, for Peter Marteau, in 1688, in 12mo, has turned that story in this manner. *It is said, that Catherine de Medicis likewise made use of the enchantments of her diviners, to know the successors of her son: and that by means of a looking-glass they made those to appear to her, who were to reign after the extinction of the house of Valois. The first that appeared was Henry IV, but she conceived an implacable hatred and aversion to this prince, constantly endeavouring, after this sight, to destroy him by all the artifices imaginable.* Notumque furens quid fœmina possit. *It is well known what a woman's rage can do; and that there is nothing she will stick at to attain her ends. But GOD delivered this monarch from all her snares. After Henry IV, the looking-glass presented to her Lewis XIII, and Lewis XIV, with a majestic stature and gate. And then there appeared in the looking-glass a company of Jesuits, who were in their turn, to be masters of France. She refused to see any more, and was even upon the point of breaking the looking-glass: but however, it was preserved, and many affirm that it is still in the Louvre* ‡. It is very evident, this account is only a copy revised and enlarged, from that of Nicolas Pasquier; but see with what impudence they have falsified it. I. Henry IV is made to appear the first, whereas Pasquier makes all his predecessors to appear before him. II. They bring down to Lewis XIV, and further, what he had carried only to Lewis XIII. III. They insinuate, that it happened at the Louvre, but he says that it was at Chaumont upon the Loire. IV. They talk of a looking-glass, and he speaks only of a circle. V. They say this looking-glass is preserved, and that it is affirmed to be still in the Louvre. VI. They pretend that Catherine de Medicis would have broke the glass; but Pasquier says, she only refused to see any thing more. I shall say nothing of that reflexion, so ingeniously placed, and which is contradicted in the same breath: nor of that fine prediction in favour of the Jesuits, the falsity of which we now see so plainly; nor of that which is so ridiculously asserted, touching the cause of the hatred of Catherine de Medicis to Henry IV: it is well known she had other reasons not to love him. It will be thought, perhaps, that I have insisted too long on such trifles: but it is not so needless as some may imagine to refute those kinds of traditions, and to shew the progress of them; since we see every day persons credulous enough to admit them, and to publish them without shame. How many people are there, for instance, who have read the last of these accounts without knowing, and without suspecting that it was only an embellishment of that of Pasquier? Such is the destiny of that sort of traditions: they increase with time: one may very well apply to them the *Vires acquirit eundo. --- A tale loses nothing by the telling.* REM. CRIT.]

* Reponse. Apologet. à l'Anti-Coton, *pag.* 141.

† Lettres de Nicolas Pasquier, *pag.* 10.

‡ His book was published in 1623. His letter is without date. But it appears, it was writ a few days after the death of Henry IV.

[*M*] *I shall say something of the Metempsychosis.*] They say that Pythagoras bragged of a special privilege about it; for he boasted that he could remember in what bodies he had been before he was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the age of the city of Troy, he had been first Æthalides, who was reputed the son of Mercury, and it being in his choice to demand of that god whatever he would, he begged of him that he might remember every thing after his death. Some time after he was Euphorbus, and was wounded by Menelaus at the siege of Troy. After the death of Euphorbus, he was Hermotimus, and then a Fisherman at Delos named Pyrrhus, and at last Pythagoras, a man who remembred all those transmigrations, and what he had suffered in Hell, and what other souls suffer there (98). Here is a litttle contradiction (99); for if the souls of men go from one body into another, they do not go to Hell. Our Philosopher, according to Ovid, goes no higher than Euphorbus:

(98) Ex Heraclide Pontico, ap. Laërt. ubi supra, *num.* 4, & 5.

(99) Compare this with what has been said above, towards the end of the remark [*F*].

Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relictâ
Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantque receptæ.
Ipse ego (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli
Panthoïdes Euphorbus eram: cui pectore quondam
Hæsit in adverso gravis hasta minoris Atridæ.
Cognovi clypeum lævæ gestamina nostræ
Nuper Abantæis, templo Junonis, in Argis (100).

(100) Ovid. Metam. lib. xv, ver. 158.

Nor dies the spirit, but new life repeats
In other forms and only changes seats.
In Trojan wars, (for I the fact retain),
Euphorbus, I, Panthous' son, was slain
By Menelaus . . . . at Argos I beheld
In Juno's Fane and knew my former shield.

O happy memory, says Lactantius very pleasantly. 'O miram, & singularem Pythagoræ memoriam. O 'miseram oblivionem nostrum omnium, qui nescimus, 'qui ante fuerimus; sed fortasse vel errore aliquo, 'vel gratiâ sit effectum, ut ille solus lethæum gurgi-'tem

‡ Remarques sur le Gouvernment du Roiaume, &c. *pag.* 15, 16.

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was by reaſon of this opinion that he diſapproved the ſacrificing of beaſts, and it is obſerved that he adored an altar on which no ſacrifice had ever been offered, that he adored it, I ſay, as a place which had never been profaned or polluted [*N*]. I have not mentioned the native country of Pythagoras, becauſe there are ſeveral opinions about it; ſome ſay he was a Tyrrhenian, others a Syrian, others affirm that he was born in the iſle of Samos, others, in the iſle of Cephalonia (*f*), &c (*g*). The Heathen Philoſophers never ſaid any thing finer, than what he ſaid concerning God, and the end of all our actions [*O*]; and it is likely that he had carried his Orthodoxy much farther, had

(*f*) At Samos a town of that iſland.

(*g*) Vid. Farnab. in Ovid. Met. lib. xv, ver. 60.

‘ tem non attigèrit, nec oblivionis aquam guſtaverit. ‘ Videlicet ſenex vanus (ſicut ocioſæ aniculæ ſolent) fa- ‘ bulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quòd ſi ‘ benè ſenſiſſet de iis, quibus hæc locutus eſt, ſi homi- ‘ nes eos exiſtimaſſet, nunquam ſibi tam petulanter ‘ mentiendi licentiam vendicaſſet. Sed deridenda ho- ‘ minis leviſſimi vanitas (101). - - - - *O rare memory* ‘ *of Pythagoras. O our wretched forgetfulneſs, who* ‘ *know nothing of our pre-exiſtence: but perhaps it hap-* ‘ *pened by ſome particular miſtake, or favour, that he* ‘ *only never touched the river of Lethe, nor taſted the* ‘ *waters of oblivion. The vain old man forſooth (as* ‘ *idle old women uſe to do) invented thoſe ſtories as if he* ‘ *were talking to credulous children. Had he judged* ‘ *rightly of thoſe to whom he told them, had he looked* ‘ *upon them as men, he would never have been ſo bold* ‘ *as to forge ſuch lies. But his ridiculous vanity deſerves* ‘ *contempt.*’ Lactantius ſhould have known that Pythagoras aſcribed his memory to the favour of the gods; he might have read it in Heraclides; and it will be ſaid, that without this one might eaſily fancy, that Pythagoras prevented the objection which other men would raiſe againſt him, becauſe they did not remember any pre-exiſtence. I anſwer to that objection, that in ſome reſpects it is not likely he would have been ſo bold as to boaſt of ſuch a thing: otherwiſe his contempt of other men, as Lactantius obſerves, had been very great; but if we conſider the thing another way, we ſhall find nothing in it that is againſt likelihood. He had acquired ſo great a reputation and made ſo many experiments of the blind docility and great credulity of his hearers, that he might eaſily flatter himſelf, that what he ſhould ſay concerning his memory would not be diſbelieved. If you deſire to know his ſeveral tranſmigrations ſince the death of Pythagoras, you need but read the following words, and you will ſee that he was a courtezan at the third change. ‘ Py- ‘ thagoram verò ipſum ſicuti celebre eſt Euphorbum ‘ primo ſe fuiſſe dictitaſſe; ita hæc remotiora ſunt his, ‘ quæ Clearchus & Dicæarchus memoriæ tradiderunt, ‘ fuiſſe eum poſtea Pyrandrum, deinde Callicleam, de- ‘ inde feminam pulchra facie meretricem, cui nomen ‘ fuerat Alce (102). - - - - *But as it is well known that* ‘ *Pythagoras himſelf ſaid he was at firſt Euphorbus: ſo* ‘ *afterwarwards, according to Clearchus and Dicæarchus,* ‘ *he became Pyrander, then Callicleas, and after that a* ‘ *beautiful whore called Alce.*’ As for the reſt, he invented not the Metempſychoſis: he learned it of the Egyptians (103), which made him ſpoil the fine doctrine he had heard of Pherecydes, about the immortality of the ſoul, wherewith he had been ſo moved, that he gave over the trade of an Athlete, or wreſtler, all of a ſudden, to ſtudy Philoſophy. ‘ Quis nunc extremus ‘ idiota, vel quæ abjecta muliercula non credit animæ ‘ immortalitatem, vitamque poſt mortem futuram? ‘ Quod apud Græcos olim primus Pherecydes Aſſyrius ‘ cum diſputaſſet, Pythagoram Samium illius diſputa- ‘ tionis novitate permotum ex athleta in Philoſophum ‘ vertit (104). - - - *What man is now ſo ſtupid, or what* ‘ *woman ſo ſilly, as not to believe the immortality of the* ‘ *ſoul, and a future ſtate? When Pherecydes, the Aſſyrian,* ‘ *firſt diſcourſed on this ſubject among the Grecians,* ‘ *Pythagoras, the Samian, was ſo moved with it, that of* ‘ *an Athlete he turned Philoſopher.*’

(101) Lactant. Div. Inſt. *lib. iii, cap. xviii, pag. m.* 196.

(102) Aul. Gell. *lib. iv, cap. xi.* See the article PERICLES, citation (186).

(103) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. cxxiii.* It is true he does not mention the name of Pythagoras. But Diodorus Siculus, *lib. i, ſub fin.* mentions him.

(104) Auguſt. Ep. III, *pag. m.* 9.

[*N*] *It is obſerved that he adored an altar . . . as a place which had never been profaned or polluted.*] It was an altar conſecrated to Apollo in the iſle of Delos. Read theſe words of Macrobius (105). ‘ Conſtat, ſicut ‘ Cloatius Verus ordinatorum libro ſecundo docet, eſſe ‘ Deli aram; apud quam hoſtia non cæditur, ſed tan- ‘ tum ſolemni deum prece venerantur: verba Cloatii ‘ hæc ſunt. *Deli ara eſt Apollinis* Γενήτορος *in qua* ‘ *nullum animal ſacrificatur, quam Pythagoram quaſi in-* ‘ *violatam adoraviſſe produnt* . . . . Meminit hujus ‘ aræ & Cato de liberis educandis in hæc verba: *Nu-* ‘ *trix hæc omnia facitbat, in verbenis & tubis ſine* ‘ *hoſtia, ut Deli ad Apollinis Genitivi Aram.* - - - - : ‘ *It is certain, according to Cloatius Verus, that there is* ‘ *an altar at Delos where no victim is ſlain, but the* ‘ *god is worſhipped only by ſolemn prayer: the words of* ‘ *Cloatius are theſe.* At Delos is the altar of Apollo, upon which no animal is ſacrificed, which Pythagoras is ſaid to have adored as being unpolluted. . . . . ‘ *Cato, in his treatiſe on education, thus ſpeaks of* ‘ *that altar:* The nurſe did all theſe things, with ‘ vervain and pipes, without *ſacrifice*, as at the altar of ‘ Apollo in Delos.’

(105) Macrob. Saturn. *lib. iii, cap. vi, pag. m.* 316.

[*O*] *The Heathen Philoſophers never ſaid any thing finer than what he ſaid concerning God, and the end of all our actions.*] He acknowledged the unity of God; for he ſaid that unity was the principle of all things, and that out of it came the ſubject it made uſe of as it's matter, and that out of it's action upon that matter came out numbers, figures, elements, the viſible world, &c. Ἀρχὴν μὲν τῶν ἁπάντων, μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα, ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποτῆναι, &c. (106). *Omnium rerum id quod unum eſt, eſſe initium; ex eo geminum quod infinitum eſt, profectum tanquam materiem illi ipſi uni, quod cauſa eſt, ſubjectum eſſe*, &c (107). He ſaid, that that unity was God, the good, the underſtanding, the mind. Τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν, καὶ ταγαθὸν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς. *Unitatem Deum ac bonum quæ ſit Unius natura, ipſa mens* (108). Caſaubon, the ſon (109), alledges a paſſage out of Stobæus which ought to be mended. Πυθαγόρας τὼν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν καὶ τ' ἀγαθὸν. ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ νοὸς φύσις· ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς. καὶ τὴν ἀόριστον δυάδα, καὶ τὸ κακὸν περὶ ἣν ἐστὶν τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. Stobæus had it from Plutarch (110), we muſt therefore read τοῦ ἑνὸς inſtead of τοῦ νοὸς. The doctrine of Pythagoras is not ſo orthodox in that paſſage, as in that of Diogenes Laërtius; for, according to Plutarch, he admitted of two independent principles, Unity and Binary, and aſcribed to the firſt the Divine Eſſence, Goodneſs, and Underſtanding; and to the ſecond, the nature of a Dæmon, evil, and matter. We ſhall judge more advantageouſly of his doctrine, if we take it out of Clemens Alexandrinus. Οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον δὲ τὰς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν, οἳ φασιν, Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς, εἷς. χ' ἕτερος δὲ ἐκ ὥς τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τῆς διακοσμήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ ὅλῳ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ, ἐπίσκοπος πάσας γενέσεις, κράσεις τῶν ὅλων· ἀεὶ ὤν, καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὐτῷ δυναμίων καὶ ἔργων ἁπάντων, ἐν ἡγεμονῷ φωτὶ, καὶ πάντων πατὴρ, νοῦς καὶ ψύχωσις τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ, πάντων κίνησις. Nec verò prætermittendi ſunt Pythagoræ ſectatores, quippe qui dicant, Deum quidem unum eſſe, non ita tamen, ut quidam opinantur, quaſi ſit extra mundi adminiſtrationem, ſed eſt totus in ipſa, in toto circulo, ſpeculator totius generationis, univerſorum temperatio, qui ſemper eſt, & ſuas facultates deducit ad opus, omnium operum in cœlo illuſtrator, pater omnium, mens & animatio totius circuli, omnium motus (111). - - - *But we muſt not forget the Pythagoreans, for they maintain there is only one* GOD, *not ſuch an one as ſome imagine, as if he did not concern himſelf with the adminiſtration of the world, but that his providence reaches all things, that he obſerves and regulates every part of the univerſe, that he is eternal and omnipotent, the father, the mover, and ſoul, of the world.* The worſt of it is, that Pythagoras, conſidering GOD as the mover of the univerſe, and the ſoul of the world, affirmed that our ſouls are portions of GOD. There is an objection againſt this doctrine of Pythagoras to be found in Tully, which cannot be anſwered. ‘ Nam Pythagoras, qui cenſuit (*Deum*) ‘ animum eſſe per naturam rerum omnem intentum & ‘ commeantem, ex quo noſtri animi caperentur, non ‘ vidit diſtractione humanorum animorum diſcerpi & ‘ dilacerari Deum: & cùm miſeri animi eſſent, quod ‘ pleriſque contingeret, tum Dei partem eſſe miſeram: quod

(106) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, num. 25.

(107) So Aldobrandinus renders it in the beginning of his notes upon thoſe words of Laërtius. See alſo Meric. Caſaubon on Laërt. ibid. num. 83.

(108) Plut. de Placit. Philoſ. *lib. i, cap. vii, pag.* 881.

(109) Not. in Diog. Laërt. in Alcmæone, *lib. viii*, num. 83.

(110) The next words of Plutarch are, Τὴν δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀπειρίαν τινὰ τοῦ πλείω, περὶ ἣν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος· ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἀριθμὸς ὁ πολλαπλασιάσιμος. Infinitam autem binarii naturam, genium & maſſam unde eſt multitudo materiæ, & viſi expoſitus mundus.

(111) Clem. Alexandr. in Admonit. ad Gentes, *pag.* 47, C. See alſo Juſt. Mart. Oration ad Gentes, *pag.* 58.

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had he had courage enough to expoſe himſelf to martyrdom. The circumſtances of his death are variouſly related [*P*]. I ſhall name ſome authors who have treated of his doctrine

‘ quod fieri non poteſt. Cur autem quicquam ignoraret animus hominis, ſi eſſet Deus? quomodo porrò Deus iſte, ſi nihil eſſet niſi animus, aut infixus, aut infuſus eſſet in mundo (112). - - - *For Pythagoras, who thought GOD to be an active ſoul, pervading the whole univerſe, and that our minds were parts of him, did not conſider that by the diſtinction of human minds, GOD was divided and ſeparated: and that as many of them were miſerable, ſo a part of GOD was miſerable, which is impoſſible. But why ſhould the mind of man be ignorant of any thing, if it were GOD? And how could GOD, were he only a ſpirit, be fixed or infuſed in the world?*’ St Epiphanius aſcribes to that Philoſopher a wild opinion, *viz.* that God has a corporeal and organized nature, being nothing elſe but Heaven, and making uſe of the ſun and moon as two eyes, and ſo of the other parts of the firmament (113). But here is a thought which is abſolutely true: Clemens Alexandrinus compares it with St Paul's words. None but God is wiſe, ſaid Pythagoras (114). The author of the Jewiſh antiquities ſeems to be very well ſatisfied with the doctrines of ſeveral Philoſophers, eſpecially of Pythagoras concerning the nature of God, and he doubts not but they had ſpoken more ſoundly ſtill, had they not been afraid of perſecution; for as Plato ſays, it is not ſafe to tell ignorant men the truth concerning the divine nature. Καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους ἀπὸ τῆς σοᾶς φιλόσοφοι, καὶ μικρᾷ δεῖν ἅπαντες ἄτῳ φαίνονται, περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν παρὸς ὀλίγον φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλῆθος δόξαις περικατειλεμμένον τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν. . . . . Αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγησεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἀγνοιαν οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν. Pythagoras enim, & Anaxagoras, & Plato, & poſt illos philoſophi Stoici, & pene cuncti, videntur de divina ſapuiſſe natura. Sed hi quidem ad breve philoſophantes, populo ſuperſtitionum opinionibus jam præoccupato veritatem dogmatis proferre timuere (115). . . . . Ipſe ſiquidem Plato confeſſus eſt, quia veram de Deo opinionem propter ignorantiam plebis proferre ſecurum non eſt (116). - - *Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and after them the Stoic Philoſophers, and almoſt all, ſeem to have underſtood the divine nature. But they delivered their doctrines obſcurely, and were afraid to declare openly the truth, becauſe the people were prepoſſeſſed with ſuperſtitious notions. . . . . Plato himſelf confeſſed it was not ſafe*, &c. The ſame Joſephus affirms, that Pythagoras exceeded all the ancient Philoſophers in piety and wiſdom. Σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ πάντων ὑπειλεμμένος διενεγκεῖν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων. *Sapientia & divina pietate Philoſophos omnes excellens* (117). We muſt not forget an obſervation of Plutarch: when he ſhews the conformity there was between the thoughts of Numa and thoſe of Pythagoras, he ſays, that Numa would not have the Deity to be repreſented by any images, and that God, according to Pythagoras, is an impaſſible nature, which does not fall under our ſenſes, and can only be the object of the underſtanding (118). Οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν ἢ παθητὸν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ νοητὸν ὑπειλάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον. *Neque enim ille ſenſui aut ulli dolori expoſitum rerum principium eſſe, ſed inviſibile, incorruptum, ſola mente exiſtimavit apprehenſibile* (119).

As for the end of our actions and ſtudies, nothing can be more admirable, nor more Chriſtian, than what Pythagoras ſaid about it; for he taught that the ſtudy of Philoſophy ſhould tend to make men like God. Πρὸς τὴν θείαν ὁμοίωσιν ἀνάγει, καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορείκης φιλοσοφίας τὸν τελειότατον σκοπὸν ἐκκαλύπτει: *ad divinam ſimilitudinem ducunt, Pythagoricæque philoſophiæ finem perfectiſſimum oſtendunt* (120). This is an encomium beſtowed on a piece of Poetry, which contains the doctrines of that Philoſopher. They conſiſt of two parts, which may be very well compared to the purgative and unitive ways ſo much talked of by our Myſtics. ‘ Hierocles, qui commentarios eruditiſſimos in Carmen Aureum Pythagoræ reliquit, ſtatim ab initio de Pythagorica philoſophia diſſerens, appellat eam κάθαρσιν καὶ τελειότητα, ‘ *purgationem, & perfectionem.* Quæ duo cum ſubindicent officium ipſius duplex ac propoſitum, ut loco alio monſtravi, duplicem videri poſſunt Pythagoras & Pythagorici habuiſſe philoſophiam, quarum illa ſit καθαρτικὴ, hæc vero τελικὴ, illa, quæ purgat à malis, ſeparat à materia & corpore, liberat à vinculis & carcere; hæc, quæ perficiat, evehat & reportet ſurſum, & εἰς τὸ εἰδῶ τῆς πρώτης ἕξεως, ut loquitur Hierocles, id eſt habitus prioris formam inducat, ſimileſque faciat Deo. . . . . Id quod ipſe indicat Hierocles in ſequentibus, quando dicit, περιέχει (carmen aureum) πάσης φιλοσοφίας πρακτικῆς καὶ θεωρητικῆς τὰ καθόλου δόγματα, δι' ὧν ἄν τις ἑαυτὸν καθαρὸν ἀπολάυοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ὁμοίωσιν ἐντυχήσειε. *Continet philoſophiæ omnis practicæ ac theoreticæ decreta ſumma quibus quis & purgare ſe, & ſimilem Deo facere valeat* (121). - - - *Hierocles, who left moſt learned commentaries upon the golden verſes of Pythagoras, in the beginning of his diſcourſe concerning the Pythagorean Philoſophy, calls it* purgation *and* perfection. *Which two intimating a twofold uſe and purpoſe of it, as I have ſhewn in another place, Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans ſeem to have had two kinds of Philoſophy, the one* purgative, *the other* perfective; *the former, to cleanſe from evils, to ſeparate from matter and body, and to free from bonds and priſon: the latter to perfect, raiſe, and exalt, and as Hierocles ſpeaks, to introduce the form of the firſt ſtate, and to render one like GOD. . . . . This Hierocles himſelf declares in the following words,* The golden verſes contain the chief doctrines of all ſpeculative and practical Philoſophy, whereby one may purify and make himſelf like God.’ The author whom I have quoted, alledges (122) ſeveral paſſages, whereby it appears, that according to that Philoſopher, the acquiſition of truth was the only way to attain to the likeneſs of God; but that truth cannot be known, unleſs it be enquired after with a purified ſoul, and ſuch as has overcome the paſſions of the body; from whence he concludes thus: *Ex iis, quæ ſuperiori capite attulimus, manifeſtum eſt, philoſophiam Pythagoricam id habere ſibi maxime propoſitum, ut ad quandam ſimilitudinem cum Deo ſectatores ſuos ducat; id vero fieri aliter non poſſe, quam ſi veritati atque ſapientiæ pura integraque mente incumbatur* (123). I add to this the teſtimony of the anonymous author, who wrote the life of Pythagoras. He ſays (124), that the followers of that Philoſopher taught, that men make themſelves perfect three ways. 1. By converſing with the gods; for during that commerce, they abſtain from every evil action, and become like the gods, as much as ſuch a thing is poſſible. 2. By doing good to others; for it is God's property, it is an imitation of God (125). 3. By going out of this life. The beſt preſents which Heaven gave to men, according to Pythagoras, are to ſpeak truth, and do good offices: thoſe two things, ſaid he, reſemble the works of God (126).

[*P*] *The circumſtances of his death are variouſly reported.*] He lived at Crotona, in Milo's houſe with his diſciples, and was burnt in it. A Man whom he refuſed to admit into his ſociety, ſet the houſe on fire (127). It is likely that he had not a good phyſiognomy; for Pythagoras received none for his diſciples, but thoſe whoſe look he liked, after he had examined it according to the rules of art. It was his firſt ſtep. ‘ Jam à principio adoleſcentes qui ſeſe ad diſcendum obtulerant, ἐφυσιογνωμόνει. Id verbum ſignificat, mores naturaſque hominum, conjectatione quadam de oris & vultus ingenio, deque totius corporis filo atque habitu, ſciſcitari. Eum, qui exploratus ab eo idoneuſque fuerat, recipi in diſciplinam ſtatim jubebat (128). - - - *He firſt conſidered the phyſiognomy of young men, who offered themſelves to be his diſciples. That is, he examined their manners and diſpoſitions, by the features of their countenance, and the habit of their body. And ſuch as were tried and approved by him, were immediately admitted into the ſociety.*’ Some ſay (129) that he was ſuſpected of endeavouring to uſurp the ſovereignty; and that to prevent his deſign, the Crotoniates ſet his houſe on fire. He made his eſcape through the flames, and went out of the city; but as he was going into a field of beans, he ſtopped, and choſe rather to be killed, than to open his mouth and ſpoil the beans (130). According to Dicæarchus (131) he fled to the temple of

(112) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. *lib. i, cap. xi. See Minutius Felix, who ſays, pag.* m. 151. Pythagoræ Deus eſt animus per univerſam rerum naturam commeans, & intentus: ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur. *Lactantius ſays the ſame, lib. i, cap. v, pag.* m. 14.

(113) Epiph. Hær. XV, *pag.* 14.

(114) Apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. iv, pag. 477.

(115) Joſeph. cont. Appion. *lib. ii, pag.* 1071.

(116) Ibid. *pag.* 1076.

(117) Ibid. *lib. i, pag.* 1046.

(118) Plut. in Numa, *pag.* 65.

(119) Ibid. *B.*

(120) Hierocles, In Præfat. ad Carmina aurea circa fin. *See alſo* Stobæus, Eclog. XI, *cap. iii, where he ſays,* Σωκράτης, Πλάτων ταῦτα τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ, τέλος ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ. Socrates & Plato quemadmodum Pythagoras finem dixerunt, dei ſimilitudinem.

(121) Joann. Scheffer. de natura & conſtitutione Philoſophiæ Italicæ, *cap. x, pag.* 78.

(122) Ibid. *cap. vii.*

(123) Ibid. cap. viii, pag. 56.

(124) Apud Photium, Cod. ccxlix, pag. 1313.

(125) Δεύτερον ἐν τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν· θεοῦ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ θείας μιμήσεως. Deinde bene de aliis merendo: Dei enim hoc proprium eſt, in eoque Deum imitatur. *Phot. ibid.*

(126) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. xii, cap. lix.

(127) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, *num.* 39.

(128) Aul. Gell. lib. i, cap. ix.

(129) Laërt. ibid.

(130) Ἄλλους μᾶλλον ἢ κατῆσαι ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ πρῶτον ἢ λαλῆσαι. Capi præſtat quam has dare peſſum, cædique ſatius eſt quàm quicquam loqui. *Ibid.* Meric. Caſaubon *thinks that it is better to read* ἀλύσαι, *vagari, to wander miſerably, inſtead of* λαλῆσαι.

(131) Ibid. *num.* 40.

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doctrine [Q]. One may see in the History of Physic, what concerns him as a Physician (b).

I shall add to what I have said concerning the fable of his looking-glasses (i) a story, which I have just read in a news-writer [R].

(b) Printed at Geneva in the year 1696, and written by D. L. C. D. M. that is to say, *David le Clerc Doctor of Physic.* He is brother of Mr le Clerc professor at Amsterdam. (i) In the remark [L].

of the Muses at Metapontum, and died there with hunger, after he had fasted forty days. Others say (132), that at his return from the isle of Delos, whither he went to shut the eyes of his master Pherecydes, and to bury him, he himself put a stop to his life, by abstaining from food. According to some other writers (133), he brought all his disciples to the assistance of the Agrigentines against the Syracusans; and having been worsted, he was killed whilst he was running about a field of beans. Which does not very well agree neither with the eighty years which they say (134) he lived, nor with the ninety (135), much less still with the ninety nine (136), or one hundred and four (137) years mentioned by others. See upon this the learned collections of Menagius (138). He has not forgot to quote Arnobius, who affirms, that Pythagoras was burnt alive in a temple. 'Pythagoras Samius suspicione dominationis injusta vivus 'concrematus in fano est: numquid ea, quæ docuit 'vim propriam perdiderunt, quia non spiritum sponte, 'sed crudelitate appetitus effudit (139)? - - - *Pythagoras of Samos, unjustly suspected of aspiring to sovereignty, was burnt alive in a temple. Could his doctrines 'lose their proper force, because he died, not a natural, 'but a violent death.*' Justin intimates that he died without any violence at Metapontum, whither he retired after he had been twenty years at Crotona, and that he died there, being so much admired, that his house was converted into a temple, and that he was honoured as a god. *Cum annos viginti Crotonæ egisset, Metapontum migravit, ibique decessit, cujus tanta admiratio fuit, ut ex domo ejus templum facerent, eumque pro Deo colerent* (140). Valerius Maximus does not say so much of him; but he is none of those who say he was ill used. 'Cujus ardentem rogum plenis veneratio'nis oculis Metapontus aspexit: oppidum Pytha'goræ quam suorum cinerum nobilius clariusve mo'numento (141). - - - *Whose funeral pile Metapontus 'beheld with eyes full of veneration: the city was more 'noted and famous for the ashes of Pythagoras than 'their own.*'

St Epiphanius was grossly mistaken when he said that Pythagoras died in the country of the Medians (142).

[Q] *I shall name some authors who have treated of his doctrine.*] I shall confine myself to modern authors. William Canterus translated into Latin the fragments of Pythagoras, collected by Stobæus. Erasmus (143), Philip Beroaldus, Gyraldus, Claudius Minos, Francis Berni, Nicolas Scutelli, and some others, made notes upon the symbols of that Philosopher. See also Lipsius (144), the commentaries of Ritterhusius upon Malchus; the dissertation of Holstenius, *De vita & scriptis Pythagoræ*; Rodericus à Castro's Pythagoras; Paganinus Gaudentius *de Pythagorea animarum transmigratione*; the dialogue of Ambrosius Rhodius *de transmigratione*; the dissertation of Claudius Lignier *de secta Pythagorica*; the thesis of Marc Mappus *de Ethica Pythagoræ*, maintained at Strasburg under the professor Schallerus; Schilterus's dissertation *de Disciplina Pythagorica*; the above-mentioned book of John Schefferus; the book intituled *Ethica Pythagorica* (145) written by Magnus Daniel Omeis, professor at Altdorf. See also la Mothe le Vayer in his book *de la Vertu des Payens*. It is thought that the golden verses of Pythagoras, are the work of his disciple Lysis. An ancient Philosopher of Alexandria, named Hierocles, wrote a commentary on them, which has been illustrated with notes by Casaubon's son. We have also some commentaries made upon the same verses by Vitus Amerbachius, Theodorus Marcilius, Henry Brem, Michael Neander, John Strasselius, William Diezius, and Magnus Daniel Omeis. I had almost forgot Joachim Zehnerus's book (146).

[R] *A story which I have just read in a news-writer.*] 'A modern author has asserted that the late 'Marshal de Schomberg, commander of the French 'troops in Portugal, when that kingdom shook off 'the Spanish yoke, wrote whatever passed in that 'country upon a glass, and holding it against the 'moon, Cardinal Mazarin, who was at Paris, read 'in that Planet, with the help of a Telescope, what'ever the Marshal wanted to inform him of: if this 'secret were as true as it is fabulous, &c (147). Since the news-writer judges rightly of this pretended secret, I shall only observe the anachronisms of his narrative. Mr de Schomberg did not arrive in Portugal till the month of November 1661 (148). Cardinal Mazarin had been dead eight months before: and Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke above ten years.

(132) Ibid.

(133) Ibid.

(134) Ibid. *num.* 44.

(135) Ibid.

(136) Tzetzes, Chil. XI, ver. 366.

(137) Anonymus apud Photium, *pag.*, 1313.

(138) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. *pag.* 371, & *seq.*

(139) Arnob. lib. i, pag. 23.

(140) Justin. lib. xx, cap. iv, pag. m. 396.

(141) Val. Max. lib. viii, cap. vii, num. 2, in ext.

(142) Epiph. Hær. XV, pag. 14.

(143) In the beginning of his Chiliads of Proverbs.

(144) Manuduct. ad Philosoph. Stoic. lib. i, Dissert. VI.

(145) Printed at Altdorf 1693.

(146) Pastor ac Superintendens Schleusingensis. He published at Leipsic in 1603, Vitam & Fragmenta Pythagoræ.

(147) Taken from the 65th page of a small book intituled, *The Key of the Cabinet of the Princes of Europe, or, An Historical and Political Collection upon the Affairs of the Present Times, July* 1704. It is believed this book was printed at Luxemburg: there is in the title, printed for James Sincere at the sign of Truth 1704.

(148) See the Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, *pag.* 12.

PYTHEAS, was born at Marseilles. I think that the most certain thing that can be said concerning the time wherein he lived, is, that he lived in the age of Alexander the Great [A]. He wrote some Geographical books [B], which in all likelihood were

[A] *The most certain thing . . . . is that he lived in the time of Alexander the Great.*] Vossius is somewhat more precise: he says that Pytheas lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus (1). Father Hardouin follows him (2). Moreri reckons it was in the 440th or 445th year of Rome; but he should have known, that the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus falls, according to Calvisius, in the year of Rome 468. We have some reasons to believe that Pytheas flourished before that time. Vossius shews, that Eratosthenes wrote after Pytheas (3); but he did not make use of the clearest proof of it: he was contented to alledge this reason, that Polybius having pitched amongst other Geographers upon Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes, and Pytheas, to censure them, says (4) that Eratosthenes wrote the last of all. There is a proof more positive than that in the same page, seeing Strabo says in that place, that Polybius wondered that Eratosthenes believed what Pytheas had written. Polybius wondered so much the more at it, because he observed that Eratosthenes believed several things which Dicæarchus did not believe. It is manifest therefore that Pytheas was an author before Eratosthenes and Dicæarchus wrote their Geographical books (5). We shall hereafter draw some consequences from it. But I shall first give my opinion concerning the words wherein Strabo thinks that Polybius's way of reasoning is ridiculous. Perhaps he understood not well what Polybius meant. I am apt to think that great man argued thus: Dicæarchus is a very credulous author, and has committed abundance of mistakes; yet he would not believe several things related by Pytheas; one may therefore wonder how Eratosthenes, who lived after him, could believe those very things which he knew were rejected by Dicæarchus. But Strabo pretends that Polybius argued thus: Dicæarchus is a very judicious author, and to be looked upon as a model; it is therefore very strange that Eratosthenes believed Pytheas in several things, which Dicæarchus did not believe. Supposing that Polybius reasons after this manner, Strabo might very well laugh at him, considering the great number of faults which Polybius had criticized in Dicæarchus's writings. But once more, I would not swear that he understood well Polybius's meaning. I wish we could verify it; we might then learn many other facts, which we are ignorant of, by reason of the loss of so many books of that author. I shall observe, by the by, a fault in the Latin translation of Strabo. The whole strength of this repetition, μὴτε Δικαιάρχῳ πιστεύσαντι, is altogether enervated: to render that place well, the same repetition which is in the original, should have been made use of. The reader may judge of it, if he will give himself the trouble to examine this citation. Ἐγεγόνει δὲ τὸν μὲν

(1) Voss. de Philologia, *pag.* 55, *in his treatise de Hist. Græc. pag.* 467. *He adds* Vel certè proximus huic tempori fuit.

(2) In Indice Plin.

(3) Voss. de Hist. Græc. pag. 110.

(4) Ap. Strab. lib. i, pag. 71.

(5) See, below, remark [F].

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were nothing elſe but a relation of his voyages. He ſtrangely abuſed this maxim, *a traveller may lie by authority*; for he filled his books with all manner of fables concerning the northern countries, where he pretended to have been. He knew that few ocular witneſſes could convict him of his lies; but poſterity left not his boldneſs unpuniſhed. Polybius was very hard upon him; Strabo falls upon him on ſeveral occaſions with the greateſt ſeverity (a). Thoſe two authors could not endure that he ſhould ſay, with impunity, that in the iſle of Thule [C], ſix days journey from Great Britain towards the north, and in all thoſe parts, there was neither land, nor ſea, nor air, but a compound of thoſe three things, like the Pulmo Marinus [D], over which the ſea and land hung up, and which was a kind of a tie to all the parts of the world, and that it was impoſſible to go thither on foot, or in a ſhip. He boaſted that he had ſeen that ſubſtance which reſembled the Pulmo Marinus: as for the reſt, he confeſſed he knew nothing of it but by hear-ſay. He boaſted alſo, that he had travelled in all the countries of Europe which lie on the ocean, from Cadiz to the river Tanais; which Polybius could not believe of a private-man, and not well provided with money (b). However, it is confeſſed, he underſtood well enough the properties of the northern countries, for what concerns the aſpects of the ſun (c); and what he ſaid (d), that the Barbarians ſhewed him the place where the ſun went to ſleep, and that in ſome of thoſe countries the night laſted not above three hours, and in others not above two, does not at all look like a fable,

(a) Πυθέας ὁ σὺν ψευδίσματος ἐξήταζε. Pytheas homo mendaciſſimus inventus eſt. *Strabo, lib. i, pag. 43. Vid. etiam, pag. 44, & lib. ii, pag. 71, 79; lib. iv, pag. 239.*

(b) Φησὶ δ' ἦν ὁ Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῷ ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο. Polybius autem id quoque incredibile ait eſſe, privatum hominem, eumque pauperem tantum ſpacii mari terraque obviſſe, *Strabo, lib. ii, pag. 71.*

(c) Ib. *lib. iv, pag. 239.*

(d) Apud Geminum Iſagog. ad Phænom.

μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ μή τε Δικαιάρχῳ πιστευσάντων. Τὸ μὲν οὖν μή τε Δικαιάρχῳ πιστευσάντων, γελοῖον ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ χρήσασθαι κανόνι προσῆκον καθ' ὃ τοιούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται. *Interim Eratoſthenem qui Euemerum Bergæum appellet, Pytheæ credere, atque hoc ne Dicæarcho quidem credente. Id quidem ridiculum eſt quod Dicæarchum profert, quaſi verò conveniat eum veluti normam ſequi quem ipſe Polybius tot reprehenſionibus inceſſit* (6). However we learn from all this that Pytheas's books were written not only before thoſe of Eratoſthenes, but alſo before thoſe of Dicæarchus. We know that the laſt was diſciple of Ariſtotle, and dedicated a book to Theophraſtus, Ariſtotle's beloved diſciple. It is therefore very likely that Pytheas lived before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſince his writings came out before thoſe of Dicæarchus, who muſt needs have been an old man under the reign of that prince. Indeed, the beginning of that reign falls in the laſt year of the CXXIIId Olympiad; Ariſtotle gave over teaching before the end of the CXIVth Olympiad (7), and his ſcholars were moſt of them grown men. We learn from Pliny that Pytheas publiſhed his works before Timæus publiſhed his (8); for the latter affirms, upon the other's word, what I have ſaid concerning Amber (9). But neither Timæus nor Eratoſthenes, who wrote after Pytheas, can prove any thing againſt Voſſius, becauſe they lived ſo long (10), that they might have ſeen the relations of Pytheas, though they had not been publiſhed before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and it is well known that an author who relates what he has read in another, may be older than he, and even die before him; ſo that though Timæus and Eratoſthenes wrote after Pytheas, we can infer from it nothing that is certain concerning the age of Pytheas. The beſt proof we can have to place him before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is, becauſe he was cited by Dicæarchus. Voſſius did not remember it, when he placed Dicæarchus before Pytheas (11). If Sanſon, one of the beſt Geographers of the XVIIth century, had conſidered this little point of Chronology, he had not ſaid, that Pytheas mentioned the converſations which the father of Scipio Africanus had with the deputies of Marſeilles in the year of Rome 532 (12). One of Pytheas's lies in the opinion of Polybius (13), was, that none of the inhabitants of Marſeilles could tell Scipio any remarkable thing concerning Britain. I have obſerved in the article ABBEVILLE the other miſtakes of Sanſon about that matter. It remains to ſay, that he ſhould not have taken that Scipio for him; who landed at the mouth of the Rhone, to obſerve the motions of Hannibal, ſince it is impoſſible that Pytheas ſhould have writ any thing after that voyage of Scipio, his works having been read by Dicæarchus, Ariſtotle's diſciple; for there was an hundred years at leaſt between the time when Ariſtotle left off teaching ſchool, and the beginning of the ſecond Punic war. It would be a difficult thing to know who that Scipio was, who, as Pytheas relates it, enquired about Britain of the inhabitants of Marſeilles, Narbonne, and Corbilon; but it is certain he was not the father of that Scipio who conquered Carthage. I wonder that Father Labbe did not obſerve that miſtake of Sanſon, and I do not believe that he was willing to ſpare him. He might alſo have been cenſured for reckoning near an hundred years between Pytheas and Polybius (14). Which does not agree with his hypotheſis, *viz.* that Pytheas wrote his relations after the year of Rome 532, which was but ſixteen years before the birth of Polybius (15). Nay, according to that ſuppoſition, Pytheas was not returned from his travels in 532, for if he was returned then, the deputies of Marſeilles might have anſwered the queſtions of the Roman conſul.

(6) Strabo, *lib. i, pag. 71.*

(7) Apollod. apud Diog. Laërt. in Ariſt.

(8) Plin. lib. xxxvii, cap. ii.

(9) See the text of this article, citation (e).

(10) Eratoſthenes lived 80 years. He was born in the CXXVIth Olympiad, and died in the CXLVIth. See Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græc. pag.* 108. Lucian ſays he lived 82 years, and that Timæus lived 96 years. But Timæus wrote the war of Pyrrhus againſt the Romans, and therefore lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus.

(11) De Philolog. *cap. xi, num.* 7. Moreri hath quoted wrong, *de Philoſ. cap. xi, n.* 6.

(12) Nicol. Sanſon, An Enquiry into the Antiquities of Abbeville.

(13) Ap. Strab. lib. iv, pag. 131.

(14) Sanſon, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 85.

(15) He was born in the year of Rome 548. See Voſſius, *de Hiſt. Græc. pag.* 122.

I ſhall here acquaint the reader that Mr Sanſon, the worthy ſon of the great Geographer, who publiſhed the Antiquities of Abbeville, has done me the favour to ſend me the copy of an anſwer to the Jeſuit Labbe, which his father deſigned to print concerning thoſe antiquities. It is a learned and ingenious piece. I hope I ſhall find an occaſion to publiſh ſome fragments thereof.

[B] *He wrote ſome Geographical books.*] The ſcholiaſt upon Apollonius (16) mentions a book of Pytheas, intituled γῆς περίοδος, *the circuit of the earth.* The abridgment of Artemidorus the Epheſian, printed with the ancient Geographers, names Pytheas among thoſe who wrote the circuit of the world, *periplum Orbis* (17). The deſcription of the iſle of Thule was, in all likelihood, part of that work. His book *de Oceano* is quoted by Geminus. Nicolas Sanſon (18) is not the only one who entered the liſts with Strabo, in favour of Pytheas. We ſhall ſee by and by that Gaſſendus undertook very zealouſly the defence of that ancient Marſeillois.

(16) In lib. iv.

(17) See Voſſius, ibid. *pag.* 110.

(18) Ubi ſupra.

[C] *That in the iſle of Thule.*] Having proved with ſolid reaſons, that Pytheas publiſhed his books about the time of Alexander, I may reject one of the arguments which Father Vavaſſeur made uſe of againſt Photius. I have refuted another in the article ANTONY (19). Photius thinks that Antonius Diogenes lived near the reign of Alexander the Great. Father Vavaſſeur anſwers to it among other things, that he does not believe that the iſle of Thule was very well known at that time (20). Antonius Diogenes was the author of a Romance, intituled, *Incredibilia de Inſula Thule.* It matters not whether that iſland was not known to the common people, or whether it was not very well known in general; for if a traveller, ſuch as Pytheas, publiſhed a relation of it, a romantic writer might eaſily pitch upon that iſland to make it the ſcene of his chimerical narrations. I will not examine whether Photius is in the right or not, it is enough for me to prove that he has not been well refuted.

(19) A Roman family. See the remark [B].

(20) Suſpicio quoque eſt nondum cognitam vulgo Thulen inſulam de qua illi ferunt inſcripti libri. *Vavaſſor, de Lud. Dict. pag* 148, 149.

[D] *Like the Pulmo Marinus.*] La Mothe le Vayer (21) obſerves, that it is a ſpongious zoophyte, upon which the Italians have beſtowed a very obſcene name; and

(21) Lett. lxxxix, Tom. xi, of his works in 12mo, *pag.* 255.

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fable, and does him a great deal more honour than another thing which Pliny relates after him, viz. that there was an iſland, a day's journey from the country of the Guttones, a people of Germany, wherein they uſed amber inſtead of wood for their fuel (e). The reader may conſult the apology which Peter Gaſſendus wrote for Pytheas [E] at the deſire of Peireſkius. Thoſe two illuſtrious men born in Provence, were very willing to raiſe the glory of their country, by defending the reputation of a writer who was born in Marſeilles. Gaſſendus, though a learned man, was miſtaken in his conjectures concerning this author [F]; nevertheleſs, the reading of his apology may be of ſome uſe. Our Pytheas ought not to be confounded with the Athenian Orator of the ſame name, who lived in the time of Demoſthenes [G].

(e) Incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo, proximiſque Teutonis vendere. *Plin. lib. xxxvii, cap. ii.*

and having ſaid that Pytheas maintained *that this matter was the tie of the univerſe*, and that he was *ſo impudent, as to ſpeak of it as of a thing which he had ſeen*, he ſpeaks of *an Anachoret, who boaſted that he had been at the very end of the world*, and who ſaid, *that being there, he was obliged to bend his ſhoulders, becauſe the Heaven and Earth touched one another at that extremity.*

[E] *The apology which Peter Gaſſendus wrote for Pytheas.*] This was the occaſion of it. When Peireſkius cauſed the ſolſtitial elevation of the ſun to be obſerved at Marſeilles in 1636, the proportion between the ſhadow and the ſtyle of the dial was compared with what Hipparchus ſays (22) that Pytheas found out. Gaſſendus was deſired to write about that Aſtronomical operation, and at the ſame time to juſtify Pytheas againſt Strabo's invectives. 'Voluit rurſus '(Peireſkius) ut quoniam Strabo multa congeſſit adver-'ſus Pytheam, ipſe in gratiam comprovincialis apolo-'giam conſcriberem, purgaremque virum qui primus 'Thulen inſulam demonſtravit, & quo non habet Oc-'cidens totus quem antiquiorem in doctis habeat (23). '- - - *As Strabo had inveighed much againſt Pytheas,* '*Peireſkius deſired me to write an apology for our coun-*'*tryman, and to vindicate him, who firſt diſcovered* '*the iſland Thule, and who is the moſt ancient of all the* '*learned men in the Weſt.*' What he wrote thereupon is to be found in the fourth volume of his works (24). He did not forget that Cleomedes ſtiles Pytheas a Philoſopher; and that Hipparchus having cenſured Eudoxus, for ſaying, that there is a certain ſtar which never goes out of its place, and is the pole of the world, praiſes Pytheas for having taught that the pole is a place void of ſtars, which makes a kind of a ſquare with the three neighbouring ſtars. Hipparchus, in imitation of Eratoſthenes, improved his Geography with Pytheas's diſcoveries; and it is no wonder if the latter was miſtaken concerning the Tanais, conſidering the ignorance of thoſe times about the ſituation of the Pontus Euxinus, the Caſpian ſea, and the Palus Mœotis. When Alexander came to the banks of the Caſpian ſea, it was taken for the Pontus Euxinus. Gaſſendus adds ſeveral other remarks in Pytheas's behalf. The reader may have ſeen in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (25), that Olaus Rudbeckius took warmly the part of that traveller.

(22) Apud Strab. *lib. ii, pag. 78.*

(23) Gaſſendus, in Vit. Peireſk. *lib. v*, Oper. *Tom. v, pag.* 327.

(24) *Pag.* 524, *& ſeq.*

(25) February 1685, *pag.* 133.

[F] *Gaſſendus was miſtaken in his conjectures about this author.*] He believed that the Marſeillois being aſhamed becauſe they could not anſwer Scipio's queſtions about Britain, and beſides, being ſtirred up by his advices, reſolved to ſend ſome body to take a view of that country, and, in order to it, pitched upon Pytheas, who was a good Mathematician. The republic of Marſeilles was already powerful by ſea, and very much addicted to trade; they might therefore be deſirous to know whether their trade might be improved by the diſcovery of thoſe unknown countries. Polybius's objection may be ſolved thereby; it would be no wonder how Pytheas, a poor private man, could be at the charges of ſo long a journey. Beſides, it may be anſwered, that a company of merchants, or a rich citizen, might have pitched upon Pytheas to make that diſcovery, and furniſh him with all neceſſaries. If Gaſſendus had ſaid no more, I ſhould not find fault with him; but he ſays, that he who enquired about Britain of the Marſeillois, in the time of the ſecond Punic war, which began in the CXLth Olympiad, was either Scipio Africanus, or the father or uncle of that Scipio. Which cannot be true, ſince Dicæarchus had read Pytheas's voyages. Gaſſendus ſays, to elude that proof, that the words of Strabo may bear this ſenſe, *viz.* that Pytheas's relations might have diſpleaſed Dicæarchus. But it is certain that this is not Strabo's meaning: his participle παρεσύσας (26), and the whole force of his argument are againſt this explication. Godefridus Wendelinus, to whom Gaſſendus wrote thoſe things, anſwered his queſtion, *viz. In what time Pytheas lived*, thus, that it was in the time of Alexander the Great: which he proved, 1. by Dicæarchus's railing at Pytheas: 2. Becauſe Timæus, an enemy of Agathocles, was familiarly acquainted with Pytheas at Marſeilles during his exile; from whence Wendelinus concludes, that Pytheas lived before Agathocles (27). But it is a wrong conſequence; for it does not follow becauſe a traveller grows familiarly acquainted with a baniſhed perſon, that he is therefore older than he who baniſhed that perſon. Beſides, Wendelinus makes his author ſay more than he ſaid; for he refers us to Pliny (28), who only ſays that Timæus believed what Pytheas related about Amber.

(26) See the remark [A].

(27) Vid Gaſſend. *Tom. vi, pag.* 483.

(28) *Lib. xxxvii, cap. ii.*

[G] *He ought not to be miſtaken for him . . . . who lived in the time of Demoſthenes.*] Father Hardouin (29) applies to Pytheas of Marſeilles, what Plutarch ſays of one Pytheas in the life of Demoſthenes, p. 855; but there is no doubt that Pytheas mentioned by Plutarch in that place, is the ſame Athenian Orator whom he ſpeaks of, page 849, where he ſays, that Pytheas told Demoſthenes in jeſt, that his Orations ſmelt of oil (30). He ſpeaks of the ſame Pytheas in the life of Phocion (31), as of a talkative and inſolent Orator, whom Phocion was forced to cenſure. Suidas, who gives us the ſame notion of him, tells us, that he made his eſcape from the priſon wherein his creditors had put him, and retired into Macedonia. Plutarch ſays, that Pytheas having fled from Athens, went to Antipater, and ſerved him as much as he was able with his harangues. He had then a quarrel with Demoſthenes in Arcadia, who, though a baniſhed man, joined with the Athenian ambaſſadors, to oblige the Grecian towns to make a confederacy againſt Antipater, whoſe cauſe was defended by Pytheas (32).

(29) In Indice Plinii.

(30) *See* Ælian. Hiſt. div. *lib. viii, cap. viii.* He mentions him alſo *lib. xiv, cap. xxxvi.*

(31) *Pag.* 752.

(32) Plut. in Demoſt. *pag.* 858.

Plutarch relates, in his precepts concerning government, a quick repartee of Pytheas. *And Pytheas the Orator*, ſays he (33), *when he oppoſed the honours decreed to Alexander, anſwered one who aſked him, How dareſt thou ſpeak of ſo great things, being ſo young? Alexander, whom you make a god by your decrees, is younger ſtill than I am.*

(33) Plut. de Geronda Repub. *pag.* 804. *See alſo* Plut. in Apophth. *pag.* 187.

PYTHIAS, Ariſtotle's daughter, was married three times, firſt to Nicanor, according to her father's laſt will [A], afterwards to Proclus, who deſcended from Demaratus king of Sparta, and laſtly to Metrodorus the Phyſician, diſciple of Chryſippus a Cnidian, and maſter of Eraſiſtratus. The two ſons (a) ſhe had by her ſecond huſband, ſtudied Philoſophy under Theophraſtus. The ſon ſhe had by Metrodorus was called Ariſtotle

(a) The one was called Procles, and the other Demaratus.

[A] *She was married . . . . to Nicanor, according to her father's laſt will.*] We do not find that circumſtance in Sextus Empiricus; but he ſays, that Ariſtotle, after the death of his father and mother, was bred up in the houſe of Proxenus, a native of Atarna, and to requite that good ſervice, he educated Nicanor, ſon of Proxenus, and took care that he ſhould learn all manner of good things, and adopted him, and even

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Ariſtotle (*b*) [*B*]. It appears by ſome ſentences which are aſcribed to her [*C*], that her father beſtowed a good education upon her. Note, that her mother's name was PYTHIAS.

(*b*) *Taken from* Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math. cap.* xii, *pag.* 521.

even ordered by his laſt will that he ſhould marry his daughter Pythias (1).

(1) *Taken from* Ammonius, in Vit. Ariſtotel. init. *See alſo the laſt will of Ariſtotle*, in Diog. Laërt. *lib.* v, *num.* 12; and the note of Caſaubon.

[*B*] *The ſon ſhe had by Metrodorus was named Ariſtotle.*] Pliny has confounded that genealogy; for he thought that Ariſtotle's daughter had a ſon, who was Eraſiſtratus the Phyſician. 'Horum placita, *ſays he* '(2), Chryſippus ingenti garrulitate mutavit, pluri-'mumque & ex Chryſippo diſcipulus ejus Eraſiſtratus 'Ariſtotelis filia genitus. - - - *Chryſippus by his prating,* '*and after him Eraſiſtratus the ſon of Ariſtotle's daugh-*'*ter very much altered their decrees.*' Let us conſider the Greek words of Sextus Empiricus. Τρίτῳ δὲ Μητροδώρῳ ἰατρῷ, Χρυσίππου μὲν τοῦ Κνιδίου μαθητῇ, Ἐρασιστράτου δὲ ὑφηγητῇ· ᾧ γίνεται παῖς Ἀριστοτέλης. *Tertio autem Metrodoro Medico,* (Pythias filia Ariſtotelis nupſit) *Chryſippi quidem Cnidii diſcipulo, præceptori autem Eraſiſtrati, cui natus eſt filius Ariſtoteles* (3). It is not very difficult to underſtand thoſe words; they ſignify that Ariſtotle was the ſon of Metrodorus the Phyſician, and of Pythias; but one may conjecture, that all the authors who ſpoke of the ſeveral marriages of Ariſtotle's daughter, placed not their words right, and that a reader who was not attentive enough, might think that their meaning was that Eraſiſtratus was born of the marriage of Metrodorus and Pythias. Let us ſuppoſe that thoſe authors ſaid: Τρίτῳ δὲ Μητροδώρῳ ἰατρῷ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Κνιδίου μαθητῇ, ᾧ Ἐρασιστράτου, γίνεται παῖς Ἀριστοτέλης. *Tertio autem Metrodoro Medico* (Pythias filia Ariſtotelis nupſit) *Chryſippi Cnidii diſcipulo, cujus Eraſiſtratus* diſcipulus (4), *natus eſt filius Ariſtoteles.* We may eaſily apprehend, that a reader might believe, for want of attention, that Eraſiſtratus was the ſon of Pythias. How do we know but that Pliny made uſe of an author, who had placed his words ſo, or in a more deceitful manner? Obſerve the Latin tranſlation of Sextus Empiricus, which I have ſet down: one would think by it that Eraſiſtratus was Ariſtotle's father. However it be, I ſhould prefer thoſe conjectures before that of Father Hardouïn (5). He believes that Eraſiſtratus had been adopted by Pythias, as the emperor Galba was adopted by his ſtep-mother. He muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that Eraſiſtratus was Metrodorus's ſon, but Sextus Empiricus ſays only that he was his diſciple.

(2) Plin. *lib.* xxix, *cap.* i, *pag. m.* 663.

(3) Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. *pag.* 521.

(4) That word is very often underſtood when the Greeks ſpeak of the ſucceſſion of Philoſophers.

(5) Harduin. in Plin. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 664.

[*C*] *By ſome ſentences which are aſcribed to her.*] She ſaid, amongſt other things, that the beſt colour that can be ſeen in a man's face, is that of modeſty. 'Celebrantur quidem multa dicta Pythiados filiæ Ari-'ſtotelis graviſſima, ut appareat eandem ipſam non 'tam in gremio educatam quam in ſermone patris, 'quo nemo unquam fuit vel acumine præſtantior, vel 'feſtivitate & lepore politior, vel ſuavitate conditior. 'Ex illis autem id etiam accepimus, nullum eſſe pul-'chrius coloris genus in facie hominis ingenui quam 'id quod ob verecundiam ſuperveniret (6). - - - *The* '*many noted and excellent ſayings of Pythias, Ariſtotle's* '*daughter, ſhew that ſhe was bred up, not ſo much in* '*the lap as in the converſation of her father, who ne-*'*ver was ſurpaſſed by any, in ingenuity, wit, or agree-*'*ableneſs. Amongſt other ſayings this is one, that the* '*beſt colour that can be ſeen in a man's face, is that* '*which is the effect of modeſty.*' See Eraſmus in the eighth book of the Apophthegms (7).

(6) Pet. Alcyonius, in Medice Legato poſteriore, *fol. b* 1.

(7) *Pag. m.* 621, 622.

PITHOM, a city of Egypt. It was one of the two towns which Pharaoh cauſed to be built by the poſterity of Jacob (*a*). It is the ſame with that which was called Peluſium, and with that which Manetho calls Abaris, if we believe Sir John Marſham (*b*). The city of Abaris was ſo called according to the ancient Theology (*c*). It was in the Saites Nomos, eaſtward of the river Bubaſtus (*d*). The beauty of its ſituation engaged Saltis, king of certain nations who ſubdued Egypt, to enlarge and fortify it. He kept in it a garriſon of 240 thouſand men. The ſame people entrenched themſelves there after they had loſt the reſt of Egypt. They defended themſelves for a long time, but at laſt they capitulated, and obtained the liberty of going whither they pleaſed. They retired into Syria, and ſettled in Judea (*e*). One may eaſily perceive by this diſcourſe of Manetho, that he means the Iſraelites. He adds (*f*) that Amenophis, who reigned over the Egyptians about five ages after, deſired to ſee the gods, and that a great prophet entertained him in the hopes of ſuch an advantage, provided Egypt were purged from all manner of people infected with leproſy, or other like infirmities. That ſort of people were gathered together, and amounted to eighty thouſand men: they were employed in drawing and cutting ſtones all along the Nile. After they had undergone that painful fatigue for ſome years, they beſought the king to aſſign a city to them for their ſecurity and quiet. He granted them Abaris, which was then deſerted, and did before belong to the ſhepherds (*g*), and was called the city of Typhon, according to the ancient Theology. They no ſooner came into it, but they began to think of taking advantage of that place to revolt: they took care to fortify it, and choſe for their head a prieſt of Heliopolis, who changed his name of Oſarſiphus into that of Moſes, they were aſſiſted by the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, whoſe anceſtors had been in poſſeſſion of Abaris, &c. Their victories were great and cruel, but at laſt the king of Egypt overcame them, and drove them out of the country (*b*). You will find in Joſephus the refutation of thoſe ſtories, and ſome learned obſervations of Sir John Marſham in my remark [*A*].

(*a*) Exod. i, 8.

(*b*) Marſham. Chron. Can. Ægypt. Sæc. VIII, *pag. m.* 107.

(*c*) Manetho, apud Joſeph. *lib.* i, cont. Appion. *pag.* 1040.

(*d*) Id. ap. eumd. ibid. *pag.* 1039.

(*e*) Ex eodem ap. eumd. *pag.* 1040.

(*f*) Id. ap. eumd. ibid. *pag.* 1052.

(*g*) That is to ſay, to the Iſraëlites, who, as Manetho ſays, had ſubdued Egypt, and whoſe king Saltis had enlarged and fortified the city of Abaris.

(*b*) Ex eod. ibid. *pag.* 1052, & *ſeq.*

(1) Marſh. Chron. Can. Ægypt. Sæc. VIII, *pag.* 107.

(2) *Named* Chæremon. Joſeph. *lib.* i, cont. Appion. *pag.* 1057, *alledges his words.*

(3) Joſeph. ibid.

(4) Ptol. Mendeſius, ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. *lib.* x, *cap.* xii, *pag.* 497, *A.*

(5) He calls it Ἀδαρίς.

[*A*] *You will find . . . . ſome learned obſervations of Sir John Marſham in my remark.*] He ſays (1) that the city of the ſhepherds called Abaris by Manetho, is called Peluſium by another Hiſtorian of Egypt (2). Sir John Marſham is not exact in this: that Hiſtorian ſaid only, that the maimed and ſickly people, that were turned out of Egypt, retired to Peluſium, and joined with 380 thouſand men whom Amenophis had left there. Note, that Joſephus (3) took advantage of the difference that is between Manetho and Chæremon, as to the place to which thoſe maimed and leprous people were ſent. Sir John Marſham adds, that Ptolomæus Mendeſius (4) made mention of the city of Abaris (5), and that the fables about Typhon belong to that city. The lake Serbonis, as he goes on, where Typhon hid himſelf (6), and the city of Heropolis, where he was thunder-ſtruck, were not far from thoſe parts (7). The name Ἁβαρὶς, or Πιθὼμ, given to one of the towns built by the children of Iſrael, alluded to that of Typhon. The Egyptians uſed to call Typhon by the name of Seth (8), hence it is that they called the city of Typhon, Sethron. The Septuagint throites Nomos took it's name from that city. What Joſephus ſays is not therefore true, that the city of Abaris was built in the Saites Nomos, for it was ſituated on the eaſtern banks of the river Bubaſtus, and that Nomos was ſituated in the weſtern part of the Delta. It is therefore better to follow Africanus's Manetho

(6) Herodot. *lib.* iii, *cap.* v.

(7) Steph. Byzant. in Ἡρώων πόλις.

(8) Plut. de Iſide, *pag.* 357, *D.*

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Manetho (9), quoted by Syncellus; for according to that citation, that people took Memphis, and built a town in the Sethroites Nomos. Let us conclude, that the city of Abaris, that of Typhon, that of Sethron, and hat of Pithom, which is mentioned in Exodus, are the ſame with that which the Grecians call Peluſium. This is Sir John Marſham's determination.

(9) Rectius ex Manethone Africanus. *Marſh. ubi ſupra, pag.* 108. *He quotes* Syncellus, *pag.* 61, *a.*

PITISCUS (BARTHOLOMEW) preacher to the Elector Palatine, was born the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 1561, at Schlauna, a village of Sileſia near Grunberg. The poverty of his family engaged the miniſter of that place, to recommend him to the lord of that village, as a child who was fit to ſtudy, and who deſerved to be put in the way of improving himſelf. That gentleman undertook to be at the charges of it, and ſent him to the college of Grunberg. He exceeded all his ſchool-fellows in a ſhort time. He was ſent to Breſlaw, being eighteen years of age, and was there a preceptor in the houſe of a worthy man, who had a very fine library. He often ſhut up himſelf in it with Amandus Polanus, which proved very uſeful to both of them. Having loſt his Mæcenas, when it was time to go to the univerſities, he was ſo happy as to be aſſiſted by the liberality of a Proteſtant lady (*a*), who maintained, at her own charges, a certain number of young men, who ſtudied Divinity. He pitched upon the academy of Zerbſt, by reaſon of the great reputation of Wolfgang Amlingus, and was there all the year 1583. The next year he went into the Palatinate, and having given ſeveral proofs of his merit there, he was made (*b*) one of the preceptors of prince Frederic IV (*c*). He acquitted himſelf ſo well in his employment, that prince Caſimir, adminiſtrator of the Palatinate, appointed him the ſecond preacher to his pupil, who, when he came of age, was ſo well pleaſed with his preceptor's ſermons, that he made him his firſt preacher. Pitiſcus gorioufly exerciſed that employment till he died, which happened the ſeventeenth of July 1613 (*d*). I muſt not forget that he became a very great Mathematician [*A*], and publiſhed a book, wherein he ſhewed that it would be very neceſſary that Proteſtants ſhould leave off writing controverſial books againſt one another [*B*]. He publiſhed it by order. I mean there was a conſultation upon that ſubject, after which he was charged

(*a*) The wife of Joachim de Berge.

(*b*) *In the year* 1588. Schultetus, in Narrat. Apologet. *pag.* 11.

(*c*) He was Elector ſince.

(*d*) *Taken from* Melch. Adam, in Vit. Theolog. Germ. *pag.* 833, *& ſeq.*

[*A*] *He became a very great Mathematician.*] He publiſhed in Latin five books of Trigonometry, in 1599, which were reprinted with ſome additions in 1612. That work contains ſix books of Aſtronomical problems: a book *Problematum Geodæticorum ſive de agro plane metiendo ac dividendo: Problemata Geographica:* a book *Problematum Gnomonicorum ac Architectonicorum, in quo ſe ait præcipua Architecturæ militaris myſteria referaſſe* (1). Tycho Brahe very much eſteemed Pitiſcus's capacity in the Mathematics, and wiſhed that the number of Mathematician preachers was greater, for he believed that it would give them a more ſolid judgment, and put an end to ſeveral diſputes. Here are his words: 'Doctiſſimi illius Bartholomæi 'Pitiſci de triangulis acutum & compendioſum 'libellum lubens accepi: rogoque ut illi ex me 'gratias agas. Optarem, plures ejuſmodi concio-'natores reperiri, qui Geometrica gnaviter cal-'lerent: forte plus eſſet in iis circumſpecti & ſolidi ju-'dicii, rixarum inanium & logomachiarum minus. Si 'is mihi aliquando ſcripſerit; & de iis ſtudiis mecum 'contulerit, inveniet reſponſorem non invitum (2). - - - '*I have with pleaſure received the ingenious and compen-'dious book of the moſt learned Pitiſcus, concerning Trigo-'nometry: and I beg you would return him my thanks.* '*I wiſh there were many ſuch preachers that underſtood* '*Geometry: perhaps there would be more circumſpection* '*and ſolid judgment, and leſs ſtrife and contention amongſt* '*them. If he will pleaſe to write, and conſult with me* '*about thoſe ſtudies, he ſhall find me a very ready correſ-'pondent.*' That wiſh of Tycho Brahe is grounded upon a very good reaſon, but it is liable to ſome inconveniencies. A pompous and florid eloquence is neceſſary to preachers: a dry and cloſe way of reaſoning, like that of Mathematicians, is not proper for them, and would not make ſuch an impreſſion upon their hearers, as the ſtate of man requires. Note, that Pitiſcus acquired by his own ſtudy all that he knew of the Mathematics. 'Illud verò mirandum, quod homo 'Theo-'logus, in Mathematum ſtudiis, nullo niſi ſe magiſtro, 'eo uſque progreſſus eſt, ut editis ſcriptis, diſciplinæ 'illius gloriam magnis Matheſeos profeſſoribus præri-'puerit (3). - - - *It is indeed very ſurpriſing, that a Di-'vine ſhould without any aſſiſtance make ſuch proficiency* '*in the Mathematics, as by his writings to ſnatch the* '*glory of that ſcience from the profeſſors of it.*'

(1) *See* Voſſius, de Sefent. Math. *pag.* 306, *& alibi.*

(2) Tycho Brahe, Epiſt. ad Conradum Aſſachum, ap. Melch. Adamum, in Vit. Theolog. *pag.* 840.

(3) Melch Adam. ibid.

[*B*] *That the Proteſtants ſhould leave off writing controverſial books againſt one another.*] In the year 1608, the Eccleſiaſtical Senate of the Elector Palatine deliberated about the means of putting a ſtop to the fatal diſputes of the Proteſtant Divines (4). Scultetus, preacher to his electoral highneſs, and ſome others, were of opinion, that it was for the advantage of the church, that for the time to come the Reformed ſhould compoſe neither Apologies, nor Antilogies, nor any ſuch like pieces of controverſy in religious matters; that it was not poſſible to ſay or write any thing but what had been ſaid or written a great while ago; that the confeſſions of faith, with their expoſitions, were ſufficient for any one who ſincerely enquired after truth; that there was no example of ſuch obſtinate and eager diſputes among the Prophets and Apoſtles; that ſuch books increaſed differences inſtead of terminating them, and that the ſatirical ſharpneſs of the authors of thoſe books afforded diverſion to profane men, and was a matter of triumph for the Papiſts, and inſpired a great many people with irreligion. This is expreſſed more at large, and with greater energy in the Latin words. 'Nec componi, ſed multiplicari controverſias iſtis con-'tentionibus: paucos veritatis inquirendæ, gloriolæ 'vanæ aucupandæ gratiâ, multos in arenam diſputan-'di deſcendere: Diabolum hoc agere; ut totus Spiri-'tus Theologicus, & quicquid ferè DEI providentia 'donorum huic ſeculo contulit, contentionibus impen-'datur: ut Fratres ſtylo Satyrico ſe mutuò exagitent '& deforment, utque adeò per iſtiuſmodi ſcriptiones 'boni à vocationis ſuæ officiis avocentur, mali in ca-'pitali, quo ab antagoniſtis diſſident, odio firmentur; 'denique mutuis iſtis convitiis, quibus libri inter ſe li-'tigantium ſcatent, creari profanis riſum, Pontificiis 'jubilum & magnæ auditorum parti omnis religionis 'contemtum (5). - - - *That by ſuch contentions, contro-'verſies were not terminated but multiplied: that few* '*diſputed for the ſake of truth, but many for the ſake of* '*vain glory: that it was the Devil's great deſign, that* '*the whole ſpirit of Theology, and all the gifts God has* '*beſtowed on this age, ſhould be laid out in debates: that* '*the brethren ſhould exaſperate and diſgrace one another* '*in ſatirical writings, and that thereby the good may be* '*diverted from the proper functions of their calling, and* '*the bad confirmed in their mortal hatred to their adver-'ſaries: and laſtly, that thoſe mutual reproaches, which* '*books of controverſy abounded with, occaſioned diver-'ſion to the profane, joy to the Papiſts, and in many a* '*contempt of all religion.*' It was reſolved in that aſſembly, that our Pitiſcus ſhould pathetically and gravely repreſent thoſe things in a public book. He performed it very well (6), and exhorted the Proteſtants to

(4) Quenam triſtiſſimis Theologorum Evangelicorum certaminibus medicina reperiri queat. *Scultet. Narrat. Apologet. p.* 43.

(5) Ibid.

(6) His book was written in High Dutch.

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charged with that work. He publiſhed ſome other books [C].

to re-unite themſelves againſt the common enemy, and to lay aſide all diſputes *de Perſona Chriſti & de Cœna Domini ; - - - Concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and the Lord's ſupper* ; he ſhewed them that they might eaſily live in a perfect union, tho' they differed about the ſenſe of ſome paſſages of the Scripture (7). That book did more harm than good, for, as if it had been a new ſignal for war, the Divines of Saxony and Tubingen took up arms every where, and maintained with an extream eagerneſs, that the Lutherans could make no peace with thoſe that deny the Oral Manducation. ' Verax & hic fuit, quod proverbi locum obtinuit, ſa- ' pientis effatum : *Sæpè optimè cogitata peſſimè cadunt.* ' Vix enim lucem publicam aſpexerat pia exhortatio ' illa, cùm quaſi claſſicum cecinisſent noſtri, ad arma ' undique concurritur in Saxoniâ & Sueviâ, magnoque ' ſtudio & labore orbi Chriſtiano demonſtratur, oralis ' munducationis in Euchariſtiâ patronos non poſſe pa- ' cem colere cum Reformatis (8). - - - *In this caſe was* ' *verified the ſaying of the wiſe man, which has paſſed* ' *into a proverb:* that the beſt deſigns have often the ' leaſt ſucceſs. *For that pious exhortation was hardly* ' *come out, when, as if it had been a ſignal to battle,* ' *the Divines of Saxony and Schwaben took up arms,* &c.' Scultetus was extreamly deſirous to ſee the Lutherans and Reformed re-united. He exhorted the Divines of Wirtemberg to it *viva voce*, and in writing ; he repreſented to them the miſchiefs which ariſe from diſcord, the Atheiſm of Hearers, the contempt of the Miniſters, and the joy of the Papiſts (9). But it was to no purpoſe, for he was anſwered, that as for political friendſhip it was never refuſed to the Reformed, and would never be refuſed to them for the time to come, but that Theological friendſhip would never be granted them. *Fruſtra omnia : Reſponſum enim : ſe in amicitiam politicam nos ſemper recepiſſe, recepturoſque deinceps ; in Theologicam, hoc eſt, fraternitatem Chriſtianam nunquam* (10).

(7) Schultet. ib. *pag.* 46.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Expoſitis malis, quæ ex mutuis Evangelicorum diſſidiationibus orirentur, atheiſmo auditorum, contemptu miniſtrorum verbi, jubilo Papiſtarum. *Ibid. pag.* 72, *ad ann.* 1616.

(10) Ibid.

[C] *He publiſhed ſome other books.*] Moſt of them in High-Dutch : but the book he wrote againſt a Jeſuit of Mentz, with this title *Anti-Roſarium*, is in Latin. See Mr Baillet's *Anti*'s (11).

(11) *Num.* 219.

PLACE (PETER DE LA) in Latin *Plateanus*, or *à Platea*, *was born in the country of Angoulmois* (a), *was in his* youth *ſo well educated in learning, that he alone, of all his brothers, reſolved to follow the ſtudy of the Law, in which he made ſuch proficiency that before he was twenty two years of age, he compoſed a Paraphraſe on actions* (b), *and about that time began to frequent and practiſe at the bar of the parliament of Paris, where he acquired the character of a ſenſible, well ſpoken, and conſcientious man* (c). For which reaſon, Francis I. choſe him *for his advocate in his court of Aids at Paris.* He executed that office with the greateſt integrity, and therefore Henry II *choſe him himſelf* (d), *out of many, to be his firſt preſident in the ſame court of Aids.* He inwardly embraced the faith of the reformed churches in the year 1554 [A], and profeſſed it openly after the death of Francis II : but the troubles that aroſe ſoon after obliged him to retire *for the ſecurity of his perſon to his own houſe in the country of Picardy.* The calm returning in the year 1562, *he went to the king to clear himſelf of ſeveral malicious aſperſions, which ſome enemies had thrown upon him, and after his majeſty was ſatisfied with his defence,* he *paid his reſpects to* the prince of Condé who *immediately committed to him the charge and* ſuperintendency *of all his houſehold affairs, which he undertook with ſuch zeal that in all things relating to the prince, he ſpared neither his ſubſtance, nor children, nor even his own perſon, ſo much was he devoted to his ſervice.* The diſturbances which broke out again five years after made *him retire once more from Paris to the caſtle of Vé in Valois* (e), *where he ſuffered great perſecution* [B]. The

(a) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 408, *ſays he was born at Angouleſme.*

(b) See the laſt remark.

(c) See the Opuſcules of Loiſel, *pag.* 511, 525.

(d) In the year 1553. See the ſame Opuſcules, *pag.* 511.

(e) Belonging to his nephews on the account of Dame Ragonde Luillier, his wife. He was then their guardian. *P. de Farnace, Vie de P. de la Place, pag.* 15.

[A] *He inwardly embraced the faith of the reformed churches in the year* 1554.] We find in the account of his life, that *God called him to his knowledge* at that time *in a very extraordinary manner.* ' Being a ſcholar ' at Poictiers about twenty years before, he happened ' by the providence of God to ſee the late Mr John ' Calvin then paſſing through that place with archbi- ' ſhop du Tillet (1). He with pleaſure heard him ' talk glorioufly of the knowledge of God in general ; ' but when he came to ſpeak of the pure ſervice of God, ' he ſtarted back as being very zealous for the religion ' in which he had been carefully brought up. How- ' ever, from that time he entertained ſome ſcruple in ' his conſcience, that poſſibly he might have been de- ' ceived, which he often thought of, as he has ſince ' declared : this was a kind of preparative to nouriſh ' that ſmall ſeed, till it ſhould come to ſpring and ' ſhoot up in the ſeaſon appointed by God. One day ' as he ſtood before his houſe, a certain ſtranger, by a ' wonderful providence of God, without knowing any ' thing of him, but ſeeing him to be a perſon of di- ' ſtinction, and wanting to be relieved in his ex- ' treme poverty, humbly applied to him, and made ' a long diſcourſe in very good Latin concerning the ' cauſe of his miſery. This ſtranger ſeeming to be a ' man of parts, he made him come into his ſtudy, ' that he might be able to ſound him a little better ' at his leiſure. And then the poor man, as if he ' had been divinely ſent, began freely to diſplay all ' the abuſes of the Papal church, and to declare the ' true and only way of ſerving God. After he had ' heard all this very calmly, he beſtowed ſomething ' upon him ; but however he deſired him very ear- ' neſtly, not to return again to ſee him ; becauſe he ' was afraid of the fires, which were prepared againſt ' thoſe that were in the leaſt ſuſpected to be Prote- ' ſtants, as indeed that poor ſtranger was ſoon after ' tried in the furnace at Paris. But, from that time ' Peter de la Place never ceaſed to peruſe the Scriptures, ' and all the antient Doctors, and even the Scholaſtics, ' that he might be able to remove that ſcruple which ' tormented his mind day and night. By this means, ' in a little time, God touched his heart, and opened ' his eyes that he might behold the light of the Goſ- ' pel ; ſo that Francis the ſecond happening to die, ' he publickly profeſſed the Reformed religion (2).' The brother of Papyrius Maſſo aſſures us (3) that Peter de la Place and Bertrand de la Place, brothers, and John du Tillet, followed John Calvin to Lyons, who had infected them with his Hereſies at Angouleme. This is not probable with reſpect to him, whoſe article I am now writing : for had he followed Calvin to Lyons, the author of his Life would have known it, and would not have ſaid a thing very different from it.

(1) This du Tillet never was a biſhop, or archbiſhop, but only canon and archdeacon of Angouleme. See what the brother of Papyrius Maſſo has added to the Life of Calvin, at the end of *Papirii Maſſonis Elogia varia.*

(2) P. de Farnace, Brief Recueil des principaux poincts de la Vie de Meſſire Pierre de la Place, *p.* 11, & *ſeq.*

(3) See the Elogies of Papyrius Maſſo, Life of Calvin.

[B] *He ſuffered great perſecution.*] ' Neither the ' loſs of his office, nor the ſale of all his goods, nor ' the ſeizure of his real eſtate, gave him ſo much vexa- ' tion and uneaſineſs, as the indignities he received ' from thoſe, of whom, humanly ſpeaking, he might ' have expected relief, as they were his near relations: ' . . . . A certain counſellor at court, ... having ' profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, even after the firſt ' troubles broke out, knowing that God was going ' ſharply to try his people, immediately revolted, and ' finding himſelf in ſome danger, becauſe of the threat- ' nings that were given out againſt thoſe that had been ' Proteſtants, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of his ' being any wiſe concerned at his revolt, or having ' any deſire to return to the company of good men, ' he reſolved to commit a very ſignal act, which was ' to perſecute, by all ſorts of calumnies and injuries, ' Peter de la Place, who *was guardian to his nephews,* ' *the children of this counſellor's wife : and who was* ' *likewiſe*

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The reformed church having enjoyed *some reſt*, he returned to his own houſe, *and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of a certain perſon, who during the war had been poſſeſſed of his place* [C], *he entered again upon his office of preſident, and exerciſed it without blemiſh, being reſpected by all honeſt men, and feared by the wicked, till the maſſacre of St Bartholomew*, at which he was killed in the manner as will be ſeen below (*f*) [D]. He wrote ſome books,

(*f*) *Taken from* P. de Farnace, *in the* Brief Recueil des principaux poincts de la Vie de Meſſire Pierre de la Place, *before the* Traicté de l'Excellence de l'Homme Chreſtien, *p.* 18.

' *likewiſe retired to a caſtle belonging to his nephews.* ' *Upon which the counſellor, by a multitude of ſlanderous* ' *petitions, never ceaſed to forge and vent a thouſand mali-* ' *cious ſtories and calumnies at court: ſo that he not only* ' *got the ſaid de la Place to be ignominiouſly deprived of* ' *his guardianſhip, tho' abſent and ignorant of thoſe things,* ' *but alſo obtained a commiſſion both to ſeize on the ſaid* ' *caſtle and on the perſon of the ſaid de la Place. And* ' *it would have been actually executed in ſuch a miſera-* ' *ble and turbulent time, conſidering the diligence which* ' *he made Tanchou and his archers to uſe, as if the bu-* ' *ſineſs had been to apprehend ſome highwayman, had* ' *not God raiſed up a friend, who came the night before* ' *and gave him notice of every thing. Whereupon, tho'* ' *he was ill of a violent fever, he was forced before* ' *day to make his eſcape to the foreſt of Rez, pretty near* ' *that caſtle, where afterwards he found a ſtranger that* ' *received him, whilſt this counſellor, on the contrary, vio-* ' *lating not only all the rights of affinity, but alſo of hu-* ' *manity, ſeized on the caſtle, drove out the children of* ' *the ſaid de la Place, plundered the ſubſtance he had* ' *left there, and moreover ſent Tanchou with his archers* ' *in purſuit of him. He was therefore obliged to wan-* ' *der up and down the foreſt for ſeveral days, till at* ' *laſt Mr de Bouchavane was ſo kind as to take him* ' *very privately to a ſmall chamber of the caſtle of* ' *Couſſy* (4).'

(4) P. de Farnace, Vie du Préſ. de la Place, *p.* 15, *&* *ſeq.*

[C] *The oppoſition of a certain perſon who .... had been poſſeſſed of his office.*] That certain perſon is no other than Stephen de Neuilly. We find in the dialogue of the advocates of the parliament of Paris, that *he was made firſt preſident of the court of Aids, when Mr de la Place was killed at the maſſacre of St Bartholomew* (5). Let us ſee the marginal note that was made on that paſſage of the dialogue. ' Miraumont tit. Court ' of Aids, ſays that the Sieur de Neuilly entered up- ' on the office of firſt preſident the eleventh of Ja- ' nuary 1569, which he exerciſed afterwards during ' the abſence of Mr Peter de la Place: and yet Paſquier ' in the ſixteenth book of his letters writing to Mr Theo- ' dore Paſquier, his eldeſt ſon, pag. 245, ſays, he was ' made firſt preſident by the duke de Mayenne, that is, ' during the League.' The difficulty propoſed in this marginal note is none at all: for Paſquier (6) ſpeaks only of the office of Preſident au Mortier conferred by the duke of Mayenne on Stephen de Neuilly, who was already firſt preſident of the court of Aids. See above the article NULLY.

(5) Opuſcules de Loiſel, *p.* 487.

(6) Paſquier, Lettres, *lib. xvi, Tom. ii, p.* 245.

[D] *The maſſacre of St Bartholomew, at which he was killed in the manner as will be ſeen below.*] Captain Michael, arquebuſier to Charles IX, went to the houſe of Peter de la Place at ſix a-clock in the morning. He was *armed with an arquebuſe on his ſhoulder, and a piſtol at his girdle, and as a ſignal that he was one of the maſſacreers wore a napkin about his left arm. The firſt words he ſpoke were, that the duke of Guiſe had killed by the king's order, the admiral and ſeveral other Huguenot lords: and as all the reſt of the Huguenots, what ever quality they were of, were deſtined to death, he was come to the houſe of the ſaid Mr de la Place to ſave him from that calamity. But that he deſired they would ſhew him the gold and ſilver that was in the houſe* (7). The anſwer of Mr de la Place made the captain blaſpheme, and obliged him to tell him that *he ordered him to come and ſpeak with the king.* La Place then doubting *there was ſome great ſedition in the city, ſlipt out at a back door of his houſe, deſigning to retire to a neighbour's houſe. In the mean while, moſt of the ſervants diſappeared, and the captain having got a thouſand crowns, as he was going away was intreated by Miſtreſs des Maretz, daughter to the ſaid la Place, to conduct her and her huſband Mr des Maretz to the houſe of ſome Catholic friend, which he agreed to, and actually did. After that, the ſaid Mr de la Place, having been refuſed acceſs at three different houſes, was forced to return to his own, where he found his wife in a very melancholy condition* (8). He exhorted her to patience, ' then ordered the ſervants that remained in the houſe ' to be called, who being come into his chamber, as ' he had uſed every Sunday to make a form of exhor- ' tation to his family, he went to prayer, then began ' to read a chapter of Job, with the expoſition or ' ſermon of Mr Calvin, and diſcourſed a little upon the ' juſtice and mercy of God, who, *ſaid he*, like a good fa- ' ther, exerciſes his elect with divers chaſtiſements, that ' their minds may not be fixed on the things of this life. ' .. Then he went to prayer again, preparing, both him- ' ſelf and all his family, to endure all ſorts of torments, ' and even death itſelf, rather than do any thing againſt ' the honour of God. Having ended his prayer, ' they came to tell him that Mr de Seneſcay, Prevoſt ' de l'hôtel, with ſeveral of his archers, were at the ' gate, demanding, by the king's order, that the gate ' may be opened, and ſaying that he came to preſerve ' the perſon of the ſaid de la Place, and to hinder the ' houſe from being plundered by the populace: where- ' upon the ſaid Mr de la Place commanded the gate ' to be opened for him, who being entered told him ' the great ſlaughter that was made of the Huguenots ' throughout the whole city, and by the order of the ' king, adding theſe words mingled with Latin, that ' there would not be left one ſingle man, *qui mingat ad parietem, ... To piſs againſt the wall.* Never- ' theleſs that the king had expreſsly commanded him ' to take care, that no injury be done him, but to ' bring him to the Louvre, becauſe his majeſty want- ' ed to be informed by him, of ſeveral things relating ' to the affairs of the Proteſtants, which he had had ' the management of, and therefore that he ſhould ' prepare himſelf to go to the king. Mr de la Place ' anſwered, that he ſhould always think himſelf ex- ' tremely happy to have the opportunity, before he ' left this world, of giving an account to his majeſty ' of all his actions and behaviour. But that it was ' impoſſible for him then to go to the Louvre, conſi- ' dering the horrible maſſacre that was committed in ' the city, without running the greateſt and moſt ma- ' niſeſt hazard of his life, but that it was in his power ' to aſſure his majeſty of his perſon, by leaving in his ' houſe ſuch a number of his archers as he ſhould ' think fit, till the fury of the people was abated. Se- ' neſcay conſented to it, and left with him one of his ' lieutenants, called Toutevoye, and four of his ar- ' chers. A little while after Seneſcay was gone, the ' preſident Charon, then Prevoſt of the merchants of ' Paris, came to the houſe, where after he had talk- ' ed ſome time in ſecret, he left at his departure four ' archers of the city, with thoſe of Seneſcay (9). ' .... Seneſcay returning the next day about two a- ' clock in the afternoon, declared to him, that he had ' a very poſitive and repeated order from the king to ' bring him, and that there muſt be no further delay ' (10).' All the remonſtrances of La Place being to no purpoſe, he begged of him at laſt *to accompany him in perſon, to which Seneſcay replied, that having other affairs upon his hands he could not conduct him above fifty paces* (11). *The wife of the ſaid de la Place*, threw herſelf ' at the feet of the ſaid Seneſcay to beſeech him ' to go with her ſaid huſband. But upon that, the ' ſaid Mr de la Place, who never ſhewed the leaſt ſign ' of fear, lifted up his wife, reproving her and telling ' her it was not to the arm of fleſh, but to God only ' ſhe muſt have recourſe. Then turning about he per- ' ceived in the hat of his eldeſt ſon a paper croſs, which ' he had put there thro' infirmity, thinking to ſave ' himſelf by that means, for which he chid him ſe- ' verely, commanding him to take off from his hat ' that mark of ſedition, and evincing to him, that the ' true croſs we muſt wear, was tribulation and affliction, ' which God ſent upon us as a ſure earneſt of the fe- ' licity and life eternal that he has prepared for his ' people. After that, finding, himſelf very much ' preſſed by the ſaid Seneſcay to ſet out in order to go ' to his majeſty, being entirely reſolved upon death ' which he ſaw was prepared for him, he took his ' cloak, embraced his wife, and earneſtly recommend- ' ed to her above all things to have the honour and ' fear of God before her eyes, and ſo he went away ' very chearful. When he was come as far as Glaſs- ' houſe ſtreet, over againſt Cock-ſtreet, certain mur- ' derers,

(7) P. de Farnace, ibid. *p.* 19.

(8) Ib. *p.* 20.

(9) Ib. *p.* 21, *&* *ſeq.*

(10) Ib. *p.* 24.

(11) Ib. *p.* 25.

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books, which were printed [*E*].

' derers, who had waited for him with naked daggers ' about three hours, killed him, like an innocent lamb, ' in the midſt of ten or twelve archers of the ſaid ' Seneſcay who conducted him, and his houſe was pil- ' laged for the ſpace of five or ſix days together. The ' body of the ſaid Sieur de la Place, whoſe ſoul was ' taken up into Heaven, was carried to a ſtable by ' the town houſe, where the face was all covered with ' dung, and the next morning was thrown into the ' river (12).

(12) Ib. *p.* 26, & *ſeq.*

[*E*] *He wrote ſome books which have been printed.*] A little after the death of Francis II, he *publiſhed a treatiſe on Vocation* (13), which he dedicated to Charles IX, and then *another treatiſe on the right uſe of Moral Philoſophy with the Chriſtian doctrine.* During his firſt retreat, *he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity . . . He likewiſe employed ſome hours in writing down the ſtate of religion and the commonwealth, ſome ſpecimens of which, tho' without his knowledge, were printed in the year* 1565 (14). Whilſt he reſided in the caſtle of Couſſy, he conſidered *the excellency of a Chriſtian*, and compoſed a ſmall treatiſe on that ſubject which he dedicated to the queen of Navarre (15). The Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated from Paris the twentieth of May 1572. The edition I make uſe of is of the year 1581, in 12mo. In La Croix we find what follows. ' He wrote a very learned and excellent trea- ' tiſe on Vocation and the manner of life, to which ' every one is called, printed at Paris for Frederic Morel, ' in the year 1561 in 4to, and contains twenty one ' leaves. This book was printed afterwards at Paris ' by Robert le Mangnier, with a different title from ' what it had before; for the laſt title runs thus. *Diſ- ' cours politiques ſur la voye d'entrer deüement aux Eſtats, ' & la maniere de conſtamment s'y maintenir & gouver- ' ner, le tout reduit par chapitres.* It was divided into ' chapters, which was not done in the former edition. ' Some think the ſaid Sieur de la Place was the author ' of a book intituled *de l'Etat de la Religion de France*, ' printed the year 1557; but I can affirm nothing a- ' bout it, ſince his name is not put to the aforeſaid book ' (16).' I believe there is a fault in the words, *in the year* 1557, for the firſt edition of that work of Peter de la Place is of the year 1565: the title is *Commentaires de l'eſtat de la Religion & Republique ſoubs les Rois Henry & François ſeconds, & Charles neufieme.* Neither the name of the Author, or the Printer, or the place of the impreſſion are ſet down. The work is divided into ſeven books and reaches from 1556 till towards the end of the year 1561: it contains 282 leaves in 8vo: We muſt not forget theſe other words of La Croix du Maine. ' He was a man very learn- ' ed in the law (as he ſhewed by his Latin writings, ' printed long ago, and which we ſhall mention elſe- ' where) and beſides that, he was very eloquent (17).' Du Verdier Vau-Privas quotes only one Latin book of that author: *Petri Plateani Angoliſmæi. . . . . Paraphraſis in titulos Inſtitutionum imperialium de Actionibus, Exceptionibus, & Interdictis. Scholiis ſeorſum margini adpoſitis, Pariſiis 4 apud Galeotum à Prato* 1548 (18).

(13) Ib. *p.* 13.

(14) Ib. *p.* 14.

(15) Ib. *p.* 18.

(16) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. *p.* 408.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franç. *p.* 1038.

PLANTEVIT-LA-PAUSE (JOHN), in Latin *Plantavitius Pauſanus*, biſhop of Lodeve, was born in the caſtle of Marcaſſargues, a ſeat belonging to his mother, in the dioceſe of Nîmes. He was very learned in the Oriental languages, as it appears from the books he publiſhed [*A*]. He was not only born a Proteſtant, but he had been alſo miniſter of the church of Beziers (*a*). He turned Catholic in the year 1604, and was preſently ſent for to court, where Henry the Great careſſed him very much. He went to La Fleche, in order to paſs through a new courſe of Divinity under the Jeſuits. He left that place in 1609, to go to Rome (*b*). He was one of the biſhops of Languedoc, who engaged in the rebellion of the duke of Montmorency (*c*). Moreri has committed ſome faults [*B*].

(*a*) See the atteſtation he gave to *Fitz Simon*, inſerted in the *Britannomachia* of that Jeſuit, *pag.* 122, where he is miſnamed *John de Plantanil.*

(*b*) See the ſame atteſtation.

(*c*) *See the paſſage of* Rivetus, in Jeſuita vapulante, *quoted by* Colomeſius, Bibl. Orient. *p.* 182.

[*A*] *The books he publiſhed.*] Here are the titles of ſome of them. *Florilegium Biblicum, Heb. Lat.* at Lodeve, 1645. *Florilegium Rabbinicum, Heb. Lat. cum Biliotheca Rabbinica, ibid.* in the ſame year. *Theſaurus Synonymicus Hebræo-Chaldæo-Rabbinicus, ibid.* in the ſame year. An Hebrew Lexicon. Colomeſius ſpeaks of a book of Michael Beraud, Miniſter of Montauban, concerning Juſtification againſt that author (1).

(1) Colom. Bibl. Orient. *p.* 182.

[*B*] *Moreri has committed ſome faults.*] I. It does clearly appear from the atteſtation which I have quoted, that Plantavit-la-Pauſe made his abjuration at Beziers, and not at Bourges. Good Moreri miſtook, without doubt, the meaning of the Latin word *Biterrenſi*, and took it to be the ſame with *Bituricenſi*. II. I fancy that by the ſame miſtake he tells us, that that prelate *retired to the caſtle of Margon, in the dioceſe of Bourges, and died there the* 28*th of May*, 1651. III. It cannot be ſaid that a prelate *behaved himſelf with great prudence*, from the year 1625 to the year 1648, when it is certain that he declared for the rebels in the year 1632. That omiſſion is leſs excuſable than that of Plantevit's miniſtry, and of his ſtudies at la Fleche, and of ſome other facts of which there is not the leaſt hint in Moreri's Dictionary. IV. Thoſe words, *he made a particular ſtudy* of Divinity *in the college of Foix at Toloſe*, are captious and very improper; for they would make one believe, that the college of Foix is a houſe wherein ſciences are taught, which is not true (2).

(2) Compare this with the remark [*B*], of the article BOSQUET (FRANCIS).

PLATINA (BARTHOLOMEW) (*a*) author of an Hiſtory of the Popes, flouriſhed in the XVth century. He was born in the year 1421, in a village called *Piadena* [*A*], between Cremona and Mantua. His firſt profeſſion was that of a ſoldier (*b*); he followed it a conſiderable time, and then he applied himſelf to ſtudy, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it. He went to Rome (*c*) under the pontificate of Calixtus III (*d*), and having got cardinal Beſſarion's acquaintance, he obtained ſome ſmall benefices of Pius II, and then the place of Apoſtolic Abbreviator. Paul II, ſucceſſor of Pius II, turned all the abbreviators out of their places, without any regard to the money they had laid out to buy

(*a*) *Not* Baptiſt, *as he is called by* Jacobus Bergamenſis, Leander Albertus, Floridus Sabinus, &c. *See the proofs of it in* Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. *p.* 589. *See alſo the remark* [*H*], *at the end.*

(*b*) Volater. *lib. xxi, pag.* 777.

(*c*) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xix.*

(*d*) Not Calixtus II, as Moreri ſays.

[*A*] *He was born in the year* 1421, *in a village called Piadena.*] I do not find any author that mentions that year, but ſince Jacobus Bergamenſis and Maſſæus (1) place his death in the year 1481, and Raphaël Volaterranus (2), and Leander Albertus (3) affirm that he died being ſixty years old, it follows that he was born in the year 1421. Thoſe who ſay, as Moreri does, that he was born at Verona, are miſtaken (4): here is the proof of it. ' Idem fecit Theo- ' dorus Hexarchus Ravennas cui quidem in magiſtratu ' mortuo non ita multo poſt Joannes Platina ſucceſ- ' ſit. Hunc ego crediderim dedidiſſe nomen meo na- ' tali ſolo quod Platina appellatur in agro Cremo- ' nenſi poſitum. - - - - *Theodorus Hexarchus of Ravenna*

(1) *In Chronic.* They ſay that he died of the Plague.

(2) Commentar. Urban. *lib. xxi, pag.* 777.

(3) In Deſcript. Ital. *pag. m.* 626.

(4) Hofman, in voce Platina, *and* Cave, in Cartophyl. Eccleſiaſt. *Edit. Lipſ. pag.* 369, *are cenſured upon that account by* Daniel Will. Mollerus, Diſſert. de Platina, *pag.* 4. *Sir Thomas-Pope Blount*, Cenſura Author. *pag.* 339, *ſets down a long paſſage of* Boiſſardus, in Iconib. *wherein Platina is called* Veronenſis.

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buy that employment, or to the remonſtrances of Platina, who humbly beſought him to order, that their cauſe ſhould be judged by the auditors of the Rota (e). The Pope was offended at the liberty he took, and returned a very haughty anſwer [B]. The poor men being deprived of their places, did for ſome days whatever they could to obtain audience of the Pope, but they were denied with the greateſt contempt. Which moved Platina to write a letter to him [C], wherein he acquainted him, that they were ready to go into foreign countries, and to exhort the princes to call a council, in order to examine whether the abbreviators had been juſtly deprived of their places. His letter was looked upon as an act of felony. He was impriſoned and kept in irons, and left in that condition four months, being expoſed to a thouſand miſeries [D]. Afterwards he was ſet at liberty, at the requeſt of cardinal Francis de Gonzaga, and was ordered not to go out of Rome. He lived quietly in it for the ſpace of three years, and then he fell again into a new and more cruel perſecution. The Pope had been made to believe that Callimachus had conſpired againſt him, and that Platina was one of his accomplices. Several perſons were impriſoned, and put to the rack upon that account. Platina was as ſeverely uſed as the reſt. That conſpiracy proved a chimæra, yet not one priſoner was ſet at liberty; for they would have been aſhamed to acknowledge, that perſons of merit had been ſo cruelly treated upon an ill-grounded ſuſpicion [E]. When it appeared that the accuſation of treaſon was too ill-grounded to inſiſt upon it, they

(e) Platina, in Paulo II, *fol. m.* 150, *verſo.*

' *did the ſame, who, dying during his magiſtracy, was* ' *ſucceeded ſoon after by John Platina. The latter, I* ' *believe, gave the name to the place of my birth, which* ' *is called Platina, and lies in the country of Cremona.*' Theſe are the very words of Platina (5). The Italians do not call that village Platina, but Piadena: as appears from the Italian tranſlation of a Journey into Italy, written in Latin by Andreas Schottus (6). I believe that Platina was ſo called from the place of his birth: the name of this family was Sacchus, or Saccus.

(5) In Vit. Cohonis, *fol. m.* 104. That Pope reigned in the year 686.

(6) Da Cremona à Mantoua ſi va per una ſtrada piana e diritta ove ſi trova Piadena Patria di Bartolomeo Platina. *My edition of Vicenza* 1622, *ſays* Pianeda.

[B] *Returned a very haughty anſwer.*] That Pope's anſwer does very much favour of Antichriſtianiſm: he plainly declared that all right, and all the laws depended upon his will. Theſe are the Latin words of Platina (7): ' Tentarunt tamen ii ad quos res ipſa ' pertinebat hominem è ſententia dimovere: atque ego ' certe qui horum de numero eram rogando etiam ut ' cauſa ipſa judicibus publicis (quos Rotæ auditores ' vocant) committeretur. Tum ille torvis oculis me ' aſpiciens, ita nos inquit ad judices revocas? ac ſi ' neſcires omnia jura in ſcrinio pectoris noſtri collocata ' eſſe? Sic ſtat ſententia, inquit: loco cedant omnes, ' eant quo volunt, nihil eos moror: pontifex ſum, ' mihique licet pro arbitrio animi aliorum acta & re' ſcindere & approbare. - - - - *Thoſe, whom the affair* ' *concerned, tried to make him alter his reſolution. I* ' *too, as being one of their number, beſought him that* ' *our cauſe might be heard before the public judges (ſtiled* ' *the auditors of the Rota). Upon this, looking at me* ' *with a ſtern countenance, do you then, ſaid he, appeal* ' *to the judges? As if you were ignorant, forſooth, that* ' *the law is wholly centered in my breaſt. Thus have I* ' *decreed: go they ſhall every one of them hence; they may* ' *chuſe where. I am Pope, and therefore have a right* ' *to approve or diſanul the acts of others, as I think beſt.*'

(7) In Paulo II, *fol. m.* 350, *verſo.*

[C] *Which moved Platina to write a letter to him.*] You will ſee the contents of it in the following words: ' Ego vero, *ſays he* (8), tanta ignominia excitus quod ' mihi ac ſociis meis coram non licebat, id agere per ' literas inſtitui. Scripſi itaque epiſtolam his verbis. ' Si tibi licuit indicta cauſa ſpoliare nos emptione no' ſtra juſta ac legitima, debet & nobis licere conqueri ' illatam injuriam inuſtamque ignominiam. Rejecti à ' te ac tam inſigni contumelia affecti dilabemur paſ' ſim ad reges, ad principes, eoſque adhortabimur ut ' tibi concilium indicant, in quo potiſſimum rationem ' reddere cogaris cur nos legitima poſſeſſione ſpolia' veris. - - - - - *But I, being provoked at ſo great an* ' *indignity, reſolved to do by a letter what my colleagues* ' *and I were not allowed to do in his preſence. I there*' *fore wrote to him as follows. If you had a right to* ' *deprive us, without being heard, of our juſt and law*' *ful purchaſe, we likewiſe ſhould have a right to com*' *plain of the wrong which we ſuffer, and of the indignity* ' *that is put upon us. Since we are repulſed by you, and* ' *treated in ſuch a contumelious manner, we will go* ' *every where to the princes abroad, and exhort them to* ' *call a council, whoſe chief buſineſs it ſhall be to make* ' *you give an account of the reaſons which you had for* ' *depriving us of our right and property.*' The character of Platina may be known from this letter: it appears by it that he was too impatient, and too much conceited, but at the ſame time, a ſincere man; for ſince he was pleaſed to acquaint the public with his conduct, tho' it was not agreeable to his duty, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he loved to write truth. It is certain, that a ſubject who is turned out of his place by his maſter, has no right to threaten him that he will complain of him to other princes, that he may have juſtice. The Pope is ſovereign in Rome, with reſpect to the ſuppreſſion or eſtabliſhment of certain employments, and cannot be ſubjected to a council in that reſpect. Beſides, the Pope could not but be extreamly offended at Platina's menaces about a council. It was treating him like a ſchool-boy, when he is told that his maſter ſhall know of it. Beſides, I ſhould be glad to know, whether the ſuppreſſion of a college of ſecretaries deſerves ſo great a buſtle, and is worth the calling of a council. But this is the character of ſuch men, to fancy there is nothing wherein the world is ſo much concerned, as what concerns them. Platina did not much trouble himſelf about other abuſes; he would have the council chiefly to mind the loſs which the apoſtolical abbreviators had lately ſuſtained.

(8) Ibid.

Reflexions on that letter, which ſhew the character of Platina.

[D] *He was left . . . expoſed to a thouſand miſeries.*] For he was in the middle of the winter, without a fire, in a tower which lay open to all ſorts of winds (9).

(9) Reclinctus compedibus & quidem gravifſimis ſtudio hiemis fine loco, celsa in turri ac ventis omnibus expoſita coerceor meritus quatuor. *Platina, ubi ſupra, fol.* 351.

[E] *They would have been aſhamed to acknowledge, that perſons of merit had been ſo cruelly treated upon an ill-grounded ſuſpicion.*] Of all the defects of men, vanity is, perhaps, the cauſe of moſt crimes committed by them. How many men are there who begin an injuſtice, being fully perſuaded that they act juſtly? They ſoon perceive they were miſtaken, but their pride not permitting them to acknowledge their fault, they go on in their injuſtice, leſt any body ſhould come to know that they began it without reaſon. Every body had rather ſave his own reputation than that of his neighbour: from whence come the numberleſs ſhifts and cavils of informers, who know they are guilty of calumny, and are afraid of being convicted of it. Here is a Pope, who, for a falſe point of honour, perſiſted to perſecute thoſe who were found innocent, notwithſtanding his former ſuſpicions. ' Chriſtophorus Ve' ronenſis Pauli Medicus ad me veniens, bono inquit ' animo te eſſe jubet Paulus: ac de ſe bene ſperare ' brevique liberum futurum: ſciſcitor quando id fore ' ſperaret. Reſpondet homo liber audientibus omni' bus qui tum aderant: non ita cito fieri poſſe ne ' levitatis & ſævitiæ argueretur pontifex, quod illos ' quos tanto tumultu concitato cæpiſſet ac torſiſſet, ' ſtatim veluti innoxios dimitteret (10). - - - *Chriſopher* ' *of Verona, Paul's Phyſician, came to me, and ſaid; the* ' *Pope bids you to be of good chear, and to expect good* ' *uſage from him, for that you ſhall ſhortly be ſet at li*' *berty. I aſked him when he thought that would be. He* ' *anſwered, in his free way, before all that were pre*' *ſent, that cannot be ſo very ſoon, leſt the Pope ſhould* ' *be accuſed of fickleneſs and cruelty, if he ſhould inſtantly* ' *releaſe, as innocent, thoſe whom he had cauſed, in ſuch* ' *a tumultuous*

(10) Ib. *fol.* 351.

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they came to the accusation of Heresy [F], which at last vanished away as the other. The prisoners were not set at liberty before the year's end [G]. The Pope entertained Platina with the hopes of a good settlement, and so kept him from going out of Rome. He expected in vain, for the space of two years, the effect of those promises, and then the Pope died of an Apoplexy (f). Sixtus IV, his successor, made Platina library-keeper of the Vatican (g). Platina found himself, by that means, in his element. He lived very quietly till the year 1481, in which he died of the Plague (h). He left to Pomponius Lætus the house he had built upon mount Quirinal, with the grove of laurels, out of which the Poetical crowns were taken (i). I shall give a catalogue of his writings [H]. Mr

(f) *Taken from* Platina, in Vita Pauli II.

(g) The library of the Vatican was set up by that Pope. *Jovius, ibid.*

(h) See the remark [A], citation (1).

(i) Jovius, ibid.

'*a tumultuous manner, to be taken up, and put to the rack.*' See the article EXPERIENS, remarks [A] and [B].

[F] *They came to the accusation of Heresy.*] So says Platina, *Neque hoc quidem contentus Paulus quos paulo ante conjurationis & majestatis accersierat, eosdem mutata sententia ob divulgatam fabulam hæreseos accusat* (11). Pomponius Lætus was apprehended at Venice, and carried to Rome. He was accused of changing the names of young men, and giving them a Heathenish name instead of a Christian. It is pretended that he did so, to inspire them with a greater desire of honour and virtue; but he was contented to answer, What is that to you, or to the Pope, if I have a mind to go by the name of Fennel, provided it be without any malice? *Rogatis cur nomina adolescentibus immutaret, ut homo liber erat, quid ad vos, inquit, & Paulum, si mibi fœniculi nomen indo, modo id sine dolo ac fraude fiat. Amore namque vetustatis antiquorum præclara nomina repetebat quasi quædam calcaria quæ nostram juventutem æmulatione ad virtutem incitarent* (12). Besides, those prisoners were accused of having embraced the sect of Plato, of disputing in a doubtful manner, about the Immortality of the Soul, and the Existence of GOD, and of valuing Paganism too much. *Multa nobis objicit* (Paulus) *sed illud potissimum quod de immortalitate animorum disputaremus, teneremusque opinionem Platonis. . . . . in dubium, inquit Paulus, disputando Deum vocabatis. . . . Præterea ver Paulus crimini nobis dabat, quod nimium gentilitatis amatores essemus* (13). To which they answered, 1. That if they loved Plato, they did but imitate the great St Augustin. 2. That all the Divines and Philosophers of that time disputed about the same truths, and called them in question, in order to find the certainty of them; for it is one of the laws of dispute, not to take for certain what is in question, but to suppose for a time the uncertainty of it, in order to enquire, without any prejudices, into the reasons and grounds of what is believed concerning it (14). 3. That, according to St Augustin, obstinacy in maintaining errors makes a Heretic, but as for them, they had always submitted to the discipline of the church. Platina, in particular, represented the innocency of his actions; that he had never forgot to confess, and communicate once a year, and that he never uttered a word against the Apostle's Creed, or that savoured of Heresy. *Nullum mihi facinus impingi potest, non furtum, non latrocinium, non sacrilegium, non depeculatus, non parricidium, non rapina, non simonia. Vixi ut Christianum decebat: confessionem & communionem in anno semel præsertim intermisi nunquam. Nil ex ore meo excidit quod contra symbolum esset, aut hæresim saperet.* He observes, that no body appeared so fond of Pagan antiquities as the Pope, who gathered together all the antient statues to adorn his palace (15), &c. Notwithstanding that apology, the Pope set a mark of ignominy upon the name Academic, and declared Heretics all those who, for the time to come, should mention the word Academy, either in jest or earnest. '*Veteres Academicos sequebamur, novos contemnentes qui in rebus ipsis nil certi ponebant. Paulus tamen hæreticos eos pronunciavit qui nomen Academiæ vel serio vel joco deinceps commemorarent. Juncta est hæc ignominia Platoni, ipse se tueatur* (16). - - - - *We followed the old Academics, despising the new, who allowed of no certainty in the nature of things. Nevertheless Paul declared Heretics all those who for the time to come, &c. . . . . This reflects upon Plato, let him defend himself.*' I have read in more than one place, but I cannot now tell where, that this Pope was so great an enemy to learning, that he forbad to pronounce the word College or Academy. Those who said so were grossly mistaken: Paul II did not condemn those who should mention the word Academy in the sense of a college or a house wherein sciences are taught. He only condemned the Sceptical and Pyrrhonian spirit of the wits of his time, who, under pretence of philosophizing in the way of Plato, the founder of the antient academy, brought every thing in question, and grew dangerous with respect to the foundations of the Gospel.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Platin. ibid. *fol.* 358, *verso.*

(13) Ib. *fol.* 359.

(14) In dubium, inquit Paulus disputando Deum vocabatis. Quod quidem omnibus Philosophis & Theologis nostrorum temporum objici potest qui & animos & Deum & omnes intelligentias separatas disputandi ac veri inveniendi causa in dubium plerumque vocant. *Ibid. See the article* MALDONAT, *remark* [L].

(15) Cum nemo eo hujus rei studiosior esset, quippe qui & statuas veterum undique ex tota urbe conquisitas in suas illas ædes quas sub Capitolio extruebat congeret. *Ibid.*

(16) Ibid. *fol.* 359, *verso*, & *fol.* 360.

[G] *The prisoners were not set at liberty before the year's end.*] Trithemius is hereby convicted of a falsehood, for saying that Platina was set at liberty only by Sixtus IV, after the death of Paul II. *Multas à Paulo Papa II calamitates sustinuit, adeo ut bonis omnibus & dignitate spoliatus post equulei suspensionem in carcerem crudelissime detrusus, usque ad mortem ipsius Pauli detentus sit, qui à Sixto mox liberatus*, &c. (17). When an author writes the history of his own misfortunes, we ought to trust him, and not believe that he wants our amplifications. Trithemius should have followed that maxim, and consulted the life of Paul II, written by the same person whose elogy he made: he might have known exactly how long he was a prisoner, and many people would not be deceived by him, as they are still. '*A Paulo II in carcerem conjectus, mensesque quatuor ipsos detentus est, donec à successore Sixto IV liberatus - - - -* (18). *He was thrown into prison by Paul II, and kept there four months, till he was set at liberty by his successor Sixtus IV.*'

(17) Trithem. de Script. Eccles. *pag.* 356. *Bolsardus says the same thing*, ap. Pope Blount, Cens. Author. *pag.* 339.

[H] *I shall give a catalogue of his writings.*] The most considerable is, the History of the Popes, from St Peter to Sixtus IV, to whom he dedicated it. It is variously spoken of: the Protestants like it well enough, and have placed that author in the catalogue of the witnesses of truth (19). See the passage of Illyricus, which I shall quote by and by. Some Roman Catholics accuse him of want of sincerity and diligence. Nevertheless, Panvinius did not scruple to publish that History, with notes of his own, and to add to it the Lives of the Popes from Sixtus IV to Pius IV. Cicarella went on, and added to it the Lives of the Popes from Pius V to Clement VIII. That book of Platina was printed first of all at Venice in the year 1479, in folio. Olearius (20) was therefore mistaken, who believed that the Nuremberg edition, 1481, is the first. You will find this remark in Mollerus's dissertation (21), with the list of several other editions. That which I make use of is not mentioned by him; it is a Lyons edition, 1512, in 8vo. These words are to be found at the end of it: *Excellentissimi historici Platynæ in vitas summorum Pontificum usque ad Julium II. Ponti. Maxi: præclarum opus fœliciter explicit. Ludun. impressum à Gilberto de Villiers Borbonnio: impensis honestissimi viri domini Vincentii de Prothonariis & Constantini Fradin. Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo. Die vero* XXII *mensis Februarii.* A reader might be deceived by the beginning of this paragraph: one would think that Platina lived to the time of Julius II, yet it appears by some Latin verses printed the same year, and in the same Printing-house, that Platina died under Sixtus IV. Bartholomew Aristophilus, author of a Latin poem inserted in the collection of the funeral verses published to the honour of Platina, says, in his small preamble, that having succeeded, by Sixtus's choice, to the place of library-keeper, which Platina enjoyed, and finding himself lodged in the same room where Platina lived, he felt, &c. Mr Mollerus has not forgot the list of some German, Italian, and French translations of that book of Platina. He speaks of a French translation, printed at Paris in 1519, in folio, but says nothing of a later translation, made by Mr Coulon, and published at Paris, in 4to, 1651. Here is the passage of Illyricus, which I have promised: '*Etsi Platina* turpiter & impudenter *Papis adulatis sit*: tamen nimia ipsorum turpitudine ac *malitiâ coactus aliquando, etiam subindicat Babyloniæ Meretricis nefanda scelera. In Marcellino que-*

(18) Bosius, de comparanda Prudentia civili, *p.* 377, *of the second Tome of the treatise* de ratione studiorum, *collected and commented by the learned Crenius, at Leyden* 1696.

(19) *See* Simon Goulart, in Catal. Testium Veritatis, *col.* 1904.

(20) In Abaco Patrolog. *p.* 68.

(21) *He might have said that* Labbæus de Script. Eccles. *Tom. i, p.* 174. *has committed the same mistake with Olearius.*

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Mr Daniel William Mollerus, professor in the university of Altdorf, has published a curious piece (*k*), which was very useful to me for the composition of this article. He observes, that Andrew Corthymius (*l*) has made three Platina's of one; for he speaks of Platina the Orator, Platina the Historian, and Platina a Father of the church. He observes also, that Barthius thinks he has found out a very criminal mystery, in Platina's not having mentioned the Resurrection of CHRIST, nor his Ascension [*1*]. Varillas has committed

(*k*) *Intituled*, Disputatio circularis de Platina. *Altdorf. d.* 17. *Feb.* 1694.

(*l*) In Florilegio Historico, *fol.* 204, *n.* 10, & *fol.* 206, *num.* 4.

‘ ritur *Paparum* scelera eo excreviſſe, ut vix apud ‘ *Deum* miſericordiæ locum reliquerint: avaritiam, ‘ ſuperbiam, neglectum *Doctrinæ*, & Religionis ſi- ‘ mulationem, mores etiam in prophanis deteſtan- ‘ dos, propalam eſſe, ut inde laudem quærere vid- ‘ eantur. In *Pontificibus* poſt milleſimum annum, ‘ ſubinde repetit, *Omnem pietatem & ſanctitatem* ‘ *à Papis ad Cæſares migraſſe* (22). - - - - - *Although* ‘ *Platina has flattered the Popes in a ſcandalous and im-* ‘ *pudent manner: nevertheleſs he is ſometimes conſtrained* ‘ *by their extreme wickedneſs and cruelty to diſcover the* ‘ *abominable ſins of* the Whore of Babylon. *In the life* ‘ *of Marcellinus, he complains that the iniquities of the* ‘ *Popes were come to ſuch a height, that there was ſcarce* ‘ *any room left for the mercy of GOD: that their cove-* ‘ *touſneſs, pride, neglect* of learning, *hypocriſy, and* ‘ *vices, that even in profligates would be accounted exe-* ‘ *crable, were grown ſo public that they ſeemed to glory* ‘ *in them. In his lives of the Popes, after the year one* ‘ *thouſand, he often ſays*, that all piety and holineſs ‘ was fled from the Popes to the Cæſars.’ I ſhould willingly ſubſcribe to the judgment which Robert Creyghton made upon that work of Platina. ‘ Pla- ‘ tinam, *ſays he* (23), auctorem ſiccum & ſtrigoſum ‘ ſæpe verba, ſæpe ſenſus, multoties rerum experientia, ‘ nonnunquam integritas deſtituunt. Et quod magis ‘ miremur nunquam lapſus eſt gravius quam in Eugenii ‘ vita, ſub cujus temporibus floruit. - - - - *Platina, a* ‘ *dry and barren writer, often wants words, often ſenſe,* ‘ *very often experience, and ſometimes integrity. And* ‘ *which is ſtill more to be wondered at, he has no* ‘ *where blundered more remarkably than in the life of* ‘ *Eugenius, in whoſe time he flouriſhed.*’ Theſe are the titles of the other books of Platina. *De naturis rerum: epiſtolæ ad diverſos: de honeſta voluptate & valetudine: de falſo & vero bono: contra amores: de vera nobilitate: de optimo cive: Panegyricus in laudem Beſſarionis: Oratio ad Paulum II de pace Italiæ componenda & bello Turcico indicendo: de floſculis linguæ Latinæ.* Gryphius, printed at Lyons in 1541, in 8vo, at the end of *Cælii Apicii de re culinaria libri decem*, this other book; ‘ P. (24) Platinæ Cremonenſis viri undecunque ‘ doctiſſimi de tuenda valetudine, natura rerum & po- ‘ pinæ ſcientia ad ampliſſium D. D. B. Roverellam ‘ S. Clementis Preſbyterum Cardinalem libri decem. ‘ *Ten books of Platina, on the Preſervation of Health*; ‘ *the Nature of Things*; *the Art of Cookery*, &c.’ That work was unworthy of that author, and I do not wonder that Sannazar ridiculed it by this epigram;

Ingenia & mores vitaſque obituſque notaſſe
Pontificum, argutæ lex fuit hiſtoriæ.
Tu tamen hinc lautæ tractas pulmenta culinæ;
Hoc Platina eſt ipſos paſcere pontifices (2).

Of Popes the lives and manners while you tell,
You act the part of an Hiſtorian well.
But when of kitchen-art you write a book,
You are not their Hiſtorian, but their Cook.

[§ (α) Sannazar was in the wrong to believe that Platina, after having writ the lives of the Popes, had debaſed himſelf ſo far as to write of Cookery. See the new *Menagiana* edition of Paris, 1715, p. 69, and 70. As for the reſt, the laſt editions of Palatina are not the moſt faithful. In the life of Pope Cletus, for example, in the thirteenth leaf of John Petit's edition, 1530, in 8vo, we find: *Uxorem habuit in Bithynia*; - - - *he had a wife in Bithynia*: and with this agrees an old Italian tranſlation that I have ſeen; whereas, the following editions, by a groſs corruption, have made it: *Uxorem non habens in Bithynia*; - - - *having no wife in Bithynia*. REM. CRIT.]

The edition of Lyons, 1541, came out after thoſe of Cologn, 1529, and 1537, in 8vo. The Italian book, which I have ſeen quoted with the title of *B. Scacchi Cuoco ſecreto di Papa Paolo II, Opera, dove ſi tratta di diverſe vivande, &c. con le figure in 4to. Venet.* 1570, is not a tranſlation of Platina's ten books, *de tuenda valetudine & popinæ ſcientia*. That Italian book is quoted otherwiſe by Lanzius: *Extat*, ſays he (25,) *memorabilis liber artis Apicianæ* de culina & architriclini officio di M. Bartholomeo Scappi cuoco ſecreto di Papa Pio V qui nunc præfectus eſt (*ait* * *ille*) noſtris intimis coquis, non ſine ejuſdem privilegio & approbatione inquiſitorum hæretice pravitatis, *Venetiis editus anno* M. D. LXXI, *ſed & ante hunc Bartholemæum extant Platinæ, Suetonii Pontificii de Popinæ ſcientia libri x. ad Cardinalem Rovarellam*. It appears that Lanzius was perſuaded that his *Bartholomew Scappi*, named by others *Bartholomew Scacchi*, is different from Platina. He is in the right, for the work of B. Scappi contains a relation of the funeral obſequies of Paul III, at which the author aſſiſted. Note, that it is a large quarto divided into ſix books, where all the ways of dreſſing fiſh and fleſh, *&c.* are treated of: they have not been ſparing of figures (26).

As to the Hiſtory of Mantua compoſed by Platina, Mr Morellus (27) affirms, that Lambecius publiſhed it in the year 1674. But he owns that he could never get a copy of it, whatever pains he took to find one, and that Martin Diſenbachius (28) maintains, that that work never came out in print. The original of that hiſtory of Mantua was left by the author himſelf to Gaudentius Merula, who ſent it to Oporinus, a Bookſeller of Baſil, to get it printed. Oporinus died before he could print it, and left it to the eldeſt ſon of his good friend Theodorus Zwingerus (29). It is certain that Lambecius publiſhed it with notes at Vienna in the year 1675, in 4to. The 10th, Giornale de Letterati, 1676, gives an abſtract of it, and tells us that this work is divided into ſix books, and not into ſeven, as Poſſevinus affirms (30), or into three, as Voſſius believed (31), and that Lambecius, who maintains againſt Trithemius, Angelus Rocca, Raphael Volaterranus, Boiſſardus, and Voſſius, that Platina's name was Baptiſt, and not Bartholomew, is refuted by a Pope's Brief, to be found in the Vatican library. It is the Brief wherein Platina is appointed keeper of that library. He is named Bartholomew in it. That proof was unknown to Voſſius. Mr Wharton (32) obſerves that Richard Flemyngus, who knew Platina very well, and beſtowed great encomiums upon him (33), calls him Bartholomew (β).

[(β) So does Benedictus Curtius, in his Commentary upon the Decrees of Love, *Les Arrêts d'Amour*, and Boiſſard in the title of an epigram which he made upon him, and which is to be ſeen in the firſt volume of the *Delitiæ Poetarum Galliæ*. REM. CRIT.]

[*1*] *Barthius thinks he has found out a very criminal myſtery, in Platina's not having mentioned the Reſurrection of* CHRIST, *nor his Aſcenſion*.] Theſe are Mollerus's words: ‘ Improbitatis *alicujus Platinam accuſa-* ‘ *turi ad* Caſp. Barth. animadverſ. in Gui. Briton. ‘ lib. vi. Philipp. p. 459. *provocare ſolent, quippe ubi* ‘ *verba reperire liceat ſequentia Auguſti hoc dictum (nempe* ‘ melius eſt Herodis porcum eſſe quam filium, *de quo* ‘ *vid.* Macrob. in jocis Auguſti lib. ii. c. 4.) *illuſtra-* ‘ *vit renaſcentibus literis* B. Platina in primo ſuorum ‘ Pontificum nempe Domino & Deo noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. ‘ *Qui improbe tamen hoc & profane, quod vita ſervatoris* ‘ *obituque utcunque commemoratis, glorioſiſſimam reſurre-* ‘ *ctionem è mortuis & aſcenſionem in cœlum, ne uno qui-* ‘ *dem verbo attigit. Cauſſa facile à ſagacibus bomini-* ‘ *bus odoranda* (34). - - - Thoſe who accuſe Platina of impiety generally have recourſe to Caſpar Barthius, where you find the following words immediately after this ſaying of Auguſtus, viz. *It is better to be Herod's hog than his ſon*: It was explained upon the revival of learning by *B. Platina, in the life of his firſt pontif, viz. our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Nevertheleſs he behaved like a profane and impious writer, in that having mentioned the life and death of our Saviour in a careleſs manner, he has not ſaid one word of his glori- ‘ ous

(*k*) *Intituled*, Diſputatio circularis de Platina. *Altdorf. d.* 17. *Feb.* 1694.

(22) Illyricus, *lib. xix*, Catal. Teſtium Verit. ap. Pope Blount, ubi ſupra, *pag. m.* 339.

(23) Robert. Creyghton, Not. ad Sylveſtri Sguropuli Hiſt. Concilii Florentini, §. v, *cap. ii.*

(24) They have put a P. inſtead of a B. Mr Mollerus, *pag.* 7, obſerves, that in the catalogue of Thuanus's library, *pag.* 119, *Part i*, we read *Joh. Bap. Platinæ. & p.* 182, *Part ii*, *Petri Platinæ*. But it is not the fault of thoſe who made that catalogue, but of thoſe who printed Platina's works.

(25) Orat. cont. Italiam, *pag. m.* 845, 846.

* M. Frider. Comm. ad Cen. ſtant. Decat.

(26) This particular I had from the Mazarin library.

(27) De Platina, *pag.* 26.

(28) De Henrico VII Imp. *p.* 47.

(29) Diſenbachius, ibid. apud Molterum, *pag.* 27.

(30) In Apparat. Sacro.

(31) De Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 589.

(32) In Append. ad Cave Hiſt. Litt. Script. Eccleſ. *pag.* 153.

(33) In *Lib. i.* Locubrationum Tiburtinarum.

(34) Moller. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 39.

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mitted some faults [K].

'ous resurrection from the dead, nor of his ascension in-
'to heaven. A wise man may easily guess the cause.'
Mollerus does not grant that Platina suppressed the resur-
rection and ascension of Jesus Christ, '*Sed tamen Plati-*
'*nam*, says he, mortis & resurrectionis Christi *memi-*
'*nisse ex principio statim vitæ S. Petri inspecto apparebit*
'*ubi verba occurrunt ista:* post Christi mortem & re-
'surrectionem completis jam diebus Pentecostes Spiri-
'tum S. accepere discipuli. - - - - Nevertheless it will
'appear, that Platina mentioned the death and resur-
'rection of Christ, by looking into the very begin-
'ning of his life of St Peter, where he has these words.
'*After Christ's death and resurrection, when the days of*
'*Pentecost were fulfilled, the disciples received the Holy*
'*Ghost.*' You see how he proves that Platina men-
tioned those two mysteries; notwithstanding, he sus-
pects that this author had an ill design, under pre-
tence, that the chapter which concerns the life of
Christ, contains nothing touching the resurrection and
ascension of the Messias. He mentions, without any
refutation, the suspicion which some have had, that
Platina designed thereby to increase the glory of the
Popes. *Certum autem est in vitæ Christi descriptione ne-*
que resurrectionis è mortuis neque ascensionis in cælum
mentionem ullam esse injectam, non tam ob brevitatis
caussam, ut aliqui suspicati sunt, quam ut nonnullorum ex
opinione, insignior insequentes pontifices gloria maneret (35).
I confess, that all I can apprehend herein is, that seve-
ral people make themselves ridiculous, by their affect-
ing too great a penetration. They look for political
views in the most simple and most indifferent things.
I should be glad to know how it can be any advantage
to the Popes, that Platina mentioned the resurrection
and ascension of Jesus Christ, not in the chapter
where he treats of Jesus Christ, but in the next
chapter, which treats of St Peter? I believe Platina
would be very much surprised, if he knew that such
subtleties are ascribed to him, which are so unworthy
of his country.

(35) Ibid.

[K] *Varillas has committed some faults* (36).] I. He says, that Platina was born at Cremona. II. It is not true that Cardinal Bessarion put Platina upon writing the lives of the Popes. III. Nor that this work was written before the time of Paul II. Those two falsehoods are clearly refuted by the epistle dedicatory, where Platina says twice, that he wrote the history of the Popes by order of Sixtus IV. *Tu itaque Theologorum ac philosophorum princeps Maxime Pontifex hac hominum utilitate motus simulque dignitati ecclesiasticæ consulens, non frustra* MANDASTI *ut res gestas pontificum scriberem . . . . si quid emolumenti ex hac scriptione nostra perceperint, tibi soli pontifex optime gratias agant, cujus sanctissimo* IMPERIO *libentur* OBTEMPERAVI. IV. It is not true that Paul II *made him his secretary*: Pius II gave him that place, and Paul II took it away from him.

(36) *In the Anecdotes de Florence, pag.* 171.

PLOTINUS, a Platonic Philosopher, flourished in the IIId century. His genius was very much superior to the common Philosophers, and his ideas were very singular and extraordinary. He was ashamed of being lodged in a body; and therefore took no pleasure in saying what country (*a*), or what family he was of. His contempt for every thing material that was in him, was the reason why he would never suffer his picture to be drawn [A]; and had it not been for a man who drew it by memory, his disciples had

(*a*) Nevertheless we know that he was born at Lycopolis, a city of Egypt. *Eunapius, in Plotino.*

[A] *He would never suffer his picture to be drawn.*] Amelius, his disciple, desired it of him, but it was in vain: Is it not enough, answered he, to drag every where with us that image in which we have been shut up by nature: do you think that we must, also, transmit to future ages an image of that image, as an object worthy of their attention? 1. How great is that thought! None but little souls will deny it. Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ φέρειν ὃ ἡ φύσις εἰδῶλον ἡμῖν περιέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδώλῳ εἴδωλον συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν πολυχρονιώτερον καταλιπεῖν, ὡς δή τι τῶν ἀξιοθεάτων ἔργων. *Quasi vero non satis hanc imaginem fere sit quam natura nobis ab initio circumdedit: etiam censes imaginis hujus imaginem diuturniorem insuper posteris ut opus spectaculo dignum relinquendum* (1). Madam des Houlieres has made some admirable verses upon the vanity which induces men to have their pictures drawn (2). The elevation and depth of her morality is incomparable; a lady who thinks so nobly should have lived in the age of Plotinus, our's was not worthy of her: the men of this age have too mean souls, they set too great a value upon the body, and the goods of fortune. There are no Plotinus's now a-days. Madam des Houlieres herself has yielded to the temptation of having her picture drawn (3). She was pleased to see herself grown young again by the pencil of Mrs Cheron, and to think that she would not be unknown in that respect when she ceased to be. She speaks thus of Mrs Cheron, who drew her,

(1) Porphyr. in Vita Plotini, init.

(2) They are in the *Mercure Galant*, of Nov. 1693.

(3) She was still alive when I wrote this. She died the 17th of Feb. 1694.

Elle me rend enfin mes premieres couleurs;
Par son art la race future
Connoîtra les presens que me fit la nature:
Et je puis esperer qu'avec un tel secours,
Tandis que j'errerai sur les sombres rivages,
Je pourrai faire encor quelque honneur à nos jours.
Oui je puis m'en flater: plaire & durer toûjours
Est le destin de ses Ouvrages.

At length my first complexion she renews:
And from her art posterity shall know
What charms rich nature did on me bestow:
Perhaps my form preserv'd by such an aid,
When I am nothing but an empty shade,
Will do some honour to the present age.
This may I promise to myself with ease;
Since ev'ry piece that does her hand engage
Must last for ever, and for ever please.

Perhaps it will be said, that to grow young again in a picture and in effigy is a very small thing: and that to rejoice at this thought, that future ages will not be ignorant that one has been young and beautiful, is to content one's self with a very chimerical honour. But who knows that better than the lady whom I speak of? Is it not from thence that she takes the nicest part of her reflexion? I shall quote the last verses of her poem.

Hé, comment pourrois-je pretendre
De guerir les mortels de cette vieille erreur,
Qu'ils aiment jusqu'à la fureur,
Si moi qui la condamne ai peine à m'en defendre?
Ce portrait dont Apelle auroit été jaloux,
Me remplit malgré moi de la flateuse attente
Que je ne saurois voir dans autrui sans couroux.
Foible raison que l'homme vante!
Voilà quel est le fond qu'on peut faire sur vous:
Toûjours vains, toûjours faux, toûjours pleins d'injustices,
Nous crions dans tous nos discours
Contre les passions, les foiblesses, les vices,
Où nous succombons tous les jours.

Alas! For how should I remove
This old and darling error of mankind,
Since, hardly free from what I disapprove,
In spight of my Philosophy I find,
That this fair picture, which if he had known,
Apelles would have jealous grown,
Presents a pleasing hope unto my view,
Which I with anger in another see;
Weak reason, empty boast, adieu.
Such is the confidence repos'd in thee!

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had been without that gratification. I believe that from the ſame principle, he refuſed to make uſe of ſeveral things which were looked upon as conducive to health [B]: but it was for another reaſon that he rejected the uſe of gliſters, which he was adviſed to take as a good remedy for the cholic; he thought that it was neither becoming nor ſuitable to the gravity of an old Philoſopher to make uſe of ſuch a remedy (b). He began very early to appear very ſingular in his taſte and manners; for being eight years of age, when he went already to ſchool, he would go to his nurſe, and uncover her breaſt to ſuck, which he did very greedily. He left it off, when he had been chid for it, as a troubleſome child. Being twenty-eight years of age, he appeared extremely deſirous to ſtudy Philoſophy: he was recommended to the moſt famous profeſſors of Alexandria; but he did not like them, and uſed to come from their lectures very much diſſatisfied. One of his friends knowing the reaſon of his diſtaſte, thought that the beſt remedy for it was to carry him to the lectures of Ammonius. He gueſſed right; for as ſoon as Plotinus heard that Philoſopher, he confeſſed to his friend that he was the man he wanted. He was a eleven years under that excellent maſter, and became a great Philoſopher. But the great learning he had acquired, inſpired him with an eager deſire of encreaſing it, and of knowing what the Perſian and Indian Philoſophers ſaid. He took hold of an occaſion which offered itſelf, when the emperor Gordian went to make war againſt the Perſians (c): he followed the Roman army, and repented of it without doubt; for he had much ado to ſave himſelf by flight, when the emperor was killed. He was then thirty-nine years of age. The next year he came to Rome, and read lectures of Philoſophy there. It is true, that he taught what he had heard of his maſter Ammonius; but he imitated not Erennius and Origen his ſchool-fellows, who having promiſed, as well as he, not to impart to the public the beſt things they had learned of Ammonius, kept not their promiſe. As for him, he was ten years at Rome without compoſing any book, and when he had compoſed twenty, he communicated them only to ſuch perſons, whoſe judgment was known to him. He was in the fiftieth year of his age, when Porphyrius became his diſciple. Such a diſciple was employment enough for him. Prophyrius did not reſt ſatisfied with ſuperficial anſwers; he would have all difficulties to be throughly explained to him: Plotinus was therefore obliged to write ſome books, that he might treat his ſubjects more exactly [C]. He compoſed twenty-four books during the ſpace of ſix years that Porphyrius was with him, and thoſe twenty-four together with twenty-one which he had compoſed before the arrival of Porphyrius, and together with the nine which he writ after his diſciple had left Rome, make up in all fifty-four books. They are divided into ſix Enneades, and run upon very abſtruſe matters [D]. One may obſerve in them three different ages of the mind of their

(b) Κοιλιακῇ δὲ νόσῳ πολλάκις καταπονούμενος ὕστε κλυσῆρος ἐνίσχετο, οὐκ εἶναι πρὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου λέγων ὑπομένειν τὰς τοιαύτας θεραπείας. Proinde cum ſæpe colico vexaretur morbo, ſemper clyſteres renuit, negans decere ſenem curationes ejuſmodi. *Porphyr. in Vita Plotini, pag. 1, inſtead of* colico, *the tranſlator ſhould have ſaid* cœliaco.

(c) In the year 243.

So vain, ſo falſe, and ſo unjuſt we are
That we the weakneſſes of others blame,
And nor their paſſions, nor their vices ſpare,
Though we are hourly guilty of the ſame.

This does very much ſet off the victory which Plotinus got over ſo general a weakneſs; and all true Philoſophers ought to rejoice that ſo noble a triumph was reſerved for one of their great heroes. It is true, that Plotinus's picture was drawn, but he knew nothing of it: Amelius brought an excellent Painter into the auditory. That painter looked upon Plotinus as long as he would, and drew him after the image he had drawn of him in his head: the picture was very like, Amelius took care that all the ſtrokes that wanted mending, ſhould be corrected (4). Here is another triumph of Plotinus. He would never tell the day nor the month wherein he was born (5). The reaſon of it was, that he did not deſire that the day of his birth ſhould be celebrated with feaſts and ſacrifices. He did not fail to celebrate in that manner the birth-day of Socrates, and that of Plato (6). Was not this deſpiſing immortal fame?

(4) Idem, Porphyr. ibid. *pag.* 2, C.

(5) See Porphyr. in the Life of Plotinus.

(6) See the ſame Life.

A SIGN of a cocquet.

Not knowing whether I ſhall find a better opportunity to make uſe of a remark which I have read in the Furetieriana, I ſhall ſet it down here. 'One 'may eaſily know women that are cocquets by their 'dreſs, the company they keep at home, their ſervants, and their way of ſpeaking; but they may be 'known alſo by the ſeveral copies of their pictures 'which they cauſe to be made. One of thoſe women, 'who had been drawn by Mrs le Hay, cauſed five 'copies of her picture to be made. Good Lord, ſaid 'a gentleman, why does that woman get ſo many 'pictures drawn? Mrs le Hay anſwered him pleaſantly, *Quoniam multiplicatæ ſunt iniquitates ejus* '(7), ... *becauſe her ſins are multiplied.*'

(7) Furetieriana, pag. 171, of the Dutch Edit.

[B] *He refuſed to make uſe of ſeveral things which were looked upon as conducive to health.*] He never made uſe of any preſervative, nor of the bath, and did not ſo much as eat of the fleſh of tamed beaſts. Οὔτε τὰς θηριακὰς ἀνίδοτους λαβεῖν ὑπέμεινε. μὴ δὲ τῶν ἡμέρων ζώων τὰς ἐκ τῶ σώματ῀ τροφὰς προσίεσθαι λέγων. λιβρῶ δὲ ἀπεχόμεν῀. *Neque theriaca antidota unquam accepit, cum nec ex animalium quoque manſuetorum corporibus capere eſcam ſe diceret. Abſtinebat & balneis* (8). He eat little, and abſtained very often from bread, which together with his ſtrong meditations kept him from ſleeping much (9).

(8) Porphyr. ibid. *pag.* 1.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 6, *ſub fin.*

[C] *Plotinus was obliged to write ſome books, that he might treat his ſubjects more exactly.*] It is almoſt impoſſible to determine any queſtion by meer conferences or verbal diſputes. Both ſides may eaſily go off from the queſtion, and the beginning may be forgotten before one comes to the end. Therefore I do not wonder, that Prophyrius reduced his maſter to the neceſſity of explaining himſelf in writing. Plotinus owned, that it was the beſt way to inſtruct a diſciple thoroughly; but he found it alſo very neceſſary to hear objections, and exerciſe himſelf by way of conference, before he took pen in hand. This is what he anſwered to a man, who complained of Pophyrius's frequent interrogations and replies. 'Niſi dubitationes interrogante 'Porphyrio diſſolvamus, commentari oratione perpe-'tua quicquam in librum non valebimus (10). - - - - (10) Ibid.
'*Without firſt reſolving the doubts which Porphyrius* '*ſtarts to me, I ſhould find it impoſſible to write a con-*'*tinued diſſertation in the form of a book.*' He diſputed three days together about the doubts which Porphyrius propoſed to him, concerning the manner how our ſouls are united to our bodies.

[D] *His works are divided into ſix Enneades, and run upon very abſtruſe matters.*] The order, diviſion, and titles, of Plotinus's works, are to be aſcribed to Porphyrius. They concern moſt of them the ſubtileſt notions of metaphyſics, and it ſeems that this Philoſopher differed not much from Spinoza in ſome things. There is ſcarce any age wherein the doctrine of Spinoza has not been taught. That impious man has only the unhappy advantage of being the firſt, who reduced it into a ſyſtem according to a Geometrical method. What did Plotinus mean, when he wrote two books,

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their author [*E*]. His way of compoſing did very much ſavour of his great ſingularity [*F*], and therefore a faithful friend was very neceſſary to him to reviſe his writings. He choſe Porphyrius to do it, rather than Gentilianus Amelius, who had been his diſciple twenty-four years, and whom he very much eſteemed, as we have ſeen in another place (*d*). The eſteem which the Romans had for Plotinus is incredible. He had ſome diſciples in the very ſenate; and ſome ſenators, not contented to go regularly to his auditory, reſigned the magiſtracy to live a Philoſophical life. He inſpired ſome perſons of the fair ſex with a ſtrong inclination for the ſtudy of Philoſophy. A lady (*e*) would have him to lodge in her houſe, and ſhe, as well as her daughter, took great delight in hearing him. He had the reputation of being ſo learned and virtuous a man, that ſeveral perſons of both ſexes, intruſted him, before they died, with their eſtates and children, ſons and daughters, as if he had been a kind of guardian angel (*f*). He never refuſed that trouble. He had often the patience to be preſent when guardians gave up their accounts. He was the arbitrator of a thouſand law-ſuits, with ſo much equity and honeſty, that he did not get himſelf one enemy for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years that he lived in Rome. Thoſe of his profeſſion proved not all ſo juſt to him; for a Philoſopher of Alexandria (*g*), who affected the firſt rank, did his utmoſt to expoſe him to contempt, and even made uſe of magic to deſtroy him. I ſhall mention in the remarks by what means it was pretended that the magical operations of that man were rendered ineffectual [*G*], and occaſionally I ſhall ſay ſomething of Plotinus's familiar ſpirit, and

(*d*) In the article AMELIUS.

(*e*) She and her daughter were named Gemina.

(*f*) Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλοντες τῶν εὐγενεστάτων φέροντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν τέκνα ἀβρυνάς τε δόμοῦ καὶ θελείας, ἐκεῖνῳ παραδίδοσαν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας, ὡς ἱερῷ τινι καὶ θείῳ φύλακι. Multi quinetiam viri multæ & mulieres generis nobilitate pollentes cum morti jam propinquarent, filios ſuos tum mares tum fœminas una cum omni eorum ſubſtantia Plotino tanquam ſacro cuidam divinoque cuſtodi tradebant atque commendabant. *Porphyr. ibid.*

(*g*) His name was Olympius.

books to prove, *Unum & idem ubique totum ſimul adeſſe* (11)? Did he not teach thereby, that the Being which is every where, is one and the ſame thing? Spinoza deſires no more. Plotinus examines in another book, whether there are ſeveral ſouls, or one only: *Utrum omnes animæ una ſint.* He applied himſelf very much to the ſtudy of ideas; he wrote a book to examine whether there are any ideas of ſingular things, and another, wherein he proved, that intellectual objects are not out of our underſtanding, ὅτι οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ τὰ νοητὰ, *quod intelligibilia non ſint extra intellectum.*

(11) Τὸ ὂν πανταχοῦ ὅλον εἶναι ἓν καὶ ταυτόν. Porphyr. *pag.* 4, C.

[*E*] *One may obſerve in them three different ages of the mind of their author.*] The firſt and laſt books he wrote are much inferior to the others. One may perceive in the firſt a ſtrength that is not come yet to it's full growth, and in the laſt, a ſtrength which began to decay; but one may ſee in the middle writings, a ſtrength that was come to its higheſt degree. Thus we have here three orders of books, twenty one in the firſt, twenty four in the ſecond, and nine in the laſt. Of thoſe nine, the five firſt were leſs weak than the other four; ſo true it is, generally ſpeaking, that the mind undergoes the ſame viciſſitudes with the body: the age of an author may be almoſt as eaſily known by the ſtrokes of his pen, as by the features of his face (12). Here are Prophyrius's words according to the Latin tranſlation. *Quemadmodum verò conſcripti ſunt alii quidem in ætate prima, alii verò in ipſo vigore vitæ, alii denique defeſſo jam corpore; ſic ferme libri vim ſimilem ipſi declarant. Primi namque unus atque viginti, ſi cum proximè ſequentibus conferantur, leviorem vim habere videntur, nondum ſatis conſtans robur habentem. Qui vero medio tempore compoſiti ſunt, virtutis florem præferunt ad ſummum uſque vigentem, Taleſque ſunt quatuor & viginti (exceptis quibuſdam paucis) perfectiſſimi. Ultimi denique novem remiſſiorem jam referunt facultatem; idque poſtremi quatuor magis quam antecedentes quinque declarant.* This tranſlation was made by Marſilius Ficinus. That learned man had no ſooner ended the tranſlation of Plato's works, but he was told by John Picus, Earl of Mirandula, that Coſmo de Medicis deſired to have Plotinus tranſlated. Marſilius knew nothing of it, becauſe Coſmo would not ask him the verſion of thoſe two authors at one time, and thought it more reaſonable to let him know his deſire, when he had finiſhed the tranſlation of Plato. Marſilius undertook that new work, and made an end of it. He has not only tranſlated Plotinus, but he has alſo made ſummaries and analyſes upon each book (13). This is what goes by the name of Marſilius Ficinus's commentaries. That word is fallacious on this occaſion; for one would expect ſome critical notes upon the Greek text, and ſome explications of the difficult paſſages and intricate thoughts of the author: this is what is meant by a commentary. But the ſignification of that word is quite different here. I thought myſelf obliged not to leave my reader in the obſcurity of that equivocation, as Moreri has done.

(12) Mr Baillet, in the firſt Tome of the *Jugemens des Sçavans*, *pag.* 381, has many curious things about this.

(13) His Latin tranſlation, and his commentaries, were reprinted without the Greek, at Baſil 1559, *fol.*

[*F*] *His way of compoſing did very much ſavour of his great ſingularity.*] He never read over again what he had compoſed; he formed his letters very ill, and diſtinguiſhed not his ſyllables; his orthography was not at all exact; he was only attentive to things, and thoughts; and perſiſted as long as he lived in the ſame courſe. But here is a very admirable thing. His meditation was ſo ſtrong, that he placed in his head a whole work from the beginning to the end, and followed ſo exactly what he had meditated, that he made no manner of alteration in it in writing. One would have thought, that the inward original of his work was the rule of his pen, with the ſame punctuality as a written original is the rule of a copyiſt. He never loſt the ſight of his meditation, when he was interrupted for ſome buſineſs: he took cognizance of that affair, and examined and ended it without leaving off the ideas of his work; ſo that after the departure of thoſe who had interrupted him, he needed not read the laſt lines of his writing, to know where he was, and reſume the ſeries of his thoughts. His ideas had been all along preſent to his mind; therefore he uſed to write on without looking upon his paper for the place where he ſtopt, and made the connexions as well as if he had not ſtirred out of his place (14).

(14) *See* Porphyr. ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *I ſhall mention how the magical operations of that man were rendered ineffectual.*] He found by experience that his enchantments returned upon himſelf, which obliged him to confeſs to his friends, that Plotinus had a ſoul endowed with an extraordinary force, ſeeing it retorted upon it's enemies the darts which they ſhot at it. What is moſt admirable, is, that Plotinus perceived the magical devices contrived againſt him, and the effect which they produced upon the author of them. *At this very moment*, ſaid he to his friends, *the body of Olympius is folded as a purſe, and his members bruiſe one another.* Porphyrius, who relates this as a certain fact, endeavours to confirm it by this ſuppoſition: he ſays that Plotinus was under the protection of a genius ſuperior to that of other men, and that his genius was none of thoſe who are called *dæmons*, but of thoſe who are called *gods*. He tells us, that an Egyptian prieſt conjured up, in the temple of Iſis at Rome, the familiar ſpirit of Plotinus, in the very preſence of Plotinus and that he perceived that the ſpirit who preſented himſelf was a god, and not a meer dæmon; that immediately he congratulated Plotinus upon that excellent prerogative (15); that he prepared himſelf to aſk that ſpirit ſome queſtions, but he vaniſhed away preſently, becauſe a common friend of theirs, who was brought to the ſpectacle, ſtifled the birds that were given him to keep. Plotinus knowing that his familiar ſpirit was of ſo eminent an order, directed with greater application the ſight of his underſtanding towards him. He even compoſed a book concerning familiar ſpirits, in which he carefully enquired into the cauſes of their differences. I obſerve all theſe things for two reaſons: Firſt, that one may ſee here a ſmall pattern of the Platonic doctrine concerning Genius's. Secondly, that one may know that the doctrine of guardian-angels, ſo much ſpoken of in the church of Rome, and which is a practical doctrine, and attended with all the train of religious worſhip,

Of Plotinus's familiar ſpirit.

(15) Μακάριος εἶ θεὸν ἔχων τὸν δαίμονα καὶ οὐ τοῦ ὑφειμένου γένους τὸν συνόντα. Beatus es, ô Plotine, qui habeas pro Dæmone Deum, neque ex inferiori genere ſis ducem ſortitus familiarem. *Porphyr. ibid.*

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and of the ſurpriſing ſagacity which is aſcribed to him [*H*]. The emperor Gallienus and the empreſs Salonina had a very great reſpect for him; and had it not been for the oppoſition of ſome jealous and malicious courtiers, he would have obtained what he demanded, viz. that a town of Campania (*b*) ſhould be rebuilt, and yielded up to him with its whole territory. He deſigned to ſettle there a colony of Philoſophers, and to put into practice the ideal laws of Plato's republic. Some envious men accuſed him of having inriched himſelf with the thoughts of Numenius: but Amelius took pen in hand to refute that accuſation. Longinus, who ſuffered himſelf to be pre-poſſeſſed againſt that great Philoſopher, did afterwards value his writings very much, though he confeſſes that he found ſome very obſcure things in them [*I*]. He wrote againſt his treatiſe of ideas, and againſt Porphyrius's anſwer in defence of that treatiſe. Plotinus had ſeveral illneſſes in the laſt year of his life, an inflammation in his throat, which made him ſo hoarſe, that he could hardly ſpeak, ulcers in his hands and feet, and a great weakneſs of ſight. When he found himſelf in that condition, he left Rome, and went into Campania, to one of his friends heirs, who furniſhed him with all neceſſaries; and he had the comfort to find, that Caſtricius (*i*), whoſe eſtate was in the neighbourhood, did let him want nothing. He died as nobly as a Heathen Philoſopher could do; for theſe were his dying words, *I uſe my utmoſt endeavours to return that which is Divine in me, to that which is ſo in the univerſe* (*k*). He died in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, the third of the emperor Claudius II, that is in the 270th year of the Chriſtian Æra. There was very good news of the ſtate of his ſoul [*K*]. Amelius, who had the curioſity to conſult the oracle of Apollo, received it, and imparted it to his friends (*l*).

(*b*) It was to be called *Platonopolis*.

(*i*) He was one of his diſciples.

(*k*) Φήσας πειρᾶσθαι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον ἀνάγειν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον . . . . ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Equidem jam annitor, quod in nobis divinum eſt ad divinum ipſum quod viget in univerſo redigere, ſpiritumque his verbis emiſit. *Porphyr. in Vita Plot.*

(*l*) Taken from Plotinus's Life written by Porphyrius.

is much ancienter than the Chriſtian religion. There is no ſyſtem more proper to ſet up the doctrine of the Platoniſts duly rectified, than that of occaſional cauſes. I do not know what will happen; but I am apt to think that, ſome time or other, Philoſophers will be forced to lay aſide mechanical principles, unleſs the wills of ſome intelligent beings be aſſociated with them; and truly there is no hypotheſis more capable of giving an account of events, than that which admits of ſuch an aſſociation. I mean chiefly ſuch events as go by the names of caſuality, fortune, good luck, ill luck; things, the cauſes whereof are, without doubt, regulated and determined by ſome general laws unknown to us, but which probably are only occaſional cauſes, like thoſe which cauſe our ſouls to act upon our bodies. See Mr Dodwell's learned diſſertation upon the genius, or fortune, of the emperors (16). To return to Plotinus, I ſhall obſerve, that the ſuperiority of his tutelar genius filled him with an extreme confidence. Amelius deſiring him to aſſiſt at his devotions, I mean, at the ſacrifices he offered upon a ſolemn day: Plotinus anſwered, *They ought to come to me, but I ought not to go them.* No body could apprehend, nor durſt aſk him the reaſon of ſo proud an anſwer. Ἐκείνης δεῖ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔρχεσθαι ἂκ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκείνης. τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ ποίας διανοίας ὕστως ἐμεγαληγόρησεν ὅτ' αὐτοὶ συνεῖναι δεδυνήμεθα, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐρέσθαι ἐτολμήσαμεν. *Illos decet ad me, non me ad illos accedere. Qua vero mente tam excelſa de ſe loqueretur neque intelligere ipſi potuimus, neque auſi ſumus interrogare* (17). Did ever any body hear of ſuch a bold Theology?

(16) Prælect. II, ad Spartiani Hadrianum, *pag.* 374, *& ſeq.*

(17) Porphyr. ibid.

[*H*] *I ſhall occaſionally ſay ſomething of the ſurprizing ſagacity which is aſcribed to Plotinus.*] A very honeſt widow (18), who lived in his houſe with her children, had loſt a necklace; Plotinus called for all the ſervants, and having well conſidered them, there is he that ſtole the necklace, ſaid he, pointing at one of them. The ſervant denied the fact, notwithſtanding the laſhes that were given him; but at laſt he confeſſed it, and reſtored what he had ſtolen. Plotinus foretold the fate of his ſcholars very well; he ſaid that Polemo would be a man of an amorous temper, and would not live long. Thoſe two things happened as he foretold them. Pophyrius had reſolved to kill himſelf; Plotinus gueſſed it, and went immediately to him, and diſſuaded him from it (19). As for the reſt, tho' Plotinus had very much ſtudied Aſtrology, he minded not it's predictions (20), but perceived the vanity of them, and refuted Aſtrologers very often.

(18) Her name was Chione.

(19) Porphyr. *pag.* 8.

(20) Ib. *p.* 10.

[*I*] *Longinus confeſſes that he found very obſcure things in them.*] He was very deſirous to have all the books of Plotinus; and to have them correct, he deſired Porphyrius to ſend him his copy; but at the ſame time he wrote to him theſe following words: 'Hoc equidem tibi tum præſenti, tum procul abſenti, tum habitanti Tyrum ſemper ſignificavi, me ſcilicet non multa admodum Plotini librorum argumenta capere: ipſam vero ſcribendi formam intelligentiarumque frequentiam & queſtionum diſpoſitionem admodum philoſophicam me amare ſupra modum atque venerari (21). - - - - *I have always told you, both* (21) Ibid. *when you were preſent, and when you were abſent, eſpecially while you lived at Tyre, that I underſtood but very few of the ſubjects which Plotinus treats of in his books: but that I greatly liked and admired his way of writing, the variety of his knowledge, and the order of his queſtions, which is entirely Philoſophical.*' This paſſage alone ſufficiently ſhews the exquiſite judgment and penetration of Longinus. It cannot be denied, that moſt of the things that Philoſopher examines, are incomprehenſible; nevertheleſs we ſee in his works a ſublime, fruitful, and vaſt genius, and a cloſe method of reaſoning. If Longinus had been a falſe Critic, and a man of no great parts, he would not have ſo eaſily diſcovered Plotinus's obſcurity. This is no paradox. There are none who complain leſs of the obſcurity of a book, than thoſe whoſe thoughts are confuſed, and whoſe penetration is ſhallow.

[*K*] *There was very good news of the ſtate of his ſoul.*] Apollo was ſo warmed with a poetical rapture, when Amelius conſulted him concerning the ſtate of his dead maſter, that his anſwer contained fifty verſes. Porphyrius gives us this expoſition of it. Apollo declared that Plotinus had been peaceable, gracious, and vigilant; that he continually elevated his pure ſoul towards God; that he loved God with all his heart; that he diſengaged himſelf from this miſerable world, as much as poſſibly he could; and that lifting up his ſoul with all his might, by the ſeveral degrees mentioned by Plato, to the ſupreme Deity, who ſurpaſſes all underſtanding, he had been enlightened by him, and enjoyed the viſion of that ſupreme Being, not by the help of ideas, but as he is in himſelf, and according to that nature, which is beyond all comprehenſion. Ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος ὁ μήτε μορφὴν μήτε τινα ἰδέαν ἔχων, ὑπερ δὲ νῦν καὶ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἱδρυμένος. *Ipſi Plotinus coruſcavit Deus ille nec formam nec ideam aliquam habens, ſed ſuper intellectum univerſumque intelligibile in ſe ipſo conſiſtens* (22). Porphyrius ſtops (22) Ibid. here to tell us, that in his ſixty-eighth year he was once honoured with that viſion; that the end to which Plotinus directed all his thoughts, was to unite himſelf with that great God, who fills the univerſe, and that he obtained that end four times, not in power only, but by an ineffable efficacy, during the ſpace of ſix years that he (Porphyrius) had kept company with him. Τέλος γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ σκοπὸς ἦν, τὸ ἑνωθῆναι καὶ πελάσαι τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ. ἔτυχε δὲ τετράκις τε ὅτε συνήμεν αὐτῷ τῷ σκοπῷ τότε, ἐνεργείᾳ ἀῤῥήτῳ, καὶ ὐ δυνάμει. *Finis namque Plotino ſignumque erat quò aciem mentis intenderet propinquare conjungique ipſi Deo omnibus ubique præſenti: quater autem dum cum ipſo verſarer hunc finem eſt aſſecutus, non potentia duntaxat, inquam, ſed actu quodam ineffabili conſecutus* (23). Have we not here the unitive way ſo (23) Ibid. much ſpoken of by the Myſtics? May not one ſay, that they took it from the Platoniſts? Do not we ſee likewiſe in this place the ſeeds of Quietiſm? But to return to the Oracle: Plotinus had this advantage, that

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that when he was in the wrong, the gods undeceived him and enlightened him, ſo that it might be ſaid, that he wrote his books by the rays of that celeſtial light which illuminated his mind. Thus much for what concerns this life. After his death, he went to the aſſembly of the bleſſed, where charity, joy, and the love of union with GOD reign; he was with the three judges of the other world, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Æacus, not only to give an account of his actions, but to converſe with them, and with the other gods who viſit them: in a word, he enjoyed the life of the bleſſed. I make no excuſe for the length of theſe remarks. I ſuppoſe no body will be diſpleaſed to find in this place, not only what concerns the perſon of Plotinus, but alſo what concerns his opinions, ſo far as a general notion requires it.

PLOTINA (POMPEIA) the wife of the emperor Trajan, is mightily praiſed by ſome writers. She was not handſome, and it appears by her medals, that ſhe had more gravity than charms in her face (a); but ſhe was very prudent and modeſt. Trajan married her before he was adopted by Nerva [A]. What ſhe ſaid, when ſhe firſt entered into the emperor's palace, is very remarkable: going up the ſtairs, ſhe turned to the people, and ſaid, *ſhe came in, juſt ſuch, as ſhe deſired to go out* (b) [B]. Her conduct was ſuch, during the time ſhe reigned, that no complaints were made of her (c). She refuſed the title of Auguſta, ſo long as her huſband refuſed that of *Pater Patriæ, father of his country* (d). The advices ſhe gave Trajan proved wonderfully advantageous to the provinces, ſince a great many exactions and diſorders were by that means redreſſed (e). The friendſhip between her and Marciana, Trajan's ſiſter, is no inconſiderable ſign of her wiſdom and good temper; for generally there is nothing but quarrels and factions between the wives and ſiſters of princes [C]. She was with Trajan when he died at Selinuntus in Cilicia, the 117th year of CHRIST, and ſhe carried her huſband's aſhes to Rome, being accompanied by Tatian, and Matidia Trajan's niece (f). She did many good offices to Hadrian [D], and procured him the empire. The world was always ſo full of ſlanderers, that Plotina's modeſty, and ſo many other great and good qualities which eminently appeared in her [E], could not preſerve her from ſome ill

(a) Triſtan, Comment. Hiſt. *Tom. 1, p.* 428.

(b) Xiphilin. in Trajan.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Plin. in Panegyr.

(e) Aurel. Victor. Epit. in Juliano.

(f) Spartian. in Adriano, *cap. v, pag. m.* 51.

[A] *Trajan married her before he was adopted by Nerva.*] This appears by theſe words of Pliny's panegyric. 'Idem eſtis invicem, *ſays he to Trajan,* quod 'fuiſtis, probatis ex æquo, nihilque vobis felicitas 'addidit, niſi quod ſcire cœpiſtis quam bene uterque 'veſtrum felicitatem ferat. - - - - *You are the ſame to 'each other that you were, alike well-ſatisfied, and proſ-'perity adds nothing to you, unleſs it be an opportunity of 'knowing how well you both bear proſperity.*' And a little after, ſpeaking of Plotina and Marciana, he takes notice, that they lived in the emperor's palace with the ſame modeſty, as if they had been ſtill in a private condition. 'Neque enim unquam periclita-'buntur eſſe privatæ, quæ non deſierunt. - - - - *For 'they are in no danger of being reduced to the ſtate of pri-'vate women, who have not ceaſed to behave as 'ſuch.*'

[B] *She came into the palace, juſt ſuch, as ſhe deſired to go out.*] Moreri has ſpoiled this thought of Plotina; he ſays, *that ſhe proteſted, when ſhe entered firſt into the palace, that ſhe was ready to go out of it whenever it ſhould be required.* This was not her meaning: ſhe deſired that the grandeur of her fortune might not change her manners, and that when ſhe ſhould be obliged to quit her poſt, ſhe might find in herſelf the ſame diſpoſition and moderation, which ſhe had when ſhe took poſſeſſion of the imperial palace. This wiſh is worthy of a great ſoul, and reſpects an hapaineſs which ſeldom happens, *Honores mutant mores. - - - - Honours change the manners.*

[C] *Generally there is nothing but quarrels and factions between the wives and ſiſters of princes.*] Let us hear what Trajan's panegyriſt ſays about it. 'Nihil eſt tam 'pronum ad ſimultates quam æmulatio, in feminis 'preſertim: ea porro maxime naſcitur ex conjunctione, 'alitur æqualitate, exardeſcit invidia, cujus finis eſt 'odium. Quo quidem admirabilius exiſtimandum eſt 'quod mulieribus duabus in una domo, parique for-'tuna, nullum certamen, nulla contentio eſt: ſuſpici-'unt invicem, invicem cedunt, quumque te utraque 'effuſiſſimè diligat, nihil ſua putat intereſſe utram tu 'magis ames; idemque utrique propoſitum, idem te-'nor vitæ, nihilque ex quo ſentias duas eſſe. - - - - - - *'Nothing is ſo ready to beget feuds as emulation, eſpecially 'in women: Now this emulation which chiefly ariſes 'from their nearneſs to one another, is kept up by their 'equality, and gathers ſtrength from envy, which always 'terminates in hatred. For which reaſon it is the more 'admirable that there ſhould be no ſtrife nor animoſity be-'tween two women living together in the ſame houſe, and 'both of the ſame rank: they mutually eſteem and pleaſe 'one another, and while both love you to the higheſt 'degree, neither thinks herſelf concerned which of them 'has the greateſt ſhare of your affection. Their views 'and courſe of life are preciſely the ſame, and there is not 'any thing by which you can diſtinguiſh them to be two 'different women.*' No better notion can be given of the merit of two princeſſes. Pliny knew admirably well how to deſcribe characters, and had reaſon to think that this concord was a happineſs, for which he ought to compliment Trajan; for princes are generally unhappy at home, however happy they may be abroad, if they have a mother, a wife, a ſiſter, a mother-in-law, a daughter, a daughter-in-law, &c. under the ſame roof: they will give them more trouble than the government of their ſtates, nay, half this number, or one third of it will do it. But when I conſider, that ſome panegyriſts, now a-days, repreſent princeſſes not as they were, but as they ſhould have been, according to the ſublime ideas of an Orator, I ſay, when I conſider this, I am apt to think that Pliny went beyond the truth.

[D] *She did many good offices to Hadrian.*] It was ſhe who got him married to Trajan's grand-niece (1), and procured him a government in the time of the expedition againſt the Parthians (2), afterwards the ſecond conſulſhip (3), and at laſt the empire (4).

(1) Spartian. in Adriano, *cap. ii, pag.* 23.

(2) Ib. *cap. iv, pag.* 38.

(3) Ib. *p.* 40.

(4) Ib. *p.* 46.

[E] *The great and good qualities which eminently appeared in her.*] Pliny oppoſes, as often as he can, the perfections of Trajan to the imperfections of other princes. He doth not forget marriage, and ſays, that many illuſtrious men have diſhonoured themſelves upon that account; but as for Trajan, it was one of the moſt glorious paſſages of his life. 'Multis illuſtribus 'dedecori fuit aut inconſultius uxor aſſumpta, aut re-'tenta patientius, ita foris claros domeſtica deſtruebat 'infamia (5), & ne maximi cives haberentur hoc effi-'ciebat quod mariti minores erant. Tibi uxor in de-'cus & gloriam cedit. Quid enim illa ſanctius? Quid 'antiquius? Nonne ſi Pontifici Maximo deligenda ſit 'conjunx, aut hanc, aut ſimilem (ubi eſt autem ſimilis) 'elegerit? Quam illa nihil ſibi ex fortuna tua niſi gau-'dium vendicat? Quam conſtanter non potentiam 'tuam, ſed ipſum te reveretur? - - - - - Eadem quam 'modicè cultu, quàm parca comitatu, quàm civilis in-'ceſſu! - - - - *Many illuſtrious men have got diſhonour to 'themſelves by marrying fooliſhly, or by living too patient-'ly with a bad wife, and thus while they were high in 'reputation abroad, domeſtic ſhame ruined their characters 'at home, and their being weak huſbands hindered their 'being eſteemed very great citizens. To you, Sir, your 'wife is an honour and glory. For what can be more 'virtuous? What more nobly deſcended? Would not the 'High Prieſt, if he were to chuſe a conſort, pitch upon 'her, or one like her? (but where indeed could he find ſuch 'a one?) Is not the joy which ſhe takes in your good for-'tune all the portion that ſhe requires to herſelf? How 'ſteadily is ſhe attached to your perſon, without regard-'ing your power? . . . . At the ſame time how modeſt 'is*

(5) *Compare with this what Tacitus ſays, chap. xxiv, of the third book of his annals,* Ut valida divo Auguſto in Remp. fortuna, ita domi improſpera fuit ob impudicitiam filiæ ac neptis quas urbe depulit. *See in the article* LEWIS VII, *citation* (5), *and the article* HELOISA, *remark* [G].

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ill ſuſpicions. It was thought that ſhe was in love with Hadrian [F], and all his great preferments were aſcribed to that paſſion. Some maintain that Trajan did not adopt him [G], but that Plotina concealed his death, and made ſome body imitate a languiſhing voice, that it might be thought that Hadrian was declared ſon and ſucceſſor to that prince. It does not appear that ſhe ever had any children. When ſhe died, Hadrian, who always appeared very thankful for her favours [H], expreſſed an extraordinary grief. He put on mourning for nine days, he made ſome hymns for her, built her a temple (g), and placed her amongſt the goddeſſes (b). He had already built her a palace at Nimes (i). We know nothing of Plotina's family or birth-place; and it is very ſtrange that the Hiſtorians of thoſe times ſhould be ſo negligent, as to take no notice of them. Neither, have they mentioned the time of her death. Mr de Tillemont (k) fancies he has found ſomething in Dion, from which one may conclude, that ſhe died in the year 129; but I would adviſe no body to believe it, till he ſhews for what reaſon he pretends to draw this concluſion. Moreri cannot prove what he ſays, that Plotina died in the year 122. What he adds of Hadrian's building her *a temple, a palace, and an amphitheatre* at Nimes, cannot be more eaſily proved. Spartian ſpeaks only of a Baſilica (l), without taking any notice whether Plotina was then alive or no.

(g) Xiphilin. in Adriano.

(b) There are ſome inſcriptions in Gruterus's *Theſaurus*, where mention is made of the prieſts of the goddeſs Plotina, *Sacerdos Divæ Plotinæ*. See *Triſtan's Comment. Tom. i, pag.* 430.

(i) Spartian. in Adrian. *cap. xii, pag. m.* 110.

(k) Hiſt. des Empereurs, *in the Life of Hadrian, pag. m.* 426.

(l) Per idem tempus in honorem Plotinæ Baſilicam apud Nemauſum egere mirabili celeritate. *Spart. ibid.*

' *is her dreſs, how ſmall her train, how courteous her* ' *deportment!*' In one of his letters (6), he calls her a moſt holy wife. ' Injungis mihi jucundiſſimum mini- ' ſterium, ut ad Plotinam ſanctiſſimam fœminam literæ ' tuæ perferantur. - - - - *You put me upon a very agree-* ' *able office, when you charge me with the conveyance of* ' *your letter to Plotina, that moſt holy woman.*'

(6) The 28th of the 9th book.

[F] *It was thought that ſhe was in love with Hadrian.*] Dion does plainly ſay ſo. Ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας, *from the paſſion of love*, ſays he in one place, and in another, ἐρασης αὐτῷ διαφερόντως, *greatly in love with him*. See how malicious the world is: a woman cannot ſhew her affection to a man, and endeavour to load him with honours and riches, but they conclude ſhe loves him criminally. The difference of age is ſo far from ſilencing the ſatiriſts, that it rather provokes them. They pretend, that when a woman is in her decay, a grand-mother, if you will, her eagerneſs to raiſe a young man, is a more certain ſign of a criminal commerce, than if ſhe was but twenty. She would not expreſs ſo much affection in her old days, will a ſatiriſt ſay, if ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to pay for the nights, which her galant might have ſpent more agreeably elſewhere; ſhe would not be ſo forward to ſerve and recommend a man, and lay out money for him, if ſhe did not deſire that the ſport ſhould continue. In a word, he thinks of theſe verſes of Juvenal:

Cum te ſummoveant qui teſtamenta merentur
Noctibus, in cœlum quos evehit optima ſummi
Nunc via proceſſus, vetulæ veſica beatæ (7).

When night-performance holds the place of merit,
And brawn and back the next of kin diſherit;
For ſuch good parts are in preferments way,
The rich old madam never fails to pay
Her legacies. DRYDEN.

(7) Juven. Sat. I, ver. 37.

[G] *Some maintain, that Trajan did not adopt him.*] Dion (8) ſays, that Apronian, his father, who was governor of Cilicia, told him, that the death of Trajan was concealed for ſome days, that the intrigue of the adoption might the better ſucceed; and that the thing was known by the letter of that prince to the ſenate, which was not ſigned by him, but by Plotina, a thing that had never happened before. See how Mr Dodwell refutes Dion in his learned lectures upon Spartian (9). As for the reſt, Dion is not the only author who ſaid this. ' Nec deſunt, *ſays another*, qui factione ' Plotinæ mortuo jam Trajano Adrianum in adoptio- ' nem adſcitum eſſe prodiderint, ſuppoſito qui pro Tra- ' jano feſſa voce loqueretur (10). - - - - *There are not* ' *wanting ſome who have given out, that Hadrian was* ' *adopted, after Trajan's death, by the intrigues of Plo-* ' *tina, who ſuborned another perſon to ſpeak for Trajan,* ' *in a languiſhing voice.*' How difficult is it to confute a probable ſlander!

(8) In Adriano, init.

(9) Pag. 538.

(10) Spartian. *cap.* vi, *p.* 431.

[H] *Hadrian always appeared very thankful for her favours.*] Triſtan (11) ſays, that *Hadrian left great legacies to Plotina by his will, if he ſhould die firſt, which I learn, ſays he, from the law*, Si Auguſtæ legaveris, ff. de legat. & fideicommiſſ. *lib.* 2. *which thus relates this matter.* ' Si Auguſtæ legaveris, & ea inter homi- ' nes eſſe deſierit? deficit quod ei relictum eſt, ſicuti ' divus Hadrianus in Plotina, & proxime imperator An- ' toninus in Fauſtinæ Auguſtæ perſona conſtituit, cum ' ea ante inter homines eſſe deſiiſſet quàm teſtator de- ' cederet. - - - - *If you ſhall bequeath any legacy to Au-* ' *guſta, and ſhe die, that part of the will is void, as* ' *Hadrian ordained, with reſpect to Plotina, and in late* ' *times the Emperor Antoninus, with reſpect to Fauſtina* ' *Auguſta, ſhe having died before the teſtator.*'

(11) Comment. Hiſt. *Tom. i, pag.* 430.

POINET (JOHN) biſhop of Rocheſter, and afterwards of Wincheſter, in the XVIth century [A], was zealouſly attached to the Reformation under the reign of Edward VI, and compoſed among other books a treatiſe on the marriage of prieſts, and an apology for that treatiſe (a). He was forced to leave his country in the reign of queen Mary, and retired to Straſbourg, where he died aged about forty years on the eleventh of April 1556 (b). He compoſed a book there, which was printed in the year 1557 with this title, *Diallacticon viri boni & literati de veritate, natura, atque ſubſtantia corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtia* (c). He tried therein to reconcile the controverſies about the Euchariſt, and particularly thoſe of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. I ſhall ſpeak of this book in the remarks [B]. Poinet thoroughly underſtood the Greek tongue, and was tolerably

(a) Epit. Bibl. Geſneri, *pag. m.* 487, *ex Baleæo.*

(b) Freher. in Theatro, *pag.* 169, ex Godwino de Præſ. Angl.

(c) It contains 83 leaves in 8vo.

[A] *He was biſhop of Rocheſter, and afterwards of Wincheſter, in the XVIth century.*] He was tranſlated to this laſt biſhopric on the twenty-ſixth of April 1551, and had a revenue of two thouſand marks *per annum* ſettled upon him for his ſubſiſtance (1). He ſucceeded Gardiner, who was depoſed for not ſupporting the rights of the crown (2); but he was obliged in his turn to make way for Gardiner, whom queen Mary reſtored to that biſhopric in the year 1553 (3).

(1) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. of the Church of England, *Vol. ii, at the year* 1551, *pag.* 165. *See alſo* M. de Larrey, Hiſt. of England, *Vol. i, pag.* 690, *where the Printers have put* Pointe *inſtead of* Poinet.

(2) Burnet, ibid.

(3) Ibid. at the year 1553, *pag.* 247.

[B] *I ſhall ſpeak of this book in the remarks.*] I have already mentioned the title of it, and the time when it was printed. I add, that they joined to it the famous treatiſe of Bertram *de corpore & ſanguine domini ad Carolum magnum* (4) *Imperatorem ante D. C. C. annos editus*. No mention is made where it was printed. The preface was not written by the author. He contented himſelf with giving a word of advice, wherein he gueſſes very right what would be the fate of his book,

(4) He ſhould have ſaid *Caro-lum.*

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tolerably maſter of the German and Italian (*d*). He tranſlated from the Italian ſome books of Ochin (*e*). He had an excellent talent at preaching, for which he was in high eſteem with Edward VI (*f*). I ſhall relate what has been anſwered to the charge of his

(*d*) Freher. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Epit. Bibl. Geſneri, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Freher. ubi ſupra.

book, viz. that neither of the contending parties would approve of it, and that while he endeavoured to reconcile perſons who were at war with one another, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the indignation of both ſides. He compares himſelf to a man who receives a wound with a ſword in ſtriving to part people that are fighting. *Author lectori. Pacem aliorum quærere pulchrum eſt, & habet certam promiſſionem Dei: beati pacifici. Sed vereor hoc dum cupidè fector, ne quod iis qui pugnas diruunt evenire ſolet, idem mihi quoque accidat. Illi dum aliorum ſaluti conſulunt, ipſi reportant vulnera. Et ego dum id operam do ut diſſidentes redeant in gratiam, ab iiſdem fortaſſe nullam inibo gratiam. Id ſi fit, illius exemplo me levabo qui dixit, ſi hominibus placuiſſem, Chriſti ſervus non eſſem. Vale ac ſtude Chriſto placere.* We ſhould not perhaps have known the name of the perſon that wrote the preface if John Sturmius had not acknowledged it for his. *Quære quæ præfatus ſum ante annos viginti in Diallacticum P.* (5) *Pometi Epiſcopi Wintonienſis* (6). This book was inſerted in the firſt edition of the firſt volume of Theodore Beza's *Opuſcula* (7). He who tranſlated it into French, aſſures us, in the preface dedicated to the Vidame de Chartres, that he had communicated his deſign to ſome miniſters (8). They believed, perhaps, that ſuch a book would be proper at a time when they were endeavouring to find out a medium to re-unite the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants. Obſerve, that the tranſlator aſcribes this book to Antony Cooke, who had been Preceptor to king Edward VI (9). You will find the opinion of this biſhop explained in a book of Andrew Rivet (10). Read alſo theſe words of John Couſin, biſhop of Durham: '*Paulo ante hanc conſcriptam Apologiam* (Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ à Joh. Juello Epiſcopo Sariſberienſi) '*prodierat* Dialacticon celeberrimi viri Johannis Poineti '*Epiſcopi* Wintonienſis *de veritate, naturâ, atque ſubſtantiâ Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtiâ; quod non alio conſilio edidit, quàm ut fidem & doctrinam Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ illuſtraret. Et primò oſtendit* Euchariſtiam non ſolum figuram eſſe Corporis Domini, ſed etiam ipſam Veritatem Naturam, atque Subſtantiam in ſe comprehendere; idcirco nec has voces Naturæ & Subſtantiæ fugiendas eſſe; veteres enim de hoc ſacramento differentes ita loquutos fuiſſe. *Secundò quærit*, an voces illæ *Veritas, Natura, & Subſtantia*, communi more in hoc myſterio à Veteribus intelligebantur, an peculiari & Sacramentis magis accommoda ratione? Neque enim obſervandum eſſe ſolùm, quibus verbis olim Patres uſi ſint, ſed quid iſtis ſignificare ac docere voluerint. *Et licet diſcrimen ipſe cum Patribus agnoſcat, inter Corpus Chriſti formam humani corporis naturalem habens, & quod in Sacramento eſt Corpus myſticum, maluit tamen diſcrimen illud* ad modum præſentiæ & exhibitionis, *quàm* ad ipſam rem ſubjectam, hoc eſt Corpus Chriſti verum, *accommodari; quum certiſſimum ſit non aliud Corpus in Sacramento fidelibus dari, niſi quod à Chriſto pro fidelium ſalute in mortem traditum fuit. Tertiò denique*, Spiritualem hic intelligentiam, juxta communem & conſentientem veterum Patrum interpretationem, requiri *ſtatuit*, & carnalem omnem cogitationem excludi (11). --- *A little before this vindication (of the church of England, written by John Jewell biſhop of Saliſbury) came out the* Dialacticon *of the famous John Poinet, biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning the Reality, Nature, and Subſtance of the Body, and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt; which he publiſhed with no other deſign but to ſet the faith and doctrine of the church of England in a clear light. And firſt, he ſhews that the Euchariſt is not barely the figure of our Lord's body, but that it likewiſe comprehends the reality, nature, and ſubſtance of it; for which reaſon theſe words,* Nature *and* Sub ſtance, *are not to be rejected, ſince the Fathers, in diſcourſing of this ſacrament, made uſe of them. Secondly, he enquires whether theſe words,* Reality, Nature, *and* Subſtance, *were underſtood by the Fathers in this myſtery, according to their general ſignification, or in a ſenſe that was peculiar and better adapted to the ſacraments? For that we ſhould not only obſerve what words the Fathers made uſe of, but likewiſe what meaning they put upon them. And that altho' he was ready, with the Fathers, to acknowledge a difference between the body of Chriſt, which had the natural form of a human body, and his myſtical body in the ſacrament; yet he inclined to think, that this difference ſhould be applied to the manner in which it is preſent and exhibited, rather than to the thing itſelf,* viz. *the true body of Chriſt*; it being moſt certain, that the body which believers receive in the ſacrament, is the ſame which Chriſt offered up by his death for their ſalvation. *Thirdly and laſtly, he maintains that it muſt be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe, according to the general and unanimous expoſition of the antient Fathers, and that every carnal thought or imagination ſhould be excluded'* Poinet lays great ſtreſs upon the authority of the Fathers, who ſpeak in ſtrong terms of the preſence of our Lord's body in the ſymbols of the Euchariſt, and he entirely rejects the opinion that was aſcribed to the Zuinglians; nevertheleſs he condemns thoſe who admit of the oral manducation of the body of JESUS CHRIST. He is willing to allow of the word Tranſubſtantiation, provided it be underſtood in a certain ſenſe, and not to include Oral Manducation. *Vident ſubſtantiam quoque à nobis præſentem affirmari, & communionem noſtram cum Chriſto naturaliter, & ut ita dicam, ſubſtantialiter prædicari, ſed has voces, non ut Philoſophi, ſed ut Theologi loquuntur, intelligi opertere. Nec de Tranſubſtantiationis vocabulo, quanvis barbaro minimeque neceſſario litigaremus, ſi modò talem ſubſtantiarum tranſmutationem interpretentur, qualem veteres agnoſcebant, ſacramentalem videlicet, qualis etiam in homine fit per Baptiſmum regenerato, qui novus homo factus eſt, & nova creatura, qualis etiam fit quum nos in carnem Chriſti convertimur, quibus patres antiqui utebantur exemplis. Voces ipſas non tantopere fugimus, quamquam earum quoque ratio habenda eſt, ſed ſignificationem eam quam patres ipſi docent, atque adeò flagitant, nos quoque requirimus: & ſolam σαρκοφαγίαν, id eſt, carnis vorationem, quam nullo pacto probant, ſed ut ſtultam & impiam condemnant, rejicimus ut alienam à Scripturis, alienam à patrum interpretatione, denique cum vera fide ex diametro pugnantem, ac ſpiritualem ſenſum in hac carne edenda neceſſarium eſſe judicamus, ipſum Chriſtum authorem ſequuti, & conſenſum probatiſſimorum, qui habentur, interpretum* (12). He had no reaſon to think that the Roman Catholics would be ſatisfied with his allowing of a term which he modified in that manner. But as for thoſe who deſired to have a miracle granted in the Euchariſt, he might fancy his hypotheſis would ſatisfy them, provided that they only aſked a great miracle in general; for what he teaches on this head, is one of the moſt incomprehenſible things that can be thought of. He admits a real and ſubſtantial preſence of the body of JESUS CHRIST, but which is no more than ſacramental at the ſame time; and he affirms, that by virtue of this preſence, the bread in the Euchariſt may purify our ſouls, and unite us into one body with our Redeemer. *Quòd ſi nonnulli miraculum requirunt (nam patres aliquot Euchariſtiam ingens miraculum nominant) non minùs profectò mirandum eſt panem & vinum creaturas terrenas, & corpori tantum paſcendo natas, eam virtute benedictionis myſticæ vim inſitam, adeóque potentem efficacitatem poſſidere, ut & animos & corpora mundent, alant, ſanctificent, atque ad immortalitatem præparent, ut nos membra Chriſti & unum cum illo corpus conficiant. Imò plus ponderis habet hoc miraculum, plus dignitatis, majorem utilitatem, ac magis myſteriorum rationi congruentem, quàm ulla poteſt craſſa tranſubſtantiatio, aut animalis & humana complecti σαρκοφαγία* (13). The Catechiſm of the Reformed churches, compoſed by Calvin, does not differ much from the opinion of this biſhop of Wincheſter. Take particular notice of theſe words: *Thus I doubt not but that JESUS CHRIST, as he was ſignified, and promiſed, will make us partakers of his own ſubſtance, in order that we may be united to him in one life.* M. *But how can that be, ſince the body of JESUS CHRIST is in Heaven, and we are in this earthly pilgrimage?* S. *It is by the incomprehenſible power of his Spirit which unites things that are diſtant in place from one another* (14).

I have ſaid elſewhere (15) that this *Diallacticon* was reprinted with the book of a Phyſician, who endeavoured to reconcile the controverſies about the Euchariſt,

(5) He ſhould have ſaid *Joannis.*

(6) Sturmius, in Parte III, Antipappi quarti, *pag.* 176.

(7) *See* Rivet, in Grotianæ Animadver. Diſcuſſ. *Tom. iii, Oper. pag.* 1132.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Id. ib. & in Annotat. in Conſultat. de Religione, *pag.* 948.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Joh. Coſinus, Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis, Hiſtoria Tranſubſtant. Papalis, *cap. ii, num.* 4, *pag.* 9, *& ſeq.*

(12) Diallacticon, *folio m.* 81.

(13) Idem, *folio* 82.

(14) Geneva-Catechiſm, §. 53.

(15) In the remark [C] of the article HARCHIUS, towards the end.

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his having carried away another man's wife [C] notwithſtanding he had one of his own.

riſt, and whoſe notions are very particular concerning this important article.

[C] *I ſhall relate what has been anſwered to the charge of his having carried away another man's wife, notwithſtanding he had one of his own.*] Sanders, after having ſaid that one Poynet took poſſeſſion of the biſhopric of Wincheſter, when Stephen Gardiner was deprived, adds, 'This fine prelate accounting it a 'ſmall thing to marry one wife, now that he was a 'Biſhop, did likewiſe carry away the wife of a certain 'Butcher then living; but ſhe was taken from him by 'the parliament of that kingdom, as no ways belong-'ing to him, and reſtored to her huſband. It was 'owing to this, that when ſome time after, a man 'of quality ſaid to biſhop Gardiner, partly by way of 'joke, and partly by way of ridicule: You expect, 'perhaps, that the time will come when your bi-'ſhopric ſhall be reſtored to you; the biſhop an-'ſwered, and why ſhould not I expect to recover my 'biſhopric, as well as the Butcher has recovered his 'wife. For it was the ſame perſon who ſeized upon 'Stephen Gardiner's biſhopric, and who carried away 'the Butcher's wife (16).' This is the charge, to which Dr Burnet makes the following anſwer: 'The 'falſeneſs of this ſtory is clearly evinced by the an-'ſwer that Dr Martin gave in the beginning of queen 'Mary's reign, to a book that Poinet had writ in 'the defence of the married clergy; Martin's anſwer 'is writ with ſo much ſpite, and ſo many indecent 'reflexions, that though it is not reaſonable to believe 'all he ſays, yet it is almoſt a certain argument that 'this ſtory concerning Poinet is a forgery; ſince, if 'it was a thing ſo public as our author makes it, 'Martin muſt have heard of it, eſpecially living in 'Gardiner's houſe, and it is not to be imagined that 'if he did know it, he would have concealed it: ſo 'this, and the jeſt that hangs upon it, muſt paſs as one 'of the flouriſhes of our author's pen (17).

(16) Sanders's book of the Engliſh Schism, *pag.* 216.

(17) Burnet, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 396.

POITIERS (DIANA DE) miſtreſs to Henry II, and daughter of the Count de St Vallier [A], made an ill uſe of her favour, either to heap up riches, or to bring into places, or exclude ſuch as ſhe thought fit. Her age made it to be believed that ſhe could not thus captivate a young prince, without the help of Magic [B]. But ſome judicious perſons

[A] *She was daughter of the count de St Vallier.*] His name was John (1) de Poitiers, and he was deſcended from a very antient family; for one Aymar de Poitiers, 'thus 'called, whether becauſe he was deſcended from the 'counts de Poitiers, or for ſome other reaſon, married 'about the year 1184, the heireſs of the houſe of 'Valentinois, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance he had 'given to her mother, who was a widow, againſt the 'biſhop of Valence, who was her great enemy. . . . . 'The ſame Aymar had from Raymund, count of 'Toulouſe, his relation, the county of Diois, about 'the year 1190, ſo that theſe two counties remained 'united two hundred years in the houſe of Poitiers, and 'were poſſeſſed by ſeven ſucceſſive counts. Lewis II, 'the laſt of them, having no male-iſſue, nor much af-'fection for Charles de St Vallier, his uncle by his 'father's ſide, who was to ſucceed him, and being 'very much in debt, by his ill management and de-'baucheries, made over, and conveyed theſe two 'counties to Charles, dauphin of France, and his ſuc-'ceſſors, for a hundred thouſand gold crowns, on 'condition, that they ſhould remain inſeparably united 'to Dauphiné. After his death, which was in the 'year 1419, Lewis, the ſon of Charles de St Vallier, 'would take on him the titles and poſſeſſions of them; 'but the dauphin, being then king, obliged him to 'yield up all his pretenſions to him for a yearly rent 'of ſeven thouſand florins to him and his heirs for 'ever (2).' As for St Vallier, Diana's father, he was arreſted, as being concerned in the rebellion of the conſtable Charles de Bourbon, and would have been beheaded at the Greve, if his daughter, as it is ſaid, in order to ſave his life, had not granted the laſt favour to Francis I. Mezerai ſpeaks of it thus in his large hiſtory (3). *St Vallier had his pardon on the ſcaffold at the Greve, by reaſon of the beauty of his only daughter Diana.* And, in another place (4), ſpeaking of the ſame Diana, he ſays, *The charms of her beauty were ſo powerful ſince the year* 1524, *that all the court interceded for her father, who was convicted of the rebellion of Charles de Bourbon, ſo that king Francis, on her account, ſent him his pardon on the ſcaffold.* It cannot be concluded from theſe two paſſages, that the chaſtity of the daughter was a ſacrifice offered to Francis I, to obtain her father's pardon. But here is a third place, where the Hiſtorian ſpeaks very plain of this propitiatory victim. 'St Vallier was tried, and con-'demned to loſe his head; but as he was at the Greve, 'on the ſcaffold, he received his pardon inſtead of 'the fatal ſtroke. It was ſaid that the king ſent it 'to him. After he had got from his daughter Diana, 'who was then about fourteen years of age, the moſt 'precious thing ſhe had. A ſweet exchange to thoſe 'who prefer life to virtue, or who place their honour 'in the glory of enjoying a favour, which is more en-'vied than it is innocent (5).' The author of the Galantries of the kings of France does not ſpeak ſo roundly, but what he ſays is ſufficient to make every body underſtand what he means. I ſhall ſet down his words, becauſe they contain ſome particulars relating to the hiſtory of our Diana. 'She was, ſays he (6), 'the daughter of John de Poictiers, lord of St Vallier, 'who placed her very young near the counteſs of An-'gouleme. Afterwards ſhe went into the ſervice of 'queen Claudia, as a maid of honour. St Vallier, 'who hoped that the charms of his daughter would 'procure him ſome protection at court, was not de-'ceived in it; for it may be ſaid, that ſhe ſaved his 'life by her private contrivances. He had a hand in 'the rebellion of the conſtable de Bourbon, and was 'ſo unfortunate as to be taken. He was tried, and 'condemned to be beheaded. Diana was ſo ſtruck 'with this news, that ſhe thought nothing was to be 'omitted in order to free her father from ſuch a preſ-'ſing danger. She threw herſelf at the king's feet, 'melting in tears, and begged of him to grant life to 'the perſon to whom ſhe owed her's. She appeared 'in this condition ſo beautiful, and ſo moving to 'that prince, that ſhe obtained her requeſt, and in-'ſpired him with love under the maſk of pity. She 'preſerved that conqueſt till the fatal journey the king 'made into Italy; and that prince endeavoured to 'conceal his unfaithfulneſs from the counteſs de 'Chateau-Brian, for whom he always had a great 'regard.'

(1) And not *Aymar*, as Mezerai calls him, *Hiſt. de Henry II*, at the beginning.

(2) Mezerai, Hiſt. de Charles VI, *pag.* 538, *of the* 2*d volume, in fol. ad ann.* 1418.

(3) *Tom. ii, pag.* 936, *ad ann.* 1523.

(4) Hiſt. de Henry II, *at the beginning, pag.* 1058, *of the* 2*d volume.*

(5) Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. *Tom. iv, pag. m.* 520, *ad ann.* 1523.

(6) *Tom. i, par.* 195. *See in the remark* [P] *a fault that is not committed.*

[B] *Without the help of Magic.*] Thuanus ſeems to believe it. 'Diana . . . . amiſſo viro, is fuit Lu-'dovicus Brezæus magnus Normaniæ Seneſcallus, cum 'jam inclinata eſſet ætate, philtris & magicis, ut cre-'ditur, artibus adeo ſibi animum Henrici devinxit, 'ut is nunquam alienata voluntate ad exitum uſque vitæ 'in amore illo conſtanter perſeveraverit (7). - - - - 'Diana . . . . having loſt her huſband (Lewis de Brezé, 'great ſeneſchal of Normandy) when her age was now 'upon the decline, is believed to have ſo fixed the af-'fections of Henry, by philtres and magical enchantments, 'that he perſiſted in his love to her with an undeviating 'conſtancy to the end of his life.' Mezerai gives an exact account of all the reaſons which gave occaſion to believe that this woman made uſe of enchantments, and yet does not ſeem to be perſuaded of it. 'As 'the fineſt features of her face vaniſhed away, the 'charms of her wit, and her addreſs, increaſed to 'ſuch a degree, that at thirty-five years of age, when 'ſhe ſhould have preferred virtue to beauty, ſhe ab-'ſolutely conquered the heart of king Henry; and 'becauſe people, in order to make favourites odious, 'and excuſe the baſeneſs of the princes, who become 'their ſlaves, are uſed to ſay that their affection has 'been extorted by magical charms, ſome gave out 'that ſhe had bewitched him with philtres. Indeed 'it was a ſad thing, to ſee a young prince fond of a woman,

(7) Thuan. *lib.* 38, *ad ann.* 1547.

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perſons do not give that reaſon for it, and make very good reflexions upon the power of an old courtezan [C]. They obſerve among other things the amorous temper of Diana [D]. The greateſt ſcandal proceeded from the common report, that ſhe had yielded to the deſires of Francis I, to ſave her father's life (a) [E]; ſo that people could not

(a) See the remark [A].

' woman, who had a face diſcoloured, and full of ' wrinkles, a head that grew gray-haired, languiſh- ' ing, and ſometimes blood-ſhot and running eyes, ' in a word, who was ſaid to be the infamous ' leavings of ſeveral others; and one might very well ' wonder, that neither time, nor honour, nor wiſe ' counſels, nor any other object among ſo many great ' beauties he might have pitched upon, could bring ' him off from her. But it is neither a new thing, ' nor a wonderful one, to ſee a man thus bewitched ' without any enchantments: there are many inſtances ' of it (8), and it is no difficult thing to give ſome ' reaſons for it (9).' Thoſe reaſons will be ſeen in the following remark.

(8) See the articles CALIGULA, remark [H], CYRUS, remark [F], and DELLIUS, remark [A]. See alſo the articles LAIS and LAMIA.

(9) Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, *at the beginning of Henry II. pag.* 1018. *of the 2d volume, in folio.*

[C] *Good reflexions upon the power of an old courtezan.*] Here is the ſequel of the paſſage I have juſt now quoted out of Mezerai. ' Not to mention thoſe un- ' known qualities, like thoſe of the load-ſtone, which ' meeting in ſome perſons, do cloſely unite them by ' an equal and mutual conſent, or by ſubjecting the ' one to the other; it is obſerved, that phlegmatic ' people are conſtant in their love, tho' they are not ' ſo in their deſigns, and other paſſions.' Add to this, ' that the firſt engagements are almoſt always broke ' off. And therefore a cunning and crafty woman is no ' leſs dangerous to a young man, who begins to be ' acquainted with the world, than a rock to an igno- ' rant pilot. Beſides, the ſuſpicions he entertained of ' his wife's honeſty, made him more fond of another ' woman. Laſtly, in point of love, as well as in ' point of war, the ſtratagems of old people are not ' leſs to be feared, than the ſtrength and vigour of ' the young, and therefore it is no wonder if he fell ' into the ſnares of ſo experienced a woman.' Ovid, who was ſo great a maſter in the art of love, might have afforded Mezerai another reaſon, and perhaps that Hiſtorian would not have omitted it in a Latin hiſtory.

Nec quotus annus eat, ne quo ſit nata require
Conſule: quæ rigidus munera Cenſor habet.
Præcipuè, ſi flore caret, meliuſque peractum
Tempus, & albentes jam legit illa comas.
Utilis, O juvenes, aut hæc, aut ſerior ætas;
Iſte feret ſegetes; iſte ſerendus ager.
- - - - - - - - -
Hoc quoque militiæ eſt: hoc quoque quærit opes.
Adde, quod eſt illis operum prudentia major:
Solus & artifices qui facit, uſus adeſt.
Illæ munditiis annorum damna rependunt:
Et faciunt curâ, ne videantur anus.
Utque velis, Venerem jungunt per mille figuras.
Inveniat plures nulla tabella modos (10).

(10) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, *lib. ii, ver.* 663.

Nor aſk her age, conſult no regiſter,
Under whoſe reign ſhe's born, or what's the year.
If fading youth chequers her hair with white,
Experience makes her perfect in delight.
In her embrace ſublimer joys are found,
A fruitful ſoil, and cultivated ground.
- - - - - - - - -
Pleaſure and wealth reward thy pleaſing pains,
The labour's great, but greater far the gains.
Add their experience in affairs of love,
For years and practice do alike improve.
Their arts repair the injuries of time,
And ſtill preſerve them in their charming prime,
In vary'd ways they act the pleaſure o'er,
Nor pictur'd poſtures can inſtruct you more.

A woman, who is the *infamous leavings of many others*, has been in a good ſchool, ſhe can do her exerciſes much better, and knows how to play the game to the beſt advantage. However it be, this Hiſtorian rightly obſerves, that there are many inſtances of the great power of an old courtezan. See the marginal note (8).

[D] *They obſerve amongſt other things the amorous temper of Diana.*] ' The love of a young king ' for a woman of forty years of age, who had two ' or three children by her huſband, might well be cal- ' led an enchantment without magic. . . . . The king ' loved her becauſe ſhe was very ſenſible of love, and ' her temper prompted her ſometimes to look elſe- ' where for the heighth of pleaſure, as ſhe found in ' him the heighth of riches and honours.' They are Mezerai's words (11), which give me occaſion to compare, in this point, Henry II with a man, who, in all other things, was infinitely ſhort of that prince's merit. We read in Suetonius, that Caligula, in the flower of his youth, fell deſperately in love with Cæſonia, who was not young, and had had three children by her huſband; but then ſhe was a woman of a moſt laſcivious temper (12). Ovid, one of the greateſt maſters in that art, intimates plainly enough, that ſuch a temper ſerves a voluptuous man inſtead of many other things, and that as the inſenſibility of a chaſt woman is a diſagreeable inconveniency, the eagerneſs of a leud miſtreſs gives a wonderful reliſh. It is the unhappy cauſe of the unfaithfulneſs of huſbands.

(11) Abrégé Chron. *Tom. iv, pag.* 643, *ad ann.* 1547.

(12) See the article CALIGULA, citat. (28).

Odi quæ præbet, quia ſit præbere neceſſe,
Siccaque de lana cogitat ipſa ſua (13).
Quæ datur officio, non eſt mihi grata voluptas;
Officium faciat nulla puella mihi.
Me voces audire juvat ſua gaudia faſſas,
Utque morer memet ſuſtineamque roget.
Aſpiciam Dominæ victos amentis ocellos,
Langueat, & tangi ſe vetet illa diu (14).

(13) *Compare* Martial. Epigr. LXI, & CV, *lib. xi.*

(14) Ovid. ubi ſupra, ver. 692.

Give me enjoyment, when the willing dame
Glows with deſires, and burns with equal flame.
I love to hear the ſoft tranſporting joys,
The frequent ſighs and tender murm'ring voice:
To ſee her eyes with vary'd pleaſure move,
And all the nymph confeſs the pow'r of love.

What has been ſaid, ſhews that Mezerai hit right: the leud temper of Henry's miſtreſs ſupplied her want of youth.

[E] *It was the common report that ſhe had yielded to the deſires of Francis I, to ſave her father's life.*] Beſides what has been ſaid upon this ſubject in the firſt remark of this article, I ſhall obſerve a circumſtance mentioned by Thuanus, concerning the fright of the Count de St Vallier. That unhappy man being brought to the place of execution, was ſtruck with ſuch a conſternation, that he fell dangerouſly ill. He was let blood ſeveral times, but this, and the good news of his pardon, could not recover his ſpirits and cure him. St Vallier's fever became afterwards a proverb. *Diana . . . . . patrem habuit Joannem Pictavienſem Sanvalerium, qui Caroli Borbonii conjurationis particeps, cum apud Sacerdotem ſecretò rem confeſſus eſſet, à Sacerdote delatus, & ad mortem damnatus eſt: cum ad ſupplicium duceretur, ex pavore in tam acutam febrem incidit, ut venia in gratiam filiæ, quæ pulchritudine ſua multorum procerum benevolentiam demeruerat, à Franciſco impetrata, vix ad mentem & ſanitatem ſæpius miſſo ſanguine reduci potuerit, unde Sanvaleriana febris apud nos in proverbium abiit* (15). Some ſay (16), *That he ſaw death ſo near him, and was ſo frighted at it, that when he was brought back to his houſe* (17), *a continual fever ſeized him ſo violently, that he died of it.* Thuanus tells us, that St Vallier was accuſed by the prieſt, to whom he had confeſſed his conſpiracy. But moſt Hiſtorians ſay, that two gentlemen of Normandy, who were concerned in the ſame plot, diſcovered it to Francis I. Some will have it, that in this they followed the inclination, which is ſaid to be natural to their countrymen (18): others ſay, that their confeſſor made a ſtep, which obliged them to reveal

(15) Thuan. ubi ſupra.

(16) *Father* Anſelme, Palais de l'Honneur, *pag.* 555.

(17) See the remark [P].

(18) Franciſcus Lutetia profectus ad Fanum Petri Monaſterienſis . . . appulit . . . ibi duo Borbonii domeſtici natione Normani (quæ natio vulgo ut parum fida notari ſolet) Argugius ac Matigno Borbonium cum Cæſare conveniſſe atque adverſus Franciſcum multa moliri indicant. *Belcarius, lib. xvii, num.* 46, *pag.* 530.

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not ſee, without indignation, that a woman, who had been a concubine to the father and the ſon ſucceſſively, ſhould have the chief authority in the kingdom. It is a chimerical fancy to pretend that Henry the ſecond's intimacy with that woman went no farther than pure friendſhip [F]. She was known at court for a long time, by the name of Grande Senechalle, and then by that of ducheſs of Valentinois. She went by the firſt of thoſe two names, becauſe ſhe had been married to Lewis de Brezé, Great Seneſchal of Normandy, by whom ſhe had two daughters, whom ſhe married very advantageouſly [G]. As

reveal that ſecret. Varillas ſticks to this laſt opinion. 'Matignon and d'Argouges, ſays he (19), having 'confeſſed at Eaſter to a curate of their country, that 'they had a hand in a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, 'he ordered them to diſcover it to the king; and he 'himſelf ſet out immediately to acquaint Brezé, great 'Seneſchal of Normandy, with it. Matignon and 'd'Argouges, who thought they were undone, took 'poſt, and overtook the king at Saint Pierre le Mon'ſtier, where they threw themſelves at his feet, and 'obtained their pardon, by making an exact diſco'very of what they knew of the conſtable's negocia'tion with the emperor.'

(19) Varillas, Hiſt. de François I, *lib. iv, pag.* 269.

[F] *It is a chimerical fancy to pretend that Henry the ſecond's intimacy . . . . . went no farther than pure friendſhip.*] I wonder how Mr le Laboureur could ever bring himſelf to believe ſuch a chimera. I ſhall ſet down his words, which contain a curious paſſage concerning the origin of that paſſion, and it will appear that he owns at leaſt that our Diana was one of Francis the firſt's miſtreſſes. 'He was further prompted 'to go thither, *ſays he* (20), *ſpeaking of a running at 'the ring, which Henry II took great delight in*, by his 'love to his miſtreſs Diana de Poitiers, ducheſs of 'Valentinois, who had been the firſt object of his in'clinations, and had given him ſome briſkneſs. It is 'ſaid that king Francis, his father, who firſt loved 'that lady, having one day, after the death of his 'ſon the dauphin Francis, expreſſed ſome grief to her, 'for the little briſkneſs he perceived in prince Hen'ry, ſhe told him, that he wanted to be in love, and 'that ſhe would make a galant of him. The king, 'whoſe affection was divided between her and the 'ducheſs d'Etampes, gave his conſent to it; but 'though the court was then very licentious, we ought 'to believe, that nothing paſſed between them that 'might occaſion any ſlanders, and that the imprecа'tion and curſe uttered againſt Reuben (21), was 'thrown into Henry's chamber out of a calumny: 'nay (22), it is not certain that Diana de Poitiers ſuf'fered that this friendſhip ſhould go beyond a noble 'eſteem and a meer galantry. To prove this, it is to 'be obſerved, that ſhe had had ſome children by her 'huſband Lewis de Brezé, count de Maulevrier, Se'neſchal of Normandy; and Henry II left behind him 'ſome legitimate and natural ones, but it does not 'appear that he had any by her.' The proof alledged by Mr le Laboureur is of ſmall force; nay, it is inſignificant, and even makes againſt him; for at this rate he ſhould not have ſaid, that the *affection of Francis I. was divided between Diana de Poitiers and the ducheſs d'Etampes*. We do not find that this prince, who was the father of ſeveral children, had ever any by Diana, who was not ſo old when he loved her, as when ſhe was Henry the ſecond's miſtreſs. I do not alledge againſt this proof, the great age of Diana, according to Varillas, when the dauphin began to be in love with her; I do not think ſhe was near ſo old as that Hiſtorian will have it. But I ſhall only ſay two things; Firſt, That Diana might have grown barren before ſhe was forty years of age by exceſſive leudneſs: Secondly, That barren marriages frequently happen between widowers and widows, who had, both of them, children by their former marriages.

(20) Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau, *Tom. i, pag.* 276.

(21) See the 49th chapter of Geneſis, ver. 4.

(22) This *nay* is needleſs here, ſince the author is going to ſay nothing ſtronger than what goes before.

If one had a mind to deny the inceſt, it were better to go about it as Varillas does; it were better to deny that Diana lay with the father, than to deny that ſhe did it with the ſon. However it be, let us ſee what Varillas ſays. 'I expect to be blamed for hav'ing ſaid nothing of the pretended inceſt of the ſame 'ducheſs of Valentinois, with the father and the ſon, 'that is, with king Francis I, and king Henry II. 'But to this I anſwer two things: Firſt, That of all 'the authors of thoſe times, whom I have ſeen in the 'king's library, in a collection divided into thirty-'ſeven volumes, I have not found any Catholic writer 'who mentions that inceſt, and that the Catholics 'have been as careful to ſay nothing of it, as the 'Calviniſts have appeared eager and paſſionate in giv'ing a particular account of it. Beſides, the ſame 'Calviniſts do not agree in their ſatires; for ſome 'will have it, that this ducheſs, who was then 'known only by the name of Diana de Poitiers, yield'to the deſires of king Francis I, only to ſave by the 'loſs of her virginity, the life of St Vallier, her fa'ther, who was otherwiſe in a few days to loſe it up'on a ſcaffold, for being an accomplice in the rebel'lion of the conſtable de Bourbon; and others affirm 'that ſhe proſtituted herſelf to the conſtable de Mont'morency, chief miniſter and favourite of Francis I '(23).' If he goes upon no better grounds as to this, than in what he adds concerning the reaſon why the Calviniſts hated the ducheſs de Valentinois, he has loſt his cauſe; for it is an abſurd thing to alledge the laſt-will of the ducheſs (24), as the true reaſon of their hatred, and not the cruel perſecution which they ſuffered under a reign, in which every thing was managed according to the caprices of that woman. This is certainly the ſophiſm *à non cauſa ſed cauſa*.

(23) Varillas, Preface to the Hiſtory of Henry II.

(24) By which ſhe diſinherited the duke of Bouillon, her ſon-in-law, in caſe he ſhould embrace the new religion.

[G] *She had two daughters, whom ſhe married very advantageouſly.*] Frances de Brezé, the eldeſt, was married in 1538, to Robert de la Marck, fourth of that name, duke of Bouillon, ſovereign prince of Sedan, who was made marſhal of France in the year 1547 (25). Louiſa de Brezé, the other daughter of the great Seneſchal, was married to Claudius de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale (26), brother to the duke of Guiſe, who was killed by Poltrot. Varillas is very much out here (27). He ſuppoſes, that in the beginning of Henry the ſecond's reign, the ducheſs de Valentinois and the cardinal de Lorrain, mutually endeavoured to unite their intereſts, in order to keep up and increaſe their credit, and that the cardinal, upon ſuch a proſpect, propoſed to marry the prince of Joinville his eldeſt brother, with the eldeſt daughter of the ducheſs: which not ſucceeding, the ducheſs was obliged to be contented to marry her eldeſt daughter to the duke d'Aumale, the cardinal's younger brother; after which ſhe married her ſecond daughter to the ſon of the marſhal de Fleuranges, prince of Sedan (28). Varillas confounds times and things; for the eldeſt daughter of Diana married Robert de la Marck, prince of Sedan, in the year 1538 (29). Would Henry Robert de la Marck, their ſon, have married in 1558 the daughter of the duke of Montpenſier (30), if his mother had married in the reign of Henry II? I ſay nothing of Antoinette de la Marck, ſiſter of Henry Robert, who was married to Damville, ſecond ſon to the conſtable de Montmorency, in the year 1558, according to Varillas (31); but as he obſerves that ſhe *was almoſt marriageable*, he might evade the force of my objection, and I do not know what age that lady was of at that time. Having deſired a friend (32) to conſult Mr d'Hozier, who has a vaſt knowledge of Hiſtory and Genealogies, I have been informed that Frances de Brezé, eldeſt daughter of Diana de Poitiers, was married in the year 1538 to Robert de la Marck, and that Louiſa de Brezé, her ſecond daughter, was married to Claudius de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale, in 1546 (33); for *William de Poitiers, her uncle, mentions her, as being that prince's wife in the laſt-will he made the 12th of March* 1546. Preſident de la Place obſerves, that the duke d'Aumale married in the reign of Francis I, by ſuch a token that the king would not ſuffer the bride *to be dreſſed like a princeſs on her wedding-day* (34). Which ſhew the miſtakes of the modern author of the life of admiral de Coligny. He ſuppoſes, that the conſtable de Montmorency having attained again to the top of favour after the death of Francis I, had a mind to marry Coligny to the heireſs of Laval. Coligny did not like the match, and put in his brother d'Andelot for it. The conſtable thinking that Coligny had refuſed it, becauſe he was in love with the lady de Brezé, deſired

(25) Anſelme, Hiſt. des Officiers de la Couronne, *pag.* 179.

(26) Idem, Pasquier de l'Hoſtel de Lorraine, *pag.* 448.

(27) Hiſt. de Henry II, *lib. i, pag.* 44, 49, *ad ann.* 1547.

(28) Ib. *p.* 49.

(29) Anſelme, Hiſt. des Off. &c.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Hiſt. de Henry II, *ib. viii, pag.* 321.

(32) Mr Jamſon, Advocate to the king's council.

(33) It is perhaps by reckoning the beginning of the year from Eaſter.

(34) Commentaires de l'etat de la Religion & Republique. *An.* 1559 *verſo, Edit.* 1565.

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As for the other name, she took it, because Henry II gave her the duchy of Valentinois. I do not think that when she set up as head of a party in opposition to the duchess d'Etampes, in the reign of Francis I, she was so old as Varillas will have it [*H*]. We are

desired that young lord *to forbear visiting that lady so frequently, or to do it at least with a design only to try whether she would be of her mother's humour* (35). Nevertheless, the visits continued to be as frequent as before. That author having related several intrigues, tells us, that Diana having two daughters to marry, looked out for husbands, who might help her to keep up her credit (36), and she cast her eyes upon the prince of Joinville, and spoke to the cardinal de Lorrain about it. He adds (37), that Coligny represented to that prince, that it was a dishonourable match for him, and put him out of conceit with it, and that afterwards, Diana married her daughter to the duke d'Aumale, younger brother to that prince. See the remark [*Q*]. I admire the many particulars mentioned by this author, and his vast commentaries upon a few words of Brantome. He is a faithful imitator of Varillas, an Historian who will spoil a great many authors, if it be not prevented. But omitting his historical mistakes, I shall only observe that Diana had no daughters to marry, when Henry II, her lover, came to the crown on the 31st of March 1547; for, as I have already said, the eldest of her two daughters was married in the year 1538, and the youngest in the year 1546.

(35) Vie de Gaspard de Coligny, *book ii, pag.* 87, *Edit.* 1686.

(36) Ibid. *pag.* 102.

(37) Ibid. *pag.* 106.

[*H*] *I do not think . . . . that she was so old as Varillas will have it.*] I shall set down his own words, but let us remember that they concern the year 1544. 'Diana de Poitiers was the dauphin's mistress, 'as the duchess (38) was loved by the king; but this 'was the only thing wherein they were alike, both 'in respect of their body and mind. The duchess 'had never been so beautiful as she was then: she had 'lost nothing of the lustre, which procured her the 'reputation of being the greatest beauty in Europe, 'in the opinion of the nicest judges, and even of the 'emperor himself: but Diana had scarce any of those 'charms, which saved her father's life one and twenty 'years before. The duchess was but one and thirty 'years of age, and it was suspected that Diana was 'near sixty years old; for the care that was taken to 'know her age, by enquiring where she was christened, proved ineffectual. . . . . The duchess . . . . . 'spoke freely of Diana, whereas Diana concealed under feigned demonstrations of respect and complaisance, her vexation for the slight that was put upon 'her. The duchess's freedom made her say upon a 'certain occasion, that she was born the same day 'that Diana was married. These words were the 'more offensive, because they might be true, and reflected upon Diana as if she had been equally incapable of inspiring or entertaining the passion of 'love, since it was known that she had been a long 'time without finding a husband (39). Nevertheless, 'she concealed her resentment as long as the king enjoy'd perfect health; but as soon as she perceived that 'his majesty began to decline, she made the duchess 'sensible, that the time was coming on when she 'would be revenged on her (40). I cannot tell from whence this author had these stories, but I very much question the truth of them. I heard one day a certain person argue against it in the following manner. In the first place, said he, if Diana de Poitiers had been forty years of age when her father was tried, it is not likely that the Historians would have represented her as a tid-bit for Francis I. A married woman or a widow will be more easily accounted handsome at forty years of age, than a maid of the same years. The latter will be sooner called an old maid, than the former will be called old women, and through an ill effect of prejudices, she is not looked upon as so good a chance. II. Mezerai says, that Diana was but fourteen years of age, when she saved her father's life (41); which is much more likely than to say that she was forty. The exchange of a criminal's life for an old maidenhead, is not so easily apprehended by the readers, as when they are told (as they are by Mezerai) that this exchange was made by one that was but fourteen years of age; and the fault of king Francis may be better excused by it. III. If Diana had been near sixty years old in 1544, she must have been seventy-five years old when Henry II died; that is, on the day of the famous tournament, wherein that prince received a wound, of which he died, he took white and black for his livery, *on account of the handsome widow he served* (42): Would an old woman of seventy-five years have been served as a handsome widow? Would the Protestants, to whom she was so violent an enemy, and who revenged themselves upon her by their satirical books, have forgot her great age? A young king desperately in love with an old woman of seventy years, lies so open to be ridiculed, that Henry II would have been bantered and railed at in the most insulting manner, on acount of his old mistress, if the duchess of Valentinois had been of such an age. The silence of the satirical writers, who only say, that Diana was in her autumn, that is, between forty and fifty years of age, seems to me a very strong reason against Varillas. But this is not the main part of the objection: what Brantome gives an account of in his *Memoires des Dames Galantes* was more insisted upon. He says (43), that two years after the death of that prince, the enemies of the duchess of Valentinois courted her friendship. She must therefore have lived at least seventy-seven years: how comes it then that, according to Brantome, she died being seventy years and a half old (44)? IV. One can hardly believe that the duchess d'Etampes was but thirty-one years of age in 1544: if this was true, she must have been but thirteen when Francis I. made a mistress of her. But not to insist upon this, I further observe, that she was maid of honour to the queen-regent, before the king fell in love with her; and I question whether at that time, when the education of children was not so forward as it is in our age, a maid of twelve years would have been qualified to be a maid of honour to the regent. V. I own that jealousy prompts the court ladies, as well as others, to use passionate expressions, and to tell strange lyes; but when a woman knows that her enemies have an eye upon her, she will take care not to say any thing that is palpably absurd, and she will forbear telling gross and notorious lies. The duchess d'Etampes took quite another course, if she said that she was born on the day that Diana de Poitiers was married. Every body knew at court, at what time, the duchess had lost her honour: the return of king Francis from Spain was too remarkable a thing to be easily forgotten. Now this was the very time when Mademoiselle de Heilli began to set up for a gallant woman. The court did not less remember the pardon that was sent to St Vallier on the scaffold; and consequently they knew when Diana lost her honour; and they were not ignorant that those two ladies began to play the same game not long one after another. Wherefore, since it was known to the whole court, that St Vallier's daughter had not been married to the great seneschal of Normandy, till Francis I. had lain with her (45), the duchess d'Etampes would have been a mad woman, if she had said what we read in Varillas, *I was born on the same day that Diana was married*; for it had been an easy thing to prove it an imposture and a silly jest. We shall see below (46) that all these reflexions are not well grounded.

(38) That is, the duchess d'Etampes.

(39) This is not true. See the remark [*P*].

(40) Varillas, Hist. de François I, *book xi, pag.* 97, *Dutch Edit.*

(41) Abrégé Chronol. *Tom. iv, pag.* 520. *This agrees with what he says in the 2d volume of his large history, pag.* 1058, *that Diana got the dauphin's love at* 35 *years of age. La Planche, in his Hist. of Francis II, says much the same.* In her younger years, *says he, pag.* 14, she redeemed her father's life with her maidenhead, and afterwards, to the misfortune of France, she became king Henry's mistress, being far advanced in years.

(42) Brantome, Eloge de Henri II, *pag.* 39, *of the 2d Tome.*

(43) *Tom. ii, pag.* 328.

(44) Ibid. *pag.* 228.

(45) This is not true. See the remark [*P*].

(46) In the remark [*P*].

The author of the *Galantries of the kings of France* has adopted all these mistakes of Varillas, and even made them worse, by referring to the year 1547 (47) what the other had referred to the year 1544; which occasions many new falsities. Mademoiselle de Heilli was but ten years old, when the king lay with her. St Vallier obtained his pardon in 1526. Epernai and Chateau-Thierry were taken, and the treatise of Crespy was made after the year 1546. Here follows another fault of that author. He says (48), that the love which king Francis conceived for Mademoiselle de Heilli, at his return from Spain, made him *insensible with respect to all the other persons of the court, and that Diana, who had been married a long time to Lewis de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, endeavoured to ease her grief for the inconstancy of that prince, by considering that the Dauphin gave her several marks of love.* You must know that Henry II was but eight years of age when his father returned from Spain in 1526. You must further know, that he was not Dauphin till the year 1536, and that Diana was a widow when the Dauphin fell in love with her.

(47) *Tom. i, pag.* 204, *edition of* 1695.

(48) *Pag.* 187.

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are told very ſingular things about the great reſolution ſhe ſhewed after the death of Henry II [*I*], and about the continuance of her beauty [*K*]. She was a deadly enemy to the Proteſtants [*L*]; and doubtleſs, the religious zeal of ſuch a woman, was one of the moſt remarkable parts of the great comedy that is acted upon the ſtage of the world. If there is any thing in Brantome's memoirs, that is not only inſipid, but alſo execrable, it is the baſeneſs he is guilty of in praiſing this ducheſs, and applauding the exceſſive complaiſance of Henry II [*M*]. Thuanus is far from being guilty of ſuch a baſe flattery:

her. From this you may judge, whether the author of the Galantries is an exact writer.

[*I*] *The great reſolution ſhe ſhewed after the death of Henry II.*] Brantome gives this account of it. 'When Henry II was dying, the ducheſs of Valentinois was ordered to retire to her houſe at Paris, 'and to come no more into the king's chamber, leſt 'ſhe ſhould diſturb his godly thoughts, and becauſe 'ſome bore her an ill will. She retired, and then a 'meſſenger was ſent to her to demand of her ſome 'rings and jewels that belonged to the crown. She 'immediately aſked him, is the king dead? No, 'Madam, replied he, but he cannot live long. Well, 'ſaid ſhe I will have my enemies to know, that I am 'not afraid of them, and will not obey them as long 'as he is alive. I have ſtill an undaunted courage; 'but when he dies, I will not live after him, and 'tho' my life be never ſo bitter, I ſhall think it ſweet 'in compariſon of my loſs, and therefore, whether 'my king be dead or alive, I am not afraid of my 'enemies. That lady ſhewed herſelf very generous: 'but ſome will ſay that ſhe did not die, tho' ſhe ſaid 'ſhe would. It is true: however, ſhe came very 'near death; and I think it was well done of her 'not to die, in order to let her enemies know that ſhe 'did not fear them, and that if ſhe had formerly ſeen 'them tremble and humble themſelves in her preſence, 'ſhe would not do the ſame. And indeed, ſhe appeared ſo ſtout and reſolute that they could never vex 'her: nay, two years after, they courted her more 'than ever, and were friends again; as it is uſual 'with great people, whoſe friendſhip and enmity are 'of no long continuance, who quickly make up their 'differences, like thieves at a fair, and love and hate 'one another with the ſame eaſe. It is not ſo with 'us inconſiderable people; for we muſt either fight 'and die, or put an end to our quarrels by a very nice 'agreement, and after all we are never the better 'friends (49).'

(49) Brantome, Dames Galantes, *Tom. ii, pag. m.* 327.

What Brantome ſays, that great people are eaſily reconciled, and that the little ones are very eager in their quarrels, puts me in mind of what was ſaid to a Pariſian, during the wars between the houſes of Orleans and Burgundy. 'While this war laſted, things 'were carried on with ſuch a heat, that after ſeveral 'ſieges, and the deſtruction of many towns, the peace 'was projected, concluded, and agreed upon at Auxerre. For, as the duke of Burgundy told a Pariſian, 'who went to meet him, WE THAT ARE DESCENDED FROM THE ROYAL BLOOD, GROW ANGRY 'ONE WITH ANOTHER, WHENEVER WE HAVE 'A MIND TO IT, AND IN LIKE MANNER, WE 'MAKE A PEACE WHENEVER WE HAVE A MIND 'TO IT. Monſtrelet further ſays, that a Burgundian was of opinion, THAT IT WAS A GREAT 'FOLLY TO KILL ONE ANOTHER FOR THE 'SAKE OF PRINCES, WHO ARE RECONCILED 'WHENEVER THEY PLEASE (50).'

(50) Roulliard, Hiſt. de Melun, *pag.* 515.

[*K*] *And about the continuance of her beauty.*] 'I 'ſaw, ſays Brantome, the ducheſs of Valentinois as 'beautiful, at threeſcore and ten years of age, and as 'freſh and lovely as when ſhe was but thirty; and 'therefore it is no wonder if ſhe was beloved by one 'of the greateſt and moſt valiant kings in the world. 'This I may freely ſay, without doing any prejudice to the beauty of that lady; for whenever a lady gains the love of a great king, it is a ſign that 'ſhe is a moſt accompliſhed perſon: beſides, beauty, 'which is a preſent of Heaven, ought to be enjoyed 'by the demi-gods. I ſaw that lady half a year before ſhe died: ſhe was ſtill ſo beautiful, that none 'but a hard-hearted man would have been inſenſible 'to her charms, tho' ſome time before ſhe had broke 'one of her legs in the ſtreets of Orleans. She rid 'then as dexterouſly as ever ſhe did; but her horſe 'fell. One would have thought, that the great pains 'ſhe felt, would have made ſome alteration in her 'face; but, on the contrary, her beauty, and her 'charming and majeſtical air were the ſame as before. 'She had a very white ſkin without any paint; only 'it is ſaid that ſhe drank every morning ſome 'broth, with potable gold and other drugs in it, which 'I do not underſtand, as the good Phyſicians and the 'learned Apothecaries do. I think, if that lady had 'lived an hundred years longer, ſhe had never been 'an old woman; her face was ſo well formed, and 'her body of ſuch a good temper and conſtitution. 'It is pity ſuch a fine body ſhould lie under 'ground (51).

(51) Brantome, Dames Galantes, *Tom. ii, pag.* 228.

[*L*] *She was a mortal enemy to the Proteſtants.*] Beza aſcribes the cruel perſecution which the Proteſtants ſuffered under the reign of Henry II, to the counſels of three perſons, viz. the Cardinal de Lorrain, the Ducheſs of Valentinois, and the Marſhal de St André. The cardinal, ſays he (52), *had the king's conſcience at his diſpoſal.* The ducheſs *was in poſſeſſion of his body, not without ſuſpicion of witchcraft, ſince ſhe had lived in a very bad reputation, and had nothing in her that might reaſonably (if there is any reaſon in ſuch paſſions) win or preſerve the heart of ſuch a prince. Thoſe three perſons, who continually endeavoured to make him believe theſe two things, that the Proteſtants were enemies to the kingly power, and great lovers of confuſion, and that the right way of making amends for all the vices, in which they themſelves indulged him, was to exterminate the enemies of the Romiſh religion, did ſo work upon him, that from the very beginning of his reign he made it his buſineſs to proſecute and deſtroy the churches, as his late father had done before him.* Here is a paſſage out of Brantome. *But above all, ſhe was a very good Catholic, and hated the Proteſtants very much. Which is the reaſon why they hated and ſlandered her* (53). But Varillas's words are very remarkable (54): 'She declared in the principal 'articles of her will, which ſhe made when ſhe was 'moſt in favour, and which ſhe did not revoke when 'ſhe died ten or twelve years after, that ſhe was ſo 'zealous for the Catholic faith, that if the ducheſſes 'd'Aumale and de Bouillon, her daughters, ſhould for'ſake it upon any pretence whatſoever, and embrace 'any of the new ſects, ſhe deprived them of her eſtate, 'and gave it to the hoſpitals of the places where the ſeveral parts of it lay. If one of her daughters only 'renounced the Catholic faith, ſhe gave her ſhare to 'her ſiſter (55); and if her relations were not careful 'to execute her laſt will, ſhe applied herſelf to the 'parliament, and intreated them, by the good offices 'ſhe had formerly done them with Henry II, to ſupply the fault of her relations.' This Hiſtorian obſerves, that this article of her will was not executed; the ducheſs of Bouillon made an open profeſſion of the Reformed religion, and yet had an equal ſhare of her mother's eſtate with the ducheſs d'Aumale. Varillas takes occaſion from hence to commend the generoſity of the Guiſes. *So true it is,* ſays he, *that the houſe of Guiſe has ſometimes performed generous actions, which are not to be found in the princes of other houſes.* He quickly overthrows the foundation on which he builds this encomium (56). But we have no buſineſs with that here. I ſhall ſet down another paſſage, which clearly ſhews how much the ducheſs hated the Proteſtants. 'She 'durſt not explain her thoughts to d'Andelot; for tho' 'ſhe made no ſcruple, for the ſpace of twenty years, 'to live an unchaſt life with her king, contrary to the 'laws of the goſpel, yet ſhe had ſuch a nice conſcience, 'that ſhe would not ſo much as ſpeak to thoſe who 'were ſuſpected of Hereſy (57).' What extravagance! I deſire the readers to make their reflexions upon this odd zeal, which is ſo common.

(52) Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, *lib.* 11, *pag.* 68.

(53) Brantome, Eloge de Henri II, *in the 2d Tome of his Memoirs, pag.* 9.

(54) Hiſtoire de Henri II, *book* 1, *pag.* 36, 37.

(55) The author expreſſes himſelf ſo ill that one muſt gueſs at his meaning.

(56) He ſays, *pag.* 49, that the Cardinal de Lorrain who neglected nothing, took care to prefer ſome clauſes inſerted in the contract of the Count d'Aumale, which were to that Count's advantage, and he inherited afterwards the beſt part of the confiſcation of his brother-in-law.

(57) Varillas, ibid. *book* 10, *pag.* 301, *ad ann.* 1558.

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tery: he does not ſpare the conſtable de Montmorency [N], who, notwithſtanding all his haughtineſs, cringed to that leud woman. Mezerai did not act the part of a flatterer [O]. She has been praiſed for not revenging herſelf on the ducheſs d'Etampes as much as ſhe might have done after the death of Francis I (b). The great riches ſhe got proved very uſeful to her after the death of Henry II. She made uſe of them to pacify the queen-mother, and retired to her fine ſeat at Anet; not without receiving as it is ſaid, a ſevere reprimand from Catherine de Medicis (c). That queen was terrified, when Tavannes offered to cut off the noſe of the ducheſs of Valentinois: *ſhe told him, that he would undo himſelf by it*; and he anſwered, that he would willingly die *to put an end to vice, and to the misfortune of the king and his kingdom* (d). To conclude, I ſhall examine what ſome ſay, that her virginity ſaved her father's life, and produce dates, which will compoſe the differences of ſome Hiſtorians [P]. It is a ſhameful thing that they ſhould diſagree in matters of fact, ſo modern as theſe are.

(b) Varillas, Hiſtoire de Henry II, *livr. i, pag. m.* 33, 34.

(c) See the remark [O].

(d) Memoires de Tavannes, apud le Laboureur, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 573.

What

it. But it is an intolerable thing that he ſhould ſay, 'That ſhe never adviſed the king to any thing but 'what was great, noble, and generous. . . . . (58). 'That ſhe was very mild, charitable to the poor, devout and pious, for which reaſon ſhe had a tomb for 'her device. . . . . as living only in God, and that the 'French ought to wiſh, that their kings may never 'have a worſe favourite than ſhe was (59). The 'great and vaſt preſent, which the king made to the 'ſaid ducheſs of Valentinois at his coming to the crown, 'upon the confirmation of all the officers of France, 'as it is uſually practiſed in the beginning of a new 'reign, was thought a very ſtrange thing. The money, that was raiſed by it, amounted to a prodigious 'ſum, becauſe king Francis had reigned a long time. 'Such a king might very well make ſuch a preſent 'to ſuch a lady; for it was a caſual branch, which 'made no part of his revenues, demeſnes, ſubſidies, or 'taxes, and our former kings were very free of ſuch 'things, as I have it from good hands, and were 'blamed when they made any account of them, ſince 'it was out of this fund that they generally diſtributed rewards to their ſervants. They uſed to do it; 'but our late kings keep them for themſelves, and 'farm them out to ſupply their neceſſities. Beſides, 'this lady did not make an ill uſe of that money, 'for ſhe built that fine houſe at Anet, that will be 'for ever an ornament to France (60).' One cannot read this without indignation: the praiſes beſtowed upon her by Francis de Billon, on account of her being a woman of her word and beneficent, are leſs offenſive (61).

(58) Brantome, Eloge de Henry II, *pag.* 9, *in the 2d volume of his Memoirs.*

(59) Ibid. *pag.* 11.

(60) Ibid. *pag.* 10.

(61) *See the book, intituled,* Le fort inexpugnable de l'Honneur du ſexe feminin conſtruit par François de Billon Secretaire, *printed in the year* 1555, *fol.* 170.

[N] *Thuanus . . . does not ſpare the conſtable de Montmorency.*] I ſhall ſet down his own words, which are more energical than a tranſlation would be. *Hæc violenta & acerba regni initia, ſub miti & moderato principe & qui alieno potius quam ſuo ingenio uteretur, facile Miniſtris tributa ſunt, ſed præcipue Dianæ Pictavienſi ſuperbi & impotentis animi feminæ, apud quam plurimum gratia valebant Lotharingi fratres & Santandreanus. . . . . Hujus feminæ arbitrio omnia regebantur, & Momorantius ipſe ut auctoritatem & potentiam quam apud regem obtinebat incolumem tueretur morem gerere & prudentiam ad turpe obſequium flectere ſatagebat, peſſimo exemplo ſummi imperii ad impotentis feminæ libidinem proſtituti, quæ poſtremo ut jam in homines ſic & in ærarium quod hominibus imperat poteſtatem arripuit, expulſo Joanne Vallo ſanctioris ærarii quæſtore, & in ejus locum ſuffecto Blondo Rupicuriano homine ſuo* (62). He mentions afterwards many other extortions which that blood-ſucker made uſe of to ſatisfy her avarice (63). Mezerai obſerves, that the king *changed immediately the whole face of the court to pleaſe that crafty woman* (64).

(62) Thuan. Hiſtor. *lib. iii, pag.* 58.

(63) See Lewis de Reinier Sieur de la Planche, in his Hiſt. of Francis II, *pag.* 14.

(64) Hiſtoire de France, *Tom. ii, pag.* 1058, *ad ann.* 1547.

[O] *Mezerai did not act the part of a flatterer.*] Speaking of the poſture of affairs after the death of Henry II, he expreſſes himſelf thus. 'The ducheſs 'of Valentinois made no long ſtay at court after Bertrandi, *keeper of the ſeals*: ſhe was turned out when 'Oliver came in, whom ſhe had expelled, and ſhe 'was ſhamefully obliged to reſtore the keys of the 'king's cloſet, and the jewels of the royal family, 'which were given to the queen-regent. However, 'this was not done to pleaſe Oliver, but to ſatisfy the 'juſt reſentment of Catherine, who could no longer ſuffer, without diſgracing herſelf, a woman who had 'for ſo many years robbed her of the king's affection. 'We may gueſs that this princeſs did not let her go 'without reproachful and injurious words. The duke 'd'Aumale, her ſon-in-law, obtained that ſhe ſhould 'not receive a worſe uſage, and that ſhe ſhould keep 'the vaſt wealth ſhe had got by the forfeited eſtates 'of criminals, the ſale of benefices, and by other 'unlawful means, becauſe ſhe promiſed to make him 'her only heir. But ſhe was forced to give the queen-'mother her fine ſeat of Chenonceaux upon the Cher '(65).' This is a mollified extract out of La Planche (66).

(65) Ibid. *Tom. iii, pag.* 6.

[P] *I ſhall examine what ſome ſay, that her virginity ſaved her father's life, and produce dates which will compoſe the differences of ſome Hiſtorians.*] I have been informed by Mr d'Hozier, that ſhe married the great ſeneſchal of Normandy on the twenty-ninth of March 1514. And therefore Mezerai advances a great falſity, when he ſays, that the king ſent St Vallier's pardon, *after he had got from his daughter Diana, who was then fourteen years of age, the moſt precious thing ſhe had* (67). Doubtleſs he means, that ſhe granted her virginity to Francis I, he is therefore miſtaken in two things: he did not know that ſhe was at leaſt twenty years of age in 1523, and that ſhe had been married eight or nine years. It is plain, his words are only a paraphraſe upon thoſe of La Planche, which I have quoted (68). He gives the following judgment about that Hiſtorian. *Regnier de la Planche*, ſays he (69), *was the ſon of the lieutenant-general of Poitiers, a cunning man, and of a quick wit, but malicious, and imbued with Calvin's opinions, and beſides, a confident of the Marſhal de Montmorency, and conſequently an enemy to the Guiſes.* It is no wonder if a man ſo qualified, did not enquire whether our Diana had been married a long time, when ſhe ſaved her father's life. Thoſe, who find a myſtery in the leaſt things, fancy that it was not without reaſon that Francis I. expreſſed himſelf thus in the pardon he granted to St Vallier. *Whereas our dear and truſty couſin, counſellor and chamberlain, the count de Maulevrier, great Seneſchal of Normandy, and the friends and relations of John de Poitiers, Sieur de St Vallier, have moſt humbly ſupplicated and intreated us to take pity on the ſaid de Poitiers, Sieur de St Vallier,* &c. Care was taken, ſay thoſe ſpeculative men, not to mention the affinity that was between the great Seneſchal and the criminal, and not to ſay, that he interceded for his wife's father; leſt it ſhould occaſion ſome ſuſpicions and ſlanders, conſidering the youth and beauty of the lady, who begged her father's life. But laying aſide theſe vain ſubtilties, I ſhall conſider Varillas's remark. He has not *found*, he ſays (70), *any Catholic who mentions that inceſt: the Catholics have been as careful to ſay nothing of it, as the Calviniſts have been paſſionate in their accounts of it.* He only mentions the writers of that time, *whoſe works make up thirty-ſeven volumes.* I wiſh I had the time to examine whether there were any books great or ſmall written by the Catholics in the reign of Francis I, or in that of Henry II, which mentioned this reaſon for the pardon granted to St Vallier; and I deſire all thoſe to inquire into the matter, who are able to do it, and may be any ways concerned in it. However, Varillas cannot deny, that in the XVIIth century the Catholic writers tell us, that Francis I. was in love with Diana de Poitiers. Mr le Laboureur does not deny it (71). Mezerai ſpeaks of it more clearly than la Planche; and I have quoted a modern author, who never was a Proteſtant, and who confirms what is to be found in the books they call the Huguenot's libels. I have ſet down his words (72), but I have not obſerved that he falſely ſays, that young *Diana was admitted into the ſervice of queen Claudia, as a maid*

(66) *Pag.* 15, 16, *of the book,* intituled, Hiſtoire de l'eſtat de France, tant de la Republique que de la Religion, ſous le regne de François II.

(67) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. *Tom. iv, pag.* 520, *ad ann.* 1523.

(68) In the remark [H], citation (41).

(69) Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, *Tom. iii, pag.* 26.

(70) Above, remark [F], citation (23).

(71) See the remark [F].

(72) Above, citation (6).

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What has been said in a book printed at Basil in the year 1698, that the duke of Guise intended to marry Diana de Poitiers, is not true [Q]. It is one of those mistakes so common in conversation: those who have the best memory, do sometimes mistake one time for another, the father for the son, and the daughter for the mother &c.

maid of honour. That queen was the daughter of Lewis XII, she married Francis I. on the 14th of May 1514, and was not a queen till the month of January following. But Diana married Lewis de Brezé on the 29th of March 1514, and therefore she was not maid of honour to queen Claudia. A friend of mine (73) has been pleased to acquaint me, that she lost her husband in 1531, and that she erected to him a stately monument in the Church of Nostre-Dame at Rouen; that she died in 1566, at the age of sixty-six years and twenty-seven days, and that she lies buried at Anet. Besides, Hilarion de Coste (74) observes, that she died on the 26th of April 1566. The result of all which is, that she was born on the 31st of March 1500, and that the duchess d'Etampes was ridiculous in making herself so young, in comparison of her rival. This will give me occasion to rectify the want of exactness in the passages above-mentioned, concerning the age of the duchess of Valentinois.

(73) Mr Jannicon, Advocate to the king's council at Paris.

(74) Eloges des Dames illustres, *Tom. i, p.* 519.

The Minime I have quoted, does plainly enough intimate the incest. I shall set down his words somewhat at large, which contain some particulars belonging to this article. 'After the death of Lewis de 'Brezé, her husband, king Henry II, who was very 'much in love with her, gave her the title of duchess 'of Valentinois, which she enjoyed till the day on 'which she died, which was the 26th of April 1566, 'and she was buried in the fine chapel that she had 'built in her castle of Anet, (which the Poets of her 'time called Dianet) after she had divided her estate 'between her second daughter Louisa, duchess d'Aumale, and the children of the eldest. She ordered 'by her last-will, that if she died at Paris, her corps 'should be carried first to the church of the Filles Penitentes, and from thence to Anet, and she shewed 'her great aversion for the pretended reformed religion. The devices of Diana, duchess of Valentinois, 'were more proper for Diana, dutchess of Angoulesme. 'The first was a dart or an arrow, (the symbol of the 'arms of chast Diana, goddess of hunting) with this 'motto upon a ribbon that went round the dart, 'CONSEQUITUR QUODCUMQUE PETIT, -- 'She obtains whatever she asks. She designed to express by this device, how much she was in favour 'with Henry II, and the great ascendant she had over 'that prince, who could not deny her any thing, 'and likewise over all the great men of this kingdom, and Francis I, having obtained from him a pardon for her father the lord de St Vallier, who, by 'that king's order, had been taken up, and condemned to be beheaded, for favouring the retreat of Charles, duke of Bourbon, out of the kingdom. The 'sentence was not executed upon him; his majesty 'having sent him his pardon at the request of that 'lady (75). . . . . Diana de Poitiers had also another 'device, *viz.* a tomb, out of which sprung an arrow, 'surrounded with some boughs and shoots of a green 'tree, with this motto, SOLA VIVIT IN ILLO, '--- *She alone lives in it*, meaning, that the only 'hope of a resurrection makes us live in the lowest 'part of our graves. This fine device, and the third, 'which was a Diana triumphing over Cupid, whom 'she had thrown down, and put under her feet, with 'this Latin inscription, * OMNIUM VICTOREM 'VICI, - - - - *I have vanquished the vanquisher of 'all*, were not actually practised by Diana duchess 'of Valentinois, but by Diana, duchess of Angou'lesme (76).' Note, That all the authors I have quoted, misrepresent the favour obtained for St Vallier: it was not so great as it is thought; the punishment of death was only changed into that of a perpetual and very severe imprisonment. The pardon was expressed in these words (77): *We make it known that for those causes, and considering the said services, and particularly that which the said great Seneschal has done us* (78); *as it has been said we have with our certain knowledge, full power and royal authority, changed, and do change, the punishment of death into that hereafter mentioned. That is to say, the said de Poitiers shall be shut up for life between four stone walls, built above and underneath, having but one little window to give him meat and drink. In all other things the contents of the sentence pronounced against him shall remain in their full force, and be entirely executed.* If one should infer from thence, that what is said of Diana's favours bestowed upon Francis I, is false, he might be told that the king caused a supersedeas to be immediately drawn up, wherein he ordered the parliament *to keep the said St Vallier where he was* (79), till he should give further orders about it. Besides, Pasquier may be quoted, who was persuaded that *if death had not prevented it, St Vallier would have been restored in time to all his honours* (80). If it be further said, that the crime of that prisoner was one of those, that least deserve a pardon, one may answer, that the last favour granted by his daughter, was paid for to it's full value; for her father was involved in a plot, wherein the king was personally concerned. It is what the king declares in his pardon (81).

(75) Hilarion de Coste, ibid.

* In the cabinet of medals of the library of the Minimes in the *Place Royale*.

(76) Hilarion de Coste, ib. *p.* 520.

(77) *See the* Recueil de divers Mémoires, *printed at Paris in* 1623, *pag.* 58.

(78) A priest having told him that two gentlemen of Normandy had confessed to him, that they were guilty of a state-crime, he gave notice of it to the court, and took the depositions of the two gentlemen.

(79) That is, in the prison of the parliament at Paris.

(80) Pasquier, Recherches de la France, *book viii, cap. xxxix, pag. m.* 741.

(81) The said great seneschal . . has discovered to us the plots formed against our person, our children, and our kingdom. *Recueil de Mémoires*, *pag.* 58.

[Q] *What has been said . . . . that the duke of Guise designed to marry Diana de Poitiers is not true.*] I find in the second volume (82) of the *Melange Critique de Literature, That the duchess of Valentinois occasioned the difference between admiral de Coligny and the duke of Guise, which produced afterwards such prodigious and dismal effects. Those two lords playing one day at tennis, the admiral told the duke of Guise, that he* wondered a wise man, and one of his quality should be willing to marry a whore, *meaning that duchess: the duke of Guise, who loved her, was offended at his discourse, hated him, and declared himself his enemy, and endeavoured to undo him. So that* the whore, *as the admiral called her, or the quarrel that happened upon her account, did, perhaps, contribute more to the Paris-massacre than religion, which in all likelihood was only a pretence for it. Perhaps, this Herodias asked the admiral's head . . . .* (83). *I believe this quarrel did very much contribute to the massacre. What confirms me in this opinion is, that since the massacre, the duke of Guise, as several Historians agree, was often heard to say, that they had done more than he desired, and that he designed a mischief to no body but the admiral.* The author of these words supposes, that the same duke of Guise, who had a mind to marry Diana de Poitiers, had frequently declared, that the Paris-massacre had been carried farther than he intended. Which is to confound the father and the son; for the duke of Guise, who is here said to have been in love with Diana, had been dead above nine years at the time of the massacre. But the greatest mistake lies in saying, that the duke of Guise, who had been the admiral's intimate friend, fell in love with the duchess of Valentinois, *&c.* than which nothing can be more false. Here is what has occasioned that mistake. The admiral advised against marrying the duchess's daughter; which was taken as if he designed to prevent the elevation of the Guises, and it was one of the reasons why those two friends became enemies. Here follows a passage out of an author of that time. 'The first cause of the late 'duke of Guise's enmity was this. The late duke of 'Guise, your father (84), was desirous that the duke 'd'Aumale should marry the second daughter of the 'duchess of Valentinois, to bring your house into 'credit. The duke of Guise, your brother, was against that marriage, but durst not openly oppose 'it, for fear of displeasing king Henry. Whereupon 'he applied himself to the admiral, as being his particular friend, desiring him to advise him what answer he should make when they should speak to 'him about it, adding, not without shedding many 'tears, that he would never consent to it upon any 'terms whatsoever. The admiral being willing to 'ease his grief, did his best towards it, and after 'some discourse on both sides, his conclusion was, 'that it were better to have an inch of authority with 'honour, than a fathom without honour, and then 'they parted. But the duke of Guise was so far 'from approving that advice, which at first he was 'obstinately resolved to follow, that in order to exasperate king Henry against the admiral, he told the 'marshal de Vieille-ville, who was their common 'friend, that he could never have believed that the 'admiral designed to prevent his advancement, by 'advising him against such a marriage (85).'

(82) Pag. 113.

(83) Ib. *p.* 114.

(84) These words are spoken to Cardinal de Lorraine.

(85) Reponse à l'Epistre de Charles de Vendemont Cardinal de Lorraine . . maintenant Duc de Guise . . ple Gentilhomme de Hainault. *Printed in* 1566. *See also Brantome's Memoirs, Tom. ii. pag.* m. 146, *where he endeavours to clear the admiral de Chastillon*

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It was the more neceſſary to rectify this, becauſe ſome learned perſons might have been deceived by it, and looked upon it as a curious and ſecret piece of Hiſtory, concerning the cauſes of the Paris-maſſacre. The learned Journaliſts of Leipſic (86), who have given an extract of the *Mélange Critique de Literature*, took what has been ſaid above concerning admiral de Coligny, and the duke of Guiſe, who was in love with our Diana, &c. as a very remarkable particular. One can never be too careful in preventing ſome readers from being impoſed upon.

(86) *See the* Acta Eruditorum, *for June* 1698, *pag. m.* 293, 294.

POLYDAMUS (VALENTINUS) an Italian Phyſician, in the XVIth century, publiſhed not only ſome books of Phyſic (*a*), but alſo an Hiſtory, of which Bembus ſpeaks with contempt (*b*).

(*a*) *See* Lindenius renovatus, *pag.* 1033. (*b*) Petrus Bembus, Epiſt. LVI, *lib. vi, dated the firſt of March* 1535.

POLYÆNUS, a Greek author of a Collection of Stratagems [*A*], was born in Macedonia. He dedicated that work to the emperors Antoninus and Verus, when they were engaged in a war with the Parthians. He was then a very old man, and he told them, that if it had not been for his great age, he would willingly have ſerved upon ſuch an occaſion, but that inſtead of his ſervice he would preſent them with ſomething warlike, viz. the ſtratagems made uſe of by the ancients. I do not know whether Caſaubon had a better authority than this, to maintain that Polyænus was a ſoldier as well as a gown-man (*a*); but if he had none but this, I think he does not go upon very good grounds. What he ſays that Polyænus was an Orator and an Advocate is more certain, for Suidas calls him a Rhetorician. Suidas may be likewiſe produced, to ſhew that Polyænus was a military man; for he aſcribes to him not only a book concerning the taking of Thebes, but alſo three books of Tactics, or of the art of drawing up an army in Battalia. Yet this is no abſolute proof that a man was a ſoldier. Is it not an uſual thing for ſeveral people to write upon a ſubject, though they have only the theory of it? Suidas mentions one POLYÆNUS a ſophiſt, a native of Sardis, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar [*B*], and who publiſhed ſome pleadings, and three books of the Parthian Triumph, &c. There is a third POLYÆNUS, an Athenian, quoted in Euſebius's chronicle (*b*). I cannot tell who he was. Scaliger himſelf knew nothing of him (*c*). Cicero (*d*) ſpeaks of one POLYÆNUS, who was accounted a great Mathematician, but having afterwards embraced the opinions of Epicurus, he maintained that all Geometry was falſe.

(*a*) Polyænus ſcriptor antiquus, elegans, acutus, eruditus & quod ad rem facit haud quaquam ἀτεριςάλτιγκτος, ſed qui utramque militiam (agatam inquam & togatam) ſecutus eſt. *Caſaub. Epiſt. Dedicat. Polyæn.*

(*b*) Euſeb. Chron. *lib. i*, apud Voſſium, de Hiſtor. Græcis, *pag.* 404.

(*c*) Notis in eum locum Euſebii apud Voſſium, ibid.

(*d*) Academ. Quæſt. *lib. ii.*

[*A*] *Author of a Collection of Stratagems.*] It is divided into eight books. Caſaubon is the firſt who publiſhed it in Greek. He publiſhed it in the year 1589 with notes, and the Latin tranſlation of Juſtus Vulteius, which had been printed in 1550. There is a better and more correct edition of it ſince the year 1690, publiſhed by Pancratius Maaſvicius, principal of a college at Delft.

(1) De Hiſtor. Græc. *pag.* 227. *See alſo pag.* 480.

[*B*] *One Polyænus a Sophiſt . . . who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar.*] Voſſius (1) makes Suidas ſay, that this Sophiſt lived under Caligula. Moreri and Konig place him under the ſame emperor; but it is certain that Suidas places him under Julius Cæſar, ἐπὶ τῶ πρώτυ Καίσαρος Ταίυ. According to Charles Stephens, he lived in Cæſar's and Mark Antony's time, and this author will have it, that the triumph mentioned by Suidas was that which Mark Antony obtained over the Parthians: but he ſhould have ſaid, that it was Ventidius's triumph (2).

(2) Plut. in Antonio, & Valerius Maximus, *lib. vi, cap. x, mention Ventidius's triumph.*

POLITIAN (ANGELO), in Latin *Politianus*, was born at Monte Pulciano (*a*) in Tuſcany, the fourteenth of July 1454. He was one of the moſt learned and polite writers of his age [*A*]. He learned the Greek tongue under Andronicus of Theſſalonica, and made a great progreſs in it (*b*). It is ſaid that he was bred up a ſcholar with Marſilius Ficinus, at the charges of Coſmo de Medicis [*B*]. The firſt work that procured him reputation, was a Poem upon the tournament of Julian de Medicis [*C*]. Every body owned

(*a*) *In Latin* Mons Politianus.

(*b*) Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Latin. *pag.* 628.

(1) *Sir Thomas-Pope Blount*, Cenſura Author. *pag.* 357.

(2) Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Critiq. Gramm. *num.* 315. Jugemens ſur les Traduct. Lat. *num.* 817; *and in the* Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *num.* 1227.

(3) Barthius, Adverſ. *lib. xlvii, cap. v.*

(4) Boiſſard. in Iconib. apud Blount, ubi ſupra.

(5) Varillas, Anecdot. de Florence, *pag.* 193.

(6) Bullart. Academ. des Scienc. *Tom. i, p.* 277.

(7) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Italiæ, *p. m.* 89.

[*A*] *He was one of the moſt learned and polite writers of his age.*] The learned are a little divided in their opinions about Politian's merit, and perhaps, no author was ever more unanimouſly praiſed. The two Scaligers have beſtowed great encomiums upon him, which is no ſmall glory to him. This, and ſeveral other paſſages in his praiſe, may be ſeen in Sir Thomas-Pope Blount (1). You may alſo conſult Mr Baillet (2), and Barthius (3), and Mr Crenius in the preface which he has prefixed to the new edition of the *Hellenifmus* of Caninius, printed at Leyden in the year 1700.

[*B*] *It is ſaid that he was bred up a ſcholar . . . . at the charges of Coſmo de Medicis.*] I ſhall quote Boiſſard for it. *Is ſumptu*, ſays he (4), *& promotione Coſmi Florentinorum principis, cum Marſilio Ficino bonis literis inſtitutus eſt.* I do not know from whence Varillas had the following circumſtances. 'He was a 'native of Florence, and his parents were ſo poor, 'that he was obliged to wait upon Julian and Laurence de Medicis, when they went to ſchool, and 'to carry their books, that he might make uſe of 'them (5).' It is not true that Politian was a native of Florence, as Varillas and Bullart (6) affirm: he was born at Monte Pulciano (7). Obſerve, 1. That Coſmo de Medicis died in the year 1464, and therefore Politian could not have enjoyed the favours of ſuch a patron but till he was ten years of age. 2. That Marſilius Ficinus was a grown man when Coſmo died; and therefore Boiſſard expreſſes himſelf very ill. Politian ſays, in one of his books, that being very young (8) he ſtudied the Platonic Philoſophy under Marſilius Ficinus, and that of Ariſtotle under Argyropylus.

(8) Tenera adhuc ætate. *Politi. in fine Miſcellan.*

[*C*] *The firſt work that procured him reputation, was a poem upon the tournament of Julian de Medicis.*] Let us quote Paul Jovius: 'Politianus à prima ſtatim juventa 'admirabilis ingenii nomen adeptus eſt; quum novo, 'illuſtrique poëmate Juliani Medicis equeſtres ludos 'celebraſſet, Luca Pulcio, nobili poëta omnium conſeſſione ſuperato, qui Laurentii fratris ludicrum 'equeſtris pugnæ ſpectaculum, iiſdem modis, & numeris decantarat (9). - - - - *Politian had the reputation of an admirable genius from his very youth, having writ a new and celebrated poem upon the tournament of Julian de Medicis, wherein he is confeſſed by all to have out-done the famous Poet Luke Pulci, who had compoſed a poem of the like nature on the tournament of Laurence de Medicis, Julian's brother.*' Theſe words intimate, that Pulci's poem was compoſed before that of Politian; and what confirms it is, that Julian de Medicis was Laurence's younger brother. Baillet and Varillas

(9) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xxxviii, pag.* 88.

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owned that he had better ſucceſs than Luke Pulci, an illuſtrious Poet, who likewiſe wrote a poem on the tournament of Laurence de Medicis, Julian's brother. The Hiſtory of the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, which he wrote ſome time after, was wonderfully cried up (*c*); and being made profeſſor of the Greek and Latin tongues at Florence, he acquired ſo much glory by it, that the ſcholars left Demetrius Chalcondylas, who was a native of Greece [*D*], and a very learned man; but his lectures, if compared with thoſe of Politian, were dry and barren. Politian's reputation increaſed more and more, when he publiſhed his Latin verſion of Herodian, his *Miſcellanea*, and his Latin poems. Had he lived longer, he would have enriched the commonwealth of learning with ſeveral excellent compoſures (*d*); but he died at forty years of age in 1494 [*E*]. If

(*c*) Taken from Paul Jovius, *Elog. cap. xxxviii.*

(*d*) See the preface of his works written by Aldus Manutius. You will find ſome paſſages out of it in Geſner's *Bibliotheque, fol.* 45.

Varillas underſtood thoſe words in the ſame ſenſe. 'Julian de Medicis won the prize at the tournament, 'and was deſirous to get a paranymph not inferior to 'Luke Pulci, who had ſignalized himſelf upon ſuch 'an occaſion, in the praiſe of Laurence de Medicis. 'Politian undertook it, and as he perceived that Pulci's 'poem was not all of the ſame force . . . . he ſtole 'the fineſt thoughts of the ancient panegyrics . . . 'and made ſo fine a piece, that after he had read it, 'Pulci had a mind to ſuppreſs his out of ſhame and 'vexation (10).' Baillet relates the ſame thing in different terms (11). But if we may believe the ſame Jovius in a book wherein he ſpeaks more largely of thoſe two tournaments, that of Laurence was celebrated after that of Julian, and Pulci made his poem after he had ſeen that of Politian (12). 'Ejus glorioſi laboris 'præmium fuit triumphus Politiani divini poëtæ car- 'minibus celebratus. Nec MULTO POST Laurentius 'ut fraternis laudibus æquaretur, novum ſpectaculum 'periculoſiſſimæ pugnæ edidit. . . . . Hujus quoque 'ſpecioſiſſimi certaminis memoriam Pulcius (13) ipſe 'Politiani æmulus perjucundo edito poëmate ſempiter- 'nam fecit. - - - - *This glorious triumph was celebrated 'by the divine Poet Politian. Not long after Laurence, 'that he might not fall ſhort of his brother's praiſe, ſet 'forth a new ſpectacle of a dangerous fight. . . . . The 'memory of this ſpecious tournament was likewiſe made 'immortal by a very pretty poem of Pulci, the rival of 'Politian.*' I do not know that this author ever ſaid that Pulci was ſo aſhamed and vexed, that he had a mind to ſuppreſs his poem. It might very well be an invention of Varillas, as well as the pretended method that Politian pitched upon to out-do a work that was not yet in being.

(10) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, *pag.* 194.

(11) Baillet, Enfans celebres, *ch. xxvii.*

(12) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, *lib. i, pag. m.* 15.

(13) Some lines before he calls him *Aloyſius Pulcius*. In his *Elogia* he calls him *Luke*. There were at that time three brothers at Florence, who were good Poets, Luke, Lewis, and Bernard Pulci.

[*D*] *The ſcholars left Demetrius Chalcondylas, who was a native of Greece.*] I find this particular in Jovius: *Tantos de ſe excitavit clamores favente juventute ut Demetrius Chalcondyles vir Græcus præſtantique doctrina, uti aridus atque jejunus à Diſcipulis deſereretur* (14). Here is an inſtance of the exorbitant liberty that Varillas took in his paraphraſes. 'When Argyropylus, 'ſays he (15), left his Greek Profeſſorſhip at Florence, 'Politian took poſſeſſion of it. Being a man of won- 'derful parts, and leaving nothing unattempted to 'ſucceed in his deſigns, he ſo pleaſed his hearers that 'he excluded all the Greeks who contended for that 'place. Chalcondylas, notwithſtanding his great hu- 'mility, and the little care he took of his own glory, 'could not brook the affront that was put upon his 'countrymen. He uſed his intereſt with Laurence de 'Medicis, who deſigned that he ſhould teach his chil- 'dren the Greek tongue, and obtained leave to read 'lectures in competition, and at the ſame time with 'Politian, to ſhew which of the two ſhould have more 'hearers. But Chalcondylas's harſh accent, which 'he could never leave off, and his difficulty to pro- 'nounce ſome Latin words, made him contemptible 'in compariſon of Politian, whoſe agreeable tone, 'and handſome expreſſions, charmed every body. 'Laurence de Medicis, who deſired by all means that 'Chalcondylas ſhould ſtay at Florence, was obliged 'to procure him ſome ſcholars, and endeavoured to 'perſuade Politian to be more civil to him. He un- 'dertook ſeveral times to reconcile them, but he 'found by his own experience, that it was more eaſy 'to reſtore peace to Italy, than ſettle it between two 'learned men. However, he prevented an open 'rupture between them during his life.' This nar- rative is grounded upon the following words of Jovius: 'Demetrius Chalcondyles . . . . . ſcholam 'Florentiæ inſtauravit, deſertam ab Argyropylo, & 'à Politiano deficientibus Græcis occupatam; ſed 'ambitioſo, peracrique æmulo, multis bonis, maliſ- 'que artibus ſuggeſtus locum, & nomen defendenti 'Demetrius ceſſit; Latina præſertim facundia infe- 'rior, & ob id rareſcente auditorio à juventute deſti- 'tutus, quandoquidem vel apprimè doctus, facilè jeju- 'nus, & hebes, laſcivis & delicatis auribus videri po- 'terat: quibus Politiani decantantis, & varios ſpar- 'gentis flores, jucunda argutaque vox, & ſalſa comi- 'tas mira dulcedine placuiſſet. Sed manſit Demetrio 'honeſtus gratiæ locus apud Laurentium, vel infeſto, '& oblique ſemper inceſſente Politiano, qui quum 'neminem è Latinis ſibi parem pateretur, Græcis 'ipſis eruditior exiſtimari volebat. Diviſit idcirco 'munera Laurentius, ut æmulationis lites dirimeret, '& filii præceptorum contentione ad diſcendum ac- 'cenderentur (16). - - - - *Demetrius Chalcondylas . . . 'at Florence, adorned the ſchools which Argyropylus had 'left, and which Politian, the Greek profeſſors failing, 'had got poſſeſſion of; but he was forced to yield to his 'active and ambitious rival, who ſupported his place 'and reputation by many good as well as by many evil 'arts, eſpecially ſince Demetrius was far ſhort of the 'other in his knowledge of the Latin-tongue, for which 'reaſon chiefly he was deſerted by his ſcholars, becauſe 'notwithſtanding his great learning he ſeemed barren and 'inſipid to wanton and delicate ears; whereas Politian 'pleaſed them beyond meaſure by the variety of his rhe- 'torical flowers, by his ſweet and ſonorous voice, and by 'his polite and engaging behaviour. Nevertheleſs, De- 'metrius ſtill preſerved the favour of Laurence de Medi- 'cis, in ſpite of the malicious and underhand attacks of 'Politian, who, as he could bear no rival among the 'Latins, ſo he wanted to be thought more learned than 'the Greeks themſelves. Laurence therefore divided their 'offices, that he might put an end to their quarrels ariſing 'from emulation, and that the earneſt pains of two con- 'tending maſters might prove a ſpur to the application of 'his children.*' The reader will not find in this paſ- ſage, that Politian excluded all the Greeks who under- took to diſpute the chair, nor that Chalcondylas looked upon it as an intolerable affront, nor that Lau- rence de Medicis procured him ſome hearers. The laſt period of Jovius ſeems to be obſcure; the mean- ing of it is, that Laurence divided that employment to compoſe the differences ariſing from emulation, and to excite in his children a greater deſire of ſtudying, by the diſputes of their maſters. Methinks thoſe two motives are hardly conſiſtent. Mr Bullart ſays, that *Chalcondylas was forced to reſign* his place *to Politian, who diſpoſſeſſed him of it by his intrigues and artifices*, and that Laurence de Medicis *gave them different em- ployments to . . . . remove the cauſe of ſuch a troubleſome emulation* (17).

(14) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. *cap. xxxviii, pag. m.* 88.

(15) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, *pag.* 179, 180.

(16) Paul. Jovius, Elog. *cap. xxix, pag. m.* 69.

(17) Bullart. Academ. des Scienc. *Tom. i, pag.* 281.

[*E*] *He died at forty years of age, in* 1494.] It was at Florence on the 24th of September (18). Volater- ran is more exact in his computation than Jovius: the latter will have it that he had entered into his forty- fourth year (19); the other ſays, he was only forty years of age (20). Several authors are miſtaken, as to the time of his death, which they place in 1509. Eber (21) and Reuſnerus (22) do ſo, as Voſſius ob- ſerves. Nathan Chytræus mentions this epitaph of Politian, as having been tranſcribed in St Mark's church at Florence:

Politianus in hoc tumulo jacet Angelus, unum
Qui caput & linguas, res nova, tres habuit.

Obiit an. 1509, Septemb. 24.

Here lies Politian, who, things ſtrange indeed,
Had, when alive, three tongues, and but one head.

He died the 24th of September, 1509.

(18) Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Lat. *pag.* 629.

(19) Vix quadrageſimum quartum ætatis annum attigerat. Jovius, *Elog. cap. xxxviii, pag.* 89.

(20) Deceſſit quadragenarius. *Volater. lib. xxi, p.* 777. *See a paſſage of Marſilius Ficinus, in* Voſſius, *ubi ſupra.*

(21) In Faſtis apud Voſſium, *ubi ſupra.*

(22) In Dario Hiſtorico, *apud eumd. ibid.*

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If what is reported to have occaſioned his death was true [*F*], one might ſay, that his morals were more anſwerable to the uglineſs of his face, than to the beauty of his wit [*G*]. Some of his poems were ſo much admired, that ſeveral learned men made it their buſineſs to comment upon them [*H*]. I muſt not forget that he was a prieſt and canon of Florence (*e*), and preceptor to the children of Laurence de Medicis

(*e*) See the remark [*I*].

This we find in the 110th page of the *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciæ*, collected by Nathan Chytræus, in the ſecond edition of the year 1599, *apud Chriſtophorum Corvinum in 8vo*; but Father Mabillon affirms, that there is no epitaph on Politian's tomb (23). What he further ſays does not differ from Chytræus, and he places that tomb in St Mark's church at Florence, and Politian's death in the year 1509, as does alſo St Romauld (24). Voſſius has ſolidly confuted this date; he alledges a proof grounded upon this, viz. that John Picus Mirandula, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Politian died in the ſame year. Palmerius's Continuator affirms it; and we have a letter of Marſilius Ficinus, wherein Politian's death is lamented, as having quickly followed that of John Picus. Now every body owns that John Picus died in 1494. Theſe are Voſſius's proofs; to which I add, that Peter Crinitus, a diſciple of Politian, ſays, that the three learned men abovementioned died the ſame year that Charles VIII made an irruption into Italy (25), which plainly denotes the year 1494.

(23) Mabill. in Muſeo Ital. *Tom. i, p.* 178.

(24) Peter de St Romuald, Abregé Chronol. *Tom. iii, p. m.* 262, *ad ann.* 1509.

(25) Crinitus de honeſta Diſcipl. *lib. xv, cap. ix.*

[*F*] *If what was ſaid to have occaſioned his death was true.*] I will make uſe of Varillas's words (26): 'Death 'ſurprized him at forty-two (27) years of age. Not being 'able to ſatisfy the unchaſte love he had conceived for 'one of his ſcholars, who was a youth of quality, he fell 'into a fever, and in the violence of the fit he made 'a ſong for the beloved object, got out of his bed, 'took his lute, and fell a ſinging ſuch a moving and 'doleful tune, that he expired as he was ending the 'ſecond couplet, the ſame day (28) that Charles VIII 'croſſed the Alps in order to conquer Naples.' Thus Varillas has been pleaſed to tranſlate this paſſage of Jovius: *Ferunt eum ingenui adoleſcentis inſano amore percitum, facilè in letalem morbum incidiſſe. Correpta enim cithara, quum eo incendio, & rapida febre torreretur, ſupremi furoris carmina decantavit; ita, ut mox deliran-tem, vox ipſa, & digitorum nervi, & vitalis denique ſpiritus, inverecunda urgente morte deſererent* (29). Some ſay, not being able to reſiſt the violence of his love, he daſhed his head againſt a wall (30). Another author gives a different account of the death of this learned man. 'His death, *ſays he*, was not very edi-'fying. Mr Balzac ſpeaks of it in the following man-'ner: We are now certainly informed of the circum-'ſtances of Politian's death, which have been diſ-'guiſed by cardinal Bembo in his epitaph upon him. 'As he was ſinging upon a lute, at the top of a ſtair-'caſe, a ſong which he had formerly made for a young 'woman, with whom he was in love, when he came 'to ſome verſes that were very moving, his lute fell 'from his hands, and he himſelf fell down ſtairs and 'broke his neck. That cardinal ſaid in his epitaph, that 'he died as he was ſinging ſome mournful verſes 'upon the death of Alexander duke of Florence, who 'had been wickedly killed by his couſin (31).' There is a groſs falſity in theſe words; for this Alexander duke of Florence, was killed forty-three years after Politian's death. The epitaph (32) upon the latter, made by Peter Bembo, imports, that he died as he was ſinging ſome doleful verſes on the death of Laurence de Medicis. Bullart advances a falſity, when he makes cardinal Bembo ſay, that *Politian fell down ſtairs as he was ſinging upon his lute an elegy he had made on the death of Laurence de Medicis* (33). The verſes of that cardinal, mentioned by him, ſay nothing of that kind. What does an author dream of, when he alledges a paſſage that is plainly againſt him? It is to be obſerved that ſome ſay, that the ſtory mentioned by Jovius is a meer calumny. Read theſe fine words of Pierius Valerianus: 'Angelus Politianus, nullius ig-'narus eruditionis, & diſciplinæ, cùm in adverſa Me-'dicorum procerum tempora incidiſſet, inclinantibus 'jam Petri, quem ipſe literis inſtituerat, rebus, in eam 'incidit ægritudinem, ut in multis, & variis moleſtiis, 'cogitationibuſque conſolationem nullam admittere 'voluerit, atque ita demum dolore, mœſtitiaque con-'fectus expirarit. Quodque illi longè fuit infelicius 'conficta in eum turpitudinis fabula maledicentiſſimis 'obtrectationibus proſciſſus, calumniatuſque eſt, utque 'ea gens promptiſſima eſt ad inſimulandum in invi-'diam Petri ipſius ignominioſam aliam mortis volun-'tariæ cauſam univerſo terrarum orbi magna cum 'ejus infamia propalarunt (34). - - - *Politian, a man 'of univerſal erudition, was ſo concerned at the troubles 'of the houſe of Medicis, eſpecially when the affairs of 'Peter, whoſe preceptor he had been, began to be in a 'declining ſtate, that he contracted a very deep melan-'choly, which preyed upon him to ſuch a degree, that 'he would admit of no comfort in his many afflictions 'and uneaſy thoughts, and ſo died at length of pure grief 'and vexation. And which was a greater misfortune 'to him ſtill, his memory was aſperſed by a cruel and 'malicious ſtory which they coined upon him; and as that 'ſet of men bore no good will to Peter, they gave out, 'that there was another infamous cauſe of Politian's vo-'luntary death, which redounded very much to his pupil's 'diſhonour.*' According to this account, Politian died only of the grief he conceived for the decay of the houſe of Medicis. Philoſophers may cenſure this as a Phyſical, but not as a Moral defect.

(26) Varillas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 196.

(27) It ſhould be forty.

(28) This is not true. Charles VIII went over the Alps, before the 24th of September 1494.

(29) Jovius, Elog. *cap. xxxviii, p.* 89.

(30) Vulgo fertur obiiſſe Politianum fœdi amoris impatientia capite in parietem illiſo. *Voſſius, ubi ſupra, p.* 629.

(31) Peter de St Romuald, ubi ſupra, *p.* 262.

(32) *It is in* Jovius, ubi ſupra, *p.* 90, 91.

(33) Bullart, Academ. *Tom. i, p.* 278.

(34) Pierius Valerianus, de Litterator. Infelic. *lib. ii, p.* 70, 71.

[*G*] *One might ſay that his morals were more anſwerable to the uglineſs of his face, than to the beauty of his wit.*] It is likely that his great zeal for the houſe of Medicis expoſed him to horrid calumnies, whilſt the Florentines, fond of a Republican liberty, inſulted that family in their exile, and vented all ſorts of paſquinades. I will not therefore affirm, that Jovius's ſtory is well grounded; but I may boldly ſay, that Politian contracted a pride and envy, which learning is but too commonly attended with. We have ſeen (35), that in order to maintain himſelf againſt his rival, he indifferently made uſe of lawful and unlawful means. The following paſſage will diſcover to us his envy and preſumption. 'Erat diſtortis ſæpe moribus, uti facie 'nequaquam ingenua, & liberali, ab enormi præſer-'tim naſo, ſubluſcoque oculo perabſurda, ingenio au-'tem aſtuto, aculeato, occulteque livido, quum aliena 'ſemper irrideret, nec ſua, vel non iniquo judicio 'expungi pateretur (36). - - - - *His manners were 'awkward, his face, ungenteel, ugly, and remarkably 'deformed by a huge noſe and a ſquinting eye. His mind 'was crafty, ſatirical, and full of inward malice; for 'his cuſtom was to laugh at the productions of other men, 'and not to allow of any criticiſm, however juſt it was, 'upon his own.*' If you had rather have Varillas's paraphraſe upon theſe words, read what follows: 'He had a very ugly face, and a very large and long 'noſe; he ſquinted with his left eye, and was a pliant 'and nicely ambitious man. He uſed a great deal of 'art to diſguiſe himſelf, eſpecially with reſpect to 'thoſe whom he was moſt converſant with; he could 'not bear that any body ſhould be praiſed, and equally 'envied his friends and his enemies. He never liked 'the compoſures of other men, and hated to be ad-'viſed, tho' he was very troubleſome in adviſing 'others. It appeared ſometimes that he was ſenſible 'of his faults, and that he oppoſed truth meerly out 'of malice; and yet he never owned that he had been 'in a fault (37).'

(35) Above, citation (16).

(36) Jovius, ubi ſupra, *p.* 89.

(37) Varillas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 193.

[*H*] *Several learned men made it their buſineſs to comment upon his poems.*] Nicolas Beraldus wrote a commentary (38) upon Politian's Sylva, intituled, *Ruſticus*; and John Murmelius did the ſame. Francis Sanchez, profeſſor at Salamanca, a Grammarian, ſo much praiſed by Scioppius, publiſhed his notes in the year 1544, upon the four Sylvas of Politian. John Alexander Braſſicanus publiſhed a commentary at Nuremberg in 1538, upon that which is intituled *Nutricia*. Jodocus Badius added ſome notes of his own to Politian's works, which he publiſhed at Paris, in the year 1519, in folio. He likewiſe added to them the notes of Francis Sylvius upon Politian's epiſtles. Thoſe epiſtles were reprinted in quarto, for the ſame Badius, in the year 1526, with the ſame obſervations. Braſſicanus makes great complaints againſt a Plagiary. 'Meminit, *ſays 'he* (39), & Politianus in *Nutritiis*, ubi quidam nuga-'tor arrogantiſſimus noſtra ante nos dixit: Expungen-'dus jam & plane radendus è Philologiæ faſtis quo-'niam, ut Cicero dixit, maluit improbè tollere quàm 'humaniter

(38) *Printed at Baſil in the year* 1518. *See* Crenius, Animadv. Philol. *Part iii, p.* 55, *but inſtead of* Beroaldus, *read there* Beraldus.

(39) Jo. Alexander Braſſicanus, Schol. in Petronium.

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Medicis (*f*). He is said to have spoken of the Bible with great contempt [*I*], whereupon some make it a question, whether he ought not to be reckoned an Atheist [*K*]; but others justify him, by denying the fact (*g*). I could easily believe what we are told of the judgment he made on David's Psalms, and the Odes of Pindar [*L*]. He

(*f*) Volater. *lib. xxi, pag.* 777.

(*g*) See the remark [*I*].

'humaniter sumere & agnoscere. - - - - *Politian makes 'mention, in his* Nutritia, *of a certain insolent scribbler 'who published the sentiments of others before they had 'done so themselves. Such a fellow's name ought to be 'blotted out of the catalogue of learned men, because, as 'Cicero said, he rather chose to take impudently than to 'borrow with a good grace, and acknowledge it.*' This complaint seems to concern a man who stole manuscripts.

[*I*] *He is said to have spoken of the Bible with great contempt.*] Ludovicus Vives is, perhaps, the first who taxed him with it: *Angelus Politianus*, says he (40), *totam sacram lectionem asternabatur. - - - - treated the whole Scripture with contempt.* Melanchthon expresses the thing with greater energy; for he says, that Politian having read the Bible but once, complained, that he had never spent his time so ill. *Melanchthon ait semel solum sacras literas legisse, dixisseque nullum se tempus pejus collocasse* (41). Which has been repeated by a thousand writers (42). Vossius denies it as a thing little credible (43), and alledges two reasons for it: 1. That Politian was a priest and a canon of Florence. 2. That he preached a whole Lent, as appears from these words: 'Cum per hos quadrageſimæ proximos dies 'enarrandis populo sacris literis essem occupatus, per- 'legi tamen libros carminum tuorum quos mihi pro 'singulari humanitate tua mutuoque inter nos amore 'dedicaveras (44) - - - - *Though I was taken up in this 'Lent in preaching, nevertheless I found time to read 'over your books of poetry, which you were so good as to 'dedicate to me, on account of our mutual friendship.*' Some (45) think that the second reason alledged by Vossius, is a solid confutation of Melanchthon's passage; but others value neither of them. 'Hæc ratio 'nimis tenuis videbitur iis qui norunt quantopere 'Atheismus seu Epicureismus sive libertinismus grassetur 'inter Sacerdotes non tantum Canonicos & Mona- 'chos papales, sed etiam inter Prælatos, Cardinales, 'Pontifices (46). - - - - *This argument appears weak to 'those who know how much Atheism, Epicureism, and 'Libertinism, prevail among priests, not only monks, 'and canons, but likewise bishops, cardinals, and 'Popes.*' This is what Voëtius says against the first reason; and what he says against the second is contained in the following words: 'Quasi vero postillistæ 'coram populo istic concionantes ut plurimum absque 'lectione scripturæ, ex inspectis legendis, postillis, 'homiliariis, dormi secure, thesauris pauperum con- 'cionatorum & similibus myrotheciis prædicare non 'soleant. Prædicavit etiam aliquando coram populo 'Cæsar Atheorum Vaninus, quod tamen illum è nu- 'mero profanorum non eximit (47). - - - *As if these 'lecturers, holding forth to the people, generally without 'reading the Bible, were not used to take their discourses 'out of the legends, postils, homilies, the* dormi secure, *'the* thesauri pauperum concionatorum, *and the like 'collections. Vaninus himself, the prince of Atheists, 'preached sometimes before the people, which nevertheless 'did not hinder his being among the number of the 'profane.*' This author observes, that we must not think that Melanchthon and Mornai cried down Politian, being acted by a factious spirit; for, adds he, Gabriel Putherbeus, a passionate author against the Protestants, taxed Politian with the same thing (48). But it is fit the reader should know this Putherbeus did but transcribe Ludovicus Vives word for word, and that du Plessis Mornai alledged the testimony of the same Vives (49), and therefore these several evidences amount only to one.

Mr Crenius has lately imparted to the public the observations which his great reading afforded him concerning this particular. He does not think the reasons alledged by Vossius to be solid, and quotes some authorities, whereby it appears, that the preachers did not much mind the Bible at that time (50). What he quotes out of *Aristarchus Philosophicus* (51), a book little known in this country (52), is very curious. I have read in Manlius's Common-Places, taken most of them from Melanchthon's lectures, that it was not the Bible but the Breviary, of which Politian spoke with so much contempt. *Politianus Canonicus Florentinus interrogatus an legisset horas Canonicas? Dixit semel perlegi istum librum & nunquam pejus collocavi tempus* (53).

(40) Ludov. Vives, de Veritate Fid. Christ. *lib. ii, p.* 264, *Edit. Basil.* 1544.

(41) Vossius, de Poët. Lat. *p.* 80. *He quotes Tom. iii, declamationum, p.* 545.

(42) Mr Teissier, among others, in his Additions to the Elogies, *Tom. i, p.* 11, but instead of quoting Melanchthon, he quotes Vives, who does not say what he mentions.

(43) Vossius, ubi supra.

(44) Angelus Politianus, Epist. X, *lib. iv,* ad Joannem Gottium Ragusinum, *fol. m.* 106.

(45) Boxhor. in Monument. illustr. Viror. apud Pope Blount, Censor. Auth. *p.* 359. Boremans. Var. Lect. *p.* 126.

(46) Voët. Disp. Theol. *Tom. ii, p.* 1273.

(47) Ibid. *pag.* 1274.

(48) Putherbeus, de tollendis & expurgandis malis Libris. *lib. i, p.* 81.

(49) Mornai, Verité de la Religion, *ch. xxvi, fol. m.* 336.

(50) Thomas Crenius, Animadv. Philolog. & Hist. *Part iii, p.* 22, *& seq. Leyden* 1698.

(51) Written by Henry Ernstius, counsellor to the king of Denmark, and printed at Hamburg in 1678, in 8vo.

(52) Admodum raro & inde hic paucis noto. *Crenius, ibid. p.* 25.

(53) Joannes Manlius, in Locor. Common. Collectan. Travlo de Satisfact. *p.* m. 99.

[*K*] *Some make it a question whether he ought not to be reckoned an Atheist.*] Voëtius asks whether Politian ought not to be suspected of indifference in point of religion, as Lucian was, or of Epicureism (54); and he answers that, according to Mornai, Politian complained, that he had never spent his time so ill, as when he read the Scripture (55). He adds, That he does not know how that Critic, and some others died; but that if one may guess at it from their studies, they were like the Philosopher Averrhoes, who, slighting the Christian religion, wished his soul might be among the Philosophers. Note, That Mornai does not say what Voëtius ascribes to him. Authors are full of such falsities; which proceeds from their trusting to the quotations of others, without taking the pains to verify them. I must not forget these words of Peter de St Romuald: *Some writers say, that Politian professed Atheism privately with Marsilius Ficinus, and Domitius Calderinus a priest* (56).

(54) Voët. Disp. Theol. Tom. i, *p.* 206.

(55) De Politiano refert Plessius *in libro de veritate religionis Christianæ,* quod dixerit numquam se bonas horas suas pejus collocasse quam in lectione scripturæ. *Ibid.*

(56) Peter de St Romuald, ubi supra.

[*L*] *I could easily believe what we are told of the judgment he made of David's Psalms, and the Odes of Pindar.*] He did not deny that there are many good and fine things in the Psalms; but he pretended that the same things appear in Pindar with more brightness and sweetness. One of his scholars is said to have related this. Here are Melanchthon's own words. 'Dionysius Capnio, qui adolescens audivit Angelum 'Politianum, narrabat eum interrogatum aliquando, 'quid de Psalmis Davidis sentiret, & ad quid prodesse 'eorum lectionem judicaret, respondisse, sibi vero pla- 'cere illa antiqua carmina, & continere ea partim 'honesta præcepta, partim gravissimas conciones de 'providentia & de sceleratorum pœnis: partim que- 'relas de infirmitate hominum utiles ad frenandos 'immoderatos impetus: partim historias ejus gentis. 'Sed addidit Politianus hanc collationem, res easdem 'dulcius & splendidius narrari in odis Pindaricis, ibi 'pingi Ixionem in rota clamantem,

Discite justitiam moniti, & non spernere divos.

'Ibi describi Bellerophontem propter priores victorias 'factum insolentiorem, & vehi Pegaso intra cœlum 'volantem, id est, res non necessarias ambitiose mo- 'ventem, excuti à Pegaso & dejici in Ciliciam. Ibi 'celebrari Pelei castitatem, qui expetitus ab Acasti 'conjuge, & ab ea falso accusatus, & objectus Cen- 'tauris, servatur accepto gladio divinitus. Denique 'multas imagines pulcherrimas, multas historias & 'gravissima præcepta tradi. Hæc Politiani oratio & 'si speciosa est, tamen est hominis ignorantis discri- 'men inter genera doctrinarum, inter legem & Evan- 'gelium (57). - - - *Dionysius Capnio, who in his youth 'was Politian's scholar, used to tell of him, that being 'one day asked what he thought of David's Psalms, and 'what advantage one could have by reading them, he 'answered, that he was truly very much pleased with 'these old Poems, for that they contained partly moral 'precepts, partly solid discourses upon providence, and the 'punishments of the wicked: partly complaints upon the 'weakness of human nature, such as were fit to bridle 'our immoderate desires; and partly historical accounts 'of that nation. But Politian added, by way of compa- 'rison, that the same things were set forth in Pindar's 'Odes with more sweetness and lustre; for that there 'was represented Ixion upon a wheel, crying out,*

- - - Learn to be just, take warning here
And cease at the immortal gods to sneer.

'That there Bellerophon is described as puffed up with 'his former victories, and flying within the circumference 'of Heaven, mounted upon Pegasus, that is, ambitiously 'fond of unnecessary enterprizes. Next he is represented 'as thrown by Pegasus, and fallen into Cilicia. That 'there the chastity of Peleus is celebrated, who being 'tempted

(57) Melanchthon in Epistolis ad Adamum Crato-nem, præfixa Exegesi Nicolai Asclepii Barbati de antiquo & profundo cultu Dei.

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He is also charged with being a plagiary [*M*]. George Merula was one of his adversaries

'tempted by the wife of Acastus, and afterwards falsely 'accused by her, and exposed to the Centaurs, was pre- 'served by having a sword miraculously put into his 'hands. In short, that they contained several beautiful 'images, many valuable passages of History, and many 'solid precepts of Morality. These words of Politian, al- 'though they have a specious appearance do nevertheless 'shew him unacquainted with the different kinds of do- 'ctrine: between the Law and the Gospel.' Manlius, in the book above quoted, does not ascribe this opinion to Politian, but to Lazarus Bonamicus. *Lazarus Bonamicus vir doctus cum esset interrogatus quomodo ei placeret Psalterium respondit placere sibi, recitari enim ibi egregias sententias de providentia: sed tamen nihilo melius esse quam Pindari poëma* (58). It does not appear from these Latin words, that Bonamicus preferred Pindar to David, but only that he made them equal: And yet the commentator upon Gaffarel affirms, on the credit of a German Divine, that Bonamicus set a greater value upon Pindar, than upon David's psalms: *Ejusdem blasphemiæ veneno correptus fuit* Lazarus Bon-Amicus *Italus, qui vociferabat* se Odas Pindaricas præferre hymnis Davidicis. *Vid. beatus Dn.* Selneccerus *Explicat. in* 1 *Cor.* viii. *p.* 496 (59). He had been saying that Politian uttered the same blasphemy. This shews that Melanchthon, or his transcribers, are not uniform in their accounts, which is an usual thing when people go only upon a hear-say. Peucerus has inserted in a letter (60) what I have quoted above out of Melanchthon..

(58) Manlius, ubi supra, Titulo de Veteri & Novo Testamento, *p.* 81.

(59) Gregorius Michael, Præpositus Regius Flensburgensis, Noris in Jacobi Gaffarelli Curiositates, *p.* 110.

(60) Peucer, Epist. ad Christ. Carlowitz. *See* Saldenus de Libris, *p.* 434.

[*M*] *He was also accused of being a Plagiary.*] Every body knows it has been said, that he appropriated to himself the Latin translation of Herodian made by Tiphernas, and that he did no more than alter some parts of it. Leo X said, that this calumny had been vented by those who envied Politian's glory. 'Quamquam æmuli eam translationem, uti nos à Le- 'one Pontifice accepimus, Gregorii Tiphernatis fuisse 'dicerent, quod passim inducto fuco, & falsis nævo- 'rum coloribus interlita alieni styli habitum mentire- 'tur (61). - - - *Though his rivals, as I have been told* 'by Pope Leo, ascribed that translation to Gregory Ti- 'phernas, and pretended that Politian had given it a 'new turn of style by introducing a multitude of flourishes 'and false colourings.' This is all that Jovius says of it: I should be glad to know in what author Varillas found the Particulars contained in the following narrative. 'He published a translation of Herodian, 'which did not procure him all the satisfaction he ex- 'pected from it; for though it was generally admired, 'a report went about, that Politian had found it a- 'mong the papers of the famous *Gregorio de Citta di* 'Castello, which he had bought; and this report 'was grounded upon some conjectures, that were but 'weakly confuted. Pope Leo, who was then Poli- 'tian's scholar, and heard whatever was said *pro* and 'con at his father's table, being desired twenty years 'after, by the academists of Rome, to tell them what 'he thought of it, left the thing doubtful, and owned 'that the stile of that translation was not at all like 'the other works of Politian, and savoured much 'more of the art and flourishes that were to be seen 'in the compositures of *Gregorio de Citta di Castello.* 'However, he added (as if he had been afraid of 'having said too much) that this Gregorio had done 'nothing that came up to the translation of Herodian '(62).' I am apt to believe that the author of this narrative went only upon Jovius's words, which he inlarged upon and paraphrased at pleasure, as if he had been writing a Romance. However, he did not understand them, for the art and flourishes that were observed in that version, were not ascribed to Tiphernas, but to Politian. If Leo X had spoken of it, as Varillas will have it, Jovius would not have rejected that accusation as a thing that deserved no credit (63). Note, that the best Critics reject it; they find the same spirit and the same character in every part of that translation. Tiphernas was not able to produce such a master-piece (64). It had been an easier thing for Politian to translate the whole work, than to give such a form to the translation of another.

(61) Paul. Jovius, ubi supra, *p.* 88.

(62) Varillas, ubi supra, *pag.* 195.

(63) Paul. Jovius, Elog. *cap. cxvii, p.* 259.

(64) Henry Stephens did very much criticize it. Consult Mr Crenius, *ubi supra, p.* 22, *&c.*

It is more difficult to clear him of some other thefts with which he is charged; for what can one answer for him to these words of Budæus? 'Plutarchus 'in eo libro, quem de Homero composuit; qui liber 'nondum Latinus ex professo factus est, licet Politia- 'nus, vir ille quidem excellentis doctrinæ, sed animi 'non satis ingenui, ex eo libro rerum summas ad ver- 'bum transcribens, quasique flores præcerpens, non e- 'rubuit id opus pro suo edere, in quo nullam præter- 'quam transcribendi ac vertendi operam navaverat (65). - - - *Plutarch in his book upon Homer, of which none* 'has hitherto undertaken to give a Latin translation, 'though Politian, a man of greater learning than can- 'dor, transcribing the substance word for word, and, as 'it were, gathering the flowers of it, has not been 'ashamed to publish that work as his own, which cost 'him no other trouble besides that of translating and copy- 'ing.' Budæus told a story, which has been printed, and we find in it a notable trick of Politian. The thing is this. That Professor set forth with an emphasis in his auditory, many things as his own, which he had from Herodotus. John Lascaris, who was one of his hearers, took him aside and reproved him for his boldness. I could never have believed, answered Politian, that such a Grecian as you are, should have been ignorant of the artifice that is made use of in order to get the esteem of the public. You are three or four, at most, among my hearers, who have read Herodotus. What is that in comparison of that crowd of scholars, who applaud and extol me to the sky? I am apt to believe that you will not be so malicious as to undertake to prejudice them against me; and I think it would be to little purpose if you went about it. I shall set down the original words. *Non possum mihi temperare, quin tibi nunc referam, quod Budæus noster de Angelo Politiano quondam nobis domi suæ narrare solebat, idque se ex Jano Lascare, qui Politiani fuerat æqualis, crebrò audivisse confirmabat. Cum enim Politianus Florentiæ Interpretationem Homericæ Iliados in magna celebritate aggrederetur; non sine ingenti ostentatione quæ de Homeri Poëmate perscripta sunt ab Herodoto, auditoribus suis è suggesto recitabat, quo tempore Herodoti liber Græcè scriptus, à nullo adhuc conversus in linguam Latinam, nec Typographorum formis excusus erat. Itaque Lascaris, qui tum bonoris causâ auditorum numerum augebat, cum paucis quibusdam aliis Græcè doctis hominibus, qui non ignorarent unde omnia, quæ pro suis recitaverat, hausisset. Is igitur paulo post ad hominem conversus, eumque seducens, Dic mihi quæso, inquit, Politiane, quo ore Herodoti Opus insigne, quod ante tot sæcula conscriptum est, in tanto cœtu ut tuum recitasti? Cui mox subridens Politianus, Nunquam, inquit, putassem, Jane, hominem Græcum adeò ejus artificii rudem & ignarum esse, quo apud multitudinem existimatio & fama comparari solet. Quasi vero, inquit, non satis intelligam tres aut ad summum quatuor fortassis vos hic adesse, quibus Herodoti libros aliquando inspicere contigerit. Sed quænam hic sit turba nobis applaudentium & in cœlum laudibus ferentium vides, apud quos si existimationem nostram (quod minimè spero) vel tantillum lædere volueritis; Oratio profectò vestra non multum fidei ponderisque habitura est* (66). I must not forget what concerns his *Miscellanea.* He shewed them to his friends in manuscript, which was the reason why this work was very much talked of before it was printed; but a story went about, that Politian had stolen many things from a compilation, intituled, *Copiæ Cornu,* and made by Nicolas Perotus: It was said that the duke of Urbino had lent him the original, thinking it would be a thing acceptable to Laurence de Medicis. When Politian heard this news, he put off the publication of his work. In the mean time, the book of Nicolas Perotus came out, and put an end to the slander; for those who compared it with Politian's *Miscellanea,* did not find that the latter had stolen any thing from the other. Politian gives a large account of this towards the end of the book. I shall only set down some of his words. 'Fit concursus. Est in manibus '(*Copiæ Cornu*). Effunditur. Excutitur. Quid mul- 'ta? calumnia me liberat. Vidisses continuò non- 'nullorum vultus lugubre quiddam tacentes . . . . . '& erubescentes. . . . . Tantum constiterit in præ- 'sentiarum, non idem spectâsse me, quod ejus volu- 'minis autorem, nec par utrique destinatum præsti- 'tumque fastigium. Quod si locos eosdem pro re 'natâ forte uterque tractavimus, (id autem incidere 'alicubi fuit necesse), crassior tamen inter nos, quàm 'inter Pyramum Thysbenque paries (67). - - - *Several* 'of the learned met. They had the book (Copiæ Cornu) 'in their hands. It was opened, and examined. What 'occasion is there for many words. It cleared me from 'the

(65) Budæus, Annot. in Pandectas, *fol. m.* 151 *verso.*

(66) Franciscus Duarenus, Operum, *p.* 1478, *Edit.* 1584, apud Colomesium, in Opuscul. *cap. xxxi, p. m.* 66.

(67) Politian. in fine Miscellan. apud Thomasium, de Plagio Literario, *pag.* 235.

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adverſaries [N]. Some ſay that he was very much abuſed by the Poet Marullus [O]. He has been juſtly placed in the catalogue of illuſtrious children; but Varillas, who

' *the aſperſion. You might have ſuddenly perceived the* ' *countenances of ſome mournfully ſilent . . . . and bluſh-* ' *ing. . . . . Let this ſuffice at preſent, that the au-* ' *thor of that book and I had not the ſame point in* ' *view, and did not arrive to the ſame pitch. If per-* ' *adventure we have both occaſionally treated of the ſame* ' *matters, (which could not ſometimes be avoided) yet* ' *there is a thicker wall between us than that which* ' *divided Pyramus from Thiſbe.*' Notwithſtanding this, Hereſbachius called him a great thief (68). Note, that Politian complained that ſome Plagiaries had ſtolen from him (69), and he threatned to purſue them in order to recover his own.

(68) Hereſbachius in Præfat. librorum ſuorum de re ruſtica futaciſſimum vocat Politianum, atque in Panepiſtemone aliorum non intellecta congeſſiſſe. *Thomaſius, ibid. p.* 235, 236.

(69) Id. Polit. ib. ap. eumd. *p.* 234.

[N] *George Merula was one of his adverſaries.*] He was Profeſſor in the college of Milan: ' He did not ' ſpare Politian, though the latter had acquired a ſuf- ' ficient reputation to ſtand upon his own bottom. ' He ſhewed him, that though nature had beſtowed ' upon him all the neceſſary qualifications to become ' a learned man, yet ſhe had not made him ſuch. ' He obſerved to him above thirty conſiderable faults, ' which had eſcaped him, and told him in a chari- ' table way (as he ſaid) that whoever pretends to ' keep the firſt rank in the commonwealth of learn- ' ing, muſt have read and ſtudied more than all the ' reſt together (70). . . . . Politian was the greateſt ' gainer by his death. He had publiſhed the firſt ' century of his *Miſcellanea* (§ z), and Merula being ' offended at the boldneſs of the word *Century*, threat- ' ened to alledge a world of paſſages and authorities, ' to juſtify the contrary to what was contained in it; ' but he had only time to draw a rough draught of ' his project (71).' The laſt part of this narrative is grounded upon Jovius's words (72); but I do not know what authority may be alledged for the foundation of the firſt. Obſerve, that Politian wrote very ſharp letters to Merula (73), and ſeemed to deſire that Ludovicus Sforza would permit his adverſary to publiſh his critical remarks.

(70) Varillas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 192.

(71) Ibid. *pag.* 193.

(72) Politiano obiter vehementi metu liberato, cum in miſcellaneam ejus centuriam cohortes & alas quæ impetu obruerent emiſſurus eſſe diceretur. *Jovius, Elog. cap. xxxvii, p.* 87.

(73) See the 11th book of Politian's letters.

[(§ α) In a letter of Peter Crinitus to Alexander Sartius, inſerted in Vol. 1. page 384 of Politian's works, publiſhed by Gryphius in the year 1550, are mentioned ſome paſſages of the ſecond part of Politian's Miſcellanies, compoſed, as Crinitus ſays, and finiſhed at the intreaty of Sartius, and out of regard to him, but pilfered from the author by ſome body, who had thereby occaſioned the public's being deprived to that time of ſuch a valuable piece. This ſecond part contained among others twenty chapters, the titles of which are mentioned in the ſame letter. Accordingly the Baſil edition of 1522 has in the title *Centuria una, - - - one Century*, and not as the others *Centuria I.* which is equivocal, and ſeems to import that there is a ſecond century of his Miſcellanies extant. In the following letter the ſame Peter Crinitus mentions the titles of other eight chapters of the ſame ſecond century ſeen, as he ſays, in manuſcript by ſeveral of the author's friends. As for the reſt, this ſecond letter of Crinitus ends with an epigram, wherein the author makes Politian ſpeak in terms which plainly aſſign the year 1494 for the year of his death. I ſhall quote the laſt verſes of this epigram.

Is ille ego Angelus Politianus ſum.
Fovit benigno me ſinu Flora, & illic
In fata ceſſi, Parthenopeos reges
Cum Gallica arma irruerent minabunda.
Tu vale, & hoc ſis meriti memor noſtri.

- - - That ſame Politian am I.
Me Florence cheriſh'd with a mother's care,
Until at laſt my days I ended there;
Juſt in the year when, like a rapid flame,
Gaul's monarch on the king of Naples came.
Reader, by this admoniſh'd, view
What merit I had once. Adieu.

REM. CRIT.]

[O] *He was . . . . abuſed by the Poet Marullus.*] This we read in St Romuald. *Marullus*, ſays he (74), *uſed him very ill under the name of Mabilius:* which may ſignify two things; either that Marullus took the name of Mabilius in the verſes he made againſt him, or that he gave this name to Politian. I have lately re-peruſed his poems, and found nothing in them under that name: Nor is there any thing in Politian's Poem, to make one believe that this Monk is in the right. I find among his Poems ſome cutting epigrams *in Mabilium Novatum Inſubrem*, in which there is nothing whereby it may appear that they are levelled at Marullus. And indeed, how can the epithet *Inſuber* agree with him, ſince he was a native of Conſtantinople? Though I have not read the Poems of this Mabilius, I believe Politian was very much abuſed in ſome of them; for I find that Politian reviles him at a ſtrange rate, as it will appear from the following verſes:

(74) St Romuald, ubi ſupra.

Si jam carmina noſtra te Mabili
Urgent ad laqueum miſer crucemque,
Ne quæſo propera mori, tuum ne
Fraudes carnificem ſuo lucello:
Namque eſt percupidus tui, ac libenter
Is tantum tibi dempſerit laboris.
Quid? noſtin hominem? negas: at idem eſt
Aurem qui ſecuit tibi ſiniſtram (75).

(75) Politianus, in Libro Epigrammatum.

Gall'd with my verſe if you deſire relief,
And headlong run to hang yourſelf for grief;
Let me beſeech you, ſtop a while, leſt you
Should thus deprive the hangman of his due.
He loves you ſo, that, if you were to aſk,
I'm certain he would eaſe you of the taſk.
'S life, know you not the man? it does appear
That he's the ſame who cropped your left ear.

Mabilius jeſted upon Politian, becauſe his neck was not ſtrait. The latter replied in the following manner:

Sed quid te cruciat reflexa colla
Si interdum gero? num parùm videtur
Si pronos ſtatuis tuos cinœdos,
Si pronum ſtatuent miſer Mabili
Mox te carnificis manus, velut nunc
Pronum te ſtatuunt Mutoniati.

Hard words are ſtill thicker in the following verſes:

Hæres relictus à parente ſordido
Ille impudicus, temulentus aleo,
Spurcus, lutoſus, pedecoſus, hiſpidus,
Pannoſus, unctus, horridus, caprimulgus,
Edax, ineptus, inſolens Mabilius
Uno expatravit patrimonium die,
Gula helluante, cunnilingis oſculis,
Vorace culo, & exſutata mentula.

Politian imitated the horrid licentiouſneſs of Catullus and Martial, a ſort of men, who made an ill uſe of a maxim of the Stoics, concerning the uſe of words, and

- - - - Apud quos
Nomen adeſt rebus, nominibuſque pudor (76).

(76) Ὁ σοφὸς αἰσθήσεσιν ἕπεται. Sapiens ſine circuitu omnia efferat.

- - - - With whom
Things have their names, and names have modeſty.

Politian carried this imitation too far in ſome other Poems, particularly in his invective againſt an old woman, who had loſt all the ſigns of youth, excepting leudneſs (77). This invective contains moſt of the thoughts that are to be found in two Odes of Horace (78), and thoſe thoughts are there expreſſed more at large. The laſt verſes are full of obſcenities, the more offenſive, becauſe immediately after there are two very devout hymns to the Holy Virgin. The wrong placing of thoſe hymns ought not to be imputed to the Poet; it is the fault of thoſe who publiſhed his works. But to return to Mabilius, I ſhall obſerve, that his epitaph is to be found among Politian's verſes:

(77) *It begins* thus, Huc huc iambi ite propere mi jam moveatur Arium hanc furentis Puellam ad Tenagæam lam. eruditorem ſpurcidam.

(78) *The eighth Epode in arum* lit. dinolam, *and the xxiii of the ſame book ad* mulierem fœtam & anum.

' Fleſte

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who is the occaſion of it, is wrong in his Chronology [*P*]. I ſhall have ſomething to ſay againſt Moreri [*Q*]. For the reſt, thoſe who ſay, that *Baſſo*, or *Baſſus*, was the name of Politian's family, are miſtaken. Menage (*b*), alledges a letter of Mr Magliabechi to prove that *his name was* Cino, *and not* Baſſo. He is called *Meſſer Agnolo de Montepulciano* in Machiavel's Hiſtory of Florence (*i*); and we read in an oration of Majoragius, that he changed his name *Angelus de Monte Pulciano* into that of *Angelus Politianus*. Note that Sannazarius in two ſatirical Epigrams (*k*) he made againſt him, calls him *Pulicianus* alluding to the word *Pulex*, a flea.

(*b*) *See his* Origines Italicanes, *at the word* Politiano; *and the 14th chapter of the* Anti-Baillet.

(*i*) Towards the end of the 8th book, *p. m.* 349.

(*k*) The 66th and 67th of the firſt book.

Flecte viator iter, ſetet nam putre Mabili
Hac fovea corpus conditur atque animus.

Turn traveller aſide, and come not hither.
The ſoul and body of Mabilius lie
Within this grave, and ſilent rot together,
Whence all around the noxious vapours fly.

If this be not a good proof againſt Peter de St Romuald, it ſeems at leaſt to be a ſign that he is miſtaken; for Marullus ſurvived Politian ſome years. But I will not inſiſt upon this reaſon; for an epitaph affords an opportunity of uſing ſo many injurious words, that ſeveral Poets have falſely ſuppoſed that their adverſaries were dead, in order to make uſe of ſuch a common topic. I will not diſſemble, that a very learned man, who made ſome notes upon Sannazarius's Poems (79), is of opinion that Marullus and Mabilius mentioned by Politian, are one and the ſame perſon.

(79) See the Notes upon Sannazarius, *pag.* 229, *Amſterd. Edit.* 1689.

[*P*] *Varillas . . . . . is wrong in his Chronology.*] 'Politian was a man of ſo wonderful a genius, that 'the like had not been ſeen ever ſince Ovid. When 'he was but twelve years of age, he made ſuch fine 'verſes, that one would have thought they had been 'compoſed in Alexander's or Auguſtus's time. And 'when he had a mind to ſurpriſe the learned, and to 'give out his productions for ſome fragments of Ana'creon or Catullus, which he had lately found out in 'ſome old manuſcripts of the library of the houſe of 'Medicis, the beſt judges were impoſed upon by 'him (80).' Mr Baillet relates the ſame thing more at large in his *Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Children* (81), in which he places our Politian with great reaſon; for though what Varillas ſays of him were not true, we know that Politian was very young when he made his Greek verſes, which, in the judgment of the Critics, are better than the Latin Poems he compoſed long after (82). But here is a Chronological fault. 'A marriage was propoſed to Virginia de Urſini, be'tween her daughter, who was but twelve years of 'age, and Laurence de Medicis, the eldeſt ſon of Peter, 'who was not yet fifteen. . . . . The wedding was 'not celebrated with great pomp, becauſe the circum'ſtances of the time did not allow of it. However, 'there were many Epithalamiums, among which, that 'of Politian, whoſe verſes were worthy of Auguſtus's 'age, though he was not older than the bridegroom, 'was beſt approved. Some few days after, young 'Laurence, hearing of Cologne's approach, was ob'liged to leave his dear ſpouſe, and to get on horſe'back, in order to learn the art of war under the diſ'cipline of his father-in-law (83).' Laurence was born in the year 1448; and therefore Politian was four years older than he. Machiavel, who is a more credible author than Varillas, ſays, that the wedding of Laurence de Medicis, and Clarice de Urſini, was celebrated with very magnificent pomp after the peace (84), that is, when the war, which Cologne made with the Florentines, was fully ended. He does not ſet down the year of that marriage, which is a great fault in an Hiſtorian; but it may be inferred from his narrative, that it was in the year 1471. Laurence was therefore twenty-three years of age. Thus you ſee how little Varillas minded Chronology. He places all the chief exploits of Cologne's war after the death of Peter de Medicis, the father of Laurence (85). He might have ſeen in Paul Jovius that the peace was made before the death of Peter de Medicis (86).

(80) Varillas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 194.

(81) Baillet, Enfans celebres, *p.* 89, 90.

(82) Græcis vero quæ puerum ſe conſcripſiſſe dicit, ætatem minus prudenter appoſuit ſuam. Tam enim bona ſunt ut ne virum quidem Latina æque bene ſcripſiſſe putem. *Jul. Cæſ. Scaliger, Poët. lib. vi, p. m.* 740.

(83) Varillas, ibid. *p.* 40.

(84) Machiav. Hiſt. Florentine, *lib. viii, p. m.* 289.

(85) *See his* 2d *book of the* Anecdotes de Florence.

(86) Jov. in Vita Leonis X, *lib. i, p.* 14.

[*Q*] *I ſhall have ſomething to ſay againſt Moreri.*] I. Theſe words are not exact, *Laurence de Medicis kept at Florence Angelo Politian, who was already a prieſt*; for they give us to underſtand, that it was the firſt favour Politian received from the houſe of Medicis, which is not true: we have ſeen above (87) that he ſtudied at the charges of Coſmo, grandfather of Laurence. II. Moreri ſhould not have ſaid *that Laurence made him tutor to the children of Coſmo de Medicis*; for he put his own children under his tuition (88). If a man ſhould give a tutor to his grandfather's children, it would be a very rare thing. III. *John de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope Leo X*, was the ſon of this Laurence, and not of Coſmo. IV. In order to ſay that Politian *wrote thoſe fine Greek and Latin Epiſtles, which are ſo much commended by the learned*, the public ſhould have ſeen ſeveral Greek letters of that author; but if I am not very much miſtaken, there is but one in the collection of his letters. The following words of Volaterranus, which Moreri read in Voſſius (89), were probably the occaſion of his miſtake: 'Mihi ſolebat E'piſtolas cum Græcas tum Latinas ſcribere ſed ſermo'ne vernaculo plures quod frequenter faciebat occu'patus, ne naſus aliquis ſtilo offenſus impræmeditato, 'præjudicatæ jam de eo opinioni officeret (90). - - - - '*He uſed to write letters in Greek and Latin to me,* '*but oftner in Italian, which he generally did when he* '*was buſy, leſt ſome nice critic, offended at his extem*'*pore ſtyle, ſhould make him loſe the good opinion that* '*had been conceived of him.*' Whereupon, without any farther conſideration, he fancied that we have ſome Greek letters of Politian in print. Obſerve by the by, the great caution of Politian. He knew that he was famous for the politeneſs of his ſtyle, and that in order to keep up his reputation, nothing ſhould come from him but what was elaborate. But becauſe his occupations did not permit him to beſtow a great deal of time upon the compoſition of a letter, he reſolved to write often in Italian; for it is likely he dealt with his other friends as he did with Volaterranus. Such is the ſlavery of thoſe, who have the reputation of writing fine letters; they dare not write familiarly and careleſsly to their friends. They know their letters will be ſeen, and deſpiſed, unleſs they be written in a polite ſtyle. Balzac did often groan under that heavy yoak; and I have read that an ingenious man envied the happineſs of his attorney, who might without any fear begin his letters thus, *I have received your's: This is to let you know* (91). The Manutius's, and the Latin writers of the ſame rank, found themſelves reduced to the ſad neceſſity of beſtowing ſeveral months upon a letter (92). I am not therefore ſurprized at what we have juſt now ſeen in the words of Volaterranus. It is to be obſerved, that this ſlavery reaches ſometimes as far as converſation (93). But to return to Moreri. V. It cannot be ſaid that Politian *had a ſhare* in the calamity of the houſe of Medicis, *in which all the men of letters that were at Florence, found themſelves involved*; for he died whilſt Peter de Medicis was ſtill maſter in his country. It is true, ſome think he was vexed, when he foreſaw that this lord would not be able to maintain himſelf, conſidering what courſe things were ready to take: however Paul Jovius is of opinion, that he was a happy man becauſe he died before the fall of that family (94). VI. We are not told that he fell into deſpair, *becauſe he could not win the love of a lady*. He is ſaid to have had a more vicious paſſion, as we have ſeen above (95). Do not mind the paſſage of Peter de St Romuald. VII. It cannot be ſaid that Paul Jovius believes thoſe ſtories; he only mentions them, without affirming them, and makes uſe of the word *ferunt*. He is only to blame for not adding, that it was an uncertain report; for he knew, without doubt, that people were divided in their opinions about it; which is a ſufficient reaſon for an Hiſtorian, when he ſays, *ſuch a ſlandering report went about*, to add, *but ſome looked upon it as a calumny*. VIII. Ludovicus Vives does not ſay what Moreri fathers upon him (96).

(87) In the remark [*B*].

(88) See the 2d Letter of the 4th book of Politian's Letters, *fol. m.* 94.

(89) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 628.

(90) Volaterr. *lib. xxi, p.* 777.

(91) Preface to the works of Sarraſin, *p.* 46.

(92) *See* Scioppius, de Stilo Hiſtorico, *p. m.* 61, 62.

(93) *You will find the following words in the* Menagiana, *p.* 164, *of the firſt Dutch edition, upon occaſion of a converſation of ſome learned men.* Every body ſtrove . . . to ſpeak well, for, contrary to what is now practiſed, people took care to ſpeak correctly, and to avoid faults, when they met to diſcourſe together. At laſt every body being gone, Balzac and I happened to be alone. Then he took me by the hand, and told me, now that we are alone, let us ſpeak freely, and without fearing to be guilty of a ſoleciſm.

(94 Eo præpropero vitæ exitu profecto felix fuit quod imminentem convulſæ Medicæ domus ruinam effugerit. *Jovius, p.* 89.

(95) In the remark [*F*].

(96) It is the ſame thing that Voëtius aſcribes to Mornai in the remark [*K*].

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POLITIAN (GIOVANNI ANGELO), a native of the same town with the foregoing, taught Logic at Poitiers, about the beginning of the XVIIth century. Mr Daillé was one of his scholars (*a*). He wrote two controversial books against cardinal Bellarmin, his countryman [*A*]; which makes me think that he renounced Popery, and turned Protestant.

(*a*) See Mr Daillé's Life, *p.* 4.

[*A*] *He wrote two controversial books against cardinal Bellarmin his countryman.*] One of them is intituled *Philosophia Eucharistica de potentia & voluntate Dei ex tertio libro Bellarmini de Eucharistia, exposita & refutata*, Amberg 1604, in 4to. And the other, *Philosophiæ seu potius Sophisticæ Eucharisticæ Bellarmini pars altera refutata*, Amberg 1606, in 4to.

POLITIAN (ANTONY LAURENTIN) was professor of Logic in the university of Pisa (*a*). He was at Padua in the year 1604, as it appears from the epistle dedicatory of the second edition of his dialogue *de Risu* (*b*), to which he annexed his treatise *de Cœlis eorumque motibus*, and his book *de natura Logicæ*. His mother was descended from the family of St Agnes (*c*), a saint to whom the inhabitants of Monte Pulciano pay a great veneration (*d*).

(*a*) See the Epistle Dedicatory of his dialogue *de Risu*.

(*d*) Leand. Albert. Descript. Italiæ, *p.* 89.

(*b*) The first came out at Francfort. I make use of that of Marpurg 1606, in 8vo.

(*c*) Ant. Laurent. Politianus, de Risu, *pag. m.* 134.

POLONUS (MARTIN) a Dominican Friar and Penitentiary to Pope Nicholas III, flourished in the XIIIth century. Some say that he was archbishop of Cosenza, others that he was archbishop of Benevento; but they cannot alledge good proofs for either. It is certain that he was promoted to the archbishopric of Gnesna on the twenty-second of June 1278 (*a*), by Pope Nicholas III, and that he was going to take possession of it when he died at Boulogne in the same or the following year. He was buried in that city in the convent of his own order (*b*). He writ a chronicle of the Popes and Emperors from Jesus Christ and Augustus Cæsar to Pope John XXI, who died in the year 1277 [*A*]. It contains the History of the She-Pope; although some learned men do not believe that part of it to be his [*B*]. Some others imagine that he was the first

(*a*) *Decimo Kalend. Julii say* Vossius, de Hist. Lat. *p.* 486, & F. Labbe, de Script. Eccles. *vol. ii, p.* 62; *but* Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1278, *n.* 18, *uses the phrase* Decimo Kalendas Junii.

(*b*) *See* Father Labbe, ibid. & Starovolsc. in Elogiis centum Polonorum, *pag.* 30.

[*A*] *He writ a chronicle . . . that reaches from Jesus Christ . . . . to Pope John XXI, who died in the year* 1277.] Those who believed that it reached as far as the year 1320, did not know that he died in the Pontificate of Nicholas III, in the year 1278 or 1279. Volaterranus was as little acquainted with it, since he has represented him as flourishing under Pope John XXII (1). He was no doubt deceived by a copy which had an appendix continued to the year 1320. That appendix which was in the manuscript of the abbey of Fuld, was printed with the Chronicle of Martin Polonus, in the edition of Basil 1559. Suffridus Petri, in the edition of Antwerp 1574, has falsely ascribed it to our Martin; and it is undoubtedly by a mistake of the like nature that Coccius affirms this author to have been alive in the year 1320 (2). There are manuscripts of this chronicle which reach no farther than Clement IV, whose Pontificate begun in the year 1265, and ended in the year 1271. It is from one of these manuscripts that the edition of Cologn was printed (3). We are not to imagine however that the continuation to the year 1277 belongs to another, and not to Martin Polonus; for he says himself in the preface that he has carried his Chronicle as far as Pope John XXI inclusively. *Ego Frater Martinus Polonus Papæ Pœnitentiarius & Capellanus ex diversis Chronicis & gestis summorum Pontificum & Imperatorum præsens opusculum usque ad Joannem XXI Papam deduxi inclusivè.* Let us say rather that he gave more than one edition, that the first reached no farther than Clement IV, and that he continued it afterwards to the Popedom of John XXI, and that the manuscripts which end at Clement IV, were copyed from the first edition. There is a manuscript in the library of Vienna where we find these words, 'Usque ad Gregorium 'Papam X deduxi inclusivè: - - - *I have carried it as* '*far as Pope Gregory X inclusively.*' Upon which Lambecius makes the following remark, 'Quod autem 'Chronicum Martinianum hic dicitur pertingere ad 'Papam Gregorium X inclusivè, non est intelligendum 'de anno obitus ejus, qui fuit annus Christi 1276, 'sed de initio Pontificatus, sive anno Christi 1271, 'quo is post Papam Clementem IV electus est. Hoc 'enim manifestè apparet ex ipso illo codice, utpote 'ubi de Gregorio X nihil aliud antiqua manu scrip- 'tum cernitur, quàm hoc: *Gregorius natus Lambardus* '*de civitate Placentia sedit.* . . . . Quæ autem deinceps 'sequuntur, multò recentiori manu adjecta sunt (4). '. . . . *As to what is said here, that the Martinian* '*Chronicle reaches down as far as Pope Gregory X in-* '*clusively it is not to be understood of the year of his death,* '*which was the year of Christ* 1276, *but of the begin-* '*ning of his pontificate, or the year of Christ* 1271, '*when he succeeded Pope Clement IV. This appears plainly* '*from the manuscript itself, where we find nothing writ-* '*ten by the old hand concerning Gregory X except this:* 'Gregory, born in Placentia a city of Lombardy, 'took his seat . . . *What follows after is added by a* '*much later hand.*'

(1) See his words in the remark [*E*].

(2) Coccius in Catalogo Scriptorum quem suo Thesauro præmisit. *Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. m.* 485.

(3) Cura Joannis Fabricii Cæsaris, Canonici Gladbachensis. *Ibid.*

(4) Lambecius, *lib. ii*, Bibl. Vindobon. apud Sandium, Notis in Vossium, de Hist. Lat. *pag.* 175, 176.

From hence we learn, 1, that the edition which I call the first, reached to the beginning of Clement the fourth's pontificate, and not to the end of it in the year 1271 (5), as Vossius would have it; 2, that there was a second edition which reached to the beginning of Gregory the tenth's pontificate, and another which reached as far as Pope John XXI. But here is a difficulty: a manuscript of the library of Vienna contains these words, *Usque ad Quartum Honorium Papam deduxi inclusivè, - - - I have carried it as far as Pope Honorius IV inclusively* (6). Honorius IV was chosen in the year 1285, and died in the year 1287. How shall we reconcile this to what those say, who place the death of Martin Polonus in the year 1278 or 1279; might not Blondel have found there an argument to defend himself against the man (7) who censured him for making this same Martin live till about the year 1290 (8)? The learned Conringius thinks it evident that Martin Polonus carried his book as far down as the year 1285 (9).

(5) There is in Vossius 1251; either by an error of the author, or by a fault in the printing. Father Labbe, and Sandius, have not observed this mistake.

(6) Lambecius, ubi supra.

(7) Father Labbe, in Addenda ad Tom. II, de Script. Eccles. *p.* 759.

(8) Blondel in his Latin treatise upon the She-Pope, *p. m.* 6. Observe that in the French treatise, *p.* 17, he says that Martin Polonus died about the year 1270.

(9) Conringius, Animadv. in Bullam Innocentii X, *p. m.* 322.

Abbot Ughelli (10), does not indeed deny that Martin Polonus, archbishop of Gnesna, was a Dominican, but on the other had he takes his Chronicle from him and gives it to one Martin a monk of the Order of Citeaux, archbishop of Cosenza, and Penitentiary to Innocent IV; but this pretension cannot be supported, seeing there are several manuscripts of this Chronicle, which expressly contain these words, *Ego Frater Martinus Ordinis Prædicatorum, - - - I Brother Martin of the Order of Preachers.* They are likewise to be found in the prologue to the alphabetical table of the decree and the decretals, which table is generally called *Martiniani*, and of which Martin Polonus is supposed to be the author (11).

(10) In Italia Sacra in Catalogo Archiepiscoporum Conseniensium. *See* Sandius, in Vossium de Histor. Latin. *p.* 174.

(11) *See* Sandius, *ibid.*

[*B*] . . . . *It contains the history of the She-Pope, altho' some learned men do not believe that part of it to be his.*] This is a dispute which is ever and anon revived when any one writes for or against the History of the She-Pope: but there will always remain difficulties so long as the original itself of Polonus cannot be produced. The copies which mention the She-Pope, and those

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first who wrote any thing concerning this fabulous ſtory (c). He has been cenſured as a credulous (c) See the remark [C].

thoſe which mention her not, can never decide the queſtion clearly and demonſtratively; for if one anſwers that the She-Pope has been taken out of the manuſcripts where ſhe is not, the other replies that ſhe has been added to the manuſcripts where ſhe is. Both theſe anſwers have a ſhew of probability and reaſon. The prejudices of the heart are more capable to determine a man in his opinion than the light of the underſtanding. We muſt nevertheleſs acknowledge, that there are Roman Catholics who aſcribe this paſſage to our Martin, and that there are Proteſtants who do not think it his. Dr Cave, an Engliſh Divine, maintains that the ſtory of Pope Joan has been thruſt into the Chronicle of Polonus by another hand. I ſhall quote his words; we ſhall ſee that he treats what concerns the She-Pope as a mere fable, and that ſome manuſcripts of a right ſtamp do not make the leaſt mention of her. 'Nihil illud (*Chronicon Martini Poloni*) magis famoſum reddidit, quàm decantatiſſima illa de Joanna Papiſſa, ſeu fabula, ſeu narratiuncula. Sane fabulam eſſe, & Martini Chronico intruſam nullus dubito, præſertim cùm in pleriſque vetuſtis Codicibus MSS. deſideretur. In IV Codicibus MSS. Bibliothecæ Cæſareæ deſiderari, in totidem etiam reperiri ingenuè fatetur Cl. Lambecius *. Deerat etiam in antiquiſſimo codice, quem Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ donavit Urbanus VIII cujus meminit Leo Allatius *Conſut. fab. de Joan. Pap. num.* 7. ut alios taceam; certe Martini Chronicon non unam interpolationem paſſum eſſe eruditi dudum obſervarunt. Editum eſt hoc *Chronicon Baſil.* 1559. deinde cum notis Petri Suffridi, *Antverp.* 1574. in 8vo. Denique è vetuſtiſſimo MS. & ipſi Scriptori, uti ferunt, penè coætaneo, ſumma fide & diligentia expreſſum, in lucem emiſit Joannes Fabricius Cæſar, Monachus Præmonſtratenſis, *Colon.* 1616, fol. in qua editione Hiſtoria de Joanna Papiſſa non comparet (12). - - - - *Nothing helped more to make that Chronicle famous than the much talked of fable, or the ſhort narrative, which you pleaſe to call it, of Pope Joan. For my own part I am thoroughly convinced that it is a mere fable, and that it has been thruſt into Martin's Chronicle, eſpecially ſince it is wanting in moſt of the old manuſcripts. Lambecius frankly acknowledges, that four manuſcripts of the emperor's library have it not, and four have it. It was likewiſe wanting in that very old manuſcript which Urban VIII gave to the Vatican library, and of which Leo Allatius, not to mention others, takes notice in his confutation of this ſtory. Certain it is the learned have long ago obſerved that Martin's Chronicle has been interpolated in more than one place. Laſt of all John Fabricius Cæſar, a Monk of Præmonſtré copied it with great diligence and integrity, from a very old manuſcript that was almoſt cotemporary with the author himſelf, and publiſhed at Cologn* 1616 *in fol. in which edition there is no account given of Pope Joan.*' Mr du Pin is one of thoſe who believe that this ſtory of Pope Joan has been added to the Chronicle of Polonus (13).

* Comment. Biblioth. Vindob. *lib. ii, cap. viii, pag.* 889.

(12) Cave, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. i, p.* 739, 740, *Edit. Londin.* 1688.

(13) Du Pin, Bibl. *Tom. x, p. m.* 82.

One thing is very certain, *viz.* that the Proteſtants did not inſert this addition: it is to be found in manuſcripts that were copyed before Luther was talked of; for Antoninus archbiſhop of Florence, and Platina, who lived in the XVth century, have mentioned, in quoting Martin, the ſtory of the She-Pope; and there are authors of the XIVth century, who have quoted the ſame Martin upon this ſubject (13*). It was therefore a notable piece of temerity and groſs ignorance, in Florimond de Remond to accuſe Heroldus of having added this ſtory to the edition of Polonus (14). He means the Baſil edition, publiſhed by John Heroldus in the year 1559, which comprehends the Chronicle of Marianus and that of our Martin. Theſe two Chronicles had never been printed before. Mr Maimbourg muſt have committed the ſame blunder, if Mr Jurieu is to be credited. 'It is fit to obſerve 'that Mr Maimbourg expoſes himſelf very much to 'be laughed at when he accuſes us of having invented this monſtrous fable, *and of having inſerted it in the Chronicles of the Monks Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, and Martin Polonus* ‡. Nothing was ever ſaid more raſhly and inconſiderately. There are copies now to be ſeen of theſe authors, printed twenty years before Luther was heard of, where this is to be found. All the old manuſcripts agree: and granting it ſhould be true what Maimbourg ſays, viz. that there are 'one or two copies which have it not, it would be 'more likely that thoſe few manuſcripts, where this 'ſtory is not to be found, had been corrected by ſuch 'perſons as were diſpleaſed at the adventure and 'thought it had an odious appearance (15).' To make a right judgment of this cenſure, we muſt know in what terms Maimbourg expreſſed himſelf. *The fable of Pope Joan*, ſays he (16), had never any other foundation *but in the perſon of this Pope John* (17). *For on account of his weak conduct, and becauſe he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully impoſed upon by a half-man* (18) *that was more cunning than he, they called him a woman and Pope Joan, in a bitter kind of raillery, not unlike thoſe paſquils which the inſolent liberty of detraction puts out ſo frequently at Rome, againſt the Popes upon more trifling occaſions. But at laſt, ſome time after, in an age of groſs ignorance this raillery was taken for truth, and ſimple people imagined that a woman, diſguiſed in the ſhape of a man, had by ſurpriſe been advanced to the throne of St Peter. Nevertheleſs neither the time nor the circumſtances of ſuch a ſtrange and improbable adventure were ſet down, till in the latter ages ſome writers bolder than the reſt, and afterwards the Heretics, that they might have an opportunity of inſulting the church of Rome, when they had often varied upon this head, ſome fixing it to one time, ſome to another, did at length moſt of them agree to place it between Leo V, and Bennit III. Nay, it is highly probable, that they themſelves did invent this monſtrous fable, and inſert it in the chronicles of the Monks Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, and Martin Polonus. For there is nothing to be ſeen of it in the oldeſt manuſcripts and copies of theſe three authors, unleſs it be perhaps in the firſt.*

(15) Jurieu, Apologie pour la Reformation, *Tom. ii, p.* 38, 39, *Edit. in* 4to.

(16) Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Schiſme des Grecs, *book ii, p.* 198, *of the firſt Vol. Dutch edition.*

(17) That is to ſay, John VIII.

(18) That is to ſay, Photius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, who was an eunuch.

If we compare the words of this author with thoſe of Mr Jurieu, we ſhall find that the latter has not at all valued himſelf upon the two eſſential qualities of a good critic, fairneſs and accuracy; which require that no conſtruction ſhould be put upon the words that one has a mind to cenſure, beſides what neceſſarily agrees to them. Now the words of Mr Maimbourg do not neceſſarily ſignify that the Heretics invented the ſtory of the She-Pope, and inſerted it in the Chronicles of Marianus, Sigebert, and Martin Polonus. This author had been juſt ſpeaking of two ſorts of writers, the one Catholic and the other Heretics: he may therefore have poſſibly meant that the former invented and inſerted this little ſtory; why then has he been cenſured as if he had only meant the latter? But this not the only fault of Mr Jurieu: he pretends that there are copies of Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, and Martin Polonus, *printed twenty years before Luther was heard of, which contain this ſtory*; it is a miſtake, Marianus Scotus, and Martin Polonus were not put in the preſs till the year 1559, and there is no edition, as far as we know, of Sigebert older than that of Paris 1513. Neither is it true that *all the old manuſcripts* agree (19), nor that Maimbourg ſays there are *one or two copies* which have it not. For we have ſeen that without limiting any number he ſays in general *the oldeſt manuſcripts*.

(19) See the remark [B], of the article POPE (JOAN).

(20) Above, citation (12).

If Mr Jurieu had been leſs ſuperficially acquainted with the books written *pro* and *con* upon this diſpute, he would not have ventured to affirm this pretended conformity of all the old manuſcripts, than which nothing can be more falſe. Read only, with reſpect to Marianus and Sigebert, the remarks [B] and [C] of the article POPE (JOAN), and with reſpect to Polonus, what I have quoted from Dr Cave (20), and what I am now going to add: 'Joſias Simbler (21), miniſter of 'Zuric, who augmented the library of Conrad Geſner, owns that he has read four copies of this Martin, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the library of Dreſſerus (22), all different from one another, and ſome more full than the reſt. I myſelf have ſeen an old one which does not agree with that which was publiſhed in the year 1573 by Suffridus Petrus Leovadienſis (23) Friſius, who confeſſes that he had made a curious ſearch after the old copies, and picked them up here and there, in order to purge out the errors and groſs blunders which had crept into that author through the ignorance or malice of ſome perſons. I cannot enough wonder, ſays he, how ſo many things, which are not to be found in the manuſcripts, can have ſlid into the firſt edition of Polonus, without there being the leaſt appearance 'of

(21) He ſhould have ſaid *Simler*.

(22) *The words of Simler are*: Ejuſdem (*Martini Poloni*) exemplaria quatuor copioſiora multo quam expreſſum extant in Bibliothec. Dreſſeri. - - - *There are yet to be ſeen in the library of Dreſſerus four copies of the ſame author, abundantly more copious than the printed one.* Florimond does not tranſlate them faithfully.

(23) *He ſhould have ſaid* Suffridus Petri Leovardienſis.

(13*) *See Mr* Spanheim, de Papa fœmina, *p.* 165; *and Mr* Des Marets, in Examine de Papa fœmina, *p.* 22.

(14) Florimond de Remond, the Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. ii, num.* 5, *fol. m.* 367. *See alſo Father* Oudin, in Supplem. de Script. Eccleſ. *p.* 550.

‡ Hiſtoire du Schiſme des Grecs, an. 881.

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‘ of his having ever thought of ſuch things, ſo far was
‘ he from having deſigned to leave them in writing.
‘ But if theſe had truly been of his production, he
‘ would have every where diſcovered his ſimplicity and
‘ ignorance (24).’ We find in an Engliſh writer, that was a great advocate for the hiſtory of the She-Pope, the following words: *Dr Briſtow* † . . . . *relates that ſome years ago a certain Proteſtant (reputed to be a great Hiſtorian) ſhewed this book of Martin, writ in a very fine character, and deſired that they would point out to him that fable. And behold it was not in the text but only in the margin, and by a different hand. Upon which he ſaid:* I ſee now that you want this author likewiſe (25). The Engliſh writer will not allow this teſtimony to be good, and defies any one to ſhew *a book of* Polonus, *either in print or manuſcript*, which does not contain the hiſtory of the She-Pope (26). Nevertheleſs, Dr Burnet (27) ſpeaks of it in this manner. *I do not believe* the hiſtory of Pope Joan, *having ſeen in England with my own eyes a manuſcript of Martin Polonus, who is one of the oldeſt authors that are generally quoted upon this ſubject, and which ſeems to have been written ſoon after the author's death, where this ſtory is only in the margin and not in the text, and beſides it is written by another hand than that which writ the text* (28). Who can doubt but this is the ſame manuſcript wich Dr Briſtow mentions. Mr Spanheim (29) quotes John Chiflet who alledges an old manuſcript where Martin Polonus makes no mention of the She-Pope. The manuſcripts of this author in the library of Leyden are very different from that (30): we find in them the ſame things concerning the She-Pope, that are in the printed copies (31) they were likewiſe to be found in a manuſcipt which a Monk, that turned Proteſtant ſhewed to a profeſſor of Groningen. *Nec diu eſt quod meis oculis uſurpavi vetuſtiſſimum Martini codicem in charta pergamena ſcriptum, quam ſecum Colonia detulit R. V. D. Michaël Ruckertius olim Philoſophiæ Lector inter Recollectos Colonienſes, nunc Dei gratia Verbi Divini fidelis diſpenſator in Ooſtfriſia, in quo extabat hæc eadem narratio* (32). It is then certain that the old manuſcripts do not agree.

(24) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. ii, num. 6, fol. 367 verſo.*

† In his Reply to Dr Fulke, *ch. x, Queſtion LIV, p. 373.*

(25) Cooke, on the She-Pope, *p. 61, 62.*

(26) Ib. p. 61.

(27) Biſhop of Salisbury.

(28) Burnet's Travels, *p. m. 300.*

(29) Spanh. de Papa fœmina, *p. 60, 61.*

(30) Ibid. *pag. 66, 67.*

(31) Ibid.

(32) Sam. Mareſius, in Exam. *p. 22, Edit. Gron. 1658.*

CONSIDERATION on the cauſes of the difference of manuſcripts.

Let us make a few reflexions upon this diverſity, and inquire into the cauſe of it. I begin with theſe two propoſitions: I. It is no proof that Martin Polonus mentioned Pope Joan, becauſe an account of her may be ſeen in ſome very old manuſcripts of his Chronicle. II. Neither is it a proof that he has ſaid nothing at all of her, becauſe one may produce very antient manaſcripts where this ſtory is not to be found. The truth of theſe two Propoſitions is grounded upon this, that very poſſibly ſome paſſages may have been taken from or added to the works of an author ſoon after his death. Additions and ſubſtractions are two means alike frequently made uſe of to corrupt the original ſtate of a manuſcript. One might prove this by a hundred examples. Conſequently ſo long as we ſhall not have the original of Polonus it will be impoſſible to diſcover certainly whether it is by the way of addition or ſubſtraction, that ſo great a diverſity has been introduced between the copies of his Chronicle.

The Proteſtants will anſwer, that it is not probable this ſtory of the She-Pope ſhould have been tacked to the manuſcript of Polonus, but that it is very probable it was taken from it, becauſe it is ſcandalous, and ſuch a thing as redounds to the reproach and ignominy of the Papal chair. As therefore thoſe who copyed the manuſcripts, were jealous of the honour of the Popes they muſt have reckoned themſelves obliged to ſuppreſs this narrative, and by no means to introduce it. This diſcourſe has an air of probability; but it proves too much, and makes it difficult to ſolve this queſtion, whence comes it that the ſtory of the She-Pope remained in a very great number of manuſcripts? Where was the zeal of the tranſcribers? What could the reaſon of this inconſiſtency be? There is another difficulty ſtill. You pretend that Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, Martin Polonus, &c. publiſhed this ſcandalous ſtory. They were nevertheleſs very good Papiſts, they were Prieſts or Monks devoted to the intereſt of the church of Rome. Why ſhould it be ſuppoſed that they had leſs zeal than their tranſcribers? Or how came it about that their tranſcribers were more ſcrupulous? Were not moſt of the writers who have related the adventure of the She-Pope ſtrongly attached to the Romiſh religion? Who could be more attached to it than St Antoninus, who has inſerted it in his book? Here is a further difficulty. This tradition had been ſo well eſtabliſhed that no body contradicted it. Aventinus, cotemporary with Luther, is the firſt who rejected it as a fable. The council of Conſtance did not cenſure John Huſs for having alledged this fact (33), an evident ſign that the Fathers of that council did not doubt but there had been a She-Pope. It follows from thence that the Roman Catholics had got a habit of looking upon that accident as a thing which did no ſort of prejudice to their religion. Whence therefore could thoſe ſcruples ariſe which ſhould have moved ſome tranſcribers to expunge that paſſage from the manuſcripts of Martin Polonus? If the church of Rome had been loaded with inſults and objections upon that ſcore, as it has ſince the Reformation, one could more eaſily conceive that the zealots of Popery would have laboured to ſuppreſs the writings which mentioned the She-Pope, and even in that caſe they muſt have begun by ſaying, that the fact was not true, or at leaſt that it was very doubtful. But we do not find that the ſectaries inſiſted upon this article. Ockam in the the XIVth century (34), and the Huſſites in the XVth (35) made uſe of that fact as a proof that the church can err. Æneas Sylvius anſwered that the fact of the She-Pope was not certain, and that granting it to be true, it would include no error of right. This objection made little noiſe at that time, inſomuch that no body thought it worth their while to chuſe the negative, and go back to the fountain-head in order to diſprove the hiſtory of the She-Pope. What therefore could occaſion a conſpiracy in the tranſcribers againſt the pages wherein the Chroniclers had written this hiſtory? In fine, and this is my laſt difficulty, by what ſtrange whim ſhould they have paſſed over ſo many other narratives, where the ignominy and ſcandal is greater, and diſcharged their whole zeal upon this? Have they not ſpared in theſe ſame manuſcripts and in a great many others, the memory of Popes that were accounted Intruders, Schiſmatics, Simoniſts, Adulterers, Magicians, &c. I do not give theſe for demonſtrative reaſons, neither would I poſitively affirm that no body has curtailed the manuſcripts, in order to hide the ſhameful ſtory of the She-Pope; I content myſelf with oppoſing probabilities to probabilities, and thereby giving a caution to the readers that one ought not to be too peremptory about the reaſon (36) alledged by ſo many people why the ſtory of the She-Pope is not to be found in ſeveral old manuſcripts of the Chroniclers.

But it will be ſaid, if Marianus, Sigebert, Martin Polonus, &c. had not mentioned the She-Pope, how comes it that her ſtory ſhould be found in ſeveral old manuſcripts of their Chronicles? Is it at all likely that the Monks, who in thoſe times were the chief depoſitaries of the manuſcripts, and tranſcribed the greateſt number of copies, ſhould have propagated ſuch a ſtory, by adding it to books where it was not? Had the Sectaries, the Huſſites, for example, any occaſion for inſerting it? Did they not find that tradition, ſo well eſtabliſhed that no body denied or contradicted it, and the firſt of their antagoniſts (37), who examined their objection founded upon it, durſt not poſitively ſay that the fact was not true? Wherefore if this addition could neither come from the Papiſts, nor Heretics, we muſt conclude, that the manuſcripts which mention the She-Pope do therein exactly agree with the original, and that thoſe which ſay nothing of her have been curtailed of that paſſage. This objection has a ſeducing appearance, but it contains nothing in it ſufficient to convince thoſe who require ſolid proofs. It falſly ſuppoſes, that this ſtory of the She-Pope could not have been inſerted in the manuſcripts of Sigebert, Polonus, &c. with any other view than to prejudice the church of Rome. There are ſeveral other motives which might have induced the tranſcribers to foiſt this addition into a copy.

The humour which reigns now of preferring editions that are enlarged to ſuch as are not, has prevailed at all times. We have therefore good reaſon to believe, that there have always been ſuch perſons as liked a Sigebert improved with the ſtory of the She-Pope, better than a Sigebert that wanted it: therefore the tranſcribers might very well aſſure themſelves that they could ſell to better advantage a copy where this ſtory had been inſerted, than a copy where it had not, and which, on account of that omiſſion, would have been looked upon as caſtrated. And as before the art of Printing was found out, a great deal of time was neceſſary to prepare the copies, and books were extreamly

(33) See Lenfant, Hiſt. of the Council of Conſtance, Epiſt. VIII. Part IV, *p.* 355.

(34) See Mareſius, in Examine, *p.* 22.

(35) See Lenfant, Epiſt. VIII, *book IV, p.* 355.

(36) That reaſon is, that this ſtory has been retrenched out of a zeal for Popery.

(37) Æneas Sylvius. See the remark [E] of the article POPE (Joan).

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extreamly dear, all poſſible care was taken to huſband the tranſcriber's time, and the buyer's purſe, and it was ſo managed for the benefit of ſeveral perſons, that one Chronicle ſupplied the place of two or three, and for that end, inſtead of copying ſeveral, they added to one every thing that was particular and moſt remarkable in the reſt, from whence it might happen that the prodigious adventure of a pretended Pope, brought to bed in the middle of a proceſſion, was added to Anaſtaſius, Marianus Scotus, and Sigebert. We may ſuppoſe beſide, that a curious man, who had bought a Sigebert, or a Martin Polonus, and did not find the ſtory of the She-Pope there, would have added it on the margin, tranſcribing it from ſome other chronicle; and that copy might ſerve as an original ſome years after to a writer, who inſerted in the text what he found upon the margin (38). Who can doubt that there were perſons at that time who might be more deſirous of having a book, than able to purchaſe it? What did they upon ſuch occaſions? They borrowed a chronicle, and copyed it themſelves; and if they did not find there certain facts mentioned by other Hiſtorians, they added them each in it's proper place, and by that contrivance they reaped the ſame advantages from one ſingle manuſcript, as they would have done from ſeveral. Such a manuſcript may have paſſed from the cloſet of a private man into the great libraries of univerſities or monaſteries, or, perhaps, it may have ſerved as an original to the tranſcribers before Printing was invented.

(38) Compare with this what I have ſaid in the remark [B] of the article POPE (JOAN).

Theſe are probable ſuppoſitions, from which we learn, that although Sigebert and Polonus had not touched upon the ſtory of Pope Joan, it might nevertheleſs be found in ſome old manuſcripts of their chronicles, without our having the leaſt ground to ſuſpect that the authors of the addition had any ill deſign againſt the holy ſee. This is a moſt natural account of the diverſity that is ſaid to be in the old copies. Some have been faithfully tranſcribed from the original, either immediately or mediately. Thoſe want the ſtory of the She-Pope; the reſt have been taken from a copy that had been adorned with this fable.

What we have mentioned (39) concerning the manuſcripts of Anaſtaſius, together with the teſtimony of Onuphrius (40), and Dr Burnet (41), leaves us no room to doubt that divers things, which the author never ſaid, have been written upon the margin of the copies.

(39) In the remark [A] of the ſaid article.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Above, citation (28).

A particular obſervation may be made on the diverſity of the manuſcripts of Martin Polonus. We have ſeen, above, that he put forth ſeveral editions of his Chronicle, and without doubt he was not ſatisfied with ſubjoining a continuation to each of them, but he likewiſe reviſed and improved his firſt performance, and made in it alterations and additions. Some manuſcripts of theſe different editions, which have been preſerved (42), muſt of neceſſity be more full and ample than the reſt, and ſome of them muſt have things here and there which the others have not. Let the tranſcribers have been never ſo faithful and exact, this difference would have neceſſarily happened in the manuſcripts. We are not therefore in general to pretend, that thoſe where we do not find every thing that is contained in the reſt have been unfaithfully copied; for beſides the reaſon I have alledged, there is a conjecture which is very probable. All thoſe who tranſcribed the Chronicle of Polonus did not do it with a deſign to ſell the copies. They might tranſcribe it for their own private uſe. For example, a man that was not rich, was rather willing to take that trouble than to lay out his money in the purchaſe of the book. There is no abſurdity in ſaying, that ſuch a man may have ſtuck cloſer to the things than to the expreſſions, and that in order to have ſooner done, he may have left out what he thought ſuperfluous, abridged ſome particular phraſes, and ſubſtituted his own words for thoſe of the original. A man writes much quicker when he furniſhes the expreſſion himſelf, than when he copies thoſe of another, for the trouble of turning every moment to look at the manuſcript occaſions a great loſs of time, and one is a conſiderable gainer by it if he does no more than copy his own thoughts. A tranſcriber who takes the ſenſe of a whole period, and expreſſes it in his own way, will finiſh in one day what would require two, if he followed the manuſcript word for word. Suppoſe ſuch a copy of Martin Polonus has ſerved for an original, we may eaſily apprehend that the copies of the Chronicle will differ from one another, though there has been no ill deſign nor fraud to cauſe that diverſity. Thoſe who make a good number of collections, and infert whole pages of a book together, will readily grant what I ſuppoſe; they will remember how that, in order to have ſooner done, they did not copy word for word, but retrenched, and altered many words. The authors themſelves, who quote long paſſages, often take this liberty, to ſhorten the tedious trouble of tranſcribing (43). There is ſometimes a little fraud in it, but not always. What ſhall I ſay of the many involuntary omiſſions of the tranſcribers, and eſpecially when two periods bordering upon one another begin with the ſame word? They read it over, it is true, with ſome ſort of attention, but they too often ſpare themſelves the trouble of comparing their copy with the original line by line; and except the omiſſions evidently and groſsly marr the ſeries of a thought, they imagine that all is very well. Now it is certain that there are periods, or half-periods, which may be taken out of a book, and ſtill leave a tolerable ſenſe behind.

(42) Since at this day ſeveral authors quote the firſt editions, without knowing that there are others corrected and enlarged, they might with more reaſon be ignorant in thoſe times that there were editions of Polonus fuller than the firſt, and conſequently the copies of that were multiplied.

(43) See in the remark [B] of the article VOLKELIUS, the obſervation that is made upon a citation from the book of Mr Stoupp.

Let us conclude, that want of ſincerity does not always occaſion the difference of manuſcripts: ſeveral innocent cauſes may contribute towards it; but I confeſs that fraud is too often concerned in the affair. I ſhall quote the obſervation which Spanheim makes upon the manuſcripts of Sigebert. *Collato eo codice* (Bibliothecæ Leydenſis) *cum aliis, ac præcipue cum iis quibus uſus eſt Aubertus Miræus, Gemblacenſi, Lipſiano*, &c. *patet non pauca addita, mutata, detracta, quædam etiam paſſim in noſtro deſiderari ex eo genere quæ Romæ inviſa, & quæ Baronius exagitat in Sigeberto* (44). You ſee that among the things wherein he ſays copies differ, he places additions and omiſſions, and that ſome of theſe omiſſions concern facts, not agreeable to the court of Rome, and which favour of a writer too partial to the emperors that have at any time quarrelled with the Popes. There is room for thinking that theſe particular facts have been fraudulently left out by partial tranſcribers; but as for ſuch omiſſions, additions, or alterations, as no ways relate to diſputes or ſchiſms, they are not liable to the ſame ſuſpicion. We ſhould judge of them almoſt in the ſame manner as we do of the manuſcripts of Pagan authors, which have been maimed or corrupted. There may be a manuſcript of Cicero, of Titus Livius, &c. which contains certain paſſages that are not to be found in another. No paſſion, private intereſt, nor prejudice, could be the reaſon why the tranſcriber ſuppreſſed theſe. His only fault was lazineſs, ignorance, &c.

(44) Spanhem. de Papa fœmina, P. 54, 55.

To diſtinguiſh well, whether a tranſcriber has retrenched, or added any thing from a party-view, we ſhould know what the factions of ſtate or religion were that could prepoſſeſs him, and of what conſequence theſe paſſages ſuppreſſed, or added, might be to thoſe factions. If they can neither ſerve, nor hurt any party, we are to ſuppoſe that there was not any treacherous deſign in the addition or omiſſion; but we may ſuppoſe the contrary, when they have a particular relation to ſome violent diſpute. For which reaſon the copies of Martin Polonus would be juſtly ſuſpected of being either fraudulently maimed or enlarged, if they had been formed after the Proteſtants and Roman-Catholics began to write upon the ſubject of Pope Joan with ſo much heat and animoſity; but ſince they preceded that difference, and were written at a time when the hiſtory of that woman was contradicted by none, I ſee no reaſon why falſe zeal, partiality, a ſpirit of impoſture, &c. could move the tranſcribers to ſuppreſs it. Indeed ſome one may poſſibly have left it out, becauſe he looked upon it as a ridiculous ſtory. See the margin (45).

(45) Unuſquiſque quæ ipſe digna memoria judicabat addidit: erat ſitque quæ ſibi indigna lectu videbantur. *Allat. Symm. p.* 417, *in ſpeaking of the chronicle of Martin Polonus*, apud Spanhem. de Pap. fœmina, *p.* 68.

The ſpirit of party is a ſtrange fury: ſome readers are ſo warm that they tear to pieces, or take out all the pages where they find certain ignominious things charged upon their ſect. You may judge from thence what they would do if ſuch or ſuch manuſcripts paſſed through their hands. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the ravages which this paſſion has committed in the antient libraries (46). And how ſhould they not have dared to falſify manuſcripts, ſince they dare now a-days falſify ſecond editions even in the author's life-time (47). I am informed that the third volume of the Revolutions of England (48), reprinted in Holland, has been corruped in ſeveral places, ſometimes by additions, and ſometimes by ſuppreſſions.

(26) See the preface of Laurence Bouchel, in Decreta Eccleſ. Gallic. *Rivet quotes him in his* Remarks upon the Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, *p.* 602, *of Vol. I.*

(47) See the remark [F] of the article PELLISSON; and the remark [D] of the article ANCILLON.

I muſt not forget that there are ſome who believe, that the ſtory of Pope Joan has been added to the book of

(48) By Father d'Orleans, a Jeſuit.

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a credulous Author, and a man of a very weak judgment [C]. There is no doubt but that

THE reasons why some manuscripts of Platina do not contain the story of the She-Pope.

of Platina. It is the opinion of Bernartius; for, says he *, *I have heard Antony Hetweld, a man of good reputation, and a magistrate of Louvain, say, that one Engelbertus Boonius, a grave person, and dean of a considerable church in Germany, often told him that he had seen several antient manuscripts of* Platina, *in the Vatican at Rome, that he had examined them carefully, but that he had never found in them a single word concerning the She-Pope* (49). Alexander Cooke makes strong objections to this. *How came these old manuscripts*, says he (50), *to be so numerous and antient in the Vatican, seeing that Printing was then in use, and that* Platina *died in the year* 1481? *Whence comes it that neither* Onuphrius, *nor* Bellarmin, *nor* Baronius, *who had as free access as others to the library of the Vatican, could find these manuscripts? What can be the reason, that no body since* Bernartius *has dreamt of this exception against* Platina? *The acknowledgment which* Onuphrius, Bellarmin, *and* Baronius *make, that this story is in* Platina, *inclines me to believe that* Bernartius *scandalized the magistrate, or the magistrate the dean, or else that the dean made a bubble of the magistrate. For, without doubt, if there had been such manuscripts, some of those gentlemen would have produced them before now.* Mr Spanheim (51) does not dispute the fact with Bernartius, on the contrary, he makes use of it as an example to shew that the curtailing of manuscripts was a thing which had been long practised. For my own part I will not deny that there may have been in the Vatican some faithful copy of Platina's book, which wanted the story of Pope Joan. I think it very possible that this author may have shewn his manuscript, and suffered copies thereof to be taken some years before he published it. It is probable that after he had suffered it to be copied, he revised, corrected, and enlarged it, and that the story of the She-Pope was one of the additions. Consequently it may very well be, that there were some manuscripts of Platina without that story. But because Onuphrius, Bellarmin, and Baronius, did not question the faithfulness of that edition, where it was contained, they would not quote such manuscripts. That could not have been of any service to them. It must even be allowed that the testimony of Platina is not very prejudicial to the cause which these three authors defend, for it will sooner convince one that there has been no She-Pope, than that there has. Coëffeteau did not forget this observation. ' One ' Martin Polonus is accused of having been the first ' who exposed it to the eyes of Christendom; and ' Platina, from whom du Plessis borrows the account ' of it, confesses that he had taken it from him, adding these words, which instead of confirming du ' Plessis, should have made him waver in his opinion, ' and doubt, or rather condemn his whole narrative. ' *What I say of this affair* † *is a common report, the ' authors of which are obscure and uncertain. Nevertheless I resolved to set it down briefly and fairly, lest ' I should seem to have wilfully omitted what is in a ' manner affirmed by all,* (he means later authors) *for ' even wise men have their follies: let us also err with ' the people, tho' it evidently appears that the present ' story is one of those things which we can believe possible.* Is not this a glorious foundation for a monstrous story? And would not one, after seeing this, give it up as incredible, granting even that he had believed it to be true before (52).'

If there was any example of a writer that had brought himself into trouble, and got ill will, by relating the story of Pope Joan, one might imagine that Platina suppressed it in the copies which he shewed to the Pope and cardinals; but in those days authors suffered no inconveniency upon that score, every one was free to speak of it as he had a mind. Whence therefore could arise such a precaution in Platina, as his having two sorts of copies, the one for the court, and the other for his intimate friends? It is easy to be accounted for why Varillas did not publish all that he had written, and what a hundred persons had seen in the copies of his History (53). He was afraid of being ill used. When it shall be proved that Platina, who had courage enough to mention other things, that were much more disagreeable in his days than the present story, did not dare to publish this, it will then be time to own that his book was only printed from the copy which he had designed for his intimate friends.

[C] *He has been censured as a credulous author, and a man of a very weak judgment.*] I shall quote another passage of Coëffeteau (54). ' The oldest author, who ' sullied his writings with this infamous narrative, was ' one Martin Polonus (55), a Cistertian monk, who ' ends his Chronicle at Nicholas III, about the year ' 1278. Platina has borrowed it from him; and ' both the one and the other proceed upon a vulgar ' report, without having any other knowledge of ' the matter. Du Plessis, that he might add weight ' to his authority, told us, above *, *That as he had been ' penitentiary to Pope Nicholas III, and afterwards ' archbishop of Cosenze* ‡, *he deserved more respect and ' credit from us than we seemed willing to allow:* ' but as we honour his dignities, so we know very ' well that they do not always make one a compleat annalist, or a very good writer of chronicles. ' We have a clear proof of it in the writings of this ' author, since one easily discovers, by reading them, ' that he was a simple well-meaning man, who picked ' up vulgar stories, as if they had been oracles, and ' inserted them in his works without any judgment. ' And besides, as touching this fact, he himself makes ' it doubtful, by speaking of it in such a cold manner. ' *This person*, says he, speaking of that monster, *as we ' are told*, ut asseritur, *was a woman*, &c.' Naudé treats him still worse. *Without giving ourselves the trouble*, says he (56), *to consider the difference of the copies, and the additions made to this Martin Polonus, we shall do better to conclude at once, that his authority cannot any ways hurt Sylvester, both on account of the foregoing reason, and because he has given us such a vast number of fabulous things in his accounts, that one must be alike credulous and weak to believe what he says of Sylvester. I call to witness the stories that he has borrowed from the book* de Infantia Salvatoris, *and those which he tells of Pilate, of the Greeks who intended to steal the bodies of St Peter and St Paul, of the Dragon of Sylvester, which killed six-thousand persons every day: of another so big that eight yoke of oxen could not draw him to the place where he was to be burnt; of the British Arthur, of the Prophet Merlin, of Pope Joan, of the Letters of Gold which weighed a hundred pounds each, given by Charlemaign to twenty-three monasteries erected by him, and a great many others, which are only fit to lull children to sleep in their cradles.* Alexander Cooke puts the following objection in another person's mouth; ' Know (that as *Bellarmin* ** and N. D. † observe) ' he was a very simple man; and that, in the opinion of Dr *Harding* ‡, his writings are trifling and ' impertinent, and have not the least appearance of ' truth. Know, besides, *that he was good for nothing ' but to make stories*, for this is the censure which ‖ Bernartius passes upon him (57).' In answer to which it is said that *he was* †† *well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and not ignorant of worldly learning*, and that *he was a person on whom* Platina *laid a great deal of stress in point of History* ‡‡, *and held him worthy to be esteemed* a man of great knowledge, and of a singular life and conversation (58). After that Cooke examines five instances which are alledged to prove the ignorance of Martin Polonus, and maintains that they do him wrong. He says that Bernartius and Florimond de Remond impute those five blunders to him. I have not Bernartius's book (59), but I know that Florimond de Remond is falsly accused, since he has not ascribed them to Martin Polonus, but to another Martin. This will evidently appear upon reading the following quotation. ' Having made as strict an enquiry as the place, where I am, could allow me, ' into every thing that can be said upon this subject, ' I lighted on an old book in manuscript, containing ' the lives of the Popes and Emperors, where I found ' an account of this mitred Joan. The author's ' name is Martinus. I do not know whether the likeness of names has given occasion for ascribing to ' Martin Polonus what this other Martin writ, who ' was never printed, as far as I know, and of whom ' I have been able to discover nothing excepting that ' he was a German. This is probable, considering ' the difference of the copies which Simbler quotes. ' There is likewise to be seen another Chronicle of one

* Impudens aliquis nebulo interpolavit scripta Platinæ. Audivit ex Antonio Heetueldio, amplissimo laudatissimoque viro, consulari Lovaniensi, dixisse sibi sæpius Engelbertus Boonius . . . vidisse se Romæ in Bibliotheca Vaticana, antiquissima Platinæ exemplaria manuscripta, sedulo examinasse, & de Joanne fœmina ne literam quidem reperisse. *Bernartius, de utilitate legendæ hist. lib. ii, pag.* 111.

(49) Cooke, on the She-Pope, *p.* 46, 47.

(50) Ib. *p.* 47, 48.

(51) Spanhem. ubi supra, *p.* 64.

† *Here are Platina's words in Joanne VIII, folio m.* 140. Hæc quæ dixi vulgo feruntur: incertis tamen & obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere breviter, & nude instituì: ne obstinate nimium & pertinaciter omisisse videar: quod fere omnes affirmant: erremus etiam nos hac in re cum vulgo: quamquam appareat ea quæ dixi ex his esse: quæ fieri posse creduntur.

(52) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, *p.* 504, 505.

(53) The passages suppressed in his History of Francis I, and of Charles IX, are to be found in the Dutch editions.

(54) Coëffeteau, ubi supra, *p.* 507.

(55) *Fasciculus Billon, Missi Ital. Tom. i, p.* 27, *says also* Martinum Polonum primum esse hujus fabulæ & non auctorem, sed narratorem. *Serarius is of the same opinion in book i, chap. xlii, of the History of Mentz; but see the remark* [K] *of the article* POPE (JOAN).

* Pag. 165, near the end.

‡ That cannot be; for Nicholas III made him archbishop of Gnesna, and not of Cosenza.

(56) Naudé, Apolog. des Grands Hommes, *p.* m. 559, 560.

** Lib. iii, de Rom. Pont. cap. xxiv.

† 3. Cent. Part ii, cap. v, num. 29, pag. 399.

‡ Answer to the Challenge of bishop Jewell.

‖ Martinus Polonus fabulis tantum celebris, cætera obscurus homo, *lib. ii, de utilitate legend. Hist. pag.* 113.

(57) Cooke, on the She-Pope, *p.* 63.

†† Trithem. de Script. Eccles. verbo, Martin.

‡‡ Vir magnæ doctrinæ singularisque vitæ. *Platina, in Vit. Victor.* 3.

(58) Cooke, ubi supra, *pag.* 64.

(59) De Utilitate legendæ Historiæ.

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that he had the ſirname of *Polonus* from his being a Polander, or at leaſt from his being reckoned ſo [*D*]. Voſſius ſhould have affirmed poſitively that the Martinus Carſulanus, of whom Volaterranus ſpeaks in the beginning of the twenty-ſecond book, is the ſame with this man [*E*]. You will obſerve that his chronicle is ſirnamed Martinian, and that it was printed in French at Paris with the additions of Verneron canon of Liege, and with thoſe *of the chronicle-writer Caſtel*, in folio by Antony Verard (*d*).

(*d*) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. *pag.* 897.

(60) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. ii, num.* 6, *fol.* 367 *verſo.*

(61) Du Pleſſis, Myſtere d'Iniquité, *p.* 162.

(62) Blondel, in Examine Quæſt. de Papa fœmina, *p. m.* 8.

(63) Simon Starovolſcius, in Centum Polonor. Elog. *p.* 29.

(64) Sand. Animadv. in Voſſium, de Hiſt. Latin. *p.* 173.

(65) *Among thoſe are Father* Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, p.* 62; *and* Dr Cave, de Script. Eccleſ. *p.* 739.

'one Martinus, full of impertinent ſtories (60).' Remond gives as an inſtance of it, the five blunders, from which Cooke has vindicated our Polonus. You will likewiſe pleaſe to obſerve, that du Pleſſis mentions another Martin, *of the order of Friars Minors*, and author of a *Chronicle, intituled*, Flores Temporum, where he ſpeaks of the She-Pope (61). Blondel places him towards the end of the XVth century (62).

[*D*] *He had the ſirname of Polonus from his being a Polander, or at leaſt from his being reckoned ſo.*] He was of the noble family Streperi, *Streporum*, if Starovolſcius is to be credited, who adds, that he was both the firſt and only Polander of that time who got himſelf any reputation by his writings, and that this was the reaſon of his being ſirnamed Polonus. *Quod primus tum ex Polonis, idque ſolus, ſcriptis inter extraneos inclaruerit, unde & Polonus, à gente cognominatus eſt, ac ſi Scylurus ille Scytha, quod alium è Scythia parem ſibi ingenio non habuerit* (63). There is in the library of Vienna a manuſcript of this Martin, where he ſays that he was born in Oppaw a city of Bohemia. *Ipſe Martinus in præfat. Coditis MSi cujuſdam Bibl. Viennenſis, ſeipſum ait de regno* Bohemiæ *oriundum, patria* Opimenſem; *vel, ut in alio MSo, ut & Codice monaſterii Gamingenſis rectius legitur*, Oppavienſem, *obſervante Lambecio lib.* 2. *Bibl. Vindob.* (64). At that time Poland was better known in Italy than Bohemia was, and people gave themſelves very little trouble about Geographical niceties. Thus a man born in any country which bordered upon the kingdom of Poland eaſily paſſed for a Polander. Thoſe who ſay that Martin was a Polander, of the city Carſula or Corſula (65), examine things in a very ſuperficial manner; for if he were of that city, he would be an Italian (66). They tack together what Volaterranus relates of his being a native of Carſula, and what others affirm of his being a Polander; but Volaterranus is miſtaken.

(66) Volaterranus ſays, *lib. xxi, p. m.* 739, that Carſula is at this day named Caſcina; and *lib. vi, p.* 199, that this town is in Umbria.

[*E*] *The Martinus Carſulanus, of whom Volaterranus ſpeaks in the beginning of the twenty-ſecond book, is the ſame with this.*] Volaterranus expreſſes himſelf in this manner: 'Pontificum Romanorum ſeu temporum eorum hiſtoriam ſcripſere. . . . . Vincentius & Martinus Carſulanus ordinis ambo Prædicatorum Jo. XXII tempore (67). - - - *The Hiſtory of the Popes of Rome, or of thoſe times was written by . . . . Vincentius and Martinus Carſulanus, both of the order of preachers, in the Pontificate of John XXII.*' He had ſaid elſewhere (68), in giving a catalogue of the famous Dominicans, 'Martinus Pœnitentiarius urbis, patria Carſulanus quam Caſcinam vocant, chronicam ſcripſit quam Martinianam vocant, Jo. XXII tempore. - - - *Martin Penitentiary of Rome, and born at Carſula, which they call Caſcina, writ the chronicle ſirnamed Martinian, in the time of John XXII.*' It is evident that he means the ſame Martin in theſe two paſſages; notwithſtanding which Voſſius doubts of it (69). He commits a greater blunder ſtill, ſince he imagines that Volaterranus ſpeaks of one Vincentius Carſulanus in the beginning of the twenty-ſecond book. He confeſſes that he does not know that author (70). But how ſhould he, ſeeing it is all a chimera? Volaterranus is only ſpeaking of the ſame Vincentius Bellovacenſis whom he had mentioned in book XXI (71).

(67) Volaterran. *lib. xxii, init.*

(68) Ib. *lib. xxi, p.* 759.

(69) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *lib. ii, cap. lx, p.* 485, *& cap. lxiv, p.* 507.

(70) De eo nihil ultra occurrit. *Ibid. p.* 507.

(71) Pag. 759.

POMPONATIUS (PETER) was born at Mantua, the ſixteenth of September 1462 (*a*). He was a man of ſo ſmall a ſtature, that he wanted but little of being a dwarf (*b*); but he was endowed with excellent parts, and accounted one of the greateſt Philoſophers of his age. He taught Philoſophy at Padua with a wonderful reputation, having the famous Achillini for his antagoniſt, whoſe puzzling objections would have often confounded him, had it not been for his ſkill in ſhifting them off with a witty jeſt [*A*]. During the dreadful war in which the Venetians were engaged againſt the league of Cambray, he removed to Bologna, where he taught Philoſophy. Though he was married thrice, he never had but one daughter (*c*), to whom he gave twelve thouſand ducats for her portion (*d*). I know that he did not die in the year 1512 (*e*), as Moreri will have it; but the time of his death is unknown to me: I only know that ſome ſay he attained to a very great age (*f*), and others, that he died of a retention of urine in the ſixty-third year of his life (*g*). His dead body was removed to Mantua, where cardinal Hercules de Gonzagua cauſed it to be decently buried (*b*). That great Philoſopher

(*a*) Laurus Gauricus, in Schemat. *Tract. IV, fol.* 57, *verſo.*

(*b*) Erat puſillus corpore homuncio quodammodo nanus. *Ibid.*

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) See the remark [*B*] towards the end.

(*f*) Obiit ſenio confectus. *Ibid.*

(*g*) Sexageſimo tertio ætatis anno ſtranguria oborta Bononiæ fato functus eſt. *Jovius, in Elog. cap. lxxi, p. m.* 165.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *His ſkill in ſhifting them off with a witty jeſt.*] This I find in Jovius. 'In coronis, *ſays he* (1), conſeſſuque doctorum, quum exercitatione perutili ad prætoriam porticum diſputaretur, ita mirus evadebat, ut ſæpe ancipiti, & cornuto Achillini enthymemate circumventus, ſuperfuſo facetiarum ſale, adverſarii impetum, ex illis gyris, & mæandris explicatus eluderet. - - - *In large companies, and in an aſſembly of the learned, while they were diſputing upon ſerious and uſeful points, he had ſuch a wonderful art of evading, that oftentimes being hard preſſed by a ſharp and piercing argument of Achillini, he had recourſe to a witty jeſt, and thus eluding his adverſary's attack, extricated himſelf out of the labyrinth he was in.*' Nothing can be more convenient in a diſpute than this talent of Pomponatius: If you are not able to anſwer an argument, if you find it puzzling and inſoluble, you may get off with a witty jeſt; all the laughing men will be of your ſide, and your adverſary will be confounded.

(1) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. *cap. lxxi, p. m.* 164.

Solventur riſu tabulæ, tu miſſus abibis (2).

He laugh'd and jeer'd at, you diſcharg'd the court.

(2) Horat. Sat. I, lib. ii, ver. ult.

It is upon ſuch an occaſion that this maxim proves true,

- - - - Ridiculum acri
Fortius & melius magnas plerunque ſecat res (3).

- - - - *A waggiſh ſneer*
Doth hit the great ones more than a ſevere.

CREECH.

(3) Idem, Sat. X, lib. i, ver. 14.

I knew a Profeſſor of Philoſophy, who made himſelf dreaded only upon this account. He was a man of no depth, and would have been eaſily confounded in a public diſputation, had it not been for his jeſts and ſometimes even for his low puns, which ſet the aſſembly a laughing. The ſtrongeſt objections came to nothing by that means, and he was ſo fully perſuaded that it was the beſt way of anſwering a puzzling argument, that he made uſe of it, even when he might have made a ſerious and ſolid anſwer. But after all, men of ſenſe do not reſt ſatisfied with ſuch a method; they laugh as well as others, but they adjudge the victory to thoſe who deſerve the honour of it. Paul Jovius obſerves,

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losopher was brought into trouble by the Monks, on account of his book concerning the immortality of the soul [B], and was suspected of impiety. The clamours raised against him, and the books published against his tract, did not make him alter his opinion:

observes, that Achillini prevailed in a disputation by the insuperable strength of his doctrine; though Pomponatius, his antagonist, made the assembly merry with his jests, and used many sly tricks. *Æmulum in corona veteratorie disputantem, & risum falsa dicacitate sæpius excitantem, ipso invicto doctrinæ robore superabat* (4). I must observe, by the by, that Pomponatius made use of his talent like a cunning man, to get the scholars of Achillini, who was a plain man, and unfit for intrigues (5).

(4) Jovius, ubi supra, *cap. lvii, p.* 134.

(5) Ipso Pomponatio acri æmulo insidiosa ambitione scholam ejus depopulante. Erat enim à summa ingenii simplicitate ambierdi, adulandique prorsus imperitus. *Ibid.*

[B] *He was brought into trouble by the Monks, on account of his book concerning the immortality of the soul.*] These are Jovius's words: *Exorto bello Veneto, post Achillini mortem Bononiæ professus est; ubi cucullatos sacerdotes contra se in caput, & nominis famam vehementissimè concitavit; edito scilicet volumine, quo animas post corporis mortem interituras, ex sententia Aristotelis probare nitebatur; secutus Aphrodisæi placita, cujus dogmate ad corrumpendam juventutem, dissolvendamque Christianæ vitæ disciplinam, nihil pestilentius induci potuit* (6). Jovius acts here the part of an Historian, and of a judge: he says not only that Pomponatius endeavouring to prove, that the soul of man is not immortal, according to Aristotle's opinion, exposed himself to the persecutions of the Monks, but also, that it is the most pernicious doctrine that ever was, and the most proper to corrupt youth and Christian morality. He is certainly much more in the right, when he keeps within the bounds of an Historian, than when he sets up for a judge; for it is not at all material, whether Aristotle believed the mortality of the soul, or whether, according to the principles laid down by him, one cannot well prove that it is not mortal. And therefore if Pomponatius maintained only, that any one who sticks to Aristotle's principles, must needs own that it dies with the body, his opinion is not pernicious, provided he acknowledges the immortality of the soul: but he expressly and formally acknowledges it. He examines Aristotle's hypothesis; he declares what may be said for or against that hypothesis; he brings in the Philosophical reasons that were alledged at that time, to prove that the soul is mortal or immortal; he observes wherein the strength or the weakness of the arguments lies on both sides, and then he concludes, that there being no demonstrative reason for the mortality or immortality of the soul, that question ought to be looked upon as a problematical one. Now, says he, since it belongs to God to decide the problematical questions about which men dispute, let us enquire whether he teaches us that our souls are immortal, and let us keep to his decision, as a definitive and infallible sentence. Afterwards, he proves by the Old and New Testament, that there is a future life, and declares that his faith is grounded upon that. These are his words: (7) *His itaque sic se habentibus, mihi (salva saniori sententia) in hac materia dicendum videtur, quòd quæstio de immortalitate animæ est neutrum problema, sicut etiam de mundi æternitate: mihi namque videtur quòd nullæ rationes naturales adduci possunt cogentes animam esse immortalem, minusque probantes animam esse mortalem, sicut quamplures Doctores tenentes eam immortalem declarant . . . . . quapropter dicemus sicut Plato I de Legibus certificare de aliquo cum multi ambigunt solius est Dei; cum itaque tam illustres viri inter se ambigant, non nisi per Deum hæc certificari posse existimo. . . . .* (8) *Quapropter dico quòd ante donum vel adventum gratiæ, multifariam per Prophetas, & bona supernaturalia hanc quæstionem Deus terminavit, ut manifestè per vetùs Testamentum est videre; novissimè autem per Filium, quem constituit hæredem universorum, per quem fecit & sæcula eam quæstionem dilucidavit, sicut scribit Apostolus Epist. ad Hebræos. . . . .* (9) *Quantò lux distat à lucido, & veritas à vero, & quantò causa infinita est potior effectu finito, tantò efficacius hoc demonstrat immortalitatem animæ; quare si quæ rationes probare videntur mortalitatem animæ, sunt falsæ & apparentes, cum prima lux, & prima veritas ostendant oppositum, si quæ verò videntur probare ejus immortalitatem, veræ quidem sunt & lucidæ, sed non lux & veritas: quare hæc sola via inconcussa & stabilis est, cæteræ vero sunt fluctuantes. . . . . .* (10) QUARE INDUBIE (11) *ipsam immortalem esse asserendum est: verùm ea non via incedendum est quâ hujus seculi sapientes incesserunt, qui cum sapientes se dixerunt stulti facti sunt, quisquis enim hac via procedet ut existimo semper incertus & vagus fluctuabit.* How can such a man be accused of impiety? How can he be taxed with denying the immortality of the soul? At this rate one might affirm, that all Divines bring into question the Trinity, the Incarnation, Transubstantiation, the Resurrection, and, in general, all the doctrines which they ground only on revelation, without pretending that they are discovered to us by the light of reason. Will not the holy Scriptures, being once acknowledged to be the word of God, as effectually produce the belief of the immortality of the soul, as a Geometrical demonstration (12). Jovius gives a very wrong judgment of that work of Pomponatius. Had he said in general, that the denying of the immortality of the soul destroys morality, he would have said a thing which is looked upon as a common notion, though some are of opinion it is not so certain as it seems to be; for, say they, if we consider what sort of life the Christians live, their lewdness, slanders, cheats, and whatever they do to get money and preferments, or to supplant their competitors, we shall find that they could not be worse, though they did not believe a future state. It will be found, generally speaking, that they only forbear doing such things as are attended with infamy, or a capital punishment: two curbs, which would put a stop to the corruption of an impious man, *cæteris paribus*, as well as to theirs. But this is a subject that would require a particular treatise.

(6) Jovius, ubi supra, *cap. lxxi, p.* 164.

(7) Petrus Pomponatius, de Immortalitate Animæ, *cap. xv, & ult. pag. m.* 124.

(8) Ibid. *pag.* 125.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 126.

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 128.

(11) *Note, that his last chapter is intituled,* In quo ponitur ultima conclusio in hac materia, quæ sententia mea videtur indubie sustinenda.

(12) See, above, the article PERROT (Nicolas), citations (46) and (47).

FACTS concerning the treatise of Pomponatius concerning the Immortality of the Soul.

When I consider that Pomponatius did publickly acknowledge, that we cannot be sure of the immortality of the soul by the light of reason; I do not know what to think of the distinction which he is said to have made before his judges. The thing is related by la Mothe le Vayer in the following manner, 'Such a 'dexterity proved very successful not long ago to 'Pomponatius. That Philosopher having declared 'with a peripatetical liberty and warmth, that he 'did not believe the immortality of the soul, was pro'secuted by the Inquisition; but he got off by virtue 'of this explanation, that he did not believe it, pro'perly speaking, since he knew it demonstratively, as 'he explained himself in a long discourse to some 'judges, who had been formerly his scholars, and 'whose favour he stood pretty much in need of at 'this time (13).' I should rather think that he distinguished between faith and science, than between science and opinion, that is, he confessed to them that he had no demonstration of the immortality of the soul; but that he believed it as an article of faith revealed in the Scripture, and decided by the councils (14). However it be, it is said, he was not sorry that his book should be confuted, and that he wished, the pernicious poison that was in it might be destroyed by the antidote of Javellus's answer. This the Jesuit Antony Sirmond observes against a man, who had published in France Pomponatius's tract without that answer. *Quem repugnante autore nescio quis curiosus, aut impius, novis typis jusserat in lucem exire solitarium & sine responsione Javelli, quam ipse Pomponatius scripta ad eum epistola ita olim comprobarat, ut palam rogaret edici, se quoque suffragante, perspersum libro suo venenum hoc antidoto nisi diluatur, pestiferum esse, ac toti humano generi extimescendum* (15). I think this Philosopher be thought himself too late of this charitable office; for he maintained his first book twice against Niphus, and once against Ambrose, archbishop of Naples. This you will find in the same Sirmond (16); but he says nothing of the book published by Contarinus, in the year 1516, against that of Pomponatius, which appeared very solid to that Philosopher. 'Edidit juvenis 'adhuc (trigesimum enim tertium ætatis annum tunc 'agebat) librum contra judicium Petri Mantuani docto'ris sui . . . . argumenta autem illa firma ad proban'dum & gravia fuisse, opusque totum valde elabora'tum perspicitur, quia acutissimus ille physicus in li'bro quo defendit opinionem illam suam acriter op'pugnatam ab eo quem instruxerat, tradit eum librum '& doctissimum omnium & uberrimum esse qui omni 'tempore materiam illam persecuti sunt: additque vi'deri prorsus eum divina opera & manu fabricatum 'fuisse

(13) La Mothe le Vayer, Dialogue de la Diversité des Religions, *pag.* m. 294, 295. *It is the last of the five dialogues of* Orasius Tubero.

(14) Animam esse immortalem est articulus fidei, ut patet per Symbolum Apostolorum & Athanasii. Pomponatius, ad finem *supra, p.* 122.

(15) Antequam Sirmondus de Immortalitate Animæ, *pag.* 1, 2. *He had* was printed at *Paris in the year* 1635, *in* 8vo.

(16) Ibid. in Appendice, *p.* 19, 20.

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opinion: he made ſeveral replies, and inſtead of giving ground, went on ſteadily, keeping to his firſt corrective [C], viz. that the divine authority of the ſcripture was to him an unſhaken foundation, on which he grounded his belief of the immortality of the

' fuiſſe (17). - - - - *He publiſhed while he was ſtill a young man (for he was then in the thirty-third year of his age) a book againſt the doctrine of his maſter Pomponatius . . . . It plainly appears that his arguments were ſtrong and weighty, and that the piece in general was extremely well finiſhed, ſince that ingenious Natural Philoſopher, in a book where he defends his opinion that was ſo ſmartly attacked by his own ſcholar, declared that his performance was abundantly more learned and copious, than any thing which had been ever writ upon that ſubject, and that he truly looked upon it as a compoſition altogether divine.*' Why then did he not wiſh that this anſwer of Contarinus ſhould be printed, for the time to come, with his treatiſe, as we are told that he wiſhed ſuch a thing as to Javellus's anſwer? Niphus wrote againſt Pomponatius by Leo the tenth's order. On the contrary, others ſay, that Pomponatius compoſed his tract, only to pleaſe that Pope; which is confuted by la Mothe le Vayer. I ſhall ſet down ſomewhat at large what he ſays upon this ſubject; there are ſome things in it whereby the text of this remark will be illuſtrated. ' I need not ' enlarge upon theſe conſiderations (18), ſince every body ' may ſee what thoſe two great adverſaries, Pomponatius and Niphus, wrote upon this ſubject above a ' hundred years ago. Whereupon I muſt adviſe my ' reader to place among the idle fancies of Poſtel, a ' man who is known to have had very dangerous intervals, what he aſſerts, that Pomponatius engaged ' in that diſpute only to pleaſe the ſupreme * pontif, ' of whom he ſpeaks very diſreſpectfully. For, on ' the contrary, it is certain that Niphus was pitched ' upon by Pope Leo X, to whom he dedicated his ' book, as one of the moſt learned men of his time, ' and beſt qualified to defend a cauſe as far as it can be ' defended. And indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that he ' did all that could be done for a cauſe which lay ' open to great diſadvantages, being confined, by a ' mutual agreement, within the bounds of Peripatetiſm; ' and therefore Pomponatius jeſts upon him, ſaying, that ' he imitated a Phyſician of Milan, who ordered all ' ſorts of graſs that grew in a meadow, to be put into a bath, in hopes that ſome of them would prove ' beneficial to his patient: that in like manner Niphus had made uſe of all ſorts of arguments, tho' ' never ſo weak and ſophiſtical, to try whether ' ſome of them would be ſatisfactory. The beſt of ' all is, that the queſtion was about Ariſtotle's ' opinion, which after all, cannot be more prejudicial to truth, than what he ſays of the eternity of the ' world, or the quinteſſence of the Heavens, two o' pinions that are laughed at in the ſchools (19).' Spondanus having ſaid, that all Philoſophers were forbidden by Leo X to teach, that the ſoul of man is mortal, and but one in all men (20), obſerves, that it is thought Pomponatius occaſioned that bull. ' Occaſionem autem prædictæ de philoſophis ſanctioni ' dediſſe dicitur *Petrus Pomponatius* Mantuanus, Jovii ' in philoſophiâ præceptor: qui enarrans Ariſtotelem ' & Averroëm Bononiæ, animas poſt corporis mortem interituras ex ſententiâ Ariſtotelis probare conatus, ' juventutem valdè corruperat; ſe eo tuens quòd philoſophicè loquereturr, ſed aliter, cùm Chriſtianus eſſet, ſentiret (21). - - - *Petrus Pomponatius of Mantua, Jovius's maſter in Philoſophy, is ſaid to have given occaſion to the above mentioned bull concerning Philoſophers; becauſe while he explained Ariſtotle and Averroës at Bologna, he had very much corrupted the youth, by endeavouring to prove that according to Ariſtotle's opinion the ſoul dies with the body; making this excuſe for himſelf that he ſpoke as a Philoſopher, but that as a Chriſtian, he thought otherwiſe.*' Theſe words are not exact; for Spondanus ſuppoſes that Pomponatius taught, as Averroes did, that all men have but one ſoul in ſome reſpects, than which nothing can be more falſe. If you read his book, you will find, that having laid down the opinion of Averroes in the third chapter, he declares in the very beginning of the fourth, that it is abſurd and monſtrous, and that he does not think it neceſſary to confute it; becauſe Thomas Aquinas has ſo fully ſhewn the extravagancy of that opinion that the Averroiſts are not able to make any further reply: he has ſo entirely overcome them, ſays he, that the only thing they can do is to to give him hard words. *Tam luculenter tam ſubtiliter adverſus hanc opinionem invehitur, ut ſententia mea nihil intactum, nullamque reſponſionem quam quis pro Averroë adducere poteſt impugnatam relinquat; totum enim impugnat, diſſipat, & annihilat, nullumque Averroiſtis refugium relictum eſt, niſi convitia & maledicta in Divinum & Sanctiſſimum virum* (22). And therefore, referring his readers to Thomas Aquinas, he only ſhews, that Averroës could not find that chimerical notion in Ariſtotle. ' Quamvis hæc opinio tempeſtate noſtra ſit mul' tùm celebrata, & fere ab omnibus pro conſtanti ha' beatur eam eſſe Ariſtotelis, mihi tamen videtur quod ' nedum in ſe ſit falſiſſima, verum inintelligibilis, & ' monſtroſa, & ab Ariſtotele prorſus aliena; imò exi' ſtimo quòd tanta fatuitas nunquam fuerit nedum ' credita, verùm excogitata: Et primò quidem de ejus ' falſitate nihil novi intendo adducere, ſed tantùm ' lectorem remittere ad ea quæ latinorum decus Divus ' Thomas Aquinas . . . . ſed quoad ſecundum hæc pau' cula quæ mihi plenam fidem faciunt adducere ſtatui, ' videlicet hoc alienum eſſe ab Ariſtotele, verùm hoc ' eſſe figmentum, & monſtrum ab Averroë confictum (23). - - - *Though this opinion be very current in our days, and almoſt univerſally allowed to be Ariſtotle's, yet to me it ſeems not only extremely falſe in itſelf, but likewiſe unintelligible, monſtrous, and entirely contrary to Ariſtotle's ſentiments; nay I am truly perſuaded, that ſuch a fooliſh conceit, far from being believed, was never thought of: and firſt as to the falſeneſs of it I ſhall ſay nothing new, but only refer the reader to what Thomas Aquinas, that honour to Latin authors . . . . but in the ſecond place I ſhall mention a few things which have fully convinced me, that this opinion was entirely foreign to Ariſtotle, and is indeed the monſtrous production of Averroës.*' Nevertheleſs, it may ſaid that he was one of thoſe who occaſioned the bull of Leo X, of which he made no great account. It was read and approved by the Fathers of the council of Lateran, in the eighth ſeſſion, in the month of December 1513, and he wrote his book concerning the immortality of ſoul in the year 1516 (24). From whence we may infer, by the by, that Moreri, Konig, and ſeveral others are miſtaken, who place his death in the year 1512. According to the calculation of his nativity, mentioned by Gauricus, he was born in the year 1462. But according to Jovius, he died in the ſixty-third year of his life, and therefore he muſt have died in 1525. Freherus (25) ſays, that he flouriſhed in 1530, which is a miſtake.

[C] *He made ſeveral replies, and inſtead of giving ground, went on ſteadily, keeping to his firſt corrective.*] Having no other book of Pomponatius but his treatiſe *de immortalitate animæ*, I am not able to give a Chronological Hiſtory of the diſpute that was occaſioned by it. All that I can do is to make uſe of what I find in Mr le Noble. I do not take the account he gives of it to be altogether exact, and I perceive ſeveral omiſſions in it; but I am apt to believe that the things contained in it are true, and I muſt be contented with what he ſays, ſince I can have no better information (26). ' That tract (27) made a great noiſe, and when ' it came out at Venice, Pomponatius adds, that the ' Monks, whom he denotes by the word *Cucullati*, ' raiſed great clamours againſt his doctrine. . . . . (28) ' Thoſe *Cucullati* inveighed in their ſermons againſt ' Pomponatius, as againſt a downright Heretic, cauſed ' the reading of that treatiſe to be forbidden by the ' Patriarch, whom that Philoſopher calls a man of a ' moſt holy life, but very ignorant in Philoſophy and ' Divinity; and afterwards, by a decree of the ſenate, ' the Bookſellers were forbidden to ſell it . . . . A man ' of letters . . . . wrote againſt that treatiſe with great ' moderation . . . . (29) Pomponatius compoſed an a' pology in anſwer to that author: in the two firſt ' books of that apology, he anſwered, paragraph by ' paragraph, all the arguments alledged againſt his ' doctrine, and proved again, that Ariſtotle did not be' lieve the immortality of the ſoul, and that it could ' not be proved by natural reaſons. In the third book ' he very much blames the violent anger of Brother ' Ambroſe

(17) Johan. Cafa, in Vita Gaſparis Contareni, *p.* m. 184.

(18) That is, whether Ariſtotle teaches the Immortality of the Soul.

* Lib. i, de orb. concord.

(19) La Mothe le Vayer, de l'Immortalitate de l'Ame, *pag.* 136, 137, *of the 4th volume of his works in* 12*mo.*

(20) You will ſee the words of that bull towards the end of the remark [L] of the article SPINOZA.

(21) Spondanus, Annal. Eccleſ. *ad ann.* 1513, *num.* 20, *p.* m. 308.

(22) Pomponat. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 8, 9.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Finis impoſitus eſt huic tractatui per me Petrum filium Joannis Nicolai Pomponatii de Mantua die 24 menſis Septembris anno Chriſti 1516 Bononiæ. *Ibid.*

(25) In Theatro, *p.* 1441.

(26) Le Noble, Tableaux des Philoſophes, *Tom. ii, p.* 80.

(27) That is, the tract concerning the Immortality of the Soul.

(28) Ib. *p.* 81.

(29) Ib. *p.* 82.

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the soul. His tract *de Incantationibus* was also accounted a very dangerous book [D]. He did not want apologists (i); but the only thing that some alledge in his justification is, that he renounced his Atheism [E]. If the charge of impiety laid upon him was only

(i) See the remark [E].

' Ambrose of Naples, of the order of the hermits of ' St Augustin, who had been made bishop some few ' days before. He complains, that preaching his lent ' sermons in the cathedral church of Mantua, he ' had spoke very injuriously of him from the pulpit, ' calling him publickly an heretical and impious man, ' and falsely charging him with not believing the re- ' surrection and the immortality of the soul. He ' therefore declares, that he believes that souls are ' immortal, and that he is ready to die in defence of ' that truth; but that he is fully persuaded of it, be- ' cause God hath revealed it to men, and not because ' the light of reason teaches it, and that if Brother ' Ambrose will give him good reasons for the contra- ' ry, he is ready to hear him and change his opinion.' Afterwards he says, that the patriarch of Venice wrote to Peter Bembo, who was at Rome, *to desire him to get that tract concerning the immortality of the soul, condemned by the Pope.* Bembo read it, *and tho' he found nothing in it contrary to truth, yet, according to the duty of his place, he communicated it to the master of the apostolical palace, who having read it, was of Bembo's opinion, that it contained nothing but what was agreeable to the doctrine of the most celebrated doctors of the Christian religion* (30).

(30) Ib. *p.* 83.

' (31) Afterwards, as it is usual to grow hot by ' much disputing, and to carry things too far, he (32) ' maintains and endeavours to prove, that the immor- ' tality of the soul is repugnant to natural reason, and ' that nothing can be more injurious to faith, than to ' pretend to prove it by natural arguments. . . . (33). ' When Pomponatius had made this apology, a new ' book, written by Augustin Niphus, a Philosopher, ' came out against his first treatise concerning the im- ' mortality of the soul. Pomponatius answered it by ' another tract, intituled *Defensorium*, wherein he shews ' Niphus's ignorance, further proves what he had ad- ' vanced, and at last concludes that work with these ' words: if Christ is raised from the dead, we shall ' likewise rise, and if we rise, the soul is immortal. ' But it is certain that Christ is raised; therefore it ' is true that the soul is immortal. This is, says he, ' the only solid argument whereby the immortality of ' the soul can be proved: whoever is not contented ' with it, does not deserve the name of Christian, and ' does not know the excellency of faith, which ought ' to have the first place in all our reasonings, and is ' alone sufficient to lay down in a solid manner what ' cannot be maintained any other way.'

(31) Ib. *p.* 84.

(32) That is, Pomponatius in his apology.

(33) Le Noble, ubi supra, *p.* 85, 86.

We shall see below, that Mr le Noble censures some of these thoughts of Pomponatius.

[D] *His tract* de incantationibus *was accounted a very dangerous book.*] It appears from it, that he believed nothing of what is said about Magic and Witchcraft, and he lays great stress on I know not what virtues that some men have had, whereby they produced miraculous effects. He alledges many instances of it; but his adversaries do not allow that they are true, or free from Magic, and wonder that Zacutus should think himself obliged in conscience to believe them. Here is a passage of Theophilus Raynaud (34). ' Ex- ' empla quæ ad specialem aliquorum hominum proprie- ' tatem individualem ad miros effectus præstandos, ' præsertim sanationum, à Pomponatio addensantur; ' vel fabulosa sunt, vel Magica, ut Andreas Lauren- ' tius capite (35) illo 4. contendit. Ridiculè autem Za- ' cutus (36) dicta q. 53. inter *magnos autores quibus* ' *fidem abrogasse piaculum propè esse dicit*, numerat Pom- ' ponatium in Opere de Incantationibus, exempla illa ' recensentem. - - - *The many examples which Pomponatius brings to prove, that there is a special and individual virtue in some men to perform wonderful things, particularly in the cure of diseases, are either false, or owing to Magic, as Andreas Laurentius affirms. But Zacutus ridiculously places Pomponatius, with respect to those examples in his book* de Incantationibus, *among the great authors whom he reckons it a sort of impiety not to believe.*' He refers us to his *Theologia Naturalis*, wherein the following words against that book of Pomponatius are to be found (37). ' Nec minor ' Pomponatii culpa, qui (38) idem conatus in opere ' de incantationibus ad extremum tamen subjicit opus ' suum correctioni Ecclesiæ, à qua ut rectè suprà di- ' vinavit (39) Carpentarius aliud expectare non potuit, ' quàm unam lineam à principio ad finem usque du- ' ctam. Ita enim factum est, collocato ante aliquot ' annos, inter reprobata, illo opere, in quo Buccafferr. ' l. de divinat. per somnium lect. 29. ait asseri à Pom- ' ponatio, *multa falsa, & multas ac magnas nugas.* - - - ' *Nor was Pomponatius less to blame, who having at- ' tempted the same thing in his book* de Incantationibus, ' *did however at last submit it to the censure of the ' church, from which, as Carpentarius rightly guessed ' above, he could expect no other thing but to have one ' line drawn quite across from the beginning to the end. ' For so it happened a few years ago, when that book ' was condemned, in which, according to Buccaffer. l. de ' divinat. &c. Pomponatius asserts many things that are ' false, and many that are exceedingly trifling.*' A Fel- low-Jesuit of Theophilus Raynaud, expressed himself with greater force. ' Pomponatii de Incantationibus ' opusculum certè miratus fui tam diu tolerari ab Ec- ' clesiâ; nunc recens & meritò in Romano Indice dam- ' natur; verissimum enim quod ab Antonio Miradu- ' lano ** scriptum, hoc opere Pomponatium, se nec ' philosophum bonum, nec quod fœdiùs Christianum ' bonum exhibuisse, cum effectus omnes mirificos cœ- ' lorum influctionibus adscribit; adeò ut velit & reli- ' giones & leges earumque latores ab iis dependere. ' Quod prorsus impium (40). - - - *I was certainly sur- ' prized, that this treatise of Pomponatius* de Incantatio- ' nibus *was so long suffered by the Church. It has lately ' with very good reason been put in the catalogue of con- ' demned books; for it is most true what Antony of Mi- ' randula says, that Pomponatius, by this performance, has ' neither shewed himself to be a good Philosopher, nor, ' which is still worse, a good Christian, since he ascribes ' all wonderful effects to the influence of heavenly bodies, ' and would have religion, laws, and law-givers, to de- ' pend upon them: which is a monstrous impiety.*' Pomponatius speaking of the cures that are ascribed to the virtue of relics, said a thing which at first seems to be offensive, but one might give it a very good turn according to the common hypothesis. He affirms, that the bones of a dog would as effectually produce a cure, if the sick person, who relies on the virtue of relics, formed the same imagination concerning those bones, as concerning the bones and ashes of martyrs. *Pomponatius dicere non veretur in sanatione acquisita ex veneratione Ossium Divis ascriptorum, si essent ossa canis & tanta & talis de eis haberetur imaginatio non minus subsequeretur sanitas* (41). The controversial writers of the Church of Rome being not able to deny, that some supposititious relics have wrought miracles, as it is pretended, say, that the good intention of those who have recourse to them, procured them such a reward from GOD.

(34) Theoph. Raynaudus, de Stigmatismo sacro & profano, §. *ii*, *cap. iv*, *p. m.* 321, 322.

(35) *That is, of the first book* de Strumis.

(36) *That is, of the first book* Mediocrium principum Historiæ.

(37) Id. in Theologia Naturali, *Distinct. III*, *Quæst. II*, *Art. V*, *num.* 139, *p. m.* 200, 201.

(38) That is, to reject what is said of the devil's operations.

** Lib. vi, de singulari certamine.

(39) *That is*, Dig. IV, in Alcino.

(40) Marc. Delrio, Disquisit. Magicar. *lib. i*, *cap. iii*, *pag. m.* 22.

(41) Jo. Wierus, de Præstigiis Dæmonum, *lib. v*, *cap. xvii*, *p. m.* 402. *He quotes the 2d book of* Pomponatius, de Incantamentis, *cap. xii.*

[E] *The only thing that some alledge in his justification is, that he renounced his Atheism.*] Helidæus, a famous Physician of Forli, said, that his master Pomponatius was an Atheist. John Wierus hopes that this Philosopher did not die in that condition. *Pomponatium ante redditum spiritus extremi halitum respuisse ex singulari Dei miseratione, nec permansisse ἀθεον. Sperare volo. Talem etenim fuisse, à clarissimo medicinæ ornamento D. Helidæo Foroliviensi, ejus olim discipulo non semel auditum est* (42). Voetius tells us that Gratarolus made an apology for Pomponatius, and is so equitable as not to follow the stream. He owns, that most of the Catholic writers, and some Protestant authors, call that Philosopher an Atheist (43), and lays some stress upon the remark of the apologist, that the opinion of Pomponatius about the mortality of the soul, concerned only Aristotle's hypothesis. He should have said, that this is a plain proof of that author's innocency, unless he designed to hide his pernicious doctrine under that cover. Voetius alledges that restriction. ' *Guil. Gratarolus Medicus Italus* (quem propria scripta ' uno volumine in 8vo Basileæ edita, & testimonium ' *Bezæ in epistolis*, ut & *in dedicatione libelli* cujusdam, ' aliorumque præterea doctorum virorum suffragia, ' quorum familiaritate Basileæ & alibi usus est, à Pie- ' tatis zelo commendant) eum contra calumniatores ' tuetur, & piè pro eo tempore vitam cum morte com- ' mutasse

(42) Wierus, *lib. vi*, in Epilogo Operis, *p. m.* 569.

(43) Voëtius, Disput. Theol. *Tom. i*, *p.* 197.

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only grounded on his book concerning the immortality of the ſoul, no accuſation was ever more impertinent [F], and a more ſignal inſtance of the unjuſt prepoſſeſſion of thoſe

'mutaſſe ſcribit: in *epiſtol. dedicator.* Operibus Pomponatii anno 1567. Baſil. editis præfixâ. . . . . Illud 'penitus conſiderandum, quod reſpondet: Eum ex 'mente Ariſtotelis negaſſe animæ immortalitatem: 'quod, ut illi cum aliis philoſophis ac Theologis ita 'judicantibus commune fuit (*Plutarcho, Galeno, Aphrodiſæo, Juſtino Martyre, Theodoreto, Origene, Nyſſeno, Nazianzeno, Cajetano in* 3. *de Anima*) ſic non debet 'hic fraudi eſſe: niſi probari poſſet illum ſub hoc 'ſchemate ſubdolè & tutò voluiſſe hunc Atheiſmum 'ſpargere in animos auditorum. Niſi itaque alia ex 'dictis, ſcriptis, factis ejus certior demonſtratio ſuppetat, utique in benigniorem partem, immo in optimam accipienda ſunt illa, quæ ille pro modulo & 'conditione ſua de Fato, Providentia Dei, & prædeſtinatione conſcripſit: in quibus ſi non rei dignitati, & 'ſolidis Theologis per omnia ſatisfaciat, ſaltem hoc 'præſtat, ne nigra Atheiſmi nota illi tam peremtoriè 'inuratur. Hæc ego in re dubia, poſtquam omnia 'ejus opuſcula præſertim modo nominata videre contigit: qui ante multos annos ex lectione ſolius tract. 'de Incantationibus (ubi placitis Avicennæ & Averrois 'nimis adhæreſcens, in ſupernaturalibus quibuſdam ſatis miſerè fluctuat) & ex communi aliorum judicio 'ſiniſtram magis de illo opinionem conceperam (44). '- - - *William Gratarolus, an Italian Phyſician, (in high 'repute for his religious zeal, as it appears from his 'own writings printed at Baſil in one volume in* 8vo, 'and *from the teſtimony of Beza in his epiſtles, and in 'the dedication of a certain book, and likewiſe from 'the joint ſuffrages of other learned men, with whom 'he converſed familiarly at Baſil and elſewhere) defends 'him againſt his falſe accuſers, and in the epiſtle dedicatory, prefixed to the works of Pomponatius printed at Baſil in* 1567, *ſays, that he died a pious death for thoſe 'times. . . . . That part of his anſwer ſhould be thoroughly conſidered, where he ſays that Pomponatius denied the 'immortality of the ſoul according to the opinion of Ariſtotle: which, ſeeing it was common to him with other 'Philoſophers and Divines of that opinion* (Plutarch, Galen, &c.) *ought not to redound to his diſadvantage 'in particular, unleſs it could be proved that he made 'uſe of that ſcheme in order to inſtil Atheiſm with the 'greater cunning and ſafety into the minds of his hearers. 'Wherefore, unleſs ſome more ſolid proof can be alledged 'from his ſayings, writings, or actions, a more favourable, or rather indeed a more reaſonable, conſtruction 'ought to be put upon what things he has written, after 'his way and manner concerning Fate, Providence, and 'Predeſtination: where if he does not come up in every 'part to the dignity of his ſubject, and ſatisfy judicious 'Divines, he at leaſt deſerves not to have the brand of 'Atheiſm ſo peremptorily fixed upon him. This came to 'be my opinion in a doubtful matter, when I had peruſed all his works, particularly thoſe above-mentioned; 'whereas ſome years before, from reading only his treatiſe* de Incantationibus (*where by ſticking too cloſely to 'the ſentiments of Avicenna and Averroës he is abundantly at a loſs about ſome ſupernatural things*) *and 'from the common talk of others, I had imbibed a much 'worſe opinion of him.*' I muſt not omit the epitaph which ſomebody made on this Philoſopher: 'Hic 'ſepultus jaceo. Quare? neſcio: nec ſi ſcis aut neſcis 'curo. Si vales, bene eſt: vivens valui. Fortaſſe 'nunc valeo. Si aut non, dicere nequeo (45). - - - - '*Here I lie buried. Why? I do not know: neither do 'I care whether you know or not. If you are in good 'health it is well. I was well when I was alive. 'Perhaps I am ſo now. But if I am, or am not, I 'cannot tell.*'

(44) Ibid. *pag.* 198.

(45) Konig, Biblioth. p. 654.

[F] *If the charge of impiety laid upon him was only grounded on his book concerning the immortality of the ſoul, no accuſation was ever more impertinent.*] In the firſt place, to aſſert, that the principles of Ariſtotle lead us to believe that the ſoul is mortal, is at moſt, but a perſonal reflexion. Whoever ſays ſo, is, at moſt, guilty of doing injuſtice to a man, who was preceptor to the conqueror of Aſia, and the founder of a moſt flouriſhing ſect. But can this be called an impiety? In the ſecond place, ſince Ariſtotle is dead, and conſequently cannot give an account of his faith, and clear the equivocations that are in his books, any one may be allowed to declare againſt him, if he finds in his writings, as many or more plauſible reaſons, to ſhew that he taught the mortality of the ſoul, than to ſhew that he taught it's immortality; and therefore nothing can be more harmleſs, than to convert the opinion of Ariſtotle on this great point into a problem, and to maintain the affirmative or negative, according as the reaſons alledged by him for or againſt the immortality of the ſoul, make a greater impreſſion. If any one does not take his ſenſe right, he does him injuſtice; but after all, it is only a material injury, which Ariſtotle would be obliged to forgive, by imputing it to his own want of exactneſs, and to his own variations and contradictions. *The moſt famous of all his interpreters* (46), *and many others after him, as the two Gregory's, Leſcot, Cajetan, and Simon Portius, have acknowledged, that* the Mortality of the Soul *was a thing altogether neceſſary, according to the doctrine of that Philoſopher* (47). And therefore he muſt needs have advanced ſome maxims, which afford a fair pretence to aſcribe to him ſuch an impious doctrine. It is therefore a moſt ridiculous thing to aſſert, that none but an impious man can have ſuch thoughts of Ariſtotle's doctrine; and conſequently, the pretended impiety of Pomponatius would be grounded on a groſs illuſion. Nay, he could not be ſuſpected, with any ſhew of reaſon, of any deſign prejudicial to the memory of that great founder of the Peripatetics. In the third place I obſerve, that one may aſſert, not only that it appears from his works, that he did not believe the immortality of the ſoul, but alſo that his ſyſtem, ſuch as the ſchoolmen have been pleaſed to explain it, and and ſuch as it is explained to this day in the univerſities, cannot afford any proofs of the immortality of the ſoul, and can furniſh us with many arguments for the contrary. For, in ſhort, the principal part of that ſyſtem is, 1. That natural bodies are made up of two ſubſtances, one whereof is called matter, and the other form. 2. That the form of all natural bodies, man only excepted, is a corruptible Being, which never fails to be deſtroyed when the compound periſhes, that is, whenever a ſtone, a tree, a dog, &c. are converted into natural bodies of another kind. From whence it neceſſarily reſults, that thoſe who follow this ſyſtem, can give no proofs of the immortality of the ſoul; for in order to it, they ſhould make it appear, that it is immaterial: but how can they ſhew it, ſince they own, that the ſoul of brutes, though endowed with the faculty of feeling, diſcerning, and deſiring, is material? It is to be obſerved that in Pomponatius's time, they knew of no philoſophical ſyſtem but that of Ariſtotle, ſo that to aſſert, that the immortality of the ſoul could not be proved by the principles of that Philoſopher, and to aſſert that it could not be proved by philoſophical reaſons, was one and the ſame thing. This goes a great way towards excuſing, and even juſtifying the book of Pomponatius; the rather, becauſe the Platonic, or any other ſect, did not afford better proofs. Des Cartes is the only Philoſopher who laid down very ſolid principles concerning this ſubject. He ſays, that all thinking ſubſtances are diſtinct from matter; from whence it neceſſarily follows, that the ſoul of man is a ſpirit, or a ſimple indiviſible Being, and conſequently immortal. No Carteſian will ſcruple to ſay, that the principles of the old Philoſophy cannot afford one good proof of the immortality of the ſoul. Were it not an extravagant thing to maintain, that a Carteſian who ſays ſo is an impious and atheiſtical man? Why then was Pomponatius ſo ill uſed? It will be ſaid, that a Carteſian acknowledges that his ſyſtem affords a demonſtrative proof of the immortality of the ſoul, whereas Pomponatius acknowledged no ſyſtem that afforded ſuch an argument. Such a difference cannot be admitted, but by ſuppoſing that this Philoſopher rejected the Carteſian ſyſtem, though he knew it; but he knew nothing of it, and therefore his fault lies only in not inventing a ſyſtem, according to which whatever thinks is incorporeal and ſpiritual. This is the fault of a great many orthodox men, and conſequently a chimerical one. I further add, that though he had rejected the ſuppoſition whereby whatever thinks is diſtinct from matter, he had done nothing but what is done at this day by men of great parts, who relying intirely on the authority of the Holy Scripture, as Pomponatius did, cannot be juſtly charged with irreligion

(46) Alexander Aphrodiſæus.

(47) La Mothe le Vayer, de l'Immortalité de l'Ame, *pag.* 139.

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thoſe who perſecute the Philoſophers. For he did not queſtion the immortality of the ſoul; on the contrary, he maintained that it was a moſt certain doctrine, and that he was fully perſwaded of it. He only aſſerted, that the natural reaſons alledged for it, are not ſolid and ſatisfactory. Now, though a good uſe may be made of the opinion he

(48) See, above, the end of the remark [M], of the article of the firſt DICÆARCHUS; and the remark [L], of the article PERROT (NICOLAS).

(49) Hæc ſola via inconcuſſa & ſtabilis eſt, cæteræ verò ſunt fluctuantes *Pomponat. de Immort. Animæ, cap. ult. p. m.* 126. See, above, what Ablancourt ſaid, towards the beginning of the remark [L] of his article PERROT (NICOLAS) Sieur d'Ablancourt.

(50) Hebr. vi, 19.

(51) See the remark [G].

ligion (48). Laſtly, I obſerve, that nothing can be more unworthy of a Divine, than to cry down a Philoſopher as an impious man, becauſe he declares, that in order to free our minds from the uncertainty of human reaſon, we ought to rely on the word of GOD, as containing the true foundation and moſt certain proofs of the immortality of our ſouls (49). This is what Pomponatius did, for which he was cruelly perſecuted by the monkiſh tribe. What a ſhameful and horrid thing was this!

I go farther, and ſay, that the Carteſians themſelves, who are convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, becauſe the principles of their Philoſophy appear evident to them, act the part of wiſe men, when they adviſe their readers to have recourſe to faith, as *an anchor of the ſoul, both ſure and ſtedfaſt, and which entereth into that within the veil* (50); that is to ground their belief of this doctrine on the authority of GOD, which is the true remedy of our uncertainties, and ſupplies the obſcurity of our reaſon. For if they have right notions of things, they ought to believe, that what appears evident to them, does not appear ſo to many other Philoſophers, who oppugn it. I have read in a book of Mr Arnauld, that Gaſſendus's reply to Des Cartes made many diſbelieve at Naples, the immortality of the ſoul (51), becauſe Gaſſendus uſed all his ſkill to enervate the arguments of Des Cartes, concerning that doctrine; which ſhews, that the Carteſian principle is not evident to every body. Nay, it is certain that if ignorant people made uſe of common ſenſe, they could never be ſure of the immortality of their ſouls, whilſt they ſee that the greateſt Philoſophers do not agree about it. Were an ignorant man to blame if he argued in this manner? If Des Cartes's arguments were evident, Gaſſendus could not oppugn them, ſo as to ſatisfy many people; for if Gaſſendus had writ a book wherein he had uſed all his wit and ſkill to prove, that the whole is not greater than it's parts, and that if things equal be taken from things equal, the remainder will not be equal, no body would have been perſuaded of the truth of thoſe aſſertions: and therefore ſince Gaſſendus, and many other great Philoſophers, do not want followers, when they oppoſe Des Cartes's doctrine, they muſt needs oppugn a doctrine that is not evidently true; there is therefore ſome obſcurity in it, it appears true to ſome, and falſe to others: how can I then reſolve the matter, being no ſcholar, and having no ſkill in diſputes? Some of thoſe great men muſt needs be miſtaken, and therefore whatever party I ſide with, I run the hazard of being in an error. People ſhould argue thus, when they ſee that learned men are divided in their opinions. But if they ſhould do ſo, how would they get out of their uncertainties? There is an effectual way for it, as to the immortality of the ſoul, which is to have recourſe to the light of revelation. And therefore if a Carteſian ſhould imitate Pomponatius, he ought to be accounted a wiſe man, and charitable to his neighbour. It is well done of him ſteadily to maintain the truth of his principle, and to anſwer, to the utmoſt of his power, thoſe who may object, that ſubſtances diſtinct from matter are, perhaps, of ſuch a nature as to be able to preſerve their exiſtence without having any thought; and that therefore ſpirituality is not a neceſſary proof of immortality: for if the life of the ſoul conſiſts in thought, it is certain, that a total ceſſation of thought would be a true death of the ſoul; and therefore the ſoul might die without ceaſing to be a ſpiritual ſubſtance, as dogs die without ceaſing to be a corporeal ſubſtance: but after all, if he adviſes his neighbour to rely on the word of GOD, he is to be commended for it. Note, that Scaliger the Father, one of the greateſt wits of his time, and who was never accounted a libertine, acknowledged, as Pomponatius did, that it is a matter of faith to know whether there is a future life. It has been always ſuſpected or believed, ſays he, but it is ſtill a matter of diſpute to this very day (52).

I ſhall conclude with ſome paſſages of a diſpute that laſted ſome years between a Miniſter of Rotterdam and a Miniſter of Utrecht. The firſt (53) owns, *That tho' he believes that matter is not capable of any ſenſation or knowledge, yet he has no* diſtinct *idea, and no* clear perception *of that truth, and cannot prove it to thoſe who deny it. What I perceive in it,* ſays he, *is confuſed and undiſtinct. . . .* (54). *Can M. Saurin, and his rational colleagues ſay in conſcience, that they have a clear perception and a diſtinct idea of the Immortality of the Soul? Are not theſe propoſitions clear in appearance, that* whatever has a beginning ought to have an end; *that a being, whoſe duration is divided by moments, days, and years, cannot be eternal, becauſe it would be infinite, and that infinite duration would contain an infinite number of moments, and yet there would be but an infinite number of days and years; and therefore there would be as many months and years as moments, which is a palpable abſurdity. An impious man ſays, theſe are clear perceptions, and they appear to him to be ſo.* The deſign of this Miniſter is ſomewhat like that of Pomponatius: he will have us to miſtruſt our reaſon, and to depend on the authority of GOD (55). Here follows his adverſary's anſwer (56). *I anſwer, that I have a clear perception and a diſtinct idea of the* Immortality of the Soul. *I know that the ſoul is a ſpiritual and indiviſible ſubſtance, which can only be deſtroyed by annihilation: I know that there is a providence, a ſupreme juſtice, a ſupreme felicity, a natural morality, in ſhort, a great many truths, which have a neceſſary connexion with the Immortality of the Soul, and conſequently they would be chimerical notions, if the ſoul was mortal: muſt a Chriſtian Philoſopher be leſs orthodox than Plato? Muſt he give the preference to Epicurus, when he draws up a parallel of the antient Philoſophers? . . .* (57). *Mr Jurieu confutes himſelf, when he ſays that* thoſe preceptions are clear in appearance: *for if they are only clear in appearance, nothing can be concluded from them in favour of thoſe that are really clear.*

(52) *Thus I render ſomewhat freely theſe words,* Cæterum eſſe alterum eſſe ab hoc eſſe adeo neſcimus ut quotidianis vel ſuſpicionibus vel perſuaſionibus res etiamnum ſit controverſa, ſola fide res agatur. *Scaliger adverſus Cardanum, Exercit. CCCVII, cap. xxxiii, p. m.* 990. *See the article* PERROT (NICOLAS), ubi ſupra, *citat.* (48), (49), *and* (50).

(53) Jurieu, Religion du Latitudinaire, *p.* 393.

(54) Ib. *p.* 394.

(55) Note, that he does not require we ſhould know, by a clear and diſtinct idea, that authority; that is, that we ſhould evidently know that God has revealed ſuch and ſuch things to us.

(56) Saurin, Juſtification of his Doctrine, *pag.* 467.

(57) Ib. *p.* 468.

I ſhall make ſome ſhort obſervations upon theſe words of Mr Saurin. I. Mr Jurieu does plainly ſuppoſe, that in order to have a *diſtinct idea*, and a *clear perception* of the ſpirituality of the ſoul, we muſt clearly apprehend, *that matter is not capable of any ſenſation or knowledge.* How comes it then, that Mr Saurin leaves this unanſwered? Should he not have ſaid, that he has a diſtinct idea, and a clear perception, whereby he knows, that an extended ſubſtance cannot have any ſenſation. II. It is not ſufficient to know, that the ſoul *cannot be deſtroyed but by annihilation*; for the ſame may be ſaid of extenſion, and yet trees and beaſts are mortal. Mr Saurin ſhould therefore have expreſſed himſelf thus; *I know that the ſoul cannot ſubſiſt without thought; the diſtinct idea I have of a ſpiritual and indiviſible ſubſtance teaches me, that if it were deprived of thought, it would ceaſe to exiſt.* III. Plato and Epicurus are improperly alledged; for this allegation ſuppoſes that Mr Jurieu is not ſo orthodox as Plato, and that he prefers the doctrine of Epicurus to that of the other antient Philoſophers; which is falſe. He acknowledges the Immortality of the Soul, but he has not a clear idea, and a diſtinct perception of it: he means, that his idea of it is not ſo evident, as that whereby we know the properties of numbers, and the connexion of a local preſence with the extenſion of matter. Do you think that Plato's idea of the Immortality of the Soul was as clear as that? When a man declares, that he does as the generality of mankind do, that is, that his perſuaſion goes farther than his evidence, the charge of unbelief laid upon him is a falſe accuſation. He cannot be accuſed of heterodoxy, ſince he believes what ought to be believed; all that can be ſaid againſt him, is, that he does not act like a Philoſopher. IV. The diſtinction between ideas apparently and really clear, is inſignificant; for the clearneſs of ideas does neceſſarily imply a relation to our minds, and is never ſeparated from appearance; they are always ſtiled or denominated clear from appearance. This is not the caſe with truth. An object may be true, tho' it appears falſe; but an idea, which appears obſcure, is neither really nor apparently clear; and therefore, if the clear ideas of the Immortality of the Soul are inconſiſtent with ideas that are apparently clear, Mr Jurieu's objection is good,

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he oppoſed, and though the Philoſophers, who make it their buſineſs to enforce the human reaſons, alledged for the immortality of the ſoul [G], ought to be commended and

good, ſo far is he from confuting himſelf, as his antagoniſt would have it. V. Laſtly, Mr Saurin is very much to blame for not anſwering the objection: he might have confounded Mr Jurieu in that reſpect, who falſly ſuppoſes that thoſe who ſay, that *whatever has a beginning muſt have an end*, go upon this, that an infinite duration would contain as many months and years as moments. He ſuppoſes that they look upon this as a great abſurdity. But he ſhould have known that the Atheiſts aſſert, that the duration of matter had no beginning, and will never end: and therefore they do not look upon the neceſſity of admitting an infinite number of moments, and an infinite number of months, and years, and ages, &c. as a good reaſon to reject a doctrine.

[G] *Though a good uſe may be made of the opinion which Pomponatius oppoſed, and though the Philoſophers who made it their buſineſs to enforce the human proofs of the Immortality of the Soul, ought to be commended.*] What I have to ſay upon this, cannot be better, nor more clearly and nobly expreſſed than in the words of a Divine, who was a follower of Des Cartes, and therefore I ſhall make uſe of no other commentary upon the text of this remark (58). 'It is ſaid that 'the reading of Gaſſendus's works, led ſome perſons 'at Naples, into the error of Epicurus, concerning 'the Mortality of the Soul. It muſt be confeſſed, 'that the inſtances of that Philoſopher, againſt the 'Metaphyſical Mediations of Des Cartes, may lead 'young people, not well confirmed in the Chriſtian 'faith, into that pernicious error, becauſe he has uſed 'all his ſkill to ſhew, that reaſon affords no ſolid ar'guments to prevent our believing, that there is no 'other diſtinction between the ſoul and the body, than 'between a thin and ſubtile body and a groſs one. 'On the contrary, I know that ſome pious perſons 'are of opinion, that what Des Cartes wrote upon 'that ſubject, ought to be looked upon as an effect 'of GOD's providence, who was willing to put a 'ſtop to the propenſity, which many people of theſe 'later times ſeem to have for irreligion, and a liber'tine way of thinking, by a method ſuited to their 'diſpoſition. They are a ſort of men, who will ad'mit nothing but what may be known by the light of 'reaſon; they are altogether unwilling to begin with 'faith; they look upon moſt of thoſe, who profeſs 'themſelves pious men, as weak-minded people; and 'it is impoſſible for them to have any ſenſe of reli'gion, becauſe they are poſſeſſed with this notion '(which in moſt of them is an effect of their corrupt 'morals) that whatever is ſaid of another life, is only 'a fiction, and that the ſoul dies with the body. It 'ſeems therefore, that the moſt effectual means to re'move the greateſt obſtacle to the ſalvation of thoſe 'men, and prevent the ſpreading of that contagion, 'was to diſturb their falſe tranquillity, and make 'them ſenſible of their miſtake, in thinking that it 'is a piece of weakneſs to believe the Immortality 'of the Soul. Now have we not reaſon to believe 'that GOD, who diſpoſes of his creatures as he thinks 'fit, and makes human means ſubſervient to his pro'vidence, deſigned to reclaim thoſe unbelievers, by 'forcing them to miſtruſt the certainty of their no'tions, when he raiſed a man ſo well qualified to 'work upon them, a man who had an extraordinary 'penetration to dive into the moſt abſtracted ſciences, 'who wholly applied himſelf to Philoſophy, who 'openly profeſſed himſelf free from all vulgar preju'dices, a quality which they are ſo very fond of, and 'by that very thing found out a way to convince the 'moſt incredulous, (if they will but open their eyes 'to ſee the light) that nothing can be more contrary 'to reaſon, than to aſſert that the ſoul periſhes with 'the body. But how did he make it appear? By 'laying down from clear principles, and ſuch as are 'only grounded on natural notions, which men of 'ſenſe cannot but acknowledge, that the ſoul and the 'body, that is, what thinks, and what is extended, 'are two ſubſtances wholly diſtinct, ſo that it is im'poſſible that extenſion ſhould be a mode of a think'ing ſubſtance, and thought a mode of an extended 'one. This being well proved, (as it is in Des Cartes's 'Meditations) no libertine, if he has any juſtneſs of 'thought, can remain convinced, that the ſoul dies 'with the body. For, &c (59).'

(58) Difficultez propoſées à Mr. Steyaërt, *Part ix, pag.* 81, & *ſeq.*

This long paſſage of Mr Arnauld ſhews what advantage may accrue to religion from the hypotheſis oppoſed by Pomponatius: it may be made uſe of againſt ſome libertines, who will ſee before they believe, and who deſpiſe the obſcure arguments alledged by Divines. Nothing can more effectually reclaim thoſe men, than to convince them of the Immortality of the Soul; it is an inlet to the right way, and this firſt ſtep may be attended with happy conſequences. Pomponatius could not work upon them in that manner, he would rather have confirmed them in their error, and conſequently his hypotheſis is more prejudicial than advantageous, in order to convert that ſort of men; and indeed he would be more praiſe-worthy, if, inſtead of giving himſelf ſo much trouble to examine the arguments of the Peripatetics, he had endeavoured to find out better proofs of the Immortality of the Soul, than thoſe which ſeemed weak to him. It is to be obſerved, that Mr Arnauld alledges this particular fact concerning Des Cartes and Gaſſendus, to ſhew the wrong judgment of the Inquiſitors of Rome. *The Cenſors of Rome*, ſays he (60), *little minded the advantage of religion, when they put into their* Index *that book of Des Cartes, wherein he proves the Immortality of the Soul by Philoſophical arguments, more ſolidly than was ever done; and when they put into it none of Gaſſendus's works, not even that wherein he endeavoured, with all his might, to confute thoſe arguments: which is to deprive thoſe, who have no faith, of all human means to free themſelves from their pernicious prejudices againſt that important truth. Is not this to permit the ſwallowing of the poiſon, and hinder the taking of the antidote? This they have done again, by putting into the* Index *another place of Des Cartes concerning the ſame ſubject. For one of his followers, who forſook him as to his Metaphyſical notions, having maintained, in a placart, that, were it not for revelation, one might believe, that thinking is only a modification of matter; Des Cartes thought himſelf obliged to confute ſuch a dangerous doctrine, and ſhew the abſurity of it; and yet this book is prohibited in the* Index *under this title,* Notæ in programma quoddam ſub finem Anni 1654, in Belgio editum; *without condemning the placart at the ſame time. Once more, this is to permit the poiſoning of one's ſelf, and at the ſame time to forbid the uſe of a counterpoiſon.*

(59) Mr Arnauld adds here a ſhort and good explication of what he intended to prove.

(60) Difficultez à Mr Steyaërt, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 85.

I have quoted in the remark [C] an author, whoſe cenſure upon Pomponatius wants ſome reſtriction. Theſe are his words. 'Whereby (61) Pomponatius 'carried things too far, and did not a little favour 'the opinions and inclinations of the libertines. Nay, 'one can hardly forbear calling him an inſolent man, 'for ſaying, that whoever goes about to prove the 'Immortality of the Soul by Philoſophical arguments, 'does not deſerve the name of a Chriſtian; for, on the 'contrary, there is nothing more proper to diſpoſe 'the Pagans to hearken to the Goſpel, than to prove 'before-hand, that reaſon teaches us the Immortality 'of the Soul, and that therefore men muſt endeavour 'to make themſelves happy after this life: whereas, 'nothing would more effectually prevent the conver'ſion of idolaters and libertines, than their believing 'that the ſoul is mortal, according to the light of 'reaſon (62). . . . (63). Theſe are the words (64) 'that have been cenſured; for it is ſo far from be'ing true, that whoever undertakes to prove the Im'mortality of the Soul by natural reaſons, does a 'thing unworthy of a Chriſtian; that, on the con'trary, nothing is more proper to confirm him in the 'truth of his religion, than the agreement of reaſon 'and revelation, tho' the doctrines revealed ought to 'keep the firſt rank. I was therefore in the right to 'ſay, that Pomponatius was guilty of great inſolence, 'in aſſerting that a man, who alledges any arguments 'beſides thoſe taken from revelation, to prove the im'mortality of the Soul, does a thing unworthy of a 'Chriſtian.'

(61) *That is by what Pomponatius ſays*, that nothing can be more injurious to faith, than to attempt to prove it by natural arguments.

(62) Le Noble, Tableaux des Philoſophes, *Tom. ii, p.* 84, 85.

(63) Ib. *p.* 86.

(64) That is, thoſe that are to be ſeen above in the remark [C] at the end of the quotation from Mr le Noble.

I will examine this cenſure. The words of Pomponatius, as they are in Mr le Noble's book, may be taken in this ſenſe, that a Chriſtian, who endeavours to ſhew that both reaſon and revelation teach the Immortality

EXAMINATION of the cenſure on Pomponatius, by Mr le Noble.

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and encouraged; yet since they are only Philosophical arguments, every body ought to be allowed to dispute about them, and to say what he thinks of them. The answer he made to this objection, that the doctrine of the mortality of the soul would induce men to all manner of crimes [*H*], is remarkable. I do not know whether we ought to believe what some authors say, that this work was condemned to be burnt by the Venetians, and disowned by the author himself [*I*]. One cannot excuse the audaciousness

mortality of the Soul, does a thing prejudicial to faith, and makes himself unworthy of the name he bears. But I think that those words, in Pomponatius's book, signify, that a Christian, who has recourse to any arguments besides God's authority, because faith, without the help of the light of nature, is not sufficient to remove his uncertainty, does an injury to revelation, and acts contrary to the principles of a true Christian. Such is my conjecture about the true sense of Pomponatius's words: having not his apologies by me, I cannot be positive about it, and must be contented with probability. What was the state of the question between him and his adversaries? It was, whether he deserved to be accounted an heretical and impious man, because he said, that the Philosophical reasons alledged for the Immortality of the Soul, are not solid proofs, and that this doctrine cannot be well proved but by revelation. The question was not therefore to know, what judgment ought to be made of those, who undertake to reclaim the libertines fond of Lucretius, and full of contempt for the word of God. The question was not to know, whether those who alledge Philosophical arguments against these pretended free-thinkers, and endeavour to reclaim them by that method, the only one that can work upon them, do an injury to faith, and make themselves unworthy of the name of a Christian. The question was about those Christians, who have recourse to the light of nature for their own use, and to supply their personal wants, a sort of wavering men, who know not whether they ought to prefer revelation to reason, or at least do not rely on God's authority, unless it be confirmed by Philosophical arguments. Whoever says, that such men are injurious to faith, and do not act like Christians, does not make a wrong judgment of them, and does not deserve the censure I examine in this place; for, properly speaking, those men are not yet Christians, they are determined to nothing, they offer to believe the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, provided he give them better proofs than those of the the Gospel. God's authority is not sufficient to them, they will have the promises of the Scripture to be confirmed by the light of reason, otherwise they give no credit to them, if the thing be as I fancy it is, all my readers will own that Pomponatius was censured without reason: but the censure passed upon him would be well grounded in the first sense abovementioned.

I do not deny that he might have been told, that he was not a fit man to convert those who believe the Mortality of the Soul, and look upon the Gospel as a meer human book, and that therefore his Philosophy was not so useful as that of his adversaries. Had he been sincere, he would have owned this, and acknowledged, that unless he imitated those Physicians, who, to persuade their patients to take a medicine, make them believe that there is more virtue than they know to be in it; he could not have maintained against impious men, that the mortality of the Soul is certainly contrary to the light of reason. Perhaps he would not have disapproved the charitable method of the Philosophers, who should imitate those Physicians; he would have been contented to say, that he was rather for a perfect sincerity; but after all, he might have told his adversaries, that as to the resurrection, and some other doctrines, they were obliged to deal with impious men, as he would have done as to the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul.

[*H*] *The doctrine of the Mortality of the Soul would induce men to all manner of crimes.*] This is the last thing that Pomponatius objected to himself. His answer is (65), that since man does naturally desire to be happy, and hates misery, it is enough, in order to make an honest man of him, to shew him that the happiness of our lives consists in the practice of virtue, and misery in the practice of vice. He adds, that those who teach the Mortality of the Soul make way for the most perfect virtue, which is practised without hopes of reward, or fear of punishment. *Quare perfectius asserentes animam mortalem melius videntur salvare rationem virtutis quàm asserentes ipsam immortalem, spes namque præmii, & pœnæ timor, videntur servilitatem quandam importare, quæ rationi virtutis contrariatur* (66). He says also, that brutish people ought to be told that their Souls are immortal, and that it is likely some authors taught it without believing it, in order to curb the licentiousness of that sort of men. *Existimandum est multos viros sensisse animam mortalem qui tamen scripserunt ipsam esse immortalem: sed hoc feciſſe ex pronitate virorum ad malum, qui parum, aut nihil habent de intellectu, bonaque animi noc cognescentes, nec amantes, tantùm corporalibus incumbunt: Quare hujusmodi ingeniis necesse est eos sanare, sicut & medicus ad ægrum, & nutrix ad puerum ratione carentem se habent* (67). These observations do not remove the difficulty, and are but weak solutions. What follows is more reasonable, being grounded upon experience. He says, that many wicked and profligate men believe the Immortality of the Soul, and that many good men did not believe it (68). ‘ Neque universaliter viri impuri ponunt mortalitatem, neque universaliter temperati immortalitatem: Nam manifestè videmus multos pravos homines credere, verùm ex passionibus seduci, multos etiam viros sanctos & justos scimus mortalitatem animarum posuisse. Plato namque 1, de repub. dicit Simonidem Poëtam virum divinum & optimum fuisse, qui tamen eam mortalem asseverat: Homerus quoque ut Aristoteles 2, de anima refert, existimavit sensum ab intellectu non differre: quæ autem fuerit Homeri dignitas quis ignorat? Hippoc. quoque & Galen. viri doctissimi & optimi hujus perhibentur opinionis; Alexander Aphrodisæus, magnus Alfarabius, Abubacher, Avempace, ex nostratibus quoque Plinius Secundus, Seneca, innumerique alii hoc sentire; Seneca namque lib. 7. epistolarum ad Lucilium epist. 54, quæ incipit, Longum mihi comitatum dederat mala valetudo, manifestiusque in de consolatione ad Martiam affirmat, ipsam esse mortalem: multosque alios studiosos & viros doctissimos (69) connumerat ejusdem opinionis fuisse. - - - *Neither are all the vitious perſuaded of the Mortality of the Soul, nor all the virtuous of it's Immortality. For we plainly see many ill men who believe in this, but are seduced by their passions, and we know that many good and just men have taken the Mortality of the Soul for granted. Plato, in the first book of his Republic says, that the Poet Simonides was a divine and excellent man, who nevertheless affirmed the soul to be mortal. Homer likewise, as Aristotle relates in his second book on the Soul, was of opinion, that Sensation and Underſtanding were the same thing, and who can be ignorant how great a man Homer was? It is also said that Hippocrates and Galen, two very learned and good men, were of this opinion. Alexander Aphrodiſæus, the great Alfarabius, Abubacher, Avempace, and among our countrymen Pliny the second, Seneca, and innumerable others, had the same way of thinking; for Seneca in the seventh book of his epistles, epist. 54, to Lucilius, which begins thus,* Longum mihi comitatum dederat mala valetudo, *and more clearly in his Conſolation to Martia, affirms that the soul is mortal, and reckons up many other learned and studious men who believed the same thing.*’

[*I*] *I do not know whether . . . this book was condemned to be burnt by the Venetians, and disowned by the author himself.*] Theophilus Raynaud says so. ‘ Venetos illud opus addixisse ignibus, nec *de immortalitate* ‘ sed *de mortalitate animæ* fuisse inscribendum tradit ‘ Sylvester, *lib.* 5, *de Strigimagis, cap.* 5. expostulans ‘ quod à se approbatum eum librum dixisset Pomponatius, quod negat se unquam cogitasse (70). - - - - ‘ *Sylvester, in his book* de Strigimagis, *relates, that the Venetians condemned that book to the flames, and that it should have been intituled,* of the Mortality, *and not* of the Immortality of the Soul, *and complains of*

‘ *Pomponatius*

(65) Pomponat. ubi supra, *cap. xiv, p.* 120.

(66) Ib. *p.* 121.

(67) Ib. *p.* 120.

(68) Ib. *p.* 119.

(69) It is certain that Seneca plainly lays down the Mortality of the Soul in those two places; but I have not observed that he gives a list of those who were of that opinion.

(70) Theoph. Raynaudus, de malis & bonis Libris, num. 43, pag. m. 26.

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audaciouſneſs and prepoſſeſſion of a Lutheran civilian [K], who maintains, that this Philoſopher read public lectures againſt the immortality of the ſoul, and that he was an infamous Magician, who vented ſome impious things about the occult virtue of ſorcery and imagination. For the reſt, he was ſo bent upon reſolving difficulties, that he minded neither ſleep, nor eating, nor drinking, nor ſpitting; it made him almoſt mad, and ridiculous to every body. He himſelf informs us of theſe particulars [L].

Since the firſt edition of this article I have ſeen in the book quoted by Father Theophilus Raynaud (k), that Sylveſter Prierias affirms that Pomponatius's book was burnt at Venice (l). He adds that if it had been in his power, that pernicious book ſhould have met with the ſame treatment every where elſe. He had confuted the opinion of Pomponatius before it was printed, but as what he writ upon that ſubject had not then appeared, he inſerted it in the book quoted by Theophilus Raynaud, and publiſhed it in the year 1521. He obſerves that two Monks had written very ſolid anſwers to that treatiſe of Pomponatius. The name of the one is Bartholomew of Piſa, and of the other, Jerom Fornarius Bachalarius. This by way of ſupplement (m).

(k) See the beginning of the remark [I].

(l) Sylveſt. Prierias de Strigimagarum Dæmonumque mirandis, *lib. i, (and not lib. v, as quoted by Theophilus Raynaud; the work is only divided into three books), cap. v, pag.* 19, *Edit. Rom.* 1575, *in 4to.*

(m) To the remarks [B] and [C].

'*Pomponatius for ſaying that he had given his approba-*
'*tion to it, which he ſays he never thought of.*' He had been ſaying, that it was pretended that Pomponatius himſelf condemned his own book, but that the reaſons which moved him to it are variouſly reported, ſome aſcribing it to a deſire of ſecuring his reputation, others pretending that he did it to pleaſe his friends, and others, out of a principle of conſcience. *Pomponatius, mutata mente, opus ſuum de eo argumento improbaſſe dicitur, variantibus ſententiis, an id amicorum precibus dederit, an famæ ſuæ ac nomini caverit, an ex animo audierit Eccleſiam, & palinodiam cecinerit, ut conſcientiæ faceret ſatis* (71). He had been ſaying alſo, that all the books, wherein it is affirmed that the Immortality of the Soul cannot be proved by Philoſophical arguments, ought to be proſcribed (72), for he pretends they make way for an abſolute negation of that Immortality. This aſſertion of his is not ſo equitable, as his acknowledgment juſt before, that the Philoſophers, who were condemned by a biſhop of Paris in the year 1227, and by Leo X, in the council of Lateteran, were not ſo abſurd as to maintain, that the ſoul is immortal and mortal abſolutely ſpeaking; immortal according to Divinity, and mortal according to Philoſophy. He explains the true ſenſe of their doctrine: they abſolutely acknowledged the Immortality of the Soul on account of revelation, without which they had believed it to be mortal. *Animam ergo abſolutè videntur agnoviſſe immortalem, quòd ita aperte ferant fidei ſcita; quamvis niſi de animæ rationalis perpetuatione docerentur, ſolaque naturali ratione conſulta, negaturi fuiſſent immortalitatem.* This he acknowledges particularly in favour of Pomponatius, and quotes a book wherein this reſtriction was proved, *viz.* the book which cardinal Contarini, a diſciple of that Philoſopher, wrote againſt his maſter. *Non abſolutè ac ſimpliciter, mortalem animam cenſuiſſe videtur* (Pomponatius) *ſed duntaxat ſi ratio nuda conſuleretur, ut liquet ex opere Contareni Cardinalis,* de immortalitate, *conſcripto adversùs Pomponatium, ipſius quondam Contareni in Philoſophicis Magiſtrum. Nec aliud cenſuerim voluiſſe illos ejuſdem ævi Philoſophaſtros, damnatos à Lateranenſi Concilio ſub Leone X, & alios longè antè à Stephano Pariſienſi Epiſcopo, anno* 1277, *vel potiùs* 1227, *in reſcripto quod extat* tomo 5, Bibl. Margarini pag. 1319. *æquè damnatos, quod aſſererent, animam rationalem, ſecundùm fidem eſſe immortalem; at ſecundùm Philoſophiam, eſſe mortalem* (73). Boccalini, according to his uſual cuſtom, jeſts upon this diſtinction of Pomponatius. He ſuppoſes, 1. That this impious man being condemned to be burnt by Apollo, proteſted, that he believed the Mortality of the Soul only as a Philoſopher. 2. That Apollo, having regard to that proteſtation, ordered the executioner to burn him only as a Philoſopher (74).

(71) Ibid.

(72) Jure libri eo doctrinæ reprobæ fermento vitiati, ſuffixione digni ſunt habiti. *Ibid.*

(73) Ibid. *num.* 42, *p.* 25, 26.

(74) Boccalini, Ragguagli di Parnaſo, *cent. I, cap.* xc, *pag. m.* 306.

We have ſeen above (75) how this book was uſed, and that it was not burnt.

[K] *The audaciouſneſs . . . . . of a Lutheran Civilian.*] His name is Godelman: Theſe are his words. 'Petrus Pomponatius Mantuanus philoſophus & Epi-
'cureiſmi defenſor maguſque nefarius in Academiis
'Italiæ publicè contra animæ immortalitatem diſpu-
'tavit: ſcripſit de fato & de incantatione libros, in
'quibus de verborum magicorum, imaginum, chara-
'cterum, & imaginationis occulta poteſtate impiè ſa-
'tis diſputavit (76). - - - *Petrus Pomponatius, a Man-*
'*tuan Philoſopher, an advocate for the doctrine of Epi-*
'*curus, and a wicked Magician, diſputed publickly a-*
'*gainſt the Immortality of the Soul in the univerſities of*
'*Italy: he compoſed books upon Fate and Enchantments,*
'*in which he reaſons with a good deal of impiety about*
'*the occult virtue of magical words, images, characters,*
'*and imagination.*' In the firſt place, it is not true that Pomponatius did publickly diſpute againſt the Immortality of the Soul in the univerſities of Italy. Such a thing cannot be charged upon him but by virtue of the Sophiſm, *à dicto ſecundum quid ad dictum ſimpliciter*, that is, *by underſtanding in a general ſenſe what is only meant in a particular one.*' He maintained, that Ariſtotle's hypotheſis afforded no proof for the Immortality of the Soul, and he anſwered all the arguments of thoſe, who pretended to prove by the doctrine of that Philoſopher, that our ſouls are immortal; but he did not abſolutely and peremptorily maintain the Mortality of the Soul. It is plain therefore, that this Lutheran is neither exact nor equitable. 2. A good author will not ſay that Pomponatius, who was a notorious Magician, denied the Immortality of the Soul. Men are ſo fully perſuaded, that if there are Devils, the ſoul of man is immortal; and commonly ſuppoſe ſuch a connexion between thoſe two doctrines, that who ever is not willing to be accounted extravagant, will never charge any body with Epicureiſm and Magic, without making ſome reflexions upon ſuch a paradox. He muſt expect, that the readers will be ſurprized at it, and that ſuch a combination will puzzle and confound them. An author, who does not foreſee ſuch a thing, muſt needs be very ſtupid; and if he foreſees it without giving himſelf the trouble to clear that difficulty, he knows but little what he does. We may therefore conclude, that Godelman is very much to blame. In the third place, he confutes himſelf; for he complains of a tract of Pomponatius, wherein all the effects commonly aſcribed to Magic, or to a pact with the Devil, are aſcribed to other cauſes; and therefore in the ſame period he accuſes him of Magic, and of having writ a book againſt the exiſtence of Magic. An author, who writes in ſuch a manner, is inexcuſable, when he does not make ſuch an obſervation as this: Pomponatius was a cheat; he believed and practiſed Magic, but he wrote againſt it, for fear of being known to be a Magician.

(75) In the remark [C], citation (23).

(76) Godelmanus, *lib. i, cap. viii,* de Magis apud Joh. Chriſtian. Frommannum de Faſcinatione, *lib. i, Part. ii, §. iii, cap. ii, pag. m.* 327.

[L] *He himſelf informs us of theſe particulars.*] Being not able to reconcile ſome maxims of Ariſtotle with free-will, he cries out, This is what vexes me, this is what keeps me from ſleeping, and makes me mad. *Iſta ſunt quæ me premunt, quæ me anguſtiant, quæ me inſomnem & inſanum reddunt* (77). He ſays, that like another Prometheus faſtened to mount Caucaſus, he is continually tormented with grief. *Perpetuis curis & cogitationibus rodi, non ſitire, non fameſcere, non dormire, non comedere, non expuere, ab omnibus irrideri* (78). He would be more excuſable, if the cauſe of his anguiſh was not ſo unreaſonable; but for a man to vex and torment himſelf, in order to reconcile another man with reaſon, is a thing that cannot be excuſed. If a Divine endeavours, though he ſhould loſe his health, and even his life by it, to reconcile the Scripture to truth, when they ſeem to diſagree, it is a commendable and heroical action; there being ſuch an agreement, one may reaſonably hope to find it out. But how can any body flatter himſelf with ſuch hopes, with reſpect to the opinions of a private man ſubject to error, and who drinks it as fiſhes drink water?

(77) Pomponat. de Fato, *lib. iii, cap. viii.*

(78) Ibid.

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PONCET (MAURICE) Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Paris (a), *Profeſſed* Benedictin *in the abbey of St Pere* at Melun, where he was born, *and curate of* St ASPAIS in the ſame town, and then of *St Peter des Arſis at Paris* (b), was one of the famous preachers of the XVIth century. He preached with the greateſt boldneſs againſt the diſorders of the court of Henry III. We have ſeen above (c) that he was carried to Melun for ſome invectives he made from the pulpit the twenty-ſixth of March 1583, againſt a new fraternity of Penitents inſtituted by that king. The Paſſage I have quoted out of Peter Matthieu, is to be found in the ſame terms in the journal of Henry III, with the anſwer mentioned in this article, which Poncet it ſaid to have made to the duke of Epernon [*A*]. Others ſay, he made it to the duke of Joyeuſe at another time (d) [*B*]; which ſeems to me more likely [*C*]. Poncet was afraid of being carried to the caſtle of Loches, as he had been threatened ſome time before (e); and therefore he was well pleaſed when he was only confined to St Pere's abbey at Melun. He did not continue long under ſuch a diſgrace; for he had leave to return to Paris, *and to be there curate of St Peter des Arſis: but he preached ſtill with his uſual boldneſs, and perſiſted in that reſolution till his laſt breath* (f). He died the twenty-third of November 1586 (g). He publiſhed ſomething [*D*], and it is very likely his way of preaching was ſomewhat comical [*E*], and like that which little Father Andrew was ſo fond of in the next century.

I add that Peter de Saint Romuald, a Bernardine Fryer, commends him very much for a thing which deſerves no praiſe, viz. for having diſapproved the tranſlating of the Bible into

(a) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franç. *pag.* 862.

(b) Roulliard, Antiquitez de Melun, *p.* 627.

(c) In the remark [*O*] of the article HENRY III.

(d) When the duke of Joyeuſe's wedding was celebrated in the year 1581.

(e) Roulliard, ubi ſupra.

(f) Ibid. *pag.* 628.

(g) Ibid.

[*A*] *The anſwer . . . . which Poncet is ſaid to have made to the duke of Epernon.*] Poncet having been arreſted, that duke went to ſee him, and told him ſmileing, 'Maſter, they ſay you make people to laugh at 'your ſermons; which is very wrong; for a preacher 'ought to edify his hearers, and not make them 'laugh. Poncet without any concern replied, Sir, I 'would have you know that I preach nothing but the 'word of GOD, and that no body comes to my ſer'mons to laugh, unleſs they be wicked or atheiſtical 'people: and truly, I never made ſo many to laugh 'as you have made to cry. A bold anſwer for a 'Monk to a lord of that quality, and it was found 'very much to the purpoſe (1).'

(1) Journal de Henry III, *ad ann.* 1583, *pag. m.* 67. *See alſo* Peter Matthieu, Hiſt. des derniers Troubles, *p.* 15.

[*B*] *Others ſay that he made it to the duke of Joyeuſe at another time.*] Here follows a paſſage, wherein le Laboureur mentions the ſame thing, and adds a reflexion to it as good as the repartee of our Benedictin. 'At that time (2) there were ſome bold 'Preachers, who did not except from the number of 'ſins the cruel or looſe maxims of the cabinet. Dr 'Poncet, among others, an eloquent and very zealous 'man, boldly comprehended kings and great men 'within the extent of his miſſion; and Brantome ſays, 'that one day he grew ſo hot about this political 'axiom, *He who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not 'how to reign*, that he made no ſcruple to aſſert, '*They were the words of a downright Atheiſt, and open'ed a direct way for kings and princes to go all to the 'Devil, and turn true tyrants. He was*, adds Brantome, *one of the boldeſt Preachers that ever got into a 'pulpit. One day the duke of Joyeuſe, when his wed'ding was celebrated with an extraordinary pomp and 'great charges, meeting him in the ſtreet, told him, 'Mr Poncet, I never knew you before, and am glad to 'meet you now; for I have often heard of you, and that 'you make people to laugh at your ſermons. Poncet an'ſwered him as coldly as the other ſpoke to him angrily. 'Sir, ſaid he, it is not improper for me to make them to 'laugh, ſince you make them to cry ſo much, by reaſon 'of the great charges of your noble wedding, which the 'people have been at. The duke was forced to go away, 'though he had a great mind to ſtrike him; but if he 'had touched him never ſo little, the people, who are 'fond of ſuch bold preachers, and were then gathering, 'would have done ſome ſcandalous thing to him and his 'retinue; for that Monk was very well beloved at Pa'ris.* This was a deadly hit, whereby the duke of 'Joyeuſe learned, that an honeſt prieſt, who prefers 'the public intereſt to his own, is like an unruly 'horſe, whom the brightneſs of grandeur makes more 'furious, and who ought to be cautiouſly approached, 'for fear he ſhould kick. Every body laughed at 'this, and the duke's beſt friends, who pitied him, 'blamed him at the ſame time for having thus en'gaged a Monk in the ſtreets, he who had ſo many 'dignitaries at his diſpoſal, who would have taken it 'as an honour to be jeſted upon by him, and pro'miſed themſelves ſome advantage by it (3).'

(2) That is, under the reign of Henry III.

(3) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 58, 59.

[*C*] *This ſeems to me more likely.*] For it is agreed, that being taken up he was afraid of being ſent to Loches, as he had been threatened. Would a man, who was under ſuch an apprehenſion, as he himſelf confeſſed (4), have made ſuch a blunt and diſobliging anſwer to the favourite of his prince? It is a great deal more probable that he made it, when he enjoyed full liberty, and in the middle of a ſtreet, where he knew the inhabitants of Paris would have boldly repelled any inſult offered to him. We ought therefore to keep to Brantome's account, and at the ſame time obſerve, how carleſsly the memory of ſuch events is preſerved by Hiſtorians, and conſequently how they differ in their accounts of them.

(4) *See the Antiquitez de Melun, p.* 627.

[*D*] *He publiſhed ſomething.*] Three books concerning eccleſiaſtical Oration by way of contemplation, Paris 1568 in 8vo. A remonſtrance to the French nobility, concerning the happineſs which the king procures to his people, and how he ought to be inſtructed to govern them well, Paris 1572 in 8vo. A funeral Oration pronounced the 31ſt of Auguſt 1574, in the church of Brecy le Buiſſon, at the funeral of Meſſire Euſtace de Conſtans, viſcount d'Aulchy, Paris 1574 in 8vo. A diſcourſe concerning the advice given to Meſſire Peter de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, about the propoſal made by him to the Divines, concerning the tranſlation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, Paris 1578 in 8vo. *Meditations familieres ſur l'Hiſtoire de l'Incarnation, Rheims* 1574 *in* 8vo (5).

(5) Taken from Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibliothe. Franç. *p.* 862.

[*E*] *It is very likely that his way of preaching was ſomewhat comical.*] I have three reaſons to think ſo: for firſt, The words he is ſaid to have ſpoke in his ſermon, that was the occaſion of his confinement (6), are far from being grave. That *petit tendron*, [young laſs] that was kept ready for the nocturnal collation of the penitents, is very comical. 2. It is agreed on all hands, that the favourite, who received ſuch a ſharp anſwer from Poncet, cenſured him for making his hearers laugh. Laſtly, James Roulliard, his countryman and panegyriſt, wards off the blow in ſuch a manner, as makes me think, that he deſigned to anſwer thoſe who found fault with Poncet for acting the part of a jeſter or buffoon in the pulpit. *Beſides his learning and piety, known to every body*, they are Roulliard's words (7), *he had this particular talent, that he freely preached againſt the vices of his age, preferring the truth of the word of GOD before the threatenings of great men, and the daily danger of his life. It is ſaid he had ſuch an agreeable delivery, that what the injudicious laughed at, was looked upon by the wiſeſt as a great piece of art, that the ſharpneſs of his cenſures might go down the better, and that he might the longer keep up his miniſtry, which was ſo uſeful to the church: whereas, had it not been for that, the furious courtiers, or ſome ſilly people would have endeavoured to undo him.* You ſee this author dares not deny, that Poncet's ſermons made people laugh. How then can one doubt that his ſermons were ſomewhat comical? Had he boldly, but gravely, cenſured the diſorders of the court, the pleaſure he would have afforded his hearers, though never ſo great, had never made any body laugh.

(6) See, above, citation (65) of the article HENRY III.

(7) Pag. 627, of the Antiquitez de Melun.

[*F*] *Peter*

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into the vulgar tongue [F]. The book which he writ upon that subject is extremely trifling, if we follow the judgment of Mr Arnauld [G].

[F] *Peter de S. Romuald commends him . . . . for having disapproved the translating of the Bible into the vulgar tongue.*] This Bernardine, who extolls him for it, chiefly admires his reason grounded on the abuse that is possible to be made of the Scripture, of which he alledges two very surprizing instances. 'Maurice 'Poncet, *says he* (8), was admired in his days for his 'profound learning, extraordinary piety, and singular 'zeal in reproving vice, not only by his fervent way 'of preaching, but likewise by his writings against 'Libertines and Heretics, as may be particularly seen 'in the advice which he gave to the most illustrious 'Peter de Gondy bishop of Paris, touching the tran- 'slation of the Holy Bible into the vulgar tongue. He 'maintains that such a thing ought not to be allowed 'for several reasons, one of which is, that the Bible 'would be in danger of becoming a subject of wrang- 'ling and contempt, on account of the ambiguity, 'obscurity, and variety of phrases in every language, 'from which ignorant and sensual men might take 'occasion to ruin themselves, as it happened in the last 'age to a Painter in Prussia, who having bought a 'German Bible translated by Luther, and read what 'Lot did to his daughters, behaved in the same man- 'ner to his own. It was likewise the case with a wo- 'man in Munster, at the time when it was besieged 'by the bishop, who is sovereign lord of that city. 'She having read the History of Judith translated in- 'to her tongue, took it into her head to go and kill 'the bishop, in order that she might deliver those of 'her own sect who had got possession of the town, 'from the danger of being put to death. But she was 'apprehended, and learned, at the expence of her life, 'that the letter of the Holy Scripture killeth, and 'the spirit maketh alive.'

(8) Pierre de S. Romuald, Journal Chronolog. *Novemb.* 23, *p.* 575, 576.

[G] *The book which he writ upon that subject is extremely trifling, if we follow the judgment of Mr Arnauld.*] We have seen elsewhere (9) what judgment he passes upon a book of the like nature composed by Peter Lizet. He has no better opinion of our Maurice's piece; for in speaking of a collection which had this title, *Collectio quorumdam gravium Authorum, qui ex professo, vel ex occasione sacræ Scripturæ, aut divinorum officiorum in vulgarem linguam translationes damnarunt* (10), he says that, 'It is a trifling collection of 'the most impertinent authors that have writ upon 'the subject, mixed with some good ones. . . . . It 'is a book of President Lizet. . . . . It is a piece com- 'posed by a Dominican Inquisitor of Toulouse (11). '. . . . It is the remonstrance of Fryer Maurice Pon- 'cet . . . . the bare title whereof gives us sufficiently 'to know what we are to expect from it (12). A 'DISCOURSE UPON THE ADVICE *given to* 'the reverend Father in GOD Peter de Gondy *bishop of* 'Paris. *By Fryar Maurice Poncet, Doctor of Divinity.* 'One of the chief reasons, as we have already said, 'for his not allowing the Bible to be translated into 'French, is because the French is a barbarous lan- 'guage which cannot be reduced to any grammatical 'rules (13). . . . . Is it then possible that the arch- 'bishop of Paris who has done the French Academy 'the honour to be a member of it can justify the pub- 'lishing at this time such a ridiculous censure passed 'upon one of the finest languages in Europe (14).'

(9) In the remark [B] of the article LIZET.

(10) It was printed at the expence of the clergy in the year 1660.

(11) Arnauld, Défense des Versions, *pag.* 160, 161.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 162.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

PONTIUS (CONSTANTINE), burnt in effigy at Seville in 1559, was called Constantin de la Fuente, in Latin *Constantinus Fontius*. Some body took one letter for another, a P instead of an F, which is the reason why this doctor is much more known by the name of Constantine Pontius [A], which does not belong to him, than by his true name. However it be, he was a man of great merit, Doctor of Divinity, canon of Seville, and preacher to Charles V (*a*). He followed Philip II, into England; and doubtless it was in that country, that he relished the doctrine of the Protestants, for which he was apprehended by the Inquisition, and was destined to be burnt. He did not live till the *Auto de fé*, at which he was to be exposed to the public view. The Spanish Historians do commonly say that he killed himself; others will have it, that he died of sickness; but it is agreed on all hands, that the Inquisition produced an effigy, which represented him, and was burnt on the day of the *Auto de fé* (*b*). Several authors say, that he was confessor to Charles V, and that he attended him on his death-bed to the last breath; but I have shewed in another place (*c*), that he was only his preacher, and that he was imprisoned before the death of that emperor. He wrote some books [B], which the Spanish Inquisition put into their Index without any exception (*d*): he is mentioned in the Martyrology of the Protestants [C].

(*a*) Nicol. Antonio, Biblioth. Scriptor. Hispan. *Tom. i, p.* 196.

(*b*) *See* Nicol. Antonio, ibid.

(*c*) Remark [C] of the article CARRANZA; and remark [S], citation (1), of the article CHARLES V.

(*d*) Constantino de la Fuente Autor condenado: todas sus obras en qualquier lengua, y especialmente *la Confession del Pecador*. Ind. libr. prohib. *p. m.* 229.

Beza,

[A] *By the name of Constantine Pontius.*] Thuanus calls him so, and so does Father Paul (1), who was not reproved for it by Pallavicino, though he took notice of some of his mistakes concerning that Spaniard. See above the Remark [C] of the article CARRANZA, and the remark [S] of the article CHARLES V, citat. 1.)

(1) History of the Council of Trent, *lib.* v, *p. m.* 426, *Edit.* 1629, *in 4to.*

[B] *He wrote some books.*] A summary of the Christian Doctrine, printed in Spanish at Antwerp. Six sermons on the first Psalm of David, printed in the same language, and at the same place in 1556 (2). A large Catechism. The Confession of a Sinner. Some Commentaries on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and Job. Don Nicolas Antonio (3) seems to believe, that the sermons were not made on the first Psalm, but on the fiftieth, and that they are the same with the confession of a sinner; but he is mistaken: that confession is a prayer somewhat shorter than a sermon: it is in the Protestant Martyrology (4).

(2) Epit. Bibl. Gesner.

(3) Bibl. Script. Hisp. *Tom. i, pag.* 196.

(4) In the eighth book, *fol.* 507, *verso, & seq.*

[C] *He is mentioned in the Martyrology of the Protestants.*] We find there that Egidius, Constantine Fontius, and Varquias, *were the first who discovered the darkness of Spain almost at the same time* (5). They are called the *three pillars of truth:* they preached at Seville with great zeal and success. Egidius was nominated by Charles V to the bishopric of Tortona (6), but the inquisitors were so vexed at it, that, to prevent his being made a bishop, they severely persecuted him for a long time. During that persecution, Fontius was in the Low-countries preacher and confessor (7) to Charles V. 'Being returned to Seville, after the 'death of Egidius, he re-assumed his office with great 'courage; and the affection the people had for him 'was still the same. Notwithstanding the weakness 'of his body, he continued to discharge the duties 'of his office, keeping up himself with the usual re- 'medies GOD gives us to recover the health and 'strength of the body. He had several encounters 'with the Priests and Monks, and with Waldes arch- 'bishop of Seville, and president of the conclave of 'the Inquisition. And though his enemies were fu- 'riously exasperated against him, yet he so dexterously 'warded off all their blows, that they could not bring 'him to make an open confession of his faith, that 'they might have a better hold of him. But at 'length GOD prevailed upon him in the following 'manner to make a full declaration of his truth, put- 'ting a stop to all his subtilties and shifts, which he 'had made use of against his conscience (8).' The discovery was made by his books coming into the hands of the Inquisitors, notwithstanding the great care he had taken to conceal them. 'They found 'among other books, a large one written with his 'own hand, wherein he treated of the following 'doctrines,

(5) Histoire des Martyrs, *book* viii, *fol.* 505, *verso, Edit.* 1582, *in fol.*

(6) It should be *Tortosa*. See the article CHARLES V, remark [S], citation (2).

(7) The Spanish Historians deny that he was his confessor. See the remark [S], citation (1), of the article CHARLES V.

(8) Hist. des Martyrs, *fol.* 506, *verso.*

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Beza, who calls him Conſtantine Pontius, and who ſays that he was for a long time confeſſor to Charles V, and that he was burnt at Seville (*e*), did not well remember the circumſtances he had read in that Martyrology. I have read a Latin diſcourſe concerning the life and death of that Spaniard (*f*), wherein he is called *Conſtantinus Fontius*. The publiſher of that diſcourſe ſays, that it was written by *Reginaldus Gonſalvius Montanus Hiſpanus*. I find in it that Fontius had been a looſe man in his youth [*D*]; but that he mended his life, and took a right courſe, though he was ſtill faulty in one thing, that was a kind of a blot; for being a man of a very lively wit, he gave himſelf too much liberty in his jeſts. Many of his witty ſayings went about. His ſharpeſt railleries were commonly levelled at the hypocrites and ſorry preachers of that time. He perfectly learned, without any maſter, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and whatever is neceſſary to make a good preacher. He was maſter of all the beauties of his mother-tongue, and preached ſo eloquently, that an incredible number of hearers flocked to his ſermons. People had much ado to find any convenient place three or four hours before he came into the pulpit (*g*). He was free from avarice and ambition, and refuſed a rich canonſhip that was offered him at Toledo: his refuſal was attended with a jeſt [*E*]. After the death of Dr Giles (*b*), being appointed to preach in the cathedral, he did it

(*e*) Beza, in Icon. *fol.* 90.

(*f*) *It is in the book intituled,* Hiſpanicæ inquiſitionis & carnificinæ ſecretiora, *and publiſhed at Amberg in the year* 1611, per Joachimum Urſinum, Anti-Jeſuitam.

(*g*) Concionabatur ut plurimum octavâ horâ, tantus erat populi concurſus, ut quartâ, ſæpe etiam tertiâ horis, octavæ horæ vix in templo inveniretur commodus ad audiendum locus. *Hiſpaniæ Inquiſit. Secret. pag.* 254.

(*b*) The ſame who is called Egidius in the remark [*C*].

'doctrines, as the Inquiſitors declared by their ſentence, 'which was publickly pronounced, *viz.* of the ſtate 'of the church; of the true church, and the church 'of the Pope, whom he called Antichriſt; of the ſa'crament of the Euchariſt, and the invention of the 'Maſs, wherewith he ſaid the world was bewitched, 'by reaſon of their ignorance of the Holy Scripture; 'of man's juſtification; of purgatory, which he cal'led a wolf's head, and a monkiſh invention to feed 'the belly; of the Pope's bulls and indulgences; of 'the merit of good works; of confeſſion, and ſeveral 'other points. That book being produced, the in'quiſitors aſked him whether it was his own hand'writing: he anſwered them without any tergiverſa'tion, that the whole book was written with his own 'hand, and maintained the truth of what was con'tained in it, ſaying, you need not take further pains 'to look for evidence againſt me, you have an ample 'declaration of my faith: deal with me as you ſhall 'think fit. He continued afterwards two years in 'priſon, where he fell ſick by reaſon of his bad diet, '(though he was little concerned for it) and of the 'grief he conceived for the diſperſion of the church, 'and alſo becauſe the ſun made his priſon as hot as a 'furnace; ſo that at laſt, a looſeneſs, attended with 'the gripes, occaſioned his death and removal to a 'happier ſtate. . . . . His enemies ſpread a report that 'he had made away with himſelf, by cutting one of 'his veins with a piece of broken glaſs, to avoid the 'ignominious puniſhment he was to undergo. The 'children ſung ſongs about, which had been made by 'the tools of the Inquiſition. On the day appointed 'for the triumph, his dead body was taken up, co'vered with ſtraw, like a phantom, and cloathed, and 'then it was ſet on a chair, holding up one hand, 'and laying the other upon the chair, as artificially 'as ſuch a thing could be contrived (9).'

(9) Ibid. *fol.* 507.

The Latin author quoted by me in the following remarks, does alſo acknowledge that Fontius eluded the proceedings of the Inquiſition, by his ſubtile anſwers; but that he at laſt gave over all his ſubterfuges, when they ſhewed him his manuſcript. 'Raptus ad Inqui'ſitoriam arcem, etſi ex controverſiis præcedentibus 'omnium adverſariorum animos habebat vehementer 'exulceratos, tamen acutiſſimis ſuis reſponſis omnes 'eorum cavillos facilè, more ſuo, eludens, ad apertam 'fidei confeſſionem, ex qua periculum, ut ipſi exopta'bant, crearetur, trahi non poterat: atque evaſiſſet 'tandem, ut ſæpè anteà, ipſorum manus, ni mirabili 'quodam Providentiæ ſuæ artificio rotundam confeſ'ſionem veritatis ſuæ, Deus ab invito & modis omni'bus tergiverſante extorſiſſet (10). . . . . Viſo hoc li'bro Conſtantinus interrogatus ab Inquiſitoribus, an 'propriam manum agnoſceret, quum per multos dies, 'conquiſitis undique ſubterfugiis, conatus illorum elu'ſiſſet, agnoſcens porro Dei voluntatem, quæ omnem 'tergiverſandi amplius occaſionem ſibi præciditſet, ag'noſco (inquit) manum meam, ac proinde fateor, me 'iſta omnia ſcripſiſſe, quæ & vera eſſe ingenuè profi'teor (11). - - - *Being carried to the Inquiſition, although 'his former diſputes had exaſperated the ſpirits of his 'enemies to the higheſt degree, nevertheleſs by his ſharp 'anſwers he eluded their cavils with eaſe, and could 'not be prevailed upon to make a free and open confeſſion 'of his faith, which might have afforded them their 'long-wiſhed for opportunity of deſtroying him. Nay he 'would have got ſafe out of their hands at laſt, as he 'had done oftentimes before, if GOD by a wonderful de'vice of providence had not, in ſpight of all his ſhifts 'and ſubterfuges, extorted from him a full confeſſion of 'the truth. . . . . At ſight of this book, Conſtantine be'ing aſked by the Inquiſitors whether he knew his own 'hand-writing, after he had baffled their attempts for 'many days by his numberleſs evaſions, and now perceiv'ing that the will of GOD had cut him off from all op'portunity of equivocating any longer, I acknowledge my 'hand, ſays he, and thereby confeſs that I did actually 'write all theſe things, which I ſincerely believe to be 'true.'

(10) Hiſpaniæ Inquiſitionis ſecretiora, *pag. m.* 262.

(11) Ib. *p.* 264.

[*D*] *He had been a looſe man in his youth.*] Here are the words of the Latin author: 'Juventutem qui'dem tranſegit pro ſtudioſorum juvenum libera edu'catione non admodum laudatam, ſed quæ, quo minùs, 'quod ætatis ſubſequutum eſt, quàm laudatiſſimum ex'titerit, haud impedimento fuerit. Probatos enim 'ſatis mores, ut erat ingenio mirè feſtivo, & in jocis 'peracuto, una ſubinde jocandi licentia vel in prove'ctiore ætate corrumpebat (12). - - - *He paſſed his 'youth, conſidering the liberal education of ſtudents, not 'in a very commendable way: nevertheleſs this did not 'hinder the following part of his life from being ex'tremely praiſe-worthy. Only, as he was naturally of 'a very chearful temper, and had an admirable turn for 'raillery, he ſometimes hurt his character, even in his 'more advanced age, by his unſeaſonable jokes.*' Perhaps, the faults of his youth had never been objected to him, had he not had extraordinary gifts, which expoſed him to envy; but having got a great reputation by his eloquence and learning, he could not avoid thoſe reproaches. His friends perſuaded him to diſpute for a canonſhip (13) in the metropolitan church of Seville; and his competitor bethought himſelf of raiſing perſonal objections againſt him, and carefully collected all the ſchool-boy's tricks that might make him aſhamed, and in general, whatever he had done amiſs in his youth, certain marriages, the irregularity of his ordination, *&c. Competitor & eruditione & authoritate, & ipsâ demum gratia Capituli Conſtantino nullo modo comparandus, ad exceptiones perſonales conatus omnes convertens ſuſcitavit ei ineptias omnes juventutis ſuæ, contracta videlicet, antequam ſacris initiaretur, matrimonia, neque ritè ſacris initiatum, neque rectè atque ordine Magiſterii & doctoratus inſignia acceptiſſe* (14). It were to be wiſhed, that young men, who hope to make themſelves eminent, would remember ſuch examples. It would be a reſtraint upon them; they would be afraid of being upbraided with the follies of their youth, in the midſt of their glory. Thoſe, who excuſe ſuch faults, will nevertheleſs ſay, that it were better to want no ſuch indulgence. It is always a ſubject of mortification, which an enemy improves to his advantage.

(12) Ib. *p.* 253.

(13) Canonicatum Concionalis ſeu (ut vocant) Magiſtralis. *Ibid. pag.* 259.

(14) Ib. *p.* 261.

[*E*] *His refuſal was attended with a jeſt.*] The chapter of Toledo ſent ſome deputies to him, to deſire him to fill up the place of preacher in the metropolitan church. Conſtantine anſwered, that he was very thankful for that honour, and would endeavour to ſhew his acknowledgment; but that he would do nothing that might diſturb the repoſe of his anceſtors. *Cæterùm parentum avorumque ſuorum oſſa ante multos*

annos

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it before he had recovered his health; but he happened to be so weak in the middle of his sermon, that he was obliged to do a thing which had never been seen before [F]. The director of the House of Doctrine having founded there a lecture of Divinity; our Constantine was charged with it, and performed it very well (i) [G]. You will see in the remark [C] the catastrophe of his life, and in the last remark, a story he told Cardan, which concerns apparitions [H].

(i) *Taken from* Hispan. Inquis. Secretiora, *pag.* 251, *& seq.*

annos sepulta conquiescere, se vero nolle quicquam admittere, occasione cujus à sancta illa quiete interturbarentur (15). To understand this jest, the reader must know, that the chapter of Toledo had then a great quarrel with the archbishop Siliceus, a man of mean extraction, who had been raised to that great post by favour. ‘ Qui ex aratro & glebis, neque virtute, neque eruditione, sed (si ita dici licet) fortunæ potius temeritate ad summam totius Hispaniæ, secundum regem ipsum, dignitatem convolarat (16). - - - *He had risen in a manner from the plough to the highest dignity in Spain, next to the king himself, neither by his virtue nor his learning, but (if one may say so) by the pure rashness of fortune.*’ That prelate persecuted the chief canons, and disgraced them publickly, under pretence that they were descended from Jewish families (17). He caused inquiries to be made, that were ignominious to the memory of several persons, who had been buried a hundred years before, and by that means he disturbed the repose of the dead. Fontius's jest turned upon this. *Ea occasione neque à centum annis sepultis parcebatur, inquirente malo archiepiscopo, & quidem sub pretextu religionis, in parentes, avos, atavos canonicorum, eosque ad originum rationes pessimè è suis sepulchris revocante. Eas non minus impias quàm stultas contentiones, ex sua ipsius vocatione occasione arrepta, Constantinus tempestivè admodum illo conciso Laconismo perstringebat* (18). The reader will not be displeased to know by the by this passage of the History of Siliceus.

(15) Ibid. *pag.* 255.

(16) Ibid. *pag.* 256.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 256.

[F] *He was obliged to do a thing which had never been seen before.*] He had some wine and water brought to him once or twice, and drank in the pulpit to recover his spirits. The great esteem he was in, and the authority he had got, made every body excuse the novelty of this sight. *Delatus in templum viribusque adeo exhaustus, ut in medio concionis filo uno atque altero limphati vini haustu vires ad pergendum in concione reficeret, novam neque unquam antèa visam licentiam summâ viri tum gratia, tum authoritate, qua polebat, excusante* (19).

(19) Ibid. *pag.* 258.

[G] *He had the charge of making lectures of Divinity, ... and performed it very well.*] The lectures he made upon some books of the scripture were admirable, if one may believe my Latin author, I shall set down his words, that the reader may be more fully acquainted with the circumstances of the writings of that reformed Spaniard. ‘ Accepit primo Salomonis libros, ‘ Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, & Cantica canticorum, atque ‘ his mirabili eruditione explicatis, librum Jobi est ‘ aggressus, quem ultra medium interpretando perduxit. Extant ipsius in hos libros prælectiones omnes manu scriptæ opera Bab. diligentissimi cujusdam ‘ ex auditoribus exceptæ, quas cum vulgaverimus, deprehenso quanto intervallo post se relinquat eos omnes, qui hactenus in eos libros quippiam ediderunt, ‘ de summa viri eruditione certius judicari poterit (20). ‘ - - - *He first took in hand the books of Solomon, the ‘ Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, and having explained these with wonderful erudition, he next ‘ set about the book of Job, more than the one half of ‘ which he went through. His lectures upon those books ‘ are still extant, all written and picked up from among ‘ his hearers by a diligent hand. As soon as these shall ‘ be published, it will appear how far he has excelled ‘ every body that has writ any thing upon the same subjects before, and from thence we shall be more able to ‘ form a right judgment of his extraordinary learning.*’ You see there was a design to publish that work, and it was actually printed. See the remark [B].

(20) Ibid.

[H] *A story he told Cardan which concerns apparitions.*] If what Cardan says be true, our Constantine spoke of apparitions, not upon a hear-say, but as an eye-witness. ‘ Vigebat olim in Hispania hæc ars, ‘ (*Necromantia*) publicéque docebatur in Salamantica ‘ Academia, nunc verò publicis legibus sublata est. ‘ Unde ibi aliqua adhuc artis experimenta supersunt. ‘ Narrabat mihi Don Constantinus Fontanus Hispanus ‘ theologus, & ab exomologesi Principis Philippi Hispaniarum, dum in Vagliadolit civitate Hispaniæ, in ‘ domo Typographi, quæ malè ob strepitus audiebat ‘ nocturnos, diversaretur, prima nocte incubum sensisse: sed cùm olivas nigras in cœna comedisset, naturale existimasse, cùm incubus inter morbos numeretur. Sequenti nocte super lecto videt auditque feles concertantes, quod quanquam durum videretur, ‘ quia tamen esse poterat, & hoc naturale esse duxit. ‘ Tertia autem nocte cùm nondum dormitum isset, de ‘ hisque dissereret, tubæ vocem quasi in aure audivit. ‘ Existimans sibili speciem esse, pueros videbat, qui ‘ ibi astabant ridentes: tum vox illa cubiculum circumire cœpit, perfectoque circuitu sub lecto se abdidit, ibi diu strepens, cùm nihil videretur (21). - - - *This art* (Necromancy) *prevailed long ago in Spain, and was publickly taught in the university of Salamanca. Now indeed such a thing is forbid by the law; yet still there are some examples of it remaining in that country. Don Constantine Fontanus, a Spanish Divine, and confessor to Philip king of Spain, told me that while he lodged in the city of Valladolid at a Printer's house, which had the name of being haunted, he felt the night-mare the first time he lay in it: but as he had eaten black olives for supper, he fancied it to be a natural effect of that; especially since the night-mare is looked upon as a disease. The following night he saw cats fighting upon the bed, which however disagreeable it was, yet because such a thing might very well be, he thought there was nothing supernatural in it. But on the third night, before he went to sleep, and as he was ruminating on these things, he heard the sound of a trumpet, as it were, in his ear. While he imagined that this was only a kind of whistling noise, of a sudden he saw boys who stood laughing: then a voice went round the chamber, and having made an end of it's circuit, got under the bed at last, and continued there muttering a long time, when nothing was to be seen.*’ What Cardan says of the Magic schools, which had been in Spain, was affirmed by a Magician mentioned by Thuanus. See the remark [K] of the article TIRESIAS.

(21) Card. de Subtilitate, *lib. xix, pag.* 691, *Edit. Lugdun.* 1580, *in* 8vo.

POPE (JOAN) possessed the papal chair, as it is said, between Leo IV, who died the seventeenth of July 855, and Benedictus III, who died the eighth of April 858. It does not appear that Anastasius, the Library-keeper, who lived in that age, has made mention of this She-Pope [A]. Many think that Marianus Scotus, who lived two

(1) Onuphr. in Addit. ad Plat. *quoted by* Coëffeteau, Response au Mystere d'Iniquité, *p.* 506.

[A] *It does not appear that Anastasius, the Library-keeper . . . . has made mention of this She-Pope.*] There are some manuscripts however of this Anastasius, which contain the whole story, but this alone proves nothing; for it cannot be denied but that transcribers have added i. foreign things to the works of an author. Pav. tures us, that in the *old books of the lives of the P written by Damasus, by the Library-keeper, and by Panar. us of Pisa, there is not the least mention of this woman, only in the margin between Leo IV, and Benedictus III, this fable is inserted by a later author, in various characters, and altogether different from the rest* (1). Blondel, who saw in the library of the king of France, a manuscript of Anastasius, in which is found the story of the She-Pope, plainly perceived that to be an additional piece. *Having read it over and over,* says he (2), *I observed that the elogy of the pretended She-Pope was framed in the very words of Martinus Polonus* (3), *penitentiary of Innocent IV, and archbishop of Cosenza, an author later than Anastasius by four hundred years, and moreover, one that was very apt to spread all sorts of fables. For that none may imagine he has transcribed, either*

(2) Blondel, Eclaircissement de la Question, Si une Femme a esté assise au Siege Papal de Rome, &c. *pag.* 6, 7.

(3) We shall examine this in the remark [K].

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two hundred years after, is the firſt that ſpoke of her. Some others maintain he ſaid nothing

either from Anaſtaſius, or any other that lived ſince the year 900, *what he has inſerted in his chronicle, the diſcourſe which we find now prepoſterouſly inſerted in that of Anaſtaſius, ſhews it, both by it's conformity to the idiom of Martinus Polonus, and by the things it ſuppoſes, without apprehending, that they ſerve to prove the impoſture.* He gives ſome examples of theſe things, and afterwards brings a very ſolid reaſon; which is, that the ſtory of the She-Pope can by no means agree with the account of Anaſtaſius, touching the election of Benedictus III. 'In the elogies of Leo IV, and Benedictus III, as 'they are in the manuſcript of the king's library 'ſwelled with the romance of the She-Pope, are found 'the ſame words as in the edition of Mayence: 'whence it neceſſarily follows, that (according to 'the intention of Anaſtaſius, violated by the temerity 'of thoſe who have intermixed their own dreams) 'it is abſolutely impoſſible any could have poſſeſſed 'the Popedom between Leo IV, and Benedictus III; 'for he ſays, *that after biſhop Leo was taken out of this 'world,* (mox) *preſently all the Clergy,* the chief men 'and people of Rome, *determined to chuſe Benedictus: 'that immediately* (illico) *they went to him, intreating 'him under the title of S. Calliſtus,* and that after ha- 'ving *placed him upon the pontifical throne,* and ſigned 'the decree of his election, they *ſent it to the moſt in- 'vincible emperors Lotharius and Lewis,* whereof the 'former (by the confeſſion of all the authors of that 'time) died the twenty-ninth of Sept. 855, ſeventy 'four days after Pope Leo (4).' Certainly, if we found in a manuſcript, that the emperor Ferdinand II died in the year 1637, and that Ferdinand III immediately ſucceeded him, and that Charles VI ſucceeded Ferdinand II, and held the empire for the ſpace of two years, after which Ferdinand III was elected emperor, we ſhould ſay that the ſame author could never have writ all theſe things, and that the tranſcribers muſt neceſſarily have jumbled together without judgment what had been ſaid by different perſons. Muſt not a man be mad, or drunk, or delirious, if he ſhould relate that Innocent X being dead, was immediately ſucceeded by Alexander VII, that Innocent XI was preſently made Pope after Innocent X, and poſſeſſed the chair above two years, and that Alexander VII ſucceeded him? Anaſtaſius the Library-keeper would be guilty of the like extravagance, were he the author of all we find in the manuſcripts of his work, which mention the She-Pope. Therefore I ſay, what relates to this woman is ſpurious, and comes from another hand.

(4) Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c, *pag.* 9, 10.

Sarravius, a zealous Proteſtant, and an able man, made the ſame judgment, after he had very carefully examined the manuſcript of the king's library. He concluded from the narrative he found there, touching the election of Benedictus III, which happened preſently upon the death of Leo IV, that the ſtory of the She-Pope had been tacked to it by one that miſuſed his time (5). He ſpoke after this manner in the letters he wrote to Salmaſius, and ſupported his opinion with ſeveral other reaſons. 'Venio ad Pa- 'piſſam. Quicquid de Papiſſâ confidentius dicas, in- 'tricat ſſimum eſt omne id negotium. Sederit illa, nec 'ne, longior eſt diſquiſitio, nec unius Epiſtolæ. Jam 'autem quæro tantum, num Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii 'legitimus ſit fœtus Vita illa, quam apud te nuper 'tranſmiſi. Ut eum cenſeam ὑποζολιμαῖον, præter 'allatas jam rationes, hæ ſuadent (6). - - - - *I come to 'the She-Pope. Whatever you may confidently affirm a- 'bout the She-Pope, it is all a very intricate affair. 'The queſtion, whether ſhe poſſeſſed the chair or not, 'would take up too much time, and cannot be diſcuſſed 'in one letter. At preſent I ſhall only inquire whether 'that life I lately tranſmitted to you, be the genuine off- 'ſpring of Anaſtaſius the Library-keeper. Beſides the rea- 'ſons already alledged, the following convince me that it 'is ſpurious.*' One of theſe other reaſons ſeems to me demonſtrative. The account of the She-Pope does not appear in the manuſcript of Anaſtaſius as a fact, which the author warrants to be true; he uſes the expreſſion, *it is affirmed, that,* &c. *it is ſaid, that,* &c. Now, is it poſſible that a cotemporary author, living at Rome, ſhould ſpeak in that manner of the adventures of a Pope ſo extraordinary as theſe are? 'Si Anaſta 'ſius hanc Hiſtoriam conſcripſit, rem ſua ætate, ſe 'vivo & Romæ degente, geſtam literis mandavit. 'Atqui de re tamquam parum comperta, & ſibi tan- 'tùm ex famâ cognitâ loquitur hic Auctor cum ait, 'ut aſſeritur, ut dicitur. Qui ità loquitur, non curat 'ſuo teſtimonio fidem haberi, quaſi diceret, *credat 'qui voluerit, fides ſit penes Auctores.* An autem cre- 'dibile eſt virum doctum & ſagacem de adeo ſingulari 'ſui temporis eventu, non inquiſiviſſe diligenter, ut 'ad poſteros res notabilis, utque maximè in dubiâ fide 'cum ſuis omnibus circumſtanciis, dimanaret (7)? - - - *'If Anaſtaſius was the author of this ſtory, he has left 'upon record a matter that was tranſacted in his own 'age, in his own life-time, whilſt he reſided at Rome. 'But this author ſpeaks of a fact as doubtful, and 'known to him only by report, when he ſays,* as it is af- firmed, as it is given out. *He that ſpeaks ſo does not 'care that his own word ſhould be taken for it, as if 'he ſhould ſay,* believe it who will, I leave it to the 'authors. *But is it credible that a learned and inge- 'nious man would not diligently inquire into ſo ſingular 'an event of his own time, but ſhould hand down to 'poſterity a memorable tranſaction, extremely doubtful in 'all it's circumſtances?*' I do not believe that any author now-a-days, not even in the extreme parts of the the north, is capable of uſing a *they ſay, they affirm,* in relating that Alexander VII ſucceeded Innocent X, and that Clement IX ſucceeded Alexander VII. Theſe are facts that cannot be rendered obſcure but through a long ſeries of years; but with regard to a cotemporary author, they have always a compleat certainty, and therefore he is never ſo ſilly as to report them upon a hear-ſay.

(5) Inde patet quod de ea (*Joanna*) ibi dictum eſt, aſſumentum eſſe hominis otio abuſi. *Sarravii Epiſt. CXXXVIII, pag.* 144, *Edit. Ultraj.* 1697.

(6) Idem, Epiſt. CXL, *p.* 145.

(7) Idem, *pag.* 146. *See alſo* Epiſt. CXLVI, *pag.* 151.

Theſe are reaſons ſo proper to convince us, that Anaſtaſius has ſaid nothing of the She-Pope, that in order to invalidate them, it is not ſufficient to alledge there are ſeveral manuſcripts like that of the French king's library (8): it would be abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew the ſtory in the original of Anaſtaſius; for then one would chuſe rather to believe upon the teſtimony of one's own eyes, that this author has made himſelf ridiculous in relating contradictory things, and in uſing fooliſhly a hear-ſay, than to reaſon, or diſpute. The difficulty is not removed, by objecting that this author is not exact, and that we meet with ſeveral variations and contrarieties in his accounts of things (9): certainly, no conſequence can be drawn from thence as to thoſe matters that paſſed under his own eyes. Thoſe who ſpeak of paſt ages conſult ſeveral books, and take from one, one thing, and from another, another. And therefore if they have not judgment, they put together facts that are inconſiſtent; but this does not happen with reſpect to events that are freſh and new, and ſo notorious as the inauguration of Popes. As to thoſe who pretend the particles *mox* and *illico,* preſently and immediately, have been foiſted by another hand into the text of Anaſtaſius (10), it may be anſwered, that with the like evaſion we may get rid of every evidence that makes againſt us, and all hiſtory would be reduced to a frightful Scepticiſm. One particular, and very ſtrong reaſon, why we cannot here admit the conjecture of thoſe men, is becauſe we have proofs founded on paſſages of ſome other cotemporary authors, by which it appears, that Benedictus III was the immediate ſucceſſor of Leo IV, and that the diſtance of time between the death of the one, and the inauguration of the other, was but ſmall (11). And therefore, in reaſon, we ought to ſuppoſe, that Anaſtaſius made uſe of the particles in queſtion.

(8) *See* Colonies, *in his* Mélanges Hiſtoriques, *pag.* 56.

(9) Mareſius, in Examine Quæſt. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 31, 32, 155; *and* Cocle, *in the treatiſe of the She-Pope, pag.* 106, & *ſeq.*

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 156, 157.

(11) *See* Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 30, & *ſeq. and* Father Labbe, in Cenſoriæ cenſo, *pag.* 842, & *ſeq. Tom.* 1. de Script. Eccl.

Let us examine one thing which has made a great noiſe, and which I think is only founded upon the familiar diſcourſes of Salmaſius. 'Marc Velſerus, one 'of the chief magiſtrates of Augſburg, having ſent in 'the year 1601 to the Jeſuits of Mayence, the manu- 'ſcript of Anaſtaſius, to get it printed: they deſired 'Marquard Freher, counſellor to his electoral high- 'neſs at Heidelberg, to aſſiſt them in this affair; up- 'on their promiſe that they would honeſtly publiſh 'what ſhould be communicated to them, he ſent 'them two manuſcripts of Anaſtaſius, in which the 'life of the pretended She-Pope was. But theſe gen- 'tlemen being contented with having two copies of 'this ſort printed, they ſuppreſſed in the reſt of the 'edition, what had been imparted to them; ſo that 'it did not appear, and Freherus was forced, by a 'kind of *Manifeſto* printed, to complain of the trick 'they

An examination of what Salmaſius ſaid touching the ſecret of Anaſtaſius the Jeſuits of Mayence.

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nothing about her [*B*], or however but very little: for he is contented to obſerve under the

'they had ſerved him (12).' This is what Blondel had heard Salmaſius ſay in the year 1640 (13). *I was extremely concerned*, continues he (14), *becauſe no body being able to ſhew either the writing of Freherus againſt the Jeſuits, nor the copies they had cauſed to be printed for him, nor, in fine, thoſe he had ſupplied them with from the library of Heidelberg, which undoubtedly have been buried in the ruins of the Palatinate, or tranſported by the Bavarians where they thought fit, we were left deprived of the means of learning what they contained.* Rivetus (15), Sarravius (16), Mareſius (17), Spanhemius (18), and Boëclerus (19), had heard Salmaſius ſay the ſame thing; and they have not failed upon his teſtimony to charge publickly the Jeſuits of Mayence with having played there a knaviſh trick. It may paſs for indiſputable that Salmaſius ſaid ſo: but it is a queſtion whether his memory, as good as it was, did not deceive him. It would be much more civil and much more charitable to impute this defect to him, than to accuſe him of calumny as Father Labbe does (20). However it be, if the ſtory of Salmaſius were true, we ſhould have here one of the ſtrangeſt prodigies that ever happened among mankind. The Jeſuits would have committed a notorious fraud, in a point controverted between the Catholics and Proteſtants. Marquard Freherus, villainouſly made a dupe in this affair, would have complained of it to the public, and have had the moſt ready and the moſt inconteſtable means that a man can wiſh for, to load with ſhame an impoſtor that he abhors. He would have been able to ſhew to all the world the conformity of the manuſcripts to the two copies they had preſented him with, and the difference that would be found between theſe two copies and the reſt: and yet there would not have been one author that had made mention of this egregious and public fraud of the Jeſuits. Du Pleſſis Mornai, who held intelligence with all the Proteſtant world, and a particular correſpondence with the Palatinate, would have known nothing of this printed letter of Marquard Freherus, for he has ſaid nothing of it in the chapter of Pope Joan (21). Rivetus, the moſt curious man in the world in all ſorts of books of controverſy, would not have been better inſtructed than Du Pleſſis in refuting Coëffeteau, who had denied the ſtory of this She-Pope. Conrad Deckher, publiſhing a book in the Palatinate to maintain this ſtory, would have been unacquainted with the adventure of the edition of Anaſtaſius. One Urſinus, who ſtiled himſelf Anti-Jeſuit, and publiſhed in the ſame country ſeveral books very ſatirical againſt the Jeſuits, would have ſaid nothing of that adventure. David Pareus, profeſſor at Heidelberg, who was perpetually quarrelling with the Jeſuits; and particularly with ſome Fathers of the college of Mayence, would have ſpared them on that point, though the war between them was as fierce as if between Turks and Moors. Never were the diſputes between Proteſtants and Jeſuits ſo violent, and eſpecially in Germany, as during the firſt thirty years of the XVIIth century, and yet amongſt an infinite number of books of controverſy, and libels that appeared againſt the Jeſuits in that ſpace of time, there would not be found one that reproached them with the cheat of the edition of Anaſtaſius. Whence could ſo univerſal a gentleneſs proceed? Was there a law made at Heidelberg after the edition of Anaſtaſius in 1602, to the ruin of the library in 1622, not to ſhew any perſon the two copies that had been preſented by the Jeſuits, and to hinder the confronting of them? Did every body agree to throw into the fire the public complaint of Marquard Freherus, and even to loſe the memory of it? Whence comes it that Salmaſius, the only one that has not had the gift of oblivion, never ſpoke of this fraud in the works he publiſhed, being contented only to entertain his friends with it in converſation? The queſtions that might be made on this ſubject are numberleſs. Father Labbe has puſhed ſome of them in an unmerciful manner, and with thundering expreſſions againſt Mareſius (22). Theſe are queſtions which are very obvious, and yet it does not appear that any of thoſe learned men, who have publiſhed what Salmaſius had told them by word of mouth about the conſequences of this edition of Mayence, ever thought to propoſe to him any of theſe doubts. Spanhemius, who was not ignorant of Father Labbe's queſtions, has made no anſwer at all. I am ſurprized, and yet I am not ſurprized at it in different reſpects; but though I am a dwarf in compariſon of theſe giants, I think, if I had had the honour to hear Salmaſius ſay what he told them, I ſhould have intreated him to give me ſome reaſons for this prodigious ſilence of all the authors who have writ againſt the Jeſuits ſince the year 1602. See the margin (23).

If a gentleman aſſured me that in 1664 he heard Mr Arnauld ſay what I am going to relate, I would plainly anſwer him in this manner. I believe Mr Arnauld has told you this ſtory, ſince you atteſt it as an ear-witneſs; but I do not believe what he ſaid; it is one of thoſe indeterminate diſcourſes of converſation, in which things are miſerably confounded. We have a thouſand inſtances of this kind in the *Scaligerana*, and in the *Menagiana*. This is the narrative which I ſuppoſe on purpoſe to furniſh out a parallel.

Meſſieurs Du Puy ſent in the year 1644 (24) to the Jeſuits of Rome the manuſcript of a council, in which there was a deciſive paſſage for the efficacy of Grace. The Jeſuits had engaged their honour that they would not curtail the manuſcript, they cauſed two copies of it to be printed faithfully, and retrenched the deciſive paſſage in all the reſt. They ſent back the manuſcript to Meſſieurs Du Puy, and made them a preſent of the two copies that were not altered. Meſſieurs Du Puy finding out the trick complained of it by a printed letter. This is what I ſuppoſe Mr Arnauld told very ſeriouſly in the year 1664.

There is not a reaſonable man but ſhould have aſked him, how comes it that no body ever boaſted of having ſeen the letter of Meſſieurs Du Puy? How comes it they did not challenge the Jeſuits to ſend ſomebody to aſſiſt at an aſſembly, in which they might compare the manuſcript both with the two copies received in a preſent, and with the reſt of the edition? Why did they not draw up an act before a Public Notary, that they might have a moſt invincible proof of the fraud? Why did you, who have writ ſo much againſt the Jeſuits, never charge them with having falſified the manuſcript of a council? Why is there not found one author, ſince the diſputes about Janſeniſm, which have produced an infinite number of pieces againſt the ſociety, that complains of the retrenching of this paſſage? What head of Meduſa has ſo petrified the hand and memory of a world of Anti-Moliniſts, that none of them ſhould print any thing about it? Would they have agreed among themſelves to ſpare the Jeſuits the ſhame they deſerved? But why ſpare them upon that point, when nothing was forgot that could give an advantage againſt them? And, in fine, is it likely that people, who have at leaſt a great deſire not to be taken in the fact, ſhould ſo groſsly impoſe upon Meſſieurs Du Puy, that their cheat muſt inevitably be diſcovered to the utter confuſion of the whole body?

Theſe difficulties cannot be removed, and they ſtrike us ſo forcibly, that unleſs we ſuffer ourſelves to be blinded with ſtrange prejudice in favour of Mr Arnauld's ſincerity, and the faithfulneſs of his memory, we muſt always think his ſtory is nothing but a fable.

But ſuppoſe all that Salmaſius relates were true, it would not affect the main point of the queſtion; for what has been already obſerved with regard to the manuſcript of the king's library would have no leſs force againſt that of the Elector Palatine. It might be ſaid upon the ſame foundation, that the ſtory of the She-Pope has been tacked to the one and the other, and therefore it might be concluded that Anaſtaſius is not the author of it.

We ſhall ſee below (25), of what force the argument is, drawn from the ſilence of cotemporary authors.

[*B*] *Many think that Marianus Scotus . . . is the firſt that ſpoke of her. Others maintain he ſaid nothing about her.*] Let us quote Coëffeteau. 'Several learned men, who reckon Marianus Scotus a pretty 'good Hiſtorian, ſuſpect that the Lutherans have 'corrupted the copy which they made uſe of in print-'ing it: for it is certain this ſtory is not to be found 'in old copies. And Mireus, canon of Antwerp, a 'learned man, particularly well verſed in hiſtory, 'who not long ſince cauſed Sigebert to be printed, 'aſſures us, that he has an old manuſcript of Maria-

'nus,

(12) Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 3, 4.

(13) It is Salmaſius that Blondel meant; as *Colomies, Mélanges Hiſtoriques, pag.* 55, 56, has obſerved.

(14) Blondel, ubi ſupra, *p.* 5.

(15) Rivet. Crit. Sacri, *lib. iii, ch. xiv. See alſo* Spanh. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 292.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Mareſius, in Examine Queſtionis, *pag.* 178.

(18) Spanh. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 292.

(19) Boëcler. in Commentar. de Rebus Seculi noni, apud Spanh. ibid.

(20) Philippus Labbe, in Cenotaphio everſo, *pag.* 929, & *ſq.*

(21) *In his* Myſtere d'Iniquité, *printed in the year* 1611.

(22) Labbe, in Cenotaphio everſo, *pag.* 929, & *ſq.*

(23) Daniel Francus, *p.* 145, de Indicibus Librorum expurgandorum, *relates all the objections of Father Labbe, and the only anſwer he makes is to intreat thoſe that have the letter of Freherus to produce it.*

(24) This time, and afterwards the year 1664, is ſuppoſed as the æra of the narrative of Mr Arnauld, that the parallel may agree the better, there having been twenty years between the edition of Anaſtaſius, and the ruin of the Palatine library.

(25) See the remark [*G*].

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the year 853, that *Joan, a woman*, ſucceeded Pope Leo IV, *during the ſpace of two years five months and four days* (a). Sigebert, who died in the year 1113, was a little more particular in the affair; but ſome affirm the paſſage aſcribed to him is forged [C], and ground their aſſertion upon manuſcripts, in which it is not to be found. Martin Polonus, who

(a) *See* Blondel, *pag.* 17, *of* Eclairciſſement de la Queſtion, Si une Femme a eſté aſſiſe au Siege Papal de Rome.

nus, written on parchment, which the reverend abbot of Gembloux, called *Ludovicus Sombechus*, ſent him, in which this fable of the pretended She-Pope is not inſerted, either in the text or in the margin. The ſame is alſo atteſted by the perſon that publiſhed at Cologn, Krantzius (26). Even Serrarius ſays he ſaw at Francfort a manuſcript in the hands of Latomus who ſhewed it him, where this ſtory is related not abſolutely, as in that of Baſil, which the Calviniſt Heroldus printed, but according to common report, *ut aſſeritur* (27).' Obſerve, if you pleaſe, that the edition of Marianus procured by Herold was printed from this manuſcript of Latomus (28). Now by the confeſſion of the Jeſuit Serarius this manuſcript does not differ from the edition but with regard to the terms *ut aſſeritur*. It contains therefore all the reſt, and conſequently there are ſome manuſcripts of Marianus that mention the She-Pope, which the Lutherans cannot be ſaid to have added to them; ſince it is certain that the manuſcript of Latomus had never been falſified by the Lutherans. It was a prieſt that furniſhed it, and took it from the library of a church (29). But it will be objected, whence proceed theſe variations of the manuſcripts of Marianus? Why do we find Pope Joan in ſome of them and not in others? I anſwer, this diverſity may ariſe as well from addition as ſubſtraction, and to know certainly whether Marianus be the author of the clauſe touching the She-Pope, it would be neceſſary to ſee the original of his book; if it were found there, he muſt have put it, if it were not found there, it would be a forged piece in the manuſcripts that have it. But as we cannot ſee the original, it is impoſſible to determine any thing that way. Another queſtion may be aſked, is it more likely that tranſcribers have caſtrated than that they have added what relates to Pope Joan? It is difficult to anſwer any thing poſitively: for there are reaſons on both ſides. It is pretended, that probably ſome tranſcribers, finding the period of the She-Pope to be ſcandalous, would not inſert it: and that probably other tranſcribers, being ſtruck with the ſingularity of the fact, would not have it omitted in their Marianus, but put it in. Some readers write, in the margin of a hiſtory or calendar, a great many ſupplements. If a Bookſeller were to reprint this hiſtory by a copy of this kind, he would inſert in his new edition all theſe marginal notes, each in it's own place, and would not always be at the pains to diſtinguiſh them from the old text. There was ſtill more room for ſuch a practice before Printing was invented: books were dearer, and therefore people choſe rather to put in the margin the ſupplements that another book could furniſh them with, than to buy two books. Now theſe marginal additions ordinarily paſſed into the text, when a new copy was writ. I ſhall add here a remark of Florimond de Remond. 'Books . . . compoſed on diſtinct ſubjects without connexion, as chronologies are, are very liable to the gloſſes of thoſe into whoſe hands they fall. We commonly ſee in them a world of gaps, which are filled up by the firſt comer, and with ſuch materials as he can light on: and very frequently trimmed up with ſome falſe piece. Every one, according to the years, readily adds what in his opinion was left out by the author, who could not take notice of all that is ſcattered amongſt a great multitude of books that we have, and amidſt the confuſion of things that happened in paſt ages. Who is he amongſt us, that does not comment, and recomment upon the Chronology of the learned Pontac, and that of Genebrard, a great maſter of languages, becauſe they have both omitted, perhaps thro' inadvertency, ſome particulars, or elſe deſignedly paſſed them over. If afterwards theſe books, with marginal notes, fall into the hands of any Printer, he is ſure to make all paſs under the name of their firſt maſter, however innocent of the faults which the author of theſe gloſſes may have committed (30).'

By this we may perceive, how it comes to paſs that the ſtory of the She-Pope is found at length in the manuſcripts of Anaſtaſius. I own that by the ſame reaſon it ought to be found as fully in the manuſcripts of Marianus, and not in two or three words only; but it is to be obſerved, that the practice I ſpeak of muſt have been more frequent with reſpect to manuſcripts deſigned for the libraries of academies and churches. Communities had not the ſame reaſon as a private perſon to be ſaving. Now, the manuſcripts of Marianus, deſigned for the uſe of a private perſon, might poſſibly be loſt, and thoſe of Anaſtaſius might paſs from the poſſeſſion of a private perſon to that of public libraries. I do not alledge this as a convincing proof, nor even as a conjecture that cannot be refuted; but what can one do better in matters ſo uncertain, and where one gropes in the dark? See the margin (31).

What I am going to ſay has not much of the problem in it. If Marianus did not ſpeak of a She-Pope, that which we find of it in the manuſcripts of this author, cannot be attributed to the Lutherans: for theſe manuſcripts are undoubtedly prior to Luther. This Reformer appeared at a time when Printing was common, and people no longer employed themſelves in copying manuſcripts, and after all, the connoiſſeurs can very well diſtinguiſh whether a copy was writ in the XVIth century, or a long time before. I ſay then, that if the chronicle of Marianus has been lengthened out a few lines, to infert the She-Pope in it, this has been done by the Roman Catholics.

This, you will ſay, is againſt all probability: they ought to have been incomparably more inclined to cancel the adventure of this woman, wherever they found it, than to inſert it where they found it not. They ſaw very well, it was ſcandalous to their church. I anſwer, that this objection, which ſeems ſomewhat plauſible, is nothing at bottom but a meer ſhadow; for if the ſtory of the She-Pope be a fable, it was forged in the breaſt of Popery, and they were Prieſts and Monks that firſt publiſhed it. It has been believed, and adopted by ſome authors extreamly devoted to the Papacy, ſuch as Antoninus, archbiſhop of Florence, one of the ſaints of the Romiſh communion. A vaſt number of writers have related it ſincerely and honeſtly, and without ſuſpecting it did any prejudice to the holy ſee; and even after the ſectaries of Bohemia had drawn from thence an argument (32), they continued to own it, and did not begin to combat it in good earneſt till the Proteſtants thought fit to make great advantage of it. There are many other things, which the zealots of Popery were concerned to ſuppreſs, and which they have not ſuppreſſed (33), tho' infinitely more ſcandalous and diſhonourable than that.

[C] *Some maintain it is a piece forged by Sigebert.* What I have juſt ſaid, about the manuſcripts of Marianus, may be applied to the manuſcripts of Sigebert, monk of Gemblours, who died in the year 1113. Here follows what we read in the chronicle of this Sigebert, printed at Paris in the year 1513. *Pope John, an Engliſhman. The report is, that this John was a woman, and that only one of her familiar friends knew it, who uſed to lie with her, and that at laſt, even whilſt ſhe was Pope, ſhe became with child, and was delivered. This is the reaſon why ſome do not rank her among the Popes, and that therefore ſhe does not increaſe the number of the Popes of this* name (34). *There are ſome manuſcripts of Sigebert, which have nothing of this paſſage. Mireus aſſures us*, that in four different copies, among which was the *copy of the Abbey of Gembloux, whereof Sigebert was Monk, which is the original, or at leaſt was taken from the very manuſcript that Sigebert made uſe of to publiſh it, there is no mention made of Pope Joan, not even in the margin, tho' there is abundance of things added not long ſince: however*, ſays he, *it is certain this fable is falſly attributed to our Sigebert* (35). Add to that theſe words of Florimond de Remond: 'The forgery which we ſay has been committed in Sigebert, is obvious to the eye by the comparing of an old author, called William of Nangiac, who has writ a chronicle to the year 1302, in which that of Sigebert is tranſcribed from one end to the other, without any thing miſſing. And yet the only ſtory of this

(26) *He calls himſelf* Gervinus Calenius, *and takes the title of* Legum Licentiatus. *He publiſhed the* Saxonia & Metropolis *of* Albert Krantz, *at Cologn in* 1574.

(27) Coëffeteau, Reſponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 506.

(28) It is certain that John Herold publiſhed Marianus at Baſil, in the year 1550, from the original that was ſent him from Francfort by Joannes Latomus, dean of St Bartholomew's church in the ſame town. *Florim. de Remond, l'Anti-papeſſe, ch. ii, num.* 4, *fol.* 366.

(29) See the foregoing quotation.

(30) Remond, L'Anti-Papeſſe, *chap. v, num.* 3, *fol.* 375, *recto.*

(31) I enlarge more on all theſe conjectures in the remark [B] of the article POLONUS.

(32) See in the remark [E] what Æneas Sylvius ſays in anſwer to the biſhop of the Taborites.

(33) See the remark [G].

(34) Sigebert. Gemblacenſis, in Chronico, *ad ann.* 854. His words are, Johannes Anglicus, fama eſt hanc Johannem fœminam fuiſſe & uni ſoli familiari cognitam qui eam compleus eſt, & gravi facta pepere Papa exiſtens. Quare eum inter Pontifices non numerant quidam, ideo omnium numerum non facit.

(35) Coëffeteau, Réponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 507: *le gazetier Mercure*, in Edit. Sigeb. *ad ann.* 854.

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who died *about the year* 1207, *that is* 184 *years after the death of Marianus* (b), enlarges much more upon the ſtory. He aſſures us, ‘ that the Joan of Marianus was called *the* ‘ *Engliſhman*, that ſhe was *of the nation of Mayence*, that having been got with child, ‘ ſhe was delivered in the midſt of a proceſſion, *between the Coloſſus and the church of S.* ‘ *Clement*, and that in abhorrence of her crime, the proceſſion (taking another way) ‘ hath ceaſed to paſs along that ſtreet. Thierry de Niem who wrote . . . . . about ‘ 328 years after the death of Marianus . . . . . ., adds, out of his own head, *that a* ‘ *ſtatue* was erected in memory of this accident. William Breuin who wrote * of the ‘ VII principal churches of Rome, and Baptiſt Platina who died in the year 1481, 395 ‘ years after the death of Marianus, ... (to ſwell the doſe) have mentioned *the* ‘ *cloſe-ſtool*, upon which (as they ſay) the Pope muſt ſit in order to be ſearched. And ‘ above a hundred years after, others thought fit to contribute their quota, affirming ‘ that the pretended Joan was *a witch*, that ſhe *crowned the emperour Lewis the ſecond* &c: ‘ ſo that ſcarce 460 years have been ſufficient to give a compleat form to this bear, ‘ which the poor Marianus (I know not how) brought forth.’ Thus ſpeaks David Blondel, who though he was a miniſter, yet treats this ſtory of the She-Pope as a fable, and

(b) Blondel. Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 17, 18.

* About the year 470.

‘ this female Pope is not there. Why ſhould he have ‘ omitted it, ſince the original, from whence he ſays ‘ he had taken it, could contradict him? This manu- ‘ ſcript is ſtill to be ſeen in the Abbey of Gemblours ‘ near Louvain, if it has eſcaped the fury of the men ‘ of this age. It was there where our Sigebert ‘ was monk. His book is kept there very curiouſly ‘ by the monks, to ſhew it as a rarity, when men of ‘ learning viſit their convent. It is writ with Sigebert's ‘ own hand, in which nothing is ſaid of this new ‘ Pontif. The learned Franciſcan-Father Protaſius ‘ ſwore to me he had ſeen it, and aſſured me there was ‘ not one word of this fable in it: Onuphrius, Ge- ‘ nebrard, and others, likewiſe atteſt the ſame. It is ‘ a thing eaſy to be verified, if any incredulous per- ‘ ſon will take the trouble. The ſame Onuphrius writes, ‘ that in antient copies, which are found of Sigebert ‘ in Italy, taken from the original of Gemblours, and ‘ which are ſeen among the old libraries, there is ‘ nothing ſaid of it neither (36).’ Alexander Cook (37), has writ ſome notes againſt this paſſage of Florimond de Remond; but they do not ſerve to prove that the manuſcript of Gemblours is not antient, *&c.* This juſtice ought reciprocally to be done by one author to another, that if the one affirms there is ſuch a manuſcript in a public library, the other do not deny it, unleſs he knows it to be falſe (38); for we are not to ſuppoſe that an author would be ſo imprudent as to tell a lie, when he is well aſſured that his lie will be fully and eaſily diſcovered (39). Might not ſome traveller be commiſſioned to deſire to have the manuſcript of Sigebert ſhewn him? Is that denied one? Do they not take pleaſure to ſatisfy all the curious about it? I do not ſee then why Cook ſhould have depiſed what Florimond de Remond alledges of Father Protaſius. I think too he trifles, when he obſerves (39*) that Bellarmin, in aſſuring us that Molanus ſaw the manuſcript of Gemblours *does not tell us to whom* Molanus *ſaid ſo, nor in what book it is writ. So that*, concludes he, *to this day no juſt proof has been brought that there is one ſingle copy in which it is not found, much leſs that it has been added to copies, where this ſtory is found.* Why did he not conſult the dialogues of one of his own country? There he might have read, that Molanus, as an eye-witneſs, had aſſured Alanus Copus that the manuſcript of Gemblours contained nothing about the She-Pope, and that if it was not the original of Sigebert, it was at leaſt a copy made from the original. This would have cauſed ſeveral of Cook's remarks to fall to the ground. Note, that it is affirmed, that ſeveral impertinencies of a fabulous writer have been foiſted into the chronicle of Sigebert. Read the following words of Alanus Copus: ‘ Antiquiora Sigeberti exemplaria nullam hu- ‘ juſmodi narrationem complectuntur: & ſatis præ- ‘ terea conſtat, illius hiſtoriæ multa aſcititia & plane ‘ vana ex, neſcio, cujus Galfridi Monumetenſis libro ‘ aſperſa (40). - - - - *The antient copies of Sigebert con-* ‘ *tain no ſtory of this kind: and beſides, it is evident* ‘ *enough, that many very impertinent things are taken* ‘ *from the book of one Jeffry of Monmouth, and interſperſed* ‘ *in his Hiſtory.*’ We muſt not forget that Mr Spanheim owns that the words of Sigebert, related above, according to the edition of Paris, 1513, are a parentheſis, which may be taken away without injuring the recitals and chronological calculations of the author: for he gives to Benedictus III, immediately after Leo, the ſame year, which the parentheſis aſſigns to Joan (41). Mr Spanheim likewiſe very ingenuouſly acknowledges that the parentheſis is not in the manuſcript of the Leyden library (42). It is a very old manuſcript, and of the year 1154, if we believe the title.

Blondel has taken no ſide in the diſpute about the manuſcripts of Sigebert; but he intimates very clearly that he thinks it probable this author ſaid nothing of the She-Pope. One of his reaſons is this (43): ‘ Vin- ‘ cent de Beauvais, and William de Nangis (44) ‘ (who have from year to year inſerted his words in ‘ their collections, and particularly with regard to ‘ what he wrote upon the year 854, touching Bene- ‘ dictus III, and Anaſtaſius his Anti-Pope; and upon ‘ the year 857, touching Nicolas the Firſt), do not ‘ tranſcribe the clauſe concerning the She-Pope.’ This reaſon is very ſtrong, to prove, at leaſt, that the tranſcribers made uſe of a copy, that ſaid nothing of Joan. I know it is anſwered, that they ſkip this place of the original, becauſe Sigebert himſelf tells us, that ſome *do not rank her among the Popes, and there-* *fore ſhe does not augment the number of the Popes of this name* (45). This remark is likewiſe made uſe of to refute the argument Blondel draws, from the ſilence of many famous Hiſtorians concerning the She-Pope. It is ſhewn that certain Popes have been eraſed out of the catalogue of the biſhops of Rome (46); and Bede is quoted, who informs us, that two Anglo-Saxon kings became ſo odious, that it was thought proper to let their memory periſh, and to unite immediately in hiſtory the reign which preceded, and the reign which followed theſe two apoſtate princes (47). Ita referente Beda in Hiſt. Anglo-Saxonum *, adeo fuit exoſa memoria Regum paris, Ofrichi & Earfridi, *propter apoſtaſiam*, ut *cunctis placuerit, Regum tempora computantibus, ut ablata de medio Regum perſidorum memoria, idem annus ſequentis Regis regno aſſigna- retur:* but theſe anſwers can never ſatisfy an unbyaſſed judgment for even the obſervation of Sigebert ought to have been a reaſon, why the authors that adopted his narratives ſhould have ſpoke of the She-Pope. They ought, after his example, to have related the adventures of this pretended Pontif, and afterwards added, that ſhe was not numbred amongſt the Popes, *&c.* But as they have not ſpoke in this manner, it is a ſign they did not find in Sigebert the paſſage in queſtion. I ſhall obſerve further, that had there been a decree, ordering that the name of the She-Pope ſhould be razed out of all public records, and that her ſtatues ſhould be deſtroyed, this would have been one of thoſe remarkable circumſtances, which Hiſtorians principally relate. There was ſuch a decree againſt the memory of Domitian, who notwithſtanding that has had a place in all the Hiſtories amongſt the emperors of Rome. This very order of the ſenate is one of the things, which Hiſtorians have moſt carefully obſerved. Mr Spanheim, who cites Procopius (48), might have cited Suetonius (49). What he quotes from the Hiſtorian Bede confirms this. And when all is done, it is certain that Annaliſts, in order to reach the true ſpirit of ſuch a decree, and to anſwer the real intent of the ſenate, who deſigned that the memory of a tyrant ſhould periſh, ought to mention this ſtigmatizing ſentence. It is by no means to be thought, that thoſe, who inflict ſuch a puniſhment upon an

(41) Spanh. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 53.

(42) Ibid. *pag.* 52.

(43) Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 69. *He joins to theſe two in his Latin work, pag.* m. 42, *Albericus Monk of Trois fontaines*, Sigeberti exſcriptor, qui de Joanna filet.

(44) *Here it what Genebrard ſays on the year* 858, *pag. m.* 539. Chronica Guliel. Nangiaci, in quibus cum totus Liber alioqui Sigeberti exſcriptus ſit, hoc unum deſideretur.

(45) Qui dicuntur Docto Anacritæ exſcripſiſſe Sigebertum, nec tamen Joannæ meminiſſe, ut Albericus, Vincentius Bellovacenſis, Gwillelmus Nangiacus, non ideo illam omiſerunt, quod de ea tacuiſſet Sigebertus, ſed quod ipſo Sigeberto judice, verbis modò relatis, *nomini numerum non faceret.*

(46) *See Mr* Spanheim, de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 38, *&c.*

(47) Ibid. *pag.* 40.

* Beda Hiſt. Anglo-Saxonum, *lib. iii, ch. ii.*

(48) Spanh. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 40: *he cites* Procopius, *cap. viii*, Hiſtor. arcanæ.

(49) Sueton. in Domitiano, *cap. ult.*

(36) Flor. de Remond, L'Anti-Papeſſe, *chap. v, num.* 5, *fol.* 376.

(37) Cook, in treatiſe of the She-Pope, *pag.* 82, *& ſeq.*

(38) Compare what Mr Arnauld ſays in the third volume of the *Morale Pratique*, *pag.* 471, *& ſeq.*

(39) It is not pretended but that ſome authors are imprudent enough ſome times in that reſpect: but we muſt not eſtabliſh a rule upon that.

(39*) Cook, Treatiſe of the She-Pope, *pag.* 82.

(40) Alanus Copus, Dialogo I, *cap. viii, pag.* 37, *Edit. Ant.* 1573, *in* 4to.

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(c) See the remark [I] of the article BLONDEL (DAVID).

and has writ books to refute it (c). This whole ſtory, ſays he (d), *is an inlaid piece of work, embelliſhed with time.* We ſhall give it afterwards according to the account of thoſe who have been at moſt pains to collect the circumſtances [D]. Undoubtedly, new

(d) Blondel, ubi ſupra, pag. 17.

an uſurper, deſire that none ſhould ſpeak of him either good or ill; this would be to favour him, and to have him ſheltered from ignominy. Now, this they could not have in view, without falling into a contradiction; and therefore they deſire that what they decree againſt his memory ſhould ſerve to make him deteſted in all future ages. Conſequently they wiſh that their ſentence be expreſsly mentioned in the annals of the country.

Let it be added, that there is a very wide difference between razing one out of the number of Popes, and the making no mention of him. The Anti-Popes are not in the number: thoſe, who took the name of Clement, are not reckoned among the Clements: and yet Annaliſts do not ſuppreſs the actions, the intruſion, and the diſorders of theſe falſe Popes. Mareſius puts this queſtion, Was there not in France a Charles X, whom the league ſet up againſt Henry IV? and yet no Hiſtorian has put him in the number of the kings of France (50). Grand illuſion! For tho' Hiſtorians do not put him in the number of the kings, they, however, inform us what the league did for him. The queſtion here is not, whether the She-Pope ſat in the chair rightfully: the queſtion is only about the fact; did ſhe uſurp the papal chair after the death of Leo IV? Did ſhe poſſeſs it for the ſpace of two years? Did ſhe loſe it by her death, when ſhe was delivered in the ſtreets? An Hiſtorian, who conſiders her as a falſe Pope, may very well exclude her from the number of Popes that have had the name of John, and reckon Leo IV for the 102d (51), and Benedictus III for the 103d, but he muſt neceſſarily ſpeak of the interregnum of this female uſurper. The French Hiſtorians begin the reign of Charles VII at the death of Charles VI, and do not reckon as king of France Henry VI king of England; but they do not diſſemble, that after the death of Charles VI, this Henry VI was proclaimed king of France. However ſhameful ſuch facts may be, they are too public to be entirely ſuppreſſed in Hiſtory.

(50) Sam. Mareſius, in Examine Quæſtionis, pag. 45, 46.

(51) There are many variations about the number of this Pope. See *Blondel, in Examine, pag.* 27.

I conclude, it is arguing ſophiſtically *à non cauſa pro cauſa*, to ſuppoſe that the remark of Sigebert hindered his tranſcribers from copying his account of the She-Pope. Therefore, other anſwers than that of Samuel Mareſius muſt be ſought for.

(52) In the remark [B] of the article POLONUS (MARTIN).

We ſhall ſee elſewhere (52), that the ſame difficulties are raiſed on Martin Polonus as on Marianus and Sigebert.

[D] *We ſhall give* this ſtory *according to the account of thoſe who have been at moſt pains to collect the circumſtances of it.*] There are but few wanting in the relation I am going to give, and which I take from a work of John Creſpin. 'JOHN the eighth of 'this name, took the name of Engliſhman, on the 'account of a certain Engliſh Monk of the abbey of 'Fulda, whom he figularly loved: as to his office, he 'was Pope, but as to his ſex, a woman. This maid, 'by nation a German, born at Mayence, and firſt 'named Gilberta, pretending to be of the male-ſex, 'and having taken the habit of a man, went to 'Athens with the monk her galant. At which place, 'after having exceedingly improved in all ſorts of 'ſciences, ſhe returned after his death to Rome: 'but ſtill diſſembling that ſhe was a woman. Now, 'ſince ſhe was extreamly witty, and had a graceful 'and ready way of talking at diſputations and public 'leſſons, ſo that many were vaſtly ſurprized at her 'learning; every one became ſo well affected to her, 'and ſhe gained the friendſhip of all in ſuch a manner, that after the death of Leo, ſhe was choſen 'Pope. Into which office after ſhe was introduced, 'ſhe conferred holy orders (as they call them) after 'the manner of other Popes: ſhe made prieſts and 'deacons, ordained biſhops and abbots, ſung maſſes, 'conſecrated churches and altars, adminiſtred the 'ſacraments, preſented her feet to be kiſſed, and did 'all the other things that Popes uſe to do: and her 'acts were not at that time reckoned invalid.

'During the time this woman was Pope, the emperor Lotharius, now grown old, went into a monaſtery; and Lewis the ſecond of that name coming 'to Rome, took the ſcepter and crown of the empire 'at her hands, with the benediction of St Peter.... 'Now, whilſt ſhe was in this office of Pope, ſhe was 'got with child by one of her own chaplains, a 'cardinal, who knew very well what ſex ſhe was of. 'And as ſhe was going in ſome ſolemn proceſſion to 'the church of Latran, ſhe was delivered of this 'child, thus conceived in fornication, between the 'Coloſſus and the church of St Clement, in the midſt 'of the city of Rome, in the great ſquare, even in a 'public ſtreet, in the preſence of all the people of 'of Rome: and died upon the ſpot in bringing forth 'her child, in the year of our Lord 857. Upon 'the account of this crime, and becauſe ſhe was delivered in public, ſhe was deprived of all the honour that had been uſually done to Popes, and was 'buried without any Papal pomp..... Now, that 'the Popes and anointed Fathers may ſeem to have 'ſuch a treſpaſs in abhorrence, they turn aſide from 'that place, as if they looked upon it to be ominous. '.... But that the good Fathers might not again 'fall into the like misfortune, they ordered that a 'Deacon ſhould feel the privy-parts of the perſon who 'ſhould be choſen Pope, through a cloſe-ſtool, in 'order to know whether he be a male or not. But 'now-a-days, whilſt they are Cardinals, and before 'they are choſen Popes, they get ſo many baſtards, 'that no body can doubt of their being males, and 'there is no further occaſion for ſo holy a ceremony (53).'

(53) Creſpin, l'Etat de l'Egliſe, pag. m. 243, & ſeq.

Theſe laſt words allude to thoſe Latin verſes of Johannes Pannonius, which Mr du Pleſſis has related in his Hiſtory of the Papacy (54):

(54) Pag. m. 164.

Non poterat quiſquam reſerantes æthera claves
Non exploratis ſumere teſticulis.
Cur igitur noſtro mos hic nunc tempore ceſſat?
Ante probat quod ſe quilibet eſſe marem.

That is,

The keys of Heav'n no man cou'd take,
Unleſs his ſecret parts were felt.
Why is this cuſtom now left off?
Each proves himſelf a male before.

Florimond de Remond, makes uſe of this paſſage to convict thoſe of a lie, who ſaid this cuſtom ſtill continued. *Our adverſaries*, ſays he (55), ... *tell us, that to prevent the Papacy from falling hereafter to females, they ſtill feel, to this day, the privy-parts of the Popes, who are elected, crying out, when they touch them, with great joy,* He is worthy to be made Pope. *The centuriators, relating theſe ſhameful things, ſay, that with great rejoycing, they cry,* He has them, he has them. *To this purpoſe Pannonius made theſe verſes, which, tho' they ought to be ſuppreſſed, I was willing to put here, tranſlated into our own tongue, ſince they make an advantage of them: that one may ſee by theſe ſame authors their contradictions and calumnies.* .... The verſes of Pannonius ſhew, *that this method was not practiſed in his time. The authors of the Centuries and Bale dare not ſay the contrary, and immediately add a fine reaſon worthy of this profeſſion.* This cuſtom, ſay they, of ſearching them, is annihilated and aboliſhed, becauſe it is no longer neceſſary, ſince their concubines and whores give ſufficient teſtimony of their exiſtence (56).

(55) Florimond de Remond, l'Antipapeſſe, lib. xvii, num. 1, fol. 410, verſo.

(56) Ibid. fol. 411.

He obſerves that John Creſpin has copied *word for word* the expreſſions of *John Bale* (57). But however we do not find in the account of Creſpin, as in that of the other, this particular, *it is ſaid, that this learned and ſubtile woman wrote a book of Magic* (58). Florimond has likewiſe the following paſſage from the Chronicle of James Curio. *Benedictus the third, being choſen after this whore, ſucceeded to this wicked chair, after his ſecret parts had been felt: that people might not be deceived in him, as they had been in Joan a little before* (59). He gives alſo the account of Boccace, and does not forget to take notice that it does not agree with that of other authors. 'Boccace.... in 'the book of illuſtrious women, has this monſter re'preſented as bringing forth a child at a general pro'ceſſion in the arms of her cardinals, with theſe verſes 'engraven

(57) Ibid. num. 11, num. 5, fol. 370, verſo. Edit. 1599. in 4to.

(58) Ibid. n. 5.

(59) Ibid. n. 5.

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new pieces would have been interwoven from time to time, if the Roman Catholics had not at last thought proper to combat it. This put an end to embellishing. A vast number of writers, who were otherwise attached to the Papacy, have believed this story. Æneas Silvius, who was Pope under the name of Pius II, in the XVth century, was the first that called it in question: he even passed over it very slightly and as it were with fear; but Aventinus resolutely denied it [E]. Since that time, Onufrius Panvinius (e), Bellarmin (f), Serarius (g), George Scherer (h), Robert Parsons (i), Florimond

(e) In Notis ad Platinam.

(f) De Romano Pontif. *lib. iii, cap. xxiv.*

(g) Rerum Mogunt. *lib. i.*

(h) In a treatise purposely written on that subject.

(i) In Libro de tribus Convertionib. Angliæ, *Part ii, cap.* [illegible]

'engraven in the front of her picture, which translated 'from the Latin, run thus;

Joan was in tricks, and holy Scriptures vers'd,
And by great craft, was made in name a Pope:
But bringing forth a child amongst her Priests,
She shew'd she was a woman sly in fact.

But he should have said quite the reverse.

She shew'd she wan't a woman sly in fact.

'drawing out this fine story at full length, he says, 'She was a German, having studied in England with 'a young scholar, her favourite, after whose death, not 'designing to give herself up to another, she went to 'Rome, where she became famous, both for her learning 'and her good life, so that after the death of Leo V, she 'was made Pope. But GOD, says he, taking pity on 'his people, would not suffer them to be thus shamefully 'imposed upon by a woman. So that the evil spirit, which 'had given her the boldness to attempt such a wickedness, 'incited her, whilst she was in this high rank, to com-'mit whoredom. She soon found an opportunity, inso-'much, that afterwards she proved with child. O mon-'strous iniquity! O wonderful patience and goodness of 'GOD! But she, who had bewitched the eyes of all 'the world, lost her senses, and could not conceal her 'delivery. For not having time to call a midwife, she 'brought forth whilst she was celebrating divine service. 'And because she had thus deceived the world, the mi-'serable wretch, dissolved in tears, was sent to a dungeon 'by order of the Fathers, This Florentine, you see, 'does not agree with the rest, either in her educa-'tion, succession, or death (60).' Remond has not forgot the new circumstance, with which a Monk has embellished the story. *Being shut up in a cloister he has represented in his poems, the She-Pope, with more shame and infamy, than was ever done by any body: it is Baptist Mantuan* (61) *who thus writes:*

Upon a gibbet I saw this sly jade hang,
Who, dress'd like man, and feigning holy zeal,
Was to the papal chair by cunning rais'd:
Now, on the head of this audacious whore
The triple crown was plac'd, and by her side
Hung her galant, who did her crime detest.

He adds, for the embellishment of the story, the hanging the Pope's master of horse (62), *which none besides himself had ever spoke of* (63). Here is a passage of Mr du Plessis Mornai (64): 'Another Martin (65) of the 'order of Friar Minors, in his chronicle intituled, 'Flores Temporum, adds that this Joan conjuring a 'demoniac, and asking the Devil when he would de-'part out of him, he answered her in verse:

Papa pater patrum, Papissæ pandito partum
Et tibi nunc eadem de corpore quando recedam *.

Tell, when a female Pope shall have a child,
And I will tell thee when I shall depart.

'It was about the year 1370.' Coëffeteau assures us, that a minister named Angelocrator, said *it was at a procession she brought forth a child, and that the Devil pronounced these fine verses in the air* (66). Let us observe that in 1615, Rivetus owned he had not as yet heard of Angelocrator (67): nevertheless he was one that had published in 1601 a piece on Chronology with great pomp, and in 1618 was deputed to the synod of Dort (68).

Here is a new circumstance, which seems to have been invented for an answer to those who object, that a woman so cunning as she was would have found out some means to conceal her fault, 'GOD designing 'that so abominable a wickedness should not remain 'unpunished, sent an angel to this Pontif, who 'told her, her sin should be forgiven her, provided 'she was delivered in the open street, without help, 'and without calling any woman to aid or assist her 'in such a necessity. That this should serve instead 'of penance; and this *amende honorable* for a pu-'nishment. Which she did in obedience to the com-'mandment of GOD. This author had learned the 'story of some good old woman of Rome: for those, 'who have been at the pains to inform themselves 'about it, assured me it was still the talk of many, 'that this angel gave her the choice either to bring 'forth privately and without shame, and to go to 'hell: or publickly, and to go to paradise (69).' Florimond de Remond tells this as a story which a German, whom he does not name, spread abroad; and then adds, *very conscientious truly by his account, to be delivered at a procession without having however confessed her sin, or declared her imposition upon the church. It is not so, says Scheremberg, she was delivered in the hall, upon her chair. . . . . I do not know how Serres* (70) *came to imagine, that a house was then built in which this strange accident happened, and which, says he, some time after was destroyed, but that nevertheless the chair is still in being. . . . . There are others who have inriched the story, to render this delivery so much the more remarkable. They assert that the last act of this unfortunate woman was not only represented in the public street, at a procession, but at the solemn procession, which we make at the feast of the holy sacrament, called Corpus Christi day. Gio. Saxon, a German, has taken a great deal of liberty upon that head. In many places of Germany, and in the ecclesiastical books and histories of Geneva, we see pictures, wherein this woman is represented under a canopy, carrying the holy sacrament, with a new born infant coming out from between her legs. . . . Imprudent as they are, they have not considered, that in the time of the female Pope, which they describe to us, the feast of the holy sacrament was not instituted, nor a long time after* (71).

[E] *Æneas Silvius . . . . . was the first that called it in question . . . . . Aventinus resolutely denied it.*] This Silvius 'observed the 20th of August 1451 † to Juan 'de Carvajal cardinal of S. Angelo, as a conclusion 'of his reply to Nicolas bishop of the Taborites, 'that in placing thus this woman *there had been nei-'ther error of faith nor of right, but ignorance of fact: 'and besides, the story was not ‡ certain* (72).' Marefius observes that this author expresses himself very faintly, and that in other works he seemed to think the affair of this She-Pope was true. 'Eo quidem re-'currit, ut dicat historiam non esse *certam*, sed tam 'timidè, ut satis appareat eum non loqui ex animi 'sententia. Ut si quid hîc putarit incerti, magis 'forte ad circumstantias & nomen proprium hujus 'mulieris spectet, quam ad rei ipsius subsistantiam (73). '. . . . Quin ipse Doctiss. Anacrita (74) *pag.* 10. Pi-'um II, id est, hunc Æneam Sylvium, accenset iis 'Pontificibus qui Joannæ Pontificatum videntur ag-'novisse, eo quod *Joannæ nomen cæteris Pontificum no-'minibus permixtum in Dominico Senensi, scriptæ ad Jo-'annem Carvajal epistolæ immemor vel pœnitens prostare 'passus est.* Et quod amplius est ipse Æneas Sylvius 'Pontifex tandem factus hanc Historiam exscripsit in '6. mundi ætate, pag. 170. operis Historici impressi 'Norimbergæ anno 1493. per Kobergerum, inquit 'Johannes Gerhardi Augustanæ Confessionis Theolo-'gorum Doctissimus, *Loco de Eccl. edit. in 4to. p.* 1004 '(75). - - - *Indeed he goes so far as to say the story is 'not certain, but so timerously, that it is evident enough 'he does not speak his real sentiments And therefore 'if he thought there was any uncertainty in this matter, 'it rather regarded perhaps the circumstances and the 'proper name of this woman, than the thing itself. . . . 'But even the learned examiner himself reckons Pius II, 'that is, this Æneas Sylvius among those Popes, who 'seem*

(60) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papesse, *ch. iii, num. 1, fol.* 368, *verso.*

(61) *Lib. iii.*

(62) Alexander Cook, *refuting this book of* Florimond de Remond, *recites pag. m.* 31, *these three verses of Mantuan*; Hic pendebat adhuc Sexum mentita virilem Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram Extollebat apex, & Pontificalis adulter. *Tom. iii, lib. iii, Alphons. fol.* 44, *Edit. Francf.* 1573. *He adds, pag.* 32, *that Mantuan* says nothing of a groom of the stables, but of one in general, who had committed whoredom with her, nor even of any hanging unless in Hell, which is probable enough.

(63) Florimond de Remond, Anti-Papesse, *ch. xxii, num. 4, fol.* 426, *verso.*

(64) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 162.

(65) He had just spoke of Martin Polonus.

* Chronic. Martini Minoritæ ultimæ Impress. An. 1486.

(66) Coëffeteau, Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 108: *he cites the eighth book of the Chronicle of Angelocrator*, in Joan. VIII. Papiss.

(67) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, *Part i, p.* 594.

(68) *See* Vossius, de Scient. Math. *pag.* 402.

(69) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papesse, *ch. xxiii, num. 3, fol.* 429.

(70) *He is the author of the* Inventaire de l'Histoire de France.

(71) Florimond de Remond, ubi supra.

† Epist. cxxx.

‡ Neque certa historia est.

(72) Blondel, Eclaircissement sur la Papesse, *pag.* 11.

(73) Samuel Marefius. Examen Quæst. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 8.

(74) That is to say, David Blondel.

(75) Marefius, Exam. Quæst.

(k) See the list that Father Labbe gives in the first Tome, *de Script. Eccles. pag.* 837, & *seq.*

mond de Remond, Allatius, Launoius, Father Labbe, and several others (k) have fully confuted this old tradition. Cardinal Baronius expressed a great esteem for the work of Florimond de Remond; but he was in the wrong to affirm that the Heretics were so confounded by it that they were ashamed of having spoke of this fable [F]. This is so false that even now a days, Protestants write books to maintain the story of the She-Pope. I believe that some traditions, which are advantageous to the Popes, and supported by as strong reasons as those are which support this story, would seem worthy the utmost contempt to those who dispute most ardently for it. So certain is it, that the same

(76) In the 4th book of the Annals of Bavaria.

‡ Joh. Aventin. author parum probatæ fidei: *says* Bellarmin. Append. ad li. de Sum. Pont. cap. x.

* Infectam hæresis scabie bestiam pietate & doctrina omnino defertam. *Baro. An. To.* 10. *ad ann.* 996. *n.* 54.

** In Indicib. lib. prohibitorum.

(77) Cook, on the She-Pope, *pag.* 10.

(78) *See Father* Labbe, de Script. Eccles. *Tom. ii, pag.* 920.

(79) In the remark [H] of the article AVENTINUS.

†† Præ cæteris commendandus fama nobilis Florimondus. *Baronius, Annal. Tom. x, ad ann.* 853, *num.* 62.

‡‡ Sic confecit monstrum istud, ut novatores pudeat quæ scripserunt vel somniasse. *Ibid.*

‡‡ Prorsus confodit hæreticos qui commentum illud sparserunt in vulgus, ut amplius ea de fabula hiscere non audeant. In *Apparat. Sac.* verbo *Florimondus.*

(80) Cook, on the She-Pope, *pag.* 2, 3.

(81) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papesse, *ch. vii, num.* 5, *fol.* 380, *verso: he describes him by these two letters R. T. and answers him in the end of his work.*

(82) Ibid. *ch. ii, num.* 3, *fol.* 365, *verso, & fol.* 366.

(83) *Intituled,* Le Mystere d'Iniquité, *see there pag.* 161, & *seq.*

(84) *In his* Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 504, & *seq.*

‘ *seem to have acknowledged Joan as a Pope, because* ‘ being either unmindful or sorry that he had writ a ‘ letter to John Carvajal, he suffered the name of Joan ‘ amongst the other names of Popes. *And which is* ‘ *still more, Æneas Sylvius himself after he was made* ‘ *Pope, wrote this story in the sixth age of the world,* ‘ *page* 170 *of his historical work printed at Nuremberg* ‘ *in the year* 1493 *by Kobergerus, as John Gerhardi, a* ‘ *most learned divine of the Ausburg confession, says.*

As to what relates to Aventinus, I must intreat all my readers to beware of the false reasoning of the English doctor, who has refuted the book of Florimond de Remond. These are his words: *I own John Aventinus* (76) *rejects in general* this story of the She Pope *as a fable; but gives no reason why he rejects it. Besides, Bellarmin rejects him as an author of little credit* ‡: *and Baronius, sets a mark upon him, not only as a scabby sheep, but likewise as a beast infected with the mange of heresy, intirely void of piety and learning* *; *and several of your Popes have prohibited* ** *his history as unworthy to be read: therefore I do not see why his rejecting that story without reason can be any prejudice to it* (77). You find that in order to discredit the testimony of Aventinus, he takes advantage of the detraction, wherewith two cardinals have loaded him; but on the contrary, by reason of this detraction Aventinus ought to be considered as a good evidence (78); for Bellarmin, and Baronius and several others cry him down, only because he has taken a pleasure in ill treating the court of Rome: and we have seen above (79) that he was in his heart a good Lutheran. We must say then, that had he found the least probability in the story of the She-Pope, he would have affirmed it, and taken occasion from thence to divert himself at the expence of the Popes. Such are the Paralogisms into which one falls, when in handling a controversy, one will cavil at every thing and give up nothing.

[F] *Baronius . . . . . was in the wrong to affirm that the heretics were so confounded* at the work of Florimond de Remond, *that they were ashamed of having spoke of this fable.*] ‘ He thinks it is the best discourse that ‘ was ever made on this subject ††: and declares he ‘ would have inserted it in his annals, if the book ‘ had not been a little too large. For by this, as the ‘ cardinal also observes, he has so confounded the ‘ whole herd of heretics, who before reproached the ‘ Catholics with this fable, that now they are asham- ‘ ed of what they have said about it ‡‡. . . . . Posse- ‘ vinus is of the same opinion. For he says, he has ‘ killed the heretics stone-dead. And that since the ‘ publishing of this book the heretics are so quiet, ‘ they have not a word to say ‡‡, they dare not speak ‘ any longer of a Pope *Joan* (80).’ Baronius and Possevinus did not well know the situation of the affair: the book of Florimond de Remond was despised by the Protestants, and did not make them alter their opinions. A minister of Bearn wrote against it. See what Florimond says in answer to him in his second edition (81). He speaks of *a certain person . . . . . to whom he will not be obliged to reply, no more than against this other, adds he, who under the borrowed name of Jesseen, count of Malta, used but a poor shift. The latter in his codicil promises abundance of great matters, and among others to shew the impertinencies and silly reasons of him, who wrote the book concerning the vulgar error about Pope Joan* (82). Mr du Plessis Mornai was not ignorant of what Remond had writ, and yet he declared himself strongly for those, who hold the story of the She-Pope to be true, and made use of all their reasons. This was done in a book he published in the year 1611 (83). Coëffeteau refuted him in the best manner he was able (84): but he was refuted in his turn by Andrew Rivetus (85), who affirms that in the story of the She-Pope, there is nothing *that oppose's*

(85) *In his* Remarques sur la Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, *Part i, p.* 590.

our reason or conscience, if we hold for truth, as we still do, though the Monk (86) *should run mad at it, what has been left on record to posterity* (87). The book, where he speaks after this manner, was printed in the year 1615: only three years after Conrad Decker had published a book at Oppenheim *de Papa Romano & Papissa Romana quod Joannes octavus fuerit mulier & peperit:* and but five years after Vignier minister of Blois had maintained the same thing (88). James Cappel, minister and professor of Theology at Sedan, asserted (88*) in 1619 the story of the She-Pope in answer to the objections of Father Coton. Alexander Cook wrote a piece on purpose to refute that of Remond, and to support in general the story of the She-Pope, and to defend it against all the objections of the Roman Catholics. His book translated from English into French was printed at Sedan in 1633. Another English Professor at Wesel published a work of the same nature about the same time (89). Every body knows that David Blondel's book was refuted in the year 1655 by an advocate of Roüen, and in the year 1658 by a minister of Groningen, and that the great Salmasius had promised to answer it (90). It is known likewise that Mr Hottenger published a treatise to maintain the tradition of the She-Pope, and that Mr Zuinger, Professor of Divinity at Basil, has asserted the same pretension in his book *de Festo corporis Christi,* printed in the year 1685. Mr Megerlin, Professor of Mathematics at Basil, had defended a little before the same thing in his *Disquisitio Chronologica de Johanna Papissa.* Mr Spanheim, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, published a pretty large book according to the same prejudice in the year 1691 (91). I could name several other Protestants (92), who, since the book of Florimond de Remond, have supported what he endeavoured to destroy. And therefore there is nothing more frivolous or false, than the commendation which Baronius and Possevin have given him, for having silenced the Protestants and brought them to shame.

The same extravagance we find in the following words of Father Maimbourg (93): ‘ The most learn- ‘ ed ministers of the pretended reformed religion are ‘ ashamed that those of their party should fall into so ‘ gross an error, and which disgraces all such as still ‘ continue in it either through ignorance, passion, or ‘ prejudice. Mr Blondel, one of the most ingenious ‘ amongst them, has even endeavoured to undeceive ‘ them in a learned dissertation he has made on this ‘ subject. Some of the same sect, as Samuel Maresius, ‘ are offended at it, and have thought fit to combat ‘ him, and to maintain a falsehood so visible, and at ‘ present so much decried: but the late Father Labbe, ‘ a learned Jesuit, to whom we owe among many o- ‘ ther learned works the greatest part of the last col- ‘ lection of councils of the Paris edition, has so entire- ‘ ly disarmed him, and afterwards so severely punish- ‘ ed his ignorance and boldness, in the refutation ‘ (94) of this fable, which we find in the eighth tome ‘ of his councils, that I do not believe any of the ‘ brethren of this minister of Groningen dares again ‘ enter the lists, to defend so bad a cause, and so aban- ‘ doned by all reasonable people, even amongst the ‘ Protestants themselves. For at last they acknow- ‘ ledge ingenuously, that there is no other Pope Joan ‘ than this John VIII, to whom this ridiculous name ‘ was given, because he had shewn so little courage in ‘ maintaining the decrees of a general council, and of ‘ his predecessors against Photius.’ All this is full of hyperboles and lies properly so called: for since the publication of this treatise of Father Labbé, the Protestants continue to write as before for the existence of the She-Pope. I do not alledge that in 1662 there was reprinted at Helmstad, ‘ Historia Johannis VIII ‘ Romani Pontificis, virum primum simulantis, postea ‘ sexum suum partu in publica via edito prodentis, à ‘ Jesuitarum in primis technis vindicata; - - - *The* ‘ *History*

(86) That is, Coëffeteau.

(87) Rivet, Remarq. *ubi supra, pag.* 590. *He had the same opinion, when he confuted the Jesuit* Petra Sancta *in* 1636. *See the third Tome of his works, p.* 587.

(88) See the remark [L].

(88*) *See his* Instruction Chrétienne répondue au I Tome de l'Institution du P. Coton, *pag.* 514, & *seq.*

(89) See the remark [B] of the article FRANC.

(90) See the remark [I] of the article BLONDEL (David).

(91) *Intituled,* de Papa fœmina inter Leonem IV & Benedictum III Disquisitio Historica.

(92) *See the names of some in the Introduction to Histor. Eccles. of* Gaspar Sagittarius, *pag.* 686, *and in the mark of the article* RADULPHUS, *towards the end.*

(93) Maimbourg, Hist. du Schisme des Grecs, *liv. ii, at the year* 881, *pag.* 202, 203, *of the first Tome.*

(94) *It is the dissertation which he has put under the title of* Concordia Joannis Papissæ . . . . *at the end of the first Tome de Script. Eccles. printed at Paris in the year* 1660.

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same things appear to us true or false, according as they favour our own, or the opposite party [G]. The same force of prejudice is the cause, that the controversy about the She-Pope has been thought an affair of the utmost consequence against the church of Rome (l); but when all is done it would be but a trifle (m), for the objections, that may

(l) Cook, on Pope Joan, pag. 873.

(m) Blondel, ubi supra, pag. 96.

'*History of John VIII Pope of Rome, who at first pretended to be a man, but afterwards discovered his sex by bringing forth a child in the open street, vindicated chiefly from the artifices of the Jesuits*;' with some collections of Berneggerus upon the same subject (95); but I will add to the authors I have already mentioned John Lehman, who published at Wittemberg in 1669, *Infelix puerperium Johannis Pontificis, - - - The unhappy delivery of Pope John*, and John Daniel Artopæus author of a treatise *de Johanne VIII Papissa* printed at Leipsic in 1673 (96), and Mr Mayer (97) who in his treatise *de Pontificis Romani electione* (98), printed at Hamburgh in 1690, embraces and maintains the opinion of the reality of the She-Pope, though he owns that the reason of Allatius and Blondel had raised in him some doubts before. I must not forget Mr Misson (99) who disputes strenuously and at several times for the common tradition, and who even treats with great contempt the arguments of Blondel, and informs us (100) that *an English Doctor has not long since writ a book upon the question of the She-Pope, which is not yet printed, and in which he makes admirable use of the force of* a testimony drawn *from the Chronicles of the ancient monastery of Canterbury*. He cites (101) Mr le Sueur, a French minister, as one of the partisans of the History of the She-Pope, and as one of those who have alledged the story of the two copies of Anastasius sent to Marquard Freher. The book, in which Mr le Sueur does so, is an Ecclesiastical History whereof the seventh part, which treats of the IXth century, was printed at Geneva in 1686.

(95) *See* Sagittarius, Introd. in Hist. Eccles. *pag.* 686.

(96) *See* Sagittar. ibid.

(97) John Fridericus, professor of Theology at Kiel, and at Hamburgh.

(98) *Pag.* 244, *& seq.*

(99) *In the 2d Tome of his* Voiage d'Italie, *p.* 178, *& seq. p.* 202, *& seq*; *and pag.* 306, *Edit. of* 1696.

(100) Preface of the third Tome.

(101) Pag. 203, of the second Tome.

PROTESTANTS who have not believed the story of the She-Pope.

It is true there have been some ministers, who did not believe what is said of the She-Pope (102). Peucer, if we may credit Remond, did not believe it neither. *He has shewn himself more conscientious than the rest*, these are the words of Remond; *and though an enemy to the Catholic religion and the holy Fathers, believed what was said of Pope Joan to be a fable, and did did not think fit to give it a place in his Chronicle. Which he would not have omitted, had he thought it in the least probable. Perhaps, he followed the memoirs of Melancthon, who was the most modest of all those, who have strayed from the church* (103). The Jesuit Gretser (104) has quoted some passages of a little piece which had been composed by a Protestant, and printed in the year 1588 under the title of, 'Simplex Narratio indicans & exponens meretriculam quandam Anglam 'nunquam Papam fuisse, neque unquam in rerum natura extitisse, & unde figmentum illud originem 'duxisse credatur. - - - *A plain narrative declaring and shewing that a certain English harlot had never been 'Pope, nor ever was in being, and whence that fiction 'may be thought to have taken it's rise*.' I must not omit that Courcelles, an Arminian Professor at Amsterdam, declared for the opinion of Blondel, whose Latin book he caused to be printed, which overthrows the story of the She-Pope. He observed moreover in the Preface that he put to it (105), 1. That Boxhornius, (106) Professor at Leyden, had plainly enough given his approbation to the opinion of Blondel; 2. That he had heard that George Calixtus (107), and Herman Conringius, famous Professors at Helmstad, likewise approved it. He related (108) a passage of Nicholas Vignier, which evidently shews that this learned Protestant Historian did not think the story of the She-Pope true. I add that Gesselius, Physician at Utrecht, approved the book of David Blondel (109), and that Dr Cave and Dr Burnet (110) believe the tradition of the She-Pope to be fabulous. I add likewise, that Schoockius, a Professor in the university of Groningen, had been one of those who vigorously and publickly maintained the story of the She-Pope; but at last owned it to be a forgery (111). He had inserted in one of his books his change of opinion; and yet to avoid the scandal he retrenched this place and cancelled the leaves by the advice of his colleagues; but when the work of Blondel appeared, he no more regarded them; he printed in a second edition what he had suppressed,

(102) See the remark [I] of the article BLONDEL (DAVID), towards the end.

(103) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papesse, *lib. vi, num.* 5, *fol.* 378.

(104) Gretser. in Examine Mysterii Plessæani, *pag.* 301.

(105) Pag. 322.

(106) In his Universal History.

(107) Father *Labbe, de Script. Eccles. Tom. i, pag.* 932, puts him in the number of the partisans of the She-Pope: and justly: for in the book of this *Calixtus, de Conjugio Clericorum*, there is a long digression for the affirmative, on the story of the She-Pope.

(108) *Pag. m.* 319.

(109) Timannus Gesselius, Historia Sacra & Ecclesiast. *Tom. ii, pag.* 79, *Edit. Ultraj.* 1661, *in* 4to. *See* Father Labbe, in Cenotaphio everso, *at the end of Tom. i, de* Script. Eccles. *pag.* 986.

(110) I shall relate their words in the remark [S] of the article POLONUS. (111) Mart. Schoock, Fab. Hamel. *in Præfat. & in cap. xii, Part ii, Edit. Gron.* 1662.

and owned, that by comparing, one by one, the arguments of this minister, with the answers that had been made to them, he had found no answer that was good for any thing, or which did not serve rather to confirm than weaken the contrary opinion (112). *Legi & expendi postea quam diligenter; quæ τῷ πεῦ Blondello ab excessu objecta fuerunt: Sed ingenue profiteri debeo, hæc omnia mihi videri κωφὰ βελη. Responsiones minus solidæ, adversariæ sententiæ firmandæ magis quam evertendæ serviunt* (113). We shall see afterwards (114), what has been reported of Casaubon.

When all is done, it is reasonable to allow that the work of Florimond de Remond is not bad in it's kind, and I do not think any body had as yet so well refuted the story of the She-Pope. However, he was guilty of many blunders (115), and used too many digressions and declamations. I shall give here the extract of a letter, which informs us that his proofs seemed very convincing to Justus Lipsius. 'De quæ-'stiuncula quod petis, super pontifice Joanna fœmina, 'ut nugantur; vides, quid sentiam cum appello nu-'gas. Revera fabella est haud longè ab audacia & 'ineptiis Poëtarum. Vis clarè tu & consortes illi rem 'videre, Adito Librum gallicè nuper scriptum & edi-'tum Burdigalis, *Auctore Florimundo Remundo*, Con-'siliario Regio, qui totus est in hoc argumento, auctor 'ipse ad me misit & ita planè omnia exsecutus est, ut 'nobis nihil reliqui sit, præter credere & assentiri '(116). - - - *As to my opinion, which you are pleased to 'ask, about the affair of Pope Joan, as men impertinently talk; you see what it is, by my calling it impertinence. In truth it is a fable not much differing 'from the boldness and silly stories of the Poets. If you 'have a mind to see that matter set in a clear light, 'consult a book lately writ in French and published at 'Bourdeaux, by Florimond de Remond, one of the king's 'counsellors, who is wholly employed in this argu-'ment. The author himself sent it to me, and he has so 'thoroughly discussed every point, that nothing remains 'for us to do, but to believe and assent*.' As for the rest, many assure us that the Jesuit Richeome is the true author of this work (117). There is however a prodigious difference as to the manner of writing, between the compositions of Richeome and that; and it is not likely that those blunders, which are found in the book that appeared under the name of Florimond de Remond, could slip from one, whom the Jesuits at that time looked upon as their best French writer.

(112) Idem, in Præfatione.

(113) Schoockii Fabula Hamel. *Part ii, cb. xii, pag.* 124.

(114) In the remark [L].

(115) We see a list of them in the books of Blondel on this question.

(116) Lipsius, Epist. ad Aub. Miræum, *inserta in* Not. Miræi ad Sigebertum, apud Gretser. in Mysta Salmuriensi, *p.* 300.

(117) See the remark [C] of the article REMOND.

[G] *The same things appear to us true, or false, according as they favour our own, or the opposite party.*] This maxim cannot be called in question but by those, who let the affairs of human life pass away without seriously reflecting. The malady of prejudice would not be so bad, were we contented to determine thro' affection, when the reasons *pro* and *con* appear clearly to be equal: but we go much further, the party we love carries it, though the reasons which favour it are nothing near equal to those which oppose it. Undoubtedly this is the reason, why it is so difficult to discharge one's duty in the office of a Judge. Montaigne had a solid thought upon that head. 'What-'ever good design a Judge may have, if he be not 'much upon his guard, which few people mind, the 'byass to friendship, kindred, beauty, and revenge, 'and not only things so weighty as these, but that 'fortuitous instinct, which makes us favour one thing 'more than another, and which, without the leave 'of reason, determines our choice in two equal cases, 'or any umbrage of the like vanity, may insensibly 'convey into his judgment, the recommendation or 'disfavour of a cause, and give a turn to the balance '(118). . . . . I have heard of a Judge, that meeting 'with a sharp contest between Bartolus and Baldus, 'and some point perplexed with many difficulties, put 'in the margin of his book, a question for a friend, 'that is, the truth was so imbroiled and intricate, 'that in such a case, he might favour what party he 'thought fit. It was owing only to want of wit and 'ability, that he did not put every where, question 'for a friend. The Lawyers and Judges of our time 'find in all causes, byass enough to turn them as they 'please.

(118) Montaigne, Essais, *livr. ii, cb. xii, pag. m.* 426, 427.

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may be drawn from thence, are not more embarraſſing than thoſe that are founded on facts,

'pleaſe. In a ſcience ſo infinite, depending on the 'authority of ſo many opinions, and a ſubject ſo ar- 'bitrary, it is impoſſible but that a vaſt confuſion of 'judgments muſt ariſe. And indeed there is hardly 'any cauſe ſo clear, but men vary in their opinions 'about it; one court decides contrary to what another 'has done, and this other the quite contrary at ano- 'ther time. Therefore, by this licence which caſts 'a great blemiſh on the ceremonious authority and 'luſtre of our law, we frequently ſee that people do 'not ſtop when judgment is given, but run from one 'Judge to another, to determine the ſame cauſe (119).'

(119) Ibid. *pag.* 460, 461.

Very few men are ſo much maſters of their own hearts, as not to turn the ſcale by the weight of friendſhip, unleſs the arguments of the other ſide form a perfect even balance. Friendſhip commonly carries it, even when the arguments of the party we love are not ſo weighty. Hatred is ſtill more active. Iſidorus of Peluſium ſaid very well, *that if favour has a little ſight, hatred and reſentment have none at all* (120). Blondel remarks that ſome have taken a pride in verifying this maxim in the diſputes about the She-Pope (121). Is it not well known, that Bellarmin, Baronius, and ſo many others, who have writ againſt the ſtory of this woman, maintain with might and main ſeveral traditions as ill, or even worſe grounded than that? The authority of the negative argument, the ſilence of many ages, the variations, credulity, and a hundred other defects of evidences do not hinder Baronius from taking the affirmative, and from being angry with thoſe who are of another opinion; and thus in pleading his own cauſe he looks on thoſe objections as bad, which in attacking his adverſaries he takes for good proofs. Is not this judging of things according to his paſſion, and turning them ſometimes in one ſenſe and ſometimes in another, agreeably to the intereſt of his prejudices.

(120) Iſid. Peluſiota, *lib. i*, Epiſt. ccxx, *quoted by* Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 79.

(121) Blondel, ibid.

May it not be ſaid, that thoſe, who maintain with ſo much heat that the ſtory of the She-Pope is true, conſider more the intereſt of their cauſe, than the ſtate and condition of the proofs? For were they void of all paſſion, would they not remember that the ſilence of cotemporary authors has often appeared to them an invincible reaſon againſt a thouſand traditions, which the court of Rome alledges? Could they ſay with a clear conſcience, that if a tradition, which reflects ignominy upon the Albigenſes, were ſupported preciſely by the ſame proofs, and oppoſed by the ſame objections as that of the She-Pope, they would judge both of the proofs and of the objections as they do in the controverſy of the She-Pope? Is it not certain, they would laugh at the proofs and take the objections for demonſtrative arguments? Would they not affirm, that theſe arguments could not be eluded but by extravagant quirks, and that to be at the pains to invent exceptions would in truth be the trick of a Lawyer, that wants to perpetuate a law-ſuit?

CONSIDERATION on the force of the negative argument of this ſubject.

A man free from all prejudice would think the negative argument ſufficient to reject the romance of the She-Pope. By this I do not pretend to ſay, that with regard to all kinds of facts, the ſilence of cotemporary authors is a good reaſon to deny them. This ought not to be ſuppoſed but with reſpect to remarkable events, as the retreat of Charles the Vth into a monaſtery, and with regard to the eſſential and principal circumſtances of an action, which every body muſt know, and of which it would be abſurd to hope that future ages would be intirely ignorant. I rank in this claſs the kind of death which Henry II, Henry III, and Henry IV, died, the firſt killed at a tournament, the ſecond aſſaſſinated by a Monk during the ſiege of Paris, and the third murdered in his coach in the ſtreets of the ſame city. It is not to be imagined that all the Hiſtorians, who lived in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, could be obſtinately reſolved or conſpire not to ſay a word of the abdication of Charles the Vth, nor of what was tragical in the death of theſe three Henries. You muſt obſerve, I do not conſider here in general the ſilence of cotemporary authors: I know it is very poſſible that in books of devotion, or morality, written in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, one may relate incidently ſeveral actions of theſe four princes, without ſaying where or how they died. I mean only thoſe, who have writ either the particular Hiſtory of theſe monarchs, or the Hiſtory of Spain and France, or the general Hiſtory of Europe. It would be a prodigy, and a monſter more ſtrange than all thoſe Titus Livius mentions, not only if all theſe Hiſtorians were ſilent as to the things I have taken notice of: but even if ſeven or eight of the chief had ſuppreſſed them. Let us ſuppoſe that in the XXIVth century, there are but ſeven or eight of the beſt Hiſtorians extant, who lived in the time of Charles V, and Henry IV, or a little after: and that thoſe, who ſhall live then, find no trace of the abdication of Charles V, and of the aſſaſſination of Henry III and Henry IV, but in ſome wretched Annaliſt of the XIXth century: I do maintain they will be the moſt raſh and credulous of all men, if they give credit to this Annaliſt, and a hundred others who may have copied him. This may be eaſily applied to the diſpute about the She-Pope. I have obviated the objection of thoſe, who might pretend we have not all the Annaliſts that lived at that time. It ſuffices that there remain ſome of the chief of them. But in order to ſee more clearly, that it was impoſſible the Hiſtorians of the IXth century could have ſuppreſſed a fact ſo extraordinary as the papacy of the pretended Joan, I will make uſe of a ſhort fiction. I will ſuppoſe an author of the XIth century has related the following ſtory.

Charlemagne ſo eagerly wiſhed to be the father of his ſucceſſor, that he was extremely grieved becauſe his wife was barren. At laſt ſhe proved with child: he was exceedingly pleaſed at it: but as ſhe was delivered of a girl, he found his uneaſineſs return, and not caring to truſt to futurity, he contrived to make his daughter paſs for a ſon, and gave her the name of Pepin. Six years after, the queen proved with child again, and lay-in of a boy: but that the public might not know they had uſed any fraud, the father and mother continued to conceal the ſex of their firſt child: ſo that after the death of Charlemagne, his daughter, who paſſed for a boy, was crowned without any difficulty. In the third year of her reign the impoſture was diſcovered, and in this manner. She had called her parliament together, and repaired to them with all the ſplendor imaginable; but whilſt ſhe was making her ſpeech, ſhe fell in labour, was delivered in the preſence of this auguſt aſſembly, and died immediately. This appeared ſo horrible, that the parliament deteſted the place, and would no more aſſemble there. Meaſures were alſo taken to prevent the like accidents, and it was ordered that for the future, before they proceeded to the coronation, one of the twelve peers of the kingdom ſhould put his hand, where it ſhould be neceſſary, to diſtinguiſh whether the perſon to be crowned was a male or not. Here is a ſtory which reſembles that of the She-Pope, as one drop of water is like another.

Let us not rigorouſly preſs the parallel, let us allay it, we need not improve all our advantages. Let us ſuppoſe that the Annaliſt has unfolded the matter another way, and ſaid that after the ſecond year of the reign of this Pepin, prince Lewis, really the eldeſt ſon of Charlemagne, claimed the crown, under pretence that Pepin was a female, and that by the Salique law ſhe could not reign. A violent civil war was raiſed upon this account. Pepin refuſed to let himſelf be ſearched; but the city of Paris riſing up in arms, they forced him in his palace, ſtripped him ſtark naked, diſcovered his ſex, dethroned him, confined him in a convent, and ſet Lewis the Good upon the throne.

This adventure is ſo ſurprizing, whether it be related the firſt way, or the ſecond, that for this very reaſon, becauſe it does not appear in any Hiſtorian of the IXth century, nor even of the Xth, it ought to be rejected as a tale altogether like that of John of Paris, Peter of Provence, and the fair Maguelonne, or of Lancelot du Lac, *&c.* for it is morally and even naturally impoſſible, that all the Hiſtorians of that time ſhould be ſilent upon the adventures of this Pepin, and all take notice of an immediate ſucceſſion between Charlemagne and Lewis the Good, and that no tranſaction of the reign of this diſguiſed female is to be found. Not one letter writ, or received, not one ambaſſador diſpatched, no peace concluded, no declaration of war publiſhed. See the margin (122). One might as well tell me that in 1694, the Engliſh took Marſeilles and Toulon, and put all to the fire and ſword even

(122) I make this obſervation, becauſe it does not appear that the She-Pope, during the ſpace of two years and ſome months which they aſſign her, had writ, or received any letter, or ſent the leaſt thing in the world, tho' ſhe was a woman of great wit and courage. Father Labbe, in Chronolog. hiſtor. pag. 221, poſitively argument that ſilence, and a merry upon it.

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facts, or on principles acknowleged by the Roman Catholics. Theodore Beza made mention even to the gates of Arles, and afterwards re-imbarked, loaded with booty: that all this is very true, tho' neither the Gazettes of that year, nor any pamphlet upon the affairs of that time make the leaſt mention of it.

REFUTATION of the reaſons oppoſed to the negative argument.

The force of the negative arguments will be more manifeſt, when we have refuted thoſe who enquire into the reaſons of this great ſilence of cotemporary authors. They ſay, that the Papacy of this woman was looked on as ſo ſcandalous to the church of Rome, that people were forbid to ſpeak of it, and therefore authors were ſilent, ſome thro' zeal, and others thro' fear. But the anſwer that may be made utterly deſtroys this reaſoning.

I. In the firſt place it may be ſaid, it is not true that this adventure has been conſidered as a diſgrace to the Catholic religion, or as a thing that ſtrikes at the rites of the Romiſh communion; for they do not depend, according to their principles, on the perſonal qualities of Popes. The crime of Joan conſiſted in her not having lived chaſtly, but not in being delivered in the open ſtreets. Such a delivery might have been the effect of chance, or imprudence, and would not have aggravated the immorality ſhe had committed. She was culpable then, only becauſe ſhe had not preſerved her virginity. How can you ſuppoſe, that on this occaſion Rome would acknowledge herſelf covered with an ignominy which muſt be entirely forgotten, when ſhe does not conceal the wicked lives of ſeveral Popes, who, before, and after their advancement to the Papal chair, were plunged into irregularities much more heinous. The election of Joan was to the honour of the Romans: for ſhe was a perſon famous for her learning and behaviour (123). To have been ignorant of her ſex was an error of fact, and an ignorance which excuſes one, and no body is anſwerable for the ſecret amours of a diſguiſed woman. It is ſo certain that the ſtory of the She-Pope cannot diſgrace the church of Rome, that even Mr Jurieu himſelf, as much Mr Jurieu as he is, has confeſſed it. *I do not think*, ſays he (124), *we are much concerned to prove the truth of this ſtory of Pope Joan. Tho' the Papal chair had ſuffered this ſurprize, that a woman ſhould be eſtabliſhed in it under the notion of being a man, and that this woman ſhould afterwards be delivered at a ſolemn proceſſion, as it is ſaid, this, in my opinion, would form no great prejudice. And the advantage we might draw from thence is not worth the trouble of holding a long diſpute about it. I even think, by the manner this ſtory is told, it does more honour to the ſee of Rome than it deſerves. They ſay, this She-Pope had ſtudied much, that ſhe was learned, ingenious, and eloquent, that her excellent qualities made her to be admired at Rome, and that ſhe was elected by univerſal conſent, tho' ſhe appeared as a young ſtranger, unknown, without friends, or any other recommendation than her own merit. I ſay, this is doing too much honour to the ſee of Rome, to ſuppoſe that a young man unknown ſhould be advanced to it, meerly upon the account of his merit; for it is well known, this dignity was never obtained but by intrigues.* You ſee there, a Miniſter confirms the following remark of Florimond de Remond. 'But tho' this misfortune 'had happened to the church, that a woman ſhould 'hold the Roman ſee, ſince ſhe came to it by cun- 'ning and deceit, and ſince the appearance and ſhew 'ſhe made of her virtue and holy life had dazzled the 'eyes of every body, the fault ought to be laid upon 'her, and not upon the electors, who keeping 'in the plain beaten road, and walking honeſtly, 'without intrigues or ſecret practices, could not be 'accuſed of having a ſhare in the impoſture (125)'. The author adds that, *this accident could not be ſo monſtrous, if it were true, as what thoſe, who call themſelves Reformed, Evangelics, and Puritans, have not only tolerated, but eſtabliſhed, nay forced ſome queens and princeſſes, to call, and declare themſelves head of the church in their ſtates and dominions, diſpoſing of pious and holy things, and eccleſiaſtical offices, according to their will and pleaſure.* He had undoubtedly read this thought in Alanus Copus (126), or in Genebrard (127).

II. Secondly, it may be anſwered, it is not at all likely that Rome would forbid to make mention of an event ſo public and extraordinary as that was. Such an order would have been fruitleſs: people do not ſo expoſe their authority, by prohibitions which are not of a nature to be obſerved, and which are ſo far from ſhutting the mouth, that they rather excite an itching deſire to ſpeak (128).

III. Add in the third place, that if zeal or fear had ſtopped the pen of Hiſtorians, we ſhould not find that the firſt, who publiſhed the Papacy of Joan, were perſons devoted to the Catholic religion, and more within reach of puniſhment than others; for they were Monks. It is certain that almoſt all thoſe, who ſpread this ſtory, were good Papiſts, and nothing was farther from their thoughts than ſlander.

IV. In the fourth place, the irregularities of the court of Rome, infinitely more infamous than the Papacy of this woman would be, have been deſcribed very ingenuouſly by many authors, who were zealous for the court of Rome (129).

V. Laſtly, I ſay, that a prohibition to ſpeak of the She-Pope cannot be ſuppoſed without a contradiction; for this order to be ſilent would entirely deſtroy the principal circumſtances of the narrative. Blondel has not forgot this obſervation. Theſe are his words: 'Many . . . . have thought they could juſtify the 'ſtory of Marianus, againſt the objection taken from 'a ſilence of more than 200 years, by maintaining 'that the authors, who lived from the year 855, to 'the year 1050, forbore to ſpeak of it, becauſe they 'were aſhamed of it, and choſe rather to alter the 'order of the ſucceſſion of Popes by an affected ſilence, 'than to contribute by expreſſing an odious truth to 'the preſervation of the execrable memory of this 'harlot, who had (as is pretended) diſgraced their 'ſeries, by intruding into it. For ſetting aſide that, 'the cotemporary authors expreſs (as has been ſhewn 'before) ſome truths directly contrary to this ſuppo- 'ſition, ſtarted ſince their death: thoſe who reſided 'at Rome, as Nicolas I, and Anaſtaſius, and Wil- 'liam, the library-keeper, would have been ſtark-mad 'to think, they could (by means of their ſilence and 'ſhame) bury a filth, which is ſuppoſed to have filled 'Rome in ſuch a manner with aſtoniſhment, indigna- 'tion, and ſhame, that ſhe ſhould not be ſatisfied 'but by perpetuating the effect of her juſt diſdain, 'and ſetting forth continual marks of it to poſterity, 'by erecting a ſtatue repreſenting the cauſe of her re- 'ſentment, by the turning aſide of her proceſſions, 'and the introduction of cuſtoms unheard of before, 'and not very decent (130)' Florimond de Remond, a long time before, had made uſe of the ſame proof (131). Nevertheleſs Mr du Pleſſis Mornai had no regard to it. *Onuphrius ſays that Anaſtaſius, who lived then, ſays nothing of it; nor Regino, nor many others ſince that time. But to that it might be anſwered in one word, to argue from authority negatively concludes nothing. Ranulphus alſo, in his Polychronicon, might anſwer him,* that it was omitted by reaſon of the turpitude of the fact (132). The reply of Coëffeteau upon theſe words of Ranulphus is remarkable. 'It 'would be very well, *ſays he* (133), if theſe authors 'had not filled the chair with a true Pope in that 'time, and that they had left at leaſt ſpace enough 'for this whore to bring forth a child. Beſides, 'where is here the conſcience of the Reformed? They 'will have it, that, in deteſtation of this infamy, and 'for an eternal monument of this ſcandal, a chapel 'was built at Rome in the place where ſhe was de- 'livered; that a ſtatue of marble was erected to re- 'preſent the fact: and that indecent chairs were ſet 'up, to prevent the like accidents for the future: and 'yet they affirm, that Hiſtorians durſt not ſpeak of 'it, out of reſpect to the Popes. What ray, nay 'what ſhadow, of truth is there in things ſo incon- 'ſiſtent.' Rivetus, who refuted Coëffeteau, and who followed him almoſt ſtep by ſtep, replied nothing to this paſſage. I have not as yet obſerved any ſolution upon that point, in the writings of thoſe who defend the ſtory of the She-Pope. They have imitated Homer, who abandoned ſuch things as he deſpaired to handle well (134).

This is not to be underſtood as if I abſolutely maintained, that I know no body who has undertaken to remove the contradiction. I know Alexander Cook has examined it, and thinks *he has unravelled it pretty well* (135); but I know likewiſe, it had been better for his cauſe, if he had kept ſilence. He ſuppoſes there were various opinions; ſome thought the adventure

(123) Cum in urbe & Vita & ſcientia magnæ opinionis eſſet. *Martin. Polonus.*

(124) Jurieu, Apologie pour la Réformation, *Tom. ii, p. 38, Edit. in 4to.*

(125) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. xi, num. 5, fol.* 391.

(126) He pretends that the Engliſh, who made Elizabeth head of the church, are more criminal than the electors of the She-Pope would be. See the 8th chapter of his firſt dialogue, *pag.* 39.

(127) Genebr. Chron. *l. iv, ad ann.* 858, *pag. m.* 540.

(128) *See* Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *chap. xxviii, fol.* 442.

(129) See, ibid. *ch. xv, num. 2, fol.* 402, *verſo.*

(130) Blondel, Eclairceſſement, &c. *pag.* 78, 79.

(131) Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. xxii, num. 1, & ch. xxiv, num.* 6.

(132) Du Pleſſis Mornai, Myſtere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 161.

(133) Coëffet. Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 505, 506.

(134) Et quæ Deſperat tractata nitescere poſſe, relinquit. *Horat. de Arte Poët. ver.* 149.

(135) Cook, on the She-Pope, *pag.* 148.

REFUTATION of an author, who has endeavoured to ſolve the contradiction objected.

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mention of the She-Pope in his ſpeech at the conference of Poiſſi. Somebody ſaid in a book, that *the Papal crew hung down their heads for ſhame at the bare recital of this ſtory*

ture of the She-Pope ſhould be ſuffered to drop into oblivion, and others, that monuments ſhould be erected in memory of it. He gives two examples of the like diverſity of opinions; one is, that there were *ſome Papiſts in France, who denied that* John Chaſtel *had been inſtructed by the Jeſuits to aſſaſſinate* Henry IV, *king of France, becauſe they would not have the Jeſuits rendered odious:* and yet there were *others who aſſiſted in raiſing a pyramid near the palace of Paris, by which the whole affair was made known* (136). The other is, ſome people *were of opinion that* the writing given to Paul III, touching the reformation of abuſes, *deſerved to be regiſtred; others judged it more fit to be burnt: this appears evidently from hence, that the ſaid memorial is found in the edition of the Council, printed by* Crab, *in the year* 1551, *and yet is put in the Index of books prohibited by Paul IV. . . . and was caſtrated in the edition of Councils of* Dominicus Nicolinus *at Venice,* auſpiciis Sixti Quinti, *in the year* 1585, *and alſo in the edition of* Severinus Binnius *at Cologne,* 1606 (137).

(136) Ibid.

(137) Ibid. *pag.* 149, 150.

To overthrow this whole diſcourſe, I obſerve; firſt, that the ſuppoſition of Cook changes the ſtate of the queſtion. The point was to know whether the authors, who kept ſilence for two hundred years, were determined to it out of reſpect to or fear of the holy ſee. It is ſuppoſed, that the immediate ſucceſſors of the She-Pope enjoined, or recommended, ſilence on this ſcandalous accident, and that Anaſtaſius, and the other Hiſtorians, down to Marianus Scotus, came into this notion, either out of zeal for the honour of the church, or fear of bringing themſelves into trouble (138). This ſuppoſition is evidently and directly contrary to thoſe public monuments, which are pretended to have been raiſed, and that new ceremonial which was introduced at Rome, as they ſay, with reſpect to anniverſary proceſſions, and the election of Popes. I remark, ſecondly, that even by changing wholly the ſtate of the queſtion, the abſurdity is not avoided; for if Anaſtaſius, for example, had been one of thoſe, who thought that for the honour of the church, it was neceſſary to conceal the accident of the She-Pope, he would not have forborn to ſpeak of it, after the contrary opinion had ſo far prevailed, that the city and church of Rome ſhould have authorized it by public monuments, and by perpetual and anniverſary reglations. What end could the ſilence of an Hiſtorian in that caſe have anſwered? How whimſical, or rather how fooliſh, would it be, to think to ſuppreſs, out of regard to the holy ſee, a matter, which the whole church of Rome, openly, and publickly eternized the memory of? I ſay, in the third place, the examples Mr Cook brings ſignify nothing at all: for thoſe, who would not have had a pyramid raiſed, or the Jeſuits defamed, upon the account of John Chaſtel, were perſonally concerned in it, either through affection to that ſociety, or becauſe they believed they were not guilty. But Anaſtaſius, and the other Hiſtorians, were not perſonally concerned in the affair of the She-Pope, they did not matter her honour or her reputation, and entertained, no doubt, about the truth of the fact. Beſides, after the opinion of the neceſſity of raiſing a pyramid had prevailed, the Hiſtorians, who were moſt devoted to the Jeſuits, took notice of it, and could not have ſuppreſſed the fact, without making themſelves ridiculous. If the memorial preſented to Paul III, preſently appeared, and then diſappeared, it was becauſe the court of Rome made the opinion of thoſe quickly prevail, who were for having it ſuppreſſed. This cannot be ſaid of the monuments of the She-Pope; for it is alledged, they ſubſiſted ſeveral ages. The compariſon would be tolerable, if ſome private perſons had ſtifled the memorial, and that the court of Rome had cauſed it to be printed in the Vatican, with the moſt authentic atteſtations that can accompany what ſhe would make public *in æternam rei memoriam.*

(138) It is true that Anaſtaſius and the other Hiſtorians do not deny this accident, but they are ſilent about it. They ought to have told it, ſays Coëffeteau; and that is the queſtion. We ſay on the contrary they were obliged to conceal it, both by the authority of the Popes at that time, and by the cuſtom, and the conſideration of the times in which they wrote. The Popes would not let their writers diſcloſe this turpitude, to the eyes of thoſe who called their ſee in queſtion, and concealed it as much as they could, that they might not expoſe themſelves to the ridicule of the Greeks. *Rivet, Remarques ſur la Reſponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, Part* 1, *pag.* 595.

Samuel Mareſius, who calls a little ſubtilty (139) the contradiction Blundel had objected, does not get off from it better than Cook. He ſays, that among thoſe, who have kept ſilence, with regard to the She-Popes, ſome did it becauſe they did not think it neceſſary to inſert her in the catalogue of Popes, and the reſt, becauſe having a veneration for the holy ſee, they were aſhamed of this ſcandalous accident, but did not pretend that their omiſſion could aboliſh the memory of a thing, which the public monuments atteſted and perpetuated. We have ſeen above (140), that tho' our Joan was thought unworthy to have a place in the catalogue of Popes, and to enlarge their number, yet Hiſtorians could not diſpenſe with making mention of her falſe Popedom, the thing being too public and extraordinary. And as to this veneration for the holy ſee, and this ſhame which might have induced ſome Annaliſts to ſay nothing of a fact, whereof the whole city of Rome publickly kept up the remembrance, they are ſuch fantaſtical and fooliſh paſſions, that we cannot believe the writers, who have taken no notice of the Papacy of Engliſh Joan, capable of them. A ſenſible Hiſtorian does not ſtifle a truth for the ſake of thoſe that would have it made public, nor when he knows his ſilence can produce no good effect, and may expoſe him to ridicule, as a perſon poſſeſſed with a fooliſh ſhame. Whoever then will buſy himſelf here in the office of reconciler, loſes his pains (141). The contradiction objected by David Blondel is a knot that cannot be untied: ‘ Qui ‘ vetuſtiorum (de fœdo ejuſdem exitu, excitatis ad per- ‘ petuam memoriam monumentis publice, ſi deo placet, ‘ conteſtato) diſſimulationem pudori imputandum autu- ‘ mant, ἀσυγκλωστα κλώθειν merito cenſeantur. Quis ‘ enim Nicolaum primum, Hincmarum, Adonem, Ana- ‘ ſtaſium, Luitprandum, alioſque, quibus cum Romanis ‘ optimè conveniebat, id ſe conſecuturos ſperaſſe fin- ‘ gat; ut (quod famoſa ſtatuarum propalam proſtantium ‘ erectio, ſcrupuloſa in proceſſionum ſolennibus ſceleris ‘ conſciæ viæ declinatio, ſtercorariæ ſedis ad explo- ‘ randum Paparum ſexum decreta in poſterum inſeſſio, ‘ urbi & orbi indefinenter ebuccinabant) illatum per ‘ ſummum nefas Eccleſiæ Romanæ dedecus tacendo ‘ eluerent (142)? - - - *They, who affirm that the diſſi-* ‘ *mulation of the ancient Hiſtorians (concerning her end,* ‘ *publickly atteſted, forſooth, by raiſing monuments to the* ‘ *perpetual memory of it) is to be imputed to their modeſty,* ‘ *may juſtly be thought to talk inconſiſtently. For who* ‘ *. . . . can imagine that Nicholas the firſt, Hincmarus,* ‘ *Ado, Anaſtaſius, Luitprandus, and others, who agreed* ‘ *perfectly well with the Romans, could ever hope, by their* ‘ *ſilence, to wipe off the diſgrace, moſt impiouſly brought* ‘ *upon the church of Rome; ſince it was daily proclaimed* ‘ *to the city and the whole world, by the famous erecting* ‘ *of ſtatues which were publickly ſold, by the ſcrupulous* ‘ *turning aſide of ſolemn proceſſions from the place which* ‘ *was privy to the crime, and by the placing of the Popes* ‘ *upon a cloſe-ſtool, which was decreed for the future* ‘ *in order to examine their ſex.*’

(139) Valeret utcunque hæc doctiſſimi Viri argutiola. *Mareſ. Examen Quæſtionis, &c. pag.* 51.

(140) In the remark [C].

(141) Perpit pugnantia ſecum Frontibus adverſis componere. *Horat. Sat. I, lib. i, ver.* 102.

(142) Blondel, in Examine Queſt. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 32.

The paſſage of Mr du Pleſſis contains one thing, which leads us back to the reflexion on the influence of prejudices. *To argue from authority negatively concludes nothing*, ſays he. *Impertinent Logic in Hiſtory*, anſwers Coëffeteau (143). *It is rather to argue affirmatively, for all thoſe authors, as Anaſtaſius, Ado of Vienna, Rhegino, William the library-keeper, and the reſt, even the author of Vignier, if it be he that was afterwards printed under the name of Luitprand, were obliged, as faithful Hiſtorians, to write down a fact ſo memorable, which happened in their time, ſince it concerned the hiſtory they treated of: and therefore not to have writ it, is to affirm it never happened: and beſides, what ſome of them relate entirely deſtroys the fable.* Pray conſider well, what Andrew Rivetus replied. ‘ If this Logic is im- ‘ pertinent in matter of Hiſtory, why is this inference ‘ reckoned bad, *viz.* that Peter was never at Rome, ‘ becauſe the hiſtory of the Acts, and the Epiſtles, ‘ both his own and thoſe of St Paul, ſay nothing of ‘ it? *I anſwer*, (ſays Bellarmin, and it is a point ‘ about Hiſtory) *that one concludes nothing ab authori-* ‘ *tate negativè*, from authority negatively. *For this* ‘ *does not follow, Luke, Paul, Seneca, do not ſay* ‘ *that Peter was at Rome, therefore he was not* ‘ *there: for theſe three were not obliged to tell every* ‘ *thing; and more credit is given to three evidences who* ‘ *affirm a thing, than to a thouſand that ſay nothing of* ‘ *it, provided the latter do not deny what the former af-* ‘ *firm.* Now it is true, Anaſtaſius, and the reſt, do ‘ not deny this accident, but they are ſilent about ‘ it (144).’ What example of the illuſion, into which the intereſt of party throws us! The ſame way of reaſoning ſeems good to us when we uſe it ourſelves, and

(143) Coëffet. Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, *pag.* 595.

(144) Rivet. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 595.

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ſtory (*n*). Florimond de Remond ſays it is falſe (*o*), and wiſhes the prelates had *humbled the boldneſs* of Theodore Beza, *and ſhewn his impoſture*; but they had ſo many other things of greater importance to diſcuſs, that they would have been to blame to loſe time about a queſtion of fact of ſo little conſequence. And beſides, it is not true that Theodore Beza embelliſhed *his harangue with this ſtory* (*p*). He took no notice at all of it. Mr Moreri is miſtaken when he affirms as ſomething *remarkable, that among ſo great a number of people, who have* aſſerted the ſtory of the She-Pope, *not one Frenchman is to be found* (*q*) [*H*]. As for the reſt, this multitude of teſtimonies cannot paſs for a proof, ſince

(*n*) *See* Florimond de Remond, *in the treatiſe* l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. vi, num.* 6, *fol. m.* 378, *verſo.*

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Moreri, under John VII, Pope.

and bad when it is uſed againſt us. The Roman Catholics will not admit the negative argument in the queſtion, whether St Peter was at Rome, and pretend it is convincing in the queſtion, whether there was a She-Pope. The Proteſtants, who think it demonſtrative in the firſt queſtion, reject it in the ſecond, and to invalidate it, even alledge what Bellarmin and other Jeſuits ſay againſt it (145). The anonymous author (146) of *Judicium* (147) *de Samuelis Mareſii Joanna Papiſſa reſtituta*, drew a parallel between the diſpute of Sibrand Lubbert with Bellarmin, and that of Samuel Mareſius with Blondel, and ſhewed that the reaſons of Samuel Mareſius are like thoſe of Bellarmin. In the firſt of theſe two diſputes, the queſtion is, whether St Peter was at Rome or not; and in the ſecond, whether there was a She-Pope or not. From whence ariſes this conſequence, if Bellarmin be a caviller, Mareſius is not leſs ſo.

(145) See Cook, in the treatiſe of the She-Pope, *pag.* 141, & *ſeq*; *and* Samuel Mareſius, in Examine Quæſt. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 44, & *pag.* 20.

(146) *It is* Daniel Zwickerus. *See* Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum, *pag.* 152.

(147) *It is a piece of* 22 *pages, at the end of the* Quaternio Diſſertationum Theologicarum *of* Curcellæus, *printed at Amſterdam* 1659, *in* 8vo.

What is the reaſon that another miniſter, who would not affirm there was a She-Pope (148), has thought *the ſtrongeſt arguments* that are produced againſt this tradition *very weak?* Does it not proceed from prejudice and the intereſt of party? For, the like arguments would ſeem to him ſo ſolid in refuting a ſilly ſtory given out againſt the Waldenſes, that he would load the Monks with reproaches that ſhould not acquieſce in them. It muſt be owned that it is chiefly in the matter of controverſy that the underſtanding is the dupe of the paſſions.

(148) Jurieu, Apologie pour la Reformation, *Tom. ii, pag.* 40.

This, amongſt other bad effects, produces the diſadvantageous opinion each entertains of the contrary party. They look upon one another as obſtinate perſons, that will not ſwerve a jot from pre-conceived notions, and chuſe rather to ſeek out evaſions, than yield to reaſon. Has ſuch a ſpirit as this been ſeen to reign in the works deſigned to maintain the ſtory of the She-Pope; one imagines the authors are animated by the ſame principle, when they diſpute either againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, or the real preſence, and that if the proofs of theſe two tenets were as clear as the ſun, they would however oppoſe them, and think they had ſufficiently refuted them, provided they had furniſhed cavils like thoſe of the ſticklers for the She-Pope. Whereupon ſome believe, that nothing is to be got by gentle methods, and that ſuch an obſtinacy requires the remedy of penal laws. On the other hand, when one ſees the Roman Catholics continue to write books to ſupport the moſt ill grounded traditions, as the arrival of Lazarus into Provence, the apoſtleſhip of Dionyſius the Areopagite, *&c.* one thinks the ſame ſpirit leads them to reject the moſt convincing reaſons that can be alledged againſt Tranſubſtantiation. Can there be any thing more clear than the facts, by which the changes of belief that have happened in the church are proved (149), and yet the controverſiſts of Rome deny them with the greateſt aſſurance, and even treat them as impoſſible (150). How then can the Proteſtants forbear to call this obſtinacy?

(149) See among other works written by the miniſters, *l'Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe*, which Mr Baſnage publiſhed in the year 1699, in two volumes in folio.

A very learned Calviniſt, who has embraced the opinion of Blondel, would without difficulty aſſent to what I have juſt ſaid; for he obſerves that by maintaining ſo zealouſly that there was a She-Pope, occaſion is given to the Roman controverſiſts to confirm their followers in their falſe notions, and to make them hate the Proteſtant communion, as if it alledged nothing ſtronger againſt the other doctrines of Popery, than for the defence of the ſtory we ſpeak of. *Si dicere liceat, quod res eſt, Papani Doctores dum vident quoſdam ex Noſtris, pro Johannæ Papiſſæ Hiſtoria, ut vera, velut pro aris atque focis digladiari, argumentum inveniunt ad confirmandos cæcos ſuos ſectatores, eoſque ab Orthodoxa doctrina alieniores reddendos. Cum enim non difficulter, imo ſufficienter, (licet non deberent ipſi) commentum hoc deſtruere queant, facile ſimplicioribus perſuadent, ejuſdem notæ eſſe reliqua, quæ illi, quos per calumniam hæreticos vocant, adverſus dogmata ſuæ Eccleſiæ, quam ſolam contendunt eſſe Catholicam, adducere conſueverint* (151). We ſhall ſee afterwards (152) theſe are not things ſpoken at random: for I ſhall quote a Capuchin, who, to convict the Proteſtants of obſtinacy, alledges the diſpute about the She-Pope as an inſtance of it. Let us conclude with a ſhort digreſſion. I do not think there is reaſon to accuſe David Blondel of temerity, under pretence that the arguments which combate the exiſtence of the She-Pope have determined him to the negative. But if, becauſe other arguments may be oppoſed to theſe, one thinks he ought to be condemned, the condemnation muſt be founded on his not remaining neuter. This is the courſe ſome people take: they leave the queſtion of the She-Pope undecided, they neither affirm nor deny what Martin Polonus has ſaid about it. This conduct ſeems to them prudent: but do they keep to it in every thing elſe? Do they ſuſpend their judgment until proofs are brought, againſt which they can invent nothing to ſay? Not at all: they content themſelves with the pooreſt reaſonings upon a hundred other occaſions which humour their prejudices.

(150) Meſſieurs de Port-Royal have writ ſeveral books upon that with regard to the Euchariſt, and a doctor of the Sorbonne, named Langevin, has maintained it with regard to all the articles of faith. *Le Journal des Sçavans*, of the ſixth of February 1702, gives an extract of his book.

(151) Mart. Schoockius, Præf. Fabulæ Hamelenſis, *folio ult.*

(152) In the remark [*I*].

The ſame fault is every day obſerved in Newsmongers. Does there go a report, favourable to the enemy, and backed with all kinds of probability, they diſpute as much as they are able, and will not give credit till the thing is evidently certain. I have ſometimes told them their oppoſition could not be ſufficiently applauded, if it were accompanied with two conditions, one is, that they would be pleaſed to ſuſpend their judgment without paſſing to the negative, and the other that they would be as difficult to be perſuaded, when a piece of news is ſpread, diſadvantageous to the enemy. But then they are credulity itſelf, the ſtrongeſt appearances of falſhood make no impreſſion upon them: they combate them as much as they can, without remembering that every day they uſe weaker proofs againſt ſuch reports as are diſagreeable to them, and which for that reaſon ſeem to them unworthy of credit. They ſuffer themſelves to be taken on the firſt onſet by the Gazettes of their own nation, and ſuſtain four or five aſſaults from thoſe of the enemy's. Extreme credulity in ſome reſpects, and extreme incredulity in others, agree ſo well together in the ſame man, that they beget each other.

[*H*] *Mr Moreri . . . . affirms . . . . that among ſo great a number of people, who have aſſerted the ſtory of the She-Pope, not one Frenchman is to be found.*] In theſe words of Moreri there is a truth and a falſhood. It is certain that a world of people have related this ſtory (153): but it is falſe that we do not ſee one Frenchman among them. Mr Moreri would have avoided this miſtake, had he conſulted the Anti-She-Pope of Florimond de Remond: for there he would have found theſe words: ‘ Our French Hiſtorians and ‘ Annaliſts, going in the old road, have touched up‘ on ſomewhat of it. For in order to embelliſh their ‘ work, they have thought fit to add this fine piece ‘ to it. One ſays, ſhe was a very pretty woman and ‘ of a great genius, born in England, and fell in love ‘ with a young ſtudent. Then going on with the ‘ reſt of the ſtory, ſays it was her Valet de Chambre, ‘ that ſporting with her, got her with child, and ‘ that going one day on horſeback through the city, ‘ ſhe was delivered, and died ſuddenly upon the place ‘ after having held the ſee two years, five months, and ‘ four days. And that after her death Nicolas the ‘ firſt was choſen. This happened in 858. In which ‘ he belies all thoſe, who went before him. One of ‘ her cardinals, as this author ſays, ſporting with the ‘ life of his maſter, or rather miſtreſs, immortalized ‘ her memory in this fine verſe,

(153) See the remark [*B*], of the article FRANK.

Papa pater patrum papiſſa peperit partum (154).

(154) Florimond de Remond, l'Anti-Papeſſe, *ch. iv, n.* 4, *folio* 372, *verſo.*

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since the moſt antient is poſterior by two hundred years to the fact in queſtion, and inconſiſtent with thoſe indiſputable facts related by cotemporary authors [*I*]. Colomiés cenſures Blondel for believing that the ſtory of the She-Pope, which we meet with in a manuſcript of Anaſtaſius, *was framed in the very words of Martinus Polonus.* He ſhews that an Hiſtorian, who lived before Martinus, has related the ſame thing that we ſee in this Manuſcript; but in the main, this rather favours than hurts the opinion of Blondel [*K*]. Thoſe, who have writ to ſhew the falſity of this ſtory, have inquired into the

The Holy Father became a mother.

If the author of the Annals of Aquitain, whom he cites, be John Bouchet, as it is very likely, he muſt have uſed an edition either prior or poſterior to what I uſe (155); for I find in mine only this: *After this Leo, who ſat in the chair of St Peter eight years, an Engliſh-woman, who was thought to be a man, and was named John, was inſtalled Pope. She was born at Mayence: and when ſhe was twelve years of age, ſhe diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a man, and went to ſtudy at Athens, where ſhe made great proficiency: afterwards ſhe went to Rome in the ſame dreſs, where ſhe was ſo much eſteemed, that the cardinals, thinking ſhe was a man, made her Pope: and ſhe held the ſee thirteen months or thereabouts. And in the thirteenth month being got with child by her Valet de Chambre, as ſhe was going to the church of St John de Lateran, between the Coloſſus and St Clement, ſhe fell in labour, and died in bringing forth. It is ſaid that upon this account, a cardinal uſed afterwards, whenever a Pope was made, to feel whether he had genitals or not* (156). Florimond perhaps miſquoted, and inſtead of the Annals of Aquitain ſhould have ſet down the Annals of France by Nicolas Gilles (157). He complains moreover of another writer whom he does not name, and afterwards of the Sieur du Haillan, *who would not publiſh his hiſtory in France without putting the ſtory of Joan in it, of which neither* Gaguin nor Paulus Æmilius *makes any mention.* He acknowledges that du Haillan confeſſed *that ſome deny what is ſaid of her.* He thinks Stephen Paſquier is more to be blamed, who ought *in his excellent Reſearches to have ſought after truth, that he might not pollute with ſuch filth the beauty of his writings* (158): *for after ſo many authorities and ſtrong reaſons as I had already publiſhed, the name of Pope Joan could not ſubſiſt in the world.* He afterwards cenſures the Hiſtorian de Serres, who *alledging the ſole authority of Platina has interpolated that paſſage, and has retrenched the* it is ſaid *and* theſe words, *that this ſtory has been left by authors unknown and of little credit.* One may juſtly tell him, *he ought to alledge authors fairly, and not to cite by halves.*

As de Serres was a miniſter, I grant he cannot ſerve as a teſtimony againſt Moreri, who without doubt meant only to ſpeak of French Catholics; but the other writers, whom Remond quotes, have all that is neceſſary to furniſh me with a good proof. I can cite beſides thoſe, the author of *l'Arbre des Batailles* (159), and Martin Franc (160), and Nicolas Gilles (161), and Raviſius Textor (162), and the preſident Fauchet (163), *&c.* I do not know whether I ought to add du Verdier Vau-Privas, who relates at great length (164) the ſtory, without affirming or denying it; but however he ſhews he thinks it very doubtful.

[*I*] *This multitude of teſtimonies cannot paſs for a proof, ſince the moſt antient is poſterior by two hundred years, ... and is inconſiſtent with . . . . the cotemporary authors.*] Thoſe, who refute the ſtory of the She-Pope, make it evident that ſhe cannot be placed between Leo IV, and Benedictus III. They give chronological demonſtrations of it, which they ſupport by clear paſſages from the authors of the IXth century. Whence it follows, that the firſt, who ſpoke of the She-Pope two ages after, deſerves no credit at all, and that thoſe, who after that ſpread the ſame thing, copied one another without running back to the true ſource, and without making any examination, and conſequently we ought not to rely on their great number. Blondel ſays the ſame thing in other words. ‘ So, ſays he (165), Marianus is the firſt and only ‘ fountain whence all the ſtreams of later writers flow, ‘ and I do not think (after having laid open their ‘ inexcuſable fault) there is any neceſſity to go fur- ‘ ther in the examination of thoſe who have only co- ‘ pied one from another, without knowing whether ‘ the firſt had been well grounded. Tho' the witneſſes ‘ ſhould riſe by hundreds, nay by thouſands, to give ‘ depoſitions digeſted in this manner, there is not an ‘ honeſt man that would have any regard, either to ‘ their number, which ought never to counter-balance ‘ truth and reaſon, or to their diſcourſe, which in ‘ effect would be only the eccho of the firſt reveries, ‘ that might have been very eaſily convicted of im- ‘ pertinence and falſhood, if thoſe who undertook it ‘ had had more inclination to ſtudy the Hiſtory of ‘ the IXth century, than to exerciſe that abuſive elo- ‘ quence, which St Jerom in his time had called *cani- ‘ nam facundiam*, ſnarling eloquence.’ Some pages after he relates ſeveral examples of falſe traditions, and particularly that *of the ſiege of Paris, under the reign of Lewis ſirnamed the debonaire, by the giant Iſaurus whoſe burying-place is ſhewn in the monaſtery of St Germains* (166); and afterwards he concludes thus: ‘ Let (166) Ibid. pag. 93, 94. ‘ it ſuffice us, that all theſe ſtories are ſtories and no ‘ more; that though all the world ſhould hold them ‘ for oracles, it would not be in their power to change ‘ their nature; and, on the other hand, though ‘ truth (oppreſſed by the tyranny of prejudices, and ‘ braved by the vanity of romances, and betray- ‘ ed by the forgetfulneſs or cowardice of men) ſhould ‘ be for ſome time forſaken and deſpiſed, neither it's ‘ ſolitude could turn to it's ſhame, nor the efforts of ‘ it's enemies make it loſe it's dignity, nor the fair ‘ appearance of fables eclipſe it's divine light (167). (167) Ibid. pag. 94. ‘ . . . . Since then it is found ſo clear on the ſide of ‘ authors, who wrote between the years of our Lord ‘ 850 and 1050, ſince all their depoſitions agreeing ‘ together compoſe a well adjuſted body, and ſet forth ‘ the events, which are the matter in controverſy, ‘ with as great a brightneſs as if they had been drawn ‘ with a beam of the ſun, and ſince the later writers ‘ are full of contradictions and inconſiſtencies, both ‘ with thoſe that went before and with themſelves; ‘ methinks their opinion (whatever length of time it ‘ may boaſt of) deſerves no better treatment than to ‘ be (by the common voice of all who will hearken ‘ to reaſon) condemned as falſe coin (168).’ (168) Ibid. pag. 95.

The particular nature of the ſtory of the She-Pope diminiſhes much the weight of the great number of writers that have ſpoken of it. It is a caſe that is very uncommon, ſtrange, and ſingular in all it's circumſtances. It is of uſe to thoſe who give liſts of women that are either learned, or leud, or have diſguiſed their ſex. It is of ſervice to ſuch, as colleſt examples of the judgments of GOD, and ſuch as employ themſelves in writing diverting ſtories. All ſorts of authors might make ſome advantage of it. We are not to wonder then that ſo many people have thruſt it into their writings, and pretended at the ſame time it was true. One does not much examine the traditions that may ſerve for an ornament to the ſubject one treats of.

We have ſeen above (169) ſome circumſtances, which in this affair give great force to the negative argument. (169) In the remark [*G*].

[*K*] *Colomiés cenſures Blondel . . . . He ſhews that an Hiſtorian who lived before Martinus Polonus has related . . . . but in the main this rather favours than hurts the opinion of Blondel.*] ‘ Mr Blondel is much ‘ miſtaken in thinking that the life of this woman, ‘ as it is in the Anaſtaſius of the king's library, was ‘ framed in the very words of Martinus Polonus. ‘ For how can that be? Since Gervaſius Tilberienſis, ‘ an author more ancient by a hundred years than ‘ Martinus Polonus, in a piece, intituled, *Otia Impe- ‘ rialia*, written for the diverſion of the emperor ‘ Otho IV, which I have read in MS. at Mr Voſ- ‘ ſius's, relates the life of the She-Pope in the ſame ‘ terms as the Anaſtaſius of the king's library; adding ‘ only that this She-Pope was found in few Chronicles, ‘ *Et in paucis Chronicis*, ſays he, *invenitur.* If Mr ‘ Blondel had ſeen this author, perhaps he would ‘ have ſtopped his pen; but he was not known to ‘ him

(155) That of Poitiers, by Enguilbert de Marnef, 1557, in folio.

(156) Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine, *Part ii, folio m.* 60.

(157) There you find the words and things related by Remond: ſee leaf 66, of the edition of Paris 1538, by Nicolas Couteau, in folio.

(158) Paſquier ſpeaks of it in his *Recherches, livr. iii, ch. iv, p. m.* 165, *& ch. vii, p.* 178, *& livr. vi, ch. v, pag.* 465; but making good uſe of this cenſure of Remond, he wrote a long letter (in the 12th book, *pag. m.* 829, *& ſeq.*) in which he turned to the negative.

(159) See the remark [*B*], of the article FRANK.

(160) See the remark [*A*] of his article.

(161) *In the* Annales de France.

(162) In Officina.

(163) In the *Antiquitez Françoiſes*, in the Life of Charles the Bald, *folio* 53, *Edit. of Paris* 1602, *in* 8*vo.*

(164) In the 3d Tome of his *Proſopographie, pag.* 1667, *& ſeq.*

(165) Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 70, 71.

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the origin of it, and have alledged ſeveral conjectures. Some ſay, Pope John VIII diſcovered ſo much cowardice in the cauſe of Photius, that people thought he *ſhould rather be called* a woman *than a man* (r). This is the opinion of Baronius. But Aventinus imagines the fable aroſe on occaſion that John IX was created Pope by the intereſt of Theodora *a noble and imperious whore* (s), whoſe minion he was. Onufrius Panvinius thinks that Pope John XII, *carrying with him a herd of ſtrumpets, among others cheriſhed Joan Rainiere*; and becauſe ſhe governed him abſolutely, ſhe was *afterwards in rallery called the She-Pope* (t). Bellarmin will have it that the fable had its riſe from a current report, that a woman had been Patriarch of Conſtantinople (u). Allatius maintains that one Thiota, who ſet up for a propheteſs in Germany in the IXth century, was the occaſion of the ſtory. Blondel, having refuted theſe conjectures, declares that one ought not *to exerciſe one's wit in fruitleſs inquiries about a ſubject that is not worth the while* (x). *What would become of us*, adds he (y), *were it neceſſary for us to gueſs, what the authors of ſo many romances, which to this day find credit among the vulgar, are grounded upon?* He gives ſeveral inſtances of it. I do not think he had reaſon to reject all that is conjectured about the original of the romance of the She-Pope. I will be bold to ſay, that the Proteſtants who have ſo much exclaimed againſt him, and conſidered him as a falſe brother, have neither been equitable, or have well underſtood the intereſts of their own party. It is of little moment to them, whether this woman ever exiſted or not: a miniſter, who is none of the moſt tractable, owns it (z). But it concerns them much not to give occaſion to be looked upon, as an obſtinate ſet of people, that will never ſwerve in the leaſt from the opinions they have pre-conceived. They might juſtly have objected the ſtory of the She-Pope before it was refuted. They were not the inventers of it: they found it in ſeveral books written by good Papiſts: but after it was refuted with the ſtrongeſt arguments, they ought to have abandoned it, and not to have uſed all their induſtry to keep up the diſpute; for this was to point out to their adverſaries the method of conteſting all facts, and to countenance them in the tradition, which ſays there was one Cyriacus a Pope that abdicated the Popedom, in order to go to ſeek for martyrdom at the head of eleven thouſand virgins (aa). If they had imitated Blondel, they would have been able to have ſhewn by a notable example, that they ſubmit to reaſon, and that they are wrongfully accuſed of obſtinacy [L]. They would have been able to boaſt, that they do not maintain the other diſputes through a ſpirit of contradiction; but becauſe pertinent anſwers are not made to the difficulties they propoſe (bb). Launoi, and ſome other writers who oppoſe ill grounded traditions, diſpleaſe many, and

(r) Blondel, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 85.

(s) Ibid. *pag.* 87.

(t) Ibid. *pag.* 88.

(u) *Pope* Leo IX *attempts it*, Epiſt. I, chap. xxiii. *See* Blondel, ibid. *pag.* 89. *Compare with this what Father* Mabillon *relates in his* Muſæum Italicum, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 27, *and conſult* Spanheim. de Papa fœmina, *pag.* 12, *& ſeq.*

(x) Blondel, Eclairciſſement, &c. *pag.* 92.

(y) Ibid. *pag.* 93.

(z) Mr Jurieu: his words will be ſeen in the remark [G].

(aa) See Launoi, *Epiſt. viii, Part iv, p.* mihi 356, where he compares this tradition with that of the She-Pope.

(bb) See upon all this the remark [G].

' him no more than Amalricus Augerii, who lived ' in the year 1362, and who wrote a Chronicle of ' the Popes, dedicated to Urban V, wherein he ſpeaks ' of the She-Pope in theſe words: ' Joannes dictus ' Anglicus, natione magnanimus *(I believe it ſhould* ' *be* Maguntinus) poſt dominum Leonem papam in ' Romanum Pontificatum fuit aſſumptus; & poſt B. ' Petrum apoſtolum ponitur papa centeſimus decimus. ' - - - *John, ſirnamed the Engliſh, a native of Mayence,* ' *was made Pope after Leo; and is reckoned the hun-* ' *dred and tenth Pope from St Peter the apoſtle.*' The learned Scriverius had this author in manuſcript (170). I ſhall obſerve two things upon this paſſage. Firſt, that Gervaſe of Tilburi was not prior to Martin Polonus by a hundred years; for he dedicated his book to Otho IV (171), who was choſen emperor in the year 1198, and died in the year 1218. Blondel ſays that Martin Polonus died about the year 1270. It was in the year 1278 as Voſſius has proved it (172). My ſecond remark is, that if Blondel had known that Gervaſe of Tilburi ſpoke of the She-Pope in the words of the manuſcript of Anaſtaſius, that, as Mr Colomiés ſuppoſes, would not have hindered him from refuting the ſtory of this woman; for on the contrary he would have had ſomething to confirm him in his opinion. He would have ſaid that Martin Polonus drew from a bad fountain, to wit, a Chronicle deſigned to divert and entertain the emperor, and filled for that purpoſe with a thouſand ridiculous ſtories. Thus Gabriel Naudé diſcredits all that the ſame Martin Polonus has reported of the Magic of Pope Sylveſter II; *for it is certain he has tranſlated all he ſaid of it in his Chronological Computations from this Galfridus who lived about the year* 1150, *and from one Gervaſius who was Orator of the city of Arles, and Chancellor to the emperor Otho III* (173), *but as for the reſt, the greateſt forger of fables and the moſt notorious liar that ever put pen to paper, as there would be no reaſon to doubt it after the bare reading of the book which he wrote* de Ociis Imperatoris, *where every thing he ſays is ſo extravagant, and ſo remote from reaſon and poſſibility, ordinary and extraordinary, that the Fables of Æſop and the Tales of Amadis are a hundred times more credible* (174). Let us remember the fables he has related of the pretended Magic of Virgil, and how Naudé cenſured him for it (175). Martin Polonus owns that Gervaſe, that is Gervaſe of Tilburi (176), is one of thoſe from whom he took the materials of his Chronicle.

[L] *That they are wrongfully accuſed of obſtinacy.*] We have ſeen in remark [G] ſome reflexions, which tend to ſhew, that the diſputes about the She-Pope adminiſter to the Roman Catholics an occaſion to affirm, that the Proteſtants are obſtinate. Perhaps ſome readers might pretend I ſpoke ſo only by conjecture. This induces me to give here ſome practical proofs of what they would have paſs for meer ſpeculations. A Capuchin preacher, who put out a book of controverſy, in the year 1611, averred (177), that *one cannot better repreſent the humour and way of our miniſters who meddle with writing, than by applying what St Athanaſius, tired with confounding, without converting, the Heretics of his time, ſaid of them* †, tho' they be confuted, they will never yield. Tho' they have nothing new to ſay, yet are they not aſhamed; but bold, as leud women, they become impudent in their impieties in ſpite of all (178). ' A clear anſwer is made to ' the Miniſters, continues the Capuchin, and without ' leaving room for a juſt reply to their doubts or impoſtures. They are made to ſee with their eyes, to ' hear with their ears, to feel with their hands, that ' their objections are falſe: that their hiſtories are ' fables: that their prepoſſeſſions are unreaſonble. ' No matter, they ſtill repeat their fancies as quite ' new, without ſhame, without reaſon, without con' ſcience. Provided they fill their books with ſuch ' old paltry ſtuff, and impoſe upon ſome fool, they ' are ſatisfied. They make it appear that the wiſe ' man had reaſon to ſay ‡: *Though thou ſhouldeſt bray* ' *a fool in a mortar among wheat with a peſtil, yet will* ' *not his fooliſhneſs depart from him* (179).'

Now ſee by what example he endeavours to prove this unjuſt accuſation. ' It is impoſſible for theſe to ' reply to the ſolid diſcourſes, the clear reaſons, and ' unexceptionable evidences, that the Catholics have a ' thouſand times produced, to ſhew that what their ' fathers thought fit to ſay of Pope Joan is a meer ' ſtory, and a vile calumny. Mr Caſaubon, the moſt ' learned of all the pretended Reformers, who by his ' good

(170) Colomiés, Mélanges Hiſtor. *pag.* 57, 58. *See the words of Blondel in the remark* [A], *citation* (2).

(171) Theodor. a Niem. *lib. ii, de Schiſm. cap. xix, pag. m.* 97.

(172) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 486.

(173) He ſhould have Otho IV.

(174) Naudé, Apolog. des grands Hommes, *ch. xix, pag. m.* 558, 559.

(175) See the remark [I], of the article VIRGIL.

(176) *See* Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *pag.* 486.

(177) Silveſtre de Laval Prédicateur Capucin, les juſtes Grandeurs de l'Egliſe Romaine, *livr. iii, chap. v, p.* 68, 69.

† *Athanaſ. Orat. iv, contr. Arrian.* Οὔτε γὰρ ἐλεγχόμενοι παύονται, οὔτε ἀπορούμενοι ἐντρέπονται, ἀλλ' ὡς ὕβρις πορνικὸς, ἀπηναισχύντισαν πρὸς πάντας ἦν τοῖς ἀσεβείαις.

(178) Silv. de Laval, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 68.

‡ Prov. xxvii, 22.

(179) Ibid. *pag.* 69.

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and do credit to their church; for after that, it cannot be accuſed of oppreſſing people about ſuch kind of ſubjects. On the contrary, thoſe, who are ſtiff in defending theſe traditions, do but diſgrace it.

‡ Onufr. apud Platin. Annot. ad John VIII.

(180) In chap. xxvii, of the 2d part of his *Theatre de l'Antichriſt*, printed in the year 1610, in folio, and reprinted in 8vo, in the year 1613.

(181) Silveſtre de Laval, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 69, 70.

* 2 Tim. iv, 3, 4.

** 1 Tim. iv, 7.

(182) Silv. de Laval, *livr. iii, pag.* 86, 87.

'good literature has acquired moderation, and the friendſhip of ſeveral perſons of honour and learning, particularly of Thuanus, laughs at the fable. I have heard them both agree together in ſaying, that after reading the Annotation of Onuphrius, upon the life of John the eighth in Platina ‡, it is impoſſible to believe that this imaginary Joan could ever have exiſted, as the ignorant ſay. Since that, Onuphrius, Bellarmin, Genebrard, Florimond de Remond, and fifty other Catholics have writ upon the ſame ſubject, and made the thing ſo clear, that men ought never to be believed, if that can be called in queſtion. After which, however, the little Vignier (180) has repeated this nonſenſe, in order to ſwell his ſeditious book. His Theatre, which was to be a large heap of the ſlanders of his whole cauſe, would not have been compleat without this falſehood. What ſhall we do to him? What ſhall we ſay both to him and thoſe who give credit to him, except what they ſing in their aſſemblies:'

O cruel ſons of men, how long
Will ye love vanities?
How long my glory turn to ſhame,
And follow after lies (181)?

After that, he ſpends ſixteen pages in refuting this old tradition, and concludes with theſe words: 'It is then for want of modeſty and ſenſe, and of true or probable objections, that the Miniſters, after ſo much certainty and clearneſs, dare repeat to us this piece of folly. I think, without doing them injuſtice, it may be ſaid of them, and thoſe who believe them, that they fullfil what the Apoſtle foretold was to come to paſs *. *The time will come when they will not endure ſound doctrine; but after their own luſts ſhall they heap to themſelves teachers, having itching ears. And they ſhall turn away their ears from the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables.* But as to this point, whoever has the ſpirit and fear of GOD, will remember what the ſame St Paul wrote to Timothy at another time **, *Refute profane and old wives fables, and exerciſe thyſelf rather unto godlineſs*: for in conſcience, one cannot call the Miniſters Hiſtory of Joan any other, than a *profane fable, and an old woman's ſtory* (182).'

Theſe two quotations of Scripture are ſufficient to ſhew that he did not abound in judgment; for they may be applied againſt his own church, which for ſome ages did not queſtion this fable. A Proteſtant, whom I have cited before, alledges this credulity as a proof of the Antichriſtianiſm of the Popiſh communion. 'Nec quando hanc foveo ſententiam (*non extitiſſe Papiſſam*) patrocinor Papiſmo at Babyloni adulor. Abſit. quicquid alii ſentiant, meam opinionem ei confundendæ, præ altera ſervire credo. Quod enim à pluribus ſeculis Papani conſtanter crediderint, Johannam Papiſſam Eccleſiæ præfuiſſe, completum eſt vaticinum Apoſtoli, 2 Theſſ. ii. *minantis iis efficaciam erroris, immittendam à Deo, ad hoc ut crederent mendacio* (183). - - - - *Nor by maintaining this opinion (that there was no She-Pope) do I plead for Popery, or careſs Babylon. God forbid. Whatever others think, I believe my opinion tends more to confound her than the other. For ſince the Papiſts, for ſeveral ages, have conſtantly believed, that Pope Joan governed the church, the prophecy of the Apoſtle was accompliſhed, 2 Theſſ. ii. ver.* 11. threatening, that God would ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe a lie.'

(183) Martin. Schoockius, in Præfat. Fabulæ Hamelenſis, *folio xii.*

(184) *Ἱ νῦν ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ, aut hanc aut ſuper hac: ταῦτα οὕτως, ἢ μὴ γένοιτο, aut hanc ſerva aut peri. *Plut. in Inſtitut. Lacon.*, *pag.* 141, F.

(184) The Lord forbid it me (*anſwered Naboth to king Ahab who wanted to buy his vineyard*) that I ſhould give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. 1 *Kings xxi*, 3.

I cannot help ſaying, that the words of Athanaſius, quoted by the Capuchin, are a common-place, which all parties provide themſelves with, to decry the obſtinacy of their adverſaries. They might be retorted upon this Capuchin; for how many things did he advance, which had been a thouſand times refuted? A certain ſpirit of contradiction reigns every where more or leſs, that will not ſuffer people to renounce their former arguments. They ſeem to conſider them, as if they had received them under the ſame condition, that ſome women of Lacedæmon preſcribed when they gave their ſons the buckler, *rather die than loſe it* (184). Let us uſe another compariſon. They ſeem to look upon them as an inviolable truſt, or as a talent that one is charged to improve under the penalty of a curſe, or, in fine, as an intailed eſtate from father to ſon, and of ſuch a kind, that one muſt be as delicate as Naboth was concerning alienation (185). However it be, there are a thouſand diſputes, wherein the weakeſt reaſonings always recur; refute them never ſo much, they are like nature, which the ſtrokes of a fork cannot expel (186), *or thoſe troubleſome inſects, which are the more eager to purſue us, the more we try to drive them away* (187). Wiſe diſputants do not act after this manner: their prejudice is not ſo great as to hinder them from diſcerning what is ſtrong, and what is weak, and they imitate good warriors, who abandon ſuch poſts as it would be of no ſervice to defend.

(185) Naturam expellas furca licet uſque recurret. *Horat. Epiſt. X, ver.* 24. *lib.* i.

(187) *Father le Tellier ſays this of the adverſaries of the Jeſuits in the Défenſe des nouveaux Chrétiens, pag.* 28. *Add to that the verſe of Horace, Sat. V, lib. II, ver.* 83. Ut cornicis nunc aſſervicula quam abſterrere-tur uncto. *Like dogs once blooded for wolf never leave.*

(*a*) And not *Poclain*, as in Moreri.

POQUELIN (*a*) (JOHN BAPTIST) a famous Comedian, known by the name of MOLIERE, the ſon of a Valet de Chambre, Tapeſtry-maker to the king, was born at Paris about the year 1620. He went through his ſchool-learning under the Jeſuits in Clermont-college. He was deſigned for the bar, but *after he had made an end of his ſtudy of the Civil-Law he pitched upon the profeſſion of a Comedian, having a very ſtrong inclination for Comedy* (*b*), *and being entirely bent upon the ſtage.* His firſt play was *l'Etourdi*, which he expoſed to the public view at Lyons in the year 1653. *Being ſome time after in Languedoc, he offered his ſervices to the prince of* Conti, *who received him very kindly, gave an allowance to his company, and took him into his ſervice, as well for himſelf, as for the ſtates of Languedoc.* Having ſpent the Carnaval at Grenoble in the year 1658, *he went and ſettled at Rouen, where he ſtaid all the ſummer; and having made ſome journeys to Paris privately, he had the good luck to pleaſe the king's brother, who granting him his protection, and making his company his own, introduced him in that quality to the king and the queen-mother.* That company *began to appear before their majeſties and the whole court* the twenty-fourth of October 1658, upon a ſtage ſet up on purpoſe *in the hall of the guards of the old Louvre*, and were well approved, ſo that *his majeſty gave orders for their ſettlement at Paris. The hall of the Petit Bourbon was granted them, to act by turns with the Italian Players.* In October 1660 the hall of the royal palace was granted them (*c*). Moliere obtained a penſion of a thouſand livres in 1663. His company was altogether in his majeſty's ſervice in the year 1665, and he continued all the remaining part of his life to give new plays, which were very much applauded. His laſt comedy was *Le Malade Imaginaire.* It was acted for the fourth time on the ſeventeenth of February 1673, and he died the ſame day [*A*]. This is what I have taken from his life, prefixed to his

(*b*) See the remark [*G*].

(*c*) See the remark [*H*].

[*A*] *And he died the ſame day.*] The chief perſon repreſented in Moliere's laſt play, is a ſick man who pretends to be dead. Moliere repreſented that perſon, and conſequently was obliged in one of his ſcenes to act the

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his works. Perhaps I have done a needleſs thing, for that book is more known and read than this Dictionary will ever be, and therefore what I tranſcribe out of that life will be no new thing to any body. I have been told of a thing by ſeveral people, which is not to be found in it, viz. that he turned Comedian only to be near an actreſs, with whom he was very much in love. Let the reader gueſs whether this particular was omitted becauſe it was not true, or for fear of doing him ſome prejudice. Many are of opinion, that his plays exceed or equal the nobleſt performances of that kind in ancient Greece and Rome [*B*]. It is no wonder that he did ſo well ſucceed in deſcribing the jars of married people, and the uneaſineſs of huſbands that are jealous, and have

the part of a dead man. It has been ſaid by a great many people, that he expired in that part of his play, and that when he was to make an end of it, in order to ſhew that it was only a feint, he could neither ſpeak, nor get up, being actually dead. This ſingularity was looked upon as very wonderful, and afforded the Poets plentiful matter for witty conceits and ingenious allusions; which, in all probability was the reaſon why that ſtory was ſo much credited. Nay, ſome gave a ſerious turn to their thoughts, and made many moral reflexions upon that incident. But the truth is, Moliere did not die in ſuch a manner: he had time enough, tho' very ſick, to make an end of his part, as it appears from this paſſage of his life. 'The 17th of 'February 1673 (1), on which *le Malade Imaginaire* 'was acted a fourth time, he was ſo much troubled 'with his defluxion, that he had much ado to act his 'part; he made an end of it in great pain, and the 'ſpectators were ſenſible that he was very far from 'being what he acted: for indeed when the comedy 'was over, he went home, and was ſcarce got to bed, 'when his continual cough increaſed ſo violently, that 'one of the veins of his lungs broke. He no ſooner 'found himſelf in that condition, but he bent all his 'thoughts upon heavenly things; and immediately he 'loſt his ſpeech, and in half an hour's time was ſtifled 'by the great quantity of blood that ran out at his 'mouth (2).' But I muſt inform the reader that if ſome other writers are to be credited, Moliere was not able to hold out till the play was over. 'Moliere ... 'died in a very ſurprizing manner. He had been in-'diſpoſed for a long time; which was aſcribed to the 'trouble his wife gave him, but more ſtill to his great 'application. One day being to act *le Malade Imagi-'naire*, a new piece at that time, and the laſt he had 'made, he was taken very ill before he began it, and 'was like to put it off on account of his illneſs. 'Nevertheleſs, conſidering the great number of ſpecta-'tors, and being unwilling to ſend them away, he 'ſtrained himſelf, and acted his part almoſt to the 'end, without perceiving that his illneſs increaſed upon 'him. But when he came to that part of the play, 'wherein he counterfeited a dead man, he happened 'to be ſo weak, that it was thought he was really 'dead, and they had much ado to make him ſtand up. 'They adviſed him to go to bed, but he choſe rather 'to make an end; and the play being far advanced, 'he thought he could go through it without much pre-'judice to himſelf. But his zeal for the public was 'attended with a ſad conſequence to him; for as he was 'ſpeaking of Rheubarb and Sena, in the ceremony of 'the Phyſicians, ſome blood came out at his mouth, at 'which the ſpectators, and his friends being very 'much frighted, he was immediately carried home, 'and his wife followed him into his chamber, pre-'tending to be very much afflicted. But every thing 'they did to relieve him proved ineffectual, and 'he died in a few hours, having loſt all his blood, 'which came out at his mouth in great plenty (3).' The Poets, as I have already ſaid, took hold of that occaſion to ſhew their wit: they handed about a great many ſmall pieces: 'but of all thoſe that were made 'upon Moliere's death, none was better approved 'than theſe four Latin verſes; which they have thought 'fit to preſerve.

(1) Correct in *Moreri* 1672. I take occaſion to obſerve that in the ſame article it ought to be *Poiſſon*, and not *Poiſſons*.

(2) Life of Moliere prefixed to his works. I make uſe of the Bruſſels edition 1694.

(3) *See the book, intituled*, La fameuſe Comedienne, ou Hiſtoire de la Guerin, aupavant femme & veuve de Moliere, *pag.* 38, 39.

Roſcius hic ſitus eſt triſti Molierus in urnâ,
Cui genus humanum ludere, ludus erat.
Dum ludit mortem, Mors indignata jocantem
Corripit, & mimum fingere ſæva negat (4).

(4) Vie de Moliere, *fol.* * 3.

Here Moliere lies, the Roſcius of his age,
Whoſe pleaſure, while he liv'd, was to engage

With human nature in a comic ſtrife,
And perſonate her actions to the life.
But ſurly death, offended at his play,
Would not be jok'd with in ſo free a way.
He, when he mimick'd him, his voice reſtrain'd,
And made him act in earneſt what he feign'd.

I add a French epitaph (5) to thoſe Latin verſes:

(5) It is in the firſt Tome of the *Mercure Galant*, for the year 1673. There are in it ſeveral other ſuch pieces, with a funeral oration in proſe, which is ſomewhat waggiſh.

Cy git qui parut ſur la Scene
Le ſinge de la vie humaine,
Qui n'aura jamais ſon égal,
Qui voulant de la Mort, ainſi que de la Vie,
Eſtre l'imitateur dans une Comedie,
Pour trop bien reüſſir, y reüſſit fort mal;
Car la Mort en eſtant ravie,
Trouva ſi belle la copie,
Qu'elle en fit un original.

Within this melancholy tomb confin'd,
Here lies the matchleſs ape of human kind;
Who, while he labour'd with ambitious ſtrife
To mimick death as he had mimick'd life,
So well or rather ill perform'd his part,
That death, delighted with his wondrous art,
Snatch'd up the copy, to the grief of France,
And made it an original at once.

[*B*] *Many are of opinion that his plays exceed or equal the nobleſt performances of that kind in ancient Greece and Rome.*] Mr Perrault diſpleaſed many people by contradicting thoſe who ſay, that no modern author can be compared with Homer and Virgil, Demoſthenes and Cicero, Ariſtophanes and Terence, Sophocles and Euripides. This diſpute has occaſioned on both ſides ſeveral books, which contain very good things. But we have not ſeen hitherto the anſwer to Mr Perrault's Parallel, nor do we know when it will come out. I think I may ſay that among the productions of the pen, there are few things, wherein ſo many people have acknowledged the ſuperiority of our age, as in the comical pieces. Perhaps the reaſon of it is, that the beauties and niceties of Ariſtophanes are not known to all thoſe who are ſenſible of Moliere's wit and charms; for it ought to be granted, that in order to paſs a right judgment upon the comic Poets of Greece, it were neceſſary to be throughly acquainted with the faults of the Athenians. There is a ridicule common to all times and people, and a ridicule peculiar to certain ages and nations. Some ſcenes of Ariſtophanes, which appear dull to us, did, perhaps, wonderfully pleaſe the Athenians, becauſe they knew the fault he ridiculed. Perhaps, it was a fault altogether unknown to us, a ridicule conſiſting in ſome particular facts, and in a tranſient and common taſte of that time, of which we can have no notion, though we are able to read the originals. Theſe obſtacles do not permit us to admire that Poet according to his merit, neither in Greek nor in Latin, nor in the French verſions, though never ſo faithful and polite. Moliere is not liable to this inconveniency, we know what he aims at, and eaſily diſcover whether he deſcribes well the ridicule of the age we live in; when he ſucceeds in any thing, it cannot eſcape us. Nay, he ſeems to be more copious than Ariſtophanes and Terence, as to thoſe thoughts and nice railleries, of which all ages and polite nations are ſenſible. This is a very conſiderable prerogative; for it cannot be ſaid, that our age has not a true reliſh of the fine paſſages of the Latin Poets. If you ſhew ſome thoughts

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have reaſon to be ſo: for it is ſaid, he knew it by experience as well as any man in the world [C]. This is what I find in a printed book, out of which I ſhall give ſome paſſages (d). What is moſt ſtrange is, that there has been a report that his wife was his own daughter (e). He made verſes with a wonderful facility (f); but he took too much

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) See the remark [C].

(f) See the 3d Satire of Deſpreaux.

of Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, &c. to ingenious ladies in old French, if you tranſlate them faithfully, though never ſo coarſely, they will tell you that thoſe thoughts are fine, delicate, and nice. There are ſome beauties of wit in faſhion at all times: one would think that Moliere is more copious in that reſpect than the ancient comic Poets. He has ſome beauties that would vaniſh away in a tranſlation, or in a country of a different taſte from that of France; but he has many others that would be preſerved in all ſorts of tranſlations, and approved whatever the taſte of the readers might be, provided they underſtood the eſſence of a good thought. See the article AMPHITRYO (6).

(6) Remark [B].

[C] *It is ſaid that he knew by experience* the uneaſineſs of huſbands that are jealous, or have reaſon to be ſo.] I have read in a ſmall book printed in the year 1688, That (7) *Moliere was leſs praiſed than his wife was courted*; that ſhe was *the daughter of the deceaſed Mrs Bejard, a country actreſs, who made many young ſparks of Languedoc happy when her daughter was born. And therefore*, adds the author, *it were a very difficult thing to know who was her father among ſo many galants: all that we know of it is, that her mother affirmed, ſhe never admitted any but perſons of quality, except Moliere, and that therefore her daughter was of a very noble blood. And indeed the only thing ſhe recommended to her all along, was to proſtitute herſelf to none but the beſt ſort of people. Moliere was thought to be her father, though he married her afterwards; however the truth of it is not well known.* . . . . (8) *Moliere married young Mrs Bejard ſome time after he had* ſettled his company at Paris: *He made ſome pieces for the ſtage*, and among others *La Princeſſe d'Elide*, wherein his wife, who acted the part of the princeſs, (9) *ſhone ſo brightly, that he had all the reaſon in the world to repent his having expoſed her in the middle of all the ſprightly youth of the court. For ſhe was hardly got to the chamber, where the king gave that entertainment, but ſhe fell deſperately in love with the count de Guiche, and the count de Lauzun fell deſperately in love with her. . . . . Moliere was made ſenſible* (10), *that the great care he took to pleaſe the public, kept him from obſerving how his wife behaved herſelf; and that whilſt he made it his buſineſs to divert every body, every body made it their buſineſs to divert his wife. Jealouſy awakened his tenderneſs, which had lain aſleep by reaſon of his application to ſtudy: he immediately went and made great complaints to his wife, telling her in a reproachful manner, how carefully he had brought her up, how he had ſtifled his paſſion, how he had behaved himſelf towards her, more like a lover than a huſband, and that to reward him for ſo many kindneſſes, ſhe made him ridiculous to the whole court. His wife fell a weeping, and confeſſed to him, that ſhe had had an inclination for the count de Guiche; but ſhe ſwore, that the only fault ſhe was guilty of conſiſted in the intention: ſhe added, that he ſhould forgive the firſt fault of a young woman who for want of experience will be apt to make ſuch ſteps; but that the kindneſs ſhe was ſenſible he had for her, would prevent, for the time to come, her being guilty of ſuch a weakneſs. Moliere being perſuaded of her virtue by her tears, begged her pardon a thouſand times for the anger he had expreſſed, and gently repreſented to her, that a good conſcience was not ſufficient to preſerve one's reputation, but that one ſhould take care to do nothing that may occaſion ill reports, eſpecially in an age wherein people are ſo apt to think ill, and ſo little diſpoſed to judge favourably of things* (11). She quickly began again *her old trade more openly than ever* . . . . (12). ‘ Moliere being informed of his ‘ wife's behaviour by ſome people, who were willing ‘ to make him uneaſy, renewed his complaints with ‘ more violence than he had done before, and even ‘ threatened to get her confined. That woman being ‘ provoked to the higheſt degree with his reproaches, ‘ wept and fell into a ſwoon. Her huſband, who ‘ was extremely fond of her, repented of having put ‘ her into that condition, and did his beſt to recover ‘ her ſpirits, intreating her to conſider, that nothing ‘ but love was the occaſion of his paſſion, and that ‘ ſhe might be ſenſible of the great power ſhe had ‘ over him, ſince, notwithſtanding all the reaſons he ‘ had to complain of her, he was ready to forgive ‘ her, provided ſhe would be more cautious for the ‘ time to come. One would think that ſuch an extraordinary huſband ſhould have made her ſenſible ‘ of her fault, and brought her off from her ill courſe; ‘ but his kindneſs produced a quite contrary effect. ‘ She thought ſhe had a fair opportunity of parting ‘ with him, and therefore ſhe ſpoke in a high ſtrain, ‘ and told him, that ſhe knew well enough from ‘ whom he had thoſe falſe ſtories; that ſhe was ‘ weary of being every day accuſed of a thing ſhe ‘ was not guilty of; that he might think of a ſeparation, and that ſhe could no longer endure a man, ‘ who was always intimate with Mrs de Brie (13), ‘ who lived in their houſe, and had never left it ſince ‘ they were married. The care that was taken to pacify Moliere's wife, proved ineffectual: From that ‘ very moment ſhe conceived an extreme averſion for ‘ him; and when he had a mind to make uſe of the ‘ privileges of a huſband, ſhe treated him with the ‘ utmoſt contempt. At laſt ſhe carried things to ſuch ‘ an extremity, that Moliere, who began to perceive ‘ her wicked inclinations, conſented to the ſeparation ‘ ſhe continually deſired ſince their quarrel; ſo that ‘ without a decree of parliament, they agreed to have ‘ no commerce with one another. But Moliere could ‘ not reſolve upon it without doing himſelf a great ‘ violence; and if his reaſon made him look upon his wife as a woman unworthy of the careſſes of ‘ an honeſt man, by reaſon of her ill conduct, his ‘ tenderneſs made him ſenſible, that he would hardly ‘ be able to ſee her without enjoying the privileges of ‘ a huſband. One day as he was thinking upon it ‘ in his garden at Auteuil, one of his friends, called ‘ Chapelle, who came to walk there by chance, accoſted him, and finding him more uneaſy than he ‘ uſed to be, aſked him ſeveral times the reaſon of it. ‘ Moliere being ſomewhat aſhamed of ſhewing ſo ‘ little conſtancy under a misfortune, that was ſo ‘ much in faſhion, held out as much as he could; but ‘ having then his heart full, a thing well known to ‘ thoſe that have been in love, he yielded to the deſire of eaſing himſelf, and ingenuouſly confeſſed to ‘ his friend, that the grief wherewith he was overwhelmed, proceeded from his being obliged to uſe ‘ his wife as he did. Chapelle, who thought he was ‘ above things of that nature, jeered him, and told ‘ him he wondered that a man, who knew ſo well ‘ how to repreſent the weak ſide of other men, ſhould ‘ be guilty of a weakneſs he blamed every day, and ‘ ſhewed him, that the moſt ridiculous of all was to ‘ love a woman, when her love is not reciprocal. ‘ For my part, added he, I muſt needs tell you that ‘ if I was ſo unhappy as to find myſelf in ſuch a condition, and if I was fully perſuaded that the woman ‘ I love grants ſome favours to others, I ſhould have ‘ ſuch a contempt for her, that it would infallibly ‘ cure my paſſion. You have a ſatisfaction you could ‘ not have if ſhe was your miſtreſs; and revenge, ‘ which commonly ſucceeds love in an injured lover, ‘ may make amends for all the uneaſineſs your wife ‘ gives you, ſince you need only get her ſhut up: ‘ and this will be a ſure way to quiet your mind. ‘ Moliere, who heard his friend quietly enough, interrupted him, and aſked whether he had ever been ‘ in love. Yes, replied Chapelle, I have been in love, ‘ as a man of ſenſe ought to be; but I ſhould not ‘ have been ſo much troubled for a thing which my ‘ happineſs ſhould have required from me, and I am ‘ aſhamed to ſee you ſo uncertain. I perceive, replied ‘ Moliere, that you have never been a true lover, and ‘ that you took the figure of love for love itſelf. I ‘ will not alledge many examples, whereby you might ‘ know the power of that paſſion, but ſhall only give ‘ you a faithful account of the perplexity I am in, to ‘ make you ſenſible how little a man is maſter of ‘ himſelf, when love has got it's uſual aſcendant over ‘ him. Wherefore, in anſwer to what you ſay, that ‘ I have a perfect knowledge of mens hearts, as it appears by the public deſcriptions I daily make of ‘ them, I confeſs that I have made it my chief ſtudy ‘ to

(7) Hiſtoire de la Guerin, aupatravant femme & veuve de Moliere, *pag.* 6.

(8) Ib. *p.* 12.

(9) Ib. *p.* 13.

(10) Ib. *p.* 16.

(11) Ib. *p.* 18.

(12) Ib. *p.* 19.

(13) She was an actreſs belonging to the company, which Moliere found ſettled at Lyons the firſt time he acted there. He fell in love with that woman, and was reciprocally loved by her, and got her into his company. *Hiſtoire de la Guerin, pag.* 8.

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much liberty in inventing new words and new expreſſions [*D*]: nay, he was very often guilty of barbariſms [*E*]. You will find in Mr Baillet (*g*) what judgment ought to be made of his talent.

(*g*) Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *Tom. v, n.* 1520.

Some

'to know their weak ſide; but if I have learned that 'the danger may be ſhunned, experience has but too 'well taught me that it is impoſſible to avoid it: I 'judge of it every day by myſelf.' Afterwards he gives an account of his marriage, and after ſome reflexions, he adds (14), *I am therefore reſolved to live with her as if ſhe was not my wife. But if you knew the anguiſh I am in, you would pity me: my paſſion is come to ſuch a pitch, that I cannot forbear being concerned for her; and when I conſider that it is impoſſible for me to overcome my affection for her, I am apt to fancy, that, perhaps, ſhe finds it no leſs difficult to conquer her inclinations to be a coquet, and I am more diſpoſed to pity her than to blame her. You will ſay that none but a Poet can love in ſuch a manner; but it is my opinion, that there is but one ſort of love, and that thoſe who have never been ſo nice, are perfect ſtrangers to true love. . . . .* (15) *Do not you wonder that my reaſon ſhould ſerve only to make me ſenſible of my weakneſs, without being able to conquer it? I muſt needs tell you, replied his friend, that you are more to be pitied than I thought: but I hope time will cure you; and I beſeech you to uſe your endeavours towards it.*

(14) Ib. *p.* 28.

(15) Ib. *p.* 30.

Such was the fate of that wit. In the midſt of the acclamations of the whole court, ſhining with glory, and admired in France and in foreign countries, he was tormented with a thouſand domeſtic griefs. His marriage deprived him of his honour and quiet: nay, he could not have the ſatisfaction of hating his croſs, I mean the perſon who was the cauſe of ſo much vexation. He might have been told, *Phyſician, cure thy ſelf*: Moliere, you who give ſo much diverſion to the public, cannot you divert yourſelf? You laugh at every body, you give very good advice to the poor cuckolds, why do not you make uſe of it yourſelf firſt? Perhaps he ſaid a thouſand times, as Horace did (16), I had rather be accounted the meaneſt of all authors, than have ſo much wit, and live ſuch an uneaſy life.

(16) Prætulerim ſcriptor delirus inerſque videri, Dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant, Quam ſapere & ringi. *Horat. lib. ii, Epiſt. II, ver* 125.

[*D*] *He took too much liberty in inventing new words and new expreſſions.*] Take notice, that I only blame the exceſs of his liberty; for I do not deny but that he was often very happy in the uſe of it, and that it proved uſeful to our language. He introduced ſome phraſes and ſome words, that are very pleaſant; and if any Grammarian ſhould think otherwiſe of it, he would deſerve no better treatment than that ancient Grammarian, who cenſured the Poet Furius for inventing ſome words which ſhortened the diſcourſe, and had no harſhneſs in them that might offend nice ears. Read this paſſage of Aulus Gellius. 'Non 'hercle idem ſentio cum Cæſellio Vindice grammatico, ut mea opinio eſt, haud quaquam inerudito. 'Verum hoc tamen petulanter inſcitéque; quod Furium veterem poetam dedecoraſſe linguam Latinam 'ſcripſit hujuſcemodi vocum fictionibus, quæ mihi 'quidem neque abhorrere à poetica facultate viſæ ſunt, 'neque dictu profatuque ipſo tætræ aut infuaves eſſe; 'ſicuti ſunt quædam alia ab illuſtribus poetis ficta durè '& rancidè. Quæ reprehendit autem Cæſellius Furiana, hæc ſunt; quod terram in lutum verſam *lutéſcere* dixerit, & tenebras in noctis modum factas *noctéſcere*, &c (17). - - - *I am not of the ſame opinion with Cæſellius Vindex, the Grammarian, whom otherwiſe I do not think unlearned. But there is a great deal of preſumption and ignorance in his ſaying that the old Poet Furius has diſfigured the Latin tongue by his new-invented words of this kind, which in my opinion are neither inconſiſtent with Poetry, nor harſh and unpleaſant in the pronunciation, as ſome other words are, which have been rudely coined by famous Poets. Thoſe which Cæſellius finds fault with in Furius, are as follows*; luteſcere *applied to earth, growing into clay, and* noctéſcere *applied to darkneſs, putting on the reſemblance of night*, &c.' I muſt obſerve, that there is no better forge for new words than the ſtage; for when it produces any novelty in the language, that is well approved, a world of people will immediately take it up, and ſpread it far and near by their frequent repetitions. It cannot reaſonably be denied that good authors have a right to forge new words, for otherwiſe languages would always remain poor, barren, and weak. See Voſſius (18) and ſeveral other writers (19) upon this head. It ought therefore to be granted, generally ſpeaking, that Moliere had a right to enrich his dramatic pieces with new terms, conſidering the great reputation he had acquired in that way of writing: all that can be ſaid againſt him is, that he miſuſed his right; for it ought to be remembered, that the writers of ſuch pieces are not ſenſible of the poverty of a language, as thoſe who write upon dogmatical ſubjects. *It ought to be confeſſed*, ſays Mr Arnauld (20), *that we are more ſenſible our language wants words, when we treat of ſciences, than when we ſpeak or write about common things.* This he ſays in a preface, wherein he juſtifies the liberty he took to invent the words *Philoſophiſme*, *Philoſophiſtes*, and *Advertance*. It is certain, that a comic Poet is not ſo excuſable for inventing new words as a Philoſopher. The latter is forced to it by an indiſpenſable neceſſity. Read this complaint of Lucretius:

(17) Aulus Gellius, *lib. xviii, cap. xi, pag. m.* 494, 495.

(18) Voſſius, Inſtitut. Orator. *lib. iv, cap. i, pag. m.* 442.

(19) Theophilus Raynaud, de malis ac bonis Libris, *n.* 427, *pag. m.* 248, *quotes many of them.*

(20) Arnauld, *Preface to the* V Dénonciation du Péché Philoſophique.

Nec me animi fallit, Graïorum obſcura reperta
Difficile inluſtrare Latinis verſibus eſſe,
(Multa novis verbis præſertim cum ſit agendum,)
Propter egeſtatem linguæ, & rerum novitatem (21);
. . . . . .
Nunc & Anaxagoræ ſcrutemur Homœomeriam,
Quam Græci memorant, nec noſtra dicere lingua
Concedit nobis patrii ſermonis egeſtas (22).

(21) Lucretius, lib. I, ver. 137.

(22) Ibid. ver. 830.

I'm ſenſible the Latin is too poor
To equal the waſt riches of the Grecian ſtore:
New matter various nature ſtill affords,
And new conceptions do require new words.
. . . . . .
Now let's examine with a curious eye
Anaxagoras his Philoſophy,
By copious Greece term'd Homœomery:
For which our Latin language, poor in words,
Not one expreſſive ſingle voice affords.

CREECH.

It was not by reaſon of the rules of quantity that he wanted words; for thoſe who wrote Philoſophical books in proſe did likewiſe complain of it. 'Quanta verborum nobis paupertas, imo egeſtas ſit, nunquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi. Mille res 'inciderunt, cum forte de Platone loqueremur, quæ 'nomina deſiderarent, nec haberent: quædam vero 'cum habuiſſent, faſtidio noſtro perdidiſſent. Quis 'autem ferat in egeſtate faſtidium (23). - - - *I was never more ſenſible than I am to day of the great poverty or rather want of words in our language. While we were diſcourſing of Plato a thouſand things offered themſelves which had no names; and ſome had loſt what names they had formerly, by means of our diſtaſte. Now what can be more ridiculous than diſtaſte in the middle of want?*' Obſerve, by the by, the two cauſes of the poverty of languages mentioned by Seneca: one is, that ſome words have not yet been found out; the other is, that ſeveral grow out of uſe. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the Romans even when they wrote nothing but epigrams, complained that they wanted words (24); from whence we may conclude, that Moliere was ſenſible of the ſame want, and therefore he might well have recourſe to invention. Laſtly, I obſerve, that the birth of one word is commonly the death of another (25). Which holds true, particularly in France; and therefore it cannot be expected that our language ſhould ever ceaſe to be poor.

(23) Seneca, Epiſt. LVIII, init. *pag. m.* 266.

(24) See Pliny the younger, *Epiſt. XVIII, lib. iv.*

(25) *Juſt as in the productions of nature*, generatio unius eſt corruptio alterius.

[*E*] *He was very often guilty of barbariſms.*] I might give a hundred inſtances of it, but I ſhall confine myſelf to two, which I take out of a piece prefixed to his works in ſome editions, wherein he thanks the king. He gives a wonderful turn to it, and perhaps it is the beſt ſmall piece that ever he

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Some pretend, that the glory of invention does not belong to Moliere, and that he made a good uſe of the comedies acted by the Italians at Paris [F]. Thoſe are in the wrong who ſay that Mr Boileau changed his note after the death of that great Comedian: if we may believe ſome ignorant Critics, he praiſed him in his life-time, and blamed him when he was in his grave. The truth is, that he continued to commend him after his deceaſe, only he found fault with him for humouring too much thoſe that ſat in the pit; which is a reaſonable cenſure in ſome reſpects, but unjuſt in the main [G]. Father Bouhours's verſes in Moliere's praiſe (*b*), are the beſt that ever he made, if we relie upon Menage's judgment (*i*). I do not know whether the Italians like

(*b*) You will find them in the 2d volume of Menage's obſervations upon the French language, *pag.* 15.

(*i*) Ibid. *pag.* 12.

he wrote. Mind theſe four verſes: he ſpeaks to his Muſe:

Vous pourriez aiſément l'étendre (26),
Et parler des tranſports qu'en vous font éclater
Les ſuprenans bienfaits, que ſans les meriter
Sa liberale main ſur vous daigne repandre.

(26) C'eſt-à-dire, votre compliment.

The author's meaning is, that his Muſe received great favours, though ſhe did not deſerve them; but according to the grammatical ſenſe, thoſe verſes ſignify, that though the king did not deſerve thoſe favours, yet he beſtowed them upon Moliere's Muſe. And therefore this is a barbarous expreſſion. Here is another inſtance:

Les Muſes ſont de grandes prometeuſes,
Et comme vos ſœurs les cauſeuſes
Vous ne manqueriez pas ſans doute per le bec.

The author means, that his Muſe would be like her ſiſters, who are full of talk; but according to the literal ſenſe the plain and only meaning of thoſe words is, that ſhe would prove a very prattling Muſe, tho' her ſiſters are of a quite contrary humour. Obſerve, that by a *barbariſm*, I do not mean an expreſſion, or a word, taken from another language, and unknown to the French, but a diſpoſition of words againſt the rules, which is looked upon as barbarous by our beſt grammarians.

There is in the ſame poem *Marquis repouſſable*; which is a barbariſm. There is alſo *prevenant amas*; another barbariſm: for the word *prevenant* is only uſed in the figurative ſenſe, and does not denote a man, who goes before others.

[F] *Some pretend . . . . . that he made a good uſe of the comedies acted by the Italians at Paris.*] I ſhall not ſcruple to quote an anonymous book for this: it is printed, and therefore ſufficient to juſtify what I advance; for I am only to prove that ſome will have it, that the Italian comedies acted at Paris were Moliere's original. Read the following paſſage: Arlequin is brought in ſpeaking thus: 'If the Italian 'players had never appeared in France, perhaps Mo- 'liere had never been what he was. I know he was 'perfectly acquainted with the old comic Poets; but 'after all, he had his firſt notions from our ſtage. 'You know that his *Cocu Imaginaire* is *il Ritratto* of 'the Italians: Scaramouche interrupted in his love, 'produced his *Facheux:* his *Contre-temps* are only Ar- 'lequin, *Valet étourdi*, and ſo with moſt of his pieces: 'and in theſe latter times, is not his *Tartuffe* our *Ber-* 'nagaſſe. It is true, he excelled in his characters, 'and his comedies are ſo full of ſenſe, that they ſhould 'be read to young people as ſo many inſtructions, to 'give them a true notion of the world. And yet 'thoſe excellent Italian originals produce nothing 'now (27).'

(27) *Livre ſans nom*, divided into five dialogues, printed at Paris and in Holland in the year 1695, pag. 6, of the Dutch edition.

[G] *Mr Boileau . . . . found fault with him for humouring too much thoſe that ſat in the pit; which is a reaſonable cenſure in ſome reſpects, but unjuſt in the main.*] Moliere was dead when Mr Boileau praiſed him in one of his Epiſtles (28), as much, or more, than in the ſatire he had inſcribed to him (29). It is therefore a great piece of injuſtice to ſay, that he praiſed him out of policy, and for fear of being bantered by him upon the ſtage, if he ſhould ſay nothing to his advantage, or if he ſhould venture to criticize him. But, will ſome ſay, he criticized him when he had nothing to fear, and therefore the ſuſpicion entertained of him ſeems to be well grounded. I am not of that opinion; I believe that if he had made his *Art Poëtique* in Moliere's life-time, he would have inſerted in it the cenſure contained in the following verſes. It was, in a manner, eſſential to his ſubject; there is in it a very judicious obſervation, which ſhould be an inviolable rule, if comedies were only made to be printed; but becauſe they are chiefly deſigned to appear on the ſtage in the preſence of all ſorts of people, it is not juſt to require they ſhould be adapted to Mr Boileau's taſte. Theſe are his words.

(28) The VIIth.

(29) The IId.

Etudiez la Cour, & connoiſſez la ville,
L'une & l'autre eſt toûjours en modeles fertile.
C'eſt par là que Moliere illuſtrant ſes écrits
Peut-être de ſon Art eût remporté le prix;
Si moins ami du peuple en ſes doctes peintures,
Il n'eût point fait ſouvent grimacer ſes figures,
Quitté pour le bouffon, l'agreable & le fin.
Et ſans honte à Terence allié Tabarin.
Dans ce ſac ridicule où Scapin * s'envelope,
Je ne reconnois plus l'Auteur du Miſanthrope (30).

* One of Moliere's plays.

(30) Deſpreaux, Art Poëtique, Cant. III, ver. 391, & ſeq.

Study the court, and know the city well:
So ſhall your various characters excel.
It was by this that Moliere in his plays
Perhaps, as victor, might have claim'd the bays;
If he, to pleaſe the rabble of the town,
Had not ſometimes affected the buffoon;
Preferr'd low farce and drollery to wit,
And more like Tabarin than Terence writ.
In that ſame bag which Scapin doth encloſe,
The author of the Miſanthrope I loſe.

He blames Moliere for endeavouring to pleaſe, not only men of a nice judgment, but alſo the common people. Moliere had ſome reaſons for it, and might have ſaid what Arlequin anſwered in a like caſe. 'Thoſe jeſts, ſaid I to him, (to Arlequin) are plea- 'ſant enough in your plays; it is pity they are not 'equally good. I own it, replied he, but they pleaſe 'ſeveral young people, who come to our play-houſe 'only to laugh, and who laugh at any thing, and 'very often without knowing why. Our plays are 'frequently acted before ſuch people, and if our jeſts 'were not ſuited to their capacity, our houſe would 'be very often empty. I am ſorry, ſaid I to him, 'that you have almoſt left your old pieces off; they 'were well approved by men of ſenſe, they contain- 'ed many things of good uſe in morality, and I dare 'ſay, that your ſtage was a place where vice was ſo 'effectually ridiculed, that every body found himſelf 'inclined to love virtue meerly out of reaſon. Should 'we act none but our old pieces, replied he, our 'play-houſe would be little reſorted to, and I will 'tell you what Cinthio formerly told St Evremond, 'that good actors would be ſtarved notwithſtanding 'their excellent plays (31).' It ought to be obſerved, that players are at great charges, and that plays are no leſs deſigned for the diverſion of the people, than for the diverſion of the ſenate (32); and therefore they muſt be adapted to the taſte of the public, in order to bring a numerous audience; for without that although they were a perfect compound of ingenious, nice, and exquiſite, thoughts, the actors would be ruined by them, and they would be of no uſe to the people.

(31) Livre ſans nom, pag. 4, &c.

(32) *Mind their words of Terence in his prologue to his Andria.* Poeta quum primum animum ad ſcribendum appulit, Id ſibi negoti credidit ſolum dari Populo ut placerent quas fecerit fabulas.

A GENERAL obſervation againſt thoſe who cenſure this Dictionary.

This is what may be ſaid, not only againſt thoſe who cenſure Moliere, but alſo againſt thoſe who find fault with many other books, becauſe they do not conſider the ſeveral uſes they are deſigned for, and becauſe there are many things in them which they could wiſh the author had left out. What do I care for that, ſays one? What is it to me, ſays another, that ſuch a one had a bad wife? To what purpoſe ſo many quotations, ſo many merry thoughts, ſo many Philoſophical reflexions, &c? Such are the complaints of thoſe

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like Moliere's plays, tranſlated into their language, by one of their countrymen ſettled in Germany (*k*). It is more difficult in a work of this nature than in others, to preſerve all the beauties of an original in a tranſlation. For the reſt, what I have ſaid of Moliere's inclination for the ſtage, is to be found with new circumſtances in a book of Mr Perrault [*H*]. The readers will not be diſpleaſed to know what became of the company of Comedians headed by Moliere, when that excellent actor came to die [*I*]: it may ſerve to make his merit known.

(*k*) His name is *Nicolas di Caſtelli*, and he ſtiles himſelf *Secretary to the Elector of Brandenburg*: he publiſhed that verſion at his own charges in the year 1698, at Leipſic, in four volumes in 12mo.

thoſe who cenſure this Dictionary: but they will give me leave to tell them, that they want the moſt neceſſary notion to paſs a right judgment upon this work. They do not conſider that it ought to be of ſome uſe to all ſorts of readers, and that if it had been intirely framed according to the taſte of the greateſt puriſts (33); it would go out of it's natural ſphere. I would have them to conſider, that if I had kept to their notions of perfection, my book would indeed have been acceptable to them, but then many others had been diſpleaſed with it, and it had remained in the duſt of the Bookſeller's warehouſes. What a poor thing would two or three large folio's be for him, if there was nothing in them but what may pleaſe thoſe who pretend to gravity, and to an exquiſite taſte, and who would have the moſt copious ſubjects explained in the ſhorteſt way? They may, if they pleaſe, make ſuch a reflexion as Socrates made at the ſight of a fair (34); but the fair will nevertheleſs be as it ought to be.

(33) Give me leave to call by that name thoſe very ſtrict obſervers of the laws of perfection, who ſet up as a ſtandard in all things the taſte of the few, or the choice wits.

(34) Quam multis rebus ego non egeo? *How many things here are*, ſaid he, *which I do not want?* Vide Eraſmum, in Apoph. *pag. m.* 168.

[*H*] *His inclination for the ſtage is to be found with new circumſtances in a book of Mr Perrault.*] Moliere is one of the illuſtrious men, whoſe pictures Mr Begon (35) cauſed to be engraved, and has alſo procured to the public their hiſtorical encomiums. Mr Perrault, who wrote thoſe encomiums, ſays, *that Moliere was born with ſuch an inclination for the ſtage, that it was impoſſible to prevent his turning comedian. He had ſcarce made an end of his ſtudies, wherein he did very well ſucceed, but he joined with ſeveral young men of his age and inclination, and reſolved to form a company of comedians, to act in the provinces of the kingdom. His father . . . made uſe of all his friends to diſſuade him from it*, and not being able to prevail upon him by their remonſtrances, and the promiſes they made him in his name, *he ſent to him the maſter in whoſe houſe he boarded during the firſt years of his ſtudies . . but the maſter was ſo far from perſuading him to leave the profeſſion of a comedian, that young Moliere prevailed upon him to embrace the ſame profeſſion . . . Having formed his company, he went and acted at Roüen, and from thence he removed to Lyons, where having pleaſed the prince of Conti, &c* (36). The remaining part of the elogy is very curious.

(35) Intendant of Juſtice and Marine.

(36) Perrault, of Illuſtrious Men, *pag.* 79.

[*I*] *The readers will not be diſpleaſed to know what became of the company of players headed by Moliere, when that excellent actor came to die.*] What I find upon this ſubject in a book of Mr Chappuzeau is as follows. Before that company was ſettled in the royal palace, they diſcovered their merit at Paris in the Foſſez de Neſle, and in St Paul's ward, at Lyons, and in Languedoc. They were juſtly accounted the beſt country-players. The two Brothers Bejar, and du Parc, were ſome of the chief actors. Du Croiſy, who headed a company of country-players, and la Grange, a very good player, joined with them. They acted for ſome time in the hall of the *petit Bourbon*, by an agreement with the Italian players, who had been already ſettled there. After the theatre of the Royal Palace was opened to them, where they acted till the beginning of Lent 1673. Moliere happening to die at that time, four players of his company joined with that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, and becauſe thoſe that remained were not in a capacity to go on, the king was pleaſed to make but one body of the company of the Marais (37), and of that of the Royal Palace. Mr Colbert was ordered to pitch upon the beſt actors of thoſe two companies, and to form out of them a fine company, that ſhould be called the king's company. It was ſettled in the Hôtel du Roy, in the ſtreet called Rue Mazarine (38), and they began to appear in public upon a Sunday, the ninth of July 1673. The players were forbidden to act upon the theatre of the Royal Palace, and upon that of the Marais. Note, that Moliere, who was the firſt orator of the company of the Royal Palace, reſigned that place to la Grange ſix years before he died (39).

(37) It was ſettled in 1620, and called the king's company.

(38) Otherwiſe called the Foſſez de Neſle.

(39) Taken from a book, intituled, *Le Theatre François*. Mr Chappuzeau is the author of it.

PORCIA, the daughter of Cato Uticenſis, had ſuch a noble ſoul, that ſhe was not corrupted by the ill examples of her mother and of her aunts [*A*], but only imitated the virtues of her father. She applied herſelf very much to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and gave convincing proofs of her great courage; for conjecturing that Brutus, her huſband, was preparing for a great enterprize, ſhe wounded herſelf with a knife, to ſhew by

(1) She did alſo proſtitute her daughter to him. See, above, citation (1), of the article CASSIUS LONGINUS (CAIUS).

(2) Οὕτω μὲν ἦν ὁ πρὸς καίσαρα Σερβιλίας ἔρως περιβόητος. Uſque adeo Serviliæ fuit in Cæſarem pervagatus amor. *Plut. in Bruto, pag.* 986.

(3) Idem, in Catone minore, *pag.* 785.

(4) A ſon and our Porcia.

[*A*] *She was not corrupted by the ill examples of her mother, and of her aunts.*] Cato Uticenſis was unfortunate with relation to the fair ſex; his ſtar proved in that reſpect very unlucky and malignant. He had two uterine ſiſters, called Servilia: one of them was Brutus's mother, and ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by Julius Cæſar (1), and it was the talk of the whole town (2). The other was married to Lucullus, and proved ſo leud, that her huſband put her away. She retired to her brother's, who was ſo kind as to take her into his houſe, and carry her along with him in his travels. It was no glorious thing for him to have ſuch an infamous woman in his houſe, nor eaſy to take care that ſhe ſhould not go on in her ill courſe. *She was not by a great deal ſo ill ſpoken of as ſhe had been before, when it appeared, that ſhe willingly ſubmitted to Cato's cuſtody, and ſtrict way of living, following him in his flight: nevertheleſs, Cæſar did further reproach him with this ſiſter of his* (3). Attilia, Cato's wife, was ſo leud, that her huſband was obliged to part with her, having had two children by her (4). He married a ſecond wife, whom he afterwards yielded to Hortenſius by way of loan; and he married her again when ſhe was a widow, and Hortenſius's heireſs (5): which afforded Cæſar a fair opportunity of cenſuring Cato's life (6). Beſides, Cato being of age to marry, courted a maid who had been contracted to Metellus Scipio. Her name was Lepida. The contract was broke, ſo that being at liberty to marry, ſhe anſwered Cato's deſires, and was betrothed to him. But at laſt, Metellus Scipio being ſorry that he had broke his engagement, left nothing unattempted to recover Lepida, and ſucceeded in his deſign (7). 'At which Cato was very much incenſed, and reſolved to go to law about it; but his friends perſuaded him to the contrary. However, he was ſo moved by his heat of youth and paſſion, that he writ Iambics againſt Scipio, which had all the wit and ſatire of Archilochus, without his impudence and ſcurrility. After this he married Attilia, the daughter of Soranus, which was the firſt, but not the only woman he ever knew; in this much leſs happy than Lælius, the friend of Scipio, who, in the whole courſe of ſo long a life, never knew but one woman (8).' The laſt part of this paſſage is needleſs, with reſpect to the text of this remark; but it contains

(5) See, above, the remark [*O*], of the article of the firſt HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS).

(6) *Taken from* Plut. in Catone minore, *pag.* 770, 784.

(7) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 762.

(8) Ibid.

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by her patiently bearing the pain, that she could hold her tongue, and consequently that she deserved to be intrusted with her husband's secret [B]. He imparted it to her, whereby she came to know that there was a design to kill Cæsar. But if she raised herself then much above her sex, she appeared like other women on the day of the execution; for she was transported with such a violent uneasiness, that she fell into several swoons, and was thought to be dead [C]. We do not know what she did, nor what she said when she heard of the success of that enterprize, and during the war in which her husband found himself engaged against Cæsar's friends; but we know that having accompained him to the sea-side, and expressed a great constancy, she could not forbear shedding tears at the sight of a certain picture [D], and that she put an end to her life with great courage, when she heared that Brutus had killed himself [E]. Note, that when

tains a matter of fact so curious, that I thought the reader would be glad to know it. Is there any man at this day, of Lælius's quality, and intimately acquainted with the general of an army, who, like him, during the course of a long life, never knew any woman but his wife? Nay, is there any young man of Cato's quality, who keeps himself chaste till he gets into the nuptial bed? These particulars are therefore very extraordinary, and deserved that I should lengthen the quotation.

[B] *She wounded herself with a knife, to shew .... she could hold her tongue, and ..... deserved to be entrusted with her husband's secret.*] If the reader will have a full view of her noble behaviour on this occasion, he must read the whole following passage of Plutarch: 'Porcia being addicted to Philosophy, a great 'lover of her husband, and full of courage and pru-'dence, resolved not into enquire to Brutus's secrets be-'fore she had made this trial of herself: she turned all 'her attendants out of her chamber, and taking a little 'knife, such as they use to cut nails with, she gave 'herself a deep gash in the thigh, upon which follow-'ed a great flux of blood, and soon after violent pains, 'and a dangerous fever, occasioned by the anguish of 'the wound. Now, when Brutus was mightily af-'flicted for her, she, in the heighth of all her pain, 'spoke thus to him: Brutus, I being the daughter of 'Cato, was given to you in marriage, not like a con-'cubine, to partake only in the common civilities of 'bed and board, but to bear a part in all your good, 'and all your evil fortune: and for my part, when I 'I look upon you, I find no reason to repent the 'match; but from me, what evidence of my love, 'what satisfaction can you receive, if I may not 'share with you in bearing your most hidden griefs, 'nor be admitted to any of your counsels that require 'secrecy and trust? I know very well that women 'seem to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with 'secrets; but certainly, Brutus, a virtuous birth and 'education, and a conversation with the good and ho-'nourable, are of some force to the forming our man-'ners, and strengthening our natural weakness. 'And I can boast that I am the daughter of Cato, 'and the wife of Brutus; in which two great titles, 'tho' before I put too little confidence, yet now I 'have tried myself, and find, that even against grief 'and pain itself I am invincible. Which words hav-'ing spoke, she shewed him her wound, and related 'to him the whole trial that she had made of her own 'constancy: at which he being astonished, lifted up 'his hands to Heaven, and begged the assistance of 'the gods in his enterprize, that he might live to be 'a husband worthy of such a wife as Porcia. So hav-'ing comforted his wife, he left her (9).' Valerius Maximus (10) is shorter in his account, and supposes other circumstances, for he affirms, that she knew her husband's design before she wounded herself. He adds, that she wounded herself the very same day that Cæsar was assassinated, and she did it to try whether she could be so courageous as to put an end to her life, if Brutus's attempt should be attended with an ill success. Observe how Historians vary about the most memorable adventures.

(9) Plut. in Bruto, *pag.* 989.

(10) Valerius Maximus, *lib. iii, cap. ii, num. 15, pag. m.* 254.

[C] *She was transported with such a violent uneasiness, that she fell into several swoons, and was thought to be dead.*] The only design of Plutarch, in the particular account he gives of that accident, is to shew Brutus's intrepidity. These are his words: 'In the mean 'while there came one in all haste from Brutus's 'house, and brought him news that his wife was 'a-dying: for Porcia being extreamly disturbed with 'expectation of the event, and not being able to bear 'the greatness of her cares, could scarce keep herself 'within doors, and at every little noise or voice she 'heard, leaping forth, and starting suddenly, like 'one of the mad Priestesses of Bacchus, asked every one 'that came from the Forum, what Brutus was doing? 'and continually sent one messenger after another to 'enquire. At last, after long expectation, the strength 'of her body could hold out no longer, but overcome 'with her doubts and fears, she fainted away. She 'had not time to betake herself to her chamber, for 'as she was sitting amongst her women, a sudden 'want of spirits, and a great stupidness seized her, 'and her colour changed, and her speech was quite 'lost. At this sight her women made a great and 'lamentable outcry, and many of the neighbours run-'ning to Brutus's house, to know what was the mat-'ter, the report was soon spread abroad that Porcia 'was dead; tho' she recovered in a little while, and 'came to herself again. When Brutus received this 'news, he was extreamly troubled, not without rea-'son, yet was not so carried away by his private 'grief, as to neglect the public concern.' (11) Cæsar was killed soon after.

(11) Plut. ubi supra, pag. 990.

[D] *Having accompanied her husband to the sea-side .... she could not forbear shedding tears at the sight of a certain picture.*] Plutarch's narrative contains some things that are to Porcia's honour, and therefore it will not be improperly inserted in this place. 'Bru-'tus began to despair of any good event of such pro-'ceedings; and resolving to leave Italy, passed by land 'through Lucania, and came to Elea by the sea-side. 'From hence it was thought convenient, that Porcia 'should return to Rome: she was overcome with grief 'to part with Brutus, but strove as much as possible 'to conceal it; but in spight of all her constancy 'and resolution, a picture which she found there 'accidentally betrayed it. The story of it was, the 'parting of Hector from Andromache, when he went 'to engage the Greeks, giving his young son Astyanax 'into her arms, and she fixing her eyes upon him, 'with an earnest and affectionate look. As soon as 'she spied this piece, the resemblance it bore to her 'own concern made her burst out into tears, and seve-'ral times a day she walked where that picture 'hung, to gaze at it, and weep before it. Upon this 'occasion, when Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, re-'peated out of Homer these verses, wherein Adro-'mache speaks to Hector.

Be careful Hector, for with thee my all,
My father, mother, brother, husband fall.

Brutus smiling, replied, but I must not answer Porcia, as Hector did Andromache,

Mind you your wheel, and to your maids give law.

'For tho' the natural weakness of her body hinders 'her from acting what the strength of men can per-'form, yet she has a mind as valiant and as active 'for the good of her country, as the best of us. This 'relation is in the Memoirs of Brutus, written by 'Bibulus, Porcia's son (12).' That Bibulus, who pro-ceeded from Porcia's first marriage, wrote *a small book concerining the exploits of Brutus* (13). There was at least another child by that marriage (14).

(12) Ibid. pag. 994.

(13) Ibid. pag. 959.

[E] *She put an end to her life with great courage, when she heard that Brutus had killed himself.*] Those who do not understand Latin, will find hereafter in a passage of Plutarch, the sense of this apostrophe of Valerius Maximus: *Tuos quoque castissimos ignes Porcia,*

(14) Idem, in Vita Catonis minoris, *pag.* 771, *A.*

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when she married him, she was the widow of Bibulus, by whom she had children (*a*): If President du Vair had known it, he would not have ascribed to her an answer [*F*], which probably belongs to another PORCIA, sister to Cato Uticensis, and wife of one Domitius Ænobarbus (*b*), and was doubtless endowed with noble qualities, since Cicero (*c*), Lollius, and Varro, wrote an encomium upon her. She died before Cæsar was killed.

(*a*) See the end of the remark [*D*].

(*b*) Plut. in Catone Utic. *pag.* 778, *F.*

(*c*) *See* Cicero, Ep. ad Atticum, xxxvii, & xlviii, *lib. xiii.*

Porcia, M. Catonis filia, cuncta sæcula debita admirationi prosequuntur: Quæ cum apud Philippos victum & interemptum virum tuum Brutum cognosceres, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore carbones haurire non dubitasti, muliebri spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille usitato, tu novo genere mortis absumpta es (15). Plutarch relates the same thing, and quotes Valerius Maximus, and another author; but he further says, that there was a letter in Brutus's name, whereby it appeared, that Porcia resolved to die, because she was not assisted in her sickness. 'As for Porcia .... Nicolaus the Philosopher, and 'Valerius Maximus write, that being desirous to die, 'but being hindered by her friends, who continually 'watched her from killing herself, she snatched some 'burning coals out of the fire, and shutting them 'close in her mouth, stifled herself, and died. Tho' 'there is yet extant a Letter of Brutus to his friends, 'in which he laments the death of Porcia, and accuses them for neglecting her so, that she desired to 'to die, rather than languish with her disease. So that 'it seems Nicolaus was mistaken in the time. For 'this Epistle (if it is indeed authentic, and truly Brutus's) gives us to understand the disease, and the love 'of this lady, and the manner of her death (16).'

(15) Valer. Maximus, *lib. iv, cap. vi, pag. m.* 394, 395.

(16) Plut. in Bruto, in fine, *pag.* 1009.

[*F*] *President du Vair .... would not have ascribed to her the answer he does.*] One of the decrees pronounced by that president concerns a suit in Law in the parliament of Provence, between a woman, who had married again nine months after her being a widow, and the relations of her first husband. She was deprived, by virtue of that decree, *of the things left her by her husband's last will, and of her nuptial advantages, for having married again before the year of her mourning was out* (17). Mr du Vair alledges a great many sentences out of the Pagan authors, and the ancient Fathers against second marriages (18), and says, that our Porcia declared, that a virtuous woman never marries but once. *Dido being intreated to marry again, wishes that she may rather die..... Nevertheless, being afterwards persuaded to it, and deploring her misfortune, she says,*

(17) Oeuvres du Sieur du Vair, *pag.* 859, *Edit. of Geneva* 1017, *in* 8vo.

(18) Compare what has been said in the remark [*E*], of the article GONZAGA (LUCRETIA OF).

Extinctus pudor, &, quâ solâ fidera adibam,

For you alone I suffer in my fame,
Bereft of honour, and expos'd to shame.

DRYDEN.

as believing, with great reason, that those who married twice, were neither honest nor happy. And therefore, as we read in Tertullian, Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat nisi univira, --- *No woman is compleatly fortunate, unless she has been true to one husband; which agrees with the saying of the celebrated Porcia, Brutus's wife,* Fœlix & pudica matrona non nubit nisi semel (19), ---- *A virtuous and happy woman never marries but once.* That Porcia could not have said this, without condemning herself, since Brutus was her second husband. I am apt to think, that Mr du Vair was led into this error for want of a due attention in reading St Jerome's words. They are not exact, and besides they contain a falsity, and therefore they may very well occasion a mistake: but after all, the answer in question is not ascribed to Porcia, Brutus's wife, in the words of that Father. St Jerome having mentioned Marcia, Cato's younger daughter (20), who would never marry again, adds, that Brutus married Porcia, who was a maid (21), and that Cato married Marcia, who was not a maid (22), and that accordingly Marcia did not scruple to leave Cato, in order to marry Hortensius, whereas Porcia would not live without Brutus. Afterwards St Jerome mentions Porcia the younger, who made the answer we have seen in Mr du Vair's passage. 'Martia Catonis filia minor cum quæreretur 'ab ea, cur post amissum maritum denuo non nube- 'ret, respondit, non se invenire virum, qui se magis 'vellet, quàm sua. Quo dicto ostendit divitias magis 'in uxoribus elegi solere, quam pudicitiam, & multos 'non oculis, sed digitis uxores ducere. Optima sanè 'res, quàm avaritia conciliat. Eadem cum lugeret 'virum, & matronæ ab ea quærerent, quem diem habe- 'ret luctus ultimum: ait, quem & vitæ. Arbitror, 'quæ ita virum quærebat absentem, de secundo matri- 'monio non cogitabat. Brutus Porciam virginem 'duxit uxorem, Martiam Cato non virginem: sed 'Martia inter Hortensium Catonemque discurrit, & 'sine Catone vivere Martia potuit, Portia sine Bruto 'non potuit. Magis enim se unicis viris applicant 'fœminæ, & nihil aliud nosse, magnum arctioris in- 'dulgentiæ vinculum est, ... Portia minor, cum 'laudaretur apud eam quædam bene morata, que se- 'cundum habebat maritum, respondit: Felix & pu- 'dica matrona, nunquam præterquam semel nubit (23). '---- *Martia, Cato's younger daughter, being asked 'why she did not marry again after her husband's 'death, answered, that she found no man who preferred her person to her fortune: by which she insinuated, 'that riches in a wife are generally valued above chastity, and that many are determined in their choice not 'so much by their eyes as by their fingers. A noble effect 'of avarice! The same lady being asked, while she bewailed the loss of her husband, what bounds she prescribed to her mourning; answered, the same as to 'her life. I fancy that a woman who mourned in this 'fashion for her deceased husband, had no thoughts of a 'second marriage. Brutus married Porcia, who was a 'maid .... Porcia the younger, when some body at her house 'cried up the virtue of a certain lady that had a second 'husband, answered: a virtuous and happy woman never 'marries but once.*' One cannot well apprehend what he means by Porcia the younger, *Porcia minor*, for the ancient history does not mention two daughters of Cato Uticensis; and if it mentions two Porcia's, it is to inform us, that one of them was Cato's sister, and the other his daughter. At this rate the latter should have been Porcia the younger, *Porcia minor*; but she could not have declared against second marriages so severely as St Jerome relates it. Some will have it that he means the other Porcia, Cato's sister. *Meminit Hieronymus* (Porciæ Domitio nuptæ) *adversus Joviniannum, qui tale ejus dictum celebrat* (24): Cum apud eam, *&c.* But why should he call her *Porcia minor?* It is more likely that he meant one Porcia, younger sister of Brutus's wife, and, perhaps, confounding his notions, he calls *Porcia minor* the same woman, whom he calls Marcia a little before. We must remember, that Marcia, wife of Cato Uticensis, was with child when her husband parted with her in favour of Hortensius (25). Perhaps she was delivered of a daughter, who is indifferently called *Porcia minor*, or Marcia (26), tho' it was not usual for daughters to go by their mothers name. Perhaps St Jerome, for want of attention, changed the two names of one woman into two persons. What is certain is, that the answer he ascribes to Marcia is of the same nature with that which he ascribes to Porcia the younger. It was of some use to him to distinguish them; for he was very willing to increase the number of such examples. He alledges those of Annia, and Marcella, and of Valeria. The first answered, that she would not marry again; for, said she, if I should get a good husband, I should be afraid of losing him (27), and if I should get a bad one, I should find it a very hard case, having been so kindly used by my first spouse. Marcella answered, I am so well satisfied with having been married once, that I do not want to be married again. Valeria was contented to answer, that her first husband was still alive as to her (28). *Anniam cum propinquus moneret, ut alteri viro nuberet; esse enim ei & ætatem integram, & faciem bonam: nequaquam, inquit, hoc faciam. Si enim virum bonum invenero, nolo timere, ne perdam: si malum, quid necesse est post bonum pessimum sustinere? .... Marcella major rogata à matre sua gauderet-ne se nupsisse, respondit; ita valde, ut amplius nolim. Valeria Messalarum soror, amisso Servio viro, nulli volebat nubere.*

(19) Oeuvres du Sieur du Vair, *pag.* 820.

(20) Such a daughter of Cato is not mentioned by the Pagan authors.

(21) This is false: she was Bibulus's widow.

(22) Plutarch says no such thing.

(23) Hieronym. *lib. i*, adverf. Jovinianum, *pag. m.* 36.

(24) Glandorp. Onomaft. *pag.* 716.

(25) Plut. in Catone minore, *pag.* 771.

(26) The author of the Scholia upon St Jerome, *ad locum supra relatum*, is of opinion, that this Marcia was so called because of her mother.

(27) See, above, the remark [*A*], of the article GONZAGA (JULIA OF).

(28) Hieronym. ubi supra.

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nubere. *Quæ interrogata cur hoc faceret, ait ſibi ſemper maritum Servium vivere* (29).

It is to be obſerved, that if theſe maxims afforded a copious ſubject to the advocates, who pleaded againſt the widow concerned in Mr du Vair's decree, ſhe afforded them more matter ſtill by her haſtily marrying again, in the ninth month of her widowhood, and without waiting for the end of Lent. *She not only tranſgreſſes*, ſaid the advocates (30), *her private mourning, and deſpiſes the memory of her late huſband and benefactor, but ſhe does alſo defile the time appointed for a public penitence, ſhe breaks the laws of the church, and ſcandalizes every body. But why ſo haſtily? If you could not ſtay till the end of a year already ſo far advanced, why did not you ſtay at leaſt till the end of Lent, which was already half gone. Perhaps, the heat of youth tranſported you, and as Tertullian ſays*, deſpumare iſtis nuptiis ſanguinis fervorem oportuit: - - - *that marriage was neceſſary to bring down the violent heat of the blood. Such an excuſe could hardly be admitted from a young maid, in the flower of her age. Tho'*, as St Jerome ſays, libido majorem in virginibus patiatur famem, dum dulcius putat omne quod neſcit: - - - *the luſt of a virgin is more fierce and ravenous, while ſhe fancies there is a remarkable ſweetneſs in every thing ſhe has not tried. And will an old woman alledge it, after ſhe has been twenty-five years married to man, who was ſeventy years old when he died? How came you then to contain yourſelf during your huſband's life, when the title of wife, and the cover of marriage, gave you more liberty, and the ſight of an old man raiſed in you a greater luſt?* Many civil laws were thundred out againſt her; but ſhe alledged againſt them the Canon-Law, and the indulgence of the Pope's decrees (31). It is a ſcandalous thing, that ſome injunctions of the Civil Law ſhould have been enervated by the Canon-Law, to countenance the abuſes of marriage (32).

(29) *Accordingly an antient author ſays, that* viduæ luctus pro marito erat- - - - *a widow's mourning was to her inſtead of a huſband.* Which Lucan did ſince transfer to the praiſe of Pompey's wife, ſaying, Perfruitur lachrymis & habet pro conjuge luctum. *Now all her comfort in her tears doth lie, And mourning doth her huſband's place ſupply.* Du Vair, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 820.

(30) Ibid. *pag.* 818.

(31) Ibid. *pag.* 826, 834.

(32) See, above, citation (42), of the article PIENNE.

PORCIUS (MARCUS) one of the greateſt men among the ancients, commonly known by the title of CATO THE CENSOR, was born at Tuſculum (*a*), in the year of Rome 519 [*A*]. He began to bear arms at ſeventeen years of age, and ſhewed not only much courage, but alſo a great contempt of pleaſures, and even of the conveniencies of life [*B*]. He was a man of an extraordinary ſobriety, and no bodily exerciſe ſeemed to him unworthy of him; for at his return from his campaigns, he betook himſelf to plow his ground, but did not neglect to cultivate his mind, eſpecially in order to ſpeak well, a talent neceſſary to him, ſince he pleaded many cauſes in the neighbouring towns; which he did ſo generouſly, that he would never receive any reward for it. The diſcourſes of a Pythagorean Philoſopher (*b*), which he heard at Tarentum, when that town was re-taken by Fabius Maximus, in whoſe army he ſerved, did very much ſtrengthen his inclination for temperance. Valerius Flaccus, who had a country-ſeat near that of Cato, was deſirous to ſee that young man of whom he was told ſo many remarkable things; and finding that it was a good plant which wanted only to be cultivated and tranſplanted into better ground, he perſuaded him to come to Rome. Cato made himſelf ſoon eſteemed in that city, and having ſuch an officious patron as Valerius Flaccus, quickly raiſed himſelf. He was firſt of all elected Military Tribune, afterwards they made him Queſtor, and then by degrees he came to be Conſul (*c*) and Cenſor (*d*). No man was ever better qualified than he for the office of Cenſor, nor did better diſcharge the duties of it. He made uſe of his ſeverity, eloquence, and exemplary life, to put a ſtop to the luxury and other vices of the Romans (*e*): which was the reaſon

(*a*) Cornel. Nepos, in Fragmento Vitæ Catonis. Plut. in Catone Majore, *init. pag.* 336.

(*b*) His name was *Nearchus*.

(*c*) In the year of Rome 558.

(*d*) In the year of Rome 569.

(*e*) *Taken from* Plut. in Vita Catonis Majoris.

[*A*] *He was born . . . . in the year of Rome* 519.] Here is the proof of it, 'Anno poſt conſul primum 'fuerat (*Q. Maximus*) quam ego natus ſum (1). - - - - 'The year after I was born, Fabius Maximus was 'choſen conſul for the firſt time.' They are Cato's words in a book of Cicero. But the *Faſti Conſulares* place the firſt conſulſhip of Fabius Maximus in the year of Rome 520. All the dates ſpecified in the ſame book ſhew, that the Latin words I have quoted ought to be read thus. See Grævius's edition, where you will find a note of Vincent Contarinus, and another of Charles Langius, which clear the matter, I infer from the poſition of that year, that Livy and Plutarch are miſtaken, when they ſay, that Cato pleaded his cauſe at eighty-ſix years of age, and accuſed Sergius Galba four years after (2). He died at eighty-five years of age, for it was in the year of Rome 604, under the conſulſhip of Lucius Marcius, and Manius Manilius, which was eighty-ſix years before Cicero's conſulſhip, as Cicero obſerves (3). Corradus is a little miſtaken upon this paſſage. He ſays (4), that Cato was born ſeven years after the conſulſhip of Claudius Cento, and Sempronius Tuditanus, which falls in with the year of Rome 513; and that he was in his thirtieth year under the conſulſhip of Cornelius Cethegus, and Sempronius Tuditanus, that is in the year of Rome 549. This computation is wrong, any body may ſee that there are only twenty-nine years from the year of Rome 520, to the year 549. Corradus obſerves a little farther (5), that Cato was born in the year 521, and that being dead in the year 604, he lived at leaſt eighty-five years; which is a wrong calculation. Some pages after (6) he ſays, that Cato died in the year 605, at eighty-five years of age, being born in the year 521, which does not reſtify the computations. However, we may ſay that he lived to that age, for Cicero affirms it in expreſs words. 'Annos quinque & LXXX natus ex- 'ceſſit è vita cum quidem eo ipſo anno contra Ser. 'Galbam ad populum ſumma contentione dixiſſet, 'quam etiam orationem ſcriptam reliquit (7). - - - - - *He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age. That very year he had pronounced a vehement ſpeech againſt Servius Galba, which he likewiſe left in writing.*' Cato did not only write that pleading againſt Galba, but alſo inſerted it in his *Origines* (8). Pliny denotes the time of Cato's deceaſe too indeterminately: 'Cir- 'ca captas, *ſays he* (9), Carthaginem & Corinthum '. . . . ſupremum is diem obiit. - - - - *He died about the time that Carthage and Corinth were taken.*' Thoſe two towns were conquered in the year 608. I do not find that he ſays in his nineteenth book, as Glandorpius will have it (10), that Cato died at eighty-five years of age: I only find there, that he died a year after he had perſuaded the Romans to begin the third Punic war (11). The twenty-ninth book ſhould have been quoted, where theſe words are to be found, 'Hic Cato DCV. anno urbis noſtræ o- 'biit, LXXXV. ſuo (12). - - - - *This Cato died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and in the year of Rome* '605.' Paterculus agrees with this as to the year of Rome, for he ſays, that Cato died three years before the deſtruction of Carthage (13). I will not cenſure Moreri for placing Cato's deceaſe in the year of Rome 606, but I think it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the fault he has committed in ſaying, that it was *during the ſecond Punic war*, has not been mended hitherto (14).

(1) Cicero, de Senect. *cap.* iv, *pag. m.* 392.

(2) Titus Livius, *lib.* xxxix, *pag. m.* 762. Plut. in Catone Majore, *pag.* 344, 345.

(3) Cicero, in Bruto, *pag. m.* 109.

(4) Corradus, in Brutum Cicer. *pag.* 109.

(5) Ib. *p.* 110.

(6) Ib. *p.* 150.

(7) Cicero, ibid. *pag.* 149.

(8) Quam orationem in Originibus ſuis retulit paucis ante quam mortuus eſt an diebus an menſibus. *Ibid.* *pag.* 165.

(9) Plin. *lib.* xiv, *cap.* iv, *pag. m.* 124.

(10) Glandorp. in Onomaſt. *pag.* 714.

(11) Plin. *lib.* xix, *cap.* xviii, *pag.* 197.

(12) Idem, *lib.* xxix, *cap.* i, *pag.* 668.

(13) Paterc. *l. i, cap.* xv.

[*B*] *He ſhewed . . . . a great contempt of pleaſures, and even of the conveniencies of life.*] I ſhould be too prolix, ſhould I mention whatever is to be found in books upon this ſubject; and therefore I ſhall only ſet down a paſſage of Seneca, whereby it appears, that Cato was contented with one horſe for himſelf and baggage, and looked after him himſelf. 'M. Cato 'Cenſorius (quem tam reip. hercule profuit naſci quam Scipionem:

(14) I write this in March 1721.

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reaſon why it has been ſaid, that he was not leſs ſerviceable to the republic of Rome by making war againſt immorality, than Scipio by his victories over the enemies (*f*). It was well known that he would exerciſe the cenſorſhip with the utmoſt rigour; which was one of the reaſons why the Patricians oppoſed him when he ſtood for that office; but that ſame reaſon induced the people to prefer him to all his competitors. This circumſtance is admirably repreſented by the beſt Latin Hiſtorian, together with his elogy [*C*]. The inſcription of the ſtatue erected to him, was a glorious teſtimony of his

(*f*) See the paſſage of Seneca in the remark [*B*].

‘ Scipionem: alter enim cum hoſtibus noſtris bellum,
‘ alter cum moribus geſſit) canterio vehebatur, & hip-
‘ poperis quidem impoſitis, ut ſecum utilia portaret.
‘ . . . . . O quantum erat ſæculi decus, imperatorem
‘ triumphalem, cenſorium (& quod ſuper omnia hæc
‘ eſt) Catonem, uno caballo eſſe contentum, & ne toto
‘ quidem! Partem enim ſarcinæ, ab utroque latere
‘ dependentes, occupabant. Ita non omnibus obeſis
‘ mannis, & aſturconibus, & tollutariis præferres uni-
‘ cum illum equum, ab ipſo Catone defrictum (15)?
‘ - - - - *Cato the Cenſor (a man of as great conſequence*
‘ *to the republic as Scipio: for the one fought againſt our*
‘ *enemies, and the other againſt our vices) uſed to ride*
‘ *upon a gelding, which carried at the ſame time his*
‘ *cloak-bag and his neceſſaries . . . What an honour was*
‘ *it to that age to ſee a man who had triumphed as a*
‘ *general, and enjoyed the dignity of Cenſor, and (which*
‘ *is more than both theſe) to ſee Cato put up with one*
‘ *horſe, and even not require a whole one to himſelf!*
‘ *For his baggage hanging down on each ſide took up*
‘ *part of him. Who would not prefer that honeſt geld-*
‘ *ing, rubbed down by Cato himſelf, to all the ſleek*
‘ *nags, fine genets, and ſmooth ambling horſes, in the*
‘ *world.*’ He had ſlaves enough to do it for him, but he rather choſe to ſave them that trouble. It was his inclination: he plowed the ground, dreſſed like his ſlaves, and then ſat down at table with them, eating of the ſame bread, and drinking of the ſame wine (16). Seneca might have mentioned a thing more remarkable ſtill than what he relates. *When he entered upon the government of Sardinia, though his predeceſſors there uſed to require tents, bedding, and cloaths, upon the public account, and to charge them heavily by furniſhing proviſions and entertainments for a great train of ſervants and friends: he, on the contrary, by his frugality ſhewed an incredible difference, for in nothing wanted he the contribution of the public; nay, he would walk on foot to viſit the cities, and with one perſon only of the common town-officers, who carried his garment, and a cup to offer ſacrifice in* (17).

(15) Seneca, Epiſt. lxxxvii, *pag. m.* 353.

(16) Plut. in Marco Catone, *pag.* 337. *See alſo* Valerius Maximus, *lib. iv, cap. iii, num.* 12.

(17) Idem, Plutarch. *pag.* 339.

[*C*] *This circumſtance is admirably repreſented by the beſt Latin Hiſtorian, together with his elogy.*] This paſſage of Livy is ſo fine, that I can neither forbear to ſet it down at length, nor be ſo bold as to tranſlate it. ‘ In hoc viro (*M. Porcio*) tanta vis animi ingenii-
‘ que fuit, ut quocunque loco natus eſſet, fortunam
‘ ſibi ipſe facturus fuiſſe videretur: Nulla ars neque
‘ privatæ, neque publicæ rei gerendæ ei defuit. Ur-
‘ banas ruſticaſque res pariter callebat. Ad ſummos
‘ honores alios ſcientia juris, alios eloquentia, alios
‘ gloria militaris provexit. Huic verſatile ingenium
‘ ſic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum di-
‘ ceres, quodcunque ageret. In bello manu fortiſſi-
‘ mus, multiſque inſignibus clarus pugnis: idem po-
‘ ſteaquam ad magnos honores pervenit, ſummus im-
‘ perator: idem in pace, ſi jus conſuleres, peritiſſi-
‘ mus: ſi cauſa oranda eſſet, eloquentiſſimus: nec is
‘ tantùm, cujus lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumen-
‘ tum eloquentiæ nullum extet. Vivit imò, vigetque
‘ eloquentia ejus, ſacrata ſcriptis omnis generis. Ora-
‘ tiones & pro ſe multæ, & pro aliis, & in alios.
‘ Nam non ſolùm accuſando, ſed etiam cauſam dicen-
‘ do fatigavit inimicos; ſimultates nimio plures &
‘ exercuerunt eum, & ipſe exercuit eas. Nec facilè
‘ dixeris, utrum magis preſſerit eum nobilitas, an ille
‘ agitaverit nobilitatem. Aſperi proculdubio animi,
‘ & linguæ acerbæ, & immodicè liberæ fuit, ſed in-
‘ victi cupiditatibus animi, & rigidæ innocentiæ, con-
‘ temptor gratiæ, divitiarum: in parſimonia, in pati-
‘ entia laboris periculique ferrei propè corporis, animi-
‘ que, quem ne ſenectus quidem, quæ ſolvit omnia,
‘ fregerit: qui ſextum & octogeſimum annum agens
‘ cauſam dixerit, ipſe pro ſe oraverit, ſcripſeritque, no-
‘ nageſimo anno Sergium Galbam ad populi adduxerit
‘ judicium. Hunc, ſicut omni vita, ita tum (*cenſu-*
‘ *ram*) petentem premebat nobilitas: conſenſerantque,
‘ præter L. Flaccum, qui collega in conſulatu fuerat,
‘ candidati omnes, ad dejiciendum honore eum, non
‘ ſolùm ut ipſi potius adipiſcerentur, nec quia indigna-
‘ bantur novum hominem cenſorem videre, ſed etiam
‘ quòd triſtem cenſuram, periculoſamque multorum
‘ famæ, & ab læſo à pleriſque, & lædendi cupido ex-
‘ pectabant. Etenim tum quoque minitabundus pete-
‘ bat, refragari ſibi qui liberam & fortem cenſuram
‘ timerent, criminando. Et ſimul L. Valerio ſuffraga-
‘ batur: illo uno collega caſtigare ſe nova flagitia, &
‘ priſcos mores revocare poſſe. His accenſi homines,
‘ adverſa nobilitate non M. Porcium modò cenſorem
‘ fecerunt, ſed etiam collegam ei L. Valerium Flaccum
‘ adjecerunt (18). - - - *This man carried with him ſo*
‘ *vigorous a ſpirit and pregnant wit, that howſoever he*
‘ *were born and deſcended, it ſeemed he was able to*
‘ *make way of himſelf to advancement and honour. He*
‘ *wanted no art and ſkill meet and requiſite for the ma-*
‘ *naging either of private buſineſs of his own or public*
‘ *affairs of ſtate: cunning he was in country huſbandry,*
‘ *as well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the*
‘ *higheſt dignities and moſt honourable places by their deep*
‘ *knowledge in the law; others attain to promotion by*
‘ *eloquence: and there be again who have riſen and be-*
‘ *come great through martial proweſs and feats of arms.*
‘ *But this man was by nature ſo trainable and pliant to*
‘ *all alike, that whatſoever he addicted and gave him-*
‘ *ſelf unto, a man would have ſaid, he had been born*
‘ *and framed even from his mother's womb to it, and to*
‘ *nothing elſe. In war a moſt hardy and valiant ſoldier:*
‘ *and in many battles fought in fields highly renowned,*
‘ *Being mounted once to high places of honourable calling,*
‘ *a right excellent commander he proved and general of*
‘ *an army. In peace again for ſound counſel in the Ci-*
‘ *vil Law, paſſing well learned: for pleading at the bar*
‘ *and making orations, moſt eloquent. Neither carried*
‘ *he himſelf ſo, that his tongue flouriſhed only while he*
‘ *lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his ſin-*
‘ *gular eloquence; but it liveth, nay it flouriſheth ſtill,*
‘ *immortalized, as it were, and recommended to poſterity*
‘ *in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant*
‘ *many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his*
‘ *own cauſe as for the defence of his friends, yea and in-*
‘ *vectives alſo againſt others: for able he was to put*
‘ *down and weary his adverſaries, not only by declaiming*
‘ *and accuſing them, but alſo by pleading his own cauſe.*
‘ *Factious quarrels and enmities there were exceeding*
‘ *many, that tormented him; and he plagued others with*
‘ *as many: and hard it is to ſay or ſet down, whether*
‘ *he were urged and preſſed upon by the nobility, or him-*
‘ *ſelf courſed and baited them more. Doubtleſs by nature*
‘ *he was auſtere and rigorous, his ſpeech was ſharp, bit-*
‘ *ing, and beyond meaſure plain and free: but he carried*
‘ *a mind with him that ſtooped to no deſires and luſts*
‘ *whatſoever: his life, ſo ſevere and preciſe as it was,*
‘ *untouched and without all ſpot of blame: deſpiſing all*
‘ *fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In*
‘ *thrift and frugality, in ſobriety and patience, in ſuffe-*
‘ *rance of travail and danger, his body was ſteel to the*
‘ *very back. And as for his mind and courage, it was*
‘ *ſuch as very age and time (which abateth and con-*
‘ *ſumeth all things elſe) was not able to break and*
‘ *daunt: when he was fourſcore years old and ſix, he*
‘ *pleaded at the bar for others: he made orations for his*
‘ *own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year*
‘ *of his age he convented Sergius Galba before the people,*
‘ *to receive his judgment by them. As all his life-time*
‘ *before the nobility was ſet againſt him, ſo when he ſtood*
‘ *now to be Cenſor, they preſſed hard upon him: inſomuch*
‘ *as all his competitors (excepting L. Flaccus, who had*
‘ *been his colleague in the conſulſhip) complotted together,*
‘ *how they might give him the repulſe, and put him be-*
‘ *ſide the cuſhion: not only for that their own teeth*
‘ *watered, and they were deſirous themſelves rather of*
‘ *that honour; nor becauſe they repined to ſee a new*
‘ *riſen gentleman, and one of the firſt head to be a Cenſor;*
‘ *but alſo becauſe they looked for no other but that his*
‘ *cenſorſhip would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name*
‘ *and reputation of divers men; conſidering how he had*
‘ *been croſſed and hurt by very many, and was deſirous*
‘ *himſelf*

(18) Liv. *lib. xxxix, cap. x., xli.*

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his reforming inclination [D]. He expreſſed a great indifferency for the erection of ſtatues [E], and, in general, for praiſes (g); nevertheleſs, he highly commended himſelf (b), and was willing that people ſhould ſee in his books the great encomiums he beſtowed on himſelf. He harangued very often, and inſerted ſome of his orations in his Roman Hiſtory [F]. That Hiſtory, and the book he wrote concerning the art of war, are not extant (i). He compoſed ſome books of agriculture (k), and was very particular in the deſcription of that art (l). He wrote alſo ſomething concerning Rhetoric, and it is likely he was the firſt Roman who writ upon that ſubject (m). He was accuſed ſeveral times, and always defended himſelf very well: he was ſo ſure of his innocence, that an action being brought againſt him, he offered to ſubmit to the judgment of

(g) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 347.

(b) Ibid. & *pag.* 344, *B.*

(i) Plin. in Præf. Vegetius, *lib. i, cap. viii.*

(k) They are ſtill extant.

(l) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 351.

(m) *See* Quinctilian. Inſt. Orat. *lib. iii, cap. i.*

‘ *himſelf to wait them a ſhrewd turn, and meet with* ‘ *them again. For even then, while he laboured and* ‘ *ſued for the place, he uſed minatory ſpeeches, and gave* ‘ *out that they only were oppoſed againſt him, who feared* ‘ *they ſhould have a cenſorſhip ſharply exerciſed without* ‘ *partiality and reſpect of perſons. And herewith he* ‘ *maintained the ſuit of L. Valerius with him, ſaying* ‘ *that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague,* ‘ *he ſhould be able to repreſs the wicked enormities newly* ‘ *come up and riſe in the city, and to bring in requeſt* ‘ *again the ancient manners and faſhions of the old world.* ‘ *Men were much moved in theſe reſpects and conſidera-* ‘ *tions; and ſo maugre the heads of the nobility, they* ‘ *not only created him Cenſor, but alſo adjoined unto him* ‘ *L. Valerius Flaccus for his companion in that govern-* ‘ *ment* *.’

* Taken from Philemon Holland's Engliſh tranſlation of Pliny.

[D] *The inſcription of the ſtatue erected to him was a . . . . teſtimony of his reforming inclination.*] ‘ The ‘ people did like his cenſorſhip wondrous well; for ‘ ſetting up a ſtatue for him in the temple of the god- ‘ deſs of health, they put an inſcription under it, not ‘ of his warlike feats and triumphs, but ſuch a one as ‘ ſignified, That this was Cato the Cenſor, who by his ‘ good diſcipline and ordinances reclaimed the Roman ‘ commonwealth, when it was declining and ſupinely ‘ tumbling into vice (19).’ Cornelius Nepos obſerves, that Cato's ſeverity put a ſtop to the luxury which had already crept into the commonwealth. *Cato Cenſor cum eodem Flacco factus, ſeverè præfuit ei poteſtati. Nam & in complures nobiles animadvertit, & multas res novas in edictum addidit, quare luxuriâ reprimeretur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare* (20).

(19) Plut. ubi ſupra. *pag.* 347.

(20) Cornel. Nepos, in Fragmento Vitæ Catonis, *pag. m.* 384.

[E] *He expreſſed a great indifferency for the erection of ſtatues.*] The following words of Plutarch are to be found next to thoſe I have quoted in the remark [D]. ‘ Now before this ſtatue honour was done to himſelf, ‘ he uſed to laugh at thoſe who loved ſuch kind of ‘ things, ſaying, They were not ſenſible that they ‘ gloried chiefly in the workmanſhip of Engravers ‘ and Painters, but that the citizens bore about his ‘ faireſt image in their breaſts. When any ſeemed to ‘ wonder at him, that he ſhould have never a ſtatue, ‘ when many ordinary perſons had one; I would, ‘ ſaid he, much rather be aſked why I have not one, ‘ than why I have one.’ Ammianus Marcellinus mentions this noble anſwer. *Cenſorius Cato . . . . interrogatus quamobrem inter multos nobiles ſtatuam non haberet, malo, inquit, ambigere bonos quamobrem id non meruerim, quam, quod eſt gravius, cur impetraverim muſſitare* (21). Note, that Plutarch in another place of his works (22), ſhould not have ſaid abſolutely, that Cato would not ſuffer that a ſtatue ſhould be erected to him.

(21) Amm. Marcell. *lib. xiv, cap. vi, pag. m.* 21.

(22) Plut. in Præcept. Reip. Ger. *pag.* 820, *B.*

[F] *He inſerted ſome of his orations in his Roman Hiſtory.*] He wrote that Hiſtory in his old age, and divided it into ſeven books. The firſt contained the actions of the kings of Rome; the ſecond and the third contained the origin of all the towns of Italy; for which reaſon it is thought he intituled the whole work *Origines*. In the fourth he deſcribed the firſt Punic war; and in the fifth he deſcribed the ſecond, which he did ſummarily, and by way of ſections. He deſcribed in the ſame manner the following wars, to the pretorſhip of Sergius Galba, who conquered the Luſitani. He mentioned things without naming thoſe who had done them. He took notice of the rarities that were to be found in Spain and Italy, and ſhewed a great deal of learning and exactneſs (23). Obſerve theſe words of Cornelius Nepos, ‘ Ab adoleſcentia ‘ confecit orationes: Senex hiſtorias ſcribere inſtituit ‘ (24); - - - *He made orations from the time that he* ‘ *was a young man, and in his old age he ſet about* ‘ *writing a Hiſtory.*’ And at the ſame time remember that Cicero ſays, that Cato went about that work the very ſame year that he died (25). Which affords a very good reaſon to cenſure Livy, who ſuppoſes that Lucius Valerius, tribune of the people, making a ſpeech againſt Cato in the year 558, quoted his *Origines* (26). Cato was then but thirty-nine years of age, from whence it ought to be inferred, that he had not writ that book yet, and that Livy, who is doubtleſs the author of the ſpeeches related by him, forgot to reconcile his ſuppoſitions with Chronology. He affords an argument againſt himſelf, for he obſerves in another place (27), that Cato's ſpeech for the Rhodians, made in the year 587, had been inſerted in the fifth book of the *Origines*: which ſhews, that thoſe *Origines* had not been publiſhed when the tribune Valerius made a ſpeech againſt Cato. It were in vain to ſuppoſe ſeveral editions of that work, ſome larger than others, ſince no ancient author intimates any ſuch thing, and beſides, the firſt was only made when the author was far advanced in years (28). Father Noris (29) found fault with Livy upon this account: Voſſius (30) had ſaid before that cardinal, that he believed Livy was miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that the tribune of the people (31) made an objection to Cato which he took out of his *Origines*. Obſerve, that we read in the epitome of the forty-ninth book of Livy, that Cato's ſpeech againſt Galba was to be found in the *Origines*. But he made it the laſt year of his life: See above, what I have quoted out of Cicero (32). He publiſhed above one hundred and fifty Orations, very much commended by Cicero, though he obſerves, that no body read them (33). Doubtleſs, they were uſed a hundred years after Cato's death, as we uſe now a-days the ſpeeches that were made in the ſtates of the kingdom of France, or at the opening of the audiences in the XVIth century. A freed man of Cicero criticized with great ſubtilty, upon Cato's ſpeech for the Rhodians; but ſee in Aulus Gellius the anſwer that was made to his criticiſms (34).

(25) See the remark [A], citation (7).

(26) Liv. *lib. xxxiv, pag.* m. 623.

(27) Ibid. *lib. xlv, pag.* 882.

(28) Cornel. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

(29) Noris Cenotaph. Piſan. *pag.* 4.

(30) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. *lib. i, cap. v, pag.* 21.

(31) His name was not Oppius, as Voſſius affirms.

(32) In the remark [A], citation (7).

(33) Cicero, in Bruto, *pag. m.* 114.

Let us conſider theſe words of Cornelius Nepos, ‘ Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, ſed ‘ ſine nominibus res notavit. - - - *He did not name the* ‘ *generals who commanded in thoſe wars, but ſet down* ‘ *their actions without their names.*’ The commentators upon Pliny, without excepting Father Hardouïn, knew nothing of this paſſage. I prove it thus, Pliny obſerves, that Cato, who had ſuppreſſed the names of the generals in his Annals, mentioned the name of an elephant. ‘ Certe Cato, cum Imperatorum nomina ‘ Annalibus detraxerit, eum (*elephantum*) qui fortiſſime ‘ præliatus eſſet in Punica acie, Surum tradidit voca- ‘ tum (35). - - - *It is certain that Cato, while he omitted the names of the generals in his Annals, did not forget to take notice that the elephant which fought moſt ſtoutly in the Carthaginian army, was called Surus.*’ Read this note of Father Hardouïn (36). ‘ Auctoris men- ‘ tem aſſequi cum minime poſſent Plinii editores, hanc ‘ poſtremam vocem corruptam rati ſcripſere, *cum Impe-* ‘ *ratorum nomina annalibus deſcriberet*, contra fidem codi- ‘ cum Reg. 1, 2. ceterorumque melioris notæ, à ſcrip- ‘ toris mente longiſſime aberrantes, cujus hæc ſententia ‘ eſt: Cato, inquit, Imperatorum Punicorum nomina ‘ annalibus ſuis apponere neglexit: idem tamen, quod ‘ nomen elephanti eſſet, qui tunc fortiſſime præliatus, ‘ referre operæ pretium duxit. - - - *The editors of Pliny, not underſtanding his meaning, fancied that a word was corrupted, and put in* while he deſcribed *(inſtead of while he omitted)* the names of the generals in his Annals. *But in this they contradict the beſt manuſcripts, particularly the 1ſt and 2d in the king's library, groſsly miſtaking the ſenſe of the author which is this: Cato, ſays he, left out the names of the Carthaginian generals in his Annals; at the ſame time he thought it worth his while to mention the name of the ſtouteſt elephant.*’ He thought that Cato had only omitted the

(23) *Taken from* Cornel. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

(24) Ibid.

(35) Plin. *lib. viii, cap.* v, *pag.* m. 142.

(36) Hardouin. in Plin. *Tom. i, pag.* 253.

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of one of his enemies [G]. He was no friend to the Phyſicians, and did not approve the ſtudies that were moſt in vogue among the Grecians [H]: nevertheleſs, he ſtudied the

the names of the Carthaginian generals; he would not have thought ſo, if he had remembered the words of Cornelius Nepos.

Note, that the fragments of Cato's Origines publiſhed by Annius Viterbienſis, are accounted a ſuppoſititious piece; but thoſe which have been collected by Riccobonus, and printed at the end of his treatiſe of Hiſtory, are genuine. They have been enlarged by Auſonius Popma, and added by him with notes to the other writings of Cato (37).

(37) At Leyden 1590, in 8vo.

[G] *He was accuſed ſeveral times, and defended himſelf . . . . . and offered to ſubmit to the judgment of one of his enemies.*] 'But neither did he himſelf eſcape 'ſcot-free in his managery of affairs; for if he gave 'his enemies but the leaſt hold, he was ſtill in danger, 'and ready to be brought to juſtice: for he is re- 'ported to have eſcaped at leaſt fifty indictments, 'and one above the reſt, which was the laſt, when 'he was fourſcore and ſix years old, about which 'time he had this remarkable ſaying, *That it was 'hard for him who had lived cotemporary with others 'a great while ago, to plead now before a new race of 'men.* Neither did he make this the laſt of his law- 'ſuits; for four years after, when he was fourſcore 'and ten, he accuſed Servilius Galba: ſo that he ar- 'rived (we ſee, as Neſtor did) to three uſual ages of 'man, and that in continual action (38).' Theſe words of Plutarch want to be corrected in ſome places, for it is not true that Cato lived ſo long, and it had been better to uſe the preciſe number forty-four, as it is in Pliny. 'Cato primus Porciæ gentis, *ſays he* (39), 'tres ſummas in homine res præſtitiſſe exiſtimatus, ut 'eſſet optimus Orator, optimus Imperator, optimus 'Senator: quæ mihi omnia, etiamſi non prius, atta- 'men clarius fulſiſſe in Scipione Æmiliano videntur, 'dempto præterea plurimorum odio, quo Cato labo- 'ravit. Itaque ſit proprium Catonis, quater & qua- 'dragies cauſam dixiſſe, nec quenquam ſæpius poſtu- 'latum, & ſemper abſolutum. - - - *It is ſaid of Cato, 'the firſt of the Porcian family, that he had three of the 'greateſt qualifications that a man can be ſuppoſed to 'have; for he was eſteemed an excellent Orator, an 'excellent General, and an excellent Senator. But in 'my opinion Scipio Æmilianus was poſſeſſed of the ſame, 'if not before Cato, at leaſt in a more eminent degree, 'with this advantage that he had not, like Cato, a 'great number of enemies. This may be peculiarly ſaid 'of Cato that he pleaded his cauſe forty-four times, and 'that no man was ever ſo often accuſed and always ac- 'quitted.*' Aurelius Victor made uſe of the ſame number forty-four (40), wherein he is more exact than in what he ſays, that Cato being eighty years of age, became Galba's accuſer. He ſhould have ſaid, *being eighty-five years of age:* See the remark [A]. Moreri is ſtrangely miſtaken, when he ſays, that Cato's enemies *proſecuted him above four hundred times.* I muſt not forget theſe words of an ancient author. 'Cato 'ſextum & octogeſimum annum agens, dum in rep. 'tuenda juvenili animo perſtat, ab inimicis capitali 'crimine accuſatus, ſuam cauſam egit. Neque aut 'memoriam ejus quiſquam tardiorem, aut firmitatem 'lateris ulla ex parte quaſſatam, aut os hæſitatione 'impeditum animadvertit. Quia omnia iſta in ſtatu 'ſuo æquali ac perpetua induſtria continebat. Quin 'etiam in ipſo diutiſſimè actæ vitæ fine diſertiſſimi 'oratoris Galbæ accuſationi defenſionem ſuam pro 'Hiſpania oppoſuit (41). - - - *While Cato was in the 'eighty-ſixth year of his age, and perſiſted in ſerving the 'republic with a youthful activity, he was accuſed of a 'capital crime by his enemies, and forced to plead his 'cauſe. Neither could any one perceive the leaſt decay 'in his memory, nor weakneſs in his lungs, nor faltering 'in his ſpeech. For he had preſerved all theſe in their 'wonted vigour by an even and uninterrupted exerciſe. 'Nay it was remarkable, that in the height of his old 'age, he made his defence for Spain, in oppoſition to the 'charge of that eloquent Orator Galba.*' There are two faults in this paſſage, for Cato was not eighty-ſix years old, when he pleaded the firſt of the two cauſes mentioned by Valerius Maximus; and he was Galba's accuſer in the ſecond, and not obliged to clear himſelf of Galba's accuſations: the latter wanted but little of being condemned, and would have undergone that puniſhment, had he not raiſed the compaſſion of the people (42).

(38) Plut. in ejus Vita, *pag.* 345.

(39) Plin. *lib. vii, cap. xxvii, pag.* 47.

(40) Galbam octogenarius accuſavit, ipſe quadragies quater accuſatus, glorioſe abſolutus. *Aurel. Victor. de Vir. Illuſtr.*

(41) Val. Maximus, *lib. viii, cap. vii, num.* 1, *pag. m.* 677, 678.

(42) Cicero, in Bruto, *pag. m.* 165.

To make an end of my Commentary upon the text of this remark, I need only quote Valerius Maximus, whoſe words run thus: 'Cato ſuperior ſæpenumero 'ab inimicis ad cauſæ dictionem vocatus, nec uſto 'unquam crimine convictus: ad ultimum tantum 'fiduciæ in ſua innocentia repoſuit, ut ab his in quæ- 'ſtionem publicam deductus, Ti. Gracchum, à quo in 'adminiſtratione reip. ad multum odium diſſidebat, 'judicem depoſceret. Qua quidem animi præſtantia 'pertinaciam eorum inſectandi ſe inhibuit (43). - - - - *'The elder Cato, being often accuſed by his enemies, but 'never convicted of any crime, did at laſt put ſo much 'truſt in his own innocence, that when he was brought to 'a public trial, he offered to ſubmit to the judgment 'of Ti. Gracchus, a man, whoſe meaſures he had vio- 'lently oppoſed, and who therefore was looked upon as 'his profeſſed enemy.*'

(43) Valer. Maximus, *lib. iii, cap. vii, num.* 7, *pag.* 309.

[H] *He was no friend to the Phyſicians, and did not approve the ſtudies that were moſt in vogue among the Grecians.*] I ſhall quote Plutarch, who having ſaid, that Cato was diſpleaſed to ſee the three Philoſophers, deputed by the Athenians, ſo well approved at Rome, and that he adviſed the ſenate to ſend them home immediately (44), goes on thus. 'Yet this he did not out 'of any anger (as ſome think) to Carneades; but be- 'cauſe he wholly deſpiſed Philoſophy, and out of a 'kind of pride, ſcoffed at the Greek Muſes and Lite- 'rature: for indeed he would uſe to ſay, that Socra- 'tes was a prating ſeditious fellow. . . . . And to fright 'his ſon from any thing that was Greek, he uſed a 'much harſher tone than was uſual with one of his 'age, pronouncing, as it were, with the voice of an 'Oracle, That the Romans would certainly be deſtroy- 'ed, when they were once to be infected with Greek, 'tho' time ſhewed the vanity of this his *way-ward ſay- 'ing*; for in truth, the city of Rome grew never greater 'than when they entertained the Greek learning; 'nor had he an averſion only to the Grecian Philo- 'ſophers, but the Phyſicians alſo; for having, it 'ſeems, heard how Hippocrates ſhould ſay, when the 'king of Perſia ſent for him, and would have fee'd 'him even with ſeveral talents, That he would never 'aſſiſt Barbarians, who were enemies to the Grecians; 'he affirmed, that this was now become a common 'oath to be taken by all Phyſicians, and ſo enjoined 'his ſon to have a care and avoid them; for that he 'himſelf had written a little treatiſe, whereby he gave 'preſcriptions, and cured thoſe who were ſick in his 'family (45).' If you deſire to ſee the very words of Cato, read this paſſage of Pliny: 'Mox à ſævitia ſe- 'candi urendique, tranſiſſe nomen in carnificem, & 'in tædium artem omneſque Medicos, quod clariſſime 'intelligi poteſt ex M. Catone, cujus auctoritati tri- 'umphus atque Cenſura minimum conferunt: tanto 'plus in ipſo eſt. Quamobrem verba ejus ipſa pone- 'mus. Dicam de iſtis Græcis ſuo loco, Marce fili: 'quid Athenis exquiſitum habeam, & quod bonum 'ſit illorum litteras inſpicere, non perdiſcere, vincam. 'Nequiſſimum & indocile genus illorum: & hoc puta 'vatem dixiſſe: Quandocunque iſta gens ſuas litteras 'dabit, omnia corrumpet. Tum etiam magis, ſi Me- 'dicos ſuos huc mittet. Jurarunt inter ſe barbaros 'necare omnes Medicina. Et hoc ipſum mercede faci- 'unt, ut fides iis ſit, & facile diſperdant. Nos 'quoque dictitant barbaros: & ſpurcius nos, quam 'alios opicos, appellatione fœdant. Interdixi tibi de 'medicis (46). - - - *Soon after, from their cutting and 'burning, they got the name of bangman, and all Phy- 'ſic and Phyſicians came to be diſliked; as evidently ap- 'pears from M. Cato, whoſe triumph and cenſorſhip add 'no weight to his authority; ſo much greater was his 'perſonal worth. For which reaſon I ſhall ſet down his 'own words. Son Marcus, ſays he, I ſhall take a 'proper opportunity of ſpeaking my mind concerning theſe 'Greeks, and of telling you what diſcoveries I have made 'at Athens. I ſhall prove that it is a good thing to know 'a little of their learning, but not to be thoroughly ac- 'quainted with it. Believe it as if an oracle had ſaid 'ſo, that they are a moſt villainous and intractable 'ſet of people. Whenever that nation ſhall introduce their 'learning here, it will corrupt every thing; eſpecially if 'they*

(44) See, above, the article CARNEADES, remark [F].

(45) Plut. in Catone majore, *pag.* 350.

(46) Plin. *lib. xxix, cap. i, pag.* 667, 668.]

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the Greek tongue; but it is said that it was not till his old age [I]. He lived a long life (n); and preserved a great strength of body and mind to the last. Being a man of a strong constitution, he wanted women in his old age, and because he could not conceal, as much as he desired, his keeping a concubine, he married again [K]. His second wife was not of the same quality with him. We shall see (o) what answer he made to his son, who complained of it. It is said that this under-match did not prove so advantageous

(n) See the remark [A].

(o) In the remark [K].

'*they send us their Physicians at the same time. They are sworn among themselves to destroy all Barbarians with their Physic. This they do for a fee, that they may be the more trusted, and have the better opportunity of doing the work effectually. They will call us Barbarians likewise, and give us more opprobrious names than they give to the rest. I have charged you to have nothing to do with the Physicians.*' This may serve to confute those who say, that Carneades's speech against Justice, was the chief reason that moved Cato to advise the senate to send away immediately those Athenian prattlers. I know a man of great parts, who thought that Cato gave that advice, because Carneades had undermined the foundations of the Roman Policy, and discovered a mystery, which was the basis of the power and glory of that ambitious Republic. Those who governed it, made people believe, that reason and uprightness were the rule of their actions; but Carnenades speaking against Justice, alledged this proof amongst others, That the Romans would be obliged to return into huts, if they would be just, that is, restore what they had invaded (47). I believe Cato was displeased with this argument, and clearly saw the consequences of it; but I am persuaded that more powerful reasons incensed him against those Athenian deputies, &c.

(47) Omnibus populis qui florerent imperio & Romanis quoque ipsis qui totius orbis potirentur, si justi velint esse, hoc est si aliena restituant ad casas esse redeundum, & in necessitate ac miseriis jacendum. *Carneades, apud Lactant. lib. v, cap. xvi, pag.* 341.

Here I must take notice of a falsity that is to be found in Agrippa and Montagne, and which has been learnedly confuted by Dr Drelincourt, professor of Physic. 'Romani quondam sub Catone Censorio medi-'cos omnes & urbe tota, & tota Italia pepulerunt, eorum 'funesta mendacia, crudelitatemque aversati. - - - *The 'Romans, formerly in the time of Cato, the Censor, drove 'all the Physicians out of Rome and Italy, detesting their 'pernicious lies and cruelty.*' They are Agrippa's words (48): Montagne expresses himself thus (49). *The Romans had been six hundred years without any* Physicians, *and having tried them, expelled them from Rome by the help of Cato the Censor.* Many modern writers might be quoted who say the same. John Langius, a German Physician, affirms, that Cato the Censor, caused the Greek Physicians to be forbidden to come to Rome (50). Gaspar à Reies, a Spanish Physician, says, that Cato's opinion, that all the Greeks and Egyptians should be turned out of Rome, was approved without any contradiction, and that all the Physicians of Rome being natives of Greece or Egypt, were involved in the decree pronounced by the senate, pursuant to the desires of that severe Censor (51). He adds (52), that this proscription was made in the year of Rome 590, and lasted till the reign of the first emperors. But this is all groundless; for it cannot be proved that Cato used his interest with the senate or the people to obtain that decree, or that there was such a decree in his time. On the contrary, we read in Pliny, who of all ancient authors may be most easily quoted to the disadvantage of the Physicians, that the senate banished them a long time after Cato's decease. *Et cum Græcos* (antiqui) *Italia pellerent*, says he, DIU POST CATONEM, *excepisse Medicos* (53). The meaning of this passage seems to be, that all the Greeks, except the Physicians, were expelled from Italy. It is the sense the learned Dr Drelincourt puts upon it (54); but it is certain, those words are to be understood otherwise; they signify, that the Physicians were particularly comprehended in the expulsion; for had they been excepted, Pliny would have had no occasion to alledge the reasons so exactly mentioned by him to justify both the prejudices of Cato, and the severity of the Roman senate. 'Non 'deferam Catonem, *they are his words in the following 'page*, tam ambitiosæ artis invidiæ à me objectum, 'aut Senatum illum qui ita sensebat. - - - - *I will 'not leave Cato, nor the senate, which passed that 'censure, exposed to the envy of such an ambitious pro-'fession.*' It appears from the Law-Dictionaries (55), that the word *excipere* very often signifies not *to except* or *to exclude*, but *namely and expresly to include*. Note, that Pliny should not have said, that the city of Rome was without Physicians for the space of six hundred years. Dr Drelincourt shewed the contrary in a speech he delivered (56) in July 1671. It is a very good apology for the Physicians, and it has been reprinted twice. See also Gaspar à Reies (57).

(48) Agrippa, de Vanit. Scientiar. *cap. lxxxiii, p. m.* 196.

(49) Montagne, Essais, *book ii, cap. xxxvii, p. m.* 788.

(50) Langius, Epist. Medic. II, *lib. ii, pag.* 482.

(51) Gaspar à Reies, in Elysio jucund. Quæst. Campo, *Quæst. I, num.* 13, *p. m.* 11.

(52) Ibid. *pag.* 12, 13.

(53) Plin. *lib. xxix, cap. i, pag.* 668, 669.

(54) Drelincurtius, Apol. Medica, *pag.* 47, *Edit.* 1693.

(55) See Father Hardouin upon this passage of Pliny.

(56) In the university of Leyden.

(57) Reies, ubi supra, *Quæst. I, num.* 17.

[I] *It is said he studied the Greek tongue in his old age.*] I make use of these words; *it is said*, because there are some authorities *pro* and *con*. Cato, one of the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogues *de Senectute*, declares, that he began to learn the Greek tongue in his old age. 'Quid, quod etiam addiscunt *(Senes)* ali-'quid? ut Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui 'se quotidie aliquid addiscentem senem fieri dicit. 'ut ego feci, qui Græcas litteras senex didici. Quas 'quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim ex-'plere cupiens (58). - - - *What shall we say as to this, 'that old men are still learning? As we find Solon boast-'ing in his poems, that he learned something new 'every day, as he grew old: and as I did, who studied 'the Greek-tongue in my old age; and took to it as gree-'dily as if I had been drinking after a long thirst.*' Let us consider this passage of Plutarch: 'He is said 'to have learned Greek late, and when he was 'pretty old; and that as to his Rhetoric, he profited 'a little by Thucydides, but much more by De-'mosthenes, and indeed his writings are handsomely 'mixed both with Greek sayings and histories; 'nay, many of them translated word for word, are 'interwoven with his own apophthegms and sentences, '(59).' This passage does not favour Cicero, and one might infer from it, that Cato was not so old when he learned the Greek tongue. What I am going to say is still more proper, to shew that he learned it much sooner than it is thought. Plutarch confutes those who said, that there was still a speech of Cato delivered in Greek before the Athenians. *It is not true*, says Plutarch (60), *for he spoke to the Athenians by an interpreter, tho' he might have made his harangue in Greek, if he had pleased.* Cato was not then forty-five years of age. Some Historians say, that being Prætor in Sardinia, he was taught the Greek tongue by Ennius. 'In prætura Sardiniam 'subegit ubi ab Ennio Græcis literis institutus (61). '*He subdued Sardinia in his prætorship, and was there 'taught the Greek tongue by Ennius.*' This *subegit* of Aurelius Victor is an untruth, which Moreri did not perceive. Sardinia was already conquered when Cato was sent thither in the quality of Prætor. Moreri says, he conquered it in the year 556. Mrs le Fevre (62) places that Prætorship in the year 555, and therefore Cato was then but thirty-six years of age, and consequently it cannot be said that he learned the Greek tongue in his old age, or the testimony of Aurelius Victor ought to be rejected. I shall quote hereafter (63) some words of Cicero, whereby it appears that our Cato had no Greek learning.

(58) Cicero, de Senectute, *cap. viii, pag. m.* 406. *See also cap. i, pag.* 386, & Valerius Maximus, *lib. viii, cap. vii, n. i.*

(59) Plut. in Catone Majore, *Pag.* 337.

(60) Ibid. *pag.* 343.

(61) Aurel. Victor, de Viris Illust. *p. m.* 70.

(62) Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia in Aurel. Victor. ibid.

(63) In the remark [L], citation (115).

[K] *He could not conceal. . . his keeping a concubine, he married again.*] The following passage out of Plutarch is a good piece of history (64). 'Cato having lost his 'own wife, he married his son to the daughter of Paulus 'Æmilius, who was sister to the second Scipio Afri-'canus; so that being now a widower himself, he 'made use of a young servant maid, who came pri-'vately to him; but the house being very little, and 'a daughter-in-law also in it, the intrigue was quick-'ly discovered; for the young wench seeming one day 'to pass by a little too boldly to Cato's bed-chamber, 'the youth, his son, though he said nothing, seemed 'to look a little grim upon her; the old man per-'ceiving it a little offensive, without finding any fault, 'or saying a word, away he goes, as his custom was, 'with his usual company to the market: among the 'rest, was one Salonius, a clerk of his, to whom he 'called aloud, and asked him, whether he had married 'his daughter?' The conclusion was, that Cato desired to have that maid, and the match was *quickly struck up. . . . Now whilst this marriage was in hand, Cato's son, taking some of his friends along with him, went and asked his*

(64) Plut. ubi supra, *pag.* 333.

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advantageous to him as he expected [L]. He was a good husband, and a good father (p), and no less exact in keeping his family in good order, than in reforming the disorders of the town. Some great statesmen are not able to put their domestic concerns upon a good foot, and have a better success and less trouble in the administration of public affairs, than in the management of their families. Cato was not like them, he understood Oeconomics as well as Politics, and found the way to confine his servants tongues, so that they should not divulge what passed in his house [M]. One would

(p) See the remark [N], towards the end.

his father, for what offence he brought in a mother-in-law upon him; but Cato presently cried out, Soft, and fair, good son, what thou doſt is agreeable enough to me, nor do I find any fault with it; only I desire to have several children, and to leave the common-wealth more such citizens as thou art. . . . . Cato had a son by this same venter, to whom, from his mother, he gave the surname of Salonius.' This Cato Salonius was the father of Marcus Cato, the father of Cato Uticensis, who therefore was not the grand-nephew of the Censor, as Moreri affirms (65) but his great-grand-son.

(65) This error is corrected in the edition of Paris 1699.

[L] *This undermatch did not prove so advantageous to him as he expected.*] St Jerome designing to prove, that those who marry a poor wife to be quiet at home, do not obtain their end, alledges the example of Cato. The severity of that Censor could not free him from the ill effect of his wife's pride, tho' she was a woman of a mean extraction. 'M. Cato Censorius habuit 'uxorem Actoriam Paulam, humili loco natam, vino-'lentam, impotentem, & (quod nemo posset credere) 'Catoni superbam. Hoc ideo dico; ne quis putet si 'pauperem duxerit, satis se concordiæ providisse (66). '---*Cato the Censor married Actoria Paula, a woman 'of a mean birth, given to drinking, outragious, and '(which is a thing that one could scarce believe) insolent 'to Cato. I mention this, least any one should think that 'he has sufficiently provided for his peace at home by mar-'rying a poor wife.*' I do not find that Cato had above two wives. But this passage of St Jerome cannot be understood of the first, and therefore ought to be understood of the second, tho' Plutarch does not call her Actoria Paula, and says she was the daughter of one Salonius. He gives us the following account of Cato's first marriage. 'He married a wife more noble 'than rich; being of opinion nevertheless, that both 'of them so qualified, are usually haughty and proud: 'But yet that those of noble blood, would be more 'ashamed of base things, and consequently more obe-'dient to their husbands in all that was fit and hand-'some for them (67).' From whence we may infer, that he was resolved to bear the pride of his wife, whether she was noble or rich; but that he hoped a wife of a good family would make him less uneasy than a rich one: he took other measures in his second marriage; he pitched upon a wife of no birth, and no fortune, and yet she proved proud and passionate: so easy it is to be deceived, and to make a wrong guess about such a thing. See the remark [G] in the article of AVENTINUS. A famous author quotes that passage of St Jerome, in one of his books, wherein he disapproves the custom of requiring from the students in Divinity, or the ministers, that they shall marry the widows or daughters of the pastors whom they are to succeed. He says, that such a condition is somewhat tyrannical, and that it were better to leave them at liberty to chuse a wife with a pretty good portion. 'Optandum Patroni non injicerent compedes iis, quos 'ad ministerium promovere laborant, obtrudendo illis, 'aut demortuorum Pastorum viduas, aut filias. Quod 'tamen, proh dolor! nimis quam frequenter in hoc ipso 'Fœderato Belgio contingit (68). ---*It were to be 'wished, that patrons would not lay this heavy bur-'then upon such as they endeavour to put in as mini-'sters, viz. that they should be obliged to marry the wi-'dows or daughters of their deceased predecessors; which 'nevertheless, to our shame be it spoken, is too often the 'case in these United Provinces.*' 'Ut non probo, *says 'he* (69), illius patris institutum, (videatur Plutarch. 'in Demetr.) qui ut persuadere posset filio, vetulam lo-'cupletem uxorem ducere, ex Euripidis Phœnissis occi-'nebat (70). *Ubi lucrum suadet, reluctetur licet natura 'uxorem ducatis:* ita neque consultum pastori, ut re-'spectu unius misericordiæ, pauperem uxorem domum 'ducat. Nam licet poëta Græcus existimet, *sponsam 'sine dote non habere loquendi libertatem:* talis tamen 'sæpe deprehenditur procacissima esse, atque marito 'suo quam immorigera; imo nec absimilis Actoriæ 'Paulæ, quam (testis est Hieronym. lib. 1. in Jovin.) 'cum Censorius Cato, *&c. ---As I do not approve of 'that father's conduct,* (See Plutarch in the life of Demetrius) *who, in order to persuade his son to marry a 'rich old woman, was constantly buzzing into his ear 'this expression of Euripides,* When money is to be had, 'never scruple to marry any woman, how much 'soever you may dislike her; *so neither do I think it 'advisable for a pastor to marry a poor wife for the sake 'of doing an act of charity: since notwithstanding what 'the Greek Poet says,* That a wife without a dowry has 'not the privilege of speaking, *yet some such are to 'be found who are extreamly saucy and disobedient to 'their husbands, and not unlike Actoria Paula, whom, 'according to St Jerome, when Cato the Censor,* &c.' There may be some reason in what he says.

(66) Hieronym. adv. Jovinianum, *lib. 1, pag. m.* 37.

(67) Plut. ubi supra, *pag.* 347.

(68) Schoockius, ubi infra.

(69) Martinus Schoockius, Exercitat. *pag.* 259, *Edit. in* 4*to.*

(70) See, above, citation (4), of the article PHILLA.

[M] *He found the way to confine his servants tongues, so that they should not divulge what passed at home.*] The following passage shews how he behaved himself towards his slaves. 'He purchased a great many 'slaves out of the captives taken in war, but chiefly 'he bought up the young ones, who were capable to 'be (as it were) broken and taught like little whelps 'and colts; but none of these ever went into another 'man's house, except sent either by Cato himself, or 'his wife. If any one of them were asked what Cato 'did, they answered, *They did not know.* When a 'servant was at home, he was obliged either to do 'some work, or sleep; for indeed Cato loved those 'most, who used to lie down often to take a nap, 'accounting them more docile than those who sate up 'much, and more fit for any thing, when they were 'refreshed with a little slumber. Being also of an 'opinion, That servants would take the greatest pains 'imaginable to satisfy their venery, he set a certain 'price to be paid by those who conforted with his 'bondwomen, but would suffer none to be concerned 'with any others abroad. At first, when he was but 'a poor soldier, he would not be difficult in any thing 'which related to his diet, but looked upon it as a 'pitiful mean thing, to quarrel with a servant for 'the sake of his own belly; but afterwards, when he 'grew richer, and made any feasts for his friends and 'companions, presently when supper was done, would 'he with a leathern thong scourge those who had 'waited and dressed the meat carelessly. He always 'contrived that his servants should have some diffe-'rence one among another, always suspecting and 'fearing a good understanding between them. Now 'those who had committed any thing worthy of 'death, he accordingly punished, if in the opinion of 'their fellow-servants they were found guilty (71).' This passage contains several particulars, whereby it appears, that Cato was a man of great sense and great ability. His finding out a way to prevent his servants divulging what passed in his house, is a greater exploit than one can think. Such a thing is near as difficult as to find out the Philosophers stone: besides it is of great advantage; for can there be a greater slavery, than to be afraid of the prattling of one's servants? It is to be a slave in one's own house. This is admirably well expressed by Juvenal.

(71) Plut. ubi supra, *pag.* 348.

- - - Taceant illi, sed prodere malunt
Arcanum, quam subrepti potare Falerni,
Pro populo faciens quantum Lausella bibebat.
*Vivendum recte cum propter plurima, tunc his
Præcipue caussis, ut linguas mancipiorum
Contemnas: nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.*
Deterior tamen hic, qui liber non erit, illis
Quorum animas & farre suo custodit, & ære (72).

(72) Juven. Sat. IX, ver. 115.

*- - - There's a lust in man no charm can tame,
Of loudly publishing our neighbour's shame;*

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would think that he was to blame for ſuffering them to lie with his maids for a certain ſum of money which they were to pay him (*q*); but he had ſome reaſons for it. He was more liable to cenſure upon another account, I mean for his eagerneſs to improve his eſtate, and increaſe his revenues; for he was guilty of the worſt ſort of uſury [*N*]. I have mentioned, in another place (*r*), the ſpeech he made for the preſervation of the law, whereby women were forbidden to wear ornaments: I have alſo pointed, in the ſame place, at a ſpeech which ſhews, that he knew how to enliven the majeſty and gravity of his diſcourſes. We ſhould have a wrong notion of him, ſhould we think that auſterity was the only ingredient in his ſpeeches and converſations; for he knew how to intermix them with railleries and agreeable ſtrokes: he had many witty ſayings [*O*]; even young people might have been pleaſed with his converſation; he talked freely

(*q*) See the remark [*M*].

(*r*) In the remark [*B*], of the article PRETEXTATUS.

On eagles wings immortal ſcandals fly,
While virtuous actions are but born and dye.
Let us live well, were it alone for this,
The baneful tongues of ſervants to deſpiſe.
Slander (the worſt of poiſons) ever finds
An eaſy entrance, to ignoble minds:
And they whoſe vicious lives ſuch abject foes muſt fear
More mean and wretched far than their own ſlaves appear.

STEPH. HARVEY.

Cato had not ſo much reaſon as many other Romans to be afraid of the indiſcretion of his ſlaves; but he looked upon their ſilence as a thing that was requiſite in a well-ordered houſe. He is not to blame for hating their ſprightlineſs; for commonly the more lively and ingenious footmen are, the greater knaves they prove. When the miniſters of a prince do not love one another, ſome keep a watchful eye over the conduct of others, they dread one another, and their maſter is thereby better ſerved, and leſs betrayed. The ſame may be ſaid, in proportion, concerning private families, where there are a great many ſervants; and it may be inferred from thence, that Cato acted according to his uſual prudence, when he cunningly fomented diſcord among his domeſtics. He cannot be ſo well excuſed for permitting them to lie with his maids for a certain price. It was a natural conſequence of his forbidding them to ſport out of his houſe; but at preſent ſuch a regulation would not be approved; there is no houſe of honour where ſuch a ſport is allowed; and maids are turned out whether they play their leud tricks at home or abroad. As for the men, it is required they ſhould keep themſelves chaſte, at leaſt within doors.

[*N*] *His eagerneſs to improve his eſtate . . . . he was guilty of the worſt ſort of uſury.*] 'But being, after 'all, much given to an extravagant deſire of gain, he 'looked upon agriculture rather as a pleaſure than 'profit; reſolving therefore to lay out his money in 'laſting and ſolid things, he purchaſed ponds, hot-'baths, grounds full of Fullers-earth, paſtures and 'wood, whereby a great revenue flowed in unto him, 'and ſuch a one (he uſed to ſay) as Jupiter himſelf 'could not hurt. He was alſo given to a moſt blame-'able uſury in his traffic by ſea; and that was thus: 'He would that thoſe whom he put out his money 'to, ſhould have many partners: Now when the 'number of them and their ſhips came to be fifty, he 'himſelf would put in but one ſhare; for which 'Quintion, whom he had made a freeman, and who 'traded and ſailed along with the ſaid adventurers, 'was to be his factor; ſo that thus there was no dan-'ger of loſing his whole ſtock, but only a little part, 'and that with a proſpect of great profit. He like-'wiſe lent money to thoſe of his ſlaves who would 'borrow any, with which they bought alſo other 'young ones, whom, when they had taught and bred 'up at his charges, they would ſell again at the year's 'end; but ſome of them Cato would keep for him-'ſelf, giving juſt as much for them as another had of-'fered. To incline his ſon to be of this kind of 'temper, he would uſe to ſay, *That it was not like a 'ſolid man to leſſen an eſtate, but rather like a weak 'widow.* But a farther argument of Cato's avaricious 'humour, was, when he took the boldneſs to affirm, '*That he was a moſt wonderful, nay, a godlike man, who 'left more behind him than he received*' (73).' Theſe are wrong maxims: His advice and example, in this reſpect, were very pernicious to his ſon, and did not anſwer the care he had taken in other reſpects to bring him up, like a good father. He himſelf taught him learning, though he had a ſlave who taught many others: *But he thought not fit, as he himſelf ſaid, to have his ſon reprimanded by a ſervant; or lugged, it may be, by the ears, when found tardy in his leſſon: Nor would he have him owe to a ſervant the obligation of ſo great a thing as his learning; wherefore he himſelf (as we were ſaying) taught him his Grammar, Law, and Fencing: Nor did he only ſhew him to bow to throw a dart, to fight with other arms, and to ride; but even to play at fiſty-cuffs, to endure both heat and cold, and to ſwim over the moſt rapid and rough rivers. He ſays likewiſe, That he wrote Hiſtories in great characters, with his own hand, that ſo his ſon, without ſtirring out of the houſe, might learn the experience and virtuous exploits of his forefathers: Nor did he leſs abſtain from ſpeaking any thing obſcene before his ſon, than if it had been in the preſence of thoſe ſacred virgins which we call* Veſtals (74). Cato practiſed a very fine maxim, which Juvenal deſcribes thus,

(73) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 349.

(74) Ibid. pag. 348.

Nil dictu fœdum viſuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer eſt. Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ
Lenonum, & cantus pernoctantis paraſiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia: ſi quid
Turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempſeris annos,
Sed peccaturo obſiſtat tibi filius infans (75).

Suffer no leudneſs, or undecent ſpeech,
Th' apartment of the tender youth to reach;
Far be from thence the glutton paraſite,
Singing his drunken catches all the night:
But farther ſtill be woman; woman firſt
Was evil's cauſe, herſelf of ills the worſt.
Boys ev'n from parents may this rev'rence claim;
For when thou doſt at ſome vile action aim,
Say, ſhould the harmleſs child with-hold thy hand,
Would it not put thy fury to a ſtand?

J. DRYDEN, *jun.*

(75) Juven. Sat. XIV, ver. 44. *See alſo Plato in the fifth book de Legibus.*

[*O*] *He had many witty ſayings.*] Plutarch has collected many of them (76): I ſhall only mention one, uſing Balzac's paraphraſe and prologue. 'The very 'Cenſors, Madam, though ſadneſs ſeemed to be one of 'the functions of their office, did not altogether lay 'aſide all manner of raillery. They were not always 'bent upon ſeverity; and the firſt Cato, that trouble-'ſome and intolerable honeſt man, ceaſed ſometimes 'to be troubleſome and intolerable. He had ſome 'glimpſes of mirth, and ſome intervals of good hu-'mour. He dropped now and then ſome words that 'were not unpleaſant; and you may, Madam, judge 'of the reſt by this. He had married a very hand-'ſome wife, and Hiſtory tells us, That ſhe was ex-'tremely afraid of the thunder, and loved her huſ-'band very well. Thoſe two paſſions prompting her 'to the ſame thing, ſhe always pitched upon her 'huſband as a ſanctuary againſt thunder, and threw 'herſelf into his arms, at the firſt noiſe ſhe fancied 'ſhe heard in the ſky. Cato, who was well pleaſed 'with the ſtorm, and very willing to be careſſed 'more than uſually, could not conceal his joy: He 'revealed that domeſtic ſecret to his friends, and 'told them one day, ſpeaking of his wife, that ſhe 'had found out a way to make him love bad weather, 'and that he never was ſo happy as when Jupiter 'was

(76) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 349, & in Apophth. *pag.* 198.

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freely at table with his friends, and had always ſome merry thoughts. He was then very well pleaſed to hear them diſcourſe of the merit of illuſtrious men, but would not ſuffer that the wicked ſhould be well or ill ſpoken of. I muſt not forget the judgment he made of kings, whom he took to be inferior in merit to the great man who had flouriſhed in a republican ſtate [P]. I muſt alſo take notice of the opinion he entertained of women guilty of adultery: he believed they were all poiſoners [Q]. This was very ſevere, but not ſo much as the puniſhment he inflicted upon a Roman Senator for kiſſing his wife in the preſence of his daughter (s), for he ſtruck him out of the liſt of the ſenators merely upon that account. It is ſaid that he would not have grown young again; a thought very worthy of his great ſenſe [R]. What he told a nobleman, whom he ſaw coming out of a bawdy-houſe, ſavours of a looſe morality; but he might have excuſed himſelf by alledging this axiom, that out of two evils the worſt ought to be avoided [S]. It is a miſtake to ſay, that he introduced among the Romans the cuſtom of

(s) See the remark [O], towards the end.

'was angry. The man who diverted himſelf in this 'faſhion was upon other occaſions all ſeverity. He 'was all rigor, all juſtice (77).'

(77) Balzac, Diſcours à Madame la Marquiſe de Rambouillet, *pag. m.* 49, 50, *of his* Oeuvres diverſes.

It will not be improper to obſerve at what time he ſaid this; it was during his cenſorſhip, when he degraded the ſenator Manlius, who, it is likely, would have been made conſul the year following, and was only degraded for giving a kiſs to his wife in the day-time, and in the preſence of his daughter (78). Some are of opinion, That at Rome, and in ſome other countries, it is neither becoming nor prudent, for a huſband to careſs his wife in the ſight of his children; nevertheleſs, they believe that Cato was too rigid, and that he made the education of children too difficult: They take it to be a piece of injuſtice, that the ſenator Manlius ſhould have paid ſo dear for ſuch a kiſs. Plutarch taxes Cato with too great a ſeverity, but at the ſame time he blames Manlius. Theſe are his words, *Cato deprived a Roman ſenator of the ſenatorial dignity, becauſe he kiſſed his wife in his daughter's preſence, wherein he was a little too rigid. But if it be a ſhameful thing, as certainly it is, to kiſs and embrace one another in the preſence of others* (79); *it is more ſhameful ſtill to abuſe and chide one another, to ſport with a wife in private, and then to reprove and give her hard words before every body* (80).

(78) Plut. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 346.

(79) Εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐστιν ὅσα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστιν ἅπαντων παρόντων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ περιβάλλειν ἀλλήλους. Sed tamen ſi eſt (ut profecto eſt) turpe conjuges in præſentia aliorum blandiri, oſculari, & amplécti ſeſe invicem. *Ibid. See, below, citation* (109), (110).

[P] *The judgment he made of kings, whom he took to be inferior in merit to the great men . . . . . of a republican ſtate.*] 'King Eumenes being come to Rome, 'the ſenate gave him a very good reception, and the 'greateſt men of the town ſtrove to careſs and honour 'him. But Cato appeared unwilling to do the ſame, 'and did not care to ſee him. Whereupon a friend 'of his told him, I wonder you ſhun king Eumenes, 'who is a very good prince, and a great friend to the 'Romans. To which he anſwered, I have nothing 'to ſay againſt it: however, this I muſt needs ſay, 'that a king is by his nature a ravenous beaſt; and 'there never was a king, though never ſo commend'able, that deſerved to be compared with Epaminon'das, Pericles, Themiſtocles, Manius Curius, or A'milcar, firnamed Barca (81).' Which puts me in mind of what I have heard ſome Engliſh gentlemen ſay, that royalty is a very chargeable thing, and that many ſoldiers and ſhips would be maintained with what is neceſſary for the maintenance of a king. It is certain that a king's expences, merely for the civil liſt, are prodigious. How many guards and officers muſt be kept in pay? One volume would not be ſufficient to explain all the offices belonging to the court of the emperor of Conſtantinople; and any one who reads the *State of France* (82), and finds ſo many uſeleſs mouths in it, the twentieth part whereof would be ſufficient to maintain and ſerve the king, ſo that the reſt are only a troubleſome and ſtately ſuperfluity, muſt needs own, that this very thing would be a burthen upon the people. The ſame ſuperfluities are to be ſeen, in proportion, in all monarchical governments; and if it had been ſaid, that they may be of uſe to imprint a reſpect in the inferiors, and to give foreigners a great notion of the power of a prince, Cato would have anſwered, That that very thing ſhewed that kings are neceſſarily ſuch as he deſcribed them.

(80) Id. in Præceptis Conjugalibus, *pag.* 139, *D, E.*

(81) Plut. in Caton. Majore, *pag.* 340.

(82) It is a book reprinted very often. Codinus (they are *Vigneul Marville's* words, *pag.* 70, of the third volume of his *Mélanges*) in his account of the ceremonies obſerved at the table of the emperors of Conſtantinople, makes me ſweat at the ſight of ſo many myſteries.

[Q] *The opinion he entertained of women guilty of adultery . . . . that they were all poiſoners.*] Quintilian ſays, This judgment was an authority that might be alledged by an advocate pleading againſt an adultereſs, who is accuſed of being a poiſoner. *Si cauſſam veneficii dicat adultera, non Marci Catonis judicio damnata videatur, qui nullam adulteram non eandem eſſe veneficam dixit* (83)? Quintilian is in the right to think that this ſentence of Cato was of ſome weight in the cauſes ſpecified by him; but, generally ſpeaking, it is not to be admitted. If it be true, that a huſband has been poiſoned, and that his wife had committed adultery, thoſe who think ſhe is guilty of her huſband's death, go upon ſtrong preſumptions, and may lay great ſtreſs upon her adultery; but it would be wrong to infer, without any exception, that ſince a wife is not faithful to her huſband ſhe will poiſon him. Many ſuch women are kind to their huſbands, and take care of them when they are ſick. In a word, they would by no means poiſon them, though they were of a croſs humour: and therefore Cato's maxim is overſtrained.

(83) Quintil. Inſt. Orat. *lib. v, cap. xi, pag. m.* 244.

[R] *It is ſaid that he would not have grown young again.*] The words aſcribed to him by Cicero, upon this ſubject are admirable. '(84) Quo quidem me 'proficiſcentem (85) haud ſane quis facile retraxerit, 'neque tamquam Peliam recoxerit (86); & ſi quis 'Deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac ætate repueriſcam, & 'in cunis vagiam, valde recuſem: nec vero velim, 'quaſi decurſo ſpatio, ad carceres à calce revocari: 'quid enim habet vita commodi? quid non potius la'boris? ſed habeat ſane; habet certe tamen aut ſatie'tatem, aut modum; non lubet enim mihi deplorare 'vitam, quod multi & ii docti ſæpe fecerunt, neque 'me vixiſſe pœnitet: quoniam ita vixi, ut non fruſtra 'me natum exiſtimem: & ex vita ita diſcedo, tam'quam ex hoſpitio, non tamquam ex domo: commo'randi enim natura diverſorium nobis, non habitandi 'dedit. - - - *While I am going thither, no man ſhould eaſily prevail upon me to return back, or to have my fleſh renewed like Pelias. If any god put it in my choice to grow young again at this age, and to ſquawl out in a cradle, I ſhould certainly beg to be excuſed; neither would I incline to begin my race anew, after having almoſt reached the goal. For what is there in life ſo much to be deſired? Or rather what things are in it not diſagreeable? But let us ſuppoſe it to be a ſtate of pleaſure, there ought to be a fulneſs of that pleaſure, at leaſt ſome bounds ſet to it. I am not ſorry for having lived, as many learned men have pretended to be, neither do I repent of it; becauſe I have lived in ſuch a manner as to think that I was not born in vain. I leave the world not as an houſe, but as an inn upon the road: for nature has provided us with a lodging for a ſhort ſtay, not for a conſtant habitation.*' Obſerve the coherence of the maxims of that great man. He was not ſorry that he had lived, he believed he had acted a glorious part upon the ſtage of the world, and yet he would not go through it again, if a god ſhould offer it him (87); and he does not inſiſt upon a reaſon, which he took to be a true one, *viz.* That this life is liable to a thouſand inconveniencies, and has very few conveniencies.

(84) Cicero, de Senect. *cap. ult. pag. m.* 452.

(85) That is, to the place whither the ſouls repair when they leave their bodies.

(86) See the remark [C], in the article PELIAS, concerning the miſtake that is here.

(87) See the end of the remark [R], in the article TULLIA.

[S] *What he told a nobleman whom he ſaw coming out of a bawdy-houſe, ſavours of a looſe morality; but he might have excuſed himſelf by alledging this axiom, that out of two evils the worſt ought to be avoided.*] I think Horace is the only perſon who mentions this particular,

Nil medium eſt. Sunt, qui nolint tetigiſſe, niſi illas,
Quarum ſubſutâ talos tegat inſtita veſte:
Contrà, alius nullam, niſi olenti in fornice ſtantem.
Quidam notus homo cùm exiret fornice, Macte

Virtute

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of kiſſing their kinſwomen, to know whether they had drunk wine [T]. As for the reſt,

Virtute eſto, inquit ſententia dia Catonis.
Nam ſimul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes æquum eſt deſcendere, non alienas
Permolere uxores (88).

(88) Horat. Sat. II, lib. i, ver. 28.

That is, as Mr Dacier renders it, 'People do not 'know how to keep a medium. Some do not care 'to meddle with any women, but ſuch ladies as wear 'long robes trimmed with purple. Others are only for 'common women. Whereupon it is ſaid, that the 'Divine Cato ſeeing a man of quality coming out of 'a houſe of ill repute, told him: Well done, dear 'Sir, go on; thither you ought to go, when you are 'inflamed with love, inſtead of debauching your neigh-'bour's wife.' Here follows Mr Dacier's note upon *Macte virtute eſto* (89): 'They are the words of Cato 'the Cenſor, who ſeeing a man of quality coming out 'of a houſe of ill repute, praiſed him, and exhorted 'him to do always ſo; but obſerving afterwards that 'he kept there continually, he told him, *Friend, I 'praiſed you for going thither ſometimes, but not for 'making your conſtant abode in that place. Adoleſcens, 'ego te laudavi quòd interdùm huc venires; non quòd hic 'habitares.*'

(89) Dacier upon this paſſage of Horace, *Tom. vi, pag.* 130, 131, Dutch edition.

[T] *It is a miſtake to ſay that he introduced among the Romans the cuſtom of kiſſing their kinſwomen, to know whether they had drunk wine.*] There is no doubt that the Romans forbad women the uſe of wine, and that to prevent their drinking of it in private, they introduced the cuſtom for men to kiſs their kinſwomen (90); but it is not true that Cato eſtabliſhed that law or that cuſtom. We read in Pliny (91) that one Egnatius Mecenius, who killed his wife, becauſe ſhe had drank wine, was acquitted by Romulus. We read the ſame thing in Servius, upon the 737th verſe of the firſt book of the *Æneid*. The abſolution of that huſband ought not to be looked upon as a ſtrange thing, ſince by the law of Romulus the puniſhment of a wife for her crimes was left to the diſcretion of the huſband and relations; and the two greateſt crimes ſhe could be guilty of, were to be unfaithful to her huſband, and to drink wine. Romulus, when he eſtabliſhed that law, was perſuaded that a woman guilty of adultery would attempt any thing; and that the drinking of wine was the beginning of adultery. This you may ſee in Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (92). It is highly probable, that the firſt king of Rome followed therein the old laws of Italy, among which none was more ancient than that whereby women were forbidden to drink wine; for we find that king Faunus whipped his wife to death, becauſe ſhe drank ſome, contrary to cuſtom. *Sex. Clodius in eo libro quem Græcè ſcripſit, refert Fauni hanc uxorem fuiſſe: quæ quia* CONTRA MOREM, *decuſque regium clam vini ollam ebiberat, & ebria facta erat, virgis myrteis à viro uſque ad mortem cæſa* (93). Plutarch mentions this, as you will ſee hereafter, in a place where I correct a fault, which, as far as I can remember, the critics have taken no notice of.

(90) See the paſſage of Valerius Maximus, quoted above, in citation (49), of the article EREMITA; and Aulus Gellius, *lib. x, cap. xxiii*; and Tertullian, *in Apologet. cap. vi.*

(91) Plin. *lib. xiv, cap. xiii.*

(92) In the ſecond book of the Roman Antiquities, *cap. xxvi, pag. m.* 93.

(93) Lact. *lib. i, cap. xxii. See alſo* Arnobius, *lib. v, p.* 165, & Plutarch. ubi infra.

From what has been ſaid, it ought to be inferred, That Cato the Cenſor was not the author of that law I have been ſpeaking of; and therefore there is a great miſtake in theſe words of Lomeierus: 'Apud 'Romanos mulieres paſſim oſculo ſalutabantur à pro-'pinquis, quo explorarent, an contra legem temetum 'olerent. Inſtitutum hoc erat Catonis teſte Plinio, 'lib. xiv. cap. 13 (94). - - - *The Romans ſaluted their 'kinſwomen wherever they met them, in order to find 'out whether they had been drinking wine contrary to the 'law. According to Pliny, this was inſtituted by Cato.*' This he ſays in his diſſertation concerning kiſſes. He has quoted Pliny, without giving himſelf the trouble to conſult him; for if he had conſulted him, he would have found that Pliny cites Cato, not as having introduced thoſe cuſtoms, but only as a writer, who mentioned them. 'Cato *(ſcripſit)* ideo propinquos fe-'minis oſculum dare, ut ſcirent an temetum olerent. 'Hoc tum nomen vino erat, unde & temulentia ap-'pellatur (95). - - - *Cato writes, that men kiſſed their 'kinſwomen for this reaſon, that they might know whe-'ther they ſmelt of* temetum, *which at that time was 'the name for wine; from thence comes the word* temulentia *(ſignifying drunkenneſs).*' I think Lomeierus took what he ſays from Kempius, whoſe words he read with little attention. He has vented a falſity for want of underſtanding the words of that writer; and another, though he underſtood them. Kempius affirms, That women were forbidden the uſe of wine by Cato's authority; and that afterwards the men began to kiſs their kinſwomen, to know whether they acted contrary to the law. 'Poſtmodum Succeſſu temporis '(96) cum ex auctoritate M. Catonis vinum mulieri-'bus interdictum eſſet, primùm viri cognatarum os 'cæperunt oſculari, ut odor indicium faceret, ſi bi-'biſſent. *Affinibus & propinquis oſculari eas jus eſt, ut 'ſobrias comprobent*, inquit *Arnobius Lib. II. adverſus 'gentes.* Vinum enim mulierem bibiſſe perindè erat, 'ac ſi in adulterio ac gravi crimine deprehenſa, capi-'tali ſupplicio plectenda eſſet, ceu *Plinius* habet *Li-'bro* XIV. Hiſtor. Nat. cap. 13 (97). - - - *Afterwards 'in proceſs of time, when women were forbidden the uſe 'of wine by Cato's authority, men firſt began to kiſs their 'kinſwomen, that they might diſcover by the ſmell whe-'ther they had been drinking.* Arnobius ſays, that their kinſmen and relations kiſſed them to make proof of their ſobriety. *For the ſame puniſhment 'was inflicted upon a woman for drinking, as if ſhe 'had been convicted of adultery, or ſome other capital 'crime; according to Pliny Book XIV of his Natural 'Hiſtory.*' It is plain that the quotation out of Pliny, at the end of this paſſage, does not concern the beginning of it; and yet Lomeierus made uſe of it to prove what he tranſcribed from Kempius, at the beginning of the Latin words which I have juſt now quoted.

(94) Lomeier, Genial. Dierum, *Part i, pag.* 357.

(95) Ibid.

(96) The reader had quoted the Canon-Law, and mentioned ſeveral things that happened after Cato; judge therefore whether his *Poſtmodum*, &c. is rightly placed.

(97) Martinus Kempius, Diſſert. XVI, de Oſculis, *pag.* m. 637.

Here is the fault, which, as I have ſaid, has not been obſerved in Plutarch's text. That Hiſtorian having aſked why the Roman ladies carried no myrtle into the chappel of the good goddeſs, though they uſed all other ſorts of leaved branches, anſwers, that the reaſon of it was, becauſe that goddeſs had been married to a man, who whipped her with a rod of myrtle, when he came to know that ſhe had drunk wine. Πότερον (ὡς οἱ μυθολογοῦντες ἱστοροῦσι) Φαυλίᾳ μὲν ἦν γυνὴ τῶ μάντεως, οἴνῳ δὲ χρησαμένη κρύφα, καὶ μὴ λαθοῦσα, ῥάβδοις ὑπὸ τῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκολάσθη μυρσίνης (98). That is, as Xylander renders it, *An credendum eſt fabulæ, quæ perhibet Faulii cujuſdam aruſpicis uxorem cùm clàm poto vino non ſeſe-liſſet, à marito virgis myrteis fuiſſe caſtigatam.* The Greek word Φαυλία, ought to be changed into Φαύνα; for not only the author quoted by Lactantius affirms, that the good goddeſs had been married to Faunus, &c (99); but Plutarch obſerves it alſo in the life of Cæſar. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νύμφην δρυάδα Φαύνῳ συνοικήσασαν. *Romanam nympham Dryada Fauno nuptam* (100). The Latin tranſlator might have boldly corrected that paſſage, but inſtead of rectifying it, he ſpoils it, and tranſlates it wrong. He ſuppoſes that Plutarch anſwered, that myrtle was not carried into the chapel of the goddeſs, becauſe the wife of one Phaulius had been whipped, &c. This is not the ſenſe of the original; Plutarch does not denote a man who may be called ſlightingly, *quidam, a certain man*; he ſays, That the woman whipped by her huſband was the ſame that was worſhipped at Rome by the name of the *good goddeſs*. Amyot avoided this laſt miſtake, which is the moſt conſiderable. He tranſlates the paſſage in this manner: *Is it becauſe ſome fabulouſly report that ſhe was married to one Flavius a ſoothſayer, and that her huſband having ſurprized her while ſhe was drinking wine privately, whipped her with rods of myrtle.* Boxhornius (101) made no obſervation upon Xylander's tranſlation of thoſe words.

(98) Plut. in Quæſt. Romanis, *pag.* 268, *D.*

(99) See, above, citation (95).

(100) Plut. in Cæſare, *pag.* 711.

(101) He publiſhed, with notes, Plutarch's tract *de Fluminibus Romanis*, in Greek and Latin, in the year 1637, in 4to.

What I have ſaid concerning the cuſtom of the Romans, who kiſſed their kinſwomen, wants a further explanation. Plutarch explains it very well, and it appears from the account he gives of it, that the women went and kiſſed their kinſmen, when they met them. This is a remarkable circumſtance, which the other writers have wholly omitted. *Why*, ſays he (102), *do women kiſs the mouth of their kinſmen? Is it becauſe, as moſt think, women being forbidden to drink wine, a cuſtom was introduced, that they ſhould kiſs the mouth of their kinſmen, when they met them, that thoſe who had drunk ſome might be convicted of it? or for the reaſon alledged by Ariſtotle the Philoſopher* (103) - - - - - *or rather, that privilege was granted to the ladies, as a thing that redounded to their honour, when it appeared that they were related to many honeſt men: or becauſe men*

(102) Plut. ibid. *pag.* 265.

(103) Viz. that the Trojan ladies having burnt Æneas's fleet, pacified the men by their embraces and kiſſes.

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reſt, he was both a great Orator and a profound Civilian [U]; two qualities which ſeldom meet together, no more than thoſe of eloquent Preacher and learned Divine (t). You will ſee in one of the remarks (u), in what degree Cato Uticenſis deſcended from him. I have obſerved ſeveral faults in the Hiſtorical Dictionaries and in ſome other writers, which I ſhall ſet down in my ſupplement, where I ſhall give the article of the other illuſtrious Cato's.

(t) See the remark [U].

(u) At the end of the remark [K].

men were not allowed to marry their kinſwomen, the latter were permitted to make much of them, ſo far as to kiſs them, which was the only ſign of kindred amongſt them; for heretofore they did not marry women related to them, as now it is not lawful for them to marry their aunts and ſiſters, and it was a long time before they were allowed to marry their couſins. I need not examine whether the reaſons alledged by Plutarch are very ſolid; I ſhall only conſider the facts mentioned by him, which are worth knowing. It plainly appears from his words, that the women kiſſed the men publickly, as they met them either in the ſtreets, or elſewhere. Civility required that the men ſhould not begin firſt, for it would have looked as if they had ſome ſuſpicion that their kinſwomen had drunk wine. The women were to preſent their mouths, and that very thing was a ſign they were not guilty. Their innocence had been doubtful, had they not boldly and readily offered to kiſs the men. Such a cuſtom at this day would occaſion many new thoughts, and a world of witty conceits and ſorry jeſts, for men are ſometimes very ſweet upon their couſins. A wiſe mother would not be very willing that the couſins of her daughters ſhould have the privilege of knowing whether they ſmell of wine. It is to be obſerved, that Propertius told his unfaithful miſtreſs (104), in a reproachful manner, that ſhe pretended to have more kinſmen than ſhe had, that ſhe might not want kiſſes,

(104) Cynthia, and not Phryne, as Kempius, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 636, falſly ſuppoſes.

Quin etiam falſos fingis tibi ſæpe propinquos
Oſcula ne deſint (105) qui tibi jure ferant (106).

Often falſe kinſmen you invent for this,
That you may have a fair pretence to kiſs.

(105) There is in the printed copies *nec deſunt*: I follow Gebhardus's correction.

(106) Propert. Eleg. VI, lib. II.

I ſhall conclude this remark, as I have begun it, that is, with cenſuring a fault concerning Cato. Kempius ſays, that he publiſhed a law whereby married people were forbidden to kiſs one another in the preſence of their daughters, and he quotes Plutarch for it. But Plutarch ſays no ſuch thing: we have ſeen above (107) what he ſays upon that ſubject. 'Nihilominus tamen parcè inter veteres maritale oſculum, '& non niſi admodum circumſpectè, ac remotis arbitris, ne liberi ſcilicet inde furtivis amorum illecebris ſtimularentur, M. Catonem Cenſorinum (108) 'Stoicæ diſciplinæ addictum, edicto prohibuiſſe, ne 'Maritus conjugem deoſcularetur in præſentiâ filiæ, 'Manliumque, quem omnium opinio Conſulem deſignabat, Senatu ejeciſſe, quod uxorem coram filia nubili exoſculatus eſſet, Auctor eſt *Plutarchus in Catonis vitâ pag.* 346 (109). - - - *Nevertheleſs among 'the ancients conjugal kiſſes were given in a very frugal and circumſpect manner, and that too when no body 'was by; for fear that the children ſhould be inflamed 'thereat with the hidden temptations of love. Plutarch 'relates that Cato the Cenſor made a law which forbid 'the huſband to kiſs the wife before the daughter, and 'that he degraded the Senator Manlius, who, as every 'body expected, was to have been conſul for the year 'following, becauſe he had kiſſed his wife in preſence of 'their daughter that was grown up.'* It is not true, that Cato enacted any law, or cauſed it to be enacted on that account. He puniſhed Manlius by the ſole authority of his office, which could not ſerve for a precedent: the Cenſors who ſucceeded him were not obliged to imitate him. I find no other example of ſuch a puniſhment, and it is very likely a great many people uſed the ſame liberty that Manlius took. The laws can hardly extend to ſuch prohibitions; all that can be done, is to give good advice, and make people afraid of being cenſured. I think Clemens Alexandrinus did not blame Cato's ſeverity. See how he adviſes married people to forbear kiſſing one another in the preſence of their ſervants (110).

(107) In the remark [O].

(108) It ſhould be *Cenſorium*. It is not true that this Cato was addicted to the ſect of the Stoics. Kempius miſtakes him for Cato Uticenſis, his great-grandſon.

(109) Kempius, ubi ſupra, Diſſert. XV, *pag.* 615.

(110) Clemens Alexandr. Pædag. *lib. iii, cap. xii, pag. m.* 258.

(111) Val. Maximus, *lib. viii, cap. vii, num.* 1.

(112) Quintil. Orat. Inſtit. *lib. xii, cap. iii, pag. m.* 565.

[U] *He was both a great Orator and a profound Civilian.*] See Valerius Maximus (111), and Quintilian (112), or rather, this fine paſſage of Cicero, whereby it appears, that Cato excelled in many things. 'Quid 'Marco Catoni præter hanc politiſſimam doctrinam 'tranſmarinam, atque adventitiam defuit? num quia 'jus civile didicerat, cauſas non dicebat? aut quia 'poterat dicere, juris ſcientiam negligebat? at utroque in genere & laboravit, & præſtitit: num propter 'hanc ex privatorum negociis collectam gratiam tardior in republica capeſſenda fuit? nemo apud populum fortior, nemo melior ſenator, idem facile optimus imperator: denique nihil in hac civitate temporibus illis ſciri, diſcive potuit, quod ille non tum 'inveſtigarit, & ſcierit, tum etiam conſcripſerit (113). - - - *What elſe was wanting in Marcus Cato, beſides 'that polite and foreign learning which was newly 'brought to Rome? Did he forbear to plead cauſes, for 'having ſtudied the Civil Law? or did he neglect that 'ſtudy, becauſe he had the art of pleading well? No, he 'applied himſelf to both with great induſtry and ſucceſs. 'Was he at all the more remiſs in ſerving the republic, 'becauſe he had thus acquired a good deal of favour by 'managing the affairs of private men? None had a 'greater influence with the people, none was accounted a 'better Senator, and every body allowed him to be an 'excellent general. In ſhort there was nothing at Rome 'in thoſe days that could be either underſtood or learned, 'which he did not thoroughly enquire into, know, and 'even write of.'* Thoſe who have been endowed with the nobleſt talents of rhetoric, and the moſt profound knowledge of the laws have been ſo few, that ſuch a conjunction may well be looked upon as one of the moſt eminent and extraordinary qualities of our Cato. I am not ignorant that Cicero (114) endeavours to prove, that none can be a great Orator without having an univerſal knowledge. 'Illud eſt, *ſays he* (115), 'hujus inſtitutæ ſcriptionis, ac temporis, neminem 'eloquentia, non modo ſine dicendi doctrina, ſed ne 'ſine omni quidem ſapientia florere unquam, & præſtare potuiſſe. Etenim cæteræ ferè artes ſe ipſæ per 'ſe tuentur ſingulæ: bene dicere autem, quod eſt ſcienter, & perite, & ornate dicere, non habet definitam aliquam regionem, cujus terminis ſepta teneatur. 'Omnia quæcunque in hominum diſceptationem cadere poſſunt, bene ſunt ei dicenda, qui hoc ſe poſſe 'profitetur, aut eloquentiæ nomen relinquendum eſt. '- - - *It will be proper to obſerve in this treatiſe that 'no man was ever famous for his eloquence, who had 'not acquired, beſides the art of ſpeaking, a kind of univerſal knowledge. For every other art ſtands in a 'manner ſingly by itſelf: but to ſpeak well, that is, to 'ſpeak properly, judiciouſly, and ornately, has no particular province to which it is bounded. A man who 'profeſſes to do this, muſt expreſs himſelf handſomely upon 'every ſubject that can fall under debate, otherwiſe he 'muſt give over his pretenſions to eloquence.'* I know likewiſe that he maintains, that Lucius Craſſus and Marc Antony the Orator, two of the moſt eloquent perſons of their time, were not ignorant men, as ſome believed; and, on the contrary, that they had a great deal of learning (116): but he himſelf owns that experience is againſt him; and if he had not confeſſed it, he might have been eaſily convicted of his error by ſome examples. 'Et in noſtra civitate, & in ipſa 'Græcia quæ ſemper hæc ſumma duxit, multos & ingeniis, & magna laude dicendi ſine ſumma rerum 'omnium ſcientia fuiſſe fateor (117). - - - *I confeſs 'that both in our city, and in Greece, which always held 'theſe things in the greateſt eſteem, there have been many 'endowed with extraordinary parts, and famous for 'ſpeaking well, though they wanted this univerſal learning.'* Durſt he have ſaid, that Demoſthenes might be accounted a learned man, if compared with Ariſtotle? Durſt he have ſaid, that Ariſtotle might have compoſed as good orations as thoſe of Demoſthenes? To ſpeak the truth, the talents of eloquence, and a vaſt erudition, do ſeldom meet together. This may be obſerved now, as it was in former times. The moſt famous preachers, generally ſpeaking, have no great ſkill in the Oriental languages and critical learning, and are not very profound Divines. See upon this the New Letters againſt Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm (118), where you will find what ſome perſons

(113) Ciceto, *de* Oratore, *lib. iii, fol. m.* 93, *B.* He had been ſaying in the firſt book, *fol.* 66, *A.* Quid vero ille M. Cato? nonne & eloquentia tanta fuit, quantam illa tempora, atque illa ætas in hac civitate ferre maximam potuit, & juris civilis omnium peritiſſimus?

(114) In Libris de Oratore.

(115) Cicero, *de* Oratore, *lib. ii, init. fol. m.* 71, *B.*

(116) Ibid.

(117) Ibid. *C.*

(118) *Pag.* 624, *& ſeq.*

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ſons, well qualified to judge of this matter, have ſaid about it. To which I add the teſtimony of the abbot of Saint Cyran: *You have ſhewed me by experience*, ſays he to a Jeſuit (119), *what I have heard ſay ſeveral times, that it is a very difficult thing to be both a good preacher and a very learned man.* Dr Huarte maintains, that learning and eloquence do not belong to the ſame faculty of the ſoul; that the former belongs to the underſtanding, and the latter to the imagination. See the ninth and tenth chapters of his *Trial of Wits*. Imperialis confutes him as well as he can (120), and does not prove his aſſertion. It is certain, that the Divine Providence diſtributes its gifts in ſuch a manner, that they are commonly ſeparated, ſome fall to one man's ſhare and ſome to another's. Thoſe who have received the gift of obtaining victories do not know how to improve them; and thoſe who might improve a victory, are not qualified to obtain it (121). Thoſe who excel in the knowledge of languages, and matters of fact, are not maſters of reaſoning. It cannot be denied, that, if Bochart did very much exceed M. Claude in learning, he was much inferior to him in urging difficulties, reſolving controverſial objections, and diving to the bottom of a Theological or Philoſophical diſpute. Balzac was a little ſurprized, when he ſaw a ſolid diſcourſe publiſhed by Father Faure, a great preacher (122).

(119) *St Cyran in his* Cenſure de la Somme Theologique du Pere Garaſſe, *pag.* 8, *of the* Avis au Pere Garaſſe.

(120) Joh. Imperialis, in Muſæo Phyſico, *lib. ii, cap. vii.*

(121) See, above, citation (13), of the article CÆSAR.

(122) See the Diſſertation printed at the end of the *Socrate Chrétien*, *pag.* 11, *& ſeq.*

PORSENA (CHRISTOPHER) See PERSONA.

PORTUGAL (ALFONSO SIXTH OF THAT NAME, KING OF) was born the twenty-eighth of Auguſt 1643. He was hardly ſeven years of age when he diſcovered ſome grains of folly. The diſorder of his mind did not leſſen his ambition it only diſcovered it the more plainly; for prince Dom Theodoſio, eldeſt brother of Alfonſo, dying the fiftheenth of May 1653, Alfonſo did not diſſemble his joy. He made it appear that he ſpoke in earneſt, when, the very firſt day of his brother's illneſs, he ſaid, he ſhould not be ſorry if it proved mortal, ſince he ſhould get a crown by it. He took poſſeſſion of that crown, under his mother's regency the fifteenth day of November, 1656 (*a*). He diſcovered more and more his bad qualities: he paid no regard to his governour's advice: he drew his ſword againſt the firſt perſons he met, and, if he did not kill them, it was not his fault: he ran about the ſtreets in the night with a parcel of rakes: he committed a thouſand violences, and played a thouſand mad tricks, in bawdy-houſes [*A*], and boaſted of it the next day, as of a glorious action. All the means, that were uſed to bring him off from theſe ill courſes proving ineffectual, it was reſolved to remove from him the perſons, who ſpoiled him, and they were carried away by main force out of his apartment. He was very angry at it, and left Liſbon to go to Alcantara. To prevent the ill conſequences of this retreat, the queen-regent, his mother, was obliged to put the government of the ſtate into his hands; which was done at Liſbon with the requiſite ceremonies, the twenty-third of June 1662. From that time three or four great lords, who had engroſſed that young prince, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring the queen into diſgrace [*B*], and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that ſhe was forced to execute, in March

(*a*) Her name was Louiſa Frances de Guſman. Her huſband, who, being duke of Braganza, became king of Portugal in 1640, died the ſixth of November 1656. See concerning this Revolution an anonymous book, printed at Paris in 1689, with this title, *Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de Portugal.* It was written by the Abbot Vertot, and is not leſs eſteemed than the *Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Sweden*, publiſhed by him in 1695.

[*A*] *He committed a thouſand violences, and played a thouſand mad tricks in bawdy-houſes.*] The relation (1) which affords me this article, informs me, (2) that he ran about the ſtreets with thoſe rakes; that they got into ſcandalous places, where they offered a thouſand violences to women; that he never went out with them in the night, but the next day one might hear many tragical ſtories; that he was dreaded every where as a wild beaſt; that, though he viſited proſtitutes in their own houſes, ſome were brought to his palace; and that he boaſted of ſuch mighty feats with them, as exceeded all belief. After the queen-mother's retreat, he formed two companies, one of foot, and the other of horſe, which he called, *The little and great patrol, conſiſting of the moſt profligate men in the kingdom* (3). He went out every night with them, and attacked every body he met in his way. *His attendants had generally their ſwords drawn, to be more ready to obey his orders; and, the better to ſurpriſe people, they blackened them, leſt the brightneſs of the ſteel ſhould diſcover their deſign. Thoſe who came back with bloody ſwords, were highly commended by the king.* 'His debauchery was as exorbitant as 'his fury; either he went to leud women, or they 'were brought to him at a country-ſeat near Alcan-'tara; and his favourites indulged him in it, to re-'move the report that he was impotent. (4)'

(1) The title of it may be ſeen in the margin of the text of this article, citation (*b*).

(2) *Pag.* 19.

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 91, 92.

(4) Ib. *p.* 95.

[*B*] *Three or four great lords uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring the queen into diſgrace.*] They were not in the wrong to believe, that the queen deſigned to ſet the crown on the head of her ſecond ſon; for, in the reaſons alledged to ſhew the nullity of the marri ge, which are printed at the end of the relation, it is ſaid, *That, conſidering the incapacity and impotency of king Alfonſo, the queen, his mother, who was fully perſwaded of it by a private conſultation of her Phyſicians about it . . . . reſolved, during her regency, to put the ſceptre into the hands of the Infant her ſecond ſon.* Alfonſo revenged himſelf: *He was well pleaſed to hear all the queen's actions reflected upon in his preſence.* Some people met at night under the queen's window, *at a time when ſhe uſed to ſhut herſelf up, in order to ſay her prayers, and broke her windows, and gave her ſuch injurious words, as are not fit to be put in writing* (5). Upon a day of the Conception of the Holy Virgin, the king, in the preſence of the whole court, *went by the queen, who ſat in her gallery, without paying her the uſual civility* (6). On the day ſhe left the court, the king ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and having accompanied her to the country-ſeat ſhe had pitched upon, he left her at the door of the firſt room, without ſhewing her any civility. *He returned to Liſbon in the night on horſeback, being very chearful, and coming up to the coaches of the ladies he met, he ſaid many indecent things to them* (7). Not long before ſhe died, ſhe acquainted her two ſons with the condition ſhe was in: the Infant wept; *but the king was ſo far from being moved with it, that he bantered his brother for his tenderneſs, and oppoſed his deſign of ſetting out immediately* (8). It is certain that queen had a great many vexations on account of her ſon Alphonſo. It is the fate of moſt ſovereigns, and it is not the leaſt miſery that attends them. Of all men, ſovereigns ſtand moſt in need of children, and no men are more diſquieted by them than they are. When they have no children, they ſee either many intrigues carried on, to give them a ſucceſſor, or exceſſive honours paid to another family. When they have children, they are tormented with jealouſy, to ſee the riſing-ſun adored. They are very happy, if they are ſuffered

(5) Ib. *p.* 85.

(6) Ib. *p.* 86.

(7) Ib. *p.* 90.

(8) Ib. *p.* 110.

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March 1663, a deſign, which perhaps was not ſo deeply rooted in her heart, as ſhe pretended; I mean, her deſign of leaving the world, to mind only her ſalvation. After ſhe had retired to a country-ſeat, the king indulged his vicious inclinations more than ever, ſo far as to make no account of the outſide of religion [C]; which ſhews, that his very favourites could not govern him [D]. They were, for ſome time, three or four; but at laſt the count de Caſtelmelhor ſupplanted the reſt, and ſecured his intereſt, by pretending he had diſcovered a horrid conſpiracy [E]. The infant Dom Pedro (b) was ſuſpected of a deſign to make himſelf king, and met with ſo many occaſions of diſcontent, that he left the court after the king had made his public entry at Liſbon, with his new ſpouſe, the twenty-ninth of Auguſt 1666. The queen-mother died the twenty-eighth of February in the ſame year. The new queen was a French princeſs, but of the houſe of Savoy (c). She prevailed with the Infant, by her intreaties, to return to Liſbon, where he had a great deal of vexation. The king gave her alſo a great deal of trouble, upon many occaſions; and from that time there was nothing but complaints and broils. The removal of the count de Caſtelmelhor, upon the repeated ſollicitations of the Infant, did not advance the affairs of that prince. The recalling of Antonio de Souſa de Macedo, ſecretary of ſtate, proved ſuch a terrible blow to the queen, that ſhe reſolved to ſee no body but the king, *who ſaid nothing to her but what was offenſive and indecent.* That ſecretary of ſtate had very much offended the queen, and had been deprived of his office at her ſollicitation; but he was reſtored in an inſulting manner. The Infant reſolved to turn him out at any rate, and went to the palace (d) with ſuch a ſtrong guard, that the ſecretary, relying no longer upon the king's protection, left the court. Afterwards the king was prevailed upon to order, that the ſtates ſhould meet the firſt of January 1668; but, before the day came, the queen made uſe of a terrible expedient: ſhe retired into a convent the twenty-firſt of November 1667, and acquainted the king, that ſhe deſigned to return into France; and declared to the ladies, who accompanied her, that her marriage had never been conſummated: ſhe mentioned it in her letter to her pretended huſband. Thus an action for impotency was brought againſt Dom Alfonſo [F]; a prince, who made ſuch boaſts of his amorous exploits (e). As ſoon as he had read the queen's letter, he went to the convent, and would have cauſed the gates

(b) He was the king's only brother.

(c) Her name was Mary-Frances-Elizabeth, and ſhe was born the 21ſt of June 1646, from the marriage of Charles Amadeus of Savoy, duke of Nemours, with Iſabella de Vendôme, daughter to the duke of that name, natural ſon of Henry IV.

(d) In October 1667.

(e) See the remark [A].

ſuffered to reign, till they die a natural death: the ſaying of Ovid may be particularly applied to them:

(9) Ovid. Metam. lib. i.

Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos (9),

[C] *So far as to make no account of the outſide of religion.*] Theſe are the words of the author who is my voucher. 'He had ſo little reſpect for religion, that, 'without any reaſon, he heard maſs in his own cham- 'ber, upon the week-days, whilſt he was in bed, and 'at an unſeaſonable hour. Upon holy-days, he never 'went to his chapel till he had dined; which was the 'reaſon that maſs was never ended in his chapel, but 'when they were ſinging veſpers in the other churches: 'And, becauſe he could not be excuſed from 'hearing ſermons, he ordered the preachers to cut 'them ſhort. Some, refuſing to obey, were baniſhed, 'and others would not preach. However, ſome had 'the courage to exclaim againſt ſuch diſorders; but 'it was to no purpoſe, becauſe others made their zeal 'inſignificant by the baſe flatteries which they mixed 'with their ſermons (10).'

(10) Relation, pag. 97.

[D] *His very favourites could not govern him.*] Doubtleſs, they had ſenſe enough to know, on the one ſide, that nothing could more endanger his crown, than his contempt of holy ceremonies: and, on the other, that an appearance of devotion was the beſt way to cover his irregularities, it was therefore their intereſt to inſpire him with ſuch a policy; ſince therefore, they did not make him a conſtant attendant upon the public exerciſes of devotion, and did not teach him to put on a devout countenance at ſuch hours, which, much more than charity, *covers a multitude of ſins*, we may very well believe, that they could not do it. They had been certainly very ſtupid, had they permitted a young prince, ready to comply with their will, to draw upon himſelf the hatred of the preachers, by ſuch an unpleaſing and mortifying order, as that of making ſhort ſermons. Was it not to wound them in the moſt ſenſible part? Some choſe rather to be baniſhed, or not to preach at all, than to obey that order (11). There was another thing, wherein this prince had no regard for the Preachers. He laughed at comets in the moſt extravagant manner. Here is a paſſage out of the above-mentioned relation. 'At 'that time there appeared a comet: the king being 'told that it foreboded the death of kings, or a change 'in their ſtates, gave it a thouſand hard words from 'his terras, called it a thouſand names, and fired a 'piſtol at it.' It was an eaſy thing to draw his true nativity, conſidering what ſort of men he exaſperated, and the great follies he committed.

(11) See the foregoing remark.

[E] *The count de Caſtelmelhor . . . . ſecured his own intereſt, by pretending he had diſcovered a horrid conſpiracy.*] The pretended diſcovery of a great plot, is a piece of craft frequently neceſſary to prevent conſpiracies, or to get rid of ſuſpected perſons. It is no matter, tho' no body be convicted: an alarm has been raiſed, and due meaſures have been taken to keep people in awe. The count de Caſtelmelhor *made the king believe, that there was a deſign to take away his crown, and at the ſame time ſpread a report, that he had diſcovered that conſpiracy by a divine revelation.* He accuſed the queen, the duke of Cadaval, and ſeveral other perſons, who were out of favour. *It was therefore reſolved, that enquiry ſhould be made into the pretended conſpiracy. . . . . That enquiry laſted a long time, either to ſhew, that they proceeded impartially in the matter, or to ſtrike a greater terror into the accuſed perſons, by exaggerating the pretended diſcoveries that were made every day. . . . Tho' the information laid no charge upon the accuſed, ſome pretended that they were not innocent; but the Judges ſhewed an unſhaken integrity, and moſt of them acquitted the innocent. The accuſed deſired to know what they were accuſed of; but a copy of their accuſation was denied them. And tho' that information ought to have been declared null, as containing no proofs againſt thoſe who were accuſed, yet it was preſerved, by the intereſt of the favourites, as a hand ready to ſtrike a blow, upon another occaſion on the heads of the perſons accuſed* (12). This was a refined piece of policy.

(12) Relation, pag. 100.

[F] *An action for impotency was brought againſt Dom Alfonſo.*] The queen's confeſſor had begun to carry on an intrigue, ſome months before, with count de Schomberg, and confeſſed to him the perplexity that princeſs was in. The king's impotency was one of the firſt things that were revealed to him. 'The 'queen, being no longer able to live under the con- 'ſtraint, which the king's brutality, and the favou- 'rite's cruelty, reduced her to, diſcovered to Father 'de Ville, her confeſſor, that ſhe was extreamly de- 'ſirous to acquaint the count de Schomberg with all 'her misfortunes, and the apprehenſion ſhe was in of 'ſomething worſe; that the duke of Beaufort, and 'the

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gates to be broken open, if the Infant had not prevented it. The next day he told his brother, *in a great paſſion, and in very indecent words, that he was more a man than people thought*. The queen declared, before ſeveral counſellors of ſtate and officers of the crown, the reaſon of her retreat, and that ſhe deſigned to get her marriage declared null. She writ to the chapter of the cathedral church of Liſbon (*f*), and deſired them to take congnizance of that affair. It was immediately propoſed to marry her to the Infant. The brief for a diſpenſation was not long a coming. In a word, they made ſuch diſpatch, in all reſpects, that, on the twenty-third of November 1667, Dom Pedro took poſſeſſion of the royal palace, and, the ſecond of April following, married Mademoiſelle d'Aumale; for ſo ſhe was to be ſtill called. The chapter had declared the marriage null the twenty-eighth of March foregoing [*G*]. I forgot to ſay, that, when Dom Pedro took poſſeſſion of the palace, he ſecured the king's perſon, who, on the ſame day, ſigned a writing, whereby he acknowledged, that he reſigned the kingdom to his brother, of his own motion. The ſtates of the kingdom declared Dom Pedro regent. He might have been proclaimed king, and have added to the royal authority, wherewith he was inveſted, a title which is of great uſe, even when another man is poſſeſſed of the whole monarchical power. Spain made a prudent uſe of this revolution, to conclude a treaty of peace (*g*), which the League, that was concluded, in 1667, between France and Portugal, might have prevented, had not a peace been neceſſary to a kingdom, which had lately got another maſter by ſuch proceedings. This is what I have taken from a book (*b*) printed at Amſterdam. I do not pretend to warrant the truth of it [*H*]; and, if I had ſome authentic and private

(*f*) The archbiſhopric was then vacant.

(*g*) It was concluded the 13th of Febr. 1668. See Wicquefort, *de l'Ambaſſad. Tom. i, pag.* 367.

(*b*) *Intituled*, Relation des Troubles arrivez dans la Cour de Portugal, en l'année 1667 & 1668.

'the biſhop of Laon, had recommended to her to repoſe an entire confidence in him; ſo that ſhe was perſuaded, he was the only man that could allay her grief, and afford her the means of getting glorioufly out of the ſad condition ſhe was in. That Jeſuit, who was very faithful to his miſtreſs, and behaved himſelf with great diſcretion and prudence in the midſt of ſo many dangers, approved the queen's deſign, and imparted it to the count de Schomberg; and, becauſe they had a mutual eſteem for each other, he gave him a particular account of the queen's trouble, according to the order he had received, and his own inclination. He alſo told him, that the report about the king's impotency was but too true; and that it was to be feared, the conſequences of it would prove diſmal; that a private door had been lately contrived in the queen's chamber; and that the bed had been placed in ſuch a manner, that one might get into it through that door, without being ſeen by thoſe, who were in the chamber; and that it was to be feared ſomebody would come in that way, to ſupply the king's weakneſs (13).' This is what I find in the Memoirs of Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt (14); who was very well acquainted with the affairs of the court of Portugal. The queen's confeſſor, and the confeſſor (15) of the infant Dom Pedro, did very much contribute to the revolutions of that country (16).

(13) Mémoires de Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt, *pag.* 319, 320.

(14) They were printed in 1701.

(15) He was alſo a Jeſuit.

(16) See the ſame Memoirs, *pag.* 322, & *ſeq.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that few perſons have been in a more deplorable condition than that queen, before the revolution: for (17) *the next day after ſhe married king Alfonſo . . . . it appeared, that things did not paſs ſo agreeably between two perſons of their age as might have been expected. At firſt this was only perceived by thoſe, who had the neareſt acceſs to them; but by degrees the thing went farther, and began to lay the foundation of a third cabal in that court, of which the two weakeſt, as it commonly happens, ſided againſt the ſtrongeſt, and at laſt triumphed over it . . .* (18). *The king was not of a more courteous diſpoſition than he had been before his marriage: he went on in his old way, and gave every day new vexations to the queen, ſo far as to declare he was in love with the firſt lady of her chamber . . . The count de Caſtel Melior, his favourite, having* (19) *gained one of the queen's women, whom ſhe truſted moſt, had only an outward reſpect for that princeſs; ſo that the king and his favourite, abating ſome civilities they ſhewed her in public, made it appear that they cared little for her in private. Such an odd conduct gave the queen occaſion to miſtruſt them, and to ſuſpect that they were contriving pernicious deſigns againſt her; but the more ſhe had reaſon to complain, the more ſhe was cautious in expreſſing her reſentment, not knowing whom to truſt. . . . France, from whence ſhe was lately come, was ſtill in her mind; and the deſire ſhe had of doing what was expected from her took up all her thoughts; and therefore ſhe was more willing to diſſemble her grief, than to ſeek a remedy for it. But, though her unhappineſs was very great, ſhe was uneaſy upon another account; for ſhe could not bear the injuſtice that was done to the Infant, and, upon all occaſions, ſhe endeavoured to reſtore him to the king's favour.* How unhappy was this queen! ſhe was at the ſame time both a wife and a maid; ſhe had an impotent and a brutiſh huſband; ſhe was afraid of his ill deſigns; ſhe miſtruſted every body; ſhe ſaw a prince, whom ſhe eſteemed, and who loved her (20), cruelly perſecuted. The king of Portugal had particular reaſons for being civil and complaiſant to his ſpouſe: he ought to have acted like an inſolvent debtor, who endeavours to pacify his creditors by his humility, and great civility, *qui nummos non geſtat in burſa, mel ſalem habeat in bucca*. He ſhould at leaſt have given good words; but, on the contrary, he abuſed his wife, not conſidering that he could not make amends for his abuſive language. Moſt huſbands, in a like caſe, are humble and complaiſant: they endeavour to ſhew the falſity of the proverb, *That one misfortune is always attended with another*. This is alſo the uſual practice of diſloyal wives; they do whatever they can, by their flatteries and ſubmiſſion, to make their huſbands eaſy with their horns.

(17) Fremont d'Ablancourt, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 294.

(18) Ib. *p.* 295.

(19) Ib. *p.* 296, 297.

(20) The Infant conſidered, that, if *the proceſs of the queen-mother had been executed*, he would have been now in poſſeſſion of what he valued more than the crown, and that he ſhould not have the vexation to ſee ſo beautiful a princeſs (*the queen married to Dom Alfonſo*) ſo unworthily treated. *Ibid. pag.* 294.

[*G*] *The chapter had declared the marriage null, the twenty-eighth of March foregoing.*] Their ſentence imports, that the two parties had done their beſt to conſummate the marriage, without being able to ſucceed in it, and that the whole fault was to be aſcribed to the huſband. I ſhall ſet down their own words ſomewhat at length. 'It appears, that, during that time '(21), having endeavoured both of them to conſummate the marriage, they could not effect it, though 'they uſed their endeavours towards it, by reaſon 'of the prince's impotency, which proceeds from an 'infirmity, which he has had from his childhood, 'and which is now altogether incurable. Which 'may be ſufficiently made out by means approved of 'in law; ſo that the impotency is at leaſt morally 'certain: and therefore there is no need of an inſpection, 'or a better proof, ſuch as that of three years, or any 'other arbitrary time. This whole matter having 'been examined, with ſome others acts, in conformity to the laws, we judge the marriage, between 'the ſaid moſt ſerene prince and princeſs, to be contracted *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and we declare it 'to be void, and that the ſaid prince and princeſs 'may diſpoſe of themſelves as they ſhall think fit, 'and divide their eſtates according to the tenor of 'their contracts (22).'

(21) That is, the ſpace of fifteen months.

(22) Relation, *pag.* 218.

[*H*] *I do not pretend to warrant the truth of it.*] Who hears but one ſide, hears nothing: I ſhould be very glad to ſee an anſwer of the Count de Caſtelmelhor to the author of the Relation. There is one thing, which I do not underſtand: if the follies of Dom Alfonſo had been ſuch as they are repreſented by that author, they could not have been unknown to the ambaſſadors or envoys of the Moſt Chriſtian King; and, if they knew them, they could not be ignorant, that this

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private memoirs of the contrary party, I would produce them without any partiality; for or againſt Dom Alfonſo, that the readers might be the better able to judge of the whole matter. That prince was ſo far from appealing from the ſentence, whereby he was declared impotent, that he acquieſced in it *viva voce*, and by writing. The new married couple, having lived together for ſome time, demanded the Pope's diſpenſation, for the greater precaution, to confirm that, which the cardinal de Vendoſme, legate *à latere* in France, ſent them before they married. The Pope granted their requeſt. It is certain that the queen alledged great motives of conſcience, to get her marriage diſſolved (*i*) [*I*]; and that it would be unreaſonable to put a malicious

(*i*) Taken from the ſame Relation.

this prince was in a condition, wherein private men are not allowed to diſpoſe of their eſtates. Thoſe who are guilty of ſuch follies, uſe to be ſhut up, or at leaſt are put under the guardianſhip of their relations. How comes it then, that the miniſters of France did not acquaint the king their maſter, when the marriage of Dom Alfonſo was on foot, that he was a madman, and, beſides, ſuſpected of impotency? It has been ſaid, that princeſſes are victims ſacrificed to the intereſt of the ſtate; which was never truer than with reſpect to Mademoiſelle d'Aumale. The favourites of Dom Alfonſo ſuborned a woman to declare, that the king had got her with child (23): but ſhe ſwore afterwards that it was falſe. The author of the relation (24) lays a great ſtreſs upon that woman's oath; but he had no reaſon for it: what ſhe ſaid ought not to be regarded; for, ſince ſhe could tell a lie at the ſollicitation of a favourite, ſhe might as well tell a lie againſt a prince, who was a priſoner, and near being depoſed. Such retractations ſhould not be admitted as an evidence: whoever will be ſuborned to ſay a thing, may as well be ſuborned to deny it (25).

(23) Relation, *pag.* 96.

(24) *Pag.* 248.

(25) *Confer quæ ſupra*, in the article CALVIN, remark [*T*].

[*I*] *The queen alledged great motives of conſcience, to get her marriage diſſolved.*] This wants to be explained; otherwiſe one would be apt to think, that the queen, miſtruſting her temper, and not being able to oppoſe the inclinations of nature, had a mind to make uſe of the lawful remedy, which ſhe did not find in the perſon of Dom Alfonſo. In a word, one would be apt to think, that ſhe had not the gift of continence; and that ſhe wanted a huſband, for fear of tranſgreſſing the laws of chaſtity. But this would be a wrong interpretation of the motives of conſcience alledged by her. It is therefore neceſſary to explain the matter, in order to prevent the falſe judgments of the readers.

I. Dom Alfonſo, notwithſtanding his impotency, was a very unchaſte and leud man; and therefore he was guilty of ſin in that reſpect, and brought the ſame guilt upon the queen; for the looſeſt Caſuiſts are agreed, that, without certain conditions, which were wanting in Alfonſo, it is a piece of leudneſs in a huſband to come near his wife, and in a wife to permit it. This cannot be more particularly explained in our language. It is not likely that a perſon of her rank, whoſe ſteps are expoſed to the public view, would have engaged, without an extreme neceſſity, in a ſuit, wherein an hundred things, contrary to modeſty, were to be diſcuſſed.

II. The queen knew, that the king and his favorite would never conſent to Dom Pedro's marriage; and therefore, ſince the king was not in a capacity to get children, ſhe could no longer diſſemble, without expoſing the kingdom of Portugal to diſmal revolutions, which ſhe thought herſelf obliged to prevent, not only out of love for that kingdom, but alſo out of conſcience.

III. Whenever the king had a mind to ſport with a young woman, he made uſe of a fore-runner: one of his favourites broke the ice, and then the prince did his beſt to get in through the breach He deſigned to uſe the queen in the ſame manner; and therefore the queen was obliged in honour and conſcience to get herſelf diſengaged from ſuch an huſband.

Thoſe three things want to be proved; and therefore I ſhall ſet down what I find in the *Reaſons alledged for the invalidity of that marriage*(26).

(26) Relation, *pag.* 251.

What follows concerns the firſt point. 'Conſcience continually dictated to her majeſty, that, 'after a tedious experience of ſixteen months, ſhe 'was obliged to part with the king, without deſiring 'to make a longer trial, eſpecially conſidering, that, 'being fully ſenſible of his incurable impotency, 'and having frequently conſulted her confeſſor about 'it, to manage that important affair with greater ſe-'crecy, the ſame confeſſor, having maturely conſidered the thing, and what he was to ſay about it, declared before God, that he believed her majeſty 'was no longer obliged to do violence to her conſcience, by cohabiting with the king.' As to the ſecond head, I refer the reader to the two hundred and fifty ſecond page of the relation.

What concerns the third head is contained in the following words. The queen ſaw her honour, *which was always dearer to her than the crown, and her own life* (27), 'expoſed to great dangers, and had very 'good reaſons to think ſo. Though it be never ſo 'neceſſary to mention them, yet virtue and modeſty 'will not allow me to ſay more of the matter, than 'what is abſolutely neceſſary to give a right notion of 'it. One of thoſe reaſons was, that, though the 'king knew he ſhould never be able to get children, 'yet he expreſſed a very great deſire of getting ſome; 'to be reſtored (28) to the throne by that means, and 'to put an end to the common report of his impo-'tency, which made him more uneaſy than his own 'weakneſs. And therefore, the more he was ſenſible 'of his impotency, the more he endeavoured to ſhew 'the contrary, by proſtituting himſelf to all ſorts of 'women, hoping to keep his crown by that means, 'and to vex his brother to death, whom he mortally 'hated, becauſe he ſaid, and knew for certain, that 'his majeſty would never get any children, by reaſon 'of his impotency. The other reaſon is, That the 'queen was not ignorant of what was then kept ſecret, 'and which the judges afterwards came to know, by 'the declaration of the perſons concerned, viz. that, 'when the king had a mind to lie with a maid, not 'being able to do it himſelf, by reaſon of his impo-'tency, he cauſed her to lie, in his chamber, and in 'his own preſence, with one of his favourites, to 'make the thing more eaſy to him; though, after 'all, he did not ſhew himſelf more a man than before; 'as it appears from the depoſitions of thoſe concerned 'in it, who have ſworn it upon the holy goſpel. And 'what made the queen moſt apprehenſive, that the 'king, without any regard to his honour and con-'ſcience, had ſuch a deſign upon her, was her being 'continually ſollicited, in the king's name, towards 'the latter end of April, 1667, by his moſt intimate 'favourites Enrigo Enriguez de Miranda, and the 'Count de Caſtelmeglior, with the marchioneſs his 'mother, lady of honour to her majeſty, to remove 'in the night from her apartment, (where the king 'had made hitherto no difficulty to come to her) in-'to that of his majeſty, to lie with him (29), con-'trary to the ancient form, and the uſual cuſtoms of 'the palace, and without any apparent neceſſity. And, 'becauſe the queen declined it ſeveral times, with all 'poſſible gentleneſs, alledging for her reaſon, not that 'which made her moſt apprehenſive (30), (for, not-'withſtanding this new uneaſineſs, ſhe would have 'complied with the king's will, having always been 'very ſubmiſſive to him) but modeſty, which will not 'allow a woman of honour, much leſs a princeſs and 'queen, to make, without any neceſſity, ſuch an ex-'traordinary alteration; which doubtleſs would have 'occaſioned ſeveral reflexions upon her's and the 'king's reputation; the king fell into ſuch a paſſion, 'that, in the night of the ſame day, he had a mind 'to drag her out of her bed into his apartment. But, 'after many threatnings and hard words, holding a 'dagger in his hand, he told her, that ſhe muſt re-'ſolve upon it in twenty-four hours; and then, if ſhe 'refuſed to comply with his deſires, he ſwore he 'would drag her, or get her dragged by four footmen. 'The queen was ſenſibly afflicted at it; and therefore 'the next day ſhe ordered her confeſſor to complain of 'it to the count, and to deſire him to prevent it, 'proteſting, that ſhe had rather die than do what the 'king

(27) Ibid. *pag.* 253.

(28) This is a very improper word: for king Alfonſo had not been dethroned yet.

(29) Compare with this the remark [*F*], towards the end, where mention is made of another device, which made the Queen uneaſy.

(30) I put here a NOTA BENE, becauſe the author expreſſes himſelf in ſo intricate a manner, that it requires great attention to underſtand his meaning.

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malicious conſtruction upon the deep melancholy which appeared in her face [K], as ſoon as ſhe was ſenſible of her huſband's weakneſs. Dom Alfonſo was ſent into the iſle of Tercera, where he continued ſeveral years: but there being ſome reaſon to fear, that the enemies of the ſtate would reſcue him from that place, in order to raiſe troubles in the kingdom, he was removed to a ſafer place, viz. the caſtle of Cintra, ſeven leagues from Liſbon, where he died of an apoplexy, the twelfth of September 1683 (k).

(k) *Taken from the* Mercure Galant, *for October* 1683.

The queen of Portugal, formerly his wife, followed him ſoon after; for ſhe died at Palhavam, the twenty-ſeventh of December 1683 (l), being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Her only daughter, the Infanta of Portugal, was born the ſixth of June 1669, and contracted to the duke of Savoy in 1679. That marriage was made public in the council of ſtate of Portugal, on the fifth of September: the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled to ratify it, and to derogate from a law, whereby the princeſſes of the royal family, who marry foreign princes, are excluded from the crown (m) [L]. Notwithſtanding which, this marriage was broke, before the duke of Savoy ſaw the Infanta: ſhe died, without having been married, the twenty-firſt of October 1690. The queen her mother took great care of her education: *ſhe wrote with her own hand ſome inſtructions* for the Infanta, *which were found after her death* (n), and are very fine. They may be ſeen at length in the Mercure Galant for the month of May 1684 (o). King Dom Pedro married, in 1687, a daughter of the Elector Palatine, who died in the year 1699, aged thirty-three years (p). Several particulars are to be found in the Memoirs of Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt, printed in 1701, concerning Dom Alfonſo's reign, the diſſolution of his marriage, his depoſition, &c.

(l) Mercure Galant, *for February* 1684, *pag.* 123.

(m) Taken from the Paris Gazette.

(n) Mercure Galant, *for May* 1684, *pag.* 23, 24.

(o) *Pag.* 25, *& ſeq.*

(p) *See* l'Eſprit des Cours de l'Europe, *for September* 1699, *pag.* 480.

Since I have mentioned the mariage of the duke of Savoy with the Infanta of Portugal, it may not be improper to add here, that it was thought the court of France had greatly influenced this affair. The reaſoners have not failed to argue hereupon, and to alledge ſeveral motives, with as much confidence, as if they had been let into the ſecrets of the cabinet. I will not examine what they relate: I will only point out a book, in which one of their lies has been refuted (q).

(q) *The fifth volume of the* Reply to the Queſtions of a Provincial, *ch. vi.*

' king deſired, or any thing unworthy of her. This, ' together with the fear that was imprinted in the ' queen's mind, is the reaſon why from that time ſhe ' never thought herſelf ſafe, whilſt ſhe remained ex- ' poſed to a danger, which ſhe could not ſo well avoid ' at another time, as ſhe did then; eſpecially con- ' ſidering, that the woman, whom her majeſty ' ought to have placed the moſt confidence in upon ' ſuch an occaſion, viz. her lady of honour, was the ' perſon whom ſhe had moſt reaſon to miſtruſt, by rea- ' ſon of the advice ſhe had given her, becauſe ſhe was ' the mother of the king's favourite, and openly ex- ' preſſed a great deſire that the queen ſhould have ' children by any means whatever, in order to make ' her's and her ſon's fortune; having ſaid, in expreſs ' words, to the confeſſor, in a conference they had ' together upon that ſubject, in order to perſuade him ' to prevail with the queen to change her bed and ' apartment, that it would be only for five or ſix ' nights, and then ſhe aſſured him, that the king ' would go to the queen as he did before.'

[K] *The deep melancholy, which appeared in her face.*] If any one aſks, how I come to know, that the queen was melancholy, he need only read the following paſſage, which is to be found among the reaſons alledged for the invalidity of that marriage. ' The firſt time the king lay with the queen. which ' was three or four days after ſhe arrived in Portugal, ' that princeſs was ſo ſenſible of his impotency, tho' ' ſhe was ignorant of things of that nature, that her ' confeſſor, who perceived ſhe was very melancholy, ' and ſuſpected the truth of what was ſaid, having ' taken the liberty to ask her, out of confeſſion, ' with all due modeſty and civility, whether there was ' any ground for what was reported, or whether ſhe ' might quickly expect to ſee the fruits of her mar- ' riage; ſhe anſwered him (as may be ſeen in the pro- ' ceedings) in ſuch a manner, as made him ſenſible of ' what ſhe thought already of the ſtate of her mar- ' riage, and of the king's inability to get chil- ' dren (31).' I ſhould be glad to ſee a book lately publiſhed (32).

(31) Relation, *pag.* 250.

(32) I have been told ſince now, that the hiſtory of this Princeſs, written by Father Orleans, a Jeſuit, has been publiſhed at Paris in May 1696. This I find in the firſt edition; and now I hear that this hiſtory has been reprinted at Amſterdam, and yet I have not been able to ſee it.

[L] *And to derogate from a law, whereby princeſſes, who marry foreign princes, are excluded from the crown.*] It is called, The law of Lamego. It was made by Dom Alfonſo Henriquez, the firſt king of Portugal, in the ſtates general aſſembled at Lamego, after the victory he obtained over five Mooriſh kings at the battle of Urica, in the year 1139. It is enacted by that law, that the princeſſes of the royal blood, who marry foreigners, cannot ſucceed to the crown. It is by virtue of that law, that the dukes of Parma were excluded from the crown of Portugal, tho' they are deſcended from the princeſs Mary, eldeſt ſiſter of Catherine, grandmother to king Dom Pedro (33).

(33) I have taken this from a Paris Gazette of the year 1679.

POZZUOLO, in Latin *Puteoli*, a town in the kingdom of Naples, has now but ſome few inconſiderable remains of its ancient luſtre. It was built by the Samians, in the fourth year of the LXIVth Olympiad, which was the 232d year of Rome (a). It was called *Dicæarchia* (b). It did belong, for ſome time, to the inhabitants of Cumæ, who made it their harbour (c). The Romans conquered it, during the ſecond Punic war, in the year of Rome 538, and put a ſtrong garriſon in it (d). They made it a colony twenty years after, and changed its name into that of *Puteoli* (e) [A]. It was one of the beſt ports they had upon that ſea [B]. It became very conſiderable for the beauty of the public ſtructures that were

(a) Euſeb. in Chron.

(b) By contraction Dicharchia. The Latin Poets made uſe of that word, even when it was called Puteoli.

(c) Strabo, *lib. v.*

(d) Livius, *lib. xxxv.*

(e) Livius, *lib. xxxii, & xxxiv. See alſo the inſcription given by Andreas Schottus,* in Itinerario Italiæ, *Part iii.*

[A] *Into that of Puteoli.*] Either becauſe of the great number of wells, or by reaſon of the ill ſmell of the hot waters (1).

(1) Strabo, *lib. v.*

[B] *It was one of the beſt ports the Romans had on that ſea.*] The merchantmen of Alexandria had their ſtore-houſe there, as it appears from theſe words of Seneca. ' Subito hodie nobis Alexandrinæ naves ap- ' paruerunt, quæ præmitti ſolent & nunciare ſecuturæ ' claſſis

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were raiſed in it (*f*), I mean its Temples, Circus's, Theatres, and Amphitheatres. The country-houſes, which the moſt wealthy citizens of Rome, and Cicero, among the reſt, built near that town, contributed ſtill more to make it famous (*g*). Some ſay its purple was more valued than that of Tyre [*C*]. I ſhall ſay nothing of its baths; every body knows they were very famous [*D*]; and they are ſo to this day. Auguſtus (*b*) and Nero (*i*) ſent new colonies thither. It was burnt down by Alaric, in the 410th year of the Chriſtian Æra, and by Genſeric in the year 455 (*k*). Totila took it ninety years after, or thereabouts; and it was then diſmantled, and plundered with ſuch fury, that it remained uninhabited for the ſpace of ſixteen years. The Greeks having rebuilt it, it recovered itſelf by degrees, ſo that it was a good place, when Romuald II, duke of Benevento, made himſelf maſter of it in the year 715, and deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. It was plundered by the Hungri in the Xth century. After ſeveral revolutions, it fell at laſt into the power of Alfonſo of Arragon, king of Naples, in the XVth century. Earthquakes have made ſtrange devaſtations in this town, at ſeveral times, eſpecially in the year 1538 (*l*). The place, wherein Gaſſendus mentions them, will give me occaſion to obſerve a miſtake of his abbreviator [*E*]. I ſhall alſo take notice of a blunder of Benjamin Tudelenſis [*F*].

(*f*) See the Antiquities of Pozzuolo, written by Scipio Mazzella.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*b*) Frontin. de Colon.

(*i*) Tacitus, Annal. *lib. xiv.*

(*k*) Scip. Mazzella, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Taken from the ſame Scipio Mazzella.

'claſſis adventum; tabellarias vocant. Gratus illorum
'Campaniæ adſpectus eſt: omnis in pilis Puteolorum
'turba conſiſtit - - - In hoc omnium diſcurſu prope-
'rantium ad litus, magnam ex pigritia mea ſenſi vo-
(2) Seneca, Epiſt. LXXVII, init. *Compare what* Suetonius *ſays, in* Auguſt. *cap. xcviii.* 'luptatem (2). - - - - *This day, on a ſudden, we had*
'*a fight of the Alexandrian ſhips, which are uſually*
'*diſpatched before, to give notice that the fleet will ſoon*
'*arrive, they call them* tabellariæ. *The fight is pleaſing to*
'*the people of Campania, who ſtand in crowds on the*
'*ſhore of Puteoli . . . Whilſt every one elſe ran in haſte*
'*to the ſtrand, I found great pleaſure in my own lazi-*
'*neſs.*'

[*C*] *Some ſay its purple was more valued than that of Tyre.*] Scipio Mazzella ſays ſo, and quotes Pliny for it: however it is certain, that Pliny does not ſpeak of the purple, but of a kind of vermillion with ſome purple in it. Theſe are Mazzella's words: '*Fu da gli antichi*
'*tenuta in gran ſtima la purpura, che ſi faceva in*
'*Pozzuolo, che per la bontà & eccellenza ſua avanzava*
'*quelle di Tirio, de Getulico, e del Laconico, ch'erano*
'*purpure pretioſiſſime. Di che Plin. nel.* 35. *lib. al* 6.
'*capo della purpura parlando così ſcrive.* Quare Puteo-
'lanum potius laudatur, quàm Tyrium aut Getuli-
'cum, unde precioſiſſimæ purpuræ (3). - - - *The purple*
'*of Puteoli was held in great eſteem by the ancients, as*
'*exceeding in goodneſs thoſe of Tyre, Gætulia, and La-*
'*cedæmon, which were the moſt valuable purples, ac-*
'*cording to Pliny, lib. xxxv. cap.* 6.' He ſhould have conſidered, that the word *Puteolanum* is to be referred to *purpuriſſum è creta argentaria*, which Pliny had been ſpeaking of: women uſed it for a paint (4).

(3) Scipione Mazzella, Antichita di Pozzuolo, *pag.* 6, *&* 7, *Edit. Napol.* 1606, *in* 8*vo.*

(4) Quiaque iſtas buccas tam belle purpuriſſatas habes. *Plautus, in Trucul. Act. II, Sc. II, ver.* 35. *See alſo the ſame* Plautus, in Moſtell. *Act. I, Sc. III, ver.* 101.

[*D*] *Its baths . . . were very famous.*] See the treatiſe of John Eliſius, a Phyſician, *de Balneis Puteolanis*, corrected and enlarged by Scipio Mazzella: it is printed at the end of the Antiquities of Pozzuolo. There are in it ſome Latin verſes, written by Alcadinus in praiſe of thoſe baths. Alcadinus was born at Syracuſe, and his father ſent him to Salerno, to ſtudy there, where he made ſo great a progreſs in Philoſophy and Phyſic, that he was quickly made profeſſor of thoſe two ſciences. He acquired ſo great a reputation in Phyſic, that ſeveral princes deſired to have him. He cured the emperor Henry VI, who fell dangerouſly ſick in the kingdom of Naples, and ever after he was a favourite of that emperor, who beſtowed many preſents upon him. After Henry's deceaſe, he was Phyſician to the emperor Frederic II, and made, at his requeſt, the verſes I ſpeak of. He flouriſhed in the year 1191, and lived fifty-two years (5). Thomas Bartholinus does not mention him in his catalogue of Phyſicians, who have been Poets.

(5) *Taken from* Scipio Mazzella, de Balneis Puteolanis, *pag.* 260.

[*E*] *A miſtake of his abbreviator.*] Gaſſendus ſays, that earthquakes do ſometimes produce mountains in the continents, and iſlands in the ſea. As to the mountains, he alledged what happened near Pozzuolo, in the year 1538. 'Mirabilius videri poteſt, *ſays he*
'(6), enaſci ex oppoſito non modo in continentibus
'montes, ſed etiam in medio mari inſulas. Nam de
'montibus quidem facit fidem Puteolanus ille, quem
'Simon Portius * ita deſcribit, ut fuerit una nocte ad
'pluſquam M. paſſuum altitudinem, ex pumicibus, ci-
'neribuſque congeſtus; id nempe ſub finem Septem-
'bris, anni M. D. XXXVIII. - - - - *It may ſeem*
'*more ſtrange, that not only mountains, ſhould ariſe on*
'*the continent, but iſlands likewiſe in the ſea. As to*
'*mountains, it is confirmed by what Simon Portius re-*
'*lates of one that was thrown up near Puteoli, conſiſt-*
'*ing of pumice-ſtones and aſhes, about the end of Sep-*
'*tember* 1538.' Though Berneir was a man of learning, he miſtook a word in this paſſage, the ſenſe of which is very plain. He did not conſider, that Puteolanus ought to be referred to *terræ motus*; but he made an author of it. *What is no leſs ſurpriſing*, ſays he (7), *is, to ſee mountains of pumice-ſtones and aſhes ariſe in one night, in the middle of a continent, as Puteolanus relates.* Which puts me in mind of the *Hexameron Ruſtique*, wherein la Mothe le Vayer obſerves, that *du Pinet — made two Roman gentlemen of two kinds of marble* (8), and that Coëffeteau (9) ſpeaks of Captain Corſinius, inſtead of the town of Corſinium.

(6) Gaſſendus, Phyſicæ, §. *iii, membro I, lib. i, cap. vi, pag.* 50, *Oper. Tom. ii.*

* Epiſt. de Conſt. agri Put.

(7) Bernier, Abrégé de la Philoſophie de Gaſſendi, *Tom. v, pag.* 127, *Lyons* 1684.

(8) See the article PINET, citation (26).

[*F*] *The blunder of Benjamin Tudelenſis.*] He ſays, not only that the town Puteoli was called Surrentum in former times, but alſo that it was built by Tſintſan Hadar-Ezer, who betook himſelf to flight for fear of king David. *Ulterius profectus fui Puteolos quondam Surentum dictum, urbem magnam, quam olim condidit Tſintſan Hadar Ezer, quum metu Davidis regis (in pace quieſcentis) aufugiſſent* (10). Thoſe two falſities have been taken notice of by Mazzella (11), and Conſtantin l'Empereur (12), and afterwards by Pinedo (13), who obſerves, that this Tſintſan Hadar is mentioned in the ſecond book of Samuel, chap. viii. v. 3. and that the ſuppoſititious Joſeph Ben-Gorion, tells the ſame fabulous ſtory in the third chapter of his firſt book. This ſhews the ſpirit of the Jewiſh nation, and even of all others. Every people fancies, that their great men have performed many things in the remoteſt countries. David, whoſe name was unknown in Italy, till the Romans read Joſephus, and who lived about three hundred years before the foundation of Rome, did ſo fright Romulus, if Benjamin may be credited, that this founder of Rome dug out a way of fifteen miles under the mountains near Puteoli to hide himſelf. *Hinc per milliaria quindecim ſub montibus iter conficitur. Operis author eſt Romulus, qui Romam condidit, atque hæc omnia fecit cum ſibi à Davide Iſraelitarum rege & Joabo exercitus duce metueret. Alia etiam cum ſupra, tum infra montes urbis Neapolis exſtruxit* (14). Here follows the note of Conſtantin l'Empereur: it contains an exclamation, which is not too vehement, conſidering the impertinence of that rabbin. 'Quis
'ad tantum ſtuporem non obſtupeſcat? coætaneos fa-
'cit Davidem & Romulum, quum trecentis circiter
'annis poſt Davidem regnare cœperit. Quod in du-
'bium vocari non poteſt; ſed ex diverſis hiſtoricis
'conſtat, & paſſim à Chronologis obſervatum, quo-
'rum verba repetere neceſſe non eſt in tanta luce.
'Huic parallelum eſt, quum Romulum talparum
'more in terram ac longiſſimas ſpecus ſe recipitie fin-
'git, ſive eas metu Davidis, qui ante aliquot ſecula
'mortem obierat, excavaſſa ſcribit. Quis ad hujuſ-
'modi non ſtomachetur? ſi nos ita aberraremus, quàm
'ſuperbe nobis Judæi inſultarent (15). - - - *Who is*
'*not aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſtupidity? he makes David and*
'*Romulus cotemporaries, when the latter began his reign*
'*about three hundred years after David: which cannot*
'*be doubted, but is evident from ſeveral Hiſtorians, and*
'*conſtantly obſerved by the Chronologers; whoſe words I*
'*need not repeat in ſo clear a point. Parallel to this is,*

(9) In the 18th chapter of the 3d book of his tranſlation of Florus.

(10) Benj. Itiner. *pag.* 14, *Edit. Lugd. Bat.* 1633.

(11) Mazzella, Antichita di Pozzuolo, *pag.* 4, *&* 5.

(12) L'Empereur, Notis in Benj. Itiner. *pag.* 159.

(13) Pinedo, in Stephanum Byzantinum, voce Δικαιάρχεια, *pag.* 236.

(14) Benjam. ibid. *pag.* 15.

(15) L'Empereur, ubi ſupra.

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his making Romulus hide himself under ground like a mole, for fear of David, who had been dead some centuries before. Who can swallow such absurdities? If we were guilty of the like, how haughtily would the Jews insult us?'

PRADILLHON (JOHN BAPTIST) born in the Limousin, 'retired 'when very young to the solitude of the Feuillants, the abbey and chief of the order 'in the diocese of Rieux. The cloyster presently acknowledged his merit; from the 'age of twenty-five years he shared in the government, and at the age of forty 'he became its judge and head. This election was repeated four times, and, if the 'laws of their condition had not opposed it, the esteem and inclination of his Monks 'would have continued him always in this post (*a*). . . . . He died at Paris in 'his monastery of the street of St Honoré, the twenty-fifth of September, 1701 (*b*)'. I will take some notice of the books he published [*A*].

(*a*) Mercure Galant, *month of October* 1701, *pag.* 253.

(*b*) Ib. *p.* 263.

[*A*] *I will take some notice of the books he published.*] 'The intimate acquaintance and familiarity, which 'there was at Rome between him and the learned 'Fagnanus, where he was procurator-general at that 'court, has procured us a practical treatise of the 'Canon-Law, which not only the monks, but the 'ecclesiastics also, consult in matters of discipline. It 'is not easy to collect together in a large volume so 'great a number of important matters, with so 'much order and perspicuity, as is contained in this 'small volume. The Feuillant nuns of Toulouse 'owe to it the discovery of the secret and almost in-'credible austerities of their first mothers. The public 'has relished his accounts (1).' He is the author of a book, intituled, *The conduct of Don John de la Barriere, first abbot of the Feuillants, during the troubles of the League, and his attachment to the service of king Henry III.* This work was printed in 1699: the *Journal des Savans* of the thirteenth of September, 1700, has given an abstract of it. Pradilhon had taken several journeys, *for the good of his congregation*, which gave him access *to the most celebrated archives of the provinces of the kingdom. As he had a great deal of discernment with respect to ancient writings, and an honesty proof against all interest, the learned referred themselves to his extracts alone: the testimony of the famous Mr Baluze, in his Popes of Avignon, is to him instead of an entire elogium. The nobility willingly trusted him with the examination into their titles; he had studied that matter by way of amusement; but his modesty would never suffer him to publish what he had written on that subject* (2).

(1) Mercure Galant, *month of October* 1701, *pag.* 255, 256.

(2) Mercure Galant, *ubi supra*, *pag.* 259, &c.

PRÆPOSITUS (NICOLAS) was a Physician at Tours, and composed a Dispensatory, which is full of thefts, if we believe the author I am going to cite [*A*]. The Sieur Konig (*a*) calls him a Physician of Salernum. It is a mistake.

(*a*) In Biblioth. vet. & nova. *pag.* 661.

[*A*] *He composed a Dispensatory, which is full of thefts, if we believe the author I am going to cite.*] This author's name is John de Renou: I have given his article. He informs us (1), that there have been four Physicians, named Nicolas each of which has written a Dispensatory, and that, among these, he, who is surnamed Præpositus, formerly a Physician at Tours, 'has made no scruple to seize to himself the honour 'and labour of the other three, by transcribing word 'for word, and attributing to himself, the antidotary 'of a certain Pharmacographer, named James des 'Parties (2), which had been before compiled and 'transcribed by Nicolas Myrepsus, and other Antido-'tariographers; and, besides this, has maliciously 'concealed the surname of the said Nicolas's, the bet-'ter to hide the manifest theft he has been guilty of 'from their writings, and has been contented to put 'at the head of the compositions, which he stole 'from them, the said name of Nicolas alone, without 'specifying the surname of Nicolas of Alexandria, Ni-'colas of Florence, or Nicolas of Salernum; from 'whom he has taken (and they from the above said 'James des Parties) what he falsly ascribes to 'himself.' He has deceived many persons; for *the common Apothecaries look upon him as the true and rightful author of all the barbarous and gross compositions, which are in a certain vulgar and trivial Dispensatory, in the frontispiece of which he has put his name and surname. But he has been so malicious, that he has put his name alone at the head of each composition, to make it be believed, that he is the author of it, tho' the contrary is very well known.* This may be of use to those writers, who would continue the list of plagiaries begun by Thomasius.

(1) John de Renou, in the 6th book of the *Antidotary*, *ch. vi*, *pag.* 751, *Edit. of Lyons* 1637. See also his *Introduction to Pharmacy*, *ch. xvii*, *pag.* 489; and in the preface, and the 3d chapter of the 5th book of the *Antidotary*, *& alibi passim.*

(2) The author of *Lindenius renovatus* says, *pag.* 490, that *Jacobus de Partibus*, born at Tournay, was Physician of Charles VII, King of France, and Philip duke of Burgundy, and that he died canon of Tournay, about the year 1465. See the article PARTS.

The author of *Lindenius renovatus* (3), citing the Chronology of the Physicians, composed by Wolfgang Justus, affirms, that Nicolas Præpositus seems to be the same as Nicholas Myrepsus, surnamed the Alexandrian, and that it is said, he was a Physician at Lyons about the year 1524. Now this Wolfgang Justus had said (4), that *Nicolaus Myrepsus Alexandrinus, Præpositus alias dictus*, lived among the modern Greeks about the year 1198, and (5) that Nicolaus Alexandrinus lived before Ægineta, i. e. before the year 420 (6). Judge a little, I pray, whether he considered the matter nearly. We find in *Lindenius renovatus* (7), that the *Dispensatorium Nicolai Præpositi ad Aromatarios, sive Introductiones in Artem Apothecariatus*, was printed at Lyons, in 1505 and 1536, in 4to; and at Paris, in 1582, in 4to.

(3) Pag. 842.

(4) Ib. p. 840.

(5) Ib. p. 829.

(6) Ib. p. 865.

(7) Pag. 842.

PRAT (ANTONY DU) chancellor of France, and afterwards cardinal, in the reign of Francis I, was born at Issoire in Auvergne. It is agreed, that he was a man of great abilities, but not that he was a good man. He is blamed, among other things, for the Concordate, that was made between Leo X and Francis I, in the year 1516. It is said, that by that means he introduced into the kingdom a pernicious usage [*A*], whereby the choice of bishops was transferred to the court; which

[*A*] *It is pretended, that he introduced*, by the Concordate, *a pernicious usage.*] I design to quote some authors upon this subject, and I begin with the words of a Jansenist (1): 'Chancellor Antony du Prat, 'cardinal, archbishop of Sens, bishop of Alby, 'Valence, Die, and Gap, and abbot of Fleury, as-'sembled (2) in the convent of the great Augustins 'at Paris, the bishops of his province, who attended 'the court, and caused some ordinances to be 'read, which he had made for the explanation of the 'Christian doctrine, and for the discipline of the 'church, against the errors of Luther, which made 'a great noise in Europe at that time . . . . (3)

(1) Dialogue entre deux Parroissiens de St Hilaire du Mont, sur les Ordonnances contre la Traduction de Mons, *pag.* 37, *of the first volume of the pieces, concerning that translation.*

(2) In the year 1528.

(3) Ib. p. 38.

That

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which was the ready way to beſtow mitres upon men more worldly and vain, than learned and virtuous. But it may be anſwered, that the church was not better ſerved

That prelate never reſided in any of his dioceſes, and never performed any epiſcopal function, except that ordinance againſt Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, and Zuinglius; for Calvin and Beza were not yet talked of. This good prelate is ſaid to have aboliſhed the Pragmatic Sanction, that is, the pure obſervation of the ancient canons in the church of France, and to have been the author of the *Concordate* between king Francis I and Leo X, whereby the apoſtolical diſcipline has been deſtroyed in France, canonical elections have been aboliſhed, and the Gallican church brought under a deplorable ſlavery.' The archbiſhop of Ambrun took that chancellor's part, and endeavoured to make the Janſeniſts odious to the court; as if by diſapproving the Concordate they envied the advantages that accrue to his majeſty from it: *They endeavour*, ſays he (4), *to deprive his crown of a great advantage: they exclaim, in the tenth page of the firſt libel, againſt the Concordate, that was made between Francis I and Pope Leo X.* That good prelate, *ſay they, ſpeaking of chancellor du Prat, cardinal and archbiſhop of Sens*, is ſaid to have aboliſhed the Pragmatic Sanction, that is, the pure obſervation of the ancient canons, &c. . . . . *They bear an ill will to that great man, becauſe, in a council he held in his province of Sens, in the year* 1528, *he forbad the tranſlations of the Bible into the vulgar language.* Theſe words were criticized by a perſon, who wondered (5) he ſpoke of *the Concordate in a manner ſo unbecoming his character.* 'He ſhould have learned from the moſt famous Hiſtorians, and the verbal proceſſes of the clergy of France, what opinion the biſhops, the parliaments, and good men, have always had of that treaty. He ſhould not have been ignorant, that for a long time public prayers were put up in ſeveral churches, to beg of GOD that it might be aboliſhed, by the reſtoration of canonical elections (6), as it appears from ſeveral Rituals, ſuch as that of Vannes, printed at Lyons, and another of Clermont, printed in 1608, by order of the late cardinal de la Rochefoucaut. Laſtly, ſince he ſets a great value upon the authority of the archbiſhop of Paris, he ſhould at leaſt have ſpoken of it as that prelate does in the life of Henry IV, wherein he ſays, *pag.* 229, that the General Aſſembly of the Clergy, held at Paris in 1599, *made a long remonſtrance to the king, whereby the prelates intreated him not to take upon him to nominate to the biſhoprics, abbies, and other benefices, with cure of ſouls.* And he ſhould not have appeared leſs knowing than a prince like Henry IV bred up in hereſy, and in the war, who notwithſtanding anſwered the clergy, as the archbiſhop of Paris tells us, *that he acknowledged the truth of what they had told him concerning the nomination to benefices, but that he was not the author of that abuſe.*' I ſhall add another paſſage (7). *It is not true*, that the writers of Port-Royal *have reaſon to bear an ill-will* to chancellor du Prat, *becauſe* he forbad the tranſlations of the Bible into the vulgar language in the council of Sens, of the year 1528; 'for he never iſſued ſuch a prohibition, being contented to forbid only the printing of the ſacred books, without the authority of the ordinary: which does not concern the verſion of Mons, which was approved by the ordinary of the place where it was printed. Neither is it true, that it is a fault not to ſpeak of cardinal du Prat as of a *great man*, and that the author of the Dialogue is to blame for ſpeaking of him as he does, ſince no one, who is ever ſo little acquainted with our Hiſtory, can deny, that no man was more cried down than he was by the writers of his time. Belcarius, biſhop of Metz, calls him *Bipedum nequiſſimus, - - - the worſt of men*, and accuſes him of having bribed the judges to condemn to death the Sieur de Semblance. Probably it is upon him that Budæus beſtows the ſtrange encomium which is at the beginning of the 260th page * of his book intituled *Forenſia.*'

It is certain, that the Concordate was attended with terrible abuſes in the collation of benefices: hence it is, that, upon the complaints of the three eſtates of the kingdom, aſſembled at Orleans, in the year 1560, a regulation was made, which might have put things in a very good way, if it had been obſerved. It runs thus, 'All archbiſhops and biſhops ſhall be, for the time to come, upon a vacancy, elected and nominated, *viz.* the archbiſhops, by the biſhops of the province, and the chapter of the archiepiſcopal church: the biſhops, by the archbiſhop and biſhops of the province, and the canons of the epiſcopal church, together with twelve notable gentlemen elected by the gentry of the dioceſe, and twelve notable citizens, who ſhall be likewiſe elected in the town-houſe of the archiepiſcopal or epiſcopal city. All which being convened upon a certain day, by the chapter of the vacant ſee, and aſſembled in the aforeſaid manner, ſhall agree in the choice of three perſons, duly qualified according to the holy canons and councils, and of thirty years of age at leaſt, whom they ſhall preſent to us, that we may elect one of the three for the vacant archbiſhopric or biſhopric.' I ſhall ſet down the words of a commentator (8), to give the reader a notion of the evils, which it was thought that ordinance would remedy. 'If the divine and human laws had been obſerved by thoſe who profeſs them, or whoſe buſineſs it is to put them in execution, this article would certainly have been needleſs; for the things mentioned in it were regulated by the ancient laws and holy ordinances, as they are here. But the calamities of the time, the boldneſs, avarice, and the credit of great men, had corrupted and altered every thing; and the miſchief would have daily increaſed, had not our judicious prince, or thoſe who aſſiſt him, prevented it. Ignorant and fooliſh men were poſſeſſed of the beſt benefices and the nobleſt dignities and biſhoprics, by favour, friendſhip, and money; and becauſe, for want of capacity and experience, they were not able to diſcern good from evil, and knew not how to diſtinguiſh virtue from vice, they acted exactly according to their mean knowledge. Nay, ſometimes they were appointed biſhops before they were intirely formed in their mothers womb; the ill effects of which have been felt in all Chriſtendom. The poor afflicted people could not forbear murmuring, being governed by ſuch men, or their lieutenants and vicars, of the ſame ſtamp with their maſters, who laid intolerable burdens upon them, though they themſelves did not care to touch them with one of their fingers; until the LORD opened the eyes, the heart, and the mouths of the people, to ſee and complain, and of princes to hear, and of the king to judge with equity and uprightneſs. I think we have reaſon to hope from Charles IX, our king, what the Augurs or Soothſayers ſaid of Auguſtus, in whoſe reign the whole monarchy was ſo well governed, and enjoyed all manner of proſperity and happineſs. It appears by this article, that good and honeſt men, well ſkilled in learning, ſhall receive a reward for their labours; the ignorant ſhall be rejected and laid aſide; and young people will be encouraged to appear on the noble ſtage of virtue. Sucking children will be no longer raiſed to eccleſiaſtical dignities, a burden too heavy for their weak ſhoulders, eſpecially in what concerns religion, which requires, that none ſhould be appointed to teach it but ſuch as are honeſt, chaſte, and holy, and whoſe fleſhly luſts are extinguiſhed through age, or the love of GOD. For, to appoint for the government of the church ignorant men and children, who are not able to govern themſelves, is a ſtrange and extravagant thing, and no leſs contrary to all divine and human laws, than if one ſhould appoint a pupil to be guardian of another pupil, and a blind-man to lead another blind-man. . . . . The good king Lewis XII, perceiving ſuch a fault among his clergy, ſaid, that aſſes had a better time than horſes; for horſes, added he, gallop to Rome in queſt of benefices, but many aſſes are provided with them. Which is the reaſon why they have been expoſed by ſeveral paſquinades and famous libels; and the following verſes have been made upon the loſs of the elections, againſt thoſe, who have uſurped them, and thoſe who are unworthily poſſeſſed of church-preferments.

(4) Requête preſentée au Roi par l'Archevêque d'Ambrun, *pag.* 270, *of the aforeſaid volume.*

(5) Remarques ſur la Requête de l'Archevêque d'Ambrun, *pag.* 271, *of the ſame Tome.*

(6) Quintin, in his ſpeech to the clergy, in the general aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom in 1561, ſpoke with great vigour for the reſtoration of the elections. See *Preſident de la Place, Hiſt. de l'état de la Religion & Republique, fol. m.* 143, *verſo, & ſeq.*

(7) Remarques, &c.

* *Lib. iii.*

(8) *Joachin du Chalard, advocate in the great council*, Sommaire Expoſition des Ordonnances du Roi Charles IX, *fol.* 7, *verſo*, *Paris* 1568.

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ſerved in the time of the elections, than it was under the Concordate [B]. I can hardly believe what is ſaid by ſome Hiſtorians, that cardinal du Prat diſcovered a deſire of being made Pope [C]. Some authors ſay, that he pretended a retention of urine,

Au temps paſſé l'Eſprit Saint eſliſoit
Ceux, dont ſouloit l'Egliſe eſtre ſervie.
En ce temps-là, vertu fruit produiſoit:
Car les eleuz eſtoyent de ſainte vie.

Mais maintenant les mondains par envie
Ont uſurpé la ſainte eſlection,
Dont s'en enſuy humaine affection:
Et par ainſi tous vices procedez

Sont des Paſteurs: qui nous ſont concedez
Par les chevaux, par la poſte, & par dons.
Trop mieux vauldroit les eſlire à trois dez:
Car à l'hazard ils pourroyent eſtre bons.

In times of yore, the Holy Spirit choſe
Such as moſt uſeful to the church cou'd be:
Virtue then had its crown; ſince only thoſe
Elected were, of noted ſanctity.

But now the worldlings have uſurp'd the choice,
Low grov'ling minds, by baſeſt motives ſway'd:
Hence favour and affection rule each voice,
And hence the vileſt men are paſtors made.

Who fitteſt are in churches to preſide,
By bribery alone determin'd is:
Better with box and dice the choice decide,
And truſt to chance for good ones, hit or miſs.

If I write the article of Genebrard, as I hope I ſhall, I will not forget to mention the book he publiſhed, to ſhew the neceſſity of reſtoring canonical elections (9). He called the Concordate a myſtery of iniquity.

(9) It was burnt by the hangman. See the XIth Diſſertation of Natalis Alexander, *in Selecta Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ capita, Seculi XV, & XVI.*

[B] *The church was not better ſerved in the time of the elections, than it was under the Concordate.*] It appears from the jeſt of Lewis XII, mentioned in the foregoing remarks, that there were many abuſes under the Pragmatic Sanction, and before the Concordate. The archbiſhop of Ambrun maintains (10), *that the Concordate has removed the abuſes, the Simony, and the cabals which formerly prevailed in the elections.* An Abbot Commendatory does very much enlarge upon thoſe diſorders. 'A great lady was ſaying one day, 'in my hearing, that ſhe heard king Francis ſay, that 'the chief reaſon, which moved him to make the 'Concordate with Pope Leo, in order to aboliſh the 'elections of biſhops and abbots, and of ſome priors, 'was becauſe thoſe elections were attended with great 'abuſes among the Monks; for, without any regard 'to a man's abilities and learning, which were then 'very rare in monaſteries .... they elected, moſt 'times, the merrieſt fellows, the greateſt whoremon-'gers and tipplers, the greateſt lovers of dogs and 'hawks, in a word, the greateſt debauchees, that they 'might have the liberty to live a looſe and diſorderly 'life, under ſuch abbots and priors, who were bound 'by an oath to indulge them in their debaucheries. 'The worſt of all was, that, when they could not 'agree in their elections, they frequently fought and 'wounded one another; nay, ſometimes their quarrels 'were attended with murder: in ſhort, they made a 'greater noiſe, and formed more cabals and factions, 'than there are at the creation of the rector of the 'univerſity of Paris, which I have ſeen formerly; 'I do not know whether it be ſo ſtill. Beſides, ſome 'elected a ſilly Monk, who wanted courage and re-'ſolution to keep them to their duty, and threatened 'him, when he pretended to ſeverity. Others elect-'ed a poor wretch, who ſtole their money and ſtarv-'ed his Monks, which occaſioned great complaints, 'and the impoveriſhing of the abbey.... In a word, 'there were many other abuſes in thoſe elections, 'which I paſs over in ſilence. Beſides, that great 'king, conſidering the many ſervices of his nobility, 'and not being able to reward them with the re-'venues of his demeſns, and the money ariſing from 'taxes, (for the whole was neceſſary to carry on his 'long wars) he thought it more proper to beſtow 'upon them ſome abbies, and other church-prefer-'ments, than to leave them in the hands of the 'Monks, a ſort of men, ſaid he, good for nothing 'but eating and drinking, gaming, making bow-'ſtrings and ferret-bags, catching rabbets, whiſtling 'to linets, and living an idle and diſorderly life; and 'therefore it was then a common ſaying, *As idle as 'a Prieſt or a Monk*; and likewiſe, *as covetous and as 'great a whoremonger as a Prieſt or a Monk*; as the 'Italians ſay, *Preti, fratri Monachi & pulli, mai non 'ſon ſatulli* (11). .... It is to be obſerved, that, if 'the elections have been attended with abuſes among 'Monks, thoſe of biſhops have not been more regu-'lar; for, when a man had a mind to be made a bi-'ſhop, he bribed the canons and other dignified men 'with money or great promiſes: ſo that it was rather 'a downright Simony, than a lawful and holy electi-'on; in imitation of many Popes of thoſe times, who 'bribed the cardinals in order to get their votes. 'There were alſo great tumults and factions in the 'chapters, ſo far as to beat and kill one another; 'as it was formerly practiſed in Germany; for the 'canons were fighting men, as they are ſtill, and made 'uſe of ſwords, as well as of the Breviary. The bi-'ſhops lived a very diſorderly life in thoſe times: they 'reſided in their dioceſes more than they do now, for 'they never left them; but then they minded 'nothing but dogs, hawks, feaſts, and whores, of 'whom they had a Seraglio; as I have been told of 'one, who picked up young and handſome girls of 'ten years of age, and had them bred up and down 'in ſeveral villages (as gentlemen do their dogs) in 'order to make uſe of them when grown up. They 'were allowed to live ſuch a ſcandalous life; for they 'were ſo much dreaded, that none would have had 'the courage to cenſure them for it. I might ſay a 'great deal more upon this ſubject, but I will not 'raiſe a ſcandal. Our preſent biſhops (ſaid a great 'man to me) are more diſcreet, or at leaſt more cun-'ning hypocrites, and know better how to conceal 'their vices. GOD forbid that what I have ſaid of 'the ancient and modern biſhops, ſhould be under-'ſtood of all; for in former times many of them were 'good and holy men, as there are ſtill, and there will 'be many, with GOD's bleſſing, who loves and never 'forſakes his people (12).'

(11) Brantome's Memoirs, Tom. i, in his diſcourſe upon Francis I, pag. 251, & ſeq.

(12) Brantome, ibid. pag. 255.

[C] *It is pretended, that cardinal du Prat diſcovered a deſire of being made Pope.*] The gentlemen of Port-Royal took care to repreſent to the archbiſhop of Ambrun what Laurence Capelloni relates concerning the death of Antony du Prat. 'Clement VII, *ſays that 'author*, being dead, cardinal du Prat had ſuch an 'extravagant deſire of being made Pope, that he took 'the liberty to tell the king, that it was in his pow-'er to raiſe him to the Holy See. The King, being 'willing to ſee how far his ambition would carry him, 'gave him leave to go on. The cardinal added, 'That, if His Majeſty would be pleaſed to uſe his in-'tereſt with the college of cardinals, in order to make 'him Pope, he would be contented with the name, 'and the king ſhould have the power. The king, 'perceiving the exceſſive ambition of this man, and 'conſidering the great difficulties of ſuch an enter-'prize, which could not be executed without vaſt ſums 'of money, anſwered him, Faith, Mr Chancellor, the 'cardinals are ſo greedy, that I have no mind to ſa-'tisfy their greedineſs. The cardinal replied, That, 'if the king approved of the deſign, he would find 'four hundred thouſand crowns to put it in execution. 'The king told him, For what I know, Sir, you have 'the ſum you mention; but I have no mind to con-'cern myſelf with ſuch a project. This anſwer made 'the cardinal ſenſible, that he was to blame, not ſo 'much for having expreſſed his ambition, as for hav-'ing diſcovered his great riches. He grew ſo melan-'choly upon it, that he fell ſick, and his illneſs, 'which was inconſiderable at firſt, increaſed very 'much, when he was told, that the king, knowing 'that he kept his bed, had ordered his goods and 'money to be ſeized, telling thoſe, who complained 'of it in the cardinal's name, that he dealt with him 'as he had adviſed him to deal with others: So that,

'ſays

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urine, in order to get out of a danger [D]. It is not likely, that his ignorance of the Latin tongue was so great, as Jonston will have it [E]. It has been observed, that

' says that Historian, the cardinal died, God knows ' how, (*Dio sa come*) very uneasy about it (13).' It will not be improper to add, that those gentlemen intimated to that prelate, that he could not doubt of the truth of that story, since he had approved the book wherein it is to be found. *Such was*, say they (14), *the death of that great man, of whom one cannot give an ill character, without offending the archbishop of Ambrun. And yet it is observable, that this story is mentioned in the lives of the cardinals, written by Aubery, and printed for Soly, in* 1645, *with an authentic approbation of* Messire George d'Aubusson, *wherein he declares, that* the truth of History is exactly represented in that book; *and therefore it is somewhat strange, that his great employments should so quickly make him forget his first studies.*

(13) Remarques, ubi supra, *pag.* 272.

(14) Ibid.

Mr Varillas (15) gives us Capelloni's narrative, without citing him, and observes, that *du Prat grew so big, that his table was cut hollow, to make room for his belly.* He adds (16), that this cardinal, ' after he had ' been in a languishing condition for half a year, died ' the 9th of July 1535 (17); and to make a kind of ' satisfaction to his cathedral church of Sens, into ' which he never entered, tho' he had been a long ' time archbishop of that place, he desired to be buried ' in it.' We are told another story, which is more disadvantageous to Francis I, than that of Capelloni. I shall set it down, to shew how little such narratives ought to be minded; for there is hardly any greater sign of falsity, than when a thing is differently related, and applied to different times and persons. ' It was ' a peccadillo of the court, like that of king Francis I, ' to trick cardinal Marcellus (§ *α*) out of his money, ' for the king wanted money. Melanchthon, who says ' he was very well acquainted with that cardinal, re- ' lates the thing in the following manner: *The king, having received some letters from Rome, spread a report, that Pope Paul was dead. He sent for that cardinal, whom he knew to be an ambitious man, and very desirous to be made Pope, and told him that piece of false news. The cardinal represented to the king how much it concerned him and his kingdom, that the next Pope should be a good friend to him. It is certainly so, replied the king; what if we should make you Pope? The cardinal approved the motion. This cannot be done without money, said the king, and I have not the necessary sums to carry on such a project. The cardinal offered him two tuns of gold. That is enough, said the king; I will add to it something of my own.* The ' next letters, that came from Rome, brought advice ' that the Pope was still living, and had not been sick. ' The cardinal told the king of it, and demanded his ' money. The king's answer was, *I will chide my ambassador for writing to me false news:* as for the ' money, he said, *If the Pope be not dead, he will die* (18).' The author, who relates this story, quotes a book of Melanchthon, which I have not (19), and therefore I cannot tell whether he is exact; but I find in another work of Melanchthon, a fact which seems to keep a medium between this story, and that of Capelloni. Here it is related at length. ' Rex ' Galliæ, pater Francisci, indigebat subitò pecunia. ' Itaque per alium quendam ad suum Cancellarium ' ex Roma, & per postam mittit ei literas, significans ' Papam esse mortuum. Lectis literis, mox properat ' Cancellarius ad Regem, ei nunciaturus tanquam ali- ' quid novi. Rex legit literas, simulans se nescire, & ' interrogat quid sibi sit faciendum? Respondit Can- ' cellarius, consultissimum esse mittere Romam Lega- ' tum, & aliquem constituere Papam, qui sit à parti- ' tibus regis Galliæ. At Rex: ad eam rem opus est ' pecunia, sicut dicitur: Nulla pecunia est satis magna, ' aspiranti ad Pontificatum. Cancellarius dicit, se ad- ' huc habere duas thonnas auri; utrum sufficerent? ' Respondit Rex: Bene est, & ego aliquid pecuniæ ' addam. Cura igitur unam thonnam auri perferri ad ' me. Postquam eam Rex acceperat, subornat alium ' nuntium afferentem ei literas, Papam adhuc vivere, ' & non esse mortuum. Egregium sanè inventum, ' quo quasi cornicum oculos confixit, & avarum per ' suam avaritiam decepit (20). - - - *The king of France, the father of Francis, on a sudden wanted money.* ' *Wherefore he caused a letter to be sent by another hand,* ' *and by the post, from Rome, to his chancellor, informing him, that the Pope was dead. The chancellor having read the letter, hastened to the king, to acquaint him with the news. The king read the letter, pretending ignorance, and asked what was to be done? The chancellor replied, that it is most advisable to send an ambassador to Rome, and set up one for Pope, who was a friend to the king of France. The king answered, that money was necessary for that purpose, and that no sum was large enough to one who aspired to the pontificate. The chancellor said, he had two tuns of gold, if that would do. The king replied, it is well, I will add some money to it; therefore send one of the tuns to me. After the king had received it, he suborned another messenger to bring him a letter, acquainting him that the Pope was not dead. An ingenious device this, to deceive an avaritious man by the means of his own avarice!*' According to this passage, it was not Francis I, who tricked his chancellor out of his money, but another king of France, father to Francis. But because the father of Francis I was not a king, it should be said, that Melanchthon means Henry II, father to Francis II; but can Francis II be rightly denoted by the bare name of Francis? Manlius did no honour to his master, by publishing a narrative, wherein the persons are so ill described. I leave it to the reader to observe how differently the three stories mentioned by me have been related.

(15) Hist. de François Prémier, *livr. vii, pag.* 241, *of the* 2*d Dutch edition.*

(16) Ibid. *pag.* 242, 243.

(17) The author of the *News from the Republic of Letters*, Aug. 1684, Art. VIII, pag. 629, mentions the year 1534, on the authority of the first Dutch edition of Varillas's Francis I. It appears from the epitaph of this Chancellor, mentioned by Frizon, pag. 574, 575, of the *Gallia purpurata*, that he died the 9th of July 1535, aged 72 years.

(18) Jeremiah de Pours, Divine Melodie du Saint Pfalmiste, *livr. v, pag.* 1090.

(19) He quotes Dom. *pag.* 3, *fol.* 171.

(20) Joannes Manlius, in Locorum communium Collectaneis ex Lectionibus Philippi Melanchthonis excerptis, *pag.* 375, *Edit. Francof.* 1568. *This book might be intituled,* Melanchthoniana.

[(§ *α*) The margin (19) cites *Dom. p.* 3. *fol.* 171, an author or book which Mr Bayle says he had not. The same story is found in the *Joco-seria* of Melander, n. 34 of the first tome of the Francfort edition, 1615: it is there quoted from D. Pezelius, *Postill. Mel. part III, pag.* 170. Probably the cardinal Marcellus here is no other than du Prat himself, of whom the same story is related, and whose Latin name *Pratellus*, in Melanchthon, may, perhaps, have been changed into *Marcellus* by the German Booksellers. Rem. Crit.]

[D] *Some authors say, that he pretended a retention of urine to get out of a danger.*] ' How many persons could ' I name, whose sickness had saved their lives, as ' formerly Augustus's? How many have avoided ' death, only because their great infirmity made every ' body believe that they were near their grave? * *Multorum mortem distulit morbus, & saluti illis fuit videri* ' *perire.* Cardinal du Prat was released out of prison in ' the reign of Francis I, for fear he should die of a re- ' tention of urine, having imposed upon his Physicians ' by drinking privately the water he made. And we ' have seen a favourite of Henry III, who succeeded ' so well in pretending to be a dying man, in order ' to divert some impending danger, in the reign of ' Henry IV, that he lived thirty years under the late ' king in perfect health (21).' I fancy la Mothe le Vayer took one man for another. If I am not mistaken, no author says, that our du Prat was imprisoned; but it is reported that *cardinal Balue bethought himself of drinking his urine, that he might be set at liberty, by Lewis XI, on pretence of retention of urine* (22). They are la Mothe le Vayer's words: he quotes the life of Lewis XI, written by Peter Matthieu; his quotation is right (23). And tho' it is not impossible that two ministers of state should make use of the same device in different times, I do not think, the two stories related by that author are true: it was still an easier thing for him to confound the time and the persons he speaks of. Many others have done it, and will do it for the time to come.

* Seneca, Epist. LXXIX.

(21) La Mothe le Vayer, Discours de la Santé & de la Maladie, *in the* 8*th volume of his Works, pag.* 185, 186.

(22) La Mothe le Vayer, Letter xlii, in the 10th volume of his Works, *pag.* 339.

(23) *These are Peter Matthieu's words, lib. x, num.* 3, *pag. m.* 524. He drank his urine so privately, that it was thought he would die of a retention of urine. The king ordered him to be visited; the Physicians gave him over, &c.

[E] *It is not likely that his ignorance of the Latin tongue was so great as Jonston will have it.*] That author wrote a little book, intituled, *Naturæ Constantia*, wherein he pretends to prove, that the world does not grow worse and worse. Among other instances of the ignorance of former ages, he alledges our du Prat, who thought that *molossus* signified a mule, and that the Latin word for a mule was *mulctus*. *Placet hic adjicere*, says he (24), *& exemplum* du Prat *Episcopi & Cancellarii Galliæ; qui cum in literis ab Henrico VIII, Angliæ Rege ad Franciscum I, Galliarum Regem scriptis, ista verba*, Mitto tibi duodecim molossos, *offendisset, mulos per molossos intellegi existimavit: & post*

(24) Jo. Jonstonus, de Naturæ constantia, *pag.* 73, *Edit. Amstel.* 1632.

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that he was a great lover of young asses flesh [F], and that others loved it in imitation of him.

He was a great persecutor of the Protestants: some of them say, that, as a punishment from God, he died in despair [G]. A famous Historiographer supposes, that he was cruelly tormented by the stings of his conscience, remembring that he had introduced several innovations, whereby the people were oppressed (a). I shall set down the epitaph which Beza made on him (b).

(a) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. *Tom. iv, pag. m.* 584, *ad ann.* 1535.

(b) Antonio Pratensi, Cancellario Galliarum, inter obsequiosissimos. Amplissimus vir hic jacet, Beza, *Poëmat. pag.* 94, *Edit. Tertiæ.*

& post animadversso errore, molossos se pro muletis *accepisse, duplicata insitia subjunxit.* It is to be observed, that Jonston cites no body for this, tho' in other places he very carefully quotes his authors for the most trifling things. Some ascribe this slander to Beza, as it appears by the following words. 'Perhaps it will be 'with cardinal de Birague's ignorance, as it was with 'that of cardinal du Prat, who, according to Beza, 'when king Francis I had received twelve English 'mastives from Henry VIII, the letter saying *duodecim molossos*, asked of the king one of the mules sent 'to him from England; and being told by the king 'that they were mastives, he excused himself, saying, 'he thought there was in the letter *duodecim muletos* 'But, after all, Mr Aubery, who has written a very 'faithful history of the cardinals**, shews that this ignorance, which Beza ascribes to cardinal du Prat, is a 'meer calumny; and he proves it by the testimony of 'Feron, who calls him a very learned and famous 'Civilian, of Sadolet, who pitched upon him to 'censure his Latin works, and of Auton, who praises 'him for his eloquent speech, which he made in 'Latin before the emperor Maximilian (25).'

** *Tom. iii, pag.* 355.

(25) Naudé, Dialogue de Masurat. *pag.* 426. *See also Father* Garasse, *pag.* 641, *of his* Doctrine Curieuse.

I know not whether Beza has this story in any of his works; but I know that it is to be found in a book of Henry Stephens (26).

[F] *It has been observed, that he was a great lover of young asses flesh.*] He was like Mæcenas, in this respect, who was the first that brought asses-flesh into vogue. *Pullos earum* (asinarum) *epulari primus Mæcenas instituit, multum eo tempore prælatos onagris: post eum interiit auctoritas saporis* (27). After the death of that favourite, people grew weary of that food. Meibomius observes, that the same thing was seen in the time of Antony du Prat (28). *Simile quid de* Antonio Pratense, *Galliæ Cancellario, refert Johannes Bruyerinus lib. xxiii. de re cibaria cap. xx.* Ætate nostra, *inquit*, Antonius Pratensis, Galliæ Cancellarius, imitator exstitit Mæcenatis in eo genere escæ *(carnis nempe asininæ)* quàm avidissimus; verum & cum ipso gratia quoque illius carnis sepulta est (29). That book of Meibomius being somewhat scarce, I hope the reader will not be displeased to find here several particular facts mentioned by that author, whereby it will appear, that men bring their taste into slavery, out of flattery; and that a favourite can bring into fashion, not only such cloaths as he likes, but also such meats as suit with his palate (30). 'Potuit vero '*(Mæcenas)* & gulæ tantum aut peculiaris sibi appetitus grátia cibo isto vesci cœpisse familiarius: quem 'deinde ob ipsius auctoritatem alii, quasi assentatione 'quadam, cariorem & in pretio habuere, donec ab 'obitu Mæcenatis rursum vilesceret, quod usu venire 'in ejusmodi rebus fere solet. Sic *acipenserem* Plinius 'refert lib. IX. cap. XVII. nullo in honore fuisse suo, 'id est, Trajani tempore: quem tamen Serenus Sammonicus apud Macrobium Saturn. lib. III. cap. XVI. 'docet, tum apud antiquos fuisse in pretio, tum post 'Plinium suo ævo gratiam ejus ad epulas quasi postliminio rediisse. Sic Horatius *rhombum & ciconiam* 'nullo in cibis usu fuisse scribit, antequam id docuisset 'vir prætorius, sive is fuerit, dubitantibus Acrone & 'Porphyrione, Asellius, sive Rufus, aut Sempronius. 'Et addit, *mergos*, vile alias cibi genus, si quis assos 'dixerit futuros suaves, juventutem Romanam pravi 'docilem id facile credituram. Versus sunt Serm. 'lib. II. Sat. II.

(26) In the 29th chapter of his Apology for Herodotus, *pag. m.* 334.

(27) Plin. *lib. viii, cap. xliii.*

(28) Joh. Henricus Meibomius, in Vita Mæcenatis, *cap. xxvi, pag.* 165.

(29) I have verified this quotation out of Bruyerinus: it is right, except that instead of *lib. xxiii*, it should be *lib. xiii.*

(30) Meibom. ibid. *pag.* 165, 166.

'Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,
Donec vos auctor docuit prætorius. Ergo
Si quis nunc mergos suaveis edixerit assos,
Parebit pravi docilis Romana juventus.

'Nec dissimile quid contigit superiori seculo Romæ. 'De *Hadriano VI*, enim Pontif. Max. narrat Paulus 'Jovius (31), *&c. - - - - Mæcenas might accustom him- 'self to that dish, because he had a particular taste 'that way: whilst others pretended to esteem it, out of 'flattery to him: till after the death of Mæcenas, it 'fell again into disesteem, as generally happens in things 'of this nature. So Pliny relates,* (lib. IX. cap. XVII) *'that, in his time, that is, in the reign of Trajan, the 'sturgeon was in no esteem; which yet Serenus Sammonicus (in Macrobius,* lib. III. cap. XVI) *tells us was 'in esteem among the Ancients, and even in his time, which 'was after Pliny's, had, by stealth, as it were, gained a 'place in entertainments. So Horace writes, that the turbot 'and stork were not served up at tables, till a person of 'quality shewed the way: whether he was Asinius, or 'Rufus, or Sempronius, is uncertain; for Acron and 'Porphyry are in doubt about it. He adds, that if any 'one should say, the cormorant, otherwise a mean dish, 'would be very good eating stewed, the youth of Rome 'would easily come into the belief of it. His verses 'are,*

Safe swam the turbot, safe the stork cou'd rest,
Unclaim'd by nicer palates, in her nest,
Till a rich glutton serv'd them at his feast.
Nay, were it said, a cormorant, when stew'd,
Becomes, by dressing, most delicious food,
The youth of Rome their taste woa'd thence refine,
And each young lord upon a cormorant dine.

(31) Meibomius mentions here what I have quoted in the remark [R], of the article HADRIAN VI.

'*Something, not unlike this, happened at Rome in the 'last age. For Paul Jovius relates of Pope Hadrian VI,* &c.'

[G] *Some say, that, as a punishment from GOD, he died in despair.*] Henry Stephens, having mentioned a lieutenant-criminal, (who died *distracted, after he had uttered several blasphemies against GOD*) adds (32), 'Chancellor du Prat died also a miserable death, not- 'withstanding his *Hostel-Dieu* [Hospital], (of which 'king Francis I said, that it was not large enough to 'contain all those whom he had reduced to beggary); 'for he died at Nantoillet, his country-seat, his stomach being eaten up by worms, and uttering blasphemies against GOD, with great impatience, occasioned by the violent pain he felt, and (as some say) 'by the vexation he was under to see his trunks sealed 'up, so that he said, see what it is to serve a king 'with body and soul. This du Prat was the first, 'who thought fit that the parliament should take cognizance of heresies, because he said, they are attended with blasphemy. It was he likewise who 'gave the first commissions to put to death those 'who opposed the church of Rome, being weary of 'the long proceedings in Berquin's trial.

(32) Henry Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, ch. xxvi, *pag. m.* 310.

PRÆTEXTATUS (PAPYRIUS) made himself famous at Rome from his youth, by keeping a thing secret which his mother had a mind to know. This story is mentioned in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary; but all the wit of it has been left out; and therefore I shall give a more faithful account of the thing [A]. I shall

[A] *I shall give a more faithful account of the thing.*] The senate not being able to put an end to a matter of great moment, that was under debate, put it off till the next day, and ordered that the thing should be kept secret, till they had made a decree about it. Young Papyrius, who had followed his father into the senate, according to the custom of that time, being asked by his mother what had been done in

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I shall also direct the reader to the first author of the story, better than has been done by the writer of that Supplement: the thing is of some importance on this occasion [*B*].

in the assembly, answered, that every body was ordered to be silent about it, and that therefore he was not allowed to say any thing of it. This answer increased the lady's curiosity. The youth, being more importuned than before, was obliged to tell a lie, in order to make himself easy, without disobeying the senate. He told his mother, that this question had been debated, whether it would be more advantageous to the Republic, to allow a husband to have two wives, or a wife to have two husbands. The lady, surprized at this discourse, went out hastily to acquaint the other women with it; so that the next day a whole crowd of them appeared at the gate of the senate-house, entreating the assembly, with tears in their eyes, that they would rather ordain, that a woman should have two husbands, than that a man should have two wives. The senators were surprized to see these women making such an uproar; but young Papyrius explained the thing to them, telling them what device he had made use of to satisfy his mother's curiosity. The senate admired him for it, and ordered, that, for the time to come, he should be the only boy allowed to be present in the assembly. This is the origin of the surname *Prætextatus* (1). We find this story in Aulus Gellius: I shall set down the words of that author. *Secretum rei & silentium deberi puer affirmans animum ejus ad inquirendum everberat. Quærit igitur compressus violentiusque. Tum puer, matre urgente, lepidi atque festivi mendacii consilium capit. Actum in senatu dixit, utrum videretur utilius magisque è Republicâ esse, unusne ut duas uxores haberet, an ut una apud duos nupta esset. Hoc illa ut audivit, animo compavescit: domo trepidans egreditur: ad ceteras matronas defert quod audierat. Perveniunt ad senatum postera die matrumfamilias caterva, lacrymantes atque obsecrantes orant una potius ut duobus nupta fieret, quàm ut uni duæ. Senatores ingredientes in curiam, quæ illa mulierum intemperies & quid sibi postulatio isthæc vellet, mirabantur. Puer Papyrius in medium curiæ progressus quid mater audire instituisset, quid ipse matri dixisset, rem, sicuti fuerat, denarrat. Senatus fidem atque ingenium pueri deosculatus consultum facit, ut posthac pueri cum patribus in curiam ne introeant, nisi ille unus Papirius* (2). Macrobius transcribed this almost word for word; but he added to it a circumstance, that is not to be found in Aulus Gellius: he says, that the senators looked upon the boldness of those women as an ill-boding prodigy, at which they were amazed (3).

(1) Ei puero postea cognomentum honoris gratia inditum prætextatus, ob loquendi tacendique in ætate prætextata prudentiam. *Aulus Gellius, lib. i, cap. xxiii.*

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ut non parvæ rei prodigium illam verecundi sexus impudicam insaniam pavescebant. *Macrob. Saturn. lib. i, cap. vi, pag. m. 211.*

The author of the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary has committed two faults. I. He supposes (4) that Papyrius told his mother, that the senate had ordered, that a man should have two wives. That author should have said, that he made her believe, it had been debated, whether this would be more advantageous to the republic, than to order that a woman should have two husbands. II. He supposes, that those women begged *of the senate, that women might have the same advantage that was granted to men the day before, and that each of them might be allowed to have two husbands.* This account makes the story insipid, and deprives it of it's pleasantness: nay, it represents those ladies as altogether ignorant of their true interest; for what could they get by asking such a thing? Is it not manifest, that, all things duly considered, they had been rather in a worse than in a better condition, if each man might have had two wives, and each woman two husbands? The best thing they could hope for, was, to be upon the same terms; for if each of them might have said, *I have two husbands*, she might also have said, *I share them with another.* Are two halves more than a whole? I know, one may think of several cases, wherein it would be an advantage to them; but, upon other accounts, and in several other cases, which one may easily suppose, the disadvantage would counterbalance, and, perhaps, exceed the advantage.

(4) *At the word* Papyrius.

[*B*] *It is of some importance on this occasion to direct the readers to the first author.*] Notwithstanding the authority of Aulus Gellius, I should be apt to think that it is an idle story: But I cannot believe it to be so, when I consider, that the grave Cato the Censor mentioned it in a speech. And therefore, the better to enable the readers to pass a right judgment upon this matter of fact, it is not sufficient to acquaint them that Macrobius mentions it (5); for such a compiler of witty sayings and stories, as he is, does not deserve to be much credited. Witty sayings and stories are frequently forged in one's closet. Those who invent them, being unwilling to lose their labour, publish them, and ascribe them to certain persons, who lived at such a time, omitting no circumstances that may make them credible. When these inventions are diverting, and afford matter for slander, they take root in the memory, and pass from mouth to mouth. They are collected, and often printed; but good judges will only commend the wit that is in them, without taking them for real matter of fact. This is the judgment that ought to be made of several stories and witty conceits, mentioned by Macrobius; and therefore his authority is very inconsiderable, as to this commotion of the Roman ladies. Aulus Gellius, whom he transcribes, is a more credible writer; for he lived nearer the time when the thing is said to have happened; and yet all those, who quote no other author but him upon this occasion, want discernment. Cato should be quoted for this story, since Aulus Gellius had it from him: He does not quote the very words of that Censor, because he had not then the original, but he gives the sense of them. 'Historia, 'says he (6), de Papirio Prætextato dicta scriptaque 'est à M. Catone in oratione, qua usus est ad milites 'contra Galbam, cum multa quidem venustate atque 'luce atque munditia verborum. Ea Catonis verba 'huic prorsus commentario indidissem, si libri copia 'fuisset id temporis, quum hæc dictavi. Quod si non 'virtutes dignitatesque verborum, sed rem ipsam scire 'quæris, ferme ad hunc modum est. *M. Cato relates this story of Papirius Prætextatus in an elegant 'oration to the army against Galba. I should have inserted the words of Cato in this commentary, if I had 'been master of the original, when I wrote it. But, if 'you desire to know the fact itself, stripped of the beauty of 'language, it is thus.*' There is some probability, that this story is true, since the grave Cato mentioned it in a speech that was published, I am not ignorant that this Censor jested now and then (7); but it was neither a proper time, nor a fit place, for a man of his character to jest in. Perhaps it will be objected to me that Livy, who mentions another commotion of the Roman ladies, says nothing of this; but it may be answered, that perhaps he gave an account of it in the books of his history that are lost. I shall observe, by the by, that the other commotion was occasioned by the law, whereby women were forbidden to wear any ornaments. There was a design to suppress it. Some tribunes desired it might be kept up; others were against it. Our Cato, who was consul that year (8), made a vigorous speech (9) for the preservation of that law, and against the liberty women took of running in crowds, and making a great uproar in the streets. Nevertheless the law was repealed: the tribunes, who opposed it were obliged to consent to it, when they saw their houses beset by those mutinous women (10). 'Capitolium turba homi-'num faventium adversantiumque legi complebatur. 'Matronæ, nulla nec auctoritate, nec verecundia, nec 'imperio virorum, contineri limine poterant: omnes 'vias urbis, adituque in forum obsidebant: viros des-'cendentes ad forum orantes, ut florente republica, 'crescente indies privata omnium fortuna, matronis 'quoque pristinum ornatum reddi paterentur. Auge-'batur hæc frequentia mulierum indies; nam etiam 'ex oppidis conciliabulisque convenerant. Jam & 'consules prætoresque, & alios magistratus adire & 'rogare audebant. Cæterum minimè exorabilem al-'terum utique consulem M. Porcium Catonem habe-'bant; qui pro lege, quæ abrogabatur, ita disseruit '... (11). Hæc quum contra legem proque lege 'dicta essent, aliquanto major frequentia mulierum 'postero die sese in publicum effudit, unoque ag-'mine omnes tribunorum (12) januas obsederunt, qui 'collegarum rogationi intercedebant: nec ante absti-'terunt quam remissa intercessio ab tribunis esset. 'Nulla deinde dubitatio fuit, quin omnes tribus le-'gem abrogarent, anno vigesimo post abrogata est, 'quam lata. - - - *The capitol was filled with a crowd 'of those, who favoured and opposed the law. The 'matrons could not be kept at home either by authority, 'by*

(5) Macrobius is the only author quoted in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(6) Aulus Gellius, ubi supra.

(7) *See* Balzac, Oeuvres diverses, *in his* Discours de la conversation des Romains, *pag. m. 49. I have quoted his words in citation (77) of the article* PORCIUS.

(8) It was the year of Rome 558.

(9) See his oration in the 34th book of Livy, at the beginning.

(10) Tit. Liv. *lib. xxxiv, init. pag. m. 621.*

(11) Ibid.

(12) That is, of Marcus and Publius Brutus, tribunes of the people, who opposed their colleagues, who designed to propose that the *Lex Oppia* should be abrogated.

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'by modeſty, or by the command of their huſbands: they 'thronged all the ſtreets that led to the Forum; petition- 'ing the ſenators, as they paſſed, that, in the preſent flou- 'riſhing ſtate of the common-wealth, they would conſent 'that the matrons ſhould be allowed to adorn themſelves 'as formerly. This concourſe of women increaſed daily by 'the means of aſſemblies and cabals. They even had 'the boldneſs to petition the conſuls, prætors, and the 'other magiſtrates. But they found one of the conſuls, 'M. Porcius Cato, inflexible, who thus harangued in 'favour of the law, which was repealed . . . . The 'reaſons for and againſt the law being thus urged, there 'was the next day a greater concourſe of women, who 'beſieged the doors of thoſe tribunes, who oppoſed the 'motion of their colleagues, nor left them, till they had 'promiſed to drop their oppoſition. After this, the law 'was unanimouſly repealed, it being twenty years ſince 'it was enacted.'

An obſervation upon the manner of citing authors.

I ſhall obſerve, by the by, that the way of quoting authors is ſo faulty, that it were to be wiſhed ſome rules were laid down for it. The moſt inconſiderable things may be brought into a method; and if there was a method for the manner of quoting authors, it would prevent ſeveral abuſes. If any one undertook to lay down ſuch rules, he ſhould tell us how far writers may be allowed to add ſomething of their own to the matters of fact related by them. We have ſeen that Macrobius amplified the ſtory we read in Aulus Gellius. A Spaniſh Jeſuit has added more to it; for he affirms, that on that day the ſenators came later than uſually from the aſſembly, and that it was the reaſon why Papyrius's mother aſked him what buſineſs took them up ſo long. *Como el negocio era peſado, y los votos no ſe concertavan, falieron aquel dia los Senadores algo mas tarde de ſu conſejo de lo que ſolian: lo qual fue occaſion para que la madre del Papyrio le preguntaſſe, porque cauſa ſe havian detenido tanto en el Senado* (13). He ſuppoſes the boy anſwered, that the thing under debate was to be kept ſecret till it ſhould be determined another day. Theſe circumſtances are not to be found in Aulus Gellius, nor in Macrobius: however, I think that, if there is any fault in advancing them, it is but a ſmall one; and the Spaniſh author ſeems to me more inexcuſable for quoting not only thoſe two ancient writers, but alſo Alexander ab Alexandro, Volaterranus, and Charles Stephens.

(13) Juan de Torres, primera parte de la Philoſophia Moral de Principes, *lib. i, pag.* 59, *Edit. of Barcelona* 1598.

PRICE (JOHN) flouriſhed in the XVIIth century *He was a native of England, and a very learned and judicious man. After he had travelled a long time, he retired to Florence, where he turned Catholic* (*a*). . . . . *He died at Rome in the year* 1676 (*b*). He publiſhed ſeveral learned books [*A*], and *left behind him a Commentary upon the Epiſtles of Pliny the younger, which will ſhortly be printed* (*c*). He has been praiſed by very learned men [*B*]. He ſtaid a conſiderable time at Paris, and publiſhed ſome books in that city; but he left it in 1646, and returned into England (*d*). Sarravius ſays, he had reaſon to be angry with France (*e*), and that he was a man who deſerved to be admired on account of his learning and great conſtancy in adverſity (*f*).

(*a*) Colomiés, Bibl. Choiſie, *p.* 142, *Amſterdam* 2699.

(*b*) Ib. p. 143.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Sarrav. Epiſt. CLXIX, *pag.* 173.

(*f*) Idem, Ep. CLVII, *pag.* 162.

(*e*) Ille in Angliam heri repatriavit erga Galliam noſtram peſſime, nec immerito, animatus. *Ibid.*

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral learned books.*] He put out at Paris, in 1635, Apuleius's Apology, with notes in 4to; and in 1646, *Annotationes in Evangelium Matthæi*, in 4to, and *Annotationes ad Epiſtolam Jacobi*, in 8vo; and in 1647, *Acta Apoſtolorum ex ſcriptura, Patribus, Græciſque ac Latinis ſcriptoribus illuſtrata*, in 8vo. His notes *in Pſalmos & in pleroſque alios libros Novi Teſtamenti*, were printed at London, in 1660, in folio. His commentary upon Apuleius's metamorphoſis was printed at Tergow in the year 1650 in 8vo. 'He intended to reprint Apu- 'leius's Apology, with ſeveral new notes of his own, 'and to publiſh Aulus Gellius, upon whom he had 'written many obſervations, Avienus *de oris mariti- 'mis*, and ſeveral corrections upon Heſychius, whoſe 'index he inſerted at the end of Apuleius's metamor- 'phoſis; I mean the index of the authors alledged by 'Heſychius. But his ſight being grown very weak, 'he ſays, in one of his notes, that he thinks he ſhall 'not be able to perform his deſigns (1).' The notes of this writer upon Apuleius's metamorphoſis are ſo long, that, whereas the text contains only two hundred and ſixty-two pages, they take up ſeven hundred and thirty-four pages, and are printed in a ſmaller letter than that of the text. The author declares his deſign was to fill his notes with new and good things, which was no eaſy taſk, ſince he wrote after ſo many other commentators (2). He adds, that he obſerves what Apuleius took from Tacitus, Suetonius, and Salluſt, and particularly from Virgil, and ſome other writers, and what Ammianus Marcellinus, Sidonius, St Jerom, and St Auguſtin took from him; that, above all things, he has endeavoured to print the text as like the original as he could, and that he has corrected about three hundred places, only by way of conjecture, having but one manuſcript in his hands. It was the ſame manuſcript which he gave to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who preſented it to the Bodleian library. He had Colvius's edition, with Caſaubon's notes, written with his own hand, and the edition of Vicenza, of the year 1488. He takes it to be the moſt ancient, next to that of Rome in 1472, and follows it in many places preferably to the later editions. Theſe two editions of Apuleius have been omitted by Mr Fabricius (3); the moſt ancient edition mentioned by him is that of Venice, 1493.

(1) Colomiés, Bibl. Choiſie, *pag.* 142, *Amſt.* 1699.

(2) Dedimus operam ut & appoſita & nova afferremus: rem poſt tot alios haud adeo in proclivi ſitam. *Jo. Pricæus, in Præfat.*

(3) Joh. Albertus Fabricius, in Bibl. Latina, *pag.* 137.

[*B*] *He has been praiſed by very learned men.*] 'Price 'is praiſed by Sarravius, in his letters; by archbiſhop 'Uſher, upon St Ignatius's epiſtles; by Heinſius in 'an epiſtle to Charles Dati; by Mr Selden more than 'once, in the ſecond book *de Synedriis Ebræorum*; by 'Voſſius in his *Harmonia Evangelica*; by Mr Morus, 'in his notes upon the New Teſtament; by Redi, in 'his tracts of the generation of inſects; but particular- 'ly by Axenius upon Phædrus (4).' Sarravius obſerves, that Price complained, that Salmaſius had treated him with contempt. In order to pacify him, Sarravius preſented him with a book of Salmaſius. *Unicum quod ſupererat* (exemplar) *donavi doctiſſimo viro tuique ſtudioſiſſimo Jo. Priceo, ut eum placarem aliquo modo conquerentem, quod in Miſcellis Defenſionibus contemptim à te eſſet habitus* (5).

(4) Colomiés, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 143, 144.

(5) Sarravius, Epiſt. CXLIV, *pag.* 150.

PRIDEAUX (JOHN) biſhop of Wincheſter, and a very eminent Divine, was born in 1578, at Stafford in Devonſhire. He was admitted into Exeter-college at Oxford, in the year 1596, where he made a great progreſs in a very little time. His ſtrong conſtitution enabled him to apply himſelf very much to ſtudy; and, having an excellent memory, he quickly reaped the fruits of his labours. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſubtilty in diſputing, and was made fellow of Exeter-college in 1602. He ſucceeded Dr Holland in the rectorſhip of that college, and was admitted Doctor of Divinity. He was made Regius profeſſor of Divinity, when Dr Abbot was promoted to the biſhopric of Saliſbury. He diſcharged the duties of his rectorſhip with ſo much prudence and politeneſs, that many ſtudents reſorted to Exeter-college, where they made ſo great a progreſs by his wiſe remonſtrances, and the good choice of their tutors, that many of them proved an ornament to the church and ſtate. He

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continued in that employment thirty-two years, or thereabouts. He was no leſs careful in diſcharging the duties of his profeſſorſhip; which he did with great learning, expreſſing an inviolable fidelity to the king and the church of England. He exerciſed that profeſſorſhip ſomewhat above twenty-ſeven years. He was five times vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, and was made biſhop of Wincheſter in the year 1641. He died the twenty-ninth of July 1650, being ſeventy-two years of age (a). He publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*]. I need not ſay, that he ought not to be confounded with another PRIDEAUX [*B*], who put out a ſecond edition of the *Marmora Arundelliana*.

(a) *Taken from Freherus's* Theatrum, *pag.* 550. *He quotes Antony Wood's* Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] He wrote an apology for Caſaubon *contra Andream Eudæmon-Johannem*, printed at Oxford in 8vo, in the year 1614. His *Hypomnemata Logica, Rhetorica, Phyſica, Tyrocinium ad ſyllogiſmum legitimum contexendum, &c. Heptades Logicæ, &c.* came out in the ſame town; as alſo *Lectiones decem in totidem Religionis capita: Lectiones* 22, *Orationes* 13, *Conciones* 6, *& Oratio ad Jacobum Regem: Orationes* 9 *inaugurales in promotione Doctorum: Faſciculus controverſiarum Theologicarum: Theologiæ Scholaſticæ Syntagma, & Conciliorum Synopſis: Manuductio ad Theologiam Polemicam: Iſagoge ad omnigenæ Hiſtoriæ lectionem*, and ſeveral others. I omit the books he wrote in his mother-tongue.

[*B*] *Another* PRIDEAUX, *who put out a ſecond edition of the* Marmora Arundelliana.] His Chriſtian name is Humphry, and he is a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. He ſhews a great deal of learning in the book he publiſhed in that town, in the year 1676, in folio, with this title, *Marmora Oxonienſia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis, aliiſque conflata.* It is a book in folio. He inſerted in that work what Mr Selden had publiſhed at London in 1628, with this title, *Marmora Arundelliana.* This book of Mr Selden contained an explication of part of the marbles, which the earl of Arundel cauſed to be brought from the Levant. Prideaux inſerted alſo in his work Lydiat's notes upon ſome of thoſe marbles: but what he wrote of his own is the moſt conſiderable part of that book: for he reviſed and commented upon, *recenſuit & perpetuo commentario explicavit*, not only the inſcriptions of the marbles of the earl of Arundel, but alſo thoſe of ſeveral other monuments of the ſame nature beſtowed upon the univerſity of Oxford. It is to be obſerved, that Mr Selden explained only the inſcriptions of twenty-nine Greek and ten Latin marbles. He pitched upon thoſe, which ſeemed to him moſt conſiderable among many others; for the Arundelian marbles amounted to about two hundred and fifty. They were brought to London in 1627, and placed in the garden of Arundel-houſe. Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel had been at great pains and expence to procure them, and ſent William Petty, a very learned man into the Levant for that end. 'Ea *(marmora)* illuſtriſſimus Comes, dum in 'Italia degerat, (quæ ei altera patria erat) ex antiqua-'rum Aſiæ, Græciæ, & Italiæ urbium ruinis, operâ 'doctiſſimi viri Gulielmi Pettæi in hac re uſus, ſum-'mis impenſis conquiſivit. Græcorum pleraque è 'Smyrna habuit; ea ibi * Gaſſendus (ſi fides ipſi hac 'in re habenda ſit) narrat operâ Peireſkii ſui primo de-'tecta erutaque fuiſſe, perſolutis quinquaginta Aureis 'per Sampſonem quendam illius negotia Smyrnæ pro-'curantem; ſed cum inde convehenda eſſent, Turca-'rum fraude Sampſone in carcerem conjecto, ibi de-'tenta erant, donec ea illuſtriſſimus Arundelliæ Comes 'majori pretio per Pettæum redempta cum aliis, quæ 'per eundem procuratorem collegerat, Londinum in 'hortos Palatii Arundelliani, anno Dom. noſtri 1627 'curavit transferenda (1). - - - - *The illuſtrious earl, 'whilſt he reſided in Italy, collected theſe marbles, at a 'great expence, out of the ruins of the ancient cities of 'Aſia, Greece, and Italy; in which he was aſſiſted by 'a very learned man, Mr William Petty. He had moſt 'of the Greek from Smyrna: Gaſſendus (if he is to be 'believed) ſays, they were firſt diſcovered there, and 'dug up, by the care of Peireſk, who paid for them fifty 'piſtoles by the hands of one Sampſon, who tranſacted his affairs in that city: but, when they were to be conveyed 'from thence, Sampſon being thrown into priſon by the 'treachery of the Turks, they were detained there, till 'the earl of Arundel, having paid a greater price for 'them by the hands of Petty, ſent them, together with 'others, which he had procured by the ſame hand, to 'the garden of Arundel-houſe in London, in the year* '1627.' Henry Howard, earl of Arundel, his grandſon, preſented them to the univerſity of Oxford; and thoſe, who had the like monuments, did the ſame in imitation of him. 'Quæcunque Vir immortalitate 'digniſſimus Thomas Arundeliæ Comes, legatione 'quaſi ſolemni eam ob rem inſtitutâ, infinitis impenſis, & repetito ſæpius capitis periculo eruditiſſimi viri Gulielmi Pettæi, cui procuratio ea demandabatur, Europâ, Aſiâque excuſſis, in Britannias 'noſtras deduxerat, Nepos ejuſdem, tanto Avo non 'inficiandus, æternitati & muſis hic loci demum conſecrabat: reliquiſque quotquot fuere eruditæ antiquitates Patronis autor extitit, ut ad tanti Auſpicis morem quæcunque apud ſe laterent ex temporum naufragio Tabulæ ibidem appenderent (2). - - - *The 'nephew of the immortal Thomas earl of Arundel, a 'gentleman worthy of ſuch an uncle, beſtowed on this 'univerſity whatever the earl had collected of this ſort, 'at a great expence, by the means of Mr William Petty, 'who often hazarded his life in procuring them from all 'parts of Europe and Aſia: which example was follow-'ed by all the patrons of ancient learning, who depoſited 'in the ſame place whatever lay by them, ſaved out 'of the ſhipwreck of time.*' The firſt word of this paſſage ſignifies, that the grandſon beſtowed upon the univerſity of Oxford, all the marbles that his grandfather had procured; but it is not true: he only gave one half of them, and ſome few more, the reſt being loſt when the earls of Arundel left their houſe in the time of the civil wars. Dr Prideaux ſays ſo in his preface; and therefore his wrong account may be rectified by himſelf (3). 'Arundelliana *(marmora)* plura 'quam centum & triginta numerantur; hæc tamen 'vix ultra dimidiam partem eorum conficiunt, quæ 'inſigniſſimus Arundelliæ Comes collegerat; cetera, 'cùm tempore nuperrimi belli civilis incendii in hortis 'Arundellianis Londini, pulſis inde dominis, diu 'neglecta jacuerunt, aut furtim ſurrepta, aut ſervo-'rum negligentiâ corrupta, aut à Lapicidis (4) ad 'reficiendas ædes adhibita in magnum rei literariæ 'damnum amittuntur. - - - *There are more than 'one hundred and thirty Arundelian marbles, yet 'theſe are ſcarce more than half of what the earl of 'Arundel collected: the reſt, having lain a long time 'neglected, in the gardens of Arundel-houſe at London, 'in the time of the civil war, when the owners were 'driven from thence, and either ſtoln, or ſpoiled by the 'negligence of ſervants, or made uſe of by maſons in the re-'pairing of houſes, are loſt to the great detriment of learn-'ing.*' This ſhews, that Mr Vigneul Marville does not go upon a falſe report, when, having mentioned thoſe marbles, he adds: 'It is a deplorable thing, that 'during the civil wars of England, moſt of thoſe 'marbles were made uſe of for the repairing of doors 'and chimneys. This will not encourage the curious 'to be at ſuch great expences (5).' I would enlarge upon the importance of thoſe marbles, were it not that they make an article in the Supplement to Moreri's dictionary, and in the Journal des Savans of the twenty-fifth of April 1678. Note, that Humphry Prideaux tranſlated into Latin a tract of *Maimonides de jure pauperis & peregrini apud Judæos*, printed with his notes at Oxford, in the year 1679, in 4to. He is alſo author of the life of Mahomet, which I have ſo often quoted in the article MECCA. I am told he is dean of Norwich.

(2) Idem, Epiſt. Dedicator. init.

(3) Idem, in Præfat.

(4) The author ſays, two pages after, that he has read all the inſcriptions but one, *viz.* that of a marble, one half of which was made uſe of by a Maſon, and the letters of the other half are defaced. *Alterâ à Lapicida quodam ad reficiendum focum in Palatio Arundelliano adhibitâ.*

(5) Vigneul Marville, Mêlanges, *Tom. ii, pag.* 301, 302, *Dutch Edit.*

* In Vita Peireſkii, *lib. iv, ad ann.* 1629.

(1) Humphridus Prideaux, Præf. ad Marmora Oxonienſia.

PRIERIAS

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PRIERIAS or DE PRIERIO (SILVESTER) a monk of the order of St Dominic, was so called because he was of the village of Prierio in Italy (*a*). He flourished at the begining of the XVIth century. He passed for a learned Divine, and an eloquent preacher, and he published several books. He was master of the sacred palace under Pope Leo X, and some say that he passed from this employ to that of general of the Dominicans: but they do not mark the time of his promotion to this first dignity of the order. What makes me believe that they are mistaken [*A*] is, that an author, who has extremely commended him, remarks that he was made vicar-general of the order of the Dominicans, and that he would have risen to a higher degree, if death had not prevented it (*b*). He had been honoured by the senate of Venice with the office of professor in the university of Padua (*c*) from whence he had been called to Rome to discharge the like office, with a public stipend, after which he became master of the sacred palace (*d*). He succeeded very ill in writing against Luther [*B*]. It is said that he was the first who wrote books against him: it is the opinion of Onuphrius Panvinius (*e*): and of several other writers. Nevertheless some pretend that the Divines of Louvain and some others disputed this priority with him (*f*). I have read in Antonius Senensis that the first work which he wrote against Luther was printed at Rome in the year 1520, under the litle of *Errata & Argumenta Martini Lutheri recitata, detecta & repulsa &c* (*g*). This is not true [*C*]. We may see in the Answer to the Questions of a Provincial (*b*) a mistake of Moreri copied by Mr du Pin. Our Prierias boasts in his reply to Luther that he had refused a bishopric (*i*). He carried the relaxation of morals very far; for he pretended that it *is not even necessary, in order to be justified in the sacrament of Penance, to have attrition, and that it is sufficient to be sorry for not having it, or even to desire to be sory for it* (*k*). His doctrine concerning Equivocations is not much better [*D*].

(*a*) In the Montferrat according to some, or in the Aflezan according to others: but to give a clear notion of the situation of this place, I must say that it is in the Montferrat of Savoy, between the Marquisate of Ceve, and that of Final, and very near the town of Ceve.

(*b*) Ghilini, Teatro, *Tom. i, pag.* 209.

(*c*) Mr Du Pin, *Tom. xiv, pag.* 115, pretends that he was a long time professor of Divinity at Boulogne.

(*d*) Ghilini, ubi supra.

(*e*) Onuphrius, in Citron. Eccles. *ad ann.* 1521, apud Anton. Senensem, in Bibloth. Præd. cat. *pag. m.* 223.

(*f*) Labbe, Differt. de Script. Eccles. *Tom. i, pag.* 374.

(*g*) Anton. Senensis, in Bibl. Prædicat. *pag.* 223.

(*h*) *At pag.* 619, *of Tom. i.*

(*i*) Seckend. Histor. Luther. *lib. i, pag.* 39, *col.* 1.

(*k*) Journal de Trevoux, *Sept.* 1703, *p.* 1623, *French Edit.*

[*A*] *What makes me believe that they are mistaken.*] Besides the reason that I alledge in the text, I will say here that Augustin *ab Ecclesia*, who has written the History of the bishops of Piedmont, has added to it a long catalogue of all the ecclesiastics of the dominions of the duke of Savoy, on both sides of the Alps, who have been generals of the order; but he does not mention Silvester Prierias (1). Nevertheless he was well acquainted with him; for he observes in his *Corona Regia Sabaudica*, that Prierias was born at Prierio a village of the western Liguria under the marquisate of Ceve (2).

(1) This remark was communicated to me by Mr Minutoli.

(2) *See* Oldoini, in Athenæo Ligustico.

[*B*] *He succeeded very ill in writing against Luther.*] The indulgences were the first thing which was attacked by that Reformer. He opposed them by reasons; but Eckius and Prierias, who answered him, *not finding themselves sufficiently strong, had recourse to common-places, and laid down for a foundation . . . . . the authority of the Pope and the consent of the school-men; concluding, that we ought to receive indulgences as an article of faith, since they proceeded from the Pope, who was infallible in matters of faith, and who had approved the doctrine of the school-men* (3). Here is the judgment of Father Maimbourg on this method of reply. 'Silvester Prierask, instead of solidly refuting, as he 'might have done, what Luther had answered him in 'his book, published another filled with excessive exaggerations of the power and authority of the Pope, 'which he raises infinitely above all the councils, of 'which he speaks in terms which even Rome would 'not approve of: This gave Luther a handle to render this authority odious to the Germans, and to 'make a diversion, by applying himself warmly to 'so nice a point which was not the thing in controversy. So necessary it is, in opposing heretics to 'keep precisely to what the faith teaches, without 'meddling unseasonably with litigious questions thro' 'an over-hastiness of temper, in which we give our 'adversary the advantage of being able to maintain 'his opinion, with as much right as we have to oppose it (4).' Nothing can make us better understand the bad success of the writings of Prierias, than to know that he was commanded by the Pope to write no more on matters of controversy. *Respondit Silvester Prierias tam feliciter ut ipse Pontifex indixerit illi silentium* (5).

(3) Father Paul, History of the Council of Trent, *book i.* See also Pallavicini, Hist. of the same Council, *book i, ch. vi, num.* 3.

(4) Maimbourg, Hist. du Luther. *livr. i, pag.* 30, 31, *Dutch Edit.*

(5) Erasm. Epist. LXXI, *lib. xix, pag. m.* 887.

[*C*] *It is not true that the first book . . . . was printed in the year* 1520.] In the year 1518, Luther published a book which was an answer to a dialogue that Prierias had written against him (6). Prierias answered him by a work intituled, *De juridica & irrefragabili veritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ Romanique Pontificis, Liber tertius, index quidem longissimus, sed brevissimum Epitoma* (7). Luther refuted this reply in the same year 1518. I do not pretend to maintain that Prierias's first book against Luther was not printed at Rome in 1520, as Antonius Senensis and Mr Du Pin affirm (8). I only maintain that it had been printed before that year. For the rest, I believe that John Eckius, a German Divine, wrote his Obelisks against Luther's thesis on indulgences before Prierias took pen in hand; but he did not intend to publish this piece, and I am of opinion that Luther published it together with his own refutation. He had recovered a manuscript copy of this little work of John Eckius (9). Note that John Tezelius, a Dominican, and Inquisitor in Germany, and the first of the commissaries for the publication of indulgences, is the person who first wrote against Luther; for, in a public dispute at Francfort on the Oder, he laid down a thesis, in which he opposed that of Luther, and he had already published a piece in German against a sermon which Luther had preached on indulgences (10).

(6) *See* Seckend. Hist. Luther. *lib. i, pag.* 31, *col.* 1.

(7) Ibid. *p.* 39, *col.* 1.

(8) Du Pin, Bibl. *Tom. xiv, pag.* 115, *Dutch Edit.*

(9) *See* Seckend. ubi supra, *p.* 30, *ad ann.* 1518.

(10) Seckend. ibid. *pag.* 25, 26. See also Mr du Pin, *Tom. xiii, p.* 35.

[*D*] *His doctrine concerning equivocations is not much better.*] Let us quote it as it is to be found in the Anti-Coton. 'The same Andreas Eudemonojohannes 'Cydonius, in page 40, builds on the authority of 'Silvester, in the fifth accusation, question 13, where 'he says, *When the judge does not proceed judicially, because the accused is not simply subject to him, or for some other reason, then though a lie be unlawful, it is not a mortal sin; because it is neither contrary to what justice requires, nor in a true judgment, but that which is usurped: A lie will not even be a venial sin, if in answering fraudulently, and, as they say, sophistically, he says something which is false, according to the sense of the judge, but which is true according to his own; because in this case, not being his subject, he is not obliged to speak the truth*.* We must understand that by this judgment, which is not a true judgment, but usurped over those who are not his subjects, he means the authority of civil magistrates over the Clergy, and principally over the Jesuits, who are not even subject to the bishops (11).' The Jesuit Eudæmon Johannes had quoted these words of Prierias in his apology for Garnet, now here is what he answered to the author of the Anti-Coton. 'Sylvestri verba profers non infideliter . . . . sed Gallicè 'pervertis potius quam vertis: quero enim ex te ubi 'illa legeris in verbis Sylvestri, *Voire le mensonge ne sera pas mesme peché veniel?* Imo inquit ille, non 'erit etiam veniale si respondendo, *&c.* Tu ut mendaciis totus scates, de tuo verbis ejus mendacium addidisti, cum ita verteris mendacium non erit peccatum veniale. Nunquam somniavit vir ille mendacium ullum esse posse, quod peccatum minimum veniale non sit: sed negavit peccatum esse veniale cum injusto judice æquivocationibus agere, quod ipsum S. Gregorius docuit (12). - - - *You quote the words of Sylvester not unfaithfully . . . . but you rather pervert, than translate it into French: for I ask you where you read in the words of Sylvester,* Voire le 'menfonge

* Quando judex non proceedit, vel quia accusatus ei non est subjectus simpliciter, vel in hoc casu, aut quacunque alia de causa, tunc licet mendacium sit illicitum, non tamen est mortale, quia nec contra deliberatum justitiæ, nec est in judicio vero, sed in usurpato. Immò non erit etiam veniale si respondendo cautissimè & ut aiunt sophisticè dicat aliquid falsum apud sensum judicis & apud suum verum.

(11) Anti-Coton, *pag.* 24.

(12) Eudæmon Johannes, Anti-Coton, Confutat. *cap. iii, p.* 113.

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' menſonge ne ſera pas meſme peché veniél ? *What he ſays is,* It will not even be a venial ſin, if in anſwering, *&c. You, as you are wholly given to lying, have added to his words a lie of your own, by tranſlating it thus,* A lie will not be a venial ſin. *That author never dreamt that there could be any lie, which is not a venial ſin: but he denied that it is a venial ſin to uſe equivocations before an incompetent judge, which very thing St Gregory taught.*' It is very probable that by theſe words, *he underſtands the judgment of magiſtrates,* the author of the Anti-Coton means our Sylveſter, and not Eudæmon Johannes. In this caſe he commits a miſtake; for the book, out of which the paſſage cited in the apology for Garnet is taken, was written a long time before there was any Jeſuit in the world. It was dedicated to Leo X, who died in the year 1521. Eudæmon Johannes (13) did not forget to critize thereupon the author of the Anti-Coton. He likewiſe cenſures him (14) for not having underſtood that *V. Accuſat.* ſignified, not the fifth Accuſation, but *Voce Accuſatio,* under the word *Accuſation.*

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 114.

(14) Ibid. *pag.* 112.

PRIEZAC (DANIEL DE) *counſellor of ſtate in ordinary, born in the caſtle of Priezac in Limoſin* (*a*), was choſen, in the year 1639, *to fill up the only place that was left among the forty members* of the French academy (*b*). He wrote ſeveral books [*A*], and died in the year 1662.

(*a*) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. de l'Academie Françoiſe, *pag.* 229.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral books.*] I ſhall uſe here the words of Mr Pelliſſon (1): ' His printed works are, ' *Obſervations againſt the book of Melroſe, intituled,* Philip the Prudent. *Vindiciæ Gallicæ. Three volumes ' concerning the privileges of the Holy Virgin. Diſceptatio legitima, in controverſia mota inter Apoſtolicæ Cameræ cognitorem, Actorem; & Eminentiſſimos Cardinales Barberinos, excellentiſſimumque urbis Romæ Præfectum; Defenſores.* One volume in quarto of Political Diſcourſes. He is now (2) writing a ſecond ' volume.' Note, That the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* is an anſwer to the *Mars Gallicus* of Janſenius.

(1) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. de l'Academie Françoiſe, *pag.* 354.

(2) Mr Pelliſſon wrote this in the year 1652.

PRYNN (WILLIAM) an Engliſh Lawyer, made himſelf very much talked of during the civil wars of Charles I, and the parliament. He had a great deal of inconſtancy and impetuoſity in his temper. He declared ſo violently againſt the Epiſcopal clergy, that he expoſed himſelf to an ignominious puniſhment; for he was condemned to have his ears cut off [*A*]: which was executed, and proved advantageous to him, when the war broke out between the king and the parliament. He was looked upon as a glorious confeſſor of the Good Cauſe, and as one who had ſuffered for the purity of the goſpel. He was a member of the houſe of commons, and expreſſed a great animoſity againſt the royaliſts; nevertheleſs, either thro' inconſtancy, or private diſcontent, he grew milder afterwards, and was impriſoned. He wrote a ſmall piece in his confinement [*B*], wherein he repreſented to the parliament, that they ought not to bring the king to his trial; and that the army, which oppreſſed the liberty of the parliament, was directed by the counſels of the Jeſuits. He had before publiſhed a book, wherein he exhorted the parliament to exterminate by penal laws

[*A*] *He was condemned to have his ears cut off.*] A miniſter of Baſil ſeems to ſay, that he was alſo condemned to be tranſported into America; but it is more likely he meant, that he was condemned to ſpend the remaining part of his life in a dungeon. Theſe are his words: ' Author noſter *Prynnus, Baſtwicus & Burtonus,* trium Facultatum Doctores, quod ' contra iſtam tyrannidem hiſcere auſi fuiſſent auribus ' mutilati, extra anni ſoliſque viam expulſi ſunt quo ' longa tabe perimerentur (1). - - - *Our author* Prynn, ' Baſtwick, *and* Burton, *Doctors of three Faculties, had ' their ears cut off, and were baniſhed beyond the ſun's ' annual courſe, for daring to open their mouths againſt ' this tyranny.*' Here follows a paſſage of Mr Baillet, wherein we find at what time, and in what place, William Prynn had his ears cut off. It contains alſo ſome other particulars, and therefore I ſhall ſet it down at length. ' (2) There is indeed an ANTI-' ARMINIANISM of William Prynn; but the title ' does not ſo much concern the Arminians themſelves, ' as the nature of their doctrines. The deſign of his ' work is only to ſhew, that the doctrine of abſolute ' Predeſtination, ſuch as the Calviniſts teach it, has ' been conſtantly believed by the Chriſtian Church. ' This Prynn ſeems to be the ſame with that famous ' enemy of the biſhops of England, and particularly ' of the unfortunate William Laud, archbiſhop of Can-' terbury (3). He had his ears cut off by the com-' mon executioner, in the Palace-yard of Weſtminſter, ' the 30th of June 1637, for his tragedy concerning ' the breaking of the Sabbath, and the ſtate of the ' biſhops; and being fined five thouſand pounds, with ' a Phyſician named Baſtwick, and a London miniſter ' named Burton, was clapped up in a priſon, where ' he was to remain the reſt of his days. But he was ' ſet at liberty, when Charles I. was put to death, ' and even choſen a member of Parliament (4). He ' wrote afterwards a prodigious number of books, ' moſt of them in his mother-tongue; and was made ' keeper of the records in the tower of London. He ' died about eighteen or nineteen years ago.'

(1) Wolfgangus Meyerus, S. Th. D. & Verbi divini in Eccleſia Baſil. Miniſt. Senior, Epiſtola Dedicator. Fulcimenti Gladii.

(2) Baillet, in the firſt Tome of the Anti, *num.* 88.

(3) *Here is a paſſage of Dr Smith,* in Vita Cambdeni, *pag.* 56. Illo (*Archiepiſcopo Laudo*) in carcerem detruſo, Gulielmus Prinnus, ob ſeditioſos libellos ſtigmate inuſtus, in D. Archiepiſcopi ſcrinia, tum ut ſi quicquam, quod fictis criminibus objectis aliqualem induceret colorem, occurriſſet, inde excerperet, tum ut quantum erat documentorum quod Viro innocentiſſimo iiſdem diluendis, cum pro Tribunali ſiſtendus eſſet, de capite dicturus, uſui eſſe potuerit, quoque auferret, animo malevolo involavit. - - - *Archbiſhop Laud being thrown into priſon, William Prynn, who had been branded for writing ſeditious libels, ſearched the archbiſhop's papers, with a malicious deſign of taking from thence whatever might give a plauſible colour to the accuſations brought againſt him, as alſo whatever might be of uſe to that moſt innocent prelate in juſtifying himſelf at his trial.* See the article CAMBDEN, remark [*M*].

(4) He had been releaſed before, and was a member of the Houſe of Commons.

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laws all the Independants [C]. If it be true, that he ſaid what is aſcribed to him, concerning the perſon, who ſet London on fire [D], he was a very great viſionary. He wrote a vaſt number of books, which ſhew his great reading [E]. He died the twenty-fourth of October 1669, aged ſixty-nine years (a).

(a) Witte, in Diario Biographico.

[C] *To exterminate by penal laws all the Independants.*] He dedicated that book to the Houſe of Commons. I have it tranſlated into Latin, and printed in 1649. The author of that tranſlation was a Swiſs miniſter, named Wolfgang Meyer. The title runs thus: *Guilielmi Prynn Angli Armigeri Aulæ Lincolnienſis, Fulcimentum Gladii Chriſtianorum Regum, Principum & Magiſtratuum: Quo ipſorum Hæreticos, Idololatras, Schiſmaticos, Sectarum Authores, & Blaſphemos, pro criminis gravitate puniendi autboritas, jus ac poteſtas teſtimoniis Veteris ac Novi Teſtamenti, edictis & praxi Chriſtianorum Imperatorum. Regum, Statuum & Magiſtratuum, ſanctionibus item & ſtatutis Regni Angliæ: conſenſu denique optimorum tàm veteris, quàm recentioris Eccleſiæ Doctorum, & Politicorum, contra hodiernos Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ turbatores, veterum Donatiſtarum, & Monaſterienſium Anabaptiſtarum æmulos, ſolidiſſimè vindicatur.* Prynn alledges in that book all that can be ſaid for the power of the ſword againſt errors; he brings in arguments, authorities, cuſtom, the deciſions of Doctors, the Confeſſions of Faith, &c. Father *de Sainte Marthe*, a French Benedictin, made no ſmall uſe of this book, to ſhew, that the edict of Nantes was lawfully repealed? See his anſwer to the complaints of the Proteſtants, or the extract which Mr Couſin has given of it (5). In the year 1643, Prynn began to oppoſe the Independants, who thought that the ſuppreſſion of Epiſcopacy would prove inſignificant, and even prejudicial, if people were to ſubmit to the ſynodal government of the Puritans. Voſſius wrote the following words to Grotius in September 1643. 'Unum eſt in quo non ſatis conveniat illis, qui ſe Epiſcopis opponunt. Multi omnem regendæ Eccleſiæ poteſtatem penes preſbyterale collegium eſſe volunt. Alii vero ajunt hoc jugum gravius Epiſcopali. Quare contendunt, ſingulis id committendum Eccleſiaſtis, ut ſecundum Dei verbum, populum doceant, & gubernent. Atque ſic ab Epiſcopalibus & Preſbyteralibus (ſicuti vocant) diſtincti, independentes nuncupantur. Prynnius, cujus magna adeo in Parlamento eſt authoritas, prioris eſſe ſententiæ dicitur; ſed multi hac parte ei adverſantur, qui cætera convenire videntur. Eſtque plurimorum id judicium, utcunque infracta omni Regis poteſtate, & abolito Epiſcopatu, geminum agerent triumphum, eos inter ſeſe mox commiſſum iri; quia multi non à Preſbyterii poteſtate minus, quam Epiſcoporum abhorreant (6). *--- There is one thing in which the oppoſers of Epiſcopacy do not agree. Many would have the whole power of governing the church lodged in the college of Preſbyters. Others ſay, this yoke is heavier than that of Epiſcopacy. Wherefore they contend, that it ſhould be left to every particular Eccleſiaſtic, to teach and govern his flock, according to the word of GOD. And, thus, being diſtinct both from Epiſcoparians and Preſbyterians (as they are called) they have gained the name of Independants. Prynn, whoſe authority is ſo great in parliament, is ſaid to be of the former opinion: but many, who agree with him in other things, oppoſe him in this. And it is the opinion of many, that, after having triumphed over both the regal and epiſcopal power, they will ſoon quarrel among themſelves, there being many who abhor the power of the Preſbytery no leſs than that of the biſhops.*' Here is an inſtance of mens inclination to run into extreams. Part of thoſe who hated Epiſcopacy were againſt the Preſbyterian ſynods, and pretended that it was a more intolerable yoke than that of the Hierarchy. Prynn ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them, and was for inflicting a corporal puniſhment upon them. See his *Fulcimentum gladii.*

(5) *In the* Journal des Sçavans, *of the 26th of April* 1688. *See alſo the* Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *for March* 1688, *pag.* 384.

(6) Voſſius, Epiſt. ccccl.xii, *p.* 409, *col.* 1.

[D] *Concerning the perſon, who ſet London on fire.*] If the following words had not been printed, I would not inſert them in this place. 'This thought .... 'puts me in mind of William Prynn's extravagance... 'That madman maintained to a gentleman of my acquaintance, from whom I have it, that Pope Alexander VII had ſet London on fire in the year 1666, and that he came into England in the diſguiſe of a Coal-man (7).'

(7) Le Grand, Hiſt. du Divorce de Henri VIII, Roi d'Angleterre, *pag.* 32. *of the continuation of the* 2d *part.*

[E] *He wrote a vaſt number of books, which ſhew his great reading.*] I find the following paſſage in Witte's *Diarium* (8). GUIL. PRYNNE, Anglus, Swainſwica-Somerſetenſis, Collegii Oriolenſis Oxoniæ Commenſalis, Artium Baccalaureus..... Libri quos varii admodum, Theologici nimirum. Hiſtorici, Politici & Polemici argumenti conſcripſit ad 170; adverſaria potius quam opera nuncupari merentur, adeoque (9) ipſum pene Toſtatum æquaſſe videtur..... Libros à ſe conſcriptos moriens Hoſpitio Lincolnienſi quod Londini eſt, legavit, qui voluminibus XXXVII. in fol. & 4. continentur. ---- *William Prynn, a Somerſetſhire gentleman, bachelor of arts of Oriel college in Oxford.... He wrote* 170 *pieces on different ſubjects, namely, Divinity, Hiſtory, Politics, and Controverſy; which deſerve rather the title of* Adverſaria, *than* Works; *inſomuch that he ſeems to have equalled Toſtatus..... At his death, he left the books he had wrote to Lincolns-Inn in London, conſiſting of thirty-ſeven volumes in folio and* 4*to.*' I ſhall ſet down a paſſage of Schoockius, whereby it appears, that Prynn was praiſed for his great reading, and that he was a rigid Puritan, who could not ſo much as endure the drinking of healths (10). 'Is eſt qui auguſto elogio ab eodem (*D. Voetio*) condecoratur in diſput. *de ebrietate*, & quidem ſecundum hanc formulam: *Diffuſæ eruditionis Juriſconſultus Gul Prynne* (11), *cum generis nobilitate tum rara pietate conſpicuus, in Tract. Anglico, adverſus* Salutes *conſcripto.* Liber hic Prynnii (de quo viro ante aliquot annos tam amplus rumor per Britanniam & Belgium fuit) ſi reſpondeat ejuſdem Tractatui de Spectaculis, (nam hunc ſolum vidi) dixerim, diffuſam eruditionem Authoris (licet hic ipſe à D. Voetio oſtentetur ut *nobilis*) reſpondere ſcopis diſſolutis, atque ſervire confirmando dicto vulgato, quod eam ſolam vim fortem eſſe agnoſcit, quæ fuerit *unita.* Fueritne vero Prynnius pius ſolus Deus novit, quum *D. Voëtius* quando favet, nimis quam liberalis ſit in titulo illo concedendo. Certe hoc non poſſum cognoſcere ex ejuſdem libro de Spectaculis, niſi pariter Phariſæi pii fuerint agnoſcendi, eo, quod *cuminum & anethum decimarent.---- He is the Perſon, whom Voëtius honours with a grand elogy, in his Diſputation on Drunkenneſs. It is as follows:* William Prynn, a Civilian of extenſive learning, famous both for the nobility of his family, and his piety, in the Engliſh tract which he wrote againſt drinking healths. If this book of Prynn's (who was ſo much talked of for ſeveral years in England and Holland) be like his treatiſe againſt plays, (for I have ſeen no other) I will venture to ſay, that the extenſive learning of the author (tho' he himſelf be extolled by Voetius for the nobility of his birth) is like a rope of ſand, and ſerves to confirm the common ſaying, which allows that force only to be ſtrong, which is united. But whether Prynn was a man of piety, God only knows, when Vöetius is too liberal in beſtowing that title on him. I am ſure I cannot diſcover this from his book on Public Shows, unleſs at the ſame time the Phariſees be allowed to have been pious, becauſe they *tithed cummin and anniſeed.*'

(8) *Ad* 24. *Oct.* 1669.

(9) This adv does not make a right conclu-ſion; for Toſtatus's works are not like *Adverſaria.*

(10) Martin. Schoockius, Exercitat. Variarum, *pag.* 302, *Edit.* 1663, *in* 4*to.*

(11) The edition of this diſputation, *de ebrietate*, which I make uſe of, is that of 1667, in the fourth volume, *Diſput. Scholar. pag.* 503, has only, *D. Gisb. Voetius de Ebrietate, Diſputatio Juridica. Gul. Prynn. in tractatu, &c.*

PRIOLO (BENJAMIN) in Latin *Priolus*, author of an Hiſtory of France, from the death of Lewis XIII, to the year 1664, was born at Saint Jean d'Angeli, the firſt of January 1602. He deſcended from the *Priuli* or *Prioli*, an illuſtrious family, which has afforded ſome Doges to the republic of Venice [A]. He was but fifteen

[A] *He deſcended from the* Priuli, *or* Prioli, *an illuſtrious family, which has afforded ſome Doges to the Republic of Venice.*] ANTONY PRIOLI, nephew to LAURENCE, and JEROM PRIOLI, brothers and doges of Venice one after another, came very young into France, in the reign of

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fifteen years of age, when he loſt his father and mother, which doubtleſs increaſed the obſtacle he met with in the courſe of his ſtudies: but thoſe obſtacles did not abate, in the leaſt, his eager deſire of being a learned man. His inclination for learning was ſo great, that he ſpent whole days and nights in reading without any interruption (*a*). He ſtudied firſt at Orthez, and then at Montauban, and afterwards at Leyden. He improved himſelf by the lectures of Heinſius and Voſſius in this laſt town, and beſtowed three years in reading all the Greek and Latin Poets and Hiſtorians. Being deſirous to ſee and conſult Grotius, he took a journey to Paris, and then went to Padua, by reaſon of the great reputation of Cremoninus and Licetus, of whom he throughly learned the opinions of Ariſtotle, and of the other ancient Philoſophers. He returned into France, from whence he went again into Italy, to get himſelf acknowledged by the Prioli as one of their relations [*B*]. He attached himſelf to the duke

(*a*) Tanta fuit in illo diſcendi intemperies, ut noctes diebus continuaret evolvendo quidquid voluminum edidit Romana aut Graia vetuſtas. *Joannes Rhodius, de Vita Benjamini Prioli, pag.* 3.

of Henry II, with an ambaſſador of the family Lauredano, his uncle by the mother's ſide. He fell in love with a daughter of a gentleman of Saintonge, who was at Paris about a conſiderable law-ſuit. He married her, and having carried her to Venice, they were both ſo unkindly received by the Republic, and their relations, that the diſſolution of their marriage was a thing reſolved upon. It would have been declared void according to the laws, had not the ambaſſador, who repreſented in France the body of the Republic, ſigned the contract; for which he was cenſured by a decree of the year 1554; and it was voted, that Antony, and his poſterity, ſhould be excluded from all offices in the ſenate. This ill ſucceſs moved him to leave Venice, and, having ſecured his effects, he returned to France, and ſettled in his wife's country, at St Jean d'Angeli. He had many children: MARK, the eldeſt, was the father of JULIAN, and Julian was the father of BENJAMIN, who makes the ſubject of this article. Julian ruined himſelf by his four marriages, and the expences he was at in the war, being the firſt officer of the regiment de la Force. Benjamin was his ſon by his fourth wife. He put his father's name under the cut engraved by the famous Pitau, and prefixed to his Hiſtory of France: that cut may be had ſtill at the Print-ſellers. The inſcription runs thus: *Benjaminus Priolus Santo. Juliani F. Eques Venetus, Rerum Gallicarum Scriptor florentiſſimus.* Which ſhews Sorbiere's miſtakes concerning the father of Benjamin Priolo.

That family increaſed very much, and was naturalized in the reign of Charles IX. They entirely embraced the Reformed Religion under Henry IV, and there has been ſeveral eminent miniſters of that family (1). They were ſollicited by a letter (2) from the doge, Leonard Donato, to return to Venice, but did not care to do it, being well ſettled in France. They troubled themſelves no more about Venice; but it may be proved, by a paſſage out of the book, intituled, *Recherches de la Nobleſſe*, printed at Montaubon in 1616, that they always pretended to be originally from Venice. The author of that book, who was a gentleman of Bearn, called la Roque, ſays, that the Prioleau's (ſo he writes their name) (3) of Saintoigne and Aunix, were not originally of Venice, as ſeveral of them pretended, in ſeveral records, under the reign of Henry III, but that they are antient gentlemen, who had a mind to derive their pedigree from the Venetians, becauſe their name was like that of the noble Prioli of Venice. Tho' this paſſage contains a falſity, it irrefragably confutes the Sorberiana. The falſity I ſpeak of, manifeſtly appears by the good ſucceſs of Benjamin Priolo, in making out his extraction from the Prioli of Venice. The genealogical memoir, preſented by him, having been examined, the Republic ordered, that a patent ſhould be drawn up, which he received from Mr Grimani, ambaſſador in France in the year 1660, with a gold chain and medal worth three hundred piſtoles. By that patent the ſenate acknowledged him to be a noble Venetian knight. The arms of the Prioli are blazoned and added to the ſeal, and round about, *Non data, non conceſſa, ſed adnata, ſenatus decreto.* The title is alſo in Latin, and the reſt in Italian. Mr Prioli received at the ſame time a congratulatory letter from Laurence Prioli, proveditor of the ſea, who was then the head of the family.

It ought to be obſerved, that the Republic of Venice takes no notice of the baſtards of noblemen. Their very fathers will not own them, and even abandon them; for it is not the cuſtom of the noble Venetians to have private miſtreſſes: they apply themſelves to courtezans, and club for the keeping of one; by which means they avoid being jealous one of another: but if the courtezan has a child, none of them owns it (4).

[*B*] *He went again into Italy, to get himſelf acknowledged by the Prioli, as one of their relations.*] So I paraphraſe the Latin words of John Rhodius, *In Italiam reverſus eſt, quærendis apud Venetos originis ſuæ primordiis* (5). The author adds, That the ſenate of Venice gave Benjamin Priolo a very kind reception, and made him a knight, but without admitting him to the prerogatives of his family, the laws of the Republic not permitting it, becauſe he deſcended from one Antoni Prioli, who had married a foreigner out of Venice. *Blandè acceptus à Senatu, factus eques, ſed excluſus generis ſui prærogativa, quoniam Antonius Priolus ejus avus paternus, qui Princeps fuit Reip. Venetorum, non potuit legitimum matrimonium extra urbem & cum extera contraxiſſe ſalvis patriæ legibus* (6). That author is in the wrong to ſay, that Antony Prioli was a doge; and he ſhould not have ſaid, that he was Benjamin's grand-father, but his great-grand-father. He is alſo miſtaken as to the time: the patent whereby the ſenate owned Benjamin to be related to the Prioli of Venice, was not granted before the year 1660. What he ſays in the concluſion of his elogy, that Mr Priolo took orders after the death of his wife (7), is a great falſity.

The two following paſſages will confirm what I have ſaid in the foregoing remark. Mr Priolo, ſpeaking of the town of St Jean d'Angeli, makes this ſmall digreſſion: 'Ibi mea infantia vagiit, hic aërem primum hauſi. Hæc terra, mihi atavis Venetis, iiſque illuſtribus, neſcio quo caſu, primum tacta. Si decora meæ gentis à me intermiſſa ſunt, forſan nepotibus inſtaurabuntur; & Sant-Angelium olim me alumno gaudebit (8). - - - *There I firſt drew my breath; being deſcended of a noble Venetian family. If the honours of my race are loſt to me, perhaps they will be reſtored to my poſterity; and St Angeli will one day boaſt of having educated me.*' You ſee that he publickly boaſts of his Venetian extraction, as he does alſo in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his work to the Republic of Venice: 'O Patria! *ſays he,* O vaſti pelagi dominatrix! agnoſce tuum civem, vel ſolo nomine Prioli tibi dilectum. - - - *O my country, O miſtreſs of the wide ocean! acknowledge thy citizen, dear to thee by the name alone of Prioli.*'

As for the reſt, I beſeech the readers to mind what I am going to ſay. There is a very remarkable difference between other Hiſtorical Dictionaries and mine. I am not contented, according to the cuſtom of thoſe Dictionaries, to give a general account of a man's life; but I collect, as much as the few books I have will permit me, the moſt curious and remarkable paſſages, the judgments that have been made of thoſe I ſpeak of, and the faults that have been committed concerning them. I examine, I prove, I confute, as there is occaſion. But when I have no proofs to confute a falſity, I am forced to leave it without a confutation; and my ſilence, in that reſpect, is not a ſign, that I warrant the truth of the facts mentioned by me. The authors, whom I quote, ought to be anſwerable for what they advance. It is enough for me to confute the falſities that are known to me, and to be always diſpoſed to confute thoſe I ſhall diſcover by the help of others, and by my own enquiries. No one can do me a greater pleaſure than to impart to me the proofs and explanations that are neceſſary to rectify the miſtakes (9) inſerted in this work, upon the credit of authors. I ſhall always be ready to do whatever juſtice and truth require. I can be poſitive about it: I know

(4) Taken from a manuſcript Memoir.

(5) Johannes Rhodius, de Vita Benj. Prioli, *pag.* 4.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ipſe patet ſe ſacris addixit, rerum humanarum & ſæculi pertæſus, pervicacis, ingrati. *Ibid. pag.* 7.

(8) Priolus, de Rebus Gallicis, *lib. vi, n.* 38, *pag. m.* 283.

ADVERTISEMENT to the reader once for all.

(9) This muſt be likewiſe underſtood of my own miſtakes.

(1) A nephew of Benjamin, was miniſter of the church of Niort.

(2) Dated the 15th of April 1608.

(3) I have it from very good hands, that ſome miniſters in thoſe parts writ their name *Prioleau*. But it ought to be obſerved, that the pronunciation being the ſame in the greateſt part of France, whether that name be written *Priolo*, or *Prioleau*; and the French not being very nice and exact, it is no wonder that the name of that family ſhould have been differently ſpelt.

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duke of Rohan [C]; who was then in the ſervice of the Venetians, and ſo inſinuated himſelf into his favour, that he became one of his moſt intimate confidents. The duke ſent him twice into Spain upon important negotiations, and left to his diſcretion the management of all particular affairs, whilſt he commanded the troops of France in the Valteline, and in the country of the Griſons. Mr Priolo was in all the battles, and ſhewed his courage both on foot and on horſeback (b). Being uncertain of his fate, after the death of that duke, he retired to Geneva, being lately married to Elizabeth Michaeli of a very noble family (c). He bought a country-ſeat at Saconnent near Geneva, where he reſted after the toils and fatigues of his foregoing life. The duke of Longueville being named plenipotentiary of France for the treaty of Munſter, and being deſirous to carry him thither, as a man, whoſe parts and counſels would be of great uſe to him, Mr Priolo reſolved to leave Geneva and to ſettle at Paris [D]. He ſtaid half a year at Lyons, where he had ſeveral conferences with cardinal Barberini about controverted doctrines; the reſult of which was, that he, his wife, children, and domeſtics, abjured the Proteſtant religion, and immediately received the communion from the cardinal's hands. He did not enjoy a long repoſe at Paris; for the civil war quickly broke out, and he engaged in the faction of the malecontents, which occaſioned the ruin of his fortune (d). This is what I find in a Latin piece, written by John Rhodius, and printed at Padua in 1662. The following particulars come from another hand. Being dazzled with the prince's glory, with whom he had ſided, he neither regarded the many favours, which the queen-mother beſtowed upon him, nor the great promiſes of Cardinal Mazarin; which was the cauſe of his misfortune: he was forced to retire into Flanders, his eſtate was confiſcated, and his family baniſhed. Having regained the king's favour, he reſolved to live a retired life, and to follow his ſtudy, ſupporting himſelf on the wreck of the tempeſt he had ſuffered. It was then, and to divert his melancholy, that he wrote [E] with great impartiality

(b) In Rhætia & Tellina valle, cùm Gallicis armis præeſſet Rohanius, Priolus omnia pro nutu verſavit. Præliis variis illic cum Germanis & Iberis certátum: ubique interfuit: pugnavit eques, & pedes. *Ibid. pag.* 4.

(c) Cùm ante trimeſtre uxorem duxiſſet Elizabetham Micheliam, illuſtri genere, ſcilicet atavis editam principibus Lucenſis Reip. & Micheliis patriciis Venetis, unde Principes non pauci. *Ibid.*

(d) *Taken from* Rhodius, ubi ſupra.

know my own thoughts, and I have given ſome inſtances of it. For example, it is a great pleaſure to me to be put in a capacity of ſhewing the impoſture, or illuſion, of the author of the *Sorberiana*, in what he ſays concerning the father of Benjamin Priolo, &c. I muſt make another obſervation: a falſity diſadvantageous to an honourable family, would be ſlighted, if it were only to be found in a ſmall inconſiderable piece, which is ſoon forgot; but if it be inſerted in a large volume, eſpecially in a folio book, called a Dictionary, it makes one more uneaſy. For the alphabetical order of this ſort of books does ſo ſhorten the enquiries of the curious, that every body will have them in ſmall libraries, as well as in great ones, even tho' they are not good; and therefore it is to be feared, that what is contained in them will be believed every where, and laſt for ever. But it ought to be conſidered, at leaſt as to this work, that my bare relating what has been ſaid by another, does not multiply the number of authorities. Should I relate a thing, without quoting any body for it, I ſhould ſet up for a new evidence: but ſince I quote the very words of the authors, whoſe names I put in the margin, what I ſay is only grounded upon their authority. A tranſient piece, a ſmall book, whoſe title ends with *ana*, a heap of ſeveral indigeſted collections, found in Sorbiere's cloſet, and containing looſe diſcourſes of converſation, do not become more weighty and conſiderable, becauſe they are quoted in a large volume. They are ſtill what they were before, and nothing elſe. It is to be obſerved, that of all things, that make the ſubject of common converſation, there is none that is leſs to be depended upon, than what is ſaid about the origin of families. For when a man raiſes himſelf, envy on the one hand, or flattery on the other, do quickly forge obliging or diſobliging falſities, which ſpread far and near; but with this difference, that ſatirical falſities ſpread more, and are ſooner credited than flattering lies.

[C] *He attached himſelf to the duke of Rohan.*] John Rhodius's expreſſion, *Incidit illic in inſtlicem Rohanii Ducem* (10), ought to be rectified. It ſeems to ſignify, that Mr Priolo was beholden to chance for his firſt acquaintance with the duke. The truth is, that his family had been in the duke of Rhoan's intereſt, and the duke of Soubiſe, brother to the duke of Rohan, was his godfather. Take notice, that he was not admitted into the duke's family, as his Phyſician, and that he was not aftewards his ſecretary (11), as we are told in the Sorberiana. I have been informed, that, all the time he was in that poſt, he was only very intimate with the duke, and never had any ſkill in Phyſic, but ſuch as one may get by a general ſtudy of Philoſophy.

(10) Joh. Rhodius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 4.

(11) Patin ſays he was. See, below, citation (17).

[D] *Mr Priolo reſolved to leave Geneva; and to ſettle at Paris.*] The attentive reader will eaſily perceive the incoherency of this narrative: it is a fault of Rhodius, which I will correct. That author has ſhewed here, that it is an eaſier thing to write the hiſtory of an illuſtrious man in good Latin, than to prevent great gaps and omiſſions in relating a fact. Is it not a very incoherent narrative to ſay, that a man went and ſettled at Paris, becauſe the duke of Longueville had a mind to carry him to Munſter, without informing his reader whether, or no, he accepted his propoſal? 'Longavillanus Dux ad conventum Monaſterienſem 'cum ſumma poteſtate de pace Legatus iturus, eo 'Priolum invitavit, ejus operâ & conſilio uſurus in 'tam arduo negotio. Hinc illi decretum Geneva re'licta irrevocabilem pedem Lutetiæ figere, quo to'tam familiam . . . deduxit. Lugduni ſex menſes re'manſit. . . . Non diu tranquille Lutetiæ egit, cùm 'derepentè ſtudia partium exarſere, & bella civilia 'cœpta (12). - - - *The duke of Longueville was ſent to* (12) Rhodius, ubi ſupra, pag. 4, & 5. '*the congreſs of Munſter, with full power to treat of* 'peace; *whither he invited Priolo, in order to make* 'uſe *of his advice and aſſiſtance in ſo difficult an un*'dertaking. *Hence he reſolved, having left Geneva, to* 'ſettle *at Paris, whither he had brought his whole fami*'ly. *He ſtaid ſix months at Lyons. . . . He was not long* 'quiet *at Paris, the rage of party ſoon after burſting out,* 'and *the civil war being kindled.*' To fill up this gap, I muſt obſerve, that Mr Priolo ſet out from Geneva to go to Munſter, according to the duke's deſire. He was there about a year, and then he returned to Geneva, from whence he went into France, in order to ſettle at Paris. Being at Munſter, he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with the nuncio Chigi, who was afterwards Pope Alexander VII. He wrote to him a congratulatory letter in Latin, when he heard that he was made Pope, and received from him a very devout anſwer, with ſome medals, &c. The duke of Longueville was ſo well ſatisfied with his ſervices, that he aſſigned him a penſion of 1200 livres upon the principality of Neufchatel (13), and, not long before he died, he preſented him with 1200 crowns, as the laſt token of his affection (14).

(13) It was paid him till that prince died.

[E] *It was . . . to divert his melancholy that he wrote . . . the hiſtory of France.*] He repreſents himſelf as a man perſecuted by fortune, and declares, that he ſet about that hiſtory to drive away his melancholy. 'Inter maximas ærumnas natus eſt hic fœtus, quem lin'ſturus eram, ſi licuiſſet. Paſſim notabuntur veſtigia 'minus alacris animi. Quid reſpondeam, non habeo. 'Humanæ imbecillitatis ingens patrocinium neceſſitas. 'Non fama, ſed requies mihi quæſita, fallendis innu'meris tædiis, ipſe me damnavi in hanc arenam (15). - - - *This offſpring was produced amidſt the greateſt miſ*'fortunes; *which, if it had been in my power, I would* 'have *ſhaped into form. There appeared up and down* 'in

(14) Taken from the abovementioned Memoir.

(15) Benj. Priolus, Lectori ad calcem Hiſtoriæ.

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impartiality, a History [F], which has been reprinted ſeveral times: the beſt edition is that of Leipſic 1686 [G]. He was put again upon negotiations; for, in the year 1667, he was ordered to go to Venice upon a ſecret affair as it appears from a credential letter, that was found among his papers, drawn up by Mr de Lionne. He could not make an end of that journey; for he died of an apoplexy at Lyons, in the archbiſhop's palace. I advanced, upon a hear-ſay, in the firſt edition, that he died in the hoſpital of Lyons; but I correct that fault in this ſecond edition; and I do ſincerely proteſt, that I ſaid ſo only according to the ſentiments of thoſe, from whom I had it at Geneva. I had no reaſon to believe, that they were not rightly informed; and, as they expreſſed their eſteem for this author, they alledged that particular only as an inſtance of the misfortune of men of letters. It was out of pity to him, and to ſhew the injuſtice of the time, that they alledged it upon occaſion of Pierius Valerianus's book *de Infelicitate Litteratorum*, which ſome body in the company had mentioned. I omit alſo the paſſage I had quoted out of the Sorberiana: I have been fully informed, that Sorbiere was groſsly miſtaken, as it will appear from the remarks I point at (*e*). I would have confuted him in the firſt edition (*f*), had I then had the neceſſary information. Mr Priolo left behind him ſeven children, who loſt, by his death, the penſions he enjoyed; but his name ſupported them, and they ſupported it in their turn,

(*e*) Viz. the remarks [*A*] and [*B*] of this article.

(*f*) See the remark [*B*], towards the end.

'*in it the traces of a mind ill at eaſe. I know not what* '*to anſwer. Neceſſity is the grand excuſe for human* '*weakneſs. I ſought not fame, but eaſe; and I under-* '*took this work, to take off my mind from reflecting on* '*the innumerable misfortunes of my life.*' If his life written by himſelf were to be printed, we ſhould find in it a very particular account of his great troubles. It is one of the books he promiſed to publiſh, as we ſhall ſee hereafter (16).

(16) In the remark [*I*].

[*F*] *He wrote with great impartiality, a Hiſtory.*] What I have quoted of it, in the article of the marſhal de Guebriant's widow, is ſufficient to ſhew, that the author took the liberty to publiſh things that might offend great perſons. Any one, who reads what he ſays of the duchеſs of Longueville, will be convinced of his boldneſs. Patin went upon a fallacious probability, when he wrote theſe words: *Mr Prioleau, who was formerly ſecretary to the duke of Roban, has written the Hiſtory of France in Latin, from the death of the late king*, in gratiam Mazarini. *His book is intituled*, Conatus Hiſtorici: *it will be full of flattery; but that is eſſential to the age we live in* (17).

(17) Patin, Letter CC, pag. 190, of the 2d volume. It is dated the 14th of September 1660.

Sorel did not paſs the ſame judgment upon that hiſtory, but rather had a contrary opinion of it (18). The author was ſo far from being a flatterer, that, having obtained the king's licence, he thought it neceſſary, before he made uſe of it for the impreſſion of the whole work, to ſee how the chief perſons of the court would like the liberty he took: and therefore he publiſhed firſt (19) the ſubſtance of his hiſtory in one book, keeping the freedom of his pen under ſome reſtraint; and yet ſome miniſters thought he was too free, and declared that they would oppoſe the impreſſion of his work, unleſs it was caſtrated by ſuch examiners as they ſhould appoint. Mr Priolo made his remonſtrances to the king, who gave him leave to have his hiſtory printed at Charleville (20): which was performed in the year 1665, and the book was publickly ſold in France (21); that edition is a quarto book, and is not intituled *Conatus Hiſtorici*, but *Benjamini Prioli ab exceſſu Ludovici XIII, de Rebus Gallicis Hiſtoriarum libri XII.* It was reprinted once at Utrecht (22), and twice at Leipſic.

(18) *See* Sorel's Bibliotheque Françoiſe, *pag.* 366, 367, *Paris* 1667.

(19) At Paris for Cramoiſi 1662.

(20) A town belonging to the duke of Mantua, ſituate upon the Maeſe, between Sedan and Charlemont.

(21) Taken from the Memoir abovementioned.

(22) In the year 1669, in 12mo.

I muſt obſerve, that this hiſtory is quoted in the Life of Cardinal Mazarin, written by Aubery; in the Life of the Prince of Conde, and in ſome other pieces. I am ſure, that, if it had been written in French with the ſame ſprightlineſs and ſtrength, which appears in the Latin, it would have been printed above ten times. It would very much pleaſe thoſe, who are fond of the modern taſte; for it is full of thoſe characters and deſcriptions, which are now ſo much in vogue: The phraſes of Tacitus are very frequent in it, and ſeem to come in of themſelves. I ſhall ſay nothing of ſeveral private intrigues, mentioned by the author, who had them from the firſt hand. It appears by the works of count Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, and by the memoirs of the regency, that he was employed in ſome negotiations.

[*G*] *The beſt edition is that of Leipſic* 1686 (23).] For there are ſome letters in it, which the author ſuppreſſed in the edition of Charleville; and very good alphabetical tables, and beſides, very curious and in-

(23) It is in 8vo, and the ſecond edition of that town.

ſtructive notes (24). There is alſo in that edition a Latin tranſlation of what was ſaid of that work in the Journal des Savans (25). Mr. Gallois took ſuch an ingenious turn to expreſs his thoughts about it, that, though the author had ſome reaſon to be diſſatisfied, he had no good pretence to complain: ſo true it is, that ſome railleries are offenſive, and yet one dares not appear to be offended at them (26). The Latin tranſlator has not preſerved the niceneſs of the raillery in every part of his verſion; and I will venture to ſay, he has not only enervated, but alſo falſified the laſt period. Let the reader judge of it. The words of the journaliſt run thus. *Had I not purpoſed to forbear giving my opinion about the books mentioned in this journal, perhaps the ſtyle of this hiſtory would be the thing I ſhould leaſt find fault with* (27). Compare this with the Latin: *Ita ut niſi omnino propoſitum eſſet abſtinere à librorum judicio, de quibus in his Ephemeridibus nonnullæ* (28) *ſolent proferri, diceretur fortaſſe, ſtylumbujus hiſtoriæ ejus eſſe generis, in quo vix quicquam occurrat quod correctionem mereatur.* According to this tranſlator, Mr Gallois ſays, that Priolo's ſtyle is of ſuch a nature, that there is hardly any thing in it that deſerves to be mended. But he is far from ſaying ſo: his meaning is, that the hiſtory he ſpeaks of does not ſo much deſerve to be cenſured on account of the ſtyle, as upon other accounts: And therefore his words ſhould have been rendered thus; *In ſtylo hujus hiſtoriæ pauciora quam in cæteris omnibus fortaſſe reprehenderem.* The author was not ſurpriſed, that ſome ſevere and even devout perſons were diſpleaſed with the ſpecimen of his work; he took it to be a ſign of the merit of his performance: 'Procul tetrici & moroſi, *ſays he*, (29) 'immo devoti. Tales me carpſerunt lecto primo meo 'libro. Eorum flagello patientiam indulſi, Boni argumentum talibus diſplicere. - - - *Away from me, ye* '*ſour and ſevere, and even ye devout. Such perſons* '*cenſured me in my laſt book. I patiently endured* '*their laſh, ſince to diſpleaſe ſuch perſons is an argument* '*of merit.*' He owns that he never was at ſchool, or at an univerſity (30). Why then, will ſome ſay, does he acknowledge in his epiſtle dedicatory to the doge and ſenate of Venice, that he is beholden to the univerſity of Padua for his beſt inſtructions? 'Illa veſtra 'Antenorea altrix mei, dulcis Artium parens .... 'me ſuis præceptis imbuit .... hæc me docuit à cel- 'ſa mentis arce deſpicere errantes, & ex veris cauſis 'ſcire, ſub quantis tenebris jaceret mortalium dies. - - - '*Your univerſity of Padua, the pleaſing mother of arts* '*and ſciences, gave me the firſt inſtructions of my* '*youth. . . . . She taught me to look down from the* '*lofty ſummit of the mind on wandring mortals below,* '*and to diſcover the true reaſons of the darkneſs, with* '*which they are benighted.*' I anſwer, that he does not contradict himſelf; his meaning is, that he learned all his Latin of himſelf, without the help of any ſchool-maſter; but he does not ſay ſo as to the ſciences; he acknowledges, that the profeſſors of Padua had been his maſters.

(24) See the remark [*I*], of the article GUEBRIANT.

(25) Of the 22d of February 1666.

(26) Heu quam miſerum eſt ab eo lædi, de quo non poſſis queri? *Pub. Syr.*

(27) Journal des Sçavans, *of the* 22d *of February* 1666, *pag. m.* 159, 160.

(28) One does not know what that adjective refers to, and whatever ſenſe be put upon it, it cannot be that of the original.

(29) In his advertiſement to the reader, at the end of the book.

(30) Etſi nullas ſcholas nec Academias unquam viderim, & nullo niſi me præceptore uſus ſim, nemo tamen me temere debet arbitrari niſi Latini ſermonis bene peritus. *Ibid.*

There ſeems to be a more real contradiction between him and Rhodius; and yet they may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing (31) that Priolo was ſent to Orthez, and to Montauban, to go through his claſſical learning; but

(31) I have been aſſured that it was ſo.

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turn, and have been well settled for a long time [*H*]. I cannot say whether the books he designed to publish will ever be printed [*I*]. It is pity they have not been published. I will set down some of his maxims [*K*], and the judgment he made upon Cicero, and Livy, and the most celebrated writers of ancient Rome [*L*].

that he payed no regard to the rules of his masters, and learned Latin by another method.

[*H*] *He left behind him seven children, who lost .... the pensions he enjoyed .... and have been well settled.*] Cardinal Mazarin left him, by his last-will (32), a pension of 1500 livres, assigned upon the whole legacy of the duke of Mazarin; and when the king granted him a licence to print his history in 1661, he gave him a pension of 2000 livres. This appears from the State of France, published at that time, in the list of men of letters. Though his family lost this noble income, they found some other helps. The court took care of them. The eldest son was placed in the finances by Mr Colbert, and raised himself very much. The younger brother was made a life-guard-man, not being twenty years of age. He is now an exempt in the first troop (33). Of the five daughters, three are nuns, and the two others hold the first rank among the gentlewomen belonging to two of the most considerable duchesses of the court. The eldest nun was a prioress in the royal monastery of Chaillot, and was named by the king, in 1692, to establish the rule, that is now observed by the ladies of the royal-house of St Cir near Versailles. She is the spiritual founder of it (34).

(32) It has been printed.

(33) I write this in April 1701.

(34) Taken from the abovementioned Memoir.

[*I*] *I cannot say whether the books he designed to publish will be in printed.*] The following words are in the last page of his history: *Opera Benjamini Prioli brevi edenda. Vitanda in vita, seu de stultitia humanæ gentis, Lib. IV. Quæstionum naturalium, seu de re plantaria veterum & recentiorum, Lib. III. Opus Emunctum, triginta annorum Meditatio, quod jam celebratur sub apertiori titulo, & falsò nonnulli sibi asscripserunt. De Vita & Gestis Henrici Rohannii Ducis. De Vita & Moribus Cæsaris Cremonini. Vita Benjamini Prioli. Judicium de Scriptoribus Græcis & Latinis. Epistolarum Senilium ad Maximos Europæ Proceres centuria singularis.*

It is very probable the life of this author will be prefixed to a book (35) taken from the maxims, which have been found among his papers: and which form a natural image of the heart of man, according to the various events of human life.

(35) By his son.

[*K*] *I shall set down some of his maxims.*] Man, said he, is only possessed of three things, the soul, the body, and wealth; which are continually exposed to three sorts of snares: the soul is exposed to the snares of Divines, the body to the snares of Physicians, and wealth to those of Lawyers. Rhodius expresses it thus: *Cùm tribus tantùm homo constet, anima, corpore, & bonis: tres insidiatores illis perpetuò imminere: adulterinos Theologos animæ per laqueos conscientiæ injectos, nihil ad bonos mores, & solidam pietatem: medicos corpori, per pharmaca noxia, cùm rusticatio, diæta, & mens hilaris, sola morbis opitulentur: bonis rabulas forenses, per litium articulos & formulas, cùm per arbitros idoneos amputandæ sint radices, crescentibus sine fine familiarum malis* (36). A wise man ought not to be too forward, if he has a mind to succeed at court: A good judgment and submission are the only means of obtaining one's desires. A man ought not to make himself too familiar with any body; that is, he ought to reveal nothing but what he would have made public: for can any thing be more absurd, than to expect that others will be more faithful to you than you have been to yourself (37). A man, who frequents the court, ought particularly to avoid failing into the snares of the fair sex. *Cavendum præsertim in aulâ à fallacibus fœminarum vinclis: omnes nugaces esse, infidas, & judicii modicas, nunquam eodem tenore mentis & animi* (38) Leudness is the fulness of all evils: it hurts the soul, the body, the reputation; and, what is most sensible to debauched men, it affects their purse. It is a piece of folly to marry, unless a man be bound in a special manner to prevent the extinction of his family. We have much ado to govern ourselves; why then should we undertake to govern what is most ungovernable. Rhodius expresses those maxims better than I do. *Scortationem ultimum malorum, indecoram, noxiam, probrosam; animum, corpus, famam, & quod magis dissolutum hominem afficit, crumenam lædentem. Quæcunque uni venditat sui corporis jura, cuilibet fine discrimine sui copiam facit. Uxorem ducere, insanum; si eos excipias, qui propagando sanguinis hoc debent suis penatibus; vix potens humana vis se regere, adscisit difficillimum quod regat, ut qui remigiis vix lembum subigit, remulcum adjungit* (39). He abhorred lying to such a degree, that he could not hear of it without falling into a great passion; and he exhorted his children, above all things, to avoid that fault, and to live a pious life. Every Christian, said he, ought to hate lying; and a gentleman ought to be free from it, tho' he be not a Christian. He mortally hated those, who laughed at the scripture. *Mendacium ita aversabatur, ut ad solam mentionem excandesceret, nihil prius veritate & pietate in Deum, liberis commendans. Omnem Christianum à mendacio alienum esse debere; nobilem autem, etiamsi Christianus non sit. In deriso res Scripturæ Sacræ, horum hoc seculum feracissimum, inexpiabili odio flagrabat* (40). He was a great observer of justice, but little regarded the outside of religion (41). This puts me in mind of Montagne, who, though no very devout man, protests, that he had naturally an aversion for a lie (42).

(36) Jo. Rhodius, ubi supra, *pag.* 6. *See the* Cortegiano, *of Castiglione, lib. ii, pag. m.* 295.

(37) Nulli se facere nimis sodalem oportere, id est, nihil revelare, nisi quod publici juris esse velis. Nam quid ineptius quàm putare aliquem tibi magis fidum, quàm tibi ipse fuisti. *Ibid.*

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid. *pag.* 7.

(41) Justi & æqui servantissimus, religionis parum, quæ quidem in externis actibus versatur. *Ibid. pag.* 5.

[*L*] *I shall set down the judgment he made of Cicero and Livy, and the most celebrated writers of ancient Rome.*] He was no great admirer of Cicero: he admired Livy, and found him so inimitable, that despairing to copy his excellencies, he resolved to imitate Tacitus. He was extremely fond of Seneca, and preferred Lucan to Virgil, and the tenderness of Catullus to the majesty of Horace. Rhodius, his good friend, and his panegyrist, wonders at the oddness of his taste. *Senecam deperibat: nescio quo malo genio M. Tullium ingentem virum, Romanæ eloquentiæ patrem, non admiratus est: cæteros ad unguem tenebat. Tit. Livium inimitabilem prædicabat, idcoque desperans, nobis posterisque Tacitum repræsentavit. Lucanum præferebat Virgilio: quis hoc credat? Et teneras Catulli amationes Horatianæ majestati* (43). It is certain, that this judgment is wrong; for a man, who prefers Livy to Tacitus, should place Cicero above Seneca, and Virgil above Lucan. The eloquence and character of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil, are much of the same kind (44). Those authors do not affect to be bright; they cast, without any affectation, a light, which adorns the whole work: but does not dazzle the reader; as those of some other writers, who, instead of letting every ray pass through its proper medium, have recourse to a kind of dioptric, in order to collect together an infinite number of rays, to cast the greater light. It is their chief study: It was the method of Seneca, the two Pliny's and Tacitus. Lucan, in like manner, toils and labours hard to express himself in an uncommon manner, and to appear great and lofty. It must be confessed, that they were men of very great parts, and perhaps they would have taken a more natural course, if they had lived in the time of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil; but they began to study when the true taste began to be depraved. It was with the Romans, as it is with those, who are used to drink excellent wines; their taste grows dull, nothing will serve their turn but Brandy, or the strongest liquors. A majestic, natural, and uniform eloquence became insipid, when people were used to it: they were for witty strokes and flights; the day-light was not sufficient for them, they wanted flashes of lightning. The French begin to be sick of the same distemper. Seneca and Tacitus complied with the common taste; they were afraid of being slighted, if they should write like the authors of the golden age. However it be, their style is quite different from that of Livy. How comes it then, that Priolo did so much admire that historian and Seneca at the same time? How could he prefer Lucan to Virgil, and Seneca to Cicero? There is no uniformity in such a judgment: but one must not dispute about tastes. We must be contented with the matter of fact. I shall set down Mr Priolo's words relating to Livy (45). ' De me equidem dixero, si ' quis ævi prisci inflexit sensus, fuit ille Livius, quem ' unicum scriptorem Romanum imperium tulit majestate suâ dignum. Ita spiritus & quasi voces re- ' præsentabat, ut & agere eadem & loqui credas di-

(42) See the 19th chapter of the 2d book of his Essays, *pag. m.* 579, 580.

(43) Jo. Rhodius, ubi supra, *pag.* 7.

(44) Setting aside the difference which depends, 1. On the characters of the subjects treated by them; 2. On prose and verse.

(45) Priolus, ad Lectorem, in Limine Historiæ, *fol. m. col. iij. verso.*

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'cendi genere non anxio, sed limpido, & quod me 'torquet, non imitabili ..... Ego desperatione 'Livianæ imitationis (46) nulli me addicere decrevi. --- 'As to my own opinion, I take Livy to have been the 'noblest author, that the Roman empire ever produced. 'He represented the very spirit and words of persons in 'so lively a manner, that you would think he is acting 'and speaking the same things; and this he does, not in 'a forced and laboured, but an easy and clear, and (what 'gives me pain) an inimitable style.' What follows concerns his admiration of Seneca. 'Ego M. Tullium 'magni semper feci; sed si hodie viveret, stylum im- 'mutaret. Seneca, qui eum ingenio & judicio longissime superavit, usus est dicendi genere auribus sui 'temporis accommodato, nec de imitatione Tulliana 'unquam cogitavit, jactatæ puritati arenam suam fine 'calcæ præferens. Certè mirari satis non possum eorum ingenia, qui quicquid altum spirat, inflatum & 'tumidum appellant. Tales Lucanum, tales Statium 'suæ censuræ subjiciunt (47). --- *I always greatly* 'esteemed Cicero; but, if he were now alive, he would 'alter his style. Seneca, who far surpassed him in abi- 'lity and judgment, employed a style adapted to the ears 'of his cotemporaries, nor did he ever think of imitating 'that of Cicero, preferring his own sand without chalk 'to the boasted purity of that writer. Indeed I cannot 'enough wonder at the disposition of those, who call every 'thing, that is lofty, swelling and bombast. Such per- 'sons find fault with Lucan and Statius.' I shall likewise set down what he says concerning his imitation of Tacitus. 'Profiteor me furem esse notæ rapacitatis, 'habeo piceatas manus, omnia rapio. Taciti & alio- 'rum audax prædo, crudas ejus paginas in opus meum 'propello. Poteram adscito fuco dissimulare, non cu- 'ravi. Nisi centonibus stylum animes in desita lin- 'gua, quid nisi languidum & emortuum expectandum (48). --- *I profess myself to be a thief of singular* 'rapaciousness; *I have pitched hands, and lay hold on eve-* 'ry thing. *A bold plunderer of Tacitus and others; I transfer his indigested pages into my own work. Unless you* 'animate a dead language with passages of the ancients, 'what is to be expected but a languid and lifeless per- 'formance?' His style was criticised by the Jesuit Cossard; and, if I am not mistaken, it was at him this sharp reply was levelled (49). 'Meum stylum ab- 'ruptum, inæqualem, immo, (ut verbis ejusdem scioli 'utar) nullum: scatere paginam centonibus & furtis. 'Scias, ó blenne, quisquis es, familiares mihi à puero 'antiquos scriptores, in aula & in castris aliquando 'lectos, nunc sese offerre non vocatos, & abhinc qua- 'draginta annis nequidem eos libasse, & dictasse totam hanc Historiam inter ambulandum, ne litura 'quidem imperata: tantum abest, ut bis aliquid unquam scripserim. --- *My style, forsooth, is broken, un-* 'equal, and (to use the words of the same pretender to 'criticism) no style at all. Know, thou coxcomb, who- 'ever thou art, that I have had an intimate knowledge 'of the ancients from my childhood; that I read them at 'court, and in the camp; that they now present them- 'selves to me uncalled; that I have not dipped into them 'for these forty years past; and that I dictated this his- 'tory walking up and down, without blotting out any 'thing of it; so far am I from writing any thing twice 'over.' We learn from the last words of this passage, how that History of France was composed. The author dictated it, as he walked, and made no rasures in it: which is a very extraordinary thing.

(46) *He says, that Buchanan endeavoured in vain to imitate Livy.* Buchanan Titum Livium præstare nobis conatus est; certè vigesies à capite ad calcem antequam ad suum opus se accingeret, eum lectitasse perhibetur .... Buchananus, illius equidem simia est, tantum ab eo distans, quantum simia ab homine. *Ibid.*

(47) Ibid. *fol. cap. iv.*

(48) Ibid. *fol. cap. v.*

(49) Ibid. in fine; libri C c 4 verso.

PRISCILLIAN, a Spanish Heresiarch, lived in the IVth century. He was endowed with very fine qualities [*A*]; he had a quick wit, and a great deal of eloquence and learning, he was laborious, sober, and free from avarice. An eager thirst after knowledge, which induced him in his youth to study Magic (*a*), made him listen to the Rhetorician Helpidius, and to a lady, who had embraced some errors of the Gnostics (*b*). He was infected with them, and employed his utmost skill to spread them. He gained over many people, especially women, who flocked to him [*B*]: nay, some bishops followed his sect. This poison having spread itself in several towns, great endeavours were used to put a stop to it. A synod met at Sarragossa (*c*), at which the bishops of Aquitain assisted (*d*). Priscillian, and all his adherents, were condemned for refusing to appear at it, and the secular arm was employed to expel them from all the towns. These Heretics were so little concerned at this condemnation, that they made Priscillian a bishop. He left Spain with Instantius and Salvianus, two prelates of his party, in order to go to Rome, and justify himself to the Pope. As they passed through Aquitain, they gained many disciples. Euchrocia,

(*a*) Idem vanissimus & plus justo inflatior profanarum rerum scientia, quin & Magicas artes ab adolescentia eum exercuisse creditum est. *Sulpicius Severus, Sacræ Hist. lib. ii, pag. m.* 163.

(*b*) That Rhetorician and that lady were instructed by one Marc, an Egyptian. It is falsly said in Moreri's Dictionary, that this Marc instructed Priscillian.

(*c*) In the year 381.

(*d*) Among others, Delphinius bishop of Bourdeaux. *Vide Alteserram, Rerum Aquitanicarum, lib. v, cap. v, pag.* 323.

[*A*] *He was endowed with very fine qualities.*] Sulpicius Severus expresses it thus: 'Ab his (*Agape quadam non ignobili muliere, & rhetore Helpidio*) Priscil- 'lianus est institutus, familia nobilis, prædives opibus, 'acer, inquietus, facundus, multa lectione eruditus, 'disserendi ac disputandi promptissimus: felix profecto, 'si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium, 'prorsus multa in eo animi & corporis bona cerneres. 'Vigilare multum, famem, sitim ferre poterat, ha- 'bendi minime cupidus, utendi parcissimus (1). --- 'Priscillian was instructed by one Agape, a woman of 'some note, and a Rhetorician called Helpidius. He was 'of a noble family, wealthy, of an impetuous and restless 'temper, eloquent, very learned, and most ready at dispu- 'tation: Happy had it been for him, if he had not cor- 'rupted the best genius by a wrong application; for he 'had many excellent qualities both of mind and body. He 'could watch long, and endure hunger and thirst; was 'not eager to get, and very temperate in the use of 'riches.'

(1) Sulpicius Severus, Sacr. Histor. *lib. ii, pag.* 162, 163.

[*B*] *He employed all his skill to spread them. Women flocked to him .... bishops .... came over to his sect.*] I shall quote again Sulpicius Severus for it. *Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem aggressus est, multos nobilium, plurosque populares authoritate persuadendi & arte blandiendi allicuit in societatem. Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ, fluxa fide, & ad omnia curioso ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant. Quippe humilitatis speciem ore & habitu prætendens, honorem sui & reverentiam cunctis injecerat. Jamque paulatim perfidiæ istius tabes, pleraque Hispaniæ pervaserat: quin & nonnulli episcoporum depravati, inter quos Instantius & Salvianus, Priscillianum non solum conversione, sed sub quadam etiam conjuratione susceperant* (2). I shall likewise set down Maimbourg's paraphrase upon these Latin words. 'That Heresiarch, being sensible on the one hand, 'and knowing by his own experience, that men are 'naturally very much inclined to voluptuousness, 'which occasioned a general corruption of mankind 'before the Flood; and knowing, on the other hand, 'the weak side of people, especially of women, who 'are easily imposed upon by a shew of piety; pre- 'tended to so much holiness, that there never was 'a greater hypocrite than that impostor. And in- 'deed no man did ever appear less fond of the world, 'for which he affected to express a great contempt 'in all things, by the meanness of his dress, his be- 'haviour, and his conversation; by his modest and 'humble look, the austerity of his life, and his 'great charity to the poor; talking of nothing 'but penitence, fasting, watchings, prayers, and the 'contempt of all worldly things, in order to be 'perfectly united to God. So that he was quickly 'accounted, all over Spain, a great servant of God, 'and a man of a wonderful holiness, and admired up- 'on that account. Women, who are more easily de- 'luded by such deceitful appearances, and whose na- 'tural curiosity makes them fond of novelty, and 'extraordinary things, especially in point of religion, 'flocked to him, to be directed by him, tho' he was 'as yet but a lay-man. Being, moreover, learned, 'and having the talent of persuading, and insinuating 'himself into mens minds, by his nice and ingeni- 'ous flatteries, he quickly found himself the head of 'a great

(2) Ibid. *pag.* 163.

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Euchrocia, the wife of the Rhetorician Delphidius (*e*), received them at her country-houſe, and was ſo charmed with Priſcillian, that ſhe followed him every where. Several other women were ſeduced by theſe Heretics, and left all, to accompany them in their journey [*C*]. The Pope refuſed to hear them, and ſo did St Ambroſe; but the Imperial court was more indulgent, and granted them a reſcript, importing, that their churches ſhould be reſtored to them. They returned into Spain, where they had ſo great an intereſt, that Ithacius, their accuſer, being ſummoned to give an account of his conduct, as a diſturber of the peace of the church, fled into Gaul. He ſo exaſperated the tyrant Maximus againſt theſe ſectaries, that they were ordered to repair to the council of Bourdeaux. Inſtantius was condemned in it. Priſcillian, ſeeing the condemnation of his companion, deſired to be referred to Maximus; which was granted him. His enemies followed him to the court, and proſecuted him ſo warmly, that he was condemned (*f*) to death (*g*). I ſhall give the character of Ithacius, the chief promoter of Priſcillian's death [*D*], and the conſequences

(*e*) De quo vide Alteſerram, ibid. *cap. iii, pag.* 316, 317; & Auſonium, in Profeſſor. *n.* 5.

(*f*) In the year 385.

(*g*) *Taken from* Sulpicius Severus, *Hiſtor. Sacr. lib. ii.*

'a great party in moſt provinces of Spain, not only 'among women, and the common people, but alſo 'among perſons of quality and eccleſiaſtics, ſome of 'whom were biſhops, who, like others, adhered to 'him as a ſaint (3).'

(3) Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Pontificat de St Leon, *livr. i, pag.* 44, 45, *Dutch Edit.* He quotes the words of Sulpicius Severus, in the margin.

[*C*] *Euchrocia, the wife of the Rhetorician Delphidius . . . . and ſeveral other women . . . . left all to accompany them in their journey.*] If we believe what ſome ſay, they began in the ſpirit, and ended in the fleſh. Euchrocia was at firſt charmed with the outward devotion and pious diſcourſes of this heretic; but by degrees he charmed her with ſomething elſe; he lay with her, and got her with child. If it be ſaid that the Latin words, which I ſhall quote preſently, ſignify, that he lay with Procula, Euchrocia's daughter, I will not obſtinately deny it: perhaps it is the beſt ſenſe that can be put upon thoſe words. The outward devotion, which Priſcillian had affected for a long time, did not make him forget, that young Procula was preferable to her mother. 'Iter eis præter interiorem Aquitaniam fuit: ubi tum ab impe-'ritis magnifice ſuſcepti, ſparſere perfidiæ ſemina, 'maximeque Eluſanam plebem, ſane tum bonam & 'religioni ſtudentem, pravis prædicationibus perver-'tere: à Burdigala per Delphinum repulſi, tamen 'in agro Euchrociæ aliquantiſper morati, infecere 'nonnullos ſuis erroribus. Inde iter cœptum ingreſſi, 'turpi ſane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus at-'que alienis etiam fœminis, in quis erat Euchrocia, 'ac filia ejus Procula: de qua fuit in ſermone ho-'minum, Priſcilliani ſtupro gravidam, partum ſibi 'graminibus abegiſſe (4). - - - *They took their jour-'ney thro' Aquitain, where, being ſplendidly received by 'the ignorant, they ſcattered the ſeeds of perfidiouſneſs, 'and by wicked diſcourſes perverted the minds of the 'good and pious people of Gaſcony. Being driven from 'Bourdeaux by the Dauphin, they ſtopped a little at the 'eſtate of Euchrocia, where they infected ſome perſons 'with their errors. Thence they proceeded on their 'intended journey, with a ſhameful and ſcandalous re-'tinue, with other mens wives and daughters, among 'whom was Euchrocia, and her daughter Procula; 'concerning whom it was reported, that, being with 'child by Priſcillian, ſhe was delivered in the graſs.*' It was well for Delphidius that he died young; for he had not the misfortune to ſee the debauchery of his daughter, and the execution of his wife (5). Every body knows, that Euchrocia and Priſcillian were put to death at the ſame time (6). A panegyriſt of Theodoſius inveighed againſt that cruelty in an eloquent manner: he did not ſpare Maximus, who had condemned to death the wife of an illuſtrious Poet, becauſe ſhe was accuſed of being too devout. 'De 'virorum mortibus loquor, cum deſcenſum recorder 'ad ſanguinem feminarum, & in ſexum cui bella par-'cunt non parce ſævitum? Sed nimirum graves ſub-'erant, invidioſæque cauſæ ut unco ad pœnam clari 'vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque 'etiam exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, & 'diligentius culta divinitas (7). - - - *Do I mention 'the death of men, when I remember, that he deſcended 'to ſpill the blood of women, and treated that ſex with 'cruelty, which even war ſpares? But no doubt there 'were weighty reaſons for puniſhing the wife of an illu-'ſtrious Poet: for it was objected againſt her, that ſhe 'was too religious, and too diligent a worſhipper of 'God.*' Some wonder how Priſcillian could draw in ſo many devout women, ſince his pretended devotion was attended with ſuch offenſive leudneſs. He confeſſed at his trial, that he had had leud meetings with women in the night-time, and that he was ſtark naked, when he prayed (8). But others ſay, that he drew in the fair-ſex by that very thing: it is Maimbourg's opinion. I ſhall again ſet down his paraphraſe upon the words of Sulpicius Severus. 'When people are pre-'poſſeſſed with an opinion of a man's holineſs, they 'will blindly ſubmit to all his orders, and look upon 'all his deciſions as ſo many oracles, eſpecially when 'they indulge the inclinations of corrupt nature: and 'therefore that profligate wretch found it no difficult 'thing to perſuade his followers, that, when the ſpi-'rit, which comes from God, was perfectly united 'to them by a certain form of prayer, which he 'taught them, they might lawfully give a full 'ſcope to the luſts of the fleſh; and that God is not 'offended at it, ſince the fleſh does not proceed from 'him, but from the wicked principle, as well as mar-'riage. By virtue of that abominable doctrine, the 'women, who did not love their huſbands, left 'them againſt their will *, and huſbands likewiſe * *Severr. lib. ii.* 'left their wives, of whom they were weary; and all 'of them, and in general all his followers, prayed 'together as he did, as if they had been in the ſtate of 'innocency, and then defiled themſeves with all ſorts 'of pollutions. Such is commonly the end of the 'new doctrines, enthuſiaſms, and new ways of pray-'ing more fanatical than myſterious, of ſome men, 'who pretend to be extraordinarily enlightened, 'and who, beginning with the ſpirit to deceive the 'world, ſeldom fail to end with the fleſh (9).

(4) Sculp. Severus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 165.

(5) Minus malorum munere expertus Dei, Medio quod ævi raptus ea. Errore quod non deviantis filiæ, Pœnaque læſus conjugis. *Auſonius, in Profeſſor. n.* 5, *p. m.* 160.

(6) Sulpic. Severus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 170.

(7) Latinus Pacatus, in Panegyrico Theodoſio dicto, *cap. xxix, pag. m.* 509.

(8) Nec diffiteor, ſi obſcenis ſe ſtudiiſſe doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egiſſe conventus, nudumque orare ſolitum, nocentem pronunciavit. *Sulpic. Severus, ibid. p.* 170.

(9) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 45, 46.

[*D*] *I ſhall give the character of Ithacius, the chief promoter of Priſcillian's death.*] That Spaniſh biſhop was a debauched and impudent man, and ſacrificed every thing to his paſſions. He plainly ſhewed, that he was not actuated by the love of truth, and that his violent perſecution of thoſe heretics proceeded only from a principle of vanity. The firſt ſteps he made engaged him to go through with it: he was fond of obtaining a compleat victory, and of ſhewing his great intereſt and authority; the loſs of his cauſe would have been intolerable to him: he left nothing unattempted with the tyrant Maximus, in order to triumph by the favour of the ſecular arm. And, becauſe he was afraid of being thwarted in his deſign by wiſe and judicious men, he was ſo impudent and malicious as to accuſe of Priſcillianiſm all thoſe whom he did not like. Whoever faſted, or applied himſelf to the reading of pious books, was cried down by this violent perſecutor as an accomplice of that ſect. He was ſo bold as to accuſe St Martin of favouring theſe heretics, becauſe he exhorted him to leave off his proſecutions, and entreated Maximus not to ſhed the blood of thoſe ſectaries. Such are the abominable devices of moſt of thoſe, who charge others with hereſy: they are renewed in every age, and yet the world is impoſed upon by them to this very day, as if they had never been practiſed before. Sulpicius Severus deſerves to be highly commended for ſaying, that the Priſcillianiſts were not more unacceptable to him than their accuſers. *Secuti etiam accuſatores Idacius & Ithacius Epiſcopi: quorum ſtudium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, ſi non ſtudio vincendi plus quam oportuit certaſſent. Ac mea quidem ſententia eſt, mihi tam reos quam accuſatores diſplicere. Certe Ithacium nihil penſi, nihil ſancti habuiſſe definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, ſumptuoſus, ventri & gulæ plurimum*

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consequences of that severity [E]. St Martin, bishop of Tours, refused to communicate with the bishops, who put Maximus upon such violent proceedings; and, having suffered, at last, an act of communion with them even to be extorted from him, he was very sory for it the remaining part of his life; and even believed it was the reason, why the gift of miracles, flagged in his person. Some other bishops imitated him [F], in not admitting Ithacius and his adherents to their communion. Ithacius was not uneasy at it during the life of Maximus his protector, and the idol of his flattery; but, when he lost that support, he was punished for his fault. Pope Leo was not so nice as St Martin; for

rimum impertiens. Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat, ut omnes etiam sanctos viros, quibus aut studium inerat lectionis, aut propositum erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos, in crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est, ea tempestate Martino episcopo, viro plane Apostolis conferendo, palam objectare hæresis infamiam. Namque tum Martinus apud Treveros constitutus, non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret: Maximum orare, ut sanguine infelicium abstineret: satis superque sufficere, ut episcopali sententia hæretici judicati ecclesiis pellerentur (10). St Martin's intercession proved so powerful, that, whilst he was at Triers, these heretics were not brought to their trial; but, as soon as he went away, some bishops gained Maximus, and prevailed with him to break his word to him (11). Priscillian was condemned to death, and then Ithacius, being fully satisfied, desisted from his accusation, that is, he did not appear against him before the Judges, when the sentence came to be confirmed. A gross artifice, which Sulpicius Severus justly laughs at. *Ceterum Ithacius videns quam invidiosum sibi apud episcopos foret, si accusato etiam postremis rerum capitalium judiciis astitisset (etenim iterari judicium necesse erat) subtrahit se cognitioni frustra calido jam scelere perfecto* (12). Latinus Pacatus uses these sanguinary bishops as they deserved, and shews the scandal they occasioned by laying their unclean and bloody hands upon sacred things. He exclaims against the iniquity of the tyrant Maximus, who cherished and supported such prelates (13). 'Quid hoc majus poterat 'intendere accusator sacerdos? fuit enim, fuit & hoc 'delatorum genus, qui nominibus antistites, revera 'autem satellites, atque adeo carnifices, non contenti 'miseros avitis evolvisse patrimoniis, calumniabantur 'in sanguinem, & vitas premebant reorum jam pauperum. Quinetiam cum judiciis capitalibus astitissent 'cum gemitus & tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent, cum lictorum arma, cum damnatorum frena tractassent, pollutas pœnali manus 'contactu ad sacra referebant, & cæremonias quas in'cestaverant mentibus, etiam corporibus impiabant. 'Hos ille (14) Phalaris in amicis habebat, hi in oculis ejus, atque etiam in oculis erant: nec injuria, à 'quibus tot simul votiva veniebant, avaro divitum 'bona; cruento innocentium pœna; impio religionis 'injuria. - - - - *What more could a priestly accuser 'have done? For there was this kind of informers, who, 'being bishops in name, but in reality soldiers, and 'consequently executioners, not content to have deprived 'wretches of their paternal estates, pursued them to 'death, and took away the lives of those, whom they 'had before impoverished. Moreover, after sitting in 'judgment in capital matters, and hearing and seeing the 'groans and torments of miserable men, after handling 'the Lictors rods, and the chains of the condemned, they 'performed the sacred rites of religion with polluted hands, 'and defiled its ceremonies. These were the tyrant's 'friends, who satisfied his avarice with the estates of 'the rich, his cruelty with the punishment of the inno'cent, and his impiety with the prophanation of religion.'*

There is another thing to be observed in Ithacius, in which the most violent accusers resemble him. No bishop would have found it a more difficult thing, than he, to give an account of his own conduct, and yet he was the warmest in defaming and prosecuting others. This unaccountable behaviour has been observed by the heathens, who say that innocence is the most necessary qualification of an accuser. 'Cognosce quam multa esse oporteat in eo qui alterum 'accuset . . . . Primum integritatem atque innocentiam singularem. Nihil est enim quod minus ferendum sit, quam rationem ab altero vitæ reposcere 'eum, qui non possit suæ reddere (15). - - - *Consider 'how many things are requisite in him, who accuses 'another . . . . First, integrity and singular innocence. 'For nothing is more intolerable, than for him to call 'another to an account for his actions, who cannot give 'an account of his own.*' But those, who set up for accusers, are generally the least concerned about it. There are persons whose books are full of absurdities, contradictions, prophanations, innovations, and dangerous paradoxes and heresies, and yet they fail not to charge many people with heresy; and had they a Maximus at their disposal, we should hear of nothing but of men deposed, proscribed, anathematized, to say no worse. It is probable these irregular and unjust proceedings will last as long as the world.

[E] *The consequences of that severity.*] The words of Mr Flechier, one of the best writers of his time, are so fine, that, in copying them here, I am sure to please all my readers, 'That execution occasioned se'veral disorders; for the capital punishment of that 'Herefiarch gave a new strength to his heresy. He 'was magnificently buried by his followers, and ho'noured as a martyr; and those, who had procured 'his condemnation, making an ill use of their interest 'at court, persecuted good men with impunity. 'Whoever † fasted, and loved a retired life, was 'immediately suspected by them; whoever was more 'sober and regular than they, was a guilty person. 'Those, who did not please them, were immediate'ly accounted Priscillianists, especially when their 'death was like to be acceptable to the prince, or to 'fill his coffers with their ‡ spoils; for they deprived 'men of their lives and estates, as they thought fit, 'and preserved the tyrant's friendship by calumnies, 'and cruelties, and other actions like his (16).'

[F] *Some other bishops imitated St Martin.*] Going on to shew the ill consequences of the punishment of Priscillian, I make use of the words of Mr Maimbourg, which are better than any translation I can make of them. 'What was most deplorable, was, a kind of a 'dangerous schism occasioned in Gaul by this action 'of Ithacius. For, on the one hand, a bishop of 'great authority, called Theognostus, having highly 'condemned it, and afterwards separated from his 'communion, was followed therein by most bishops, 'who thought, as well as he, that they could not communicate with a man, who had dishonoured his character and the church, by defiling himself with the 'blood of those, whose death he had procured: But, 'on the other hand, many bishops, bribed by Itha'cius, whose accomplices they were, or who approved 'what he had done, sided with him, and finding 'themselves powerfully supported by the prince, who 'favoured Ithacius, met at Triers in a kind of council, 'or rather in a conventicle, where he was absolved, 'and declared innocent, by a formal sentence (17).' We are told afterwards how St Martin refused to communicate with them, till he was made sensible, that by complying he should obtain from Maximus a revocation of the *order, whereby all the Priscillianists, that should be found, were to be put to the sword* (18). *St Martin did not approve, that Heretics should be put to death, and was afraid that many of the best Catholics would be involved in that slaughter, because those, who, by reason of their modest and mortified look, seemed to be more regular than others, were accounted Priscillianists, without making any distinction between hypocrites and truly devout men* (19). And therefore being of opinion, that of two evils he was to chuse the least (20), he yielded for a short time to the violence offered to him, and assisted with those bishops *at the ordination of Felix bishop of Triers. . . . The very next day he went away very melancholy, and very sorry, that such an ordination had been made; and perceiving that the gift of miracles, which † GOD had bestowed upon him, did not exert itself so often as it did before, he endeavoured to make up that loss by his penitence. As for the schism, occasioned by Ithacius, it did not last long, because Maximus, his protector, having been defeated some time after by the ‡ great Theodosius, and killed by the soldiers at Aquileia, he was forsaken by all the bishops of his party, and punished with banishment, in which he died.*

(10) Sulpicius Severus, ubi supra, *pag.* 168, 169.

(11) Quoad usque Martinus Treveris fuit, dilata cognitio est: & mox discessurus egregia authoritate à Maximo elicuit sponsionem, nihil eruentum in reos constituendum. Sed postea Imperator per Magnum & Rufum episcopos depravatus, & à mitioribus consiliis deflexus, causam præfecto Evodio permisit, viro acri & severo. *Ibid. pag.* 169.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 170.

(13) Latinus Pacatus, ubi supra.

(14) That is, the tyrant Maximus, vanquished by Theodosius.

(15) Cicero, in Verrem, *lib. i, fol.* 22, *B.*

† Sulpic. Sever. de Vita S. Mart.

‡ Pacat. in Panegyr.

(16) Flechier, Histoire de Theodose, *livr. iii, pag. m.* 303, *ad ann.* 385, *Paris, in* 12mo, 1680.

(17) Maimbourg, ubi supra, *pag.* 57, 58.

(18) Ibid. *pag.* 59.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid. *pag.* 60, *where he quotes these words of Sulpicius Severus, Dial. III,* Satius æstimans ad horam cedere, quam his non consulere quorum cervicibus gladius imminebat.

† Sever. ibid.

‡ Ibid. de Vir. illust. cap. ii.

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for he approved Priſcillian's execution [G]. Maimbourg makes uſe of a diſtinction, which is not very far from being ridiculous (b). I do not examine whether theſe Heretics believed and practiſed whatever is imputed to them (i); I ſhall only ſay, that it ſeems, one of their opinions has been condemned, which yet has been approved in St Auguſtin [H].

(b) See the remark [G].

(i) See Moreri's Dictionary, the Dutch edition, in the addition to the article PRISCILLIAN.

[G] *Pope Leo . . . . approved Priſcillian's execution.*] Maimbourg (21) acknowledges, that Heretics had not been puniſhed with death till then; but he maintains, *that they may be juſtly treated with that ſeverity, as it has been frequently practiſed ſince.* And, not to mention, ſays he, 'thoſe who have proved in their 'books, that it is not only lawful, but very proper to 'treat them ſo; we need only read what St Leo wrote 'upon this ſubject, when, giving the neceſſary orders 'to proceed in Spain againſt Priſcillian's hereſy, he 'praiſes Maximus for that action, and ſays; ‡ *That* 'the rigour and ſeverity of his juſtice againſt that Here- 'ſiarch and his followers, whom that prince put to death, 'has been very ſerviceable to the clemency of the church. 'For, tho' ſhe is contented with the mild judgment pro- 'nounced by the biſhops againſt obſtinate Heretics, ac- 'cording to the canons, and tho' ſhe is not for bloody exe- 'cutions (§ a), yet ſhe is very much aſſiſted and ſup- 'ported by the ſevere conſtitutions of the emperors, ſince 'the fear of ſo rigorous a puniſhment ſometimes moves 'Heretics to have recourſe to the ſpiritual remedy, in or- 'der to cure the mortal diſtemper of their hereſy by a true 'converſion.' The ſame Maimbourg ſays (22), that the greateſt fault of Ithacius was, *his applying himſelf to a ſecular court in a cauſe meerly eccleſiaſtical*, and procuring the death of thoſe Heretics to the utmoſt of his power, *which is contrary to the laws of the church; and therefore*, ſays he, *when the clergy implore the aſſiſtance of princes and magiſtrates againſt them, they always proteſt they do ſo earneſtly wiſh for their amendment, that they do not deſire they ſhould be puniſhed with death, but rather that they ſhould find mercy, leaving it however to the Judges to act according to the laws, for the good of the church and ſtate.* This is meer grimace; it is at leaſt a conduct ſo oppoſite to the ſolemnity of a ſerious tribunal, that no one can think it ſtrange, that the Inquiſition ſhould be ridiculed upon that account. You require of princes, that they ſhould make laws againſt Heretics; you highly commend them when they appoint a capital puniſhment for them; you deliver up to them thoſe, whom you declare to be Heretics: you therefore, properly ſpeaking, are the cauſe of their death. When you tell the magiſtrates, that you are not for their being put to death, you act a meer farce (23). Why do you not aſk the ſame favour for aſſaſſins? For you ſay, that a Heretic is worſe than a poiſoner and a murderer. Ariſtotle's maxim, *Poſito uno abſurdo multa ſequuntur*, was never truer than in the preſent caſe. The abſurdity of maintaining that men ought to be puniſhed with the ſword for their opinions, is attended with a thouſand abſurdities; and thoſe, who advance it, fall into a thouſand contradictions. It is to be obſerved, that the inquiſitors condemn people to death, and are not contented to declare that a man is a Heretic (24).

(21) Maimbourg, ibid. *pag.* 56.

‡ Profuit diu iſta diſtrictio Eccleſiaſticæ lenitati, quæ etſi ſacerdotali contenta judicio cruentas refugit ultiones, ſeveris tamen Chriſtianorum Principum Conſtitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad ſpirituale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium qui timent corporale ſupplicium. *S. Leo, Epiſt. XCV, ad Turib.*

(22) Maimbourg, ibid. *pag.* 57.

(23) *See* Jurieu, Apologie pour la Réformation, *Tom. ii, pag.* 241, 257, *Edit. in* 4*to.*

(24) See Jurieu, ibid.

[(§ a) In countries, where the Inquiſition prevails, Heretics are puniſhed with burning. Now, as in ſuch puniſhment, there are neither bones broken, nor *blood ſpilt*, the queſtion is to know, whether the maxim *Eccleſia non novit ſanguinem*, expreſſed here in equivalent terms by St Leo, is in this reſpect obſerved, or only eluded. REM. CRIT.]

[H] *It ſeems, one of the opinions of the Priſcillianiſts has been condemned, which yet has been approved in St Auguſtin.*] Theſe three things are certain; 1. St Auguſtin believes, that man is invincibly determined to evil by his natural corruption, or to good by the Holy Spirit. 2. This doctrine deprives man of free-will, taking this word for the liberty of indifference. 3. St Auguſtin's doctrine has been ſolemnly approved by the church. Now we ſhall ſee, that the Priſcillianiſts were condemned, becauſe they deſtroyed free-will, *by ſubmitting man's will to a fatal neceſſity, which it cannot oppoſe* (25). That is to ſay, they were condemned, becauſe they deſtroyed free-will, taking that word not for the faculty of acting voluntarily (26), and with a very agreeable propenſity, but for the power of chuſing between two contraries; and therefore they were condemned for a doctrine, which was approved in St Auguſtin. Let us conſider how Pope Leo confutes them. ' * If it be lawful to believe and 'teach that doctrine, virtue ought no longer to be 'rewarded, nor ought vice to be puniſhed; and all 'human and divine laws may be violated with impu- 'nity; becauſe it will never be poſſible to give judg- 'ment in favour of good actions, or againſt ill 'actions, if the will is overcome by a fatal neceſ- 'ty.' (27) *Now can any body doubt*, (I ſtill uſe Maimbourg's words (28), without adopting all that he ſays) *whether St Leo believed, what we are obliged to believe*, viz. *that grace does ſo influence our minds, as to lay no neceſſity upon us, and that it does not in the leaſt deprive us of our free-will or liberty of indifference, by virtue of which we may chuſe one of two things that are contrary, and do good by grace, or evil of our ſelves.* I eaſily believe, that they differ from St Auguſtin in explaining the cauſes, which determine the will; but they muſt needs have agreed with him in this point, that the principle, which moves it, does not allow it to ſtop, or go back, or turn aſide. But the reaſons alledged by Pope Leo, to confute theſe Heretics, are grounded upon that very thing; it is therefore certain, that, when he condemned their doctrine, he refuted St Auguſtin, and that he could not approve the doctrine of that Father, without adopting what he had rejected in the Priſcillianiſts. I do not examine whether he argues right; I only ſay, that all the proofs he builds upon rewards and puniſhments, laws and judgments, would be wrong againſt this ſect, if they were not good againſt St Auguſtin's ſyſtem. Take notice, that St Leo argues from the conſequences of the doctrine of a fatal neceſſity; and that he does not ſay, that theſe Hereties acknowledged theſe conſequences: which ſhews, that he argued againſt the doctrine itſelf, independently of the principle on which they grounded it, and of the conſequences they actually drew from it. I make this obſervation, becauſe it confirms the text of this remark.

(25) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 65.

(26) It cannot be ſuppoſed, that any Heretic did ever deprive man of that faculty.

* Quod ſi ſit credi licuit, & deceri, nec virtutibus præmium, nec vitiis pœna debitur. Omnisque non ſolum humanarum Legum, ſed etiam divinarum Conſtitutionum decreta ſolventur. Quia neque de bonis, neque de malis actibus ullum poterit eſſe judicium, ſi in utramque partem fatalis neceſſitas motum mentis impellit. *S. Leo, Epiſt. XCIII.*

(27) Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 66.

(28) I made uſe of his tranſlation of the words of St Leo, Ibid. *pag.* 65, 66.

PRODICUS, a native of Julis (a) in the iſle of Cea [A], one of the Cyclades, cotemporary with Democritus, and diſciple of Protagoras, was one of the moſt celebrated Sophiſts of Greece. He flouriſhed in the LXXXVIth Olympiad (b), and had, among other ſcholars, Euripides, Socrates (c), Theramenes (d), and Iſocrates (e). He did not ſcruple to teach in private at Athens, though he was ſent thither with the character of an ambaſſador by his countrymen, who had before conferred ſeveral other public employments upon him (f), and though one would have thought, that the glory he had gained by haranguing the Athenians,

(a) Suidas.

(b) Euſeb. in Chron.

(c) Plato, in Menone, *pag.* 425.

(d) Suidas.

(e) Plutarch, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, in the Life of Iſocrates.

(f) Plato, in Hippia Maj. *pag.* 1246.

[A] *In the iſle of Cea.*] Suidas ſays in expreſs words, that Prodicus was born in that iſland, ἀπὸ Κέω τῆς νήσου, and calls him Κεῖον as he had been called by Plato (1), Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (2), Plutarch (3), Diogenes Laertius (4), &c. From Κέως comes Κεῖος, and by contraction Κῆος, which the Latins have expreſſed *Ceus*, *Ceius*, or *Cius* (5). Menage (6) cenſures Marſilius Ficinus with great reaſon, for rendring Πρόδικος Κεῖος in Plato, *Prodicus Chius*. Amyot has done the ſame in his tranſlation of the life of *Iſocrates*. The Latin tranſlator of Philoſtratus has committed the ſame fault; for he calls *Prodicum Chium* the ſame perſon whom Philoſtratus calls Πρόδικον Κῖον (7). The French tranſlator was doubtleſs more careful

(1) In Protagora, & paſſim alibi. *He ſays* in Hippia Majore, *p.* m. 1246, *that Prodicus came* ἐκ Κέω ex Cea Inſula.

(2) In Vita Iſocr.

(3) Ibid.

(4) In Protagora.

(5) See Weſſeling, in Iſocrat. Vitam, & Menag. in Diog. Laert. *pag.* 419.

(6) Ibid.

(7) In Vita Sophiſt. *pag.* 442.

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Athenians, on the day of his public audience, ſhould have made him reſerve his talent for the like occaſions. Plato, who frequently mentions, and even praiſes him, though not without irony (*g*), the darling figure of Socrates, his great interlocutor, intimates, that the deſire of getting money moved Prodicus to keep ſchool; and it is certain he got a great deal by that trade. Philoſtratus (*b*) ſeems to be of Plato's opinion; for he ſays, that Prodicus loved money, and ſpent it for his diverſion. He went from town to town, diſplaying his eloquence; and, though he did it in a mercenary manner [*B*], he received great honours at Thebes, and greater ſtill at Lacedæmon. His declamation at fifty drachms [*C*], πεντηκοντάδραχμος, was very much talked of: ſome learned men ſay it was ſo called, becauſe each hearer was obliged to give him fifty drachms (*i*), which make above four French crowns. Prodicus muſt needs have had a very eloquent ſtile [*D*], ſince he was ſo much followed, though he had a diſagreeable

(*g*) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, in his letter to Pompey, blames Plato for ſpeaking ill of Prodicus, and of ſeveral others.

(*b*) In Vita Sophiſt. *lib. i, p.* 500.

(*i*) Hofman, in the article PRODICUS, ſays only five drachms.

careful to conſult the Latin tranſlation of Philoſtratus, than to examine the Greek text; for he renders it, *Prodicus, a native of Chio.* Caſeneuve, who blames him for it, and cenſures him for ſome other miſtakes (8), takes no notice of two, which deſerve to be cenſured. The Greek words run thus: Προδίκῳ δὲ τῷ Κῖῳ ὄνομα τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ τὸν Γρύλλου Ξενοφῶντα ἐν Βοιωτοῖς δεσμώτην ἀκροᾶσθαι διαλεγομένου, καθιςάντα ἐγγυητὴν τῷ σώματι. The French tranſlator renders theſe words in the following manner. *Prodicus, a native of Chio, and ſon of Grillus, was ſo much eſteemed, that being a priſoner in Bœotia, Xenophon was bail for him, that he might hear him.* 1. Xenophon, and not Prodicus, ſhould have been called the the ſon of Gryllus. Caſeneuve ſays ſo himſelf, pag. 43; and yet, when he cenſures the verſion, pag. 42, he ſays the tranſlator *ſhould have ſaid,* Prodicus, a native of Cio, and ſon of Gryllus, *&c.* 2. It was Xenophon, and not Prodicus who was a priſoner; and yet any one, who reads this tranſlation, will think that Xenophon was bail for the priſoner Prodicus. Tho' Caſeneuve was not ignorant, that this ſophiſt was not a native of the iſle of Cio, he knew not what countryman he was; for he ſays he was born in the iſle of Cio, *now called* Standia. This is not true; for he was born in the iſle of Cea, or Ceos, now called Zea. Moreri, who makes him a native of the iſle of Cos (9), was led into that miſtake by ſome writers, who had more learning than he. Eraſmus calls him *Coum,* page 394 of his Adages. Charles Stephens does the ſame in his Dictionary, which has not been corrected by Lloyd or Hofman, neither have they amended what he falſly aſcribes to Suidas, *viz.* that he made Prodicus a native of the iſle of Cio. Menage (10) thinks an error has crept into the firſt chapter of the third book of Quintilian, where Prodicus is called Chius. I have not found that error in the editions I have conſulted. Maucroix, in his tranſlation of the great Hippias, printed at Paris in 1685, ſays, that Prodicus was born in the iſle of Cos. Father Goulu committed the ſame fault in the French tranſlation of Socrates's Apology. (11)

(8) Caſeneuve, Commentaire ſur les Epiſtres de Philoſtrate, *pag.* 42.

(9) In the Dutch edition they have put it *Col:* it is an error of the preſs.

(10) Menag. in Laert. *p.* 419.

(11) It is in the 2d part of Phyllarchus's Letters. See pag. 581.

[*B*] *In a mercenary manner.*] See Philoſtratus (12) and Plato. The latter ſays, that young men of the richeſt and nobleſt families being enticed by Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, and Hippias, who went from town to town, gave them a great deal of money, and beſides promiſed them to remember it gratefully, whilſt they neglected to be inſtructed by their fellow-citizens, who would have taught them for nothing (13).

(12) In Vit. Sophiſt. *pag.* 488.

(13) Plato, in Apolog. Socr. *pag.* 15, 16, & in Theagen, *p.* 93.

[*C*] *The declamation at fifty drachms.*] I make uſe of the word *declamation,* without depriving myſelf of the liberty of uſing another term, if there is occaſion for it. The word ἐπίδειξις in Plato and Suidas ſeems to ſignify an harangue, wherein the author diſplays all his Rhetoric, intending to ſignalize himſelf both on account of the importance of the ſubject, and the great concourſe of hearers. Thoſe who render ἐπίδειξιν ποιεῖν, *ſpecimen edere,* have not a wrong notion of the thing; for they give us to underſtand, that an Orator exerts all his ſtrength, as if he were to produce a maſter-piece. I think this is the reaſon why the brighteſt orations, *viz.* thoſe that contain a panegyric or an invective, have been aſcribed by the Rhetoricians to the demonſtrative kind, ἐπιδεικτικὸν. However it be, there is ſome difficulty about the ἐπίδειξις πεντηκονταδράχμου of Prodicus. Suidas ſays, that Prodicus is the firſt, who made it, and does not tell us what it was: nevertheleſs Voſſius makes him ſay, that all thoſe, who had a mind to hear that Orator, gave him fifty drachms, that is, four French crowns, and two Spaniſh rials. *Quanti orationes ejus fieri ſoleant, illud argüit, quod qui audire eum vellet, is, Suida teſte, quinquaginta drachmas perſolveret; hoc eſt quatuor coronatos Gallicos, ac duos inſuper regales Hiſpanicos* (14). It is very likely, that Voſſius depended upon Creſollius (15), and went no farther. He makes uſe of the ſame valuation of money as that Jeſuit does; but whereas, in the book of the Jeſuit, the ſum of four crowns and two rials, paid to Prodicus by each hearer, is only an explication of Suidas's words, or a conſequence drawn from them, it is in Voſſius a formal teſtimony of Suidas. Judge how cautious one ought to be in reading ordinary authors, ſince ſuch a man as Voſſius takes ſuch a liberty. Let us ſee what he had ſaid in another book (16). He had related, as a matter of fact taken from Ariſtotle, that when Prodicus perceived, that his hearers did not mind what he ſaid, he uſed to propoſe to them ſomething relating to his art, which he would not teach for leſs than fifty drachms. The paſſage of Ariſtotle ſeems capable of two ſenſes; one is, that Prodicus had an oration full of ſuch lively ſtrokes, that ſome of them were ſufficient to expel the drowſineſs of the hearers; the other is, that he had a treatiſe of Rhetoric, which contained ſeveral ſecrets proper to excite the attention of the hearers, though they were never ſo weary. Τέτο δ' ἐςὶν, ὥσπερ ἔφη Πρόδικος, ὅτε νυςάζοιεν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ παρεμβάλλειν τὴς πεντηκονταδράχμε αὐτοῖς. *Hoc autem eſt, ut dixit Prodicus, cum dormitant auditores, inferre aliquid demonſtrationis quinquaginta drachmarum ipſis* (17). According to the firſt ſenſe, he had made an oration, which he kept for the beſt days that is for ſuch hearers as gave him fifty drachms; and, according to the ſecond ſenſe, he had a collection of good remedies to keep his hearers from ſleeping, which he imparted to none but thoſe who gave him that price. Which puts me in mind of a famous profeſſor of Philoſophy (18) among the Proteſtants of France, who would not teach certain ſophiſms, unleſs he was paid according to the price he ſet on them. Voſſius keeps to the firſt ſenſe in one of his books, and to the ſecond in another. It were no eaſy thing to determine which of the two is the trueſt, conſidering that Ariſtotle and Suidas have affected to be very ſhort upon this ſubject: but Plato acquaints us, that Prodicus's ἐπίδειξις πεντηκονταδράχμος was rather a lecture, than an oration. Socrates complains, in a bantering way, that he is not able to diſcourſe well of the nature of names, becauſe he had not heard the ἐπίδειξις of fifty drachms, which, according to Prodicus, diſcovered the whole myſtery; he had only heard that of one drachm, τὴν δραχμιαίαν (19). Creſollius did not underſtand this laſt word: He took it to be the ſame thing, in Plato, with what was called before πεντηκονλάδραχμος. *Plato qui rem eamdem memorat, ea cauſa* δραχμιαίαν ἐπίδειξιν *nominavit* (20). Madam Dacier, in her notes upon Ariſtophanes's comedy; intituled, *The Clouds,* page 235, had a better notion of the thing. *Prodicus,* ſays ſhe, *was an extraordinary vain man, and had ſo good an opinion of his own learning, that he never taught any thing* gratis. *He had diſcourſes ready made of all prices, from an obolus to fifty drachms.*

(14) Voſſius, de Rhetor. natura, *p.g.* 69.

(15) Creſol. Theatr. Rhetorum, *lib. iii, cap. v, pag.* 178.

(16) Voſſius, Inſtitut. Orator. *lib. iii, cap. ii.*

(17) Ariſtot. Rhetor. *lib. iii, cap. xiv.*

(18) David Deroudon.

(19) Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκήκοα, ἀλλὰ τὴν δραχμιαίαν. Plato, in Cratylo, *pag.* 265.

(20) Creſollius, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *A very eloquent ſtile.*] This may be proved by the teſtimony of ſeveral grave authors. Maximus Tyrius (21) ſays, that the beauty of expreſſion, καλλιλογίαν, was Prodicus's true character. According to Marcellinus (22), he made an exact choice of his words. Themiſtius ſays, that his orations were full of ornaments and charms, πολυτελεῖς τε καὶ γέμοντας ἡδονῆς. I think Naudæus (23) had no good reaſon to place him among the Sophiſts, who made ſpeeches

(21) Diſſert. VII. *init.*

(22) In the Life of Thucydides, who ſays, that he imitated τὴν τοῦ Προδίκε εἰς τοὺς ὀνόματος ακριβολογίαν.

(23) Synt. de Studio Liber. *p.* 87, *in the collection of diſſertations* de Studiis inſtituendis, *printed in* 1645, *where there is* Prodichum Chium. *The laſt fault is, without doubt,* Naudæus's.

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disagreeable voice (*k*). It is said, that Xenophon being a prisoner in Bœotia [*E*], and desiring to hear him (*l*), satisfied his curiosity, having found a person, who was bail for him. Few harangues have been so much quoted, or have occasioned so many applications, as that, wherein our sophist feigned that virtue [*F*], and pleasure, disguised like women, came to Hercules and strove which should gain him. The Athenians put him to death as a corrupter of youth (*m*). Had it been no other corruption than that, mentioned by Aristophanes, in one of his Comedies (*n*), when he said, *this man has been spoiled by reading of books, or by Prodicus, or by the conversation of great talkers*, the punishment would have been a little too severe; but it is not improbable he was accused of teaching his scholars Atheism [*G*]. I do not know, whether any author besides Plutarch says, that he was a man of a weak and sickly constitution [*H*].

(*k*) Δυσήκοον καὶ βαρὺ φθεγγόμενος, dissonè & injucundè loquens. *Philostr. pag.* 500. *See also* Plato, in Protag. *pag.* 220.

(*l*) Philostr. *pag.* 499.

(*m*) Ἐν διαφθορᾷ κώμιον ποιῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων. Athenis hausta cicuta mortuus est quasi juvenes corrumperet. *Suidas.*

(*n*) Id. Suid.

speeches without any preparation upon any subject proposed to them. The quite contrary may be inferred from what we read in the lives of the Sophists, written by Philostratus, page 487, that Gorgias was the first, who went through that trial, and that he did it, to eclipse the glory Prodicus had acquired by going from town to town, and reciting elaborate speeches. Being willing to go beyond that Orator, whom he laughed at on account of his frequently repeating the same pieces (24), he resolved to try what he could do without preparation. We need not doubt, that the beautiful stile of Prodicus's speeches was attended with subtil thoughts, and that he contributed, at least as much as any body else, to the Athenians forbidding the Sophists to plead causes. They could no longer bear, that the subtilties of those men should make that appear just, which was unjust (25). See the Proverb, Πρόδικος σοφώτερος, *more knowing than Prodicus*. Erasmus was mistaken in believing, that this proverb was not meant of Prodicus the Sophist but of another. See how he is censured for it in Casneuve's Notes upon Philostratus's Letters, page 42, 43. See also *The Clouds* of Aristophanes. Notwithstanding the railleries of that Poet, it may be inferred from what he says, that our Sophist was accounted a man of a great deal of wit and learning.

(24) Ἐπικόπτων τὸν Πρόδικον ὡς ἴωλά τε καὶ πολλάκις εἰρημένα ἀγορεύοντα ἐπαθήκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ψαιρῷ. Philostr. *pag.* 488.

(25) Ibid.

[*E*] *Xenophon being a prisoner in Bœotia.*] Charles Stephens did not understand that passage of Philostratus. He explains it as if that author had said, that Prodicus was so considerable a man, that Xenophon, being apprehended in Bœotia, obtained leave to go home, because Prodicus was bail for him. Lloyd and Hofman have retained that mistake of Charles Stephens word for word.

[*F*] *The harangue, wherein Prodicus feigned that virtue*] I make use of the word *harangue*, not only because Philostratus gives me that notion of it, but also because Prodicus's profession leads one to it. It is not unlikely such a fiction might be the subject of a declamation. However, it is true that Xenophon (26), who gives us the substance of it, speaks of it as of a piece written concerning Hercules, ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέους. What Mr Charpentier says of it is more particular; *In the book*, says he, *which* the learned Prodicus *wrote concerning the life of Hercules*. Suidas tells us, that it was a book intituled Ὧραι, *the hours*: nevertheless, that work of Prodicus may be called an harangue. I have said, that this fiction has been frequently quoted, and has occasioned many explications: and I have good reasons to say so, Cicero (27), Quintilian (28), and Maximus Tyrius (29) speak of it; but Silius Italicus, quoted by Moreri, says nothing of it. He feigns something like it in honour of Scipio Africanus. Lucian also has imitated that fiction (30). Among the moderns, I shall only quote Henry Stephens, who mentions it in his exhortation, prefixed to the Greek translation of the Catechism of Geneva (31).

(26) *Lib. ii*, de memor. Socratis.

(27) Cicero, Officior. *lib. i*, *cap. xxxii*, Epistol. XII, ad Famil. *lib. v*.

(28) Quintil. *lib. ix*, *cap. ii.*

(29) Maxim. Tyr. Orat. IV, *init.*

(30) Lucian. in Somnio.

[*G*] *He was accused of teaching his scholars Atheism.*] Sextus Empiricus ranks him among Atheists (32). Cicero does the same, though not so directly; for he says that Prodicus affirmed, that human gratitude had occasioned the belief of the existence of the gods. This is no less contrary to sound Theology, than if one should say, as some have done, *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, fear has brought religion into the world: or, as others would have it, religion was invented by wise Politicians to keep people in awe. Cicero shews, that Prodicus's opinion is destructive of religion. ‘Quid? ii qui dixerunt totam de Diis immortalibus ‘opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus Rei- ‘pub. causâ, ut quos ratio non posset, eos ad officium ‘religio duceret, nonne omnem religionem funditùs ‘sustulerunt? Quid Prodicus Chius? qui ea quæ pro- ‘dessent hominum vitæ Deorum in numero habita esse ‘dixit, quam tandem religionem reliquit (33)? - - - - ‘*Do not those, who pretend, that the belief of a GOD* ‘*is the meer fiction of politic men, for the good of the* ‘*public, utterly destroy all religion? What religion did* ‘*Prodicus the Cbian leave, when he said, that those* ‘*things, which are profitable to the life of man, are* ‘*reckoned in the number of the gods?*

(31) Beroher, in his *Scholia* upon that passage of Henry Stephens, makes Prodicus a native of the isle of Cos, or of the isle of Chios, and since he says that he was a man *formæ auctoritatis*, he shews, that he ran into the mistake of Charles Stephens's Dictionary.

(32) Sext. Empir. adv. Math.

(33) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, *lib. i*, *circa fin. pag.* m. 170.

[*H*] *He was of a weak and sickly constitution.*] Plutarch observes, that when a public employment is to be conferred, the vigour of a man should be considered, and not his age; and that, therefore a robust old man ought not to be excused from it, as it was reasonable to dispense with Prodicus in his youth. It is upon this occasion that he acquaints us with that Sophist's infirmity. He couples him with a man so lean and so weak (34), that the passage deserves to be set down. (35) *And therefore, as he who would advise the Sophist Prodicus, or the Poet Philetas, who were both young, but thin, lean, and sickly* (36), *and kept their bed the greatest part of the time, to concern themselves with public affairs, would be senseless; so would those be, who should forbid such old men as Phocion, Massinissa the African, and Cato the Roman to exercise public offices.*

graciles & ob infirmitatem valetudinis crebro decumbentes. *Ibid.*

(34) See the article PHILETAS.

(35) Plut. an senì sit gerenda Respublica, *pag.* 791, *E.*

(36) Νέοις μὲν, ἰσχνοῖς δὲ καὶ νοσώδεσι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλινοστρώτοις δ' ἀδύνατον ἦν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἄρχειν. Integra quidem ætate verum

PRODICUS, an Heretic of the IId century (*a*), founder of the sect of the Adamites, followed the abominable opinions of Carpocrates, to which he added the impudence of public copulation of both sexes [*A*]; for he ordered, that women should be in common: so that, at a public feast, every man took the first woman he lighted upon, after the candles were removed; and leudness was accounted the mystical ceremony of the initiation (*b*). Those who are endued with the least spark of piety, are struck with horror, when they see, that, so soon after the death of the Apostles, the doctrine of the mystical union, which ought to be among the faithful, was understood of the carnal copulation of men and women, and that those Heretics durst affirm, that the true participation of mysteries consisted in that. What could be expected from such a man as Prodicus, who believed, that human souls were sent into bodies, not in order to

(*a*) See the remark [*A*], in the article ADAMITES.

(*b*) Theodor. Hæret. Fab. *lib. i*, *cap. vi*, & *lib. v*, *c. xxvii.*

[*A*] *To which he added the impudence of public copulation of both sexes.*] Here are Theodoret's words. Οὗτος προσφανῶς λαγνεύειν τοῖς Καρποκράτους προσέθεικε δόγμασι. *Hic ad decreta Carpocratis adjecit palam & publicè scortari* (1). The only proof Theodoret alledges for it is, that Prodicus ordered a community of women; that is to say, that, in the meals which the ancient Christians called Ἀγάπαι, every man should enjoy a woman, as chance should bring them together in the darkness of the room. This they

(1) Theod. Hæret. Fabul. *lib. i*, *cap. vi.*

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(c) Idem, *lib. v, cap. x, & xx.* (d) Clem. Alexand. Strom. *lib. i, pag.* 304. I shall observe in the remark [H] to be punished, but to pay homage to the angels, who had created the world, by all manner of sensuality (c)? The followers of Prodicus boasted, that they had the secret books of Zoroaster (d), and maintained, that God was not to be prayed to (e), and that no man ought to expose himself to martyrdom by confessing the truth (f).

(f) Tertull. in Scorpiac. cap. ult.

(e) Ibid. *lib. vii, pag.* 724.

of the article ZOROASTER, that the words of Clemens Alexandrinus are equivocal.

they called communicating, and being initiated into the mystery. I do not find, that Theodoret had any reason to ascribe this additional doctrine to Prodicus, since Clemens Alexandrinus, on whose credit he speaks, imputes (2) the whole matter to Carpocrates; for, having mentioned upon a meer hear-say, and not as a thing to be found in their writings, the infamous custom of removing the candles, and lying one with another, he says, that Carpocrates should have established those laws for dogs, hogs, and goats: and therefore Clemens Alexandrinus did not believe, that Carpocrates had left them to the care of some of his successors; for instance, to Prodicus. Thus Theodoret alledges an author, who is against him. That author observes, that the men, before they went to those feasts, acquainted the women, whom they had a mind to lie with, that they made choice of them. Μελετήσαντας δὲ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀγάπῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἤδη παρ' ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσωσι γυναικῶν ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν τῶ Καρποκρατείω· (ἐ γὰρ θέμις εἰπεῖν θείω·) νόμε ὑπακοήν. *Meditatos autem in ejusmodi agape communionem, interdiu jam, à quibus velint mulieribus exigere Carpocrateæ (divinæ enim nefas est dicere) legis obedientiam* (3). Which is likely enough: The passions are too ingenious to be inactive on such occasions, and to refer the whole matter to chance. The Carpocratians knew therefore, pretty near, who should fall to their share, and were not wholly in the case, mentioned by a Roman Poet.

(2) Stromat. *lib. iii, p.* 430.

(3) Ibid.

Mox juniores quærit adulteros
Inter mariti vina: neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia luminibus remotis:
Sed jussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito: seu vocat institor,
Seu navis Hispanæ magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emtor (4).

(4) Horace, Od. VI, lib. III.

Marry'd, their lessons she improves
By practice of adulterous loves,
And scorns the common mean design,
To take advantage of her husband's wine;
Or snatch in some dark place
A hasty illegitimate embrace.
No! the bribed husband knows of all,
And bids her rise, when lovers call:
Hither a merchant from the Streights,
Grown wealthy by forbidden freights,
Or city Cannibal repairs,
Who feeds upon the flesh of heirs.
Convenient brutes! whose tributary flame
Pays the full price of lust, and gilds the slighted shame.
Lord ROSCOMMON.

I must add, that Theodoret is not so exact, as he should have been, in quoting Clemens Alexandrinus about another circumstance. He makes him say of Prodicus, what is properly and directly said of some others, and cannot be applied to Prodicus, but in general, and with several indirect arguments.

PRUDENTIUS, in Latin *Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*, a Christian Poet, was born in the year 348 [A] in Spain; but it is disputed whether it was at Calahorra, or Saragossa, or in another town of that country [B]. Those who say that he was

[A] *He was born in the year* 348.] This appears from these words:

Hæc dum vita volans agit
Inrepsit subito canities seni,
Oblitum veteris me Saliæ Consulis arguens
Sub quo prima dies mihi (1).

(1) Prudent. in Prolog. Oper.

Whilst thus my fleeting being hastes away,
Old age creeps sudden on, and marks me gray:
Old Salia's consulship's forgotten quite,
The year, in which I first beheld the light.

The meaning of which is, that he was born under Salia's consulship; but we find, that the consuls of the year 348 were Flavius Philippus, and Flavius Sallia, or Sallea (2). Observe that, those who make him flourish in the year 380 (3), are as much mistaken, as those, who make him flourish in the year 430 (4).

(2) Onuphrius, on the 3d book of the *Fasti*, shews by an inscription, that his name was *Sallea*.

[B] *It is disputed whether it was at Calahorra, or at Saragossa, or in another town of that country.*] Aldus Manutius, Sixtus Senensis, Possevin, and some others, make him a native of Saragossa; but Mariana maintains, that he was born at Calahorra (5). They alledge for the first opinion the hymn *in honorem sanctorum decem & octo Martyrum Cæsaraugustanorum* (6), which begins thus:

(3) Sixtus Senensis is censured for it by Father Labbe, *de Script. Eccles. Tom. ii, pag.* 794.

(4) Biblioth. Hisp. p. 205.

(5) Mariana, Hist. Hisp. *lib. iv, cap. xvii.*

Bis novem NOSTER populus sub uno
Martyrum servat cineres sepulchro:
Cæsaraugustam vocitamus urbem
Res cui tanta est.

(6) It is the 4th of the book περὶ Στεφάνων.

MY *country-men, with pious zeal, give room*
To twice nine martyrs ashes in one tomb.
Cæsar Augusta is the city's name,
Which only can so great an honour claim.

We read the following passage in the same hymn:

NOSTER est quamvis procul hinc in urbe
Passus ignota dederit sepulchri
Gloriam victor, prope litus altæ
Forte Sagunti.
NOSTER, & NOSTRA puer in palæstra,
Arte virtutis, fideique olivo
Unctus, horrendum didicit domare
Viribus hostem (7).

(7) Prudent. ib. Hymn. IV, ver. 97.

Tho' martyr'd in a foreign land he dye,
The conqueror, perhaps, will not deny
On fam'd Saguntum's shore his corpse interr'd to lye.
OUR *country-man, 'midst us he did a hero grow,*
And learn'd, with th' oil of faith, to triumph o'er the foe.

Prudentius speaks of St Vincent, who was born at Saragossa. A like proof is alledged for the second opinion; for these two verses are to be found in the hymn, *in honorem sanctorum Martyrum Hemiterii & Chelidonii Calagurritanorum* (8):

Hoc bonum salvator ipse, quo fruamur, præstitit
Martyrum cum membra NOSTRO consecravit oppido (9).

(8) It is the first of the book Περὶ Στεφάνων.

(9) Id. Hymn. I, ver. 115.

This good our Saviour's bounty did bestow,
From him alone our happiness does flow,
Who kindly to OUR *city doth decree*
The blood of martyrs slain shou'd sacred be.

And in the very hymn for the martyrs of Saragossa we read this:

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was made conſul, are groſly miſtaken [C]. They ſhould only have ſaid, that he had a very conſiderable office (a). He was fifty-ſeven years of age when he betook himſelf to write Poems upon matters of religion. He had been an advocate, and then a judge, afterwards a ſoldier, and at laſt he had a noble employment at court [D]. He does not deny that he was a looſe man in his youth (b). There is more zeal for religion, than poetical ornaments, in his works (c). He did not always obſerve the rules

(a) See the remark [D].

(b) Ibid.

(c) Melior omnino Chriſtianus, quam Poëta, meo judicio. *Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus, Dialogiſmo xxv, pag. 906, Tom. ii, Oper. See alſo the ſame Gyraldus, in Poët. Hiſtoria, pag. 290.*

NOSTRA geſtabit Calagurris ambos
Quos veneramur (10).

OUR *Calahorra both ſhall bear,*
Whom we revere.

(10) Id. Hymn. IV, ver. 31.

Mariana made uſe of thoſe two paſſages; but the author (11), who wrote againſt him, ſhews, that, if they afforded a good proof, they would be inſignificant for that very reaſon, becauſe they cannot be ſolid, without the paſſages brought for the contrary opinion be ſo too. In a word, Thoſe reaſons prove too much, and conſequently prove nothing. He confutes Mariana and Aldus Manutius's arguments reciprocally one by the other, and ſays, that, though Prudentius was not born at Saragoſſa, nor at Calahorra, he might call them *noſtra*, becauſe they were ſituated in Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, his native country. He confirms his opinion by two remarks (12): One is taken from theſe words concerning Tarragona:

(11) Pedro Mantuano, Advertencias à la Hiſtoria de Juan de Mariana, *pag.* 82, *&* *ſeq.*

O triplex honor, o triforme culmen
Quo NOSTRÆ caput excitatur urbis
Cunctis urbibus eminens Hiberis (13).

(12) Ib. *p.* 85.

O triple honour, triple height of fame,
Which thus, above all elſe, exalts OUR *city's name!*

(13) Prudent. Hymn. VI, ver. 142.

The other is grounded upon this, that Prudentius, who ſays many things of Merida, where St Eulalia was born, does not call it *noſtra*; becauſe, ſays he, it was not in Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, but in Hiſpania Luſitanica. Obſerve that he is miſtaken concerning thoſe words, *noſtra puer in palæſtra:* he (14) underſtood them of Valencia (15), where St Vincent ſuffered martyrdom; but it is plain they are meant of Saragoſſa, where he was born and bred up.

(14) Pedro Mantuano, ubi ſupra, *p.* 84, 85.

(15) *A town in* Hiſpania Tarraconenſis.

This Critic is better at pulling down than at building up; for, when he goes about to prove, that Salia, in the Aſturias, is Prudentius's birth-place, he alledges no good reaſon for it, though he ſhews a great deal of ingenious learning. His chief argument is built upon theſe words; *oblitum veteris me Saliæ Conſulis* (16). He pretends (17), that if *veteris* refers to *Conſulis*, there would have been two conſuls called Salia, one before the other, and Prudentius muſt have been born under the conſulſhip of the firſt. But it is not true, that there was a *Salia major* and a *Salia minor*, as there was a *Scipio Africanus major*, and a *Scipio Africanus minor*. This objection would have ſome force, if Prudentius was very exact in the choice of his words. But, after all, if we refer *veteris* to a town, as Pedro Mantuano will have it, what will become of the word *Conſulis?* His ſaying (18) that it ſignifies a year, will never be a ſatisfactory explication.

(16) See the remark [A].

(17) Ib. *p.* 87.

(18) Ib. *p.* 90.

(19) Aldus, in Vita Prudentii.

(20) See Father Chamillard upon Prudentius, *p.* 1.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Du Pin, Bibl. des Auteurs Eccleſiaſt. *Tom. iii, p.* 6, *of the Dutch Edit.*

(25) *That is,* oblitum veteris me Saliæ, &c.

(24) *See his Diſſertation* de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, p.* 793.

(25) Pedro Mantuano, ubi ſupra, *p.* 86, 87.

[C] *Thoſe, who ſay, that he was made conſul, are groſly miſtaken.*] Aldus Manutius (19) calls him *Vir Conſularis*, and *Maſſaliæ Conſul.* His miſtake proceeds from not rightly underſtanding the letters *V. C.* added to the names of Prudentius, and from reading in his manuſcript *oblitum veteris Meſſaliæ conſulis arguens*, whereas it ſhould be *me Saliæ.* The two letters *V. C.* ſignify *Vir Clariſſimus*, as Alciatus obſerves (20), and not *Vir Conſularis*, a title that was grown out of uſe at that time (21). Here follows a paſſage of Mr du Pin. ‘ (22) Moſt authors have not underſtood this paſſage (23), and ſome, as Aldus Manutius, Sixtus Senenſis, Poſſevin, and even Father Labbe, thought he had been conſul of a town called Meſſalia, which Father Labbe (24) fancies to be Marſeilles. It is a blunder. They took the name of the conſul Salia, who was conſul with Philippus in 348, for the name of a town, and aſcribed to Prudentius the title of conſul, which belongs to Salia, under whoſe conſulſhip Prudentius came into the world.’ The author, who criticizes Mariana (25), confutes Antonius Nebriſſenſis, who thinks, that Prudentius was born under Meſſalia's conſulſhip: he ſhews, there was no conſul of that name, from the beginning of Dioclesian's reign to the time of Anaſtaſius. He confutes Aldus, who believed that Prudentius had been conſul of Meſſalia (26): he ſhews, there is no ſuch conſul in the *Faſti Conſulares*, and that the ancient authors never mentioned a town called Meſſalia. There was indeed a town called Maſſilia, and now Marſeilles. But, ſays he, ever ſince the diviſion of the empire under Conſtantine, it was an uſual thing to elect a conſul at Rome, and another at Conſtantinople, or both at Rome, and then both at Conſtantinople; and ſometimes two at Rome, and two at Conſtantinople at the ſame time; but it does not appear, that any of the weſtern conſuls did ever reſide at Marſeilles. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, if Prudentius had been conſul, he would have ſaid ſo in the paſſage which may be ſeen at the beginning of the following remark.

(26) It ſhould be Maſſilia.

[D] *He was fifty-ſeven years of age when he betook himſelf . . . . . He had been an advocate, and at laſt he had a noble employment at court.*] He himſelf gives us a ſhort account of his life, without forgetting the leudneſs of his youth.

Per qninquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor fuimus; ſeptimus inſuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur ſole volubili.
Inſtat terminus, & diem
Vicinum ſenio jam Deus adplicat.
Quid nos utile tanti ſpatio temporis egimus?
Ætas prima crepantibus
Flevit ſub ferulis: mox docuit toga
Infectum vitiis falſa loqui, non ſine crimine:
Tum laſciva protervitas,
Et luxus petulans (heu pudet ac piget!)
Fœdavit juvenem nequitiæ ſordibus ac luto.
Exin jurgia turbidos
Armarunt animos, & male pertinax
Vincendi ſtudium ſubjacuit caſibus aſperis.
Bis legum moderamine
Frenos nobilium reximus urbium:
Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos.
Tandem militiæ gradu
Evectum pietas Principis extulit,
Adſumptum propius ſtare jubens ordine proximo (27).

(27) Prudent. in Prologo Operum.

Ten Luſtra, *with ſeven added years,*
Are paſt, and roll'd away,
Since firſt my eyes beheld the ſun,
And open'd on the day.

Life's limit almoſt I approach;
Old age is ſtealing on;
In all this ſpace of fleeting time,
What good thing have I done?

The tyrant's laſh my boyiſh age
For manhood did prepare;
Inſtructed them in all the quirks
Of the evaſive bar.

Then wantonneſs and luxury
(*Of which I now repent*)
Into my ſoul of every vice
The ſtrong infection ſent.

Next broils, and fierce contention's rage,
Arm'd every angry thought;
And many hazards, many ills,
Deſire of conqueſt brought.

Twice

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rules of quantity; beſides, he does not appear to be orthodox in all his opinions [*E*]: the liberty he took in ſaying, that few people are damned, would not be born with at preſent.

Twice with the righteous rein of law
Two cities I controll'd;
Encourag'd good and modeſt men,
But ſhock'd the bad and bold.

At length, to military rank
Rais'd by my prince's hand,
He kindly bad me nearer to
His royal perſon ſtand.

He bethought himſelf ſomewhat late, though not too late (28), of renouncing the vanities of the world, and making pious verſes. It may be a queſtion, whether his publiſhing the debaucheries of his youth will be of advantage to all his readers. A young debauchee, who may reply to thoſe who reprove him, *Prudentius, that pious and devout Poet, did as I do when he was young, I will do as he did when I come to be fifty-ſeven years of age*, makes a very bad anſwer; and yet it appears to him ſolid, and lulls him aſleep in his ſins.

(28) Nam ſera numquam eſt ad bonos mores via, Quem pœnitet peccaſſe pene eſt innocens. - - - - *For it is never too late to reform: he who repents of having ſinned, is almoſt innocent.* Seneca, in Agamemn. Act. II, ver. 342, pag. m. 262.

[*E*] *He does not appear orthodox in all his opinions.*] He ſays expreſsly, that the damned have a day of reſt every year, and that it is the day, on which our Saviour came out of hell. How came he to know this?

Sunt & ſpiritibus ſæpe nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres ſub Styge feriæ,
Illa nocte, ſacer qua rediit Deus
Stagnis ad ſuperos ex Acheronticis (29):

The damn'd have reſt from pain, their tortures ſtay,
And hell's inhabitants keep holiday;
On that bleſt night, in which the Son of God
From out thoſe gloomy realms in triumph rode.

(29) Prudent. Hymn. V. Cathemer. ver. 225, *p. m.* 21.

Marcent ſuppliciis Tartara mitibus,
Exſultatque ſui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus liber ab ignibus:
Nec fervent ſolito flumina ſulphure (30).

The puniſhments of Tartarus abate,
And, free from penal fires, their diſmal fate,
The airy people a ſhort reſpite know,
Nor the dire ſtreams with uſual ſulphur flow.

(30) Ib. ver. 233.

He affirms in another place, that GOD damns but few people.

Quæſitor ille ſolus
Animæque corporiſque,
Enſiſque bis timendus
Prima ac ſecunda mors eſt.
Idem tamen benignus
Ultor retundit iram,
Paucoſque non piorum
Patitur perire in ævum (31.)

He only ſearches out the heart,
The lord of life and death,
The ſword that twice is to be fear'd,
The firſt and ſecond death.

Yet he, in mercy to mankind,
Puts th' edge of juſtice by,
And of th' ungodly ſuffers few
Eternally to die.

(31) Ib. Hymn. VI, ver. 89, *p.* 24.

He is very much blamed for deſiring, not the glory of heaven, but the ſtate of a man, whoſe ſufferings are not exceſſive. He ſays, he will be contented, provided his ſoul be not caſt into the deepeſt dungeon of hell; and deſires no better fate after the reſurrection (32).

Multa in theſauris Patris eſt habitatio, Chriſte,
Diſparibus diſcreta locis, non poſco beatâ
In regione domum: ſint illic caſta virorum
Agmina, pulvereum quæ dedignantia cenſum
Divitias petiere tuas: ſit flore perenni
Candida virginitas, animum caſtrata reciſum.
At mihi Tartarei ſatis eſt ſi nulla miniſtri
Occurrat facies, avidæ nec flamma Gehennæ
Devoret hanc animam, merſam fornacibus imis.
Eſto: cavernoſo, quia ſic pro labe neceſſe eſt
Corporeâ, triſtis me ſorbeat ignis Averno:
Saltem mirificos incendia lenta vapores
Exhalent; æſtuque calor languente tepeſcat.
Lux immenſa alios, & tempora vincta coronis
Glorificent: me pœna levis clementer adurat (33).

(32) *See the* Bibl. Univerſ. *Tom. xii, pag.* 286, 287.

In heav'n, thy father's dwelling-place, O Chriſt,
Are many manſions. In that happy region
I aſk not to be plac'd: be there the ſouls
Of thoſe, who, bravely ſcorning worldly gain,
Have ſought thy riches: there be plac'd the chaſt,
Eunuchs in mind. For me, if heaven conſent,
That no dark miniſter of hell approach me,
Nor its devouring flames enwrap my ſoul,
I'm ſatisfied. But ſince the ſtains of guilt
Require purgation in annealing fires,
O! Let ſome milder flame, with languid heat,
Gently exhale, and purge away my crimes,
Let others at a crown of glory aim:
I aſk but lighter puniſhment at beſt.

(33) Prudent. in Hamartigenia, *ſub fin. p.* 227.

Dr Perkins, a Proteſtant Divine, ſays this is an impious prayer, and that it ought not to be aſcribed to Prudentius (34). He is not the only one who thinks that it is a piece added to his Hamartigenia. However it be, Victor Giſelinus, a Catholic writer, highly condemns this prayer, in a work (35) that is very much commended by Poſſevin (36). Obſerve that it is to be found as a genuine piece in the moſt exact editions (37); whereas ſome verſes, that are accounted ſuppoſititious, have been left out. You will not find in Heinſius's edition, as in that of Sichardus, the third Strophe of the hymn falſly intituled, *Ad incenſum cerei Paſchalis* (38). That title, and that Strophe, not being in the beſt manuſcripts, have been left out as ſuppoſititious pieces. The prayer, that is at the end of the Hamartigenia, would likewiſe have been expunged, if there had been any reaſons to believe that it was not genuine. But here is a hereſy, of which he cannot be cleared by denying the thing: he believed the materiality of the ſoul.

(34) Dictum impium & non tribuendum Prudentio ait noſter Perkinſius. *Rivet, Crit. Sacri, lib. iii, cap. xxvi, p.* 1123, *Tom. ii,* Oper.

(35) In his Notes upon Prudentius.

(36) *See* Rivet, ubi ſupra.

(37) For inſtance, that of Nicolas Heinſius.

Reſciſſa ſed iſta (39) ſeorſum
Solvunt hominem perimuntque:
Humus excipit arida corpus,
Animæ rapit aura LIQUOREM (40).

When ſoul and body by the hand
Of death divided are,
The body to the duſt returns,
The liquid ſoul to AIR.

(38) It is the 5th of the *Cathemerinon.*

(39) That is, the body and the ſoul.

(40) Prudent. Hymn. X. Cathemerin. ver. 9.

The following verſes make it plain, that he means a material ſubſtance by *Animæ liquorem.*

Non occidet, inquit,
Interior qui ſpirat homo: luet ille perenne
Supplicium, quod ſubjectos male rexerit artus.
Nec mihi difficile eſt LIQUIDAM circumdare flammis
Naturam, quamvis PERFLABILIS illa feratur
Inſtar Noti: capiam tamen, & tormenta adhibebo (41).

Th' interior man, he ſays, will never die,
But bear eternal puniſhment in hell.
I can conceive a liquid nature, tho'
Impaſſive as the wind, by flames encompaſs'd,
Suffer eternal burnings.

(41) Id. contra Symmach. *lib. ii, ver.* 184.

Mr le

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preſent. It might be of ſome uſe to him, in anſwering the objections of the Marcionites againſt whom he wrote a poem; but, at the bottom, he could not clear up by it the difficulties concerning the origin of evil [F]. There are ſeveral editions of his works

Mr le Clerc obſerves (42), that theſe words of Prudentius, *Animæ rapit aura liquorem*, do naturally ſignify the mortality of the ſoul, and that *an Epicurean would not expreſs himſelf better*. It is certain, that this verſe, and the foregoing, explain a doctrine which is to be found in the books of ſeveral Pagan authors concerning the characters of death (43). It is, ſaid they, the reſolution of a compound into its principles, each of which returns to the place from which it came, the body into the earth, the ſoul into the air or the æther. If we conſider how Lucretius expreſſes himſelf on this head, it will appear, that Prudentius might be looked upon as his abridger.

(42) Le Clerc, Biblioth. Univerſelle, *Tom. xii, pag.* 166.

(43) See, in the article AMPHIARAUS, citat. (35), what I have quoted out of Epicharmus.

Denique cœleſti ſumus omnes ſemine oriundi,
Omnibus ille idem Pater eſt, unde alma liquenteis
Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbuſtaque læta,
Et genus humanum (44)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Cedit item retro de Terra quod fuit ante,
In terras: & quod miſſum 'ſt ex Ætheris oris,
Id rurſum Cœli rellatum templa receptant:
Nec ſic interimit mors res, ut Materiaï
Corpora conficiat, ſed cœtum diſſupat ollis (45).

(44) You will find it in citat. (58), of the article JUPITER.

(45) Lucret. lib. II, ver. 990.

Laſtly, we all from ſeed cœleſtial riſe,
Which heav'n, our common parent, ſtill ſupplies.
From him the earth receives enlivening rain,
And ſtrait ſhe bears bird, tree, and beaſt, and man.
. . . . . .
And ſo each part returns, when bodies die,
What came from earth to earth, what from the ſky
Drops down, aſcends again, and mounts on high.
For death does not deſtroy, but diſunite
The ſeeds, and change their order and their ſite.

CREECH.

(46) See the remark [R], of the article LUCRETIUS.

(47) And alſo in ſome other books. See Mr *le Clerc, ubi ſupra.*

But, though theſe two Poets agree in their expreſſions, their notions are quite different. The return of the ſoul to its principle was a true death, according to Lucretius (46), but not according to all other Heathens, and leſs ſtill according to Prudentius, who ſoon after (47) explains himſelf ſo poſitively, that one cannot doubt of his believing the immortality of the ſoul.

I deſire I may be allowed to ſay, that Dr Perkins's judgment ſeems too ſevere to thoſe, who have a regard to equity and charity. They think, that this Poet was willing to be deprived of happineſs in heaven, and to ſuffer a moderate puniſhment after this life, becauſe he looked upon himſelf as a man unworthy of the ſupream beatitude, and too worthy of puniſhment. Is ſuch an humility impious? May not one call it a ſacrifice of himſelf to the divine juſtice?

[F] *He could not clear up by it the difficulties concerning the origin of evil.*] I have propoſed them in ſeveral places of this Dictionary (48); but, in order to ſhew, that the Philoſophers are not the only men, who mention thoſe objections, I ſhall ſet down a long paſſage of a learned Divine. ‘ (49) The Manichees and ‘ the Marcionites raiſed an objection againſt, the or- ‘ thodox, mentioned by Prudentius (50), in its full ‘ ſtrength, *viz.* That, if the God, who governs the ‘ world, was not pleaſed with vice, he would prevent ‘ it, ſince he is not ignorant of the corruption of ‘ men, and is able to prevent it. They pretended, ‘ that it is one and the ſame thing, to do evil, or to ‘ ſuffer it, if one can hinder it. Prudentius anſwers, ‘ in the firſt place, that God is not pleaſed with vice, ‘ ſince he has appointed a remedy for it, and ſaves ‘ thoſe, who abſtain from it. But, replied thoſe Here- ‘ tics, a man cannot ſin againſt God's will, ſince he ‘ is the maſter of our hearts, and inclines them as he ‘ thinks fit. Our Poet, in order to reſolve this diffi- ‘ culty, has only recourſe to free-will, without which ‘ there can be neither vice nor virtue. He very much ‘ enlarges upon it, and proves his aſſertion by the ‘ example of our firſt parents, of Lot, and his wife, ‘ of Naomi's daughters-in-law, and of brothers, one of ‘ whom, as we daily ſee, loves virtue, and the other ‘ gives himſelf up to vice. To which he adds this ‘ general maxim:

‘ *Omnibus una ſubeſt natura; ſed exitus omnes*
‘ *Non unus peragit, placitorum ſegregè formâ.*

‘ All men are of the ſame nature, but all of them ‘ have not the ſame fate, becauſe all of them have not ‘ the ſame will. It appears from what has been ſaid ‘ above, that Prudentius believed, that men are born ‘ corrupt; but what he ſays here ſhews, he did not ‘ believe, that ſuch a corruption did neceſſarily deter- ‘ mine them to evil. He adds, that God has ap- ‘ pointed rewards and puniſhments, becauſe men may ‘ be good or bad as they pleaſe. If the Manichees ‘ had farther objected to him, that it had been better ‘ if there had been no free-will, and no happineſs ‘ beſtowed as a reward; and if men had been neceſ- ‘ ſarily happy, by being neceſſarily determined to the ‘ love of virtue, than to make them ſo fatal a preſent ‘ as liberty, whereby moſt of them become unhappy ‘ for ever: I ſay, if the Manichees had objected ſuch ‘ a thing to him, perhaps he would have made uſe of ‘ the principle abovementioned, *viz.* that few people ‘ are damned. How do we know but Prudentius came ‘ to have ſuch a thought by reaſon of this objection, ‘ which might eaſily come into his mind.’

Theſe laſt words of Mr Le Clerc contain nothing but what is very probable: I believe with him, that if our Poet had found himſelf hard preſſed, he would have anſwered, that the number of the damned is very ſmall: and therefore that we ought not to cry out ſo much againſt the rigours of divine juſtice, which expoſe mankind to miſery. But this anſwer would not have ſatisfied the Manichees, and would not have paſſed even for a palliative remedy; for here is what they might have replied. You acknowledge that our objection would be good if two thirds, or if half the human race were eternally damned. You confeſs then, that the good principle cannot make choice of a plan, in which the damnation of the greateſt part of mankind is included. You confeſs then, that infinite goodneſs is inconſiſtent with the eternal unhappineſs of ſo many perſons. By this confeſſion you deſtroy your whole ſyſtem; for you cannot admit this inconſiſtency without acknowledging, that the eternal unhappineſs of a very great number of creatures would be a mark of cruelty in him who ſhould puniſh them. You know very well that infinite goodneſs cannot be mixed with cruelty, and if you could comprehend that, without any mixture of this vice, the Lord of all things, might condemn to the flames two thirds or half of the human race, you would no longer think the infinite goodneſs inconſiſtent with this condemnation. Here then is the foundation of your anſwer; the good principle would be cruel, if a great number of perſons were damned; but becauſe few are damned, he is not cruel, and preſerves all the characters of infinite goodneſs. Conſider well to what you expoſe yourſelf. You ought to grant us, that the damnation of all men would be the effect of extream cruelty, *Actus ſævitiei ut octo*, as the ſchool-men would ſay, who meaſure the whole extent of a quality by eight degrees. Conſequently the damnation of the half of mankind would be the effect of four degrees of cruelty. From whence it follows, that the damnation of a fourth part of mankind would be a ſign of two degrees of cruelty in GOD. Make the number of the damned as ſmall as you pleaſe, it will always prove a degree of cruelty in GOD, which however ſmall it be is inconſiſtent with infinite goodneſs, ſince this goodneſs neceſſarily excludes all mixture of the contrary quality (51). In one word, if there is cruelty in damning a thouſand millions of ſouls, there is in damning nine hundred millions, and this proves that there is in damning eight hundred millions, and ſo on; for the difference would be only of more to leſs, and this kind of abatement will never lead you from cruelty to infinite goodneſs, but at moſt to a goodneſs leſs mixed with the contrary vice, a goodneſs inconſiſtent with a principle

(48) In the articles MARCION, MANICHEES, PAULICIANS.

(49) Biblioth. Univerſelle, *Tom. xii, pag.* 182, *& ſeq.*

(50) *Theſe are his words:*
Si non vult Deus eſſe malum, cur non vetat? inquit.
Nil refert auctor fuerit factorque malorum.
Anne opera in vitium ſceleris pulcherrima verti,
Cùm poſſit prohibere, ſinat? quòd ſi velit omnes
Innocuos agere Omnipotens, nec ſancta voluntas
Degeneret, facto nec ſe manus inquinet ullo.
Condidit ergo malum Dominus, quod ſpectat ab alto,
Et patitur, fierique probat, tamquam ipſe crearit.
Ipſe creavit enim, quod, cùm diſcludere poſſit,
Non abolet, longoque ſinit graſſarier uſu. *Prudent. in Hamartig. ver.* 640, *pag. m.* 227.

(51) Compare with this § 1. of the 2d article of *Jurieu Critique réjouïe*

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works [G]. His books againſt Symmachus were written before the victory obtained over Radagaiſus in the year 405, and after that which Stilico obtained over Alaric, near Pollentia, in the year 402. He mentions the latter (d), and ſays nothing of the other, though his ſubject required it.

(d) Prudent. in Symmach. *lib. ii, ver.* 695, *&c. ſeq.*

(52) See the article ORIGEN, remark [E], citat. (4).

a principle eternal and eſſentially good (52). On the other ſide, if there is no cruelty in damning an hundred thouſand perſons, why would there be any in damning two hundred thouſand perſons? And if infinite goodneſs is not impeached by the damnation of two hundred thouſand men, neither would it be by the damnation of three hundred thouſand, and you can aſſign no number which can leſſen it's fulneſs, ſince three hundred thouſand does not hinder it's continuing ſuch; acknowledge then that your ſyſtem falls to the ground, if you pretend to anſwer our difficulty by leſſening the number of the damned. We may apply here a thought of Horace (53), with all the ſubtilties of the Sorites (54). The true anſwer is, to maintain that the damnation of all men would be but an act of juſtice without any mixture of cruelty, ſmall or great. The method therefore of our Poet would be defective.

(53) Eſt vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos, &c. *Horat. Epiſt. I, lib. ii, ver.* 39. See the whole paſſage in citat. (91), of the article CHRYSIPPUS.

(54) See the remark [O], of the article CHRYSIPPUS.

I ſay nothing of another defect in his anſwer; the objection of his adverſaries is grounded upon this, that a being, which can prevent evil, and does not prevent it, wills it. This notion is plain. What ſignifies it to ſay, as our Poet does, that GOD has given to man a full power of doing good, and that man is the ſole cauſe of ſin by the abuſe of free-will? This does not weaken the objection: it is to give his theſis for a reply, it is *ignoratio elenchi*, and *petitio principii*, ſince the Manichees directly attack the hypotheſis of a free creature whom a good principle will ſuffer to fall into ſin.

[G] *There are ſeveral editions of his works.*] That of Aldus at Venice, 1502, in 4to, is not the firſt, as he pretended. That of Deventer went before it (55). Some ſay he put out two editions; but there is ſome reaſon to believe, that they ſay ſo without any foundation (56). Mr du Pin (57) mentions the Antwerp edition, 1540, *in 8vo, which contains the notes of Antonius Nebriſſenſis, and Sichardus.* I have an edition of Antwerp in 8vo, with the notes of thoſe two authors; but it is of the year 1546. The Epiſtle Dedicatory, written by Sichardus, is dated from Baſil, in March 1537. Geſner, in his Bibliotheque (58) mentions an edition of Baſil, by Cratander, 1527, with Sichardus's Scholia, and another edition of Baſil by Henricus Petri of the ſame town. Father Labbe (59), followed the Antwerp edition of Plantin, 1564, with Theodorus Pulmannus's notes (60) and corrections, and Victor Giſelinus's commentary. The two books againſt Symmachus were printed at Paris in 1614, with Grangæus's notes: Mr du Pin calls him by miſtake Gangræus. He ſays, the laſt edition of Prudentius is that of Amſterdam 1667, *with Heinſius's notes and corrections.* He ſhould have ſaid Nicolas Heinſius, leſt the works of the ſon ſhould be aſcribed to the father. I think he might have mentioned the edition *in uſum Delphini*, by Father Chamillard at Paris, 1687. Moreri ſays, there is an Amſterdam edition of Prudentius, 1670, with the notes of Nicolas Heinſius, and the author's life: I have not been able yet to know whether this be true. I have only the edition of the year 1667, in 12mo, printed by Daniel Elziver, without the life of Prudentius: it (61) is in Sichardus's edition. As for the edition *Variorum*, publiſhed by Weitzius, it was printed at Francfort, or Hanaw, 1613, and not at Hanover, as Mr du Pin ſays.

(55) Nicolaus Heinſius, in Præfat. Prudentii.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Du Pin, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 5.

(58) *Fol.* 125.

(59) Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, pag.* 262.

(61) Written by Aldus Manutius.

The reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here Father Chamillard's judgment concerning thoſe who have written upon this author. 'Giſelinus ſectatus eſt tantum ea 'quæ omnium erant facillima & minime ſcitu neceſſaria, lapſus in multis etiam & hallucinatus. Nebriſſenſis hæret in Prudentio magis, ſed eſt brevior & 'ſingula delibare ſatis habet, quæ ad fabulam, hiſtoriam & penitiorem ſcriptoris cognitionem requirun'tur, omittit. Quid quod Apotheoſim, Hamartigeniam, duos contra Symmachum libros qui ſunt 'præ cæteris tamen digniſſimi qui legantur non at'tigit . . . Heinſii *variæ lectiones in Prudentium* adſperſis interdum lectiſſimis notulis perquam eruditæ 'ſunt & accuratæ ut ab Heinſio profectas facile noris. '. . . Weitzius qui cum editas hactenus in Prudentium notas collegiſſet, addidit etiam ſuas, eaſque 'minime contemnendas, hoc uno cæteris ſuperior 'quod veterum autorum locos indicet, ac eos præcipue 'ſacræ ſcripturæ quos Prudentius operi ſuo intexuit. 'Mitto Jacobum Spiegelium qui commentariolum edi'dit in oden Prudentii inſcriptam *omnis hora*, ejus 'enim in illam notæ non ſolum ſunt propter nimiam 'prolixitatem moleſtæ, verum etiam minutis quibuſdam 'ac pene puerilibus nugis ab ipſa grammatica repeti'tis refertæ. Mitto etiam Adamum Siberum, Geor'gium Remum, Adamum Theodorum Siberum, An'dream Wilkium: quorum alii verba ſex interdum 'aut ſeptem protulerunt, in hymnos tres aut quatuor 'totos, alii in unum duntaxat, ut merito ab interpre'tum Prudentii numero ſint expungendi. Aliter ſen'tiendum de Scholiis Iſonis quæ quamvis admodum 'brevia ſint quidquid eſt tamen gravioris modi ſol'vunt (62).' He very much commends Fabricius's notes upon five hymns of Prudentius, and thoſe of Eraſmus upon the two laſt hymns of the CATHEMERINON.

(62) Stephanus Chamillard *è Societate, Jeſu, Præfat. ad* Prudent. in uſum Delphini.

(60) He calls him *Pulmaninus Cranenburgius.* Mr du Pin calls him *Pulman Graffembourg.* He has committed two faults; for, beſides that he ſhould have ſaid *Cranenbourg*, (it is a ſmall town in the duchy of Cleves, where *Theodorus Pulmannus* was born) he ſhould not have expreſſed himſelf ſo as to make one think, that it was the author's ſirname.

PSAMMITICHUS, king of Egypt, 640 years before the birth of CHRIST, was the ſon of Necus, whom Sabacus, king of Æthiopia, cauſed to be put to death, when he invaded Egypt. The ſon would have had the ſame fate, had he not made his eſcape into Syria. He was recalled, when Sabacus retired into his country, and was one of the twelve great lords, who governed Egypt (a). Each of them had his portion; but they acted, in concert, or rather like partners, or colleagues, than like neighbouring princes (b) Pſammitichus drew upon himſelf the envy of the eleven other princes, either becauſe the wealth he got, by the duties laid upon merchandiſes (c), enabled him to make alliances with foreigners, or becauſe they were afraid he would be king of the whole country, as it had been foretold by an Oracle [A]. Wherefore they confined him to marſhy places, where perhaps he had remained all his life-time, had he not been informed, that ſome foreigners, who had made a deſcent into Egypt, deſtroyed

(a) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. clii.*

(b) Ibid. *cap. clxvii.*

(c) Diodor. Sicul. *lib. i, cap. lxvi.*

[A] *As it had been foretold by an Oracle.*] The Oracle had told them, that he, who ſhould make his libations in a braſs cup, ſhould have the whole kingdom to himſelf. It happened, on the laſt day of a ſolemn feſtival, the twelve kings being in the temple of Vulcan, ready to make their libations, that the Prieſt, who was to give them the golden cup, which they uſed for that ceremony, miſtook the number, and brought only eleven cups. Pſammitichus, being the laſt of all, and having no cup, pulled off his helmet, and uſed it for the libations. The other kings, remembering the Oracle, would have killed him, to prevent the effect of it, had they not certainly known that he had no hand in the Prieſt's miſtake (1). I know not how to excuſe Athenæus; he makes Herodotus ſay, that the Egyptian Prieſts drank out of braſs cups, and that it does not appear, that the kings themſelves, when they ſacrificed in public, made uſe of a ſilver cup; ſo that Pſammitichus, who was the youngeſt king, made his libations with a braſs cup, whilſt

(1) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. cli.*

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deſtroyed all the flat country. They were Ionians and Carians. Being told that they were men of braſs [B], he conceived great hopes, by reaſon of an Oracle delivered to him. He went to ſee what it was, and, having engaged thoſe foreigners to ſtay with him, he made himſelf maſter of all Egypt by their means. He ſhewed himſelf very thankful, and gave them ſome lands near the Nile, below the town of Bubaſtus (d). From that time he always had foreigners in his pay, and even gave them the precedency above the ſoldiers of his own nation, in the war he made againſt Syria (e); at which the Egyptians were ſo incenſed, that two hundred thouſand men left him. They went and ſettled in Æthiopia [C], and made a blunt anſwer to the reaſons he alledged, to perſuade them to return into their country [D]. He left nothing unattempted to make up that loſs, and particularly applied himſelf to make trade flouriſh: he was kind to foreigners, and granted them all manner of protection, putting a ſtop to the barbarity exerciſed upon them in the foregoing reigns. He made an alliance with the Athenians, and ſome other Greek nations, and would have his children inſtructed by them (f). He cauſed alſo many children to be inſtructed by the Carians and Ionians, whom he had placed on the banks of the Nile; and it was the firſt time, that men, ſpeaking a different language from that of Egypt, ſettled in that country (g). By this means, as Herodotus obſerves (b), the curious, who, in proceſs of time, travelled in Egypt, found there ſeveral people who underſtood them, and were their interpreters. I have examined, in another place (i), whether the town of Naucratis was built under the reign of Pſammitichus by ſome inhabitants of Miletus. This Prince reigned fifty four years [E], and died in the third Year of the XLth Olympiad (k), leaving his kingdom to his ſon Necus (l). He was buried at Sais, where he was born, the chief town of the lower Egypt, in the temple of Minerva (m), where the Saites buried all their kings (n). He was the firſt king of Egypt who drank wine (o): he ordered, that the ſprings of the Nile (p) ſhould be looked for: and, in order to know who were the moſt antient people in the world, he cauſed two children to be brought up, ſo as to hear no body ſpeak; and, becauſe, when they came to be two years old, they ſpoke a Word, which ſignifies bread, in the Phrygian Language, the Egyptians were obliged to give up their pretenſion to the greateſt antiquity, and to yield, in that reſpect, to the Phrygians (q). No ſiege did ever laſt a longer time than that which Pſammitichus laid to the town of Azotas (r); for it held out twenty nine years. The taking of that town, was not ſo glorious to him, as the dexterity wherewith he ſtopped a torrent, that had like to have overflowed his kingdom. The Scythians, having defeated the Medes, ruled in Aſia, and were marching towards Egypt. Pſammitichus met them in Paleſtine, and, by his preſents and entreaties, perſuaded them to go back; and it was then that ſome of them plundered the temple of Venus Urania at Aſcalon (s). Moreri, and the continuators of his Dictionary, made but little account of this king, ſince, inſtead of inſerting in his Article ſuch things as belong to him, which, as we have ſeen, are neither few nor common, they have only filled it with things that concern his Succeſſors.

(d) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. clix.*

(e) Diodor. Sicul. *lib. i, cap. lxvii.*

(f) Ibid.

(g) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. clix.*

(b) Ibid.

(i) In the article NAUCRATIS.

(k) Calviſius, Helvicus, &c.

(l) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. clviii.*

(m) Strabo, *lib. xvii, pag.* 551.

(n) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. clxix.*

(o) Plutarch. de Iſide, *pag.* 353.

(p) Athen. *lib. viii, pag.* 345.

(q) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. ii.*

(r) Ibid. *cap. clvii.*

(s) Ibid. *lib. i, cap. cv.*

whilſt the others made them with ſilver cups (2). If you read the 151ſt chapter of the ſecond book of Herodotus, you will ſee, that Athenæus relates the matter very unfaithfully. His tranſlator is no leſs unfaithful: here is the Greek, Ψαμμήτιχον δὲν νεώτερον ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων χαλκῆ φιάλη σπεῖσαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀργύρεια σπενδόντων. The tranſlator renders it thus, *Itaque Pſammetichum aliis regibus poſteriorem libaſſe argentea phiala, ſuperiores autem ænea.*

(2) Athen. *lib. vi, pag.* 231.

[B] *That they were men of braſs.*] Pſammitichus, being reduced to a low condition by the envy of the other kings, conſulted an Oracle of Latona in the town of Butis, which was accounted the beſt in all Egypt. He was anſwered, that revenge would come to him by ſea, when men of braſs ſhould be ſeen. The Pirates, who had landed in Egypt, were armed from head to foot: ſuch armed men had never been ſeen in that country: and therefore it was thought they were men of braſs, and Pſammitichus was informed of it. He began then to have a good opinion of the Oracle, to which he had till then given no credit (3). It is pity Herodotus, whoſe relations are ſo charming, did not live in another age, or was not ſenſible of the difference between Hiſtory and a piece of Poetry. In the latter, things muſt not be unfolded without a miracle; the reader muſt be ſtruck with admiration at any rate: but Hiſtorical events ought to be attended with ſimplicity; and if a judicious reader does not find it in an Hiſtorian, he may very well believe that the author has inſerted wonderful fictions in the room of it. I wonder Herodotus left any gleanings after him. He knew nothing of the Oracle mentioned by Polyænus (4). The god Hammon adviſed king Tementhes to beware of cocks. A Carian informed Pſammitichus, that no nation before the Carians had ſet creſts upon their helmets. This was ſufficient to make Pſammitichus raiſe a great many Carians.

(3) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. clii.*

(4) Polyænus, Strateg. *lib. viii, num.* 3.

[C] *They went, and ſettled in Ethiopia.*] Strabo (5) ſays, they were under the dominion of a queen, to whom the iſland of Meroë did belong, and that they inhabited the province of Tenefis near that iſland, and an iſland above that of Meroë. Pliny (6), quoting Ariſtocreon, mentions the ſame fugitives, and a town called Eſar, which they inhabited for the ſpace of three hundred years. What he ſays of it's ſituation does not agree with Ptolemy, nor with Strabo's account.

(5) *Lib. xvi, pag.* 530, *lib. xvii, pag.* 541.

(6) *Lib. vi, cap. xxx.*

[D] *And made a blunt anſwer to the reaſons he alledged, to perſuade them to return.*] At firſt Pſammitichus ſent to them their captains, to perſuade them to return into their country; and then he himſelf went to them: he exhorted them to conſider, that they forſook their country, their wives, and children. They unanimouſly anſwered him, ſtriking their ſhields with their lances, *We ſhall never want a country as long as we are able to handle theſe arms, and we ſhall never want wives and children, as long as we can make uſe of theſe other things.* When they ſpoke the laſt words, they were ſo impudent as to ſhew their nakedneſs. *Precibus ad ſententiæ mutationem eos ſolicitani, templa, patriam, uxores, liberos, recordari jubet. Tum univerſi haſtas clypeoſque pulſantes, contentâ voce reſpondent, quoad arma in poteſtate habeant facile ſibi patriam reperturos; reductis quoque tunicis genitalia oſtentant, nunquam ſibi uxores aut liberos defore, quamdiu his ſint inſtructi, dictitantes* (7).

(7) Diodor. Sicul. *lib. i, cap. lxvii, pag.* 59.

[E] *He reigned fifty-four years.*] Herodotus (8) ſays ſo: Euſebius makes him reign only forty-four years, and Moreri fifty-eight years.

(8) Herod. *lib. ii, cap. cli.*

PTOLOMY

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PTOLOMY, king of Egypt, the eleventh of that name, was ſirnamed Auletes, by reaſon of his great inclination to play on the flute. He ſucceeded his father (*a*) towards the beginning of the CLXXVth Olympiad, and in the year of Rome 673 (*b*). He laid heavy taxes upon Egypt, in order to pay the vaſt ſums neceſſary, to gain and preſerve the friendſhip of the Roman people. This made him odious; and beſides being deſpiſed by his ſubjects, by reaſon of his ſuffering the iſland of Cyprus to be ſubdued by the Romans, he was expelled from the kingdom. He went to Rome, and demanded, for a long time, that the republic would protect him, and enable him to recover his dominions. He met with many oppoſitions in his negotiation, and, at laſt, having no hopes he left Rome, and went to Epheſus, where he obtained letters, by which Gabinius was ordered to reſtore him to his kingdom, wherein he happily ſucceeded (*c*). I have ſaid, in another place (*d*) what became of Berenice, the eldeſt daughter of this king; and here I ſhall obſerve, that Arſinoë, his younger daughter, reigned for ſome time [*A*]: but, properly ſpeaking, it was the famous Cleopatra, his other daughter, who ſucceeded him.

(*a*) His name was Ptolomy Lathurus.

(*b*) *See* Calviſius, *ad hunc annum.*

(*c*) See the article BERENICE, Ptolomy's daughter.

(*d*) Ibid.

If any one deſires a more particular account of the life, manners, and fortune of this king, he may read his Hiſtory, publiſhed at Paris in 1698, by Mr Baudelot de Dairval.

[*A*] *Arſinoë, his younger daughter, reigned for ſome time.*] Here I perform the promiſe, I made (1), to ſupply Moreri's brevity. I ſay then, that ARSINOE ſtole away from the palace, whilſt the neceſſary preparations were making to attack Julius Cæſar, who had the young king in his power (2). She went to the Egyptian army, and commanded jointly with Achillas; and a quarrel quickly ariſing between her and Achillas, each of them being willing to have the whole command, ſhe cauſed him to be killed by the eunuch Ganymede (3). But, Cæſar having ſet the young prince at liberty, Arſinoë was obliged to yield to her brother. After the victory of Cæſar, and the death of young Ptolomy, Cæſar, for the ſecurity of Cleopatra, ordered that Arſinoë ſhould leave Egypt (4). Appian informs us, that Megabyzus, a Prieſt of Diana, at Epheſus, received her into his houſe as a queen (5); and he had like to have been puniſhed with death upon that account, when Marc Antony, out of complaiſance to Cleopatra, cauſed Arſinoë to be killed at Miletus. He ſeized on Megabyzus, for the good reception he had given that princeſs. Cleopatra releaſed him at the requeſt of the Epheſians.

(1) In the article ARSINOE.

(2) Cæſar, de Bello Civ. *lib. iii, ſub fin.* Lucanus, *lib. x, ſub fin.*

(3) Hirtius, de Bello Alexandr. *circa init. pag.* m. 378.

(4) Ibid. *pag.* m. 396.

(5) Appian. de Bell. Civil. *lib. v.*

PUCCIUS (FRANCIS), born at Florence, of an illuſtrious family, forſook the church of Rome, when he came to examine the diſputes about religion, which aroſe in France in Calvin's time: he was then at Lyons. He came into England and ſtudied Divinity at Oxford, and then at London: afterwards he removed into Swiſſerland, where he had a diſpute with Socinus about the ſtate of the firſt man. One would infer from thence, that he was accounted an Orthodox man by the Proteſtants; but it was not ſo: the magiſtrates of Baſil expelled him for his opinions. He returned to London, where he was impriſoned on account of his doctrine. Being ſet at liberty, he removed into the Netherlands, and challenged Socinus to a verbal diſpute. They diſputed ſeveral times in Poland, in the preſence of the church of Cracow, but could not agree. Whereupon Puccius, breaking with the ſectaries of that country, followed ſome perſons, who ſtudied Magic [*A*], and went with them to Prague, where he returned to the Roman

[*A*] *Who ſtudied Magic.*] The author I have quoted uſes theſe words: *In comitatum ſe dedit aliquorum magiæ ſtudioſorum, quibuſcum Pragam pervenit* (1). It is beſt to conſult Socinus, who ſpeaks of it more at large (2). He ſays, that Puccius, being condemned by the arbitrators of the diſpute he had with him at Cracow, would not confeſs, that he had been worſted; but no body would hear him any longer: the ſynod of the Unitarians did not vouchſafe to read his new piece. Socinus adds, that he received from him an Italian book concerning the ſeal ſet to the ſcripture (3). Puccius ſaid, that every thing was incomprehenſible in that divine book, and that the only way was to wait for the coming of the two men, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of St John's Revelation; that they would explain all the myſteries of the Bible, and that no diſputation was to be made uſe of before their coming to compoſe the differences about matters of religion. He believed, thoſe two men would quickly appear, becauſe he reckoned the 1260 days of the reign of the beaſt for ſo many years, and becauſe, according to his computation, that reign began with the council of Nice. He expected a conſiderable employment under the miniſtry, or miſſion, of thoſe two men (4); and, whilſt he flattered himſelf with theſe hopes, he grew acquainted with two Engliſhmen in the retinue of the Palatin Laſki, who was returning from an embaſſy into England. One of them was a Phyſician, the other had been a Magician, and they were both Catholics; but they promiſed a ſpeedy and general reformation, which GOD would make in Chriſtendom by their means. They boaſted of a familiar converſe with the angels. The Phyſician neither ſaw nor heard any thing, but wrote down punctually what his companion ſaid that he ſaw and heard. Socinus, and ſeveral others, adviſed Puccius not to follow thoſe two perſons; but they could not diſſuade him. He went to Prague with them, and reunited himſelf to the Romiſh church; on which occaſion he wrote a long letter to Socinus, wherein he aſſured him, that one of the angels which uſed to appear to one of thoſe gentlemen, applied himſelf directly to him, and induced him to abjure his errors. *Statim autem fere ut Pragam pervenit, factus eſt Papiſta, & miniſtros pontificios adiens, ſuæ ab Eccleſia Romana olim defectionis veniam, conveniente ſatisfactione exhibita, impetravit. Ac mox huc ad amicos & præſertim ad me, ad quem hac de re bene longas literas dedit, de ſuo, ut ipſe loquitur, ad Catholicæ Sanctæque Dei Eccleſiæ gremium reditu diligenter ſcripſit, aſſerens, ſe verbis unius ex illis Dei Angelis, qui ſociis illis ſuis reſponſa dare ſolent, ad ſe nominatim loquentis, monitum atque impulſum id feciſſe, diuturnumque errorem ſuum tandem agnoviſſe* (5). Socinus's letter, in which theſe words are found, was written in the beginning of the year 1586, not long after Puccius was returned to Popery. For the reſt, he was a Merchant at Lyons, when he began firſt to reliſh the Proteſtant doctrines: his noble birth permitted him to be of that profeſſion without any diſgrace, according to the principles of the Italians. I ſay, his nobility, for it is affirmed that he was of the family of the Pucci, which has afforded three Cardinals. *Scias eum ante plures annos, cum Lugduni, quamvis ex nobili admodum familia, quæ etiam tres Cardinales habuit, natus, ut patriæ ipſius adeoque totius noſtræ Etruriæ mos fert, mercaturam exerceret, exorientibus illis de religione in Gallia diſſidiis, quæ*

(1) Hoornbeek, Apparat. ad Controverſ. Socinianas, *pag.* 52.

(2) In his third Letter to Matthew Radecius.

(3) Librum . . . cui titulum fecit de Bibliis occluſis, deque Elia qui ea aperturus eſt. *Socin. Epiſt III, pag.* 380, *Vol.* 1. *Biblioth. Fratrum Polonorum.*

(4) Dum Puccius in hac venturi Eliæ expectatione totus eſt, dumque ſeipſum participem hujus divinæ legationis ore ſperat, quemadmodum ipſe libellus non obſcure indicat. *Socin. ibid.*

(5) Socin. ibid.

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Roman communion (a). Notwithſtanding this it is ſaid that he was burnt at Rome [B]. He had no learning, and gave himſelf up to Fanaticiſm [C]. But the principal doctrine that he was fond of, was, that honeſt men ſhould be ſaved, even though they were Pagans [D]. Mr Baillet ſpeaks of him [E].

(a) *Taken from* Hoornbeek, Apparat. ad Controverſias Socinianas, *pag.* 52.

quæ necdum ſopita ſunt, ſtatuit, mercatura relicta, ſe totum ſtudio Sacrarum Literarum tradere, ut quid ſentiendum in noſtra religione eſſet, dilucide cognoſcere poſſet (6).

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 379.

[B] *Notwithſtanding it is ſaid, that he was burnt at Rome.*] It is ſaid (7), the archbiſhop of Saltzburg cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent to Rome. This man deſerved to have been ſupported by the Inquiſitors, becauſe he furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretence to declaim againſt the principles of the Proteſtants. Puccius returning into the boſom of the Catholic church, may the controverſiſts ſay, after he had endeavoured to fix among thoſe who were ſeparated from it, in France, Switzerland, England, and Poland, is a convincing proof, that when any one has abandoned the principle of authority, and put himſelf on that of examination, he can find no ground to rely on any where; he rambles from one party to another, and not being able to find any ſure footing, he is obliged, like Noah's dove, to return to the ark again. A fine commonplace which two modern authors (8) have lately inſiſted upon (9), when they returned into the Romiſh communion; but it is only a meer blaze, for the way of authority neceſſarily leads every particular man to be a Mahometan in Turkey, a Heathen in China, and always of the national religion.

(7) Ab Archiepiſcopo Saliſburgenſi captus tandem, & Romam miſſus, in rogo periit. *Mieræus, Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag.* m. 860.

(8) Mr Papin and Mr de Verſé.

(9) I write this in 1696.

[C] *He had no learning, and gave himſelf up to Fanaticiſm.*] This is the character that Voetius gives of him. ' Fr. Puccius natione Italus Filidinus (10) in-
' ſtar cothurni omnium aut nullius religionis, nullius
' eruditionis literariæ, philoſophicæ, ſcripturariæ, mo-
' litus eſt libellum Goudæ in Hollandia anno 1592,
' editum & Clementi VIII, dedicatum, quo aſſerit
' univerſalem reſtitutionem, & fidem naturalem in
' Deum, per quam omnes ſalvari poſſint. Fanatico
' illi errori (jactat enim revelationes *rat.* 120, *pag.* 94.)
' mox publica ſcripta oppoſuerunt, ex Reformatis
' *Franciſcus Junius* ex Lutheranis *Lucas Oſiander*, ex
' Pontificiis *Nicolaus Serrarius*. De hominis iſtius
' univerſali ἀπαιδευσία ex ſcriptis, de ingenio &
' moribus ex *epiſtolis Socini* judicare poteris *Epiſt.* 3.
' *quæ eſt ad Matth. Radecum* Secret. Gedanenſ. Puccius
' *prior* Socinum ſatis ſarcaſticè perſtrinxerat in colla-
' tione de Mortalitate, quæ poſtea typis edita fuit
' in 4to (11). - - - *Franciſcus Puccius, an Italian, a*
' *man of all religions, or none, of no manner of learning*
' *either in Philoſophy or the Scriptures, wrote a book,*
' *which was publiſhed at Gouda in Holland, in the year*
' 1592, *and dedicated to Clement VIII, in which he*
' *aſſerts the reſtoration of all things, and the natural*
' *faith in GOD, by which all men may be ſaved. This*
' *fanatical error (for he boaſts of revelations) was pre-*
' *ſently oppoſed in print by Francis Junius, a Calviniſt,*
' *Luke Oſiander, a Lutheran, and Nicolas Serrarius, a*
' *Papiſt. Of this man's utter ignorance one may judge*
' *by his writings, of his wit and morals by the epiſtles*
' *of Socinus. Puccius had before ſarcaſtically attacked*
' *Socinus in a conference concerning Mortality, which was*
' *afterward printed in 4to.*'

(10) See, below, citat. (12).

(11) Giſb. Voëtius, Diſputat. Theolog. *Tom. ii, pag.* 234, 235.

[D] *That honeſt men ſhould be ſaved, even though they were Pagans.*] Tobias Pfannerus attributes this opinion to him, on the credit of two perſons whom he quotes.
' Franciſcus Puccius Fedelinus, Romæ quidem poſtea
' neſcio quâ de causâ combuſtus, ignorationem & in-
' credulitatem Evangelii, vel defectum Baptiſmi ad
' ſalutem nulli obeſſe (*ſtatuit*) modò ſtudeat vitæ in-
' culpatæ, quoad externos mores, nec præfractè quic-
' quam neget: ineſſe omnibus naturaliter hanc facul-
' tatem, ut poſſint & velint ſalvi fieri, etiam abſque
' ſcrutinio quæſtionum Theologicarum; ut Oſiander †,
' & poſt hunc Joh. Ludovicus Hartmannus ‡ teſtan-
' tur (12). - - - - *Franciſcus Puccius Fedelinus, who*
' *afterward, for what reaſon I know not, was burnt*
' *at Rome, held, that the ignorance and diſbelief of the*
' *Goſpel, or the want of Baptiſm, would hinder no man's*
' *ſalvation, ſo he lead a blameleſs life as to his morals,*
' *and did not deny any thing out of obſtinacy: and that*
' *there is a natural ability as well as deſire in all men to*
' *be ſaved, without the examination of Theological que-*
' *ſtions, as Oſiander, and, after him, John Ludovicus*
' *Hartmannus teſtify.*'

† *Oſiand. Cent. XVI, lib.* iv, *cap.* xlvi, *col.* ibid.

‡ I. L. Hortmann. *de ſt. Concil. Tom.* iv, Fericul. 6. Perſe. 16. Exerc. 67, (*pag.* 701.)

(12) Tob. Pfannerus, Syſt. Theologiæ Gentilis, *p.* 493.

[E] *Mr Baillet ſpeaks of him* (13).] He tells us, that Luke Oſiander publiſhed a book in the year 1593, againſt one Francis Puccius, and that it may be the ſame book which is intituled, *Anti-Puccius*. He adds theſe words: ' Francis Puccius ſeems to me to be the
' author of Puccianiſm; that is to ſay, of a new ſect
' which laſted but a little while, and remains buried
' under the ſtones which were caſt at it by the Cal-
' viniſts, Lutherans, and Catholics. Going a little
' farther back, I find that this Puccius may be the
' ſame with Franceſco Pucci of Florence, who re-
' tired to Baſil, and had ſome diſpute with the arch-
' heretic Socinus, in the year 1577, concerning the
' ſtate of the firſt man before his fall, and who main-
' tained the immortality of all creatures, and conſe-
' quently of man by the creation. But I will not
' ſay that this Florentine is the ſame (14) with Francis
' Puccius Filidinus, of whom mention is made in the
' firſt claſs of the Index of authors, and books, con-
' demned by the Council of Trent; wherein it is re-
' marked, that this man falſly took on him the name
' of Pucci.' Note, that there is an *Anti-Puccius* quoted, as written by Fauſtus Socinus; but that is not the title of the book, it is only quoted ſo for brevity's ſake. That work conſiſts of four parts. It contains, 1. A diſcourſe of Puccius, concerning the immortality of all creatures before ſin. There are ten theſes in it, each of which contains one of the ten arguments, on which he grounded his paradox. 2. Socinus's Anſwer to thoſe ten theſes. 3. The Rejoinder of Puccius to the Anſwer. 4. The Reply of Socinus (15), it is very long and elaborate. All this is under the general title *De ſtatu primi hominis ante lapſum diſputatio*, in the ſecond volume of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*.

(13) In the *Acts*, num. 33. See alſo num. 69.

(14) It is certain that he is the ſame.

(15) *Intituled*, Ad Defenſionem Fr. Puccii Reſponſio.

PUTEANUS (Erycius) author of a vaſt number of books [A], was born a Venlo in Guelderland the fourth of November, 1574. He ſtudied firſt at Dort, from whence he went to Cologn to learn Rhetoric, and to go through a courſe of Philoſophy in the college of the Jeſuits: after which he was a ſtudent of the Law at Louvain. He there took his bachelor's degree in the month of June 1597, and profited much by the lectures of Juſtus Lipſius, who conceived a great eſteem and particular friendſhip for him. He went into Italy in the year 1597, and ſtaid ſome time

[A] *Author of a vaſt number of books.*] See the catalogue of them in Valerius Andreas's Bibliotheque, and in the Theatre of Ghilini; but it is more compleat in Mr Witte (1). They are moſt of them ſmall tracts, and never any man ſeemed more perſuaded of the truth of the maxim of a Greek Poet, *That a great book is a great evil* (2). It is eaſy for a man to multiply the number of his books, if he will publiſh all that he writes. Our Puteanus was guilty of this fault, he printed even the collection of the teſtimonies, which he gave to his ſcholars (3). Mr Colomies has publiſhed a thing which cannot be better placed than here. ' Mr Voſſius told me, that Moret, a
' famous Printer at Antwerp, reproaching Erycius
' Puteanus, the ſucceſſor of Lipſius, that he writ only
' ſmall books; the latter anſwered him, that Plutarch,
' and ſeveral others among the Antients, did ſo as
' well as he. Moret immediately replied, Do you
' believe that your books, which I cannot ſell, are as

(1) Witte, Memoriæ Philoſophorum, *pag.* 567, & *ſeq.*

(2) See Mr le Fevre, in the Lives of the Greek Poets, *pag.* 141, 142. He attributes this thought to the Poet Callimachus. Here are the words of Callimachus, as they are related by Athenæus, in the beginning of the third book, Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον τοῦν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. *Magnum librum parem eſſe dicebat magno malo.*

(3) *See the little book called* Erici Puteani Martyrium Academicæ ſive doctrinæ & probitatis tuendæ, *printed at Leyden* 1618.

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time with Juan Fernando de Velaſcos, governor of the Milaneſe; after that he went to Padua, and lodged with the famous Pinelli (*a*). They took him from thence in 1601, to make him profeſſor of eloquence at Milan. He gained a great deal of reputation in that employment, inſomuch that he was honoured with the office of Hiſtoriogapher to his Catholic Majeſty; and in 1603 the city of Rome admitted him and his poſterity into the number of their freemen and patricians. He took his degree of Doctor of Law at Milan, *more rituque majorum* (*b*). He took a wife (*c*) alſo there in the year 1604, and had a great many children by her. He praiſed her, and them, very much in his letters [*B*]. He removed to Louvain in 1606, to ſucceed to the chair of the profeſſorſhip, which Juſtus Lipſius had filled with ſo much glory. He was very much conſidered in the Low-Countries, and had the titles of Hiſtoriographer to the king of Spain, and counſellor to the arch-duke Albert. He was alſo governor of the caſtle of Louvain (*d*). He died in 1646 [*C*], and was buried in a chapel where none had been buried before him: it was that of St Charles Borromeo, in the church of St Peter at Louvain (*e*). He was a man of merit and learning, and kept a great correſpondence by letters [*D*]. He affected to ſcatter in his works what we call flaſhes of wit; this ſucceeded ſometimes, but on many occaſions his witticiſms were not natural, but a meer forced playing upon words. He publiſhed a book intituled *Statera Belli & Pacis*, which made a great noiſe, and which had like to have ruined him [*E*]. Nevertheleſs, it is a work which ſhews that he underſtood the true intereſts of

(*a*) Moreri falſely ſuppoſes that Pinelli lived at Milan.

(*b*) That is to ſay, according to the antient ceremonies.

(*c*) Who was called Mary Magdalen Catherine de la Tour, *Turriana*.

(*d*) *Taken from* Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. *pag.* 206, 207.

(*e*) Vita Erycii Puteani, *in limine*, Epiſt. Poſthum.

(4) Colomiés, Opuſcula, *pag.* 124, 125, *Utrecht Edit.* 1669.

(5) *Article* CCXXIX, *of the* Critiques Hiſtoriques.

(6) Eryc. Puteanus, Epiſtolar. ſelectarum Apparatu, *Epiſt. X, Centuriæ IV, pag. m.* 10.

(7) Martial. Epigr. XIII, lib. iv.

(8) It is the 6sth of the firſt century, *pag.* 26.

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 27, 28.

(10) See the 28th letter of the 4th century. It was writ in the year 1620.

(11) See the 55th letter of the ſame century. It was writ in 1628.

(12) See the ſame letter.

(13) Bullart, Academie des Sciences, *Tom. ii, pag.* 220.

(14) Lor. Craſſo, Iſtoria de' Poëti Greci, *pag.* 193.

(15) Ghilini, Teatro d'Huomini Letterati, *Vol. ii, pag.* 75.

(16) In Diario Biographico.

(17) In Memoriis Philoſoph. *pag.* 565. *Konig quotes this book, and yet places it in* 1644.

(18) Bullart, ubi ſupra.

(19) Prefixed to his poſthumous Letters, printed at Louvain 1662.

(20) He was knight of the order of Chriſt, and governour of the caſtle of Louvain.

(21) In the 2d Tome of his Miſcellanies, pag. 368, Rotterdam edition.

'as good as Plutarch's? This made Puteanus angry, 'and he immediately went out of Moret's ſhop (4).' See Mr Baillet in the firſt tome of the *Judgments of the Learned*, chap. x. ſect. *concerning the ſmalneſs of his books*. Read alſo theſe words of the ſecond tome (5): *It is true that this Puteanus paſſed for a tatler, and a great writer of little books, but he was otherwiſe a very learned man.*

[*B*] *He praiſed his wife and children very much.*] There is nothing more agreeable than a good wife, ſays he in a letter, to a friend, I ſpeak by experience, mine always appears to me young and fair; for altho' ſhe has had ſeveral children, ſhe keeps the charms of her face. 'Illa mihi ſemper juvencula, 'ſemper pulchra; quia & ætatis florem, & formæ 'decus, toties jam puerpera ſervat. Imò illa mihi 'bona eſt, & qualem ex Apiculâ naſci Simonides vo- 'luit. Opportunè hic igitur illud Theognidis uſur- 'pem:

Οὐδὲν Κύρν' ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερόν ἐσι γυναικὸς.
Μάρτυς ἐγὼ, σὺ δέ μι γίγνυ ἀληθοσύνης.

'Vin' & Latine dicam?

Nil uxore bona, Cyrne, eſt jucundius: hujus
Cum tibi ſim teſtis, tu mihi teſtis eris (6).

'*She ſeems to me always young, always fair; be-*
'*cauſe notwithſtanding ſhe has had ſo many children,*
'*ſhe ſtill preſerves the flower of her age, and the beauty*
'*of her face. She is always good to me, and ſuch*
'*a one as Simonides deſired to have born of Apicula.*
'*Therefore I may here fitly quote theſe verſes of Theognis:*

Of all good things, ſure, a good wife's the beſt:
Thou, Cyrnus, ſhalt the truth of this atteſt.

This is what he wrote in 1626. This would not have have ſatisfied the deſire of a Roman Poet. Puteanus's wife appeared ſtill young and handſome to her huſband, becauſe ſhe was ſo ſtill: the buſineſs is to appear ſo, when one is no more ſo. The Poet's wiſh was thus:

Candida perpetuo reſide, Concordia, lecto,
Tamque pari ſemper ſit Venus æqua jugo.
Diligat illa ſenem quondam: ſed & ipſa marito
Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus (7).

Fair Concord ever on their bed attend,
And, Cytherea, the bleſs'd pair befriend.
When youth is paſt, and wrinkled age appears,
May neither to each other ſeem in years.

Puteanus writes in another letter (8), in 1617, that ſhe had brought him four ſons and four daughters, and that he had loſt three boys. He ſeems to be well pleaſed with his having daughters, and gives a reaſon for it (9). He had male children after that. His ſon Fauſtus bore arms (10); but that did not laſt long, for he became a bare-footed Carmelite at the end of two years, that he might, in ſome meaſure, imitate his brother John-Stephen, who had taken the habit of the Jeſuits (11). Puteanus ſpeaks alſo of two other ſons, of which one called Juſtus, was ſecretary to the archbiſhop of Compſa, Apoſtolical Nuncio; the other, named Maximilian, ſtudied at home (12).

[*C*] *He died in the year* 1646.] Mr Bullart doth not ſuppoſe this, for he ſays that Puteanus, born on the fourth of November, 1574, died, aged ſeventy years, after he had been profeſſor of Hiſtory at Louvain near forty years (13). This is to ſay downright, that he died in 1644, Lorenzo Craſſo (14) is much in the wrong in placing his death in 1624; he miſtook for want of giving ſufficient attention to theſe words of Ghilini, *L'anno* M. DC. XXIV. *fu il Puteani, da malattia oppreſſo, percio ſcriſſe queſto Epitaffio da metterſi ſopra la ſua ſepoltura* (15). It is plain that this only ſignifies, that he was very ſick that year. The Sieur Witte (16) places Puteanus's death in the year 1646, and the ſeventy-firſt of his life; he ſhould have ſaid the ſeventy-ſecond. He places it in the ſame year, 1646, in the abridgment which he gives us of this profeſſor's life (17). Valerius Andreas is the author of that abridgment, and therefore we may depend upon it.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary, I have conſulted the life of Puteanus prefixed to his poſthumous letters, publiſhed by his ſon-in-law, and I find there that he died the ſeventeenth of September, 1646, in the caſtle of Louvain.

[*D*] *And kept a great correſpondence by letters.*] This appears by the letters which he has publiſhed, and much more by this paſſage of Mr Bullart. *To conclude, it was this learning that made him conſiderable in the chief courts of Europe, and which obliged almoſt all princes, all learned men, ambaſſadors of kings, and generals of armies, to give him tokens of their friendſhip and eſteem by their letters, of which there were found above ſixteen thouſand in his ſtudy, put in order* (18).

The diviſion of his works into five tomes (19) ſhews that the ſecond tome comprehends his letters, that is to ſay, *Epiſtolarum Atticarum apparatus, nimirum promulſis.* This comprehends three hundred letters. *Miſſus ſecundi*, three hundred alſo. *Bellaria*, as many. *Deliciæ adoptivæ*, one hundred. *Epiſtolarum Atticarum Centuria ſingularis & nova. Epiſtolarum Atticarum apparatus novus*, this contains four hundred letters. *Apparatus Poſthumus in quatuor Centurias diſtributus.* A collection of letters which he writ to Mr de Zuylichem, and Daniel Heinſius, publiſhed at Leyden by Boxhornius in the year 1647. Add to them the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh centuries of poſthumous letters, printed at Louvain, 1662, by the care of Xiſtus Antonius Miſer (20) his ſon-in-law, who had alſo printed, in the ſame place and year, the four preceding centuries. See Mr de Vigneul Marville (21).

[*E*] *He publiſhed a book called*, Statera Belli & Pacis, *which . . . had like to have ruined him.*] This book was

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of his Catholic Majeſty better than thoſe who meddled only with affairs of ſtate. A ſatire was publiſhed during the negotiation of a treaty between his Catholic Majeſty and the United Provinces in 1633. The author adviſed to peace, and ſhewed that the continuation of the war would be very prejudicial to the Spaniſh Netherlands. He ſpoke very clearly of the advantages which the enemies had already gained, and of the victories which they might expect. Voſſius, his good friend, and the moſt pacific man in the world; I mean, the fartheſt from certain authors, who to animate the people to continue a war, ſet before them a thouſand artificial deſcriptions of their forces, and of the enemies weakneſs, was concerned that Puteanus ſhould bring himſelf into trouble by publiſhing a work of a quite contrary nature (22).

(22) Voſſius, Epiſt. CXCIX, *pag. m.* 218. This letter is dated in July 1633.

'His diebus haut lætus accepi, optimum, & diſertiſſimum virum Erycium Puteanum, in periculum, aut certè moleſtias aliquas incidiſſe. Scripſit ſtateram Belli, & Pacis, quo nonnullis de partium ſuarum impotentia prolatis, complures offendit. Noſti faſtum Hiſpanorum, & principum aures, quorum nec hæ, neque illi veritatem accipere ſuſtinent. Itaque niſi noſſem multos ei in aula Bruxellenſi, quo vocatus eſt, amicos eſſe; niſi quoque ingenium, & eruditionem illius æſtimari ſcirem, ſiniſtri aliquid vererer. Nunc optima non omnino deſpero. Utinam non aliud audire cogatur, quam quod olim in ſimili ferè negotio, à Phalaride ajunt fuiſſe dictum Simonidi (23), Μέλοιεν σοὶ Μισῶν εὐκλεεῖς πόνοι. - - - - *I lately received the melancholy news, that the beſt and moſt learned man, Erycius Puteanus, was fallen into danger, or, at leaſt, ſome trouble: he wrote the* Statera Belli & Pacis *(Balance of War and Peace), where he mentioned ſomething of the weakneſs of his party, which offended many. You know the pride of the Spaniards, and the ear of princes, neither of which, can bear the truth. Therefore did I not know that he had many friends in the court of Bruſſels, whither he is called, and that his ingenuity, and learning are very much eſteemed, I ſhould fear ſome miſchief. Now I hope for the beſt. I wiſh he may be forced to hear no worſe than what was formerly ſaid to Simonides by Phalaris on a like occaſion,* Mind your Muſe, it is moſt honourable for you.' He communicated his uneaſineſs to a Phyſician of Dort, who anſwered him, that Puteanus had acted imprudently, and that ſuch a fault would not be pardoned in Holland (24). 'De Cl. Puteano quod ſcribis, valdè me percuſſit, quamvis tale quid metuerem, cum legiſſem ſtateram, doctè magis, quam prudenter ſcriptam. Accepi ab eo literas, ſtatera jam edita, quam tamen præter morem ſuum non miſit. Eam Catzius Haga (ubi impreſſam (25) quoque noſti, nec hoc noſtro melius) ex conventu ordinum, ubi cum plauſu excepta, attulit, & mihi legendam tradidit. Deus bone! quam bonus ille Belga, tam malus Politicus. Non hic ferremus, qui talia de nobis, quæ ille de Rege, de importuna Archid. legatione, & ſimilia. Ac niſi amici omnia pro illo, eſt quod metuamus vicem optimi, & elegantiſſimi ingenii. - - - - *I was very much troubled at what you wrote me concerning Puteanus, altho' I was afraid of ſome ſuch thing, when I had read his* Statera, *a tratiſe rather learned than prudent. I received letters from him when his* Statera *was publiſhed, which nevertheleſs he ſent not to me contrary to his cuſtom. Catzius brought it from the Hague, (where you know it was printed not better than this edition of ours) from the aſſembly of the States, where it was received with applauſe, and lent to me to read. Good God! how good a Dutchman, how ill a politician! Here we ſhould not ſuffer ſuch things to be ſaid of us, as he ſays of the king, and of the unſeaſonable embaſſy of the arch-duke, and the like. And unleſs his friends do their utmoſt for him, there is reaſon to fear the fate of the beſt and fineſt genius.*' He adds, that he was ſummoned to Bruſſels, and that he was to be farther examined; that the preſident Roſe was his enemy, but that ſome other conſiderable people protected him, and that it was hoped that their protection would ſave him. Without doubt every body will be glad to ſee the names of thoſe protectors. It is a part of the hiſtory of Puteanus. 'Ob amicos quos plurimos habet, nihil illi periculi fore putabat. Sibi addictiſſimum habet, Varambonum Archiepiſcopum Ceſarienſem Infanti à ſacris, Chiffletium Medicum, qui plurimùm apud Ser. Inf. poſſunt, & alios, ſed infeſtum Roſam Præſidem Hiſpanis obnoxium, & paci ut dicitur, adverſum, qui etiam cauſa eſſe putatur, cur decem jam menſibus, nullæ ex Hiſp. literæ ad εἰρηνοποιοὺς. Infans quoque Cardinalis, qui jam in Burgundia, non minùs quàm Eugenia, illi benè volunt. Deum rogo, & benè faciant, neque ob παῤῥησίαν hanc gravius animadvertant in virum candoris melle penitus imbutum. - - - - *He did not imagine that he was in any danger, by reaſon of the many friends he had. Verambonus, archbiſhop of Ceſarea, chaplain to the Infant, is his great friend, and Chiffletius the Phyſician, who have great intereſt with the moſt ſerene Infant, and others: but the preſident Roſe, his enemy, a creature of Spain, and averſe, as it is ſaid, to peace, who alſo is thought to be the occaſion why no letters are come from Spain theſe ten months to the plenipotentiaries. The Infant Cardinal, who is now in Burgundy, as well as Eugenia, wiſh him well. I beſeech God they may be favourable to him, and not too ſevere on this freedom, in a man of ſo much candour and eloquence.*' The buſineſs terminated according to the deſires of this Phyſician. I muſt not forget to tell you that an anonymous author writ againſt this work of Puteanus: that anſwer was intituled, *Anti-Puteanus, ſive Politico-Catholicus ſtateram Puteani inducias expendentis alia ſtatera expendens* (26). I have a little book (27) which contains Puteanus's *Statera*, and the anonymous anſwer, with two letters, in which is the judgment of a Hollander on that anſwer. The author of theſe letters ſuſpects that the anonymous writer was a church-man (28), and even a monk (29), and redicules him for ſaying, that courage and prudence were only to be found in the Catholic church (30), that the revenues of Holland were drained; that it's people groaned under the heavy taxes; that it's troops were cowardly; that it's victories were rather prejudicial than advantageous; that the king of Spain could well enough ſpare thoſe towns he had loſt; that the Dutch got their victories by treachery, and that they had given much more for them than they were worth. To morrow, ſays his critic, he will tell us that it is advantageous for Spain, to have our troops encamp in the heart of Brabant, for the fields will become more fruitful by the dung our horſes will leave behind. 'Nec minus ridiculus eſt, cum tributis & exactionibus ſupra quam fas eſt Batavos premi queritur, qui iſtos cenſus ſe Dominis ſuis debere, & felicitatis ſuæ ac fortunarum non niſi ſpicilegium eſſe credunt. . . . Verum enimvero, quam lepide fatuus eſt hic ſcriptor, cum milites Federatorum *timidos lepores* vocat, cum Batavos *pugnam ſemper declinare* ſcribit: *victorias nobis magis nocuiſſe, quam profuiſſe.* Illane ſcribere non veretur poſt claDem Turnhoutanam & Flandricam? An & tunc Henrici Bergii culpa terga vertit Hiſpanus? Et quando quæſo Regi Hiſpaniarum ac ſuis perſuadebit, Sylvam Ducis, Veſaliam, Venloam, Ruræmundam, Trajectum ad Moſam, expugnata ad Scaldim & alibi caſtella, victam Bercam nobis nocere? Regem vero ſuo commodo iis carere? quia non ſine magnis impenſis ea vicimus. Dicet propediem, utile eſſe Brabantis, exercitus noſtros in ipſo pene Brabantiæ meditullio ſtare & in hoſtico ali, ut ab equorum multitudine ſtercorati agri uberiorem ſegetem ferant (31). *Nor is it leſs ridiculous to complain, that the Dutch are oppreſſed with aſſeſſments and taxes beyond meaſure, who believe that they owe thoſe tributes to their governors, and that they are only the gleanings of their happineſs and good fortune. . . . But, indeed, how ſimple a writer is this, when he ſays that the ſoldiers of the allies are fearful hares, that the Dutch always declined fighting: that our victories were always more hurtful than profitable to us. Was he not afraid to write ſuch things, after the battles of Turnhout and Flanders? What then, did Spain turn it's back thro' the fault of the count de Berg? And when I beſeech you, will he perſuade the king of Spain, and his countrymen,*

(23) It ſhould be Steſichoro.

(24) Joh. Beverwyck. Epiſt. ad Voſſium. *It is the 172d, pag. m.* 111, 112, *dated the 8th of July* 1633.

(25) This was not the firſt edition; for it was printed firſt in the Spaniſh Netherlands, in 4to.

(26) See the Acts of Mr Bluet, ann. 158.

(27) Privatâ Colmopoli, apud Batavum patriæ libertatis & pacis amantiſſimum, in 12mo.

(28) Impenſe cavet, ne aliter eſſe videatur quam ex ſacrorum ordine. *Barlæus, Epiſt. CCXIV, pag.* 458, *Tom. I.*

(29) Videtur conculos galeam induiſſe, aut galea culeum, ita amice conjunxit, & ex eodem ore jam Theologo jam militi digna judia. *Idem, Epiſt. CC.VIII, pag.* 451.

(30) In Principe Auraco nec fortitudinem, nec prudentiam agnoſcit, hac freetus ratione, quia Catholicus non eſt. Audi verba: Ad eum. . . . *In ſolo Catholico vera & ſolenda & prudentia.* Ibid. pag. 453.

(31) Ibid. pag. 454.

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ſatire againſt king James was falſely attributed to him [F]. It is affirmed that he did very great ſervice to the king of Poland (f). Thoſe who would ſee the praiſes which ſeveral learned men have given him, and the honours which ſome princes did him, need only read the Cenſura of Sir Thomas-Pope Blount [G], and the Academy of

(f) See the remark [H].

men, that Boſleduc, Weſel, Venlo, Ruremond, Maeſtricht, and the forts gained upon the Scheld, and elſewhere, and the conqueſt of Berg op Zoom were hurtful to us? Did the king loſe them to his real advantage, becauſe we conquered them, not without great expence? In a little time he will ſay, it is to the advantage of the Brabanters, that our armies ſhould encamp in the very heart of Brabant, and be there maintained by free quarter, becauſe the fields will produce greater plenty of corn, when dunged by ſuch a multitude of horſes.'

(32) Theſe two letters are the 213th, and the 214th, of Barlæus.

The author of that anſwer (32) has been known a long time to be Barleus. I have alſo another little book (33), which, beſides the *Statera Belli & Pacis*, and the *Anti-Puteanus*, contains a political Diſſertation of *Puteanus de induciis Belgicis*, and a letter of Lipſius, with notes on that letter (34), and ſome other little treatiſes. Lipſius's letter was written from Louvain the third of January, 1595, to a great lord, who aſked him, *Bellumne an potius induciæ expediant Regi Hiſpaniarum cum Gallo, Anglo, Batavo? - - - Whether it is better for the king of Spain to have peace or war with France, England, and Holland?* It is full of malice againſt Holland, and of maxims of refined politics (35). The author of the Notes refutes them ſolidly, and calls himſelf *Juſtinus Bonæfidius Mont*. He treats Lipſius very roughly. See (36) the complaints the Jeſuit Petra Sancta made of it.

(33) Printed at Leyden, *in officina Elzeviriorum* 1633, in 12mo.

(34) Notæ ſeu Stricturæ Politicæ ad Juſti Lipſii Epiſtolam.

(35) This letter of Lipſius had been anſwered before in the year 1618, by John Gael, advocate at the Hague.

(36) In the article LIPSIUS, remark [C].

The event ſhewed that Puteanus was in the right; for if Spain had concluded either a peace, or a truce, with the United Provinces, in 1633, it would have avoided a great many vexations and loſſes, and would have been, perhaps, in a more flouriſhing condition at this time. I do not pretend to excuſe this profeſſor, he had better have kept within his own ſphere; it is imprudent to publiſh all ſorts of truths; but we muſt not imagine that his book brought any thing new to Holland, they knew well enough the ill condition of the Spaniſh Low-Countries. It is the firſt thing that the politicians inform themſelves of, in relation to their enemies; and the people generally believe more than is true.

However that be, this profeſſor did not ſufficiently conſider the words of Salluſt, which he put at the beginning of his book, and which ſhewed him ſo plainly the reaſons why it is dangerous to adviſe princes. They have other people enough to conſult; futurity is unknown to the wiſeſt heads; and bad advice is very often followed with good ſucceſs; ſo true is it, that fortune diſpoſes of all things according to her fancy. It is Salluſt who ſpeaks thus: *Scio ego*, ſays he (37), *quam difficile atque aſperum factu ſit, conſilium dare regi, aut imperatori; poſtremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelſo ſunt: quippe cum & illis conſultorum copiæ adſint; neque de futuro quiſquam ſatis callidus, ſatiſque prudens ſit. Quinetiam ſæpe prava magis, quam bona conſilia proſperè eveniunt: quia pleraſque res fortuna ex lubidine ſua agitat.* Princes repent a thouſand times of having followed the advice of good heads; becauſe things often fall out, which make them judge, that if they had taken another courſe, they would have done ſome very notable thing. Thoſe they have to do with commit faults that one would not think them capable of. A good counſellor does not rely upon thoſe faults, and therefore he diſſuades from thoſe enterprizes, which a fool, or a raſh fellow propoſe; but it falls out that thoſe unforeſeen faults, or ſome unexpected accidents, would have rendered the enterprize infallibly ſucceſsful, if they had engaged in it. The ſureſt way, is not to be forward in giving advice about the public affairs, of which Salluſt knew the reaſons very well.

(37) Salluſt. Orat. II, ad Cæſarem de Republica ordinanda, *init. p. m.* 527.

[F] *A ſatire againſt king James was falſely attributed to Puteanus.*] The title is, *Iſaaci Caſauboni Corona Regia, id eſt, Panegyrici cujuſdam verè aurei, quem Jacobo I, Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. Regi, fidei defenſori delincarat, fragmenta ab Euphormione inter ſchedas τῦ μακαρίτυ inventa, collecta, & in lucem edita* 1615, *pro officina regia Jo. Bill Londini.* Mr Almeloveen lent me the book (38) in 1693. It was then very ſcarce, but Mr Thomaſius has printed it ſince in his *Hiſtoria Sapientiæ & ſtultitiæ Humanæ*. Nothing can be more ſatirical; the worſt of princes was never worſe treated by an ill-natured writer, than the good king James was by the fierce Scioppius; for we muſt not doubt that Scioppius was the author of that bloody piece. I ſhall quote one who tells us that Puteanus publickly denied that he was the author of it. 'Non potuit 'ſatyricorum manus effugere Jacobus Britanniæ Rex, 'utut doctiſſimus & laudatiſſimus Princeps: cui ſub 'ſpecie Panegyrici Poſthumi à Caſaubono ſcripti, 'cujus quaſi fragmenta inter ſchedas ejus reperta, per 'inſignem nequitiam, continuo myſteriſmo horrenda 'flagitia objiciuntur. Lepide alioquin ſcriptus liber 'eſt; cui titulus, *Caſauboni Corona Regia, &c.* . . . 'Refertur in Georgii Richteri vitâ Epiſtolis ejus præfixâ pag. 21. è Colloquio cum Erycio Puteano acceſſiſſe Richterum, quod Puteanus ejus libelli autor 'habitus fuerit: cujus rei verò famam ille innixè declinans velut Apologiæ loco ſcriptum quoddam exhibuerit, cui nomen, Perjurium RUFFI & GIBBOSI, præfatus, quo delatorum ſuorum virulentiæ 'ac ſiniſteritati ſatis fuiſſe obviatum exiſtimaverit (39). *That James, king of Great-Britain, tho' the moſt learned and praiſe-worthy prince, could not eſcape the pen of the ſatiriſts, who, under the notion of a Poſthumous Panegyric, written by Caſaubon, fragments whereof were found among his papers, have moſt villanouſly abuſed him. The book is otherwiſe wittily written, and intituled,* Caſauboni Corona Regia, *&c.* . . . . *It is ſaid, in the life of George Richter, prefixed to his letters, that Richter was told by Erycius Puteanus, that this libel was attributed to Puteanus; to clear himſelf from which imputation, he wrote a book by way of apology, called, the Perjury of Ruffus and Gibboſius, and he tells us in his Preface, that he thinks he had ſufficiently obviated the virulency and barbarity of his accuſers.*' Theſe words of Mr Morhoff were not rightly underſtood in the extract that was given of his book. 'We may put into this claſs alſo, the ſa'tires which attack the honour of the moſt virtuous 'perſons, as that which is called *Caſauboni Corona 'Regia, &c.* which was attributed, without any rea'ſon, to Mr du Puy, and which lays enormous crimes 'to the charge of James I, king of England, 'from which Mr du Puy has ſufficiently cleared 'him in his *Perjurium Ruffi & Gibboſi* (40).' Here are two faults: I. Without doubt the author of this extract thought that Erycius Puteanus was the famous Peter de Puy, whoſe life was written by Mr Rigault. When one ſays Mr du Puy without any addition, ſpeaking of books and learned men, he ought to mean him who was the king of France's library-keeper, that wonderful man, who, together with his brother, afforded ſuch aſſiſtance to men of letters, and who held ſuch learned conferences. II. It is not true that the author, of whom Morhoff ſpeaks, juſtifies king James from thoſe egregious crimes which are imputed to him in that ſatire; he only juſtified himſelf from having writ that wicked libel, and ſhewed the malice of thoſe that ſlandered him. We will quote a curious paſſage. *They attribute to John Barclay a very biting ſatire writ againſt James, king of Great Britain, called* Corona Regia; *in which, under the ſpecious title of Panegyric, he very ſharply attacks the reign of Henry VIII, the birth and celibacy of queen Elizabeth, but eſpecially the birth and actions of James, whom he ſlanders by a diſcourſe as ingenious as it is injurious. Curioſity has carried that book over all Europe, and that prince finding himſelf painted in ſuch black colours, got all his allies to make a ſtrict enquiry after the author, in order to puniſh him. And there being ſome ſuſpicion of Erycius Puteanus, profeſſor of eloquence in the univerſity of Louvain, the archduke Albert cauſed an information to be brought againſt him, but he was found innocent* (41).

(38) It is a book in 12mo, of 127 pages.

(39) Morhofius, Polyhiſt. *lib. i, cap. viii, pag.* 78.

(40) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, *Tom. xiii, pag.* 23.

[G]. *The Cenſura of Sir Thomas-Pope Blunt.*] But blot out theſe words, *Inter præcipua Galliæ ornamenta dum viveret*

(41) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, *Tom. i, pag.* 198.

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of Bullart (g) [*H*]. One of the principal friends he had at Milan was secretary of the council, whose name was John Baptist Saccus. I shall speak something of the manner after which Puteanus educated a young gentlewoman [*I*], for whom he interested himself.

(g) *See also* Mr Baillet, Jugemens sur les Critiq. Gramm. *num.* 503.

viveret, merito suo semper habitus est Erycius Puteanus (42). They are quoted from Casaubon's Preface to the *Historia Augusta*; but 1. our Puteanus was not a Frenchman. 2. He was not very much known when Casaubon published that book (43). He lived more than forty years after that book of Casaubon's was published.

(42) Pope Blount, Censura Authorum, *pag.* 689, *Edit. Lond.* 1690.

(43) It was printed at Paris 1603.

[*H*] *And the Academy of Bullart.*] You will find this there. ‘ (44) It was this great learning which ‘ having gained the heart of Urban VIII, induced ‘ this great Pontiff to send him his picture, in a ‘ medal of gold of great weight, and some copies of ‘ his works. It was the same learning that obliged ‘ the cardinal Frederic Borromeo to receive him ‘ into his palace when he returned to Milan, and ‘ to give him part of the relics of his uncle St Charles ‘ Borromeo, which that learned man gave to the ‘ collegiate church of St Peter in Louvain. It was ‘ also this learning that made him be tenderly be- ‘ loved by the count de Fuentes, governor of Milan, ‘ and after that by the arch-duke Albert, who when ‘ he had placed him in the chair of Justus Lipsius, ‘ received him also with honour into the number of his ‘ counsellors. To conclude, it was his learning that ‘ made him considerable in several courts of Europe ‘ (45). . . . . He had the honour to save the king of ‘ Poland's life, by the explaining of an enigmatical ‘ writing formed in unknown characters, which no ‘ body could either read or understand, and which ‘ contained a detestable and horrid conspiracy against ‘ that prince.’

(44) Bullart, ibid. *Tom. II, pag.* 220.

(45) What I suppress here is found in the remark [*D*].

We find the following words relating to this last head, at the beginning of his posthumous letters. ‘ Ejus ‘ ingenio ac solertia conjurationem Polonicam dete- ‘ ctam & sic impeditam fuisse tanti momenti fuit ut ‘ omne præmium superarit. Verba Patris Hermanni ‘ Hugonis qui Marchioni Spinolæ à sacris confes- ‘ sionibus erat, æstimanda hic sunt: *mea cautio erit, ut* ‘ Rex Poloniæ *sciat, cui salutem debeat suam, ut* ‘ Pharaonis *liberalitatem imitetur in* Josephum, *aut* ‘ Assueri *gratitudinem in* Mardochæum. Polo- ‘ nia quidem recepit hoc ab illo beneficium, sed in ‘ universum orbem Christianum extensum est, quod ‘ quale quantumque sit Bohemia & turbæ inde natæ ‘ satis declararunt (46). - - - *By his ingenuity and dili-* ‘ *gence the Polish conspiracy was detected and prevented,* ‘ *a thing of such moment as exceeds all reward. The* ‘ *words of Father Herman Hugo, confessor to the marquis* ‘ *of Spinola, are very remarkable:* I will take care that ‘ the king of Poland shall know to whom he owes his ‘ safety, that he may imitate the liberality of Pharaoh ‘ to Joseph, or of Ahasuerus to Mordecai. *Poland,* ‘ *indeed, immediately received this benefit from him, but* ‘ *it extended to the whole Christian world, and of what* ‘ *sort, and how great it is, Bohemia, and the disturbances* ‘ *raised there, sufficiently declare.*

(46) Vita Erycii Puteani, *in limine*, Epist. posthum.

[*I*] *The manner after which Puteanus educated a young gentlewoman.*] He writ to his friend, that he would not suffer her to let herself be kissed; that, says he, is dangerous for Italian girls. Our Flemish ones may do it without any hazard or detriment; they do not understand that there are any love-lessons in ogling and kisses; but those of your country know very well the consequences of it, and for this reason I have taught her our language, and all our customs, except that of kissing. If I did not quote the author's own words, perhaps the reader might think that I magnify this. I therefore do it, and you will find that I have fallen short of his meaning. *De puella vestra quid scribam? Valet, viget, jam matura viro, jam plenis nubilis annis. Mores & linguam quoque nostram discit, tamen oscula non libat. Sic eam habeo, uti educata est. Scis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet. Pudica quidem Belgarum oscula, sed tamen oscula: & insinuentur multo honestius, quam figantur. Abhorrere illa ab hoc ritu debet, & si pudicitiæ alumna esse velit, illæsum usque quoque verecundiæ florem servare. Nesciunt nostræ virgines ullum libidinis rudimentum oculis aut osculis inesse, ideoque fruuntur. Vestræ sciunt. Si nostra esse hæc quoque incipiet, particeps candoris nostri erit, & castæ immunitatis capax* (47). Kempius quotes this passage in his learned and curious compilation *de Osculis*, and refers us to a professor of Philosophy at Leyden. This Professor, treating of temperance, one of the four cardinal virtues, proposes this among other questions: *Is the custom which is allowed to strangers in the Low-Countries, and elsewhere, to kiss other people's wives, widows, and maidens, when they pay them a formal visit, conformable to the laws of chastity* (48)? He answers, that this custom is very ancient; but the several wise men of antiquity looked on it as a little unchaste. He quotes Socrates, who would have people absolutely abstain from it, there being nothing which stirs up the fire of love so much as kisses. He quotes Seneca, as saying that a maiden was accused of impudence, because she received a kiss (49). He says, that the antients were persuaded, that kissing made a strong attack on chastity (50), and proves it by these words of Ovid:

> Oscula qui sumpsit, si non & cætera sumpsit,
> Hæc quoque quæ data sunt perdere dignus erat.
>
> *He that took kisses, and took nothing more,*
> *Deserves to lose what he obtain'd before.*

His conclusion is, that ceremonial kisses are not contrary to chastity, provided they are given without any further desire, and that we must not think that every body is so easily moved, that kisses of civility may not be altogether honest. *Neque existimandum est, omnium esse tam pronam & irritabilem ad libidines naturam, quin citra violationem castitatis, ac citra libidinem ullam, id genus mediorum, officii tesserulæ causa, adhiberi possit* (51). This determination, and the reason on which it is grounded, are solid and good; but what can be more foolish than the quotation out of Ovid, for the verses of that Poet concern only the kisses of lovers? This professor is to be blamed for quoting them on such a subject. He should have laid aside the learning that is in his thesis, and kept to the difference of climates, like Puteanus. Those familiarities which are dangerous in Italy, are very little, or not at all so in the northern countries. This is certainly the meaning of the Louvain professor; for he had no thoughts of a farewel kiss, or of a kiss upon the return from a long journey. There is no probability that on such occasions we would have excepted his young Italian maid from that custom. There were other occasions enough, in which he might prescribe her a particular rule, and in which she might, according to the knowledge of her nation (52), experience what Horace says (53).

(47) Erycius Puteanus, Epist. ad Joh. Baptistam Saccum, apud Martinum Kempium. Dissertat. XVI, de Osculis, *num.* 6, *pag.* 626.

(48) *Quæritur tertio, An cum lepidus cultusque temperantiæ sit ignotus, bene conveniat receptus inter aliquot nostrates Belgas, aliasque nationes, osculo, qui peregrini soleant figunt alienis urbibus, vultui, ac virginibus, quando ea humanitatis causa fiebant? Athenæus Heurnius, Exercitat. Ethic. XLII, pag.* 173.

(49) Apud sanctissimum Senatum, Virgines Sacerdotem de *sexuali lasciva fuisse* Sacerdotum] petentis, inde arguitur impudentiæ quod osculo fabrata fuisset. *Ibid. Hear it not the question.* See Seneca's Controvers. II, lib. I.

(50) Osculo pudicitiam virginis deliberi confebant veteres, unde illud Ovidii. *Ib.*

(51) Ibid.

(52) Nesciunt nostræ virgines . . . vestræ Kissing. *See above, citation* (47).

(53) Oscula quæ Veteres quarta parte ter Nectaream imbuere . . . K. *Which Peter doth in Nectar* lib. I, Ode XIII.

The Leyden professor hath not strained what he says of Socrates, *Socrates apud Xenophontem abstinendum esse in totum ab ista osculandi consuetudine censet: quia nihil, inquit, ad amorem incendendum acrius est osculo* (54), for that ancient Philosopher has expressed himself on this in the liveliest manner imaginable. *Critobulus,* said he (55), *is more rash than if he had thrown himself upon the point of naked swords, or leaped into fire,* for *he had the boldness to kiss* a fine face. Is this so great a rashness? says Xenophon to him. ‘ Truly ‘ I fancy I could very easily expose myself to the ‘ same danger. Ah, unfortunate, *says Socrates,* do ‘ you know what follows after kissing a fine face? ‘ Do not you lose your liberty? Do not you become ‘ a slave? Do not you engage in excessive expences ‘ to obtain a destructive pleasure? Do not you find ‘ yourself unable to do good, and constrained to fol- ‘ low those things which you would despise if your ‘ reason was not corrupted? O God! *said Xenophon,* ‘ this is to attribute a strange power to a kiss. ‘ Are you astonished at it, *says Socrates?* Do not ‘ you see little spiders whose bite is so venomous, ‘ that it causes strange pains, and makes people lose ‘ their senses? I know it very well, *said Xenophon;* ‘ but those creatures spit out their poison when they ‘ bite. Do you think, *added Socrates,* that love- ‘ kisses are not venomous, because you do not see ‘ the poison? Know, that a fair woman is an ani- ‘ mal more dangerous than scorpions, because they cannot

(54) Heerebord. ubi supra.

(55) Xenophon, de Memorab. Socratis, lib.

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himself. As she was an Italian, he did not permit her to follow the Flemish customs,

'cannot hurt unless they touch us; but beauty 'wounds us without coming near us. What way 'soever we perceive it, it shoots out it's venom, 'and perverts our understandings. Perhaps it is 'for this reason that the Cupids are represented 'with bows and arrows, because a fair face wounds 'us from afar. I advise you then, Xenophon, when 'you see any beauty to fly without looking behind 'you; and as for you, Critobulus, I think it would 'be proper for you to be absent a whole year, for 'that will be time little enough to heal your wound.' Can any morality be more worthy of a great Philosopher than this? Our good Casuists would not judge it too severe, nor find any hyperbole in the comparisons of Socrates (56). The maxims of an antient Roman had no less rigour. He had a freed-man whom he loved very much, and a daughter who began to grow marrigeable. He knew that this freed-man had kissed her, and punished him severely, tho' there was something which might be urged as an excuse in the circumstances of that fault; but he had no regard to that, nor to the friendship which he had for the criminal, he considered only the consequences of the punishment. It is not said whether he was satisfied with the ordinary punishment of a kiss, which was whipping; there is a probability that he was not: however it be, we know that his chief motive was to let the damsel understand, that even in respect of kissing, she should keep herself a virgin for her husband, and preserve the first flower for him. 'Si alie-'næ fœminæ osculum infixum rationis sit verbere vin-'dicare; nonne qui illud puncto temporis fecerit, in-'comparabili horarum spatio verberatur, & suavitas 'voluptatis exiguæ dituturno dolore punitur (57). - - - '*If the laws inflict the punishment of whipping upon a* 'man for giving a kiss to another woman than his 'own wife; is not he, who did that in a moment of 'time, scourged for some hours, and the sweetness of a short 'pleasure punished with a long continued pain.' Valerius maximus expresses himself finely on this subject. 'Quid P. Mænius? quam severum pudicitiæ custodem 'egit! In libertum namque gratum admodum sibi 'animadvertit, quia eum nubilis jam ætatis filiæ suæ 'osculum dedisse cognoverat, cùm præsertim non li-'bidine, sed errore lapsus videri posset. Ceterùm 'amaritudine pœnæ, teneris adhuc puellæ sensibus, 'castitatis disciplinam ingenerari magni æstimavit. 'Eique tam tristi exemplo præcepit, ut non solum 'virginitatem illibatam, sed etiam oscula ad virum sin-'cera perferret (58). - - - *What of P. Mænius? how* 'severe a guardian of chastity was he, in that he pu-'nished his freed-man, who was a great favourite with 'him, because he understood he had given a kiss to his 'daughter when she was marriageable; especially when 'he might seem to have committed that fault not through 'lust but mistake. But he thought it of great consequence 'to imprint a singular regard for chastity in that young 'maid, by the bitterness of the punishment. And he 'taught her, by this severe example, that she should pre-'serve not only her virginity untouched, but even her 'kisses for her husband.' Penelope would not have thought this morality too severe. See the remark [*L*] of her article. We have spoken (59) of a Florentine lady who managed herself after this rule, and of a law which was grounded on the same maxim (60). This law subsists no longer in France, but it is not abrogated at Naples. Half the donations of the man who is contracted, and dies before the consummation, belongs to the woman, if she gave him a kiss, but otherwise she has nothing. Does not this shew that she has no longer any first-fruits to bestow (61), and that therefore she ought to be indemnified? These are maxims unknown to a great many nations, that judge of things quite otherwise, and do not set them at so high a rate. We will quote the author of the Saint-Evremoniana. *A kiss, which in Turkey, Italy, and Spain, is the beginning of adultery, at Paris is only a meer civility; and if that Persian, who made so many mysterious voyages to get three kisses of the fair Cyrus, had been at Paris, he would not have valued that pleasure so much as he did. There are no visits now in which there are not kisses, but they are like money, which we value just as we please; and as kisses are a merchandise which costs nothing, and does not wear out, and is always plentiful, no body is sparing of them, and few are greedy of them* (62). What I am going to quote out of Montagne is not of the same sort, for that author considered only kisses of civility; but as what he says is an evidence of the custom of his time, I may join it to the words of the Saint-Evremoniana. The reader will distinguish where there is occasion. 'Scarcity gives a relish to meat. 'Thus the manner of salutations, which is particular 'to our nation, takes off, by it's frequency, the plea-'sure of kisses, which Socrates says is so dangerous 'and powerful to steal our hearts. It is an unpleasant 'custom, and injurious to the ladies, to hold out their 'lips to every one who has three footmen in his reti-'nue, how disagreeable soever he be.

*Cujus * livida naribus caninis*
Dependet glacies, rigetque barba:
Centum occurrere malo culilingis.

'And we ourselves do not get much by it; for as the 'world is at present, we must kiss fifty ugly ones 'for three that are handsome; and for a tender 'stomach, as such of my age have, one bad kiss is 'too much for a good one (63).' We have seen before (64), in a passage of Erasmus, what concerns the custom of England. We will see here what Kornmannus says concerning some towns in Germany (65): 'Apud Germanos in multis locis usitatum vidi Colo-'niæ Agrippinæ, Tubingæ (66), *&c.* Ubi nefas 'grande creditur si juvenis ad puellam veniens ipsam 'non osculetur, & amplexetur: aut in aliis locis con-'trarium obtinet: si enim quis apud nos in cho-'rea puellam osculetur indignata prorumperet. Quam 'me? *&c.* aut in occulto & ubi nemo videt benè 'patiuntur, imo per totam noctem non semel ferre, 'recusant: nam post factum osculum nihil reliqui ma-'net, quod cernatur: tantum de absterſione agitur. '*Among the Germans I have observed in many places,* 'as at Cologn, Tubingen, &c. where it is accounted very 'uncivil, if a young man, approaching a young woman, 'does not kiss and embrace her; but in other places, 'the contrary custom prevails: for if any one among us 'should kiss a girl in a dance, she would immediately 'fly into a passion, and say, What do you take me to be? '&c. In private, and when no body sees them, they 'will take it well enough; nay, they will not refuse 'it all the night long; for a kiss leaves no marks be-'hind it; only wipe the mouth.'

The remark of the author of Saint-Evremoniana; That in some countries a kiss passes for the beginning of adultery, would make some commentators quote a hundred passages. They would not forget the words of Achilles Tatius, where kisses are called fine preludes; nor those wherein they are considered as such a powerful bait, that people are more astonished that they are not followed by the whole game, than that the other advances were in vain. Μέχει τινῶν ἐπὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ἱσάμεθα, φιλτάτη; καλὰ, τὰ προοίμια. προσθῶμεν ἤδη τι καὶ ἐρωτικόν. Quousque tandem charissima Leucippe, basiis insistemus? specioſa quidem certe initia hæc sunt, verum aliquid etiam ex iis quæ ab amantibus expetuntur, addamus (67). - - - *How long, my dear Leucippe, shall we stick at kisses? These are certainly very fair beginnings; but let us add a little more of what lovers desire.* Οὐδέν σε ἠρέθισεν εἰς ἀφροδίτην κἂν μίαν, ὦ δέησις, ὦ χρόνε, ἐχ ἡ τῶν σωμάτων συμπλοκή. ἀλλὰ, τὸ πάντων ὑβρεισικώτατον, προσαπτόμενος, καὶ φιλῶν, ὕτως ἀνέσης ὡς ἄλλη γυνή. Quid, quod animum tuum non modo non pellexerunt preces meæ, ut semel saltem mihi morem gereres: sed ne ullum quidem idonei temporis opportunitas, aut mutuus complexus, aut aliud quidpiam apud te pondus habuerunt. Quinimo, quod omnium contumeliosissimum est, è complexu meo, EX IPSIS DISSUAVIATIONIBUS æque discedis atque alia mulier (68). - - - - *What shall I say, not only intreaties have been insufficient to prevail on you*

(56) *Confer quæ* Achilles Tatius, *lib. ii, pag. m.* 79.

(57) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, *lib. xxi, cap. xi.*

(58) Valer. Maximus, *lib. vi, cap. i, num. 4, pag. m.* 513.

(59) In citation (1), of the article GUALDRADA.

(60) Citation (1), of the article MAMMILARIANS.

(61) Quia ex osculo vir capit gaudium, & sponsa verecundiam, & quod Sponsus osculando videtur quasi cepisse castrum. Alii eam assignant rationem, quia osculum est actus carnis, & pro medietate est quasi corrupta caro. *Kempius, Dissert. XV, de Osculis, pag.* 607.

(62) Saint Evremoniana, pag. 271, Dutch edition 1701.

* Mart. Epigr. VII.

(63) Montagne's Essays, *book iii, ch. v, pag. m.* 271.

(64) Citation (57), of the article ERASMUS.

(65) Kornmannus, de Linea Amoris, *pag. m.* 189, 190.

(66) Thomas Lanfius, apud Kempium, Dissert. XVI, pag. 624, *has given the lie to* Kornmannus *about* Tubingen.

(67) Achilles Tatius, *lib. ii, pag.* 107.

(68) Ibid. *lib. v, pag.* 347.

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cuſtoms, which he would not have thought to be dangerous if ſhe had been born at Louvain.

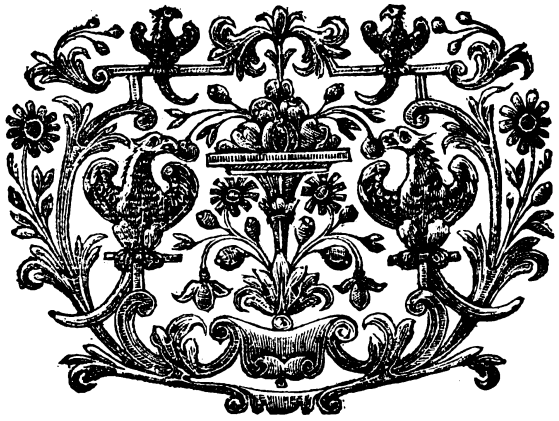
ſo much as once to grant me the favour, but even no opportunity of time, or mutual embraces, or any thing elſe have any weight with you. Nay what is moſt provoking of all, from my embraces, and even kiſſes, you go away as a woman would do. Theſe are the complaints of a woman. But I may very well be allowed to comment on theſe words of the Saint-Evremoniana, That *a kiſs is a merchandiſe which does not wear out.* A man who had not run through a courſe of Philoſophy, and yet was uſed to inform himſelf of the reaſons of every thing, aſked a Phyſician one day, why certain ſtatues of braſs bear the marks of the kiſſes which are given them (69), and that no ſuch thing was ever perceived on the face of the moſt famous courteſans? The Phyſician told him, that the ſtatues were expoſed for many ages to the devotion of a prodigious number of people, but that the duration of beauty is very ſhort. He was not ſatisfied with this, but ſaid, that the difference between the hardneſs of the braſs and the ſoftneſs of the fleſh ought to make a compenſation, and ſo much the more, becauſe the kiſſes of reſpect which are given to the idols are very ſuperficial, and do not come near the forcible impreſſion of the others. The Phyſician was ſenſible of theſe two diſparities, and gave another reaſon; which was, that whatever the rubbing takes off from the ſtatue, is loſt for ever, whereas what is loſt in living bodies is reſtored by their nouriſhment: that man was very well ſatisfied with this ſecond anſwer. The rigid readers may ſay theſe are trifles, but muſt there be no trifles in ſuch volumes as theſe? Muſt not the reader find from time to time a place, where he may reſt, I mean, ſome things that are not ſerious.

To conclude, I muſt needs ſay, that Puteanus was much in the right, not to breed an Italian girl as they did the Flemiſh ones. All muſt act in ſuch an affair, according to the law of cuſtom; neither the law of nations, nor the law of nature include this part of education? the diverſity of climates and opinions is the beſt rule here. We ſhall ſee, in another place (70), what a profeſſor of Groningen has obſerved in a work, in which he has drawn the parallel of ſome cuſtoms, which the Rigoriſts (71) condemned, and of ſome others which they allowed of.

(69) See, above, citation (17), of the article GERGENTI, to which we may add this paſſage of Lucretius, *lib. I, ver.* 317.
Tum portas propter ahena
Signa manus dextras oſtendunt attenuari
Sæpe ſalutantum tactu, præterque meantum.
The brazen ſtatues that our gates adorn,
Shew their right hands diminiſhed and worn
By th' touch of theſe that viſit or paſs by.
CREECH.

(70) In the remark [M], of the article SAINT-ALDEGONDE.

(71) Note, that this name is not that which is given them by the Proteſtants of Holland: for they call them *Precijiſts*.



QUELLENEC

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Q.

QUELLENEC (CHARLES DE) Baron of Pont in Bretagne, made a great figure, under the name of Soubiſe, among the Proteſtants, in the reign of Charles IX. He took the name of Soubiſe in 1568, when he married Catherine de Parthenai, the only daughter of John de Parthenai, lord of Soubiſe. We ſhew in another place (a) ſome of the conjunctures in which he evidenced a great deal of courage, and how he defended himſelf againſt thoſe who committed the Paris Maſſacre on St Bartholomews day (b), under whom he was forced to fall at laſt. The curioſity of ſome of the court ladies, with reſpect to his naked body, which was laid, with the others, before the Louvre, has already been taken notice of (c). The proceſs of impotency which was entered againſt him [A], and which will give me occaſion

(a) In the article SOUBISE (JOHN DE PARTHENAI).

(b) See citation (8), of the article PARTHENAI (CATHERINE DE).

(c) Ibid.

[A] *The proceſs of impotency entered againſt him.*] Thuanus ſays expreſsly, that it was his mother-in-law, and not his wife, who entered the proceſs. Mr Varillas ſays the ſame thing in his two editions of Charles IX. Mezerai, not conſidering the conſequences, has ſaid of the wife what Thuanus ſaid of the mother-in-law. I have cenſured him for it (1), for the honour and glory of Catherine de Parthenai; for altho' a woman may enter ſuch a proceſs without blemiſhing her honour, yet it is better not to do it, eſpecially conſidering the youth of the heireſs of Soubiſe. There are certain actions (2) which are no ſin, and do not imprint any note of infamy, neither *de facto*, nor *de jure*; however, becauſe it is better to let them alone than to do them, they have ſomething which tarniſhes the reputation; ſo that an Hiſtorian ought to take great care not to impute them to thoſe who did them not. He is not allowed to be unexact, and to confound the mother with the daughter, or one ſiſter with another. The more celebrated a Hiſtorian is, the more cautious he ought to be, for when he is very famous, he becomes a public ſource; he alone ſerves as an original record to a great many writers all the world over. How many able men are there that will not think themſelves deceived if they follow Mezerai (3)?

I have ſaid ſomething in another place (4) which may ſerve as an excuſe to the lady Soubiſe; and certainly what ſhe did againſt her ſon-in-law needs an apology. A time of perſecution, ſuch as ſhe lived in, was not proper for ſuch proceedings. A church under trouble and arms at the ſame time, and which is in that condition, in order to maintain the reformation of doctrine and manners, ought not, under pretence of impotency, to draw a young huſband before judges of a contrary religion. It is certain, that in all times and places, proceſſes of this nature bring very little honour to thoſe that enter them; and whether they obtain a new huſband, or not, they are always an object of raillery and contempt as long as they live, and not without reaſon; for the ſteps they take are ſo contrary to modeſty, a virtue which is the crown and ornament of that ſex, and without which they cannot ſhare in human glory, that no body can have any reſpect for a woman who takes ſuch a courſe.

Without going out of the bounds of indulgence, we may ſay here of thoſe women, what was ſaid, tho' a little too rigorouſly, againſt the widows which marry. I ſhall uſe Mr du Vair's own terms (5). *St Jerom to Marcellus, ſays, that* ſecundas nuptias non appetimus, ſed concedimus, *by a certain indulgence, which is not altogether exempt from blemiſh: as if he ſhould ſay with the law,* indulgentia quos liberat notat . . . (6). *In what terms ſoever the ſaying of the Apoſtle be expreſſed,* juniores viduæ nubant, *we muſt conceive that it was ſaid by way of indulgence to the incontinence of ſome women,* ut maritum potius accipiant quam diabolum, & ſciant ſibi non tam maritos datos quam adulteros imputatos, *as St Jerome ſays,* ad Salvinam. *Now as St Cyprian ſays,* aliud eſt ad veniam ſtare, aliud eſt ad gloriam pervenire. *There is a great deal of difference between ſaying, that their incontinence ſhall not be imputed to them for a ſin, and to ſay that it ſhall be imputed to them for grace.* This is the moſt favourable judgment that can be made of theſe pleaders in matters of impotency, conſidering the manner of proceeding which they muſt follow.

I. It is a great ſtep to confeſs publickly, that one cannot contain one's ſelf. Now every woman who enters ſuch a proceſs, declares before all the world, that ſhe has this defect: ſhe delivers an act (7) which remains with the Public Notaries, and which affords a ſubject of raillery to thoſe who are inclined to be merry, and even an occaſion of fear to a new huſband. For if he be obliged to take long voyages, or has a long ſickneſs, how ſhall he rely on the virtue of a wife who has confeſſed her incontinence to the whole world?

II. The interrogatories they muſt anſwer before the judges, are ſo nice and troubleſome for a woman of honour, that none can have a good opinion of a maid who can paſs thoſe bounds, and anſwer to ſuch queſtions. I ſay a maid, becauſe thoſe who accuſe their huſbands generally pretend to be ſuch; and they muſt needs do it when it is their firſt marriage, as it is generally. An advocate ſtrangly puzzled ſuch a complainant once: he aſked her, in the preſence of ſeveral people, whether her huſband had careſſed, kiſſed, and embraced her. She anſwered yes. Who told you, quoth he, that this is not enough? Where did you learn the reſt? If you have your maidenhead, as you pretend, you ought not to know that your huſband is impotent; and if you know it, it is a ſign that you have tried what another man can do? He preſſed her ſo hard, that ſhe bluſhed, and ſaid ſhe could not anſwer to ſuch puzzling queſtions. I will give the whole ſtory in Latin. *Erumpit interdum inverecunda intemperies mulierum. . . . Erumpit inquam impudens, & in facie erubeſcentium populorum, genialis tori revelat & denudat arcana, & de mariti frigiditate conqueritur, allegans hanc ſufficientem & evidentem repudii vel divortii cauſam, quod ſemivir eſt, & inutilis matrimonio, qui non eſt promptus ad coitum. Eleganter quidem Gaufridus de Heroum villa, familiaris meus, unius talium in cauſa hujuſmodi confudit audaciam. Cum enim ei patronus datus eſſet à judice celebraturo, ut putabatur divortium, & mulier generoſa audientibus amicis & ſuffragatoribus, advocato ut ſit diligentius merita cauſæ ſuæ exponeret, ſcrutatus eſt ab ea vir prudens, an alium maritum quandoque habuerit. Quod cum illa negaſſet, quæſivit iterum an adhuc virgo eſſet, dicens: hoc ſibi inquiſitu, & ſcitu perneceſſarium, ne à diſcreto judice caperetur occaſione aliqua in ſermone. Illa vero hoc (verecunde tamen, eo quod ſibi non bene credebatur) aſſeruit. Et ille, an ſimul de noctu dormire confueverint*

(1) In the remark [C], of the article PARTHENAI (CATHERINE DE).

(2) Certain qualities are named in the ſchools, *perfectio ſimpliciter ſimplex*. Every quality *melior ipſa quam non ipſe*, is of that ſpecies.

(3) *Franciſcus* Quelletrius *Dux à Britannia, cui ab uxore* Catharina Parthenia Subizia *impotentiæ accuſato divortium intentabatur.* Ulr. Huber. Hiſt. Civil. *Tom. ii, pag.* 353.

(4) See the remark [C], of the article PARTHENAI (CATHERINE DE).

(5) Du Vair, pag. 820, of his works, Geneva Edit. 1617.

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 824, 825.

(7) Note, that I do not mean that they make ſuch a confeſſion in direct terms; we know that they generally ſpeak only of the commendable deſire they have of getting children; but the public is not ſatisfied with that, they generally put another conſtruction upon it.

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occasion to quote some passages of a book published in the year 1612, was the true cause

consueverint, & se invicem osculari & amplexari maritus & ipsa, inquisivit. Quæ omnia cum illa fateretur: unde ergo, inquit patronus, nosti virgo pudicissima, prudentissima, pudoratissima, quod efficacem tecum virum non impleverit, & totius matrimonii jura non persolvit? Quis te docuit, quid sit coitus, ut eum tecum coiisse neges, inter tot oscula, tot amplexus, qui te pro libitu quoties voluit pertractavit licentia maritali? Nam & quædam animantia certum est se invicem osculando misceri. Alia se tenuiter tangendo concipiunt. Et sunt qui suo gravidante calore, ab aëre temperato impregnantur, & pariunt. Hic illa tandem erubuit, hoc solum dicens, se quid ad hujusmodi captiones biscret, non habere (8).

(8) Joan. Sarefberiensis, in Policratico, sive de nugis curialium, & vestigiis Philosophorum, *lib. viii, cap. xi, pag. m.* 504, 505.

III. They must resolve to suffer an inspection of the secret parts. Other proofs are too weak, for this reason the judges have recourse to this, and order an inspection; they cause the woman to be inspected, to see whether she be deflowred. Where is the modesty of those who dare begin a process which has such consequences? With what impudence must they be armed? There was an advocate of the parliament of Paris, in the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIII, who wrote strenuously against the inspection, and used two arguments; one is, that it is immodest; the other, that is uncertain. *This is,* says he (9), *the first thing that is now ordered in such cases, when the marriage has been contracted with a maid, who being inspected, and reported to be an undefiled virgin, all the proof of the husband's impotency, and his condemnation are grounded upon it* .... (10). *Such an inspection is very indecent, and not becoming the modesty which a woman ought to have, and therefore it is odious, and she ought to avoid it, there being nothing more commendable in a woman than modesty.* Gratia verecundiæ mulieris super aurum, *Eccles. vii. especially in her who calls herself a virgin,* quæ seipsam debet erubescere, & nudam videre non posse, *says* St Jerom. Epistola citata ad Lætam. De Institutione filiæ; *and St Ambrose in his 64th epistle,* Nihil sanctius in virgine quam verecundia; *and in the first book of offices,* Est pudicitiæ comes verecundia; *and again, in the first chapter of the book of the institution of a virgin;* In virgine est dos quædam verecundia quæ taciturnitate cognoscitur, *so that she who complains of her husband's impotency, and, in order to a separation, suffers men to see, pry into, and handle those parts which nature would have to be hid, ought to be looked on as impudent, and without shame* ... (11). *A woman,* (says Herodotus, at the beginning of his history) *puts off shame with her shift. And St Cyprian,* De habitu virginum, tract. 2. Simul cum amictu corporis, pudor ponitur. *Pliny, in the seventeenth chapter of the seventh book of his Natural History, says, that the bodies of drowned men always float on their backs, with their faces upwards; but women with their bellies and faces downwards, as if nature, careful of their honour, would hide that which could not modestly be seen.* Quasi pudori defunctarum parcente Naturâ. *Nay, this putting off of cloaths, and denudation, was formerly a punishment, as Nicephorus says, in the eighth chapter of the seventh book of his History; and* Tacitus, libro de Moribus Germanorum, *speaking of the punishment of adulterous women. For this only reason several have looked on these inspections as evil, and reproved them. St Ambrose, in the same epistle,* 64, *reproving Syagrius, bishop of Verona, for ordering that a nun, who was accused of leudness, should be searched, uses these words:* Quid sibi velit, & quò spectet quod Obstetricem adhibendam credideris non possum advertere; itane ergo liberum erit accusare omnibus, & cùm probatione destiterint, petere genitalium secretorum inspectionem? & addicentur semper sacræ virgines ad hujusmodi ludibria, quæ & visu & auditu horrori & pudori sunt? Quæque in alienis auribus sine damno pudoris resonari non queunt, ea possunt sine ejus tentari verecundia (12)? *By which it appears, that this great man abhorred to hear these things so much as spoken of; so far was he from approving them, adding, that he had never read that maids used to be inspected. We do not find that the Romans, who were ignorant of nothing that belonged to good manners, used this means to convict their vestals who were accused of incest, tho' they were very severe in their enquiries after, and in the punishment of that crime* ... (13). *From whence we may conclude, that the Romans did not, in those doubtful cases, inspect the women to be satisfied, and thence drew proofs of their virginity or corruption, as is done now adays; whether they judged that kind of proof uncertain, and not to be depended on, or whether they rejected it as indecent, and contrary to a woman's modesty;* which was so much in esteem with them, that the same Valerius, *in the first chapter of the second book, speaking of* Spurius Carvilius, *who put away his wife because she was barren,* says, *that they would not let her be searched.* Quò matronale decus, munimento verecundiæ tutius esset, in jus vocanti corpus ejus attingere non permiserunt, ut inviolata manus alienæ tactu relinqueretur. *In which they were not like those, who immediately, upon a process of separation, order that the woman shall be inspected, tho' they might begin in a more decent manner with the inspection of the husband, and the wife might be searched, if there was occasion for it, without going so fast, or causing them to be searched at the same time without any interval, that they may the sooner be separated; as if it was a thing that required great haste, and that it could not be deferred without the public being very much concerned at it.*

(9) Vincent Tagereau, Discourse of the Impotency of Men and Women, *chap. iv, pag.* 57, *Edit. of Paris* 1612.

(10) Ibid. *pag.* 58.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 60.

(12) You will find in Mr Du Pin's *Biblioth. Tom. ii, pag.* 278, Dutch edition, an exact and true abridgment of this letter of St Ambrose to Syagrius.

(13) Tagereau, ubi supra, *pag.* 63.

IV. The congress must be resolved upon, for almost all other means of discovering impotency are insufficient. Now it is impossible to conceive, that a woman, who hath not lost all shame, can think, without horror, on the circumstances of a congress; for after the parties have taken an oath (14), *that they will endeavour sincerely, and without dissimulation, to consummate the marriage, without any let or hindrance on either side,* and after *the viewers* have sworn, *that they will make a faithful relation of what shall pass at the congress,* they *retire into a chamber, where the man and the woman are searched again; the man to know whether he hath no ailment* ..... *the woman, to consider the condition of her privy parts, and by that means to know the difference of the dilatation before and after the congress, and whether there hath been any intromission.* ..... *In* [*] *some processes (as that of de Bray)* (15), *the parties are viewed naked, even from the crowns of their heads to the soles of their feet,* etiam in podice, *to know whether they have any thing about them that may advance or hinder copulation. The privy parts of the man are washed with warm water, (to what purpose?) and the woman put for some time into an half bath* (16). *This done, the man and the woman go into one bed in the day-time, the men-viewers being present, who remain in the chamber, or retire (if both or one of the parties require it) into some wardrobe or adjacent gallery, the door being half open. As for the matrons, they keep about the bed; and the curtains being drawn, it is the man's business to do his duty, and prove his power by carnally knowing his wife,* &c (17). .... *To conclude, the parties having been some time in bed, as an hour or two, the viewers being called, or coming of their own accord, and opening the curtains, inform themselves of what has passed between them, and search the woman again, to know whether she is wider than when she went to bed, and whether the intromission has been made; and also* an facta sit emissio, ubi, quid, & quale emissum. *This is not done without a candle, and spectacles for those who use them, nor without very nasty and odious enquiries; and then they make their verbal process of what was done at the congress, or rather of what they would have, which they deliver to the Judge, who is in the hall, or some other room of the house, with the Proctors and practitioners of the Ecclesiastical Court, waiting the end of this action.* This is not all, the husband is permitted to call the searchers, if he succeeds. Antony Hotman observes that Dr Hostiensis advised the midwives *to use warm water, to wash the bodies of the women they inspect, in order to take off any restringents that may have been used; which is repeated by Panormus,* in cap. Fraternitatis de frigid. & malef. (18). The Protectors of the Congress pretended that this method was sure; but Antony Hotman maintained, that it was deceitful. *When they are told,* says he (19), *of the artifices used by some women to straiten themselves, they pay no regard to it, insisting, that by the washing used at the visitation, all that is removed, and the truth appears. Yet we have seen, in our time, a woman of no great quality, who having a process against her husband for impotency, and afterwards dropped it, because she proved with child, had, by art, so straitened herself for carrying on the process, that she had need of a Surgeon at her labour.* Et Prepositus in cap. consultationis de frigidis & malef. *And after him the author of the book intituled,* Sylva

(14) Ibid. *pag.* 123.

[*] This appears by the report of the last congress, dated April 21, 1578.

(15) He was a treasurer. See Brantome, in the first volume of the Gallant Ladies, *pag.* m. 97, 98.

(16) See the reason below, citation (18).

(17) See the text below, citation (31).

(18) Antoine Horman, *pag.* 47, *of the first Treatise de la* Dissolution du Mariage.

(19) Idem, in the 2d Treatise, *pag.* 34. See also *pag.* 47, of the first Treatise.

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cauſe why they were ſo curious. Thuanus doth not tell us that the queen-mother would

Sylva Nuptialis, lib. 2. ampliatione 5. *relate that a woman in Italy ſtraitened herſelf ſo very much to pleaſe her huſband, that afterwards neither he, nor any other man could have to do with her.* Here is another paſſage of this Pariſian Advocate (20). *De Bray, who is ſo much talked of, and whoſe caſe has been printed,* ſiniſtrum tantum habebat teſticulum ex defectu naturali, *and at the firſt congreſs (having gone thither twice in ſeveral days)* arrexerat ſufficienter ad coeundum, ac ſubſtantiam ſeroſam & aquoſam extra vas emiſerat, quæ non poterat dici verum ſemen, ſed non intromiſerat, *according to the report of † three Phyſicians, three Surgeons, and three Matrons, who were preſent. The Judges, without minding the natural defect, ordered that ‡ De Bray ſhould come to the congreſs again, before they came to a definitive ſentence, if he thought fit to do it; (which was as much as to ſay, that the intromiſſion had been wanting) and having declared that he would not go, and that his wife had hindered him twice when he was there, he was ſeparated only becauſe there had been no intromiſſion in the congreſs, tho' there was no proof in the proceſs of the virginity of his wife. And it is remarkable, that when he ‡ went to the congreſs the ſecond time, the Judges adviſed him, that if there was an intromiſſion he ſhould call the ſearchers, that they might ſee and teſtify it. By which it is plain, that they do not conſider, in theſe proceſſes, the quality of the ſeed, nor whether the man* arrigit etiam ſufficienter ad coeundum: *but they require a viſible intromiſſion. (a moſt indecent thing!)* Had not this Lawyer reaſon to maintain (21), that the congreſs is not only *more proper to ſuppreſs the truth, than to bring it to light,* but alſo that *it is immodeſt and brutiſh?* Has he not reaſon to oppoſe to the impudence of thoſe who demand it, the remainder of ſhame which is ſeen in public ſtews? *Even common women,* ſays he (22), *ſhut up and hide themſelves.* Eſt aliqua etiam proſtitutis modeſtia *(ſays the ſame Seneca)* & illa corpora publico objecta ludibrio aliquid, quo infœlix patientia lateat, obtendunt, adeo quodammodo lupanar verecundum eſt: *and Ovid;*

Ignoto Meretrix corpus junctura Quiriti,
Oppoſita populum ſubmovet ante ſera.

He quotes (23) alſo theſe fine words of St Auguſtin; 'Opus ipſum quod libidine peragitur, non ſolùm in 'quibuſque ſtupris ubi latebræ ad ſubterfugienda 'hominum judicia requiruntur, verùm etiam in 'uſu ſcortorum (quam terrena Civitas licitam tur-'pitudinem fecit) quamvis id agatur quod ejus Civi-'tatis nulla lex vindicat, devitat tamen publicum 'etiam permiſſa & impunita libido conſpectum: & 'verecundia naturali, habent proviſum Lupanaria ipſa 'ſecretum, faciliuſque potuit impudicitia non habere 'vincula prohibitionis, quam impudentia removere la-'tibula illius fœditatis. Quid concubitus conjugalis 'qui ſecundum matrimonialium præſcripta tabularum 'procreandorum ſit cauſa liberorum? nonnè & ipſe, 'quamvis ſit licitus & honeſtus, remotum ab arbitris 'cubile conquirit? nonnè omnes famulos, atque ipſos 'etiam Paranymphos, & quoſcumque ingredi quælibet 'neceſſitudo permiſerat, antè mittit foras quam vel 'blandiri conjux conjugi poſſit? Nec ipſi filii, ſi qui 'jam inde nati ſunt, teſtes fieri permittuntur. - - - 'The act itſelf, not only in all caſes where concealment 'is ſought to avoid public juſtice, but alſo in the uſe of 'common women (a vice tolerated by the ſtate) tho' the 'action be ſuch as no law takes cognizance of; yet even 'in theſe caſes, where it is done with impunity, ſhuns 'the public view; and by a natural modeſty, the very 'ſtews are provided with their ſecret places. And it 'has been found eaſier to take from immodeſty the re-'ſtraint of a probibition, than for impudence to remove 'the concealments of that filthineſs. What ſhall we ſay 'of conjugal embraces in lawful matrimony for procreation 'of children? Does not even that, tho' lawful and 'honeſt, ſeek a place retired from all obſervers? Are not 'all the ſervants, and the bride-maids, and all relations 'who were before admitted, obliged to retire before the 'huſband can ſo much as careſs his wife, nor are the chil-'dren themſelves, if any be of that marriage, permitted 'to be preſent.'

Theſe are the proceedings which the heireſs of Soubiſe was to ſubmit to, when ſhe was at law with the Baron du Pont. They would injure the memory of the illuſtrious mother of the duke de Rohan, that heroine, who ſignalized herſelf at the ſiege of Rochelle; if it were true, that in the prime of youth, modeſty did not prevent her entering ſuch an action againſt her huſband, as obliged her to act ſuch a part. It is for this reaſon I have taken great pains to excuſe her, by laying all this contrivance upon her mother. I have endeavoured alſo to excuſe her mother. When I ſaid, that in thoſe times they were to ſubmit to ſuch proceedings, I had regard to the Decree of the parliament of Paris, which *forbad, on the eighteenth of February,* 1677, *the Judges, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, to order, for the time to come, any proof of congreſs in matrimonial cauſes* (24). It is ſtrange that ſo many wiſe heads ſhould be ſo long before they thought of aboliſhing this law. 'There have been more diſſolutions 'of marriages within theſe hundred years, ſince the 'introducing of the congreſs into France, than were 'ever ſeen before. It is for this reaſon that the par-'liament of Paris, at laſt judging that the congreſs 'was any enemy to chaſtity, and that it was not 'a true proof of a man's virility, abrogated it the 'eighteenth of February, 1677, by a ſolemn decree, 'ℭc (25).' Theſe are the words of an able Phyſician, who had ſaid before (26), 'That the congreſs, which 'had been formerly aboliſhed by the emperor Juſti-'nian, as contrary to Chriſtian purity, was re-'eſtabliſhed by ſome curious people of our age: for 'it is the infamy of both ſexes, and the diſhonour 'of our times: I do not believe that we can find in 'Hiſtory any examples of it but what are ridiculous. 'It is a law which offends modeſty; it is too hard 'and ſevere on the man. It expoſes to public view 'thoſe parts which nature has hid with ſo great care; 'and a man muſt have witneſſes, which he avoids 'when he follows the law of nature; for what a ſhame 'is it to ſhew that at mid-day, which we are careful 'to hide even in the night? It is only a pretence for 'a divorce, and an effect of the laſciviouſneſs and 'audaciouſneſs of women. It is they have produced 'in the minds of the Judges the thought of a trial as 'uncertain as it is immodeſt: perhaps there is not 'one man of a thouſand, who can come off victorious 'from this public congreſs.' There has been a complaint of this abuſe a long time. The Advocate I have quoted, and who lived at the beginning of the XVIIth century, ſets forth very pathetically the injuſtice of this cuſtom; and ſeeing the diſorder increaſe, he endeavoured to oppoſe it. *And foraſmuch,* ſays he (27), *as the ſeparations for impotency are more frequent now than they ever have been, altho' there are not more men impotent now than formerly, which have been always rare (thoſe at leaſt in whom one may perceive any token by the ſearch, whether the defect be natural or accidental) and of ten ſeparations we ſhall hardly find one, where they have been able to diſcern any defect in the man by inſpection; which makes many people wonder and complain of it: I have enquired, with the greateſt diligence, from whence this can proceed.* He obſerves that many people favoured theſe diſſolutions of marriages. *Not being able to believe that there can be ſo much impudence, and ſo little conſcience in him, or her who complains, that they ſhould demand a ſeparation without any reaſon; as ſoon as ſuch proceſſes are entered, they haſten to the condemnation of the party who is accuſed of impotency. And if it is the man, and he refuſe out of ſhame, or for ſome other reaſon, to accept of the congreſs, or has no intromiſſion, they declare him impotent, tho' there appears no other defect in him; ſaying, that if they were in the ſame caſe, they would ſhew their ſtrength and vigour. But, perhaps, they would find it difficult, if they ſhould happen to be in the ſame trouble, by reaſon of the ſhame, fear, vexation, hatred, and other difficulties which neceſſarily attend ſuch an act, and hinder the execution of it* (28). He gives us a great many particulars on this head, which are very curious and rational, and which I ſhall ſet down, without fearing that wiſe men will take it amiſs; for can any one be offended to find here what a grave author publiſhed by authority at Paris above eighty years ago (29), and the only deſign of which is to inſpire horror for theſe unlawful and immodeſt cuſtoms (30). 'It is a ſtrange and almoſt in-'credible thing, that ſuch an act that was blamed by 'the Pagans for it's filthineſs, and for being againſt 'nature, (that is to ſay, againſt modeſty, which, according

(20) Tagereau, ibid. *pag.* 30, 31, 32.

† This report was made the 21th of April 1578.

‡ It is the ordinance of the 14th of May following.

‡ This appears by the report and verbal proceſs of the laſt congreſs.

(21) See the 7th chapter of his treatiſe.

(22) *Ibid. pag.* 353. *He quotes pag.* 157, *theſe verſes of Martial, Epigr. XXXV; (and not XCI, as he takes it).*
Et meretrix abigit teſtem veloque ſeraque,
Raraque Summenii fornice rima patet.

(23) Idem, pag. 154, 155, quoting the 18th chapter of the 14th book *de Civitate Dei.*

(24) Venette, Tableau de l'Amour Conjugal, *pag.* 579. *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *of the fifth of July* 1677, *pag.* 208, *Dutch Edit.*

(25) Nicolas Venette, doctor of Phyſic, royal profeſſor of Anatomy and Surgery, and dean of the college of Phyſicians at Rochelle, *pag.* 578, 579, of his *Tableau de l'Amour Conjugal,* 7th Edit. 1696. This edition is larger and more correct than the preceeding ones. The author has added a preface to it, which deſerves to be read. I have quoted him in the article JOUBERTUS, remark [C].

(26) Ibid. *pag.* 577.

(27) Tagereau, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 7, 8.

(28) Ibid. *pag.* 9, 10.

(29) The ſecond edition of Tagereau's book, which I uſe, is of the year 1612, the firſt is of the year 1611.

(30) Ibid. *pag.* 159, *& ſeq.*

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would see, by the naked body of this Baron, whether the process was well or ill grounded. Neither do our other famous Historians say so. However, it might be true

'cording to St Augustin, is naturally in all men) 'should be received amongst Christians, and by church-'men, who should have more modesty than other 'people. It is true, it is not long since they began 'to use this method, being first introduced, as may 'be supposed, by some impudent man, who being 'prosecuted for a separation, demanded a congress, 'boasting that he would there shew his vigour, which 'was permitted, there being more appearance than 'reason for it. It perhaps also was allowed, to prevent 'women from undertaking such processes, lest they 'should be obliged to perform such an unseemly act. 'But this method has neither served to discover the 'truth and ability of men, nor to deter women from 'these prosecutions. On the contrary, they are be-'come bolder, knowing very well that the intromis-'sion required at the congress, to prevent a separa-'tion, depends on them, no man whatsoever being 'able to do it without their consent, either voluntary 'or forced (31), and that it is a sure and infallible 'way of gaining their cause, and being separated: 'and, which is worse, they have introduced the cu-'stom of ordering a congress, when a man is sued for 'impotency, omitting, or neglecting, the ancient 'forms, insomuch that men are compelled, by im-'prisonment, to submit to a congress, if they refuse 'to do it freely, or do not consent to a separation; 'a thing so absurd, that one would hardly believe it, 'if one did not see it. Now this custom being in-'troduced without any good reason, ought neither to 'be followed nor continued. *Quod enim non ratione 'introductum est, sed errore primum, deinde consuetudine 'obtentum est, in aliis similibus obtinere non debet. l. 'Quod non ratione. De legibus & senatus-consultis.* 'Besides the shame which accompanies the congress, 'sufficient to hinder the execution, it's circumstances 'render it impossible, *viz.* The fear which a man has 'of so many people that see, search, and handle 'him, on whose report his reputation depends, nay, his 'ruin or preservation; as also of failing in that which 'he has undertaken, and which is of so great impor-'tance to him. The vexation of being prosecuted 'upon such a shameful account, which renders him 'the town-talk, and laughing-stock of every body. 'The hatred also which he has for his wife, for 'bringing him to that, instead of procuring his ho-'nour and advantage. Add to this the constraint put 'upon him, by confining him in a prison if he will 'not go to the congress, or consent to the separation. 'All these things are true remedies of love, and di-'rectly contrary to it's principal work and action, 'which requires secrecy, assurance, friendship, and 'a mind not ruffled by shame, fear, hatred, and vexa-'tion, which infallibly render the effect and execution 'of the congress very difficult, and even impossible; 'as Ambrose Paré observes in his works, book twenty-'eight, of the sixth edition, where he treats of the 'report of the impotency of men and women: it is not 'in the first editions. And a man must be without 'shame and apprehension of any thing, and worse 'than a beast, who can perform the congress, not-'withstanding all these hindrances; considering also '(as St Augustin says, in the fourteenth book *De 'Civitate Dei*, the twenty-third chapter) that copu-'lation doth not depend only on our will, *&c.*'

(31) *He says, pag.* 125, *concerning the congrès* souvent adviennent des altercations honteuses & ridicules, l'homme se plaignant que la partie ne le veut laisser faire, & empesche l'intromission: elle le niant, & disant qu'il y veut mettre le doigt & la dilater, & ouvrir par ce moyen .... encore ne sçauroit il quelque erection qu'il fasse, si sa partie veut l'empescher, si on ne lui tenoit les mains & les genoux, ce qui ne se fait pas.

Mr Venette is too much a gentleman to take it ill, if I believe that he is mistaken in what he says of Justinian. I have heard very learned Civilians say, that there are no footsteps of the congress in the old Civil-Law, and that is an abomination invented in these last ages. We will quote Vincent Tagereau again (32).

(32) Tagereau, ubi supra, *pag.* 4, 5.

'Now although marriage, in it's first institution, and 'by the Evangelical-law, be inseparable, unless one 'of the parties dies, or at least so as that the parties 'separated may marry again; and it is not found that 'the Jews, Greeks, or Romans, with whom divorces 'were usual, had any laws concerning the marriages 'of the impotent; except the Athenians, who had 'one made by Solon, by which a woman who was 'maried to an impotent husband, was allowed to co-'habit with any one of her husband's relations; and 'the Romans another, made by the emperor Justi-'nian, near 1300 years after the foundation of Rome, '(there being none before) by which he first of all 'allowed the women, rather by favour, than reason, 'and contrary to the Divine-law, to be divorced 'from their impotent husbands, and to put them 'away: as he made many other laws in favour of 'the women, by the persuasion of the empress 'Theodora, who ruled him, and made him do what 'she pleased, as the same Bodin says in that place of 'his Republic, which has been quoted (33), and in 'the second chapter of the fifth book. However the 'Canonists, in imitation of Justinian, have allowed 'the same liberty to the women, if their husbands 'should prove impotent; so that they be married to 'another after their separation, permitting the same 'also to those husbands whose wives are too strait, 'which Justinian had not done, there being hardly 'any such women to be found.'

(33) That is in the third chapter of the first book.

The advocates, who pleaded for ..... in 1677, maintained *that the congress has no foundation neither in the authority of the laws, nor in the opinions of the doctors; that there is no mention made either in the Civil or in the Canon Law, of the inspection or congress; that it is only practised in France, and not above fixscore years ago; that the ancient books afford us only two ridiculous precedents for it* (34).

(34) Journal des Sçavans, ubi supra.

It is likely Mr Venette's error proceeds from a transposition of ideas, which has confounded the knowledge of Justinian's law. He would no longer permit that the ripeness of males should be decided by an inspection of their privy parts. He fixed it to the age of fourteen years, whether they were vigorous or not, and looked on what had been practised until that time as a very immodest thing. He thought himself obliged to exceed the modesty of the Romans, who forbad the regulation of the ripeness of the girls by inspection (35); but they made no such prohibition with respect to the boys.

(35) Pubertatem autem veteres quidem non solum ex annis, sed etiam ex habitu Corporis in masculis: ut vere. Nostra autem Majestas capiens esse cautior veterum temporum existimans, bene putavit: quod in utroque etatum antiquis imposuerunt esse vitum est, id est, inspectionem habitudinis corporis, hoc etiam in masculis extendere. Et ideo nostra sancta Constitutione promulgata, puberatem in masculis post decimum quartum annum completum illico initium accipere disposuimus: antiquitatis normam in feminis bene positam, in suo ordine relinquentes, ut post duodecim annos completos viripotentes efficiantur. *Institut. lib. 1, Tit. XXII.*

Theodoret did very much inveigh against the laws of Plato, which ordained not only that girls and women advanced in years should practise naked all the exercises proper for men, but also that some inspectors, in order to judge whether the persons of either sex were marriageable, should make them strip themselves (36). Τὴν δὲ τὰ τῶν γαμων χρονα ξυμμετριαν δικαστὴς σκοπῶν κελεύτω, γυμνὰς μὲν τὰς ἄῤῥενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὑφαλὰ μέχει θεωμένω τὰς γυναῖκας. *Judex vero inspiciens judicet quænam ætas celebrandis nuptiis conveniat: eamque ob rem nudos mares, nudasque umbilico tenus feminas inspiciat* (37). Equity required from Theodoret that he should not pass over in silence the caution of the legislator, with respect to the girls, who were only to be naked to the navel (38). Theodoret, I say, should have opposed Plato's law, as it was thus limited; whereas he opposes it, as if there had been no limitation at all. He alledges the saying of king Candaules's wife, That a woman puts off modesty at the same time she puts off her shift; from whence he concludes that this philosophical legislator taught the women who were betrothed to put off all shame. Τοιγαροῦν ὁ φιλόσοφος τὰς νυμφευομένας γυμνοῖ τῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ ἀναίδειαν ἐκδιδάσκει. *Quare Philosophus pudore spoliatas exuit, & impudentiam docet* (39). Theodoret's way of reasoning on this occasion has not all the exactness or preciseness of a strict Logician; but what he says against Plato's institution concerning dances and shews, at which both sexes might assist naked, is just: he pretends that it was the ruin of modesty, and a school of lasciviousness. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μόνον εἰς ἀναίδειαν ἐπαιδοτρίβησαν γυμνούμεναι καὶ γυμνώσης ἂν δέοις θεώμεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἀφορμὰς πρέπουσαν ἀκολασίας, τῶν γὰρ δὴ γυμνῶν σωμάτων ἡ θεωρία, καὶ τὰς ἀνδρεας, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς ἔρωτας ἐκτόπους ἠρέθιζεν. *Non modo enim ad impudentiam erudiebantur nudatæ, nudosque viros spectantes, sed multas invicem incontinentiæ occasiones præbebant; Nudorum enim corporum aspectus ad nefarios amores & viros & feminas provocabat* (40). This confirms the remarks I made in another place (41) against the custom of the Lacedemonians. But we must say that Plato's laws were not put into execution like those of Lycurgus; they were mere speculative laws, which, as Theodoret observes (42), were not so much

(36) Theodor. de Græc. affect. *lib. IX, pag.* m. 615.

(37) Ibid. *pag.* 616.

(38) It is to be observed that they begun at the head.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) In the article LYCURGUS.

(42) Theodor. ubi supra, *pag.* 615.

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true that she cast her eyes, on those naked bodies with the same intent; and there are some books wherein she is accused of it [B], and even of having ordered the body of the Baron du Pont to be looked for among all the rest [C]. I shall say, in one of the remarks, why I give that gentleman the name of *Quellenec* [D].

The passages which I have inserted in the first remark of this article, have displeased several people, and made them assert with great heat that they containe dintolerable obscenities, though I was always persuaded that they took the thing wrong, yet I was almost resolved to leave out those passages in this second edition; and it was the advice of some persons, for whom I have a very great esteem: but some other persons, of no less judgment than they, dissuaded me from it, and told me that the reasons I have given of my conduct are a good excuse, and that it sufficed to insert here the apology already published in a single sheet. I follow their advice, and recite those reasons [E]; to

as received in the country of that Philosopher: and therefore it cannot be said that Justinian was obliged to suppress the abuses which this Father of the church condemned.

We will end this digression with a passage of the Menagiana, which informs us that this abuse of the congress was not then so frequent. Those who are pleased with the suppression of scandals, will read this with edification. 'An official, in the time of Mr de 'Gondy, whose name I do not well remember, told 'me, that during forty years that he had been in 'that post, he had only ordered the congress once; 'it was to a Miller, and as he performed his duty 'very well, his wife said to him, Jacob, why did 'not you do the same at home, and then we should 'not have had the trouble to come here (43)?

(43) Menagiana, *pag.* 291, 292, of the first Dutch edition.

[B] *There are some books wherein she is accused of it.*] John Lætus Professor at Franeker (44) says, that the queen gave orders that they should look out for the body of Soubize, a gentleman who was thought to be impotent, and that when it was found, she looked upon his privy-parts and laughed very heartily in the presence of many ladies. 'Subisii nobilis qui frigidæ & 'minimè ad procreandam sobolem aptæ naturæ esse 'dicebatur *cadaver* jussit investigari *Regina*, inventum '(45) *pudenda illius, cum suarum pedissequarum numeroso comitatu, non sine magno & effuso risu inspexit.*' Could a thing of this nature be unknown to d'Aubigné? and if he had known it, would he have omitted it in his History? His silence will certainly decide the business so much the more, because he observes that *the ladies viewed Soubise, to see whether he was incapable of marriage, because there was a process against him upon that account* (46). Mr Varillas would not have concealed this action of the queen-mother, for he doth not spare her in things of lesser or greater importance. Speaking of the siege of Rouen, he says (47), That *the queen-regent was blamed for carrying the king her son into the forts as soon as they were taken, as if she had a design to use the eyes of that prince to slaughter; and that people found fault with her for having too curiously viewed the naked body of a young woman who had dressed her self in man's cloaths, to increase the number of the defenders: which shews that people will forgive nothing to the great ones.* Another Professor of Franeker maintains, that the queen searched Soubise's impotency very curiously (48).

(44) *Compend. Hist. universf. pag. m.* 424. He quotes *de Statu Religionis in Gallia.* We shall see in the following remark the words of the author whom he quotes.

(45) This word placed there makes a solecism.

(46) D'Aubigné, Hist. *Tom. ii, pag.* 545.

(47) Varillas's Hist. of Charles IX, *lib. iv, ad ann.* 1562.

[C] *And even of having ordered the body of the baron du Pont to be looked for among all the rest.*] This is an aggravating circumstance which I will not warrant; let him who advances it answer for it: It is a Protestant writer. 'Rex, Regina, fratres & Regius comi-'tatus frequens sub vesperam Lupara egrediuntur, stra-'gis illius per urbem effusæ conspiciendæ causa. Su-'bizius vir nobilis, frigidæ & minimè ad procreandam 'sobolem aptæ naturæ esse dicebatur: illius cadaver 'jussit investigari Regina, & pudenda illius, cum sua-'rum pedissequarum numeroso comitatu, inspicit, non 'sine magno & effuso risu (49). --- *The king, the queen, 'the king's brothers, and a number of attendance, went 'out in the evening from the Louvre, to see the slaughter 'that had been made in the city. Soubise, a nobleman, 'had been accused of frigidity, and incapacity of propa-'gation; the queen caused his body to be sought for, and 'viewed his privy-parts, together with several of her 'ladies, with a great deal of laughter.*'

(48) Cujus cadaver cum reliquis ante Regiam projectum à Regina ejusque puellis diligenter, si nota impotentiæ appareret, inspectabatur. *Huber. Hist. Civil. Tom. ii, pag.* 353.

(49) Commentar. de Statu Religionis & Reipubl. in Regno Galliæ, *Part iv, fol. m.* 39, *verso.*

[D] *The name of Quellenec.*] So Mr Varillas calls him in the second edition of his History of Charles IX. Now as that edition was rectified, according to the remarks of Mr d'Hosier, one of the greatest Genealogists in France (50), there is no doubt but that the baron du Pont, who married the heiress of Soubise, must be called so. This name is very much mangled in most Historians, which probably has been occasioned by an error of the press. The Printers of Thuanus's History, put *Quellevetum Pontium* instead of *Quellenecum Pontium* (§ α); hence it is, that Mezerai calls this baron *Quelleve-Pontivy*: which is making two faults; for Pontivy was a lord of the house of Rohan. This last fault is not to be found in Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, but only in his large History. I must observe by the by, that he whom he called Charles in his large History, is called Francis in the abridgment. Thuanus and the second edition of Varillas, give the name of Charles to the baron du Pont, and therefore it seems to me to be his right name. Varillas in the first edition used the word *Kuellevé.* It was still the fault of the Printers of Thuanus: If Varillas made some alteration in the orthography of the word, it is likely he did it because he remembred that several noble families of Bretagne put a *K* to their names. A famous author, has not long since called him *Franciscus Quelletrius, dux à Britannia* (51).

(50) See the letter published by Mr Larroque in his Animadversions upon Varillas.

[(§ α)] This is corrected in Mr Buckley's edition of Thuanus. See Tom. III. pag. 131. REM. CRIT.]

(51) Huber. Hist. Civil. *Tom. ii, pag.* 353, *printed at* Franeker *in* 1692.

[E] *I will recite those reasons.*] I do not know whether any body remembers still the two small pieces that came out in 1697: one was intituled *The Judgment of the public . . . . upon the Critical Dictionary,* and the other *reflexions upon . . . . the judgment of the public,* &c. In the last of these two pieces is the apology, which I was advised to insert here, and which has been thought sufficient to remove my readers scruples, I heartily wish it may have that good effect. Here follows what I answered to my Critic. '(52) We may add to the 'three instances which he alledges, what he has said 'against the article, wherein I have set down some pas-'sages out of a book of Tagereau. He could not 'chuse a worse subject of complaint; for I will shew, 'in a proper time, that I had very good grounds to 'insert in my work what I have said of the congress. 'I might say as an Historian, that Quellenec was ac-'cused of impotency, and that it was his mother-in-'law, and not his wife, who entered the action against 'him. Truth obliged me to make that remark in 'favour of an heroine of our party. As a faithful Hi-'storian, it was my duty to criticize those who cast a 'blot upon that lady, supposing that she sued her hus-'band upon such an account in the flower of her age. 'This is to declare that I do not think it a com-'mendable thing for a woman to engage in such pro-'ceedings. Every author has the privilege of shewing 'the reasons of his opinion; and therefore as a com-'mentator on my own text, I might, nay I ought to 'set forth the proofs of the opinion which I did ad-'vance, and consequently relate what Tagereau had 'published against the practice of those times: We 'would appear wiser than our fathers, but we are not 'so wise. That advocate, in the parliament of Paris, 'easily obtained a licence to publish a book, in which 'he laid open all the filthiness of the congress: But 'great clamours are raised in Holland against an au-'thor who only transcribes some passages out of that 'book. Is not this a respect of persons, which be-'trays an ill turn of mind, or a corrupt heart? But 'will some say, this advocate set forth those things 'only to oblige the judges to suppress such a practice, 'which was contrary to modesty and liable to injustice. 'But do not I declare with the utmost indignation that 'this practice was infamous, because it weakened the 'principle of shame, the precious source of chastity? 'Can any one take the right side with more zeal than

(52) Réflexions sur un Imprimé qui a pour Titre *Jugement du Public, &c. p.* 3, 4.

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to which I shall add one instance, taken from the approbation which Justus Lipsius gave to the book of an advocate, who, in a cause concerning the dissolution of a marriage [F], found himself obliged to relate several obscene things, and even was merrier than the necessity of the subject required. If any one is not satisfied with what

‘ I have done in this article? Besides, as an Historian, ‘ have not I the right to relate a custom which was a ‘ long time practised in the district of the parliament ‘ of Paris, and which is not abolished in other places? ‘ Certainly the manner of proceeding in civil and cri- ‘ minal causes belongs to historical facts; and if there ‘ be any thing singular in it, many travellers and ‘ writers of relations are very careful to be informed of ‘ it. What a pleasure had it not been for Pietro della ‘ Valle to find a book in Persia which might have in- ‘ formed him of a very odd custom, as well as Tage- ‘ reau could inform him of the ceremonial of the con- ‘ gress? I ask whether the verbal processes of the jury ‘ and matrons in certain causes, are things to be re- ‘ jected when one goes about to make an exact col- ‘ lection of all the usages and customs of a nation? Fu- ‘ retiere, who did not write an Historical Dictionary ‘ with comments, but a Grammatical one, made use of ‘ those processes. Did any body find fault with him ‘ upon that account? Dr Menjot . . . . . who was a ‘ man of great probity, has put a great many lascivious ‘ things in his discourse concerning the *Furor uterinus*, ‘ and barrenness. It would be a ridiculous thing to ‘ censure him for it, since, as a Physician, he had a ‘ privilege to do it; his subject required or allowed ‘ it. Now, I say, that a compiler, who relates and ‘ comments, has all the privileges of a Physician and ‘ of an advocate, *&c.* according as there is occasion; ‘ he may use their verbal processes, and the terms of ‘ their profession. If he relates the divorce of Lotha- ‘ rius and Tetberga, he may give an abstract of Hinc- ‘ mar, archbishop of Rheims, who writ down all the ‘ impurities which were proved whilst the proceedings ‘ lasted. One ought never to judge of a commenting ‘ Historian before one be well acquainted with the ‘ laws of History, and the privileges of a commenta- ‘ tor. If those gentlemen had read the commentary ‘ which Andrew Tiraquellus writ on the laws of mar- ‘ riage, they would have seen there a great many more ‘ obscenities. Yet he was a counsellor in the parlia- ‘ ment of Paris, and one of the most illustrious men of ‘ the last century, as well for his learning as for his ‘ virtue.’

[F] *The approbation which Justus Lipsius gave to the book of an advocate, who in a cause concerning the dissolution of a marriage.*] Sebastian Roulliard, one of the most learned advocates of the parliament of Paris, pleaded in the year 1600 for a gentleman, who had been accused of impotency by his wife. She had gained her cause before the official of Sens, and afterwards before the delegates of the primacy of Lyons. The husband appealed from their sentence, and obtained commissaries from the Apostolical See to give a final determination in the matter. Roulliard, his advocate, published *A Capitulary, shewing, That a man born without any visible testicles, but having all the other marks of virility, is capable of matrimonial duties.* The gentleman was born so, and it was on this imperfection that his wife grounded her suit for impotency. He maintained that he had consummated the marriage, *not by the ridiculous means which she supposed, but by the natural effort of his sex* (53). He demanded that she might be inspected, *and for a convincing proof, and the most frequent that can be practised on such occasions, be offered to accept the congress, to shew, that he was capable of erection, intromission, and ejaculation, which were objected to him* (54). The judges had neither ordered a congress nor an inspection, the woman having declared that those two things offended her modesty (55). From these offers of the husband Roulliard drew what consequences he thought most proper, and discoursed at large of the use of the testicles, according to the doctrine of the Philosophers, and the observations of the Anatomists. He did not trouble himself with paraphrases and covered speeches, but he used the terms of art with the greatest liberty; and sometimes mixed with his discourse some Latin verses which were very obscene; but the application he made of them was very ingenious. He seems to be all along upon a serious tone, and yet the whole book is full of drolleries and merry thoughts. He sent a copy of it to Justus Lipsius, who answered him thus. ‘ Ita, ita, venit ad ‘ nos libellus tuus, Deum immortalem, venustus, lepi- ‘ dus, & pro ipsâ re libellus (56). . . . . Sed ô te (au- ‘ sim dicere?) nequam! Novios, Pomponios, Titin- ‘ nios, Petronios, quidquid hoc genus Atellanas, Mi- ‘ mos, Satyras scripsit, vincis aut æquas. Imo uno ‘ vincis, quòd Salvo pudore & probitate jocaris. Quid ‘ jocaris? seriò loqueris, & de illo quod Græci *Neces- ‘ sarium* vocant, necessariò, atque id apud judices, agis. ‘ Meum & meorum risum! quâ fronte, quàm sub- ‘ strictâ aure, Cassii & Catones vestri hæc audiunt? ‘ . . . . . Extra jocum, argutus tuus libellus & in re ‘ seriâ, nec seriâ, seriò doctus (57). - - - *Yes, yes, I have got your little book, but good God! how elegant and diverting, how much to the purpose . . . . but oh! you knave shall I call you, you excel, or at least equal the Novii use s, Pomponiuses, Titinniuses, Petroniuses, and all the rest who have written farces, mimes, or satires; nay in this you excel them all, that you jest without trespassing on modesty or probity. How jest? you speak seriously and treat necessarily of what the Greeks call necessary, and that before the Judges. It is good sport to me and my friends to think with what countenance and attention your Cassiuses and Catos hear those things . . . . without jest, your witty book about a matter se- rious and not serious at the same time, is in good car- nest a learned one.*’ In another letter he protests that he has praised Roulliard’s Capitulary without any irony, that he had not the least thought of reflecting on the author’s morals, and that he knew well enough that they were unblameable, and of the greatest purity. *Ego te, cum Varrone hoc dicam, modo scænatili tetigerim? ὡς ὄναρ. Joci fuerunt innoxii, puri, & nivtos di- cam, quia & frigus, credo, habuerunt. De moribus tuis ne mihi verbum, scio sanctos esse: aut scripta tua mibi mentiuntur, character ille interioris mentis* (58). Note that Lipsius had already begun to set up for a bigot, and yet he judged very well and charitably of Roulliard’s Capitulary. I do not know whether the wife’s advocate published his process; but had he been never so grave, he could not have avoided a thousand gross obscenities: his case, or his answer to Roulliard, would inform us of several circumstances of that process. I know very little of it. See the margin (59).

I must take notice, that Roulliard and Tagereau were not of the same principles. The interest of the cause which Roulliard had in hand, induced him to maintain, that the practice of the congress and inspection on of the parts was lawful; so that, says he (60), ‘ All those concurring circumstances were a sufficient ‘ motive for the Judges to order the congress, which ‘ the said appellant offered to submit to, since he af- ‘ firmed to have had carnally to do with his said ‘ wife, and in such a case, *standum est verbo viri, qui ‘ dicit se uxorem cognovisse cap. continebatur de desponsat. impub.* considering that the man is the head of the woman, and ought to have that prerogative over her; besides, he has a legal presumption for him that he has known his wife, *glass. cap. inspicimus de ‘ regul. in* 6. *cap. literas ë de presumpt.* . . . . At least ‘ to make that presumption void, the midwives must ‘ depose the contrary; and that by the inspection of ‘ the secret parts of the wife, they have found her a ‘ virgin, *cap. proposuit ë de probat.* Now this is so ‘ far from being mentioned in the process, that on the ‘ contrary, after several evasions, she has acknowledg- ‘ ed she has been defloured by her husband; and, be- ‘ cause she pretended it had not been done by a manly ‘ effort, which an inspection would have decided, she ‘ would never consent to it, nor the Judges order it, ‘ notwithstanding the pressing instances of the appel- ‘ lant. . . . . (61) As for the congress, which the ‘ said lady pretends to reject on account of mode- ‘ sty.

Ah si cubitum locus exigit, omnibus illum
Deliciis imple, & sit procul inde pudor.

If opportunity present the bliss,
Snatch it, nor lose, thro’ modesty, a kiss.

For

(53) Roulliard, Capitulaire, *pag.* 8.

(54) Ib. *p.* 9.

(55) Ib. *p.* 40.

(56) Lipsius, Epist. LXVI, Centuriæ ad Germanos & Gallos, *pag.* m. 697.

(57) Ib. *p.* 698.

(58) *Idem*, Epist. LXXV, ejusd. Centur. *pag.* 707.

(59) It appears from those two Letters of Lipsius, that Roulliard pleaded for a Baron, and gained his cause. I guess it was on that occasion that Julian Peleus, advocate in the parliament of Paris, published his treatise *De solutione matrimonii ob defectum virilium non apparentium.* See the last paragraph of this remark [F].

(60) Roulliard, ubi supra, *pag.* 39.

(61) Ib. *p.* 41.

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what I say for my justification, he is desired to consider that it would have been very needless to have omitted these passages of Tagereau in my second edition; for his book is

' For duelling is, indeed, forbidden to prevent revenge ' by offensive weapons; but not between a husband ' and his wife, whose half-sweet and half-sowte trial ' tends only to renew peace and love. However, in ' the present case *bellum justum*, as Livy says, *quia* ' *necessarium*, and necessity renders that lawful, which (62) Ib. p. 43. ' would be unlawful in itself .... (62). The congress ' is the usual and most certain proof that can be used ' in a case of impotency, witness Lucian in his eunuch. ' *Nec inimicum videri debet probationis genus quod solum* ' *est*, says Quintilian in his seventh declamation; at ' least the bishops courts in France have admitted it, ' and the court has authorized it by several decrees, ' particularly that of the 20th of January, 1597, made ' against one, who being accused of wanting testicles, (63) Ib. p. 44. ' would not submit to it. .... (63) Certainly the best ' precaution that can be used is to come to an actual ' trial: *Nec enim de veritate dubitari potest, quoties cum* ' *incertis experimenta conveniunt, æquumque est non sem-* ' *per auribus sed & oculis credere*: especially when we ' are induced to it by a desire of peace, which will ' better excuse a lawful copulation, though done open- ' ly, than all clandestine doings can justify an unlaw- ' ful divorce. Otherwise it would be an absurd thing ' to admit, for the proof of adultery; the evidence of ' one who should say that he has seen, ἄρδεα ἐν ἀσ- ' θενείᾳ, and likewise that in order to avoid the sup- ' position of a child, the Civil Law should permit the ' inspection of a woman; and yet, that to justify the ' validity of a marriage (which is a thing much more ' important) one should be unwilling to see, *impactum* ' *Thyrsum borto in cupidinis*.'

These reasons, and several others which he produces, are far from being so good as Tagereau's arguments. I fancy, that if Roulliard had been some months after to plead for a woman, who had refused to submit to the inspection and congress upon a motive of modesty, he would have used the same arguments and maxims as Tagereau, and refuted himself very well. It is the fate of advocates, they must reason sometimes after one manner, and sometimes after another, according to the variety of the causes which they are to defend (64); and note, that they quote the same authorities upon quite contrary subjects. You have seen (65) how Tagereau opposes St Cyprian's authority, and that of St Ambrose, against the practice of inspection, and you will see that Roulliard cites the same authors to maintain it. ' (66) It is to no purpose to ' say, that his wife, pretending to modesty when it is ' too late, and upon an occasion when it is not neces- ' sary, objects that she would be ashamed to have her ' secret parts inspected, and to go to the congress, ' for she must be forced to it, since she has brought ' things to such a pass.

Quàm bene dispositum terris ut dignus iniqui
Fructus consilii, primis authoribus instet.

(64) Compare this with the remarks [B] and [C], of the article ANTONY (Marc) the Orator.

(65) Above, in the remark [A], citation (3).

(66) Roulliard, ubi supra, pag. 40.

' I add, that in such cases the inspection is usual, so ' that it cannot be said that there is any injustice in ' requiring that which is practised by the common ' law: for we learn from St Cyprian in his epistles, ' and from St Augustin and St Ambrose, that in cases ' relating to the defloration of virgins, inspection has ' been always practised; nay we are told by Clemens ' Alexandrinus 7. *Strom.* and by Suidas *in verbo* Jesus, ' that the Virgin Mary submitted to it, the Sanhedrim ' of the high-priest having ordered that she should be ' inspected, to discover whether she remained a virgin, ' and whether our Lord, whom they had a mind to ' adopt into their own order, should be matriculated in ' their registers as the son of Joseph, or as the son of ' the living God, and of a Virgin-mother. Chassa- ' næus (67) recites the story at length in the fourth ' part of his *Catalogus gloriæ mundi, distinct.* 6.' Roulliard used a trick of his profession. The Fathers he quotes condemn the practice of the inspection, and therefore are proofs that it was practised: he quotes them to prove that custom, and suppresses the rest; that is not fair: the authority of an evidence ought not to be cut into two; so that here we may apply the maxim of the Civilian Celsus, ' Incivile est ' nisi tota lege perspecta, una aliqua particula ejus pro- ' posita judicare vel respondere (68). - - - *It is irregu-* ' *lar without considering the whole law, to give judg-* ' *ment or answer one part of it*.'

(67) It is certain that Chassanæus, pag. m. 824, tells a long story on that head, but observe that Clemens Alexandrinus, *book viii, Strom. pag. m.* 736, does not speak of the Sandhedrin, he only says μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν, φασί τινες παρθένον εἶμεν. Quidam dicunt eam postquam peperisset, inspectam ab obstetrice, inventam fuisse virginem. - - - *Some say that after she was delivered, she was inspected by the Midwife, and found to be a maid.*

(68) Leg. incivile 24. D de Legibus.

There is one thing in which these two lawyers agree, that is, to deplore the multitude of processes which were entered against husbands on account of impotency. ' (69) Her relations .... have unjust- (69) Roulliard, ' ly .... prompted her to sue for a dissolution of ibid. pag. 5, 6. ' her marriage, by reason of his pretended impoten- ' cy, and other false stories which it had been better ' for her to conceal,

- - - - Quam protinus urbi
Pandere res alta sylvâ & caligine mersas.

- - - - *The secrets to reveal,*
Which darkness and the shady woods conceal.

' It was the misfortune of the appellant, that the ' corruption of the age has given a free course to ' these proceedings, *dedit hanc contagio labem, & da-* ' *bit in plures*; whereas for the space of twelve hun- ' dred years, in which modesty appeared in the faces, ' and was rooted in the souls of the women of France, ' there were scarce so many suits on that account as ' there are now almost daily. .... (70) The appel- (70) Ib. p. 46. ' lant, deploring the misfortune of this age, in which ' the women on very slight pretences get themselves ' divorced and separated from their husbands, repre- ' sents to you this complaint of Tertullian, - - - Ubi ' est illa felicitas matrimoniorum qua per sexcentos ' ferme annos nulla repudium domus scripsit? at nunc ' in fœminis præ auro nullum est leve membrum, ' præ vino nullum est liberum osculum, repudium ' vero quasi votum est, & matrimonii fructus. - - - - ' *Where is that happiness of marriages, when for near* ' *six hundred years there was no divorce in any family?* ' *but now among our women every member is loaded* ' *with gold, all their kisses are spoiled by wine, and* ' *divorce is, as it were, a vow, and the fruits of ma-* ' *trimony*. A thing of very pernicious consequence, ' as well to the public as to private persons.' This is what Roulliard says; compare it with Tagereau's words which you have seen above (71). (71) Citation (27).

If any body asks me to what purpose are all these passages of Roulliard? I answer, 1. That they prove that the most venerable tribunals have permitted the advocates to express themselves plainly on obscene matters. 2. That they shew how far the approbation of a great Critic (72) which I have alledged as (72) Justus Lipsius. an example, extended. 3. That they confirm some of Tagereau's observations, or serve to give some light to the matter, by the conflict of the arguments *pro* and *con*. If any one replies, that I have not the same liberty as the advocates; I reply in my turn, that I, as well as the register of a court, ought to be allowed to mention the reasons which an advocate has alledged. The nature of my work, which is made up of History, and of a critical commentary, requires it. If any one would now-a-days give us a collection of causes, and go back so far as those which were pleaded in the beginning of the XVIIth century, he might very well publish the substance of Roulliard's *Capitullary*, and in the very terms of the author. He might perhaps think it more proper to substitute the modern language in the room of the old French; but no body can justly blame those who alledge for a proof the very words of an original, rather than a version. This is the method I have prescribed to myself.

Since the impression of this, a gentleman of worth (73) hath informed me, 1. That the baron d'Argen- (73) Mr Marais, advocate in the parliament of Paris. ton, who married Magdalen de la Chastre, was the person for whom Roulliard published his *Capitulary* (74). One may know by that, the meaning of these words of Lipsius's letter to that advocate. ' Quid autem ille (74) Lipsius, ubi supra, pag. 698. ' baro? te patrono vir erit, aut fiet? .... Unum ta- ' men etiam quæro, vel te augure Cominæos (75) (75) Every one knows Philip de Comines was baron d'Argenton. ' nobis radicula hæc propagabit? Cui tamen favere ' me fateor, ob sacrum illud nobis nomen. Illius ' autem misereor, quæ tua opera fortasse Tantali ali- ' quo fato contabescet. - - - *But what shall I say of the* ' *baron? will your patronage make a man of him?* ...

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is not ſcarce, and is to be found entire in an alphabetical collection, and conſequently in a work which is extremely like my Dictionary. Laurence Bochel, advocate in the parliament of Paris, has inſerted it at length in the third tome of his Bibliotheque of the French law, at the letter S, under the word *Separation* (*d*). No body found fault with him for having adopted the whole book of Tagereau; why then ſhould I be blamed for quoting only ſome paſſages out of it? If it be ſaid that people are more nice now than they were then, I ſhall refute this objection in a diſſertation at the end of this work, and in the mean time I ſhall obſerve, that I have acquainted my readers, that the book I have quoted was printed in the year 1612. Ought any one to be ſurprized or offended becauſe the ſtyle of ſuch a work is not faſhionable? I add, that obſcenities are allowed even now in cauſes of this nature in a full court [G]; and that the judges, though they are divines, do not reform that uſage: they cannot do it nor can they make any uſe of the obſervation of an author I have cited (*e*). See the margin (*f*). For the reſt, as the epoch of cuſtoms that have ſomething particular and extravagant in them, is a thing that the curious are glad to know, I thought it not improper to ſet down here what authors have told us concerning the epoch of the congreſs [*H*].

(*d*) I have been informed of this by Mr Marais, advocate in the parliament of Paris.

(*e*) In the remark *G*].

(*f*) The *Bibliotheque du Droit François*, written by Bochel, was reprinted at Paris in 1667. See the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the 10th of May 1667, pag. 2. 196.

' *I aſk likewiſe will this little root produce more Co-*
' *mineſes? I confeſs I incline to favour him on account of*
' *his name, which we eſteem ſacred. But I pity him,*
' *who perhaps will pine away like another Tantalus.*'
2. That there is an edition of Roulliard's *Capitulary* larger than that which I made uſe of. Mine is an 8vo, and only contains forty-ſeven pages; the other is a large book in 12mo, and contains one hundred and thirty-nine pages. *There is in page* 139 *a ſonnet by the author, and in another page, without any number, this epigram,*

Ad Lectorem,

Hæc ſi ſcripta putes parum ſeverè
Fruſtra te mihi præbeas ſeverum.
Nam quis ſchemate nī Thalaſſionis
Inumbrare queat Thalaſſionem?
Ergo quamlibet obſtrepente Momo
Fas ſit perrigier manu pudica
Quod ſolum datur auribus pudicis.

[G] *Obſcenities are allowed in cauſes of this nature in a full court.*] Here is a paſſage of a letter written by Mr Bourſault to the biſhop of Langres. ' I have ' often wondered, that my lords the biſhops ſhould ' ſuffer the judges of their courts to be prieſts, or that ' the doors are not ſhut up when a cauſe is pleaded, ' by reaſon of the plain things that are ſpoken there, ' which generally dwindle into obſcenities. I never ' had the curioſity to go thither, but I have heard it ' ſpoken of by ſo many different perſons, and all that ' they have told me ſeemed ſo free, that probably ' modeſty is baniſhed from thoſe tribunals. I deſire ' no other evidence for it than the ſubject which gave ' occaſion to theſe verſes:

Dans une Officialité
Ces jours paſſez une Soubrette,
Paſſablement belle & bien faite,
Et d'une robuſte Santé;
Avec la Bienſéance ayant fait plein Divorce,
Dit qu'un vieux Médecin l'avoit priſe par force.
Qu'il falloit ou le pendre, ou qu'il fût ſon Mary:
Et comment, dit le Juge, a-t-il pû vous y prendre?
Vous êtes vigoureuſe, il falloit vous deffendre;
L'avoir égratigné, déviſagé, meurtry:
J'ay, Monſieur, luy répondit-elle,
De la force quand je querelle;
Mais je n'en ay point quand je ry.

Within theſe few days an Abigail
To th'biſhop's court was brought.
Handſome enough, and pretty tall;
And ſtrong, as all there thought:
Having with modeſty made a full divorce,
She ſaid an old doctor had ta'en her by force;
And I will have him hang'd, ſaid ſhe,
Unleſs my huſband he will be.
How could he take you? ſays the judge; my friend,
You're ſtrong enough, and could your ſelf defend.
You ſhould have ſcratch'd and claw'd him too;
Yes, Sir, quoth ſhe, that I can do
In quarrels well enough;
But truly, Sir, not when I laugh.

' Was not this girl finely forced, when ſhe laughed ' all the while (76)?' All that can be done is only to prevent the exceſs: but as long as there are any law ſuits about adultery, impotency, keeping of baſtards, or the reparation of womens honour, the judges muſt neceſſarily hear ſome obſcenities. An advocate of Paris (77) did very much exclaim againſt the cuſtom of pleading, at the time of the Carnaval, the *ſmutty Cauſe*, as they call it. But if that abuſe was taken away, there would ſtill remain many cauſes, which only differ from it more or leſs.

(76) Bourſault, Lettres nouvelles, *pag.* 173, 174, *Dutch edition.*

(77) Called Martin Huſſon. See his book de Advocato, printed at Paris in 1666; the Journal des Sçavans, of the 22th of April 1666, *ſpeaks of it, pag.* 175, *Dutch Edit.*

[*H*] *What authors have told us concerning the epoch of the congreſs.*] We have ſeen (78) that of its abolition in the diſtrict of the parliament of Paris. It may be certainly fixed to the 18th of February 1677; but that of its original is uncertain. There are ſome authors who ſay that it did not begin until the middle of the XVIth century, and that the ancients did not make uſe of it. I have refuted the Phyſician who thought that Juſtinian aboliſhed it. That emperor ' (79) in the Code * *de repudiis*, ſays, that if a huſ- ' band and his wife have lived two years together, ' without conſummating the marriage (80), it ought ' to be diſſolved. In the twenty-ſecond novel (81) ' he prolongs the time of two years to three, reckoning from the day of the celebration of the ' marriage. That novel adds a remarkable reaſon; ' from which we may learn, that we ought not to ' force nature, by a trial that is not only ſhameful but ' ſometimes too haſty: *edocti namque ſumus ex iis quæ* ' *ante hoc provenerunt, quoſdam amplius quam biennium* ' *temporis non valentes, poſtea potentes oſtenſos miniſtrare* ' *ſiliorum procreationi.* This is all that we find in the ' Civil Law concerning the accuſation of impotency; ' neither the inſpection nor the congreſs appear in it. ' The Canon Law agrees with the Civil, and all its ' deciſions in that matter are contained in two diffe- ' rent kinds. . . . . (82) Nevertheleſs it has introduced ' another ſort of proof, which is the inſpection; it has ' been received by ſeveral Conſtitutions, and particularly by the chapter, *litteras de frigidis*; but two ' conſiderable reflexions ought to be made on it. The ' firſt . . . . the ſecond . . . . that after the inſpection, ' if it be favourable to the ſtate of marriage, there is ' no occaſion to confirm it by any other proof. This ' is the determination of the gloſs on the chapter ' *propoſuiſti de probationibus*; and as for the inſpection ' they proceed in it in this manner: The huſband is ' inſpected firſt; if he appears to be potent they go ' no farther, and the woman is obliged to be ſilent, ' and they ſpare her modeſty againſt her will, which ' her raſhneſs has already too much blemiſhed. But ' when, after the inſpection of the huſband, there is ' ſome doubt about his ability, the woman is inſpect- ' ed, provided ſhe has not been married before. The ' Canon ** *requiſiſti* goes further, and ſays, that after ' an inſpection favourable to the huſband, he cannot ' be unmarried though he ſhould confeſs his impoten- ' cy. . . . . Theſe are all the proofs that we find in ' the Civil and Canon Laws concerning the accuſations ' of impotency. In the Civil Law the *triennium*; in the

(78) Above, Quotation (24).

(79) Journal des Palais, *Part* 2, *pag.* 23.

* *Lib.* 2.

(80) The words of the Law are, ſi matrimonium contraxerint minime propter naturalem imbecillitatem valent.

(81) The Novel calls it agere quæ à natura vires data ſunt, and in Greek πράττειν τὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως δεδομένα δύναμιν. I have this remark from Mr Marais.

(82) Journal des Palais, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 24.

** *Cap.* 2.

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'the Canon Law the affirmation of the parties, with 'that of seven of their relations; and at the utmost 'extremity the inspection of the parties; the laws re- 'quire no more; they do not in the least mention the (83) Ib. p. 25. 'congress. . . . (83) The congress . . . without doubt, 'owes its original to some rash young fellow, who 'demanding it, the judges being surprized at the no- 'velty of his demand, thought at first that he ought 'not to be refused; so that as one precedent gives oc- 'casion for another, the error of the congress was in- 'sensibly established. Thus all the authors who have ‡ Vincent Tage- 'treated of this matter speak of it ‡, and among the reau. Antony 'rest Antony Hotman a famous advocate of the par- Hotman. Pe- 'liament of Paris, towards the end of the last cen- leus. Anne Ro- 'tury. He says that this practice was only establish- bert. 'ed forty years before he wrote. . . . . The books of 'the ancients furnish us but with two instances to 'support it, and they are both equally ridiculous; 'one is in Lucian, who tells us that one Bagoas de- 'siring to be admitted into an assembly of Philoso- 'phers, as some doubted whether he was a man, 'some body said that he should make such a trial: a 'proposal becoming the impudence with which that 'author so often reproaches the false Philosophers. 'The other example is in Peter Ancharanus, on the † In the decre- 'chapter *Litteræ* †, where he says, that a certain official tals de Frigidis. 'of Venice, to try an impotent man, shut him up 'with a debauched woman, on whose report he di- 'vorced him. Ancharanus does not say that this is 'an example to be imitated; neither was it followed 'in his country, nor in any other parts of Italy no 'more than in Spain or the Netherlands. All nations 'allow only of inspection in a cause concerning im- 'potency; and we do not find by the writings of 'their lawyers that the congress is in use among 'them.'

The chronological calculation which we have just seen, as taken from a book of Antony Hotman, is more indeterminate than it is represented. These are the words of that author (84). *The argument taken from* (84) Antony Hotman's first treatise on the dissolution of marriage for the impotency and frigidity of the man or the woman, *pag.* 59. *the practice of times past, to authorize the congress, cannot be traced up farther than thirty or thirty-five years. And there is a great deal of probability that it was introduced not so much by order of the judges, as by consent of the parties offering to do it; in which case it is said,* nullas esse judicis partes. I. Si convenerit. De jud. *And this practice (with submission to better judgments) ought not to be drawn into custom, and authorized; on the contrary, if it has been tolerated in former times, it is better to amend it, as has been done in several like cases.* 'As for (85) *Idem*, in the second treatise, *pag.* 58. 'the congress, *says he in another place* (85), introduced 'about thirty-five or forty years ago, altho' it seems 'at first sight that it may serve for the clearing up the 'truth, in a cause of a man's impotency, and (as 'we may say) rectify the fault which might have been 'made in the inspection, without which, perhaps, 'it would not have been ordered; nevertheless, the 'action being duly considered, is not only immo- 'dest and brutish, but also useless, by reason of it's 'circumstances, which render the effect and execution 'of it impossible.' The author who speaks thus died in 1596; but I do not know the true date of his book (86), I have only the Paris edition, 1610, and therefore I cannot fix the epoch which I look for. All that I can say, is, that admitting the evidence of this advocate, we cannot carry it up higher than the year 1540. You see that he maintains the same thing as Tagereau did, he declares plainly against the congress, and alledges a great many things which are to be found in Tagereau's treatise. He surpasses him also with respect to obscenities; so that we have here a new and illustrious example of the liberty of expressing one's self obscenely when the subject requires it, and when one endeavours to suppress an abuse that is very contrary to public modesty. It is said that Hotman writ that book, *to serve a kinsman who had appealed from the congress* (87), and who lost his cause. Roulliard reproaches him with it in the edition of 12mo of his Capitulary. The loss of that cause should have been imputed to the Judges, and not to the Advocate, who brought so many arguments against that new custom that he deserved the Judges should give it for him. He did not forget to say that the proceedings at the congress afford matter for a thousand foolish discourses in all sorts of company. 'The 'wisest men have always been for the mildest and 'least shameful remedies; whereas they seem now a 'days to have forgot all honour and modesty, in or- 'der to favour a brutish impudence; and what is 'more shameful still, the men have, in some trials, 'inspected the women, and the women have been ad- 'mitted to inspect the men, which has been the sub- 'ject of so much derision and mockery, that such 'proceedings serve, in most places, for pleasant 'stories and jocular discourses; whereas what be- 'longs to justice ought to be treated seriously, and 'with fear and reverence (88).' Among several other reasons he alledges this (89), that the inspectors *have never reported,* mulierem fuisse carnaliter à viro cognitam, *at a congress; but it is said, that once or twice the woman cried out as if her husband did hurt her; which the assistants hearing, advised the parties to agree and go home together; which they did, and the woman never complained afterwards: which is as much as to say, that the parties being agreed after the process was begun, and the inspection made, they were told of this expedient, by means of which it appeared that the woman did not complain without cause, being yet a virgin, and reported as such, and that the husband was not in the wrong for maintaining also that he was not impotent; and the report of the integrity of the woman was looked upon as truth, and so both were satisfied.* He condemns the inspection as much as the congress, without making any mention of the many alterations that were made afterwards in the edict of the Pretor *de ventre inspiciendo* (90).

(86) See the remark [B], of the article ROBERT.

(87) Journal des Palais, ubi supra, *pag.* 20.

(88) Antony Hotman's first treatise, *p.* 63.

(89) *Idem*, in the second treatise, *pag.* 63.

(90) Journal des Palais, ubi supra, *pag.* 20.

QUETIF (JAMES) a Parisian, and a Monk of the order of St Dominic, was accounted a learned man. He published some books [A], and had spent a great deal of time in composing the Bibliotheque of the writers of his order, when he died at Paris in the convent of the Reforme, in St Honoré street, the second of March 1698, at the age of eighty years (a).

(a) Taken from a letter of Mr *Pinsson des Riolles.*

[A] *He published some books.*] These are the titles of them; *Concilii Tridentini Canones, editio aucta, cui accessit index accuratus Legatorum, Patrum, & Oratorum. Item Index Librorum prohibitorum,* at Paris 1666, in 12mo. *Hieronymi Savonarolæ Epistolæ spirituales & asceticæ ex Italico in Latinum versæ. Item vita Savonarolæ à Joanne Francisco Pico cum notis. Compendium revelationum Savonarolæ & additiones quibus varia ad hanc vitam acta, epistolæ, diplomata, instrumenta publica, scriptorumque monumenta, Apologiæ,* &c. *referuntur* (1), at Paris, 1674, in three volumes in 12mo. *Petri Morini Parisiensis Opuscula & Epistolæ primum editæ,* at Paris 1675, in three volumes in 12mo. Concerning this Peter Morin, and this edition of his Opuscula, see the Select Letters of Mr Simon (2).

(1) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *January* 20, 1676, *pag.* 23, *Dutch Edit.*

(2) *At pag.* 241, *& seq.*

QUILLET (CLAUDIUS) a native of Chinon in Touraine, was one of the good Latin Poets of the XVIIth century. I have mentioned in another place (d) the occasion which obliged him to retire into Italy. I now add that 'being at 'Rome, and frequenting the house of the French ambassador, who was the mareschal 'd'Estrées, he was made secretary of the embassy (b) [A]'. I do not know for what

(d) In the article GRANIER, remark [I].

(b) Sorberiana, *p.* 173, *Dutch Edit.*

[A] *He was made secretary of the embassy.*] 'This 'place was contended for by Mr de Lionne; but Quil- 'let carried it, and de Lionne put himself into the 'service of cardinal Mazarin, for want of a better 'employment, and Quillet's refusal, who chose the 'worse, as the event has verified: for one died 'without

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what reaſon he was angry with cardinal Mazarin; but it is certain that he ſpoke very ill of his Eminence [B] in a poem which he publiſhed in the year 1655. The cardinal received the inſult with a great deal of mildneſs, and was ſo eaſily ſatisfied with the excuſes of the author, that he promiſed him an abbey [C]. The poem I ſpeak of contains ſome things which Mr Baillet condemns very much [D]. The Abbot Quillet wrote ſome other books, which have not been publiſhed [E].

'without raiſing himſelf higher, and the other has 'been promoted to the chiefeſt places in the govern-'ment (1).' Theſe particularities are curious, but I do not know whether they are true.

(1) Sorberiana, *at the word* Quillet, *pag. m.* 173.

[B] *It is certain that he ſpoke very ill of his Eminence.*] You will find in the continuation of the *Menagiana* (2) what he ſaid againſt the cardinal.

(2) *Pag.* 131, 132, *Dutch edition.*

[C] *Cardinal Mazarin was ſo eaſily ſatisfied with the excuſes of the author, that he promiſed him an abbey.*] This deſerves to be inſerted at length, out of the Continuation of the *Menagiana* (3). 'The *Calli-'pedia* of Mr Quillet, diſguiſed under the name of '*Calvidius Lætus*, is a very fine Latin poem. Being 'ſomewhat diſcontented, he inſerted in it ſome verſes 'againſt cardinal Mazarin, and his family, he cauſed 'that book to be printed in Holland. The cardi-'nal being informed of it, ſent to Mr Quillet to 'come and ſpeak to him, and inſtead of ſhew-'ing him any reſentment, he only complained very 'mildly of the little regard he had ſhown for him 'in that poem. You know, *added he*, that I have 'had an eſteem for you a long time, and if I have 'done nothing for you, it is becauſe importunate peo-'ple get all my favours; but I promiſe you that the firſt 'abbey that ſhall be vacant ſhall be for you. Mr Quil-'let affected with the cardinal's goodneſs, threw him-'ſelf at his feet, aſked his pardon, and promiſed to 'correct his poem in ſuch a manner as would pleaſe 'him; praying at the ſame time, that he might dedi-'cate it to him, which the cardinal granted. Accord-'ingly he printed the ſecond edition corrected, in '8vo, at Paris, 1656, and dedicated it to the cardi-'nal, who a little while before had given him a conſi-'derable abbey; but death prevented his enjoying it 'long. The firſt edition, which is the moſt ſcarce, 'was printed at Leyden in 4to, 1655: that of Paris 'is larger.'

(3) *Pag.* 130, 131. *See* Coſtar's Letters, *Tom. i, p.* 176.

[D] *His poem contains ſome things which Mr Baillet condemns very much.*] See what he ſays (4). 'This 'abbot, intending to teach men how to get fine children, 'has endeavoured to reduce all the precepts of his 'new art into four books in Latin verſe, intituled, 'Callipædia. Tho' he does not tell the public from 'from whence he had ſo many rarities, yet it appears, 'that for an abbot (5), he knew more of the 'matter than the moſt experienced laymen, and that 'he was able to teach nature itſelf. . . . . (6). It is 'ſaid, that there are ſome things in it finely touched; 'but that it contains ſome deſcriptions concerning gene-'ration, which are very infamous, and unbecoming a 'man who has any ſenſe of modeſty, and that he 'ſeems thro' the whole work to make oſtentation of 'his reading of Petronius, and therefore the praiſes 'which Coſtar beſtowed on the *Callipædia*, in a let-'ter to the author *, muſt be looked upon as meer 'compliments.'

(4) Judgment on the Poets, *Article* 1511.

(5) According to the *Menagiana* above, citat. (3), he was not an Abbot when he wrote that poem.

(6) Baillet, ubi ſupra.

* It is the 20th letter of Coſtar's ſecond Tome, *p.* 598, 599.

Since the firſt edition of this Dictionary, I have read the *Callipædia*, printed at Paris in the year 1656 (7). This is the title of it: *Cl. Quilleti Callipædia ſeu de pulchræ prolis habendæ ratione poema didacticon. Cum uno & altero* (8) *ejuſdem Authoris carmine.* The preface mentions the things that were added to the Paris edition, which are more in number than thoſe that are left out. It is a very fine picce as to the Poetry; the reading of Lucretius appears much more in it than that of Petronius. Thoſe who told Mr Baillet that the author ſpeaks very freely of what concerns generation, were not miſtaken; but it is not true, that this is unbecoming a man who has any ſenſe of modeſty; for the abbot Quillet ſays nothing but what is to be found in ſeveral books of Phyſic written by grave authors. I do not know whether he had any other maſters; but I am ſure that the reading of the moſt ſerious writers is ſufficient to teach one all the precepts that he gives. He is called *Abbas Dudavillæus* at the end of the licence, and *Abbas D. S.* in the epiſtle dedicatory.

(7) Mr Bumbolot has been pleaſed to ſend it me.

(8) Thoſe two poems are an Epiſtle *ad Eudoxum* in hexameter verſes, and an Elegy *in obitum Patri Gaſſendi.*

[E] *He wrote ſome other books which have not been publiſhed.*] The abbot de Marolles having mentioned (9) the *Callipædia*, and ſome other French and Latin verſes which Quillet had preſented to him, goes on thus. *He had compoſed another large poem in twelve books in Latin, intituled* Henricias, *in honour of king Henry IV, but I do not know whether that work, and his tranſlation of all the ſatires of Juvenal into French verſe, will ever appear in print; ſince editions of the beſt poems, written by the moſt excellent Poets, muſt be paid for now a days; and thoſe that have been printed, which are very many even in Latin, are ſcarce read now. I ſhall forbear making an enumeration of them; the reader would be ſurprized at it.* I believe the following paſſage of Coſtar is to be underſtood of the *Henricias*. 'I am ſorry you have taken from me the words *con-'voiter* [to covet] and *convoitiſe* [deſire], for I would 'make uſe of them very much to the purpoſe, in order 'to expreſs the great deſire I have to ſee the continua-'tion of your divine Latin poem, the beginning of 'which you have been pleaſed to ſend me. If the re-'maining part is like the beginning, that poem is as 'much beyond the fine *Callipædia*, as the fine *Cal-'lipædia* is beyond all the works of that nature which 'our age has produced. What a pleaſure will it be 'for me, Sir, if you keep your word, and bring me 'four thouſand verſes as fine as thoſe which I have 'juſt now read (10).'

(9) In the enumeration of thoſe who preſented him with books.

(10) Coſtar, Letter à l'Abbé Quillet: *it is the* 230th *of the ſecond Tome, pag.* 598.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS, compoſed an Hiſtory of Alexander. It is ſo fine, and ſo well written, that they are in the wrong who take it to be the work of an author of the middle age [A]; but there is ſome reaſon to wonder that

[A] *That it is the work of an author of the middle age.*] Here is a paſſage of Guy Patin. 'Are you ſure 'that Quintus Curtius lived under the empire of Ti-'berius? Some ſay it was under that of Auguſtus, 'by reaſon of his fine Latin ſtyle, and others place 'him in the reign of Veſpaſian, with ſome appearance 'of reaſon. I had formerly a maſter, who had a very 'particular opinion concerning Quintus Curtius. He 'ſaid, that his hiſtory was but a romance; that his 'ſtyle indeed was beautiful, but that there were groſs 'geographical miſtakes in it. . . . . The ſame maſter 'told us, that the author of that book was a learned 'Italian, who wrote it about three hundred years ago. 'That Quintus Curtius was never quoted by any an-'cient author, and that it was a fictitious name. That 'the river Indus, the river Ganges, and ſome other 'parts of the Indies, are mentioned in that hiſtory, 'tho' they were unknown to the antients who lived 'before Ptolomy, who is the firſt and the oldeſt au-'thor that ſpoke of China under the name of Sinæ. '. . . . This is a controverſy . . . . which I hope will 'be determined in the fine book of the late Mr Voſ-'ſius concerning the Latin Hiſtorians, which is now 'printing in Holland (1).' I ſhall make ſome animadverſions on theſe words. I. It is not true, that the Indus, the Ganges, and ſome other parts of the Indies were unknown before Ptolomy. Strabo and Pliny, who lived the one under Auguſtus, and the other, under Veſpaſian, ſpeak of thoſe two rivers; now Ptolomy lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. II. What ſort of argument is this? Quintus Curtius mentions ſome rivers *unknown to the Antients, who lived before Ptolomy*; therefore his Hiſtory was forged about the middle of the XIVth century. Can it be denied, that

(1) Patin, Letter XLIV, *p.* 183, 184, *of the firſt Tome.*

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that no body ſhould have mentioned it before the XVth century (*a*). One ought to be leſs ſurprized to find ſome incredible things in it, than not to find more of them. Nay, the author was ſo cautious as to prevent the reproach of credulity, which he had reaſon to be afraid of [*B*]. It had been better ſtill, if he had related fewer prodigies, and

(*a*) See in the remark [*A*], Father le Tellier's words, and the reflexion I made upon them.

that in the very age of Ptolomy one might have ſpoke of the rivers and provinces mentioned by him? III. Since Quintus Curtius did not uſe the word *Sinæ* to denote *China*, there was no reaſon to obſerve that no body had made uſe of that word before Ptolomy. Take notice that Patin's letter is dated the 15th of September, 1650; and that in a letter of the 14th of June in the ſame year, he ſpeaks like a man who had read Voſſius's book. How comes it then that he ſpeaks of it here as of a book that is in the preſs? For the reſt, Guy Patin's maſter was not miſtaken, when he ſaid that Quintus Curtius *had not been quoted by any of the Antients*. Such a ſilence cannot be ſufficiently wondered at; it is a very ſingular misfortune. That Hiſtorian has this common with ſeveral others, that we know not where he was born, nor when he lived, and that his book has been maimed and corrupted; but perhaps he is the only author of merit, who has not been quoted by any body during ſo many ages (2). Acidalius was ſomewhat angry at it. 'Illa autem, *ſays he* (3), vix omnino quemquam 'calamitas extra Curtium afflixit, ut reliquorum ſcriptorum nemo mentionem ejus uſquam, vel uno verbo, 'certam dico mentionem, & indubitatam faciat, ad 'unum omnibus tacentibus, quaſi de compacto ut conſpiraſſe videantur ad ſupprimendum hominis nomen, 'ad famam prorſus opprimendam. In hoc quis non 'indoleat? quis non miretur & indignetur? - - - - - *Scarce any author but Curtius has ever been attended with the misfortune of not being mentioned, ſo much as in a ſingle word, by other authors: I ſpeak of a certain and undoubted mention; all of them being ſilent, as if they had conſpired to ſuppreſs his name and quite obſcure his reputation. Who is not affected with grief, wonder, and indignation at this?*' Father le Tellier wonders at that ſilence, and takes it to be the reaſon why ſome have been of opinion, that this hiſtory is the work of a modern author. 'Hic 'mirari cum Acidalio licet ſingulare Curtii fatum 'quod ſcriptor Nobiliſſimus, & nihilo primis inferior, 'non ſolum communi illa temporum injuria duobus 'truncatus libris, aliis quoque locis mutilus, plurimis 'depravatus ad nos pervenerit: verum etiam, quod 'nulli forte præterea contigit, tam multis ætatibus ig'notus latuerit, ſicut ante ſeculum à Chriſto nato de'cimum nemo omnium repertus ſit qui vel per tran'ſennam Curtii hiſtorici, ſcriptæve ab illo hiſtoriæ 'mentionem injecerit. Quæ res, opinor, nonnullos 'adduxit ut ſuſpicarentur non genuinum Curtii ac 'vetuſtum, ſed ſuppoſititium recentioris cujuſquam 'ſcriptoris fœtum eſſe, qui poſt renatas litteras, felici 'veterum imitatione eximiam ſcribendi facultatem 'adeptus, opus hoc ſuum Romano ſub nomine prodire 'voluerit (4). - - - *Here let me wonder, with Acidalius, at the common fate of Curtius, that this moſt noble writer, and not inferior to the beſt, is not only come down to us with two books, loſt thro' the injury of time, maimed in other places, and in many corrupted; but alſo, which perhaps never happened to any other author, was unknown for ſo many ages, inſomuch that before the Xth century, from the birth of Chriſt, no one is found who makes the leaſt mention of the Hiſtorian Curtius or the hiſtory written by him. This, I ſuppoſe, has induced ſome perſons to ſuſpect, that we have not the ancient and genuine work of Curtius, but the ſuppoſititious production of ſome modern writer, who, ſince the revival of learning, having acquired an excellent faculty of writing, by an happy imitation of the antients, publiſhed this work of his under the name of a Roman author.*' It might be inferred from theſe words, that they begun to quote that Hiſtorian in the Xth century; and yet that commentator *in uſum Delphini* names no author that mentions him before the XVth century; for Antony Panormita is the moſt ancient author that he alledges in the catalogue of the *Teſtimonia*, that concern Quintus Curtius. That catalogue is much larger in Freinſhemius; yet it contains no author that lived before Panormita (5). I do not know why the abbot de la Roque, in his Journal *des Savans* of the 18th of April, 1678, makes Father le Tellier ſay, *that Quintus Curtius has not been placed among the Hiſtorians by any author before the XVth century* (6). It is certain, that this Jeſuit does not mention the XVth century, but the Xth. I have cited his words (7). The argument he makes uſe of againſt thoſe, who pretend that this hiſtory of Alexander was forged ſince the reſtoration of learning, is not a convincing one. He ſays that Gaultier wrote a poem, intituled, *Alexandreis*, which in many places is only made up of Quintus Curtius's words put into verſe, and that this Poet lived in the XIIth century. *Quorum conjecturam vel una refellit Gualteri Belgæ Alexandreis, jam inde uſque à duodecimo æræ Chriſtianæ ſeculo condita, ux unius ſæpe Curtii vocibus in verſum redactis* (8). But it might be anſwered, that a modern author, deſigning to write a hiſtory of Alexander, and to publiſh it as the work of Quintus Curtius, made uſe of Gaultier's poem, and put into proſe all the paſſages that he liked. As for me, who cannot believe that any learned man of the XVth century has been able to write in ſo good a ſtyle, and ſo like the ancient way of writing, as that of Quintus Curtius, I need no other reaſon to convince me, that the author of that hiſtory lived before Suetonius; and therefore I approve of thoſe, who blame Angelus Decembrius for ſaying, that Quintus Curtius took many things from Arrianus (9). I know that Iſaac Pontanus, a learned man, did very much approve Decembrius's opinion; but he was not infallible. 'Nos quoque, *ſays he* (10), poſt Decembrium aliquot 'ad varios datis epiſtolis .... idem adſtruximus ac 'demonſtravimus poſt ævum Trajani & Adriani cla'ruiſſe, & Taciti inſuper maximi Authoris imitatorem 'eſſe, ejuſque non ſemel verba ac dictionem expreſ'ſiſſe, & uſum ſubinde iis vocibus quæ non niſi ab au'thoribus ejus ævi uſurpantur. - - - - - *I alſo, after Decembrius, have confirmed and demonſtrated the ſame thing in ſome letters to different perſons; namely, that he flouriſhed after the time of Trajan and Adrian, and that he imitated that great author Tacitus, and often made uſe of his very words and phraſes, as alſo ſuch words as were uſed only by the authors who lived at that time.*' This is ſaying poſitively, that Quintus Curtius flouriſhed after the emperor Hadrian: How comes it then that in two other letters (11), he endeavours to ſhew that the paſſages of that author, which ſome apply to Auguſtus, and others to Claudius and Veſpaſian, ought be underſtood of Trajan?

I ſhall conclude this remark with a paſſage of Vigneul-Marville. 'Some Critics, *ſays he* (12), are of 'opinion, that the name Quintus Curtius was forged 'by an Italian wit, who compoſed that Hiſtory, or 'Romance, about three hundred years ago. I do not 'know what proof they have for it; the truth is, 'that none of the ancients mention him: But grant'ing this to be true, is it not a wonderful thing, that 'a man, who was a good Latin writer, and who had 'writ a book, that was able to immortalize his 'name, if he had made himſelf known, ſhould have 'been willing to ſacrifice his glory to that of an ima'ginary Quintus Curtius, who could not enjoy it? A 'learned man would formerly make me believe, that 'the name of that author, who was an Italian, is to 'be found latinized in that of Quintus Curtius. It 'may be ſo, but who will explain that emblem? It is 'too late now to do it.'

[*B*] *He was ſo cautious as to prevent the reproach of credulity, which he had reaſon to be afraid of.*] I take this from la Mothe le Vayer in his Judgment concerning the principal Hiſtorians, page 204 of the third tome of his works in 12mo. He ſays that *Arrianus is one of the moſt cautious Hiſtorians in relating prodigies*; but that Quintus Curtius 'is more cautious ſtill. 'We need no other proof for it, than what they ſay 'of one or two miraculous fountains, which ſprung 'up as ſoon as Alexander had encamped near the 'river Oxus. Arrianus tells us, that one was a foun'tain of oil, and the other of clear water, without 'raiſing any ſcruple about the truth of ſuch a ſtory 'in the minds of his readers. Quintus Curtius †, 'who ſays nothing of the ſpring of oil, relates, that 'as they were digging ſome wells, they found a 'ſpring,

(2) This is more than what I have ſaid of PATERCULUS (ſee, above, the remark [*B*], of the article PHÆDRUS), and of QUINTUS CALABER, in his article, citation (7).

(3) Valens Acidalius, Animadv. ad lib. iv, Curtii.

(4) Michael le Tellier. in Præfat. ad Q. Curtium, in uſum Delphini.

(5) By a letter of Mr de la Croſe from Berlin I learn, that *Johannes Sariſburienſis*, in the XIIth century; and *Michael Scot*, *in Menſa Philoſophica*, in the XIIIth century, have cited *Quintus Curtius*.

(6) The Abbot de la Roque, having ſaid what I have quoted, and ſome other things, goes on thus, *After this remark, Father le Tellier examines, &c.* Which ſhews that he imputes to him all that he had been ſaying.

(7) Obſerve, that the *Journal de Trevoux*, May 1705, p. 811, ſays, that there is an error of the preſs in this paſſage of Father Tellier, and that it ought to be read *ante Seculum à Chriſto nato quintum decimum.*

(8) Michael le Tellier, ubi ſupra.

(9) Græcorum & Arriani conſtat Hiſtoria, ex quorum fontibus hic ſcriptor ... opus ſuum excudit. *Ang. Decembrius, de Polita Literaria.*

(10) Joh. Iſacius Pontanus, Epiſt. ad Wicquefortium. *It is the LXXVIth of thoſe that Mr Matthæus publiſhed at Leyden in the year* 1695.

(11) Written to Voſſius, viz. the LXXXVIIth and XCVIIth of the ſame collection of Mr Matthæus.

(12) Vigneul Marville, Mélang. *Tom. ii, pag.* 302, *Dutch Edit.*

† *Lib. viii.*

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and if he had oftener intimated that he did not believe all the ſtories which he relates. I have ſaid in another place (*b*) that the reading of his book recovered a king of Naples, from his illneſs. We have an excellent French tranſlation of his work (*c*). The learned Freinſhemius wrote a fine commentary upon that Hiſtorian, and a ſupplement to the two firſt books, and to ſome other places that are loſt. Father Michael le Tellier, a Jeſuit, ſhews in his preface (*d*) that it is more likely he lived in the reign of the emperor Claudius than in that of Veſpaſian. In taking notice of Moreri's miſtakes, I ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome other things [*C*]. Cardinal du Perron was too great an admirer of Quintus Curtius [*D*].

(*b*) Citation (11), of the article NAPLES (ALPHONSUS I, king of).

(*c*) Made by Vaugelas.

(*d*) Ad Q. Curtium, in uſum Delphini.

Nothing can more effectually bring a man off from the exceſſive admiration he might have for him, than the remarks publiſhed by Mr le Clerc, intituled, *Judicium de Quinto Curtio*. They are at the end of his book *de Arte Critica*, and they do manifeſtly ſhew ſeveral great faults of that famous Hiſtorian, his ignorance of Aſtronomy and Geography, his contradictions, his wrong deſcriptions, his ill taſte in the choice of matter, his careleſſneſs in dating the events, &c. The greateſt part of thoſe faults might be found in moſt ancient Hiſtorians, if one would take the pains, or was ſufficiently qualified to criticize them ſeverely. I do not know but it might be ſaid, that his ignorance of certain things, is a proof that he did not live in theſe later times; for if a man of the XIVth or XVth century had been able to write that Hiſtory of Alexander, he muſt have had more talents than were neceſſary to compoſe

'ſpring in the king's tent, which having not been 'obſerved before late, occaſioned a report that it was 'a new one: Alexander himſelf being glad that 'people ſhould believe it was a divine favour, and a 'gift from Heaven (13). That I may clearly ſhew 'with what circumſpection that Hiſtorian uſed to 'relate things, the truth of which might be queſtion-'ed, I ſhall ſet down the words which follow the 'account he gives of a dog in the kingdom of So-'phita, that ſuffered all his limbs to be cut to pieces, 'rather than to let go his hold of a lion. 'Equi-'dem, *ſays he* †, plura tranſcribo, quàm credo. Nam 'nec affirmare ſuſtineo de quibus dubito, nec ſubdu-'cere quæ accepi. - - - *In truth I tranſcribe more than 'I believe. For I neither can affirm what I doubt of, 'nor ſuppreſs what I have received from others.* 'Theſe words muſt be applied to that paſſage of the 'ſame book, wherein it is ſaid, that during Ptolomy's 'ſickneſs, a ſerpent ſhewed Alexander in his ſoundeſt 'ſleep the herb that would cure him. For when an 'Hiſtorian makes it appear that he does not deſign 'to impoſe upon the credulity of his readers, he may 'write any thing, as I have already ſaid, ſpeaking of 'Livy.'

(13) *Compare this with the article* PHASELIS, *remark* [*B*]. *The words of* Quintus Curtius, *lib. viii, cap. x, n. 14, are remarkable.* In ipſo tabernaculo regis conſpectus eſt fons quem quia tarde notaverant ſubito extitiſſe finxerunt, rexque ipſe credi voluit donum Dei id fuiſſe.

† *Lib. ix.*

[*C*] *In taking notice of Moreri's miſtakes, I ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome other things.*] I. He had no good reaſon to repreſent Quintus Curtius as a Roman knight. That title is not given to Quintus Curtius mentioned by Cicero, nor to Curtius Rufus mentioned by Tacitus, nor to Quintus Curtius Rufus ſpoken of by Suetonius, who are three perſons, one of whom was our Hiſtorian, as ſome learned men will have it. II. The excellency of his ſtyle is not a good reaſon to doubt *whether he is not more ancient than Titus Livius*; on the contrary, it may move one to think that he did not live before Livy, but at the ſame time. It is an eaſier thing to find a harſh ſtyle beyond Livy's time, than in the age wherein he lived. Is it not the golden age of the Latin ſtyle? III. It is not true, that Quintus Curtius, in the tenth book, or elſewhere, makes *a digreſſion about the facility of his age*. Moreri ſhould have ſaid *about the felicity*. I take notice of this only to ſhew his careleſſneſs: he tranſcribed without any judgment even the errors of the preſs. This had crept into a paſſage of la Mothe le Vayer (14), and he faithfully tranſcribed it, though it was an eaſy thing to perceive how it was to be mended. IV. Suetonius does not ſay that Quintus Curtius Rufus, *a great Rhetor*, lived in Tiberius's time. What he ſaid concerning that Rhetor is not extant, and it is only by a liſt which was found in a manuſcript that we came to know that he ſpoke of him. Perhaps Voſſius is not miſtaken in conjecturing, from the age of thoſe who precede and follow that Rhetor in that liſt, that he lived in Tiberius's time (15); but this does not prove that Suetonius placed him in the reign of that emperor. V. Moreri ſhould not have aſſerted that Quintus Curtius Rufus, mentioned by Suetonius, is the ſame Curtius Rufus ſpoken of by Tacitus (16). The latter was the ſon of a gladiator, and attained to the conſulſhip, without having taught Rhetoric (17). VI. Moreri is very much in the wrong *to wonder that Quintilian, who mentions all the conſiderable Hiſtorians in the tenth book of his Inſtitutions, written under the empire of Domitian, ſhould ſay nothing of Quintus Curtius's Hiſtory.* What Moreri aſcribes to Quintilian is falſe; he ſpeaks but of four Hiſtorians at moſt, and therefore his ſilence is of no uſe to thoſe who alledge it as a proof, that Quintus Curtius had not then publiſhed his book. 'Quod argumentum .... validius 'ſemper mihi viſum eſt, quam quod à Quintiliani ſi-'lentio petunt adverſarii. Quaſi vero hiſtoricorum 'catalogum Fabius texuerit, qui quatuor admodum 'ex iis appellavit: ſuperſtites autem, in quibus eſſe 'potuit Curtius conſulto prætermiſerit (18). - - - - - 'W*hich argument .... always appeared to me of more 'force than that which our adverſaries borrow from 'the ſilence of Quintilian. As though Quintilian had 'drawn up a catalogue of Hiſtorian, who has named 'but four of them at moſt: he deſignedly paſſed over 'thoſe that were ſtill extant, among which Curtius 'might be.*' VII. We may therefore reckon as a new fault what is ſaid in theſe words, *which* (19) *cannot be excuſed but by ſuppoſing that this work had not yet been publiſhed in his time.* All theſe faults are to be found in la Mothe le Vayer (20). VIII. Raderus did not write a ſupplement to Quintus Curtius, but a commentary. I ſhall ſay nothing of Moreri's wrong quotations (21). I muſt obſerve, by the by, that the ſupplements of Chriſtopher Bruno came out in the year 1545. That author taught Philological learning at Munich, and dedicated his Quintus Curtius to the duke of Bavaria. Poſſevin (22), and James Gourdon (23) affirm, that Quintianus Stoa had ſupplied what is wanting in Quintus Curtius; but Freinſhemius never ſaw that ſupplement (24). Others maintain, that Quintianus Stoa made none (25). I add what Colomies obſerves about the edition of Quintus Curtius, *Lugduni apud Paulum Frellon*, 1615, in 12mo. 'That edition, 'ſays he, (26) Which is little known, has this pecu-'liar to it; that beſides the common ſupplements 'aſcribed to Chriſtopher Bruno, a monk of Bavaria, 'it contains ſome others tranſcribed from a manuſcript 'of the library of St Victor, by John Maſſon, arch-'deacon of Bayeux, brother to Papyrius Maſſon, who 'is well known to the learned. Thoſe ſupplements, 'the author whereof could not be found out by the 'two Maſſons, were written by Francis Petrarch, if 'we believe Scaliger in the ſecond *Scaligerana*: *In 'Bibliotheca S. Victoris*, ſays he, *primus liber Q. Curtii 'erat, ſed deprehendi eſſe compoſitum à Petrarcha.*' I further add, that Vaſſan writ one day to Goldaſtus, that the firſt book of Quintus Curtius would quickly be publiſhed. *Eſt in manibus, Pap. Maſſonii liber ille* I. *Quinti Curtii hactenus deſideratus, quem ubi primum publicaverit tibi exhibebo* (27).

(14) It is in my edition in 12mo, of la Mothe le Vayer's works, Paris 1681, pag. 197, of the 3d Tome.

(15) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Latin. *pag.* 152.

(16) Tacitus, Annal. *lib. xi.*

(17) Before he was promoted to any dignity he was in the ſervice of the governor of Africa. *Tenuis adhuc & obſcurus obtinenti Africam comes hæſerat.* Plin. Epiſt. xxvii, lib. vii.

(18) Mich. le Tellier, ubi ſupra.

(19) That is, Quintilian's ſilence.

(20) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 197, 198.

(21) Moreri quotes Pliny, *Epiſt. VII*, it ſhould be *Epiſt. XXVII*, and Voſſius, *lib.* - ſhould be *lib.* i.

(22) In Bibliotha Selecta.

(23) In Chronol. *cap. xx, num.* 31, *pag.* Freſh. Pitiſc. *cap. iii.*

(24) Freinſhem. ibid.

(25) La Mothe le Vayer, ubi ſupra, *p.* 199.

(26) Colomies, Bibliotheca, *p.* 184, 185.

(27) See the 31ſt letter in the collection of the letters written to Goldaſtus, and publiſhed in 1688.

'Florus

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pose it in the first century: he must have had eminent qualities, and have spent his life in study. Could such a man be ignorant of what every body knew then, that the moon is not eclipsed both when it is new and full? But this is one instance of Quintus Curtius's ignorance (e).

(e) Lunam deficere cum aut terram subiret aut sole premeretur. Q. Curtius, lib. iv, cap. x.

(28) Perroniana, at the word Stiles, pag. m. 307.

'Florus next to him, he is so florid, and so elegant. 'Mr Des Portes, who was an excellent judge of style, 'gave the first rank to Quintus Curtius (28).' I had rather praise that Historian with some restriction, as Famianus Strada did. 'At Q. Curtio, says he (29), 'quamquam iis virtutibus exornato, quibus constat aut 'heroicis eum temporibus vixisse, aut dignum fuisse 'qui viveret, non defuêre, qui objicerent quæsiti in- 'terdum medicamenta candoris, & numerorum usum 'paulo intemperantiorem. - - - As for Quintus Curtius, 'though he was adorned with those virtues, which make 'it appear either that he lived, or deserved to have 'lived, in the heroical times, some objected to him the 'want of candor, and too free a use of numbers.' Balzac (30) taxes a modern author with the same fault, and uses the very same words of that Jesuit. I mention this by the by, to discover a small piece of Plagiarism.

(29) Famian. Strada, Prolusion. Academ. lib. ii, Prolus. III, pag. m. 266.

(30) In a Latin letter to Mr Silhon, pag. m. 194.

QUINTILIAN (MARCUS FABIUS) was born at Calagurris in Spain (a). It is said, that he was brought to Rome by Galba (b), and it is certain that he taught Rhetoric in that city with great reputation. He was the first who taught it there publickly at the charge of the government (c). He was discharged from that laborious profession, after he had exercised it for the space of twenty years (d). He had several domestic afflictions, which had like to have overcome his constancy, and which made him complain of his cruel fate [A]. He lamented above all things the death of a son of ten years of age, who was an extraordinary promising child (e). He was not contented to give rules to speak well; but he also shewed his eloquence at the bar: he pleaded for queen Berenice in her presence (f), and was accounted so good an advocate, that some persons writ down his pleadings to sell them to the Booksellers [B]. Some

(a) Adserat usque licet Fabium Calagurris alumnum. Ausonius, in Professoribus, pag. m. 145. That town stands upon the Ebro, and is now called Calahorra.

(b) Chronic. Eusebii sub Olymp. CCXI, pag. m. 162. See the remark [E].

(c) Ibid. sub Olymp. CCXVI, pag. 164.

(d) Post impetratam studiis meis quietem quæ per viginti annos eruditionis juvenibus impenderam. Quintil. Præf. lib. i.

(e) See the remark [A].

(f) Quintilian. lib. iv, cap. i, pag. m. 168.

[A] *He had several domestic afflictions, which .... made him complain of his cruel fate.*] The death of his wife, who was but nineteen years of age, made him inconsolable. He praises her very much. 'Omni 'virtute quæ in fœminas cadit functa, insanabilem at- 'tulit marito dolorem .... illi dolori quem ex matre 'optima atque laudem omnem supergressa, paucos ante 'menses ceperam gratulor (1). - - - *She being a wo-* 'man adorned with every virtue proper to her sex, her 'husband was inconsolable for the loss of her..... I 'am pleased with that grief, which I felt some months 'before, for the best of mothers.' She left him two sons, whereof one died at five years of age, and the other at ten. The latter was the eldest, and had extraordinary gifts: besides fortune begun already to put him in the way to dignities; a man who had been consul had adopted him; and another, who was prætor, and his uncle by his mother's side, designed to make him his son-in-law. *Tene consulari nuper adoptione ad omnium spes bonorum patris admotum, te avunculo prætori generum destinatum, te omnium spe Atticæ eloquentiæ candidatum superstes parens tantum ad pœnas amisi?* Quintilian's affliction for so many losses was very great; he resolved to leave off writing, and to throw into the fire what he had already composed; he was afraid of being taxed with little affection and tenderness, if he should make use of his tongue to any other purpose, than to inveigh against Heaven. He did not forget to say, that there is a malicious and jealous Being, who will not suffer children that promise great things to live long. I must set down his own words, that the reader may see how far the wisest Heathens let loose their impatience. 'Tunc 'igitur optimum fuit, infaustum opus, & quicquid 'hoc est in me infelicium literarum, super immaturum 'funus consumpturis viscera mea flammis injicere, ne- 'que hanc impiam vivacitatem novis insuper curis fa- 'tigare. Quis enim mihi bonus parens ignoscat, si 'studere amplius possum? ac non oderit hanc animi 'mei firmitatem, si quis in me est alius usus vocis, 'quàm, ut incusem deos, superstes omnium meorum? 'nullam terras despicere providentiam tester? si non 'meo casu, cui tamen nihil objici, nisi quod vivam, 'potest: at illorum certè, quos utique immeritos mors 'acerba damnavit (2)..... Juro per mala mea, per 'infelicem conscientiam, per illos manes numina dolo- 'ris mei; has me in illo vidisse virtutes ingenii, non 'modò ad perspiciendas disciplinas, quo nihil præ- 'stantius cognovi, plurima expertus, studiique jam 'tum non coacti, (sciunt præceptores,) sed probitatis, 'pietatis, humanitatis, liberalitatis; ut prorsus possit 'hinc esse tanti fulminis metus; quòd observatum ferè 'est, celerius occidere festinatam maturitatem; & esse 'nescio quam, quæ spes tantas decerpat, invidiam; 'ne videlicet ultra quàm homini datum est, nostra 'provehantur (3). - - - *Then it had been best to have* 'thrown into the flames, which were about to consume 'my own bowels, all the unhappy learning I am master 'of, and no longer to fatigue myself with new studies. 'For what good parent can forgive me, if I go on with 'my studies; and will not rather abhor my resolution, 'if I make any other use of words, than to accuse the 'gods for suffering me to survive my whole family, and 'deny that there is any providence; if not upon my own 'account, to whom nothing can be objected, but that I 'am still alive, yet certainly upon the account of those, 'who, without deserving it, have been snatched away by 'an untimely death..... I swear by my misfortunes, by 'my unhappy reflexions, by those shades the deities of my 'grief, that I discovered in him not only a readiness to 'receive instruction, in which he excelled all I have 'ever met with, but also the virtues of probity, piety, 'humanity, and liberality; insomuch that the fear of 'this terrible stroke might proceed from this, that what- 'ever is early ripe is soonest blasted, and that there is a 'kind of envy, which destroys so great hopes, lest we 'should exceed the limits prescribed to man.' Nevertheless he changed his mind as to his work; he went on with it, and finished it.

(1) Quintil. Præfat. lib. vi, p. m. 267.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ib. p. 268.

[B] *Some persons writ down his pleadings, to sell them to the Booksellers.*' There were at that time some men at Rome, who could write a whole speech in Shorthand, though the Orator spoke never so fast. That art is, at present, better known and practised in England than in any other country. Those who took the pains to write in that manner what they heard at the bar, did not always do it out of curiosity, but sometimes out of avarice. They were willing to get some good pieces to sell them to the Booksellers. The authors were sometimes the worse for it; for they saw, that the writer had forgot some good things, and the works, that were thus handed about under their names, were but imperfect pieces. This was our Quintilian's case, as he himself tells us, having mentioned a plea, which a youthful ambition prompted him to impart to the public. 'Id est in causa Nævii Apruniani so- 'lùm quæsitum, præcipitatane esset ab eo uxor; an se 'ipsa sua sponte jecisset. Quam actionem equidem 'solam in hoc tempus emiseram, quod me ipsum se- 'cisse seductum juvenili cupiditate gloriæ fateor. Nam 'cæteræ, quæ sub nomine meo feruntur, negligentia 'excipientium in quæstum notariorum corruptæ, mi- 'nimam partem mei habent (4). - - - *This was the only question in the cause of Nævius Aprunianus, whether* 'he threw his wife down the precipice, or she threw 'herself down. This is the only pleading I have hitherto 'made public, which I confess I did out of a youthful 'desire of glory. For the rest, which go under my name, 'being

(4) Quintil. lib. viii, cap. xi, p. m. 321, 322.

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Some are of opinion, that he was made conſul [C]: it is more certain, that he was preceptor to the grand-ſons of Domitian's ſiſter [D]. It is not certainly known whether

' *being corrupted through the negligence of thoſe who took*
' *them in writing, in order to get money by them, con-*
' *tain very little of mine.*'

[C] *Some are of opinion that he was made conſul.*] They ground their opinion upon theſe words of Auſonius. ' Quintilianus conſularia per Clementem orna-
' menta fortitus, honeſtamenta nominis potius videtur
(5) Auſonius, in Gratiar. Actione, *pag. m.* 712, 713. ' quam inſignia poteſtatis habuiſſe (5). - - - *Quintilian,*
' *having obtained the conſular ornaments by the favour*
' *of Clement, ſeems rather to have had the honour of the*
' *name than the marks of the power.*' Vinetus on theſe words ſays, that Marcus Arricinius Clemens, and Titus Flavius Clemens having been for ſome time very much in Domitian's favour, loſt it to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed them to be put to death. He does not know which of thoſe two Clements procured Quintilian the honour ſpoken of by Auſonius; but, ſays he, it was not the ordinary conſulſhip; for the *Faſti* make no mention of it, and therefore it was but a ſubrogated conſulſhip (6), Vinetus might have conjectured, that it was Flavius Clemens, as it will appear hereafter. The paſſage of Auſonius is confirmed by theſe verſes of Juvenal:

(6) Vinet. in Auſon. *p.* 713.

- - - - - - - - - - Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet ſaltus? exempla novorum
Fatorum tranſi: felix, & pulcher, & acer,
Felix, & ſapiens, & nobilis, & generoſus
Appoſitam nigræ lunam ſubtexit alutæ:
Felix, orator quoque maximus & jaculator,
Et ſi perfrixit, cantat bene, diſtat enim, quæ
Sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
Edere vagitus, & adhuc à matre rubentem.
Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore conſul,
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de conſule rhetor (7).

(7) Juven. Sat. VII, ver. 188.

Amidſt this waſtful riot, there accrues
But poor ten ſhillings for Quintilian's dues:
For to breed up the ſon to common ſenſe,
Is ever more the parents leaſt expence.
From whence then comes Quintilian's vaſt eſtate?
Becauſe he was the darling ſon of fate;
And luck, in ſcorn of merit, made him great.
Urge not th' example of one ſingle man,
As rare as a white crow, or ſable ſwan.
Quintilian's fate was to be counted wiſe,
Rich, noble, fair, and in the ſtate to riſe:
Good fortune grac'd his action, and his tongue;
His colds became him, and when hoarſe he ſung.
O, there's ſtrange difference, what planets ſhed
Their influence on the new-born infant's head!
'Tis fate that flings the dice; and as ſhe flings
Of kings makes pedants and of pedants kings.

DRYDEN.

We learn at leaſt from this paſſage, that Quintilian got riches and honours; but Juvenal intimates, that fortune contributed to it as much, or more than his merit. If the thirty-ſecond letter of the ſixth book of Pliny was written to our Quintilian, there is no reaſon to think that Juvenal was in the right, when he repreſented that teacher of Rhetoric as an opulent man. Pliny ſays, that the perſon to whom he writes, had no great eſtate (8), he does not believe him able to equip his daughter as ſhe ſhould be, ſince ſhe was to be married to a man of note, and therefore preſents her with a conſiderable ſum (9), that ſhe may go to her huſband in a good equipage. ' Cum tamen ſit nup-
' tura honeſtiſſimo viro, Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civi-
' lium officiorum neceſſitatem quandam nitoris imponit,
' debet ſecundum conditiones mariti, veſte, comitatu
' augeri: quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, orna-
' natur tamen, & inſtitutum (10). - - - - *But being to be*
' *married to a man of diſtinction, Nonius Celer, whoſe*
' *civil employments lay him under a neceſſity of making*
' *ſome figure, ſhe ought to have cloaths and ſervants en-*
' *ſwerable to the dignity of her huſband: theſe things do*
' *not, indeed, add to a man's worth, but they ſet it off,*
' *and adorn it.*' It might be ſaid, that the father of that maid is not our Quintilian; for, it ſeems, that Pliny would have mentioned the advantage of having been his diſciple, if he had writ to his profeſſor. Beſides, it might be ſaid, that Quintilian having loſt his wife, and two ſons, repreſents himſelf as a man whom the gods had deprived of all his family (11). Nay, he ſays that his wife died at nineteen years of age, and left him two ſons (12). Would he have expreſſed himſelf thus, if he had alſo a daughter by her? But theſe reaſons are not demonſtrative. Perhaps Quintilian married a ſecond wife, and had by her the daughter that Pliny ſpeaks of. Perhaps his eſtate decreaſed after the VIIth ſatire of Juvenal. Beſides, that Poet might look upon him as a rich man, if compared with the other Rhetors; and Pliny might think that he had but an indifferent eſtate with reſpect to the family, into which young Quintiliana was going to be married. Note, that it is certain he had been one of Quintilian's ſcholars (13), but he might very well write to him without mentioning ſuch a thing.

(8) Te porro animo beatiſſimum modicum facultatibus ſcio. *Plin. Epiſt. XXXII, lib. vi, pag. m.* 400.

(9) Tanquam parens alter puellæ noſtræ confero quinquaginta millia nummûm. *Ibid.*

(10) Ibid.

(11) Quintil. Præfat. *lib. vi,* Inſtitut. Orat.

(12) Nondum expleto ætatis undevicteſimo anno duos enixa filios. *Ibid.*

(13) Plin. Epiſt. XIV, lib. ii, & Epiſt. VI, lib. vi.

[D] *He was preceptor to the grand-ſons of Domitian's ſiſter.*] He ſays ſo himſelf; *Cum mibi Domitianus Auguſtus ſororis ſuæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non ſatis bonorem judiciorum cæleſtium intelligam, niſi ex hoc quoque oneris magnitudinem metiar* (14). Moreri does not tranſlate theſe words right, when he ſays that Domitian *intruſted Quintilian with the education of his nephews.* Barthius would be guilty of the ſame fault, if by the word *nepotes* he did not underſtand *grand-ſons*, as it is very likely he does (15). Nevertheleſs he is miſtaken. He, who wrote the contents of the chapters of Quintilian, ſays that this Rhetorician taught the ſons of Domitian's ſiſter; which is pretending to know more of the matter than Quintilian himſelf: but, will ſome ſay, where ſhall we find thoſe grand-ſons of Domitian's ſiſter? I anſwer, that it is very likely they were the two ſons of Flavius Clemens, couſin german to that prince. He deſigned them publickly to be his ſucceſſors from their infancy, and gave one of them the name of Veſpaſian, and the other that of Domitian (16). It is therefore probable, that he gave them the beſt maſter that was then at Rome, I mean Quintilian. If it be objected to me, that Flavius Clemens marrried Domitian's ſiſter, and conſequently that his ſons were not the grand-ſons of that emperor's ſiſter: if Philoſtratus be alledged againſt me, who ſays that the wife of Flavius Clemens was Domitian's ſiſter (17): I anſwer, that Philoſtratus is leſs to be credited than Dion, who only ſays, that ſhe was related to that prince. Τὸν φάσκοντα Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα κατὰ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενῆ ἑαυτῷ φλαβίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. Fabium Clementem conſulem (etſi patruelis ejus erat & Flaviam Domitillam Domitiani conſanguineam uxorem habebat) morte affecit (18). - - - - *He put to death Fabius Clement the conſul, tho' he was related to him, and had married Flavia Domitilla, ſiſter of Domitian.* Moreover, I ſay that Domitilla, Domitian's ſiſter, was not alive when Flavius Clemens was put to death; and yet Philoſtratus tells us, that the wife of that Flavius was baniſhed after the death of her huſband. He is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays ſhe was Domitian's ſiſter. We read in Suetonius that Veſpaſian had but three children by his wife Flavia Domitilla, *viz.* Titus Domitian and Domitilla, and that he loſt his wife and daughter before he was emperor (19). I ſuppoſe that Domitilla, Veſpaſian's daughter, left a daughter who was married to Flavius Clemens. According to this ſuppoſition, the ſons of Flavius Clemens, who had Quintilian for their tutor, are the grand-ſons of Domitian's ſiſter, as Quintilian ſays in expreſs words. The time that paſſed between the death of Domitilla, and the empire of Domitian, was long enough to maintain, that the grand-ſons of Domitilla were of a ſufficient age to be taught by Quintilian under that reign; for I may very well be allowed to ſay, that Veſpaſian loſt his daughter a long time before he came to be an emperor, which happened when he was ſixty years of age. The inſcription, *Flavia Domitilla Imp. Cæſaris Neptis* (20) ought to be underſtood

(14) Quintilian. Præfat. *lib. vi,* Inſtitut. Orat.

(15) Sic Domitianum adulator Quintilianus cum Nepotum ejus admotus. *Barthius, in Statium, Tom. iii, pag.* 1592.

(16) Sueton. in Domit. *cap.* xv.

(17) Ἕτερος μὲν γὰρ Κλήμαντα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν Δομιτίλλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ. Cum Clementem . . . cui ſororem ſuam nuptum dederat occidiſſet. *Philoſtr. in Vita Apollonii, lib.* viii.

(18) Xiphil. in Domitiano, *pag. m.* 236.

(19) Sueton. in Veſpaſ. *cap.* . .

(20) It is in Gruterus, *p.* 355.

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whether he was the ſon, or the grand-ſon of the Orator mentioned by Seneca the father [*E*]. Several Critics aſcribe to this Orator the declamations publiſhed by Ugolinus Parmenſis, and afterwards by Petrus Pithœus [*F*]; but the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ* are by every body looked upon as a work of our Quintilian. Poggius found out the manuſcript in a manner that is worth relating [*G*]. It would have been a great loſs to the commonwealth

ſtood, as Triſtan obſerves, not of a daughter of Veſpaſian, but of a daughter of Domitilla, Titus's ſiſter. Laſtly, I ſay that he, who beſtowed the conſulſhip upon Quintilian, was called Clemens: but he did it to reward Quintilian for his tutor-ſhip, which appears from Auſonius's deſign in mentioning this. Therefore either the father of Quintilian's pupils, or one of thoſe pupils, muſt needs have beſtowed that reward upon him; from whence I conclude, that the pupils of that Rhetorician were the ſons of Flavius Clemens, and conſequently that this Flavius was married to a daughter of Domitian's ſiſter. I wonder that neither Caſaubon (21), nor Marcilius (22), who criticized him, took any notice of Philoſtratus's miſtake; both of them approve what he ſays, that the wife of Flavius Clemens was Veſpaſian's daughter, and that ſhe was alive when that Flavius was killed. This is plainly contradicted by Suetonius (23).

(21) Caſaub. in Sueton. Domit. *cap. xv.*

(22) Theodorus Marcilius, in Sueton. ibid.

(23) In Veſpaſiano, *cap. iii.*

[*E*] *It is not certainly known whether he was the ſon or the grand-ſon of the Orator mentioned by Seneca.*] That Orator muſt have lived under Auguſtus; for Seneca, the father, ſpeaks of him as of a man, who was already dead, and whoſe reputation was extinct (24). But Quintilian was very young, when Domitius Afer, who died under Nero, was already an old man (25): It is therefore an unreaſonable thing to make him the ſon of a man, who flouriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus. It were better to ſay, that he was his grand-ſon; but perhaps it might be objected, that he has mentioned his father as an Orator (26), without ever ſpeaking one word of his grand-father. There are ſome good critics (27), who do not aſcribe the declamations publiſhed by Pithœus to the grand-father of Quintilian, nor to his father. Thoſe declamations, ſay they, do not ſavour of the age of Auguſtus; and it is not at all likely, that the productions of Quintilian, mentioned by Seneca, ſhould be ſtill extant, when other works of the ſame time, and much more elaborate, have been loſt. They obſerve that, according to Seneca, the reputation of the Orator Quintilian died with him (28). If they infer from thence, that he publiſhed no books, they do not argue right; for there are many authors, whoſe glory dies before them, or, at leaſt, with them. I muſt not forget to make this following obſervation: Quintilian's father pleaded ſome cauſes, and therefore he lived at Rome, ſay ſome; why then is it ſaid in Euſebius's chronicle, that Galba brought him to Rome from Spain? Was it an uſual thing for a man ſettled at Rome to leave his children in a province? Mr de Tillemont (29) ſhews, that this is not a convincing objection; but, nevertheleſs, he acknowledges the miſtake of Euſebius's chronicle. He ſhews, that it is not true, that Galba brought Quintilian to Rome in the year 69, and he alledges this reaſon for it, *viz.* that Quintilian heard Domitius Afer at Rome, who died in the year 59. Note, that Mr de Tillemont's argument is not very good; for he quotes a paſſage, which imports, not that Quintilian heard Domitius Afer plead, but that a certain plea of that Orator was very much eſteemed (30). He ſhould have quoted another paſſage (31). He will not have Martial's omiſſion to be urged, and I confeſs it cannot be looked upon as a demonſtrative proof; however, it affords a very ſtrong objection againſt thoſe, who ſay, that Quintilian was a Spaniard. Martial took great delight in mentioning the illuſtrious men of Spain, and in obſerving that they were born in Spain. Would he have forgot to make the ſame obſervation concerning ſo famous a man as Quintilian was? Would he have expreſſed himſelf ſo as to make one believe that Quintilian was born at Rome, rather than that he was not?

(24) Seneca, Controv. *lib. v, in Præf.*

(25) Domitio Afro quem adoleſcentulus ſenem colui. *Quintil. lib. v, cap. vii, pag.* 212.

(26) Ibid. *lib. ix, cap. iii, pag.* 432.

(27) *See* Faber's *Notes on* Seneca's Controverſies, *ubi ſupra.*

(28) Quorum fama cum ipſis extincta eſt. *Seneca, ubi ſupra.*

(29) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. *Tom. ii, pag.* 873, 874, *Edit. of Bruſſels.*

(30) *He quotes the firſt chapter of the 10th book of Quintilian, where theſe words are to be found,* 'Nobis pueris inſignes pro Voluſeno Catulo Domitii Afri, Criſpi Paſſieni, Decimi Lælii orationes ferebantur.

(31) That which I have recited above, citation (25).

(32) Martial. Epigr. XC, lib. ii.

Quintiliane vagæ moderator ſumme juventæ,
Gloria Romanæ Quintiliane togæ (32).

Quintilian, youths ſupreme director grown,
Quintilian, glory of the Roman gown.

Let the readers judge of it: but I muſt obſerve, that this paſſage of Martial does not prove that Quintilian was a native of Rome; and that thoſe, who inferred from a paſſage of Trebellius Pollio that he was a citizen of Rome (33), reaſoned wrong: 'Fuit autem, 'viz. *Poſthumius the younger,* (quod ſolum memoratu 'dignum eſt) ita in declamationibus diſertus, ut ejus 'controverſiæ Quintiliano dicantur inſertæ, quem de- 'clamatorem Romani generis acutiſſimum, vel unius 'capitis lectio prima ſtatim fronte demonſtrat. (34) - - 'He was ſo eloquent an Orator (which alone deſerves to be 'remembered) that his controverſies are ſaid to have been in- 'ſerted by Quintilian, who was the moſt ſubtle declaimer 'of all the Romans, as the reading of one ſingle chapter 'preſently demonſtrates.' Theſe words of Trebellius Pollio ſignify only, that Quintilian was a Latin Rhetor. He is there mentioned not in oppoſition to the provincial writers, but to the Greeks. As in theſe words of Pliny: 'Rationem quidem defectus utriuſ- 'que (*Solis ac Lunæ*) primus Romani generis in- 'vulgus extulit Sulpicius Gallus. . . . . Apud Græcos 'autem inveſtigavit primus omnium Thales (35). - - - 'Sulpicius Gallus was the firſt among the Romans, who 'explained the reaſon of the eclipſes both of the Sun and 'Moon. . . . . Thales was the firſt among the Greeks, who 'diſcovered it.'

(33) Catanæus, in Plinium, Epiſt. XIV, lib. ii, *pag. m.* 120, 121, *is one of them.*

(34) Trebellius Pollio, in Poſth. juniore, *pag.* 260, *Tom. ii,* Hiſtor. Auguſt. Scriptor.

(35) Plin. *cap. xii, lib. ii.*

[*F*] *The declamations publiſhed by Ugolinus Parmenſis, and afterwards by Petrus Pithœus.*] He only publiſhed one hundred thirty-ſix. Pithœus made a new edition of them in 1580, that was more correct, to which he added nine declamations, which had not been printed before. Voſſius obſerves this in one of his books (36); but in another he makes no diſtinction at all (37); *cujus declamationes CXLV à Tideo Ugolino primùm editas, ex veteri codici reſtituit P. Pythæus* (38). Moreri tranſcribes the wrong paſſage of Voſſius. For the reſt, I muſt not forget to ſay, that Voſſius is to blame for not taking notice of the time wherein Ugolinus Parmenſis lived (39), and for omitting that Peter Ayrault publiſhed (40) Quintilian's declamations, before they were publiſhed by Petrus Pithœus. He boaſts of it in his treatiſe concerning the Paternal Power. *Quintilian,* ſays he (41), *whom I have firſt publiſhed, and the learned Pithœus after me.*

(36) Voſſius, in Inſtitut. Orat. *lib. i, cap. xi, pag. m.* 198, 199.

(37) *Idem,* de Rhetorices natura, *pag.* 105.

(38) It ſhould be *Pithœus.*

(39) He lived in the XVth century. Philelphus ſpeaks of him. See Reineſius, *Epiſt. LXIII, ad Daumium, pag.* 167.

(40) At Paris in the year 1563.

(41) Ayrault, *pag. m.* 271. *See alſo his* Diſſertation de la nature & mutation des Loix, *pag. m.* 189.

[*G*] *Poggius found out the manuſcript in a manner that is worth relating.*] It was in the abbey of St Gall, during the council of Conſtance. The copy of Quintilian's works, which they had in Italy, was horribly mangled: *Ita lacerum, ita circumciſum, ut nulla forma, nullus habitus hominis in eo recognoſceretur.* You may judge, that the news of this diſcovery occaſioned a great joy. Poggius gave immediately notice of it: the letter that he writ on that occaſion was never printed; it is at the end of a manuſcript of Quintilian, in the library of Milan, as we are informed by Father Mabillon, who has given us this curious fragment of that letter. 'Fortuna quæ- 'dam fuit, cum ſua, tum maxime noſtra, ut cum 'eſſemus Conſtantiæ otioſi, cupido inceſſerit viſendi 'ejus loci, quo ille recluſus tenebatur. Eſt autem 'monaſterium ſancti Galli, prope urbem hanc mil- 'libus paſſuum viginti. Itaque nonnulli animi laxandi, '& ſimul perquirendorum librorum, quorum nume- 'rus maximus ibi eſſe dicebatur, gratia eo perrexi- 'mus. Ibi inter confertiſſimam librorum copiam, 'quos longum eſſet recenſere, Quintilianum reperi- 'mus adhuc ſalvum & incolumem, plenum tamen ſitu, '& pulvere refertum. Erant enim in bibliotheca li- 'bri illi, non ut eorum dignitas poſtulabat, ſed in 'teterrimo quodam & obſcuro carcere, fundo ſcilicet 'unius turris, quo ne vita quidem damnati detrude- 'rentur. . . . . Reperimus præterea libros tres primos '& dimidiatum quarti C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica'n; '& expoſitiones, tamquam thema quoddam, ſuper 'octo Ciceronis orationibus Q. Aſconii Pediani elo- 'quentiſſimi viri, de quibus ipſe meminit Quintilianus. 'Hæc mea manu tranſcripſi, & quidem velociter, ut 'ea mitterem ad Leonardum Aretinum & Nicolaum 'Florentinum; qui cum à me hujus theſauri adinven- 'tionem

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monwealth of learning, if Quintilian's works had been loſt, for he is an excellent author; and it were to be wiſhed, that all thoſe who write books, would firſt of all read him with great attention. I am ſorry I have been too late ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of ſuch a reading. Mr de la Fontaine, who was a very good judge, eſteemed that Rhetorician very much. See, in his poſthumous works (g), the verſes he ſent to the biſhop of Avranches, *when he preſented him with Quintilian's works tranſlated by Horatio Toſcanella.* Mr Nicolle the father, and the abbot de Pure, have given us a French tranſlation of that author. The moſt correct edition of Quintilian is that of Mr Obrecht [H]. The dialogue *de cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* is to be found in it, as in all the other editions, though all the Critics do not believe that Quintilian is the author of it; many aſcribe it to Tacitus, and it is commonly printed with the works of that Hiſtorian. That which is certain is, that our author wrote a book *de cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* (b). I think it is loſt, and I make no doubt that it was as excellent in its kind, as the other pieces of Quintilian that are extant. I have not given a full account of his merit. I muſt further add, that he appears by his works to have been a very honeſt man, and that there is a great deal of good morality in them. Some blame him for praiſing the emperor Domitian too much, and though he did it only by the by, and very nicely (i), they will not forgive him that fault, which ſeems, without doubt, to be very great to thoſe, who have read the Hiſtory of that wicked prince. Had I had Mr Dodwell's *Annales Quintilianei* (k), this article might have been better; but through a misfortune of which I ſo often complain, I mean that I am deprived of the moſt neceſſary books, I have not been able to peruſe that work.

(g) Pag. 52, of the Dutch edition.

(b) Quintilianus, Inſtitutiones, *lib. vi, init. & lib. viii, in fine.*

(i) Ibid. *lib. x, cap. i.*

(k) Printed at Oxford in the year 1698.

(42) Mabillon, in Muſeo Italico, *Tom. i, Part i, pag.* 211.

'tionem cognoviſſent, multis à me verbis Quintilianum 'per ſuas litteras quam primum ad eos mitti contende-'runt (42). - - - - *It was his good fortune, but eſpecially 'ours, that being at Conſtance, and having nothing to 'do, we had a deſire to ſee the place, in which he was 'ſhut up. It is the monaſtery of St Gall, twenty miles 'from this city. Therefore ſome of us, to divert our-'ſelves, and at the ſame time to ſearch after books, of 'which there was a great number there, went thi-'ther. There we found Quintilian amidſt a heap of 'books, which it would be tedious to reckon up, ſtill 'ſafe and ſound, but covered with dirt and duſt. For 'the books in the library were not placed in a manner 'ſuitable to their merit, but lodged in a naſty and ob-'ſcure priſon, at the bottom of a tower, in which a 'condemned perſon would hardly be confined. . . . . We 'found alſo the three firſt books, and half the fourth, of 'Valerius Flaccus's Argonautics, and the Expoſitions on 'eight Orations of Cicero, by Quintus Aſconius Pedia-'nus, a moſt eloquent man, which Quintilian himſelf 'mentions. Theſe I tranſcribed with my own hand, and 'as faſt as I could, that I might ſend them to Leonard 'Aretinus, and Nicolas Florentinus, who hearing that 'I had found this treaſure, earneſtly preſſed me that I 'would ſend Quintilian to them as ſoon as poſſible.'* For the reſt, to know the bad condition the Quintilian they had before that diſcovery, was in, we need only read one of Petrarch's letters (43). One Gaſparinus of Bergamo, who taught Philological learning at Milan, was very much to be pitied; for he took a great deal of pains about that wretched manuſcript, before a better could be found out (44). I muſt take notice of a miſtake in Varillas. 'Poggio, *ſays he* (45), had 'the good fortune to light upon the Inſtitutions, and 'the nineteen firſt declamations of Quintilian, as he 'was ſearching in a ſhop of a German Grocer, who 'was going to tear them to fold up his wares (46). 'They who know that it was the only copy extant, 'will be for ever indebted to Poggio for that diſco-'very.' Mr de Larroque has made it appear, that it is not true that this was the only copy extant. Theſe are his words; 'How great ſoever that loſs 'might have been (47), it would not have been ir-'recoverable. A fine manuſcript of that Roman 'Rhetor, above five hundred years old, which is to 'be found in the noble library of Oxford, would 'have made up that loſs to the public, as well as 'ſeveral others of a conſiderable antiquity, that are at 'Cologne, and at Berne, as I have been lately in-'formed by the learned Mr Grævius; and ſuppoſe 'thoſe had met likewiſe with an unmerciful Grocer, 'that loſs might have been ſupplied ſtill by thoſe 'that are to be found in the library of the moſt 'Chriſtian King; there are fourteen or fifteen of them, 'if the catalogue I have ſeen is true (48).'

(43) That which he writes to Quintilian.

(44) Volaterran. *lib. xxi, pag. m.* 772, 773.

(45) Varillas, Anecdot. de Florence, *pag.* 163.

(46) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. *cap. x, pag.* 30, *ſays only* ita ut & ei quoque (*Pogio*) Quintilianum in falſis mentani taberna repertum debere fateamur. *Paul Jovius is miſtaken, and Mr Varillas more ſtill. Quintilian was found in the abbey of St Gall.*

(47) That of the manuſcript which the German Grocer was going to tear.

(48) Larroque's *Preface to the* Nouvelles Accuſations contre Mr Varillas, *folio* 4 *verſo.*

[H] *The moſt correct edition . . . . is that of Mr Obrecht.*] It was publiſhed in two volumes in 4to, at Straſbourg, in the year 1698. He has mended the text in many places with the help of manuſcripts, or by his own conjectures (49). He has not done like other critics, who place in their notes, or at the end of the book, the various readings which they like beſt, and leave in the text thoſe which they believe to be falſe; but he gives the text as he thinks it ought to be read. Mr Salo, in the year 1665, adviſed thoſe who publiſh the ancient authors, to do the ſame. See his *Journal des Savans* of the ſixteenth of May, 1665 (50).

(49) *See the* Acta Eruditorum, *Dec.* 1698, *pag.* 546, *& ſeq.*

(50) *Pag.* 222.

QUINTIN (JOHN) profeſſor of the Canon Law at Paris in the XVIth century, was a native of Autun. He neither wanted learning nor genius. At firſt he liked the new opinions, as they were called, and declared his mind, in an oration, ſo plainly about it, that he was forced to remove from Poitiers [A]; but his faith which was only temporary [B] was not proof againſt a long perſecution. He quickly accepted of a good benefice,

[A] *To remove from Poitiers.*] Preſident la Place informs us of it in this manner: 'Several having heard 'the harangue of the ſaid Quintin, were amazed at 'it, expecting no ſuch thing from him, becauſe he 'had been formerly ſuſpected, and even proſecuted on 'account of religion, and forced to retire from Poi-'tiers, for having made a ſpeech in public quite dif-'ferent from that which he then made (1).' Beza ſays the ſame thing (2).

(1) La Place, de l'eſtat de la Religion & Republique, *livr. iv, fol.* 151, *verſo.*

(2) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *Tom. i, pag.* 436.

(3) Ib. *p.* 63.

[B] *His faith was only temporary.*] Beza (3) ſpeaks of him thus: 'Some years before, another ſcholar, whoſe 'name was Quintin, a native of Autun, had likewiſe 'entred the liſts; but being forced to retire, he was 'ſo far from perſevering, that, on the contrary, he in-'tirely fell off: and, at laſt, being a famous doctor of 'the Canon Law in the univerſity of Paris, and hav-'ing got a ſubſtantial benefice from the order of the 'knights of Rhodes, he became a perſecutor as far 'as he was able.' That Hiſtorian mentions ſeveral other perſons whom he looked upon as men, who had received the ſeed *into ſtony ground* (4), and among the thorns: they had heard the word, and *anon with joy received it*; but they had no root in themſelves, they laſted but for a time, ſo that *tribulation or perſecution ariſing becauſe of the word, by and by they were offended; the care of this world, and the deceitfulneſs of riches,* choaked the word, and they became unfruitful.

(4) Matth. xiii. 20.

[C] *To*

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benefice, that was given him by the order of the knights of Malta (*a*); and when he returned from that iſland, where he had been a domeſtic to the Great Maſter, he was made profeſſor of the Canon Law at Paris in the year 1536. That which made him moſt ſpoken of, was the harangue he made in the name of the clergy during the aſſembly of the ſtates at Orleans in December 1560. He demanded that thoſe of the new religion ſhould be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity; which would be more ſurprizing, if it had not been a thing practiſed for many ages: but though that bloody ſpirit had prevailed never ſo long, many could not forbear wondering that a clergyman ſhould have taken upon himſelf to ſollicit ſuch a thing [*C*]. Quintin did not foreſee, that the chief men of the Proteſtants would ſhew a great deal of vigour in that aſſembly; much leſs did he foreſee, that he would be extremely affected with the animadverſions that ſhould be made upon his harangue. Had he foreſeen thoſe things, he would without doubt have kept at Paris, and had rather choſen to explain ſome decretals to his ſcholars, than to give leſſons of cruelty to the king, his maſter, in the preſence of the three Eſtates of the kingdom. Admiral Chatillon complained ſo openly of Quintin's ſpeech [*D*], that the king, and the queen-mother, ſent for that Orator, to call him to an account for what he had ſaid. His anſwer was, that he had only followed the orders and memoirs of the body, whoſe ſpokeſman he had been. The Proteſtants were not ſatisfied with that anſwer (*b*); he was obliged to declare before the aſſembly of the Eſtates, that he did not deſign to reflect on admiral Chatillon: but he was much more vexed at the railleries and cenſures, that were diſperſed againſt his declamation [*E*]. He could not bear that mortification, and his affliction

(*a*) Douiat. Præn. Canonic. *lib. v, cap. viii, pag.* 620.

(*b*) Commentaires de l'état de la Relig. & Republ. *livr. iv, folio* 152. Thuanus, *lib. xxvii.*

[*C*] *To ſollicit ſuch a thing.*] Quintin having demanded that all the inhabitants of the kingdom ſhould be obliged to be Catholics; that the *Non-Chriſtians*, that is, the Heretics, ſhould not be *admitted into the converſation and company of the Chriſtian ſubjects* (5); and that *for the time to come, all Heretics ſhould be forbidden to deal in any commodity (whether it were books, or any other thing)* (6), added theſe dreadful words (7). 'And therefore our requeſt is juſt, 'reaſonable, holy, and catholic, and grounded upon 'the expreſs command of GOD, who injoins you, Sire, 'to grant it us, repeating the ſaid command in ſeveral 'places, and at ſeveral times. He ſpeaks of the idolaters and Gentiles, ſtrangers to the law: Heretics 'among Chriſtians are accounted to be ſuch. Theſe 'are the words of the ſaid law of GOD; be ſure not 'to contract any friendſhip, confederacy, or marriage, 'with them; do not ſuffer them to inhabit the country; take no pity on them, beat them, deſtroy them 'to a man. And then follows the reaſon of that 'command, leſt they ſhould make thee ſin againſt me, 'if thou believeſt their opinions; which will be an 'offence and a ſcandal, that will raiſe my fury againſt 'thee, and ſoon after I ſhall deſtroy thee. Sire, and 'you Madam, avoid thoſe horrible and dreadful threatnings, for the ſalvation of your ſouls, and the preſervation of your ſceptre. This is, Sire, what your 'clergy of France propoſe, and repreſent to your majeſty in all ſimplicity, obedience, humility, and ſubmiſſion, concerning the honour and ſervice of GOD 'in your kingdom, and for the extirpation and abolition of what is contrary to it, namely, of ſects and 'hereſies. The whole matter is more fully and particularly diſcuſſed and handled in their memorial, 'to which we expect an anſwer.' Quintin's ſpeech is to be found entire in the Hiſtory of preſident la Place. It is plain, that *the moſt humble and devout Orators of the clergy* (8) were for ſhedding blood, if it was neceſſary, ſince they re-minded the king of Moſes's order and threatnings; beſides, Quintin had already ſaid in expreſs words, that his *majeſty being ſtrong, and armed with the ſword*, ought to oppoſe the Heretics, that *in order to it, and for no other end, GOD had put the ſword into his hands, to protect the good, and puniſh the wicked; and that none can deny that a Heretic is capitally wicked, and conſequently ought to be puniſhed capitally, and be ſubject to the ſword of the magiſtrate* (9).

(5) La Place, ubi ſupra, *fol.* 139, *verſo.*

(6) Ib. *p.* 140.

(7) Ib. *p.* 141.

(8) They are Quintin's words, *ibid. fol.* 139.

(9) Ibid. *fol.* 134, *verſo.*

The French clergy acted more artfully one hundred and twenty-five years after; for in a ſpeech they made to the king ſome months before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they declared that they did not deſire his majeſty ſhould make uſe of his power for the extirpation of the Heretics. This artifice, after all, is no very deep one, and I do not know whether the too ingenuous plainneſs of the year 1560, ought not to be preferred to the diſſimulation of the year 1685. Read theſe words of Mr Claude. '(10) Whilſt the thing 'was only preparing, the true authors of the perſecution did not conceal themſelves, but uſed their 'endeavours to make the king appear in it. . . . . '(11). When things came to the laſt extremity, and 'to open force, they concealed themſelves as much as 'they could, and made the king appear alone. There 'was nothing to be heard then, but this ſort of diſcourſes, *The king will have it ſo, the king is reſolved 'upon it, the king goes farther than the clergy deſire.* 'By theſe two means they have been ſo cunning, as 'to aſcribe to themſelves the leaſt violent part of that 'perſecution, and to charge the king with the moſt 'odious part.'

(10) Plaintes des Proteſtans, *p.* 130.

(11) Ib. *p.* 131.

[*D*] *Admiral Chatillon complained openly of Quintin's harangue.*] He had been ſo plainly pointed at in ſome paſſages of that harangue, that every body caſt their eyes upon him: beſides, he had been deſcribed in a very offenſive manner; and it was plain enough, that there was a deſign to load him with infamy, and to undo him. Here is one of thoſe paſſages. '(12) In 'the firſt place, we beſeech you, Sire, that if any 'broacher of old hereſies now dead and buried, would 'impiouſly bring in and renew any ſect already condemned (as are *in univerſum* all thoſe of this deplorable and ſeditious time,) and in order to it petition for a church, and permiſſion of inhabiting this 'kingdom, (as ſome of your provinces have lately 'done, with great impudence, in their particular aſſemblies,) that ſuch a petitioner be accounted and 'declared a Heretic, as being a favourer of Heretics; 'and that he be proceeded againſt as ſuch, according 'to the rigour of the canonical and civil conſtitutions, '*ut auferatur malum de medio noſtri.*' Here is another paſſage, '(13) Gainas, captain-general of the empe- 'ror Arcadius's forces, both foot and horſe, in the year '410, or 412, plotting againſt the crown of his king, 'and deſigning to dethrone him, found no better way 'to conceal his ill will, and to hide his treaſon, than 'to demand of him a church in the city of Conſtantinople, to pray, as he ſaid, and to ſing with his brethren, who were all Heretics, as are now-a-days thoſe 'petitioners for churches.'

(12) La Place, ubi ſupra, *folio* 135, *verſo.*

(13) Ibid. *folio* 136, *verſo.*

[*E*] *Railleries and cenſures were diſperſed againſt his declamation.*] The author of the commentaries *De ſtatu Religionis & Reipublicæ in regno Galliæ*, does not poſitively ſay, that thoſe railleries, and the paſquinades that were poſted up in ſeveral places againſt Quintin, occaſioned his death; he makes an alternative between that and the uneaſineſs of his conſcience (14). Preſident la Place and Varillas uſe no alternative, and the former has not omitted the reaſons that were alledged in Quintin's vindication. Theſe are his words: 'Some ſaid, that thoſe who blamed him upon that account, did not conſider that his leſſon was written 'down for him, which he read all along, without any 'geſtures or motions uſual to thoſe who make orations; and that the chief prelates, ſome cardinals, 'and others, were witneſſes and comptrollers of what 'he read. However he died a few days after, being 'vexed to ſee ſeveral pieces publiſhed againſt him (15).'

(14) Paſſim vero in eum dicteria jactari, libellos affigi: ille denique palam irriderі: tandemque ſeu contumeliarum illarum impatiens, ſeu malè geſtæ rei conſcientia in morbum delapſus, vitam cum morte commutavit. *Folio* 87.

(15) La Place, ubi ſupra, *folio* 151, *verſo.*

Now,

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affliction was so great, that he fell sick, and died of grief about the beginning of April, 1561. He was buried at Paris in the choir of the church of St John of Lateran [F]. I shall mention the books of his which we have [G]. Peter Ramus chose him to be one of the judges of his disputation against Govea in the year 1543. But Quintin, and the other judge (c) chosen by Ramus, would not concern themselves in that affair, when they were to give the sentence (d).

(c) A doctor of Physic, whose name was John de Beaumont.

(d) See John de Launoi, De varia Aristotelis fortuna, *cap.* xiii, *pag. m.* 52; and the remark [D], of the article RAMUS.

Now, let us hear Varillas. 'The zealous Calvinists, 'says he (16), were not so moderate; for they pub- 'lished such a bloody libel against Quintin, divided 'into three parts; the first of which contained the 'gross ignorances, the second the manifest calumnies, 'and the third the malicious omissions of that speech; 'that the doctor being more touchy than he should 'have been, took his bed after he had read that li- 'bel, and rose no more.' If Varillas had taken the trouble to read that libel, he would not have called it a *bloody* one: It is a piece, containing three pages, by way of remonstrance to the queen, which was not presented to her, and which *came but into few hands*. It is to be seen at length in Beza's History of the reformed churches (17), and it does not at all look like a libel or a satire, but rather like a writing belonging to a process, that is brought before the judges, according to the usual style and formalities. There is scarce any thing in it besides the heads of the complaints, and these words were added under the calumnies that were cited: *We desire that these accusations should be proved against us, being ready to undergo punishment, upon condition that the accusers, for want of proof, shall be punished according to the heinousness of the crimes falsly imputed to us.* It is very likely, that the mortal grief of that author proceeded from some other writings. Thuanus uses the plural number, and observes that Quintin was otherwise a good man, and had formerly been zealous for the Reformation of the church (18). There was no meddling then with the Protestants; they had too many good writers on their side. Here is a man, who lost his life for having prepostorously declaimed against them. He may be added to those whom I have mentioned in the article of HIPPONAX (19).

(16) Varillas, Charles IX, *Tom. i, pag.* 28, *Dutch Edit.*

(17) *Tom. i, p.* 437.

(18) Sane ob id mordacibus libellis ac dicteriis petitus tantum dolorem cepit, ut contracto inde morbo paulo post decesserit, homo alioqui minime malus, sed Decretalis Juris quam rerum agendarum peritia clarior, & qui serio de emendanda Ecclesia aliquando cogitaverat. *Thuanus, lib. xxviii.*

(19) Remark [F].

[F] *He was buried at Paris in the choir of the church of St John of Lateran.*] His epitaph is to be seen there in these words (20):

Quintinus Doctor, librorumque Helluo summus,
Dum nulla dapis alterius tentatur orexi,
Dumque fidem pro qua calamo pugnavit & ore
Fortiter, affligi videt, acrius & dolet, ex hoc
Orbe, invitis, non invitus, migrat amicis.
Obiit nona Aprilis 1561.

(20) Vide Doujat. Præn. Canonic. *lib. v, cap. viii, pag.* 620.

Quintin, whose eager appetite desir'd
Cart loads of books, nor other food requir'd,
Seeing the faith, for which he spoke and writ,
Oppress'd, in grief resolv'd the world to quit.
Willing he died; not so each weeping friend;
For all lament the learned Quintin's end.
He died the 9th of April 1561.

Observe, that whereas others ascribe his death to the grief he conceived for the abusive reflexions that were made upon him; the author of his epitaph ascribes it to his being sensibly affected with the affliction of the church. This is a subterfuge which bigots for a long time have used on all occasions.

[G] *The books we have of him.*] *Melitæ Insulæ descriptio. Tractatus de ventis, & nautica buxula ventorum indice. Scholia in Tertulliani librum de præscriptionibus hæreticorum* (21). *Repetitæ Prælectiones Capituli de multa providentia, de præbendis & dignitatibus, & Cap. novit. de judiciis.* The plurality of benefices, and the aristocracy of the Christian religion, are the subject of this last book. *Octoginta quinque Regulæ seu Canones Apostolorum, cum vetustis Joannis Monachi Zonaræ scholiis Latine modo versis. Speculum Sacerdotii. Synodus Gangrensis explicata commentariolis ex Gratiani distinctione trigesima. Hæreticorum Catalogus & Historia ex Gratiano.* He translated into Latin the *Syntagma Canonum Græcorum*, written by Matthew Blastares, a Monk. That translation was never printed, it is in the library of the king of France (22).

(21) Epit. Bibl. Gesneri.

(22) Doujat. ubi supra.

QUINTUS (CALABER) a Greek Poet, lived in the Vth century, if we may rely on the conjectures of some learned men [A]. He composed a large supplement to the Iliad, which contains the History of the Trojan war from Hector's death,

[A] *He lived in the Vth century, if we may rely upon the conjectures of some learned men.*] Rhodomannus (1) is in the right to say, that he did not live before the great conquests of the Roman people; for he brings in the sooth-sayer Calchas, foretelling that Æneas should reign in Italy, and that his posterity should extend their empire from the east to the west.

(1) Laurent. Rhodomanus, *in Præfat. ad* Cointum Smyrnæum.

---- Ἐκ τῆ δὲ γένηϖ μετόπισθεν ἀνάξειν,
Ἀχαιὸς ἐπ' ἀντολίην τε καὶ ἀκάμα]τον δύσιν ἔλθῃ.

---- *Ejusque exinde progenies regnet,*
Donec ad ortum & occasum insuperabilem imperii fines extendat (2).

(2) Cointus Smyrnæus, *lib. xiii, ver.* 340, *pag. m.* 650.

Besides he mentions (3) the exercises of the Circus, as they were used under the Roman emperors. One may therefore conclude, that he did not live before the first Cæsars: But this being too general to satisfy an inquisitive person, a more limited conjecture has been drawn from his style: Rhodomannus thinks, that the character of his muse is so like that of Tryphiodorus, Coluthus, &c. that it is very likely they lived at the same time. '(4) Character ipse carminis γεαμμα- 'τικώτερον elaboratus ostendit, eum Coluthi (qui ad 'quintum Christi nati seculum poëma lepidissimum de 'Helenes raptu conscripsit) aliorumque illa ætate vi- 'gentium, æqualem aut vicinum fuisse. Enimvero si 'dictionem Cointi, Coluthi, Tryphiodori, Musæi, '(illum dico, qui Leandri Herusque amores cecinit) '& Nonni, ad examen Criticum vocâris, simillimam '& ferè eandem sermonis ideam structuræque ratio- 'nem deprehendes: unde ætate quoque propinquos 'inter se fuisse ratiocineris. --- *His elaborate verses 'shew, that he was either cotemporary with or lived 'near the time of Coluthus (who in the Vth century 'after Christ wrote a most witty poem on the rape of 'Helen) and other writers of that age. For if you 'critically examine the style of Cointus, Coluthus, Tryphiodorus, Musæus, (him I mean, who sung the loves 'of Leander and Hero) and Nonnus, you will find an 'exact resemblance between his and their manner of 'writing; from whence you may reasonably suppose they 'lived about the same time.'* What Rhodomannus adds, that the name Cointus, of a Latin original, shews, that this Poet was made a Roman citizen, is but a weak confirmation of what he had said before; for, though this Greek Poet had lived before Cicero, he might have been honoured with the freedom of Rome. Reinesius (5) has good reason to laugh at those, who pretend that he lived under one of the emperors of the family Julia. They ground their opinion on the oracle of Calchas, and they pretend that Nero being the last of the family of the first Cæsar, that Poet must have lived at farthest under the empire of Nero. This is a wrong way of drawing consequences. At this very day our Poets might bring in Calchas, foretelling such a thing, though the Roman empire has been dismembred long since.

(3) *Lib. vi.*

(4) Rhodomanus, ibid. *folio* †† *verso.*

(5) Thom. Reinesius, Epist. LXVII, ad Rupert. *pag.* 593.

Cointus

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death, 'till the deſtruction of Troy. Cardinal Beſſarion was the firſt who made that poem known [*B*]. He found it in the church of St Nicolas near Otranto in Calabria; and this is the reaſon why the author was called Quintus Calaber. Others being more exact, call him Quintus, or rather Cointus Smyrnæus; for they think he was of Smyrna. Thoſe, who ſay he taught youth there [*C*], ſeem to me to have no good grounds

Cointus needed not conſider the emperors, who pretended to be deſcended from Æneas: It was enough for him, that the city built by Romulus, who was deſcended from Æneas, did rule or had ruled from eaſt to weſt.

[*B*] *Cardinal Beſſarion is the firſt who made that Poem known.*] Here is a paſſage of Conſtantine Laſcaris. 'Poeſis autem Homericiſſimi Quinti jam multo 'tempore omnibus ignota fuit, & tanquam extincta: 'ſed propius Beſſarion Nicæas Cardinalis Tuſculani, 'ille ſane quam bonus & vere doctus, & ut Homericè 'dixerim, ſimilis Deo vir, aliaque plurima in nos, '& hanc ex Apulia cum ſervaſſet, volentibus tradi- (6) Conſtant. Laſcaris, in Grammatica, apud Lorenzo Criſſo, Iſtoria de' Poëti Greci, *pag.* 436. 'dit, quam & ipſe olim deſiderabam (6). - - - *The 'Poem of Quintus Calaber, a writer very like Homer, 'lay a long time buried in obſcurity: but Cardinal Beſ- 'ſarion, that good, learned, and, to ſpeak like Homer, 'that godlike man having reſcued it from oblivion in 'Apulia, gave it to me who had long deſired to have it.*' Very few authors had mentioned that Poem (7): And therefore we ought the leſs to be ſurprized that Quintus Curtius has not been mentioned for ſo many ages. The firſt edition of our Cointus is that of Aldus Manutius: It was full of faults (8).

(7) Hujus præter unum atque alterum è Græcis, & quidem recentioribus, nemo in ſcriptis ſuis mentionem facit. *Rhodomanus, in Præfat.*

(8) Geſner, in Bibl. *folio* 575.

[*C*] *That he taught youth at Smyrna.*] Here is Rhodomannus's argument. Since our Cointus ſays, that he fed the Muſes ſheep in the fine garden of Smyrna, it ought to be inferred from it, that he was maſter of a famous ſchool on that coaſt of Ionia. It was no mean ſchool; for he ſays that his ſcholars were illuſtrious: He was therefore one of thoſe Profeſſors of Philoſophy and Eloquence, who were called Sophiſts. This is the ſubſtance of Rhodomannus's argument. I ſhall give you his own words at length. 'Ex indicio 'iſto, quod de ſe ipſe facit, Muſarum oves in libe- 'rali Smyrnæ horto ſe paviſſe teſtatus, ſcholam in 'Ioniæ littore iſto nec infrequentem nec incelebrem 'habuiſſe Poëtam noſtrum, colligere eſt. Nec tri- 'viale magiſterium id fuiſſe apparet inde, quod oves 'ſuas, id eſt diſcipulos, nobiles ſeu fama illuſtres, '(περίκλυτα) epitheto ſatis emphatico, appellat, 'unde ſi divinare licet, id tandem elicimus, Cointum 'fuiſſe ex profeſſione illorum, quos Sophiſtas, id eſt 'philoſophiæ & eloquentiæ magiſtros, Grammaticos, 'qui Poëtarum interpretes erant, & juventutis ſchola- 'ſticæ doctores; florens adhuc Græcia indigitabat. 'Quid enim aliud per Muſarum hortum & oves, præ- 'ter quam ſcholam, & diſcipulos in ea doctrinæ & 'eloquentiæ ſtudiis addictos, intelligi exiſtimemus (9)? (9) Rhodomanus, ubi ſupra, *folio* †† 2, *verſo.* '- - - *From the diſcovery he makes concerning himſelf, 'by ſaying that he fed the Muſes ſheep in the fruitful gar- 'den of Smyrna, we may gather that our Poet kept a 'numerous and famous ſchool on the coaſt of Ionia. And 'that it was not a petty kind of a ſchool is evident 'from the emphatical title of noble or illuſtrious, which 'he gives his ſheep, that is, his ſcholars: and there- 'fore, if I may be allowed to gueſs, I infer that Coin- 'tus was of the profeſſion of thoſe, who in the flouriſh- 'ing times of Greece were called Sophiſts, that is, the 'maſters of Philoſophy and Eloquence, or Grammarians, 'who did interpret the Poets and inſtruct the youth: For 'what elſe can we ſuppoſe to be meant by the garden 'and ſheep of the Muſes, but a ſchool and ſcholars train- 'ed up in the ſtudies of Philoſophy and Eloquence.*' He had ſaid a little before: '(10) Cum tota ejus vita (10) Ib. *p.* 2. 'ignorantiæ tenebris involuta ſit, patria tamen ſola 'vindiciis inde aſſerta eſt. Nam libro XIV & hanc '& vitæ quodam modo genus exprimit; ubi ſe Mu- 'ſarum ovibus paſcendis Smyrnæ operam dediſſe pro- 'fitetur. - - - *Though his whole life be unknown to us, 'yet his native country has been preſerved from oblivion. 'For in the XIVth book he expreſsly mentions it, and in 'ſome ſort the manner of life he led: he there declares 'that he imployed himſelf in feeding the Muſes ſheep at 'Smyrna.*' Here follows a ſurprizing inſtance of a rambling imagination. I muſt firſt recite the Greek words of Cointus: They are not in the XIVth book, as Rhodomannus ſays, but in the XIIth; and they contain an invocation of the Muſes, occaſioned by the enumeration of thoſe, who were ſo courageous as to get into the wooden horſe.

Τίς μοι νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνηρεμένῳ σάφα μῦσαι
Ἕσπεθ', ὅσοι κατέβησαν ἔσω πολυχανδὲς ἵππου
Τμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσαν μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκατ' ἀοιδὴν,
Πρίν μοι ἀμφὶ παρειᾷ κατασκίδνασθαι ἴουλον,
Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι πεπειλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι.

Quos mihi nunc ſingulatim exquirenti, Muſæ perſpicuè
Recenſete, quotquot in multicapacem equum conſcenderunt.
Nam vos omnigenum animo meo carmen indidiſtis,
Antequam mihi circa genas lanugo ſpargeretur,
In campis Smyrnæ inclytas oves paſcenti (11).

(11) Cointus Smyrnæus, *lib. xii, ver.* 302, *pag.* 610.

Relate my muſe (to thee the truth's reveal'd)
How many Greeks the wooden horſe conceal'd.
Thou taught'ſt me verſe, e're the firſt down began
To cloath my youthful chin, and promiſe man,
When all my ſkill extended but to keep,
In Smyrna's fertile plains a flock of ſheep.

It is plain, the author tells the Muſes that they made him a Poet, when, being as yet beardleſs, he kept ſheep in the fields of Smyrna. How can this ſignify, that he taught the youth, that he had a famous ſchool, and illuſtrious ſcholars? How could a boy, who had as yet no beard, exerciſe ſuch a profeſſion? How could Rhodomannus be ſo heedleſs, though he ſpent many years upon that Poem, though he tranſlated it into Latin, and made an abridgment of it in Greek and Latin verſe? Where did he find that Cointus boaſts of having fed the Muſes ſheep (12)? Now let us ſee the lazineſs of another learned man. 'Nunc (12) Se Muſarum ovibus paſcendis Smyrnæ operam dediſſe profitetur. *Rhodom. ubi ſupra.* 'veriſimilius Smyrnæum nuncupant: quia ipſe lib. 'XIV. dicat, ſe περικλυτοῖς five illuſtribus Muſarum 'ovibus Smyrnæ paſcendis operam dediſſe: ex quo ſi 'de patria haud certo colligitur, ſaltem videmus 'ſcholam non infrequentem præſtantium diſcipulorum 'habuiſſe Smyrnæ (13). - - - *Now he is ſaid to be of 'Smyrna, which is more probable; becauſe in the XIVth 'book he himſelf ſays that he had been employed in feed- 'ing the noble or illuſtrious ſheep of the Muſes at Smyr- 'na; from whence, if we cannot certainly determine 'which was his native country, at leaſt we ſee that he 'had a large ſchool of eminent ſcholars at Smyrna.*' (13) Voſſius, de Poëtis Græcis, *pag.* 81. Voſſius, without taking the pains to conſult Cointus, tranſcribed what he found in Rhodomannus's preface: He took from it the falſe quotation of the XIVth book, and the falſe gloſs of the Muſes ſheep, with the whole conſequence which that tranſlator drew from it. He, and other learned men, have done the like a thouſand times. I wonder that Reineſius ſhould approve ſuch an explication of thoſe verſes of Cointus: He will have it alſo, that it appears from them that this Poet was a ſchool-maſter at Smyrna. 'Convenit autem, *ſays he* (14), ut quod maximè, (14) Thom. Reineſius, ubi ſupra. 'Grammatico, qualis fuit Corintus, ludimagiſtri of- 'ficio fungi & docere pueros, quod noſter de ſe pro- 'fitetur l. II (15), verſibus dulciſſimis: neque falſi 'ſunt viri docti imprimis *Parrhaſius*, & diligentiſſimus (15) It ſhould be *l. xii.* 'ejus recenſitor ac interpres *Laur. Rhodomannus*, qui 'eos de inſtitutione ſcholaſtica apud Smyrnenſes inter- 'pretati ſunt. - - - *But it agrees very well with the 'character of a Grammarian, as Corintus was, to do 'the office of a ſchool-maſter, and to teach youth, which 'our Poet declares concerning himſelf l. II, in very fine 'verſes: and learned men, eſpecially* Parrhaſius, *and his 'moſt accurate reviſer and interpreter* Laur. Rhodoman- 'nus, *are not miſtaken in explaining them to relate to 'his teaching a ſchool at Smyrna.*' What he ſays in the next words is better grounded: He rejects the opinion of thoſe, who pretend that Cointus deſigned only, by thoſe verſes, to boaſt of his following Homer. 'Dubitoque igitur quenquam ita ſimplicem eſſe, qui '*Smyrnæ oves paſcere idem eſſe ac Homerum ſequi, quem 'bona pars Smyrnæum cenſuit*, credere velit, aut ita 'perſpicacem qui duo iſta eadem eſſe videre poſſit. 'Mihi quidem tam beato eſſe nondum contigit, & 'habeo

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grounds for it. The learned Reineſius pretends he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from a Grammarian called Corintus [*D*], of whom there is a book concerning the dialects. The beſt edition of Quintus Calaber's Poem is that of Rhodomannus [*E*]. Some Critics admire Cointus; others ſpeak of him with great contempt. See the Paſſages quoted by Lorenzo Craſſo (*a*), and Mr Baillet's *Jugemens des Savans* (*b*). One Udenus Niſielus praiſes him for ſome things, and blames him for ſome others. See his *Progymnaſmata*; it is an Italian book.

(*a*) Lor. Craſſo, Iſtoria de' Poëti Greci, *p.* 436, *& ſeq.*

(*b*) Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *Tom. ii, num.* 1195.

' habeo pro violenta & à ſenſu Poëtæ alieniſſima eam ' expoſitionem (16). - - - *And therefore I queſtion whe-* ' *ther any can be ſo ſimple as to believe*, that feeding ' ſheep at Smyrna is the ſame thing as following Ho- ' mer, *or ſo quick ſighted as to be able to ſee thoſe* ' *two things to be the ſame. As for my part I have* ' *not been hitherto ſo fortunate, and I look upon that in-* ' *terpretation to be forced, and contrary to the meaning* ' *of the Poet.*' As for me, I believe the whole myſtery lies in an imitation of Heſiod. Read theſe words of Tanaquillus Faber. *Heſiod became a Poet, as he was feeding his ſheep: I hope you will believe him; for he ſays ſo himſelf: And thoſe, who ſaid it after him, ſaid it only upon the credit of that Poet, or upon the authority of the ſhepherds of Bœotia, to whom that adventure appeared ſo wonderful, that they made a ſong upon it, which is loſt* (17). Our Cointus, if I am not miſtaken, meant that the Muſes had done him the ſame favour, as they had done to Heſiod (18). For the reſt, I ſhall obſerve, that Volaterran, and ſome others, make him a Roman, without any ſhew of reaſon; and that Geſner (19) was in the wrong to fancy that Volaterran does not ſpeak of the ſame Poet, whoſe XIV books *derelictorum ab Homero* were publiſhed by Aldus. This fault has not been mended by thoſe, who abridged Geſner's *Bibliotheque:* Like him, they made two articles of *Quintus Poëta Romanus*, mentioned by Volaterran, and of *Quintus Calaber*, printed by Aldus.

(16) Reineſius, ubi ſupra.

(17) Le Fevre, Vie des Poëtes Grecs, *p. m.* 10.

(18) *Conſer quæ ſupra*, in the article ÆSCHYLUS, remark [*C*].

(19) In Biblioth. *fol.* 575, *where he recites Volaterran's words.*

[*D*] *Reineſius pretends he ought not to be diſtinguiſhed from a Grammarian called Corintus.*] Theſe are Reineſius's words: ' Fuit *Corintus* Grammaticus, cu- ' jus libellum *de dialectis* ad Studioſum quendam juve- ' nem ſcriptum habemus editum cum appendice H. ' Stephani, eumque citat *Joh. Petrus Nunneſ. not. ad* ' *Phrynichum Sylburg. ſpicil. ad Herod. Betuleius not.* ' *ad Lact. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *Joh. Talenton. l.* 2. *rer. recon-* ' *dit. cap.* 19. è cujus vero nomine Κόϊντος amiſſa ' una literula vel præterviſa à primo deſcriptore exiit ' Κοΐντος (20). - - - *Corintus was a Grammarian,* ' *whoſe book concerning the Dialects written to a certain* ' *ſtudious youth, we find publiſhed with an appendix of* ' *Henry Stephens, and is cited by Nunneſius Sylburgius.* ' *Betuleius and Talentonus, whoſe true name* Corintus ' *was changed into* Cointus, *through overſight or the* ' *omiſſion of one letter by the firſt tranſcriber.*' It muſt be confeſſed, that the word Κόϊντος might eaſily have been changed into Κόϊντος; and that a Grammatical genius does very much appear in this author's Poem (21). Reineſius does fully prove it. He obſerves, that the Grammarian Corintus lived after John Philoponus, in the VIth or VIIth century; and that he cannot be later, ſince he is quoted by Tzetzes. I am amazed at this; for there is a vaſt ſpace of time between the VIIth century, and that wherein Tzetzes lived (22). ' Fuit autem poſt Johannem Gramm. ' Alexandrinum, d. Philoponum, teſte ipſo in *proœm.* ' *l. de dial.* inter mediæ ætatis Græcos ſeculo ſexto ' ſeptimove, quibus Græcia etſi à politia degeneraſſet ' plurimùm, viros tamen doctos & memorandos ali- ' quos aluit. . . . . Pauci ſunt, quos nominare poſſu- ' mus iſtorum temporum: *Johannes Stobæus, Georgius* ' *Piſides, Theophyl. Simocates, Thomas & Coprogenius* ' *magiſtri, Euphronius, Moſchopulus, Chœroboſcus, De-* ' *metrius Triclinius, Georg. Syncellus, Euſtathius,* & ' extremo octavi *Photius,* & qui ex ejus doctiſſimis ' epiſtolis noti ſunt: prioribus inter memoratos etiam ' adcenſeri debet *Corintus* iſte. Fuiſſe in æſtimio & ' non inferiorem tempore quàm determinavi inde ap- ' paret, quod laudantur à γραμματικωτάτῳ Tzetze ' *in Chiliad.* & *comm. ad Lycophr.* ubi de Machaone (23). ' - - - *But he lived after John Philoponus, a Gramma-* ' *rian of Alexandria, as he himſelf teſtifies in the pre-* ' *face to his book concerning the Dialects, in the VIth or* ' *VIIth century amongſt the Greeks of the middle age, at* ' *which time though Greece was very much degenerated* ' *in politeneſs, yet it produced ſeveral learned and fa-* ' *mous men. . . . . A few whom we may reckon of thoſe* ' *times are,* Johannes Stobæus, Georgius Piſides, Theophyl. Simocates, Thomas and Coprogenius, Euphronius, Moſchopulus, Chœroboſcus, Demetrius Triclinius, Georgius Syncellus, Euſtathius, *and at the* ' *latter end of the VIIIth century* Photius, *and thoſe who* ' *are known by his learned epiſtles: amongſt the firſt,* ' Corintus *ought likewiſe to be numbered. That he was* ' *in eſteem and not later than the time I have mention-* ' *ed, appears from his being commended by that learned* ' *Grammarian* Tzetzes in Chiliad. *and on* Lycophron, ' *where he ſpeaks of Machaon.*'

(20) Reineſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 591.

(21) Non autem niſi Τρίβωνα quendam Grammaticum & conſummatæ peritiæ literatorem iſta Paraleipomena ſcripſiſſe patet inprimis ex accurata & curioſa valde locorum deſcriptione, quæ diligentius multo enarrat, quam aliquis de vulgo Poëta faceret, ut cum, &c. *Reineſius, ibid.*

(22) Tzetzes lived at the end of the XIIth century. See Nicolas Gerbelius's Preface upon Tzetzes.

(23) Reineſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 592.

[*E*] *The beſt edition . . . . is that of Rhodomannus.*] I have not that of Hanaw 1604, mentioned in the catalogue of the Bodleian library; but I have that of 1614, *ex Officina Aubriana.* It contains the whole performance of Rhodomannus upon that author, and Claudius Dauſquejus's notes in *Quintum Calabrum, Tryphiodorum & Coluthum.* One Jodocus Valaræus made a tranſlation of Cointus in proſe, which was printed at Lyons in 1541 (§ *a*). Bernardin Baldus made another.

[(§ *a*) There is an edition before that in 12mo at Antwerp, *apud Johannem Steelſum* 1539. The title ſays, *editio prima*, and the epiſtle dedicatory is dated the XIth of the Kalends of Auguſt the ſame year. REM. CRIT.]

QUIQUERAN (*a*) (PETER DE) biſhop of Senez in the XVIth century, was the ſon of Antony de Quiqueran Lord and Baron of Beaujeu (*b*) in Provence. He ſtudied Rhetoric and Poetry at Paris under James Lewis Strebe, after which he went into Italy where he eagerly followed the ſtudy of Muſic. Being returned to Paris he applied himſelf to the Mathematics, and wrote a book in Latin on the praiſes of Provence his native country. He died at Paris whilſt it was in the preſs, the eighteenth of Auguſt 1550, at twenty-four years of age. His mother and ſiſter got the impreſſion of this work finiſhed (*c*). It is a ſmall volume in folio conſiſting of eighty-nine leaves, printed at Paris by Lambert Dodu in the year 1551. There are added to it an hundred Latin Hexameter verſes which Quiqueran had written on the arrival of Hannibal at Arles. There is a great deal of curious learning in the work of this writer who would certainly have become one of the moſt learned perſons of his age if he had enjoyed a long life. He deſerved the fine elogies beſtowed on him in the epitaphs which you will ſee below [*A*]. Any one who conſiders that he was not yet arrived at

(*a*) Almoſt all thoſe who quote him miſcal him *Quinqueran*, or *Quinqueranus*.

(*b*) This is the reaſon why he ſirnames himſelf *Bellojocanus*.

(*c*) Taken from the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the book *de Laudibus Provinciæ*, written by *Amandus Cabaſſius*.

[*A*] *The epitaphs which you will ſee below.*] I take them from the antiquities of Paris collected by Corrozet. *In another chapel of the church of the Auguſtins at Paris, in the nave, is the effigies of a biſhop on his knees, raiſed on high, and underneath two epitaphs, between which on the ſide, is the image of Fame, in demi-relief, ſitting on a globe, leaning on a lute: ſhe holds in one hand a trumpet, and under her feet lie ſome*

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at the age of performing the episcopal functions, will not be surprised that the particular account which he gives of some of his diversions make him appear very far from practising the true duties of a bishop [B]. The great abuse of giving bishoprics to children prevailed at that time.

some books, about her is a sphere, a pair of compasses, and other instruments of the liberal arts. The first epitaph is written in letters of gold.

Epitaphium domini Petri Quiquerani Episcopi Senecensis.

Dum Juvenilis honos, prima lanugine malas
Vestit, & in calido pectore fervet amor,
Me rapuit, quæ cuncta rapit, mors invida doctis:
Hei mihi, cur vitæ tam brevis hora fuit?
Cur brevis hora fuit? rerum sic volvitur ordo,
Alternatque suas tempus & hora vices.
Si fera longævæ tribuissent fata senectæ
Tempora, venturis poma dedisset ager.
Flos periit, periere simul cum cortice fructus,
Aridaque ante suos poma fuere dies.
Nemo tamen lachrymis nec tristia funera fletu
Fœdet, cur? volito docta per ora virum.

Why was I snatch'd so soon, and why my date
Of life so short? Such are the laws of fate.
If to old age Heav'n had prolong'd my years,
A fruitful crop had bless'd my studious cares.
But, since the flow'r is cropp'd before its time,
The fruit's decay'd and wither'd in its prime.
Let none lament with tears my death, or blame
My loss: I live in an immortal name.

The other epitaph.

'Hic jacet nobilis vir reverendus in Christo pater 'dominus Petrus Quiqueranus Episcopus Senecensis 'filius domini Anthonii Quiquerani equitis & Baronis 'Bellojocani illustrissimi in Provincia: cujus libri tres 'de Laudibus Provinciæ extant disciplinarum ac re-'rum cognitione efflorescentes, obiit anno domini '1550 Kalen. Septembris 15 annos natus 24 (1). - - - '*Here lies the reverend Father in Christ Peter Qui-*'*queran, bishop of Senez, son of Antony Quiqueran,* '*knight and baron of Beaujeu in Provence: who left* '*behind him three books on the praises of Provence full* '*of learning and knowledge: he died in the year* 1550 '*the* 18*th of August in the twenty-fourth year of his* '*age.*' Peter de St Romuald (2) was very much in the wrong to quote the first of these epitaphs as a piece in which it is said that *Quiqueran . . . . was a great Orator, a great Poet, and a great Divine.* Every one sees that the epitaph does not say this. This author observes that he died, *as it is thought, before he was consecrated.*

[B] *The particular account he gives of some of his diversions make him appear far from practising the true duties of a bishop.*] The ornaments of his epitaph are infinitely better suited to a man passionately fond of the polite arts than to a bishop; but if you read the book *de Laudibus Provinciæ*, you can no longer doubt that our bishop of Senez employed himself in quite another thing than the government of his diocese. He did not study the diseases of the soul and the methods of curing them. His curiosity led him to inquire into the properties of plants, minerals, and animals. He fed a great number of beasts, he was a great hunter, he was extremely fond of cock-fighting. Camerarius often quotes him (3); but it is only in relation to such things. He particularly quotes the passage in which the author confesses that his occupations were condemned. 'Johannes Pierius Valerianus '* relates that the boldest cocks are found in the 'island of Rhodes, and says he had seen a proof of 'it in some of them, brought from thence to Rome, 'which were of an extraordinary size and wonder-'fully fierce. Peter Quinqueran confirms this, say-'ing †, I had a young cock presented to me, brought 'from Rhodes, which I purchased at a very dear rate. 'Though it was not more than six months old, it 'was so courageous and ready to fight, that a dog 'could not come into my court-yard, without be-'ing briskly pecked at: as to other common cocks 'that came near it, it killed them all. I often made 'it fight, to my great diversion, with a large Turkey-'cock that I had, as weighty as a fat sheep. The 'Turkey-cocks are extremely choleric, and raise 'themselves up fiercely, witness the swelling of their 'neck, and their cry: though otherwise their voice 'is whining and ridiculous. As to my game-cock of 'Rhodes, after a great number of battles, he fell 'sick, and, notwithstanding all the remedies applied 'to cure him, died: of which the History of pre-'ceeding battles, as well as those of others, gave me 'sufficient warning. But reading the pastime taken 'in such exercises by the Delians, Athenians, Greeks, 'Asiatics, even Roman emperors, and the inhabi-'tants of Italy where they wagered all they were 'worth that such or such a cock would be victorious 'in the battle, I was desirous to taste something of 'this pleasure. Neither the judgment of the ancients 'nor my own inclination deceived me, and I have 'often contemplated such battles without being dis-'pleased, from whence certain enemies, whom I had 'formerly disgusted, not knowing on which side to 'attack me, took occasion, as often as they could, 'to say that I spent my whole time in cock-fighting. 'They carried the matter so far, that one day, men, 'women, children, and old men, came in crouds to 'my episcopal house, and then gave out that I was 'too much addicted to such pastime. Do you ask 'whether I despised, or laughed at their folly? Truly 'I cannot say. Perhaps I should have acquiesced in 'their judgment, if I had not known that they are 'persons who have no judgment (4).

Note that in the Latin of Quiqueran it is not said that they came in crouds to his episcopal house: These are his words, *Tandem viri, fœminæ, juvenesque, se-nesque certatim exiliunt, proclamant, in libellis proscribunt me studiosorem gallinaceæ pugnæ* (5). Camerarius has corrected some errors of the press which were in the original; but his Printers have committed others more considerable (6). Simon Goulart has not always well translated it. You will easily judge of it if you compare with his translation these words of Quiqueran: *mox paulo nequicquam tentatis omnifariis remediis periit, ejus solatii ex Gallorum pugnis, hystoria me admonuerat. Quippe eas cùm legerem quàm frequenter celebrassent Delii, quàm Athenienses . . . . decrevi ego quoque ejus voluptatis particeps fieri.* Goulart supposes that the author intended to say, that the History of the foregoing battles of cocks, and those of others, had sufficiently warned him that his Rhodian cock would fall sick, and could not be cured by any remedy, but that nevertheless the reading of the diversions which the ancients took in these battles, had given him a desire to take the same pleasure. This sense is wrong and absurd. Quiqueran only says that History had informed him of the pleasure that might be taken in cock-fighting.

Custom might in some measure excuse our prelate for diverting himself in hunting, for it was an exercise which several bishops gave themselves at that time, not remembering that the Canons forbid it. See the extravagant *de Clerico venatore*. One of the Monks, who wrote against the bishop of Bellei, insinuates that the bishop had been at a great expence in hawks and hounds (7). He wrote about the year 1644.

(1) Antiquitez de Paris, par Gilles Corrozet, *folio* 89, *Edit. of Paris* 1586, *in* 8vo.

(2) In his Chronological Journal, *Tom. ii, pag.* 183, under the 17th of August. He should have placed the death of Quiqueran on the 18th, and not on the 17th.

(3) In the second volume of his Historical Meditations. See there the pages marked in the Index of the authors cited under the word *Peter Quinqueran*, in Simon Goulart's French translation.

* *In his* Hieroglph.

† *In the second book* de Laudibus Provinciæ.

(4) Camerarius, Historical Meditations, *Tom. ii, book v, ch. ix, pag. m.* 365.

(5) Quiqueranus, de Laudibus Provinciæ, *lib. ii, fol.* 39.

(6) In the edition of Francfort 1638.

(7) *See the* Antibasilik of Mr Camus, bishop of Bellei, *pag.* 550, 551.

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QUIRINUS (PUBLIUS SULPICIUS), conſul in the year of Rome 742 (*a*), was born at Lanuvium, and was not of the Patrician family *Sulpicia* (*b*). The ſervices he did Auguſtus with great zeal and application, eſpecially in the war, were the only cauſe of his advancement. After his conſulſhip he had the command of an army in Cilicia (*c*), in order to ſubdue a nation (*d*), which was accounted the moſt unconquerable of that country (*e*). He overcame them by famine (*f*), for which he had the honour of a triumph (*g*). Some place this in the time wherein our Saviour was born, and believe, that though there was then another governor in Syria, yet Auguſtus, in conſideration of the glory which Quirinus had acquired, gave him a ſpecial commiſſion for the taxation mentioned by St Luke (*h*), for no body doubts but, that he who is called Cyrenius in the Scripture (*i*), is the ſame with our Quirinus. The eſteem Auguſtus had for him, did eminently appear when he made him governor to Caius Cæſar, his grandſon, after the death of Lollius, who had been in that poſt. We have ſeen in another place (*k*) what difference Tiberius made between thoſe two governors of Caius Cæſar. Quirinus's marriage with Æmilia Lepida, is a very good proof of the conſideration he was in; for ſhe was at firſt deſigned for Lucius Cæſar, Auguſtus's grandſon (*l*). She was unfortunate in her marriage with Quirinus; he divorced her, and ſome years after he accuſed her of ſeveral crimes [*A*] for which ſhe was condemned to baniſhment. This proceeding of Quirinus appeared ſo ſtrange, that people begun to pity Lepida, though ſhe was infamous and guilty [*B*]. The victory he obtained over her was publickly abhorred, and they did not fail, on that occaſion, to compare his mean birth with the noble extraction of that lady. He had alſo rendered himſelf odious by his ſordid way of ſpending his old age in the midſt of a plentiful eſtate. He died in the year of Rome 774; and, at Tiberius's deſire, they made him a public funeral (*m*). If any one deſires to know whether he ought to be called Quirinus, or Quirinius (*n*), he needs

(*a*) Dio, *lib. lvi, p. m.* 619.

(*b*) Tacit. Ann. *lib. iii, cap. xlviii.*

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) *Called* Homonadenſes.

(*e*) Strabo, *lib. xii, pag.* 392.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Tacit. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) In the ſecond chapter.

(*i*) Ib. ver. 2.

(*k*) In the remark [*B*], of the article LOLLIUS.

(*l*) Tacit. Annal. *lib. iii, cap. xxiii.*

(*m*) Ex eod. Tacito, ibid. *& cap. xlviii.*

(*n*) He is ſo called in moſt editions of Tacitus.

[*A*] *He divorced his wife, and ſome years after he accuſed her of ſeveral crimes.*] He accuſed her of having falſly pretended that ſhe had had a child by him. There might be ſtrong motives to ſuch a pretence; for he was very rich, and had no children. The other accuſations were about adultery, poiſoning, and conſulting the Diviners concerning the Imperial family. ‘ At Romæ Lepida, cui ſuper Æmiliorum decus ‘ L. Sulla ac Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur ‘ *ſimulaviſſe partum ex P. Quirino divite, atque orbo.* ‘ adjiciebantur *adulteria, venena, quæſitumque per* ‘ *Chaldæos in domum Cæſaris*, defendente ream Manio ‘ Lepido fratre. Quirinus poſt dictum repudium adhuc infenſus, quamvis infami ac nocenti miſerationem addiderat (1). - - - - *But Lepida, who beſides* ‘ *the honour of being deſcended of the Æmilian family* ‘ *was great grand-daughter to L. Sulla and Cn. Pompeius, was accuſed at Rome of having falſely pretended* ‘ *to have a child by* P. Quirinus, who was rich and ‘ had no children. *She was moreover arraigned for* ‘ adultery, poiſoning, and conſulting Diviners concerning the family of Cæſar, *her brother Manius Lepidus being counſel for her. Quirinus, continuing ſtill* ‘ *to proſecute her after he had divorced her, excited the* ‘ *compaſſion of the people towards her, though ſhe was* ‘ *infamous and guilty*,’ It appears from the beginning of this paſſage, that Æmilia Lepida was great-granddaughter of Sylla and Pompey. She was not the better for it. I wonder that Suetonius, who wrote after Tacitus, ſhould reduce the accuſation to one ſingle head: He only ſays, that Lepida was accuſed of attempting to poiſon her huſband. ‘ Condemnatam & ‘ generoſiſſimam fœminam Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini conſularis prædivitis, & orbi, qui dimiſſam eam ‘ è matrimonio poſt vigeſimum annum veneni olim ‘ in ſe comparati arguebat (2). - - - *The moſt noble* ‘ *lady Lepida was alſo condemned upon the account of* ‘ *Quirinus, a man of conſular dignity, very rich and* ‘ *without children, who twenty years after he had di-* ‘ *vorced her, accuſed her of having formerly attempted* ‘ *to poiſon him.*’ This omiſſion of Suetonius is attended with another fault; for he ſays, that ſhe was condemned twenty years after ſhe had been divorced. He is not exact in his Chronology. I prove it thus: That lady was condemned in the year 773. There had been a deſign to marry her to Lucius Cæſar, Auguſtus's grand-ſon, and therefore it muſt be ſaid, that ſhe did not marry Quirinus till after the death of that young prince. But he died in the year 755, according to the calculation of archbiſhop Uſher and Father Noris (3); or in the year 756, according to Petavius; or in the year 757, according to Valeſius (4). It is not likely that Quirinus ſhould have divorced her before he had lived a year with her; and therefore it is not true, that in 773 ſhe had been divorced twenty years. The commentators on Suetonius take no notice of this difficulty, though it deſerved to be cleared. Father Noris (5) had reaſon to find fault with archbiſhop Uſher for ſaying, on the one hand, that Lucius Cæſar died in the year 755; and on the other, that Lepida was married to Quirinus in the year 753. Theſe two things are inconſiſtent, ſince it is undeniable that Quirinus married after the death of Lucius Cæſar: Will any body ſay, that there was a deſign to marry a woman to the emperor's grand-ſon, who had been left, or put away by Quirinus? The learned Uſher fell into this miſtake, becauſe he truſted Suetonius, that is, becauſe he thought Suetonius had exactly computed the years between Lepida's divorce, and her trial. He ſhould not have had ſo good an opinion of him. I muſt not forget, that Tiberius, after the condemnation of that woman, declared at laſt that he was certainly informed by Quirinus's ſervants, that ſhe had endeavoured to poiſon her huſband. ‘ Dein ‘ tormentis ſervorum patefacta ſunt flagitia, itumque ‘ in ſententiam Rubellii Blandi, à quo aqua atque ‘ igni arcebatur: huic Druſus adſenſit, quamquam alii ‘ mitius cenſuiſſent, mox Scauro qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum, ne bona publicarentur. Tum demum aperuit Tiberius, *compertum ſibi etiam ex P.* ‘ *Quirini ſervis, venено eum à Lepida petitum* (6). - - - ‘ *Afterwards the ſervants being put to the torture diſ-* ‘ *covered her crimes, and the opinion of Rubellius Blan-* ‘ *dus, by which ſhe was baniſhed, was agreed to:* ‘ *Druſus aſſented to it, though others had voted more* ‘ *favourably; and ſoon after Scaurus, who had had a* ‘ *daughter by her, obtained that her eſtate ſhould not be* ‘ *confiſcated. At laſt Tiberius* declared that he had ‘ been certainly informed by P. Quirinus's ſervants, ‘ that Lepida had endeavoured to poiſon him.’ We ſhall preſently ſee, that in all likelihood Lepida was juſtly condemned.

(1) Tacit. Annal. *lib. iii, cap. xxii.*

(2) Sueton. in Tiberio, *cap. xlix.*

(3) *See Father Noris's* Cenotaphia Piſana, *p.* 258, & 260.

(4) In Notis ad Excerpta Dionis, *pag.* 90. *See* Noris, ibid. *p.* 259.

(5) Noris, ibid. *pag.* 258.

(6) Tacit. Ann. *lib. iii, cap. xxiii.*

[*B*] *People began to pity Lepida, though ſhe was infamous and guilty.*] If it cannot be ſaid, that Tacitus reflected too much upon Tiberius, much leſs can it be affirmed, that he was willing to ſpare him. Seeing therefore he acknowledges, that Lepida was guilty, and had loſt her reputation (7), we may very well believe that the thing was notorious. He does not deny, that Tiberius made ſome ſteps during that trial, whereby it appeared, that he was deſirous that Lepida ſhould be puniſhed; but he owns, that one might ſuſpect from ſome other ſteps, that he had a mind ſhe ſhould go unpuniſhed. ‘ Haud facile quis diſpexerit ‘ illa in cognitione mentem Principis, adeo vertit ac ‘ miſcuit iræ & clementiæ ſigna (8). - - - *It was not* ‘ *eaſy*

(7) Quirini infami ac nocenti. *Ib. cap. xxii.*

(8) Ibid.

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needs only read Ryckius's Notes on Tacitus's Annals, *pag.* 37. Joſephus calls him Κυρήνιος, *Cyrenius*, and ſays, that he was a man, who had gone thro' all employments, and one of the moſt illuſtrious of thoſe times (*o*).

(*o*) Joſeph. Antiquitat. Judaicar. *lib. xviii, cap. i, pag.* 616.

'*eaſy to find out the intention of the emperor in that* '*tryal, he ſo mixed and blended the marks of his anger* '*and clemency.*' The worſt that can be ſaid is, That Tiberius promoted under hand the verification of the crimes of which Lepida was accuſed. This cannot be called an oppreſſion of innocence, an injuſtice, a tyranny, *&c.* Let us conclude, that the lady deſerved the puniſhment ſhe ſuffered. Nevertheleſs the people expreſſed their indignation againſt the authors of the trial, and openly complained, with horrid imprecations, that ſo illuſtrious a lady was ſacrificed to Quirinus. She had moved the people with the complaints ſhe made during the celebration of the public games; and beſides, Quirinus had rendered himſelf odious. This was the great point; for they who draw upon themſelves the hatred of the people, prompt them to favour and cheriſh the perſons whom they attack, though they have no merit, and even though they be very guilty. 'Quirinus quam-
(9) Ibid. 'vis infami ac nocenti miſerationem addiderat (9).
'.... Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem in-
'tervenerant, theatrum cum claris feminis ingreſſa,
'lamentatione flebili *majores ſuos* ciens, *ipſumque Pom-*
'*peium*, cujus ea monumenta, & adſtantes imagines
'viſebantur, tantum miſericordiæ permovit, ut effuſi
'in lacrymas, *ſæva & deteſtanda Quirino* clamarent,
'*cujus ſenectæ atque orbitati, & obſcuriſſimæ domui,*
'*deſtinata quondam uxor L. Cæſari, ac divo Auguſto*
'*nurus, dederetur* (10). - - - *Quirinus had excited pity*
'*towards her, though ſhe was infamous and guilty.* ....
'*At the celebration of the public games, which happened*
'*during the trial; ſhe entered the theatre with ſome*
'*ladies of quality, and with tears and lamentations in-*
'*voking* her anceſtors, *and particularly* Pompey, *whoſe*
'*monuments and images were then preſent and ſeen by the*
'*people, ſhe ſo moved their compaſſion, that, ſhedding a*
'*flood of tears, they imprecated horrid curſes upon* Qui-
'rinus, to whom being old, childleſs, and of a very
'obſcure family, ſhe was ſacrificed, though ſhe had
'been formerly deſigned for the wife of L. Cæſar,
'and for the daughter-in-law of the divine Auguſtus.'
The puniſhment inflicted upon Lepida did but increaſe the hatred of the people againſt Quirinus (11). Compare this with what is ſaid above (12).

(10) Ibid. *cap. xxiii.*

(11) Sed ceteris haud læta memoria Quirini erat, ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidæ pericula ſordidamque & præpotentem ſenectam. *Ibid. cap. xlviii.*

(12) The article MARILLAC (LEWIS DE), remark [*A*], citation (1).

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R.

RACAN (HONORAT DE BEUIL, MARQUIS DE) the ſon of a knight of the orders of St Michael and the Holy Ghoſt; was born at la Roche Racan in Touraine (*a*) in the year 1589 (*b*). He was page to the king in the year 1605 (*c*), and as he began then to make verſes, he got acquainted with Malherbe, *of whom he learned whatever he knew of the French poetry. . . . . This acquaintance and friendſhip with Malherbe laſted till he died, which happened in* 1628 (*d*). He was admitted into the French Academy, when it was founded, in which he cauſed a diſcourſe againſt the ſciences to be read the ninth of July 1635 (*e*). If he had been at Paris, he would have ſpoken it himſelf; but he was then in his province. He publiſhed that diſcourſe *with ſome of his poems* (*f*). He died in the year 1670, and was ſucceeded in the Academy by Mr de la Chambre, rector of St Bartholomew. He happened one day to make a Quatrain exactly like that of a Poet whom he thought he had never read [*A*]. I ſhall ſay in another place (*g*), that he was very fond of the favours of the ladies.

(*a*) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. de l'Académie Franç. *pag. m.* 344.

(*b*) I ſhall ſay in the remark that he was nineteen years of age in the year 1608.

(*c*) Vie de Malherbe, *pag.* 5.

(*d*) Ib. *p.* 6.

(*e*) Pelliſſon, uti ſupra, *pag.* 102, 103.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) In the remark [*F*], of the article TIRESIAS.

[*A*] *He made a Quatrain exactly like that of a Poet, whom he thought he had never read.*] Mr Menage tells us a great many particulars, which deſerve to be ſet down in this place. ‘ (1) I have often heard Mr Chapelain ſay, that he and Mr d'Andilli had made that ſame verſe (2), without knowing that it was Malherbe's. And whilſt I am writing this remark, I underſtand by Mr Furetiere, that the ſame thing has happened to him. I have often heard likewiſe Mr Corneille ſay, that he had made, in his Polyeucte, thoſe two famous verſes concerning Fortune,

Et comme elle a l'éclat du verre,
Elle en a la fragilité;

That is,

Fortune, reſembling glaſs in ev'ry tittle,
Like glaſs is ſhining, and like glaſs is brittle.

‘ without knowing that they were Mr Godeau's; for they were made firſt of all by Mr Godeau, biſhop of Vence, in his ode to cardinal Richelieu, fifteen years before Mr Corneille made them in his Polyeucte. It is no uncommon thing thus to hit on the thoughts and expreſſions of others. Porphyrius, in a fragment of his book concerning Philology, quoted by Euſebius in the third chapter of the tenth book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*, mentions one Aretades, who had written a whole treatiſe of ſuch fortuitous hits. . . . . I ſay, it is a pretty common thing thus to hit upon the ſame thought and expreſſion of another man; eſpecially when one has formerly ſeen the ſame thought, and the ſame expreſſion, as Mr d'Andilli, Mr Chapelain, and Mr Furetiere, had certainly ſeen that verſe of Malherbe, and Mr Corneille, thoſe two verſes of Mr Godeau; for it often falls out, that a thing remains in our mind, when the author of it is forgotten. But what happened to Mr de Racan is very extraordinary. In the year 1608, being in garriſon at Calais, he made theſe four verſes at nineteen years of age:

Eſtime qui voudra la mort épouventable,
Et la face l'horreur de tous les animaux;
Quant à moye je la tiens pour le poinct deſirable
Où commencent nos biens, & finiſſent nos maux.

Let death be dreadful to both mean and great,
Let every creature fear the ſtroke of fate;
Not ſuch my thought; I count the moment bleſt
Which ends our trouble, and begins our reſt.

‘ ſome time after being at Paris, and repeating thoſe verſes as his own to his friend Ivrante, his friend told him, that he muſt not think to impoſe upon him; that he knew very well thoſe verſes were the firſt Quatrain of Mathieu's book, intituled, *Les Tablettes de la vie & de la mort*. Mr de Racan, who had never ſeen that book, denied obſtinately, and for a conſiderable time, that Mathieu had made thoſe verſes, and would not yield till Ivrante brought Mathieu's book, and ſhewed him the verſes; at which Mr de Racan was not a little amazed. I do not queſtion the truth of this ſtory, being fully perſuaded that Mr de Racan, who told it me very often, and in the preſence of ſeveral people, is a very ſincere man. But I doubt very much of the truth of what Leonardo Salviati ſays, in the firſt book of his *Avertimenti della Lingua Italiana*, that a Poet of his time, who had never ſeen cardinal Bembo's ſounets, had made ſome exactly like them.' You ſee that Mr Menage makes a great difference between Racan's adventure, and thoſe of the other Poets, whom he named. He finds ſomething in the firſt that is more extraordinary. I ſhould judge otherwiſe of it, if I was to ſay what I think of it. Few people are ignorant, that well educated children are taught ſome moral and pious maxims; and that care is taken, even before they can read, to make them get by heart ſome ſententious ſtaves of verſes. The Proteſtants pitched upon ſome paſſages of David's Pſalms; or, as the Catholics do, upon ſome Quatrains of Pibrac, or of another Poet of the ſame nature (3), which are never wanting in any country. Without doubt little Racan, when he was but five or ſix years of age, heard his governeſs, or his mother, repeat ſome of thoſe fine Quatrains, or ſome of Mathieu's, which are generally bound up with Pibrac. The traces that were imprinted on his brain, were ſtopped up, and remained ſo ſeveral years; afterwards they opened again, and ſeemed to him an object entirely new, without calling to remembrance the author, or the book, which had occaſioned them. He therefore thought himſelf to be the author of thoſe four verſes, though in truth they were only an imperfect remembrance. If a man would carefully examine himſelf, he would find, upon a thouſand occaſions, that what he takes to be his own invention, is a thing that he has heard or read; but he did not remember that circumſtance. Here follow ſome verſes of Moliere, which confirm what I have ſaid concerning the education of children:

(1) Menage, Obſervations ſur Malherbe, *pag.* 254, *& ſeq.* He has inſerted all this in the *Anti-Baillet*, *ch. cxxviii.*

(2) *That is*, d'arbitres de la paix, de foudres de la guerre, *which is in Malherbe's Paraphraſe upon the CXLVth Pſalm.*

(3) There is a book intituled, *Le miroir de vertu & le threſor de bien vivre.* It is a collection of Chriſtian and Moral Quatrains by Peter Habert, conſeller and ſecretary to the king.

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dren: it is a cenſure of a coquet: a father ſpeaks to his daughter:

That is,

Voilà, voilà le fruit de ces empreſſemens,
Qu'on vous voit nuit & jour à lire vos Romans:
De colibets d'amour vôtre tête eſt remplie,
Et vous parlez de Dieu bien moins que de Clelie.
Jettez moi dans le feu tous ces méchans écrits,
Qui gâtent tous les jours tant de jeunes eſprits:
Liſez moi comme il faut, au lieu de ces ſornettes,
Les Quatrains de Pibrac, & les doctes Tablettes
Du Conſeiller Matthieu, ouvrage de valeur,
Et plein de beaux dictons à reciter par cœur:
La guide des pécheurs eſt encor un bon livre,
C'eſt là qu'en peu de tems on apprend à bien vivre,
Et ſi vous n'aviez leu que ces moralitez,
Vous ſçauriez un peu mieux ſuivre mes volontez (4).

See, ſee the conſequence of that delight
With which you read romances day and night!
Your head is fill'd with love's fantaſtic toys;
And Clelia more than GOD your ſpeech employs.
Then to the flames commit each impious page,
The bane of youth, and poiſon of the age:
And let to theſe deſtructive tales ſucceed,
The learn'd Matthieu, or virtuous Pibrac read,
In them you will the nobleſt maxims find:
They'll form the heart, and cultivate the mind.
Let theſe, and let the Sinner's Guide be thine;
There will you learn to lead a life divine,
And had not other books your youth betray'd,
A father's will, had now been more obey'd.

(4) Moliere, Sganarelle ou le Cocu imaginaire, *Scene I.*

RADULPHUS (*a*) archbiſhop of Bourges, was ſon of Radulphus, count and lord of Turenne, lay-abbot of Tulle, count of Quercy, and of Agana, his wife. His birth was very illuſtrious, being of the Blood-Royal of France, and of the ſame ſtock and branch as Wifridus count of Bourges (*b*), whom the acts of St James the Hermit, and thoſe of St Genulfus affirm to be ſprung from the kings of France (*c*).

(*a*) See the advertiſement concerning the 2d edition of this Dictionary.

Radulphus was from his youth deſigned for the church, and committed to the care of Bertrand abbot of Solignac, in Limoſin (*d*). He was afterwards abbot of Fleury (*e*), and then archbiſhop of Bourges in the year 839 (*f*). He was concerned in all the great affairs of his time (*g*). It was he that crowned king of Aquitain, at Limoges, in 855, the young Charles, ſon to Charles the Bald (*h*). He was with the ſame Charles the Bald at the council held at Savonieres near Toul, in the year 859. The manner in which the fathers of the council treated him, and the great ſubmiſſion and deference which they paid him (*i*) make it appear, that he was in the higheſt eſtimation, both with the court and with the clergy. He was one of the archbiſhops that were choſen by this council to judge of the complaints that Charles the Bald brought againſt Wenillon archbiſhop of Sens (*k*). He had before aſſiſted in the year 855, at the council of Meaux (*l*), as he did afterwards at that of Tuſei in 860 (*m*), and at the aſſemblies held at Piſtes in the preſence of Charles the Bald, in the years 862, and 864 (*n*). With his patrimony he built ſeveral abbies, to wit, that of Devra in Berry, ſince transferred to Vierzon (*o*); that of Beaulieu in Limoſin; the abbey of Vegennes in the ſame country; and the abbey of Saraſac in Quercy. Theſe two laſt are ruined (*p*).

(*b*) Mabillon, Act. SS. Benedict. Sæc. IV, *Tom. ii, pag.* 156. *Ibid. pag.* 151: Robertus ſiquidem Saxiaci vici, & circumjacentis Regionis Dominus, vir potens, & nobilis, ex Regum Francorum genere ortus erat, & quod optabilius eſt Chriſtianâ pietate inſignis: cui affectu & origine reſpondebat uxor ejus nomine Agana, ex patre Wicfrido Comite quondam Bituricenſi, Regali Proſapiâ exorto, & Matrona Oda nomine, filia, & hi omnes ex Regio Francorum Sanguine traxerant originem.

He likewiſe re-built Chateau-Gourdon in Saiſſeau. This town was part of his patrimony: he brought thither the body of St Satirus, from whence they gave it the name of St Satur which it bears to this day (*q*). It is ſituated near Sancerre, which was the chief place of the other part of Saiſſeau, poſſeſſed by Wifridus count of Bourges, and which his daughter Agana brought in marriage to Robert, brother of Ingeltrude, wife of Pepin I, king of Aquitain (*r*). This Robert is the ſame as Robert the Strong.

(*c*) *Ibid. pag.* 226. *Vitæ Sti. Genulphi:* Wifredus hic ex illâ Nobiliſſimâ Scarrâ quam glorioſus Rex Pipinus præfati Auguſti Ludovici avus, in urbe Bituricâ ad Quaïfarii Ducis Aquitaniæ partes expugnandas reliquerat, originem trahens Regali quoque Proſapiâ oriundus.

An antient author (*s*) informs us, that St Radulphus governed the people that were under his care with ſo much prudence and greatneſs of ſoul, that he was by all the grandees of Aquitain juſtly ſtiled the father of his country (*t*). He took particular care of all his clergy, and it was for their inſtruction and edification that he compoſed fifteen canons, or ordinances, which Baluzius has printed. He compoſed ſome other canons alſo which the ſame Baluzius promiſes to publiſh. He was the firſt archbiſhop of Bourges which we know for certain to have been patriarch and primate of the provinces of Aquitain and Narbonne (*u*). It was on this ſubject that Pope Nicolas I. wrote to him a long letter, by which we learn that primates ought not to take immediate cognizance of the affairs of the clergy of other dioceſes ſubject to their primacy, but only in the way of appeal (*x*).

He died the twentieth day of June, in the year 866, and was canonized (*y*).

He, his brothers, and their poſterity, were all attached to Robert the Strong, and his deſcendants.

Two of his brothers, GODFREY and ROBERT left children behind them. The poſterity of Robert ended in AIMAR, viſcount of lower Limoſin, a lay-abbot and

(*d*) Ibid. *pag.* 157. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) *Ibid.* & Gall. Chriſt. à Sammarthanis, *Tom. i, pag.* 151, & 152. Patriarch. Bituricen. *cap. xlvii*, in Biblioth. Labb. *Tom. ii, pag.* 66. (*g*) La Thaumaſſiere, Hiſt. du Berri, *pag.* 294. (*h*) Beſli, Hiſt. des Comtes de Poictou, & Annal. Bertini, *ad ann.* 855. (*i*) Sirm. Concil. Gall. *Tom. iii, cap. xi, pag.* 141. (*k*) Ibid. *pag.* 144. (*l*) Sæc. Benedict. IV, *Tom. ii, pag.* 165. (*m*) Sirm. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 160. (*n*) Ibid. (*o*) Cron. Vierzon. in Biblioth. Labb. *Tom. ii*, Act. SS. Benedict. Sæc. IV, *Tom. ii, pag.* 158, & *ſeq.* (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) Hiſt. de St Martial, *Part iii, pag.* 315. (*r*) Dominici, Anſberti Familia redviva. Du Bouchet, Veritab. Orig. de la Maiſon de France. Labbe, Tableaux Généalogiques. (*s*) Fragmentum Vit. Sti. Jacobi Eremitæ, *relatum in* Patriarch. Bituricenſi, *cap. lxvii*, Labb. Biblioth. *Tom. i.* (*t*) Interea vir Domini Jacobus inter tot præclara bonorum operum exercitia illuſtratus gratiâ divinâ prædixit obitum præſtantiſſimi Pontificis Rodulphi, qui inſitâ ſibi prudentiâ, animi quoque nobilitate, ſuâ tempeſtate plebem ſibi creditam optimè regens, meritò Pater patriæ à cunctis Aquitaniæ Gentis Primoribus dici poterat. Idem refertur in *Vitâ Sti. Jacobi Eremitæ*, apud *Mabillonium, Sæc. Benedict. IV, Tom. ii, pag.* 256, *in Elog. Hiſtorico Sancti. Rodulp. Archi. Bituric.* (*u*) Gall. Chriſt. à Sammarth. *Tom. i, pag.* 151, & 152. (*x*) Nicolai I Papæ, Epiſt. xxxix. (*y*) Sæc. Bened. IV, *Tom. ii, pag.* 164.

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and reſtorer of the abbey of Tulle. He reſtored to the Friars of this houſe the dignity of abbot, and the revenues of the abbey, which were in his family from the time of his great-great-grand-father, who had obtained a grant of them from our kings (z).

(z) Appendix ad Canones Rheginonis à Stephano Baluſio, *p.* 528. Juſtel, Preuves de l'Hiſt. de Turenne, *p.* 15.

Count Godfrey fought againſt the Normans, at the battle of Brieſerthe, with Robert the Strong who was ſlain there (*a a*). He left two ſons, count GODFREY, of whom St Eudes, abbot of Cluny, ſays, that he endeavoured to oblige St Gerald, count of Aurillac, to become his vaſſal (*b b*). RANULPH, younger brother of Godfrey, carried on the line; the eldeſt branch of his deſcendants ended in SULPITIUS, who by marriage brought Turenne into the houſe of Comborn (*c c*). The younger branch which took the name of Soüillac, when ſirnames became hereditary, is ſtill remaining, and continues the line of the princes, counts, and lords of Turenne, ſprung from the ſame ſtock as Wicfridus count of Bourges.

(*a a*) Annal. Bertin. *ad ann.* 866.

(*b b*) Bibl. Cluniac. *pag.* 84.

(*c c*) Juſtel, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 18.

RADULPHUS, or *Ralph*, a Benedictin Monk, ſirnamed *Flaviacenſis*, or *Flaicenſis*, becauſe he was of the convent of St Germer de Flaix, in the dioceſe of Beauvais, flouriſhed in the year 1157, as Albericus affirms (*a*) upon the teſtimony of Helinand (*b*). Several famous writers have erroneouſly placed him in the year 910 (*c*): ſome call him Ralph the Black (*d*). The commentary which he wrote on Leviticus is ſtill extant; it has been inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and printed ſeparately at Cologne in the year 1536. They (*e*) have reſtored to him a commentary on the Song of Songs, which formerly was aſcribed to St Gregory. The partizans of the hiſtory of Pope Joan have numbred him among their evidences, but this happened thro' a great miſtake [*A*].

(*a*) Albericus trium Fontium Monachus, in Chronic. *See Father* Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. ii, pag.* 274.

(*d*) Mr du Pin, Biblioth. *Tom. ix, pag.* 185, is one of them.

(*e*) Father Hommey, in the *Supplement. Patrum* in the year 1684.

(*b*) A Monk of Fromond in the dioceſe of Beauvais, about the end of the XIIth, and beginning of the XIIIth century. See Father Labbe, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 275. (*c*) Labbe, ibid. *pag.* 273.

[*A*] *The partizans of the hiſtory of Pope Joan have numbred him among their evidences, but this happened through a great miſtake.*] This aroſe from confounding him with a Benedictin Monk, named Ralph Higden, an Engliſhman, who died in the year 1363; Father Labbe thinks that Conrad Decker was the firſt ſource of this blunder. 'Auctor primus illius apud Blondellum erroris atque in Mareſio malæ fidei fuit homo furioſus Conradus Deckerus in libro, cui titulum fecit de Papa Romano & Papiſſa Romana, quod Joannes Octavus fuerit mulier & puerpera, Oppenheimii ad Rhenum in 8 anno 1612; ſic enim loquitur pagina 430. Deſcripſit Radulphus hanc Hiſtoriam in ſuo Polychronico libri V, cap. 32, teſtis locupletiſſimus & omni exceptione major, utpote in quo veritatis Hiſtoricæ nulla deſiderantur κριτήρια: & vixit juxta Trithemium anno circiter 930. ita ut Papale hoc puerperium ab iis accipere potuerit, qui illud viderunt. Atque ex illo cœnoſo fonte promanavit in cæteros error (1.) - - - - *The firſt author of that error in Blondel, and diſingenuity in Mareſius was Conrad Decker, a violent man, in a book which he intituled,* de Papa Romano, & Papiſſa Romana *affirming, that John VIII was a woman, and had been brought to bed of a child (the book was printed at Oppenheim upon the Rhine, in* 1612, *in* 8vo), *for thus he writes in the* 430*th page. Radulphus related this ſtory in his Polychronicon. He is a moſt ſubſtantial witneſs, and above all exception, there being no mark of a true Hiſtorian which does not appear in him. Beſides, he lived, according to Trithemius, about the year* 930, *ſo that he might have received this account of the delivery of Pope Joan from thoſe who had ſeen it. From this polluted fountain the error ſpread itſelf among others.*' But it is certain Vignier had committed this error two years before Conrad Decker's work was printed. I ſhall quote what he publiſhed in the year 1610. 'What Baronius and Bellarmin ſay, that Marianus Scotus, was the firſt author of this ſtory is falſe, as may be ſeen by the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the deceaſed Nicolas Vignier, my father, in which he produces the teſtimony of Radulphus in his Polychronicon, who was a Monk of the order of St Benedict, and lived about the year 930, according to Trithemius (2).' A Capuchin who wrote againſt Vignier in the year 1611, did not know how to make uſe of the advantages he had, he did not ſufficiently underſtand books and authors. He knew not that the author of the *Polychronicon*, which his adverſary had quoted, did not live in the Xth century, but in the XIVth: let us ſee the anſwer which he made. *Read* your father *over again, you will find in the hiſtorical library on the ſame ſubject, firſt, that he is guilty of a falſhood, when he ſays,* That all thoſe who have written the hiſtory of Popes, except Anaſtaſius, agree, that your Pope Joan ſucceeded Leo IV, *as he might have learned from Onuphrius, whom he cites there. Secondly, That he ſpeaks doubtfully, and timerouſly of this affair, as well as others, who were miſtaken concerning it. Thirdly, It will appear from his text, well conſidered, that he alledges Marianus as the oldeſt author of this ſtory. Fourthly, That he does not in this place make the leaſt mention of your Arnulphus, but quotes Johannis Lucidus; but if you have a mind to make but one of theſe two, know further, that we give very little credit, not to ſay none at all, to the allegations of your ſaid father* (3). This was not home to the point, nor going to the bottom of the cauſe. Vignier furniſhed advantages againſt himſelf, in giving the title of Ranulphus's work. It is owing to this title, that Father Labbe (4) diſcovered by a paſſage of Decker, the ſource of this miſtake. The learned Blondel had taken no notice of this title: and from hence it came that he was prevailed upon to believe, that Radulphus Flaviacenſis had written concerning Pope Joan (5). It is true, that he has not followed the error of thoſe, who place him either in the year 910, or in the year 930. He hath placed his death in the year 1157; and he founds this on the teſtimony of Albericus; but he ought to have remembered that Albericus does not place the death of our Radulphus in this year, but the moſt proſperous time of his life: they were not very fortunate, when they repreſented to him that Radulphus Flaviacenſis was more ancient than he had made him, that he was an evidence of Pope Joan, prior to Marianus; and, in ſhort, that he was a man that might have ſeen Pope Joan with his own eyes (6). 'Hic (Radulphus Flaviacenſis) inter teſtes veritatis malè tertius ponitur à Mariano: Nec enim Radulphus Flaviacenſis mortuus eſt denuò anno 1157, niſi eum multò longæviorem faciamus Johanne de Temporibus; cùm floruerit ipſo nono Chriſti ſæculo, pluſquam 100. annis antequam Marianus naſceretur, adeo ut ipſam Joannam vidiſſe potuerit: Etenim Bellarminus *de Scriptor. Eccl.* Radulphum ait floruiſſe anno Chriſti 910 (7). - - - - - *Radulphus Flaviacenſis is erroneouſly put in the third place after Marianus among the witneſſes of the truth, for Radulphus did not die in the* 1157, *unleſs we can ſuppoſe that he lived longer than* Johannes de Temporibus, *ſince he flouriſhed in the IXth century after Chriſt, above an hundred years before Marianus was born, ſo that he might have ſeen Joan herſelf; for Bellarmin, in his account of Eccleſiaſtical writers, ſays, that Radulphus flouriſhed in the year of Chriſt* 910.' He who talked thus made ſeveral miſtakes, which Father Labbe expoſed with dreadful ſeverity (8).

(1) Labbe, in Cenotaphio everſo, *ad calcem, Tom. i,* de Script. Eccleſ. *pag.* 986, 987.

(2) Nicolas Vignier, Theatre de l'Antechriſt, *Part ii, cap. xxvii, pag. m.* 1055.

(3) Silveſtre de l'Aval, Prédicateur Capucin, les juſtes Grandeurs de l'Egliſe Romaine, *liv. iii, pag.* 78.

(4) Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. *Tom. i, p.* 987.

(5) Blondel, in Examine Quæſt. de Papa fœmina, *pag. m.* 5.

(6) They pretend ſhe came to be Pope after Leo IV, who died an. 855.

(7) Samuel Mareſius, in Joannæ Papiſſa reſtituta, *p.* 5.

(8) *See the ſecond Tome of* Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſ. *pag.* 274, 795 *& ſeq.*

Had Mr Hartnac known this, when he publiſhed a new edition of Micrelius's *Syntagma Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, he would, no doubt, have informed his readers, that theſe words, 'Nobile indignari, Aventine, Onuphri, Raymunde (9), Bellarmine, Baroni, Bini, Florimunde, quod veſtram audaciam in negando muliebri hoc pontificatu nihil curans, veritatem rei profero

(9) He ſhould not have been diſtinguiſhed from *Florimund*, who comes afterwards, for they have made two authors of one.

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' profero ex *Rudolpho Flaviacenſi*, monacho Bene-
' dictino qui vixit circa annum IↃCCCXX. *ex* Ma-
' riano Scoto, *qui natus*, &c (10).' - - - - *Now vent*
' *your noble rage, Aventinus, Onuphrius, Raymundus,*
' *Bellarmin, Baronius, Binius, Florimundus, becauſe*
' *without having the leaſt regard to your impudence in*
' *denying the ſtory of the female Pontiff, I demonſtrate*
' *the truth of it, from Rodulphus Flaviacenſis, a Bene-*
' *dictine Monk, who lived about the year* 820, *and out*
' *of Marianus Scotus, who was born*, &c." are erro-
neous: and that the words *ex Rudolpho Flaviacenſi* muſt be ſtruck out. Here we ſee how much it concerns writers of controverſy, not to ſtop at the authors of their own party, but to carry their enquires through all the replies of the adverſe party. Should a man content himſelf to conſult only Mareſius, he would repeat his citations, but were he to conſult the author, who has confuted him (11), he would then be able to diſtinguiſh the good from the bad. Let us here occaſionally obſerve, that Mr Hartnac has put in the margin, the names of ſeveral Proteſtant authors, who have maintained the hiſtory of Pope Joan, and of whom the moſt part have written ſince Florimond de Remond (12). He cites, among others, the famous Gerhard, and Whitaker, and Andrew Willet.

(10) Micrælius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. iii*, §. *i*, de Papis, *pag.* 508, *Edit.* 1699.

(11) That is to ſay, Father Labbe.

(12) Confer the remark [*F*], of the article POPE (JOAN).

RADZIWIL (NICOLAS), the fourth of that name [*A*], Palatin of Vilna, Great Marſhal and Chancellor of Lithuania in the XVIth century, was a very illuſtrious man. He travelled almoſt all over Europe in his youth, and was ſo expert in bodily exerciſes, that no gentleman of his age equalled him therein. He had a great ſhare in the love and eſteem of king Sigiſmund Auguſtus; he was made captain of his guards, and commanded his armies three times in Livonia, where he obtained a ſignal victory over the Germans, whereby they loſt that province, which was ſubjected to Poland. He brought the archbiſhop of Riga, and the Great Maſter of the knights of Livonia to the king, and delivered to him in a full ſenate the ſeal of that order, and the croſs which the Great Maſter wore about his neck. This noble expedition crowned him with glory. When he was ſent ambaſſador to the court of Charles V, and of Ferdinand king of the Romans, he ſtood godfather to the archduke Erneſtus. He died in the year 1567, and was carried to his grave upon the ſhoulders of his four ſons (*a*) [*B*]. I muſt not forget that he embraced the Proteſtant religion, and that he cauſed the Bible to be printed in the Poliſh language [*C*]. He made a very ſevere reply to Lippoman, the Apoſtolical

(*a*) *Taken from* Simon Staroviolcius, in Sarmatiæ Bellatoribus, *pag.* 172, 173.

[*A*] *Fourth of that name.*] Jagello being converted to Chriſtianity, and having united Lithuania, his own country, to the crown of Poland, which had been conferred upon him, created a lord, called Radziwil, palatin of Vilna, who, after his example, was become a Chriſtian. This palatin took the name of NICOLAS at his baptiſm, and ordered that, for time to come, all the eldeſt ſons of his family ſhould be called Nicolas. He lived above a hundred years (1). NICOLAS II, his only ſon, palatin of Vilna, ſerved the Republic with great glory under ſix kings ſucceſſively. He died being ninety-nine years old (2). NICOLAS III, the eldeſt of his four ſons, palatin of Vilna, was made a prince of the empire, by the emperor Maximilian I, and died full of glory, being above ſeventy years of age (3). GEORGE RADZIWIL, his brother, palatin of Kiovia, marſhal of the court, caſtellan of Vilna, and great general of Lithuania, was the father of Barbara Radziwil, the ſecond wife of king Sigiſmund Auguſtus. He died in the year 1565 (4). JOHN RADZIWIL, his brother, the youngeſt of the four ſons of Nicolas II, was made a ſenator of the kingdom by king Sigiſmund I. He was afterwards caſtellan of Troci, and at laſt great marſhal of Lithuania. He took a journey to Rome under the Pontificate of Julius II (5). He left an only ſon, who is NICOLAS RADZIWIL, fourth of that name (6), who makes the ſubject of this article.

(1) Simon Staroviolcius, in Sarmatiæ Bellatoribus, *pag.* 163, 164.

(2) Ibid. *pag.* 165, 166.

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 167, *& ſeq.*

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 169, 170.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 171, 172.

(6) Ibid.

[*B*] *He was carried to his grave upon the ſhoulders of his four ſons* (7).] You will ſee their names and dignities in theſe Latin words: ' Quatuor filios, itidem
' bello inclytos, nec deteriores ingeniis (qui, ut inquit
' Valerius Maximus patriæ rem non ſuam augere pro-
' perabant) reliquit. Nicolaum Hieroſolymitana pere-
' grinatione clarum; Georgium, Vilnenſem primò,
' deinde Cracovienſem Epiſcopum, & S. R. E. Cardi-
' nalem; Albertum ſupremum M. D. L. Marſcalcum;
' & Staniſlaum Samogitiæ Toparcham: qui cum pluri-
' mis lachrymis, patre pro concione laudato funeratoque
' ampliſſime, propriis manibus Urnam Mauſoleo in-
' ferre non erubuerunt (8). - - *He left four ſons of great*
' *fame in the field, and of no leſs reputation in the cabi-*
' *net, who, as Valerius Maximus ſays, made it their*
' *buſineſs to increaſe their country's wealth, and not their*
' *own; Nicolas, famous for his travels to Jeruſalem;*
' *George, biſhop of Vilna, and afterwards of Cracow,*
' *and cardinal; Albertus, grand marſhal of the great*
' *duchy of Lithuania; and Staniſlaus, chief governor of*
' *Samogitia; who, with many tears, having heard a*
' *funeral ſermon preached over their father, and ſeen all*
' *the other ceremonies of a magnificent burial performed,*
' *were not aſhamed to carry his body to the grave with*
' *their own hands.*' Thuanus (9) obſerves, that thoſe four ſons returned into the communion of the church of Rome, and that Albert married a daughter of the duke of Courland. He places the death of Nicolas Radziwil on the 28th of May, 1565. Bucholcerus does the ſame in his *Index Chronologicus*. Note, That David Chytræus (10) ſays the ſame things as Thuanus. The paſſage which I have quoted out of Simon Staroviolcius, informs us, that Nicolas Radziwil, the eldeſt ſon of our Nicolas Radziwil, made himſelf famous by his voyage to Jeruſalem: which obliges me to ſay, that the ſame author obſerves, in another book (11), that Thomas Treterus, a canon of Warmia, tranſlated into Latin the relation of NICOLAS CHRISTOPHER RADZIWIL's voyage to Jeruſalem (12). That voyage was made in the year 1584. This Nicolas Chriſtopher Radziwil gave a relation of it in four lettters in the Poliſh language. I have ſeen the Latin tranſlation, printed at Antwerp in the year 1614, in folio. The Epiſtle Dedicatory of Treterus the tranſlator is dated in the year 1601. He who made that journey, died in the month of February 1616, and was buried in a pilgrim's habit in the college of the Jeſuit at Nieſwiez (13). He was made a prince of the empire, and left four ſons (14), from one of which, if I am not miſtaken, prince STANISLAUS ALBERT RADZIWIL deſcended, who was *duke of Olyka and Nieſwiez, chancellor of the great duchy of Lithuania* (15), and the author of a panegyric upon our Lady of Czeſtochovia. He flouriſhed at the time when Mr le Laboureur publiſhed a relation of a journey into Poland, that is, in the year 1647.

(7) Filiorum humeris elatus fuit. *Ibid. pag.* 174.

(8) Ibid. *pag.* 173.

(9) Thuan. *lib. xxxviii, pag.* 769.

(10) David Chytræus, in Saxonia, *lib. xxi, ad ann.* 1565, *pag.* 538, *Edit. Lipſ.* 1602.

(11) Staroviolc. in centum Polonorum Elogiis, *pag.* 70, 71.

(12) This is the ſame with the eldeſt ſon of our Radziwil.

(13) Staroviolc. in Bellator. Sarmatiæ, *p.* 176.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Le Laboureur, Relation de Pologne, *Part iii, pag.* 25.

[*C*] *He cauſed the Bible to be printed in the Poliſh language.*] Nicolas Oleſnicki, as I have ſaid elſewhere (16), eſtabliſhed the Reformed religion in Pinczovia at the inſtigation of Stancarus. A ſchool was likewiſe ſet up in the ſame place. which proved a nurſery of learned men. John Laſcus, George Blandrata, Francis Liſmaninus, Martin Grovicius, Peter Statorius, George Schoman, Gregory Pauli, Brelius, Triceſſius, and ſome others, made it flouriſh to ſuch a degree, that Pinczovia was looked upon as the Athens of Poland (17). There it was that thoſe learned men tranſlated all the Bible into the vulgar tongue. Their tranſlation was printed at Breſt in Lithuania, at the charges of our Nicolas Radziwil. He was governor of that royal city, and ſet up a Printing-houſe in it. The Pſalms of David, a collection of Canticles, and ſome other works of the ſame kind, were printed in that town, and contributed very much to the converſion of the people. Here are the words of my author: ' Ibi *(Pinczoviæ)* à Viris illis piis & doctis
' univerſa Biblia Sacra in Linguam vernaculam tranſla-
' ta, ſumptibus Nicolai Radzivilii Palatini Vilnenſis

(16) In the article STANCARUS.

(17) Ita ut tunc Pinczovia velut Athenæ Sarmaticæ celebraretur. *Staniſl. Lubieniecius, Hiſt. Reform. Polon. lib. i, cap. v, pag.* 33.

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Apoſtolical Nuncio, who had given him ſome very reproachful words [D]. The clergy of Vilna being not willing to permit the miniſters to preach in the churches, he made them preach in the court of his houſe, over againſt St John's church (b). The firſt ſynod of the Reformed was held under his protection at Vilna in December 1557 (c). He had a wife (d), who was no leſs zealous than he to ſettle the Reformation (e). There was at that time one CHRISTOPHER RADZIWIL, who embraced the Proteſtant religion; and it is ſaid, that the diſcovery of ſome monkiſh impoſtures occaſioned his change [E]. Others call him Nicolas (f), and ſay he was couſin-german to him,

(b) David Chytræus, in Saxonia, *lib. xv, pag. m.* 393.

(c) Regenſvolſc. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sclavonicar. *pag.* 142.

(d) Called Elizabeth Sidlowieckî.

(e) David Chytræus, *ubi ſupra.*

(f) See the remark [E] at the end.

' Principis Magnificentiſſimi & Fortiſſimi renaſcentis ' veritatis vindicis impreſſa ſunt Breſtiæ Lithuanorum. ' Huic enim urbi Regiæ Præfectus datus erat, in qua ' comparatam privato ære officinam typographicam ' conſiderat, & illi Wojewodæ Cracoviâ evocato com- ' miſerat. Ibidem exſcriptus fuit liber Pſalmorum & ' hymnorum aliique ejus notæ, quorum lectione popu- ' lus à Romanis ſuperſtitionibus ad veram Dei colendi ' rationem revocabatur (18). --- *There* (at Pinczovia) ' *the whole Bible was tranſlated by theſe pious and learned* ' *men, into the vulgar tongue; and at the charge of Nicolas* ' *Radziwil, Palatine of Vilna, a prince of great muni-* ' *ficence, and a moſt valiant defender of the truth then* ' *reſtored; it was printed at Breſte: of which royal city* ' *being made a governor, he did, at his own expence, build* ' *there a Printing-houſe, and committed it to the care of* ' *Weiwood, who was ſent for from Cracow. There the* ' *book of Pſalms and Hymns, and many other ſuch like,* ' *were printed: by the reading of which, the people were* ' *turned from the Romiſh ſuperſtitions, to the knowledge of* ' *the true worſhip of God.*' That author obſerves (19) that this impreſſion of the Bible was finiſhed in the year 1563, and that it was the firſt Poliſh tranſlation of the Scripture. He adds, that it was firſt followed by another tranſlation, in the year 1572, made by Simon Budnæus; and that a verſion of the New Teſtament by Martin Czechovicius was printed five years after. Note, that if we believe John Lætus (20), the tranſlators of the Bible, printed at Nicolas Radziwil's charges (21), were but five, *viz.* Orſacius, Zazius, Triceſius, James Lubelſcius, and Statorius.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid. *lib. vii, cap. i, pag.* 170.

(20) Jo. Lætus, in Compend. Hiſtor. Univerſ. *pag. m.* 412. *He quotes* Laſicius, *lib. v,* Chytræus, in Sax. *ad ann.* 65.

(21) He ſpent ten thouſand florins upon it. *Jo. Lætus, ubi infra.*

[D] *He made a very ſevere reply to Lippoman, the Apoſtolical Nuncio, who had given him ſome very reproachful words.*] I am ſure my readers will be glad to find here part of that anſwer. ' Apoſtaſia cum ei ' non ſine conviciis à *Lippomano Pontificis Legato* ex- ' probraretur, eidem docta *Apologia* reſpondit, fidei ' ſuæ rationem dedit, inter alia vero: *Certum tibi eſſe* ' *volo, ſic me nunc doctiſſimorum virorum videndorum* ' *deſiderio teneri, ut ſi ſcirem me eos, aut alios etiam ex* ' *præcipuis illis qui ſunt in Germania, Melanchthones,* ' *Brentios, poſſe in mea poſtulata aliquomodo pertrahere,* ' *in eo vel præcipuè, non ſervitoris tantum mittendi la-* ' *borem conferendum, ſed etiam omnes opes facultateſque* ' *meas eſſe mihi experiendas putarem quos quia per in-* ' *ſignem malitiam hæreticos appellas, omnium Hæretico-* ' *rum, quos orbis terrarum habet, maxime Hæreticus* ' *es* (22). --- When he was upbaided with apoſtacy ' in a ſcurrilous manner by Lippomanus, the Pope's ' Nuntio, he anſwered him by a very learned apology, ' in which he gave the reaſon of his faith, and among ' other things ſaid: *I would have you to be aſſured,* ' *that I have ſo ardent a deſire of converſing with the* ' *moſt learned men, that if I knew it was in my power* ' *to induce them, or others, ſo renowned in Germany, the* ' *Melanchthons and Brentiis, to comply with my propoſals;* ' *in that caſe, I ſhould think it my duty not only to ſend a* ' *ſervant, but even to beſtow all my wealth, and employ* ' *all my abilities with theſe men whom you, from the depth* ' *of malice, call heretics; but in ſo doing you prove your* ' *ſelf to be of all heretics, the greateſt heretic.*' The letter he received from Lippoman, and his anſwer to it, were printed at Koningſberg, in the year 1556 (23).

(22) Ibid. *pag.* 390, 391.

(23) Regenſvolſcius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sclavonicar. *pag.* 142.

[E] *It is ſaid, that the diſcovery of ſome monkiſh impoſtures occaſioned the change of Chriſtopher Radziwil.*] When the Reformation began to be eſtabliſhed in Lithuania, this Chriſtopher Radziwil being very ſorry *that a prince of his houſe had embraced it, went to Rome, and paid all imaginable honours to the Pope. The Pope being likewiſe willing to gratify him, preſented him with a box full of relics when he went away. Being returned home, and the news of thoſe relics being ſpread abroad, certain monks came to him, ſome months after, and told him that there was a man poſſeſſed with the Devil, that the wicked ſpirit had been exorciſed in vain, and that hitherto all the exorciſms had proved ineffectual. They begged of him that he would lend the precious relics he had brought from Rome, for the relief of that poor man. The prince readily granted their requeſt. The relics were carried into the church with a ſolemn pomp, and a proceſſion of all the monks. At laſt they were placed upon the altar, and on the day appointed an innumerable multitude of people crowded in to ſee the ſhow, and after the uſual exorciſms the relics were made uſe of. At that very moment the pretended devil went out of the body of the man, with the uſual geſtures and grimaces. Every body cried out, a* Miracle; *and the prince lifted up his hands and eyes to Heaven, to return thanks that he had brought a thing ſo holy, and which could do ſuch miracles. But ſome few days after, as he was full of admiration, and tranſported with joy, extolling the virtue of his relics, he perceived that a young gentleman of his houſe, who had the keeping of that rich treaſure, ſmiled, and made ſome geſtures, whereby it appeared that he derided his diſcourſe* (24). The prince grew angry, and would know the reaſon of his deriſion. The gentleman being aſſured that no harm ſhould come to him, told the prince in private, ' That upon his return from Rome, ' he loſt the box of relics, which he had the keep- ' ing of, and that not daring to ſpeak of it, for ' fear of being puniſhed, he got one like it, and ' filled it with little bones of beaſts, and ſuch trifles ' as he could get that were like the relics which ' he had loſt. So that ſeeing ſo much honour paid ' to that vile heap of filth, and even that they aſcribed ' to it the virtue of driving away the Devil, he had ' good reaſon to wonder at it. The prince gave cre- ' dit to what he ſaid, but being willing to be more ' particularly informed of the cheat, he ſent for the ' monks the next day, and defired them to enquire, ' whether there was any other Demoniac, who wanted ' the aſſiſtance of his relics. Some few days after ' they brought him another man poſſeſſed with the ' Devil, who acted the ſame part with the firſt. The ' prince ordered him to be exorciſed in his preſence; ' but becauſe all the exorciſms, that are commonly ' made uſe of on ſuch an occaſion, proved ineffe- ' ctual, he told the monks, that he would have the ' man to ſtay in his palace till the next day, and ' that they ſhould retire. After they were gone, ' he put the pretended Demoniac into the hands ' of his Tartarian grooms; who at firſt exhorted ' him to confeſs the cheat, as they were ordered to ' do: but becauſe he obſtinately perſiſted in it, with ' horrid and furious geſtures, ſix of them laid on him ' with whips and ſcourges, and put him into ſuch ' condition, that he was forced to implore the prince's ' mercy, who forgave him as ſoon as he had con- ' feſſed the truth. When the night was over, the ' prince ſent for the monks, in whoſe preſence the ' poor fellow flung himſelf at his feet, and proteſted ' that he neither was, nor ever had been poſſeſſed ' with the Devil; but that thoſe monks had per- ' ſuaded him to counterfeit a Demoniac. Immediately ' the monks defired the prince not to believe what he ' ſaid, and told him that it was a trick of the Devil, ' who ſpoke through that man's mouth. But the ' prince anſwered, that if his Tartars had been able ' to force the Devil to tell the truth, they would be ' able to extort it from the mouth of the monks. So ' that the monks finding themſelves preſſed ſo hard, ' confeſſed the impoſture, and ſaid that they had done ' it with a good intention, and to prevent the ' progreſs of hereſy. But the prince thanked God ' with all his heart, that he had been graciouſly ' pleaſed to diſcover ſuch an impoſture to him, and ' ſuſpecting a religion, that was ſupported with ſuch ' diabolical devices, tho' they went by the name of ' *pious frauds*, he declared, that he would no longer ' depend upon any body for his ſalvation, and betook ' himſelf to the reading of the Holy Scriptures with ' a wonderful aſſiduity; and having ſpent half a year ' in

(24) Dreſincourt, Reponſe au Prince Erneſt Landgrave de Heſſe, *pag.* 357.

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him, who makes the ſubject of this article, and brother of Barbara Radziwil, who was married to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland, and who died the twelfth of May 1551. They obſerve, that the church which he cauſed to be built for the Reformed in the city of Vilna, of which he was Palatin, was honoured with a fine privilege by king Stephen Battori in the year 1579, and that he died the twenty-ſeventh of April 1584, that Nicolas and Chriſtopher RADZIWIL, his two ſons, perſevered in the religion in which he had bred them up, and that their poſterity carefully preſerved that ſacred *depoſitum* (g) [F].

(g) *Ex eodem* Regenvolſc. ubi ſupra, *p.* 144, 145.

' in reading and praying, he made a wonderful pro-
' greſs in piety, and in the knowledge of the my-
' ſteries of the Goſpel: and then he and all his fami-
' ly made an open profeſſion of our religion, in the
(25) Ibid. *pag.* 359, *&* *ſeq.* ' year 1564 (25).' Theſe are the words of Mr Drelincourt, miniſter of the church of Paris, in the anſwer he publiſhed in the year 1663, to the letter which prince Erneſt, landgrave of Heſſe, had writ to the five miniſters of Paris. Mr Drelincourt adds (26), *Your Highneſs may believe it, if you pleaſe; but I proteſt, as if I was before the throne of God, that this ſtory was told me in this manner by the miniſter of prince Januſius Radziwil: nay, he gave me in writing part of what he told me, and explained to me* viva voce.

(26) Ibid. *pag.* 362.

(27) Regenvolſc. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 145.

Regenvolſcius (27) calls him Nicolas Radziwil, whom the diſcovery of a monkiſh impoſture fully determined to forſake the Popiſh religion in the year 1564; but he ſays nothing either of the journey to Rome, or of the relics. He only ſays, that the monks of Czenſtochovia (28) had ſuborned a pretended Demoniac, whilſt Nicolas Radziwil was on his pilgrimage, which he had vowed after a great victory obtained over the Muſcovites.

(28) See le Laboureur's Relation of Poland, *Part iii, pag.* 28, *&* *ſeq.* concerning the miraculous image of the holy Virgin, which is honoured in that place.

[F] *Their poſterity carefully preſerved that ſacred depoſitum.*] NICOLAS RADZIWIL, palatin of Novogrod, was the father of GEORGE, who died caſtellan of Troki, in the year 1614, and left no children. CHRISTOPHER RADZIWIL, brother to this Nicolas, was palatin of Vilna, and died in the year 1604. He left two ſons, JANUSSIUS, and CHRISTOPHER. Januſius, duke of Bierze, and caſtellan of Vilna, died in the year 1621, being forty-two years of age. He left by his wife, who was the Elector of Brandenburg's daughter, a ſon called BOGESLAUS. His brother Chriſtopher, palatin of Vilna, and great marſhal of Lithuania, died the nineteenth of September 1640, at fifty-five years of age, and left an only ſon, whoſe name was JANUSSIUS, and who was Great Chamberlain of Lithuania. This Bogeſlaus, and this Januſius RADZIWIL, firſt-couſins, were both alive, and made profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, when the author, whom I quote (29), was writing this book, about the year 1650. The Gazettes, in the beginning of the year 1681, told us, that the princeſs LUDOVICA RADZIWIL, at fourteen years of age, married prince Lewis, ſecond ſon of the Elector of Brandenburg, at Koningſberg, the ſeventh of January, 1681; that ſhe was the only daughter of the late prince Bogeſlaus, and that ſhe was poſſeſſed of a duchy in Lithuania, which contains above forty leagues on the frontiers of Livonia, and two ſtrong caſtles. She was a Proteſtant, but after the death of prince Lewis of Brandenburg, ſhe married again in 1688, to a ſon of the Elector Palatine, and turned a Roman Catholic. There had been ſome diſcourſe of marrying her to prince James, ſon of John Sobieſki, king of Poland.

(29) Regenvolſc. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 145, 146.

RAIMARUS (NICOLAS) an Aſtronomer of the XVIth century. See URSUS.

RAYNAUD (THEOPHILUS), one of the moſt famous and learned Jeſuits of the XVIIth century, was born at Soſpello (*a*), in the county of Nice; but having lived in France the moſt part of his time, he paſſed for a Frenchman [A]. His life was very long, and attended with ſeveral diſgraces; yet he could never be perſuaded to leave his ſociety [B], and to aſſociate himſelf with another community, tho' he was offered great advantages elſewhere. He was extremely laborious, and loſt but little time, either in eating, or hearing devout women [C]. His great pleaſure was to write books, and carefully to perform the functions of his character. He compoſed a prodigious number of books: ſome of them were cenſured by the Inquiſition [D]; which ſenſibly afflicted him.

(*a*) From hence comes the title *Ceſpitellenſis*, that is given him to denote his native country.

[A] *He paſſed for a Frenchman.*] Alegambe ſays poſitively, that he was a Frenchman; *Natione Gallus, patria Ceſpitellenſis* (1). Theſe Latin words contain what is called in the ſchools *contradictio in adjecto*; for *Ceſpitellum* or *Soſpitellum* is undeniably in Italy. See Baudrand on thoſe two words. Father Oldoini cenſures Alegambe for this fault, and places our Theophilus among the writers born in Liguria. Soprani places him amongſt them likewiſe (2). They are more in the right than Southwell, who expreſſes himſelf doubtfully. *Natione Gallus*, ſays he (3), *an potius Italus? patria Ceſpitellenſis in Comitatu Niceenſi.*

(1) Alegambe, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, *p.* 431.

(2) Oldoinus and Soprani have publiſhed the catalogue of the writers of that part of Italy.

(3) Natan. Sotuel, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, *pag.* 757.

[B] *His life .... was attended with ſeveral diſgraces; yet he could never be perſuaded to leave his ſociety.*] Here follow Southwell's words: ' Vocationis
' ſuæ religioſæ tenaciſſimus; quamvis & utilia & honó-
' rifica extra ſocietatem ei promitterentur à Primori-
' bus, ſi hanc inter aſpera quæ ſubinde patiebatur, dè-
' ſere vellet, nunquam eos auſcultare voluit (4). - - -
' *He was moſt immovably attached to his religious vocà-*
' *tion; altho' great advantages and honours were pro-*
' *miſed to him elſewhere by men of the firſt rank, pro-*
' *vided he would quit the ſociety of the Jeſuits in the*
' *middle of thoſe hardſhips which he was every now and*
' *then obliged to ſuffer, he would never conſent to it.*'
See below (5) the paſſage of Moncony's, and that of a Janſeniſt (6).

(4) Ibid. *pag.* 758.

(5) In the remark [L].

(6) In the remark [K].

[C] *He loſt but little time either in eating, or hearing devout women.*] He was a very ſober man, and did not ſit at table above a quarter of an hour; and when, by reaſon of his great age, he might have converſed with women, without any danger and ſuſpicion, he would not ſpeak with them but in caſes of neceſſity, and told them in a few words what he had to ſay. I here only tranſlate Southwell's words. *In victu valde abſtinens*, ſays he (7), *paucis & communibus ſemper uſus cibis, vix amplius uno quadrante dabat menſæ. Puritatis amator ſummus, mulierum colloquia cum erant neceſſaria, etiam ſenex, paucis verbis definiebat.* He wiſhed that all other Eccleſiaſtics would imitate him in that, as he teſtifies in his book *De ſobria alterius ſexus frequentatione.* But, generally ſpeaking, the directors of conſciences do not like that morality; they are ſeldom weary of the company of devout women, if one may judge of it by their long and frequent converſations with them.

(7) Sotuel, ubi ſupra.

[D] *He publiſhed ſome books which were cenſured by the Inquiſition.*] He took ſo much pains to have the cenſure taken off, that he at laſt obtained leave to reprint them, provided that he corrected them (8). The Inquiſition cenſured three of his treatiſes, *viz. De Martyrio per peſtem*; *de Communione pro mortuis*; and *de Confixione Librorum* (9). As men have different notions of things, it is no wonder that this Jeſuit took ſuch a diſgrace to heart, tho' other writers are ſo little afraid of it, that ſometimes they are glad to hear that their works have been put into the Index, or that the Inquiſitors are diſpleaſed with them. It is very often a ſign

(8) Poſtea ab auctore emendata, ab eadem ſacra congregatione anno 1659 recudi permiſſa ſunt & libere diſtrahi. *Ibid. p.* 759.

(9) Ibid.

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him. He discharged his anger upon the Dominicans, in a book (*b*) wherein he collected a vast number of passages out of their writings, which had not been censured, tho' they deserved it. The quarrels he had with some Dominicans, and other people, produced many injurious and satirical pieces; for it cannot be denied that he had a very sarcastical wit. The Jesuits themselves confess something of it [*E*]. He died of an apoplexy (*c*) at Lyons, the last day of October 1663. The Bibliographers of the Jesuits do not agree about his age [*F*]; and therefore I shall not determine whether he lived seventy-nine years, as Mr Gallois asserts, in a work that will afford me some passages concerning the genius and spirit of this Jesuit [*G*]. He was very much esteemed by Dr Patin [*H*], and some are of opinion that he praises him too much, and that, with

(*b*) *Intituled*, De immunitate Cyriacorum à censuris.

(*c*) Ictus apoplexia migravit ad Dominum. *Sotuel, Bibliotheca Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 758. This does not seem to agree with the passage of Monconys, below, remark [*L*].

a sign that a book is good. See what an ingenious man (10) hath lately said upon occasion of the censure passed upon the *Acta Sanctorum*.

(10) The author of the *Lettres Historiques*, March 1696, *p.* 245.

[*E*] *The Jesuits themselves confess something of it.*] They say he was impatient, and that he did not spare Father Bollandus, his Fellow-Jesuit, and his good friend, who had done him great services, and had displeased him only by maintaining a different opinion from his concerning a bishop of Lyons. If all the angry and passionate expressions of our Theophilus had not been suppressed, Bollandus would have been very ill treated in the second edition of the *Inditulus Sanctorum Lugdunensium*. Father Papebroch has revealed this little mystery. *Ita factus erat Theophilus*, says he (11), *ut neminem contradicentem sibi patienter ferret, & nisi præsentes adfuissemus, cum prælo iterum pararetur Indiculus Sanctorum Lugdunensium, nosque mature aliquis admonuisset, inveniretur ibi acriter perstrictus P. Joannes Bollandus in S. Anemundo Lugdunensi Episcopo, sub regimine S. Bathildis occiso, quia ad 26 Januarii eundem statuerat cum S. Delfino contra Theophili sententiam, cui alias Bollandus amicissimus erat, & in curanda operum ipsius impressione Antverpiæ meritus de illo optime.*

(11) Papebroch. Elucidat. Hist. Actorum in Controv. Carmelitica, *cap. vii, in fine, p.* 110.

[*F*] *The Bibliographers of the Jesuits do not agree about his age.*] Alegambe (12) says, that Father Theophilus was admitted into their order in the year 1602, at sixteen years of age; but, according to Father Southwell (13), it was in 1592, and at the same age. And therefore, since he died in 1663, he lived seventy-seven years, according to Father Alegambe, and eighty-seven according to Father Southwell. But if he had lived eighty-seven years, this expression of Father Southwell would be wrong, *Octogenario major . . . . migravit ad Dominum:* it is only proper for those, whose life did not much exceed eighty years. Mr Gallois seems to be more credible than those two Jesuits, when he says (14), that Father Theophilus lived seventy-nine years. It is a strange thing that the Jesuits themselves, who made it their business to write elogies upon the writers of their society, should not be able to tell us how long one of the most famous of them lived.

(12) Alegambe, ubi supra.

(13) Sotuel, ubi supra, *p.* 757.

(14) Gallois, Journal des Sçavans, *March* 14, 1667, *pag.* m. 127.

[*G*] *Concerning the genius of this Jesuit.*] It was not possible to speak more pertinently of the edition of all the works of that author, than the abbot Gallois has done in the Journal *des Savans*, of the fourteenth of March, 1667. That edition consists of nineteen volumes in folio, and it came out at Lyons in the year 1665. That ingenious journalist having shewn, in a few words, the contents of each volume, gives his judgment on them in the following manner. 'It appears by the works of this author, that he was bold 'and peremptory, and that he had a lively imagination, and a prodigious memory. These natural 'endowments, together with an indefatigable application to study from his younger years, till he was 'seventy-nine years old, at which age he died, had made 'him one of the most learned men of his time. But 'he was too severe and satirical; for which reason 'many people hated him. His stile, tho' otherwise 'very neat, seems to be obscure, because he affects to 'use hard words and terms taken from the Greek. 'He has also sometimes some odd thoughts, as when 'being to treat of the goodness of our Saviour in a 'chapter of the second volume, he intitles it, *Christus 'bonus, bona, bonum.* His great reading furnishing 'him with an infinite variety of matter on all subjects, 'he often rambles from the subject in hand; as in his 'treatise *de Rosa benedicta*, a considerable part of 'which is taken up in examining after what manner Lent was kept in the primitive church. One 'may also observe that he did not give a free scope to 'his genius, being contented to mention what he had 'read in the antient authors, and often using their 'own words to express what he might perhaps have 'said better than they. Nevertheless, his works are 'worthy of esteem, and very useful to those who apply themselves to Divinity and Preaching (15).' The following words of the same abbot particularly concern the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes, intituled, *Heteroclita Spiritualia*. 'This author treats there of 'several suspected customs, which, thro' an excessive 'zeal, or thro' remissness, have been introduced 'into the worship of GOD, and of the saints, into the 'good works that are done to relieve the souls in purgatory, into the use of the sacraments, and into all 'other pious exercises. He examines all those doubtful acts of devotion with great severity: he condemns some, and approves others; and what he 'says is supported by many learned observations taken 'from Ecclesiastical History and the Fathers. He 'did particularly excel in treating such matters; for, 'being sharp and satirical, he never had better success than when he exercised his critical wit (16).' Let us further see what he says concerning the pieces that have not been inserted in the nineteen volumes. *They have left out, of that collection, for some particular reasons, the Apologies against Hurtado, which he intituled* Depilationes, *because that monk belongs to an order, called in Italy* Pelosi: *and the book, wherein he enquires whether a man may confess his sins by letters; and that which is intituled* Hipparchus, *wherein he examines whether it be lawful for monks to trade. They have also left out the treatise* de Immunitate Cyriacorum à censuris, *against the Jacobins; and that which is intituled,* Religio Bellarum, *wherein the predetermination of the Thomists is confuted, and another written against Father Combefis. There are some other treatises of this author wanting in this collection, which may easily be known by the catalogue of his works, which he printed several times: he designed to make one volume of all those pieces, and intitle it* Apopompæus, *a name which the Jews gave to the victim which they loaded with curses, and sent into the wilderness, but death prevented his design* (17). Father Southwell says, that the twentieth volume, intituled, *Apopompæus*, was actually printed after the author's death (18).

(15) Gallois, ibid.

(16) Ibid. *pag.* m. 122, 123.

(17) Ibid. *pag.* 124, 125.

(18) Tertium ex, quem *Apopompæum* vocant editorum adpost obitum The xiii, fine apparebit tione superiorum Societatis, unde hæc illum tanquam partum legitimum non agnoscit. *Sotuel, ubi supra, p.* 759. *I have a copy of that Apopompæus, and there is in the title page,* Tomus vigesimus & posthumus per Anonymum diversos, nunc primum in lucem prodit. Cracovie sumptibus Andreæ Sonerovic. Andreæ Sonerovic bibliopolæ 1669.

I must further add another passage of the abbot Gallois (19). *The most remarkable pieces of the seventh volume, intituled,* Marialia (20), *is the second treatise, wherein the author vindicates the devotion of the Scapulary; and the fifth, which is sufficient to shew his great learning, and the fruitfulness of his wit. For being to preach upon the seven solemn anthems, which the church sings before Christmas, and which begin with the letter O; he took only that letter for the subject of his sermons; and that subject, tho' never so barren, afforded him a thousand fine things, of which that treatise is made up.*

(19) Gallois, ubi supra, *pag.* 118, 119.

(20) Beside all the treatises contains, concern the perfection of the worship of the Virgin. *Ibid. pag.* 118.

[*H*] *He was very much esteemed by Dr Patin.*] 'Martinus Schookius, who has writ many books . . . 'is as learned as those ancient Sophists, who used to 'write and dispute about every thing that can be 'known. He and Coringius in Germany are the most 'learned men in Europe in that sort of learning and 'composure. Father Theophilus Raynaud exceeded 'them both; for he was a Jesuit, and understood his 'Romish and Loyolitical Theology perfectly well; 'but had it not been for that, and the respect he had 'for his superiors, he would have broke loose, and 'might have done more than three others, upon any 'subject whatsoever: for besides his great learning 'and wonderful memory, he gave to all his works 'such a perfection, as none but a great master could 'give (21).' Here is another passage. *If you see Father*

(21) Guy Patin, Letter cxxxvii. pag. 602. of the second Tome.

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with regard to his ſtile; he cenſures him unjuſtly [I]; for it is not true that he imitated Juſtus

Father Theophilus, pray give my ſervices to him, and aſk him when we ſhall ſee his anſwer to a book printed againſt him at Amſterdam, in 8vo, *and intituled,* Antidotus duplex contra duplex venenum, *&c.* 8vo. Hiſpali, 1637. *The Printer has ſuppreſſed or diſguiſed the name of the town; for it has been printed in Holland, and not at Seville. I have ſent him a copy of it, for which he thanked me, and informed me that he would quickly anſwer it. I have ſeveral letters of that honeſt Father, and am one of his friends, and I am proud of it; for he is a very learned man, in* genere multiplici, *in ſeveral matters. I wiſh that he would publiſh many pieces that he has by him: there is a great deal of learning in all his books* (22). Theſe praiſes are the more conſiderable, becauſe they are beſtowed by a man, who was more inclined to cenſure than commend, and who ſpoke freely of the faults which he thought he had found in the writings of that Jeſuit. I muſt quote him again. *The author of the* Sanctus Georgius Cappadox *is an extraordinary and moſt learned man; only he ſets up for a Fiſhmonger on Eaſter-Eve, and affects to write in a manner that is out of uſe: nevertheleſs all his books are good,* eſt enim vir multijugæ eruditionis ac infinitæ lectionis; - - - *He is a man of great erudition, and infinite reading, as Grotius ſaid of the late Salmaſius. Father Raynaud's ſtile,* redolet Lipſianum, quo tamen eſt multo deterior, - - - *reſembles that of Lipſius, but is much worſe: there is no body now that writes ſo, except it be Dr Blondel, our Dean; who, tho' one of the moſt learned men in the world, affects that kind of barbariſm,* ' & eadem ſcabie laborat cum Tertulliano, ' Lipſianus ſeu Lipſiomimus vel Lipſio minus, qualis ' aliquando fuit Erycius Puteanus, Petrus Gruterus, ' Theophylus Raynaudus, & pauci alii quos fama ' obſcura recondit (23). - - - *and has the ſame fault as* ' *Tertullian, for he imitates Lipſius too much, as did* ' *heretofore Erycius Puteanus, Peter Gruterus, Theophilus* ' *Raynaud, and ſome others, whoſe names are buried in* ' *oblivion.*' I confeſs I cannot apprehend upon what grounds Patin taxes that Jeſuit with affecting a broken and obſcure ſtile, and uſing many of thoſe obſolete expreſſions called *Archaiſms.* I have read ſeveral of his books, and I find that his ſtile is rather prolix than ſhort, and that it is free from the faults that are obſerved in Lipſius's ſtile, and in that of his imitators. It is true, that Father Raynaud does not write politely; but if his ſtile is rough and barbarous, it is not becauſe he affects old Latin phraſes, like thoſe of Plautus, or Greciſms (24), which are the delight of ſome learned men; it is rather becauſe he uſes a great many words borrowed from the ſchoolmen. Nay, I obſerve that he blamed one of his adverſaries for having uſed ſome Greek words: he was anſwered, that it was not for him to ſpeak of Greek, ſince he was ignorant of that language. ' Mira hominis Buccafœtidi audacia, ' cæcus cum ſit, vult de coloribus judicare, & cum ' prorſus idiota ſit Græci idiomatis, judicare de voci- ' bus Græcis . . . . quid vis apparere *ferularius Mag.* ' in utraque lingua? etſi enim *Latinam* bene calleas, ' at *Græcam* prorſus ignoras (25). - - - - *It is a ſtrange* ' *piece of impudence for a blind man to pretend to judge* ' *of colours, and for one that is totally ignorant of the* ' *Greek tongue, to ſet up for a critic in Greek words*; . . . ' *What, would you ſet up for a Pedagogue in both lan-* ' *guages? Tho' you underſtand Latin very well, you are* ' *quite ignorant of the Greek.*' His antagoniſt confeſſes that he underſtands the Latin tongue very well; but ſuch a confeſſion is of no great weight (26), ſince it was made by a man who was guilty of ſoleciſms in every page (27). *Barbararum lexeon, & ſolœciſmorum tanta ubertas eſt in Hurtadi opere, ut ſi tenui diligentia adhibita, notare grammaticas ejus ſtribiligines liberet, totum pene ejus volumen eſſet exſcribendum. Vix tres lineas exarat, quin ſolœciſmis adeo pinguibus contaminet, ut miſerationem moveat* (28). *Thomas Hurtado . . . . vix unquam emiſit periodum qui non ſordeat ſtribiligine aliqua grammatica, & indigna colaphizatione Priſciani.* Four examples of it are to be found in the ſame page. *Deus expaveſcit nos* (29): *opus bene executum: debet populus magis exhortari ad communionem: agendum eſſe de tactis* (30). There is at the end of the book (31) a liſt of his ſoleciſms and other faults againſt Grammar. Father Raynaud's adverſary made but a weak anſwer. I imitate the Fathers, ſaid he (32), *Nonne in multis patribus inveniuntur ſimiles non ita vigoroſæ in latinitate locutiones?* And he ſays (33), that John Buſæus drew up a liſt of above 250 barbariſms of Petrus Bleſenſis.

[I] *Some are of opinion that Dr Patin praiſes him too much, and that, with regard to his ſtile, he cenſures him unjuſtly.*] ' Theophilus Raynaud gave to all his ' works ſuch perfection, as none but great maſters can ' give. This judgment of Dr Patin is not altogether ' true. The character of perfection, which none but ' great maſters, ſuch as Petavius and Sirmondus, can ' give, was wanting in Theophilus Raynaud. His de- ' ſigns were odd, his learning without choice, and his ' ſtile, though good in it ſelf, was often ſpoiled with ' childiſh affectations. Beſides, the author was an unpo- ' lite man, and had no urbanity (34).'

I have already (35) refuted Dr Patin's opinion of Father Raynaud's ſtile; but I have ſomething elſe to ſay upon this ſubject. That Jeſuit obſerves that few people complained of the coarſeneſs of his ſtile. The only cenſurer he names is one Camerarius, who blamed him for uſing a harſh and bombaſtic ſtile, intermixed with barbarous words, and imitating Petronius and Apuleius rather than the Ciceronians. *Non defuit, qui mei ſtyli ſqualorem opponeret. Arguebat ſanè Gulielmus Camerarius præfatione ad ſuam (ut inſcripſit)* Antiquitatis de novitate victoriam, *quod ſtylus ſcriptionum mearum ſcaber eſſet ac tumens: quod voces paſſim barbaras, & à nitore & lenitate Tulli alienas adhibèrem: Et quod Petronio potius ac Apulejo, tumidis & inflatis ſcriptoribus, quam probatæ latinitatis, ſtylique puri ac nativi Magiſtris, inter ſcribendum inhæſerim* (36). I ſhall not mention what he anſwered in his vindication, but only name the book which he wrote in his defence. *Diſſertatio hujus & aliarum Camerarii calumniarum depulſoria, edita eſt hoc titulo,* Non cauſa, ut cauſa, ſubjuncta vera cauſa; Elenchus ſophiſmatis Gulielmi Camerarii Scoti (37). *Ea lucubratione* à pag. 16. *quam ridicula ſit hæc criminatio, & quam abſurdum ſit voces è Nizolij Ciceroniana pinacotheca anxiè ſublegere, in Didacticis præſertim ſcriptionibus, (cujuſmodi ferè ſunt omnes noſtræ, eaque nominatim, adverſus quam Camerarii æſtus inferbuit,) plenè & accuratè demonſtratur.* I add, that he continues to refute his adverſary in the ſame place, out of which I have taken this paſſage. His main argument conſiſts in the quotations from ſeveral Fathers of the church, who did not much trouble themſelves about the elegancy of the ſtile. He ſays (38), that St Auguſtin was very careleſs of it, and he refers us to Bernard Vindincus's *Prolegomena ad Criticum Auguſtinianum caſtigatum,* where there is a chapter concerning St Auguſtin's ſoleciſms and barbariſms. After all he does not own that Camerarius's cenſure is well grounded, and leaves it to the judgment of unprejudiced readers. *Videor vaniſſimam & ineptiſſimam criminationem obtriviſſe multo pluribus quam neceſſitas poſtulabat. An verò Stylus Scriptionum mearum, adeò vel jaceat, vel horreat, quam ſibi fingit Camerarius cujus fuit hæc criminatio, pronuncient alii, affectu quo ille ducebatur liberi* (39). If any one ſhould ſay that I have unjuſtly cenſured Dr Patin, I appeal likewiſe to all the readers duly qualified, who will peruſe the works of this Jeſuit with an unprejudiced mind. If they look into them, and read ſome pages here and there, I am ſure they will not ſay that he imitated Lipſius, and that he may be compared with Peter Gruterus, and Erycius Puteanus, as Patin will have it. I believe they will ſay that his ſtile is neither exact, polite, nor agreeable; but they will deny that it is conciſe, full of dark ellipſes, and obſolete phraſes, and very much affected. Any reader well ſkilled in the critical art, will eaſily perceive that the author I ſpeak of wrote haſtily, that he was very careleſs of his ſtile, that he did not correct his works, and conſequently that his printed words and phraſes may be looked upon as a faithful copy of his minutes; and that the firſt effuſions of his pen were alſo the firſt effuſions of his mind: ſo that his bad Latin, whether it be too ancient or too new, ought not to be accounted an affectation, or an artifice, but a natural production. He was a man of a vaſt memory; he had read in his youth the claſſic authors, and afterwards, with greater application, the Eccleſiaſtical writers, the Philoſophers, and the modern Divines. His memory being full of the phraſes of all thoſe authors, readily ſupplied his pen; ſo that

(22) Ibid. Letter CCIX, pag. 230, of the ſame volume. See alſo Letter CCXLV, pag. 372, of the ſame volume.

(23) Ibid. Letter 173, pag. 65, of the ſame volume.

(24) Mr Gallois, above, citation (18), taxes him *with affecting to uſe words derived from the Greek.*

(25) Thomas Hurtado, in duplici Antidoto, *pag.* 453.

(26) *See* Hurtado, ibid. *pag.* 10.

(27) Leodeg. Quintinus, apud Hurtado, Antid. *pag.* 437.

(28) Idem, apud eundem, *pag.* 10.

(29) Makes us afraid.

(30) Of the touches.

(31) *See* Hurtado, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 437.

(32) Ibid. *pag.* 439.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Vigneul Marville, *Melanges d'Hiſtoire, Tom. ii, pag.* 303, *Rotterdam Edit.* 1700.

(35) In the foregoing remark.

(36) Theoph. Raynaud. Syntagm. de Libris propriis, *pag.* 6. Apopompæi, *col.* 2.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid. *pag.* 8, *col.* 2.

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 10, *col.* 1.

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Juſtus Lipſius, that he hunted after old words, and that he was fond of obſcure and antiquated phraſes, which has been the fault of ſome authors, for which they have been juſtly

that without much thinking, ſometimes a word of Plautus came out, or an expreſſion of Lucretius, Petronius, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, or Macrobius; ſometimes an expreſſion of Tertullian, Arnobius, St Hilary, or Sidonius Apollinaris; ſometimes an expreſſion of St Bernard, or of the commentators upon Lombard, or of the Angelical Doctor, *&c.* But the common and moſt uſual words offered themſelves more frequently, and he took what came out firſt: and conſequently, his ſtile is not affected; old words and barbarous expreſſions came into it naturally, but not in great numbers, and the author took no care to correct and poliſh his ſtile: he left it ſuch as he found it, when he read his writings over again. But if I was miſtaken in this, at leaſt the main part of my criticiſm would be unqueſtionable; for there were never two authors more unlike in point of ſtile, than Theophilus Raynaud and Juſtus Lipſius. The latter affected to end his periods at every line, and to leave out ſeveral words, which the reader was to ſupply and gueſs at. But the Jeſuit is rather diffuſe than conciſe, and not at all obſcure for want of words: his periods are long and full.

A CENSURE upon thoſe who affect to make uſe of old words.

It is ſtill a greater piece of injuſtice to compare him to Peter Gruterus; for this Gruterus was not an author who now and then dropped obſolete words; but he heaped them up upon one another with a ridiculous affectation, and took as much pains to gather thoſe old rags as Bembus and Manutius did to write politely. I cannot tell whether ſuch an affectation betrays more vanity or want of judgment; but it is certain, that thoſe who affect ſuch a ſtile, fancy that their readers will have a great opinion of their learning, and that being under a continual neceſſity to conſult a good Dictionary they will admire them the more for it. Men of ſenſe have always condemned this humour. The raillery which Phavorinus made uſe of againſt a young man, who was a great lover of old faſhioned words, is admirable. If you deſign not to be underſtood, ſaid he to him, why do not you hold your tongue? And if you love antiquity, pleaſe yourſelf by living a good life as our anceſtors did; but ſpeak as men do now. ‘ Favorinus philoſophus adoleſcenti veterum verborum ‘ cupidiſſimo, & pleraſque voces nimis priſcas & igno- ‘ tiſſimas in quotidianis communibuſque ſermonibus ‘ expromenti, Curius, inquit, & Fabricius, & Coruncanius antiquiſſimi viri noſtri, & his antiquiores ‘ Horatii illi trigemini, planè ac dulicidè cum ſuis ‘ fabulati ſunt: neque Auruncorum, aut Sicanorum, ‘ aut Pelaſgorum, qui primi incoluiſſe Italiam dicuntur, ſed ætatis ſuæ verbis locuti ſunt, tu autem, proinde quaſi cum matre Evandri nunc loquare, ſermone abhinc multis annis jam deſito uteris, quod ſcire atque intelligere neminem vis, quæ dicas. Nonne, homo inepte, ut quod vis abunde conſequaris, taceres? ſed antiquitatem tibi placere ais, quod honeſta & bona & ſobria & modeſta ſit, vive ergo moribus præteritis; loquere verbis præſentibus (40). *Favorinus the Philoſopher, obſerving a young man to be very fond of uſing obſolete and unknown words in common diſcourſe; Curius, ſaid he, Fabricius, and Coruncanius, theſe very old Romans, and the three Horaces who lived before them, diſcourſed to their cotemporaries in the moſt eaſy and plain language. They uſed not the words of the Aurunci, the Sicani, or the Pelaſgi, who are ſaid to have been the firſt inhabitants of Italy, but ſpoke the language then in uſe: but you, as if you were converſing with Evander's mother, make uſe of a language diſguiſed for many years, becauſe you would have no body underſtand what you ſay. Fool that you are, that you may gain your end more compleatly, would it not be better for you to hold your tongue altogether? But you ſay that the Antients pleaſe you, becauſe they were virtuous, diſcreet, and modeſt; live then as the Antients did, and ſpeak as the Moderns do.*' He concludes with referring him to a precept of Julius Cæſar, that obſolete words ought to be ſhunned as a rock (41). The emperor Auguſtus was much of the ſame mind; he could not bear that Tiberius ſhould uſe any old words (42), and he called Marc Antony a mad man becauſe he affected to be rather admired than underſtood (43). We read in Aulus Gellius, that an advocate of his time was hiſſed at becauſe he uſed unintelligible words (44). There aroſe in the XVIth century a certain faction of Grammarian Antiquarians, whom the moſt learned men oppoſed with all their might, to prevent their growth, and the corruption of the Latin tongue. Paſſeratius made a ſpeech on purpoſe againſt that faction. ‘ Exorti ſunt, *ſays he* (45), ‘ his annis viginti proximis, non diſſimili laborantes ‘ inſania, novi quidam Antonii, utinam minus multi, ‘ quorum cauſſa, ne quid diſſimulem, hanc præfati- ‘ unculam inſtitui. Si quidem me facturum operæ ‘ pretium putavi, ſi iſtum animi morbum vel arte ali- ‘ qua perſanarem, quod in iis difficillimum eſt, qui ſic ‘ ægrotare malunt quàm valere, vel aliqua ex parte ‘ imminuerem: idque ſaltem aſſequerer ne hæc apud ‘ noſtros latius ſerpat contagio. - - - - *Within the laſt twenty years there have appeared ſome new Antonius's, with almoſt the ſame turn of madneſs, (I wiſh indeed their number had been leſs) for whoſe ſake, to tell the truth, I have written this ſhort preface. I ſhall think my pains well rewarded, if by any method I can either remedy the diſeaſe of the underſtanding, which I am ſure muſt be extreamly difficult to do, in perſons who are pleaſed with their diſtemper, and chuſe it; or in any degree diminiſh it: at leaſt, if I can be ſo happy as to prevent the infection from ſpreading any farther among us.*' Afterwards he ſays, that nothing appeared too much antiquated to thoſe, whom he had a mind to reclaim; and they endeavoured to find out ſome words older than the verſes of the *Salii*. ‘ Sordent ‘ nobis Tullius, Cæſar, Terentius: Valerii Antiatis, ‘ Cincii, Cælii, Piſonis, Fabii Pictoris, Quadriga- ‘ rii, Siſennæ annales requirimus. Unde tam delica- ‘ tum faſtidium? Cato, & Varro, vix ad ſtomachum ‘ faciunt: vix aviditatem noſtram explent primi Conſulum faſces, & faſtorum incunabula: Decemvirales ‘ tabulas, leges regias, Saliare carmen, icta cum ‘ Sabinis fœdera, Fecialium jura formulaſque tranſcendimus, ut penetremus in fermonem Abori- ‘ ginum, tanquam ſimus cum Egeria Numæ, aut ‘ cum Evandri Carmenta loquuturi (46). - - - *We deſpiſe Tully, and Ceſar, and Terence, and want the annals of Valerius Antias, Cincius, Cælius, Piſo, Fabius Pictor, Quadrigarius, Siſenna. Whence this delicate loathing? Cato and Varro can ſcarce go down with us: the times of the firſt conſuls, and the beginnings of the Roman calendars will hardly ſatisfy us; we go beyond the tables of the* Decem Viri, *the laws of the kings, the verſes of the Salii, the leagues made with the Sabines, and the rites and forms of the Heralds, that we may penetrate to the language of the Aborigines; as if we were to talk with Numa's* Egeria *or Evander's* Carmenta.' Thoſe men had willingly blotted out a Ciceronian phraſe in their compoſures, to put in the room of it an expreſſion taken from Pacuvius's fragments, or found *in*

Verſibu' quas olim Faunus vateſque canebant,
Cum neque Muſarum ſcopulos quiſquam ſuperarat
Nec dicti ſtudioſus erat (47).

Such verſes bards in antient ages ſung,
As Faunus wrote, when Poetry was young,
E're man the Muſes high abodes cou'd trace,
Or words were weigh'd to give the numbers grace.

They deſerved to be called *mortuaria gloſſaria* (48). Horace complained of ſuch a depravity; which I obſerve in order to ſhew, that the ſame depravations of taſte revive from time to time.

Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri ſanxerunt: fœdera regum
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis:
Pontificum libros: annoſa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Muſas in monte locutas (49).

Thus old-loves do admire the ancient laws,
The Sabines Leagues have their deſerv'd applauſe;
On muſty leaves at awful diſtance look,
Age makes it rev'rend, and exalts the book:

Give

(40) Aulus Gellius, *lib. i, cap. x.*

(41) Id quod à C. Cæſare excellentis ingenii ac prudentiæ viro, in primo de Analogia libro, ſcriptum eſt, habe ſemper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam ſcopulum, ſic fugias inſolens verbum. *Ibid.*

(42) Sueton. in Auguſto, *cap. lxxxvi.*

(43) M. quidem Antonium ut inſanum increpat; quaſi ea ſcribentem quæ mirentur potius homines quam intelligant. *Ibid.*

(44) Aulus Gellius, *lib. x, cap. xv.*

(45) Paſſerat. Præfat. in Cicer. Epiſt. ad Hirtium & Cæſarem, *pag. m.* 171.

(46) Ibid. *pag.* 175.

(47) Ennius, apud Ciceronem de Oratore, *fol.* 125, *D*; & in Bruto, *fol.* 103, *C.*

(48) Mera eſtis, ut M. Cato ait, mortuaria gloſſaria. Nam qui colligitis ſcitula, res tetras & inanes & frivolas, tamquam mulierum voces præficarum. *Aul. Gell. lib. xviii, cap. viii.*

(49) Horat. Epiſt. I, Lib. ii.

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justly censured by men of judgment. I give some instances of it (*d*). He abused the Jansenists, and they did not spare him in their turn [*K*]. His enemies spread strange reports

(*d*) In the remark [*I*].

Give him the bards old songs, oh rare! divine!
I swear 'tis good, a Muse sang ev'ry line.
CREECH.

Passeratius was not the only man who exclaimed against those false Antiquarians: I have metioned in another place in this Dictionary (50) a satirical piece, wherein they were ridiculed, and their condemnation may be found in Father Caussin's Rhetoric (51). I could name several other learned men (52), who could not bear that fondness for old words, and who revived the complaints made against Sallust. If they did not spare that ancient Historian, they must needs have been more incensed against the Moderns. 'Quid, quod è quibusdam Sallustianis verbis tanta sollicitudine inter prisci sermonis maceriem & ruinas conquisitis, & in illa ipsa tam laudata compositione nonnulla prolatu & intellectu sunt nova, quædam putidiuscula & pumicata, quædam ita scrupea, ut in ea vox impingat se tanquam in saxea fragmina vetustatis (53). - - - *What shall we say of this, that even in that celebrated composition of Sallust, among the words which he has picked up with so much care from amidst the barrenness and ruins of the old language, some are new, both with respect to their pronunciation and sense, some too affected, and smooth, and some so rugged that the voice dashes upon them, as if it were upon the rocky fragments of antiquity.*' These are the words of a very polite writer. He had before declared that words grown out of date ought to be avoided. (54) 'Pertimescunt *(verba humilis dicendi generis)* sociari verbis rubiginosis, spinosis, nimium reconditis & abstrusis, tum intermortuis & conclamatis;

(50) Remark [*F*], of the article ACCURSIUS (MARIANGELUS.)

(51) Vide Caussinum de Eloquentia sacra & humana, *lib. ii, cap. x, & xxii, pag. m.* 95, 121.

(52) *See* Philip Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parei, *pag. m.* 18.

(53) Carolus Paschalius, de optimo genere Elocutionis, *pag.* 153.

(54) Ibid. *pag.* 129.

Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus, atque Cethegis
Nunc situs informis premit, & deserta vetustas *.

* Horat. lib. ii, Epist. II, ver. 117.

'*These* (he means words of a low stile) *will not bear to be joined with rusty and harsh sounding words, nor with such as are abstruse and unintelligible, or in a manner dead and buried.*

Us'd by the Antients, tho' consum'd by rage
Of eating time, and grown deform'd with age.
CREECH.

But take notice that this polite author is too rigid a censurer of the Historian Sallust, and trust rather to Passeratius, who has very well distinguished the excessive affectation of the Moderns from the liberty that Sallust took (55). I am not ignorant that Asinius Pollio found fault with Sallust for using too many old words (56), but perhaps, instead of being so severe a critic, he should have thanked him for the pains he had been at to revive some words, and prevent their loss in the Roman language. We have reason to wish that our great authors would do the same office to many French words which they suffer to be lost. If they vouchsafed to make use of them, they would put a stop to prescription, young writers would be encouraged to use them, and it would preserve the copiousness of the language. Virgil did so, and Horace advised to do the same.

Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum
Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus (57).

Good words, now grown obscure, bring gently forth,
Relieve them from the dark, and shew their worth,
Us'd by the Antients, - - - - - - -

That is, 'he will revive some words that have been dead long ago among the people, and will bring into light again those expressive and energical terms that were in use in the time of Cethegus and Cato, and which lie at present buried under the ruins of antiquity.' See the margin (58).

(55) Passerat. Præf. in Catilinam Sallustii, *pag.* 181.

(56) Asinius Pollio in libro quo Sallustii scripta reprehendit, ut nimis priscorum verborum affectatione oblita. *Sueton. de illustr. Gram. cap. x.*

(57) Horat. Epist. II, lib. ii, ver. 115. *See, above, citat.* *.

(58) Propriis (*verbis*) dignitatem dat antiquitas, namque & sanctiorem & magis admirabilem faciunt orationem quibus non quilibet fuerat usurus: eoque ornamento acerrimi judicii P. Virgilius unicè est usus . . . sed utendum modo in ex ultimis tenebris repetenda. *Quintil. lib. viii, cap. iii, pag. m.* 364, 365.

I do not believe, that there are now many people in France like those whom Passeratius had a mind to reclaim. However, I have read the following words in a book printed in the year 1685. 'There is a 'sort of learned men, whom I should suspect, as those 'who intervened in the petition of the late Dr Blondel. Those men spend their lives upon Seneca and 'Plautus, to find out some Archaisms, in order to 'make fine theses, very moral and impenetrable, and 'proof against all vocabularies (59).' This Dr Blondel is one of the authors whom Dr Patin compared with Theophilus Raynaud, which is an unjust comparison; for the books of that Jesuit may be very well understood without being obliged every moment to consult Nonius Marcellus, or Laurenbergius's Antiquarius, or even Calepinus. Neither is it true, that he stuffed his books with Greek words. It was an usual thing among the most learned Philologers. Casaubon is an instance of it in his letters. Balzac did not approve that custom (60).

(59) Factum pour Maître Nicolas Postel, ou Dissertation sur les Peripneumonies, *p.* 203. *See the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *Jan.* 1686, *pag.* 34.

(60) See his Latin Letters, *pag.* 170, *& seq.*

[*K*] *The Jansenists did not spare him in their turn.*] His eighteenth volume *contains the pieces which he wrote against Father Gibieuf, Mr Arnauld, Mr de Launoi, and some others. It cannot be denied that he often expressed too much bitterness against them. Wherefore it is said, that he had resolved to leave out many things in those works, if death had not prevented it* (61). These last words of the Journalist are only an officious lie; for it is not at all likely, that the last edition of Father Raynaud's works should not be conformable to his intention. Read the following passage of a Jansenist, who observes that our Jesuit died without giving any satisfaction to those whom he had so much abused. 'Father Theophilus Raynaud was a Savoyard (62), 'who having been admitted into the society of the Je'suits at sixteen years of age, died in their society, 'being above eighty years old. He was once about 'to leave them, because he had been very ill used by 'them; *inter aspera quæ subinde patiebatur, &c.* say 'the Jesuits themselves in the catalogue of their 'writers. He could not expect it could be otherwise, 'since he had written several books against the bad 'morals of the society, such as that which is intituled, '*Theophili Eugenii Protocatastasis seuprima Societatis Jesu institutio restauranda*, wherein he gives the plan of 'a reformation he wishes would be made to restore the 'order to it's first purity; and another intituled, '*Hipparchus, of the Religious Merchant*, against the 'trafficking which prevailed every where in the society. 'They disown likewise a treatise, *de Exsolutione à votis*, which, say they, was not approved by his 'superiors, and contains something concerning St Ignatius, which is not true; as also what he wrote 'in his book against Julius Clemens Scotus, an Italian, who had left the order of the Jesuits, that the 'declarations upon the constitutions of the Jesuits were 'not made by St Ignatius, but by Father Lainez, 'the second general. It was probably one of the two 'first books which occasioned his being imprisoned 'by the Jesuits for a considerable time. He was free 'and bold in his opinions, biting and satirical in his 'way of writing, and had a great conceit of himself; 'as it appears from what he said, when he mentioned 'the commendation that an heretical writer had given 'him, *That it was the only truth that man had ever 'spoke.* What he did the year of his jubilee, in the 'society, is also a singular thing. He celebrated a 'very pompous mass, and a Jesuit getting into the 'pulpit, made his panegyric in his presence. This 'Father was certainly a man of prodigious reading. 'Twenty volumes in folio of his printed works shew 'with what ease he could write. It were to be wished 'he had writ also with judgment, prudence, modesty, 'and charity, and only out of love for truth. The 'world then had not seen so many books full of invectives and extravagant calumnies against many 'private persons, such as the infamous libel, intituled, '*Arnauld of Bresse, revived in Arnauld of Paris*, 'nor the book full of falsities and bitterness, which 'he published against the whole order of St Dominic, with this title, *De immunitate Autorum Cyriacorum à Censura: Diatribæ Petri à Valle clausa 'S. T. D.* This work was condemned at Rome, as 'well

(61) Journal des Sçavans, ubi supra, *pag.* 124.

(62) This is not exact; he was born a subject of the duke of Savoy, but not in Savoy.

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ports concerning the manner of his death; which are mentioned and refuted by Monconys [L]. I have something to say against Moreri [M]. For the rest, Father Theophilus Raynaud has often disguised his name in the titles of his books [N].

The

'well as several others like these, *De Communione pro Mortuis: De Martyrio per pestem: De censura bonorum & malorum librorum*; and the twentieth volume, which his friends printed after his death. . . . . This Father died at Lyons of an Apoplexy the last day of October, 1663, without ever giving any satisfaction for the slanders, injurious words, and calumnies that are so frequent in many of his books (63).'

[L] *His enemies spread abroad strange reports . . . . . which are . . . . refuted by Monconys.*] The following passage is somewhat long; but it is no matter: there are some things in it which perhaps the relator did not believe. 'When I told him (64) that I was a native of Lyons, he immediately asked me some news about the death of Father Theophilus Raynaud. I told him that I happened to be at Lyons when he died, and that my brother, who was come from Paris, when he was cut for the stone, had often discoursed with me about him. He then shewed me a letter of Father Henschenius, whose library I had seen at Antwerp, wherein he acquainted him, that the Jacobins had spread a report in Flanders, and at Rome, that Father Theophilus died mad; that the Jesuits had deprived him of the sacraments; that he run up and down their convent of Lyons, crying out like a damned man, *Philistini super me, - - - The Philistines are upon me*; and that having been buried *Sepultura Asini, - - - like an ass*, he had been found unburied the next day, his body being livid all over, because the devils had beat him all night. I told him that it was a gross calumny, and a ridiculous report; for the good man had left off saying mass for a fortnight out of weakness, and communicated every day. He had made three general confessions to Father du Lieu the week that he died. Nay, the very morning of the day that he departed this life, which happened last year on All-Saints eve, having had several warnings of it, he took his leave thrice of the brother who helped him to dress himself, assuring him that he should give him no more trouble; and returning from the chapel where he had heard mass, and communicated, he told a brother, whom he met, that he had begged of God that he might be in Heaven on All-Saints day; and presently after, about half an hour after the communion, as he was going into his chamber, he expired in the arms of another good brother. Thus he fulfilled his prophecy, that he should die in his cassock, and in his chamber, both which he loved so well, that no persecution could bring him off from the state of life he had pitched upon in his younger years, having never left the solitude of his cell for the space of sixty years, but to do some acts of charity; as for instance, to confess the meanest peasant at any time. I told him that the church of Lyons had performed a solemn service for him in St Justus's chapel, where a council was held; that the Carmelites and Carthusians had done the like at Lyons, and so had all the order, and that the congregation of the gentlemen of Lyons had said the office in their chapel, and had assisted at his obsequies in a body. I told him, that my brother himself, who did not easily believe revelations, had often told me, that when Father Theophilus was in great trouble at Avignon, on account of his book *de Negotiatore Religioso*, a barefooted Carmelite having recommended him to the prayers of a Carmelite nun, who is accounted a holy woman at Avignon, without telling her his name; that nun answered him, that the person for whom he desired her prayers, was one of the most learned men of the church, and very acceptable to God; but that in order to exercise his virtue, and increase his merit, our Lord had mortified him in that very thing, to which he was most attached, *viz.* in his books, whereof the whole glory and reward were reserved for him after his death; and that then all the provinces of the world would eagerly seek for them. As I perceived that he heard me with a great deal of pleasure, I added what the Prior Jugeact of Lyons had told me of Father Theophilus's modesty, which his adversaries should imitate, *viz.* that he had refused the bishopric of Geneva, after the death of the nephew of the blessed (Francis de Sales); that Don Felix of Savoy, and the whole senate of Chambery, having obtained the consent of duke Charles Emanuel, Father Theophilus was the only man that opposed it, which he did so earnestly, that they were forced to desist. This the said Prior told me he was certainly informed of; and that he himself was a witness of an act of yet a more heroic virtue; for having orders from the late archbishop of Bourdeaux, and some others, to offer some benefices, and a yearly pension of two thousand livres to Father Theophilus, during the time of his adversity, with a city-security at Lyons, if he would but write in favour of a certain doctrine; Father Theophilus kissing his cassock, answered Mr Jugeact in these fine words, that he had rather die under persecution in that habit, than live an easy life, and deficient in the fidelity he had vowed to God (65).' If the monks do not scruple to spread such reports against a Jesuit, it is no wonder if they have published so many false stories concerning the death of Luther, Calvin, &c.

(63) Addition à la III Lettre du Prince de Conti au Pere de Champs, *pag.* 69, *Cologne* 1689.

(64) That is, a Jesuit of Landsberg in Bavaria.

(65) Monconys, Voyages, *Part* II, *pag.* 386, & *seq. Lyon* 1665, *ad ann.* 1664.

[M] *I have something to say against Moreri.*] I. The best part of what he says being taken word for word from the Journal *des Savans* (66), he should have acquainted the readers with it. It is an omission for which he deserves to be called a Plagiary, and these words of Pliny may be applied to him: 'Obnoxii profecto animi & infelicis ingenii est deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere (67). - - - - *It is a sign of a bad mind, and of an unlucky genius, to chuse rather to be caught stealing, than to return what one has borrowed.*' II. It is not true that Father Theophilus *intended to intitle the collection of his books* Apopompæus, *which is the name the Jews gave to the victim, that they loaded with curses, and sent into the wilderness; but it was not thought proper to make use of such a title.* The title *Apopompæus* was only intended for the collection of some pieces, which the author did not insert in his nineteen volumes. We have seen, above, Mr Gallois's words, which are so plain that I cannot apprehend how Moreri could mistake the sense of them. Must not this Jesuit have been out of his wits, if he had chosen to give this title to all his works? He kept that title for some forbidden pieces, as Father Southwell informs us; which shews that Moreri is guilty of another omission. III. The works of Theophilus Raynaud were not printed in the year 1667, the edition of them was finished in 1665. Moreri fell into this mistake, because that collection is mentioned in the *Journal des Sçavans* of the 14th of March 1667. This should oblige the Journalists always to insert the year of the impression. They did not do it at first, especially when they were afraid of discovering thereby that they spoke of a book which had lost the grace of novelty. IV. It is not true, that our Jesuit lived in the XVIth century. This fault is only to be found in the second edition of Holland.

(66) The Journal of the 14th of March 1667, which I have quoted above, remark [G].

(67) Plin. in Præfat.

[N] *He often disguised his name in the title of his books.*] This will afford matter to Mr Baillet in the fine collection we expect from him, concerning authors who have appeared in print under false names. He doubts (68) whether our Jesuit took the name of Anselmus Solerius in the book *de pileo, ceterisque capitis tegminibus*; but since that book is to be found in the 13th volume of the works of this Father (69), we may be sure that he is the author of it. Placcius (70) is in the wrong to believe that it came out at first without any name, in the Lyons edition, in the year 1655, in 4to, dedicated *ad Petrum de Macerat*; but that in the Amsterdam edition 1671, in 12mo, it was printed with the name of *Anselmus Solerius Cimmelienſis*. It is certain that in the Lyons edition of the year 1655, the author called himself *Anselmus Solerius Cemelienſis*, dedicating his book *ad Petrum de Maridat*. So that it appears that Placcius was ignorant of several things upon this head: he did not know the names that appeared in the first edition: Macerat is a meer chimera; Maridat is the true name of a counsellor in the great

(68) In the list placed at the end of his book, intituled, *Autarii deguisæ.*

(69) *See* Sorel, ubi supra, *pag.* 758.

(70) Placcius, de Anonymis, *num.* 602, *pag.* 130.

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The Carmelites praiſe him very much, and paid funeral honours to him, in all the convents of their order, in the year 1663 (*e*), on account of the book he had written concerning the Scapulary, which one of them publiſhed with many alterations [*O*]. He publiſhed a catalogue of his works, which was very acceptable to the curious. It is a very good piece in its kind: it was printed by itſelf; but it was ſince prefixed to the 20th volume of his works, which is intituled, *Apopompæus*. One may find in that catalogue the occaſion and ſubject of each book of that writer, and the names of thoſe who wrote againſt them, what was replied by the author, and ſuch like particulars, very pleaſing to thoſe who love the hiſtory of books and authors. It were to be wiſhed that a chronological order had been more carefully obſerved in it, which is a matter of no little importance. We find in that catalogue, that ſuch a book is the firſt that the author publiſhed; another the ſecond, the third, and ſo on; but neither the year, nor the place of the impreſſion, nor the number, nor the dates of the ſeveral editions, appear in it. Thoſe, who thought that the Bookſeller, who undertook to print all the works of that Jeſuit in twenty volumes in folio, would be ruined by it, were very much miſtaken [*P*].

(*e*) Papebroch. Réponſ. ad Exhibit. Error. *p.* 117.

(71) Note, that this word ſignifies *a native of Cemelia*. It was an epiſcopal city, which has been ruined long ago. The epiſcopal ſee has been united to that of Nice. See *Theophilus Raynaud, de Libris propriis, pag. m.* 29.

(72) A Spaniſh monk of the order of Citeaux. He publiſhed this chronicle of Flavius Dexter with a commentary at Lyons, in 1627.

(73) Placcius, in Pſeudonymorum Catalogo, *num.* 294, *pag.* 185.

(74) Theoph. Raynaudus, de malis ac bonis Libris, *num.* 220, *pag. m.* 139.

(75) Ibid. *num.* 296, *pag.* 164.

(76) See the article BARNES, remark [*D*].

(77) Printed at Dijon in 4to, in the year 1655.

(78) Above, citation (22).

(79) See the preface of the *Duplex Antidotus*, *Article I.*

great council: *Anſelmus Solerius Cemelienſis* (71) was a falſe name under which our Theophilus concealed himſelf. The ſame Placcius charges him, without any reaſon, with a kind of contradiction (this I obſerve by the by) about the Chronicle of Flavius Dexter. *Illud* (Chronicon) *ab ipſo* BIVARIO (72), vel VIVARIO *confictum credidere* Gabriel Pennóttus & Matthæus Raderus, *contra quos ipſe tamen Apologiis ſeſe binis defendit quas approbant* Carolus Viſch *Bibl. Ciſtercienſis p.* 114. & Th. Raynaud. *de mal. & bon. lib. pag.* 139. *ſibi fere contrarius pag.* 164 (73). They are Placcius's words: he pretends that our Jeſuit having approved, pag. 139, the Apologies of the Spaniſh Monk, diſapproves them, pag 164. But there is no ſuch thing: he deſpiſes them plainly enough, pag. 164, and more clearly ſtill, pag. 139. 'Flavii Dextri Chronicon 'nuper vulgatum, ſuppoſitum fuiſſe Dextro, latè contendit Gabriel Pennotus *in Canonicorum Regularium* 'Hiſtoria. Quamvis enim, ipſo S. Hieronymo teſte, 'ratum ſit, Flavium Dextrum ſcripſiſſe Chronicon 'quod eidem D. Hieronymo inſcripſerit; tamen hoc 'Chronicon nuper vulgatum, illud ipſum eſſe genui- 'num, cujus S. Hieronymus meminit, multa ſunt quæ 'diſſuadent Nec quæ adversùs libri illius ſuppoſi- 'tionem proferunt Bivarius commentator ac defenſor, '& Melchior Inchofer *lib. pro epiſtola Deiparæ ad Meſ- 'ſanenſes à cap.* 42. *ad* 46. explent revera legentis ani- 'mum (74). - - - - *Gabriel Pennotus, in his hiſtory of* 'the regular canons, *ſtrongly contends, that the* Chronicon 'of Flavius Dexter, *newly publiſhed, was falſly aſcribed* 'to Dexter. *For although, on the teſtimony of St Jerom* 'himſelf, *it was evident that Flavius Dexter had writ- 'ten a Chronicle, which he had dedicated to this ſaint; 'yet there were many reaſons for believing that the Chro- 'nicle then newly publiſhed was not the genuine one which 'St Jerom mentions, nor do thoſe arguments that have 'been brought by Bivarius his commentator and defender, 'and by Melchior Inchofer, to prove this book genuine, 'throughly ſatisfy the mind of the reader.*' This is what he ſays, pag. 139; and the following words are to be found, pag 164. 'Flavii Dextri Chronicon quod 'nuper prodiit, magna excitavit diſſidia. Aliquod 'Chronicon verè fuiſſe à Dextro conſcriptum, conſtat, 'cùm S. Hieronymus ejus ſibi à Dextro inſcripti me- 'minerit; ſed an id quod nuper prodiit, ſit verum 'illud Dextri Chronicon, controverſia eſt. Multi hoc 'Chronicon eſſe ſuppoſitum ab aliquo, cui honor gen- 'tis ſuæ cordi eſſet, contendunt, & acriter Pennotus 'in Canonicorum Regularium hiſtoria (75). - - - - *The* 'Chronicle of Flavius Dexter, *lately publiſhed, has been* 'the occaſion of great diſputes. *It is plain, that there* 'was a Chronicle written by Dexter, *ſince St Jerom* 'makes mention of it's being dedicated to him by Dexter 'himſelf; but whether that which was lately publiſhed, 'is the real Chronicle of Dexter, is ſtill a matter of con- 'troverſy. There are many who contend that this Chro- 'nicle has been the ſuppoſititious work of ſome perſon who 'had it at heart to advance the honour of his country, 'and Pennotus has ſtrenuouſly defended this opinion.*' This Jeſuit took the name of *Stephanus Emonerius* when he wrote againſt Barnes in favour of equivocations (76); and that of *J. Heribertus Cemelienſis* in his Latin treatiſe concerning eunuchs (77); and that of *Leodegarius Quintinus Hæduus* writing againſt Hurtado, *&c.* This Hurtado was a Spaniſh monk, who got the book that is mentioned by Patin, printed at Amſterdam (78): there is ſome (79) raillery in it upon the titles that Father Raynaud gave to his books. But, by his favour, thoſe titles were ſometimes ingenious: Who would not read a work, intituled *Heteroclita Spiritualia, & Anomala pietatis?* which is the title of the 15th and 16th volumes of the works of that Jeſuit. Well! will ſome ſay, there are heteroclites in Religion as well as in Grammar? and anomalies in it as well as in the Moon?

Some have been of opinion that *Amadæus Guimenius*, whoſe works have made ſo great a noiſe on account of their looſe morality, was no other than Father Theophilus. Father Baron went upon that ſuppoſition in all the ſecond part of his *Manuductio ad moralem Theologiam* (80); *but having ſince found that the book of* Amadæus, which he refuted, *was written by a Spaniſh author, he retracted it in his preface. And certainly,* adds Mr Gallois, *Guimenius's book has but little affinity with the ſtile and manner of Father Raynaud.* Note, that by other means it came to be known that this piece was written by the Jeſuit Moya, confeſſor to the queen of Spain; the difference of ſtile, which is one way of deceiving, did not prevent Father Raynaud from being publickly charged with it, nor did it juſtify him.

(80) Gallois, Journal des Sçavans, *April* 12, 1666, *pag. m.* 39.

[*O*] *A Carmelite publiſhed one of Raynaud's books, with many alterations.*] Poor poſthumous works! and you manuſcripts that come from remote countries: How can we be ſure that nothing has been added to or cut off from you, ſince a manuſcript of Father Raynaud was ſo much altered by a Carmelite during the author's life, and almoſt at his door? This Jeſuit had diſplayed all his learning to maintain the Scapulary of Simon Stock; but the chief of thoſe concerned, were not ſatisfied with his performance: for which reaſon they mangled ſome parts of his book moſt wretchedly, and made ſome additions to it. He expreſſed his indignation for it in the following words: 'Hoc opuſculum *(Scapulare Stochianum illuſtratum &* 'defenſum) quale Pariſiis è meo M. S. prodiit anno '1654, apud Antonium Padelore, abjudico tamquam 'ſpurium & alienum; Irruit enim in illud Leo, à quo 'miſerè deformatum eſt, dicam diſcerptum & lacera- 'tum. Reciſa pleriſque locis, me inconſulto, multa; 'addita ex mente interpolatoris alia, quæ planè im- 'probo. Titulus ipſe libri, (ut ab ipſo limine fieret 'perverſionis exordium) immutatus eſt; ita ut quod 'Hincmarus ſenior juniori exprobrabat, admiſſa in 'ipſo aditu ceſpitatione, non potuerit expectari pro- 'greſſio felicior. Hiat paſſim oratio, ob prætermiſ- 'ſionem vel reciſionem unius aut alterius voculæ, men- 'da ubique denſa. Sic reperitur gratia (81)? - - - - 'This work, as it was printed from my manuſcript at 'Paris, in the year 1654, by Antony Padelore, I entirely 'reject and diſown as ſpurious and falſe; for the paw 'of the lion has been upon it, and has wretchedly de- 'faced and mangled it, I may ſay, has quite torn it to 'pieces. Many paſſages have been eraſed, without con- 'ſulting me, and many others have been added from the 'interpolator's own fancy, which I abſolutely diſapprove 'of. And that they might begin their ruinous work at the 'very threſhold, the title it ſelf has been changed; ſo 'that I may reproach him as Hincmarus the elder re- 'proached the younger, ſince they ſtumbled at the firſt ſet- 'ting out, it was not to be expected that their journey 'would be more proſperous. The ſenſe is frequently imper- 'fect, by one or more words being left out, or cut off, and 'the faults are every way numerous. Is my kindneſs thus 'repaid?'

(81) Theoph. Raynaudus, in Syntagm. de Libris propriis, *num.* 72, *pag. m.* 70, 71.

[*P*] *Thoſe who believed that the Bookſeller . . . would be ruined by it, were very much miſtaken.*] This edition ſold very well, and when it is to be found compleat

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in the auctions of Holland and Germany, they commonly bid high for it. So that the Printer did not deserve to be placed in a certain list mentioned by Mr Catherinot. As I was ending this article, says he (82), 'the reverend Father de Fourcroy, a Paris 'Jesuit, but an inhabitant of Bourges, where he has 'been near fifty years teaching, and writing books, 'told me that one might make a pretty large volume 'of the catalogue of those, who have entirely ruined 'their Booksellers by their books. I shall speak of 'this another time.' Which puts me in mind of this passage of Stephen Pasquier (83). 'I cannot for-'bear complaining at this time of the calamity of 'this age which has produced such a plenty of reputed 'or untimely authors. Any pitiful scribler will have 'his first thoughts to come to light; lest, being too 'long shut up, they should grow musty. Good God! 'how apposite are these verses of Jodelle,

(82) Catherinot, l'Art d'Imprimer, *pag.* 11. It is a piece of twelve pages in 4to, dated from Bourges the tenth of March 1685.

(83) Pasquiere's Letters, *book* x, *Tom.* i, *pag. m.* 638.

Et tant ceux d'aujourd'huy me fascheat,
Qui dés lors que leurs plumes laschent
Quelque-trait soit mauvais ou bon,
En lumiere le vont produire,
Pour souvent avec leur renom,
Les pauvres Imprimeurs destruire.

That is,

This scribbling crew wou'd make one's vitals bleed,
They write such trash, no mortal e'er will read;
Yet they will publish, they must have a name:
So Printers starve, to get their authors fame.

RAMUS (PETER), in French *de la Ramée*, was one of the most famous professors of the XVIth century. He was born in a village of Vermandois in Picardy, in the year 1515 (*a*). His grandfather retired into those parts, having lost all he had, when the place of his birth was burnt, in the territory of Liege [*A*], by the last duke of Burgundy. He was forced to make and sell charcoal all the rest of his life, in order to get a subsistence. He left a son, who got his living by being a husbandman (*b*), and who was the father of our Ramus: a man who proved the sport of fortune; for his life was a perpetual alternative of rising and falling. Being but eight years of age he went to Paris (*c*) from a desire to learn, and being forced to leave that city by reason of his poverty, he went thither again as soon as he could; and finding no way to subsist, he left it a second time: but his passion for study was so great, that, tho' he had been unfortunate in those two journies, he went a third time to Paris with a design to look for a place. He was maintained there for some months by one of his uncles; after which he was forced to be a servant in the college of Navarre [*B*]. He served his masters

(*a*) Theoph. Banosius, in Vita Petri Rami, *pag.* 2.

(*b*) Ex eodem, ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. *pag.* 3.

[*A*] *The place of his birth was burnt in the territory of Liege.*] This neither agrees with Moreri, nor with Mr Teissier. The first says, that *Ramus's grandfather had been forced to leave Burgundy during the wars, and that he retired into the Vermandois.* The latter says (1), *that Peter Ramus was descended from a noble family, originally of the city of Evreux; for his grandfather being expelled from his country, and deprived of his estate by the Burgundians, fled into the Vermandois.* Thus, according to Moreri, Ramus's grandfather was a Burgundian; but, according to Mr Teissier, he was a Norman. I am sure he was neither of them; he was of the country of Liege. Here is the proof of it: 'Parentes Rami agricolæ fuerunt pauperrimi. Avus 'certe, ut ipse commemorat in Præfatione Regiæ suæ 'professionis, in Eburonum gente familia in primis 'illustri fuit: sed patria à Carolo Burgundionum duce 'capta, & incensa, in Veromanduorum agrum profu-'gus, ob paupertatem carbonariam artem exercuit (2). *'The parents of Ramus followed Husbandry, and were 'extreamly poor. His grandfather was undoubtedly of 'a most illustrious family in Liege, as he himself relates, 'but his own country being seized, and burnt, by Charles 'duke of Burgundy, he fled into the Vermandois, where 'he was reduced to the necessity of labouring as a Col-'lier for his subsistence.*' All good Geographers will tell you that the *Eburones*, and the inhabitants of the county of Liege are the same people.

(1) Teissier's Additions to Thuanus, *Tom.* i, *pag.* 371, *Edit.* 1696.

(2) Theoph. Banosius, in Vita Petri Rami, *pag.* 2.

[*B*] *He was forced to be a servant in the college of Navarre.* I follow the account of Banosius, and not that of Joseph Scaliger. The latter says, that Ramus was a servant when he went to Paris (3). 'Ramus 'ad annum usque decimum nonum, ne quidem primas 'notas didicerat, inserviebatque Dom. de la Brosse (4). 'Lutetiam deductus tantum famulus profecit maximo 'discendi desiderio percitus, ut quamvis repugnante 'ingenio tardo, rudi & stupido, repugnante, quod 'majus est, institutione sera, labore & diligentia in id 'litterarum decus pervenerit, quò perveniisse vix credi-'bile sit, ita ut anno trigesimo contra Aristotelem 'scripserit meliori stylo quam posterioribus annis. - - - *'Ramus was nineteen years of age before he had learned 'even his letters, and was servant to Mr de la Brosse. 'Altho' he came to Paris only in the quality of a servant, 'he was seized with such a prodigious thirst after learn-'ing, that notwithstanding he was of a dull and heavy 'genius, and what is still a greater obstacle, notwith-'standing his late application to study, yet, by the dint 'of labour and industry, he arrived to such perfection in 'literature as is scarcely to be believed, insomuch that 'in his thirtieth year he wrote against Aristotle in a 'better stile, than in his advanced years.*' I can scarce believe what the great Scaliger tells us here: It is not at all likely that Ramus was nineteen years of age before he learned to read, nor that he had a dull and heavy wit. However it be, it is not true that he was thirty years old when he began to write against Aristotle; for his book was condemned, after many contests, the tenth of May, 1543. He was then but twenty-eight years of age; and therefore I am more inclined to believe Banosius, who says that Ramus being eight years of age, took a journey to Paris of his own accord, &c. 'Anno ætatis suæ circiter octavo sponte 'Lutetiam venit, & inde bis abductus violentia tem-'poris, bis eodem tamen, quam sibet reflantib. ventis 'reversus, & ardenti discendi studio incensus, ab Ho-'norato Carpenterio avunculo victum per aliquot men-'ses perexiguum accepit, ut artes addisceret: dein-'ceps necessitate coactus multos annos duram servitu-'tem in collegio Navarræ servivit. Sed quum in-'terdiu dominis suis fidelem operam præstitisset, nocte, 'Cleanthis Philosophi exemplo non dissimili, oleo & 'lucerna disciplinarum lumen brevi tempore tantum 'sibi comparavit, ut artium liberalium laurea fit dona-'tus (6). - - - *In the eighth year of his age he came to 'Paris of his own accord, from whence he was twice 'driven by the violence of the times; yet he returned 'thither, tho' fortune seemed every way his enemy, and 'being inflamed with a most ardent desire of learning, 'that he might attain the liberal arts, he contented him-'self with a very slender sustenance for several months, 'which he received from Honoratus Charpentier his 'uncle: he was afterwards reduced by necessity to 'undergo a hard service for many years in the col-'lege of Navarre. Nevertheless, as he discharged his 'duty faithfully to his masters in the day-time, so in the 'night, after the example of the Philosopher Cleanthes, 'by the help of his oil and his lamp, he, in a short time, 'acquired such knowledge and light in the Sciences, that he 'was graduated.*' But here is a strong proof against Banosius, which I take from Ramus's own words, as they are related by John Freigius: 'Confiteor vitam mihi 'totam acerbissimis fluctibus jactatam esse. Puer vix 'è cunis egressus duplici peste laboravi: juvenis invita 'modisque omnibus repugnante fortuna Lutetiam ad 'capessendas artes ingenuas veni, inde bis abductus 'violentia temporis, bis eodem tamen quamliber re-'flantibus ventis reversus, atque eò ardentiore dis-'cendi

(3) Scaligerana prima, *pag.* 127.

(4) Mr Teissier, *ubi supra*, thinks that Scaliger speaks of a lady: but *Dom.* is as well the beginning of *Domini*, as of *Dominæ*.

(5) Mr Teissier, ibid. quoting *Scaligerana* 1, says only nine years.

(6) Banosius, ubi supra, *pag.* 3.

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masters in the day-time, and spent the greatest part of the night in his study (*d*); and the progress he made in it was so considerable, that when he took his degree of Master of Arts, he engaged to maintain a doctrine quite contrary to Aristotle, about any thing that should be objected to him (*e*) [C]. But I must observe, that before this he had gone through a course of Philosophy in the schools, which lasted three years and a half (*f*). He very well answered the objections that were made against him for a whole day: which success made him resolve to examine Aristotle's doctrine more narrowly, and to oppose it more vigorously. But the perfecting of Logic was almost the only thing he applied himself to: he made his reading, and even his lectures of Eloquence, subservient to it (*g*). The two first books he published, *viz.* his *Institutiones Dialecticæ*, and his *Aristotelicæ Animadversiones*, occasioned great troubles in the university of Paris [D]. It

(*d*) Ex eodem, ibid.

(*e*) Jo. Thomas Freigius, in Vita Petri Rami, *pag. m.* 10.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid. *pag.* 10, 11.

'cendi studio incensus, quò vehementius prohibebar (7). - - - *I confess that my whole life has been the sport of adverse fortune. I was scarce out of my infancy when I was afflicted with a two-fold plague: when I was a young man, I came to Paris to acquire the Liberal Sciences, with fortune entirely my foe. I twice was driven from thence by the violence of the times, and twice I returned thither in spight of all difficulties, for the more vehemently I was opposed, the more ardent was I in my pursuit after learning.*' If Ramus had been but eight years of age, when he went to Paris; would he have used the word *juvenis?* ought he not to have said *puer!* And would he have failed in it?

(7) Johannes Thomas Freigius, in Vita Petri Rami, *p.* 7, ex Schecklano epilogo Rami.

[C] *He engaged to maintain a doctrine quite contrary to Aristotle, about any thing that should be objected against him.*] Tassoni looks upon it as an intolerable piece of boldness. *Ma più audace*, says he (8), *fù la prova di Pietro Ramo, autore per altro poco degno d'essere nominato. Questo dovendo secondo l'uso di Parigi sostener conclusioni prima che fosse creato Maestro, per bizzarria d'ingegno propose questa sola a qualunque volesse argumentare, dando libero campo à tutti.* Quæcunque ab Aristotele dicta sint, falsa, & commenticia esse. *La quale havendo eccitati contra di lui tutti gl'ingegni, tutte le professioni, tutte le scuole; egli nondimeno con tanta prontezza, e sottiglieuza di risposte la difese, che fe rimaner confusa e stupita la Città di Parigi: e ben ne' suoi libri apparisconо ancora i segni della sua audacia.* The best of all this is, that he owns that the respondent maintained his assertion with so great subtilty, that every body was amazed at it. Let us see how Freigius relates the matter. 'Lutetiæ magisterii titulum susscepturus, pro more & consuetudine scholarum liberam disputandi copiam examinatoribus facere cogebatur. Problema igitur sumpsit: Quæcunque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commenticia esse. Attoniti novitate & insolentia problematis Magistri nostri, cùm authoritatem Aristotelis (quæ tanquam scuto, sese ad omnes insultus munire consueverunt) sibi ereptam viderent, irrito conatu per diem integrum, Magistrandum (ut barbari barbarè vocant) oppugnarunt. Ex hoc fortuito successu ansam deinceps ferò & libere in Aristotelem animadvertendi & inquirendi arripuit (9). - - - *When he was about to take the degree of master of arts at Paris, according to the custom of the schools, he was obliged to give the examiners, or professors, an opportunity to dispute with him. He therefore advanced this problem, That* all that Aristotle had laid down was false. *The professors being astonished at the novelty and insolence of such a problem, that was to deprive them of the authority of Aristotle, with which, as with a shield, they had been used to defend themselves against all attacks; they, for a whole day, opposed his being made a master, without success. It was from this accidental victory that he was afterwards induced to engage in a more serious and full enquiry concerning the opinions of Aristotle.*'

(8) Alessandro Tassoni, Pensieri diversi, *lib. x, cap. iii, pag.* 375.

(9) Freigius, ubi supra, *pag.* 9, 10.

[D] *His two first books . . . . occasioned great troubles in the university of Paris.*] The professors of Paris, who admired Aristotle, should have refuted Ramus's books in their writings and lectures; but instead of keeping within the bounds of an accademical war, they prosecuted that Anti-peripatetic before the civil magistrate, as a man who undermined the foundations of religion. They raised so many clamours, that the cause was brought before the parliament of Paris; but as soon as they perceived that it would be examined equitably, and according to the usual forms, they got it removed from that tribunal by their intrigues, and brought it before the king's council. 'Vix Aristotelicæ animadversiones lectæ erant, cum Petrus Ramus repente non 'ad humanam aliquam, & literis usitatam disputationem 'ab Academia vocatur, sed ad Prætorii tribunalis ca'pitalem contentionem per certos homines falso Aca'demiæ nomine rapitur, novique & ante hunc diem 'inauditi criminis accusatur, quòd Aristoteli repugnan'do Theologiam & artes enervaret. Hac enim ora'tione Aristotelea actio instituta est. Hinc Aristote'leorum clamoribus agitatus ad summum Parisiensis 'Curiæ concilium traducitur: deinde cum legitimo 'judicii more res agi, atque apertiùs iniquissimæ frau'dis invidia percipi videretur, novis artibus à Senatu 'Parisiensi ad regiam cognitionem disjicitur (10). - - - *Scarce had his animadversions upon Aristotle been read over, when Peter Ramus was sent for, not by the university, that the matter might be argued in a civil way, and such as was usual in affairs of learning, but by some men who falsly called themselves the university, he was suddenly dragged before the tribunal of the Judge, as if it had been for a capital crime. He was accused of a new, and, till that day, unheard of crime,* viz. *that, by opposing Aristotle, he undermined Theology and the Liberal Arts; for with this speech did the Aristotelian plea begin. It was afterwards brought by the clamours of the partizans of Aristotle, before the parliament of Paris, but perceiving that it was likely to be determined there in a regular and legal manner, and that their envies and frauds were more and more discovered, by new stratagems, they got it removed from the parliament of Paris, to the king's own determination.*' The king ordered *that Antony Govea, who had offered to impugn and refute the said books, and the said Ramus, who maintained and defended them, should chuse and nominate on both sides, two worthy men well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues, and in Philosophy* (11). Pursuant to this ordinance, Govea and Ramus chose each of them two persons: Peter Danes and Francis Vicomercat were chose by Govea; and John Quintin, Doctor of the Canon-Law, and John de Beaumont, Doctor of Physic, were chosen by Peter Ramus. The king chose *a fifth*, viz. John de Saligniac, *Doctor of Divinity.* Here follow the contents of 'the Letters-patents. 'Before whom (12) the said 'Govea and Ramus have been heard in their disputes 'and debates, till the said Ramus, in order to put a 'stop to the business, entered an appeal; which we 'being informed of, issued out our letters to our 'provost of Paris, or his lieutenant, to compel the 'said Govea and Ramus to end their disputes, that 'the said information might be given us by the said 'censors, notwithstanding the said appeal, or any 'other whatsoever. Pursuant to which letters the said 'Govea and Ramus have appeared again before the 'said censors, and the said Ramus perceiving that he 'could not defend the said books, declared he would 'dispute no longer, and submitted to the censure of 'the above mentioned Judges; but when they would 'have proceeded in it, the said Quintin and Beaumont 'declared that they would be no longer concerned in 'the matter. Whereupon the said Ramus was summoned and required to chuse and name two others, 'which he refused to do, and wholly submitted to 'the three others; who having examined and con'sidered the whole matter, were of opinion that the 'said Ramus was a rash, arrogant, and impudent, 'man, for rejecting and condemning the Logic re'ceived by all nations, which he himself was ignorant 'of, and that his ignorance plainly appeared from 'his censuring Aristotle in his animadversions. More'over they added, that he had an ill intention, since 'he blamed Aristotle for many things which that 'Philosopher never thought of. In short, the said 'animadversions

(10) Audomarus Talæus, in sua ad Carolum Lotharingium Cardinalem Academia, apud Launoium, de Varia Aristotelis fortuna, *pag.* 57, 58, *Edit. Paris.* 1653.

(11) They are the words of the king's Letters Patents, dated the tenth of May 1543. See Launoi, *de Varia Aristotelis fortuna, pag. m.* 52. Those Letters are to be found in the *Bibliotheque Françoise*, of du Verdier Vau-Privas, at the word *Pierre de la Ramée.*

(12) That is, before the five judges, *viz.* he whom the king nominated, and those who were chosen by the parties.

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It was neceſſary that Francis I. ſhould concern himſelf with it, bringing the cauſe before himſelf, which was depending in the parliament of Paris, between Ramus and Antony Govea. Some judges were aſſigned to the parties to pronounce ſentence in the difference between them, after they had heard them diſpute. Govea had all the advantage he could deſire: the books of Ramus were prohibited throughout the kingdom, and the author was forbidden any more to teach Philoſophy. His enemies expreſſed an extraordinary joy for it [*E*]. This happened in the year 1543. The year following the Plague raged at Paris, and occaſioned the diſperſion of the ſcholars of the college of Prele:

' animadverſions were full of lies and ſlanders; ſo that ' the good of learning required, that the ſaid book ' ſhould be wholly ſuppreſſed; and likewiſe the other ' above-mentioned book, intituled, *Dialecticæ Inſti-* ' *tutiones*, as containing in like manner many falſities ' and things foreign to the matter.' Here follows the king's order upon it. ' We declare, that having ' ſeen the ſaid advice, and had other advices and deli- ' berations about it with many learned and notable ' men, we have condemned, ſuppreſſed, and aboliſhed, ' and do condemn, ſuppreſs, and aboliſh, the afore- ' ſaid two books; the one, intituled, *Inſtitutiones Dia-* ' *lecticæ*, the other *Ariſtotelicæ Animadverſiones*, and ' we have forbidden, and do forbid all Printers and ' Bookſellers of our kingdom, countries, territories, ' and lordſhips, and all our other ſubjects, whatever ' condition they may be of, to print the ſaid books, ' or cauſe them to be printed, to publiſh, ſell, or diſ- ' perſe them in our ſaid kingdom, countries, territo- ' ries, and lordſhips, upon pain of forfeiting the ſaid ' books, and of corporal puniſhment, whether they ' be printed in our ſaid kingdom, countries, territo- ' ries, and lordſhips, or in any other place not being ' under our dominion. We likewiſe forbid the ſaid ' Ramus to read the ſaid books, and to get them writ- ' ten or tranſcribed, publiſhed or diſperſed in any man- ' ner whatſoever, or to read any lectures Logic or Phi- ' loſophy without expreſs leave from us; as alſo not to ' uſe ſuch ſlanders and invectives againſt Ariſtotle, or ' any other antient author commonly received and ap- ' proved, or againſt our ſaid daughter the univerſity; ' and the members thereof, upon the above-mentioned ' pains; and therefore we order and command, &c(13).'

(13) *See* Launoi, ubi ſupra.

He who hears but one ſide, hears nothing; and therefore it will not be improper to hear the account which a friend of Ramus publiſhed of the whole proceeding. Ramus, to obey the king's command, appeared before the five judges, tho' three of them were his great enemies. The diſpute laſted two days. He maintained that the Logic of Ariſtotle was imperfect, ſince it contained neither definition nor diviſion. The two judges he had choſen declared the firſt day in writing, that definition is neceſſary in every regular diſputation (14); the three others declared in writing, that Logic may be perfect without definition (15). The next day they acknowledged in writing, that diviſion is neceſſary in Logic; but when they ſaw that Ramus inferred from thence that he was in the right to condemn Ariſtotle's Logic, becauſe it was not divided, they put off the buſineſs till another time; and perceiving that they had ſo intangled themſelves, that they could not come off with honour, they declared that the diſputation ought to be renewed, and that what had been done there thoſe two days, ſhould be looked upon as nothing. *Ne non damnaretur Ramus, novum conſilium initur ut ab initio tota diſputatio retexatur, & adhuc injudicata induceretur, proque nihilo haberetur* (16). Ramus made great complaints of ſuch a proceeding, wherein the judges not only made it appear that they intended to condemn him, but alſo diſannulled their own judgment; he excepted againſt them, and entered an appeal, which was declared null by Francis I, who ordered the five judges ſhould give a definitive ſentence in that cauſe. The two judges choſen by Ramus retired, being unwilling to be preſent at the judgment, as meer witneſſes to the injuſtice intended againſt him (17). The three others gave ſentence as they were led by their paſſions, and care was taken ſo to prepoſſeſs the king with falſe reports, that he confirmed their judgment. ' Hæc omnia Regis, ' licet omnium Regum & humaniſſimi & literarum ' amantiſſimi, tamen per falſas & improbiſſimè con- ' fictas calumnias inducti, auctoritate confirmantur (18). ' *Notwithſtanding that no king was of a more humane* ' *diſpoſition, or a greater lover of learning than Francis I,* ' *yet all theſe judgments were confirmed by his authority,* ' *which they had obtained by moſt falſe and wickedly* ' *deviſed calumnies.*' Note, that the king declared in his letters-patents, that Ramus *did wholly ſubmit* to thoſe three judges, after the other two had deſiſted: which is falſe, if we may believe the author whom I quote; for having ſaid that the two judges gave over the proceedings, he adds that Ramus did the ſame, and that the three others condemned him without hearing him.. ' Idemque Ramus ipſe non ſine ſto- ' macho, cùm à tribus illis contumelioſe illuderetur, fecit & ſe tempora ſperare dixit, quibus tales ' judices de ſuo facto nequaquam parem eſſent volup- ' tatem percepturi. Ita vi victa, vel certe hominum ' quorumcunque opinione ad tempus oppreſſa cauſa eſt. ' Condemnantur igitur triumvirali ſententia, non modò ' indicta, ſed incognita planè cauſa, animadverſiones ' Ariſtotelicæ (19). - - - *Ramus could not bear, without* ' *great reſentment, to ſee himſelf ſo ſhamefully abuſed by* ' *the three, who determined againſt him; and ſaid,* ' *that he hoped, he ſhould ſee the time, when ſuch judges* ' *would not reap the ſame pleaſure from what they had* ' *done. He was obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force, or* ' *at leaſt to the opinion of ſome men, by which it was for* ' *a time trampled upon: the animadverſions upon Ari-* ' *ſtotle were condemned by the judgment of a triumvirate,* ' *not only without any cauſe being ſhown, but without* ' *any cauſe being known.*' Take notice that the thing is thus related, not in an anonymous book, but in a piece which Audomarus Talæus dedicated to the cardinal of Lorrain. If we give credit to it, we muſt look upon what is ſaid by Peter Gallandius as a meer fable. He tells us, that Francis I. being informed of the continual invectives of a certain ſophiſt againſt Ariſtotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, was reſolved to ſend him to the gallies, but that Caſtellanus adviſed him to uſe another ſort of puniſhment; which was to engage that ſophiſt in a diſpute, wherein the ſilence he would be reduced to, would plainly diſcover his folly. The king approved that expedient, and when he heard of the confuſion that man had been in, he was contented with that puniſhment. It is Ramus, whom Peter Gallandius means; but we muſt remember that he was his great enemy. *Cùm in hac ſchola ante annos octo Sophiſta famoſus Muſis iratis natus, gloriæ popularis ſiti inexplebili præceps, Ariſtotele, Ciceronе & Quintiliano petulanter & ignoranter vexatis, nullum finem in quemvis auctorem claſſicum debacchandi facturus videretur, priuſquam præſentem literarum ſtatum labefactaſſet, & ad ſuam libidinem pervertiſſet, permulti doctrina & virtute conſpicui homines audaciam tam prodigioſam indigniſſime tulerunt. Cumque de eo apud regem ita conqueſti eſſent, ut ille, pro ſua perpetua in literas & literarum Profeſſores benevolentia, hunc indignabundus ad remum damnatum triremibus addicere ſtatueret, Regis animum facti leporis ſuavitate emollitum, ad mitiorem ſententiam traduxit. Sophiſtam nugantem & inepte philoſophantem ab humaniſſimo Rege nullo capitali ſupplicio puniendum eſſe. Verum cum doctis hominibus coram gravibus diſceptatoribus in diſputationis certamen commiſſum, argumentis convincendum, & ratione aliqua leviore ad ſanitatem reducendum. Quorum ſententia cum illum Rex inſcitiæ, impudentiæ & temeritatis damnatum, ſilentiique pœna multatum vidiſſet, facile acquievit, neque acerbius quicquam in eum ſtatuit* (20).

(19) Ibid.

(14) Omnem diſputationem quæ via & ratione procederet definitione proficiſci debere. *Audom. Talæus, ubi ſupra, apud Lauvoium, ibid. pag.* 58.

(15) Ad Dialecticæ artis perfectionem definitione nihil opus eſſe. *Ibid.*

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ex eo autem confeſſu ſe diſcedere quia ſe non ſocios conſilii, ſed injuriæ quæ Ramo fieret adhibitos teſtes intelligerent. *Ibid.*

(18) Ib. *p.* 59.

[*E*] *His enemies expreſſed an extraordinary joy for it.*] They made a greater noiſe about it in proportion, than the moſt vain-glorious princes for the taking of a great town, or the obtaining a moſt important victory. The ſentence of the three judges was publiſhed in Latin and French in all the ſtreets of Paris, and in all the parts of Europe whither they could ſend it. Some plays were acted with great pomp, wherein Ramus was abuſed a thouſand ways among the acclamations and applauſes of the Ariſtotelians (21). *Triumphus de tam nobili victoria mirificus agitur, triſtis illa & bor-*

(20) Petrus Gallandius, in Vita Petri Caſtellani, num. 45, pag. 75, 76.

(21) *Idem, Talæus, ibid.* See alſo Ramus's Life by John Thomas Freigius, pag. 17.

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Prele: but Ramus being perſuaded by his friends to teach there, had quickly a great many hearers (*b*). The Sorbonne endeavoured to have him expelled from that college, but could not ſucceed in it: he was maintained in his place of Principal by a decree of the parliament (*i*). The cardinal of Lorrain proved ſo good a patron to him, that he obtained from Henry II the liberty of writing and ſpeaking in the year 1547, and the royal profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy and Eloquence in July 1551 (*k*). The parliament of Paris had before this maintained him in the liberty of adding philoſophical lectures to thoſe of Eloquence (*l*). That decree had put an end to many perſecutions, which Ramus and his ſcholars had been expoſed to. They had been vexed and proſecuted ſeveral ways [*F*], both before the academical and the civil judges (*m*), during the winter of the year 1551 (*n*). He was no ſooner made Regius Profeſſor, but he ſhewed a new deſire of perfecting the ſciences, and went about it with more eagerneſs, notwithſtanding the hatred of his reſtleſs enemies, who were ſo malicious as to pretend, that the manner after which he and his colleagues pronounced the letter Q, was an innovation for which he deſerved to be proſecuted [*G*]. They carried their attempts ſo far, that he was

(*b*) Theoph. Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 7.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) See the remark [*L*].

(*l*) Theoph. Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 7, & 8.

(*m*) Jo. Thomas Freigius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 18, & *ſeq.*

(*n*) Ramus, in Oratione habita anno 1551, *pag. m.* 9.

renda Triumvirûm ſententia impreſſis & Latina & Gallica oratione libellis, non modò per hujus urbis compita, ſed per orbis terrarum loca omnia, quò expectari potuit (22), *promulgatur. Ludi magno apparatu celebrantur, ubi ſpectantibus & plaudentibus Ariſtoteleis, omni ludibrii & convitii genere Ramus afficitur.*

(22) *Thus we read in Mr* de Launoi, de Varia Ariſtotelis fortuna, *pag.* 60. *But* Freigius, in Vita Rami, *pag.* 17, *citing the ſame paſſage of* Talæus, *ſays,* quo exportari potuit.

[*F*] *They had been vexed and proſecuted ſeveral ways.*] I do not give the particulars of thoſe perſecutions, which you may read in Freigius (23): I ſhall only ſay, that when Ramus's enemies came to perceive that the other complaints made no great impreſſion, they accuſed him of perverting the youth with the ſeeds of Hereſy and Scepticiſm. 'Unius primum accuſationem graviſſimam audivit, Ramum Academicum nominantis, & inaudita calumnia deſcribentis, humanarum divinarumque rerum hoſtem & inimicum, qui de humanis diviniſque legibus addubitaret, deque iis dubitare diſcipulos ſuos doceret: qui lubricos Divi Auguſtini locos ſuis auditoribus ad effrænatam & impiam libertatem proponeret, qui (quò facilius incautis animis abuteretur) omnes Logicas diſputationes tolleret (24). - - - - - *He firſt heard, what was the heavieſt charge of all, the accuſation of one perſon, who, venting unheard of calumnies, and calling Ramus a Sceptic, deſcribed him as a foe to all goodneſs, and the enemy of all knowledge, divine and human, who not only doubted himſelf of the laws of God and man, but alſo taught his diſciples to doubt thereof; who made uſe of ſome licentious paſſages of St Auguſtin to recommend to his hearers an unbridled and impious liberty, and who, that he might the more eaſily deceive unwary ſouls, was for taking away all Logical diſputations.*'

(23) Freigius, in Vita Rami, *pag.* 18, & *ſeq.*

(24) Ibid. *pag.* 20. This is taken from Ramus's inaugüral ſpeech made in the year 1551.

[*G*] *The manner after which he and his colleagues pronounced the letter Q.*] Amongſt other abuſes, the royal profeſſors mended that, which had crept into the pronunciation of the Latin. Some Eccleſiaſtics complied with that reformation, tho' the Sorboniſts were diſpleaſed with that innovation. But a beneficed man was very ill uſed by them upon that account; for they got him deprived of his revenues. He made his application to the parliament; and the royal profeſſors being afraid that he would ſink under the credit of the faculty of Divinity, for being ſo bold as to pronounce the Latin tongue according to their reformation, thought themſelves obliged to aſſiſt him: they went to the court, and repreſented in ſo lively a manner the ſhamefulneſs of ſuch a trial, that the accuſed perſon was acquitted. 'Quas nòvas turbas innovata pronunciatio peperit? Sub annum milleſimum quingenteſimum quinquageſimum, cùm Profeſſores regii ſinceriorem Latinæ linguæ pronunciationem ſenſim introducere cœpiſſent, moleſtè ferebant cùm alii, tum præſertim Sorbonici, inveteratam loquendi conſuetudinem Gallorum improbari, ut quæ pueri didiciſſent, ſenes perdenda fateri cogerentur: in primis verò de ſono ipſius literæ Q. ambigebatur: regiis ſic, uti debet, cum ſequente u pronunciantibus, Quiſquis, Quanquam: Sorbonicis verò conſuetudine vernacula, Kiſkis, Kankam. Jam cum ſacris addictum hominem ob genuinam pronunciationem ampliſſimis proventibus Sorbonici ſpoliandum curaſſent, & lite coram Senatu Pariſienſi conteſtata, ne miſer illa ob grammaticam hæreſin (ut illi vocabant) theologicis fructibus jure excideret, periculum eſſet: profeſſores regii, & inter hos Petrus Ramus facto agmine in Curiam convolant, & judicii inſolentiam præfati, quod Jureconſulti de legibus regiis diſputare ſoliti, ad grammaticorum leges judicandas ſeſe dimiſiſſent, judices ita commoverunt, ut ſententiis ſuis non modo ſacerdotem abſolverent, ſed & impunitatem de Grammatica pronunciatione diſputandi tacito aſſenſu in perpetuum ſtabilirent. Ergo Kis & Kalis, & Kantus, & Miki, & ſimiles Gottiſmi & barbariſmi erant in Pariſienſi Academia ante regios profeſſores uſitati: quos barbariſmos ſi collega aliquis imitari nollet, acerbè & contumeliosè accipiebatur, quod collegii conſuetudinem violare diceretur. E ſchola regia tum primum Quis, Qualis, Quantus, Mihi, Latinè & Romanè ſonuerunt, & pudor fuit regiis Profeſſoribus tanquam regis ipſius voci palàm reclamare (25). - - - *What new diſturbances did an innovation in pronunciation produce? In the year* 1550, *the Royal Profeſſors having begun to introduce a purer pronunciation of the Latin tongue, there were other profeſſors, eſpecially thoſe of the Sorbonne, who took it highly amiſs, that the pronunciation, anciently made uſe of by the French, ſhould be diſapproved of, and could not bear to be obliged to unlearn when they were old men what they had learned when they were boys. The firſt diſpute of this kind was about the ſound of the letter Q. The Royal Profeſſors pronounced it as it ought to be, with the following vowel* u, Quiſquis, Quanquam: *but the Sorbonne adhered to the cuſtom then in uſe,* Kiſkis, Kankam. *The members of the Sorbonne had endeavoured to deprive a Clergyman of very ample revenues, for making uſe of the genuine pronunciation: the conteſt was brought before the parliament of Paris, and there was great danger that the unfortunate man would be deprived of the benefits of his Theological ſtudies, for a Grammatical Hereſy, as they called it. But the Royal Profeſſors, and amongſt them Peter Ramus, aſſembling themſelves together in a body, flew to the court, and having expoſed the ſtrangeneſs of their proceedings, that Lawyers, whoſe buſineſs it was to diſpute about the king's laws, ſhould debaſe themſelves into Critics on the laws of Grammar, they ſo prevailed upon the Judges, that they not only acquitted the Divine, but by a tacit aſſent eſtabliſhed for ever an impunity to all controverſies about Grammatical pronunciation.* Kis, *and* Kalis, *and* Kantus, *and* Miki, *and ſuch like Gothiſms and barbariſms were uſed in the academy of Paris in the preſence of the Royal Profeſſors: and if any of them refuſed to make uſe of theſe barbariſms, he was very ill treated, as one who took upon him to infringe the cuſtoms of the college.* Quis, Qualis, Quantus, *and* Mihi, *were then firſt reſtored to the genuine Roman pronunciation in the Royal ſchool, and people were aſhamed to contradict openly the Royal Profeſſors, who were in a manner conſidered as the voice of the king himſelf.*' This is ſuch a ſtrange and incredible thing, that I did not think fit to omit any one word of the author who relates it. He maintains another immediately after, which I am more amazed at, and I would fain ſee the monuments of it in the archives; otherwiſe I would not adviſe any body to give an intire credit to it, any more than to the trial about *Kankan* and *Kiſkis*. The thing is this: The public authority was made uſe of to force many doctors of Paris to renounce this aſſertion, which they obſtinately maintained: *Ego amat* is as good a phraſe as *Ego amo*. I will quote Freigius for it. 'Incredibile propè dictu eſt, ſed tamen verum & editis libris proditum, in Pariſienſi Academia Doctores extitiſſe, qui mordicus tuerentur ac defenderent, *Ego amat*, tam commodam

(25) Freigius, in Vita Rami, *pag.* 24.

 'orationem

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was obliged to abſcond. He went to Fontainebleau, with the king's leave, where he concealed himſelf (o) [H], and continued his Geometrical and Aſtronomical ſtudies by the help of the books he found in the king's library. But when it came to be known that he was there, he did not think himſelf ſafe, and was forced to abſcond in ſeveral other places (p). In the mean time his library was plundered in the college of Prele. But the peace being concluded between Charles IX, and the Proteſtants, in the year 1563, he was reſtored to his place, wherein he maintained himſelf with great vigour, and endeavoured chiefly to make mathematical learning flouriſh; which he did till the ſecond civil war in the year 1567. He was then obliged to leave Paris, and to put himſelf under the protection of the Huguenots (q). He was in their army at the battle of St Denys. The peace was made ſome months after, and he was again eſtabliſhed in his profeſſorſhip; but foreſeeing that the war would ſoon break out again, and being unwilling to be expoſed to a new ſtorm, he aſked the king's leave to go and ſee the German univerſities, which was granted him. He made that journey in the year 1568, and received great honours wherever he came (r). He returned into France after the third war, in the year 1571 (s), and periſhed in the maſſacre at Paris on St Bartholomew's day, as may be ſeen in the paſſage which Moreri has tranſcribed from Thuanus. He was, without doubt, a great Orator [I], a man of univerſal learning, and endowed with excellent moral qualities; free from avarice, ſober, chaſt [K], fearing God, and zealous

(o) Freigius, ibid. *pag.* 26.

(p) Idem, *pag.* 23.

(q) Idem, *pag.* 30.

(r) Idem, & *pag. ſeq.*

(s) This is founded upon what is ſaid that he made a ſpeech at Baſil in the year 1571.

'orationem eſſe, quàm *Ego amo*; ad eamque perti-
'naciam comprimendam conſilio publico opus fuiſſe
'(26) (§ α). - - - - *It is almoſt incredible to tell, but*
'*nevertheleſs true, and alſo in print, that there were*
'*Doctors in the academy of Paris, who aſſerted and*
'*maintained moſt obſtinately, that* Ego amat *was as pro-*
'*per ſpeech, and as good Grammar as* Ego amo, *and*
'*they were forced to have the aſſiſtance of public autho-*
'*rity before they could overcome their obſtinacy.*' Notwithſtanding my incredulity, I ſhall obſerve that there happened many things in the XVIth century in the faculty of Theology at Paris, at which they bluſh now when they think of them. They were laughed at for it to ſome purpoſe.

(26) Ibid.

[(§ α) Taken from Agrippa *de Vanitate Scientiarum, Cap. III. de Grammatica:* ſee Mr Le Duchat's Notes upon Rabelais, note eighth of the nineteenth chapter of the firſt book. REM. CRIT.]

[H] *He went to Fontainebleau with the king's leave, where he concealed himſelf.*] I wiſh Freigius had not omitted the circumſtances of Ramus's retreat; I wiſh particularly he had mentioned the time: but perhaps if he had ventured to ſet down the year, he would not have been more ſucceſsful, than when he ſaid (27) that Ramus's *Animadverſiones* were condemned in the year 1545; and that the author was forbidden to meddle with Philoſophy; but that Ramus being re-inſtated by king Henry (28), at the ſollicitation of the Cardinal of Lorrain, made a ſpeech in the year 1546, *De ſtudiis Philoſophiæ & Eloquentiæ conjungendis. - - - Concerning the uniting the ſtudies of Philoſophy and Eloquence.* However it be, he clearly intimates that the king not daring to protect Ramus openly, ſent him to Fountainebleau to ſecure him from the fury of his enemies. 'Paucis
'menſibus per reliqua Geometriæ myſteria pervaſiſſet,
'niſi curſus induſtriæ per fatalem quandam calamita-
'tem abruptus fuiſſet. Acceptis igitur à rege literis,
'ad regiam Fontiſbellaquei bibliothecam profectus,
'mathematicas ſuperiorum temporum prælectiones ab
'initio plenius & uberius retractavit & conſidera-
'vit (29). . . . . Hæc meditantem ſolitudo cervorum
'ac ſylva diutius occulere non potuit. In Italiam
'tum cogitavit, quò ipſum Bononia honorificè invita-
'rat. In Germaniam noſtram ipſius illis mathematum
'amoribus chariſſimam ſæpe reſpexit, ſed viis omni-
'bus terror mortis intentus ac pavor, rumor etiam
'Prælei ſui indignis modis direpti, tum bibliothecæ
'chariſſimis quibuſque rebus ſpoliatæ ac depopulatæ,
'ad regiam Vincennarum propius urbem revocarunt:
'quin alia vis etiam gravior accidit, ut è Vincennis
'per invia itinera profugiendum eſſet, & ſubinde va-
'riis in locis deliteſcendum: in fuga tamen & late-
'bris otium lucemque reperit (30). - - - *He would have*
'*gone through the other myſteries of Geometry in a few*
'*months, if his career had not been ſtopped by a fa.*'
'*calamity, having then obtained the king's letters, he re-*
'*tired to the royal library at Fontainebleau, where he*
'*more fully reviſed and examined, from the beginning,*
'*the Mathematical lectures which he had formerly read.*
'. . . . *Neither woods, nor the ſolitude of ſtags could no*
'*longer conceal him in the purſuit of theſe ſtudies. He*
'*then thought of going to Italy, whither Bologna had*
'*given him a moſt honourable invitation. He often*
'*turned his eyes towards Germany, that was moſt dear*
'*to him from the love that he bore to Mathematical ſtu-*
'*dies. But on every hand nothing ſurrounded him but*
'*terrors and the apprehenſions of death; the intelligence*
'*he received, that the college of Prele was cruelly ſacked,*
'*and that his library was plundered and ſtripped of*
'*every thing that was precious in it, brought him back*
'*to the caſtle of Vincennes, nearer the town: another ac-*
'*cident happened ſtill more afflicting, and which obliged*
'*him to fly from thence by unknown ways, and to hide*
'*himſelf in divers places: nevertheleſs, in the midſt of*
'*his flight, and in his hiding-places, he found leiſure to*
'*improve his knowledge.*' Banoſius informs us that Ramus retired to Fontainebleau during the firſt religious war, that is, in the year 1562 (31).

(27) Ibid. *pag.* 14.

(28) Henry II did not begin his reign till the year 1547. Ramus was deprived in 1543.

(29) Freigius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 26.

(30) Ibid. *pag.* 28.

(31) Banoſius, in Vita Rami, *pag.* 20.

A letter of Languet's (32), dated from Paris, February the firſt, 1562, informs us, that Ramus put himſelf at the head of ſome members of the univerſity (33), who let Catherine de Medicis know that they had no concern in the petition which the Rector had preſented to the parliament in the name of the whole univerſity, to prevent the publication of the edict of January; on the contrary, that they demanded the publication of it. It is certain that the Rector had never adviſed about it with thoſe that he knew to be favourers of the reformed religion (34).

(32) The 68th of the ſecond book, Edit. of Hal 1699.

(33) Eorum qui Rectorem remiſit dex eſt Petrus Ramus. *Languet. Epiſt. LXVIII, lib. II, pag.* 201.

[I] *He was a great Orator.*] I deſire no other proof for it than this teſtimony of Brantome, which contains a particular not be found any where elſe. Here are his words, wherein he mentions the learned men maintained by Henry II. 'Galandius Torti-
'colis was a great Orator; but Ramus, his enemy, ex-
'ceeded him. Ramus was a moſt eloquent Orator,
'and there have been few like him; for his eloquence
'was attended with an extraordinary graceful delivery.
'Having turned Huguenot ſome years after, and
'being in the Prince of Condé and the Admiral's re-
'tinue, in their journey to Lorrain, and the Reiſters,
'whom they had ſent for, refuſing to go into France,
'unleſs they had ſome money given them; the Hu-
'guenots made a gathering for them, and Ramus a
'ſpeech, which affected them ſo much, that they
'were prevailed upon to go into the heart of France,
'where they did great miſchief (35).'

(34) Ibid.

(35) Brantome, Mémoires des Hommes illuſtres, Tom. II, *pag.* 55.

[K] *He was . . . . free from avarice, ſober, chaſt.*] He refuſed ſome profeſſorſhips, which might have been very profitable to him, and choſe rather to be a teacher in the college of Prele, where he had no public ſalary (36). He would not accept the preſents that his pupils were willing to make him (37), and he maintained ſome ſcholars at his own charge. 'Sole-
'bat in patriam proficiſcens bonæ indolis juvenes pau-
'peres ſuis ſumptibus fovere, eoſque in Academia
'Prælea bonis informabat diſciplinis: ex quorum nu-
'mero plerique ſuperſunt viri doctiſſimi (38). - - - *When-*
'*ever he went into his own country, he uſed, at his own*
'*expence, to aſſiſt ſuch poor children as appeared to him of*
'*a promiſing genius. He afterwards placed them in the*
'*college of Prele, where he inſtructed them in all good*
'*diſcipline: moſt of them are ſtill alive, and are men of*
'*great learning.*' He refuſed to go into Poland, tho' he was promiſed to be well rewarded for the encomiums he ſhould beſtow upon the duke of Anjou. His anſwer

(36) Tho. Freigius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 55.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 14.

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zealous for the Reformed religion: but he was somewhat obstinate, and given to contradiction; and some will have it that he robbed Vives of his inventions (t). He shewed a great firmness in his misfortunes [L]. He was not well beloved by the ministers; for he made himself in some sort the head of a party to alter the discipline of the Reformed churches. His design was frustrated, and even defeated in a national synod [M]. I could

(t) *See* Keckerman, in Præcognitis Logicis, *Tract. ii, cap. v.*

answer was, that Eloquence ought not to be a mercenary thing, and that an Orator ought to be a man of probity. *Inter cætera referam quod cuidam respondit, qui in Poloniam legatus, Ramo, ut secum proficisceretur ad Henrici, qui nunc est, Galliarum regis laudes decantandas, magno pretio persuadere conatus est. At vero, ait, oportet Oratorem non tantum dicendi peritum, sed virum bonum esse: nec viri boni lingua venalis esse debet* (39). We learn from these words a particular very remarkable, *viz.* that Monluc was desirous to make use of Ramus's eloquence, in order to dazzle the Polish nobility, that they might be the more willing to elect the duke of Anjou for their king; for it is not to be questioned, that he who made the above-mentioned proposal to Ramus, was the same Monluc, bishop of Valence, who did so well succeed in his negotiations about the election of Henry III, and who, amongst other means, made use of the eloquence of some persons, who, in their verses and harangues, extolled to the skies the qualities of the duke of Anjou. He took care to avoid the snare mentioned in a maxim of Horace (40).

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 23.

(40) Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius æquo
Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces. *Horat. Epist. II, lib. ii, ver.* 10.

Ramus was a man of an exemplary temperance; he was contented with boiled meat, and eat but little at dinner; he was twenty years without drinking wine, and began to drink it only by the prescription of the Physicians; he lay upon straw, and rose very early (41); he studied all day (42); he lived a single life that was not so much as suspected of the least impurity, and took great care to avoid obscene conversations. *Cælebs vixit honestissime, ab scortationis non tantum crimine, sed etiam suspicione semper immunis: colloquia obscæna, utpote quæ bonos mores corrumpunt, tanquam toxicum fugiebat* (43).

(41) Banosius, ibid. *pag.* 12.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.

[L] *He shewed a great firmness in his misfortunes.*] Any body but he would have retired from Paris after the thundring decree of Francis I, which his adversaries did so insultingly boast of; but he kept still in the college of Prele, and let them bawl as much as they would. He answered none of the pieces that were published against him. If it be said that he durst not do it, because the king ordered him to be silent about matters relating to Philosophy; I answer, that if he had not been master of his passions, he would have gone out of the kingdom, to enjoy the liberty of vindicating himself. Of all things in the world silence is perhaps the most difficult for an author who is attacked and slandered by every body; and yet this is a thing which Ramus was capable of. Here follow the words of an author who has very well expressed it. 'Adversus contumelias Doctorum quamlibet & eruditorum hominum, perpetuum silentium juraverat. 'Nil Goveano, Gallandio, Perionio, Turnebo respondit: nil ingenii & doctrinæ per universam Germaniam principi Melanchthoni respondit: nil aliis 'Germanis, nil Italis nonnullis respondit. Cumque 'divulgatis per orbem terrarum Gallica & Latina lingua probris esset notatus, publicis ludis ignominiosissime traductus: constricta lingua, vinctis manibus 'prohibitus quicquam de philosophia vel publice, vel 'privatim dicere, scribere, cogitare etiam (si menti 'tantùm potuisset imperari) prohibitus esset: adversus 'tantas tot acerbitatum plagas, unicum patientiæ remedium adhibuit, in animoque semper illud habuit: *Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora* (44). '*He had sworn to observe a perpetual silence with regard* '*to the slanders of his adversaries, tho' they were men of* '*ever so much learning or knowledge. He made no answer* '*to Goveanus, Gallandius, Perionius, and Turnebus: nor* '*would he make any reply to Melanchthon himself, the* '*most famed for wit and learning throughout all Germany: there were other Germans, and some Italians,* '*to whom he gave no answer. And when in the Latin* '*and French tongue calumnies were every where published* '*against him, when he was in the most ignominious man*'*ner abused on the public stage, when his tongue was* 'tied and his hands too, and he was prohibited from '*either publickly or privately speaking, or writing, or* '*even thinking, about Philosophy, if it had been possible* '*to have controlled the mind so far; yet amidst this de*'*luge of ills he made use of no other remedy than pa*'*tience; and that he was always possessed of:* and 'always hop'd for better times.' That author has forgot a circumstance, which would have very much set off Ramus's triumph, I mean the power he had over himself to be silent. This Professor, four years after, recovered the liberty of writing and speaking about Philosophy. He says so himself in the first oration he made after he had been chosen Regius-Professor: 'Misero Rex Henricus, Hercules videlicet 'Gallicus, adfuit, meque quarto abhinc anno ad po'stulationem Caroli Lotharingi Cardinalis, & mani'bus & lingua solvit, solutoque Eloquentiæ & Philo'sophiæ docendæ, exercendæ, illustrandæ potestatem 'fecit (45): --- *King Henry, the Hercules of France,* '*relieved me from my distress, when four years since, at* '*the request of Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, he set* '*free both my tongue, and my hands, and restored to me* '*the power of teaching, practising, and explaining Elo*'*quence and Philosophy.*' Here are some other proofs of his constancy. The first time he explained his Logic in the college of Cambray, the emissaries of his enemies left no stone unturned to vex him to the highest degree, and to force him to leave off reading his lecture: they hissed and hooted at him; they clapped their hands, and stamped with their feet. But all was in vain; he was not put out of countenance; he stopped now and then till the hooting was over, and made an end of his lecture in the interval of their outcries. They were astonished at his unconcernedness, and proved afterwards less insolent. *Anno* 1552, *cùm in Cameracensi schola frequentissimo auditorio suam dialecticam auspicaretur, ab æmulis clamores, strepitus, sibili ingentes per summam petulantiam excitari cæpêre. Hac insolentia nihil ipse permotus, eum se oratorem præstitit, at multum diuque licet obnitentibus adversariis, per intervalla tamen clamorum, incredibili constantia, nec minori cum gloria perorarit. Qua ejus virtute consternati inimici, in posterum minus ei fuêre molesti* (46). He was insulted in the like manner at Heidelberg, and with no better success, whilst he read lectures there in the year 1568 (47). Which shews that he had made himself odious to several people in Germany as well as in France, for having been so bold as to write against Aristotle. It must be confessed that he had done it a little too haughtily, and that he had shewed too great an affectation of depriving that Philosopher of all his glory: he took from him, as much as ever he could, the works that are ascribed to him; and when he acknowledged him to be the author of some of them, he condemned the doctrine contained in them, and went so far as to inveigh against his person, by an odious description of his vices and actions (48). See the two speeches which Perionius published in the year 1544.

(44) Freigius, ubi supra, *pag.* 34.

(45) Ramus, in Oratione habita anno 1551, *pag. m.* 7.

(46) Freigius, ubi supra.

(47) Proinde minus debet mirum videri, si dum libera legatione regis permissu, tertiò civili bello ardente Gallia fungitur, in Heidelbergensi Academia principali autoritate ad profitendum adductus, consimiles æmulorum clamores invicto animo pertulit, tanta quidem constantia ut adversarios suæ petulantiæ pudere meritò debuerit. *Ibid.*

(48) *See* Keckerman, in Præcognitis Logicis, *pag. m.* 95, 96.

[M] *His design was . . . . defeated in a national synod.*] He designed to introduce a democratical government into the church: he pretended that the power of the keys, conferred by Jesus Christ upon the people, ought only to be committed to the consistories, that they should first of all deliberate about the things in question, and give their judgment about them; which should afterwards be proposed to the people, and should not be enacted into a law, unless it were confirmed by the votes of the heads of the families. He said that this was the only way to preserve the church from Oligarchy and Tyranny. His opinion was examined in a national synod (49), who rejected it. Beza used his utmost endeavours to have that Ecclesiastical Democracy condemned, which in truth would occasion a world of confusion, and a meer Anarchy. He was afraid that if Peter Ramus should refuse to acquiesce in the judgment of the synod, it would cause many broils; for he looked upon him as a pragmatical fellow. Here follow his words: *Pseudodialecticus ille, quem ὄζον ἀρηῶ jampridem docti multi cognominarunt, contentionem non parvam excitavit do tota Ecclesiastica* ευταξία, *quam inquit Democraticam esse oportere, non Aristocraticam, sola* πρεσβυλεύματα

(49) Held at Nimes in May, 1572.

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could mention many other things relating to him, were it not that I avoid repeating what may be found in Moreri's Dictionary, and in the large collections of Mr Teiſſier: beſides, I have not been able to conſult a book (*u*) which I formerly was poſſeſſed of, and which contains a great many particulars of his life. I ſhall make ſome ſhort obſervations upon the narratives of thoſe two authors [*N*], wherein the reader will find ſome matters of fact cleared. He publiſhed many books; you may ſee the catalogue of them in

(*u*) The Life of Peter Ramus, written by Nancelius. Mr Teiſſier ſays nothing of it in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum.*

προβλεύματα preſbyterio relinquens. *Synodus ob eam cauſam Nemauſi ineunte Majo coacta, cui etiam interfui, dogma iſtud plane, meo judicio, abſurdum & perniciosum, refutatis contrariis omnibus argumentis damnavit, cui ſi cum ſuis pauculis ille obſequatur, bene erit: ſin minus, certe turbas dabit homo ad turbanda optima quæque comparatus* (50). Ramus was not ſo imprudent as to require that the diſcipline ſhould be aboliſhed; he only oppoſed the juriſdiction of the conſiſtories and ſynods; he pretended that the people had a right to judge of the doctrine, chuſe their miniſters, excommunicate, and abſolve (51). Some ſuſpect that he inſiſted upon this, to introduce into the church the power of the demagogues of Athens, or of the tribunes of Rome; for, being a very eloquent man, he might have excited in the aſſembly of the people ſuch paſſions as he would have had them poſſeſſed with. *Ille neſcio quem adeò Chriſtianum populum ſomnians ut ſemper à Spiritu ſancto regatur, ſolaque* προβλεύματα preſbyterio relinquens, *nihil vult ratum haberi, niſi quod præſens populus rogatis expreſſiſque ſuffragiis decreverit, quod ni fiat, clamitat Oligarchiam ac Tyrannidem invehi in Eccleſiam, nihil interea Ochlocratiam reformidans, in qua nimirum ipſe, & ejus ſimiles dominentur. Contendunt iidem quibuſvis etiam* ἰδιώταις *prophetandi partes in Eccleſia concedendas, huc detorto Pauli loco ex cap. prioris ad Cor.* xiv (52).

(50) Theodor. Beza, Epiſt. LXVII. *It is dated July* 1, 1572.

(51) Contendebat non adverſus diſciplinam, ſed penes quos eſſet eccleſiaſtica gubernatio: volebat enim non penes paucos, ſed penes univerſam Eccleſiam eſſe judicium doctrinæ, electionem & abjectionem miniſtrorum, excommunicationem, & abſolutionem. *Simler. in Vita Bullinger. fol.* 45.

[*N*] *I ſhall make ſome ſhort obſervations upon the narratives of Moreri and Mr Teiſſier.*] I. I have already obſerved (53), their miſtake concerning the country of Ramus's grandfather. II. They take notice of a fault of Thuanus without mending it. That great man ſuppoſes (54) that Peter Ramus having taught Philological learning, Philoſophy, and the Mathematics in the college of Prele, and afterwards in the Royal College, forged at laſt a falſe Philoſophy in oppoſition to Ariſtotle (55). He is miſtaken; Ramus began firſt of all to attack Ariſtotle, as has been ſaid above (56). III. What they ſay of the foundation of a profeſſorſhip for the Mathematics is true; but their narrative would make one think, that Ramus paid five hundred livres every year during his life, to him who filled the mathematical chair. I do not believe it. It is likely his intention was, that after his death that ſum ſhould be taken from his revenue, to be paid to the Profeſſor, who ſhould be choſen according to the terms he had preſcribed. His laſt will was publiſhed by Banoſius (57): he made it the firſt (58) of Auguſt 1568, being ready to travel in order to viſit the foreign univerſities. He ordered by that will, that out of the yearly rent of ſeven hundred livres which he had in the townhouſe of Paris, five hundred ſhould be applied for the ſalary of a Profeſſor, who ſhould teach, for the ſpace of three years, Arithmetic, Muſic, Geometry, Optics, Mechanics, Aſtronomy, and Geography, in the Royal College; and he appointed Frederic Reiſnerus to be the firſt Profeſſor who ſhould have that ſalary. Paſquier, in his Recherches, has committed ſo childiſh a fault about this very thing, that I dare not but take notice of it. *That learned man*, ſays he, *after forty-five years labour, had got five hundred livres a year, by his good huſbandry, which he received from the town-houſe of Paris, out of which he left a hundred livres to his uncle by the mother's ſide, a hundred more to a nephew the ſon of his uterine ſiſter, and the five hundred livres that remained to him who ſhould be judged the fitteſt man for the mathematical chair* (59). Here is an inſtance of thoſe abſences of mind, which I have mentioned in another place (60): this is worſe than if one ſhould ſay, in caſting up an account, three times ſeven make twenty-two. Paſquier has before his eyes a ſum of five hundred livres; he takes from it one hundred on the one ſide, and one hundred on the other, and yet he finds ſtill five hundred livres: he reads this over and over again without perceiving his miſtake. If he did not commit this error, it muſt be imputed to the corrector of the Preſs. I muſt further obſerve, that Ramus was but fifty-three years of age, when he made his will; where then ſhall we find the forty-five years of his labour and good huſbandry? Father du Breul (61) ſays, that Ramus left only fifty livres by his will for the mathematical Profeſſor. IV. Moreri is in the right, when he ſays, that *we read in Beza's letters, that Ramus had a mind to retire to Geneva, where he deſired to be Profeſſor of Philoſophy.* The two letters Beza wrote to him are remarkable, and plainly ſhew that there was no great friendſhip between them. The firſt is dated the 30th of September 1569. Beza anſwers the complaints of Ramus, and at the ſame time declares to him, that he condemned his Logic, and his inveterate diſeaſe of cenſuring the greateſt men, and that his adverſaries were approved of. 'Illud ego multis ſæpe dixi, & ad teipſum ſcripſi non 'temere, ut tu putas, neque vel εἰρευόμενος, vel 'ullo, ita me bene Deus amet, maledicendi ſtudio, 'ſed quoniam tuum iſtud in ſummis omnibus & extra 'omnem judicioram aleam poſitis ſcriptoribus repre'hendendis cacoëthes probare nunquam potui, ac ne 'nunc quidem poſſum. . . . . Miror autem à me re'quiri quod tam multi doctiſſimi viri tam accurate & 'verbis & ſcriptis præſtiterunt, quibus ſummo con'ſenſu tuas in Ariſtotelem animadverſiones prorſus 'diſplicuiſſe non ignoras. Cum iſtis ſi ferre non po'tes ut à te diſſentiam, tuo ſane judicio fruere (62). 'I have ſaid ſo very often to many, and have writ the 'ſame thing to you, not, as you ſuppoſe, in banter, or 'with any deſign to rail at you: but I did never approve 'of that cuſtom of your's in cenſuring the beſt and moſt ju'dicious authors; neither do I now. . . . . I wonder that 'you ſhould expect from me what ſo many learned men 'have ſo accurately performed both in words and writ'ing, to whom you know your remarks on Ariſtotle were 'altogether diſagreeable. If you cannot bear that I 'ſhould with them diſſent from you, follow your own judg'ment.' Theſe are the ſweet things that Beza writ to him. He complains in the other letter that Ramus did not acquaint him with his deſign of being Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Academy of Geneva, and he takes it for a ſign of diſtruſt (63). He gueſſed right; for certainly Ramus did not expect that Beza would favour him, and he had no reaſon to expect it. However, Beza made him ſome compliments, and writ to him in a civil manner; but after all, he told him that there was no profeſſorſhip for him at Geneva; all the places were filled; the funds appointed for the ſalaries of the Profeſſors could not be augmented, and the Academy was reſolved to admit no other ſyſtem but that of Ariſtotle. *Duo tantùm obſtant quo minus quod optas, & noſtrum collegium alioqui vehementer cuperet, commodè nunc confici poſſe videatur. Unum, quòd nullus nunc ſit in ſchola vacuus locus, noſtrorum verò tenues adeò ac pene nullæ ſint facultates, ut nec augere poſſint profeſſorum numerum, nec conſtitutis antea ſtipendiis, quæ ſanè perexigua ſunt, quicquam adjicere: alterum, quòd nobis certum ac conſtitutum ſit & in ipſis tradendis Logicis, & in cæteris explicandis diſciplinis, ab Ariſtotelis ſententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere. Hæc ad te ingenuè ſcribo ex vetere formula. Inter bonos bene agier opportet* (64). Here is a remarkable thing. When Ramus might have had an honourable employment out of the kingdom, he refuſed it ſeveral times; and when he was deſirous to have one at Geneva, he could not get it. V. Mr Teiſſier tells us this concerning the invitations this Philoſopher refuſed. *After the death of Romulus Amaſæus, the city of Bologna offered him a thouſand ducats, if he would ſucceed him in his place. The king of Poland endeavoured to have him at Cracow. John, king of Hungary, ſent him word that he would give him the management of the univerſity of Weiſemburg* (65). Thoſe words of Mr Teiſſier anſwer the Latin words of Banoſius. 'Nulla eſt Chriſtiani orbis natio quæ Rami ſapientiam 'non amaverit, & præmio laudando redimere ſtudu'erit. Amiſſo enim Romulo Amaſæo, qui mille du'catorum ſtipendiis in celeberrima Bononienſi Acade'mia docuerat, Angelus Papius totius Academiæ con'ſenſu illum in demortui locum evocavit. Ab An'drea Duditio Imperatoris legato Cracoviam eſt invi'tatus. Joannes Rex Pannoniæ Albæ Juliæ admini'ſtrandæ magna propoſita mercede præficere voluit, & chirographo

(52) Theodor. Beza, Epiſt. LXVIII, *of the ſame date as the other.*

(53) In the remark [*A*].

(54) Thuan. *lib. lii, pag.* 1078, *ad ann.* 1572. Spondanus has committed the ſame fault, *ad ann.* 1572, *num.* 15.

(55) Poſtremo erroneam in Philoſophicis doctrinam invexit, Ariſtotelem voce & ſcriptis importune oppugnans. *Idem, Thuanus, ibid.*

(56) In the remark [*D*].

(57) In Vita Rami, *pag.* 15, *& ſeq.*

(58) *And not the* 8th, *as Paſquier ſays*, Recherches de la France, *lib. ix, cap. xix, pag. m.* 835.

(59) Paſquier, ibid.

(60) In the article CAETIUS, remark [*C*].

(61) Antiquitez de Paris, *pag.* 568. *Paris Edit.* 1639, *in* 4*to.*

(62) Beza, Epiſt. XXXIV.

(63) Mallem ex te ipſo tuam hoc de ornanda noſtra ſchola conſilium, quam ex amicis intelligere, minimè id quidem quòd ab te vel quoquam alio rogari velim, ut homines ambitioſi ſolent, ſed quòd inde conjicium te nonnihil de meo in te animo dubitare cerpiſſe. *Id. Epiſt. XXXVI, It is dated December* 1, 1570.

(64) Beza, Epiſt. XXXVI.

(65) Teiſſier, Addit. to the Elogies, *Tom.* 1, *pag.* 373, 374.

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in Mr Teiſſier. His hand-writing was ſcarce legible, and gave a great deal of trouble to the Printers (*). His ſect flouriſhed for ſome time [O]. I ſhall make a remark againſt

(*) Scriptitans tam miſere pingeret, ut in legendis ipſius ſcriptis typographus inſudaret. *Petrus à S. Romualdo, Fulienſis, in continuatione Chronici Ademari, pag.* 344.

(66) Banoſius, in Vita Petri Rami, *pag.* 9. *See alſo* Freigius, in Vita ejuſdem, *pag.* 36, & 41.

'chirographo Regio obſignavit (66). - - - *There is no part of the Chriſtian world that does not admire the wiſdom of Ramus, and ſtudy to purchaſe it at the greateſt expence. For Romulus Amaſius being dead, whoſe ſalary for teaching in the famous univerſity of Bologna was a thouſand crowns, Angelus Papius, by the common conſent of that univerſity, invited him to fill the place of the deceaſed. He was called to Cracow by Andrew Duditius the emperor's ambaſſador. John, king of Hungary, offered him the management of the univerſity of Weiſemburg, promiſing him a very large ſalary, which promiſe he confirmed with his royal ſignet.*' The following cenſure does not therefore concern Mr Teiſſier, but Banoſius. Romulus Amaſæus died in the year 1558, many years after Pope Paul III had removed him from his profeſſorſhip at Bologna. Ramus was not therefore invited to come and fill the place that was vacant by the death of Romulus; Banoſius ſhould have ſaid that this profeſſorſhip was offered him, when Amaſæus left it to go to Rome in order to teach the grand-ſon of Pope Paul III. But if it was not offered him till after the death of Amaſæus, it ſhould have been ſaid only, that he was offered a very honourable and profitable employment at Bologna, the very ſame that Amaſæus had formerly poſſeſſed. The reader is deceived, when he is told that Ramus refuſed the chair vacant by the death of Romulus Amaſæus; for he is induced to believe, that Romulus Amaſæus died a Profeſſor at Bologna, which is falſe. VI. Mr Moreri is miſtaken, when he ſays that *Ramus was baniſhed by virtue of the judgment* which the commiſſioners of Francis I. gave againſt him. He was only forbidden to concern himſelf with Philoſophy; and immediately he betook himſelf to teach claſſical learning in the college of Prele. I fancy theſe Latin words of Audomarus Talæus deceived Moreri, or the authors whom he copied. 'Auctori Animadverſionum & Inſtitutionum toto Philoſophiæ regno velut aqua & igni, gravi etiam pœna addita, interdicitur, ne unquam vel ſcribendo, vel docendo in ullam Philoſophiæ partem ingrederetur (67). - - - *The author of the Animadverſions and Inſtitutions was forbidden, under pain of baniſhment, and a great penalty, ever to meddle with any part of Philoſophy, either by writing or teaching.*' Some body fancied, for want of attention, that Ramus was baniſhed from the whole kingdom of France, without minding that he was only baniſhed from the whole empire of Philoſophy, *toto Philoſophiæ regno*. VII. Moreri adds, that *he was accuſed of Hereſy, on account of a book intituled* de Religione Chriſtiana, *which was printed at Francfort ſome time after his death*. That book was not known during the author's life; the original was preſerved, when his library was plundered (68), and it was ſent into Germany, where Banoſius got it printed in 1576 (69). I think we may challenge all the friends of Moreri, to prove that Ramus did ever ſuffer any perſecution on account of that book. Ramus's enemies had other proofs enough of his being a Proteſtant: a public oration, an action of his which favoured of an Iconoclaſt (70), and the anſwer he made to one, who aſked him, why he went ſo ſeldom to maſs, were ſufficient to convict him. 'Hujus zelo 'inflammatus, publica concione Pariſienſis ſcholæ monachos graviter admonuit, ut puriorem Theologiam 'ex Evangelio, relictis Sophiſtarum lacunis, diſcerent. 'Idola gymnaſii Prælei amoveri & recondi juſſit ne 'conſpicerentur. Miſſæ autem raro intererat. Interrogatus vero hac de re à viro graviſſimo, ſtrenue reſpondit, E toto Vetere Novoque Teſtamento nihil 'quidquam magis à noviſſimis Chriſtianis depravatum '& corruptum eſſe, quàm ſecundum mandatum Legis '& Cœnæ Sacramentum, ut homo in utroque per ſpeciem religionis in exſecrabilem idololatriam labere'tur (71). - - - *Fired with this zeal, he ſolemnly admoniſhed the Monks of the ſchool of Paris in a public Oration, that, laying aſide Sophiſtry, they ſhould learn a purer Divinity from the goſpel, he commanded the images of the college of Prele to be removed and hid, that they might not be ſeen. He was ſeldom at Maſs. Being aſked the reaſon of it by a grave perſon, he boldly anſwered, that nothing in all the Old and New Teſtament was more depraved and corrupted by the modern Chriſtians, than the ſecond commandment and the Euchariſt, whereby a perſon in both, under pretence of religion, fell into the moſt execrable idolatry.*' He abſconded during the firſt Civil war; he followed the prince of Condé in the ſecond, and made an open profeſſion of Calvin's doctrine in Germany during the third. He received the communion at Heidelberg with the Reformed (72). He ſaid among other things in a public Oration at Baſil, that he had been ſo happy as to compoſe it in the ſame place where Calvin wrote his Inſtitution. 'Inter Academiæ Baſilienſis 'hoſpites Joannes Calvinus præcipue commemorandus 'eſt lumen Galliæ, lumen Chriſtianæ per orbem ter'rarum Eccleſiæ, lumen in hoc (in quo hæc meditor 'commentorque) hoſpitio præcipue perſpectum: hic 'enim tanti luminis faces (ut Catharina Petita lectiſ'ſima matrona ſanctitate ſingularis ingenii mirifice 'capta tum Calvini, modò etiam Rami hoſpita ſæpe ac 'jucunde mihi narravit) primùm ſunt incenſæ: hic 'illuſtres illæ Chriſtianæ inſtitutionis cœleſteſque vi'giliæ ſunt exaratæ & elaboratæ (73). - - - *Among all the ſtrangers at the univerſity of Baſil, the moſt remarkable was John Calvin, the light of France, the light of the whole Chriſtian Church, and a light that particularly diſcovered itſelf in theſe very lodgings (where in I am now meditating and compoſing this Oration): here was that great light firſt kindled (as I have been often told in a pleaſant manner by Catherine Petit, a woman of great worth, who being prodigiouſly charmed with Calvin's extraordinary ſanctity and parts, was at that time his, as ſhe was ſoon after Ramus's, landlady): in this place were his famous Inſtitutions and his heavenly lucubrations compoſed and finiſhed.*' Laſtly, Being returned into France after the firſt peace, he obtained from Charles IX a ſpecial permiſſion to profeſs the new religion, with a conſiderable ſalary. *Impetrat ergo à Rege ſtipendia perampla, ut non tantum privato ſtudio artes meditando ſcribendoque illuſtraret, ſed etiam ut, ſublatis impedimentis, reformatæ Religionis ſanctiſſimis exercitiis in poſtremum liberius frueretur* (74). VIII. Mr Teiſſier ſays that *Ramus learned Philoſophy of himſelf, and without a maſter* (75). But Ramus himſelf acquainted the public, that he had gone through a courſe of Philoſophy in the colleges, which laſted three years and a half according to cuſtom. 'Cùm tres annos ſexque menſes, inquit, in Philoſophia 'ſcholaſtica ex Academiæ noſtræ legibus poſuiſſem: 'Logicis Organi libris cognoſcendis, diſputandis, me'ditandis (ex omnibus enim Ariſtotelicis libris, Lo'gici præcipue toto triennii tempore clamantur & re'clamantur) cùm, inquam, tempus illud ita tradu'xiſſem, & jam ut abſolutus artium ſcilicet magiſter, 'philoſophica laurea donatus eſſem: ſubducta ætatis 'meæ ratione, &c (76). - - - *When I had ſpent three years and an half, ſays he, in the ſtudy of ſchool Phi'loſophy, according to the laws of our univerſity, in 'learning, diſputing, and meditating upon books of Logic, '(for of all Ariſtotle's books his Logic is chiefly minded 'during the whole three years) when I had ſpent that 'time, I ſay, in this manner, and was now made a 'Maſter of Arts, being crowned with the philoſophical 'laurel; without conſidering my age, &c.*' IX. See number IV of this remark, and then you may judge whether *it appears by two letters that Beza wrote to him in* 1570, that he intended to retire to Geneva, and that *Beza teſtified great regard for him* (77).

[O] *His ſect flouriſhed for ſome time.*] It was unknown in Spain and Italy, and it made but a ſmall progreſs in France; but it proſpered very much in England and Scotland, and ſtill more in Germany; which appears from the many books that ſeveral German peripatetic Philoſophers publiſhed againſt the Ramiſts. Nay, ſome of them thought themſelves obliged to mention the reaſons of the growth of that ſect, for they could not bear that its progreſs ſhould be alledged as a proof of its truth. *Et miramur adhuc quid rei ſit, cur . . . . ea* (contra quam ſcribimus) *philoſophandi ratio locum inveniat hoc ſeculo in pleriſque Germaniæ provinciis, etiam in iis, de quibus id nunquam quiſquam vel metuere vel ſperare potuiſſet? Non eſt ſane cauſa hujus per*

(67) Audomar. Talæus, in Academia, apud Launcium, de Varia Ariſtotelis fortuna, *pag.* 59.

(68) Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 28.

(69) The edition I uſe is of Francfort 1594; but Ramus's Life prefixed to it, which ſerves for an Epiſtle Dedicatory, to Sir Philip Sidney, is dated the firſt of January 1576.

(70) He removed all the images from the college of Prele, and hid them. See the following quotation.

(71) Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 19, 20.

(72) Cum Heidelbergæ una apud Immanuelem Tremellium anno ſeptuageſimo viveremus, Gallicis concionibus ſemper interfuit, & ſacræ Cœnæ, edita primum fidei ſuæ confeſſione, cum magno Dei timore & cultus divini reverentia non ſemel communicavit. *Ibid. pag.* 25.

(73) Ramus, in Baſilea, *pag. m.* 58.

(74) Banoſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 24.

(75) Teiſſier, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 372.

(76) Freigius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 10, *quoting Ramus*, in Epilogo libri quinti ſcholarum Dialecticarum.

(77) Teiſſier, ubi ſupra.

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againſt Paſquier [*P*], in which you will ſee ſomething concerning Mercerus.

per Germaniam & Angliam etiam ac Scotiam incrementi (nam in Italia, Hiſpania & Gallia etiam ipſa planè obſcura eſt philoſophiæ Rameæ fama) ſed hæc cauſa eſt, quod cauſam optimam commodè non agimus (78). Thoſe words are taken from a chapter of Keckerman, wherein he judiciouſly cenſures the method of the Ramiſts (79). That author (80) very much commends a piece which David Pareus publiſhed againſt them in 1589. I have ſaid in another place (81) that this excellent Divine had no great eſteem for their founder. Keckerman complains very much of the Ramiſt Henningus Rennemannus, who furiouſly inveighed againſt Beza and Zacharias Urſinus on Ramus's account. He mentions likewiſe another Ramiſt, a haughty and paſſionate writer, whoſe name was Caſpar Pfaffradius. ' (82) Scimus ' *Philoſophos Rameos* quodam eloquentiæ faſtu plerunque in alios (magiſtri ſui indole) deſpumare : exempla ſunt in luce : ex quibus unum illud proferam, ' quod & recens eſt, & præ reliquis inſigne, *M. Henningi Rennemanni Saxonis*, qui pro Ramea Philoſophia ' Diſſertationem ante annos circiter tres (83) ſcribere ' non potuit, quin maledicam linguam ſtringeret non ' tantum in Clariſſimum Philoſophum *Philippum Scherbium*, ſed & eos viros, qui Eccleſiam Chriſti adverſus ' Papatus furores, & Heterodoxorum ſophiſmata tot, ' tantis, tam tota Europa ſuſpiciendis ſcriptis juverunt. . . . . (84) Clariſſimum dico Theodorum Bezam, cujus ille Epiſtolas de *P. Ramo* ſcriptas, velut ' anathematicas lividè exagitat ; & item ſummum illum ' atque admirabilem æque Philoſophum ac Theologum ' *Dominum Zachariam Urſinum*, piæ memoriæ, cujus ' de *P. Rami* Dialectica & Rhetorica ſcriptum ad voluntatem Frideric III. Electoris Palatini Principis, ' merito certe, ſi quiſquam unquam Princeps, cognomentum *Pii* adepti, judicium, *furentem* vocat *Rami* ' *exercitationem*. - - - *It is very well known that the* ' *Philoſophers who follow Ramus do with a certain pomp* ' *of Eloquence (after the manner of their maſter) bitterly* ' *carp at others, of which there are ſeveral inſtances.* ' *I ſhall mention one, which is both a late one, and like-* ' *wiſe remarkable above the reſt. I ſpeak of Henningus* ' *Renneman, the Saxon, who could not write a diſſerta-* ' *tion for the Ramean Philoſophy about three years ago,* ' *without railing in a ſcurrilous manner, not only at the* ' *moſt famous Philoſopher Philip Scherbius, but alſo at* ' *thoſe men who defended the Church of Chriſt againſt the* ' *fury of the Papiſts and ſophiſtry of the Heterodox by* ' *books that have been univerſally eſteemed. . . . . I mean* ' *the moſt famous Theodore Beza, whoſe epiſtles concern-* ' *ing Peter Ramus he ſpitefully takes to pieces, as if they* ' *were anathematized, and likewiſe that great and ad-* ' *mirable Philoſopher, as well as Divine, Mr Zacharias* ' *Urſinus, whoſe judgment on Ramus's Logic and Rhetoric,* ' *written at the deſire of Frederic III Elector Palatine* ' *(deſervedly firnamed the Pious, if ever any prince was* ' *ſo) he calls a furious invective againſt Ramus.*' Paſquier ſays (85), *Ariſtotle's Philoſophy has been baniſhed from the univerſities that are in the dominions of the landgrave of Hain* (86), *and they have embraced that of Ramus, and thoſe who ſtudy Logic call themſelves Ramiſts.* Theſe words of Scaliger ſhall be my laſt proof, *Ramus was a learned man, but he is too much valued. . . . . Ramus magnus fuit vir, ſed magni nimis fit* (87). Ramiſm had been introduced into the univerſities of Holland, if Scaliger and ſome others had not prevented it. *Cujus* (Ramiſticæ Philoſophiæ) *introductioni in Academias Belgii cordatiores & intelligentiores fortiter obſtiterunt, quos inter Joſephus Scaliger ſui ſæculi Phœnix emicuit* (88). I find in a letter of Iſaac Pontanus, written in 1629 (89), that the Profeſſors of Harderwic adviſed the univerſity of Leyden to permit that Ramus's Logic, or that of du Moulin, ſhould be indifferently taught.

I have been informed (90) that Ramiſm flouriſhes in Swiſſerland to this day, and is countenanced by the magiſtrates of Bern ; ſo that the Profeſſors of Philoſophy at Bern, and at Lauſanne, are obliged to teach no other Logic but that of Ramus ; and if they dictate any thing taken from Claubergius, or from *the Art of Thinking*, they do it only under Ramus's auſpices, and, as it were, to explain his doctrine.

[*P*] *I ſhall make a remark againſt Paſquier.*] He obſerves (91) that la Fon complains (92), *that one Ramus and Mercerus, who had gone aſtray from the antient religion*, were at the head of the cabal, which obliged the parliament of Paris, in 1564, to refuſe the requeſts of the Jeſuits. His anſwer is, that *neither Ramus nor Mercerus were particularly concerned in it, and that they only joined with the other royal Profeſſors.* He adds (93), that *Mercerus was ſo far from being a caballing man, that he underſtood nothing but Hebrew books, upon which he pored continually ; being a great man in the knowledge of that language, in which he ſurpaſſed the Jews in the opinion of the moſt learned, but a perfect ſtranger to the affairs of the world.* Afterwards he goes on thus : The Jeſuits *cauſed Verſoris's plea to be printed in the year* 1595. *That man intending * to render the univerſity odious, gives out, not that Mercerus, but that Ramus and Gallandius had made themſelves ſollicitors of that cauſe ; but this appeared ſo unlikely, that it was looked upon as an incredible thing, by reaſon of the open enmity which had been between them all along, and which laſted till they died. An enmity, which Rabelais, the Lucian of our age, in the preface to his third book, and after him, that ingenious Poet Joachim du Bellay, in one of his moſt celebrated poems, jeſted upon in ſome places that are thought to be the fineſt pieces of their works. Beſides, Gallandius was all along a Roman Catholic.* Paſquier forgot the beſt way of refuting that plea, which is, that Gallandius, Ramus's adverſary, had been dead five years, when Verſoris pleaded the cauſe of the Jeſuits (94). Rabelais is not well quoted ; Paſquier ſhould have quoted the preface to the fourth book.

(78) Keckermann. in Præcogn. Logicis, *Tract. ii, cap. iv, pag. m.* 133.

(79) See alſo the preface to that book of Keckerman.

(80) Ibid. *cap. vi, pag.* 187.

(81) In the article PAREUS (DAVID), remark [*H*], at the end.

(82) Idem, Keckermann. ibid. *cap. v, ſub fin. pag.* 169.

(83) That book of Keckerman was printed in 1599.

(84) Ibid. *pag.* 170.

(85) Paſquier, ubi ſupra, *cap. xviii, pag.* 834.

(86) He ſhould have ſaid Heſſe.

(87) Scaligerana 2, *pag.* 201.

(88) Sam. Maresius, *in Præfat. Indiculi præcurſor. Controverſiar. Theologic. adverſus* Wittich.

(89) Printed in Matthæus's collection in 1695. It is the 99th.

(90) By Mr Des Maizeaux, the ſame of whom Mr Bernard has publiſhed a Memoir in his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Nov.* 1700, *Art.* I.

(91) Paſquier, Catechiſme des Jeſuites, *book i, ch. v, pag.* m. 43.

(92) See René de la Fon's Anſwer for the Religious of the Society of Jeſus, to Simon Marion's plea, *pag.* 28.

(93) Paſquier, ibid. *pag.* 46.

* In the 24th and 32d leaves of Verſoris's plea.

(94) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, *pag.* m. 661, ſays, that Peter Gilland, Regius Profeſſor of the Greek tongue, died the 31ſt of Auguſt 1559.

RANGOUZE, a French author in the reign of Lewis XIV, whoſe good qualities are unknown to me : for ſuch a name cannot be given to the induſtry, wherewith an author knows how to make his Epiſtles Dedicatory, and his flatteries turn to a good account. Not but that ſuch an induſtry, though very bad, morally ſpeaking, may hold a conſiderable rank among thoſe qualities which are ſaid to be good, whether they be natural or acquired [*A*]. Rangouze was endowed with

[*A*] *Among thoſe qualities, which are ſaid to be good, whether they be natural or acquired.*] All languages may be ſaid to be more or leſs barren ; which does particularly appear with reſpect to ſuch things as are deprived of the perfection that belongs to them. If that perfection be a moral virtue, thoſe things are ſaid to be bad ; if it be a phyſical virtue, they are alſo accounted bad. On the other hand, thoſe things are indifferently called good, that have the moral virtue of their kind, and the phyſical virtue that belongs to them. An unjuſt judge is called a bad judge ; and an ignorant Painter is called a bad Painter ; a wiſe and equitable judge is ſaid to be a good judge ; and he who can make fine pictures is ſaid to be a good painter. Here we are ſenſible, that we want words (1), ſince we are obliged to make uſe of the words *good* and *bad*, to denote a thouſand things of a very different nature. It is therefore no wonder, that I ſhould place the induſtry of the Sieur Rangouze in the number of good things, tho' I do not allow it to be a moral virtue. It is a good thing in the ſame ſenſe, as we ſay a good memory, good ſight, good ears, a good noſe, &c. when thoſe faculties have the perfection which nature intended for them. Every ſcience, without excepting that of tricking and cheating, is a kind of perfection : a ſubtle wit is a natural advantage, as ſtupidity and fooliſhneſs are great imperfections. Morally ſpeaking, the ſcience of cheating is neither good nor bad ; but Phyſically ſpeaking it is a very good quality, an advantage, a perfection. The ſimplicity of a man, who can neither cheat others, nor avoid being cheated, is, Phyſically ſpeaking, an imperfection, and a bad quality. If the art of cheating be reduced into practice, it becomes, morally ſpeaking,

(1) Obſerve, that the lazineſs of men, and the caprice of uſe, are alſo one cauſe of it ; for we might find out, if we pleaſed, other words to denote a Painter, who underſtands, or does not underſtand his art.

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with it in an eminent degree [*B*], as it will appear by my remarks.

ſpeaking, a very ill thing, and a crime fit to be puniſhed; but when ſome robbers are broke upon the wheel, whoſe induſtry, and other natural qualities, had attained to the higheſt degree of perfection in their kind, we admire for all that the Phyſical good that was in them; and we abhor only the ill uſe they made of it. We may therefore ſay in general, that the art of growing rich, either in the finances, or by trading, is a good thing, and a natural advantage, which deſerves to be eſteemed, when ſeparated from the ill uſe men may make of it. The ſame ought to be ſaid of a man's induſtry, who grows rich by the productions of his pen, and by the art of dealing in epiſtles dedicatory and books, which he ſends up and down. It cannot be denied that ſuch a man has a ſort of wit, and a kind of ſagacity and diſcerning, which is a natural perfection, that may be admired in ſome reſpects, though it ought to be deſpiſed and condemned, by reaſon of it's abuſes and it's ill conſequences. Equitable men do not equally cenſure that ſort of authors; they do not pour all the ſatirical ſtrokes, which Furetiere collected in his *Somme Dedicatoire* (z), upon thoſe, who having a great family, and no eſtate, or penſion from the public, cannot maintain themſelves any other way than with the help of their pen. This ſerves to excuſe the multitude of their dedications, and it is not ſo much a wonder that their works ſhould be divided into many tomes dedicated to ſo many different perſons, and that the ſecond editions ſhould be dedicated to new Mæcenas's, as it is that they ſhould be able to maintain honourably their wives and children with their pen, and that the ſubſiſtence of a large family ſhould depend altogether upon it. A very ingenious man has laid down a rule in vindication of thoſe, who apply themſelves to trifling things, which reaches the authors whom I am ſpeaking of. Theſe are his words: *Beſides, it is well known that we have ſometimes very ſolid reaſons to apply our ſelves to ſome works that do not appear to be ſolid, and that a private and unknown duty prevails often without any injuſtice upon a public and notorious one. That man whom you blame, has, perhaps, good reaſon to believe, that in order to recover his health, which is very much impaired, to ſecure himſelf from poverty, to maintain his family, whoſe only ſupport he is, it is better for him to compoſe ſongs than moral and political treatiſes. If it be ſo, I make bold to ſay that he is obliged to write ſongs out of a moral and political principle, and it is a great piece of injuſtice to blame the occupations of other men, without knowing their motives and circumſtances* (3).

(z) It is printed at the end of the *Roman Bourgeois*. You will find a kind of a Latin tranſlation of it in the preface to the third tome, *Obſervationum ſelectarum ad Rem Literariam ſpectantium*, printed at Hall in 1701.

(3) Pelliſſon, Diſcours ſur les Oeuvres de Mr Sarrazin, *pag.* m. 39, & 40.

[*B*] *Rangouze was endowed with it in an eminent degree.*] Coſtar ſupplies me with the proof of it. 'I 'am far from intending to make a compariſon with 'the Sieur de Rangouze, whoſe eloquence has pro- 'cured him fifteen or ſixteen hundred piſtoles within 'theſe eight months, and who may be ſtiled the Che- 'rilus of our age in proſe. *Cherilus inculti qui ver- 'ſibus & male natis Retulit acceptos regale numiſma Phi- 'lippos.* According to the Goſpel . . . . a tree is good 'that bears ſo good fruit. The tree of the garden of 'the Heſperides, ſo much talked of by the Poets, 'was not ſo valuable, ſince, according to a Greek 'ſcholiaſt of great authority, it bore golden apples 'only in it's ſeaſon, and not all the year (4).' Here is another witneſs, to wit, *Madam de Scuderi*. She ſpeaks of an author, *who had three dedicatory epiſtles ready made for the ſame book, for three perſons very different in quality and merit; being reſolved to uſe that which would turn to the beſt account, and employing a third perſon to manage the buſineſs: and accordingly he dedicated the book to him who paid moſt for it, tho' he was a man of leſs merit than the other two.* She ſays afterwards, that *an author, who is dead, having prepared an epiſtle, which might be looked upon as a great panegyric, ſuppreſſed it, when he heard that the perſon, to whom he intended to dedicate his book, was out of favour.* She adds, *that a man of Dauphiné having made a panegyric upon Cardinal Richelieu, and finding him dead at his arrival, turned it into a panegyric upon the queen-mother, Anne of Auſtria. I have alſo been informed, that an author, who had very much, and very juſtly praiſed a man that was alive, deprived him of all the praiſes he had beſtowed upon him, tho' that man had done nothing that deſerved it; only he died without being able to reward that author according to his expectation. All theſe inſtances are very ſingular. But I have been told a pleaſant ſtory of one Rangouze, who made a collection of letters, and cauſed them to be printed, without numbring the pages. So that the Bookbinder placed at the beginning of the book ſuch a letter as the author thought fit; and by that means, all thoſe whom he preſented with his book, finding their names at the beginning of it, thought themſelves the more obliged to him for it. This ſeems to be a very odd thing, and that man was as fond of dedicating books as an eminent Phyſician of Italy, who having writ upon the aphoriſms of Hippocrates, dedicated each book of his Commentaries to one of his friends, and the Index to another* (5). Now let us ſee what Sorel ſays: Rangouze's letters may very well be called *golden letters*, 'ſince he boaſted to write 'none for leſs than twenty or thirty piſtoles; for 'he ſeldom made any but for perſons of the higheſt 'quality, and who were able to pay well for them. 'They were all a kind of ſhort encomium upon 'thoſe to whom they were directed, containing an 'account of their beſt qualities and moſt remarkable 'actions, and ſeveral compliments for thoſe who af- 'forded him but little matter to enlarge upon. We 'have ſeen ſome ingenious people wonder how that 'man, who was no ſcholar, had been able to write 'ſo many different letters upon praiſes that were almoſt 'alike. I do not ſcruple to take notice of him; becauſe 'his books may, however, ſerve to inform thoſe, 'who are ignorant of the characters and fortunes of 'the great men of the kingdom (6).'

(4) Coſtar, Letter L, Part ii, pag. 115.

(5) Madam de Scuderi, Converſations ſur divers Sujets, *Tom. i, in the dialogue that is at the beginning.*

(6) Sorel, Bibl. Franç. *pag. m.* 119.

RAPHELENGIUS (Francis), born (*a*) in Flanders the twenty-ſeventh of February 1539, made himſelf famous for his great knowledge of the Oriental tongues. After he had begun his ſtudies at Ghent (*b*), he loſt his father; and his mother obliged him to betake himſelf to trade: but his maſters having ſent him to Nuremberg, and thoſe in whoſe houſe he lived allowing him time enough to ſatisfy his inclination for learning, he applied again to ſtudy. Being returned into Flanders he found an opportunity to go to Paris, where he made a great progreſs in the Greek and Hebrew languages. The civil wars forced him to retire from Paris, and he went into England, and taught Greek for ſome time in the univerſity of Cambridge. He returned afterwards into the Low-Countries, and was corrector of the preſs at Antwerp, in the houſe of the famous Chriſtopher Plantin; who was ſo well pleaſed with his learning and honeſty, that he made him his ſon-in-law in the year 1565 (*c*). Raphelengius did him great ſervices as to his Printing, eſpecially with reſpect to the edition of the famous Bible, called the Antwerp Bible [*A*]. Plantin being removed to Leyden, to be farther from

(*a*) At Lanoi, near Liſle.

(*b*) And not at Louvain, as Moreri ſays.

(*c*) And not in the year 1555, as Moreri ſays.

[*A*] *With reſpect to the edition of the famous Bible, called, the* Antwerp Bible.] I ſhall uſe the words of Meurſius, to ſhew how far Raphelengius contributed to it: 'In horum editione incredibile quan- 'tos labores Raphelengius ſuſtinuerit, dum accuratiſ- 'ſime ſingula recognoſcit; Annotationibus, ubi opus 'erat, illuſtrat; verſionem interlinearem adornat; 'Grammaticam Hebræam, ex optimis quibuſque 'Grammaticis, cum judicio & cura collectam, addit; 'Epitomen Theſauri linguæ Hebrææ Santis Pagnini 'infinitis vocibus auget, & innumeris locis emendat; 'quod ſatis teſtimonio Benedicti Ariæ Montani, inter 'Prolegomena

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from the troubles, left his Printing-presses under the direction of his son-in-law; but when he returned to Antwerp, in 1585, Raphelengius, on the contrary, went to Leyden with all his family. He took care of the Printing-house that his father-in-law had there; and made himself so agreeable to the curators of the university that they conferred upon him the Hebrew professorship. He discharged the duties of it to his honour, and spent part of his time in the study of the Arabic tongue, and even composed a Dictionary in that language (*d*). He had scarce made an end of it when he died, the 20th of July 1597. He had been wishing for death three years before; for he struggled with two domestic enemies [*B*], that were very troublesome to him; one was his grief for the loss of his wife, and the other a Palsy (*e*).

(*d*) It was printed with Erpenius's notes in 1613.

(*e*) *Taken from* Meurſius, in Athenis Batavis, *pag.* 140, & *ſeq.*

'Prolegomena præmiſſo, patet. Multa iiſdem annis 'ad ornamenta librorum, quos ſocer excudebat, præ- 'cipue in linguis Orientalibus, corrigendo, illuſtran- 'doque, præſtitit; quamvis raro nomen ſuum adſcribi 'pateretur (1). - - - *It is incredible how much pains Ra-* 'phelengius *took in the edition of theſe books, while he* 'examined *every part of them with the greateſt accuracy,* 'illuſtrated *them with annotations wherſoever there* 'was *occaſion, improved the interlineary tranſlation,* 'added *a Hebrew Grammar, collected with care and* 'judgment *from all the beſt Grammarians, augmented* 'Pagninus's Epitome Theſauri Linguæ Hebrææ, *with* 'an *infinite number of words, and corrected it in a vaſt* 'many *places; all which appears plain enough from the* 'teſtimony *of Benedictus Arias Montanus, inſerted among* 'the Prolegomena. *In the ſame years he was of* 'great *ſervice to his father-in-law, in correcting and* 'illuſtrating *the books which he was then printing,* 'particularly *thoſe written in the Oriental languages;* 'tho' *he would rarely ſuffer his name to be put to* 'them.'

(1) Meurſius, Athen. Bat. *p.* 140.

[*B*] *He ſtruggled with two domeſtic enemies.*] Moreri is here guilty of the ſophiſm called, *à non ſufficienti enumeratione partium*; which is the leaſt thing that he can be reproached with; for it might be ſaid, that he has neither wholly nor partly expreſſed the thought of the author quoted by him. Let us compare his words with thoſe of Meurſius. *He died,* ſays he, *of grief for the loſs of his wife.* Thus he renders theſe Latin words; *Mors quam toto triennio præ tædio amiſſæ uxoris & paralyſi afflictatus ſæpe optaverat, virum optimum humanis exemit* (2). It does not appear by this paſſage that the loſs of Raphelengius's wife created ſuch a grief in him as occaſioned his death; it appears only that the grief he conceived for her loſs, together with a Palſy, made him often wiſh for death for the ſpace of three years. If it be ſaid, in Moreri's vindication, that this grief might have occaſioned a Palſy, and that therefore he might very well reduce the two cauſes mentioned by Meurſius into one; I anſwer, that a Copiſt ought never to give his own thoughts and conjectures as matters of fact that are to be found in the authors to which he refers us. But not to dwell on theſe trifles, I proceed to a more important obſervation. Raphelengius regretted the loſs of his wife, and thought himſelf an unhappy man in ſurviving her; which ſhews that he loved her, and that his marriage had been very comfortable to him: It was therefore a very happy marriage. Now let us conſider the conſequences of this happy marrige, to wit, three years under a kind of deſpair. What muſt we think therefore of an unhappy marriage, ſince a happy one is attended with ſuch conſequences? But let us not argue in this manner according to the law of contraries. Let us rather ſay, that an unhappy marriage is attended with great advantages. The perſon that ſurvives the other is not afflicted in the leaſt; his widowhood is a ſtate of tranquillity and pleaſure. So that, inſtead of conſidering only the miſeries of this life, we muſt conſider the mixture of good and evil, which is allotted to man. We muſt remember the two caſks of Homer, of which I ſpeak in another place (3). It ought to be ſaid, that what comes down upon earth is a mixt liquor; but in ſuch a manner, that the good and bad drink ſucceed the one to the other. If you begin with the one, you will end with the other. If you have been happy when married, you are unhappy being a widower; but if you have been unhappy in your marriage, your widowhood will be a ſtate of happineſs to you. I do not deny, that in ſome reſpects the two liquors are mixed and confounded together as to their inſenſible parts, ſince there is ſcarce any pleaſure but what is immediately attended with ſome trouble; but it is certain, that in other reſpects the fate of man is in a glaſs, wherein the good and bad liquor are placed as it were in ſeveral ſtories. I have enquired in another place (4), whether the quantity of the bad liquor exceeds the quantity of the good. I ſhall ſay no more of it; but however I muſt obſerve, that that thoſe who alledge the marriage of Raphelengius, to ſhew that good exceeds evil, might be miſtaken in their calculation. He enjoyed the company of his wife twenty-nine years, and felt the miſery of widowhood only three. He had therefore, will you ſay, a greater ſhare of happineſs than of miſery. This conſequence will be denied. A man, who for the ſpace of three years is ſo tormented with pains and ſorrows, that he often wiſhes death would come to his deliverance, ſwallows a greater quantity of the bad liquor, than he had ſwallowed of the good for the ſpace of thirty years. For you muſt not fancy, that the marriage of this man was wine without any mixture during twenty-nine years. Not to mention the croſſes and ſorrows that proceeded from other cauſes, let us conſider only the ill ſide of his marriage. Thoſe who are extreamly afflicted for the death of their wives, did not always live with them without ſome miſunderſtanding. Beſides, the more they love them, the more they are afraid when they fall ſick. Do not tell me, that at this rate it were better for them to hate their wives; for I ſhall anſwer, that their unconcernedneſs at their wives being in danger of death, does not equal the dreadful evils of conjugal hatred. Nay, it might be ſaid, that if on the one ſide they are not afraid that they will die, they are afraid on the other ſide that they will not die. Now that fear is ſufficient to counter-balance that good. I wonder we do not find in the works of the Antients a dilemma expreſſed differently from that of Bias (5), for inſtance, in this manner: either you will love your wife, or you will not love her: if you love her, you will be always afraid of loſing her; if you do not love her, you will be always afraid that ſhe will not die. This dilemma is not better than that of Bias; for, without examining the other faults, it would be ſufficient to ſay, that, according to the uſual courſe of all ages, conjugal love and hatred are not carried ſo far. Some few inſtances ought not to make one afraid of having an uneaſy fondneſs, or a vexing antipathy. One may very well hope to enjoy the preſent time, as moſt huſbands do, without making one's ſelf uneaſy about the time to come.

(2) Meurſius, ibid.

A REFLEXION on the conſequences of marriage.

(3) In the article MANICHEES, remark [*C*], about the middle.

(4) In the article XENOPHANES, remark [*D*].

(5) See the article BION, remark [*G*].

RAPIN (NICOLAS), was Provoſt-marſhal and a Poet, two things that are ſeldom to be found in one and the ſame perſon. He committed but few faults as a Poet; but he committed ſome in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, which were ſo enormous, that had it not been for the credit of his patrons, he would have been puniſhed with death [*A*]. He was a man of parts, and did not ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted by the Leaguers.

[*A*] *Had it not been for the credit of his patrons, he would have been puniſhed with death.*] I have but one authority for it; the reader may think of it as he pleaſes. 'All the people of Fontenai are naught, 'and

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Leaguers. He followed Henry III when that prince fled from Paris, and wrote several satirical verses against the faction of the Sixteen (*a*). He had a great share in the ingenious satire called the *Catholicon d'Espagne* [*B*]. After the death of his son, upon whom he had bestowed all his employments (*b*), he retired to Fontenai-le-Comte, the place of his nativity, and died in the year 1609 [*C*]. I shall mention some circumstances of his death, which seem to me to be very curious [*D*]. He was buried without any pomp; but, some say, it was not according to his last intention [*E*]. He had been a great

(*b*) Ibid.

(*a*) Sequutus est Henricum III cum fœderati eum Lutetia pellerent, & Cæsaroduni Turonum multa egregia carmina in monstrum Parisiense, quod sedecim capitibus constabat, vulgavit. *Continuat. Thuani, lib. ii, sub fin.*

'and so is Mr Rapin, whose life I have saved, which 'he confesses: he is the son of a priest. He was mayor 'of Fontenai, and caused some Protestants to be massa- 'cred; so that at the time of the extraordinary sessions, 'he was prosecuted by all the inhabitants of his town, 'both Catholics and Protestants, and by all the nobi- 'lity of the lower Poitou, I was the only one who 'opposed it; he had corrupted me by his verses, and 'he knew very well that I was a man of great inte- 'rest. He is beholden to me for his life, next to 'President du Harlay, so that he now loves the 'Protestants (1).'

(1) Scaliger, in Scaligerana, *voce* Rapin, *p.* m. 201.

[*B*] *He had a great share . . . . in the* Catholicon d'Espagne.] We find in Mr du Puy's notes, which were published with that satire, in 1677, that the speech of the archbishop of Lyons, that of Roze, and that which d'Engoulevent was to deliver, were made by Rapin. If it be so, *d'Aubigné should not have gone about to undeceive those, who ascribed the whole satire Menippée to that fine wit; to tell us afterwards that he made only some verses that are in it* *: *perhaps he said so, because in the works of Rapin, printed in 4to at Paris, in the year* 1610, *there are but three Latin epigrams that make part of the Catholicon* (2). This reflexion of the author of the Notes is a solid one.

* D'Aubigné, *Tom. iii, lib. iii, cap. xiii.*

(2) Notes on the Catholicon, *pag.* 385, *Edit.* 1696.

Mr de Vigneul Marville, who has collected many curious things concerning the *Catholicon d'Espagne*, observes that Pasquier and Rapin made the verses of the second part, which was intituled, *Abregé des Etats de la ligue convoquez à Paris au dixième Fevrier*; that the same Rapin made the speech of the archbishop of Lyons, and that of Dr Rose; and that he *made a collection of all* the other *speeches, which he added to the* Catholicon d'Espagne (3), *under the title of* Satire Menipée; *and* that *it is upon this account that many have ascribed the whole Catholicon to him* (4).

(3) It is the title of the first part of the work written by Mr le Roy, a canon of Rouën.

(4) Vigneul Marville, Mélanges d'Histoire & de Litérature, *Tom. i, p.* 201, *Rouën* 1699.

[*C*] *He died in the year* 1609.] Botereius (5), the French Mercury (6), and the Continuator of Thuanus (7), mention his death in that year. Father Garasse, whom I shall quote by and by, says, that in the month of December, 1608, he was present at Mr Rapin's death, who had been for some weeks in a languishing condition. Now because Moreri says, that Rapin died the fifteenth of February, 1608, I fancy Garasse meant, that this brave man fell sick in December 1608, and died some weeks after. If this be his meaning, what he says is a confutation of Moreri, not as to the day, but as to the year of Rapin's death. However it be, I am of their opinion who place his death in the year 1609. Nevertheless, I see that several exact writers follow Moreri (8).

(5) Rodolph. Botereius, de Rebus in Gallia Gestis Commentar. *lib. xvi, p.* 567, 568.

(6) *Tom. i, p.* 408.

(7) *Lib. ii, in fine.*

(8) Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poëtes, *num.* 1376. The author of the Notes upon the Catholicon, *ubi supra.*

[*D*] *Some circumstances of his death . . . . . very curious.*] Here is a long passage of Father Garasse. The reader may judge of it as he thinks fit. 'In the 'month of December 1608, I happened to be pre- 'sent in Poitiers (9) at Mr Rapin's death, who having 'lived a pretty loose life for the space of seventy-four 'years, indulging his youthful passions, and follow- 'ing the humours of the times, whereby he got into 'dangerous acquaintance, died in the hands of four 'Fathers of our society, after he had been for some 'weeks in a languishing condition; expressing a won- 'derful joy, because he was so happy as to depart 'this life in the presence of those whom he had 'persecuted all his life-time, without knowing them. 'After he had confessed, which he did with a very 'lively sense of his sins, before he received the holy 'sacrament, the room wherein he died being full of 'the most eminent persons of the town, he made 'the general confession of his past life in three ar- 'ticles: 1. That he had never been a Huguenot, 'and had never wavered in his belief, tho' he had 'familiarly conversed with the Huguenots, and very 'much hated the Jesuits. 2. That he had lived a very 'licentious life, and did not belive that God could 'have found him better disposed at any other mo- 'ment of his life. 3. That the only good thing he 'remembered to have done from his younger days, 'was, his preventing the teaching of Atheism at 'Paris, in a public manner; and then turning him- 'self towards the Fathers, there present, he told them 'the story in short. He said there was in his time a 'miscreant at Paris, a stranger, of a subtile and fa- 'ctious spirit (§ α), who having got himself familiarly 'acquainted with those seven fine wits, that made up 'the set, or Pleiad, of the Poets, of which Ronsard 'was the chief, began to spread some pernicious and 'abominable maxims against the Deity, which had 'already staggered some of those wits, forasmuch as 'our souls are more susceptible of evil, than of good 'impressions. When I perceived, said Rapin, that 'some were charmed with the novelty of that do- 'ctrine, four of us stood up against that impious 'man, and settled the wavering minds of the other 'three, and of several others whom that wretched 'fellow had spoiled by his conversation. Ronsard 'was the first, said he, who siding with me, ex- 'claimed against him, and wrote that fine poem 'against the Atheists, which begins thus:

O ciel, ô terre, ô mer, ô Dieu Pere commun, &c.

'Turnebus made a fine speech against him, and Sam- 'marthanus, an excellent poem in Iambic verse, in- 'tuled, IN MEZENTIUM, without naming him, 'because he was a profligate wretch, whose name 'would have profaned one's writings. We did not 'give over, said Rapin, till we had got that infamous 'man condemned to death by a decree of parlia- 'ment; and accordingly he was hanged and burnt at 'the Greve. Had it not been for us, said he, per- 'haps France would have been a sink of Atheism at this 'present time; especially if he had been countenanced 'by us to introduce his maxims. Such were the last 'last words of Rapin (10).'

(10) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, *book ii, pag.* 124, & *seq.*

[(§ α) He probably means Geoffry Vallée of Orleans, who was hanged and burnt at the Greve for Atheism, February the ninth, 1573 *. Concerning the three Poets of the Pleiad, who, according to Garasse, had been seduced by that wretch, see the *Memoirs of the State of France*, &c. Tom. 1. fol. 278, *verso* of edit. 1579. REM. CRIT.]

* New Menagiana, *Tom. iii, pag.* 311.

[*E*] *Some say it was not according to his last intention.*] I shall quote again Father Garasse. The late Scævola Sammarthanus, says he (11), 'made a glo- 'rious, and true encomium upon Mr Rapin, his good 'friend, in which he says, that Delatus est Fon- 'tenaïum, & modico funeris apparatu, quemadmo- 'dum Testamento præscripserat, sepultus. - - - - *He 'was carried to Fontenai, and was buried there at 'a small expence, as he desired by his last will*; 'but it is necessary for Rapin's honour to know 'the story exactly, as it happened, and I have 'been an eye-witness of it. It is therefore true, that 'the late Mr Nicolas Rapin, being upon his death- 'bed, in the extraordinary cold winter of the year '1608, had made his will, before he confessed to 'Father James de Moucy, wherein he ordered, that 'his body should be carried from Poitiers to Fontenai, 'in the same manner as that of Budæus was carried 'from St Avoye-street, to the convent of the Ce- 'lestins, *viz.* without torches, without any pomp, 'and without any company, upon a waggon covered 'with black cloth, only with a boy walking before 'it with a bell, and a lanthorn in his hand. But 'having been told that such a burial might be ill 'construed, and would confirm several people in the 'opinion they had entertained of his being a liber- 'tine in point of religion, he changed his mind, 'and made a codicil, wherein he revoked his first 'intention,

(11) Garasse, ubi supra, *book vii, pag.* 622, 623.

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great enemy to the Proteſtants [F], and afterwards to the Jeſuits (c). *His friends beſtowed this elogy upon him, that he was the moſt learned ſoldier, and the moſt valiant counſellor, in the world* (d). You will find ſome other things concerning him in Moreri.

(c) See the remark [D].

(d) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, *p.* 122.

' intention, and inſtead of his cook, whom he had ' appointed the executor of his will, he deſired Father ' Francis Solier, who was preſent, and who was to ' preach all the Lent at Fontenai, in the year 1609, ' to order matters ſo that he might have a decent ' burial, as it is practiſed among the Catholics, with ' the uſual prayers, in which he ſeemed to put great ' truſt. It is true, that by the fault of his heirs, ' his codicil was not exactly executed according to ' his deſires; but his death, his confeſſion, his tears, ' and the ſtory which I have related in the ſecond ' book, ſhewed that he died a very good Ca- ' tholic.

[F] *He had been a great enemy to the Proteſtants.*] We have already ſeen what Joſeph Scaliger ſays of it: but the following words contain a more formal proof; for we find there that the Proteſtants having made themſelves maſters of Fontenai, in the year 1570, refuſed to comprehend the mayor Rapin in the capitulation: however they ſuffered him to make his eſcape. The beſieged ' being ſummoned to ſur- ' render, had no ſooner demanded that their lives ' ſhould be ſaved, and they ſhould come out with ' arms and baggage; but it was granted them by ' Soubize, who commanded in the abſence of la Noue, ' till they ſhould know what was reſolved in the ' council of Rochelle; and the capitulation was ' faithfully obſerved by the Proteſtants, who per- ' mitted them to go to Niort, whither they ' brought the news of the ſurrender, which happened ' the 28th of June, without conſulting the mayor ' Rapin. He was ſo much hated by the Proteſtants, ' either becauſe he had formerly declared againſt ' them, or becauſe at his perſuaſion Landereau had ' ſided with the contrary party, that he was dili- ' gently ſought for that they might put him to ' death. When the town had ſurrendered, and his ' friends were going out of it, (and that the Pro- ' teſtants would not ſuffer him to be comprehended ' in the capitulation) he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit ' of a ſervant, and concealed himſelf in the houſe of ' a poor woman; from thence he ſent to Creſſon- ' niere, and deſired of him that he might be ſet at ' liberty. Creſſonniere got him ſafely conducted out ' of town, and then he, with the other Catholics, re- ' tired to Niort (12).'

(12) La Vraie & entiere Hiſtoire des Troubles, *livr. xxv, fol.* 387, *Edit. of Rochelle,* 1573.

RAPIN (RENATUS) a famous Jeſuit, who profeſſed the fourth vow, was born at Tours in the year 1621, and was admitted into the ſociety in the year 1639. He taught the *Belles Lettres* for the ſpace of nine years (a). He had in a particular manner made it his ſtudy, and ſhewed by ſome Latin pieces [A], that he was able to treat the moſt curious ſubjects with a great deal of art and eloquence. He excelled in Latin poetry [B]; and having at laſt ventured to write in French, he ſucceeded in it to admiration. He compoſed in that language ſeveral treatiſes of Literature, and ſeveral pious books, which met with a good reception. The treatiſes of Literature having been publiſhed at ſeveral times, were collected together, and printed at Paris in 1684, in two volumes in 4to, and at Amſterdam in two volumes in 12mo, in the year 1686. There are very long extracts of them in the firſt tome of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, and in the *Acta Eruditorum* (b). The pious treatiſes were moſt of them printed together at Amſterdam in 1695 (c). Some are of opinion that he is too peremptory, for a man who ſeems to have more judgment and delicacy than learning (d). He died at Paris the twenty-ſeventh of October 1687. His elogy came out the month following (e): it is ſhort and well turned, and it was written by Father Bouhours. He is repreſented there as being endowed with all the beſt qualifications that an honeſt man and a good Chriſtian can have. We find there, among other things, that *his zeal for religion, and for the honour of his ſociety, prompted him above twenty years ago to undertake a great work, to which he applied himſelf conſtantly, though he could not expect to ſee it publiſhed, and that God enabled him to finiſh it before he died.* This great work is the Hiſtory of Janſeniſm. Father Rapin was one of the moſt dangerous adverſaries of that party: he attacked them on their weak ſide in a Latin book which he publiſhed in 1658 [C]. The Janſeniſts raiſed

(a) Ex Nathanaele Sotuello, Biblioth. Script. Societ. *pag.* 717.

(b) *Pag.* 192, & 263, *& ſeq. ann.* 1686.

(c) See the Journal of Leipſic 1695, *pag.* 387.

(d) See the paſſage of the *Menagiana*, in the remark [F].

(e) His article in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary is taken from thence. See an extract of this elogy in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, November* 1687, *p.* 413. See alſo Rabutin's 31ſt and 32d Letters of the 2d part, and the 125th Letter of the 3d part.

[A] *By ſome Latin pieces.*] Theſe are the titles of ſome of them: *Sereniſſimæ Reipublicæ Venetæ trophæum ob debellatum Turcam & reſtitutam Societatem Jeſu*, Paris 1657, in fol. *Trophæum famæ Eminentiſſimo Cardinali Mazarino*, ibid. 1657, in fol. *Lacrymæ in alumni ſui Alphonſi Mancini tumulum nepotis ejuſdem Cardinalis* (1), ibid. 1658, in fol. *Pacis triumphalia ad Em. Cardinalem Mazarinum*, ibid. 1659, in fol. *Pax Themidis cum Muſis*, ibid. 1659, in fol. *Paciſor Delphinus*, ibid. in fol. To which may be added, his *Elogium Francifci Foucquet defuncti*, ibid. 1669.

(1) Father Rapin had been director of the ſtudies to the nephew of cardinal Mazarin.

[B] *He excelled in Latin poetry.*] Beſides the pieces mentioned in the foregoing remark, ſee his *Eclogæ Sacræ cum diſſertatione de carmine paſtorali.* printed at Paris 1659, in 4to, and his *Chriſtus patiens carmine heroico*, printed in the ſame place, in 1674, in 12mo. But above all, ſee his *Hortorum libri IV, quibus addita eſt diſputatio de univerſa hortenſis culturæ diſciplina.* This work printed in 4to at Paris in 1665 (2), was reprinted there in 12mo, in 1666. It was very much commended in the *Journal des Savans* (3). Conſult Mr Baillet (4), who has collected a great many curious remarks relating to Father Rapin, conſidered as a Poet, moſt of which are to the honour of that Jeſuit. See alſo the ninth *Journal des Savans*, of the year 1682, which mentions the collections of all the poems of Father Rapin (5).

(2) And not in 1661, as Southwel affirms, in *Biblioth. Script. pag.* 717.

(3) See the Journal of the ninth of February 1665; and that of the tenth of May 1666.

(4) Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *num.* 1537.

(5) Printed at Paris in two volumes in 12mo, in the year 1682.

There are ſome people, who ſay that he has been too much flattered in Mr Baillet's *Jugemens*, and that the Jeſuits pretend that his Latin Verſes do not come up to the delicacy and purity of thoſe of Father Commire, nor to the loftineſs and majeſty of thoſe of Father de la Rue, nor to the eaſineſs and neatneſs of thoſe of Father Coſſart, to ſay nothing of thoſe of Father Hoſchius and Father Vallius; and that his Gardens are the beſt of his Poems, after which he never advanced his reputation. They were reprinted at Naples, and tranſlated into Engliſh by J. Evelyn: which tranſlation was dedicated to Lord Arlington, and printed at London in 8vo, in the year 1673.

[C] *He attacked the Janſeniſts on their weak ſide* (6) *in a Latin book he publiſhed in the year* 1658.] His book (7) is intituled *Diſſertatio de nova doctrina, ſeu Evangelium Janſeniſtarum.* I confeſs I have not read it, and I think the moſt learned men in foreign countries may ſay the ſame; but a man of parts told me the turn which Father Rapin had given it. He ſuppoſes a Janſeniſt, who goes into the country of the Infidels to preach the goſpel to them, and who does ſincerely teach his ſyſtem concerning Grace, *viz.* that the greateſt part of mankind have been predeſtinated to everlaſting puniſhments from all eternity, and the reſt to the joys of Heaven; that God, the author of this abſolute Predeſtination, being not willing to want ſome

(6) Note, that I do not mean that the doctrine of Grace is the weak ſide of Janſeniſm: I mean, that the weak ſide of that doctrine is the occaſion it gives to declaim againſt it, by reaſon of the injuſtice of the puniſhments, &c.

(7) Printed at Paris in 8vo, 1658.

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raiſed many clamours againſt an anonymous letter which he publiſhed [D] ſince the peace of the church, as they call it. It is pleaſant enough to find that Jeſuit placed among the Phyſicians in ſome Biographers [E]. In the *Menagiana* the circumſtances of his quarrel with his fellow Jeſuit, Francis Vavaſſeur, have not been well related [F]. His enemies endeavoured to expoſe him to the indignation of the late Prince of Condé, by the malicious turn they gave to his treatiſe on the Sublime (f).

(f) You will find ſomething in his vindication in the *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lett. March* 1686, *p.* 356. This work had been mentioned in the *Nouvelles* of February 1686, *p.* 237.

ſome pretences to colour his decrees of damnation, declares to men that it is in their power to obtain ſalvation; that in order to it they need only obey his commands: he threatens them, he exhorts them; but at the ſame time he knows very well that it is impoſſible for them to do what he commands, that they cannot obey him for want of that efficacious grace, which he refuſes to all men, excepting his elect, and without which they cannot mend their lives, nor even have a good thought. Father Rapin ſuppoſes that the Infidels hearing ſuch a goſpel, are ſtrangely ſurprized at ſuch a deſcription of GOD, and ask why he ſends Preachers to thoſe, whom he knows to be uncapable of being converted, unleſs he beſtows upon them a grace, which he is obliged to refuſe them, by reaſon of his eternal decrees. Father Rapin's Janſeniſt anſwers, that God uſes ſuch a method, to render men more inexcuſable, and more obnoxious to Hell torments. It is replied, that ſuch a motive is not worthy of the Being infinitely good, and that this is not a proper way to make men inexcuſable before the throne of GOD; that it may be pleaded, that none is bound to do an impoſſibility, and that never any lawgiver inflicts puniſhments, but upon ſuppoſition that the tranſgreſſors of the laws had it in their power to have obſerved them: For which reaſon Lunatics are never puniſhed. One may eaſily gueſs what a Moliniſt, who knows how to make the beſt of his argument, may ſay *pro* and *con*, having entered upon the diſcourſe as I have related it. But beſides many other good anſwers, he might be told, that if a Janſeniſt was to preach to the Infidels of Japan or China for the firſt time, he would not be ſuch a fool as to begin with the doctrine that denies man's free will, or with that of abſolute Predeſtination. He would preach as the Pelagians do, and as is recommended by one of our moſt rigid Predeſtinarians (8), and he would lay aſide his Janſeniſm, and conceal it until his young diſciples ſtand no longer in need of milk, and are capable of ſolid nouriſhment. They are myſteries which ought to be diſcovered to none but thoſe that are initiated.

(8) *See Mr Jurieu's book, intituled,* Jugemens ſur les Méthodes d'expliquer la Grace.

[D] *The Janſeniſts have exclaimed very much againſt an anonymous letter which he publiſhed.*] It is written to Cardinal Cibo, and dated in July 1680 (9). A French tranſlation of it came out in Holland, in 1684 dated the 30th of Auguſt 1683. See what the author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* ſaid of it (10). As to the complaints of the Janſeniſts againſt that little book, ſee among other works the eighth volume of the *Morale pratique*. You will find there alſo (11) that Father Eſtrix, a Flemiſh Jeſuit, is the author of the book intituled, *De fraudibus Hæreticorum*, which came out under the falſe name of Francis Simonis; and that *Father Rapin is ſo well pleaſed with that book, that he has tranſlated it into French, and* that, *to give it more authority, he has dedicated it to the archbiſhops and biſhops of France, with a preface, wherein he acknowledges that the works of* Francis Simonis, *written in Latin, and printed at Cologne, had occaſioned his book, and furniſhed him with memoirs for the compoſing of it* (12). That work of Father Rapin is intituled, *Artifices des Heretiques:* it was printed at Paris in 1681, and reprinted the ſame year in the Low-Countries. See the *Critique generale* (13) *de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme* (14).

(9) *See the* Morale pratique des Jeſuites, *Tom. viii, pag.* 97.

(10) In January 1686, pag. 97, *&* ſeq.

(11) *Pag.* 50.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 51.

(13) Letter iii, pag. 302, of the third edition.

(14) That is, the Hiſtory of Calviniſm, by Mr Maimbourg.

[E] *We ſee this Jeſuit placed among the Phyſicians by ſome Biographers.*] He is not numbered among Phyſicians in the new edition of Vander Linden's *de Scriptis Medicis* (15); but his *Hortorum libri*, are placed there, and then all his works in general, *Opera omnia, Lugduni Batavorum*, 1672, in 12mo. I ſhall ſay nothing of Bartholinus, who has inſerted that Jeſuit in his catalogue of ſuch Phyſicians as have been Poets (16); for he does not ſay that he was not a Jeſuit: but I cannot paſs over in ſilence what has been already obſerved by Mr Baillet. Theſe are his words: 'Mr Koni-'gius .... divides Father Rapin into two, and ſays, '1. *Henricus Rapinus quatuor libros hortorum, anno* '1671 *edi curavit.* Afterwards he ſpeaks of Nicolas 'Rapin of Poitou, the great provoſt of the conſtable's 'juriſdiction, whom I have mentioned in another 'place; and then he adds, 2. *Renatus Rapinus Medicus anno* 1659 *claruit. Opera ejus Medica prodierunt anno* 1672. *Extant ejuſdem Eclogæ ſacræ, item, Hortus Epigrammatum.* See the 678th page. What 'he calls books of Phyſic, is nothing elſe but the four 'books about Gardens, whoſe title he had only ſeen 'in the Utrecht edition, that came out in the year he 'mentions. One may eaſily find out the cauſe of his 'other miſtakes. Some other foreign authors, as Mr 'Beughem in Holland, and Mr Lipenius in Germany, 'have alſo placed Father Rapin among the Phyſicians. 'But they cannot be taxed with any error, as long as 'they are not miſtaken about the name, the perſon, 'and the work of the author, and do not explain 'themſelves about his profeſſion. My intent was not 'to cenſure Mr Konigius for want of exactneſs; he 'has done nothing on this occaſion, but what is uſual 'with the writers of *Bibliotheques*, who ſpeak of foreign books which they have not ſeen. On the 'contrary, I deſigned to ſhew by this inſtance, that 'thoſe, who undertake ſuch works, are very excuſable, becauſe they cannot avoid falling into ſuch like 'miſtakes (17).'

(15) See *Lindenius renovatus, pag.* 938. It is ſaid there that the *Hortorum libri* have been printed in 4to, at Paris in 1661, and 1666, and at Leyden in 12mo, in 1666, and 1668, and at Utrecht in 12mo, in 1672.

(16) Thom. Bartholin. de Medicis Poëtis, *pag.* 136.

(17) Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *num.* 1537.

[F] *In the Menagiana the circumſtances of his quarrel with .... Vavaſſeur, have not been well related.*] I ſhall ſet down the whole paſſage of the *Menagiana*, becauſe it confirms what I have already touched upon in the text of this article. 'Father Rapin was not 'ſufficiently qualified to draw a parallel between Virgil and Homer. Tanaquillus Faber, whom he intended to convert at that time, ſupplied him with 'the Greek paſſages quoted by him. After he had 'read his *parallel between Ariſtotle and Plato*, at the 'firſt preſident de la Moignon's, I told him I had 'found but one fault in it, to wit, that ſpeaking of 'the Colophonian woman, whom Plato loved, he had 'ſaid that ſhe was young; whereas it is ſaid in the 'Greek epigram, wherein mention is made of her, 'that the God of Love had placed himſelf in her 'wrinkles. Whereupon the abbot Tallemant ſaid, 'That the Father was very excuſable, becauſe he did 'not believe that ſo wiſe a man as Plato would have 'been in love with an old woman. Father Rapin 'made very good Latin verſes, but he had no great 'learning. He had a great quarrel with Father Va-'vaſſeur, and bought off the whole impreſſion of that 'Father's book *de Epigrammate*, by the authority of 'the firſt preſident, in order to ſuppreſs it, ſo that it 'is grown very ſcarce (18).' What is ſaid here of Vavaſſeur's book *de Epigrammate* is falſe, and has been rectified in the ſecond edition, thus: *He quarrelled with Father Vavaſſeur on account of his* Reflexions on Ariſtotle's Poetics, *which he cauſed to be printed by Muguet, without putting his name to that book. Father Vavaſſeur, who was not well pleaſed with him, publiſhed ſoon after ſome* Remarks upon thoſe Reflexions, *in which he treats very ill the author of the reflexions, pretending not to know him. Father Rapin made a great noiſe about it, and openly complained of the proceeding of his fellow Jeſuit; who anſwered that it was his own fault, and that if he had declared himſelf to be the author of the* Reflexions, *he had never writ againſt him. The expedient, found to reconcile thoſe Fathers, was to ſuppreſs the* Remarks *of Father Vavaſſeur, which was done by the authority of the firſt preſident de la Moignon; ſo that this book, which was printed by Billaine in* 1675, *and which contains but* 141 *pages, is grown very ſcarce* (19). See the *Critique generale* of Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm (20), where you will find ſomething about that conteſt, and about another quarrel of Father Rapin (21). I ſhall further obſerve two things. (22) *As Father Vavaſſeur had made two large books of Epigrams* (23), *he was not well pleaſed with theſe words of Father Rapin in his reflexions upon Ariſtotle's Poetics,* that it is ſo rare a thing to make very good epigrams, that it is enough to have made ſome few in one's lifetime (24); *and this is it which prompted him to write againſt that book of Father Rapin. I learned this particular from himſelf.* They are Mr Menage's words. The

(18) Menagiana, *pag.* 60, 61, of the firſt Dutch Edit.

(19) Menagiana, *pag.* 83, of the 2d Dutch Edit.

(20) In the 4th letter.

(21) That which he had with Father Maimbourg.

(22) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *ch. lxxxiv.*

(23) You will find at the end of the book *de Epigrammate*, of the Paris Edit. 1672, three pretty ſmall books of Vavaſſeur's epigrams. He publiſhed, in 1675, an appendix to the third book, and the fourth book ſome time after.

(24) Theſe words are to be found in the *Anti-Baillet, ubi ſupra.*

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The second thing I am to observe is, that Father Rapin in the new edition of his *Reflexions*, did not correct all the faults censured by his fellow Jesuit: he was contented to correct some few, and retained some that are not to be maintained. He affirms in the first edition, that Homer never said any impious thing (25); he affirms it still in the other editions, tho' his censurer had proved to him that Homer has written several *profane falsities*, and several *infamous impostures against the respect and veneration he owed to his gods* (26). Nay, he had quoted Father Rapin himself, as witnessing the same (27). I shall observe, by the by, that the Critic did not take notice of all the faults that are to be found in the reflexions on Aristotle's Poetics, and that if he had been willing to criticise the other works of that writer, he would have found many things in them that were liable to censure. See the remarks [A] and [T] of the article ARISTOTLE.

(25) Rapin, Réflex. sur la Poétique en général, num. 9, pag. 20.

(26) Varillas, Remarques sur les nouvelles Réflex. p. 21, & seq.

(27) See Rapin, ibid. num. 2.

RASARIO (JOHN BAPTIST) an Italian Physician, was born in the territory of Novara [A], in the year 1517 (a). He taught the *Belles Lettres* (b) at Venice twenty-two years, with great reputation (c); his eloquence was admired on many occasions, and particularly in the oration which he made upon the victory at Lepanto, in the year 1571 [B]. He went afterwards to Rome, where Pope Pius IV offered him very handsome appointments; but it was not agreeable to him to stay in that city, and he chose rather to accept of an employ which was offered him by the senate of Milan (d): it was to teach the *Belles Lettres* in the university of Pavia; where he died in the year 1578 (e), and not in the year 1573, as it is said in Lindenius Renovatus. His Latin version of some of the works of Galen was printed in the year 1545 (f). Neither Ghilini, Teissier, nor Moreri, make any mention of this version in the catalogue they have given of his works. What Moreri has said of Rasario is taken from Mr Teissier. The reader will do well to have recourse to the latter, and also to look into the original of Thuanus; but he will there find some mistakes that want to be rectified [C].

(a) Lindenius renovatus, p. 537.

(b) According to Ghilini he was Greek professor at Venice; and according to Thuanus he was professor of Eloquence there.

(c) Thuan. lib. lxv, sub fin.

(d) Ghilini, Tom. ii, p. 142.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Linden. renovatus, p. 537.

[A] *He was born in the territory of Novara.*] I speak thus in general of the place of his birth, because Thuanus and Ghilini are not agreed upon the name of it. The one calls it *Borgo di Sesia* (1): the other makes use of a phrase that I do not understand, and which is very ungrammatical in my edition; *oppido quod à valle Uziæ in Novariensi diœcesi sito nomen retinet familia nobili natus* (2). These words have been translated by Mr Teissier in the following manner, *he was descended from a noble family of Valdugia in the Novarese* (3). Moreri adds, that *Valdugia* is a town of the *Novarese*. Paul Freherus (4), quoting the *Thuanus enucleatus* of Gerard de Stocken, has it *in vallo Uziæ*, and not *à valle Uziæ*. But this far from lessening the difficulty, makes it still the greater.

(1) Ghilini, Part ii, p. 142.

(2) Thuan. lib. lxv, sub fin. p. 233, Edit. Franc. 1625.

(3) Teissier, Elog. Tom. i, p. 486, Edit. 1696.

(4) In Theatro, pag. 1277.

[B] *The Oration that he made upon the victory at Lepanto in the year* 1571.] After *Te Deum* had been sung in the church of St Marc, Rasario received an order from the Doge to make an Oration to the people, on occasion of this famous victory, which he accordingly performed three days after in the same church, and acquitted himself to the admiration of all that heard him, *Princeps Joanni Baptistæ Rasario viro doctiss. mandatum eodem die dedit, ut de hac victoria orationem ad populum haberet. Quam rem ille die tertio, cum eodem in templo expediret, Senatum, populum, peregrinos, adeoque infinitam prope auditorum multitudinem eloquentiæ fuæ admiratione attonitam reddidit* (5). This Oration has passed several impressions.

(5) Jo. Petrus Contarenus, de Bello Venetis à Selimo II illato, pag. ult.

[C] *We must rectify some mistakes in Thuanus.*] What he says of the esteem that Philip II had for Rasario was unknown to Ghilini, and I am very much surprized at it. This prince first became acquainted with the merit of Rasario, when he passed through Milan in his way to Germany in the year 1548 (6). Thuanus adds, that he offered him great advantages to draw him into Portugal, and to induce him to accept a Professorship in the Academy of Coimbra, but Rasario excused himself on account of his age: he could not however deny his request to go and teach Eloquence in Pavia, being obliged to him for his brother's liberty, and the restitution of his goods which had been confiscated. Thuanus is mistaken in what he says of the Professorship at Coimbra; for Philip II did not make himself master of Portugal till the year 1580, and Rasario died in the year 1578, after having taught in the university of Pavia four years (7). This great Historian attending chiefly to those matters which were most essential to his work, did not examine with exactness into the lives of the learned, but those who have collected together what he has said of them, and published it separately, should have added thereto the necessary corrections.

(6) Thuan. lib. lxv, p. 233.

(7) Thuan. ibid.

RATALLER (GEORGE), in Latin *Ratallerus* (a), descended from an antient and noble family of Friesland, was born at Leeuwarden about the year 1518. He studied first at Utrecht under George Macropedius (b), afterwards at Louvain, and in the universities of France and Italy (c). On his return to the Low-Countries he was made one of the council of the province of Artois, and afterwards of the great council at Mechlin, and Master of the Requests (d). The duchess of Parma sent him to Denmark upon a negotiation; and having discharged that office well, he was made president of the council of Utrecht. He died suddenly in an assembly of that council on the first of October 1580, if we believe Sweertius (e), or on the sixth of October 1581, if we credit Valerias Andreas (f). He was a man of merit, and was greatly esteemed for his virtue, knowledge, and politeness (g). He was a good Latin Poet, as appears by his works, and particularly by his version of Sophocles [A]. John Lallemant, who likewise

(a) And not *Rotallerus*, as in the Abridgment of Gesner.

(b) Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 266.

(c) Sweert. Athenæ Belgic. p. 275.

(d) Val. Andr. ubi supra, pag. 269.

(e) Sweert. ubi supra.

(f) Val. Andr. ubi supra, pag. 266.

(g) Ibid.

[A] *By his works, and particularly by his version of Sophocles.*] His translation of Hesiod (1) into Hexameter and Pentameter verse was printed at Francfort in the year 1546, in 8vo, together with one book of his epigrams (2). He had translated in various kinds of Latin verse pretty much resembling the original the seven tragedies that we have left of Sophocles; but he could not be prevailed upon to consent that this version should be printed; his friends however who had got copies of it did not regard his scruples; they caused to be printed at Lyons by Gryphius in the year 1550 the Ajax (3), the Electra, and the Antigone. At last the author himself was prevailed upon; he put the finishing hand to these three tragedies and to the other four, and published them altogether at Antwerp *ex Officina Gulielmi Silvii, Typographi Regii*, in the year 1570, in 8vo. Valerias Andreas knew nothing of this work. To this sin of omission he has joined one of commission: for he says that Ratallerus translated into Latin verse three tragedies of Sophocles, *viz.* the Phenician women, Hippolytus, and Andromache, with those fragments of the ancient Poets that are to be met with in

(1) That is, the *Opera & Dies* of Hesiod.

(2) Val. Andr. Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 266.

(3) And not the *Alexandra*, as in the Abridgment of Gesner.

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likewiſe made a verſion of Sophocles, borrowed ſeveral of his verſes from Rataller without acknowledging from whence he took them (*b*); ſo that he may juſtly be numbered among the Plagiaries.

(*b*) Præfat. Sophoclis à Ratallero metricè verſi.

in Stobeus. He did not know that theſe three were the tragedies of Euripides and not of Sophocles. They were printed together with thoſe fragments at Antwerp in the year 1581 in 16mo, as Sweertius informs us (4). He has been more exact in this particular than Valerius Andreas; but he was not exact when having told us that Rataller had tranſlated into Latin verſe all the tragedies of Sophocles, he adds, *ejuſdem* (Sophoclis) *Fabulas III carmine quoque Latino tranſtulit*, that is, *he hath alſo tranſlated into Latin verſe three fables of Sophocles*. It would betray great ignorance to ſuppoſe that *Tragœdiæ Sophoclis*, and *Fabulæ Sophoclis* are not the ſame.

(4) Sweert. Athen. Belgic. *pag.* 276.

A Phyſician (5) of Autun in Burgundy publiſhed a Latin verſion of the ſeven tragedies of Sophocles at Paris in the year 1557, and ſtole ſeveral paſſages from Rataller. *Hic multos verſus & paginas* . . . . . in the print as far as the word *evicerit* (6) inclu-ſively.

(5) *Called* Joannes Lalemantius, *or* Lalamantius.

(6) Adrian. Myſius, Præfat. Sophoclis Ratalleri.

The epiſtle dedicatory of Rataller's Sophocles is very well worth reading. He dedicates that work to Frederic Perenot, brother to the cardinal of Granvelle, and repreſents to him in a very noble manner the great advantages which men in the higheſt ſtation of life may reap from tragedy, when they are capable of profiting by the examples and maxims which the ſtage ſets before their eyes.

RAUBER (*a*) (ANDREW EBERHARD) of Talberg and Weineek [*A*], lord of the fortreſs of Petronel, a German knight, and one of the council of war to the emperor Maximilian II (*b*). He was very famous, not only for his great ſtrength and high ſtature, but alſo for his beard which was of an extraordinary length. He was deſcended from the very antient and noble houſe of Rauber, in the duchy of Carniola, which the emperor Maximilian I. promoted to the dignity of Barons [*B*]. Our Andrew Eberhard Rauber was in the ſervice of Maximilian II from his youth, he travelled with him into foreign countries, he was always in the favour of that emperor, who made him one of his council of war, and gave him for his firſt wife Helena Scharſeginn [*C*], his natural daughter, but he was firſt obliged to purchaſe her by a combat with his rival, which was pleaſant enough, and without loſs of blood. On this occaſion he gave moſt remarkable proofs of his ſtrength [*D*]. He had no children by her; but his ſecond wife [*E*] made him ample recompence for this defect; for ſhe brought eight twins into the world, one ſon whom he named Andrew Eberhard, and ſeven daughters, of which one died unmarried. The others were all married into illuſtrious families. Rauber's ſtrength was ſo great that he could break in pieces the ſtrongeſt horſe-ſhoe. He once took by the beard a Jew that had been baptized, and ſtriking upon it with his right hand, both the beard and the jaw-bone of the Jew came off into his hand [*F*]. His beard

(*a*) This article was communicated by Mr de Breſſer.

(*b*) Valvaſor, la Gloire du Duché de Carniole, *livr. xi.*

[*A*] *Weineek.*] This Weineek is a caſtle in the country of Carniola, called in the language of that country Kraviek. It is ſituate upon an eminence in the innermoſt part of Carniola, four leagues from Laybach the capital of the country. From this caſtle came the family of the lords of Weineek, but their race is long ſince extinct, as is that of Hardegi de Pettau, governor of Carniola, who was in poſſeſſion of the ſame caſtle in the year 1530. At laſt, after count Herman de Cilly had ruined this caſtle, he gave it in the year 1433 to Frederic Rauber, and it has ever ſince been poſſeſſed by the family of Rauber (1).

(1) Valvaſor, la Gloire du Duché de Carniole, *pag.* 631, & 635.

[*B*] *Promoted to the dignity of Barons.*] This promotion was made on the 24th of December 1516, in the town of Hagenau, and that dignity was conferred on Leonard Rauber grand-marſhal to the court of the emperor, and on Nicolas Rauber, his brother, with the title of baron of Planckhenſtein and Carlſtetten. But this title was for ſome time dormant, and was revived by the preſent emperor on the 12th of April 1651 (2).

(2) Ibid. *pag.* 637, 638.

[*C*] *Helena Scharſeginn.*] The emperor Maximilian II, before he was married, fell in love with the daughter of the count of Eaſt-Frieſland, who was eſteemed the greateſt beauty of her time. The love and familiarity between them was ſo great, that he had by her a daughter named Helena Scharſeginn, not inferior to her mother in beauty, ſo that ſhe drew the affection of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction (3).

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 634.

[*D*] *Proofs of his ſtrength.*] We have here a very diverting method of gaining a lady, and ſo very uncommon, that I dare ſay it is not to be found in any romance. The writers of ſuch books do indeed tell us, that heroes uſed formerly to gain their miſtreſſes by tournaments, duels, combats with giants and dragons, and a thouſand other fancies of this ſort, but the method that Rauber uſed was never known to any of them. When he aſked the emperor's daughter in marriage, he found at court a Spaniſh gentleman of great quality, who alſo endeavoured to become the emperor's ſon-in-law. The reputation of the valour of the Spaniard, as well as the height of his ſtature which exceeded Rauber's, recommended him very much. The emperor, being unwilling to give either of them the mortification of a denial, agreed that they ſhould decide the affair by a trial of ſtrength. He then cauſed to be given to each of them a ſack, that was ſufficient to contain his antagoniſt, and promiſed that he who ſhould put the other perſon into the ſack ſhould have his daughter. The two lovers engaged in the preſence of the emperor, and in the ſtruggle exerted their utmoſt ſtrength, which, on this occaſion, was redoubled by love. Each of them, fired with an ardent deſire of marrying the emperor's daughter, with all his might ſtrove to put his rival into the ſack. Rauber at length carried the day, the ſtrength and valour of the German thruſt the bravery of the proud Spaniard into the ſack: by this means Rauber attained the poſſeſſion of his fair Helena, and the Spaniard after ſo terrible a diſgrace left the court (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *His ſecond wife.*] She was an Hungarian named Urſula de Tſchillack in Niemptſchitz.

She was loſt at the taking of Niemptſchitz going out of that place ſecretly, but was afterwards found by a German captain, who, commiſerating her caſe, kept her at his own houſe for ſome time. He afterwards preſented her to the emperor Maximilian II, who cauſed her to be lodged among his women in their apartment, and when ſhe was grown up he married her to Rauber (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*F*] *Came off in his hand.*] This happened at Gratz upon the requeſt of archduke Charles, at whoſe court was a Jew that had been baptized, who for ſtature and ſtrength might well be compared to a giant, the archduke Charles being deſirous to know whether the Jew was ſtronger than Rauber, in order to try their ſtrength, obliged each of them to receive from the other one blow with the fiſt, they were nevertheleſs allowed to decide by lot who ſhould ſtrike the firſt, which chanced to be the Jew. He gave Rauber ſo violent a blow, that he was obliged to keep his bed eight days, and his chamber many more. When he was recovered it was Rauber's turn to give the Jew a blow, which he did in the following manner. He took

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beard was a real prodigy, and of ſo extraordinary a length that it reached down to his feet, and then turned up quite to his girdle [G]. Beyond all doubt it ſurpaſſed in length all the beards of the Lombards [H]. Rauber died in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, at his caſtle of Petronel [I], in the year 1575 (c). There alſo he lies interred between his two wives.

(c) Ibid. *pag.* 635.

took hold of the long beard of the Jew, and twiſting it twice round his left hand, with his right he ſtruck upon it with ſuch prodigious force, that not only the beard, but the under jaw-bone came off into his hand, which ſoon after coſt the Jew his life (6).

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 34.

[G] *Quite to his girdle.*] It was yet longer, for beſides this he wound it about his ſtaff. He gloried ſo much in it, that he very ſeldom went to court either in a coach or horſeback, but almoſt always on foot, that his long beard might be ſeen, which he carried like a ſtreamer waving with the wind. When he died it was cut into two tufts.

[H] *It ſurpaſſed in length the beards of the Lombards.*] The name Lombard has been commonly derived from *Long-beard*, but it is a miſtake; this name rather taking its original from the old German word *Borde* or *Boerde*, which ſignifies a large ſpace or extent of country: and that extent of country which reaches along the Elbe, from Torgau in Miſnia, and through Magdeburg, quite to Lunenburg, was formerly called *Long-Boerde*, that is, the long extent of country, or the long ſpace, and the inhabitants were called *Long-bards*.

[I] *Petronel.*] The caſtle of Petronel is not far from Preſburg; it is at preſent poſſeſſed by count de Thum, and is built with great magnificence.

RECKHEIM, a county, a fief, and an immediate or ſoveraign ſtate of the empire, has the right of voting in the college of the princes both in the general and circular diets. It belongs to the circle of Weſtphalia, and contains a town and ſeveral villages. Its ſoil is very fruitful, and it is pleaſantly ſituated in a fine and well inhabited country upon the Maëſe, two leagues from Maeſtricht, between the territories of Juliers, Liege, and Fauquemont. It receives toll-money upon the Maëſe, and they coin gold, ſilver, and copper-money. The caſtle, which is the reſidence of the counts, is one of the fineſt, largeſt, and moſt magnificent in Germany. Thoſe, who are now in poſſeſſion of it, belong to the houſe of Aſpermont (a) Linden, a very illuſtrious and antient houſe, and are deſcended from the counts of Aſpermont in Lorrain, whoſe county conſiſted of almoſt three hundred villages. I ſhall give a ſhort account of their Genealogy, and of the preſent ſtate of the family of the counts of Reckheim [A].

(a) The French writers ſay *Aſpremont*, which is a corruption of the true orthography.

[A] *A ſhort account of their Genealogy, and of the preſent ſtate of the family of the counts of Reckheim.*] The name of the firſt count of Aſpermont was SIGISFRIDT; he lived in the year 660. He deſcended from the princes of Eſte in Italy, A younger brother of that family, deſcended from that Sigisfridt, and whoſe name was ARNOLD, ſettled in Holland in the year 1:20, and poſſeſſed there the lordſhip of Linden, which his deſcendants enjoyed a long time. One of them, called HERMAN, purchaſed the county of Reckheim, about the year 1550. He was general of the troops of Erneſtus of Bavaria, elector of Cologne, and father of ERNESTUS, count of Aſpermont and Reckheim who was born in the year 1583, and was chamberlain and colonel under the emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II. He married Anne Antoinette, daughter of Henry marquis de Gouffier-Bonnivet, by whom he had a ſon named FERDINAND. This Ferdinand was born in 1611, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Egon, count of Furſtemberg, and of Anne Mary, princeſs of Hohenzolleren, and had by her four ſons, and eight daughters, *viz.*

FRANCIS GOBERT count of Reckheim, biſhop of Cheur (1), and canon of the metropolitan churches of Cologne and Saltzburg, and of the cathedral of Straſburg (2).

FERDINAND, general of the armies of his Imperial majeſty, who by his firſt marriage with Charlotte, daughter of Lewis George, prince of Naſſau Dilembourg, and of Anne Auguſta princeſs of Brunſwic, had but one daughter named CHARLOTTE GOBERTINE canoneſs of Munſterbilſen, whoſe eight deſcents are Aſpermont Reckheim, Gouffier, Furſtemberg, Hohenzolleren, Naſſau, Sayn, Brunſwic, and Denmark. He married a ſecond wife named Juliana, daughter of Francis Rakoczi, prince of Tranſylvania, and grand-daughter of George the younger, George the elder, and Sigiſmund, all princes of Tranſylvania. He has a ſon by her, whoſe name is JOSEPH GOBERT.

CHARLES canon of the metropolitan church of Cologne, and of the cathedrals of Straſbourg and Liege.

FREDERIC, Great-Croſs of the order of Malta, and commander of Tobel, Steinfurt and Munſter.

ANNE MARY, the wife of count Wenceſlaus of Althann, counſellor to his Imperial majeſty, and chief judge of Moravia, governor of the province of Glatz, and ambaſſador extraordinary in Sweden and Poland.

ELEONORA, princeſs abbeſs of Munſterbilſen.

ANNE SALOME, the wife of Lewis count de Souches, major-general of the armies of his Imperial majeſty, and counſellor of ſtate.

ERNESTINA who was married firſt to John-George count of Collonitſch, chamberlain to his Imperial majeſty, and afterwards to Octavius count of Curiani, the emperor's chamberlain, and counſellor of ſtate.

ANNE ANTOINETTE, the wife of Claudius count de Tilly, lieutenant-general of the army of the United Provinces.

MARY FRANCES, the wife of Charles count of Aſpermont-Linden, counſellor of ſtate to the country of Liege, and governor of the marquiſate of Franchimont.

ALEXANDRINA and PETRONILLA, firſt canoneſſes at Remiremont, and afterwards Urſuline nuns at Metz.

The counts of Aſpermont-Reckheim bear quarterly, in the 1ſt and 4th Gules with a Croſs Or, which is Aſpermont-Linden; in the 2d and 3d Or, with a Lion Gules, which is Reckheim; and over all Azure with an Eagle Argent, which is the ancient Aſpermont or Eſte (3).

(1) Or *Choire*: the French write and pronounce it *Coire*. It is a biſhopric in the country of the Griſons, and ſuffragan to the archbiſhopric of Mayenne. The biſhop is allied to the Swiſſes. But nevertheleſs he has his vote and ſeat in the college of the princes of the empire. See the Hiſtory of the Empire, by Mr Heiſs, *Tom. ii, pag.* 265, *Hague Edit.* 1685.

(2) See the article TILLI.

(3) Taken from a Memoir communicated to the author. Which muſt be likewiſe underſtood of the text of this article.

REFUGE (DU) a French gentleman, author of a book that has undergone ſeveral editions [A], intituled, *A Treatiſe on the Court*, or *Inſtructions for Courtiers*, was well verſed in ſtate-affairs, both in theory and practice; he had read a great deal, and had a large and long experience of courts, and of the affairs of kings, princes, ſtates, and republics, in which the kings of France had employed him with great advantage, and wherein he behaved with ſo much wiſdom, and had ſo good ſucceſs, that never any thing

[A] *Author of a book that has undergone ſeveral editions.*] The firſt edition is of Holland, and the ſecond of Paris. Theſe were followed by another which was publiſhed at Paris in the year 1618, in 8vo, after the death of the author, and from his laſt corrections. This third edition is enlarged, and divided into chapter.

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thing could be objected to his prudent conduct. He died in the reign of Lewis XIII, and there were found in his closet several state-tracts that he had composed, and which his relations gave hopes should be published. This is what we read in a short preface to the third edition of his treatise on the Court. This edition was printed at Paris in the year 1618.

ters, with summaries and sections, but they have left out the marginal notes and citations, with which the other editions had been *curiously enriched* (1). They have restored them since. I find them in the edition I make use of, which is that of Paris 1658, in 12mo, by Stephen Loyson. The name of the author is in this edition, and it is also found in the Leyden edition 1649, in 12mo, but it was not in the edition of 1618; there was only at the end of the book the letters D. R. after some verses of Seneca which are not in the edition of 1658. There are in this work abundance of excellent things; it was printed in English at London in the year 1622, in 8vo.

(1) Taken from the advertisement to the reader before the Paris edition 1618.

REGIUS (URBAN) was a learned man of the XVIth century. He was born at Langenargen, upon the lake of Constance, and began his studies at Lindaw; from whence he went to Friburg in Brisgaw, where he continued them the more successfully, because he lodged in the house of the famous Zazius, and was very much beloved by him [*A*]. He went afterwards to the university of Basil, and then to that of Ingolstad, whither many scholars resorted, by reason of the great reputation of John Eccius. He read private lectures there, and appeared so well qualified for the direction of the youth, that many gentlemen intrusted him with the whole conduct of their sons, without excepting the care of what concerned their expence. It proved an impossible thing for him to regulate it: those young men ran into debt in the taverns and shops (*a*), and because he was security for them, and did not receive from their parents the money that he asked for, he turned, in a manner, Bankrupt. Being pressed by the creditors, and having not wherewithal to satisfy them, he thought of withdrawing clandestinely; but some officers being come to Ingolstad at that time to raise men, he delivered up his books and all his things, and listed himself. The new raised men were mustered, and the professor Eccius, who was present at the review, knew Regius among the soldiers: he went to him, and being informed of the reason which had moved him to list himself, he promised to serve him, and did it so effectually, that he reconciled him to the Muses. He threatened those indebted scholars with the prince's indignation, if they did not disengage him. Regius went on in his studies, and made so great a progress in the sciences, that he received at Ingolstad the oratorial and poetical crowns from the very hands of the emperor Maximilian. Some time after he was promoted to the professorships of Rhetoric and Poetry in the same university. While he was a professor he wrote in the year 1516, some letters (*b*) by the duke of Bavaria's order, to invite Erasmus to Ingolstad; which did not succeed. Having applied himself to the study of Divinity, he was so charmed with it that he made it his only business. He thereby acquired some dispositions for Lutheranism; but he found himself embarrassed, when Eccius, his master and benefactor, came to have a quarrel with Luther. Upon this he resolved to leave Ingolstad, and to retire to Augsburg, where he proved an useful man against Popery. He founded a Reformed church there, and spread from thence into Suabia the new opinions, as they were called. He sided with Zuinglius for some time; but afterwards he professed himself a good Lutheran [*B*]. Eccius went to him at Augsburg, and conferred

(*a*) Modum in vestitu & victu ubique excedere. *Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. p.* 22.

(*b*) See the 17th and 18th letters of the 2d book of Erasmus's letters. Erasmus thanked and praised him. See the 19th letter of the 2d book, and the 35th of the 18th book.

[*A*] *He lodged in the house of the famous Zazius, and was much beloved by him* (1).] He did chuse in Zazius's library all the books which he thought proper for the improvement of his studies, and transcribed all the marginal notes which that learned Professor had written upon them. Thus that young scholar spent a great part of the night. Zazius, who slept but little, and got up sometimes to walk, and thereby to allay the trouble of his want of sleep, surprized him as he was transcribing those notes, and told him in a loving manner, you are stealing the fruits of my studies: *Lucubrantem invenit in describendis illis scholiis, Urbanum: cujus auriculam Zasius blandiusculè vellicans,* arte & scientia sua se ab ipso defraudari jocatus est (2). Sometimes he found him asleep, and then he would lay huge volumes on his shoulders until he waked. *Aut si quando somno ad candelam oppressum & inclinato in mensam capite dormitantem offendisset: juris volumen grande unum atque alterum humeris impositum reliquit, donec excitaretur* (3). I mention these little things, because I know that several people are extreamly well pleased to see such marks of the kindness of a professor, or of the diligence of a scholar.

(1) Amavit eum Zasius ut filium. *Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag.* 71.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

[*B*] *He sided with Zuinglius . . . . but afterwards he professed himself a good Lutheran.*] Here is what Zuinglius writ to him in the year 1526. 'In Eucharistiæ re gratulor vobis, te nostrum esse factum. Verum gratiam meretur novitas: brevi enim spero omnes qui adhuc obstrepunt tropum, qui nullo negotio videri vobis debebat, visuros esse ac sententiæ nostræ simplicitatem ac claritatem (4). - - - - *I congratulate you on your embracing our sentiments touching the Eucharist. But the newness of the thing deserves our thanks: for I expect that all those who still exclaim against the figure, which you must have had no difficulty in comprehending, will, in a short time, come to see the simplicity and clearness of our opinion.*' They conferred together about Original Sin in the same year, and we have still (5) the letter which Zuinglius wrote to Regius on that point. Luther knew that those two men had the same opinions, and was very sorry for it. 'Dolet mihi valde nobilissimum virum Oecolampadium tam ludicris & nihili cogitationibus in hoc barathrum prolapsum; pulsat eum sathanas: Dominus eripiat eum. Urbanus regius in idem malum vel inclinat, vel jam cecidit: Dominus servet suos (6). - - - *I am vastly concerned that the great Oecolampadius should have stumbled into this pit from such idle and ridiculous imaginations: he is pushed on by satan; out of whose hands I pray God to deliver him. Regius Urban either inclines to the same evil way, or is already fallen into it. May the Lord preserve his own people.*' Luther says, in another letter, that he had been informed, that Regius designed to write against him. 'Præterea Urbanus Regius minari dicitur in me scripta, scilicet Oecolampadium & Zuinglium tantos viros (ut sentit) non vult offendere: sic mutatus est ab illo (7). - - - *It is likewise said, that Regius Urban threatens to write against me, forsooth, he is unwilling to offend such great men as Oecolampadius*

(4) Zuinglius, *Epist. lib. i, p.* 82, apud Melch. Adamum, ibid. *pag.* 73.

(5) Pag. 251, of Zuinglius's letters.

(6) Lutherus, *Tom. ii, Epist. pag.* 326, *anno* 1527, apud Melch. Adam. ubi supra.

(7) Idem, Lutherus, ibid. *pag.* 330, apud Melch. Adam. ibid.

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ferred with him to bring him back to the church of Rome; but he did not ſucceed in it. Nay, there aroſe a paper-war betwixt them, which Regius maintained vigorouſly, though his antagoniſt might have reproached him with ingratitude. The new party did not always prevail in the city of Augſburg; there was a time when Regius was forced to leave it, and to abſcond in ſeveral places; but he was glorioufly recalled, and married into a good family there. His diſpute with a woman that was an Anabaptiſt, had ſomething very remarkable in it [C]. He lived in that city till the year 1530, when a diet

'padius and Zuinglius are, in his opinion: ſo much is 'he changed from what he was.' We learn from this paſſage, that Regius appeared at firſt what he appeared to be at laſt, that is, a good Lutheran. He forſook Zuinglianiſm in the year 1528. See the letter (8) wherein Luther expreſſes a great joy for it, and recommends him to the Margrave of Brandenburg. The converſation he had with Regius at Coburg in the year 1530, made a great impreſſion upon him. It filled Regius with admiration of Luther, which he thus expreſſed in a letter. 'Cum Saxo-'niam peterem Coburgi integrum diem ſolus cum 'Luthero, viro Dei, tranſegeram: quo die nullus 'mihi in vita fuit jucundior. Talis enim ac tantus 'Theologus Lutherus, ut nulla ſecula habuerint ſimi-'lem. Hoc magis execror ſtultitiam & arrogantiam 'Caroloſtadianorum, qui ſibi placent, quaſi Luthero 'queant conferri, cujus umbram non aſſequuntur, 'cum omni eruditione quam jactant. Semper mihi 'magnus fuit Lutherus: at jam mihi maximus eſt. 'Vidi enim præſens & audivi, quæ nullo calamo tradi 'poſſunt abſentibus (9). - - - *In my way to Saxony I* 'I paſſed a whole day at Coburg, with that eminent 'man of God, Luther. There was only he and I toge-'ther; and, in my life, I never ſpent a day more agree-'ably. For ſuch, and ſo great a Divine is Luther, 'that no age did ever produce his equal. I have there-'fore no patience with the folly and arrogance of the 'Caroloſtadian Divines, who flatter themſelves, as if 'they were to be compared with Luther, of whom they 'do not reach the very ſhadow, with all their boaſted 'learning. Luther was always a great man, in my 'opinion; but he is now much greater than ever. For 'I have ſeen and heard, while I was with him, ſuch 'things as no pen can communicate and deſcribe to 'others.' Luther alſo, on his part, was very well pleaſed with that converſation, and Regius's learning, whoſe converſion ſeemed to him a piece of ſuch good news, that he ought to impart it to his friends. He writ the following words to Wenceſlaus Lincus: 'Urbanum Regium quoque reſipuiſſe, credo te noſſe, '& contra hoſtes Sacramentarios ſtrenue nobiſcum 'certare (10). - - - - *I ſuppoſe that you have already* 'heard of the converſion of Urban Regius, and of his 'being ſtrenuouſly engaged on our ſide againſt our adver-'ſaries the Sacramentarians.'

(8) *It is in* Seckendorf, Hiſtor. Luther. *lib. ii, pag.* 122, *num.* 5.

(9) Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 78.

(10) Lutherus, *Tom. ii, Epiſt. pag.* 311, apud Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 78.

[C] *His diſpute with a woman that was an Anabaptiſt, had ſomething very remarkable in it.*] The magiſtrates of Augſburg put in execution the laws againſt the Anabaptiſts, which ſectaries are forbidden to meet in conventicles, and to perform the exerciſe of their religion; they were baniſhed, or impriſoned. There was a woman of a good family, who boaſted in priſon, that if ſhe had a conference with Regius, ſhe would prove to him, that the cauſe of the Anabaptiſts was very good; ſhe was therefore ſent for to diſpute with him in a full ſenate. She appeared there with the equipage of a priſoner, that is, with her hands fettered, and her feet in irons but Regius took his place among the ſenators: ſhe alledged abundance of paſſages out of the Holy Scripture, to maintain her opinions. Regius anſwered her, and clearly ſhewed the true ſenſe of thoſe paſſages. But he could not undeceive her; ſhe perſiſted in her errors, and ſpoke to the Miniſter thus: *Here is, without doubt, brother Urban, a very ſtrange way of diſputing. You ſit upon a ſoft cuſhion among the Burgomaſters, and you ſpeak like an Oracle, and as it were from Apollo's tripod. But as for me, I am proſtrated upon the ground, and forced to plead my cauſe in irons. Siſter,* replied Regius, *there is nothing in it but what you deſerve, ſince after you have been freed from the ſlavery of the Devil through* JESUS CHRIST, *you have been willing to undergo that infamous yoak again. An extravagant ſpirit makes you appear with ſuch acccoutrements, for an example to others.* This woman was at laſt baniſhed from the town (11). If any perſon doubts my tranſlation, here are the Latin words. *Ipſa tantùm abeſt, ut monitis locum dederit: ut pervicaciter etiam Urbanum hiſce fuerit adorta:* Egregia enim verò, Urbane frater, hæc diſputandi ratio eſt inter me & te. Tu in molli culcitra ad latera Conſulum adſidens, quaſi ex Apollinis tripode proloqueris: ego miſera humi proſtrata, ex duris vinculis cauſam dicere cogor. *Ad hæc Urbanus:* Nec verò, *inquit*, injuria, ſoror: ut quæ ſemel è ſervitute diaboli per Chriſtum in libertatem aſſerta, tua ſponte iterum cervicem turpi jugo ſubmiſiſti; & iſtis te ornamentis veſanus oſtentat genius, aliis in exemplum. *Senatus itaque, cum laterem ſe lavare videret; contagium illud exilio mulctavit, urbeque expulit* (12).

(11) Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 73.

(12) Ibid.

This woman did not want wit: ſhe made a very judicious reflexion, and ſeaſoned it with a great deal of ſalt; but ſhe had too great a confidence, or rather ſhe was too raſh. She believed, that if ſhe ſhould diſpute with a Miniſter of the prevailing religion, and before the Judges, who had already condemned Anabaptiſm, and impriſoned thoſe who taught it, ſhe might perſuade them of the juſtice of her cauſe. To expect ſuch a thing, it is not enough to be in the right, one muſt alſo hope for an extraordinary aſſiſtance of the divine ſpirit; for, according to the uſual courſe of things, it does not appear that a priſoner for religion can confound ſuch adverſaries as ſpeak to him with authority, and who have on their ſide an outward pomp, and all the company prepoſſeſſed for them. I know very well, that this woman had not a good cauſe to maintain, but I believe, that if ſhe had maintained as good, or even a better doctrine than that of Regius, ſhe would have been caſt in ſuch circumſtances as ſhe was in. The match was not even; the arms were too unequal. Regius ſat in an honourable place, and was ſurrounded with marks of favour: he ſpoke for a cauſe protected by the magiſtrate, and againſt a cauſe perſecuted by the magiſtrate. His antagoniſt was a woman loaded with chains, and in the poſture of a criminal already condemned. A very good reaſon alledged by that woman in ſuch circumſtances would not have balanced a very indifferent one alledged by Regius, with all the weight and emphaſis of a man ſitting on the bench of the Burgomaſters, and on a kind of tribunal. Shall I quote Euripides, who ſays, that the words of a man in favour have a greater force than if they were ſpoken by an unhappy and miſerable man?

Τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα κἂν κακῶς λέγῃ τὸ σὸν,
Πείσει· λόγῳ γὰρ ἓν τ' ἀνδοξένων ἰὼν,
Κἄκ τῶν δοκούν]των αὐτὸς, ὁ τανῦ]ν σθένει (13).

(13) Hecuba ad Ulyſſem apud Euripidem, in Hecuba, ver. 293, *pag.* m. 20.

That is, according to Ennius's tranſlation (14).

Hæc tu etſi perversè dices, facile Achivos flexeris.
Nam quum opulenti loquuntur pariter atque ignobiles,
Eadem dicta, eademque oratio æqua non æque valet.

(14) Apud Aulum Gellium. *lib. x, cap.* 26. *pag.* m. 586.

Such is your privilege, that tho' you ſpeak
Amiſs; yet ſhall your arguments prevail:
For the ſame words with equal force expreſs'd,
By men that are in high repute, and ſuch
As are accounted infamous and vile,
Have not the ſame effect. - - -

Shall I quote theſe verſes of Plautus?

Centum doctum hominum conſilia ſola hæc devincit dea,
Fortuna, atque hoc verum'ſt proinde ut quiſque fortuna utitur,
Ita præcellet, atque exinde ſapere eum omnes dicimus (15).

(15) Plautus, *in* Pœnulo, *Act. II, Sc. III, ver.* 12.

Fortune has in herſelf alone more weight and power than the counſels of a hundred learned men; and this is moſt

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diet was held there. He then entered into the ſervice of the duke of Brunſwic, who made him ſuperintendant of the churches of the country of Lunenburg, and had a very great eſteem for him [D]. He exerciſed his talents for the good of the cauſe in ſeveral ſynods, and wrote ſeveral books [E]. He died at Zell in May 1541, in the ſame manner as he had often wiſhed [F], that is, almoſt ſuddenly (c). I muſt not forget that his wife underſtood the Hebrew tongue very well (d). He publiſhed a converſation which he had with her about the characters of the Meſſias applied to JESUS CHRIST. He had thirteen children by her (e). I ſhall make a remark upon the names of that miniſter [G].

(c) *Taken from* Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. *pag.* 70, & *ſeq.*

(d) Micrælius, in Syntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. *pag. m.* 778.

(e) Melch. Adam. ibid. *pag.* 74.

We

true, that, according to the degree of favour in which every one ſtands with that goddeſs, ſo ſhall he be reckoned to excel, and by that do we all meaſure the dimenſions of his underſtanding.

Shall I quote theſe fine words of Pliny the younger? 'Quàm multum intereſt, quid à quoque fiat, eadem 'enim facta claritate vel obſcuritate facientium, aut 'tolluntur altiſſime, aut humillime deprimuntur (16). '--- *It is of great conſequence who the perſon is that 'does a thing, ſince the very ſame actions are exceed-'ingly cried up, or run down, according to the fame 'or obſcurity of the doers.*' Shall I quote an hundred other authorities of the ſame force? No; I omit all thoſe common topics, and ſhall only obſerve, that if Regius had diſputed againſt a Prieſt at Ingolſtad, in quite different circumſtances from the diſpute of Augſburg; if he had been in chains, &c. and if the Prieſt had ſat on a cuſhion among the Senators, &c. this affair would have ended with Regius's baniſhment, or ſomething worſe. He had been looked upon as a caviller, who wreſted the Holy Scriptures; and the Prieſt had been admired as a faithful interpreter of the word of God.

(16) Plin. Epiſt. XXIV, *lib. vi.*

[D] *The duke of Brunſwic had a very great eſteem for him.*] Being aſked, whether he had bought at Augſburg any thing of great value, and of a new faſhion, as the other princes had done, he anſwered, *I have brought an incomparable treaſure, which will be of great uſe to my ſtates, and which I prefer to all delights* (17). He meant Regius. And when, in the year 1535, the city of Augſburg requeſted of him that he would reſtore them that Divine, he declared that he would as ſoon part with his eyes as with him (18). He gave him large penſions, and the ſuperintendency of all the churches in his territories (19).

(17) Allatum eſſe à ſe theſaurum toti Ducatui incomparabilem quem omnibus anteponat deliciis. *Melch. Adam. ibid. p.* 78.

(18) Perinde ut oculos ita & Urbanum ſe amittere nolle. *Ibid.*

(19) Ibid. *pag.* 79.

[E] *He wrote ſeveral books.*] They have been collected into three volumes; the two firſt contain what he publiſhed in Latin, and the other what he wrote in High-Dutch (20). This laſt has been tranſlated into Latin, if I am not miſtaken, for I find in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, *Vita & Opera* (Urbani Regii) *Latine reddita per Erneſt. Regium.* Norib. 1562. Melchior Adam obſerves, that ERNESTUS REGIUS, the author's ſon, collected all thoſe works, and publiſhed them at Nuremberg, divided into ſeveral volumes. He mentions particularly the book, in which our Urban had collected the harſh phraſes, and thoſe that are polite. The firſt are only proper to ſow diſcord, and the latter to promote piety and concord. Prince Erneſt of Brunſwic put him upon making that collection, which was an inſtance of his prudence and piety; for blunt and ſharp expreſſions are like the teeth of Cadmus's dragon, a ſeed of war among brethren. This is Melchior Adam's reflexion. *Exſtat inter alia liber ejus in quo annotatæ ſunt* horridiores formæ loquendi: *& monſtrantur* propriæ ac concinnæ, *utiles pietati ac concordiæ. Has admoniones ſcribi princeps Erneſtus Lunæburgicus voluit: qua in re ſapientiam & pietatem ejus agnoſcimus. Ut enim ex dentibus draconis, in Cadmæa hiſtoria, nata eſt ſoboles armatorum inter ſe dimicantium: ſic ex improprio ſermone diſſidia opinionum in docentibus & in populo naſcuntur* (21). This is little minded by the compoſers of Formularies, when they are more devout than judicious, or more paſſionate and vain than truly devout, they are perfect ſtrangers to prudence and moderation, they applaud themſelves for their ſeverity (22). Note, That John Freder, of Pomerania, publiſhed a work of Regius, after his death, intituled, *Loci Theologici ex Patribus & Scholaſticis neotericiſque collecti* (23).

(20) Micrælius, Syntagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *pag. m.* 778.

(21) Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 79, 80.

(22) But note, that general terms, and ſuch as are uſed out of condeſcenſion, are ſometimes uſeleſs. See, above, remark [G], of the article MUSCULUS.

(23) Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra, *pag.* 80.

[F] *He died.... in the ſame manner as he had often wiſhed.*] He was not ſick above three hours, and he had all along wiſhed not to die of a long ſickneſs (24). *Nactus eſt genus mortis, quale ſæpè in votis habuit; citum & placidum; cum ſemper deprecaretur diuturnos languores & longas morborum periodos* (25). He is not the only man, who has wiſhed for ſuch a death, and to whom it has happened according to his wiſhes (26).

(24) Ibid. *pag.* 79.

(25) Ibid.

(26) See the article VALLA (GEORGE).

[G] *A remark upon the names of that Miniſter.*] The name of his family was *King*; but finding it too lofty, and knowing that it would occaſion ſeveral jeſts, he changed it into that of *Regius* (27). As for the name *Urban*, it was given him when he was chriſtened, becauſe the women, who carried him to church, could not tell the name his mother had a mind he ſhould have. She deſired he ſhould be chriſtened by the name of the ſaint that was marked in the calendar on the day he was born. The good women forgot it as they went: the curate finding they were uncertain about it, told them that St Urban's day was near: which was the reaſon why he was called *Urban*. I ſhall obſerve occaſionally, that among all nations there are many families, who bear the name of a dignity as king, prince, duke, marquis, count, baron, &c. They ſeldom think of changing it, tho' it affords continually matter for ſilly jeſts and childiſh alluſions. But I believe our Lutheran Doctor is not the only one, who diſguiſed his name, to avoid ſuch an inconveniency. There are ſome men every where, whoſe name is *Regis* or *Regius*; a diſguiſed name, if I am not miſtaken, for the reaſon I have mentioned. I have ſaid, in another place (28), that I wonder that thoſe families who have an odious or ridiculous name, did not leave it: and I add here, that there are ſome who have not now the obſcene name which they had formerly. Read theſe words of Menage (29): 'HAUTECLAIR. The name of a 'family. That name was given in Henry the ſecond's 'time to a Maſter of the Requeſts, named Couillard, 'upon a pleaſant occaſion. That Maſter of the Re-'queſts went often to the Louvre. One day, as he 'was knocking at the door of the king's or queen's 'cloſet, the uſhers aſked him his name, but he durſt 'not tell it plainly, becauſe of it's obſcenity. The 'uſhers not underſtanding him, or pretending not 'to underſtand him, bad him tell his name *haut & 'clair* (plainly and clearly) which occaſioned his be-'ing called afterwards *Hauteclair*. I have this ſtory 'from Mr du Puy, he had it from Thuanus, who, in 'the eighth book of his hiſtory, pag. 262, of the 'Geneva edition, mentions that change of name, 'only by the by. *Negotium datum P. Alloclaro, Li-'bellorum Supplicum Magiſtro, qui pudendo alio cognomine 'indigetabatur, ut negotium Regium,* &c.' He ſaid, in his firſt edition of his *Origines*, that *the Beauharnois of Orleans have alſo changed their name of Beauvit, becauſe of it's obſcenity into that of Beaubarnois*; but in the ſecond edition he ſays it is a meer ſtory.

(27) Majores ejus Regum cognomine inſignes fuerunt: ſed cum id ſublime & jocis aptum eſt rege regius factus eſt ut ipſe dictitare ſolitus. *Melch. Adam. ibid. pag.* 70.

(28) In the article FEUARDENTIUS, remark [A].

(29) Menage, Origines de la Langue Françoiſe, *pag.* 395, *Edit.* 1694.

I foreſee, that thoſe, who ſhall remember a remark of Mr de Vigneul Marville, when they come to read what I have ſaid in the article of the friar Feuardentius, will object to me that I ſhould not have wondered that people do not leave their ridiculous or odious names. They will maintain that they have not the liberty to do it, and they will alledge theſe words of the *Mélange de Hiſtoire & de Literature* (30): *As for what Mr de la Roque ſays, that ſince the ordinance of Amboiſe of the twenty-ſixth of March,* 1555, *none is allowed to change his name, without the king's permiſſion; it ought to be obſerved, that a long time before that ordinance no body changed his name without being authorized for it.* Mr de Vigneul Marville proves by the example of the Barber of Lewis XI, and ſets down the words of that prince's patent, whereby he commands that Oliver le Mauvais (the wicked) who was his Barber, *and his poſterity be, for the time to come, ſir-*

EXAMINATION of an objection drawn from the prohibition of changing family names.

(30) Vigneul Marville, Mélang. *Tom. i, pag.* 259, *of the firſt edition of Rouën.*

named

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We cannot doubt, after having well examined ſeveral places (*f*) of his books, that he was of opinion we ſhould pray for the dead.

(*f*) *They may be ſeen in the* Calvino Turciſmus, *lib. iv, cap. viii, pag. m.* 840, *& ſeq.*

named le Dain . . . . and that it ſhall not be lawful for any body whatſoever to call them by the ſaid ſirname le Mauvais ; which name we have taken from them and aboliſhed, and do actually take away and aboliſh by theſe preſents. This patent is dated in October 1474, and was regiſtred in the parliament of Paris the 30th of January 1474 (31). If thoſe who make this objection againſt me, think it ſolid, they do not know how to judge well of things. I anſwer in the firſt place, that the expreſſion I made uſe of ought to be underſtood as this, *I wonder that looſe and debauched people are not afraid of the prejudice they do to their health and reputation.* Theſe words, tho' ſpoken in the preſent tenſe, do nevertheleſs take in paſt ages as well as that in which they are ſpoken ; and therefore my way of expreſſing myſelf to ſhew that I wonder that peo[illegible]le did not part with odious or ridiculous names, concerns no leſs the time which preceded the ordinances mentioned by Mr de la Roque (32), than the time that followed it. Now it is certain that before that ordinance was made, ſome people parted with their names, or changed and diſguiſed them. Mr de la Roque (33), quotes Mr Menage, who ſays, *that William le Rat, being diſpleaſed, as it is thought, with his name, which is that of a noxious animal, ſirnamed himſelf Lefrat* ; and that *John Dorat, Regius Profeſſor of the Greek tongue, changed his name of Diſnemandy . . . which was the ancient name of his family, into that of Dorat or Daurat.* It were an abſurd thing to pretend that they had the king's permiſſion for it. Mr de Vigneul Marville does not ſay ſo. *I am apt to believe*, ſays he, (34), *that before the ordinance of Amboiſe, ſeveral perſons took upon themſelves to change their names, without having recourſe to the king, and perhaps the Phyſician named Sanſmalice* (without malice) *changed his name into that of Akakia, without a patent from Francis I ; but then it was a mere tranſlation of a French word into a Greek one.* Thus the ſame author, whom they would alledge againſt me, acknowledges that people changed their names, notwithſtanding the patent of Lewis XI ; and indeed we ought to believe that it was drawn up for his Barber, not that he might be permitted to change the name of his family, but that people ſhould not continue to call him by that name. He was very much hated in the kingdom, and conſequently people would have taken pleaſure in croſſing his deſign of parting with a name that he was aſhamed of. This was the motive of that patent : it did not therefore ſerve as a rule in many other caſes, in which the public was not concerned. Now if under pretence of a Greek tranſlation, one might, without any danger, ſubſtitute the name *Akakia* to that of *Sanſmalice* ; much more was it lawful to ſubſtitute one name in the room of another, when the difference between thoſe two names conſiſted only in the inſertion, tranſpoſition, or omiſſion, of ſome letters. 2. I ſay, that experience is on my ſide, ſince many famous authors have taken a new name, without being authorized by the prince to do it (35). 3. I add that it is likely the ordinance of the 26th of March before Eaſter 1555, intended only to prevent the uſurpations of the nobility, or ſome other fraud, and therefore when a man had no other deſign than that of Regius, he was not reſtrained by that ordinance. 4. I further ſay, that probably it was not better obſerved, than that of the ſtates of Blois, in the year 1579, whereby *all gentlemen were forbidden to ſign any act and contract with any other name but that of their family, upon the penalty of being made void. . . . . That article has not proved ſo effectual as it was expected ; for many people, inſtead of obſerving it, have formally acted againſt it ; which I have obſerved in the authentic and public acts, ſays Mr de la Roque* (36). 5. And laſtly, I anſwer, that if the ordinance of Amboiſe was well obſerved, one might nevertheleſs wonder that people do not part with their odious or ridiculous names, becauſe they may obtain the king's permiſſion (37), if they will aſk for it ; and we find among other inſtances in Mr de la Roque's book, that James Miette [Crumb] a mean and comical name, and ſuch as may occaſion many ſilly jeſts, *had a patent from Henry IV, in March* 1603 . . . *which permitted him to change his name into that of Lauberie* (38). See the Bigarrures of *des Accords*, Lib. IV. cap. ii. and Baillet, *Auteurs deguiſez*, chap. V and VI ; we are told in the *Menagiana* that Father Commire's name was Commere [Goſſip].

(31) If Mr de Vigneul Marville had remembred that the year began then at Eaſter, he would not have ſaid, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 260, that the date is faulty, theſe letters of October 1474, not having been regiſtred till the year following.

(32) Gilles Andrew de la Roque, Sieur de la Lontiere, Traité de l'origine des Noms, *pag.* 182.

(33) Ibid. *pag.* 96.

(34) Vigneul Marville, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 260.

(35) See the ſpeech of Majoragius, cited above, in the remark [*E*] of his article. See alſo the remark [*A*], of the article PAREUS (David).

(36) La Roque's Diſcourſe on the origin of Names.

(37) La Roque, ibid. *pag.* 182.

(38) Ibid.

REIHING (James), profeſſor of Divinity at Tubingen, was born at Augſburg in the year 1579, of one of thoſe ancient families called *Patrician*. He performed his ſtudies at Ingolſtad, and his maſters were very much pleaſed with the progreſs he made in them (*a*). Having attained the age in which the ancient Romans had the *Toga Virilis* given them, he made a vow to take the habit of a Jeſuit, if he ſhould recover of a dangerous ſickneſs that he laboured under. He recovered, and performed his vow, though his mother oppoſed it (*b*). He made his noviciate at Landſberg (*c*), and became afterwards very famous in his order. He taught claſſical learning at Inſpruc, and Philoſophy and Divinity at Ingolſtad ; which he did with ſo good ſucceſs, that the General Aquaviva thought him worthy to be made Doctor of Divinity. He was promoted to this degree at Dillingen (*d*) ; and from that time he found himſelf poſſeſſed with a new zeal for the defence of the church of Rome : ſo that his ſuperiors appointed him Aulic preacher to Wolfgang-William duke of Newburg, who had then forſaken the Proteſtant religion [*A*], and they charged him to write againſt that religion. He ſtudied night and day

(*a*) He ſtudied in the college of the Jeſuits.

(*b*) *Taken from* Spizelius, in Templo Honoris, *pag.* 93, 94.

(*c*) Rauſcherus, in Laud. funebri Reihingi, apud Witte, Memor. Theol. *pag.* 897.

(*d*) Ibid. *pag.* 898.

[*A*] *The duke of Newburg who had then forſaken the Proteſtant religion.*] Martin Rauſcherus, who made Reihing's funeral oration, ſays nothing that may induce us to believe that this Jeſuit contributed to make the duke of Newburg change his religion. Theophilus Spizelius (1), and Father Alegambe (2), are alſo ſilent about it. Thoſe three authors only ſay, that ſoon after this prince had changed his religion, Father Reihing was made his preacher. Nevertheleſs ſome writers affirm, that this Jeſuit was the converter of the duke of Newburg, and prevailed with him by worldly intereſts. Here are the words of a Journaliſt in the extract of one of Mr Leti's books (3). ‘ The ‘ princes of the houſe of Newburg were formerly Pro‘ teſtants ; but a Jeſuit, whoſe name was James Rei‘ hing found the way to make one of them change ‘ his religion, by ſome weighty political reaſons, ‘ which may be ſeen in the author *. But what is ſur‘ prizing, the converter himſelf embraced afterwards ‘ the Proteſtant religion, to repair in ſome meaſure ‘ the breach he had made in it, by ſeparating the ‘ duke of Newburg from its body. The abbot Paci‘ chelli, and Baccati, ſecretary to the then Pope's ‘ nuncio at Cologne, who are quoted by our author, ‘ aſcribe this change to an *occulto giudicio di Dio* ; --- ‘ *a ſecret judgment from God* ; but the Proteſtants may ‘ eaſily apprehend, that a man who ſtudies contro‘ verſy, may change his opinions, and believe that ‘ the Proteſtants are in the right ; as a prince from a ‘ Proteſtant turns Catholic out of intereſt. The one is ‘ not more miraculous than the other ; and there is ‘ no reaſon to ſay on this occaſion as one in the *Filli di Sciro* :

(1) In Elogio Reihingii, in Templo Honoris referato.

(2) In Biblioth. Script. Societ. *pag.* 209.

(3) Biblioth. Univerſ. *Tom. xiv, pag.* 24, *in the extract of the 2d part of the* Ritratti hiſtorici, overo hiſtoria dell' Imperio Romano in Germania, ſcritta da Gregorio Leti.

* *P.g.* 168.

Le

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day for arguments to overthrow the confeſſion of the Lutherans; but becauſe his adverſaries alledged continually the Scripture againſt him, he thought himſelf obliged to conſult that holy book, and to keep to it, in order to draw from thence, if poſſible, ſuch arms as he wanted to maintain that combat. This ſtudy made him ſenſible that he defended an ill cauſe, and therefore he quitted his employment, and retired to the court of Wirtemberg [*B*], where he embraced Lutheraniſm. He was made profeſſor of Divinity at Tubingen, preacher in ordinary, and director of a college. He diſcharged the duties of thoſe places with great capacity, and publiſhed ſome books that met with a good reception. The Jeſuits made uſe of promiſes and allurements of every ſort to bring him back again [*C*], but all was in vain; he deſpiſed their flatteries, as well as the ſlanders which

Le vie de gli Dei
Sono oſcure & ritorte:
Ch'il crederebbe? in ſomma
E il cielo un Laberinto, in cui ſi perde
Chiunque va per iſpiarne i fati.

The ways of God are dark and intricate:
Strange thing indeed! which ne'ertheleſs is true.
Heav'n is in ſhort a labyrinth where he,
Who ſeeks to ſcan the myſteries of fate,
Is puzzled and bewilder'd. - - - -

[*B*] *He retired to the court of Wirtemberg.*] Spizelius is guilty of a great omiſſion; for he does not mention the year of his retreat. This fault has not been committed in Reihing's funeral oration; but the Printers of the Sieur Witte have ſo much falſified that date, that it can be of no uſe to me. They ſay, that Reihing having made his eſcape from the duke of Newburg's court, came to that of Wirtemberg in the beginning of the year 1601 (4). They left out, without doubt, *vigeſimi*; for I find in another author (5) that he privately withdrew from the duke of Newburg the 5th of January 1620, and went to that prince's mother at Hochſtett, and from thence to Ulm, and then to Stutgard, and at laſt to Tubingen, where he abjured Popery, and preached about the motives of his converſion the ſecond of January 1621. I find here ſome confuſion, when I compare Paul Freherus's narrative with that of Rauſcherus; for according to the latter, the new comer was examined a whole week, and then was ſent to Tubingen, where his name was regiſtered in the book of the rector of the univerſity. If he arrived at Stutgard in the beginning of January, and if he underwent there an examination that laſted a week, before he ſet out for Tubingen, as Rauſcherus affirms, he did not preach at Tubingen on the motives of his converſion on the 2d of January, as Freherus affirms. I believe there are two errors of the Preſs in Freherus's account; and that in order to rectify them, it muſt be ſaid that Reihing left the court of the duke of Newburg the 5th of January 1621, and preached at Tubingen the 22d of January in the ſame year. Do not wonder at the long examination he was obliged to undergo. The Proteſtants miſtruſt a Jeſuit very much, and the condition they were in at that time in Germany, made ſuch a miſtruſt neceſſary. Beſides, it is a very rare thing to ſee a famous Jeſuit quit his order to turn Proteſtant; and therefore ſuch a rarity is looked upon as a kind of prodigy, and is thought to deſerve a careful examination, to diſcover whether it be a good preſage, or the forerunner of ſome evil. The duke of Wirtemberg being informed that Father Reihing was come to change his religion, convened his Divines, and ordered them to examine him well. They perſonated the Catholics, and for a whole week propoſed to that Father the difficulties that are objected againſt the Proteſtants. He anſwered them in ſuch a manner as ſhewed that he had very carefully compared the two religions. *Juro vobis Auditores: toto illo, quo res ſerio utrinque acta eſt, octiduo, ea in omnibus, & quidem cardinalibus fidei noſtræ articulis deprompſit & exhibuit fundamenta, ut neminem non in admirationem ſui converteret: Sacræ etiam Scripturæ teſtimonia, quibus noſtrorum ſententia firmari ſolet, ita in numerato habebat, ita illi præcipui textus erant in mundo* (6), *ac ſi totam ætatem in ſcholis noſtris inſumpſiſſet. Quæ profectò non rudem & novitium, ſed aliquem in hac militia veteranum arguebant* (7). After he had undergone ſuch a trial, he was thought worthy of adoption, and they ſpoke to him the word of Priamus to Sinon (8). ' Soluto conventu lætum ex aula carmen accipit.

(4) Venerat ſub auſpicium ineuntis anni ſupra milleſimum ſexcenteſimum primi in aulam. *Martinus Rauſcherus, in Laudat. funebri Reihingi, apud Witte, Memor. Theolog. p.* 903.

(5) Paul. Freherus, in Theatr. Virorum illuſtr. *pag.* 431.

(6) A phraſe of Plautus, of the ſame import, with *in numerato*, or *in promptu*.

(7) Martinus Rauſcherus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 903.

(8) Virgil. Æneid. lib. ii, ver. 148.

Quiſquis es, amiſſos hinc jam obliviſcere Graios:
Noſter eris (9). - - -

(9) Rauſcherus, ibid. *pag.* 905.

' *When the meeting was ended, the court ſaluted him* ' *with this joyful ſong;*

- - - - - - - *Diſmiſs thy fears,*
Forget the Greeks, be mine as thou wert theirs.

[*C*] *The Jeſuits made uſe of promiſes and allurements of every ſort to bring him back again.*] The more the Proteſtants gloried in the converſion of ſo famous a man, the more the Jeſuits were ſorry for the loſs of him. He had acquired the eſteem of the ſociety by his good life, eloquence, and learning (10); and therefore the whole order was afflicted at his change of religion, and they left no ſtone unturned to regain him. Father Keller promiſed him all ſorts of advantages, and a full liberty of returning to the Jeſuits, or of being a Canon, or of living a ſecular life. He gave him a *carte blanche*, and engaged his word that his ſuperiors would ratify whatever he ſhould promiſe him. *Quam lautas ille* (Kellerus) *fecit pollicitationes? quam pingues conditiones & propter quas vel vadimonium deſeri poſſet, Reibingo obtulit? videlicet optionem illi permiſerat, utrum in Lojolæ familia manere, an verò in Canonicum aut Laicum ſe componere eligeret: dummodo ad ſinum Romanæ Eccleſiæ rediret. Proferebat hanc in rem chartam puram, quam Itali biancam vocant, cui inſcriberet, quicquid animo collibitum eſſet ſuo: nec de approbatione Superiorum dubitaret* (11). Conrad Reihing, a Jeſuit, who was rector of a college at Augſburg, and brother to our Reihing, wrote to him continually, and exhorted him to return into the boſom of the church (12); ſeveral other Jeſuits did the ſame. Chriſtopher Grenzing, his provincial, was the firſt who endeavoured to bring him back; he promiſed him that the ſociety would be merciful to him. *Quid dicam de literis Chriſtophori Grenzing Provincialis, qui primus ex omnibus à fuga illum retrahere tentavit cum hoc monito: quod* Societas redeunti viſcera miſerationis & benignitatis recludat (13)? Even Mutius Vitelleſchi, general of the Jeſuits, took care to let him know, with a thouſand proteſtations of ſincerity, that he would be received with open arms, and that he would not be dealt with as Marc Antony de Dominis had been, but in a moſt cordial manner. Reihing did not truſt to thoſe promiſes, or rather he was ſo fully perſuaded that the church of Rome was not a good church, that he perſevered conſtantly in the Proteſtant religion. The Jeſuit, George Stengelius, confeſſed in ſome printed pieces, that the loſs of ſuch a man was very prejudicial to the ſociety. *Nec diſſimulavit hoc ipſum Georgius Stengelius, qui in ſcriptis ſuis hactenus publicatis, non uno loco conqueritur*, ingens diſceſſione Reihingi Societati ſuæ vulnus eſſe inflictum (14). There is ſcarce any religious order that has afforded fewer proſelytes to the Proteſtants, than that which Reihing quitted: This conſideration increaſed the ſorrow of the Jeſuits inſtead of leſſening it. The following words will ſhew you how much the Proteſtants triumphed on account of ſuch a ſingularity. ' (15) Quod quidem factum, ' quàm illuſtre, quàm admirabile, quàm inſperatum ' rarumque nobis acciderit ne commonere quidem vos ' opus eſt. Clericum Regularem, & Societatis Ignatianæ Patrem ad caſtra tranſire Evangelicorum, contra quos hactenus omni impetu ſteterat: ſive ut latinè dicam, *Jeſuitam fieri Lutheranum*, res eſt immemorabilis, & in tabulas æternitatis referenda

(10) See the fragment of a letter of the Jeſuit John Agricola, chaplain to the count de Tilli in the army: I ſay, ſee that fragment in *Oratione funebri Reihingi, apud Witte, Memor. Theolog. pag.* 898, 899.

(11) Rauſcherus, ibid. apud Witte, *pag.* 912.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 913.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid. *pag.* 899.

(15) Ibid. *pag.* 904.

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which they ſpread againſt him [D]. He fell ſick of a Dropſy in the fixth year of his converſion,

'renda. Res, cujus prædicatio, multorum adhuc ſeculorum ingenia, ipſamque poſteritatis memoriam fatigabit. Res, quam nemo hodie (16) aut fando acceperit, aut oculorum fide fuerit arbitratus. - - - *I need not tell you how great and admirable, nor how ſingular and unexpected this event is. That a regular Prieſt, a Father of the Ignatian ſociety, ſhould retire to the camp of the* Evangelicans, *whom he had hitherto oppoſed with all his might: or, to ſpeak in plainer language*, that a Jeſuit ſhould turn Lutheran, *is a thing highly remarkable and worthy of eternal record: a thing, the praiſe of which ſhall fatigue the genius's of many ages to come, and even tire the remembrance of poſterity: a thing which never any man had either heard or ſeen before.*' France has afforded very few ſuch examples: there was one in the year 1647, when Jarrige turned Proteſtant.

(16) This author had, without doubt, forgot the converſion of Haſenmullerus: I have mentioned it in the article JARRIGE, remark [E].

[D] *He deſpiſed . . . . the ſlanders that were ſpread againſt him.*] They publiſhed ſome verſes againſt him in the German language, wherein he was horribly defamed, and ſome letters were diſperſed in the towns and courts of Germany, to repreſent him as a profligate man. They called him a paraſite, who had preferred good chear and good wine to a pious and ſolitary life: they charged him with having been a great courtier to the ladies, and they pretended he had been ſo much in love with a maid, that he debauched and got her with child: they added, that the ſwelling of her belly having diſcovered her crime, he ran away to avoid infamy and puniſhment. *Circumvolitarunt vernacula lingua infames rythmi, & calumnioſæ literæ, aulas, urbes, oppida pernicioſiſſime pererrarunt. Narrarunt aulæ Palatinæ paraſitum: gynæcei aſſeclam: argenteos orbes, exquiſita fercula, & liquorem illius Dei, qui olim Indos expugnavit, præ lectione, præ oratione, præ ſolitudine amaſſe: vitæ cœlibis quietem deliciis prætuliſſe: Floræ & Veneris, non Societatis Sacerdotem fuiſſe: ſalacitatis libidine pruriiſſe: ſpecioſam puellam impudice deperiiſſe: inclinaſſe virginem, & infami compreſſu gravidaſſe: cumque illa uteri bulgam plus æquo intumeſcentem celare non poſſet, deſerto vadimonio, mali facinoris infamiam, & pœnas metuentem erupiſſe* (17). Reihing confuted thoſe ſlanders by a fine apology, which he ſent to the court of Wirtemberg (18). There happened a thing which proclaimed his innocence. The duke of Bavaria ſent three deputies to that court, to wit, Henry de Stein, the Civilian Faber, and Father Keller, a Jeſuit and Rector of the college of Munich. They had orders to demand that this deſerter ſhould be delivered up to them, and they enumerated all the crimes that were laid to his charge. The duke of Wirtemberg anſwered them, that if Reihing was guilty of thoſe crimes, they might juridically proceed againſt him, and that he would appoint ſome upright judges to try him without any partiality; but that if the proſelyte was innocent, juſtice and equity required that he ſhould be allowed to live quietly in the profeſſion of that religion, which ſeemed the beſt to him (19). If it ſhould happen, added the duke, that my two preachers ſhould quit their religion, I would not ſtir out of my chamber upon ſuch an account. '*Subjunxit hoc mantiſſæ loco generoſiſſimus Princeps.* 'Quod ſi fors hodie eveniret, utrumque Aulæ meæ 'Concionatorem à Religione ſua deficere: eorum cauſa, ne pedem quidem unicum extra limen promoverem (20).' Father Keller had at that time a conference with Reihing, and reproached him with thoſe irregularities, which had occaſioned ſo many ſongs and ſatirical letters. Reihing vindicated himſelf upon all thoſe heads, and even took an oath for his juſtification in the preſence of the three deputies of the duke of Bavaria. ' (21) Memores reſponſi iſtius, quod tibi com'itibuſque tuis, in præſentia virorum honoratiſſimorum, 'manu pectori admota, & ſublatis in cœlum oculis 'catapultæ inſtar retorſit. *Ego*, inquiebat ille, *in conſpectu Cæleſtis illius Arbitri hic conſiſto, qui quæ nos 'gerimus, auditque & videt. Coram divina ejus Majeſtate agnoſco me peccatorum non infimum; ſed hunc teſtem invoco, vacare me culpa omnium, quæ imputantur, 'probrorum: fallentem vindicet, qui nunquam fallitur. '- - - Bearing in mind that anſwer which like an engine 'he darted back upon you and your companions in the preſence of a very honourable company, laying his hand upon his breaſt, and lifting his eyes towards heaven.* I

(17) Rauſcherus, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 905.

(18) Ib. *p.* 906.

(19) Si hæc crimina, quorum reum poſtularent, deferrentque, veritate niterentur: fas eſſe, & poteſtatem ipſis in Aula adverſus eum lege ac judicio experiri: habituros judicem neutri parti obnoxium, ſed ex æquo & bono jus dicentem. Sin autem, &c. *Ibid. p.* 908.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ib. *p.* 906. This is an apoſtrophe of the Orator to Father Keller.

ſtand, *ſaid he*, in the ſight of that Heavenly Judge, 'who both hears and ſees what we do. Before him 'I acknowledge that I am none of the leaſt of ſinners: but I call the ſame GOD to witneſs that I am 'intirely innocent of all thoſe crimes which are laid 'to my charge; and may he, who never is deceived, 'puniſh me if I tell a lie.' Keller having not been able to prevail with his old fellow Jeſuit, retired and told him, *Eve has been the occaſion of your fall.* His meaning was, that the deſire of marrying had induced Reihing to renounce his order and Popery. All the accuſations were at laſt reduced to this; the other vaniſhed away; but they obſtinately maintained that love was the only motive that had made him embrace the Proteſtant religion. They added, that after he had married, and got many children, he found himſelf ſo clogged, that he wanted courage to return into the boſom of the church, and departed this world to go into hell. This is what Alegambe reproaches him with. *Prolapſus in turpes amores, ordinem, fidemque tranſfuga deſeruit, factus errorum magiſter: ducta dein domum pellice pro uxore, ſuſceptis compluribus liberis, ita miſer implicatus eſt, ut ad veritatis confeſſionem redire non ſuſtineret. Sic in æternam mortem occubuit* (22). This is a common place ſo trivial and ſo much worn out, that I wonder people are not weary of making uſe of it. It has been turned a thouſand different ways, and ſome paſſionate men have choſen to alledge it againſt the Proteſtants in general, rather than againſt the Proſelytes. They ſay, that the firſt thing the Proteſtants do in favour of a Monk or Prieſt, who embraces their religion, is to procure him a wife; it is the cement wherewith they incorporate him into their ſect, and make him conſtantly adhere to it (23). They know that ſuch birds of prey cannot be better allured or tamed, than by ſuch a bit of fleſh. What a groſs fancy is this! I only mention it as an inſtance of the brutiſhneſs of ſome controverſiſts. *Quinetiam aufim dicere eos ſtudioſius multò laborare in quærenda quamprimùm, & fucati conjugii glutino alligandâ unicuique tranſfugæ concubina, quàm in indaganda vitæ præteritæ ratione ac moribus. Illud quippe certò credunt non poſſe id genus accipitres vel efficacius accerſiri, vel melius cicurari, quàm ſi ejuſmodi carnis illicio ineſcentur* (24). Father Reihing had without doubt foreſeen that things would be brought to that paſs, and that he would be expoſed to ſuch railleries, if he ſhould marry; but he overcame that fear, and had a greater regard for the doctrine of the apoſtle of the Gentiles, who will have the biſhop to marry, and who reckons the prohibition of marriage among the doctrines of the Devil. He therefore married the next year, and choſe in his native country a wife whom he had never ſeen (25). She was a choice woman, and of a very good family, handſome, ſober, and adorned with all virtues. *Altero, poſtquam in hanc urbem venit, anno, cùm Tarſenſis Apoſtoli mandatum animo ſecum verſaret*, quo EPISCOPUM unius Uxoris Virum eſſe juſſit, *& quo nomine ipſe ille Gentium Doctor doctrinam matrimonio interdicentium appellaret, animum ad conjugium appulit, exemplaque ſuo vetus illud Euripidis comprobavit:* Fatalem viro fœminæque torum eſſe (26).

(22) Alegambe, *ubi ſupra.* Note, that Southwell has wholly ſuppreſſed the article of James Reihing.

(23) Compare with this the New Letters againſt Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calvinism, *p.* 497, 498.

(24) Jacobus Gualterius, *Tabuli Chronographici, Sec. XI, cap.* vi, *p.* m. 636.

(25) *Her name was Mary Felſer, and ſhe was the daughter of Felix Felſer.* Morum & virtutum & formæ ornamentis conſpicua lectiſſimaque Virgo. *Rauſcherus, ubi ſupra, p.* 909.

(26) Ibid.

Obſerve, that Reihing and the author of his funeral oration, explain the words of St Paul as a precept: they pretend that the Apoſtle commands the Miniſters of the Goſpel to marry, and to take but one wife. This would be certainly the meaning of St Paul's words, if they were underſtood literally, that is, according to the rules of Grammar; for the terms, which denote the marriage of the biſhop with one wife, are as much governed by the word *muſt* (27), as thoſe that denote the biſhop's blameleſs life, ſobriety, prudence, gravity, modeſty, equity, moderation, and uninterreſtedneſs. As therefore it were abſurd to pretend that St Paul leaves it to the liberty of the Miniſters to be ſober, modeſt, blameleſs, *&c.* or not; ſo it is abſurd to pretend that he leaves it to their choice to marry a wife, or to marry none; I ſay, this is abſurd, if we ſtick to the literal ſenſe, and if we ſuppoſe that St Paul did actually obſerve Grammatical rules. I do not mean a rigorous exactneſs, ſuch as is obſerved in the articles of a Treaty of Peace, wherein all the expreſſions are narrowly conſidered, to prevent the abuſes that might ariſe from an equivocation, or the omiſſion of

A REFLEXION on St Paul's words, wherein he ſeems to command the biſhops to marry.

(27) Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίλημπτον εἶναι, γυναικὸς ἑνὸς ἄνδρα, νηφάλεον, σώφρονα, &c. Oportet ergo Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe, unius uxoris virum, ſobrium, prudentem, &c. *I. ad Timoth. cap.* iii, *ver.* 2.

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conversion, and was suffocated by a catarrh some time after (e) [E]. New lies were spread concerning his death [F]. I shall give you the catalogue of his writings [G].

(e) *Taken from* Spizelius, in Templo Honoris referato, *pag.* 95, *&* *seq.*

of a particle. Neither do I mean the rigid exactness of those scrupulous pedantic Grammarians, who had rather spend three hours in mending a period, than let it pass with some carelessness. I mean a method of explaining ones self clearly and distinctly, as a man of sense would do in a letter to a tutor, containing some directions. If he should write to him, *I will have my children to say their prayers twice a day, to go to church twice a week, to forbear swearing and quarrelling, to be dutiful to their mother, and to go every Monday to the play-house*, he would take all these several things as so many injunctions; he would not think that it is left to his discretion to carry his pupils every Monday to the play-house, or not: For in such a case, he must suppose that there is no connexion between these words, *I will*, and *to go to the play-house*; and that the father of his pupils made use of another verb, as to this last thing, and said for instance, *and I give you leave to carry them to the play-house every Monday*. It must be therefore granted, that if a Sophist should obstinately maintain, that whatever St Paul says concerning the qualifications of a bishop is obligatory, it would be no easy thing to confute him; and that one would be obliged to beg of him not to take it ill, that one should depart from the Grammatical strictness (28): since it is not likely that the Apostle designed to exclude from episcopacy, those who would live a single life, though they were endowed with all the talents requisite for the performance of episcopacy. Which shews, that too scrupulous an adherence to the literal sense of the Scripture, would very often prove the cause of many illusions, and that there are many cases in which the interpreters ought to remember the axiom, *summum jus summa injuria*. This shews at the same time, that we ought to do, not what the Apostles command, according to the Grammatical sense, but what common sense teaches us they intended to command. St Paul, according to the Grammatical rules, commands the bishops to marry; but reason shews us, that he intended only to forbid them Polygamy. We must therefore stick to this. Reihing and others are in the wrong to find in St Paul's words an injunction to marry; they contain only a permission: but their mistake is much more excusable than the intolerable boldness of forbidding Clergymen to marry. The Christian people will never be able to justify before God, the base compliance wherewith they have permitted that the laws of St Paul should be abrogated, though never so plain, clear, and intelligible. They have been severely punished for it, by the overflowing loudness wherewith their families have been polluted, and they are not yet free from it. I must observe by the by, that the Holy Scripture has been handled by the Christians much after the same manner as Justinian's Code. They are well pleased when the common-law agrees with the written-law; but if the common-law serves their turn better than the written-law, they can very well dispense with the want of conformity. Christianity has not been for many ages a country governed by the written-law.

(28) *Here one must apply the following rule,* Grammaticæ leges plerumque Ecclesia spernit.

(29) Rauscherus, ubi supra, *pag.* 916. Micræus, Syntagm. Histor. Eccles. *p. m.* 778, *places his death wrong in the year* 1624.

[E] *He was suffocated by a catarrh some time after.*] Here is a new omission of Spizelius: he neither sets down the day nor the year of Reihing's death. To supply that omission, I shall observe that he departed this life the fifth of May, 1628 (29). He used to bathe according to the Physician's prescription, and having lain down to take some rest, he fell asleep, and never awaked again. His panegyrist calls it a happy death (30), such as Augustus wished for himself and his friends. *Ultimum maximumque mortalium votorum* *nactus, εὐθανασίαν, quam ille orbis Regnator Augustus olim sibi suisque exoptavit* (31).

(30) Compare this with remark [F], of the article REGIUS.

(31) Rauscherus, ubi supra.

[F] *News lies were spread about his death.*] His death was reported before it happened; his dropsy was said to be an effect of the Divine vengeance; his dying without receiving the communion, occasioned several malicious reflexions; they maintained, that at the approach of his last hour he was cruelly tormented by the remorses of his conscience (32): lastly, they gave out, that upon the point of death he had made a recantation in the presence of his neighbours. It is expedient to observe these things, because they shew the blindness and fury of human passions, which are the fruits of credulity and false zeal, and the plague and destruction of reason. ‘ Vidimus volantes ‘ è vicinia chartas, immò ab Allobrogibus usque in ‘ manus nostras pervenerunt literæ, quæ eum in su- ‘ prema vitæ meta positum, Evangelium ejerasse, & ‘ in præsentia Vicinorum, ipsiusque D. PREGIT- ‘ ZERI palinodiam cecinisse loquerentur. O linguæ! ‘ ó calami! ó animorum effrons nequitia! Pudor & ‘ verecundia quò recessistis? Aliter tu loqueris Reve- ‘ rende Pregitzere (33). - - - - - - *We have seen papers* ‘ *dispersed from the neighbourhood; nay letters from the* ‘ *south of France have reached to us; all of them af-* ‘ *firming that in his last hours he had abjured the Lu-* ‘ *theran religion, and made a formal recantation before* ‘ *his neighbours, and in the presence of* PREGIT- ‘ ZER *himself. O tongues! O pens! O brazen* ‘ *wickedness! Shame and modesty whither are ye fled?* ‘ *You, O reverend Pregitzer, will give a quite different* ‘ *account of things.*’

(32) Horrentis conscientiæ morsibus mortalitatis lineæ jam vicinus infestari cœpit. *Ibid. pag.* 917.

(33) Ibid.

[G] *The catalogue of his writings.*] His first book was printed at Cologne in the year 1615, it was intituled *Muri civitatis sanctæ*, hoc est *Fundamenta* XII *Religionis Catholicæ quibus infistens Serenissimus Princeps Neoburgicus, Lutheranismo abdicato in Ecclesiam pedem intulit.* He was then a violent Papist. Balthazar Meisnerus, Frabricius Bassecourt, and Matthias Hoë wrote against him. *Meisnerus è thesibus scalam centum & quadraginta gradus altam fabricavit, qua* MUROS BABYLONIS ROMANÆ, ET CONFICTA PAPISTICÆ RELIGIONIS FUNDAMENTA *demoliebatur. Bassecourtus* TUBA DEI *armatus, AD SUBVERTENDOS MUROS Ecclesiæ Romanæ progressus, eos velut illa Hierichuntis mœnia uno clangore diffiare & solo æquare est aggressus. Ultimus Matthias Hoë* Enchiridion *oppositi, in quo Romanæ fidei nebulæ clarissima Scripturarum luce discutiebantur* (34). He published a reply to the two first, printed at Newburg in 1617. Here is the title of it: *Excubiæ Angelicæ Civitatis Sanctæ pro defensione* XII *Fundamentorum Catholicorum Balthasari Meisnero præconi Lutherano, & Fabricio Bassecourt, Tibicini Calviniano oppositæ.* His reply to Matthias Hoë was only published in the German language: here is the title of it expressed in Latin, *Enchiridium Catholicum Manuali D. Hoë oppositum.* Let us see the titles of the books he published, after he had embraced the confession of Augsburg. *Laquei Pontificii contriti; quibus, adjuvante* DOMINO, *liberatus, Liberatori suo Ter Opt. Max. libenter meritò publicas gratias in Academia Tubingensi dicere voluit.* Tubingæ 1622 *in* 4to. Germanicè, ibidem *eodem anno* in 4to. *Dissertatio de vera Christi in terris Ecclesia, adversus larvatum Jesuitam Dillinganum:* ibid. 1622 in 4to. *Araneorum operæ, quas contra laqueos Pontificios contritos, texturam improbam suspenderunt Georgius Stengelius, Simon Schaitenreisser, & Laur. Forerus, Stilo Reibingi dejectæ:* ibid. 1623 in 4to. *Apologeticus pro Dissertatione sua, de Ecclesia Christi:* ibid. 1624 *in* 4to. He published in the German language (35) a retractation of the book he had written against Matthias Hoë.

(34) Ibid. *pag.* 900.

(35) At Tubingen, in the year 1623.

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REINESIUS (THOMAS) one of the moſt learned men of the XVIIth century, was born at Gotha (*a*), a town of Thuringia in Germany, the thirteenth of December 1587 [*A*]. He was a Phyſician by profeſſion, but he applied himſelf very much to the ſtudy of the *Belles Lettres*, wherein he excelled moſt. He had already practiſed Phyſic in ſome other places (*b*), when he ſettled at Altenburg, to be the Phyſician of that town. He lived there ſeveral years, and was made Burgomaſter. At laſt, having been honoured with the dignity of Counſellor of State to the elector of Saxony, he went to reſide at Leipſic, where he died the fourteenth of February (*c*) 1667 (*d*). He had often refuſed to be a profeſſor, becauſe he was afraid his colleagues would prove intolerable [*B*], and it is very likely that if he had accepted of any ſuch employment, he would have had many quarrels; for he could not avoid falling out with a profeſſor of Leipſic,

(*a*) And not at Altenburg, as it is ſaid in Moreri's Dictionary.

(*b*) Witte, in Diario Biographico, *ad ann.* 1667. See the remark [*B*], citation (10).

(*c*) And not 1657, as in Konig's *Bibliotheque*, in Moreri, and elſewhere.

(*d*) Ex Witte, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was born . . . . the thirteenth of December*, 1587.] Tho' I had ſeen this date in large letters under Reineſius's cut prefixed to one of his books (1); yet I did a little ſuſpect it, conſidering that the Journaliſts of Leipſic ſay he died the fourteenth of February, 1667, being ſeventy years old (2). Thoſe gentlemen are very exact, and no body could be better informed of the true age of that learned man. Beſides, I ſaw that Andreas Carolus abbot of St George, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, obſerves, that he lived above ſeventy years, *obiit* Thomas Reineſius *ſeptuagenario major* (3). We do not ſpeak in this manner of a man, who dies in his eightieth year. But I was no longer uncertain about it, when I read the letter wherein Reineſius ſays, that his maſters had adviſed him, above ſeventy years ago, to make frequent uſe of Dictionaries (4). This he writ the tenth of February, 1665; which is a good confirmation of the date that is under his print.

(1) *His letters* ad Hoffmannum & Rupertum, *printed at Leipſic in the year* 1660.

(2) Acta Erudit. *Lipſ.* 1682, *p.* 92.

(3) Andreas Carolus, Memorab. Eccleſ. *lib. vii, ad ann.* 1667, *pag.* 409.

(4) Reineſ. Epiſt. XXIX, ad Joannem Voſſium, *pag.* 61.

(5) It is dated from Altemburg the tenth of October 1638.

[*B*] *He often refuſed to be made a profeſſor, becauſe he was afraid his colleagues would prove intolerable.*] I find this particular in his firſt letter (5) to Gaſpar Hoffman, Profeſſor of Phyſic at Altorf. That profeſſor had writ to him that he had been expoſed for the ſpace of thirty years, to the clamours and ſlanders of envious men, and obliged to maintain ſome violent aſſaults (6). Reineſius anſwered him, that he was likewiſe perſecuted by ſome croſs-grained jealous men, and that there was ſo little true friendſhip left in the world, and ſo little equity and order in the commonwealth of learning, that he had concealed himſelf the greateſt part of his life to avoid the ſtorm. *Me quoque circumſtrepunt & adfligunt turbæ æmulorum, invidorum ſuſurri, ſemidoctorum impudentia judicia. His enim heu! execrandis moribus hodiè vivitur, ut de Bonis judicent peſſimi, de artibus imperiti, in literis dominentur thraſones; omnia ſint fucata, & genuinarum amicitiarum nihil ferè reſtet; quas intemperies ſerìò deploravi ſemper, & ut declinarem iſta paſſiva, βιώσας maximam partem λέληθα* (7). He goes on, and ſays, I have often refuſed the profeſſorſhips that were offered me, becauſe I thought I could not bear the ill humour of ſome perſons with whom I muſt have lived, and I have rather choſen to ſtay here, though I do not live a very eaſy life. He was then Phyſician of the town of Altenburg. *Nominatus toties ab Academicis, vocatuſque a Principibus ad munus docendi publicum; repugnavi, ſocio uno alteroque è noſtratibus (non enim ſum πολυφιλῶν) conſilii, voluntatibus utrorumque, quòd mores incommodos nonnullorum, cum quibus vivendum eſſet, tolerare poſſe non conſiderem, & manſi in ſtatione, nec ipſa ſatis commodâ* (8). Here is part of the inconveniencies which he does enumerate. My mentioning of them is not needleſs on this occaſion; for they are things that belong to the Hiſtory of his Life.

(6) *See Reineſius's Letters*, ad Hoffmannum & Rupertum, *p.* 2.

(7) Ibid. *pag.* 6.

(8) Ibid.

‘ (9) Quid enim hoc decennio *Altenburgi (Curienſia* ‘ & *Gerana* (10) tranſmittam, etſi & illic ſat fuerit ‘ nubilorum) non expertus ſum, in quo non tentatus? ‘ Poſt triſte ſpectaculum expilatæ domûs amiſi intra ‘ ſemeſtre tres jucundiſſ. filios, ſuaviſſimam conjugem, ‘ incomparabilem fœminam; ſolùm animus Deo ‘ nixus & invictus mihi ſupereſt, cum tantillo boni ‘ nominis, & quantum ſatis eſt frugali opum. Λιτῶς ‘ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ. Trinâ vice, me Phyſico, ‘ τὸ λοιμῶδες ἐπιδήμιον hanc urbem adflavit . . . ‘ Conjugium, quod ante triennium ſecundum inivi, ‘ eſt incommodius, quàm ſperaveram, & multis rei ‘ familiaris tricis, quas tamen deprecatus fui, me involvit, &, quod caput eſt, ſterile; quò malo triſtius ‘ nihil obvenire poterat antè liberis orbato, καὶ ὄλῳ ‘ ἀπερισάτῳ. - - - - *What inconveniency is there that* ‘ *I have not felt for thoſe ten years paſt at* Altenburg ‘ *(I ſhall ſay nothing of my ſufferings during the time* ‘ *that I practiſed at* Haff *and* Gera, *tho' there too I* ‘ *had troubles enough) what trial is there that I have* ‘ *not undergone? After the melancholy accident of ſeeing* ‘ *my houſe robbed, I had the misfortune to loſe in leſs* ‘ *than ſix months time, three charming boys, together* ‘ *with a moſt ſweet and incomparable wife. I have* ‘ *nothing left now but a mind, which, putting its truſt* ‘ *in GOD, cannot be overcome, a little reputation, and* ‘ *juſt as much wealth as is neceſſary for a frugal man.* ‘ Plainly but freely, *is my motto. Three times has* ‘ *this town been afflicted with the plague, ſince I practiſed* ‘ *here . . . . my ſecond marriage, which I contracted* ‘ *about three years ago, has proved more inconvenient* ‘ *than I thought it would; for it has involved me in* ‘ *a great many little domeſtic cares to which I had a* ‘ *ſtrong averſion. But above all it is barren; which* ‘ *is the greateſt misfortune that can poſſibly happen to a* ‘ *man that has been deprived of his former children, and* ‘ *is in a manner wholly deſtitute.*’ It ought to be obſerved that ſome ill affected perſons had ſent to Hoffman ſeveral ſheets of Reineſius's *Variæ lectiones*, whilſt they were printing, in hopes that Hoffman would write againſt that work: but the event proved contrary to their expectation; for Hoffman finding himſelf praiſed in that part of the book (11) that was ſent to him, laid aſide the reſentment he had conceived againſt Reineſius, by whom he had thought himſelf offended, and wrote a very obliging letter to him (12). I think I may ſay, that the ſharpeſt quarrel Reineſius ever had, was that which he had with Rivinus, profeſſor at Leipſic. Reineſius declares he had not been the aggreſſor, and had only anſwered the injurious words of that critic. Nevertheleſs the latter made his complaints to the magiſtrates, and left no ſtone unturned to prevent the printing of Reineſius's anſwer. Can any thing be more unjuſt? ‘ Nunquam odio habui hominem; ſed calumniatorem & ‘ projectiſſimæ proterviæ accuſatorem ferre non debui ‘ tamen. Etiamnum hodie crepant nutantque ſubſellia ‘ Judicum apud Nos, ad quos me, ſtulte querens de ‘ injuriis quas Ipſe prior intuliſſet, deferebat, neque ‘ ſuæ famæ ſatis cavens, dum meam maculare intenderet μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας καὶ ὑπληγορίας. ‘ . . . . . *Defenſionem* meam, quam à provocantis impoſita mihi neceſſitas excuſat, in amicorum ſinu depoſui (13) . . . . Dixit, quæ voluit; æquum eſt ut audiat quæ nolet. . . . . Ex eo vero, quod *apologiam* meam tot adhibitis machinis, mendaciis etiam ſupprimere annifus fuit, malam cauſam fovere judicatus eſt dudum, & deſignaſſe facinus, quod æternam nomini ejus inuſſit notam. Voluit nimirum ut ipſe de me cenſor ſedere poſſet, ſed ἀνυπεύθυνος; voluit ut liceret ſibi in me quidvis; mihi ne quidem hiſcere contra (14). - - - - *I never hated the man; but I did not think myſelf obliged to bear with a calumniator and a moſt inſolent accuſer. Even at this day our courts of judicature, reſound with his fooliſh complaints againſt me, whom he ſummoned to anſwer for thoſe very injuries which himſelf had offered firſt. Thus he does not ſpare his own reputation, provided he can but fix a blot upon mine, with his fantaſtical inſinuations and high-flown words . . . . . I have depoſited my defence; which the impudence of this aggreſſor, made neceſſary and excuſable, in the hands of my friends. . . . . He ſaid what he pleaſed; it is therefore fit he ſhould hear what will not pleaſe him . . . . . But from his ſcandalous endeavours to ſuppreſs my apology by ſo many tricks, and even lies, it has been long ago concluded that he maintained a bad cauſe, and that his deſign was villanous, which has fixed an everlaſting brand upon his name. He wanted forſooth*

(9) Ibid. *pag.* 7.

(10) He means by *Curienſia*, his being Phyſician to the town of Hoff (in Latin *Curia*) in Voigtland; and by *Gerana* the like employment at Gera, a town in the ſame country, which belongs to the lords of Plaven, whoſe family name is Reuſſen, in Latin *Rutheni*.

(11) Reineſius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 5.

(12) Ibid. *pag.* 1.

(13) Reineſius, Epiſt. XLIV, ad Dammium, *pag.* 122.

(14) Ibid. *pag.* 123.

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Leipsic, though they lived at a considerable distance from one another. It was at first a quarrel about some points of Literature, which turned afterwards into a law-suit (e). I cannot tell whether Reinesius left any children behind him; but I know that in 1638, he complained that he had lost his first wife, and all the children he had by her; and that his second wife, to whom he had been married three years, was barren (f). This was the greatest, but not the only inconveniency of his second marriage. He had a share in the liberality of Lewis XIV, to the most famous learned men in Europe. The sum that was sent him, was attended with a very obliging letter of Mr Colbert, for which he expressed his acknowledgment, by dedicating to him his observations on the fragment of Petronius, in the year 1666. They who can judge of a point of Literature, have no sooner read some pages of his writings, but they place him above those Philologers, who have only a good memory, and reckon him among those Critics, who go beyond their reading, and know more things than books have taught them. The penetration of their wit makes them draw consequences, and affords them conjectures, which lead them to the discovery of hidden treasures. By that means they clear the darkest parts of erudition, and extend the bounds of the knowledge of antiquity. Reinesius was one of those Critics, and made it his chief business to find out what others had not said. If his supplements to Vossius's treatise *de Historicis Græcis* are ever printed, the reader will wonder how Vossius, who made so fine and so large a collection, could omit so many things. It appears from Reinesius's printed letters, that he was consulted like an Oracle; and that he answered very learnedly the questions that were proposed to him, and that he was very well versed in the knowledge of the antient families of Rome, and in the study of inscriptions. There is a very fine elogy upon his merit, and his learned and political works in the Epistle Dedicatory (g) of the second edition of Casaubon's Letters. Some Divines have laid to his charge, that he had a particular religion made up of such things as seemed to him best in other religions [C]. I shall set down the

(e) See the remark [B].

(f) See the same remark.

(g) Written by Mr Grævius, and dated from Amsterdam the 31st of August 1655. It is quoted in Moreri's Dictionary, and nothing else is quoted in it, though that Epistle does scarce mention any of the particulars related in this article.

'*to sit as a privileged censor upon my actions, without* '*being called to an account for it; he wanted to take all* '*manner of liberties with me, at the same time that I* '*should not so much as dare to open my mouth against* '*him.*' The apology of Reinesius was printed, notwithstanding the aggressor's opposition. This I find in a letter written the seventh of August, 1653. See also the letter which Reinesius wrote to Bosius the eighteenth of January, in the same year (15).

(15) Epist. Thomæ Reinesii, & Joan. Andr. Bosii, p. 23.

A REFLEXION upon the faults of men of letters, and upon the difficulty of acquiring tranquillity of mind.

What I have said of the misfortunes that Reinesius complained of, seems to be the common fate of learned men. The history of their lives and their letters do commonly shew that they have been engaged in troublesome quarrels, attended with jealousy, calumny, virulency, satire, factious spirit, fraud, and a thousand other shameful passions. One would think, that of all men scholars are most apt to make themselves and others uneasy. Which must needs create a contempt and hatred for learning, or at least make one lose the good opinion one might entertain of it. Ignorant people fancy, that if they had spent all their time in reading, they would have learned to moderate their passions, and to cure themselves of several faults, which incline them to behave themselves unjustly toward their neighbour. But they would have other thoughts, if they knew that the most learned men abuse and persecute one another, and complain of their sad destiny. From thence we may draw this conclusion, that there is nothing so difficult to be acquired as the tranquillity and uprightness of the mind. A continual study of good books seems to be a most proper means to acquire that treasure; and yet it seldom procures it, but very often produces a quite contrary effect. Horace had a very wrong notion, when he spoke these words: *It is enough for me to beg of God that he would preserve my life, and bestow riches upon me; and then I shall know how to procure to myself tranquillity of mind.*

Quid sentire putas? quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus: ut mihi vivam
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt Dî:
Sit bona librorum & provisæ frugis in annum
Copia: ne fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ.
Sed satis est orare Jovem, qui donat, & aufert,
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mî animum ipse parabo (16).

(16) Horat. Epist. XVIII, lib. i, in fine.

For what do you imagine that I care?
What think, what make the subject of my pray'r?
Let me have what I have, or somewhat less,
'Twill still be great enough for happiness;
And that I may, if Heav'n more years will give,
Live to myself the time I have to live:
Estate in books, and food to serve a year,
Lest I should wav'ring hang 'twixt hope and fear.
And this is all for which mankind should pray,
And beg of Jove who gives and takes away;
Let him but life and mod'rate plenty find,
And I'll provide myself an happy mind.

CREECH.

He was grosly mistaken: the thing, for which he thought he stood in no need of God's assistance, was what he could least expect from his own ability, and the first he should have besought Jupiter to bestow upon him; for it is much more easy to get riches and honours by one's industry, than a quiet and contented mind. If it be said, that riches and honours depend upon a thousand things which we cannot dispose of at pleasure, and that therefore it is necessary to pray to God that he would turn them to our advantage; I answer, that the silence of the passions, and the tranquillity of the mind depend upon a thousand things, which are not under our jurisdiction. The stomach, the spleen, the lymphatic vessels, the fibres of the brain, and a hundred other organs, whose seat and figure are yet unknown to the Anatomists, produce in us many uneasinesses, jealousies, and vexations. Can we alter those organs? Are they in our power (17)?

(17) These words of Horace, Epist. i, lib. i, ver. ult. *Præcipue sanus* (he speaks of the wise man of the Stoics) *nisi cum pituita molesta est*, may be very well applied to the mind, supposing that *sanus* signifies the tranquillity of the mind.

[C] *Some Divines have laid to his charge, that he had a particular religion made up of such things as seemed to him best in other religions.*] A Divine of Wirtemberg, whom I have quoted above, affirms that Reinesius, who went to the Lutheran churches, and communicated with the Lutherans, spoke so ill of their Divines, and of their doctrine, and liturgies, that he was worse than a professed adversary: from whence he concludes, either that he was of the religion of prudent men, or that he favoured it: for he openly declared that he followed a certain religion in certain points, and another religion in other points. *Tam sinistrè sensit, tam scabiosè locutus est, de Doctoribus & Professoribus harum* (Lutheranarum) *partium, imò de ipsa doctrina, de symbolicis libris, de dogmatibus in iisdem contentis, ut vix quisquam ex manifestis adversariis taliter fecerit. Probari hæc possunt ex Epistolis, quas an.* 1654. *vel circiter, Coloniæ Brandenburgicæ publicavit, ubi contemptim* Formularios *vocat Theologas F. C. amplexos; D. Majorem Seniorem,* Grandionem, *qui applausores nullos in N. habeat: alios nominat* Archiperecidas, *& ita conseq. Religioni Prudentum procul ambiguo addictus erat Sycophanta, vel eidem certè favebat, apertè fassus, hoc se in*

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the titles of moſt of his books [*D*].

una Religione, aliud in alia ſequi (18). That Divine had explained, in another place, what he meant by the religion of prudent men. Here is the ſubſtance of his diſcourſe. A Dutchman ſaid one day, that the religion of Grotius was that of learned men. Being aſked what religion it was; he anſwered, to believe what they pleaſe (19). Hulſeman (20) aſked, whether Grotius meant, that one ought to follow the opinions of prudent men, and he believes this is the religion of prudent men, which is known but to few perſons, and very much boaſted of in France, and more particularly in Holland. Hereupon Mullerus, a Divine of Hamburgh (21), and Kromaier, a Divine of Leipſic (22), held it for a certain thing, that Grotius had followed the religion of prudent men, which is a mixture of ſeveral religions, and which takes ſometimes from one and ſometimes from another what it thinks fit, and ſuits to it's intereſt. It is called the religion of prudent men, becauſe the wiſe men of this world pitch upon it with great prudence, as they think, and keep it as long as they pleaſe; it is alſo called the Political and Philoſophical religion. It goes by the firſt of thoſe two names, becauſe the Politicians make choice of it; for they are men who will be free in that point, and who turn themſelves all manner of ways. It is ſtiled Philoſophical, becauſe it frees a man from the obligation of believing; and it is well known that a Philoſopher ſubmits to no human authority, and will not ſwear to the words of any maſter, *Liber homo Philoſophus nullius addictus jurare in verba Magiſtri*. The author mentions two other epithets; he ſays, that this religion of prudent men is called *Eclectic*, or *Eclogiſtic* (23). I wonder he ſaid nothing of the ſect of the Eclectic Philoſophers founded by Potamon of Alexandria, who lived in the time of Auguſtus. Thoſe men were neither Platoniſts, nor Stoics, nor Peripatetics, nor of any other particular ſect; but they took out of every one of them what they liked beſt, and left the reſt. Such is the notion of the religion aſcribed to Reineſius. It was a religion of choice, a Moſaic work, a work made up of in-laid pieces. There are more people than is commonly believed, who form ſuch a religion to themſelves, and do not boaſt of it. They might be called in Latin *Miſcelliones* (24).

(18) Andreas Carolus, Memorab. Eccleſ. *Sæc. XVII, lib. vi, cap. xxxii, pag.* 97.

(19) Ibid. *lib. v, cap. liii, p.* 1088. *He quotes* Burgold. Not. rer. Imp. *Part ii, xi.*

(20) In Diatr. Schol. de Auxil. Grat. *pag.* 479.

(21) Atheiſ. devict. *pag.* 459.

(22) Loc. Antiſyncret. *pag.* 271, *& ſeq.*

(23) Andreas Carolus, *lib. vi, cap. xxxii, pag.* 97.

(24) Miſcelliones appellantur qui non certæ ſunt ſententiæ, ſed variorum mixtorumque judiciorum. *Feſtus Pompeius.*

[*D*] *I ſhall inſert the titles of moſt of his books.*] Here are ſome concerning Phyſic. *De vaſis umbilicalibus eorumque ruptura obſervatio ſingularis*, at Leipſic, 1624, in 4to. *Chimiatria, hoc eſt Medicina nobili & neceſſaria ſui parte, Chimiâ, inſtructa & exornata*, at Gera in Voigtland, 1624, in 4to. The following books concern Literature: *De Deo Endovellico*, Altemburg, 1637. Ἰσορύμενα *linguæ Punicæ contra Vitum Wolfrum*, Altemburg, 1637. *Variarum lectionum libri tres*, ibid. 1640, 4to. *Defenſio variarum lectionum*, Roſtoch, 1653, in 4to. *Epiſtolæ ad Caſparum Hoffmannum, & Chriſt. Ad. Rupertum*, Leipſic, 1660, in 4to. They have printed, after his death, *Epiſtolæ ad Johannem Voſtium*, at Coln in Brandenburg, 1667, in 4to. *Epiſtolæ ad Neſteros patrem & filium, Leipſic*, 1670, in 4to. *Epiſtolæ ad Chriſtianum Daumium*, Iena, 1670, in 4to. *Epiſtolæ ad Jo. Andream Boſium*, Iena, 1700, in 12mo. *Syntagma inſcriptionum antiquarum cumprimis Romæ Veteris quarum omiſſa eſt recenſio in vaſto Jani Gruteri opere, cujus iſthoc dici poſſit ſupplementum, cum commentariis abſolutiſſimis* (25), Leipſic, 1682, in folio. *Diſſertatio Critica de Sibyllinis Oraculis* (26), Iena, 1685, in 4to. I can ſay nothing certain about ſome other books which Mr Konig aſcribes to him. I am afraid he confounds thoſe that have been printed, with thoſe that have not been publiſhed. He aſcribes to him *Gloſſarium vocum barbaricarum: cenſuram nonnullorum in Salmaſii exercitationibus Plinianis. Commentarium in Inſcriptiones Gruteri. Variarum Lectionum libros ſex.* Ἰσορύμενα *Medicinæ, vel ſucceſſiones & vitæ Medicorum*, and ſeveral other works. Moreri pretends, that *Reineſius made himſelf known by his ſix books of* Variæ Lectiones, *that he has alſo written a cenſure upon Salmaſius's* Exercitationes *on Pliny or Solinus, and ſome commentaries on Gruterus's Inſcriptions* (27). I cannot agree with him in this; for there are only three books of *Variæ Lectiones* printed; and I know nothing of Reineſius's book, intituled, *Cenſura exercitationum Plinarum Salmaſii*. I do not find it mentioned in the preface to his poſthumous works. I do not queſtion but that he was well qualified to write ſuch a book, and to cut out as much work for Salmaſius, as for Barthius (28); but I do not know whether he had ſuch a deſign; and if he had, I dare ſay the performance of it has not been made public. The inſcriptions commented upon by Reineſius are different from thoſe of Gruterus. Laſtly, Moreri ſays nothing of ſeveral books that have been publiſhed. If his article of Reineſius was corrected, there would remain but two or three words of his.

(25) See the Acta Eruditorum 1682, *pag.* 89, *& ſeq.*

(26) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, *July* 1685, *Art. V.*

(27) Confer the Jugemens des Sçavans, *tom.* 525.

(28) See the remark [*R*], of the article RAPHELENGIUS.

I muſt deſire the readers to take notice that the Bookſellers have prefixed Reineſius's name to a book, of which he did not write one line. Mr Witte mentions this, leſt Reineſius ſhould be looked upon as a Plagiary: *Exiit quoque Lipſiæ an.* 1679, *ſub ejus nomine*, Schola Jure-Conſultorum Medica, Relationum libris aliquot comprehenſa, quibus principia Medicinæ in jus tranſſumta ex profeſſo examinantur. *Verus autem Auctor & titulus iſte eſt: Fortunati Fidelis de Relationibus Medicorum libri IV. in quibus ea omnia, quæ in forenſibus ac publicis cauſis Medici referre ſolent, pleniſſimè traduntur, ſtudiò D. Pauli Ammanni, Lipſiæ* 1674. *Hoc indicare volui, ne Vir CL. præter meritum Plagiariis adſcribatur* (29). Mr Witte has forgot a material circumſtance, *viz.* that the book, intituled, *Fortunati Fidelis*, &c. was printed at Palermo in the year 1602, in 4to (30). That edition is quoted in *Lindenius Renovatus*, pag. 275, under the name of *Fortunatus Fidelis*; but the author did not know that the *Schola Juriſconſultorum*, &c. printed at Leipſic in the year 1679, is the ſame with that of Fortunatus Fidelis, for he aſcribes it to Reineſius, pag. 1023. I fancy the Leipſic edition, 1674, differs from that of 1679, as to the title; and that Reineſius's name was put to it, to make it ſell the better (31).

(29) Witte, in Diario Biographico, *ad ann.* 1667, *fum* Yyy 3.

(30) I have been informed of this by a letter of Mr Bourdelet, firſt Phyſician to the dutcheſs of Burgundy.

(31) Compare this with citation (3), of the article PINEAU.

REMOND (*a*) (FLORIMOND DE) counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux, towards the end of the XVIth century, ſignalized himſelf by ſome violent books againſt the Proteſtants [*A*]. He had been a Huguenot in his younger days; but if we may believe him, he was reſcued *from the jaws of Hereſy* (*b*) by a miracle, of which he was an eye-witneſs in the year 1566. Moreri, who mentions it, knew not the place where that comedy was acted: he ſays, that a woman called Nicole Obri, a native of Vervins, was exorciſed at Loudun (*c*). He is miſtaken, it was at Laon: I have ſaid in another place (*d*), that Father Labbe has committed the ſame fault. There is ſome reaſon to believe that Florimond de Remond ſtudied under Peter Ramus, in the college of Prele

(*a*) He ſpelt his name *Ræmond*, but he calls himſelf *Ræmound* in ſome of his books.

(*b*) Florimond de Ræmond, Hiſt. de la naiſſance & progrès de l'Hereſie, *liv. II, ch. XII, pag.* 204.

(*c*) Moreri, *at the word* Florimond de Raymond.

(*d*) In the article LOUDUN, remark [*C*].

[*A*] *He ſignalized himſelf by ſome violent books againſt the Proteſtants.*] He publiſhed a book, intituled, *Erreur populaire de la Papeſſe Jeanne.* I have the Bourdeaux edition 1594; the author puts his name to it, which ſhews that it is not the firſt; for the firſt came out without his name. *As it was never my deſign*, they are Florimond de Remond's words (1), *to get reputation by thoſe inconſiderable productions of my brain, (it were to pretend to build a ſolid glory upon a ſandy foundation) ſo I have endeavoured to avoid ſhame. Which moved me to ſuppreſs my name, becauſe it could not keep a rank among ſo many learned men, wherewith France abounds. But ſince that author has put a quite contrary interpretation upon the laudable fear that reſtrained me, I have been willing to open the curtain, and appear in public; and yet I will, out of kindneſs to him, ſuppreſs his name, ſince he has ſo weakly anſwered my arguments.* This he ſays concerning a Miniſter of Bern (2), who had writ ſomething

(1) *Pag.* 303, *of his* Erreur populaire, *Edit. of Bourdeaux* 1594.

(2) He denotes him only by theſe two letters *R. T.*

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Prele at Paris: which I obſerve only to have an opportunity to mention what he ſays concerning the book *de Tribus Impoſtoribus* [B]. Botereius places his death in the year 1602 (e), and Moreri in the year 1600. Some will have it that he is not the author of the books that are aſcribed to him [C], whereof the moſt conſiderable is *The Hiſtory of the Birth, Progreſs, and Declenſion of the Hereſy of this Age.* He was the unfitteſt man in the world to ſucceed in ſuch an undertaking [D], conſidering the hatred he had conceived

(e) Rodolph. Botereius, Commentar. de Rebus in Gallia geſtis, *lib. ix, pag.* 91.

ſomething againſt the anonymous book of the popular error concerning Pope Joan: which was the reaſon why the author publiſhed a ſecond edition of it well reviſed, and *undertook a longer and more ſerious work*; it was that concerning Anti-Chriſt. Vignier ſays that he made uſe of the ſecond edition of the Anti-Chriſt, and of the Anti-Pope Joan, *reviſed, corrected, and enlarged by the author, and printed at Paris, by Abel l'Angelier*, 1599 (3). He is miſtaken as to the Anti-Pope Joan; for the Paris edition 1599, was at leaſt the fourth; for there was one printed at Lyons by Bennet Rigaut, in 8vo, in the year 1595 (4). Cooke is ſtill more miſtaken, for he ſays that book was firſt written in French in the year 1602 (5). Saggittarius mentions only the French edition of Bourdeaux of the ſame year (6). The third book of Remond did not come out till after his death; it is intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Birth, Progreſs, and Decay of Hereſy in this age, divided into eight books.* The ſixth book was to contain an account of the ſchiſm of England; they found only the title of it among the papers of the author: he compoſed firſt *the ſeventh and the eighth, which were more neceſſary, becauſe they contained the hiſtory of what had happened in France* (7). Francis de Remond, his ſon, who took care of the impreſſion of that book, and dedicated it to Paul V, ſupplied the ſixth book (8). Sagittarius obſerves, that Florimond de Remond, or rather the Jeſuit Richeome, writ the Hiſtory of the Birth, Progreſs, and Decay of Hereſy, in three volumes; he quotes the French edition of Paris 1605, and that of 1624 (9). This account is not exact; for the edition of 1605, contains only one volume, and it is the only one that was written by Remond; the other two were compoſed by Claudius Mallingre, Hiſtoriographer of France, and printed at Paris in 1624. That work of Remond, and Mallingre's continuation, have been reprinted ſeveral times (10), ſometimes in French, and ſometimes in Latin. The two other works of Remond have been likewiſe tranſlated into Latin. Note, that he publiſhed at Bourdeaux in 1594, the French tranſlation he had made of Tertullian's treatiſe *de Corona Militis*, and of the ſame Father's diſcourſe *ad Martyres*. Note alſo, that Baronius, and ſome other writers of the ſame party, do very much commend his books of controverſy.

(3) Vignier, Théatre de l'Antechriſt, *in the table of the authors.*

(4) Blondel *made uſe of this in his* Examen Quæſt. de Papa fœmina, *where he takes notice of the errors of* Florimond de Remond.

(5) Cooke, upon Pope Joan, *pag. m.* 2.

(6) Sagittar. Introduct. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. *pag.* 683.

(7) *See the preface to the* Hiſtoire de la naiſſance, &c. de l'Hereſie.

(8) I was forced to work hard, and to write in haſte, that I might publiſh it as ſoon as ever I could. *Ibid.*

(9) Sagitt. ibid. *pag.* 820.

(10) I make uſe of the Roan edition 1648.

[B] *What he ſays concerning the book* de Tribus Impoſtoribus.] 'Have we not ſeen a deteſtable 'book forged in Germany, tho' printed in another 'country, at the very ſame time that hereſy acted 'it's part, which ſowed this doctrine with this horrid title, *Of the three Impoſtors*, &c. ridiculing the 'three prevailing religions, which alone acknowledge 'the true God, *viz.* the Jewiſh, the Chriſtian, and 'the Mahometan. That title alone ſhewed that it 'was a production of Hell; and what an age it muſt 'be which could bring forth ſo terrible a monſter. 'I would not have mentioned it, if Hoſius and Genebrard had not ſpoken of it before me. I remember, that when I was a little boy, I ſaw a copy of 'it in the college de Prele in Ramus's hands, who 'was an eminent man for his learning, and who 'confounded himſelf with his enquiries into the myſteries of religion, which he coupled with Philoſophy. That wicked book was handed about among 'the moſt learned, who were deſirous to ſee it (11).' Theſe are Remond's words. If he had known, that this wicked book was talked of under the empire of Frederic II (12), would he have been ſo bold as to aſcribe the production of ſuch a monſter to the XVIth century? Perhaps he would, for his only deſign was to render Lutheraniſm odious *per fas & nefas*. Moſt people father the pretended book *de tribus Impoſtoribus* upon Aretin (13), they put it therefore upon Italy, and not upon Germany.

(11) Remond. Hiſt. de la naiſſance de l'Hereſie, *livr. ii, ch. xvi, pag. m.* 236.

(12) See the article ARETIN (PETER), remark [G].

(13) See the ſame remark.

[C] *Some will have it, that he is not the author of the books that are aſcribed to him.*] Let us go back a little. Mr Sagittarius ſupplies me with the two following paſſages in a book printed in 1694. *Florimundus Ræmundus, Vaſco, ſenator parliamenti Burdegalenſis, ſub cujus nomine Ludovicus Richeomus, Jeſuitici Sodalitii Theologus, Gallice ſcripſit* Errorem popularem de Johanna Pſeudo-pontifice, dicta Papiſſa, *Latine poſtea verſum* (14). This he ſays, pag. 683. Let us ſee what he ſays, pag. 820. *Florimundus Ræmundus*, five potius cujus ſtylo uſus eſt, *Ludovicus Richeomius* Soc. J. qui *de ortu, progreſſu & interitu hæreticorum hujus temporis* Tomis III. commentatus eſt. I proceed to a book printed in 1688. 'It is very much doubted, 'whether Florimond was really the author of thoſe 'books that paſs under his name. For many have 'ſaid, that Father Richeome, a Jeſuit, wrote them, 'and borrowed the name of a counſellor of the parliament of Bourdeaux, to give his work the more 'credit. Perhaps it was thought neceſſary to ſet a 'writer of ſome name in oppoſition to Thuanus, 'whoſe hiſtory was written with too much ſincerity to 'be acceptable to the Jeſuits. Peter Matthieu in his 'hiſtory ſays poſitively, that it was believed Father Richeome was the author of the books that went under 'the name of Florimond de Raymond. Vignier in his 'Theatre of Anti-Chriſt, and Rivetus in his Anſwer to 'the Jeſuit, ſay the ſame thing; and theſe were the men 'that wrote ſoon after Florimond's book appeared. Blondel was alſo of the ſame opinion (15).' Theſe are the words of a doctor, which is now an illuſtrious Prelate in England. It is certain, that theſe following words are to be found in a work of Vignier: *Matthieu the king's Hiſtoriographer ſays in his Hiſtory of the King, that he does not think that the book concerning Anti-Chriſt was written by the ſaid Remond, but by the Jeſuit Richeome* (16). It is no leſs certain, that Rivetus having mentioned what Florimond de Remond acknowledges to Calvin's honour in his Hiſtory of the birth of Hereſy, adds this (17): *I have been willing to inſert here the words of an enemy, and perhaps of the Jeſuit Richeome, to whom Peter Matthieu aſcribes Ræmond's Anti-Chriſt.* I have found the paſſage of Peter Matthieu; here it is: 'The aſſembly began with declaring that the biſhop 'of Rome was the Anti-Chriſt, foretold in the word of 'GOD. It is a long time ſince the miniſters have 'taught this doctrine in their writings, and in their 'ſermons, and the Catholics have taught the contrary. 'Florimond de Ræmond, or, as I think, Richeome a 'Jeſuit under that name, has more enlarged upon that 'ſubject than any body elſe, and collected by way of 'Antitheſis whatever belongs to the true Anti-Chriſt, 'and to the pretended one (18).' I leave it to the readers to judge whether this is a ſufficient ground to lay down as a certain matter of fact, that all the controverſial books that have been publiſhed under the name of Florimond de Remond, had been written by Richeome. But here is another teſtimony of one of the authors, who confuted Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm. *I cannot give any credit*, ſays he (19), *to Florimond de Remond, having been told by a counſellor of the parliament of Bourdeaux, called Lewis le Maſſip, (an honeſt man, with whom I have been intimately acquainted, having lodged at his houſe at Bourdeaux in* 1650, *where I attended the court, and having kept correſpondence with him for ſome years by letters) that it was a conſtant tradition in that country, that Remond, who was a member of their parliament, had three conſiderable advantages:* 1. To grow old without being gray-haired: 2. To build without money: 3. To write without learning; becauſe the Jeſuits ſupplied him with whatever is to be found in his Hiſtory of the beginning and declenſion of Hereſy.

(14) Sagittarius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 683.

(15) Burnet's Defence of the Reflexions on Varillas, *pag.* 26.

(16) Nicolas Vignier, *Théatre de l'Antechriſt*, in the table of the authors. I make uſe of the Geneva edition 1613, in 8vo, which was preceded by the edition in folio, 1610.

(17) Rivet, Sommaire des Controverſes (*it is* An Anſwer to the Controverſial Catechiſm, publiſhed by the Jeſuit William Baile), *pag.* 16, *of the 2d edition, which is that of Geneva* 1609, *in* 8vo.

(18) Matthieu, Hiſtoire de Henri IV, *lib. vi, Narration V, p. m.* 628, *ſpeaking of the National Synod of Gap.*

(19) John Baptiſte de Rocolles, Hiſtoire veritable du Calviniſme, *pag.* 283.

[D] *He was the unfitteſt man in the world to ſucceed in ſuch an undertaking.*] Hiſtory, generally ſpeaking, is the moſt difficult compoſure that an author can undertake, or one of the moſt difficult. It requires a great judgment, a noble, clear and conciſe ſtile, a good conſcience, a perfect probity, many excellent materials, and the art of placing them in good order, and above all things the power of reſiſting the inſtinct of a religious zeal, which prompts one to cry down what he thinks to be falſe, and to adorn and embelliſh what he thinks to be true. From this ſhort and very juſt deſcription of the talents, that make up the character of a good Hiſtorian, one may eaſily perceive, that

QUALIFICATIONS requiſite for a good Hiſtorian.

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conceived againſt the party wherein he had been brought up, which a miracle, as he

Florimond de Remond could not ſucceed in his deſign of writing the Hiſtory of the beginning and progreſs of Lutheraniſm and Calviniſm. It was a great ſubject, one of the greateſt revolutions that have appeared in the Chriſtian world. Reaſons of ſtate had crept into it, and were combined with the intereſts of religion; which made up a mixture that increaſed the Hiſtorian's labour, and required great application, and a mind wholly free from prejudices. I do not examine whether our Remond had learning, judgment, and wit enough, and a good ſtile to treat well ſo important a ſubject, and I am willing to ſuppoſe, that in that reſpect he was far leſs contemptible than he is repreſented to be by his adverſaries; but had he had no other faults than thoſe, which his zeal for the Catholic religion, and his hatred againſt the Proteſtants produced in him, he ſhould have acknowledged that he undertook a work which was ſuperior to his ſtrength. He ſtumbled in his preliminaries; he did like thoſe who go about to build a houſe, before they caſt up the expence they muſt be at, to know whether they are able to ſpend ſo much (20). He neglected the precept which the moſt ſkillful maſters have ſo wiſely recommended, to wit, to pitch upon a ſubject adapted to one's capacity, and to make a long trial of one's ability:

(20) See St Luke's Goſpel, chap. xiv, ver. 28.

Sumite materiam veſtris, qui ſcribitis, æquam
Viribus, & verſate diu, quid ferre recuſent,
Quid valeant humeri (21).

(21) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 38.

You writers try the vigour of your muſe,
And what her ſtrength will bear and what refuſe,
And after that an equal ſubject chuſe.

CREECH.

The chief thing he ſhould have done, was to examine his conſcience, but in all probability it was what he neglected moſt: He did not think of ſounding his heart, and aſking himſelf very ſeriouſly, *Can I publiſh ſuch truths as would be diſadvantageous to the Catholics, and advantageous to the Huguenots? They hate me, and I hate them; they have abuſed me, and I have abuſed them. I have publiſhed ſome controverſial books, which they have refuted, and I have replied; can I be ſure that I ſhall not be overcome in the leaſt by my paſſion, my zeal, and my reſentment, and that I ſhall never tell a lie in favour of my cauſe* (22)? They, who have read his Hiſtory with ſome attention, may ſay without any raſhneſs, that he did not conſult himſelf about thoſe things, or that he did not follow the dictates of his conſcience. He repreſents the Proteſtants as guilty of all ſorts of injuſtice, and the Catholics as very wiſe and innocent men; and he ſeldom relates any thing without uſing injurious epithets, and outrageous words againſt Hereſy and the Heretics. His quotations ſignify but little; for he alledges either men of his party, and who, moſt of them, had ſome perſonal diſputes (23) with the miniſters, or ſome Proteſtants, as he found them quoted in the writings of thoſe men. Such an Hiſtorian muſt neceſſarily be a ſlave to pious frauds, or deluded by himſelf, and conſequently the unfitteſt man in the world to write the Hiſtory of the beginning and growth of the Proteſtant religion, and the fitteſt to tranſgreſs againſt the two great laws of his profeſſion (24); for there are ſome falſities he does not ſcruple to publiſh, and there are ſome truths he dare not publiſh. An Hiſtorian, who deſigns to write ſuch a Hiſtory, ſhould be told, as Phaëton was,

(22) See the remark [L], of the article TIMÆUS.

(23) That is, diſputes by word or writing.

(24) Quis neſcit primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, ne quid falſi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat, ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo, ne qua ſimultatis? *Cicero, de Orat. lib. ii, fol. m. 74, A.*

Magna petis, Phaëton, & quæ non viribus iſtis
Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis (25).

Too vaſt and hazardous the taſk appears,
Not ſuited to thy ſtrength, nor to thy years.

ADDISON.

(25) Ovid. Metam. lib. ii, ver. 54.

I know ſome perſons, who could wiſh we had ſome Hiſtories of that important Revolution written neither by a Roman Catholic, nor by a Proteſtant. They fancy that party-intereſt, zeal for one's cauſe, and, much more, hatred of the contrary religion, engage a writer to exaggerate, or to ſuppreſs, or extenuate, or to diſguiſe things according as they may ſerve, or prejudice the honour of his party. They wiſh therefore, that a Thucydides, or a Livy, might have given us the Hiſtory of the events, which Florimond de Remond promiſes us in the title of his work. They wiſh thoſe illuſtrious authors might have done it, not ſo much on account of their eloquence and great judgment, as becauſe they were Heathens, and might have been neuters between the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtianity; ſo that they would have related without any prejudice or partiality, what was to be praiſed or blamed in the conduct of the Papiſts, Lutherans, and Calviniſts. But I do not know whether they might have kept an exact neutrality; for Popery being more agreeable to Paganiſm than the Proteſtant religion, they might have been prepoſſeſſed againſt Luther and Calvin. An Hiſtorian can never ſtand too much upon his guard; and it is almoſt impoſſible for him to be altogether free from prejudices. There are ſome forms of government, and ſome moral and political maxims, which he likes or diſlikes. This moves him to favour one party rather than another, even when he writes the Hiſtory of an ancient nation, or of a remote country. Suppoſe a man writes in our days the Hiſtory of an Indian king, who died two or three hundred years ago, after he had been dethroned, you will be apt to believe that no intereſt can hinder him from being a ſincere writer; and yet if he is an enemy to monarchy, and approves the rebellion of ſubjects, he will uſe a thouſand ſhifts and diſguiſes to render the memory of that monarch odious, and to juſtify the Civil wars which pulled him down from the throne. An Hiſtorian, who is an enemy to rebellion, would take a quite contrary courſe. Which is the reaſon why there are ſo few Hiſtories wherein the naked truth appears, and that are free from ſome marks of the Hiſtorian's anger or diſcontent, or from his ſatirical ſtrokes againſt ſome living perſons. He meets with them in his way, whilſt he writes the Hiſtory of the Indies. All readers cannot gueſs whom he means; but ſome gueſs at it, and he knows very well that ſome will. You may judge whether we can truſt the modern Hiſtorians, ſince Livy himſelf could not be altogether impartial between the Proteſtants and the Catholics, by reaſon of a certain general conformity. The beſt advice that could have been given to Florimond de Remond, had been to tell him that he ſhould continue to write controverſial books, wherein an author may be allowed to appear paſſionate; and not to ſet up for an Hiſtorian, it being an employment that does not agree with a zealous Catholic as he was, and which he ſhould have left to lukewarm and indifferent men. I am likewiſe of opinion, that a zealous Huguenot ſhould be adviſed not to write the Hiſtory of Calviniſm, or Lutheraniſm, or that of the edict of Nantes, or any ſuch like. They ſhould tell him, You are exaſperated, you have conceived a great hatred againſt the perſecutors, you are full of an ardent zeal for your cauſe, you would give us not a Hiſtory, but a piece like an advocate's plea; you would only blame the contrary party, and praiſe or juſtify your's; this you could not do without omitting ſeveral things, and publiſhing many falſities. Write therefore ſome other book, if you deſign to do ſomething that way for the public good.

But here is another reaſon why ſo few men can write a good Hiſtory. They who are able to overcome all prejudices, and reject all the tricks of art, could not appear altogether impartial without expoſing themſelves to the indignation of the people; (the word *people* has a large extent, and takes in a great many perſons of rank and title) they would be looked upon as falſe brethren, prevaricators, and perfidious men. Was not la Popeliniere like to be cruſhed to pieces, for having related ſome things in his Hiſtory of the Troubles under Charles IX, otherwiſe than he ſhould have done in the opinion of many? I ſhall ſpeak of it in his article in the Supplement to this Dictionary. Several people could wiſh that an Hiſtorian of their party would imitate thoſe that play at Piquet, who keep only good cards, and lay out the bad ones.

WHY I ſaid that probity ought to be an ingredient of the character of an Hiſtorian.

Perhaps ſome will wonder that I ſhould aſſert that an upright conſcience, and a perfect probity, are neceſſary to an Hiſtorian; and it will be ſaid that an ingenious

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he pretended, had obliged him to forſake. But that Hiſtory, though never ſo bad, has been quoted by a great many writers (*f*), and it is a ſurpriſing thing to find in many books ſeveral matters of fact very conſiderable, and of great conſequence, for which the reader is referred not to any authentic pieces, but to Florimond de Remond's teſtimony. Some ſay he did very ill diſcharge the duties of his office in the parliament of Bourdeaux [*E*]. The Proteſtants taxed him with a very great partiality againſt them (*g*). Varillas was a little mortified when he was obliged to confeſs he had tranſcribed that author [*F*].

(*f*) See the remark [*Y*], of the article OCHINUS.

(*g*) See the remark [*E*].

genious man may write a good Hiſtory as well as a good ſpeech, and a good tragedy, without thoſe qualifications; I ſhall therefore prove my aſſertion: in order to it, I obſerve that truth being the ſoul of Hiſtory, it is an eſſential thing for an hiſtorical compoſition to be free from lies; ſo that though it ſhould have all other perfections, it will not be a Hiſtory, but a meer fable and romance, if it wants truth. It is not ſo with a poetical or rhetorical piece. From whence I conclude, that none can be well qualified to write a good Hiſtory, unleſs he be ſuch an enemy to lying, that his conſcience does not permit him to tell lies even to the advantage of his religion, and deareſt friends, nor to the diſadvantage of an impious ſect, and of his moſt implacable perſecutors. I underſtand by lying, not only the invention of a falſe thing, but alſo the ſuppreſſion or addition of certain circumſtances, that may ſerve to juſtify others, or to lay ſomething to their charge. Thoſe, who have not ſuch an upright conſcience, and ſuch a perfect probity, will be guilty of a fraud in writing Hiſtories, ſometimes to pleaſe thoſe from whom they expect good offices, and ſometimes for fear of diſobliging ſome perſons, who might hinder them from obtaining penſions. What has been ſaid (26) of the Orator, is ſtill more neceſſary to an Hiſtorian: he ought to be defined, *Vir bonus narrandi peritus, an honeſt man, who knows how to relate things.* And yet you ſhall ſeldom hear any body enquire, whether the author of an Hiſtory is an honeſt man. The uſual queſtion is, Whether he be a man of wit and judgment? Whether he has a fine ſtyle? Whether he pleaſes the reader? And according as the anſwer is, people will either buy his book or not buy it. They ſhould at leaſt imitate thoſe, who in their enquiries about the character of witneſſes, begun with their riches, and ended with their honeſty (27).

(26) See, above, citation (203), of the article PERICLES.

(27) It is commonly ſaid, to denote a covetous age, that a father, who deſigns to marry his ſon, inquires firſt whether ſuch a maid is rich; ſecondly, whether ſhe is handſome; and laſtly, whether ſhe is honeſt.

Protinus ad cenſum, de moribus ultima fiet
Quæſtio: quot paſcit ſervos, quot poſſidet agri
Jugera, quam multa magnaque paropſide cœnat (28)?

The queſtion is not put how far extends
His piety, but what he yearly ſpends:
Quick, to the buſineſs; how he lives and eats;
How largely gives; how ſplendidly he treats:
How many thouſand acres feed his ſheep,
What are his rents, what ſervants does he keep.

DRYDEN.

(28) Juven. Sat. III, ver. 140.

It ought to be enquired whether the author is an honeſt man. Mr **** begins with ſuch a queſtion, when they ſhew him in a Bookſeller's ſhop the Relation of a Voyage, the Memoirs of ſuch a one, &c. Here is a book, ſay they to him, very well written, very curious, and that ſells well. But, ſays he, do you know the author of it? Is he a vain and ambitious man? Does he love pleaſure? Could he appear in a good dreſs, without getting three or four hundred crowns from the Bookſeller that he made uſe of? I ſhould be glad to know that before all things; for the writer of a relation, if he be a vain man, and deſigns to be well paid for his copy, will not ſcruple to foiſt into it all the lies that may pleaſe the reader, and ſet off the author.

[*E*] *Some ſay that he diſcharged very ill the duties of his office in the parliament of Bourdeaux.*] Conſult Dr Burnet in his *Defence of the Reflexions on Varillas*, where you will find theſe words: Florimond de Remond *was as little eſteemed in the quality of a Judge, as he deſerves to be for his writings; for the character that was given of him, was no leſs ſevere than pleaſant:* Judicat ſine conſcientia, libros ſcribit ſine ſcientia, & ædificat ſine pecunia: - - - *He judges without conſcience, he writes books without knowledge, and builds without money* (29).' If you read the laſt pages of the French edition, you will find an extract of a letter (§ *a*) with a preamble, that deſerve to be tranſcribed. Here they are: *So many complaints were made about his malignity and injuſtice towards the Proteſtants, in his life-time, that no credit can be given to his teſtimony againſt them. It is an eaſy thing for an unjuſt Judge to become a paſſionate Hiſtorian; nay, one muſt be more hard-hearted to commit an injuſtice as a Judge, than to write a falſhood as an Hiſtorian. But here is the extract I have mentioned* (30). ' *There is a book intituled,* Plaintes des Egliſes Réformées au Roi, ſur pluſieurs injuſtices qui leur ſont faites. - - - *The complaint of the Reformed Churches to the king concerning ſeveral injuſtices they have ſuffered. It was printed in* 1597, *without the author's name. They complain, among others, of Florimond de Raymond, who, during the troubles of* 1572, *having been taken in a journey by a party of the Proteſtants, who made him pay a ranſom of one thouſand livres, never loſt any occaſion to get himſelf re-imburſed, and had that ſum paid him ten or twelve times, as he himſelf boaſted. Afterwards, being appointed to report the caſe of a Proteſtant widow, whoſe huſband had been killed in cold blood by a Roman Catholic, he helped the criminal off, ſo that the murder remained unpuniſhed. We find alſo at the end of the ſame book, that a Proteſtant maid having been buried in the churchyard of the Catholics at Bourdeaux, there came out a decree, at Remond's ſollicitation, by which it was ordered, that the body of that maid ſhould be taken up, and denied burial, together with all the bodies of the Proteſtants that had been buried there for the ſpace of ten years* (31).'

(29) Burnet, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 27, 28.

(30) Pag. 146, 147, of the French edition.

(31) See the Notes on the *Confeſſion de Sancy*, *pag.* 444, where you will find that the extract, tranſmitted to Dr Burnet, was not altogether exact.

[(§ *a*) The letter was addreſſed to Mr Jurieu, and writ by the author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of Sanci from Paris in 1688. Some time after he ſent him the book itſelf, to rectify by it ſome inaccuracies that had ſlipped into his letter, for want of having the piece before him when he writ. See the remarks on the Confeſſion of Sanci, page 443, of the ſecond edition. REM. CRIT.]

[*F*] *Mr Varillas was a little mortified, when he was obliged to confeſs that he had tranſcribed that author.*] Dr Burnet criticized him (32) for having denied that the marriage of the prince of Wales (33) with the Infanta of Spain had been conſummated, and repreſented to him, that *he might have more eaſily impoſed on his readers, if he had ſet over againſt this, on the margin, ſome citations of a letter, or recital, which would have coſt him nothing, and have been full as true as his other citations are.* His anſwer contains this among other things, that *ſuppoſing he had poſitively affirmed that* this marriage *was not conſummated,* it would not be a fiction of his own, and that *he could alledge a good authority for it* (34), meaning Florimond de Remond. He declares, that conſidering how partially the Engliſh, German, Italian, and Spaniſh, writers had writ about the ſchiſm of Henry VIII, he had *been obliged to pitch upon a French author, and that he caſt his eyes upon Florimond de Raimond. He was counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux; he had a wife and children; he had no particular reaſon to diſguiſe the truth: The Calviniſts were in his time in the heighth of their power; he had no occaſion to be diſpleaſed with them; and he ſpent ſo much time upon his Hiſtory of the birth, progreſs, and declenſion of Hereſy, that he died before it was made public. His children took care to get it printed: it met with a very good reception; there have been ſeveral editions of it, and ſince not one Proteſtant has undertaken to confute it within theſe fourſcore years, no more than the books concerning Anti-Chriſt and Pope Joan, written by the ſame author; I had ſome reaſon to believe that if they did not approve of it, it was at leaſt indifferent to them* (35). Dr Burnet did eaſily run down the authority of ſuch a voucher: he ſhewed that *Florimond de Remond lived far from England, and from the knowledge of Engliſh affairs* (36); and that *a man ſees in every period of his Hiſtory, ſo much of a malignant ſpirit againſt the Reformation, that this gives a juſt prejudice againſt all that*

(32) Burnet's Reflexions on the ninth book of Varillas, *pag.* 41.

(33) Arthur ſon of Henry VII.

(34) Varillas, Réponſe à la Critique de Dr Burnet, *pag. m.* 97.

(35) Ibid. *pag.* 98.

(36) Burnet's Defence of the Reflexions, *pag.* 24.

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that he ſays . . . . . and beſides, that *this part of his Hiſtory, which relates to the affairs of England, is not ſo much as pretended to be writ by him* (37): For the contrary is expreſsly intimated in the preface, and *his ſon ſeems to claim the honour of that to himſelf. Nay, it is very much doubted whether he was at all the author of thoſe books that paſſed under his name*; for many have aſcribed them to Father Richeome. He adds (38), that *Florimond de Remond never paſſed in France among Hiſtorians for an author of any note, either for judgment or ſincerity*; and that he was accounted an unjuſt judge. The Doctor goes on, and ſays, *Mr Varillas, who, perhaps a year ago, would have reſented it, as the greateſt indignity that could have been done him, if it had been ſaid that he did nothing but copy ſo bad an author, and that he was only his eccho, is now glad to fly to ſo poor a ſhift; for which he is, as I hear, ſo much cenſured in Paris, that it is perhaps too great a cruelty in me to urge this matter any further.* He jeers him for having obſerved that Remond had a wife and children. *It is not eaſy*, ſays the Doctor (39), *to find out the force of this argument: but a man muſt riſe above the vulgar, as much as Mr Varillas, to comprehend his lofty ſtrains. If to have a wife and children makes a man a good writer, one may conclude without any further inquiry, that Mr Varillas has neither. Here is alſo a new argument for the marriage of the Clergy, that has never been yet thought on; yet an ordinary capacity ſuch as mine cannot comprehend why this ſhould have made Florimond de Remond a good writer, and why it had not the ſame effect on Thuanus.* At the end of the book this Critic tells him that the Proteſtants publiſhed their complaints againſt the furious animoſity which Remond expreſſed againſt them (40): this was ſufficient to prepoſſeſs him when he went about to write their Hiſtory; but beſides, he had not forgot that he had been their priſoner, and paid his ranſom to them. Is it not therefore a ſhameful thing for Varillas to maintain that he *had no occaſion to be diſpleaſed with them?* But if any Hiſtorian ſhould bluſh to alledge nothing elſe but the authority of ſuch a voucher as Remond, in giving an account of the ſchiſm of England; it is a moſt ſhameful thing for Varillas in particular to do ſo, ſince he ſet up for a writer, well furniſhed with rare, authentic, private, and unknown manuſcripts.

I muſt obſerve that there is a falſity in Varillas, that was not taken notice of. He pretends that the books concerning Anti-Chriſt and Pope Joan, written by Florimond de Remond, have not been refuted. If he had caſt his eyes upon the title page of the Theatre of Anti-Chriſt (41), and upon Alexander Cooke's Dialogue (42), he might have ſeen the contrary. I muſt alſo obſerve that the reaſon he alledges, grounded upon his Hiſtorian, being a married man, is not a contemptible one; for it is more natural to believe that a Layman was free from prejudices in writing the hiſtory of the enemies of his church, than it is natural to expect ſuch a thing from a Clergyman. And therefore Varillas might be perſuaded that Florimond de Remond was leſs to be ſuſpected than a Monk, or a Prieſt. I confeſs this reaſon is as good for Thuanus; but ſince he writ nothing about Henry the eighth's ſchiſm, how could Varillas make uſe of him? He might therefore have defended himſelf as to this particular.

(37) Ibid. *pag.* 25, 26.

(38) Ibid. *pag.* 28.

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 29.

(40) That paſſage of Dr Burnet is to be ſeen above, citation (31).

(41) Written by Nicolas Vignier, a minister, and printed in 1610. There came out alſo a book intitled, *L'Antechriſt Romain*, in anſwer to our Remond.

(42) It was tranſlated out of Engliſh into French by John de la Montagne.

RENOU (JOHN DE), in Latin *Renodæus*, Counſellor and Phyſician to the king at Paris, towards the beginning of the XVIIth century, was a Norman (*a*). He chiefly excelled in Pharmacy, as appears by the tracts which he compoſed in Latin [*A*], and which were tranſlated into French by Lewis de Serres. This tranſlator (*b*) affirmed in his praiſe, that in this part of Phyſic he as far ſurpaſſed Fernelius and Sylvius, and all others who had meddled with the ſame ſubject before, as Fernelius and Sylvius ſurpaſs Mirepſus and Præpoſitus. It is eaſy to obſerve that he was no great friend to Riverius, Phyſician to Henry IV. He even treats him as a Mountebank (*c*). I have taken notice that he rejects an infinite number of popular errors, touching the virtues of plants and minerals, &c. but he ſometimes ſpares traditions that are very childiſh [*B*]. He cenſured ſomewhat in Bauderon's Diſpenſatory (*d*), which gave occaſion to his being accuſed of Plagiariſm; for that author's ſon maintained that John de Renou had enriched his Antidotary with an infinite number of thefts taken from the Diſpenſatory of his deceaſed father, Bauderon (*e*). Renou anſwered, that the charge was equally falſe and ridiculous (*f*).

(*a*) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the French tranſlation of his Works.

(*b*) See his preface.

(*c*) Renou, *book iii, of his* Materia Medica, *ch. xxxiv, pag. m.* 465.

(*d*) Idem, *book vi, of his* Antidotarium, *chap. iv, pag.* 739.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *The tracts which he compoſed in Latin.*] The title of them runs thus; *Diſpenſatorium Galeno-Chymicum continens Inſtitutionum Pharmaceuticarum libros V; De Materia Medica libros III; & Antidotarium varium & abſolutiſſimum.* The *Lindenius renovatus* (1) mentions the editions of Paris in 1608, and 1623, in 4to; that of Frankfort, 1609, in 8vo; that of Hanau, 1631, in 4to; and that of Geneva, reviſed by Peter Uffenback, and enlarged with ſome new pieces, 1631, in 8vo. They have forgot the edition of Frankfort, 1615, from which Lewis de Serres had made his firſt tranſlation. He was afterwards informed that the author had enlarged this work by one third part in the Paris edition, 1623; and likewiſe tranſlated this ſupplement, and added it to the ſecond edition of his verſion. This ſecond edition is of Lyons, 1626, printed for Antony Chard. The copy which I have ſeen, ſhews in the title page that it is printed at Lyons, for Nicholas Gay, in the year 1637. The work is in folio, and contains fourteen books; five for the *Inſtitutiones Pharmaceuticæ*, three for the *Materia Medica*, and ſix for the *Antidotarium:* there are innumerable typographical errors in it. Lewis de Serres was of Dauphiné, and Fellow of the college of Phyſicians at Lyons. Mr Allard has not given him a place in his *Bibliotheque de Dauphiné.*

(1) At page 666, of the edition of 1686.

B] *Sometimes he ſpares traditions that are very childiſh.*] I ſhall give but one inſtance of it. *They ſay the virtue of the Emerald is ſo great, that it not only preſerves from the falling-ſickneſs all thoſe that wear it ſet in gold on their fingers, but alſo ſtrengthens the memory, and powerfully reſiſts the efforts of carnal concupiſcence. For they tell us, that the king of Hungary being hotly engaged with his wife, perceived that a fine emerald, which he wore upon his finger, broke into three pieces during their amorous conflict; ſuch a friend is that ſtone to chaſtity. This being ſo, I find that the interpreter of Meſue was in the right to ſubſtitute the emerald in the room of the turcoiſe,* &c (2).

(2) Renou, *book ii, of his* Materia Medica, *c. i, pag.* 400.

RESENIUS (PETER), Counſellor and Profeſſor at Copenhagen, was born there the ſeventh of June 1625. His father, and his two grandfathers by his mother's and father's ſide, had been biſhops of Sealand. He was made Sub-principal of the college of Copenhagen in 1646; and having reſigned that employment the year following, he travelled into foreign countries. He ſtudied the *Belles Lettres*, and the Civil-Law, for the ſpace of four years, in the univerſity of Leyden, and then he went into France, Spain, and Italy. He was a whole year at Padua, where he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law. He was elected Counſellor of the German nation there, and Vice-Syndic of the univerſity, and in that quality he made an harangue in the ſenate of Venice, and obtained a privilege for that univerſity. If he had pleaſed he might have

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have been made a knight of St Mark. He left Padua after he had taken his degree of Doctor of Law the eleventh of September 1653. He returned into Denmark by the way of Germany, and married the eighth of July 1655. He was made Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy, in the univerſity of Copenhagen, the twenty-fifth of November 1657, and then Conſul of the ſame city, and counſellor in the ſupreme council, and at laſt Preſident of Copenhagen, and counſellor of juſtice. He had a grant of nobility the eighth of January 1680, and was made counſellor of ſtate the ſixth of May 1684. He had a very fine library, which he beſtowed upon the univerſity of Copenhagen: the catalogue of it was printed (*a*) in 1685. He alſo publiſhed ſeveral books (*b*) [*A*].

(*a*) At Copenhagen, in 4to.

(*b*) Taken from the Journal of his Life, written by himſelf, and prefixed to the catalogue of his library.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Here is the liſt of them; *Edda Snorronis Sturleſonii triplici linguâ Iſlandicâ & Latinâ: quarum Iſlandica primitiva eſt, reliquæ autem interpretationes. Præfixa etiam prolegomena de triplici ratione docendi Ethicam: Item de Eddæ Scriptoribus partibus & aliis ſimilibus. Impreſſum eſt hoc opus* in quarto *quam appellant forma, Anno MDCLXV. Eddæ Sæmundianæ pars dicta HAVAMAAL, complexa Ethicam Odini: eſtque & Iſlandicè & Latinè impreſſa, in quarto, ut vocant, anno MDCLXV. Eddæ Sæmundianæ VOLUSPA, continens Philoſophiam Danorum, Norvegorumque antiquiſſimam: eſtque impreſſa* in quarto, *anno MDCLXV. item anno MDCLXXIII. additis Gudmundi Andreæ Iſlandi annotationibus. Inſcriptiones Havnienſes, Amagrienſes & Uraniburgicæ, Latinæ, Danicæ & Germanicæ; una cum addita narratione de Tychone Brahco diverſiſque ipſius & ſororis ipſius Sophiæ Brabeæ epiſtolis, editæ* in quarto, *anno MDCLXVIII. Jus aulicum vetus Regum Norvegorum, dictum HIRDSKRAA: Item jus aulicum vetus Regum Danorum dictum VITHERLAGSRET, linguâ triplici, originali Iſlandica, interpretibus Danica, atque Latina, additæ quoque annotationes, Impreſſio facta Havniæ anno MDCLXXIII. Havniæ delineatio topographica in æra expreſſa, unà cum brevi partium & locorum enarratione, Danicè & Germanicè impreſſa Havniæ, anno MDCLXXIV. Samoſæ deſcriptio & delineatio cum figuris.* in folio, *Havniæ anno MDCLXXV. Friderici II. Hiſt. Danicè* in folio *cum figuris, Haf. an. MDCLXXV. Lexicon Iſlandicum Gudmundi Andreæ Iſlandi, cum præfatione de ejuſdem vita: in forma quarta Havniæ, anno MDCLXXXIII. Leges Cimbricæ Valdemari ſecundi Regis Danici, Germanicè, interprete Erico Krabbio, equite Danico. In præfatione addita eſt narratio de ordine equeſtri Dannebrogico: item de novo corpore Juris Danici: nec non de genealogia ejuſdem Erici Krabbii. Havniæ* in quarto, *anno MDCLXXXIV. Leges civiles & eccleſiaſticæ Chriſtiani Secundi* in quarto, *Havniæ anno MDCLXXXIV. Havniæ & Riparum jus urbicum. In* 12*mo Havniæ, eod. an. MDCLXXXIV* (1).

(1) Vita Riſenii, *folio* D ij *verſo.*

REVEREND-DE-BOUGY (JOHN), marquis de Bougy, and lieutenant-general in the French armies, under the reign of Lewis XIV, diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon many occaſions by his great courage and ability, and by a conſtant adherence to the ſervice of his king, when ſo many others joined with the rebels in the laſt civil war (*a*). He was a Proteſtant, and of an antient and noble family in the Lower Normandy [*A*], and the youngeſt of ſixteen brothers or ſiſters (*b*). He got into the regiment of guards as a cadet at twelve years of age, and afterwards he raiſed himſelf by degrees; for he was ſucceſſively a cornet, captain of the light-horſe, colonel of horſe, &c (*c*). He was cornet of the Gendarmes of marſhal de Gaſſion (*d*), who conceived ſo great an affection and eſteem for him [*B*], that this very thing is enough to convince us of his bravery, and other military accompliſhments. He proved very thankful; for he eſpouſed the intereſts of that marſhal ſo zealouſly, that cardinal Mazarin could never bring him off. His Eminence was very preſſing upon him on that account, when he went to court in order to mend what the marſhal's vivacity and boldneſs had ſpoiled (*e*). The cardinal was more ſucceſsful in his endeavours to gain Mr de Bougy after Gaſſion's death [*C*]. He performed great and important ſervices during the civil war, and

(*a*) In 1649, and the following years.

(*b*) A Memoir imparted to the author.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He was . . . . of an antient and noble family in the Lower Normandy.*] He was the ſon of MICHAEL REVEREND-DE-BOUGY, and grandſon of OLIVER REVEREND-DE-BOUGY, and great-grandſon of MICHAEL REVEREND-DE-BOUGY. The two latter are mentioned in Mezerai's hiſtory, as we ſhall ſee by and by. The printed books ſay nothing of their predeceſſors; but the writings of the family go higher, tho' they are ſomewhat imperfect, the houſe having been plundered once, and burnt another time, during the civil wars of the XVIth century (1). Mezerai reckons one Bougy (2) among the lords that joined at Caën the duke of Montpenſier, whom Henry III had ſent into Normandy, to prevent the deſign of the Leaguers upon that province. This Bougy was the father of Oliver Reverend-de-Bougy, whom the ſame Hiſtorian mentions in theſe terms: 'Caën had been loſt, if the reſolution and good conduct of Oliver Reverend-de-Bougy, a gentleman of that country, who happened to be there, had not put a ſtop to that irruption. He goes courageouſly into the ſtreet, ſends for his friends, ſtirs up the inhabitants, and in the mean time foreſeeing that the enemies intended to ſhut the gate of the bridge, he immediately orders one of his men to go and nail a piece of wood to it. So that whilſt the enemies endeavour to ſhut it, and the more haſte they make, the leſs they perceive the hindrance, he arrives thereupon with fifteen or twenty men animated by his example. They are ſurprized and troubled at his coming; and becauſe they cannot ſhut the gate cloſe, one of thoſe who attended him, called la Riviere-Renouf, thruſting himſelf with no leſs hardineſs than courage into the gap, ſhoots la Motte-Corbiniere in the head with a piſtol, and by his death cauſes his deſign to miſcarry. The town grew more ſenſible of the danger they were in, when it was over; and the king gave this character of Bougy, that his fidelity, of which he had already given many proofs, had ſaved, on this occaſion, all the Lower Normandy (3).'

(1) Memoir imparted to me.

(2) Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, *Tom. iii, pag.* 776, *Edit.* 1685.

(3) Idem, in the Life of Henry IV, *pag.* 1097, 1098.

[*B*] *The Marſhal de Gaſſion conceived ſo great an affection and eſteem for him.*] It is well known that he died of the wound he had received at the ſiege of Lens, as *he was ſhaking one of the ſtakes of a palliſado* (4). *He received a muſket-ſhot in the head, which ſtruck him down, but he was immediately taken up by his couſin Gaſſion, and by the marquis de Bougy, the only perſons who had followed him.* They carried him back into the trenches. He got himſelf carried to Arras. Mr de Bougy accompanied him thither (5). *The Marſhal gave him his ſword, as he was dying* (6), *telling him, that he thought he was the man in France beſt qualified to wear it after him.* The Marſhal's regiment was divided between his couſin Mr de Gaſſion, and the marquis de Bougy.

(4) *The Abbot* de Pure, Vie du Maréchal de Gaſſion, *Tom. iv, pag.* 309, *ad ann.* 1647.

(5) The ſame Memoir.

(6) It is kept in the family to this day.

[*C*] *The Cardinal was more ſucceſsful in his endeavours to gain Mr de Bougy after Gaſſion's death.*] Having ſent for him to court, as ſoon as he heard of the Marſhal's death, he told him; *I offer you a friend in the room of him, whom you have loſt: I have been ſo well pleaſed with your conſtant fidelity to that marſhal, that I deſire you would ſhew the ſame to me, and I promiſe to*

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and his good conduct and fidelity were so well known, that he was *chosen to command in chief the troops that should remain with* the king; *which he did so successfully, that after he had beat* the rebels, *who undertook to prevent his passing the Loire at la Charité, and being entered into Berri, he forced their commander to abandon the city of Bourges, where* the king *was received soon after* (*f*). He had before *commanded in chief* at the siege of Chateau-Portien; *which engaged* the king *after the taking of that place to make him governor of it. . . . He signalized himself by the taking of Mas d'Agenois . . . . and at the retreat of St Andras*, and on several other occasions; *in one of which, being lieutenant-general, after he had fought with great valour to the last extremity, he was taken prisoner* (*g*) in the year 1653. He was permitted to go to court upon his parole (*h*), and having been exchanged he returned into Guienne, where he married in 1654 Mary de la Chausade de Callonge, a very rich heiress, by whom he left but one son [*D*]. The queen-mother and cardinal Mazarin, concerned themselves very obligingly in that marriage [*E*], and did not forget to mention the good services of the lady's father [*F*]. He served in Catalonia the same year, under the Prince of Conti, and the years following till 1657, when he was obliged to ask leave to go to Montpellier, that he might be cured of a defluxion upon his lungs. He got that illness by staying a whole night upon the mountains, where he was covered with snow in his sleep. He found no ease at Montpellier, and finding as little at Bourdeaux, he went to his country-seat at Callonge, where he died in the year 1658, being forty years of age. He was regretted by every body. The king, the queen, and cardinal Mazarin, did his widow the honour to write to her letters of consolation. He would have made a greater fortune, if he had been a Roman Catholic: he received several letters from the queen, and from the cardinal, wherein they exhorted him to change his religion, and to remove by that means the obstacle to his advancement: they offered him a marshal's staff, and a government that would be left to his choice, provided he would be a convert. His answer was, *that if he could resolve to betray his GOD for a marshal's staff, he might betray his king for a lesser advantage, and that he could do neither of them, being contented to see that his services were acceptable, and that his religion was the only reason why he was not rewarded for them* (*i*). The king had erected the lordship of Bougy, situate in the Lower Normandy, into a marquisate; but because it is held of several lords, so many oppositions were formed against the registring of the letters-patent, that they proved ineffectual: which was the reason why that erection was transferred to the barony of Callonge; which holds immediately of the king. The patent was drawn up in November 1667, and registred in the Chamber of Accounts the ninth of September 1669. I have read it, and I found in it a large account of the services which the marquis de Bougy did the king. They consisted not only in warlike actions, but also in negotiations (*k*). You will find, below, some of the most glorious passages of his life [*G*]. He received among other wounds five musket-shots (*l*).

(*f*) The king's patent for the erection of the marquisate of Bougy.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Imparted Memoir.

(*i*) Taken from the abovementioned Memoir.

(*k*) *Here are the words of the patent*, During all that time, having as great an opinion of his prudence, as of his valour, we employed him likewise in several important negotiations, particularly with the duke of Modena, when he declared for us, and joined his army with ours in 1648.

(*l*) The patent for the erection.

to be your friend. Mr de Bougy returned such an answer as the Cardinal desired, and proved so faithful to him, that when his Eminence went out of France, he accompanied him to the frontiers. I will come again, and will make your fortune, said the Cardinal to him; but when he returned, he told him that his being a Protestant was an obstacle to it (7).

(7) Taken from the same Memoir.

[*D*] *By whom he left but one son.*] To wit, JOHN JAMES REVEREND-DE-BOUGY, who was born in 1655, and nine years commanded the regiment as colonel. He left the service on account of his religion, and retired into Holland. He lives at the Hague, where he is very much respected; and indeed he deserves it. He lost his only son since he left France. He has only two daughters left by Elizabeth de Bar de Camparnau, whom he married in 1674. She is descended by the mother's side from that famous Reniers, whose quarrel with Veisins was attended with very remarkable circumstances. They are to be found in Thuanus (8) and Mezerai (9). This last Historian observes that he was Lieutenant of the Princes in Querci. The family of Bar de Camparnau is a very noble one. It is mentioned in several books, especially in the History of the Siege of Montauban (10).

(8) Thuan. *lib. hi, pag.* 1079, *ad ann.* 1572.

(9) Mezerai, ubi supra, *pag.* 259.

(10) The abovequoted Memoir.

[*E*] *The Queen-mother and Cardinal Mazarin concerned themselves very obligingly in that marriage.*] The Marquis de Bougy was the bearer of a letter which that queen writ to Mademoiselle de Callonge, to desire her to receive him as one that came from her. She added, *The services of your deceased father engage me to see you settled: I do not think I can help you to a better match* (11).

(11) Ibid.

[*F*] *The good services of the lady's father.*] It was James de la Chausade baron of Callonge. He had been governor of Montpellier during the wars of the duke of Rohan, to whom he was nearly related. It was he, who spoke in the name of the Reformed, when the peace was concluded before Montpellier. See du Pleix's History, Girard in his Life of the duke of Epernon, Bassompierre's Memoirs, the Life of the duke of Montmorenci, and several other authors. The king's patent for erecting the barony of Callonge into a marquisate, imports, that this James de la Chausade had been *colonel of a regiment of foot for the king's service in Holland, that he had made himself considerable by his valour and experience in military affairs, and by many glorious actions, especially at the time of the commotions in Guienne, under the duke of Epernon's government, during which he brought to* that duke *at two several times considerable succours of gentlemen volunteers, which did not a little contribute to keep up* his majesty's *authority, and to curb the factions, that at the battle of Avein he took the enemy's canon, after he had broke through and routed them with his regiment, consisting of twenty companies, and that, left his glory should be confined within the frontiers of this kingdom, he followed the duke of Candale into Turkey, to fight the enemies of the Christian name, where he blew up the gate of Aglıman with a petard, and was one of the first who entered that place sword in hand, after having signalized himself on several other occasions* (12). Mrs de Callonge, his other daughter, died at the Hague some months ago (13), in a very advanced age. She had never been married. She was a person of an exemplary piety and virtue, and understood Hebrew very well (14): she left France on account of her religion when the edict of Nantes was revoked. Mezerai mentions one Callonge among the Protestant lords of the province of Guienne, who took up arms in Charles the ninth's reign (15).

(12) Taken from the patent.

(13) I write this in April 1701.

(14) *See* Colomesius, *pag.* 201, *of the Gallia Orientalis.*

(15) Mezerai, *Tom. iii, pag.* 93.

[*G*] *You will find . . . some of the most glorious passages of his life.*] At the battle of Rocroi he commanded the company of Gassion's Gendarmes, and tho' he had a foot bruised with a musket-shot, he broke through a battalion of the enemies, where his horse was killed under him

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him with ſeveral puſhes of pikes and ſwords (16). They are the very words of the king's letters-patent abovementioned. In the year 1650. *He threw himſelf into the town of St Quintin with five hundred horſe*, and by that means diſappointed the Spaniards deſign *upon that place, which was in great danger.* Afterwards, when *they beſieged the town of Guiſe, the advice he gave to place* 1200 *muſketeers in the wood, to cut off the paſſage of the proviſions for the beſiegers and the great ability wherewith he himſelf executed that bold enterprize*, was one of the cauſes why that ſiege was raiſed (17). The court having reſolved to quit Paris in 1651, when the prince of Condé had diſcovered his ill deſigns, the queen ſent immediately for Mr de Bougy, who was in Flanders, and when ſhe ſaw him come into her chamber with his boots on, ſhe cryed out, *Here is Bougy, my fear is over*; and then ſhe told him, that ſhe had ſent for him to intruſt him with the king's perſon, and herſelf. Accordingly he carried them to Fontainebleau. Take notice he was then but a Marſhal de Camp, and that there were many officers at court in higher poſts (18), but the queen did not truſt every body, or rather ſhe miſtruſted almoſt every body. Mr de Bougy (19) at his ſetting out from Flanders had ordered a detachment of horſe to follow him, and then went poſt. As ſoon as he had conducted the court to Fontainebleau, he was informed, that the prince's troops were marching towards Gien, to poſſeſs themſelves of it. Whereupon he diſpatched a courier to the troops of Flanders, who had been ordered to follow him, and deſired them to make all the haſte they poſſibly could. The courier met them as they were taking their quarters. After they had ſeen the order, they only baited, and then they remounted and continued their march. They were no ſooner arrived, but Mr de Bougy put himſelf at the head of them, and being entered into Gien, he ordered the gate on the ſide of the prince's troops to be opened, and charged them ſo briſkly, that he routed them, and took three general officers priſoners. As he was purſuing the flying enemy, he perceived a boy who was frighted, and aſked him what was his name; and being told that he was the ſon of one of the chief magiſtrates of Bourges, *Will you*, ſaid he to him, *carry a letter to your father; the queen looks upon him as one of her moſt faithful ſervants.* The boy promiſed to deliver it, and immediately Mr de Bougy acquainted that magiſtrate that he had juſt now beat the prince's troops, and was marching to Bourges. In the mean while the prince of Conti had got into that town, and aſſembled the magiſtrates to oblige them to declare for him. The boy arrives, the prince of Conti laughs at the letter, and takes it for a ſtratagem, and ſteps into another room, to draw up the anſwer he would have them return to Mr de Bougy's letter. While he was writing it, ſome wounded ſoldiers arrive, who confirm the truth of that news; whereupon the magiſtrates declared to him that he muſt retire; and that they will remain faithful (20). The prince retired to Mouron, and from thence into Guienne (21). Mr de Bougy was *ordered to purſue him under the conduct of the count de Harcourt, who having permitted him to go with five hundred horſe over the river Né in Xaintonge, and over a very large and dangerous moraſs, behind which* the rebellious troops *lay to the number of four thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, he took two of their beſt quarters, and brought with him near five hundred troopers or officers priſoners.* At the ſiege of Capdequiers, in Catalonia, where he was lieutenant-general for the day the troops that gave the aſſault, having been repulſed from the breach, he took a halberd from a ſerjeant, mounted the breach firſt, and animated the ſoldiers by his example. He was wounded there with a muſket-ſhot, and notwithſtanding his wound he held out till the town was taken. He had the government of it given him, tho' ſuch a way of rewarding Huguenot officers was not in faſhion at that time (22).

(16) The patent.

(17) Ibid.

(18) In the abovementioned Memoir.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Taken from the ſaid Memoir.

(21) Letters Patents.

(22) From the ſaid Memoir.

REYNIER (PETER DE) knight of the order of St John of Jeruſalem, was of the illuſtrious family of the Reyniers of Toulouſe. He was killed in the year 1311, in the iſland of Rhodes, which Othman, king of the Turks, beſieged that year: this lord ſignalized himſelf in that ſiege by an uncommon bravery. This family has produced perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, among others ELIAS DE REYNIER, counſellor of the parliament of Languedoc in the year 1523, who gained eſteem by his great attachment to his prince, and whoſe ſon, who was likewiſe a counſellor of the parliament, married Martha de Minut, daughter of Meſſire James de Minut, firſt preſident of the ſame parliament; FRANCIS DE REYNIER, ſeneſchal of Lauragois; JOHN DE REYNIER, camp-maſter. There remains at preſent of this family, CHARLES DE REYNIER, knight of the order of St Lewis, the king's lieutenant, and commandant of the town and government of Brouage (*a*), who has a brother a counſellor in the parliament of Toulouſe (*b*).

(*a*) He died in the month of December 1706. See the *Mercure Galant*, of the month of January 1706, *pag.* 223, 224.

(*b*) Etat de la France.

REZ (ANTONY DE) Eſq; advocate in the parliament of Paris, was the ſon of ANTONY DE REZ, Counſellor Secretary to the King, and born at Paris in the year 1650. His merit will beſt appear by two elogies that have been ſent to me (*a*). I make no doubt that all diſcerning men will own they are ſo well written, that they may ſerve as a model. The firſt is larger, and contains more particulars [*A*]. The ſecond

(*a*) By Mr Marais, advocate in the parliament of Paris.

[*A*] *The firſt elogy is larger, and contains more particulars.*] Here it is ſuch as it came to my hands; I thought I could neither alter nor curtail it without ſpoiling it. 'Antony de Rez betook himſelf to the 'bar from his younger years, and pleaded his firſt 'cauſe at ſixteen years of age. After he had been 'ſome time in the inferior courts to learn their way 'of proceeding, he appeared in the parliament with 'great glory, being ſtill very young. He ſoon diſ'covered all the noble talents, whereby he was ſo 'glorioufly diſtinguiſhed afterwards; a ready, quick, 'and penetrating wit; a noble, plain and natural elo'quence; a polite and charming delivery; a Cicero'nian raillery; a certain way of inſinuating himſelf, 'which gained him the love of every body; a 'ſincerity which appeared in his look, and in all 'the features of his face before he ſpoke; a probity, 'that was proof againſt the moſt ſeducing temptations; 'an agreeable and ſolid erudition grounded upon rea'ſon, juſtice and humanity, more than upon books; 'in a word, all the fine qualities of an honeſt and 'great man. All ſorts of people reſorted to him; the 'men of quality were pleaſed with his good mien, 'affability and gentleman-like behaviour: thoſe of the 'meaner ſort were alſo deſirous to have him for their 'advocate, becauſe they knew he was a man of honour, 'obliging, and ready to hear every body. He diſchar'ged his duty moſt faithfully, and with the greateſt 'exactneſs, even in the leaſt things. The magiſtrates 'of all ranks, being perſuaded that nothing but truth 'could come out of his mouth, heard him with plea'ſure, loved to ſee him, and honoured him with 'a particular affection. Tho' he was full of buſineſs, 'his great order enabled him to go through it. He 'was concerned in all the moſt conſiderable cauſes; 'he defended moſt eloquently that of the princes of 'Lorrain, relating to the donation of Madam de Guiſe, 'and afterwards he maintained the validity of her laſt 'will. All his combats were attended with ſo many 'victories; if a client wanted an advocate, the court 'nominated him by a ſuperior order, and intruſted 'him with ſuch cauſes as were given over. The great affairs

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ſecond is of great weight; for it is taken from a ſpeech ſpoken in the parliament of Paris by an advocate-general [*B*].

' affairs increaſed, and became eaſy in his hands, the ' moſt knotty difficulties vaniſhed away as ſoon as he ' handled them, and the judges, being put in a ſafe ' way by him, gave their judgment without any fear ' of being miſtaken. We have ſeen what he was at the ' bar: he was yet more amiable in converſation. ' There was never a more affectionate, ſincere, and of- ' ficious friend, a better father, and a better huſband. ' He lived an innocent and virtuous life, attended with ' briſkneſs and gayety: his wit ſupplied him imme- ' diately with a thouſand ingenious inventions to di- ' vert himſelf after his great labours: he was never ' weary of himſelf, and thoſe, who happened to be ' with him, were never weary of his company: he ' was that univerſal man, whom Mr Peliſſon deſcribes ' to us in his preface to Sarrazin, an excellent Orator ' at the bar, a judicious chamber-counſellor, a kind ' father, and a kind huſband in his family, a pleaſant ' and uſeful friend: in ſhort, he was adorned with all ' the natural and acquired knowledge, that can ſatisfy ' the mind of man. The only thing wanting to him ' was a longer life: but he died of a malignant fever, ' in the middle of a moſt glorious career, and the ' faireſt hopes, being forty-three years of age, the ' ſeventh of February, 1694, after a ſickneſs that laſt- ' ed ſeven days. He left two children, a ſon and a ' daughter, by Magdalen du Four his wife.'

[*B*] *The ſecond elogy . . . . . is taken from a ſpeech ſpoken in the parliament of Paris by an advocate-general.*] Here is the continuation of the words you have read in the foregoing remark: ' Mr de Harlay, who was ' then advocate-general, and ſpokeſman, at the open- ' ing of the parliament in the ſame year, did remem- ' ber him ten months after his death, and propoſed ' him as a model to all his brethren in theſe words ' which are very glorious to his memory. * *To mo- ' derate the true liberty of your profeſſion we muſt tell ' you again, that it is not an eaſy undertaking, and a thing ' that requires no great labour: it is the fruit of a con- ' tinual ſtudy, or rather of a continual attention upon ' ourſelves, and of an exact practice of many virtues. ' Thus one of your brethren, whom an untimely death has ' lately taken away from us, acquired the eſteem of the ' public, and the love of all thoſe who knew him, and ' attained in an age not far advanced to the reputation ' and practice of the moſt conſummate advocates. Adorned ' with thoſe outward advantages, which none but nature ' can give, he ſhewed in his countenance the character ' of probity and modeſty, which appeared in his whole ' conduct. You have ſeen him from his firſt beginning ' bear glorioufly the weight of the greateſt actions and de- ' fend the moſt difficult cauſes with no leſs politeneſs than ' ſobriety. Attentive to all his duties, zealous for his ' clients, civil to his brethren, reſpectful to the magi- ' ſtrates, he made it appear by ſignal proofs, that if ' ſometimes the neceſſity of your miniſtry, or the expreſs ' orders of your ſuperiors, oblige you to ſpeak for im- ' poſture and calumny, you may be the defenders of ' a crime without acting againſt your honour and ' your conſcience, and even uſe the hardeſt words, ' without tranſgreſſing the moſt exact rules of deco- ' rum and civility. But it is not enough to pay inward- ' ly this melancholy duty to his memory, nor to hear with ' pleaſure the praiſes he ſo juſtly deſerved; his exam- ' ple ought to excite you to imitate his virtues, and to lay ' upon us by your conduct a contiual obligation to ſpend ' theſe ſolemn days in publiſhing your praiſes, without ' being forced to cenſure the faults contrary to the duties ' of your profeſſion, and which are ſo rare among you to ' our great ſatisfaction.'

* Diſcours prononcé à la St Martin 1644, ſur la Liberté.

RHODOMAN (LAURENCE), was born in the year 1546, in the village of Saſſowerf (*a*) belonging to the counts of Stolberg in the Upper Saxony. Thoſe counts perceiving in him a great diſpoſition for learning, maintained him in the college of Ilfeld (*b*). He was there ſix years, and made ſo great a progreſs under Michael Neander (*c*), that he appeared afterwards well qualified to be the chief teacher in the beſt colleges, and famous univerſities [*A*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly by his great ſkill in the Greek tongue. The beſt judges admired his Greek verſes (*d*). Scaliger did not like his Latin poetry [*B*]. He ſucceeded very well in his Latin tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus. At laſt he was made profeſſor of Hiſtory in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, where he died the eighth of January 1606. You will find, below, the catalogue of his principal works [*C*]. He obtained the honour of Poet-Laureat. NICOLAS RHODOMAN, his ſon, has publiſhed ſomething (*e*).

(*a*) Rhodomanus, *Epiſt. Dedicat.* Quinti Smyrnæi, Quænſtedt, de Patriis Illuſtr. *pag.* 219.

(*b*) Their anceſtors had founded it in the monaſtery of that name by the advice of Luther and Melanchthon. See Rhodoman's Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed to Quintus Calaber.

(*c*) See the ſame Epiſtle Dedicatory, and the preface to his tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus.

(*d*) See the remark [*B*].

(*e*) Konig. Bibl. *pag.* 689.

[*A*] *He was qualified to be the chief teacher in the beſt colleges, and famous univerſities.*] Here is what he himſelf ſays: ' (1) Eoſque in his, σὺν θεῷ καὶ ' μάσαις, progreſſus feci, ut nobilium inde puerorum, ' & illuſtriſſ. principum informationi neque immatu- ' re neque infructuoſe applicarer; Scholarum etiam ' bene conſtitutarum adminiſtrationi dehinc præficerer. ' - - - - *I made ſuch progreſs in theſe ſtudies by the help* ' *of God and the Muſes, that from that time I was em-* ' *ployed (neither unſeaſonably nor unſucceſsfully) in teach-* ' *ing young noblemen and illuſtrious princes. I came* ' *likewiſe to be truſted with the chief management of* ' *ſome well regulated ſchools.*' The places, where he taught, are thus mentioned in his funeral Programma; *Docuit* Walcerodi, *docuit* Ienæ, *docuit* Straleſundi, *docuit denique* Wittebergæ, *atque ita docuit ut eruditione, ſedulitate ac dexteritate ſecundus haberi nemini debeat* (2). He was profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Iena, for the ſpace of ſeven years, and profeſſor of Hiſtory at Wittemberg, for the ſpace of four years (3).

(1) *In Epiſtola dedicatoria* Quinti Calabri.

(2) Daniel Sennertus, in Programmate, apud Henningum Witte, Memor. Philoſoph. *pag.* 24.

(3) Ib. *p.* 25.

[*B*] *Scaliger did not like his Latin poetry.*] He ſpoke of them thus in converſation: *Rhodomanus doctiſſimus in Poëſi Græca, ſed in Latina imperitus & infelix. . . . Bonum Diodorum Siculum edidit; a pretty man, qui latuit, as Leopardus, who was a good Grecian. I have writ ſo many letters about Rhodomanus into Germany, that they have been ſhown to the duke of Saxony, who ſent for him from a trivial ſchool in Pomerania to Wittemberg: he is a very ugly and clowniſh man. . . . . He is a Poet and a good Grecian; he has publiſhed a Chronology, wherein he makes it his buſineſs to contradict all the world, and me too. There are very fooliſh things in his book. Chronologers have committed abundance of miſtakes; Rhodomanus dotes in his old days: he pronounces as Vulcanius does. Rhodomanus carmina Latina non bene ſcribit, ſed Græca bona; bonus eſt Græcus in Poetis* (4).

(4) Scaligerana, voce Rhodomanus, *pag.* m. 204.

Note, That Scaliger has confounded our Laurence Rhodoman with one Laurence Codoman (5), who is the author of four books of Chronology, which he added to his Annals of the Holy Scripture, printed at Wittemberg in 1581. It is a very common thing for the moſt learned men to make ſuch miſtakes in converſation, and when the names of authors differ only in ſome letters, ſuch a miſtake may be eaſily committed. This is the caſe of Scaliger.

(5) See Mr Moller, pag. 716, of his *Hemerographia*.

[*C*] *The catalogue of his principal works.*] He tranſlated into Latin the Greek Poem of Cointus Smyrnæus, or Quintus Calaber, concerning the taking of Troy, and added ſome corrections to it. As for the commentaries he made upon that author, I do not believe they have been printed; Moreri and others ſay, without any ground for it, *that they are very much eſteemed.* I make uſe of an edition of that work (6), in which there are two Greek and Latin Poems of Rhodoman: the one is intituled ΙΛΙΑΣ ΜΙΚΡΑ, and contains an abridgment of the Iliads, and of Quintus Calaber: the other, intituled ΤΡΟΙΚΑ, contains an epitome of the Trojan war, *ex variis auctoribus decerpta - - - Taken from ſeveral authors.* There is alſo the oration, in which Dion Chryſoſtom maintains that Troy was not taken, with Rhodoman's Latin tranſlation, and ſome Scholia. Here are the titles of ſome other books (7). *Hiſtoria vitæ & doctrinæ Martini Lutheri*

(6) It is that of 1614.

(7) Witte, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 28.

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(8) Ibid. *pag.* 27.

theri carmine heroïco deſcripta. (8) *Deſcriptio Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiæ ſive populi Dei Politiæ ejuſdem & rerum præcipuarum, quæ in illo populo acciderunt, Græco carmine, cum verſione Latina è regione textus Græci*, Francof. 1581, in 8vo. *Poëſis Chriſtiana, id eſt, Paleſtinæ ſeu Hiſtoriæ ſacræ Græco-Latinæ libri IX*, Marpurgi 1589. Francof. 1590, 1630. in 4to. *Argonautica, Thebaica, Ilias parva*: Lipſ. 1588, *in* 8vo. *Tabulæ Etymologiæ Græcæ*: ibid. 1590, *in* 8vo. *Memnonis Hiſtoria de Republica Heraclienſium, & rebus Ponticis Eclogæ: ſeu excerptæ & abbreviatæ narrationes in Sermonem Latinum tranſlatæ*: Helmſtadii 1591, *in* 4to. *Epithalamia ſacra*: Ienæ 1594, *in* 4to. *Ex Memnone, de Tyrannis Heracleæ Ponticæ Cteſia & Agatharchide excerptæ Hiſtoriæ Græcè & Latinè partim ex Laur. Rhodomani interpretatione*: Genevæ 1593, *in* 8vo. *Theologiæ Chriſtianæ tyrocinia, carmine Heroico Græco-Latino in V libros digeſta*: Lipſiæ 1597, *in* 8vo. His *Germanis* was not printed when he died: it is very much commended in his funeral Programma. *Imprimis opus illud auro contra æſtimandum, quod de origine, moribus ac rebus geſtis veterum Germanorum Græcè ſcripſit, & Germanidem inſcripſit. Quod opus unicum tale eſt, ut animum atque ingenium hominis excellentem, charitateque patriæ inſigniter flagrantem, abundè oſtendat* (9). Witte (10) reckons it among the printed books of Rhodoman, but does not ſay in what year it was publiſhed at Wittemberg.

(9) Sennertus, ubi ſupra, apud Witte, *pag.* 24.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

RHODOPE, a famous courtezan, cotemporary with Æſop, and his fellow-ſlave, was born in Thrace (*a*). Xanthus, the Samian, carried her into Egypt, where Charaxus, a Merchant of Mitylene (*b*), and brother to Sappho, became ſo much in love with her, that he bought her for a great ſum of money. By that means ſhe was made free; and becauſe ſhe was very beautiful, and the town of Naucratis, where ſhe ſettled, was full of rich and voluptuous men, ſhe got a great eſtate by being a courtezan (*c*). However, we muſt not believe that ſhe got ſo much by it, as to be able to build one of thoſe pyramids [*A*], that have been reckoned among the ſeven wonders of the world. Herodotus calls it a fabulous ſtory. What is ſaid of her ſhoe is not better grounded [*B*]. Athenæus is of opinion, that the courtezan Dorica, miſtreſs to Sappho's brother, has been confounded with Rhodope by Herodotus (*d*).

(*a*) Herodot. *lib. ii, cap. cxxxiv.*

(*b*) A town in the iſle of Leſbos.

(*c*) *Taken from* Herodotus, ibid. *cap. cxxxv.*

(*d*) Athen. *lib. xiii, pag.* 596.

[*A*] *To build one of thoſe pyramids.*] Pliny does not ſeem to doubt of it; but perhaps he believed nothing of it, and expreſſed himſelf as he did, only that he might have an occaſion to ſet forth ſome ſubtilties. He ſays, that the heighth and magnificent ſtructure of the pyramids is not that which ought to be moſt admired in that wonder of the world; the greateſt miracle (adds he) lies in this, that a courtezan ſhould have got ſo much wealth, as was ſufficient to raiſe that pyramid which is moſt eſteemed. *Hæc ſunt pyramidum miracula: ſupremumque illud, ne quis regum opus, miretur minimam ex his, ſed laudatiſſimam, à Rhodope meretricula factam. Æſopi fabularum Philoſophi conſerva quondam & contubernalis hæc fuit, majore miraculo tantas opes meretricio eſſe conquiſitas quæſtu* (1). That tradition was but a romantic ſtory of the Greeks. Herodotus, though a credulous author, rejects it. He maintains (2), that the pyramid, the building of which was aſcribed to Rhodope, was built many years before the reign of Amaſis, in which that courtezan lived. He adds (3), that though ſhe had got a great eſtate, ſhe would not have been able to ſuſtain the immenſe charges of that building. He proves it by a very good reaſon. We know, ſays he, what the riches of that woman amounted to; for the iron ſpits, which ſhe conſecrated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and for which ſhe ſpent the tenth part of her eſtate, are to be ſeen there ſtill. Thoſe ſpits were deſigned for the roaſting of oxen. The Heathen prieſts were not very nice; the ſmell of gain was very acceptable to them, though the cauſe of it was never ſo ſtinking: and Veſpaſian might have learned of them this maxim, *Lucri bonus eſt odor ex re qualibet* (4). They heartily received the offerings of courtezans, and conſecrated them among the moſt celebrated monuments of the devotion of people; whereby they immortalized the crimes of thoſe courtezans, according to their deſires. Rhodope gave away the tenth part of her booty for the making of ſpits, that ſhe might raiſe to herſelf an eternal monument in Greece. Ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημεῖόν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον, καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἑωυτῆς. τῆς ὧν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βυτῖρας πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς. οἳ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται, ὄπισθε μὲν τῷ βωμῷ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ νηοῦ. Quum enim optaret memoriam ſui in Græcia relinquere, fecit opus quod ab alio excogitatum non eſt neque donatum, idque donavit in templo Delphico monumentum ſui. E decima enim ſuarum opum tot è ferro verua ad boves torrendos fecit, ad quot facienda ſufficeret decima ipſa: quæ Delphos miſit: quæ nunc quoque poſita ſunt è regione templi, poſt aram quam Chii donaverunt (5). - - - *Rhodope, being deſirous that a monument of her ſhould be left in Greece, reſolved to make ſuch a preſent to the temple at Delphos as had never been thought of nor made before. For this reaſon ſhe provided as many iron ſpits to roaſt oxen as the tenth of her ſubſtance was ſufficient to buy, and ſent them to Delphos. Theſe are ſtill preſerved behind the altar which the Chians raiſed, and over-againſt the temple itſelf.* The law of the Jews did not allow of ſuch an impurity (6).

(1) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. xii, pag. m. 302.

(2) Herodot. lib. ii, cap. cxxxiv.

(3) Ibid. cap. cxxxv.

(4) Juven. Sat. XIV, ver. 204. *See* Suetonius, in Veſpaſiano, *cap. xxiii.*

(5) Herodotus, ibid.

(6) Non inferes mercedem meretricis, aut pretium canis in domum Dei tui in quocunque voto, quia abominatio eſt utrunque apud Dominum Deum tuum. *Deuteron. cap. xxiii, ver.* 18.

[*B*] *What is ſaid of her ſhoe.*] One day as ſhe was bathing, and her maids took care of her cloaths, an eagle came down, ſeized one of her ſhoes, and carried it away to Memphis, and let it fall upon Pſammitichus's lap. That prince was then ſitting upon his tribunal, to adminiſter juſtice. He admired the beauty of that ſhoe, and the conduct of that eagle, and ordered that the lady, who had been robbed of her ſhoe, ſhould be looked for all over Egypt. They found her, and brought her to him, and he married her (7). I do not believe it, though fortune is ſometimes pleaſed with ſuch ſports: ἢ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ τὰ ἀδόκητα φιλοῦσα ἐργάζεσθαι τύχη, *inopinatorum atque inexpectatorum amans fortuna* (8). Rhodope, Æſop's fellow-ſlave, would have been well contented to marry that monſtrous man. What a wonderful alteration! She would have been the wife of a great monarch, and one of thoſe,

(7) *Taken from* Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib. xiii, cap. xxxiii. See alſo* Strabo, *lib. xvii, pag.* 556.

(8) Ælian. ibid.

Quales ex humili magna ad faſtigia rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari (9).

(9) Juven. Sat. III, ver. 39.

Whom fortune does in merriment advance,
And places topmoſt on the wheel of chance.

Obſerve, by the by, that wit may prevent the ill effects of uglineſs, with reſpect to a fine woman. Æſop, though the ugliеſt of all men, moved Rhodope's heart (10).

(10) Herodot. ubi ſupra, *cap. xxxiv.*

RICCI (MICHAEL ANGELO) made a cardinal by Pope Innocent XI, the firſt day of September 1681, was born at Rome in the year 1619. He was a lover of the Mathematics, and made a great progreſs in that ſcience, as appears by his treatiſe *De maximis & minimis*, which has been reprinted twice or thrice. He wrote two diſſertations, one of which is inſerted in the works of Cardinal Brancaccio, and the other in Carlo Dati's epiſtle *ad Philalethos*. He applied himſelf afterwards very earneſtly to the

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ſtudy of Divinity. He has been praiſed by ſome very famous authors, as Gaſſendus, Renatus Francis Sluſius, cardinal Pallavicini, Fabretti, &c. He had a very conſiderable library (*a*). He went through ſeveral employments, before he was made a Cardinal; and, amongſt others, through that of Secretary of the congregation of indulgences and relics, and that of Conſultor of the Holy Office. He was poſſeſſed of thoſe employments in 1678, when he approved the book of the biſhop of Condom, I mean his *Expoſition de la Doctrine Catholique.*

(*a*) *Taken from* Profp. Mandofius, Bibl. Rom. *Cent. V, pag.* 344, 345.

RICHER, or RICHIER (PETER), *a Carmelite, and a Doctor of Paris* (*a*), embraced the Proteſtant religion, and retired to Geneva, where he was admitted into the miniſtry in the year 1556, to be ſent to the Sieur Villegagnon, in America (*b*). He was then above fifty years of age (*c*). He embarked at Honfleur, the nineteenth of November, in the ſame year, with another miniſter, whoſe name was Chartier, and with ſome other perſons, whom the church of Geneva judged to be proper for Villegagnon's deſign (*d*): he arrived at the iſle of Coligni the tenth of March 1557 (*e*), and preached there the very ſame day before Villegagnon, who all the time *joined his hands, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, fetched great ſighs*, and the like (*f*), which filled the whole aſſembly with admiration. Some few days after they adminiſtred the Lord's-Supper, and John Cointa, formerly a Doctor of the Sorbonne, made an abjuration of Popery (*g*). Villegagnon made admirable prayers, *and received the bread and the wine from the miniſter's hand upon his knees* (*h*). The hopes grounded on thoſe expreſſions of zeal did ſoon vaniſh away, for he and Cointa began to diſpute ſoon after with Richer and Chartier about the Euchariſt (*i*). The latter was ſent back to Geneva, to acquaint Calvin with that diſpute, to whoſe judgment Villegagnon declared he would ſubmit (*k*). But he pulled off the maſk before the coming of Calvin's anſwer (*l*): he declared himſelf a Papiſt ſoon after the communion of Whitſunday (*m*); and, if he had been able, he would have dealt roughly with Peter Richer, and the other Genevois (*n*): but he was contented to command them to retire, which they did. I ſpeak of this more largely in another place (*o*). They embarked the fourth of January 1558 (*p*), and after having been reduced to very great ſtreights (*q*), they arrived at laſt in the harbour of Blavet in Bretagne, the twenty-ſixth of May following (*r*). Richer was afterwards made miniſter of the church of Rochelle [*A*], and publiſhed a piece againſt Villegagnon [*B*]. Nothing can be more ridiculous than to make him the head of the ſect of the Richerians, and to ſay that this pretended ſect was tainted with Neſtorianiſm: and yet a famous Jeſuit has been ſo bold as to affirm it [*C*]. He adds, that Richer infected the inhabitants of

(*b*) John de Leri, Hiſt. d'un Voiage de l'Amérique, *ch. i, pag. m.* 6.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. *ch. ii, pag.* 8.

(*e*) Ibid. *ch. vi, pag.* 55.

(*f*) Ibid. *pag.* 56.

(*g*) Ibid. *pag.* 59.

(*h*) Ibid. *pag.* 66.

(*i*) Ibid. *pag.* 67.

(*k*) Ibid. *pag.* 68.

(*l*) Ibid. *pag.* 76.

(*m*) Ibid. See alſo Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. ii, pag.* 160.

(*n*) Leri, ibid. *pag.* 83.

(*o*) In the article VILLEGAGNON.

(*p*) Leri, *chap. xxi, pag.* 341.

(*q*) *Jean de Leri*, one of them, has deſcribed them. *Ibid. ch. xxi, xxii.*

(*r*) Ibid. *pag.* 373.

[*A*] *Richer was made afterwards miniſter of the church of Rochelle.*] 'At that time Peter Richer being returned from America, where he had ſuffered 'very much under the tyranny of Villegagnon, a moſt 'wicked and wretched apoſtate, came to Rochelle, 'where he found about fifty perſons, who had been 'gathered together in the LORD by the miniſtry of la 'Fontaine and la Place, whom I have mentioned in 'the Hiſtory of the preceding year. He did ſo much 'encourage and ſtrengthen that ſmall flock in a little 'time, that a conſiſtory and the whole diſcipline were 'eſtabliſhed there; and GOD was pleaſed to favour 'that firſt beginning, ſo that in a little time a great 'part of the town joined themſelves to the Church of 'the LORD, forſaking the ſuperſtitions of the Church 'of Rome. From that time the LORD prepared that 'place to make it ſuſtain hereafter the moſt violent 'aſſaults of its adverſaries (1).' He was ſtill living when John de Leri printed his relation, that is, in the year 1577. For in the deſcription of the miſeries of their voyage, he ſpeaks thus: 'As to Mr Peter 'Richer, now a miniſter of the church of Rochelle, 'he will tell you that he lay all along in his cabbin, 'and was ſo weak that he could not lift up his head 'to pray to GOD; but he invoked him with great 'ardour in that condition (2).' Note, That Moreri is miſtaken, when he ſays that Richer was miniſter at Geneva after his return from America. Note alſo, That Mr Vincent (3), who ſets down Beza's words, and who adds, that they *gave Poupeliniere * occaſion to call Richer the Father of the church of Rochelle*, has obſerved that what Beza ſays *of the eſtabliſhment of a conſiſtory in that year* 1558, *may be juſtified by the regiſters of that church*; but he is ſo far from ſaying that Richer was made miniſter of that place, that he declares (4) that the miniſter appointed there, when the firſt conſiſtory was ſettled, was called Fayet. It is true, he ſays that in the year 1561, that church had two Paſtors, to wit, Fayet and de l'Iſle. The latter is our Richer (5).

(1) Theod. Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. ii, pag.* 139, 140. *ad ann.* 1558.

(2) Leri, Hiſt. du Voiage de l'Amerique, *ch. xxii, pag. m.* 368.

(3) Vincent, Recherches ſur les commencemens & les prémiers progrès de la Réformation de la Ville de la Rochelle, *pag.* 27, 28.

* Poupel. *lib. v*, in the beginning.

(4) Vincent, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 44.

(5) Peter Richer, Sieur de l'Iſle. *Ibid. pag.* 27.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a piece againſt Villegagnon.*] The book intituled, *A refutation of the lies and fooliſh ſtories of Nicolas Durand, called the Chevalier de Villegagnon*, and printed in 1562, in 8vo, was not written by James Spifame under Peter Richer's name, as du Verdier Vau-Privas affirms (6); it was written by the author, whoſe name is prefixed to it. We find this title in the epitome of Geſner's Bibliotheque. *Petri Richerii Apologetici libri duo, contra Nicolaum Durandum qui ſe Villagagnonem vocat, quibus illius in pios Americanos tyrannidem exponit, & negotium Sacramentarium tractat. Genevæ* 1561, *in* 4*to* (7). To which you may add theſe words of John de Leri. 'But becauſe, when 'Villegagnon returned into France, not only Peter 'Richer painted him in his true colours, but alſo 'ſome others *curried* and *bruſhed* † him ſo well, I 'ſhall ſay no more of him, for fear of tiring the 'readers (8).' If you deſire to have a proof of Moreri's taking little care to examine what he advanced; you need only conſider that after he has given us a good character of Villegagnon, he refers us (9) to his life, written by Richer, a work wherein Villegagnon muſt needs be repreſented as a wicked man.

(6) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. *pag.* 620.

(7) Epitome Biblioth. Geſn. *pag. m.* 682.

† The Currycomb and Bruſh are two ſmall books printed againſt Villegagnon.

(8) Leri, ubi ſupra, *ch. xv, pag.* 74.

[*C*] *A famous Jeſuit has been ſo bold as to affirm it.*] Conſult the tables of Father Gaultier, where you will find that the 63d chapter of the XVIth century, is intituled DE RICHERIANIS, DUCE *Petro Richerio*. He ſays (10) that Peter Richer taught in America, before Villegagnon, that CHRIST, as a man, ought not to be worſhipped. This is one of the proofs alledged by that Jeſuit, when he maintains that the Calviniſts renew the impious doctrines of Neſtorius. 'Calvini 'veſtigiis, *ſays he* (11), inſiſtit Petrus Richerius in 'Americam ab eo miſſus anno 1557. quùm & præ'ſente Domino Villagagnono prædicat, & coram No'tario publico Franciſco Alberico mordicus tuetur *Je'ſum Chriſtum in carne humana non eſſe adorandum.* 'Tuetur, inquam, dum reſpondet ad interpellationem 'ſibi per eum factam ejuſdem D. Villagagnoni no'mine, utpote cauſam exigentis cur Jeſum Chriſtum 'adorare nolit. Horum nobis omnium fidem facit 'tum epiſtola ejuſdem Villagagnoni ad Eccleſiam Chri'ſtianam

(9) Moreri, *at the word* Villegagnon.

(10) Gaultierus, Tab. Chron. *p.* 802.

(11) Ibid. *pag.* 376, *col.* 2. See alſo Maimbourg, Hiſt. du Calviniſme, *liv. ii, p.* 103. *Hiſtory of Heresies.*

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of Annonai in Vivarez with his errors [D]. I have mentioned in another place (1), a letter which that minister wrote from America.

(1) In the remark [A], of the article LERI.

'stianam data, tum ea quam octavo Julii anno 1560. 'ad Magistratum Genevensem scripsit, tum annexa 'ejusdem Notarii testificatio, quam diei decimæ quar- 'tæ Maii anni 1559. nota obsignavit; tum altera te- 'stificatio die octavo Junii 1558. data subscriptaque à 'D. Petro à Falcilla, quem D. Villagagnonus ad Mi- 'nistrum Richerium 27 Decembris 1557 miserat, 'rationem ejusmodi doctrinæ scisciturum: ubi asse- 'rit se, dum à Ministro Richerio quæreret, cur inter 'orandum non diceret, *Gloria Patri & Filio & Spi- 'ritui sancto*, &c. responsum planè nullum accepisse: 'dum autem denuntiaret conqueri D. Villagagnonum, 'quòd nullam unquam ad Jesum Christum precationem 'dirigeret, hoc se à Ministro responsum habuisse, hæ- 'reticum illum arbitrandum esse, qui necesse duxerit 'orare Jesum Christum †. Nùm hac loquendi for- 'mula uti potuisset Minister Richerius, si credidisset 'in carne humana Jesu Christi aliam non esse hyposta- 'sim, subsistentiam aut personam, nisi Verbi Divini? '--- *Peter Richer follows the footsteps of Calvin, by 'whom he was sent to America in the year* 1557; *since 'he preaches up in the presence of Villegagnon, and stiffly 'maintains before Francis Albericus a Public Notary, that* 'Jesus Christ as man is not to be worshipped. *I say, 'he maintained this doctrine in his answer to the Notary, 'who interrupted him, and, in the name of Villegagnon, 'demanded to know the reason why he refused to wor- 'ship Jesus Christ. The truth of all this appears from 'Villegagnon's letter to the Church of Christ, and from 'his letter to the magistrates of Geneva, dated* 8 *July* '1560; *as likewise from the declaration of the said 'Notary, which is annexed to it, and dated* 14 *May* '1559; *and from another declaration dated* 8 *June* '1558, *and signed by Peter à Falcilla, whom Villegag- 'non sent to Richer on the* 27*th of December* 1557, *to 'ask the reasons of his doctrine. He there affirms that 'when he put the question to Richer, why in his prayers 'he did not say,* Glory to the Father, and to the 'Son, and to the Holy Ghost, *&c. he received no an- 'swer; but when he told him that Villegagnon was of- 'fended at his not directing any prayer to Christ, his 'answer was, that whoever maintained the necessity of 'praying to Jesus Christ, ought to be looked upon as an 'Heretic. Could Richer have uttered these words, if 'he had believed that in the human nature of Christ 'there was no other hypostasis, subsistence, or person, 'but that of the Word only.*' You may apply to the pretended sect of the Richerians what I have said in the article BEZANITES. Spondanus says, that some of the followers of Richer were so impious as to deny the resurrection (12). But when I consider that Mr Vincent, in the above quoted book, does scarce mention Peter Richer, I cannot forbear laughing at the boldness of those, who represent as the head of a sect a man, who made so little a figure. As for the rest, many Divines among the Calvinists are of opinion that the humanity of CHRIST *in abstracto*, ought not to be worshipped (13). If Peter Richer maintained nothing else, he needed not fear to be accounted a Heretic among those of his sect.

† Extant hæc omnia inter controversias Villagagnoni.

(12) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1555, *num.* 15.

(13) *See* Mr Saurin, *in his* Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, *p.* 738, *& seq.*

Note, That Varillas goes farther than Spondanus; for he affirms that Peter Richer taught, that eternal life is only promised to the souls of Christians, and that they shall be happy only with respect to their souls, and that therefore the LORD's Supper having not been instituted to supply their wants, there was no need to use it frequently (14). I fancy he only taught, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist being not appointed for the use of the body, it was not necessary that the flesh of CHRIST should be contained in it. This was his opinion, which his enemies altered and misrepresented.

(14) Varillas, Hist. de l'Hérésie, *livr. xxi, pag.* 18, 19.

[D] ..... *He adds that Richer infected the inhabitants of Annonai in Vivarez with his errors.*] He does not mention the time: It was doubtless before the voyage into America. 'Probè novi hunc Petrum 'Richerium fuisse illum ipsum, qui urbi Annonæensi 'in Vivariensi provincia malorum plurimorum author 'fuit. Cum enim in eam, se Catholicum simulans, 'esset ingressus, imò & menses aliquot in concionibus 'ea simulatione usus, tandem ubi se in præcipuorum 'civium, qui illum sæpe convivio exceperant, amici- 'tiam insinuatum vidit, cordis sui pestem aperuit; 'primùm quidem privatim, deinde verò è pulpito 'pleno ore in Sacramenta invectus, ac nominatim in 'Realitatem Eucharisticam. Quod ubi animadvertunt 'Magistratus, dum in eum inquirunt, ecce evanescit 'homo nequam, majorem tamen urbis partem errori- 'bus illaqueatam relinquens (15). --- *I know very 'well that this Peter Richer is the man who did so 'much mischief to the town of Annonai in Vivarez. 'For having introduced himself there as a Roman Catho- 'lic, and preached some months under that disguise, at 'last when he found that he was closely riveted in the 'favour of the principal inhabitants, who had often 'feasted him in their houses, he disclosed the venom of 'his heart; first indeed privately, but afterwards loud- 'ly in the pulpit, inveighing against the sacraments, 'and particularly against the real presence in the Eucha- 'rist. The magistrates had no sooner perceived this, 'and begun to inquire into the matter, but all of a sud- 'den the knave disappeared. Nevertheless he left the 'greatest part of the city infected with his errors.*' I have mentioned that passage, as being part of Richer's life.

(15) Gaulterius, ubi supra, *pag.* 802, *col.* 1.

RICIUS (PAUL) a converted Jew, was a German, and flourished in the XVIth century. He was professor of Philosophy at Pavia, and acquired a great reputation by it, and the esteem of several learned men, who recommended him so effectually to the emperor Maximilian, that he was sent for into Germany by that prince, and made one of his Physicians. He published several books against the Jews, and concerning some other matters [A]. He is very much praised for his sincerity, honesty, moderation, and learning (a). See his elogy in a letter of Erasmus [B], which I shall quote in the

(a) *Taken from* Melch. Adam. *in* Vitis Medicor. *pag.* 9, 10.

[A] *He published several books against the Jews, and concerning some other matters.*] Here are the titles of some of them. *Philosophica, prophetica ac thalmudistica pro Christiana veritate tuenda, cum juniori Hebræorum Synagoga disputatio. De sexcentis & tredecim Mosaicæ sanctionis seu pentateuchi edictis. Farrago ex Thalmudæorum codice excerpta, ad petitionem Maximiliani Cæsaris. Isagoge in Cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem cum epistola contra Stephani Presbyteri Cabalæ obtrectatoris epistolam: De modo orandi in nomine tetragrammato. De novem doctrinarum ordinibus, & totius peripatetici dogmatis nexu compendium. Statera prudentum. Conclusiones quibus Aristotelem triplicem doctrinæ ordinem exercuisse, & totius ejus dogmatis nexum dijudicare poteris.* He did not forget the common subject for the declamations of that time; for he made an oration to excite the Germans to engage in a war against the Turks *in virulentam immanissimamque Turcarum rabiem, ad principes, magistratus, populosque Germaniæ oratio* (1).

(1) *Taken from* Gesner's Epitome, *pag.* 659.

[B] *See his elogy in a letter of Erasmus.*] It is the last of the first book, and is dated the tenth of March, 1516. In which are these words: 'Paulus Ricius 'sic me proximo colloquio rapuit, ut mira quædam 'me sitis habeat, cum homine sæpius ac familiarius 'conferendi sermonem. Præter Hebrææ linguæ pe- 'ritiam, quantum ille tenet philosophiæ, quantum 'Theologiæ: tum quæ animi puritas, qui discendi 'ardor, qui docendi candor, quæ disputandi modestia? 'Mihi sanè vir ille primo statim gustu placuit olim 'Papiæ; cum illic philosophiam profiteretur: nunc 'propiùs intuito magis etiam placet. Is demùm verè 'mihi videtur Israelitam agere, fuoque cognomini 'pulchrè respondere: cujus omnis voluptas, omnis 'cura, omne otium ac negotium, in divinis est lite- 'ris.

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the remarks. The famous John Eckius was one of his adverſaries: the ſubject of their diſpute was this queſtion, *viz.* Whether the Heavens are animated. Ricius maintained the affirmative, and advanced ſome opinions that were looked upon as paradoxical [C].

(2) Eraſm. Epiſt. *ult. lib. i, pag.* 88.

'ris. Dignus nimirum animus cui otium contingat 'quàm maximè honorificum (2). - - - *Pauli Ricius ſo 'charmed in a late converſation which I had with him, 'that I am very deſirous of enjoying the ſame in a more 'frequent and familiar manner. Beſides his knowledge 'in the Hebrew tongue, how great is his ſtock of Phi-'loſophy and Divinity, how remarkable his integrity, 'how keen his deſire to learn, and how great his candour 'in teaching, and his modeſty in diſputes! I was pleaſed 'with the man the firſt time I ſaw him, a great while 'ago, when he was profeſſor of Philoſophy at Pavia, 'but now that I have the opportunity of viewing him 'nearer, he pleaſes me ſtill more. In ſhort, I take him 'for an Iſraelite indeed, who anſwers his name well, 'ſince his whole pleaſure and ſtudy, his buſy and his idle 'hours are beſtowed upon the Holy Scripture. He ſhews 'a mind that is worthy of the moſt honourable eaſe.'* Ricius ſent him his treatiſe concerning the Cabala, and the thanks he received for it are very glorious to him: for it appears by it that this proſelyte had defended the cauſe of one of his friends cruelly ſlandered, and had kept at the ſame time within the bounds of moderation, and abſtained from injurious words. 'Arriſit 'animus iſte Gratiis & amicitiæ natus, qui tanto ſtudio 'tuetur hominis eruditiſſimi innocentiam, adverſus 'impudentiſſimos ſycophantas. Arriſit denique te, 'hoc eſt abſoluto veroque philoſopho, digna modera-'tio: quâ ſic fortiter patrocinaris amico, ut à con-'vitiis in adverſarium temperes, magis reputans quid 'te, quàm quid illo dignum eſſet (3). - - - - *I was 'charmed with that generous and friendly ſpirit, which 'ſo zealouſly defends the innocence of a very learned man 'againſt his moſt audacious calumniators. Laſt of all I 'was charmed with your moderation, ſo worthy of your 'ſelf, that is, of a true and perfect Philoſopher: for 'while you ſtrongly maintain the cauſe of your friend, 'you forbear reviling his adverſary; and conſider more 'what is fit for you to ſay, than what he deſerves to 'hear.'*

(3) Idem, Epiſt. XXXIX, lib. xiii, *pag.* 642: it was written in the year 1520.

[C] *Whether the Heavens are animated. Ricius maintained that they are, and advanced ſomething paradoxical.*] A Proteſtant Divine obſerves that the opinions of Ricius favoured the principles of Magic, and yet that his books *de Cœleſti Agricultura* had been approved and praiſed by the Divines of Bologna, Padua, Ferrara, and Pavia. *Paulus Ritius dum cælorum animationem & Cabaliſticam ſuam Arithmantiam per decem enumerationes tradit, magiæ principia non parum promovet in commentariis ſuis ad librum R. Joſeph Caſtilienſis qui* porta lucis *dicitur, & tamen libros illos de cœleſti agricultura magnifico elogio approbarunt Academiæ Theologicæ Bononienſis*, &c. (4) John Eckius did not follow the ſteps of thoſe Italian Divines; for he maintained that the doctrine, which teaches that the Heavens are animated, is ridiculous, execrable, and contrary to faith (5). Claudius Eſpencæus, of whom I learn this, knew not upon what reaſons that cenſure was grounded; for he had not ſeen John Eckius's book, and knew no more of it than what he had found in Ricius's confutation of it, of which he gives us a ſhort analyſis. He ſays (6) that author maintained three things. 1. That the doctrine, which teaches that the Heavens are animated, does not concern our faith; for it can neither be proved nor confuted by the principles of religion: hence it is that Divines are divided on that problem. 2. That this opinion agrees better with the words of the Prophets, than the contrary doctrine. 3. That reaſon leads us to believe that the Heavens are not inanimate beings (7). Eſpencæus examines Ricius's proofs, and criticiſes them, and at laſt declares that it is more ſafe to deny than to affirm that the Heavens have a ſoul. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to know upon what occaſion he publiſhed his book *de Cœlorum Animatione* (8). They had a mind to print at Paris an edition of all the works of cardinal Contarinus; but the Divine, who was to give his approbation, ſcrupled to do it, becauſe he finds that the author affirms that the Heavens were animated (9). He conſulted Claudius Eſpencæus, who anſwered him, that he looked upon it as an inconſiderable difficulty, and ſoon after remembring that he had collected ſeveral things on that queſtion, he put them together and publiſhed them (10).

(4) Giſb. Voëtius, *deſperata Cauſa Papatus, lib. i, ſect. IV, pag.* 36. *He cites him* in compend. de anima cœli, & cœleſti agricultura, *lib.* 10.

(5) Joannes Eckius profitetur hanc luciferam prorſus & exoſicam, execrabilem, & à fide exorbitantem eſſe conſuit in tractatu de prædeſtinatione. *Claudius Eſpenſæus, in Tractatu de cælorum animatione, cap.* 2, *pag.* m. 49.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. *cap. viii, pag.* 70.

(8) It was printed at Paris in the year 1571.

(9) *In the firſt book of Contarinus, de animæ immortalitate, printed at Venice in* 1585.

Obſerve that among the School-Divines and Philoſophers, the queſtion is only to know, whether the immediate mover of the celeſtial ſpheres is a ſoul properly ſo called, and *forma informans*. It is the opinion of ſome, and it is commonly rejected; but as for the opinion of thoſe, who admit of moving intelligences, as *aſſiſting forms*, it is almoſt generally received; and truly I do not ſee how one can be without them; and I fancy the Copernicans will fall into it ſooner or later in relation to their Planets. Father Daniel (11), and Mr le Clerc (12) have objected ſome difficulties againſt their ſyſtem, which puzzle them very much. Sir Iſaac Newton, and others, have ſo ſtrongly aſſaulted the hypotheſis of the Vortices, that the general laws of motion are not ſufficient to account for the phænomena. A particular direction of an intelligent Being would come in very ſeaſonably.

(10) See the preface of that treatiſe of Claudius Eſpencæus.

(11) *In his* Voyage de Monſieur Des Cartes.

(12) In his Phyſics.

RYER (ANDREW DU), Sieur de Malezair, gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber, and knight of the holy ſepulchre, lived in the XVIIth century. He made a conſiderable ſtay at Conſtantinople for the king's ſervice, and afterwards he was conſul of the French nation in Egypt. He got a great knowledge of the Turkiſh and Arabic languages, as it appears by his writings [A]. He was born at Marcigni (a), a little town on the Loire in the frontiers of Forez (b).

(a) Marciniacenſis. *See* Colomiés, Gallia Orient. *p.* 163.

(b) *See* Baudrand, *voce* Marciniacum.

I ſhould not omit that his tranſlation of the Alcoran has appeared worthy of cenſure to ſome Critics [B].

[A] *He underſtood the Turkiſh and Arabic languages very well, as appears by his writings.*] He printed at Paris in 1630, a Turkiſh Grammar. Four years after he publiſhed in the ſame city his French tranſlation of the Guliſtan, or the Empire of the Roſes, written by Sadi the prince of the Turkiſh and Perſian Poets. But his chief tranſlation is that of the Alcoran, which has been tranſlated ſeveral times. He publiſhed it after he had been conſul for the French nation in Egypt; which appears by the honourable teſtimonial which the conſuls of Marſeilles gave him the 12th of February, 1633, and which may be ſeen at the end of that tranſlation.

[B] *His tranſlation of the Alcoran has appeared worthy of cenſure to ſome Critics.*] The learned Windet accuſes him of having tranſpoſed, added to, and retrenched, ſeveral things: *hunc locum male reddidit* Gallus *interpres* Sieur du Ryer; *& ſolet nimium licenter interpretari, vertere, addere, ac demere. Verſio autem* Anglica, ex Gallica *ejus facta, itidem male habet* (1).

(1) Jo. Windet, de vitâ functorum ſtatu, *Sect. IX. pag.* 223, *Edit. Lond.* 1677.

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RYER (PETER) a Parisian, was admitted into the French Academy in Faret's room, the twenty-first of November 1646 (*a*). He is the author of several French translations, and some dramatic pieces (*b*). Most of the authors translated by him are Greek or Latin: as for the Greek, he only put the old translations into new French (*c*), or at most followed the Latin translations: and as for the antient Latin authors, he often mistook their sense. This he did also sometimes in his translation of the modern authors [*A*], I mean of Thuanus and Strada. It is thought his translations would be better, if he had been better paid by the Booksellers [*B*]; but because they gave him but a small matter for every sheet, he was forced to make all the haste he could, that he might be able to maintain his family. He died in the year 1656 (*d*). There is something about him in the *Menagiana* [*C*]: you will find it in the remarks.

(*a*) Pellisson, Hist. de l'Academie Françoise, *pag. m.* 229.

(*b*) See the list of them in the History of the French Academy, *pag.* 356, 357, and in Mr Baillet's *Jugemens sur les Poëtes, num.* 1486.

(*c*) *See* Baillet's Jugemens des Sçavans, *Tom. iv, num.* 949, *who refers unto the* Parnas. Reform. *pag. m.* 20, *& seq.*

(*d*) And not in 1658, as Moreri says. St Romuald places his death, not on the fifth of November 1658 (as Moreri does), but on the twenty-first. *Journal Chronologique, Tom. ii, pag.* 570.

[*A*] *He often mistook the sense of the antient authors. This he did also sometimes in his translations of the Moderns.*] (1) The least faulty of his translations, *in the judgment of several persons, is that of Cicero's works, tho' he omitted many passages which he did not understand, especially in the orations, though in order to come off, and to fill up the chasms, he put in the room of them several insignificant and nonsensical things, that are only fit to dazzle and perplex young readers* (2). These words in the *Hexameron rustique* are levelled at him, if I am not mistaken: 'He, who translated Cicero's fine treatise *de Amicitia* into French, has not been more lucky 'in his translation of these words, *Agrigentinum dotum quendam virum*, which he renders thus, *a learned man called Agrigentinus*, without minding 'that Cicero speaks of Empedocles Agrigentinus, 'whom he denotes by the name of *Agrigentum*, or '*Agragas*, a town of Sicily, where he was born. Besides there never was a man of letters, whose proper name was Agrigentinus. The same writer in 'his translation of Valerius Maximus, chap. 1, 'example 4, pag. 6, renders *vitio tabernaculum captum*, 'thus, *the tabernacle had been touched by chance*, instead of saying, *they had been wanting in the ceremonies that are to be observed, when they take the place of the Augurs, called the Tabernacle.* For want of 'understanding these words, *Tabernaculum captum*, as 'they ought to be understood in that place, and for want 'of knowing the practice of the Augurs, he thought 'this ought to be expounded according to the custom 'of the Jews, amongst whom none but the Levites 'were allowed to come near the tabernacle (3).' To this I shall add a passage out of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (4): 'Mr Teissier takes notice of 'some faults in Mr du Rier's translation: here is one 'amongst others. Thuanus speaking of John Rivius, 'who died in the year 1553, said *annos cum seculo 'numerabat*; which signifies that Rivius died at fifty-'three years of age. Mr du Rier says on the contrary, *that he died a hundred years old.* If he committed such faults in his translating a modern author, 'whose meaning may be more easily understood, than 'that of the Antients; one may very well believe, 'that he is sometimes mistaken in his translation of 'Cicero: and indeed Father l'Escalopier in his commentary on the books *de Natura Deorum*, continually 'censures poor Mr du Rier's translation (5).' I have observed another fault which Mr Teissier takes notice of. Thuanus says, *Hulrico Huteno equiti Franco . . . . quadam tenus comparandas.* (6) Du Ryer renders these words thus; *He may be compared in some manner with Ulric Huten a French knight*; and Mr Teissier says upon it, *Hutten was a German born in Franconia, and not a Frenchman, as Mr du Ryer says, who did not understand the true signification of the Latin word* Francus. (7) Mr Teissier has overlooked such a like mistake in the article of Duaren. *Eaque* (Duareni Opera) *Cujacius ipse plurimi semper fecit, cùm ex quatuor Francisis qui eadem ætate eandem scientiam profitebantur, unum Duarenum sibi placere, ceteros jus tantum deligurire diceret* (8). Those words of Thuanus have been rendered by du Ryer in this manner. *Nay, Cujas himself very much valued Duaren's works, and said, that of the four French Professors, who taught the same science at the same time, he liked none but Duaren.* What a mistake to fancy that Franciscus is the name of a nation, and not a proper name. Thuanus's meaning is this: there were at the same time four Professors of the Civil Law, whose proper names were Francis, and Duaren was the only one of the four whom Cujas esteemed. The three others were Francis Baudouin, Francis Hotman, and Francis Roaldes. I have found many other faults in his version of Thuanus. Here follows an oversight which Colomesius observed. These are his words (9). 'Mr du Ryer . . . has very much obliged pious souls, 'by translating those Psalms (10) into our language 'with so much politeness. Only there is one place, 'wherein I wish he had minded the Latin a little 'better. It is in page 17, *& seq.* of the second edition, where Mr du Ryer's translation runs thus; *and 'as if I was still a child at a hundred years of age, 'though never so old and broken, I do still the actions of 'a child.* He should have rendered the Latin words 'thus; *and as if I was a hundred years old, I do at 'the age I am all the actions of a child.* If those 'Psalms were composed by Antony, king of Portugal, 'Mr du Ryer's mistake cannot be excused; for it is 'certain, that poor prince was not sixty-four years old 'when he died.'

[*B*] *It is thought his translations would have been better, if he had been better paid by the Booksellers.*] You will find the following words next to those I have set down out of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (11): 'Which should teach several mean authors, 'who know no more Latin than what they learned at 'School, not to venture upon translations. It requires more capacity than one would think, and 'men that do it not to get a livelihood. This, I say, 'without alluding to this passage of Richelet's Dictionary, page 110 of the second part (12). *The late 'du Rier wrote to get bread*, that is, *only to maintain 'himself.*' Here are two passages of Mr Baillet. *And therefore it is believed that his learning and skill in languages were but inconsiderable; and that the Booksellers, who maintained him, did not allow him time enough to perfect any thing* (13). This is the first passage: the second is still more diverting. '(14) Such writers 'who are resolved never to go back, or who by their 'choice, or by reason of the ill circumstances they are 'in, find themselves necessitated to go forward, whatever obstacle they meet with, would think themselves maimed if they should cut off any thing from 'their writings. And particularly those whose subsistence depends upon the weight and measure of 'their writings, would be afraid of losing a penny, 'if they should strike a needless or ill-placed word 'out of their works. This was the reason why 'William Xylander, Lewis Dolce, John Baudoin, 'Peter du Ryer, and many other mercenary writers, 'and such as receive a salary from Booksellers, thought 'themselves obliged to lengthen and enlarge their 'writings as much as ever they could; so that to preserve their lives they were willing to spoil their 'reputation, some by translating for half a crown, or 'a crown, a sheet, and others by making verses at 'four livres a hundred when they were long, and 'forty pence when they were short, as Mr Furetiere 'says *.' See what I have said of Cardan (15).

[*C*] *There is something about him in the Menagiana.*] 'I think Mr du Ryer was a native of Paris. He was 'like Xylander, *qui fami magis quam famæ inservichat* '. . . *a man that studied more to fill his belly, than gain 'reputation.* He translated to get money, and died before he had made an end of the translation of Thuanus's history. To avoid expences, he lived out of 'Paris farther than the Piquepuces, where he lodged 'with his wife and children. I went once to see him 'with some friends. He treated us with cherries gathered in a little garden he had. He made a tragedy, intituled, *Alcyonée*, which is an admirable piece, and 'may be compared with the best pieces of Corneille. 'There are some wonderful verses in it, and it is very well

(1) Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, *num.* 949.

(2) *The author adds*, that Father l'Escalopier does often complain of the faults he committed throughout his whole translation of Cicero.

(3) Hexameron rustique, *pag.* 27, 28.

(4) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *October* 1684, *Art. ii, pag.* 774, *in the extract of the* Elogies taken from Thuanus, published and commented by Mr Teissier.

(5) Note, that l'Escalopier criticizes only the translation of the books *de Natura Deorum.*

(6) Thuan. *lib. xiii, pag.* 271, *ad ann.* 1554.

(7) Teissier, Addit. to the Elogies, *Tom. i, pag.* 91.

(8) Thuan. *lib. xxiii, pag.* 471, *ad ann.* 1559.

(9) Colomies, Biblioth. Choise, *pag.* 145.

(10) *That is*, Psalmi confessionales inventi in scrinio Antonii Portugalliæ Regis, *Lutetiæ* 1595, 16.

(11) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, ubi supra, *pag.* 775.

(12) According to the Geneva edition 1680; but in favour of those, who have not that edition, I must say, that this is to be found under the word *Pain* [*Bread*].

(13) Baillet, Jugemens sur les Traducteurs, *num.* 949.

(14) Baillet, Prejugez de la grosseur & petitesse des Livres, *ch. x, Part ii, pag.* 445, 446.

* *Nouvell. Allegor. pag.* 161, *des Troubles du R. d'Elog.*

(15) In his article, remark [*Y*].

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' well modelled. Mondofy acted his part very well ' in it (16).'

(16) Menagiana, pag. 366, of the firſt Dutch Edit.

Mr de Vigneul Marville, page 196, of the firſt volume of his *Mélanges*, mentions a viſit that he and ſome others paid to du Ryer, and ſays, that the collation they had, which conſiſted of milk, cherries, freſh water and brown bread, made them lament the fate of that excellent man.

RIGORISTS. So they call in the Spaniſh Netherlands the Janſeniſts, the Fathers of the Oratory, and, in general, thoſe whoſe maxims are moſt oppoſite to looſe morality (*a*). A man of Prateolus's character might make a ſect of thoſe Caſuiſts, to inſult the church of Rome about her diviſions. They are falſly accuſed *of commanding their penitents to eat hay, and young maids to put on wet ſhifts* [*A*], *which, as it is ſaid, occaſions the death of ſome of them* (*b*).

(*a*) The way of thoſe gentlemen is called *Rigoriſm*.

(*b*) See the Difficulties propoſed to Mr Steyaert, *Part* 1, *pag.* 31.

[*A*] *They have been accuſed of commanding . . . . maids to put on wet ſhifts.*] I do not think that any Caſuiſt, who is a man of ſenſe, tho' never ſo ſevere, preſcribes ſuch a penance to a young woman, tho' it were neceſſary to ſuppreſs a violent temptation to leudneſs; but there are ſome men whoſe rigid morals ſpoil their judgment to ſuch a degree, that it is not unlikely ſome young woman, who revealed too many frailties at a confeſſion, has had ſuch a remedy preſcribed her; and ſince Francis of Aſſiſi thought it expedient for him to get a wife of ſnow (1), he might have very well preſcribed a wet ſhirt to others.

(1) See, above, remark [*B*], of the article FRANCIS of Aſſiſi.

I have read a memorial printed at Delft in 1696, and containing *a ſhort anſwer to the three accuſations of* Janſeniſm, Rigoriſm, *and* Innovation. The author having laid down in it the maxims of JESUS CHRIST goes on thus: ' (2) If thoſe that are called Rigoriſts, ' have more rigorous maxims, a conduct harder to ' fleſh and blood, and a ſeverity which exceeds that ' wholeſome ſeverity, they deſerve to be puniſhed. ' But if it be true, on the contrary, as it is certain ' and evident, that the ſoftneſs of moſt Chriſtians ' forces them to be contented with much leſs, and to ' comply with humane frailty in the application of ' thoſe holy rules; it is a great injuſtice and a ' puniſhable calumny to cry them down as men, ' whoſe maxims are cruel and exceſſively ſevere; ' and it is more certain ſtill, that they who oppoſe ' what they call Rigoriſm, oppoſe the Goſpel . . . . ' It is therefore true, that Rigoriſm is a meer phantom, wherewith they ſcare people to undo good ' men, and the true ſervants of JESUS CHRIST. ' Mr Steyaert acknowledges it himſelf in his theſes ' on the rituals publiſhed within theſe few years. ' His teſtimony cannot be ſuſpected; he ſays there, ' that *thoſe who endeavour to obſerve the Rules of the ' church in the direction of ſouls, are thoſe who are ' called Rigoriſts, and that he knows no other*. . . . . (3) ' It is certain, on the contrary, that the looſeneſs ' oppoſite to that Rigoriſm, is but too real. (4) ' Mr Steyaert acknowledges it in his theſis of ' *Moral Divinity amended*. For after having proved ' it by the words of Pope Alexander VII, which ' I have recited he adds; what would certain men ' do, or rather what would they not do, if they ' could alledge any ſuch thing againſt Rigoriſm; ' whereas, in order to prove it, they have nothing ' to produce but ſome idle ſtories as hay, and ' wet ſhifts, preſcribed for a penance?'

(2) Memorial printed at Delft 1696, in 4to, *pag.* 11.

(3) Ib. *p.* 14.

(4) Ibid.

RIMINI (GREGORY OF), in Latin *Gregorius Ariminenſis*, is known by that name, becauſe he was born at Rimini, (Ariminum) a town of Italy. He taught in the univerſity of Paris with great applauſe (*a*). He was one of the moſt ſubtile ſchool-men of the XIVth century, and the ſubtilty of his wit prompted him to addict himſelf much more to the party of the Nominaliſts than to that of the Realiſts (*b*). He was an Auguſtin Monk, and was made general of his order at Montpellier in the month of May 1357. He had been the chief profeſſor of the Auguſtins in the convent of Rimini, in the year 1351. He died at Vienna in Auſtria in 1358. His chief works are ſome commentaries on the Maſter of the Sentences, and on St Paul's epiſtles. He was no leſs recommendable for the holineſs of his life, than for his learning and great parts, and he is reckoned among thoſe that have been canonized (*c*): I muſt ſay ſomething of his opinions. He vigorouſly oppoſed the Divines, who aſſert that by the almighty power of GOD two contrary propoſitions concerning one and the ſame thing may be true at the ſame time (*d*). I do not apprehend how he durſt queſtion ſuch a doctrine as this, which is an unavoidable conſequence of the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. He came much nearer the orthodox doctrine of St Auguſtin as to Free-will, than moſt Divines of his time (*e*); nay, he maintained that an invincible ignorance does not juſtify a man [*A*]. But he taught a thing, which was objected to Des Cartes, and which would be

(*a*) Elſſius, in Encomiaſtico Auguſtiniano, *pag.* 247.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ex eodem, ibid.

(*d*) See Fonſeca, on Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics, *lib. iv, cap. iii, p. m.* 651.

(*e*) *See the* Scholaſticus Orthodoxus *of Paul Ferri, p.* 304, 447.

[*A*] *He maintained that an invincible ignorance does not juſtify a man.*] Mr Arnauld makes this obſervation in the ninth part of the Difficulties propoſed to Mr Steyaert. It is upon occaſion of a decree of Pope Alexander VIII, which condemns thirty-one propoſitions; the ſecond whereof is this: *Tametſi detur ignorantia invincibilis juris naturæ: hæc in ſtatu naturæ lapſæ operantem ex ipſa non excuſat à peccato formali:* that is to ſay, ' though there is an ignorance of the law of nature, that is invincible, yet ' in the ſtate of corrupt nature that ignorance does ' not excuſe from a formal ſin thoſe who do what ' is forbidden by the Law of nature.' (1) Mr Arnauld afterwards mentions three opinions. The firſt is *that a humane action is not a formal ſin, if he who does it, does not know that he commits a ſin* (2). He aſcribes this opinion to the Jeſuits, and affirms that they *pretend to ſay nothing but what is reaſonable; becauſe it is agreed on all hands, as they ſuppoſe, that an invincible ignorance juſtifies a man, and that he is reputed to be invincibly ignorant of the ſinfulneſs of what he does, when he has no ſuch thought in the doing it.* (3) The ſecond opinion is, that of ' ſeveral Divines, who, ' leſt thoſe falſe ſubtleties ſhould overthrow this ' important maxim, that the ignorance of the law of ' nature does not juſtify a man, which has been ' acknowledged by the Heathens themſelves, and is ' laid down in the Canon-law in theſe words, *Ignorantia juris omnibus adultis damnabilis eſt:* . . . . . ' *Ignorance of the law in all adult perſons is damnable:* ' maintain that it ought not to be looked upon as ' invincible, abſolutely ſpeaking, becauſe that law is ' ſuch, that man was made capable to know it, and ' would have known it, if he had continued in the ' ſtate wherein God had placed him; that in the ' ſtate he is in, it is one of the conſequences of original ſin that he knows only the firſt principles of it, ' and is ignorant of the reſt, which he may however know with the aſſiſtance of grace: which, ' according to St Thomas, is ſufficient to oblige men ' to do what they cannot do without grace; though ' that grace, without which they cannot do it, be ' given to ſome out of mercy, and be denied to ' others out of juſtice, as a puniſhment of a preceding ' ſin,

(1) Difficultez propoſées à Mr Steyaërt, *Part* ix, *pag.* 234.

(2) Ib. *p.* 235.

(3) Ib. *p.* 236.

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be very ſcandalous, if a favourable interpretation was not put upon it; for he taught that GOD can lie or deceive us [*B*]. They made a great noiſe in Holland againſt a miniſter,

' ſin, if it were but original ſin. Nothing can be ' more expreſs than what this Angelical Doctor teaches ' upon that ſubject, 2. 2. qu. 2. art. 5 (4).' According to this ſecond opinion, *which has been entertained by moſt of the ancient Divines*, the ignorance of the law of nature *did never juſtify any body, becauſe it could not be looked upon as invincible* (5). ' The third opinion ' is that of Gregorius Arminenſis, of Eſtius, and ' other Divines, who taking the word *invincible* in ' another ſenſe, do not ſcruple to aſſert that the ignorance of the law of nature does not juſtify a man, ' even when it might be looked upon as *invincible*. ' For, ſay they, it may be called *invincible* with ' reſpect to human means, ſuch as inſtruction, of ' which many people have been deprived, eſpecially ' among the infidels (6). . . . . Thoſe, who, taking ' the word *invincible* in this ſenſe, have acknowledged ' that a vaſt number of Heathens have been invincibly ignorant of many duties of the law of nature, ' ſhould neceſſarily have ſaid, that the ignorance of ' the law of nature does not clear men from ſin, ' even when it may be called invincible, with reſpect to the want of human, and even divine ' means, when God does not afford thoſe, that ' would be immediately neceſſary to overcome that ' ignorance. We have ſtill ſome theſes publickly ' aſſerted in our days at Rome in the ſchool of the ' Auguſtins, wherein this propoſition is to be found: ' *Ignorantia invincibilis juris naturalis non excuſat à peccato. Ex Gregorio in 2. Sent. diſp. 29. qu. 1. art. 2. in reſp. ad arg. ubi ait. Ad probationem: Secundùm omnes Doctores non imputantur homini quæ ex ignorantia ſimpliciter invincibili committuntur: dico quod illud eſt intelligendum de ignorantia quæ non eſt peccatum nec pœna peccati, cujus ille ſit vel fuerit reus. Quod probat ex S Aug. in Ep. ad Sixtum. Ignorantia enim invincibilis eſt pœna peccati Originalis, cujus omnis homo naſcitur reus.* So that it is not very ' long ſince they publickly aſſerted at Rome, that an ' invincible ignorance does not clear men from ſin, ' and no body was offended at it; nor was it ' believed that they who aſcribed that opinion to ' St Auguſtin, and to Gregorius Arminenſis, one of ' his moſt faithful diſciples among the ſchool-men, ' impoſed upon that Father. Eſtius did alſo teach the ' ſame doctrine in expreſs words (7).' Mr Arnauld adds (8) that the difference between the two laſt opinions *is but a diſpute about words*, and that *at the bottom each of them does perfectly agree with the general maxim of the Canon-law, and the doctrine of St Auguſtin againſt the Pelagians, and that of St Bernard againſt Abelard; that whatever is done againſt the law of nature is a ſin, in whatever manner one may be ignorant of it, becauſe it is always a puniſhment of ſome ſin, as St Auguſtin ſays in his letter to Sixtus. But the firſt opinion, which is that of the Jeſuits, does totally overthrow the maxim of the Canon-law, and the doctrine of holy men, by generally aſſerting on one hand that an invincible ignorance does always juſtify men; and on the other by ſtretching ſo far the word invincible whenever they pleaſe that if they would ſpeak ſincerely, they ſhould ſay that the ſins of ignorance are never formal ſins, but only material.*

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ib. *p.* 241.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ib. *p.* 242.

(8) Ib. *p.* 243, 244.

I thought fit to mention all theſe things, not only becauſe they afford us a ſhort and uſeful inſtruction about a very difficult and important ſubject; but alſo becauſe they diſcover to us that our Gregorius Arminenſis did not uſe any evaſion and ſubterfuge. He dived into the bottom of a doctrine, he perceived the moſt natural conſequences of a principle, and owned them boldly, without ſeeking any equivocal or mitigated expreſſions. I do not ſay this, to condemn thoſe who endeavour to ſoften what they think might offend the readers. They may have a good deſign, and ſome matters are ſo difficult and intricate, that we may very well excuſe thoſe, who uſe ſometimes a different method to explain them. The queſtion about ſins of ignorance is one of that kind: it is ſurrounded with precipices on all ſides. It is therefore no wonder, if thoſe, who walk in ſuch a way, do ſometimes turn aſide, or go back. They grant one thing, and then they oppoſe it: they give with one hand, what they take away with the other. They will grant, *that an invincible ignorance excuſes men both in fact and right* (9), and then they will alledge a great many examples taken from the holy Scripture, to ſhew that the ſins of ignorance do not excuſe men; and the neceſſary reſult of thoſe quotations muſt be, either that the ignorance of moral duties was never invincible, or that though it be invincible, it does not excuſe a ſinner. If you conſider narrowly all their arguments, you will find that after they have ſuppoſed that ignorance of right or of fact is never a ſin, but when it is not invincible (10); they leave, properly ſpeaking, no caſe, wherein that ignorance is invincible (11); for, they ſay, it may be overcome with reſpect to the paſſion of JESUS CHRIST (12), even when it has never been heard of. They pretend, that if a ſavage of America is ignorant of the matters of fact contained in the New Teſtament, it is his fault, becauſe he has not put himſelf in a diſpoſition that may move God to reveal to him the myſteries of ſalvation, and has made himſelf unworthy of that heavenly favour. Aſk them this queſtion; Could he have that good diſpoſition that you ſpeak of? Could he make a good uſe of the light of nature? They will anſwer you, That he could if he would. If you aſk them whether he could have ſuch a will? I think they will anſwer you that he could not, but that it was only *a moral impotency, which is nothing elſe but the ill diſpoſition of his will* (13), and a conſequence of the corruption wherewith the children of Adam are born. This is at the bottom the ſame doctrine with that of our Gregory, and I think it were better to ſay plainly, as he does, that an invincible ignorance can be no excuſe, when it proceeds from original ſin, and is a puniſhment for it. It is true, that this doctrine is liable to ſome inconveniences; for it ſeems to lead one by degrees to this aſſertion, *frenzy and madneſs can be no excuſe, ſince they ought not to be excluded from the number of evils which have been introduced by ſin, and which ſerve as a puniſhment for ſin.* But is not the firſt opinion, mentioned by Mr Arnauld, alſo liable to many inconveniencies (14)? The queſtion is not to chuſe between an opinion free from all intricacies, and one that is very intricate. But the queſtion is to chuſe between two extreams, whereof one is contrary to Philoſophical notions, and the other to the Theological ſyſtems.

(9) See the preface of the Supplement to the Philoſophical Commentary upon theſe words, *Compel them to come in, folio* ** 4, *verſo, & ſeq.*

(10) *See Mr Saurin's* Reflexions ſur les Droits de la Conſcience, *pag.* 16.

(11) That is, as to the doctrines and facts that concern religion.

(12) Saurin, ibid. *p.* 15.

(13) Ib. *p.* 16.

(14) *See the* Difficultez propoſées à Mr Steyaërt, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 244, *& ſeq.*

[*B*] *He taught that God can lie or deceive us.*] Des Cartes laid down, as the only foundation of human knowledge, the perſuaſion we ought to have that God can neither be deceived, nor deceive others. They objected againſt him (15), that, according to Gregory Arminenſis, and ſome other ſchoolmen, God may ſay ſome things that are contrary to his thoughts and decrees, as when he commanded Jonas to preach in Nineveh, that it would be deſtroyed in forty days. If he hardened and blinded Pharaoh, if he ſent a lying ſpirit into ſome prophets, how do you know, ſaid they to Des Cartes, that he cannot ſeduce us? May he not deal with us as a Phyſician deals with ſick perſons, and as a father deals with children? They are often deceived wiſely, and for their good. Could we bear to look upon truth, if God preſented it to us naked? *Si Deus puram nobis oſtenderet veritatem quis eam oculus, quæ mentis acies ſuſtinere valeat* (16)? Des Cartes anſwered (17), that we muſt diſtinguiſh between God's way of ſpeaking, accommodated to man's capacity, and to the truths that have a relation to mankind, and the way of ſpeaking that relates to abſolute truths. The firſt way of ſpeaking is very frequent in the Scripture; but the laſt ought to be that of Philoſophers. Pharaoh's hardneſs of heart, and ſuch like things, do not denote a poſitive action of God; it was only a privation of grace. It is plain, ſays he, that I did not mean ſuch lies as conſiſt in words, but the inward and formal malice that is to be found in deceit. The decree againſt Nineveh was only comminatory, and depended upon a condition. However, I do not blame continued he (18), thoſe who ſay, that God may, by the miniſtry of his prophets, declare ſome lies free from all manner of malicious

(15) See the ſecond objections againſt Des Cartes's Meditations, *p. m.* 66.

(16) Object. ſecundæ contra Meditat. Carteſii, *p. m.* 66.

(17) See Des Cartes's Anſwer to the ſecond Objections, *p. m.* 75, 76.

(18) Nolim tamen reprehendere illos qui concedunt Deum per Prophetas verbale aliquod mendacium (qualia ſunt illa medicorum, quibus ægrotos decipiunt ut ipſos curent, hoc eſt in quo deſit omnis malitia deceptionis) proferre poſſe. Quinimo etiam, quod majus eſt, ab ipſo naturali inſtinctu, qui nobis à Deo tributus eſt, interdum nos realiter falli videmus, ut cum hydropicus ſitit, *&c. Carteſius, ibid. p.* 76. Note, that Mr Vogelſang, *Neceſſaria Reſponſio ad Præfat. Ludovici Wolzogii, cap. ii, p.* 59, *& ſeq.* does mightily exclaim againſt that paſſage of Des Cartes, as if it overthrew the Scripture, and even the whole Carteſian ſyſtem.

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nister, who had said the same thing, but with some restrictions that corrected it [C].

malicious deceit, and like those of Physicians, who, to cure their patients, make them believe some things that are false. Moreover, I confess, that the natural instinct, which God has given us, does sometimes deceive us really; for the nature, which God has given us for the preservation of our body, actually moves the hydropics to do a thing that is prejudicial to them, that is, to drink: but I have shewn in my sixth meditation how this can be reconciled with God's goodness and veracity.

I must observe, by the by, that the objection remains, notwithstanding this answer; for when a man is forced to confess that a general maxim, which he had laid down as the foundation of a certain and demonstrative doctrine, admits of many exceptions, he shakes it to that degree, that it can no longer fix our uncertainties, and there is no case wherein a Sceptic may not use Des Cartes's distinction. If I was deceived, will he say, by the ideas, which represent to me matter as an extended substance, it would be a deceit free from all manner of malice, and perhaps it would be useful to me in the state I am in, which in some respects is a true state of infancy or sickness, whilst my soul is united to my body. A verbal lie is not better than a ideal lie, and cannot be separated from it; for men speak only to excite some ideas in the minds of those who hear them; and may I not suppose that all sorts of ideas relate, not to absolute truths, but to such truths as have a relation to mankind?

I must also observe, by the by, that there are certain things and certain expressions in the Scripture, that will always confound the deepest Metaphysicians. We have here an instance of it. See how Des Cartes was run down by the hypothesis which Gregorius Arminensis pretended to ground on the Scripture. One may easily guess that he was strangely surprised, when he saw that the thundering arguments that fell upon him, came from a place from which he expected it least. He thought he had built upon a rock, for he had built upon the infallibility of God. He expected, without doubt, to have the approbation of Divines as to that fundamental part of his hypothesis, and he was sure at least that no passages of the Scripture would be alledged against him: and yet the storm fell upon him from that very quarter; and it was so violent that he was forced to yield. So vain are the thoughts and hopes of men! But, on the other side, we may very well wonder that Des Cartes made so weak a resistance. His quick surrender is a sign that he was not at all acquainted with books of Divinity. If he had been versed in that reading, he might have known a great many explications and solutions of those Scripture passages that Gregory Arminensis built upon, and they might have afforded him a method of disputing, whereby he might have come off. It is likely some will say that I am mistaken, and that he could not well make use of that method; for he was only for evident reasons, and always preferred what is clearer to what is less clear. Now the passages that were objected against him out of the Holy Scripture, are infinitely clearer than the explanations and glosses of the commentators; which is the reason why he surrendred so soon. I can answer this objection, and I say before hand, that this great Philosopher should at least have insisted more than he did on the nature of the expressions made use of by the holy writers, to accommodate themselves to the capacity of the people. Vulgar minds being not able to raise themselves to the most perfect being, it was necessary that the Prophets should bring down God to man, and make him stammer with us, as a nurse stammers with a child, whom she suckles. Hence it is that there are so many expressions in the Scripture, importing that God repents, that he is angry, that he will inquire whether a thing has happened, that he will alter his mind if men obey, or do not obey him, and a thousand such things, that are inconsistent with infinite perfection. Des Cartes did not fail to shew what difference there is between those expressions, and those of a true Metaphysician; but he touched too slightly upon it, and lost all the advantage he might have drawn from it; for he yielded notwithstanding, to the pretension of Gregory Arminensis. He should not have done it, he should have affirmed constantly, that the passages of the Scripture, wherein it is said that God does sometimes deceive, ought never to be literally understood, and ought to be expounded, as those that say that he repents, and which ascribe to him some other human frailty. He should have shewn at large, that a Philosopher ought not to have a regard to those passages of the word of God, when the greatness of the Supreme Being is to be represented. Mr Regis was very sensible of this: I will lay down as a maxim, says he (19), 'That 'whenever I design to speak of God exactly, I must 'not consult myself, nor speak according to custom, 'but raise my mind above all creatures, to consult the 'vast and immense idea of the most perfect being: 'although I may be allowed to say in a moral treatise, 'that *God has repented*, that *he is angry*, &c. Yet 'those and such like expressions cannot be allowed 'me in a treatise purely Metaphysical, in which one 'must speak exactly.'

(19) Regis, Systême de Philosophie, Tom. i. pag. 168, Edit. of Lyons 1691, in 12mo.

Let us remember, that if the Scripture does often represent God under popular, and consequently very false, notions, to accommodate itself to the capacity of those, for whom God designed the revelation; it affords us in other places the corrective that we want, I mean the description of the Infinite Being in his immutable and most perfect majesty.

[C] *They made a great noise in Holland against a minister, who had said the same thing, but with some restrictions that corrected it.*] I mean Mr de Wolzogue. He was professor and minister of the Walloon church at Utrecht, in the year 1666, when a book came out, intituled, *Philosophia S. Scripturæ interpres, Exercitatio paradoxa*. It appeared a very pernicious piece to the orthodox Divines, and worse than a Socinian book. Mr de Wolzogue was one of those who confuted it; but he was so unlucky in his performance, that they made as much or more noise against his confutation (20), than against the book he had confuted. Here is one of the things that gave the greatest offence. '(21) I am to prove in the third place, 'that God will not deceive any body: though I need 'not take much pains to prove it. When God says 'a thing, it is sufficient to make us apprehend that 'he will not deceive men. I say, that he *will* not 'deceive, lest one should think that he cannot do it, 'if he would. For as any one, who goes about to 'deceive another, is reputed to be in some measure 'above him in that respect, and to surpass him either 'in address, or strength, or in some other faculty 'whatever it be; and because God's wisdom, and 'power, and all his other attributes are infinite; it 'is plain that creatures, even the most perfect of them, 'because they are finite, as being creatures, may be 'led into error by the infinite Creator. But I deny 'that he *will* do it. For we can scarce think of an 'intention to deceive, without believing that there is 'some malice in it, whereby we endeavour to impose 'upon the person, whom we dare not assault without 'cunning and deceit; or that there is a weakness of 'mind, which makes one doubt of a good success without it. Each of those two things betrays a great 'imperfection: they must not be therefore ascribed in 'the least to him, whom we look upon as a most 'perfect Being (22). They, who wrote against Mr de Wolzogue (23), complained very much of this proposition, *God might deceive, if he would*. It is certain that it sounds ill, and tho' the explanation the author added to it, reduced it to the common opinion of the orthodox Divines, that it is impossible God should deceive any body, yet it had been better for him to abstain from those offensive words, which at the bottom were of no use to the question in hand, and were a meer needless parenthesis. It seems to me that men in cold blood would not have carried their censure farther; only they might have added to it, that an author, who appears so much addicted to Des Cartes, ought not to use a great compass of words in order to say that God cannot deceive. He ought to say it in one word, and not in circumlocutions that require explanation. They who express themselves thus, *the reprobate might love God, if they would, but their corruption is so great, that they cannot be willing to love him*, say at the bottom the same thing with those, who affirm roundly, that it is impossible the reprobate should love God. This last proposition being shorter, is

(20) It is intitled, De scripturarum interpretæ adversus Exercitatorem paradoxum libri duo, and was printed in 1667.

(21) It is pag. 24, of the 1st Edit. and pag. 11, of the 2d Edit. of *De Script. interpr.* &c.

(22) Wolzogen, Apologie pour le Synode de Naerden, *Part* iv, *pag.* 160.

(23) See *Mr Vander Wayen, pag.* 19, *of his book pro vera & genuina Reformatorum sententia præliminia in negotio de interprete Scripturæ. Mr Vigelius, in the 2d chapter of the necessary responso ad paradoxum Ludovici Wolzogii. Jake Brewer, a Scotch minister, pag.* 61, *of his* Wolzogius cum prodit. *and p.* 1 *of the other.*

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is preferable to the other. In like manner, ſince it is a ſhorter expreſſion to ſay, *God cannot deceive*, than to ſay, *He might deceive, if he would; but he is ſo holy, that he cannot have the will to deceive*; why did Mr de Wolzogue uſe ſo many windings and turnings in his diſcourſe? However it be, there is more reaſon to wonder that the cenſure was not wholly confined within thoſe bounds, than to ſee that the Sieur de Labadie, who, in the name of the Walloon church of Middleburg, proſecuted Mr de Wolzogue in the Walloon ſynod, durſt accuſe him of Heterodoxy for ſaying that God cannot have the will to deceive us. 'Mr de 'Labadie objects againſt me, in his Latin book, as 'an error contrary to the Scripture; but what I ſaid 'that God might deceive if he would, but what I added to it, that God cannot have the will to deceive. 'He pretends, that I have not ſaid enough, and aſſerts that God *will* and *can* deceive. He objects the 'Scripture againſt me, and aſks, *What will Wolzogue 'ſay to the Hiſtory related in the 22d chapter of the '1ſt book of Kings, and eſpecially to the words of the '22d verſe?* And the Lord ſaid, Thou ſhalt perſwade *him*, and prevail alſo: go forth, and do ſo. Now 'therefore behold, the LORD hath put a lying 'ſpirit in the mouth of all theſe thy prophets, and 'the LORD hath ſpoken evil concerning thee. '*When God willed and commanded that Ahab ſhould be 'ſeduced and put a lying ſpirit (for ſo Junius and Tremellius ſpeak) muſt he be charged with weakneſs of mind or 'malice* (24)?' See the margin (25). I ſhall ſet down another paſſage, whereby it will appear that the adverſaries of Mr de Wolzogue were not offended at Labadie's temerity. It is a very long paſſage; but ſince it contains a doctrine, whereby the cenſured propoſition is cleared and explained in a ſolid manner, the reader will not think it ſtrange to find it in this place. Here are therefore Mr de Wolzogue's words in the preface to a collection of Judgments, which he publiſhed in 1669 (26).

'(27) The principal objection, and which makes 'the greateſt noiſe, is what I have ſaid, that God can 'deceive, if he will. For it ſeems my meaning is, 'that God can deceive. But I think there is nothing 'more harmleſs than what I have ſaid, and that it 'will be found to be very Orthodox, if it be carefully examined. For if there be any thing to be ſaid 'againſt it, it muſt be in the ſenſe, or in the words. 'As for the ſenſe, I lay down that it is impoſſible 'God ſhould ever deceive any body, as it is impoſſible he ſhould lie or deny himſelf; this I have ſaid 'in expreſs words in ſeveral places of my book; I 'made it the foundation of my whole diſpute, and I 'think it is ſo important a truth, that I believe we 'can have no aſſurance of any thing in the world, nor 'of our ſalvation without it. Nevertheleſs, in order 'to explain the nature of deceit, I diſtinguiſh the will 'of deceiving from the qualifications neceſſary to perform that deceit. The will of deceiving is always 'ſinful, and contains properly the imperfection that 'is in deceit; but the qualifications that might ſerve 'to put that deceit in execution are good, and contain 'always ſome perfection (28). Let us conſider two 'men, one of which is ſtupid and malicious, and the 'other a virtuous and able man: it may be ſaid of the 'firſt, that he is deſirous to deceive ſome body, but 'that he has not wit enough for it; it is not for 'want of will, but for want of power. On the contrary, it will be ſaid of the ſecond, that he has all 'the wit that is requiſite to impoſe upon ſimple peo'ple, but that he is too honeſt to do it. Now if we 'apply this to God, it is moſt certain that he will 'not deceive, he cannot have ſuch a will, he is too 'perfect for it, being perfection it ſelf; but as for the 'qualities requiſite for the execution of a deceit, ſuch 'as wiſdom and power, without doubt God is endowed with them; not that he can at any time 'make uſe of his wiſdom and power to perform a 'deceit, for this ſtill ſuppoſes a will to deceive; but 'he has however the wiſdom and power requiſite for 'the execution of a deceit; and it is in this ſenſe, I 'ſay, that God can deceive if he will, but that he 'cannot will it; that is God cannot deceive, not for 'want of wiſdom or power; but by reaſon of the 'perfection of his will. So that theſe words, *God can 'deceive if he will*, ought to be paraphraſed thus, *God 'has all the qualifications neceſſary for the execution of 'deceit*; he is wiſe, powerful, and conſtant; he has 'whatever might ſerve for the performance of a de'ceitful deſign, if he was willing to deceive; but it 'is impoſſible for him to have ſuch a will; it is alſo 'impoſſible that he ſhould uſe his power for the execution of a deceit; from whence I conclude, that 'it is impoſſible he ſhould deceive. The meaning of 'which is, that God is moſt wiſe and powerful. Who 'will deny it? But perhaps it will be ſaid that there 'is ſome harſhneſs in the words. Suppoſe there was; 'is it ſuch a crime as deſerves all the noiſe that is 'made about it? If all harſh and offenſive words were 'ſtruck out of the books of our Divines, there would 'be many razures in them. Calvin himſelf would 'not be free from cenſure concerning the doctrine of 'Predeſtination. But as for the doctrine in queſtion, 'I maintain that the Scripture ſays more of it than 'I do. It ſays, 1 *Kings* xxii. that *the Lord has put 'a lying ſpirit in the mouth of the falſe prophets*. In the 'twentieth chapter of *Jeremiah, ver.* 7. *O Lord, 'thou haſt deceived me, and I was deceived.* For ſo 'it is tranſlated in the Engliſh Bible, and does not 'our verſion ſay in *Ezekiel* xiv. 9. *If the prophet be 'deceived when he hath ſpoken a thing, I the Lord have 'deceived that prophet.* Did I advance any thing that 'ſeems at firſt ſo ſtrange as this? I am not ignorant 'of the ſenſe that is put upon thoſe paſſages; but I 'wiſh they would likewiſe have admitted that which 'I put upon my aſſertion, without charging me 'with the appearance of harſhneſs that is to be found 'in the words. That which is ſurprizing, is, that 'Mr de Labadie maintains that God *can* and *will* 'deceive, and that he has deceived: he finds fault 'with me becauſe I ſaid only that God *can* deceive if he '*will*, but that he cannot *will* it; and yet none of 'our zealots reprove him for it.'

Mr de Wolzogue's adverſaries were not ſatisfied with this explication. Mr Vogelſang confuted it with great contempt and indignation, and obſerved, among other things, that it is likely Des Cartes took from the ſchoolmen his diſtinction between the *power* and the *will* to deceive; as if that power was a kind of perfection, whereas the will to deceive is an imperfection. He will have it that Des Cartes hunted after the glory of invention, by digging up the ordures of the ſchoolmen (29); and he quotes a paſſage of the fifth chapter of the fourth book of Ariſtotle's Topics, where it is ſaid that the faculty of doing moral evil is in God, and in a good man. He alledges alſo theſe words of Thomas Aquinas, which explain that paſſage of Ariſtotle. 'Deus peccare non poteſt, quia eſt 'omnipotens. Quamvis Philoſophus dicat in quarto 'Topicorum, quod poteſt Deus & ſtudioſus (*vir probus*) prava agere. Sed hoc intelligitur vel ſub con'ditione, cujus antecedens ſit impoſſibile, ut puta, ſi 'dicamus quod poteſt Deus prava agere ſi velit. Nihil 'enim prohibet conditionalem eſſe veram, cujus ante'cedens & conſequens eſt impoſſibile; ſicut ſi dicatur, 'ſi homo eſt aſinus, habet quatuor pedes. Vel, ut 'intelligatur, quod Deus poteſt aliqua agere, quæ 'nunc prava videntur, quæ tamen, ſi ageret, bona 'eſſent. Vel loquitur ſecundum communem opinionem 'gentilium, qui homines dicebant transferri in Deos, 'ut Jovem & Mercurium (30). - - - - *God cannot ſin, 'becauſe he is omnipotent: tho' Ariſtotle ſays in his fourth 'book of Topics, that the faculty of doing moral evil, is 'in God and in good men. But this is underſtood either 'under a condition, the antecedent of which is impoſſible, 'as if we ſhould ſay that God can do evil if he will. 'For nothing hinders a conditional propoſition from being 'true, tho' both the antecedent and conſequent part of it 'be impoſſible: for example we may ſay, if a man be 'an aſs, he has four feet. Or Ariſtotle means that 'God can do ſome things which now ſeem evil, but 'would nevertheleſs be good if he ſhould do them. Or 'laſtly he ſpeaks according to the common opinion of the 'Gentiles, who ſaid that men were changed into gods, as 'Jupiter and Mercury.*' He maintains that Thomas Aquinas made himſelf ridiculous, by pretending to juſtify that opinion of Ariſtotle. He is very ſevere upon him: I ſhall only mention what he ſays upon the laſt point. 'Quod ultimo loco hariolatur, Ariſtotelem forte ſic locutum fuiſſe *juxta communem 'opinionem Gentilium, qui homines dicebant transferri in 'Deos, ut Jovem & Mercurium*; quam hoc plane frivolum eſt? Etenim, juxta communem Gentilium 'opinionem, Dii non modo facultatem habebant mala vel turpiſſima perpetrandi, ſed & promptam ſane 'voluntatem. Quapropter eorum poëtæ furta Numinum & impoſturas, & rixas, & pugnas, & mu'tuorum

(24) Wolzogue, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 154, 155.

(25) *Note, that Mr de Wolzogue obſerves afterwards*, that he gave Mr de Ladadie notice of that overſight in the ſynod of Naërden, and ſince that time, *adds he*, he has mended his opinion, having obſerved that it was an impiety to ſay that God will and does effectively deceive men.

(26) *That is*, Jugemens de pluſieurs Profeſſeurs & Docteurs en Theologie qui prononcent Orthodoxe le Livre de Louys de Wolzogue de l'Interprete de l'Ecriture.

(27) Wolzogue, *Avant propos des* Jugemens, &c.

(28) Compare with this what I have ſaid in the remark [*A*], of the article RANGOUZE.

(29) Solet Carteſius è putidiſſimis antiquorum philoſophorum atque Scholaſticorum liberalius ineptientium ſordibus excrementa præcipue fœdiora ſæpenumero deligere, uti de placitis obſoletis, & meritis ſepultis oblivione, ſubtilitatis inſolitæ miſer gloriolam ſubripiat. *Reinerus Vogelſangius, Viatenſis V. D. M. & S. S. Theologiæ Profeſſor in Eccleſia & Gymnaſio Sylvaducenſi, ad Præfat. Lud. Wolzogii neceſſaria reſponſ. pag.* 49.

(30) Thomas Aquinas, *XXV Quæſt. Art. III*, apud Vogelſang. *ibid. p.* 51.

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'tuorum odiorum rancores, & libidines & adulteria 'vulgo decantavere. Quod plane contra Philosophi 'scopum & mentem est, qui mala perpetrandi vo- 'luntatem Deo penitus abrogat, etsi facultatem pra- 'va faciendi concesserit (31). - - - - *As to his last con-* 'jecture, viz. that perhaps Aristotle spoke according to 'the common opinion of the Gentiles who said that 'men were changed into gods, &c. how frivolous is 'it? For according to the common opinion of the Gentiles 'the Gods had not only the power, but also the will 'to commit the basest actions.' Hence it was that their 'Poets chose for their ordinary themes, the thefts of the 'gods, their frauds and contentions, their battles and 'mutual animosities, their lusts and adulteries. But this 'plainly contradicts the scope and meaning of the Philoso- 'pher, who takes from God the will at the same time 'that he leaves him the power to do evil.' He adds (32) some other passages of the Scripture to those that were quoted by Mr de Wolzogue, and shews how they are to be understood. See the margin (33).

(31) Vogelsang. ibid. *pag.* 52.

(32) Ib. *p.* 64.

(33) Note, That the Walloon synod declared Wolzogue's book to be orthodox.

RINUCCINI (OTTAVIO), a gentleman of Florence (*a*), followed, into France, Mary de Medicis, with whom he was in love [*A*], and gained the esteem of Henry IV, who made him gentleman of his bed-chamber (*b*). He was a man of wit, and a handsome person, polite, eloquent, and a very good Poet, and, with the advantage of these good qualities, he applied himself very much to make his court to the ladies (*c*). His inventions considerably enriched the Italian poetry; for he was the first who made verses after the manner of Anacreon, and composed pieces which were set to Music, and acted on the stage (*d*) [*B*]. It is true, every one does not agree that he was

(*a*) Crescimbeni, l'Istoria della volgar Poëfia, *pag.* 149.

(*b*) *Fu Gentiluomo della Camera del Re Christianissimo.* Jacobo Rilli, Notizie Letterarie ed Istoriche intorno a gli Uomini illustri dell' Accad. Fiorent. *Part i, p.* 258.

(*c*) Nic. Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 61, 62.

(*d*) Crescimbeni, ubi supra.

[*A*] *He followed into France Mary de Medicis with whom he was in love.*] Nicius Erythræus tells us this particular. *Mariam Medicæam*, says he (1), *Galliæ Reginam, non majori ambitione quam vanitate adamavit: quam etiam honoris gratia, prosecutus est euntem in Galliam. Sed postea reversus in Italiam, omissis amatoriis nugis, ad quas erat mirè propensus, tandem ad se rediit, quæque ratione non perspexerat, satietate abjecit, experiendo contempsit, totumque ad pietatis amorem & studium animum contulit: in quo demum Florentiæ diem obiit extremum.* Here is the paraphrase made by Mr Baillet on these Latin words, 'Ottavio Rinuccini . . . . . 'was known in France under the most disadvantage- 'ous character in the world, because he had the folly 'and indiscretion to discover the motives which had 'induced him to put himself in the retinue of queen 'Mary de Medicis (2). . . . . I must add for his repu- 'tation, that he changed his life and practice to- 'wards the end of his days, that the virtue and wis- 'dom of our queen, which had very much mortified 'his inclination, opened his eyes, and that returning 'into Italy with a sincere repentance and salutary 'shame, he applied himself to exercises of piety 'which he never forsook till his death (3).'

(1) Nic. Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 62.

(2) Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poëtes, *num.* 1375.

(3) Ibid.

[*B*] *He was the first who . . . . composed pieces which were set to Music and acted on the stage.*] Nicius Erythræus ascribes to him four Operas, that of Daphne (4), that of Eurydice, that of Arethusa, and that of Ariadne (5); but Mr Rilli makes no mention of Arethusa, tho' he had made great enquiries after what related to this great Poet. He tells us (6) that the Daphne, represented before the Grand Duchess by James Corsi, was printed at Florence in the year 1600, in 4to. That the Eurydice, acted at the marriage of Mary de Medicis with Henry IV, was printed at the same place in the year 1600, in 4to. That the Ariadne, acted at the marriage of the prince of Mantua with the Infanta of Savoy, was printed at the same place in the year 1608, in 4to. That the *Mascherata dell' Ingrate*, a ballet danced at the marriage of the same prince of Mantua, was printed at Mantua in the year 1608, in 4to. That the *Versi Sacri cantati nella Cappella della Sereniffima Arcbiduchessa d' Austria Granduchessa di Toscana*, and the Ode *in lode de' Giuocatori di pallone*, were printed at Florence in the year 1622, in 4to, by the care of Peter Francis Rinuccini the author's son. That there were others printed in single sheets, besides sonnets, songs, &c. inserted among the works of other authors, and that there are a great many pieces in manuscript that deserve to be published. He cites (7) a passage of Peter Francis Rinuccini (8), which tells us, that Ottavio Rinuccini deserved great commendation for the *Versi Sciolti* in his panegyric on the birth of Lewis XIII, and that he had designed to translate the six books of St Catherine into that kind of verse; but that he had only translated the first, which they were resolved to publish, tho' the author had not put the finishing hand to it. This is what Mr Rilli tells us concerning the works of our Ottavio. Could he be ignorant of what relates to the opera of Arethusa which Erythræus mentions (9)?

(4) *It is* Daphium *instead of* Daphnem, *in the printed book of* Nicius Erythræus.

(5) Nic. Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 101.

(6) Jacobo Rilli, Notizie intorno a gli Uomini illustri dell' Accademia Fiorentina, *Part i, pag.* 258, 260.

(7) Ibid. *pag.* 259.

(8) Taken from a letter to the academy *de gli Alterati*.

(9) Note, that at pag. 145, of *Pinacotheca tertia*, he mentions the three others, but not *Arethusa*.

But to come to the point, let us copy a long passage of the epistle dedicatory to the Eurydice (10). It will inform us, that Rinuccini thought that he was the first among the moderns that had attempted to introduce Music on the stage; but he was mistaken, and knew not what I mention in another place (11). We shall also see there that James Peri (12) was the person that composed the Music for the pastoral of Daphne, and afterward for the opera of Eurydice. 'E' stata 'openione di molti, Christianissima Regina, che gli 'antichi Greci e Romani cantassero sulle Scene le Tra- 'gedie intiere; ma sì nobile maniera di recitare, non 'che rinnovata, ma nè pur che io sappia fin qui è 'stata tentata da alcuno; & ciò mi credev' io per di- 'fetto della Musica moderna, di gran lunga all' antica 'inferiore; ma pensiero sì fatto mi tolse interamente 'dall' animo Mes. Jacobo Peri, quando udito l'inten- 'zione del Sig. Jacopo Corsi, e mia, mise con tanta 'grazia sotto le note la Favola di Dafne, composta da 'me, solo per fare una semplice prova di quello, che 'potesse il Canto nell' età nostra, che incredibilmente 'piacque a que' pochi che l'udirono; onde preso ani- 'mo, e data miglior forma alla stessa Favola, e di 'nuovo rappresentandola in Casa il Sig. Jacopo, fu 'ella non solo dalla Nobiltà di tutta questa Patria fa- 'vorita, ma dalla Sereniss. Granduchessa, e dagl' il- 'lustrissimi Cardinali dal Monte e Montalto, udita, e 'commendata; ma molto maggior favore, e fortuna 'ha sortito l'Euridice messa in Musica dal medesimo 'Peri, con arte mirabile, e da altri non più usata, 'havendo meritato dalla benignità e magnificenza del 'Sereniss. Granduca d'essere rappresentata in nobilis- 'sima Scena, alla presenza di V. M. del Cardinal Le- 'gato, e di tanti Principi, e Signori d'Italia e di 'Francia; la onde cominciando io a conoscere quanto 'simili Rappresentazioni in Musica fiano gradite, ho 'voluto recare in luce queste due, perchè altri di me 'piu intendenti s'ingegnino di accrescere, e migliorare 'sì fatte Poesie di maniera, che non abbiamo invidia 'a quelle antiche tanto celebrate da' Nobili Scrittori '(13). - - - *It has been the opinion of many persons, Most* 'Christian Queen, *that the antient Greeks and Romans* 'sung their tragedies throughout on the stage; *but so* 'noble a manner of reciting has not been revived, nor 'that I know of so much as attempted by any one till 'now; and this I thought was owing to the defect of 'the modern Music, which is far inferior to the ancient. 'But Mr Jacob Peri made me intirely alter my opinion, 'when upon hearing the intention of Mr Jacob Corsi and 'my self, he so beautifully set to Music the pastoral of 'Daphne which I had composed, meerly to make a trial 'what song could do in our age. It pleased to an in- 'credible degree, those few that heard it. From this I 'took courage. The same piece being put into better form, 'and represented anew in the house of Mr Peri, was not 'only favoured by all the nobility of the country, but 'heard and commended by the most serene Grand Duchess, 'and the most illustrious cardinals dal Monte and Mon- 'talto. But the Eurydice has met with more favour and 'success, being set to Music by the same Peri with won- 'derful art, that is not used by any other, and having 'been thought worthy to be represented on the stage, by 'the bounty and magnificence of the most serene Grand Duke, 'in the presence of your majesty, the cardinal Legate, and 'so many princes and gentlemen of Italy and France; from 'whence beginning to know how well the like musical 'representations were relished, I resolved to publish these 'two,

(10) To Mary de Medicis, queen of France.

(11) In the remark, of the article SULPITIUS (John).

(12) Nicius Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 61, calls *him* Jacobus Peru; *but at pag.* 144, *of the* Pinacotheca tertia, *he calls him* Jacobus Peritius.

(13) Ottavio Rinuccini, *apud* Jacobum Rilli, ubi supra, *pag.* 258, 259.

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was the inventer of these two things. Some say that Gabriel Chiabrera gave birth to the Anacreontic songs (*e*), and that Emilio Caveleri, a gentleman of Rome, wrote Operas before our Rinuccini (*f*). However that be, it cannot be denied that the dramatic pieces of the latter, in the pomp of machinery, the decorations of the scenes, and the ability of the Actors, excelled all that had been done before of that kind (*g*). I do not believe that he had reason to say that he first introduced ballets in France [C]. After his return to Florence, he grew weary of the follies of love to which he formerly had a very singular propensity (*h*). What reason had not been able do, satiety and experience did, giving him a disgust to those things, which had too much possessed his mind. He turned his thoughts inward upon himself, and applied himself wholly to piety, and so he died at Florence (*i*). Several of his Poems were printed there after his death, by the care of PETER FRANCIS RINUCCINI, his son, who dedicated them to Lewis XIII in the year 1624.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Nic. Erythræus, Pinac. I, *pag.* 62.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) See the remark [*A*].

(*i*) Nic. Erythræus, ubi supra.

'*two, to the end that others of greater abilities than* '*my self may be induced to carry on and improve this* '*kind of poetry in such manner, that we may have no* '*occasion to envy those antient pieces which are so much* '*celebrated by noble writers.*' Let us add to this a curious passage of Father Menestrier: 'These dramatic 'pieces of Music were preserved in carousals and in 'ballets, the overtures of which were almost constant-'ly made in dialogues and recitals of Musicians, who 'sung either in carts or other machines. At last Ot-'tavio Rinuccini, a Florentine Poet, having a particu-'lar talent at expressing in his verses all kind of pas-'sions, found means to adapt Music and singing to 'them so well, that they neither destroyed any part 'of the beauty of the verses, nor marred the distinct 'understanding of the words, which are often in a 'manner lost by the windings, turns, and quivers, of 'the voice. He consulted in this Jacob Corsi, a 'gentleman of Florence, who understood Music, and 'delighted in fine things, and both calling in Gia-'como Cleri (14), and Giulio Caccini, excellent masters 'in Music, they together contrived a piece which was 'represented in the house of Mr Corsi in the presence 'of the grand duke, and grand duchess of Tuscany, 'and the cardinals Monti and Montalto, with so much 'success, that this piece which was the Loves of Apol-'lo and Daphne served for a model to the Eurydice, 'which was represented a little after at the same place. 'Claudio de Monteverde, an excellent Musician, com-'posed the Ariane (15) on the model of these two; 'and being made master of the Music at St Mark's in 'Venice, he introduced these kind of representations 'which are become so famous by the magnificence of 'the theatres and dress, by the delicacy of voices, 'harmony of concerts, and the learned compositions 'of this Monteverde, Soriano, Giovanelli, Teofilo, 'and several other great masters (16).'

(14) I think *Cleri* is an error of the press for *Peri*.

(15) I do not know whether it should not have been said that Claudius de Monteverde composed not the Ariane, but the Music of the Ariadne of Rinuccini. However, this last piece deserved to be mentioned as well as Daphne and Eurydice.

(16) Menestrier, Représentat. en Musique, *pag.* 263, *& seq.*

These are citations which will be read with pleasure by those who love to know the origin and progress of every thing. Observe that Rinuccini was not a comedian (17).

(17) He was a Comedian in great repute at Florence. *Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poëtes, num.* 1375.

[C] *I do not believe that they are in the right to say that he first introduced ballets into France.*] His son gives him this praise: 'Qual fu, *says he* (18), ne' 'suoi Versi la facilità, quale la dolcezza veramente 'nata all' armoniosa melodia? Quindi nacque, che i 'Balli, quali egli ancora primiero condusse in Francia, 'accompagnati dalla Musica piacquero mirabilmente. '*--- How easy was the stile of his verses, and what* '*a sweetness truly calculated for a melodious harmony? Hence it was that the ballets, which he also first introduced into France, being accompanied with Music,* '*were wonderfully liked.*' He came into France with Mary de Medicis in the year 1600. Now we know that ballets were in use before that time: I will bring a proof of it which will be very agreeable to those that are pleased with the History of Inventions. 'Beau-'joyeux was an Italian named Balthasarini, one of the 'best violins in Europe: the marshal de Brissac when 'he governed Piedmont, sent him to the queen (19) 'with all the band of violins under his direction. 'The queen made him her valet de chambre, and 'this Balthasarini taking the name Beaujoyeux, be-'came so famous at court for his inventions of bal-'lets, concerts, entertainments, and representations, 'that he was the only person talked of. It was he 'who made the ballet for the marriage of the duke 'de Joyeuse with Madam de Vaudemont sister to the 'queen. This ballet was published under the title of '*Ballet comique de la Reine, fait aux Noces de Monsieur* '*le Duc de Joyeuse & Mademoiselle de Vaudemont sa* '*Sœur, par Balthasar de Beaujoyeux Valet de Chambre* '*du Roi & de la Reine sa Mere.* One of the court 'Poets wrote these verses in his praise.

(18) *In his letter to the academy* de gli Alterati, *apud* Rilli, ubi supra, *pag.* 259.

(19) Viz. Catherine de Medicis.

Beaujoyeux qui premier des cendres de la Grece
Fais retourner au jour le dessein & l'addresse
Du Balet compassé en son tour mesuré
Qui d'un esprit Divin toy-méme te devance,
Geometre inventif, unique en ta science;
Si rien d'honneur s'acquiert le tien est assuré.

Great Beaujoyeux, who first from Greece's urn
Do'st teach the sprightly ballet to return,
Contriv'd with judgment and proportion'd well;
Thou who divinely do'st thy self excel,
Whose fancy geometrical and fine
Displays a science that is wholly thine,
If endless honour can at all be got,
Then rest assur'd that it shall be thy lot.

(20) Menestr'er, ubi supra, *pag.* 272, 273.

'Beaulieu and Salmon masters of the king's Music as-'sisted him in the composition of the recitativos and 'airs in the ballet. La Chesnaye the king's Almoner 'made part of the verses, and James Patin the king's 'painter served him in the decorations (20).' This ballet was danced in the year 1582 (21). See in Father Menestrier (22) the description of the machine with which it was introduced.

(21) See the remark [C], of the article GOUDIMEL.

(22) *In his* Traitté des Ballets anciens & modernes, *pag.* 267, 268.

RITIUS (MICHAEL), in Italian *Riccio*, a Civilian of Naples, and author of several books [*A*], flourished in the beginning of the XVIth century. He was banished *by the faction that opposed France*, and retired to the court of Lewis XII, who *honoured him with the place of counsellor in the parliament of Paris* (*a*). La Croix du Maine calls him Michael de Ris, and affirms that he was *counsellor to the king in his great council, and in the parliament of Paris in* 1505, and that he was *commonly called the advocate of Naples* (*b*). When the Cardinal d'Amboise entered Milan, after Lewis Sforza had been made

(*a*) Baudier, Hist. du Cardinal d'Amboise, *pag.* 44.

(*b*) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. *p.* 331.

(1) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. *p.* 331. *Note, that* du Verdier Vau-Privas *has not mentioned this book.*

[*A*] *He is the author of several books.*] He composed at Blois in the year 1505, *A treatise of the duty of soldiers and their privileges*, which was printed at Paris the same year, and dedicated to Lewis XII (1). He wrote three books *de Regibus Francorum*, three *de Regibus Hispaniæ*, one *de Regibus Hierosolymarum*, four *de Regibus Neapolis & Siciliæ*, two *de Regibus Hungariæ*, which were printed by John Frobenius at Basil in the year 1517 in 4to. We find there a preface by the author written at Rome in the year 1505, and another preface by James Parrhasius, who affirms that the stile of the work is pure, free, and natural, *purus*,

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made prisoner, he appointed Michael Ritius to answer the harangue made by the Milanese to obtain pardon for their disobedience (*c*). Lewis XII sent the same Ritius to Genoa, in the year 1506, to offer an amnesty to the revolted inhabitants (*d*). The remonstrances of this Orator were of no effect.

(*c*) See Gaguin in his 11th book of the History of France, *fol. m.* 308 *verso.*

(*d*) Gaguin, *lib. xi, fol. m.* 192.

purus, candidus, illaboratus (2). Ludovicus Vives says that there are abundance of faults in the proper names in these Histories of Ritius. *Michael Ritius Reges aliquot Christianos collegit, in quo opere multa sunt locorum, hominum, & familiarum corrupta nomina, vitio credo describentium* (3). His History of the kings of France reaches from Pharamond to Lewis XII, and was printed at Rome in the year 1505, and dedicated to Guy de Rochefort chancellor of France (4). That of the kings of Spain begins with Gargoris, and ends with Philip I, father of Charles V (5).

(2) *Taken from* Gesner, Biblioth. *fol.* 513.

(3) Lud. Vives, de tradendis Disciplinis, *lib. v, pag.* 359, *Edit. Lugd.* 1551, *in* 8*vo.*

(4) Vossius, de Histor. Lat. *pag.* 667.

(5) Valæus, Chron. Hisp. *cap. iv, pag.* 21, *Edit. Colon.* 1577, *in* 8*vo.*

RITTANGELIUS (JOHN STEPHEN), a converted Jew, was of Bamberg in Germany, and lived in the XVIIth century. He was professor of the Oriental languages in the university of Konigsberg, and published some books [*A*], which shew that he was zealous for the Christian religion, and a learned man. He designed to publish some other books, and in order to it he made a voyage to Amsterdam; but his manuscripts were torn to pieces by privateers, who took the ship in which he had embarked. He himself relates this adventure in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Jezirah. Some say he was born a Jew. The Journalists of Utrecht affirm it positively (*a*), but others say, that *being a Roman Catholic he turned a Jew, and afterwards Protestant.* They are the words of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, in August 1699, pag. 212. But some are of opinion that he never professed Judaism [*B*]. He was still living the thirty-first

(*a*) Biblioth. Librorum novorum, *Mens. Sept. & Oct.* 1698, *pag.* 674.

[*A*] *He published some books.*] He had said in his notes upon the book Jezirah (1), that the Chaldaic paraphrase on the Scripture affords very good arguments against the Jews and the Anti-Trinitarians. Whereupon a Socinian fell upon him in a book he published under the name of Irenopolita. Rittangelius answered it, and intituled his answer *Libra veritatis*, and dedicated it to John Casimir, king of Poland. Mr Vander Wayen (2) caused it to be reprinted at Franeker in 1698, with another treatise of the same author concerning the ceremonies of the Passover. He reprinted also in the same place, in the year 1699, Rittangelius's book *de Veritate Religionis Christianæ.* It contains a large collection of passages, which shew that the ancient Jewish church believed the mystery of the Trinity, and the eternal Divinity of the Messias (3). Mr Wagenseil (4) has published some letters, which Rittangelius wrote to a Jew, and which seem to him to be excellent. Mr du Voisin, who refuted the book of the pretended Irenopolita, has not been so successful in it as the Christian proselyte: it is the opinion of Mr Vander Wayen (5). I must add that some of those, who do not like Rittangelius's principles, did no sooner hear that there was a new edition of his *Libra veritatis*, but they published a manuscript written long before, and intituled *Bilibra veritatis & rationis*, &c. To which they added the dissertation *de Verbo Dei*, which had occasioned Rittangelius's answer. Consult the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6).

(1) It is a book, which the Jews ascribe to the patriarch *Abraham.* Others ascribe it to Rabbi *Akiba. Rittangelius* made a translation of it with some notes, which was printed at Amsterdam in 1642.

(2) Professor of Divinity at Franeker.

(3) See Mr Vander Wayen's preface to the *Libra veritatis.*

(4) In Lipmanni confutatione. *See the same preface.*

(5) See the same preface.

(6) August 1699, pag. 214.

Rittangelius published at Koningsberg in 1652, his German translation of the prayers, which the Jews make in their synagogues on the first day of every year, and dedicated it to the Elector of Brandenburg. We read in the epistle dedicatory, dated the 31st of May 1652, that he had been sick about a year, and that he had little hopes of recovering; that he had often desired to have some choice disciples committed to his care, that the talent he had received of GOD might not die with him, but be transmitted to others; that he could not obtain this favour, and therefore notwithstanding his great illness, he had translated some Jewish prayers into the German language. He takes notice in his preface of several faults committed by Kircher, Capel, Scaliger, Vechner, Vorstius, Constantinus l'Empereur, Slevogtius, and Schickardus, in translating some Hebrew passages (7). The Journal, which I have quoted, informs us of his infatuation. *In eo merito à cordatioribus Theologis reprehendendus, quod ubique fere jactat, ne apicem quidem ullum vel literam in Novo Testamento reperiri, quem non ex Hebræorum antiquitatibus desumtum demonstrare ipse possit, & quidem, ut ipse loquitur,* non opinionibus, (quia opinio versatur circa illa, quæ se aliter habere possunt) sed auctoritatibus omnium seculorum, tam Judaicæ, quam Christianæ Ecclesiæ & Antiquitatis (8). He said there is not a jot in the New Testament, but what is taken from the Jewish antiquities.

(7) Taken from the Journal of Utrecht, *Sept. & Octob.* 1698, *pag.* 675, 677.

(8) Ibid. *pag.* 678.

[*B*] *Some are of opinion that he never professed Judaism.*] A manuscript letter dated the 10th of September 1701, has been imparted to me, out of which I shall extract some passages that will doubtless please the curious.

The author of the letter was particularly acquainted with our Rittangelius. He observes, I. That Hornius, Wagenseil, and several other writers affirm that he had been a Jew, and was perhaps born of Jewish parents. II. That the anonymous author of the *Bilibra veritatis* affirms †, That Rittangelius having been bred up in the Church of Rome, embraced the religion of the Jews, who, as it is said, circumcised him at Hamburgh; and that afterwards he was baptized at Dantzic by Mr Nigrinus, and professed himself a Christian. III. That Christopher Hartknoch, Professor at Thorn, says ‡, That Rittangelius being born a Christian, as it is said, and being initiated into the Christian religion by Baptism, embraced Judaism, and was circumcised at Hamburgh; that afterwards he turned Papist, and then Calvinist, and at last Lutheran; that, contrary to custom, he was made Professor extraordinary of the Hebrew tongue, in the university of Konigsberg, without any preliminary disputation for it; that he was favoured therein by the Great Marshal, and that a quarrel arising between Latterman and Misenta, he sided with Latterman.

† *Pag.* 69.

‡ In his Ecclesiastical History of Prussia, *pag.* 641, *Edit.* 1686.

The author of the letter makes in the first place a remark upon the uncertainty that may be observed in those writers, and upon their various accounts; from whence it follows, that if some of them are not mistaken, the others must needs relate some falsities. Afterwards he gives an abstract of a letter, which a senator of Dantzic writ to him the twenty-second of April, 1700. That abstract imports, that Mr Hartknoch, speaking without doubt of the same Nigrinus, to whom he ascribes the baptizing of Rittangelius, says ‡ that Nigrinus, being a Lutheran, turned Calvinist, and was a preacher at Dantzic, and then turned Papist at the suggestion of the Capuchin Valerian Magni; and that before that time he had said several things agreeable to the principles of the Socinians concerning the birth of JESUS CHRIST. That senator was desired to inquire whether there was any monument of the pretended baptism conferred upon Rittangelius by Nigrinus at Dantzic; and he was told, that such a ceremony would have been performed with great pomp, and in a particular manner registred in the archives of the church, considering the merit and learning of that new Christian. His answer was, that Nigrinus was invited, in 1630, to be pastor of the Reformed in St Peter's church at Dantzic; and that the office of baptizing being appropriated

‡ Ib. *p.* 634.

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thirty-first of May, 1652, for it is the date of the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to one of his books (*b*).

(*b*) See the remark [*A*], towards the end.

appropriated to the deacons in that city, exclusively of the pastors, Nigrinus could not have baptized Rittangelius. He had no time to inquire, whether he contributed to the conversion of that proselyte. From all these things the author of the letter concludes, that Rittangelius was neither baptized nor re-baptized at Dantzic: which proves, says he, that those are mistaken, who say he was born a Jew, or became a proselyte to Judaism. I wonder, continues he, that so many famous writers have neglected to inquire into the truth of the matter; which had been no difficult thing for them during Rittangelius's life, who, as he had many friends, had also many enemies. They have been contented to transcribe one another, and to publish a loose report, without giving themselves the trouble to examine whether it was well grounded, or not.

He says, that being in Prussia in the year 1649, and the two following years, and having lodged for some months in the house of Mr Ahasuerus Brand, great marshal, and one of the four counsellers of the regency, he had an opportunity to know Rittangelius, and to contract a very strict friendship with him. The great marshal was his patron, and used to invite him to dinner. He and several other persons of honour and probity told the author of the letter, that Rittangelius was born a Roman Catholic in the fortress of Forcheim in Franconia, in the diocese of Bamberg; that having studied classical learning, he went to Constantinople, where he conversed very much with the Rabbins for the space of twelve years; that at his return, he embraced the reformed religion, and then removed to Konigsberg, where the Elector of Brandenburg made him professor extraordinary of the Hebrew tongue, none but the Lutherans being at that time allowed to be professors in ordinary in that university; that no body believed he was born a Jew, but that some suspected he had been one.

The same author of the letter says, that one day the baron of Eulenburg, son-in-law to the great marshal, bantered Rittangelius about circumcision, being at table at his father-in-law's, who was sorry for it; that Rittangelius, being very much ashamed, excused himself modestly, and complained that they had such thoughts of him contrary to all truth. After dinner the author of the letter expressed to him his concern for the affront he had received. Rittangelius melting in tears, and fetching very deep sighs, protested to him that it was not true that he had been circumcised. The same author affirms, that a minister of Elbing, venerable for his probity and learning, gave him a good proof of it, that pastor had taken all imaginable pains to restore peace and concord in the house of Rittangelius. This unfortunate man was married to a woman, who abused him (9), and was supported in her humours by her relations, who lived at Elbing. That minister used his utmost endeavours to make them friends, and was a witness of the violent passion of the wife, from which he drew a good argument against the common opinion of her husband's being circumcised; for he argued thus: that woman, during her passion, vented impudently whatever might contribute to the dishonour of her husband; but she never reproached him with being circumcised; therefore he is not circumcised.

(9) The author of the letter told me, that the cause of that woman's ill humour, was, that Rittangelius, either by his constitution, or by reason of his age, had the gift of continency more than was agreeable to his wife.

The author of the letter adds another reason. It does not appear, says he, that any of Rittangelius's adversaries upbraided him with such a thing in any of their books during his life. Yet they were many; and some of them shewed a great deal of spite. He did not spare them, and briskly attacked several famous authors in his writings; and, among others, Misenta (10), the pillar of Lutheranism at Konigsberg, and the Buxtorfs, whom he charged with a gross ignorance of the Hebrew tongue.

(10) A Doctor of Divinity.

Lastly, the author of the letter thinks, that several people entertained such suspicions of Rittangelius, because he only conversed with the Jews during his stay at Constantinople, and because he looked like a true Rabbi. But this does not prove that he embraced Judaism. Perhaps he made the Jews believe, he would do it, to make them the more willing to teach him their learning, and then he went away without keeping his word (11).

(11) *Taken from a letter* scripta à Medico Germano T L. K. ad Medicum Hollandicum P. B.

ROBERT (JOHN) professor of the Civil-Law in the university of Orleans, the place of his birth, in the XVIth century, was esteemed for his works [*A*]. ANNE (*a*) ROBERT, his son, advocate in the parliament of Paris, published some books relating to the Civil-Law, that are allowed to be good [*B*]. See the letter which Pasquier writ

(*a*) And not *Andrew*, as *Konig* says.

[*A*] *He was esteemed for his works.*] He published *Sententiarum Juris libri IV*, Paris 1557. *Receptæ Juris civilis Lectiones libri II*, Orleans 1567. *Animadversionum Juris civilis libri III*, Paris 1580. Cujas wrote against this last book, under the name of Mercator, Robert made a reply, intituled, *Notarum libri III, ad Jacobi Cujacii Mercatoris notarum libros III*, printed at Orleans in 1583. He writ also a book against a minister called Robert Masson. That work being translated into French, was printed at Paris in 1569. See Du Verdier's *Bibliotheque Françoise* (1).

(1) Pag. 753.

[*B*] *Anne Robert . . . . . published some books relating to the Civil-law, that are allowed to be good.*] His four books *Rerum judicatarum* are very much esteemed. It is a collection of the decrees of the parliament of Paris, or of the great council, &c. in remarkable cases. The reasons of the advocates are mentioned at large, and learnedly. It is a continued series of learned and choice quotations. I would say no more of it, were it not that I remember that among those, who say, that the passages of Tagereau, which I have quoted in the article QUELLENEC, give some offence; some go upon this false supposition, that this writer was a man of no authority, and an unknown person; and that he is the only author, who has been so rash as to write in such a manner. I hope they will be no longer offended, if I shew them, that this scandal is grounded on a mistake about a matter of fact; which was one of the reasons that moved me to make it appear in the second edition of the article QUELLENEC, 1. That Tagereau's discourse is not an unknown piece (2). 2. That another advocate of the parliament of Paris (3) was as free in his expressions as he. I add here, with the same intent, that is, for the edification of those offended persons, that Anne Robert, one of the most famous advocates of that same parliament, went beyond those two, and even in a book dedicated to the great Achilles de Harlai, first president of that august senate The tenth chapter of his fourth book *Rerum judicatarum* is upon a process concerning impotency brought to the parliament of Paris by way of appeal. That parliament confirmed by a decree (4) the sentence of the Ecclesiastical judges, who had ordered a search and a congress; which the husband not liking, had appealed to the parliament. His advocate represented the abomination of such proceedings. He did, in some measure, what happens in great revolutions of state, when the laws are overturned for a little time, in order to make them last a very long time (5). He dispensed with the rules of modesty, for the sake of modesty. He made an impudent description of a search, in order to make us abhor it, and endeavour the extirpation of a most impudent abuse. Tagereau was animated with the same spirit; but Robert gave himself a freer scope, because he wrote in Latin. *Vultis ad prepetuam rei detestationem, quam à foro & judiciis explodi convenit, visitationem (spectaculum odio publico dignum) verbis repræsentari? Parcite pudicæ aures, si quid in re obscœna*

(2) It was inserted in the *Bibliotheque du Droits François*; a book reprinted at Paris in the year 1667.

(3) Sebastian Roulliard.

(4) The 20th of January 1587.

(5) *Leges semper ut essent, aliquando non fuerunt, said an ancient Roman.*

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writ to him (b). LEWIS ROBERT, his ſon, advocate in the ſame parliament, died very young, and had already acquired a great reputation. See James Gutherius's *Choartius major, vel de orbitate toleranda.* This treatiſe is to be found at the end of the book *de Jure Manium:* the author addreſſed it to Anne Robert, and comforted him as well as he could. I have mentioned in another place (c) PETER ROBERT, one of the moſt illuſtrious advocates of the parliament of Paris, in the reign of Henry II, and I ſhall ſpeak of him again in the remark [C]. I do not know whether the profeſſor of Orleans and he were of the ſame family.

His ſon Anne had a daughter named Anne who was married to a brother of Andrew du Laurens the Phyſician (d); his family ſtill ſubſiſts at Paris and makes a very good figure. Mr ROBERT, the king's attorney at the Chatelet, is deſcended from it. *He has a ſon preſident in the chamber of accounts, and a brother grand vicar of the dioceſe of Niſmes*, and another brother who, quitting the intendency of Canada, was made intendant of the navy at Breſt, in the month of January 1703. The late Mr Robert, canon and grand penitentiary of Notre Dame at Paris, was their brother (e).

(b) It is in the 19th book, pag. 522, &c. of the 3d tome.

(c) Citat. (10), of the article MARILLAC (CHARLES DE).

(d) See the remark [E], of the article LAURENS (ANDREW).

(e) Taken from the *Mercure Galant*, for the month of January 1703, *pag.* 271.

obſcæna labatur verecundi ſermonis modeſtia. Puella reſupina jacet cruribus hinc inde diſtentis. Proſtant pudendæ corporis partes, quas natura ad delicias generis humani velavit. Has & matronæ (quæ obſtetrices annus ſunt) & Medici inſpiciunt, pretractant, diducunt: Magiſtratus vultu compoſito riſum diſſimulat: Matronæ præſentes venerem dudum oblitam refricant: Medici pro ætatis diſcrimine, hic vires priſtinas reminiſcitur, ille animo æſtuante inanis ludicri ſpectaculo paſcitur: Chirurgus aut ferramento fabrefacto (id ſpeculum matricis vocari ſolet) aut cereo & fictitio Priapo aditus Venereos tentat, aperit, reſerat: Puella jacens titillatione veſana prurit: Ut etiam ſi virgo viſitaris cæperit, inde tamen non incorrupta recedat (6). Modeſty, continues he, does not allow me to ſay more of it (7). Afterwards he obſerves, that ſuch a practice might be tolerated, notwithſtanding its ſhamefulneſs, if it was a good way to find out the truth of the matter; but he maintains, that it is a deceitful way, and thereupon he heaps up many obſcene things. The whole chapter is full of ſuch thoughts and expreſſions; and nothing can be more laſcivious, than the paſſage wherein the wife's advocate exhorts the poor Huſband to a love-combat, and deſcribes to him the ſweets that one may enjoy in the field of battle. There had been ſuch a cauſe in the parliament of Paris ſome years before: which I obſerve only to acquaint the reader, that Antony Hotman, brother to the famous Francis Hotman, declared againſt the congreſs, and was extreamly free in his expreſſions (8). The book he publiſhed upon that ſubject in intituled, *Traité de la diſſolution du Mariage par froideur de l'homme ou de la femme - - - - - A treatiſe concerning the diſſolution of marriage, by reaſon of the huſband's or the wife's frigidity*; and was printed ſeveral times. I think the firſt edition came out in the year 1581 (9); and that it was in the ſame year that one of his kinſmen was proſecuted with a view to get the marriage diſſolved, under pretence of impotency. It is certain that Roulliard (10) ſays, that Antony Hotman compoſed that treatiſe only to favour one of his relations, who was impotent. Take notice, that this brother of Francis Hotman made a great figure among the advocates, and was preferred, by the Leaguers, to the office of advocate-general in the parliament of Paris. Let no body think therefore that Tagereau is the only author, whom I could have quoted; for I might have alledged the moſt celebrated advocates. I muſt not forget that the work of Anne Robert has been tranſlated and publiſhed in French by an advocate (11). I have not that tranſlation; but I think that the above-quoted Latin paſſage, and ſeveral others, are not expreſſed in it ſo nakedly, as in the original, and yet that they are very obſcene.

I have read, in Theodore Beza's Hiſtory of the reformed churches of France, that an advocate's wife, in whoſe houſe the Proteſtants had ſeveral meetings at Paris, made her ſelf a priſoner in the Chatelet, with her two daughters, to convince the world of the falſity of the report, that had been ſpread about the leudneſs of thoſe Aſſemblies (12). 'The court . . . . . cauſed the two daughters to 'be ſearched by ſeveral ſurgeons and midwives, 'and at ſeveral times. But all the ſearchers, except 'an old matron, declared them to be virgins; 'nor did that matron poſitively affirm, that they 'had been corrupted by the approach of a man; 'and, at laſt, ſhe begged their pardon, after they 'had been ſet at liberty, declaring how, and by 'whom, ſhe had been bribed (13).' Beza does not ſeem to condemn the trial which they ſubmitted to; and indeed, they found themſelves in ſuch circumſtances as might excuſe them for expoſing themſelves to a ſearch notwithſtanding modeſty, and the danger they ran, becauſe the ſearchers might well be ſuſpected of unfair dealing. I ſhall ſay nothing of the uncertainties of ſuch a proceeding; but after all, if thoſe gentlewomen had refuſed to be ſearched, they had confirmed thereby the depoſitions of the falſe witneſſes. The point was to confute the informations which the preſident Saint André had cauſed to be drawn up, wherein two witneſſes affirmed, that in an aſſembly, upon Thurſday in the Holy Week, compoſed of a *great number of men, women, and maids, about twelve a clock at night . . . . . after they had preached, and eat a pig inſtead of the paſchal lamb; and after they had put out the lamp that gave them light, every man coupled to his woman, and that among other women, they (the two witneſſes) ſaw the ſaid advocate's wife, and her two young and handſome daughters, one of which happening to meet one of them (one of the witneſſes) he knew her two or three times for his ſhare* (14). Thoſe informations made a great noiſe, and were ſhewn to the queen-mother (15).

[C] *And I ſhall ſpeak of him again.*] This Peter Robert was a Pariſian (16). Loiſel ſpeaks of him thus. 'He was more eſteemed than the others 'abovementioned, not that he was more learned 'than they, for I believe he was inferior to 'them in that reſpect; but he had a noble pre-'ſence, a good voice, and a fine delivery, and was 'more valued for his natural parts, than for his 'ſtudy. He made himſelf famous particularly by 'two pleadings: the firſt was that which he made 'for preſident d'Oppede, concerning the inhabitants 'of Cabrieres and Merindol; the thing is ſo well 'deſcribed by Thuanus, that I need not dwell upon 'it. The late Mr Clement du Puy had been firſt 'intruſted with that cauſe; but falling ſick of the 'ſickneſs of which he died, preſident d'Oppede ap-'plied himſelf to Robert, whom he daily informed 'of what he ſhould ſay. The other reaſon of 'Robert's advancement, was, that turning Proteſtant, 'he was employed by the prince of Condé, grand-'father of this preſent prince, to declare his in-'nocence: from that time he was always made 'uſe of by thoſe of that religion; which coſt him 'his life, for he was murdered on St Bartholomew's 'day (17).'

(6) Annæus Robertus, Rerum judicatarum, *lib. iv, cap. x, pag.* 786, *Edit. Genev.* 1620, *in* 8vo.

(7) Plura dicere vetat pudor. *Ibid.*

(8) See the remark [H], of the article QUELLENEC.

(9) *See* du Verdier, Biblioth. Françoiſe, *pag.* 891.

(10) In the capitulary quoted above, remark [F], of the article QUELLENEC, at the beginning.

(11) Called *Tourer.* I have this from Mr Marais, whom I mention above, citat. (88), of the article HENRY III, and elſewhere, with ſome other particulars.

(12) Bezа, Hiſt. of the Reformed churches of France, *book iii, pag.* 238, *ad ann.* 1560.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Taken from Beza, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 235.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Loiſel, Dialogues des Avocats, *pag.* 517, 518.

(17) Ib. *p.* 519.

ROBERVAL, profeſſor of Mathematics at Paris, cotemporary with Des Cartes, and his great enemy. See the *Sorberiana*, and Mr Baillet (a).

(a) Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, *Tom. i, pag.* 304, where he ſays that there are two faults in the laſt volume of Moreri. See alſo his *Traité des Auteurs déguiſés, Part ii, cap. vi.*

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ROCABERTI (JOHN THOMAS DE) archbiſhop of Valencia in the XVIIth century was an ornament to the order of the Dominicans. He was profeſſor of Divinity at Valencia, provincial of the Dominicans in the province of Aragon, and afterwards general of the order, twice vice-roy of Valencia, and at laſt inquiſitor-general of Spain. He exerted himſelf with great zeal in maintaining the Pope's authority; and not content with writing ſeveral volumes on that ſubject againſt the deciſions of the clergy of France, he employed his time and money in collecting into one body the treatiſes that had been publiſhed by others on the ſame argument. This collection printed at Rome under the title of *Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia* is in twenty volumes in folio. Rocaberti died on the thirteenth of January 1699, being ſeventy-four years of age.

ROCCO (GIROLAMO) was ſo great a maſter in the art of writing, that he deſerves to be mentioned. He was a Venetian, and lived in the beginning of the XVIIth century. The duke of Savoy expreſſed a great eſteem for him, as we ſhall ſee below [*A*].

[*A*] *The duke of Savoy expreſſed a great eſteem for him.*] The following paſſage is to be found in a book, intituled, *La ſage & delectable Folie*, written by J. Marcel. 'I ſhould be too tedious, ſhould I name all 'the princes who have been liberal and kind to the 'Virtuoſi; and therefore I ſhall only mention what 'concerns Rocco Girolami of Venice, a very good 'Arithmetician, and ſo excellent a writer, that I do 'not think any man in his time exceeded him. He 'dedicated a book, engraven upon copper-plates, to 'his highneſs of Savoy, in the year 1603, adorned 'with ſeveral ſorts of characters, cyphers, and ex'cellent ſtriking. That great prince having ſeen it, 'rewarded the induſtry of the author, by putting, 'with his own hands, a gold chain worth 125 'crowns, about his neck (1).' The author mentions the ſame reward in another place of his book, *viz.* in the chapter, intituled, *La folie des eſcrivains* (2) Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here the names of ſome perſons, who, as he ſays, excelled in that art. 'We have ſeen, (ſays) he (3) many fine 'writers who have publiſhed books of ſeveral ſorts of 'characters, as in France, le Gagneur, Lucas, Joſſe'rand, and others; in Italy, D. Auguſtin of Sienna, 'M. Martin of Romagna, Camillo Buonadio of Pia'cenza, Creſei a Milaneſe, Curione a Roman, Pala'tin, Veruue, and others, with M. Antonio a Ge'noeſe, who, in the year 1606, wrote a book con'taining ſeveral ſorts of letters and characters, de'dicated to the prince of Mantua and Mont'ferrat.'

See La Croix du Maine, pag. 424 and 425 of his *Bibliotheque Françoiſe*.

(1) *Marcel, ſage & delectable folie, liv. i, pag.* 106. It appears by the approbation of the doctors, and the king's licence, that this book was printed in 1628. I make uſe of the Lyons edition 1650, in 8vo.

(2) It is the 61ſt of the 2d book.

(3) Ibid. book ii, pag. 80.

ROCHEFOUCAUD (ALEXANDER DE LA) abbot of St Martin (*a*) brother to the count de Randan, who was killed at the battel of Iſſoire, and to Francis biſhop of Clermont, who was ſince cardinal, engaged unluckily in the impoſture of Martha Broſſier, who pretended to be poſſeſſed by the Devil. I have ſaid, in the article of this Martha, that the parliament of Paris having ordered her to be carried to Romorantin by the provoſt, forbad her father to let her go out of that place without leave from the judge. Notwithſtanding that prohibition, the father and his daughter went with our abbot into Auvergne, and then to Avignon. Though the parliament of Paris ſummoned the abbot twice, and ordered at laſt that the revenues of his benefices ſhould be ſeized for contempt of the court (*b*), this crew proceeded in their journey, and went to Rome, *thinking that* the woman poſſeſſed by the Devil *would act her part much better on that great ſtage, and find more credulous people in that place, which is the fountain of belief* (*c*). The biſhop of Clermont was ſo much ſuſpected of having ſuggeſted this fooliſh deſign to his brother, that he was likewiſe deprived of his Eccleſiaſtical revenues (*d*). Henry IV being well informed of the wicked deſigns that were brooding, ordered Mr de Sillery, his ambaſſador, and cardinal d'Oſſat, to diſcover the plot, and to prepoſſeſs the Pope againſt that crew, before they ſhould act their part. They carefully executed his order; beſides, cardinal d'Oſſat prevailed with the Jeſuits to ſide with him [*A*]; ſo that the abbot of St Martin, at his arrival at Rome, found himſelf deprived of the chief aſſiſtance he relied upon. The Jeſuits forſook him, and the Pope, who had been forewarned, did nothing contrary to the ſentence given by the parliament of Paris againſt that pretended demoniac. The abbot was obliged to implore Henry the fourth's clemency for himſelf and his brother. *Not long after he fell ſick, and it was ſaid that he died of grief, for having undertaken ſo long a journey to make himſelf deſpiſed. Martha and her father, being forſaken by everybody, took ſanctuary in the hoſpitals* (*e*).

(*a*) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. *ad ann.* 1599, *pag. m.* 205, 206.

(*b*) Thuanus, *lib. cxxiii, circa init.*

(*c*) Mezerai, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 206.

(*d*) Thuanus, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) *Mezerai, ubi ſupra. Thuanus ſpeaks of it thus*; Ita fabula de Martha à Spiritu obſeſſa omnino evanuit, ipſo Sammartino qui ſpe ſua falſus in aula illa deſpectus eſſe cœperat, ex mœrore mox mortuo, & Martha patreque ejus ex xenodochiorum ſtipe miſeram vitam vix tolerantibus.

[*A*] *Cardinal d'Oſſat prevailed with the Jeſuits to ſide with him.*] He ſpoke particularly to Father Sirmond, ſecretary to their general (1); and having ſhewed him the king's orders, he repreſented to him, that it was to be feared the attempt of the abbot would prove an obſtacle to the recalling of the Jeſuits, becauſe he and the biſhop of Clermont had ſtudied amongſt them. Afterwards he repreſented to him the raſhneſs of ſuch an undertaking, and how prejudicial it would be to the church, if the ſupreme courts of the kingdom ſhould quarrel again with the Pope. Thoſe reaſons had a very good effect.

(1) His name was *Aquaviva*.

RODON (DAVID DE) or rather DERODON (DAVID) profeſſor of Philoſophy, firſt at Die, and then at Orange, and at laſt at Nimes, was a native of Dauphiné. He was one of the moſt ſubtile Logicians in France, and few Spaniſh or Iriſh ſchoolmen exceeded him in what concerns the Univerſals, *Entia Rationis*, and the airy and abſtracted ſpeculations of the categories, and the dependencies of the ſyllogiſtical form. But if he equalled in this the moſt refined Logicians of the ſchools, he far exceeded them in his Phyſics; for he embraced the opinion of the Moderns and the hypotheſis of

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of atoms, to explain, as Gaſſendus did, ſeveral natural effects by mechanical principles. His body of Philoſophy ſold very well, and the Printer got a great deal by it, eſpecially by the abridgment of it; for the long ſcholaſtic diſputes contained in his large work, diſcouraged the readers. Derodon wrote a book *de Suppoſito*, wherein he openly declared for Neſtorius, againſt St Cyril; not by admitting two perſons, but by maintaining that Neſtorius did not admit of them, and that St Cyril confounded the two natures of JESUS CHRIST. Herein he only followed the footſteps of a gentleman of Provence [*A*], whom doubtleſs he had been accquainted with, and who forſook the church of Rome to turn Proteſtant. This opinion of Derodon is an incident, or epiſode, of the famous diſpute between two miniſters of Holland [*B*], and which is not ended yet (*a*). I ſhall

(*a*) I ſaid this in the year 1696, when I was about the firſt edition of this work; but I muſt ſay now, that this controverſy was ended ſoon after.

[*A*] *Herein he only followed the footſteps of a gentleman of Provence.*] His name was Giles Gaillard. He turned Proteſtant about the year 1630, and retired to Orange, where he made a panegyric upon prince Frederic-Henry. He took care to publiſh the motives of his converſion. See the book he intituled *Le Proſelyte Evangelique*. The following paſſage, concerning his book *de Suppoſito*, is to be found in a letter of Sorbiere to Voſſius, written in the year 1646, when he ſent him the copy he had been preſented with by the author. 'Illi (*Ægidio Gaillardo nobili Gallo*) nuper 'venit in mentem neſcio quid circa Neſtorium, quaſi 'perperam in Epheſiana Synodo fuerit livore Cyrilli 'hæreſeos inſimulatus damnatuſque; eaque de re edidit 'librum, cui titulus eſt *De Suppoſito* (1). - - - - *This 'Giles Gaillard, a French gentleman, had a ſtrange 'fancy concerning Neſtorius, as if he had been wrongfully 'accuſed and declared guilty of hereſy in the Council of 'Epheſus. He writ a book on that ſubject with this 'title,* De Suppoſito.' The poſtſcript to this letter is remarkable; for it informs us, that one of the moſt learned miniſters was of the ſame opinion (2).

(1) See the 432d letter, among thoſe that were written to Voſſius, *pag.* 285.

(2) Audio Joh. Croium in eadem eſſe ſententia in qua Gaillardus moſter.

[*B*] *His opinion . . . is an incident, or epiſode, of a famous diſpute between two miniſters of Holland.*] This will appear by a long paſſage of Mr Saurin, one of thoſe two diſputants. 'Mr Jurieu is a wonderful man! An error 'will be purified by going through his channel, and 'what is hereſy in another man, is an orthodox do'ctrine in him, by virtue of his violent, and perſe'cuting zeal. In his firſt apology which he publiſhed 'after the ſynod of Leyden, he gives the hiſtory of the 'riſe and growth of that pernicious cabal of Heretics, 'Socinians, or men inclined to Socinianiſm, to whom 'all religions are indifferent, and who are half atheiſts, 'in which he involves all thoſe whom he has a 'mind to ſacrifice to the hatred of the public. He 'relates ſeveral particulars concerning that cabal, to 'have a fair pretence of enumerating his virtues and 'noble exploits. Among the characters of Hereſy, 'which he has diſcovered in ſome Divines, he 'reckons their approbation of Derodon's book, 'intituled, *De Suppoſito*, which he ſtiles, twice in 'half a page, *the wretched book De Suppoſito*. He in'forms us that this wretched book was burnt at Tou'louſe: a great ſign of reprobation in a book! I con'feſs that author had been ſuſpected of ſome errors: 'perhaps he gave occaſion to thoſe ſuſpicions, by de'parting from the opinions commonly received, and 'and carrying his Philoſophical liberty a little too 'far. He was ſometimes brought into trouble for 'his doctrine; but he came off with honour. I ſaw 'him at Geneva in the year 1664, where he was 'a refugee, after he had been baniſhed from France, 'or having writ a book, intituled, *Le Tombeau de 'la Meſſe*. I have often diſcourſed with him about 'ſeveral matters, and always found him very ortho'dox. He died at Geneva in the ſame year 1664, 'if I am not miſtaken, not long after I ſet out from 'thence for Holland. I was informed that his death 'had been very edifying, and that he had made a 'confeſſion of faith that was approved. But what'ever the private opinions of that Philoſopher might 'be, or whatever he might have ſaid in converſa'tion, or writ in other books, his treatiſe *De Sup'poſito* is not anſwerable for them, but only for the 'errors contained in it. When a man is ſuſpected, 'he ought to be narrowly obſerved, and all his 'words ought to be ſcanned, *ne lateat anguis in her'ba*; but his orthodox opinions muſt not be changed 'into errors, nor all his errors into hereſies. The 'deſign of this reflexion is not fully to juſtify the 'treatiſe *De Suppoſito*; but to excuſe it from being 'condemned by a man who himſelf ſtands in need of 'excuſe and pardon. One can hardly gueſs what Mr Ju'rieu finds fault with in that book, unleſs it be the ſame 'liberty of condemning the title of *Mother of GOD*, 'beſtowed upon the Holy Virgin, which he himſelf 'takes in one of his Paſtoral Letters. That Philo'ſopher explains the word *Suppoſitum* in a very ortho'dox manner, both with reſpect to divine and human 'perſons. In his explication of the perſon of Chriſt 'after his Incarnation, he pitches upon the opinion 'that is the moſt commonly received, and leaſt liable 'to ill conſequences, and the cavils of Heretics. It is 'true, that he ſides with Neſtorius, againſt Cyril 'and the Fathers of the council of Epheſus, from 'whom he thinks Eutyches had his hereſy. But if 'this be an error, it is only in a matter of fact; and a 'book cannot be accounted pernicious upon ſuch an 'account. What poiſon is there then in that unfor'tunate book? It lies only in the author's averſion 'for the title of Θεοτόκος, *Mother of GOD*, and 'his reflecting upon Cyril, and the Divines of his 'party, whom he looks upon as the Patriarchs of 'idolatry (3). The cenſurer of this Philoſopher is 'not ſo ſevere in his judgment of them, but his opi'nion is the ſame as to the doctrine. He ſpares 'thoſe, who have introduced the word in queſtion 'into the church; but he uſes that word without 'any mercy. In his opinion Cyril was no idolater, 'and his fault lies only in a wrong zeal; but this fatal 'word Θεοτόκος has occaſioned idolatry, and even 'the Neſtorian Hereſy. I muſt ſet down once more 'the very words of our Divine ſo zealous for Ortho'doxy, and particularly for the Anti-Neſtorian Or'thodoxy (4).'

(3) See in the remark [*M*], of the article NESTORIUS, whether it be true, that the words *Mother of God*, have occaſioned the worſhip paid to the holy Virgin.

(4) Saurin, Extrait de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 182, & ſeq.

The author inſerts in this place a large extract of the Paſtoral Letters of his adverſary, wherein the title of the *Mother of God* is condemned as the ſource of idolatry, and then he goes on thus. '(5) The 'author of the book, intituled *De Suppoſito*, ſays 'nothing at the bottom that goes beyond this. For 'if Mr Jurieu pretends that this Philoſopher abſo'lutely refuſed to call the Holy Virgin *Mother of 'God*, it will be ſaid that he did it in the ſame ſenſe 'that Mr Jurieu himſelf does it. The contrary 'cannot be proved by his book. And ſince that 'author acknowledges one only perſon as well as two 'natures in Chriſt, and according to the principles of 'his Philoſophy, *actiones & paſſiones ſunt Suppoſitorum*, 'a maxim which he often repeats; there is reaſon to 'believe that he did not deny that the Holy Virgin 'was the mother of him, who is God, and a divine 'perſon. Accordingly he calls her the Mother of 'Chriſt, having acknowledged that Chriſt is but one 'perſon, both God and man, and even a divine 'perſon, whoſe perſonality does properly reſide in the 'word. What great difference is there then between 'the niceneſs of this Philoſopher, and that of our 'Divine? Why is the former an Heretic, and the 'later Orthodox, when they think and ſpeak the 'ſame thing about the ſame matter? . . . . As for me, 'I have openly declared againſt the niceneſs of the 'Philoſopher, and of the Divine. I perſiſt in this 'declaration; I do not approve their boldneſs and 'the ſingularity of their opinions; I condemn their er'rors; I blame them both, but I anathematize neither 'of them. . . . . I have ſometimes admired Derodon's 'zeal, a Proteſtant, Anti-Papiſt, and Anti-idolatrous 'zeal. He calls all the reformed miniſters angels of 'Laodicea, and lukewarm Paſtors, becauſe we are 'not willing to excommunicate Cyril, and the Fathers 'of the council of Epheſus. This is a very extraor'dinary zeal for a Philoſopher; but Mr Jurieu is too 'indulgent, for he excuſes Cyril and the Fathers of 'the council of Epheſus, who introduced idolatry.

(5) Ib. p. 870.

Derodon's

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I ſhall ſay ſomething of it in the remarks; and I will not omit the ſpecious accuſation of great ignorance, in matters relating to Eccleſiaſtical antiquity [C], brought in againſt

'Derodon's ſyſtem is more conſiſtent than that of 'Mr Jurieu. Derodon places Cyril, and the Fathers 'of the council of Epheſus, among the idolaters, 'whoſe fathers they are. Mr Jurieu diſtinguiſhed 'the fathers from the children, tho' he charges the 'former with being the cauſe of the crime of the lat-'ter. All the difference between Derodon and 'Mr Jurieu conſiſts in this: according to Derodon, 'Cyril, and the Fathers of the council of Epheſus 'acted and argued conſequentially, they were idola-'ters, and eſtabliſhed idolatry; whereas, according to 'Mr Jurieu, thoſe Fathers who compoſed an œcu-'menical council, introduced the greateſt of all idola-'tries, without being idolaters.'

Mr Jurieu's reply is very long, and made up of many pieces. I ſhall only ſet down ſome paſſages out of it, that concern Derodon. '(6) Derodon's 'book *De Suppoſito* is ſcarce, and I had not ſeen it, 'when I publiſhed a looſe ſheet with this title, *Idée 'des Sentimens de Mr Saurin*; and therefore what 'I have ſaid of it in that ſmall piece ought not to be 'minded. Derodon's book has been ſince imparted 'to me by an illuſtrious friend: having peruſed it, I 'have not found any formal Hereſy in it, but a pro-'digious raſhneſs, and a violent deſire of making 'Cyril odious, and defaming the council of Epheſus. 'Beſides, his quotations are unfaithful, his explica-'tions unfair, and his proofs ſophiſtical: and there-'fore I believe that book deſerved to be burnt, as 'it was by a decree of the parliament of Toulouſe; 'for to cry down as Heretics thoſe who maintained 'the holy myſteries, is an infallible way of bringing 'thoſe myſteries into contempt. The author was one 'of thoſe Latitudinarians, who appeared above forty 'years ago in the ſouthern provinces; and it ſeems, 'that Petit, profeſſor of Divinity at Nimes, favoured 'them. At leaſt, one may infer it from the extracts 'produced out of him by Mr d'Huiſſeau, a great Lati-'tudinarian, in vindication of his book, intituled, 'De la Reunion du Chriſtianiſme. Derodon, in order 'to promote the common intereſt of his ſect, makes 'it his buſineſs to render the Antients odious and 'contemptible. .... (7) Derodon, the greateſt, and 'perhaps the firſt enemy of Cyril among the Mo-'derns (8), was a ſilly Sophiſt, ignorant of Antiquity: 'he was profeſſor of Philoſophy, and took a great 'pride in his ſubtilty. But learned and wiſe men 'know what a man is who is ſubtile in the peripa-'tetic way: ſuch a one is a Sophiſt; which was alſo 'Dorodon's character. He had a mind to diſtinguiſh 'and immortalize himſelf by ſetting up againſt Cyril, 'and the council of Epheſus. He writ his book de-'ſignedly, to ſhew that he was an Eutychian, that 'is, that he confounded the two natures, and out of 'the two made but one; and to prove, on the con-'trary, that Neſtorius was a very orthodox man. 'This work is mightily cried up by our Latitudinarians. 'The firſt time I ſaw it, was in Mr Pajon's hands, 'who praiſed it as an excellent book. Mr Saurin has 'often beſtowed the ſame encomium upon it in my 'preſence; which ſhews, that thoſe two men are 'thoroughly unacquainted with Antiquity. Derodon 'was a man of the ſame character, and undertook to 'write upon a ſubject that he was ignorant of. He 'took, or ſtole, what he ſays againſt Cyril, from a 'friend whom he often mentions, and who had writ 'a compleat hiſtory of the diſputes of Cyril and Ne-'ſtorius, which was to be publiſhed: this he does 'not ſcruple to confeſs..... Beſides his ignorance, 'he was guilty of malignity; for nothing can be 'more malicious and unfair than that man's diſpute 'againſt Cyril (9).'

I ſhall make no reflexions upon this; for it is likely Mr Saurin's reply will come out before I make an end of this work; and the readers will find in that reply (10) the raſh judgments and other faults of Mr Jurieu fully laid open. I ſhall only ſay, that it is not at all likely that Derodon intended to favour the pretended faction of the Latitudinarians; for he maintains Neſtorius's cauſe, not by looking upon him as the defender of the moral union of the Word with the human nature (11), but by conſidering him as an orthodox man, with reſpect to the hypoſtatical union; and he impugns Cyril, only becauſe he looks upon him as the author of the Eutychian confuſion of the two natures. Without doubt he only deſigned to vex the Papiſts, and make them aſhamed of their oppreſſing the memory of innocent men, while they extol to the ſky a Heretic, who had the ſecular power, the emperor's favour, and the prevailing cabal of a council on his ſide. Nay, if one had a mind to carry charity ſomething farther, one might affirm, that his only deſign was to protect innocence, by making it appear that Neſtorius is wrongfully accounted an Heretic. A man who impugns St Cyril, cannot be ſaid to be a malicious man; no ſuch thing can be neceſſarily inferred from it. Perhaps no party-leader did ever leſs deſerve to be tenderly uſed: he behaved himſelf with ſo much violence and fury, that he deſerves no thanks for having maintained the truth, ſuppoſing he maintained it; if he found it, it was only by chance and accidentally. An unruly horſe, running away with the bit in his teeth, that eſcapes breaking his head againſt the walls of a ſtable, only becauſe his fury runs him againſt a door, which by good luck is half open, is a faithful picture of ſome Divines who light upon Orthodoxy, notwithſtanding a thouſand violent paſſions which tranſport them, and make them violate all rules of equity and juſtice. All the common places alledged by Mr Jurieu to juſtify St Cyril, and to condemn Neſtorius, may ſerve to juſtify the latter, and condemn the former. I could eaſily give a ſpecimen of it.

[C] *The ſpecious accuſation ..... of ignorance in matters relating to Eccleſiaſtical antiquity.*] 'It is high-'ly probable, that he had not ſeen the acts of the 'council of Epheſus; the bare title of his book is 'ſufficient to make one ſenſible of it. *Diſputatio de 'ſuppoſito: in quâ plurima hactenus inaudita de Neſtorio 'tanquam Orthodoxo, & de Cyrillo Alexandrino, aliiſ-'que Epiſcopis in Synodum Epheſi coactis tanquam hære-'ticis:* and in the 71ſt page of his book he ſays, *Rem 'novam & hactenus inauditam jam demonſtrandam ſuſ-'cipimus, &c. Scilicet Cyrillum Alexandrinum & alios 'Epiſcopos qui tertio Concilio Oecumenico interfuerunt 'fuiſſe hæreticos, & Authores hæreſis Eutychianæ.* 'What a prodigious ignorance and boldneſs is this! 'if this man had but caſt his eyes upon the authors 'of the Vth century, eſpecially upon the acts of the 'council of Epheſus, would he have ſaid, that the ac-'cuſation brought againſt Cyril, of being the author 'of the Eutychian Hereſy, which confounds the two 'natures, is a thing unheard of? He was reproached 'with it by all the Neſtorians, and many others who 'were not Neſtorians; by John biſhop of Antioch, 'who excommunicated Cyril as confounding the two 'natures, and aſcribing to the divine nature all the 'infirmities that belong only to the human nature of 'Chriſt (12).' The author alledges ſeveral other ſuch proofs, whereby it appears that St Cyril was accuſed of that Hereſy, and concludes with theſe words, *And therefore his telling us that his accuſation againſt Cyril is a new diſcovery, and a thing unheard of, betrays a great ignorance, and an intolerable vanity. We might give ſeveral other proofs of Derodon's ignorance in this matter* (13).

If I had Derodon's book, I would give my opinion upon this particular; but ſince I have it not, I ſhall only ſay, that the words quoted out of it by his cenſurer do not prove what he brings them for. They ſhew that Derodon undertook to prove, as a thing unheard of, not that St Cyril was accuſed of being the author of Eutyches's errors; but that St Cyril, and the other Fathers of the third Oecumenical council, were Heretics, and brought in Eutychianiſm. This weakens the arguments alledged for the ignorance of that Philoſopher (14), and ſhews that his cenſurer perverts, or does not underſtand, the ſtate of the queſtion. If it be a miſtake, it ought to be excuſed, conſidering the perplexity he muſt needs have been in, when he was to act the part of an apologiſt for thoſe very men, whom he had ſeverely cenſured. Conſider, that this man being to anſwer the biſhop of Meaux, gave a hideous deſcription of the primitive Fathers, and being to anſwer Mr Saurin, was obliged to commend thoſe ſame Fathers. How can ſuch a man know what he is about, or be maſter of his thoughts? Can an author, beaten at his own weapon, and who cannot defend

(6) Jurieu, Religion du Latitudinaire, *p.* 270.

(7) Ib. *p.* 278.

(8) If Mr Jurieu had known what concerns Giles Gaillard (ſee the remark [A],) he would not have ſaid this.

(9) Jurieu, ibid. *pag.* 281, 282.

(10) *It came out in* 1697, *with this title*, Juſtification de la doctrine du Sieur Saurin ... contre deux libelles de Mr Jurieu l'un intitulé *Idée des ſentimens, &c.* & l'autre *La religion du Latitudinaire. See chap. xiii, pag.* 342, *& ſeq.*

(11) Note, That Mr Jurieu declares, *pag.* 277, that the hatred of the Latitudinarians againſt St Cyril, proceeds from his cauſing to be condemned the moral union of the Word which they are ſo fond of.

(12) Jurieu, ubi ſupra, *p.* 279.

(13) Ibid. *pag.* 281.

(14) There is a very great difference between maintaining that a whole council is heretical; and maintaining, that a private man was formerly accuſed of Hereſy. The firſt aſſertion may be advanced as a thing unheard-of, without pretending that the charge laid upon that private man is a matter of fact not known before.

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against that Philoſopher. He ſet up for a controverſiſt, and ſo exaſperated his adverſaries, that they obtained a decree from the king, whereby he was baniſhed the kingdom in the year 1663 (*b*). He retired to Geneva, where he died two years after, or thereabouts. Thoſe of his party were not always pleaſed with his doctrine, and he was brought into trouble upon that account, but he came off with honour (*c*). I do not know whether the ſynods or conſiſtories were offended at his denying, that the conſervation of the creatures is a continual creation [*D*].

(*b*) It was for having publiſhed a book intituled, *Tombeau de la Meſſe*. See the hiſtory of the edict of Nantes, *Tom. iii, p.* 563. He publiſhed ſomething on the Euchariſt at Geneva, in the year 1655, in 8vo.

(*c*) See the remark [*B*].

He had been a Roman Catholic; which is the reaſon why Theophilus Raynaud calls him a deſerter of the faith, for it is he that is meant in the paſſage I quote out of his Hoplotheca [*E*].

ſend himſelf but by confuting and contradicting himſelf in a moſt wretched manner; I ſay, can ſuch an author be anſwerable for an overſight? Neceſſity has no law; this is what he may plead for himſelf: but ſuch an apology will not ſatisfy the juſt complaints of the public; all the readers may very well tell him, *Whom do you take us for? Muſt we be ſo ſhamefully impoſed upon? When you cannot anſwer an adverſary but by ſuppoſing that the Fathers were heretical, you charge them with Hereſy; and becauſe at a year's end it is neceſſary for you that they ſhould be Orthodox, in order to get rid of another adverſary, you make them ſound in their doctrine: is it not a very unfair and ſhameful thing* (15).

(15) Compare this with the remark [*B*], of the article PETAVIUS.

Here follows Mr Saurin's anſwer, to clear Derodon of the ignorance charged upon him. 'Mr Jurieu 'makes it appear, that he has not ſeen Derodon's 'treatiſe *de Suppoſito*, or that he hopes no body will 'ſee it; for the author has collected many teſtimonies 'and hiſtorical facts, to confirm his accuſation againſt 'Cyril and the council of Epheſus. He quotes Ibas 'biſhop of Edeſſa, Gennadius patriarch of Conſtan'tinople, Theodoret biſhop of Cyrus, John archbi'ſhop of Antioch, and above forty eaſtern biſhops, 'who charged Cyril with the Hereſy of Apollinaris, 'and objected to him that he made the divine nature 'of Chriſt paſſible, by confounding it with his human 'nature. The author therefore was not ignorant of 'this, and when he ſpeaks of Cyril's Hereſy, and Ne'ſtorius's Orthodoxy, as of a thing unheard of, it is 'with reſpect to the latter ages, and not with reſpect 'to the age that Cyril and Neſtorius lived in: Nay, 'he mentioned as a thing unheard of, not the que'ſtion, which of thoſe two patriarchs was a Heretic, 'or an orthodox man, but the anſwer he makes to 'it, by juſtifying Neſtorius, and condemning Cy'ril (16).'

(16) Saurin, Juſtification de ſa doctrine contre deux libelles de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 346.

[*D*] *He denied that the conſervation of the creatures, is a continual creation.*] This was denying a doctrine, which tho' very common among the Spaniſh and Iriſh ſchoolmen, is very evident. We muſt reject the cleareſt notions, or acknowledge that a Being made out of nothing by the infinite power of the Creator, cannot have any cauſe of its exiſtence in itſelf; and therefore it cannot continue to exiſt but by the ſame power that produced it at firſt: it is therefore created in each moment of its duration, that is, it exiſts in each moment, only becauſe GOD continues to have the ſame will that he had, when that Being began to exiſt.

This act of the divine will cannot ceaſe to create whilſt it ſubſiſts, ſince it did create in the firſt moment that creatures began to exiſt. Derodon's objections may be eaſily confuted; they are much the ſame with thoſe propoſed by Bernier (17). A Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Academy of Puylaurens (18) wrote a treatiſe againſt Derodon upon that ſubject, and ſolidly confuted him. That Profeſſor had ſeveral quarrels with him at Nimes, and I have heard ſay, that he had a hand in a book intituled, *L'impieté decouverte*, which was publiſhed againſt Derodon. I have alſo been told, that Mr Claude, who was then miniſter of Nimes, lent a helping hand to the enemies of that Philoſopher, by writing, or at leaſt correcting, that work. It is an abſurd thing to ſay, with Gaſſendus and Derodon, that GOD contributes to the preſervation of creatures by preventing their deſtruction. Could any thing deſtroy them, ſince there are but two ſorts of Beings in the univerſe, *viz.* GOD and the creatures? Such a care would be as needleſs as the watchfulneſs of a ſhepherd againſt wolves in a country where there are no wolves, and even where there could be none. It were in vain to ſay that a body deſtroys another body, that fire deſtroys wood, that a man kills another man, *&c.* for this is not a deſtruction of creatures, but only a change of modifications: modes or accidents are not accounted the ſubject of creation, but the ſubſtances in which they reſide.

(17) See Bernier's book, printed at Amſterdam in 1685, and intituled, *Traité du libre & du volontaire.*

(18) He was a Phyſician, called *John Bon*; his Body of Philoſophy has been printed.

[*E*] *It is he that is meant by Theophilus Raynaud in the paſſage I quote out of his Hoplotheca.*] Having ſaid that the ſubtile Scotus is falſely accuſed of admitting a kind of real diſtinction between the Divine Eſſence and its attributes; he adds, that he had lately diſcourſed at Orange with an apoſtate, who alledged the authority of Scotus to maintain a new blaſphemy. *Placuit hanc crambem obiter hic recoquere, quia his ipſis diebus Arauſicæ, murcus* FIDEI DESERTOR *blaſphemiam novam Scoti autoritate tegere eſt auſus* (19). That blaſphemy was, that the three perſonalities of the Trinity are modes of the Divine Eſſence properly ſo called. He obſerves, that this innovator, who quoted Scotus in his preſence, had not made uſe of his authority in his diſputation *de Suppoſito*. It is a ſign he meant Derodon. Here is another proof of it: 'Perperam tam craſſus 'error, ſimplicitatem divinam & puriſſimam actuali'tatem exſcindens tanti viri (*Scoti*) ſuffragio calum'niosè captato munitus eſt ab eo, quem retuli ſpurco 'fidei deſertore male Rotundo (20). - - - *It is without* 'reaſon that ſuch a groſs error as this, which deſtroys 'the ſimplicity of the divine nature, and the purity of his 'eſſence, is ſaid to be warranted by the authority of ſo 'great a man as* Scotus. *This, I ſay, is falſely ſug'geſted by that dirty apoſtate whom I mentioned before as 'a man who only in an evil ſenſe is round.*' This laſt word is a manifeſt alluſion to Derodon's name. Three years after he made uſe of the ſame quibble in another book, wherein he refuted Derodon, who maintained that the work intituled *Theſaurus*, and aſcribed to St Cyril, was not that Father's. 'Eidem 'S. Cyrillo ſuppoſitum eſſe opus quod inſcribitur *The'ſaurus* contendit ſpurcus hæreticus, autor diſputationis 'de ſuppoſito, quam nuperrime ementito nomine loci 'ſuoque ſuppreſſo, homo male teres atque ROTUNDUS 'edidit Arauſicæ. In ea diſputatione, quæ eſt una 'jugis hæreſeon & atrociſſimarum calumniarum lepra, 'nebulo qui in S. Cyrillum maxime rabit, abjudicat 'ei opus Theſauri (21). - - - - - *That dirty Heretic* 'the author of the diſputation de Suppoſito, which 'he lately publiſhed at Orange, giving the falſe name 'of a place, and ſuppreſſing his own, maintains that the 'work intituled* Theſaurus *is without reaſon aſcribed to* 'St Cyril. *In that diſputation, which is one continued* 'ſcab of Hereſies and enormous ſlanders, the knave, who 'rails at St Cyril in the moſt furious manner, will not 'allow him to have writ the* Theſaurus.'

(19) Theoph. Raynaud, Hoplotheca. *Sect. ii, Sera i, cap.* ult, *pag.* 89. That book was printed at Lyons in the year 1650.

(20) Ib. *p.* 90.

(21) *Idem*, Eremet. de multis ac bonis Libris, *num.* 209, *pag. m.* 134. See Father Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. *i, p.* 343.

ROHAN (RENATA DE) daughter of Lewis de Rohan the fourth of that name, lord de Guemené (*a*), was the accidental cauſe of a murder, which had like to have occaſioned many diſorders at the court of France, ſoon after the death of Francis II [*A*]. She

(*a*) *Father* Anſelme, Hiſt. des grands Officiers, *pag.* 536.

[*A*] *Soon after the death of Francis II.*] Varillas ſays (1), that it was three days after the death of that prince; but he is miſtaken, having not carefully conſidered Thuanus's words. *Triduo poſt de Vicedomini Carnutum morte allatum eſt . . . . . in idem tempus incidit Buellii . . . . . cædes* (2). If he had minded what goes before, he might have ſeen that this *triduo* refers to the 21ſt of December (3), on which day a reſolution was formed, the ſubſtance whereof was given juſt before by that Hiſtorian. According to this account,

(1) In the two editions of the Life of Charles IX.

(2) Thuanus, *lib. xxv, pag.* 525.

(3) XII Kalend. Januar.

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She was the widow of Francis de Rohan, lord de Gié, and courted by the count de Laval (*b*). The baſtard de Bueil, ſon to the count de Sancerré, and *one of the moſt renowned bravoes of the duke of Guiſe*, deſigning to oppoſe that courtſhip, *was not contented to become the count's rival*, but alſo *inſolently gave out that this widow, after a promiſe of marriage, written and ſigned with her own hand, had granted him the laſt favours. Perhaps he only intended to give Laval and his other rivals, a diſguſt to that lady; but Laval was of opinion, that is was an affront which required ſhedding of blood* [*B*]; *and becauſe his eſteem for the baſtard was not great enough to do him the honour to fight him, he took an opportunity to kill him at Orleans* (*c*). The conſtable Montmorency approved that murther, and ſollicited a pardon for Laval (*d*): on the contrary, the houſe of Guiſe urged that the murderer ſhould be puniſhed; and their credit did ſo prevail in the council, that the king of Navarre, *in whoſe palace Laval had taken ſanctuary*, was obliged *to procure his eſcape in the night*. Afterwards his eſtate was confiſcated (*e*). Thoſe, who ſay that the Conſtable protected the murtherer, becauſe he was of his family, are not miſtaken [*C*]. Our Renata was married to Renatus de Laval (*f*); and John de Laval, marquis de Neſle, was her third huſband.

(*b*) Renatus de Laval, lord de Loüé.

(*c*) Varillas, Hiſt. de Charles IX, *Tom. i, pag.* 8.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) *Father* Anſelme, ubi ſupra.

count, the news of the Vidame's death came to Orleans the 24th of December. But Francis II died the fifth of the ſame month, and therefore there had been more than three days between the king's death, and the baſtard's murder. Tho' I take notice of this fault, I am not ignorant that it is very inconſiderable; but it is fit the readers ſhould know what leads a writer into an error. I do not pretend that the Vidame of Chartres died fifteen or ſixteen days after the king; I only mean, that if we keep to Thuanus's account, we muſt judge of it in that manner: but I would adviſe no body to give credit to that Hiſtorian in this particular. My reaſon is, that Thuanus follows preſident de la Place, whoſe Chronology is not at all exact upon this head. For the account he gives runs thus: Francis II dies the 5th of December 1560; the king of Navarre reſigns the regency to the Queen-mother; a regulation is agreed upon the 21ſt of December; three days after the death of the Vidame of Chartres is heard of; the greateſt difficulties being removed by that regulation, the holding of the ſtates is reſolved upon, notwithſtanding the proteſtations of part of the deputies; cardinal de Lorrain endeavours to get a commiſſion to harangue the three eſtates of the kingdom; he does not obtain it; in the mean while the baſtard of Sancerre is killed; laſtly, the eſtates meet on the 13th of December. This is the model that Thuanus goes by, which is of no uſe to fix the day on which the Vidame died, nor that on which the baſtard was killed.

[*B*] *That it was an affront which required ſhedding of blood.*] According to the unhappy maxims of the point of honour, men cannot judge otherwiſe, conſidering how indulgent the judges are to thoſe who ſtain a woman's reputation by their ſlanders. If you proſecute a downright calumniator, or an indiſcreet bragging fool upon ſuch an account, they will come off with a denial or a retractation, which does not put an end to the ſuſpicions and reflexions. This is what induces a dueliſt to right himſelf. The baſtard of Sancerre expected it, and without doubt truſted to his courage and ſkill, more than to the juſtice of his cauſe (4); for can any one ſay with any juſtice, even without telling a lie, that he has obtained ſuch favours? But he was attacked in ſuch a manner, that he could not defend himſelf.

(4) Buellius, qui earum (*nuptiarum*) ſpe ſe dejectum dolebat, ut impedimentum afferret à Renata ſibi data fidem dicere, & ut erat pugnacitatis fama arrogans, parum honeſtè de illuſtri fœmina loqueretur. *Thuanus, ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Thoſe, who ſay . . . . are not miſtaken.*] Preſident de la Place is one of them (5); Loüé, ſays he, was ſupported by the Conſtable, *becauſe the ſaid Lady was grand-niece to the ſaid Conſtable, and the ſaid Loüé was deſcended in a direct male line from the Conſtable Matthew Montmorency, as well as the ſaid Conſtable.* Thuanus makes the ſame obſervation concerning Renatus de Laval: 'Unde magna rurſus irarum ſeges 'inter Guiſianos & Momorantios orta eſt, cum illi 'Sancerræ Comiti adeſſent, hi Lavallum uti ex Mat- 'thæi Momorantii Equitum Magiſtri ſtirpe profectum 'tutarentur (6). - - - *This produced another great quar- 'rel between the houſes of Guiſe and Montmorency; while 'the firſt ſtood up for the count de Sancerre, and the other 'defended Laval as being deſcended from the Conſtable 'Matthew Montmorency.*' I cannot apprehend why Varillas, who had ſaid in the firſt edition of his life of Charles IX (7), *That the count de Laval was of the houſe of Montmorency*, ſtruck it out in the ſecond. I eaſily apprehend why he left out, that this count *was brother-in-law to the Chatillons*; for it is a plain falſity: but the other fact agrees with the Genealogy of the houſe of Montmorency, publiſhed by du Cheſne (8).

(5) De l'Etat de la Relig. & Repub. *livr. iii, towards the end.*

(6) Thuanus, ubi ſupra.

(7) Tom. i, pag. 8, Dutch Edit.

(8) Anſelme, Hiſt. des grands Officiers de la Couronne, *pag.* 19.

ROHAN (ANNE DE) the daughter of Renatus de Rohan and Catherine de Parthenai, heireſs of the houſe of Soubiſe, was no leſs illuſtrious for her piety and wit, than for her noble extraction. She was ſiſter to the duke of Rohan, the ſupport of the Proteſtants during the civil wars, in the reign of Lewis XIII. I have ſaid in another place (*a*), that ſhe bore the hardſhips of the ſiege of Rochelle with an heroical conſtancy; and that, for the ſpace of three months, ſhe lived upon horſe-fleſh and four ounces of bread every day. The Hiſtorian (*b*) who informs us of this particular, adds, that ſhe and her mother refuſed to be comprehended in the capitulation, and remained priſoners of war. He beſtows this encomium upon her, that *ſhe was celebrated for her exemplary piety among thoſe of her religion, and for her learning which was uncommon in one of her ſex.* She made very good verſes: the excellent Poem ſhe wrote upon the death of Henry IV [*A*] is a proof of it. What is ſaid of her ſkill in the Hebrew tongue is very

(*a*) In the article of Catherine de PARTHENAI.

(*b*) Hiſt. du Duc de Rohan, *Paris* 1666.

[*A*] *The excellent Poem ſhe wrote upon the death of Henry IV.*] D'Aubigné, who was ſparing of his praiſes, inſerted part of it at the end of his Hiſtory, and prefixed theſe words to it: *Anne de Rohan, princeſs of Leon, and of all thoſe who write well at this time, will ſpeak better than I. She expreſſes herſelf thus:*

Quoi? faut-il que Henri, ce redouté Monarque,
Ce dompteur des humains, ſoit dompté par la Parque?

Ha! muſt dread Henry too reſign his breath,
And, conqueror of men, ſubmit to death?

I would not have mentioned theſe two verſes, were it not that they afford matter for a criticiſm. Mr Pelliſſon having ſaid. (1) *That it was one of Malherbe's maxims, that the adjectives ending with an* e *maſculine, ought never to be placed before, but after a ſubſtantive; whereas thoſe that have a feminine termination, may be placed before or after, as one thinks fit; that one may ſay for inſtance* ce redoutable Monarque; *or,* ce monarque redoutable; *and, on the contrary, that one may ſay* ce monarque redoute, *but not* ce redouté monarque; I ſay, Mr Pelliſſon having ſaid this, goes on thus: *I have not pitched upon this example without reaſon, and at random;*

(1) Hiſt. de l'Acad. Françoiſe, *pag.* m. 178.

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very remarkable [B]. She died a maid at Paris the twentieth of September, 1646, in the sixty-second year of her age. Mrs Schurman wrote some letters to her, which may be seen in the collection of her works.

random; for I have often heard Mr de Gombauld say, that before this observation had been made, Malherbe and he walking one day together, and discoursing of some verses of Anne de Rohan, one of which was,

Quoy faut-il que Henri, ce redouté Monarque,

Malherbe told him several times, that he did not like the end of that verse, without being able to give any reason for it; which made him consider it very attentively, and having immediately found out the reason of it, he imparted it to Malherbe, who was as much pleased as if he had found a treasure, and afterwards made a general rule of it. Now here is an observation of Menage not very well grounded. Mr de Gombauld, *says he* (2), *did also frequently discourse with me of that conversation he had with Malherbe, but not altogether in the same manner as Mr Pellisson relates it; for he always told me, that it was he who perceived, that* redouté Monarque *was wrong. However, that rule, whether it be Malherbe's or Gombauld's . . . . . is altogether false:* He proves (3) it by several examples and shews that Malherbe himself did not keep to it, since he said in two places *asseuré Secours*. But this is not the thing I would be at. I maintain, that Menage understood Mr Pellisson's words, as if they signified that it was Malherbe, and not Gombauld, who found out the reason why the verse in question was faulty; for had he not understood them in that sense, he would not have said *this rule, whether it be Malherbe's or Gombauld's*. The plain meaning of which is, that this rule was found out by Malherbe, according to Mr Pellisson's account, and by Gombauld, if we rely on what Menage was told by Gombauld himself. But it is more plain still, that Mr Pellisson ascribes the discovery to the latter, and not at all to Malherbe: will any body wonder, that sometimes a Latin author should not be understood for want of application; since Mr Menage did not understand a French author, though he expressed himself very intelligibly?

(2) Observations sur les Poësies de Malherbe, *pag.* 302.

(3) Ibid.

[B] *What is said of her skill in the Hebrew tongue, is very remarkable.*] She read the Old Testament in that language; and instead of singing Psalms at church in French verse as others did, she meditated upon them in Hebrew. 'Hanc illustrissimam & sapientissimam 'Principem Hebraicis Literis haud leviter fuisse tinctam 'testis fuit αὐτόπτης Rev. Parens, dum Parisiis dege- 'ret; quotiescunque enim ipsam adiret, Vet. Testa- 'menti caput aliquod Hebraicè legentem inveniebat, '&, quod mirere, ne in Ecclesia quidem hocce stu- 'dium deseruit, cùm etiam illic, dùm Hymni Davi- 'dici decantarentur, ipsa interim Hebraico idiomate 'mente psalleret (4). - - - - *My father, while he lived* (4) Colomesius, in Gallia Orientali, pag. 265. 'at Paris was himself an eye-witness of the great skill, 'which that most illustrious and wise princess had in the 'Hebrew tongue; for as often as he waited upon her, 'he found her reading some chapter in the Hebrew Bible; 'but what will raise your wonder is, that even at 'church, she did not quit this study, for while other people 'were singing the Psalms of David there, she, in the 'mean time, sung them over in Hebrew to herself.' Mr Colomiés, who mentions this, alledges an authority for it, which is worth transcribing. 'Hujus in 'Hebraicis peritiam firmat Phil. Aquinas Epistola 'Præfat. in capitula Patrum, à se ex Hebræo in Gal- 'licum sermonem versa (5). - - *Philip d'Aquin witnesses* (5) Ibid. 'her great knowledge in the Hebrew tongue, in the Pre- 'fatory Epistle to* Pirke Avoth (capitula Patrum), *which* 'he translated from the Hebrew into French.''

ROY (JAMES LE) Baron of the holy empire, and Lord of St Lambert, descended from an ancient and noble family originally of France [A], got a great reputation by the works he published. He was born at Antwerp the twenty-eighth of October, 1633. As soon as his age permitted him to travel, Baron LE ROY (a), his father, sent him to the most famous universities of Europe, and at his return resigned to him the places he was possessed of at the court of Brussels. Our Baron did so punctually discharge the duties of those places, that the marquis de Caracene, governor of the Low-Countries, sent him into Spain to inform his Catholic majesty, Philip IV, of the state of his government. Having worthily performed his commission, he returned into the Netherlands, and could not agree with the marquis de Castel Rodrigo, governor of that country; wherefore he resolved to lay down his employments, and retired to his seat near Antwerp. Had it not been for this, he would have raised himself to the most considerable civil offices; but the commonwealth of learning would have lost by it; for he had not been at leisure to write several books that have been published [B]. See the remark [B].

(a) PHILIP LE ROI, Seigneur de Ravels Broughem, & de St. Lambert en Brabant. *See the remark* [A].

There

[A] *He was descended of an antient and noble family, originally of France.*] The ancestors of baron le Roy left France, to follow Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and settled in the Low-Countries.

PHILIP LE ROY, knight-banneret, lord of Brouchem, &c. the father of him who is the subject of this article, bought of the lady Margaret Baudewyns the lordship of Chapelle St Lambert, the fifteenth of December, 1654 (1). He was made free baron of the holy empire by a patent of the emperor Leopold, dated from Luxemburg the thirtieth of May, 1671 (2). He was then counsellor to his Catholic Majesty in the supreme council of the finances of the Low-Countries and Burgundy.

(1) Topograph. Gallo-Brabantiæ, *pag.* 185.

(2) You find an abstract of it in the 70th page of the book of which I have given the title below, citation (10).

[B] *He wrote some books that have been published.*] The first book he undertook to write in his retirement, was the *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii* (3), which was printed at Amsterdam in folio, in the year 1678. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (4). He published afterwards in the same city, in the year 1683, a piece intituled, *Achates Tiberianus, sive gemma Cæsarea, antiquitate, argumento, arte, historia prorsus incomparabilis, D. Augusti apotheosin, Imp. Cæs. Tiberii, Augustæque Juliæ Domus seriem & iconas, gentesque bello captas repræsentans, notis historicis illustrata*, in folio. See the *Acta Eruditorum* (5), and the *Journal des Savans* (6). He printed, in 1693, at Amsterdam, a book in folio with this title, *Topographia Historica Gallo-Brabantiæ, qua Remanduæ oppida, municipia & dominia illustrantur, atque Monasteria, Nobiliumque Prætoria, Castellaque in æs incisa exhibentur*. This book contains a very particular account of that part of the Low-Countries called the Walloon Brabant; and if we had such a description of all Europe, it would be extremely useful and instructive. I add, that he has commented upon the chronicle of Balduinus de Avennis, and that he is now (7) commenting upon that of the Monk Albericus, *Trium-fontium*, which has never been printed, and the publication whereof has been wished for a long time. He has lately published (8) a small book of thirteen pages, intituled, *Prædictio Anthoniæ Bourignon de vastatione urbis Bruxellarum per ignem*, wherein, after a short description of the misery that town suffered on the thirteenth of August, 1695, when the French bombarded it, he mentions what has been said concerning *Antoinette Bourignon*, in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, and these words of one of her letters. *I do not see how I can stay at Brussels, tho' I had full liberty to do it; nor could I stay long in it,* SINCE

(3) Antwerp is the capital of that marquisate, which is one of the 17 provinces of the Low-Countries.

(4) For September 1685, *Art. V, p. m.* 1004.

(5) Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ, 1684, p. 235.

(6) Journal des Sçavans, March 19, 1685.

(7) In the year 1696.

(8) At Amsterdam 1696.

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There is something in that remark which concerns Mrs Bourignon, and at which her friends have been offended. I shall examine what one of them says in answer to my remark [C].

BRUSSELS IS TO BE DESTROYED BY FIRE, *if I have had a right vision, as I told you at Masuriel's house* (9). The spirit which revealed this burning to Mrs Bourignon, did not well fix the time; for she fancied, in the year 1666, that Brussels would be shortly burnt down, and yet it was not bombarded till twenty-nine years after.

(9) These words are taken from a letter written from Ghent to Mr de Cort, the 15th of January 1666. It is the 12th of the 3d part of a book, intituled, *Tombeau de la fausse Theologie.*

Since the first impression of this article, baron le Roy has published, *Castella & Prætoria Nobilium Brabantiæ, Cœnobiaque celebriora ad vivum delineata ærique incisa . . . . . cum brevi eorundem descriptione.* At Antwerp, 1696, in folio. And *L'Erection de toutes les Terres*, &c. *The erection of all the seats, lordships, and families, of Brabant, proved by extracts of original patents* (10). Such a book should be printed for each province of Europe, whereby one might know those, who boldly assume the title of marquis, or count.

(10) This book was printed at Leyden, for Peter vander Aa, in the year 1699, in folio.

[C] *I shall examine what one of Mrs Bourignon's friends says in answer to my remark.*] His answer is to be found in a *letter concerning mystical authors*, printed a year ago (11) with the book intituled *Theologie réelle vulgairement dite la Theologie Germanique.* The anonymous author, who has published this, quotes my words, and then adds (12). 'No, by your leave, 'laying aside all manner of equivocation, there was 'no time neither well nor ill fixed in the prediction, 'as you intimate: besides, it was not a verbal revelation, as you would make us understand, in order 'to make it susceptible of a falsity as to the time; 'but it was visual, and consequently of such a nature, as to fix no time in express words. Nor did 'Mrs Bourignon fancy, that Brussels would be burnt 'down in a set time, sooner or later; but nothing 'being determined upon that point, no time being 'fixed or excluded, this indetermination was the true 'reason why she did not think herself secure from that 'danger at any time, and had a provident care at all 'times.' He adds, *That, in the same manner, the Lord and his Apostles having foretold in general his second coming, exhorted the Christians to be watchful at all times, lest they should be surprized; whereupon a profane man might have had a better pretence than our author, to say as he does,* 'The spirit, which revealed that 'second coming to them, did not well fix the time; for 'they fancied, seventeen hundred years ago, that it should 'happen in their life-time, and yet no such thing has 'been seen hitherto.' *St Peter tells us, that the profane men of his time argued then in that manner.* Thus the anonymous author criticizes my remark: I will make it appear that he lies under a great illusion.

(11) At Amsterdam, for Henry Wetstein 1701, in 12mo. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Nov.* 1700, *pag.* 555, & *seq.*

(12) Lettre touchant les Auteurs Mystiques, *pag.* 114.

I observed, that the spirit *did not fix the time well*; and this author owns that it fixed no time. What can I desire more? Is it not manifest, that whoever does not fix a time, does neither fix it right nor wrong; and that therefore one may say he did not fix it well? My assertion is therefore true; and it is certain, at least that Mrs Bourignon drew a false consequence from what had been revealed to her *visually.* She concluded from it, that Brussels would be shortly destroyed by fire; for she believed that the permission she had to stay in that town, would serve her but for a little time; I say, she came to think so, by reason of the *visual Revelation* we are told of. As she resolved to leave a town, which she thought was ready to be burnt, she would doubtless have advised all those, who had been willing to be directed by her, to do the same; she would therefore have given that advice to all the inhabitants of Brussels, if they had been her disciples. Now, how strangely had they been deluded, if they had followed her direction! A great many people, who could not live above ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty years, had left their birth-place for fear of being destroyed by a fire that was to happen twenty-nine years after. They had been imposed upon by false prophecies; for a revelation, though true in it self, because it exhibits only some images, becomes fallacious and deceitful when applied to times or places that do not belong to it. If the revealing spirit does not deceive, the person who receives the revelation will nevertheless deceive by his false applications; and therefore Mrs Bourignon's apologist, without being aware of it, enables us to conclude, that she has been a false prophetess in this point. It were better to have no revelations at all, than to receive prophecies that are not understood, and the wrong explication of which moves one to make useless steps, and ill grounded precautions. If Mrs Bourignon had been quiet in the places which she thought would be entirely burnt down, she would have lived there the remaining part of her life, without seeing that prediction fulfilled; for she died fifteen years before Brussels was bombarded. She was therefore afraid without any reason, and she removed out of a panic fear. I would not have you to think, that I grant to her apologist, that the visual revelation he speaks of *was evidently verified by the event* (13). The bombarding of Brussels has no greater connexion with the vision of that woman, than with the dreams of other people. I think it will be granted me, that most people do sometimes see a town on fire in their dreams. When we dream that a house is set on fire, it is commonly that which belongs to us: if we dream that a town sinks in the water, or is devoured by flames, it is commonly a town that is best known to us, that wherein we were born, or where we make our abode. I therefore venture to say, and I think those who mind their dreams will not charge me with rashness for it, that several citizens of Brussels have seen that town on fire in a dream; and even that some of them dreamed that it was bombarded (14). Must such dreams be accounted prophetical? Visions of this kind in the head of devout people, are more suspicious than in the head of worldly people; for a devout person fancies, when he is awake, that the corruption he sees in a great town will draw fire from Heaven upon it. Now people do commonly see, when they are asleep, what they have thought of being awake (15). I omit that, according to Mrs Bourignon's prophecy, Brussels was to be destroyed by fire: it is plain, this denotes a total destruction, and therefore it is not the bombarding of the year 1695. That town was not destroyed by it; only several houses were ruined or damaged. It grew finer and more magnificent a few years after; and the inhabitants were so little concerned for the damage, occasioned by the bombs, that when they heard that the treaty of Riswick was carried on successfully, they freely owned they had rather be bombarded three or four times, than see the end of a war, which brought in money amongst them so plentifully.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Especially since the Gazettes did so frequently mention the bombarding of towns.

(15) See what is said above, in the remark [G], of the article of a LOTICHIUS (PETER).

The best thing alledged by the anonymous writer, is the prediction of the Apostles concerning the last coming of the Son of GOD. They preached it as being ready at hand (16), and yet seventeen hundred years have passed and that prophecy is not fulfilled. The solution of this difficulty may be seen in the commentaries upon the Scripture. I shall only say, that this was never looked upon as a sufficient reason to justify those, who, in the following ages, foretold things that did not come to pass. They have always been accounted false Prophets, or false interpreters of the Apocalypse. Why should I be the only man not allowed to make use of the same argument against those who pretended to foretel things to come? It is well known, that those who are engaged to vindicate the new Prophets, answer the objections, as this anonymous writer does, at the cost of the true Prophets mentioned in the Scripture. We have not forgot yet the Pastoral Letters of the author he speaks of some pages before, *Who*, says he (17), *will have many chimerical prophets of all ages to be truly inspired, and expects still that his party will be restored in France by way of inspiration.* It was in vain for him to alledge the Prophets of the Old Testament, in order to justifie the pretended Prophets of Dauphiné: wise and pious people following the dictates of reason, declared against them; and when the time fixed by him for the deliverance was expired, they maintained that his prophetical inspirations were false. They were not afraid that the prediction of the second coming of CHRIST, alledged by the anonymous writer, would be objected against them. I proceed in this matter

(16) For they exhorted those, to whom they spoke, to keep themselves ready for it.

(17) Lettre touchant les Auteurs Mystiques, *pag.* 108.

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matter as those gentlemen did, and as it has been the constant practice of the most grave Divines, whenever any fanatics arose, whose prophecies were confuted by the event.

I must answer another complaint of Mrs Bourignon's apologist. He says, that I seem to *take a great delight in reflecting upon her*, and very much enlarges upon it. He adds, that I frequently refer my readers to a libel of Mr de Seckendorf; whereupon he quotes a long passage of Mr Thomasius, professor at Hall, whereby it appears that Mr de Seckendorf was blinded by his passion when he writ against that gentlewoman. I answer in few words, 1. That none will say I had a mind to *reflect upon her*, but such as are prepossessed with an infatuating admiration: being charmed with the perfections they think they discover in a certain person, they can find no fault in him, all his actions appear holy to them, and they grow very angry with those who are more discerning, and undertake to shew the weak side of such a person. I have not in the least reflected upon Mrs Bourignon's zeal and chastity; I only made a plain and historical abridgment of her life, referring my readers to a memoir imparted to me by Mr Poiret, which our anonymous author takes to be advantageous to that gentlewoman. If I said something of her scolding humour, and of her great vigilance in the oeconomy of her estate, it is what truth required from me as an Historian. I have advanced nothing without a proof for it; but let the impartial readers judge of it. I answer in the second place, that among several quotations out of Antoinette's life and works, there are hardly above five or six out of Mr de Seckendorf. Why then does this anonymous writer intimate that I entirely depend upon the authority of that author? Lastly, I say, that I knew not then what Mr Thomasius observes concerning the proceedings of that illustrious German. Mr Thomasius is a man of merit, and I have had a long time a great esteem for him: I need not object any thing against his remarks, for he charges Mr de Seckendorf with curtailing some passages only in what concerns the opinions of Mrs Bourignon; but I have only quoted him for a matter of fact, and I have most times confirmed what I take from him by some other passages. I have no reason to think that he was blinded by passion in that respect. After all, if he was so guilty as this author will have it, would no body have taken notice of it? Would not Mr Poiret, whom he has confuted, have writ against him a second time to shew his unfairness?

I shall make no answer to several other observations of the anonymous author. His complaints are very general, and plainly shew that he is too touchy, and wants still to mortify his internal senses. The mortification of the external senses is not sufficient; one must chiefly overcome the irascible appetite. I beseech him to think seriously of it, and I refer him to the answers I have already made (18), or to this general observation, *viz.* That it would be a needless and insignificant thing to answer complaints grounded upon no manner of proof. If any one raises any particular objection against me, and examines some arguments advanced in this Dictionary fairly cited, I shall not deny him an answer; but as to general complaints, I shall only appeal to the equitable readers.

(18) *In my Reflexions sur le Jugemens du public, touché de quelques endroits de son Dictionnaire, où l'auteur, pag. 312, 313.*

RONSARD (PETER DE) a famous French Poet, of a noble family [*A*], was born in Vendomois the same year that Francis the first was made prisoner before Pavia. This circumstance of time occasioned some injudicious reflexions [*B*]. He was in

[*A*] *Of a noble family.*] Lewis de Ronsard, his father, was knight of the order of St Michael, and High-steward to Francis I, who pitched upon him to attend Francis, Dauphin de Viennois, and Henry, duke of Orleans, his sons, into Spain, while they were there as hostages for the king their father (1). He married Joan de Chandrier, whose family was related to that of la Trimouille, &c. and consequently to that of Craon; *from whence the kings of England are descended, by the match of the empress Maud* (2): *so that he* (3) *made it appear that Ronsard was related in the sixteenth or seventeenth degree to Elizabeth queen of England.* It is said, that Lewis de Ronsard was descended from one Baudouin, a younger brother of a great family (4), upon the borders of Hungary and Bulgaria, who brought a company of gentlemen to king Philip de Valois (5). Nay, it is said that *there is a lordship called the marquisate of Ronsard* (6), in the place where the Danube is neareſt to Thrace (7); but I think this may be looked upon as one of the romantic stories which most noble houses tell of their first founders (8). They are very fond of deriving their original from the remotest countries, and from some younger brother of a noble extraction, a brave adventurer, whose fine exploits were very well rewarded by the prince in whose service he engaged. If such stories were only told by three or four families, one would not be so apt to laugh at them. As for the rest, the author quoted by me has only turned into prose what Ronsard said of his extraction in one of his elegies (9). Du Perron (10) told the same story, but instead of Bulgaria he said Moravia. The collection of the finest pieces of the French Poets, printed in 1692, contains (11) a life of Ronsard, wherein it is said he *originally came from Hungary and Bulgaria.* If it be not an absurdity, it is at least a falsification; for the tradition of that family assigns but one native country to their ancestors, *upon the borders of Hungary and Bulgaria.* They are the words of Claudius Binet: thus you see how writers run into mistakes, when they change the terms of the originals, whether it be in order to be shorter, or because those words are thought to be too old. The word *borders* should not have been left out here.

(1) Binet, *Vie de Ronsard*, in the 9th Tome of Ronsard's works, in 12mo, *pag.* 113. Note, That du Perron, in the funeral oration of Ronsard, in the same volume, *p.* 189, does not say, that Lewis de Ronsard was High-steward to Francis I, but to Henry II.

(2) Binet, ibid. *pag.* 112.

(3) That is, the Sieur du Fauz of Angers, in his Memoirs. There is, in my edition, le Sieur du Faur; but I find in la Croix du Maine that this author's name was *Pascal Robin du Fauz.*

(4) Binet, ibid.

(5) Ib. *p.* 113.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ib. *p.* 112.

(8) See, above, remark [C], of the article PINET.

(9) The 20th. It is inscribed to Belleau.

(10) Oraison funebre de Ronsard, *pag.* 188.

(11) In the first Tome, p. 239.

[*B*] *Some injudicious reflexions.*] 'Peter de Ronsard, 'son of Lewis de Ronsard, and Joan de Chandrier, 'was born in the castle de la Poissonnerie . . . . . 'upon a Saturday the eleventh of September, 1524; 'on which day king Francis was made prisoner 'before Pavia. It is a question whether France was 'more unfortunate by the king's imprisonment, 'or happy by such a birth, which was made re-'markable, like that of many other great men, by 'such a memorable event. Thus the birth of the 'great Alexander was signalized, and as it were 'lighted by the flames which consumed the temple 'of Diana at Ephesus (12).' What a fine compensation is this! Was not France well indemnified for the imprisonment of her king, a misfortune which had like to have occasioned the ruin of the kingdom, and which actually occasioned a long series of shameful and dismal losses to the nation; I say, was not France well indemnified, since a wit was born on that very day, who adorned her with thousands of verses by way of sonnets, madrigals, stanzas, hymns, odes, &c. this thought of Claudius Binet could not be tolerable but in a Poem of a panegyrist; and even there men of sense would censure it as an insipid hyperbole. Doubtless this was the reason why du Perron did not make use of it in his funeral oration on Peter Ronsard (13). What shall we say then, when we see it in prose in a piece of History, I mean, in the life of Ronsard? But what shall we say of Thuanus, that grave, that venerable magistrate, who very seriously set forth the same thought in a general History, which is a master-piece? 'Natus erat, (*Petrus Ronsar-'dus*) *says he* (14), eodem quo infeliciter à nostris ad 'Ticinum pugnatum est, anno, ut ipse in Elegia ad 'Remigium Bellaqueum scribit, quasi Deus jacturam 'nominis Gallici eo prælio factam & secutum ex illo 'veluti nostrarum rerum interitum tanti viri ortu com-'pensare voluerit. - - - - - *He was born, as he himself 'takes notice in an an elegy to Remi Belleau, in the same 'year that our countrymen were beaten before Pavia; as 'if God had been willing to compensate the loss of honour 'which the French sustained in that battle, and the great 'disorder of our affairs that ensued, by the birth of so 'great a man.*' Take notice that Thuanus does not say that Ronsard was born on the same day that the battle

(12) Binet, ibid. *pag.* 113.

(13) See, below, citation (18).

(14) Thuanus, *lib. lxxxi, fub fin. pag. m.* 43, *ed. ann.* 1583.

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in danger of perishing on his birth-day; and the hazard he run was attended with an incident, which occasioned some witty conceits, that are not more solid than those reflexions [C]. He put himself at the head of some soldiers in Vendomois, in the year 1562, and made as great a slaughter of the Protestants as ever he could [D]; which was the reason

battle of Pavia was fought: he only says, that Poet was born in the same year. But Claudius Binet, not finding that wonderful enough, affirms, that those two things happened the same day. He betrays himself, he discovers his lie; for he marks the eleventh day of September, 1524, as the birth day of his Poet; and every body knows that Francis I. was beaten before Pavia the twenty-fourth of February, 1525. However, Ronsard was born in the same year, according to the way of reckoning at that time; for the year did not then begin in France, the first day of January, but at Easter, and so the battle of Pavia was in the year 1524. It cannot be said that there is an error of the press in Binet's book; for when he tells us that Ronsard died the twenty-seventh of December, 1585, he says, that Poet was sixty-one years, three months, and sixteen days old (15), and therefore he believed that he was born the eleventh of September, 1524. Which gives me occasion to take notice of a mistake of Sammarthanus (16); but, I confess, there is some uncertainty in the matter, whereby he might be excused. It is only from a passage of Ronsard that we know he was born the same year that Francis I was taken; at least it is certain that du Perron alledged no other proof against those who were not of that opinion. As to the time of his birth, says he (17), 'There are several opinions 'about it. Some think he was born in the year 1522, 'and that consequently he died in his climacterical year, 'as it has been observed of many great men. Others 'stick to what he writes, that he was born the same 'year that the great king Francis was made a prisoner; as the birth of illustrious men is frequently remarkable by such notable events. We may further 'observe, that the taking of that king, before Pavia, 'by which Ronsard denotes the year of his birth, falls 'exactly upon the same day on which we celebrate 'the memory of his death, which is St Matthias's 'day (18).' This only proof of du Perron will appear weak, if we consider that Ronsard in one of his Poems mentions his age, which does not suit with a man born in 1524, or 1525. These are his words: they are rough and not very suitable to the subject, but he was answering satirical and railing adversaries, who accused him, among other things, of a voluptuous life.

Tu dis que je suis vieil, encore n'ay-je atteint
Trente & sept ans passez, & mon corps ne se plaint
D'ans ny de maladie, & en toutes les sortes
Mes nerfs sont bien tendus, & mes veines bien fortes;
Et si j'ay le teint palle & le cheveu grison,
Mes membres toutesfois ne sont hors de saison (19).

You say I'm old; though yet, as I declare,
My years not fully sev'n and thirty are:
Robust and firm my body still remains,
And nor of sickness, nor of age complains.
My sinews and my veins are strong and hail:
Then if my locks be gray, or visage pale,
It matters not, since I in ev'ry limb
Am sound and vigorous . . . . . .

The Poem, wherein he speaks thus, was composed some weeks after the death of the duke of Guise (20) and consequently in the spring of the year, 1563. A man, who was then but thirty-seven years old, must have been born in 1526, and at this rate Scævola Sammarthanus would not be to blame. It is somewhat strange, that our Poet did not well know when he was born.

[C] *Which occasioned some witty conceits, that are not more solid than those reflexions.*] 'His birth-day had 'like to have been the day of his burial; for as they 'were going from the castle de la Poissonnerie to the 'parochial church, to get him christened, the woman 'who carried him, going over a meadow, let him fall 'through inadvertency; but he fell gently upon the 'grass and the flowers of the meadow. Besides, a gentlewoman, who carried a vessel full of rose-water 'and also several sorts of herbs and flowers, as it is 'usual, going to take up the child, spilt upon his head 'part of that sweet-smelling water, which was a presage of the good smell which the flowers of his 'learned writings would spread all over the king-'dom (21).' This is what the Italians call *Concetti*. When Mr le Païs wrote the History of Ronsard's Muse, he omitted not to make some verses upon that thought. *He was born*, says he, *of a knight of the order, on the same day that Francis the first was taken at the battle of Pavia; and it has been said to his glory, that France would have been inconsolable on account of such an unfortunate day, if that same day had not produced so great a man. His birth-day had like to have been that of his death. A gentlewoman, who carried him* (22) *from the castle de la Poissonnerie, where he was born, to the church of the parish, where he was to be christened, let him fall unawares; but by good luck he fell in a meadow, and upon flowers, and got no hurt by it, only he was wet all over with the rose-water, which they carried, as it is usual for the christning.*

Ce ne fut point sans doute un effet du hazard,
Je croi qu'on peut sans badinage,
Dire que ce fut un presage
De la fortune de Ronsard;
Un presage certain qui fit alors comprendre,
Combien de bonne odeur Ronsard devoit répandre,
Un presage certain que les neuf doctes Sœurs,
Dont il devoit chanter la gloire,
Pour éterniser sa memoire
Luy feroient quelque jour des couronnes de fleurs (23).

[D] *He put himself at the head of some soldiers . . . . against the Protestants.*] I shall set down a passage of Beza. 'The worst of all was, that the mob broke 'not only the images, but also some monuments of 'the house of Vendome, that is now the head of 'the house of Bourbon, which was taken very 'heinously, and not without reason. When the Ro-'manists saw this, and that part of the nobility of 'the country were gone to the prince at Orleans, and 'others had thrown themselves into the town of 'Mans, they began to keep the Reformed under 'great constraint. Among others, Peter Ronsard, 'a gentleman, the most excellent French Poet of our 'time, who let his tongue to hire, not only to defile 'his Muse with all sorts of filthiness, but also to 'slander our religion, and those who professed it, 'having turned Priest, resolved to have a hand in 'those quarrels with his companions. In order to 'it, having got together some soldiers in a village 'called Evaille, which was his parish, made several 'excursions attended with plunder and murders (24).' Spondanus will have it, that the nobility of Vendomois pitched upon the priest Ronsard to be their head; but I had rather keep to Beza's narrative. However, I shall set down the words of that Annalist. They contain some other things that want to be rectified. *Arma quoque sumens nobilitas, ducem sibi elegit Ronsardum, qui insolentiam profanorum non ferens, multos ex iis male mulctavit: quamquam curionatum Evalliæ tenebat, loci amœnitate aut commoditate captus. Neque enim is erat, qui libertatem suam, atque adeò licentiam poëticam sacerdotalis muneris necessitate tamquam compede ad gravitatem eâ functione dignam vellet adstringere: sed homo generosus, & à teneris annis inter nobiles pueros Caroli Ducis Aureliani Francisci I. filii in aulâ, & posteà militaribus studiis in Angliâ & Scotiâ innutritus, antequàm literis sub Io. Aurato operam daret, & divinum ingenium ad poëticam appelleret, inter pacatæ vitæ oblectamenta etiam armorum curam & amorem retinuerat* (25). These words give us to understand, that Ronsard had a living only for his pleasure, and that he discharged the duties of the Priesthood perfunctorily. If Spondanus had known that this pretended curate

(15) Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 156.

(16) Neque sexagesimum ætatis annum excessit (*Ronsardus*) articulari morbo sæviissime vexatus. *Sammarthan. Elog. lib. i, pag.* m. 80.

(17) Du Perron, Oraison funebre de Ronsard, *pag.* m. 190.

(18) I have set down the whole passage, to shew what I have said above, citation (13), that du Perron did not make use of the thought, concerning the compensation for the imprisonment of Francis I.

(19) Ronsard, Reponse à quelque Ministre, *p.* 86, *of the 9th Tome of his works, in* 12mo.

(20) See the Epistle prefixed to that poem.

(21) Claudius Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 114.

(22) Binet does not say that the gentlewoman carried him; he distinguishes her from the woman who carried him.

(23) Le Païs, Titres de noblesse de la Muse Amourette, *pag.* 182, 183, *of the 2d part of the new Works, Dutch Edit.* 1687.

(24) Beza, Hist. Eccles. *livr. vii, pag.* 537, 538.

(25) Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. *ad ann.* 1562, *num.* 16, *pag.* m. 621, 622.

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reaſon why ſome ſatirical pieces were publiſhed at Orleans againſt him, wherein it was ſuppoſed that he was a prieſt. He defended himſelf in verſe, and denied that he was inveſted with ſuch a character [*E*]. What is certain, is, that he had ſome benefices *in Commendam*,

curate had been in the ſame poſt at the court of Scotland, that he had in the houſe of the duke of Orleans, would he have made uſe of this diſtinction, *viz.* that Ronſard was bred up a page to that duke, and learned the art of war under the king of Scotland? Let us rectify this, and obſerve that this young man was made page to the Dauphin in the year 1536, three days before that prince died (26). *Afterwards he entered into the ſervice of Charles duke of Orleans, the king's ſecond ſon, and continued there for ſome time, being very acceptable to his maſter . . .* who, *to give him an occaſion of ſeeing the world, made him page to James Stuart, king of Scotland, who was come to marry* (27) *the lady Magdalen, daughter to Francis I.* The king of Scotland *carried him into his kingdom, where he continued two years* (28), *and half a year in England*; and then he returned into France, and *went to the duke of Orleans, his maſter, who made him page of his ſtables, and ſent him upon buſineſs into Flanders and Zealand, with orders to go as far as Scotland, which he did. . . . . At his return from that journey, being only about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, after he had ſerved the duke of Orleans five years, till that prince died, and afterwards Henry, who was ſince king, in the year* 1540, *he went in the retinue of Lazarus de Baïf . . . . . who was ſent the king's ambaſſador to the Diet of Spire* (29). It appears from this narrative, 1. That Ronſard did not learn the art of war in Scotland, otherwiſe than he had done in the ſervice of the duke of Orleans, and otherwiſe than the pages of princes learn it. 2. That Spondanus expreſſed himſelf ill, and knew not that our Poet was only thirteen or fourteen years of age when he was in Scotland, and that at his return into France he was made page to the Dauphin's brother. Perhaps it will be objected to me, that Binet's narrative being full of faults, ought not to be alledged againſt that Annaliſt; but notwithſtanding this objection, I believe Binet is not miſtaken as to the time that Ronſard was made page to the king of Scotland. However, he is groſſly miſtaken in his computation; for if Ronſard had been a domeſtic to the duke of Orleans *five years, till that prince died*, he would have ſerved him till the year 1545; and if he had been ſince in the ſervice of the Dauphin Henry, how could he have been ſince in Lazarus de Baïf's retinue, in the year 1540? But it is true, that Lazarus de Baïf being ſent, by the king, ambaſſador into Germany in the year 1540, took along with him our Ronſard, who had made an end of his ſervice as a page (30). However it be, Varillas has been deceived by Spondanus. 'New puiſhments 'were invented againſt the Calviniſts of Vendome, 'becauſe the moſt violent amongſt them had ſearched 'the ſepulchres of the anceſtors of the king of Navarre: and the famous Poet Ronſard, a gentleman 'of that country, who being weary of the court, and deſiring to be in better circumſtances than he was 'at home, had accepted the living of Evailles, took up 'arms again which he had born in Scotland and England. Afterwards he excuſed himſelf for it, ſaying, 'in a pleaſant manner, that not being able to defend 'his pariſhioners with St Peter's key, for which the 'Calviniſts had no reſpect, he took St Paul's ſword, 'and putting himſelf at the head of the neighbouring 'gentry, kept his church and his pariſh from being 'plundered (31). You ſee he falſly ſuppoſes that 'Ronſard bore arms in Scotland and England.'

[*E*] *He defended himſelf in verſe, and denied that he was a Prieſt.*] The Miniſter Chandieu, and Florent Chretien, were the authors of the pieces publiſhed againſt him at Orleans. The firſt appeared under the diſguiſe of A. Zamariel B. de Mont-Dieu, and the ſecond under that of Francis de la Baronnie (32). Father Garaſſe ſpeaks of them in the following manner. 'Thoſe two men gave him a ſevere reprimand, which 'is intituled, *la Metamorphoſe de Ronſard en Preſtre, ou le Temple de Ronſard.* They accuſed him, among 'other things, of having taught atheiſm.

Je t'ay veu diſcourir tout ainſi qu'Epicure
Qui attacheois au ciel un Dieu qui n'a la cure
De ce qu'on fait en bas, & en parlant ainſi
Tu monſtrois que de luy tu n'avois grand ſouoy, &c.
Like Epicurus, I have heard you try
To fix in Heav'n an idle deity,
Who takes no thought of what is done below:
By ſuch diſcourſe as this you plainly ſhow
How little you regard him, &c. - - -

'But Ronſard made a ſolid anſwer to their ſcurrilous 'and impertinent language, in a poem intituled, *Des 'Miſeres du Temps*, in which he proteſts, &c (33).' Garaſſe is miſtaken: the poem intituled, *Des Miſeres du Temps*, is not an anſwer to Zamariel and la Baronnie. The piece publiſhed againſt them by Ronſard in his vindication, came out with this title, *Reponſe aux Injures & Calomnies de je ne ſçai quels predicantereaux & Miniſtreaux de Geneve.* The reaſon which induced the Proteſtants to make verſes againſt that Poet, is imperfectly related by Binet and Varillas. One of them ſays, that they abuſed him, to revenge themſelves for the poems he had writ againſt them; the other affirms, that they cenſured him by reaſon of his warlike exploits. Thoſe two reaſons ſhould have been put together; for it is certain they fell upon him, becauſe he had made uſe of his pen and ſword againſt them with great fury. Here follow Binet's words. This 'gave Ronſard occaſion to oppoſe that new opi- 'nion, and to arm the Muſes in the defence of France, 'publiſhing his remonſtrances, which were thought 'ſo proper to confute the enemies of the Catholic 'religion, that the king, and the queen, his mother, 'gratified him for it; as did alſo Pope Pius V, who 'wrote to him a letter of thanks: which was the 'reaſon why thoſe of the new religion fell upon 'him, and publiſhed a very ſatirical and biting poem 'againſt him, which they called *le Temple de Ron- 'ſard*, wherein they painted his life as it were in 'tapeſtry. They alſo made ſome anſwers to his 'remonſtrances, with this title, *La Metamorphoſe de 'Ronſard*, the authors of which were one A. Zamariel 'and B. de Mont-Dieu, both miniſters. He ſuffi- 'ciently points at the latter in theſe verſes of his 'anſwer to him, comparing him to Siſyphus,

Qui remonte & repouſſe aux enfers un rocher,
Dont tu as pris ton nom (34).

- - - - Whoſe work in hell
Is ſtill a-doing, but is never done,
While he rolls back a huge unwieldy ſtone,
From which your name is borrowed - - -

Binet divides one author into two; A. Zamariel B. de Mont-Dieu is but one man. I proceed to Varillas's words. *This* (35) *occaſioned the terrible ſatire which Florent Chretien, at that time a violent Calviniſt, and preceptor to the prince of Navarre, wrote under the name of the Miniſter de la Baronnie againſt the ſame Ronſard; and the anſwer of the latter, wherein he ſhewed that indignation would enable him to make finer verſes than nature, tho' he had a wonderful genius to Poetry* (36). He is in the wrong to ſay, that *Florent Chretien wrote under the name of a Miniſter*, and to believe that none but he publiſhed ſatires againſt Ronſard. We have ſeen that he ſays after Beza and Spondanus, that this Poet was a curate; but their miſtake will appear by the following verſes.

Or ſus mon frere en Chriſt, tu dis que je ſuis Preſtre:
J'atteſte l'eternal que je le voudrois eſtre,
Et avoir tout le chef & le dos empeſché
Deſſous la peſanteur d'une bonne Eveſché:
Lors j'auroy la couronne à bon droit ſur la teſte,
Qu'un raſoir blanchiroit le jour d'une grand' feſte,
Ouverte, large, longue, allant juſques au front,
En forme d'un Croiſſant qui tout ſe courbe en rond (37).

You tell me that I am a prieſt. By heav'n
I only wiſh the name were juſtly giv'n,

And

(26) Binet, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 115.

(27) He married her at Paris, the firſt of January 1537.

(28) Du Perron, Oraiſon funebre de Ronſard, *pag.* 193, *ſays, that he was two years and a half in Scotland.*

(29) *Taken from* Claudius Binet, *pag.* 115, *& ſeq.*

(30) See the verſes of Antony de Baïf, in Mr Menage's *Remarques ſur la Vie d'Ayrault, pag.* 196.

(31) Varillas, Hiſt. de Charles IX, *Tom. i, p.* 171, *Dutch Edit. ad ann.* 1562.

(32) *See* Garaſſe's Doctrine Curieuſe, *p.* 126, & 1022, & la Croix du Maine, *pag.* 88.

(33) Garaſſe, ibid. *pag.* 126, 127.

(34) Binet, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 138, 139. See alſo the funeral oration by du Perron, *pag.* 193, where no other reaſon is to be found but that alledged by Binet.

(35) That is, Ronſard's taking up arms againſt the Proteſtants.

(36) Varillas, Hiſt. de Charles IX, *liv.* 12, *pag.* 171, 172.

(37) Ronſard, Reſponſe à quelque Miniſtre, *p.* 80.

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Commendam, and among others the priory of St Cosmus near Tours. He died there the twenty-seventh of December, 1585 and had but an indifferent burial; but twenty four years after a noble monument was erected there to his honour [*F*]. He was cruelly tormented with the Gout, and, it is said, he brought this misfortune upon him by his debaucheries [*G*]. His works are full of love-verses, wherein we find that he had three chief mistresses

And that my shoulders were condemn'd to bear
The load of a fat bishopric. I'd wear
With pleasure then the crown upon my head,
Which shou'd on all great holidays be made
Smooth with the razor's edge. Long, open, wide
It shou'd be, and my forehead reach beside,
In figure like a crescent bending round. - - -

Does not Ronsard plainly deny, in these verses, that he was a Priest? And if he had been one, would he have been so bold as to deny it? Something may be said, in order to excuse the Ministers, who gave him that title. He had been ordained, and performed Ecclesiastical functions in the choir in sacerdotal habits: he himself informs us of it.

Mais quand je suis aux lieux où il faut faire voir
D'un cœur devotieux l'office & le devoir,
Lors je suis de l'Eglise une colonne ferme
D'un surpelis ondé les espaules je m'arme,
D'une haumusse le bras, d'une chape le dos:
Et non comme tu dis faite de croix & d'os:
C'est pour un Capelan, la mienne est honorée
De grandes boucles d'or & de frange dorée (38):
- - - - - - - - - -
Je ne perds un moment des prieres divines:
Dés la poincte du jour je m'en vais à matines,
J'ay mon breviaire au poing, je chante quelquefois,
Mais c'est bien rarement, car j'ay mauvaise vois,
Le devoir du service en rien je n'abandonne,
Je suis à prime, à Sexte, & à Tierce, & à Nonne,
J'oy dire la grand'Messe, & avecques l'encent
(Qui par l'Eglise espars comme parfum se sent,)
J'honore mon Prelat des autres l'outrepasse,
Qui a pris d'Agenor son surnom & sa race.
Apres le tour finy je viens pour me r'asseoir (39).

(38) Ibid. *pag.* 94.

(39) Ibid. *pag.* 95.

But when I am in places which demand
Duties of strict devotion at my hand,
Then like a pillar of the church I wear
A wavy surplice, and an amesse bear
Upon my arm: my back a cope has on,
But not, as you say, made of cross and bone:
'Tis for a Chaplain, if you must be told,
That mine has buckles and a fringe of gold.
- - - - - - - - -
At service-hours I never fail to pray,
But trudge to mattins by the break of day.
Sometimes I sing in chorus; but, egad,
That's very seldom, for my voice is bad.
In short, when any thing is to be done,
I am always there, at Prime, Terce, Sexte *and* None.
High mass I hear, and with frankincense sweet,
Perfuming all the temple round, I greet
My noble Prelate far above the rest.
He from Agenor, as it is confess'd,
His race and surname takes. That rite perform'd,
I sit me down again - - - -

(40) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *ch. cxlv.*

(41) Baillet, in his list of disguised authors.

(42) Colomiés, Biblioth. choisie, *pag. m.* 202.

(43) In the article JODELLE, remark [*D*].

This was the reason why the Protestants believed that he was a curate. Note, That Menage fancies that a minister, whose name was de Mont-Dieu, wrote against Ronsard (40); but he is mistaken; it is only a disguise under which the minister Chandieu appeared when he published that piece. Mr Baillet (41) thinks that Florent Chretien assumed that false name. Colomiés has no reason to say that la Croix du Maine knew not *in his Bibliotheque*, page 88. that *Florent Chrétien wrote against Ronsard, under the name of Francis de la Baronnie* (42). I have mentioned in another place (43), the answer made by Ronsard, when he was charged with an act of Paganism.

[*F*] *A noble monument was erected there to his honour.*] Joachim de la Chetardie, counsellor clerk in the parliament of Paris, being Prior-commendatory of St Cosmus, twenty years after Ronsard's death, could not endure that the tomb of that illustrious Poet should remain without distinction or inscription (44). Wherefore, when he got the monastery repaired, he caused a marble tomb to be erected, and adorned it with an epitaph (45), and a statue of Ronsard made by an excellent sculptor. *Cum magni Ronsardi cineres populari loculo, muto & illiterato jacere videret, melior æquiorque illis qui ejus opimis exuviis ditati sunt, tandiu manes esse neglectos non tulit, ac Ronsardum illum.* . . . . . *Chetardius marmoris alta strue, statua ad viventis similitudinem veriſſime expressa à Phidia Lutetiano donavit, brevi nota & elogio* (46). These Latin words reflect upon Ronsard's relations, as if they had taken no care to preserve his memory; but it is certain that Gallandius caused a pompous funeral to be made for him in Boncourt-college, of which he was principal. *Testamento condito quo hæredem scripsit Johannem Gallandium juventutis Parisiensis optimum moderatorem, cujus hospitio cum Lutetiæ esset, familiarissime utebatur, qui dignam tanti viri memoriæ gratiam rependens ei exequiis perhonorificis postea in schola Becodiana sua parentavit* (47). Here follows a description of that funeral. 'Mr Gal-
'land, whose affection for him was not buried in the
'same grave, doing what France was bound to do,
'caused great preparations to be made in Boncourt-
'chapel, where his funeral was celebrated in a so-
'lemn manner upon Monday, the 24th of February
'1586. The service, set to Music, and attended with
'all sorts of instruments, was sung by the choicest
'singers, the king's Musicians being ordered to be
'there; for the king lamented the loss of so great a
'man, who was an ornament to his kingdom. I
'should be too long, should I make a particular de-
'scription of the funeral orations, encomiums and
'verses, that were made upon that occasion, and con-
'secrated to his memory, and of the lords, who, to-
'gether with that generous prince Charles de Valois,
'attended by the duke of Joyeuse, and the most re-
'verend cardinal his brother, to whom Ronsard was
'related, honoured that funeral pomp with their pre-
'sence; at which the most considerable members of
'the parliament of Paris, followed by the greatest
'wits of France, were pleased to assist. In the after-
'noon Mr du Perron pronounced his funeral oration
'with great eloquence; and there was such a vast
'concourse of hearers, that cardinal de Bourbon, and
'several other princes and lords, were obliged to go
'away, being not able to get in (48).'

(44) See how Pasquier expresses his indignation, *Recherch. liv. vii, ch. xi, p.* 648, when he saw such a mean tomb.

(45) *You could find it in* Bertius, ubi infra, *pag.* 567.

(46) Rodolphus Betereius, Commentar. de Rebus in Gallia gestis, *lib. xxvi, pag.* 566, *ad ann.* 1609.

(47) Thuanus, Histor. *lib. lxxxiii, sub fin. pag. m.* 43, *col.* 1.

(48) Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 159, 160.

[*G*] *It is said he brought this misfortune upon himself by his debaucheries.*] He was a handsome person, strong and vigorous; and besides, having a great deal of wit, and a great inclination for pleasures, one may easily judge he improved the opportunities of sporting with the fair sex, and that those opportunities seldom failed him. He ruined his strong constitution by his loose life, as Thuanus observes: *Verum homo ut ingenio sic forma & corporis robore insignis cum vita soluta licentiose nimis genio indulgeret, valetudinem firmissimam debilitavit, acerbissimis arthritidis doloribus extrema ætate conflictatus* (49). He was very deaf; and the author of his life owns, that this infirmity came upon him, among other reasons, because, *being in Germany, he was forced to drink such wines as are to be found there, most of which are sophisticated* (50). This is a mistake; for there are excellent wines in Germany; and if Ronsard had drank them moderately, they had done him no harm. The authors of the pieces published against him at Orleans, represent him as a great debauchee.

(49) Thuanus, ubi supra.

(50) Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 118.

Tu m'accuses, Cafard, d'avoir eu la verolle;
Un chaste Predicant de fait & de parole
Ne devroit jamais dire un propos si vilain:
Mais que sort-il du sac? cela dont il est plein (51).

(51) Ronsard, ubi supra, *pag.* 86.

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mistresses (*a*). The last was only an amusement to him, and a poetical subject [*H*].

(*a*) See the remark [*H*].

Besides, it is to be observed that he often made love-verses at the request of some lords of the court; so that they contained a description of their passion, and not of his own. The remembrance of it made him uneasy; for he remembred at the same time that he got nothing by those verses [*I*], and that the reward due to him had been bestowed upon others. He was not so unfortunate as to the Poems he inscribed to Charles IX; for he was well paid for them [*K*]. He prosecuted Joachim du Bellay, to recover some odes which

. . . . . .

Tu te plaints d'autre part que ma vie est lascive,
En delices, en jeux, en vices excessive:
Tu mens meschantement, si tu m'avois suivy
Deux mois, tu sçaurois bien en quel estat je vy (52).

(52) Ibid. *pag.* 93.

You say, Cassard, that I was pox'd. For shame!
A modest preacher should not dare to name
So vile a thing: it does not suit his part.
But from the great abundance of the heart
The mouth per *force will speak* - - - -
. . . . . .
You likewise in another place pretend
That I my life in wanton pleasures spend,
In games, and vices of the blackest hue:
Which is an arrant falsity. Had you
But follow'd me two months, you would have seen
How different from this my life has been.

[*H*] *The last mistress was only . . . . . a poetical subject* (53).] Let us see first of all what we are told of his two first mistresses. ‘ (54) Ronsard falling in ‘ love with a handsome woman of Blois, whose name ‘ was Cassandra, on the 21st of April, in a journey he ‘ made to Blois, where the court was, being then ‘ twenty years of age (55), resolved to sing his belov- ‘ ed object, as well on account of her beauty, as by ‘ reason of her name. He was smitten as soon as he ‘ saw her, as if it had been by an instinct divinely ‘ inspired, which he seems to intimate by this motto, ‘ ΩΣ ΙΔΟΝ ΩΣ ΕΜΑΝΗΝ (56).’ The verses he made upon that mistress were thought too obscure; wherefore *he resolved to describe in a more easy stile his passion for Mary, who was a handsome maid of Anjou. He often denotes her by the name of Pin de Bourgeuil, because it was the place where she lived, and where he saw her first, happening to be there with his friend Baif. He loved her very much after he had courted Cassandra ten years, whom he left out of jealousy* (57). Here follows the History of his third love. ‘ He ended his ‘ works with his sonnets upon Helena, whose virtues, ‘ beauty, and great accomplishments, were the last ‘ and most worthy subject of his Muse: the last, be- ‘ cause he never had the happiness to see her until he ‘ was an old man; and the most worthy, because this ‘ lady was, by her quality, virtue, and reputation, above ‘ those whom he loved in his younger years. He ‘ was more familiar with them, than with the last, ‘ whom he honoured and praised, rather than courted. ‘ Witness the title he gave to his praises, imitating ‘ Petrarch in that respect, who being one day praised ‘ in the Queen-mother's presence, on account of his ‘ chaste and modest Poetry, her majesty advised him ‘ (Ronsard) to write in the same stile, as being more ‘ suitable to his age, and the gravity of his learning. ‘ Thus Ronsard having, as he thought, an oppor- ‘ tunity of consecrating his Muse to a person of great ‘ merit, took the queen's advice for a permission, or ‘ rather a command, to address himself to one of her ‘ maids of honour, of a very antient and noble family ‘ of Saintonge; and he continued to praise her almost ‘ to the end of his life: and because her wit did fre- ‘ quently afford him matter to exercise his Muse, he ‘ consecrated a fountain to her in Vendomois, which ‘ goes by her name to this very day (58).’

(53) See what has been said of Malherbe, in the remark [*B*], of his article.

(54) Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 129.

(55) It was therefore in the year 1544: nevertheless Binet had just before said, that Ronsard had published the *Epithalamium on the marriage of Mr de Vendome, and Madam Joan d'Albert, queen of Navarre*, and afterwards writ other poems before he fell in love with Cassandra: this marriage was in the year 1548. In the Life of Ronsard, in the *Recueil des plus belles pieces des Poëtes Françoise*, printed in the year 1692, it is asserted that he fell in love with Cassandra at Blois, when he was there with the duke of Anjou. There was no duke of Anjou at that time.

(56) They are Theocritus's words, which Virgil renders thus in his 8th eclogue, *ut vidi ut perii*.

(57) Binet, ibid. *pag.* 133.

(58) Ibid. *pag.* 142, 143.

The collection of the finest pieces of the French Poets, both ancient and modern, printed at Paris in the year 1692, contains the life of Ronsard, wherein I have found a fault, which wants to be rectified. *He sung the praises of Helena de Sugeres, a maid of honour to the queen, and desired Cardinal du Perron to write a preface, in order to prefix it to these gallant Poems; in which he intreated him to tell the world, that he loved that maid in an honest way. The cardinal answered him, that instead of a preface, he should put the picture * of Helena de Sugeres to his book* (59). Du Perron being but a young man when Ronsard died, it is not likely that this great Poet would have desired him to write a preface for him. The truth is, that he desired no such thing of any body: it was the lady, who made such a request to cardinal du Perron. If you read the Perroniana at the word Gournay, you will find these words in it (60). *This is what I told Mrs de Surgeres one day, who desired me, at Monsieur de Retz's, to put an epistle to Ronsard's works, whereby it might appear, that he had not an unchaste love for her. I told her, instead of such an epistle, it is but putting your picture to it.*

* Because she was ugly.

(59) Recueil des plus belles pieces, *Tom.* i. *pag.* 241, 242, *Dutch Edit.*

(60) See the remark [*B*], in the article GOURNAY.

[*I*] *He was uneasy when he remembred that he had got nothing by those verses.*] I shall set down a passage of Binet to prove this. ‘ (61) He often told me, that ‘ he had made amorous verses and masquerades by or- ‘ der of some great men, meaning, that he had often ‘ strained his Muse without any satisfaction; others ‘ having got the reward he deserved: which was the ‘ reason why he prefixed these verses of Virgil to these ‘ pieces, *sic vos non vobis*, &c. It is well known for ‘ whom he wrote the amours of Callirea, a very hand- ‘ some lady of the court, of the noble family of Atry ‘ (62), firnamed Aquaviva, as he sufficiently intimates ‘ by the sonnet, which begins thus, *La belle eau vive.* ‘ It is also known for whom he made the verses con- ‘ cerning Astrea (63), who was likewise a very hand- ‘ some lady of the court, whose name is very much ‘ embellished by the meer alteration of a vowel.’ It appears from these words, that Ronsard was not so disinterested as an honest man ought to be. It had been a glorious thing for him, if he had shewed himself less mercenary: it is a fault that prevails among Poets, and I wonder that Binet should have been so ingenuous as to acquaint the public with the complaints that Ronsard made to him in private, for not being rewarded. However it be, this shews that a man may write very passionate verses, without being in love with the person who is the subject of those verses. I think this may be more easily done by a man who has a mistress (64).

(61) Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 141, 142.

(62) I have spoken of that lady above, at the end of the text of the article JACCETIUS.

(63) She was a lady of the house d'Estrée.

[*K*] *He was well paid for the Poems he inscribed to Charles IX.*] That prince, ‘ besides his yearly pen- ‘ sion, made him some presents. It is true, he said ‘ sometimes in jest, that he was afraid of losing his ‘ Ronsard, and that too much wealth would make ‘ him idle, adding, that a good Poet ought not to be ‘ fattened no more than a good horse, but only kept ‘ in good case. Nevertheless he was always very li- ‘ beral to him, and would have continued so, if he ‘ had lived; for he was not ignorant that Poets have ‘ a kind of sympathy with the grandeur of kings, ‘ and are apt to take fire, being sensibly affected when ‘ their labours and merit are not sufficiently rewarded, ‘ as he complains of it in several places (65).’ The latter part of this passage confirms what has been said above (66), concerning Ronsard's mercenary humour, and therefore I have not left it out, as I would have done, had it not been for that reason. Note, That Brantome mentions (§ *a*) this policy of Charles IX, as may be seen in the article of DAURAT (67). It is the most effectual way of keeping the Poets busy: if they were too rich, they would be apt to despise their trade. Charles IX was therefore in the right to deal with the Poets, as if they had made Agur's prayer to him, *Give us neither poverty nor riches, feed us with food convenient for us* (68). The temper he observed, is perhaps the greatest blessing that can be wished for the commonwealth of learning; for some authors would not have published several good books, if they had lived in plenty: others would have been more accurate in their compositures, had they not been so poor. The great poverty of some authors has occasioned a multitude of bad books, which the public are

(64) It is but fancying that the lady for whom he makes verses, is his beloved object.

(65) Binet, Vie de Ronsard, *pag.* 143.

(66) In the preceding remark.

(67) Citation (21).

(68) Prov. xxx, 8.

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which had been cunningly ſtolen from him [L]; but afterwards they agreed, and were friends again. He would have had better ſucceſs in his amorous verſes, had he not ſo carefully imitated the ancient Poets: the too frequent uſe of their fables made him harſh and obſcure [M]. Nay, he ſometimes took the liberty, as they did, to uſe ſome obſcene expreſſions [N], and in general was guilty of ſeveral profanations, and inſerted too many Pagan notions in his Poems, which nevertheleſs were paid with ſacred things

are peſtered with. A moderate income would have enabled them to poliſh their works; but the preſſing neceſſity of a man, incumbered with a great family, and perſecuted by a creditor, whom he puts off until he be paid for his copy, and gratified for his epiſtle dedicatory, obliges him to write ſo haſtily, that he has no time to lick his young cubs into the beſt ſhape before he ſhews them to the world. It is to be obſerved, that there are ſome ſuch works which it is better to have, than to be wholly deprived of them. For inſtance, it was better to have du Ryer's tranſlations of the authors tranſlated by him than none at all: and therefore, if we ſuppoſe that du Ryer would have lived an idle life, if he had been rich, it was better for the public, that he had no more than was neceſſary to maintain him. See what Eraſmus ſaid concerning Sigiſmund GELENIUS (69). When a writer deſigns to raiſe his fortune, he endeavours to write well; but he has no ſooner obtained his end, than he grows remiſs. This is what may be obſerved in preachers: they are thought to preach better before they are biſhops, than after they have attained to that dignity (70). Which puts me in mind of an ingenious repartee. A great prince of our time, deſigning to beſiege a town, was told, that it would be defended by a mareſchal of France, and did not alter his reſolution upon that account, ſaying, that *a governor, who is not yet mareſchal of France, is more to be feared, than one who is ſo already.*

(69) Above, citation (10), in his article.

(70) See the remark [C], in the article ZEUXIS.

[(§ α) What Brantome ſays there, is taken from theſe words of Papirius Maſſo, in his life of Charles IX, reprinted at the end of the additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau. 'Poetas generoſis equis ſimiles 'eſſe dicens, quos nutrire non laginari oporteat. - - - 'Saying that Poets are like generous horſes whom it is 'proper to feed, but not to pamper. REM. CRIT.]

[L] *He proſecuted . . . . . to recover ſome odes which had been cunningly ſtolen from him.*] This is a remarkable ſuit, and I do not doubt, that Ronſard proſecuted it as warmly, as others would do to recover an eſtate left them by their fathers. The Hiſtorian ſpeaks of it with great caution, being tender of the plaintiff's and defendant's reputation. The latter acted the moſt odious part before the Judges, and the other was laughed at by them. I ſhall ſet down the whole narrative of Binet. 'When the amours of 'Caſſandra, and the four books of odes, which Ron'ſard promiſed in imitation of Pindar and Horace, 'were much talked of; it being a common thing 'for wits to be jealous one of another, du Bellai, 'who had alſo ſung his Oliva in an amorous ſtrain, 'went about to compoſe ſome odes like thoſe of Ron'ſard, which he got into his hands without his know'ledge. He made ſome, which, together with ſe'veral ſonnets, he publiſhed, to prevent Ronſard, un'der the title of a collection of Poems. The latter 'conceived a reaſonable jealouſy againſt du Bellay, 'ſo far as to ſue him in order to recover his papers. 'They were adjudged to him; and then the quarrel 'was over. Ronſard defired du Bellay to go on with 'his odes, by which means they became greater friends 'than ever, being of opinion that ſuch an ambition 'ſhews a generous ſoul; and that if men, jealous of 'glory, grow quickly angry, they are alſo eaſily re'conciled (71).'

(71) Binet, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 129, 130.

[M] *The too frequent uſe of their fables made him harſh and obſcure.*] The obſcurity of his works was complained of at that very time, which was the reaſon why ſome of his friends commented upon them. The amours of Caſſandra were commented upon by Muretus: The firſt book of his love for Mary was commented upon by Remi Belleau, and the ſecond by Nicolas Richelet: his ſonnets upon Helena, the five books of his odes, and his hymns, were commented upon by the ſame Richelet; as were all the pieces of the ninth part of his works, by Claudius Garnier. *Beſides ſeveral pieces of the firſt part, Peter de Marcaſſus commented upon the Franciade, which makes the third, the Bocage Royal which makes the fourth, the Eclogues, Maſquerades, and Cartels, which make the fifth, the Elegies which make the ſixth, and the Poems which make the eighth* (72). John Beſly, the king's advocate at Fontenai le Comte, commented upon the hymns (73). Poor Ronſard is put to a non-plus in the *Parnaſſe Reformé*, on account of the impenetrable obſcurity of his works, without the help of a good commentary. His *Je ne ſuis point ma guerriere Caſſandre*, &c. is particularly alledged againſt him. *Do you really believe*, ſay they, (74) *that your Caſſandra, for whom you made that ſonnet, had ſuch a good opinion of it? Can it be imagined that ſhe knew the brother that you have found for her? Do you think that the Dolope Soudart, the Myrmidon, the Corebe inſensé, and the Gregeois Penelée, were names very intelligible to her; and was it a ſmall matter for a woman to be put to the trouble of unfolding all the fables relating to the ſiege of Troy?*

(72) Baillet, Jugemens ſur les Poëtes, *num.* 1335.

(73) Colomeſ. Obſervat. ſacræ, *pag.* 54.

(74) Parnaſſe, Reformé, *pag.* 91, 92, *Dutch Edit.*

Ronſard's obſcurity and harſhneſs would be more excuſable, had he been the firſt who improved the French Poetry; but he ſaw it full of charms, and near its perfection in Marot's writings, which might have been a great help to him. I ſhall ſet down Mr de la Bruyere's opinion. 'One would think from MA'ROT's turn and ſtile, that he writ after RON'SARD: there is hardly any difference between him 'and us, but in ſome words. RONSARD, and the 'authors cotemporary with him, did the French ſtile 'more harm than good; they kept it from arriving to 'perfection, and were like to hinder it from ever at'taining to it. It is ſurprizing that MAROT's 'works, which are ſo eaſy and natural, did not make 'Ronſard, who was full of a poetical ſpirit, a greater 'Poet than Ronſard and Marot (75).' But how could they produce ſuch an effect in a man whoſe taſte was ſo depraved, that he looked upon them as a heap of dirt with ſome grains of gold in it? He had *conſtantly in his hands*, as we are told by the author of his life (76), *ſome French Poet . . . . . eſpecially . . . . . John le Maire de Belges, the Romance of the Roſe, and Marot's works, which he called, as Virgil did thoſe of Ennius, a dunghil, out of which, as it were, by an induſtrious waſhing, he gathered grains of gold.* That waſhing would not have appeared very induſtrious to Mr de la Bruyere; he would have ſaid that Ronſard took the earth, and threw off the gold.

(75) La Bruyere, Caracteres, *in the chapter intituled*, des Ouvrages de l'Eſprit, *pag. m.* 82.

(76) Binet, Vie de Ronſard, *pag. m.* 121.

[N] *Some obſcene expreſſions.*] I ſhall only give one inſtance of it alledged by Mr Menage in a place, wherein he finds fault with him for making uſe of obſcure fables. *No fables*, ſays he (77), *ought to be made uſe of, but ſuch as are known to every body. Ronſard, who made uſe of ſome that are only known to the learned, and only to be found in the ſcholiaſts, ſuch as that which he mentions in theſe words of the twenty-firſt ode of the ſecond book out of the ſcholiaſt upon Nicander,*

(77) Menage, Obſervat. ſur Malherbe, *pag.* 531.

Ny les fleurons que diffama
Venus, alors que ſa main blanche
Au milieu du Lis renferma
D'un grand Aſne le roide manche,

was accounted a pedant, inſtead of a learned man. Here follows a note of Nicolas Richelet upon thoſe four verſes of Ronſard. 'This we find in Nicander's Alexi'pharmaca. One can hardly apprehend how it can 'be underſtood of the lilly, which the ſame Nicander 'calls in another place Venus's delight. And indeed 'our author ſeems to doubt of it, ſpeaking a ſecond 'time of the lilly in that ſame ode; for it were need'leſs to ſpeak twice of the ſame flower. Nicander 'ſays that this flower, whatever it be, undertook one 'day to contend for beauty with Venus, who out of 'ſpite, and to revenge herſelf, ſhut up the yard of 'an aſs in its leaves.

- - - - Τότ' ἀπέσυγεν, ἄρρα
Οὔνεκ' ἐριδμαίνεσκε χροῒς ὕπερ, ἐν δὲ νυθρίοις
Ἄγγα-

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things [O]. People are very much divided in their opinions about his works, as may be seen in Mr Baillet (*b*). See also Sorel's remarks upon the *Berger Extravagant* (*c*), wherein you will find many curious and solid Criticisms upon that Poet. I must not forget what has been observed, that he did not well succeed in correcting his own works [P]; he

(*b*) Baillet, Jugemens sur les Poëtes, *num.* 1335.

(*c*) Upon the 13th book, *pag.* 647, &c.

Ἀργαλέην μεσάτοισιν ὀνειδίην ἐπέλασσε
Δεινὴν βρωμιέντ' ἐναλδήσασα κορύνην (78).

(78) Richelet, upon the second book of Ronsard's odes, *pag. m.* 306.

That commentator does not complain of the obscenity of the text.

[O] *Which nevertheless were paid with sacred things.*] Consult Sorel, who says that Ronsard's odes, 'written to any one's praise, are an imitation of Pindar, 'and that the rest, which are indifferent, are most of 'them taken out of Anacreon; so that there is scarce 'any thing to be found in them, but that perhaps 'to-morrow we shall be nothing but dust, that we 'ought to enjoy our selves whilst we may do it, and 'drink and indulge the love of women; which seem 'to be the maxims of a man, who does not believe the 'immortality of the soul. His hymns contain very 'few precepts of virtue: some are only a meer repe-'tition of what is to be seen in Homer and other 'Poets, as his hymns upon Calais and Zethes, and 'Castor and Pollux; which is very improper, for 'what signifies it to sing the praises of those chime-'rical heroes? His hymn concerning Hercules com-'pared with CHRIST, both as to his birth and la-'bours, cannot excite any devotion; for those remote 'and far-fetched applications are fitter to make one 'laugh, than to produce in us a repentance of our 'sins (79).' He gives the substance of that hymn, and then he adds, 'I had rather lay aside entirely the 'fables of the Heathens, than pretend to mend them 'by applying them in such a manner to holy mysteries. 'It is a dangerous thing to suffer such subjects to be 'handled by the Poets. If you examine the matter 'narrowly, you will find that the mysteries of our 'religion are profaned by such a method; for the re-'lations are only superficial. What a shameful thing 'is it to refer Jupiter's adultery to the incarnation of 'the Eternal Word? At this rate it must be said, that 'the Holy Virgin is represented by Alcmena, and 'then the angel Gabriel, who declared the concep-'tion, and the Holy Ghost that wrought it, must be 'represented by Mercury. Wretched Poet! if you 'design to explain in such a manner what we are told 'of Hercules, mind what you do; for there are such 'abominable thoughts concealed under it, that my 'pen drops from my hands when I think of them. 'Perhaps you will say, that you have not meddled 'with them: but will not every reader, if he has ne-'ver so little subtilty in him, be desirous to know all 'the relations contained in your fable? Besides, is 'not the comparison between Hercules and CHRIST 'execrable in every part of it (80).' I must not forget that he says something to excuse that Poet. 'I 'have also seen some moral reflexions upon the Ro-'mance of the Rose, wherein the most leud things 'contained in that Romance were explained, with re-'lation to our creation and redemption, and eternal 'life. There are some execrable fancies in that book; 'however I believe the author was a well-meaning 'man, and acted therein according to the simplicity 'of the time he lived in. And I make no doubt that 'Ronsard had a very good intention in his *Christian 'Hercules*, but his performance did not answer his 'hopes. As for his other hymns, for instance, con-'cerning eternity, justice, the devils, and others of the 'like nature, he brings in several deities, which he 'should have left to the Greeks (81).' When he criticises the hymns about the four seasons of the year, which are the master-piece of that Poet, if we may depend upon his funeral oration (82), and Pasquier (83), he observes a thousand faults in them, and even a gross contradiction. *Tho' fictions wholly depend upon a writer's fancy, the same Poet ought not to have two different opinions in one and the same work; and yet in a following hymn, which must needs have a dependance upon the first, since the four hymns are coupled together, Ronsard says, that nature perceiving that, tho' she did stroke the belly of Time, her husband, and put a leg over his, tickling his flesh, he was no longer fit for amorous embraces, fell in love with the sun, with whom she lay, and got by him the four seasons. Thus we have here another birth* (84). Had he not just reason to condemn him for such gross inventions? Nor does he forgive him for telling his dear Helena, *that she must not forget upon Ash-wednesday to come and take some ashes from his heart, which the fire of love has burnt* (85). Was he not very much in the right to condemn many other prophanations of our Poets, and the rewards bestowed upon them. The worst of all, says he (86), 'is, that some beneficed 'men of this age have writ in such a stile more freely 'than others; as if they had been allowed to play 'with holy things, because they had the administra-'tion of them. They were looked upon as men, 'who took more care of their bellies than of their 'flocks, and because they spoke in a prophane man-'ner, lay-people were so bold as to do the same, 'which did great prejudice to religion. I know but 'too many still, who are not yet invested with Eccle-'siastical offices, but desire to be promoted to them, 'tho' their only talent consists in writing impious and 'leud things. They are court-flies, buzzing in the 'palaces of princes, and continually importuning them, 'because it is thought here that a benefice is the fittest 'reward that can be bestowed upon a Poet. What 'an abominable custom, to give Ecclesiastical prefer-'ments to men, who would not be rewarded, had 'they not been pimps to their masters, as it appears 'from their amorous verses, made in order to indulge 'the disorderly passions of princes and kings. It is 'true that St Gelais was a bishop, that Des Portes was 'an abbot, and that Ronsard had some benefices (87), 'and that he desired the king to add a crosier to his 'lyre, as if a bishopric had been a proper reward for 'his Poems, though it ought to be conferred on none 'but those who are holy in their words and actions. 'However I will not blame all those men upon that 'account; for I do piously believe, that they wrote 'those loose Poems in their youth, and that they have 'since repented of them, and made themselves worthy 'of the posts they held.'

(79) Sorel, Remarks on the 13th book of the *Berger extravagant*, *pag.* 648.

(80) Ib. *p.* 650.

(81) Ib. *p.* 652.

(82) Those who have seen his hymns about the four seasons, (and I think there are few in this assembly but have had that curiosity) will doubtless confirm my opinion of them, and acknowledge that it is almost impossible to peruse them, without being charmed with them, and confessing that there is a soul and a genius in them, which affects and transports both the readers and hearers. *Du Perron, Oraison funebre de Ronsard, pag.* 198, 199.

(83) Pasquier, Recherches, *book viii, ch. xi, p. m.* 646.

(84) Sorel, ubi supra, *pag.* 653, 654. He had been mentioning another fiction of Ronsard, about the birth of the four seasons.

(85) Idem, Remarks upon the 14th book, *pag.* 733.

(86) Ibid. *pag.* 738, 739, 740.

(87) He was prior of Croixval, and St Cosme.

These last words agree, as to Ronsard, with what Mr Baillet says of him. 'I shall do a good office to 'Ronsard's memory, by informing the public, that in 'the last years of his life, he condemned the unchaste 'and loose Poems he had made. Nay, he began then 'to reform his Muse, resolving to write only Chri-'stian Poems the remaining part of his days. Not 'contented to secure his conscience for the time to 'come, he was desirous to expiate his past sins, by 'suppressing several pieces he had written in his youth, 'and leaving out all the passages he did not approve 'in those that were not wholly bad. But it may be 'said, that he did it more like a father, who cannot 'divest himself of his tenderness for his children, than 'like an uncorrupt judge (88).' Against this, Mr Menage (89) alledges these words of Binet: *Perfisling in the resolution* of loving and serving one of the maids of honour to the queen, *he praised her almost to the last moment of his life* (90). Thuanus observes, that Ronsard made some verses even when he was a dying, and that they were pious and tolerable verses (91). I have read in Brantome, that Chatellard, a French gentleman, who was beheaded in Scotland for loving the queen, and, which is more, making an attempt upon the honour of that princess, had no other *viaticum*, or preparation for death, than the reading of a Poem of Ronsard; which plainly shews, that he took it to be a very pious piece. *Being brought to the scaffold, he took Ronsard's hymns into his hands, and for his eternal comfort, read out the hymn concerning death, which is a very fine one, and fit to make one less afraid of dying, having no other godly book, nor any minister or confessor* (92).

(88) Baillet, Jugemens sur les Poëtes, *num.* 1335.

(89) Anti-Baillet, *ch. xxxv.*

(90) Claudius Binet, ubi supra, *pag.* 143.

(91) Etiam dum animam ageret aliquot pia scriptis non pœnitenda facta, ac postea cum operis ejus operam editi sunt. *Thuanus, lib. lxxxiii, pag. fin.*

(92) Brantome, Memoires des Dames illustres, *pag. m.* 175.

[P] *He did not well succeed in correcting his works.*] In order to make a very instructive commentary upon these words, I shall set down a long note of Mr Menage (93). 'It often falls out that the second thoughts 'of the Poets are not so good as the first, as Binet 'very judiciously observes, speaking of Ronsard's 'verses (94). *Some*, says he, *are of opinion, that se-'veral passages which he has mended in his works, are 'not so agreeable as they were at first; for it happens 'sometimes, especially in Poetry, that the first fury is*

(93) Menagiana, Observations sur Malherbe, *pag.* 383, 384.

(94) In Ronsard's Life, *pag. m.* 163.

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he left out the beſt things. This is a great fault, and ſome other writers have not been free from it. I muſt alſo take notice, that the common-place of the jeſts upon Poets for being badly lodged, was uſed againſt Ronſard [Q].

' *more natural, and that the file too much uſed, inſtead of* ' *clearing and poliſhing, only wears out, and ſpoils the tem-* ' *per.* Paſquier, in his Recherches (95), has made the ' ſame obſervation. *A great Poet,* ſays he, ſpeaking of ' Ronſard, *but a very bad judge of his own books; for* ' *about two or three years before his death, being weak-* ' *ned with old age, afflicted with the Gout, and* ' *troubled with melancholy, and continual ſickneſs, that* ' *poetical vein, which before kept him good company, hav-* ' *ing almoſt forſaken him, he cauſed all his Poems to be* ' *printed in one great volume, whereof he changed the* ' *general order, cut out of his book many beautiful in-* ' *ventions, and changed ſome verſes entirely, and in ſome* ' *he put in other words, which were not ſo ſmart as* ' *the firſt; having, by this means, totally deſtroyed, in* ' *many places, the beauty of his Poems, not conſidering* ' *that tho' he was the father, and by conſequence, looked on* ' *himſelf to have an abſolute authority over his own com-* ' *poſitions; yet he ſhould have reflected, that old and me-* ' *lancholy age was an unfit judge of the flights of a vigo-* ' *rous youth.* But nothing proves this truth ſo well, ' as the example of Taſſo, who changed from better ' to worſe, his Poem of Hieruſalem.' It is a long time ſince Taſſo was reproached with this. I have by me a book called, *Il Duello dell' ignoranza, e della ſcienza,* which was printed at Milan in 1607; and I find there, That this great Poet was blamed for leaving out ſeveral beautiful paſſages *nella Gieruſalemme conquiſtata,* and putting in their place things ridiculous. The author obſerves ſome of theſe paſſages, after which he ſpeaks thus, ' a' quali tutti gratiſſimi, ' e giocondiſſimi auvenimenti ſuſtituiſce il Taſſo coſe ' tali, che ſe con ſemplice intelligenza debbono pren- ' derſi, ſono ſi frivole, che niente più, e ſe ci è den- ' tro qualche miſtero, egli ci è involto con tante am- ' bagi, ch' à ſottrarnelo non baſterebbe l'iſteſſo Edip- ' po (96). - - - *To all which moſt agreeable and pleaſant* ' *paſſages, Taſſo has ſubſtituted ſuch things, as if literal-* ' *ly underſtood, are ſo trifling, as not any thing can be* ' *more; but if they contain any myſtery, it is ſo perplexed* ' *and wrapped up in obſcurity, that Oedipus himſelf would* ' *be at a loſs to gueſs the meaning.*' The author who furniſhes me with this paſſage, is called *Don Conſtantino de' Notari Nolano della Congregatione Caſſinenſe.* I have made ſeveral obſervations in another place (97) upon the faults one may fall into by corrections.

(95) *Lib. vii, ch. vii, pag. m.* 623.

(96) Duello dell' ignoranza & della ſcienza, *lib. iv, cap. iii, p.* 183.

(97) See, above, remark [F], of the article LINACER.

[Q] *The common place of the jeſts upon Poets for being badly lodged, was uſed againſt Ronſard.*] His condition in this reſpect, was worſe than to lodge in a garret, ſince it is ſaid, that he was poſted like a lanthorn on a high tower, or like centinels who watch all night, leſt any houſe ſhould be on fire. It is added, that there is ſtill a monument of that ſad lodging, ſince the tower in which he was lodged is ſtill called by his name. This is certainly what he did not expect; none deſires to become immortal by ſuch means, and any one would be very unwilling to have this thought of Horace applyed to him.

Exegi monimentum ære perennius,
Regalique ſitu Pyramidum altius (98).

(98) Horace, Ode XXX, lib. iii.

- - - - *I have raiſed a monument*
More ſtrong than braſs, and of a vaſt extent;
Higher than Egypt's ſtateliеſt pyramid,
That coſtly monument of kingly pride.

CREECH.

The witneſs whom I am to produce, ſpeaks in the following manner. ' Ronſard, they ſay, not daring ' to attack Rabelais, whilſt alive, in writing, though ' they often quarrelled at Meudon in the houſe of ' the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, writ only an ' epitaph againſt him, in which he abuſed him very ' much, becauſe Rabelais looked on him only as a ' poor miſerable Poet, inſomuch that he thought him- ' ſelf very happy to lodge in a watch-tower, which is ' at this time called Ronſard's tower, at Meudon; ' from whence he went to the caſtle to make his court ' where he often met Mr Francis Rabelais, who did ' not ſpare him; for after all, though he was not ſo ' good a Poet as he; yet he was born a Poet as well ' as a Phyſician *; incomparably more knowing than ' that prince of the Poets of his time, and underſtood ' railing much better (99).' The book from which theſe words are taken, was printed at Paris, in 1697. The author has not put his name to it: but in an Epiſtle Dedicatory he has made it plain enough who he was (100). He had practiſed Phyſic fifty years, and yet was poor; his ill fortune had made him ſatirical, and he employed his time only in criticiſing. This appears by his Supplement to the Hiſtory of Phyſic, in his Anti-Menagiana, and in the little book he publiſhed under the falſe name of Pepinacourt, with the title of *Reflexions, Penſées, & Bons-mots anecdotes.* He died at Paris the eighteenth of May, 1698.

* Ex utroque Apollo.

(99) A judgment; and new obſervations on Rabelais's works, *pag.* 52, 53.

(100) He was called John Bernier, and was a native of Blois.

ROQUETAILLADE (§ *a*) (JOHN DE LA) in Latin *de Rupeſciſſa,* a Franciſcan friar, in the convent of Aurillac *(a)*, of the dioceſe of St Flour, made himſelf famous in the XIVth century; as well for the liberty he took of exclaiming againſt the vices of the clergy, and the oppreſſion of the people, and diſperſing menacing predictions [A], as for his long impriſonment, which was the puniſhment of his boldneſs

(a) See the remark [A], at the end; and citation (26).

[(§ *a*) Rabelais, l. 1. ch. 6. mentions one *Roquetaillade,* who, I know not by what tradition was brought into the world from the heel of his mother. What does he mean by that? REM. CRIT.]

[A] *Of exclaiming againſt the vices of the clergy . . . and diſperſing menacing predictions.*] I am of opinion, that to comment upon theſe words, I can do nothing more to the purpoſe than to ſet down a long paſſage out of Froiſſard. ' There was in the city of Avignon ' a friar minor of great learning, and great judgment, ' who was called fryar John de Roquetaillade, whom ' the Pope cauſed to be kept priſoner in the caſtle of ' Baignoux, for predicting wonderful things that were ' to happen; and eſpecially to fall upon the prelates ' and preſidents of the holy church, for their great ' luxury and pride; and alſo upon the kingdom of ' France, and all the great men of Chriſtendom, for ' their great oppreſſions of the common people. And ' the ſaid fryar John would prove what he ſaid out of ' the Apocalypſe, and the ancient books of the holy ' prophets, which were diſcovered and opened to him, ' by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt; ſo that he ſaid ' many things which it was difficult to believe. Some ' of them came to paſs at the time fore-told by him, ' which he did not predict as a Prophet, but out of ' the Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, ' who had given him underſtanding to declare and ex- ' plain all the ancient prophecies, to proclaim to all ' Chriſtians the year and the time they were to come ' to paſs. And he wrote on this ſubject ſeveral books, ' ſupported by great knowledge and learning, one of ' which was written in 1346, which contained many ' wonderful and incredible things; ſome of which ' have already happened (1). . . . . In my youth, ' Pope Innocent then reigning at Avignon, kept this ' fryar in priſon. This fryar, (as he ſaid,) and as I ' have often heard ſay, (in ſeveral places not public ' but private) had put forth, and continued to put ' forth, many predictions of great and remarkable ' events that were to happen in due time, and are ſince ' come to paſs in the kingdom of France; as the ' taking of king John priſoner; and he often ſaid, ' and ſhewed by ſtrong reaſons, that the church was to ' ſuffer much, becauſe of the luxury of thoſe who had ' the government of it. And then when I ſaw him ' in priſon, I was told in the Pope's palace at Avig- ' non,

(1) Froiſſard, *vol. i. ch. cexi, cited by* Du Pleſſis Mornai, Myſtery of Iniquity, *pag.* 449.

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neſs [B]. Some people ſay that the event juſtified his predictions; but others aſſure us,

‘ non, of an example he had given to the cardinal of ‘ Oltia, *alias* of Arras, and to the cardinal of Auxerre, ‘ who had been to ſee him, and reaſon with him about ‘ his words (2).’ This example is the Apologue, or fable, which you may ſee here below (3). ‘ Why do ‘ not you read, *continued he* (4), the Life of St Sylveſter, ‘ *&c.* how the Emperor Conſtantine gave him the ‘ tythes of the church, and upon what Conditions. ‘ He did not ride about with two or three hundred ‘ horſes, but kept himſelf cloſe in Rome, and lived ‘ ſoberly with thoſe of the church, *&c.*’ This fryar declared to them, that the change which he predicted and denoted by the Apologue, would quickly come to paſs: *Inſomuch*, adds the Hiſtorian, *that very often the cardinals were aſtoniſhed at it, and would willingly have put him to death, if they could have found, as they could not, any juſt cauſe to have coloured the action: ſo they let him live as long as he could, but durſt not let him out of priſon: for fear he ſhould lead the people into an error, by his profound predictions, drawn from his own interpretations of the Scripture. Nevertheleſs, many things, (as ſome ſay, who have better obſerved his predictions than I have) which he foretold and wrote in priſon, and which he proved by the Apocalypſe, came to paſs: the true proofs with which he armed himſelf, ſaved him often from being burnt; and beſides, there were ſome cardinals who had pity on him, and were not ſo hard upon him as they might have been.*

(2) Froiſſard, *vol. iii, chap. xxiv, cited by the ſame, pag.* 450.

(3) In the remark [D].

(4) Froiſſard, ubi ſupra.

We will make two obſervations upon the diſtinction mentioned by Froiſſard. He ſays, that this fryar did not predict what was to come as a Prophet, but only as a perſon who had received from the Holy Ghoſt the underſtanding of the prophecies. This is only a diſpute about words: however it ſeems to me, that the privilege of this fryar equalled, or even ſurpaſſed that of the Prophets; for the Prophets did not always know what God couched under the ſignificative images of what was to come to paſs, and by conſequence, a perſon to whom God reveals the true ſenſe of thoſe prophetical ſigns, receives a more particular favour. And therefore neither ſuch a man, nor his favourers, ought, under pretence of modeſty, to make any difficulty to call this favour the gift of prophecy. If a man ſhould pretend to expound the Revelation of St John, only by the aſſiſtance of what may be gathered from a ſerious examination of the Scriptures, it were another matter; but when he perſuades himſelf that he underſtands the Apocalypſe only by the help of the Holy Ghoſt; when I ſay, he ſpeaks thus to his readers; *I can ſay, that God in the way opened my eyes in ſuch a manner, that it has given me more conſolation than I can expreſs; for after having conſulted the eternal truth a hundred and a hundred times with a profound humility, and a great attention, at laſt it was anſwered me* (5); And declares himſelf in reality, to be a perſon raiſed by God to diſcover future events: is not this to call ones ſelf effectually a Prophet, or more than a Prophet? This is my firſt obſervation: the next is this; that all authors do not agree, that John de la Roquetaillade did not pretend to the ſpirit of prophecy. Read the following words of an author who has writ the life of Innocent VI. ‘ Circa idem tem- ‘ pus (*that is in* 1356) inſurrexit quidam frater ordi- ‘ nis Minorum de conventu Aureliaci dioceſis ſancti ‘ Flori, dicens ſe habere SPIRITUM PROPHETIÆ, ‘ qui de futuris dicebat & in ſcriptis redigebat multa, ‘ vocatus Frater Johannes de Rupeſciſſa, qui quia po- ‘ tius vaticinator quam PROPHETA merito erat cenſen- ‘ dus, ad dictum Innocentium fuit adductus, &c (6). ‘ - - - - *About the ſame time there aroſe a certain friar* ‘ *of the order of St Francis, and convent of Aurillac in* ‘ *the dioceſe of St Flour, pretending to the* SPIRIT *of* ‘ PROPHECY, *who ſpoke of things to come, and com-* ‘ *mitted many things to writing, called Fryar John de* ‘ *Roquetaillade, who, becauſe he was rather to be deem-* ‘ *ed a foreteller than a true* PROPHET, *was brought be-* ‘ *fore the foreſaid Innocent*, &c.’ It is certain that this friar declared very freely in his writings, that he did not ſpeak as a Prophet. See what I ſhall quote below (7), out of a Journaliſt.

(5) Jurieu, *Preface to the* Accompliſſement des Prophéties, *fol.* ***.

(6) Autor primæ vitæ Innocentii VI, vulgatæ à Baluzio, *f.* 332, *Tom. i*, Vitarum Paparum Avenionenſium.

(7) In the remark [F].

[B] *His long impriſonment, which was the puniſhment of his boldneſs.*] Froiſſard tells us, that the Pope kept this friar in priſon in the caſtle of Bagnols. Another writer aſſures us, that about 1356, this pretended Prophet was ſent to Pope Innocent VI, who impriſoned him, and never after gave him his liberty. ‘ Ad ‘ dictum Innocentium Papam fuit adductus per quem ‘ fuit carceribus mancipatus, in quibus permanſit per ‘ totum tempus ipſius (8). - - - - *He was brought to the* ‘ *ſaid Pope Innocent, by whom he was impriſoned, and* ‘ *ſo remained during the reſt of his life.*’ But this was not his firſt impriſonment; for in 1345, he was impriſoned in the convent of Figeac by order of Friar William Farmena, miniſter of the Franciſcans of the province of Aquitain. This is to be ſeen in the beginning of the Revelations of this Prophet. Where it is alſo to be ſeen that he reduced them into writing, at the requeſt of cardinal William Curti. It will be worth while to give you his very words. ‘ Ego frater Johannes de Rupeſciſſa ordinis fratrum ‘ Minorum Provinciæ Aquitaniæ, provinciæ Ruthe- ‘ nenſis, & conventus Aurelhiaci, ad mandatum ve- ‘ ſtrum deſcripſi ſeriem notabilium eventuum futuro- ‘ rum mihi in carceribus apertum, prout meliùs & ‘ veriùs potero recordari. Modus revelandi, fuit iſte. ‘ Cum anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo quadrage- ‘ ſimo quinto multis diebus fierem vinctus ferro in ‘ carcere luti in conventu Figiaci ſtupens & mirans ‘ quare cum tanta crudelitate miſſus eſſem per fratrem ‘ Guillermum Farmena tunc miniſtrum Aquitaniæ in ‘ carcerem, &c (9). - - - *I Friar John de Roquetaillade,* ‘ *a friar minor of the province of Aquitain, in the pro-* ‘ *vince of Rouergue, and convent of Aurillac, by your* ‘ *order, have put in writing a ſeries of remarkable future* ‘ *events, according to the moſt exact, and beſt of my* ‘ *memory. The manner of Revelation was thus. When* ‘ *in the year* 1345, *I had for many days bewailed my* ‘ *fate, being bound in irons in the priſon of the convent* ‘ *of Figeac, aſtoniſhed, and wondring why I ſhould with* ‘ *ſuch cruelty be ſent thither by Friar William Farmena* ‘ *then miniſter in Aquitain*, &c.’ It ſeems that we may conclude from theſe words, that he was not honoured with the gift of Revelation till he was a priſoner; which may excite our curioſity to know for what reaſon he was put in irons. Some ſay, it was becauſe of his Hereſies; but the writers that were nearer his time, ſay, he was only impriſoned becauſe he foretold the near approach of Antichriſt, and advanced ſeveral things that diſpleaſed the Popes and Princes; for he maintained, that their ambition, pride, and avarice, were the cauſe of the evils he foretold. ‘ Quod autem ‘ ſunt nonnulli recentiores qui ob hæreſim in vincula ‘ conjectum dixerunt, non ita antiquiores qui nonniſi ‘ ob prophetias de Anti-chriſto proxime venturo cap- ‘ tum volunt (10). - - - *But that there are ſome Moderns* ‘ *who have aſſerted, that he was caſt in priſon for* ‘ *Hereſy; yet more antient writers, will have it* ‘ *that he was apprehended for his prophecies of the near* ‘ *approach of Antichriſt.*’ Alciatus places him among thoſe who have ſuffered for uſing a certain method of maintaining religion. They give out prophecies, and it is the principal means by which they endeavour to fright thoſe perſons, whom by other means they cannot induce to ſerve God: ‘ Sunt & qui vaticinia ‘ ſe ſcire profiteantur, hocque potiſſimum modo, quos ‘ verbis ad cultum & pietatem inducere neſciunt, ter- ‘ rere conantur, quod merito Hercule in malam rem ‘ Johanni de Rupeſciſſa Symmiſtæ veſtro vertit. Cum ‘ enim ſe à Deo admonitum univerſalis Judicii affir- ‘ maret, cumque mundi finem adeſſe conclamaret, quia ‘ dictis ejus res non reſponderunt, Avinione ab Urbano ‘ quinto captus in cuſtodia manſit (11). - - - - - *Some* ‘ *there are who pretend to the gift of prophecy, and by this* ‘ *means chiefly endeavour to fright into religion and piety,* ‘ *thoſe whom they cannot otherwiſe perſuade; which did,* ‘ *deſervedly indeed, prove cauſe of great affliction to John* ‘ *de Roquetaillade, your colleague in the miniſtry. For af-* ‘ *firming that he was warned by God of the approach* ‘ *of the general judgment, and that the end of the world* ‘ *was at hand, and the event not happening accordingly,* ‘ *he was apprehended, and detained in priſon by Pope* ‘ *Urban V at Avignon.*’ This friar having propheſied that the end of the world was at hand, was impriſoned by Urban V; becauſe the event did not anſwer that formidable prediction. Alciatus has committed a miſtake in Chronology: It was Innocent V, the predeceſſor of Urban V, who impriſoned Roquetaillade.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Joh. de Rupeſciſſa, init. Revelationum apud Baluzium, Not. ad Vitas Paparum Avenion. *pag.* 342.

(10) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1356, *num.* 20, *pag.* 540.

(11) Andreas Alciatus, Epiſt. contra vitam Monachicam, *p.* 65, 66.

[C] *Some*

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us, that the quite contrary to what he foretold, came to pass [C]. He did not properly give himself out for a prophet, but for one who had obtained of GOD the knowledge of the secrets of the Apocalypse, and other prophecies of the Scripture. See in the remark [A], the passage out of Froissard. Great notice was taken of the Apologue, which he made use of to shew, that the same princes, who had enriched the church of Rome, would bring her back again to her ancient poverty [D]. He composed several books [E], of which only a part hath been printed; you will find two of them in the appendix of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum* [F]. We are told (b) that he was a great Divine, and a good Philosopher. I know not whether he died in prison

(b) Trithemius, de Script. Eccles.

[C] *Some say that the event justified his predictions; but others assure us, that the quite contrary came to pass.*] We have observed already, that Froissard does testify that several things foretold by this friar, came to pass. The author of the life of Innocent VI does not deny it; but he adds, that in several other things the predictions of this Friar proved false, from whence he reasonably infers, that he was not a Prophet. 'Licet in dictis & 'scriptis suis reperta fuerint multa quæ processu tem- 'poris contigerunt, propter quæ plures sibi fidem da- 'bant, tamen etiam multa defuerunt; & sic appare- 'bat quia non erat verè Propheta, quia in illis, si 'talis fuisset, nullus fuisset defectus (12). - - - - *Though 'many things which he spoke and wrote, in process of 'time came accordingly to pass, which caused many to give 'credit to him: yet many others did not: so that it was 'manifest he was not a true Prophet; otherwise there 'had been nothing deficient.*' I do not much wonder that it was believed he had foretold some truths; for, first, those who exclaim against public disorders, and affirm that God will speedily revenge the oppressed people, and chastise the pride, avarice, and luxury of the great ones, are favourably heard by the multitude, who interpret every thing to the honour of the Prophet, it suiting well with their genius; nay, they force themselves to believe what is foretold, and gloss on it according to what they earnestly desire. In the second place, the world has been always so subject to great calamities, to wars civil and foreign, to pestilence, famine, &c. that at any time, whoever shall foretel fatal events, and dreadful chastisements of the Divine wrath, may be sure to hit upon truth. But to silence at once all the favourers of this friar, we need only make one observation, which is, that the principal points of his prophecy proved false. He foretold the total desolation of the clergy; the coming of an Angel, who in quality of the vicar of Jesus Christ, would reform all things, and convert all the Infidels; a peace that should continue upon earth about a thousand years (13). He said that all those things would quickly come to pass, which has proved doubly false; for nothing like it came to pass either in the age in which he lived, nor in the succeeding ages to this hour (14). I shall set down what we find in a pretty good chronicle. 'Johannes de Rupescissa Minorum ordinis in- 'signis Theologus tempestate hac præter ea, quæ in 'sententiarum libros accurate doctèque scripserat, in 'carcerem trusus multa de futuris tanquam Propheta 'scribere præsumpsit, videlicet de duobus Antichristis, '& de ecclesiæ conciliatione & de conversione om- 'nium gentium ad fidem Christi; & alia multa, quæ 'in januis adesse affirmabat. Et hæc à domino Jesu 'Christo sibi revelata fuisse contestabatur, quæ non 'modo non evenere, sed oppositum in omnibus fuisse 'constat. Hujusmodi autem pronosticatores multi ab 'initio decepti fuere. Quibus fatius fuisset silere, 'quam talia temere loqui (15). - - - - *John de Roque- 'taillade a friar minor, and notable Divine at this 'time, besides what he wrote on the book of the Sentences 'with great accuracy and learning, being cast in prison, 'presumed to write as a Prophet many things that were 'to come; namely of two Antichrists, of the union of the 'church, and the conversion of all nations to the faith 'of Christ; and many other things which he said were 'ready to happen. And these things he said had been re- 'vealed to him by Jesus Christ, which not only failed in 'the event, but the direct contrary in every point hap- 'pened: many such foretellers have been deceived from 'the beginning. For whom it had been better to be si- 'lent, than rashly to utter such things.*'

(12) Autor primæ vitæ Innocentii VI, ubi supra.

(13) Spondanus, ubi supra.

(14) I write this April 1701.

(15) Jacobus Philippus Bergomas, *ad ann.* 1375.

[D] *The Apologue which he made use of to shew that the same princes, who had enriched the church of Rome, would bring her back again to her antient poverty.*] He spoke it when the Cardinal of Arras, and Cardinal d'Auxerre went to see him in prison, to censure him. Mr du Plessis Mornai draws from hence a proof of the oppositions that were made to Antichrist: let us see how he abridges the long recital of Froissard: 'The sum is, that the church was to be like a beau- 'tiful bird, which should be hatched without feathers, 'and not being able to fly, should be in danger of 'starving; that other birds had pity on her, and co- 'vered her with their feathers; kings and princes 'enriched her with lands, and honoured her above 'measure: upon this she grew proud, and seeing 'herself grown up, she thought that she had no more 'need of them, but began to pick at them with her 'beak, and scratched them with her claws, and to quar- 'rel with emperors and princes: that the birds there- 'upon, resolved to retake their feathers, and so 'princes would reassume their gifts and demesnes, and 'compel her to cry mercy: the emperor, and other 'Christian princes would strip her of all, if she grew 'proud again (16).' Mr du Plessis adds, That *this Apologue of the bird has manifestly it's foundation in the Apocalypse*, cap. xvii, where it is said *; That kings shall give their power and authority to the beast, or whore; *but afterwards they* shall hate her, and shall make her desolate, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. Wolfius has inserted in his first tome all these passages of Froissard, and has added a figure of the bird of the Apologue (17). It is to be observed, that Roquetaillade declared that this impoverishment of the church was near at hand; but he was deceived. See Coëffeteau in his answer to the book of Mr du Plessis (18). The same thing is still prophesied about the end of the XVIIth century.

(16) Du Plessis Mornai, Mystery of Iniquity, *pag.* 450.

* Rev. xvii. 13, 16.

(17) Joh. Wolfius, Lectionum Memorabilium & Reconditarum, *Centenar. XIV, p. m.* 623, *& seq. Tom. i.*

(18) Coëffeteau, Response au Mystere d'Iniquite, *pag.* 1076.

(19) Baluzius, Not. ad Vitas Paparum Avenion. *p.* 1434.

(20) Ibid. *pag.* 942.

(21) The Oxford catalogue takes notice of the Basil edition 1597.

[E] *He composed several books.*] Besides his prophecies, there is a book of his *de Consideratione quintæ essentiæ*; another, *de familiatu Philosophiæ*; another called *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione*; and a commentary, *super prophetiam Cyrilli eremitæ Presbyteri*. Baluzius (19) speaks of this last book, as if it were a manuscript in the king's library; and says the others are to be found in manuscript in Mr Colbert's library (20). Observe that the book *de Consideratione quintæ essentiæ rerum omnium*, was printed at Basil in 1561 (21). It is said so in the abridgment of Gesner (22), and it is affirmed there by a mistake of an hundred years, that this author lived about the year 1240. I have quoted, in another place (23) Naudæus, who has made mention of this book of *Joannes de Rupescissa*. There goes about, under the name of this apocalyptical friar, a book *de Confectione veri lapidis Philosophorum*, printed at Basil in 1561.

(22) Epit. Bibl. Gesneri, *pag. m.* 492.

(23) In the remark [E], of the article ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

(24) From pag. 331, to pag. 363.

(25) Bibl. Univers. *Tom. xix, pag.* 348.

(26) The Latin, *pag.* 402, *Append. Fascic.* has it *Cusidus Rutenensis* or *Causidici Aurelhaci*. This last word signifies of Aurillac, and not of Orleans. Causidicus signifies some employ equivalent to the Don Procurator among the Benedictins, or Carthusians; but I do not know how the Mendicant Friars call him. I think it is not advocate.

[F] *You will find two of them in the appendix of the* Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum.] This is a book that was printed at London in 1690. The author of the *Bibliotheque Universelle* spoke much of it in his nineteenth volume (24). Here is what he says of our Roquetaillade: '(25) They have inserted here two works of this friar; one of which 'is called, *A Copy of the prophecy of brother John de 'la Roquetaillade, of the order of the Friars Minors, of 'the province of Guienne, Warden of Rhodes, and Advo- 'cate of Orleans* (26), *prisoner at Avignon, the eighth 'year of the Pontificate of Clement VI, in the prison called 'Soldan, in the month of November, in the year of our 'Lord* MCCCXLIX. . . . . (27) The other work of 'this friar is his *Vade Mecum in tribulatione*. In this 'book which he calls *Libunculus*, he declares, that 'he is not a Prophet, as those who have received 'revelations immediately from God, and who say, 'when they denounce them, *Thus saith the Lord*; 'but that God had given him the talent of seeing by 'the Scripture things to come (28). He points at some

(27) Bibl. Univers. *Tom. xix, pag.* 349.

(28) *The second continuator of William de Nangis*, apud Dacher. Spicil. *Tom. xi, pag.* 822, *says that this Friar being asked about future things by the Archbishop of Toulouse, ann.* 1356, *answered*, Ego sicut unus vilis & abhominabilis peccator ea quæ dico, non dico de capite meo, nec sum propheta, sed tantum per intelligentias Prophetarum. - - - - *I, as a vile and abominable sinner, speak not of my own head what I say, nor am I a Prophet, but only by understanding the Prophets.* He answered several things, whereof most did not come to pass. See Mr Brown's prologue in the appendix of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum.*

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priſon or not; but I believe that thoſe who ſay he was burnt, are miſtaken [G]. James Fodera ſays he was buried at Villefranche, in the dioceſe of Lyons, in a convent of his own order (c). Raynaldus, who endeavoured to take advantage of a prophecy of this friar, has been ſolidly refuted by Baluzius [H].

(c) Jacob Fodera, in Hiſt. Provinciæ Sancti Bonaventuræ, *pag.* 318, 322, apud Baluzium, Not. ad Vitas Paparum Avenionenſium, *pag.* 943.

'ſome of his books, wherein he ſays, he had exactly 'determined ſome events, and it appears that he com- 'poſed this in MCCCLVI. Afterwards he propoſes 'twenty explications of the Apocalyſe, which he calls '*Intentiones*. In the firſt, he foretels that the Pope 'ſhall one day ſubdue all the world, which ſhall look 'upon him as their paſtor: a prediction which is very 'contrary to that of our Proteſtant interpreters of the 'Apocalypſe, who are not more happy in their predi- 'ctions than Friar John de la Roquetaillade; and 'ſome of them, perhaps, are more blameable, in that 'they would engage princes to make war without 'end, that their conjectures may take effect. Our 'friar, at leaſt, *non erat intentionis faciendi guerras*, '---- *had no intention to make war*, and would uſe 'only ſpiritual arms; whereas ſome of our Roque- 'taillades of theſe days would oblige by force *erro- 'neous conſciences* to make profeſſion of their opinions, 'without believing them.'

[G] *I believe thoſe that ſay he was burnt are miſtaken.*] 'Some ſay that at laſt he was burnt (29).' Theſe are the words of Mr du Pleſſis, who puts in the margin, 'Petrus Premonſtratenſis in Chronico quod in- 'ſcribitur Biblia pauperum. ---- *Petrus Premonſtra- 'tenſis, in his Chronicle, which is called the Bible of 'the Poor.*' Baluzius rejects this, and ſays (30), he knows not from whence Cæſar Noſtradamus (31) had it, That this friar was burnt publickly at Avignon, in 1362, by the Pope's order. What Froiſſard has writ is a ſolid refutation of this lie, tho' we had not the teſtimony of thoſe who ſay (32) that Rupeſciſſa was buried at Villefranche in a convent, where he had made his profeſſion of the rule of St Francis.

(29) Du Pleſſis, ubi ſupra.

(30) Baluzius, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 942.

(31) Cæſar Noſtradamus, in Hiſtoria Provinciæ, *pag.* 411.

(32) Jacobus Fodera, apud Baluzium, ibid.

[H] *Raynaldus, who endeavoured to take advantage of a prophecy of this friar, has been ſolidly refuted by Baluſius.*] He applied it to the election of Urban VI. 'Odoricus Raynaldus, an. 1379, n. 12, refert inſigne, 'ut ille vocat, vaticinium viri religioſi Joannis è 'Rupeſciſſa inventum inter monumenta Avenionenſia, 'ex quo multum adjuvari putat cauſam Urbani (33). '*Odoricus Raynaldus*, an. 1379, n. 12, *mentions a re- 'markable prophecy, as he calls it, of the Friar John 'de Rupeſciſſa, found, amongſt other writings, at Avignon, 'whereby he thinks the cauſe of Urban was much pro- 'moted.*' The prophecy is (34), that the ſee of Rome ſhall be vacant eighteen months, and that in the time of the conclave there ſhall be ſo great a battle between the people, and the tyrants of Italy, and ſo great an effuſion of blood, that it will be thought the end of the world is come. Now by the juſt judgment of God, an Anti-Pope ſhall be choſen, according to the ſuggeſtions of an impoſtor, who ſhall have two tongues, *ad ſuggeſtionem unius bilinguis falſarii.* This impoſtor, according to Raynaldus, was no other than the cardinal of Amiens. But Mr Baluzius ſhews us two things (35); the firſt, that the prophecy does not relate to the time when Urban VI was choſen Pope; the ſecond is, that if it concerned that time, it would be more contrary to Urban VI than to the pretended Anti-Pope Clement VII. He ſhews by the commentary of Roquetaillade upon the prophecy of Cyril, that the vacancy of the Papal chair, during a year and a half, has relation to the time that Anti-Chriſt ſhall appear. Now here is the character of that time. The king of France, and the king of England, ſhall then fight againſt the infidels in the eaſt. This does in no manner agree with the time of the ſchiſm of Urban VI and Clement VII. Obſerve that this friar acknowledges that the Anti-Pope ſhall be elected to the diſhonour of JESUS CHRIST, and of the true Pontif (36), and that Anti-Chriſt ſhall ſupport the cauſe of the Anti-Pope. *Illud ſcandalum erit majus quia Antichriſtus partem Antipapæ ſuſtinebit* (37). From this it is manifeſt, that he did not hold the Pope to be Anti-Chriſt.

(33) Baluz. ibid. p. 1160, 1161.

(34) See Baluz. ibid.

(35) Ibid. pag. 1459.

(36) In contemptum Chriſti & veri Pontificis. Job. de Rupeſciſſa, apud Baluz. pag. 1161.

(37) Idem, apud eundem, pag. 1459.

RORARIUS (HIERÔME), Nuncio of Clement VII at the court of Ferdinand king of Hungary (a), has compoſed a book which is worth the reading. He undertakes to ſhow, not only that brute beaſts have reaſon, but that they make better uſe of it than man. The occaſion which moved him to write that book is curious, and very ſingular. He happened to be in a company, where a learned man affirmed that Charles V did not equal the Otho's, nor Frederic Barbaroſſa. There needed no more to make Rorarius conclude that beaſts are more reaſonable than men, and he ſet himſelf immediately about the compoſing a treatiſe upon this ſubject [A]. It was at the time that

(a) Rorarius, quod animalia bruta ratione utantur melius homine, *lib. i, pag.* 57, *Edit. Amſtelod.* 1654.

[A] *He ſet himſelf immediately about the compoſing a treatiſe of this ſubject.*] There are two Epiſtles Dedicatory in the beginning of this book; one to the biſhop of Arras, dated March 1, 1547; the other to Cardinal Chriſtopher Madrucio, biſhop of Trent. This piece remained almoſt a hundred years in the dark receſſes of libraries. At laſt Naudæus had it printed in France, and dedicated it to Meſſieurs du Puy. His Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated from Paris, April 9, 1645. That book was reprinted in Holland more than once (1). I do not know for what reaſon it is placed among the books of Phyſic, in *Lindenius Renovatus.* I am ſure I ſhall be accuſed of producing ſometimes proofs without neceſſity; but the readers would be in the wrong to ſay ſo, as to what I have advanced, touching the motive of Rorarius's writing that book. If I did not quote his own words, I ſhould give occaſion to think, that I had framed the idea of a chimerical writer to divert my reader: for what can be imagined more comical and extravagant. than a man who takes pen in hand to place mankind below beaſts, for no other reaſon, but becauſe a learned man takes it ill that Charles V ſhould aſpire to the univerſal monarchy, without having the qualities of Otho the Great, or of Frederic Barbaroſſa? It is therefore very neceſſary that I ſhould prove what I have ſaid above. 'Eram, illuſtriſſime 'Princeps, (*they are Rorarius's words*) paucis ante 'diebus, ubi de Cæſare ſermo habebatur; & fuit do- 'ctiſſimus alioqui vir, qui diceret, neſcire quo odore 'olens Chriſtianum orbem ditionis ſuæ facere nitere- 'tur. Haberet in ſe ſaltem quo cum Othonibus, aut 'Federico Ænobarbo conferri poſſet. Movit (fateor) 'mihi ſtomachum, dignum immortalitate Principem 'illis poſtponi: qui licet inſignes fuerint, ſi tamen 'in unum omnes congerantur, hujus magnitudini non 'ſufficiant. Itaque in mentem mihi venit animalia 'bruta ſæpe ratione uti meliùs homine, idque duobus 'libellis oſtendi (2). --- *I was, moſt illuſtrious prince, 'a few days ago, in a company, where they were talk- 'ing of the emperor; amongſt whom there was a perſon, 'otherwiſe of great learning, who ſaid, he knew not 'upon what ground he ſhould attempt to bring the Chri- 'ſtian world under his own dominion. That he ought to 'have in himſelf at leaſt what might qualify him 'to be compared to the Otho's, or to Federic Ænobarbus. 'I muſt confeſs it moved my indignation, that a prince, 'worthy of immortal fame, ſhould be poſtponed to them, 'who, tho' perſons of eminence, if both their qualities 'were united in one, would come ſhort of his greatneſs. 'Wherefore it came into my mind, that the brutes did 'often uſe their reaſon better than man.*' He did not content himſelf with one ſingle declaration: He had already obſerved this in another Epiſtle Dedicatory. 'Scripſeram

(1) I make uſe of the Amſterdam edition of 1654, in 12mo.

(2) Rorarius, Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Madrutium Cardinalem.

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that Charles V made war againſt the league of Smalcalde. This book is not ill wrote, and it contains a great many ſingular facts concerning the ingenuity of beaſts, and the malice of man. Thoſe which concern the capacity of beaſts, put under great difficulties both the followers of Mr Des Cartes and thoſe of Ariſtotle [B]. The firſt deny that beaſts have any ſoul; the latter maintain that they are endowed with ſenſe, with memory, and with paſſions, but not at all with reaſon. It is pity that the opinion of Des Cartes ſhould be ſo hard to maintain, and ſo improbable; for it is otherwiſe very advantageous to religion [C], and this is the only reaſon which hinders ſome people from quitting

'Scripſeram libellos duos, in quibus oſtenderam animalia bruta ſæpè ratione uti meliùs homine; idque feceram, ut quorundam impudentiam, anne potiùs dementiam retunderem; qui maximi omnium Imperatorum Caroli Quinti ſplendorem intueri non valent (3). - - - *I had written two ſmall pieces, in which I had ſhewn that beaſts oftentimes reaſon better than man; which I did to repreſs the impudence, or rather madneſs of ſome, who were not able to fix their eyes upon the glory of Charles V, the greateſt of all emperors.*' Read the reſt of this epiſtle, you will find there a man very partial to Charles V, and a great flatterer. There were, and ſtill are, many more like him in the world.

(3) Idem, Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Episcopum Atrebatenſem.

[B] *Thoſe facts which concern the capacity of beaſts, put under great difficulties both the followers of Des Cartes, and . . . . of Ariſtotle.*] This needs no proof, with reſpect to the Carteſians; there is no body but knows that it is difficult to explain, how mere machines can do what animals do. Let us only prove, that the Peripatetics will find it very hard to give good reaſon for what they aſſert. Every Peripatetic, when he hears it affirmed, that beaſts are only *automata*, or machines, preſently objects, that a dog that hath been beaten for falling ſoul upon a diſh of meat, touches it no more when he ſees his maſter threatning him with a ſtick. But to ſhew that this phænomenon cannot be explained by him that propoſes it; it is enough to ſay, that if the action of this dog is attended with knowledge, the dog muſt neceſſarily reaſon: he muſt compare the time preſent with that which is paſt, and from thence draw a concluſion: he muſt needs remember both the blows that were given him, and why he has received them: he muſt needs know, that if he ſhould fall ſoul upon the diſh of meat, which affects his ſenſes, he ſhould do the ſame action for which he was beaten; and conclude, that to avoid a new beating, he muſt abſtain from that meat. Is not this true reaſoning? Can you explain this act by the ſimple ſuppoſition of a ſoul that has ſenſe, without reflecting upon it's acts; without remembrance; without comparing two ideas; without drawing any concluſion? Examine well the examples which are collected (4), and which are objected to the Carteſians; you will find they prove too much, for they prove that beaſts compare the end with the means, and that on ſome occaſions they prefer what is honeſt before what is profitable: in ſhort, that they are guided by the rules of equity and gratitude. Rorarius ſays there have been horſes that have refuſed to leap their mothers; or if having done it unwittingly, being deceived by the artifice of their groom, after knowing what they had done, have thrown themſelves down a precipice. 'Teſtantur literarum monumenta, fuiſſe gregis cuſtodem, qui equum ut matrem iniret, nunquam inducere potuerit; & quoniam ambo eximia ſpecie erant, fraude tamen illuſiſſe, velatis oculis, ne matrem videret: detracto poſtmodum operimento, & agnito cum matre concubitu, petiiſſe prærupta, & ſe patratri ſceleris reum peſſundediſſe. Maris hæc virtus; alibi fœminæ: ſiquidem in Reatino agro equa lacerato priùs auriga, qui flagitii auctor fuerat, eundem exitum habuit (5). - - - - *We find it upon record, that there was an herdſman, who could never make one of his horſes to cover his dam; and as both were very beautiful in their kind, yet he was obliged to veil his eyes, that he might not ſee her, whereby he deceived him; and having after removed the cover, whereby the horſe perceived what he had done, he went in ſearch of a precipice, and conſcious of the crime he had committed, threw himſelf headlong. This was the virtue of a male, the like has been ſeen of a female; for in the territory of Reaty, a mare, after ſhe had torn to pieces the charioteer, who was the cauſe of the crime, ſhe made the like exit.*' What he ſays, and what other authors relate; how eagerly ſome dogs have laboured to aſſiſt their maſter, and to revenge his death, *&c.* are things abſolutely inexplicable according to the hypotheſis of the Ariſtoteliens; ſo that all their diſpute againſt the diſciples of Des Cartes, is labour in vain. There is no need of any thing, but of the dextrous management which Pereira made uſe of. You grant, ſaid he, to his adverſaries (6), that animals do many things which much reſembles what the rational ſoul does, and yet that their ſoul is not rational. Why then did you forbid me to maintain that they do ſeveral things, which much reſemble what a ſenſitive ſoul does, tho' their ſoul be not ſenſitive? I do not wonder in the leaſt, that neither Des Cartes, nor any of his diſciples ever made uſe of a paſſage in the Code of Juſtinian, where it is ſaid that beaſts are incapable of doing any injury, becauſe they want ſenſe (7); it is clear that the word *ſenſus* in that law is taken for deſign and underſtanding.

(4) See in Lipſius, *Epiſt. L, Centur. I, Miſcellan.* ſeveral ſurprizing actions of elephants. This letter is a commentary by way of examples, upon the words of Pliny, which I will quote in the remark [D]. See concerning horſes, the ſame Lipſius, *Cent. III, ad Belgas, Epiſt. LVI*, and concerning dogs, *Cent. I, ad Belg. Epiſt. XLV.*

(5) Rorarius, *lib. ii, pag.* 72.

(6) See the article PEREIRA, citation (55).

(7) Nec enim poteſt animal injuria feciſſe quod ſenſu caret. - - - *Nor can a ſoul that hath no ſenſe be capable of any crime.* See Grotius, Flor. Sparſ. ad Jus Juſtinianeum, *pag.* 124, *Edit. Amſtel.* 1643, *in* 12*mo.*

[C] *The opinion of Mr Des Cartes . . . . is very advantageous to the true religion.*] What induces the Carteſians to ſay that beaſts are *automata*, is, that according to them, all matter is incapable of thinking. They do not content themſelves to ſay, that only ſpiritual ſubſtances are capable of reaſonings, and to join a long train of conſequences, but they maintain that every thought, whether you call it reflexion, meditation, inferring from principles, or whether it be called ſenſation, imagination, inſtinct, is of ſuch a nature, that the moſt ſubtile and perfect matter is incapable of it, and that it is only to be found in incorporeal ſubſtances. By this principle there is no man but may be convinced of the immortality of his own ſoul: every one knows that he thinks, and conſequently, if he reaſons after the Carteſian manner, he muſt own that what in him is the ſubject of his thoughts is diſtinct from his body: from whence it follows, that in this reſpect he is immortal; for the mortality of creatures conſiſts only in this, that they are compoſed of ſeveral parts of matter, which are ſeparated one from another. This is a great advantage to religion; but it will be almoſt impoſſible to preſerve it by Philoſophical reaſons, if it be granted that beaſts have a material ſoul which periſhes with the body; a ſoul, I ſay, whoſe ſenſations and deſires are the cauſe of the actions which we ſee them do. See the remark [F]. The Theological advantages of Des Cartes's opinion concerning beaſts being mere *automata*, do not ſtop there. They diffuſe themſelves over many important principles, which cannot be ſufficiently maintained, if beaſts are allowed to have a ſenſitive ſoul. If St Auguſtin maintained theſe principles, tho' he granted this ſort of ſoul in beaſts; and if he did not find himſelf much perplexed about the connexion of theſe two things, he was more fortunate than wiſe. *From the principles which he has carefully examined, and ſolidly eſtabliſhed, it manifeſtly follows*, that beaſts have no ſoul, *as Ambroſius Victor* (8) *ſhews in his ſixth volume of Chriſtian Philoſophy* (9). The author, who furniſhes me with theſe words, ſuppoſeth, *That this holy doctor knowing too well how to diſtinguiſh the ſoul from the body, to think that there were corporeal ſouls*, admitted a ſpiritual ſoul in beaſts (10). Now here is a ſpecimen he gives us of the principles of St Auguſtin, which are incompatible with his ſoul of beaſts: *Some of thoſe principles of St Auguſtin are, that a creature which hath not ſinned, can never ſuffer any evil; now, according to him, pain is the greateſt of evils, and beaſts ſuffer pain. That the more noble thing cannot have for it's end the leſs noble; but, according to him, the ſoul of beaſts is ſpiritual, and more noble than the body, and yet they have no other end than the body. That what is ſpiritual is immortal, and the ſoul of beaſts, tho' ſpiritual, is ſubject to death. There are many other ſuch like principles in the works of St Auguſtin, from whence it may be concluded that beaſts have no*

(7) Nec enim poteſt animal injuria feciſſe quod ſenſu caret. - - - *Nor can a ſoul that hath no ſenſe be capable of any crime.* See Grotius, Flor. Sparſ. ad Jus Juſtinianeum, *pag.* 124, *Edit. Amſtel.* 1643, *in* 12*mo.*

(8) This is a falſe name aſſumed by a Father of the Oratory.

(9) Mallebranche, Eclairciſſemens ſur le vi livre de la Recherche de la Verité, *p.* 380, 381.

(10) *It is certain, that St Auguſtin, whatever F. Mallebranche may ſay, believed the ſouls of beaſts to be ſenſitive and corporeal.* Vita brutorum, *ſays he, cap. iv, of the knowledge of true life*, eſt ſpiritus vitalis conſtans de aëre & ſanguine animalis, ſed ſenſibilis, memoriam habens, intellectu carens, cum carne, moriens, in aëre evaneſcens. - - - *The ſoul of beaſts is a vital ſpirit, conſiſting of air and the blood of the animal, but ſenſible, having memory, without underſtanding, dying with the body, vaniſhing into air.* See alſo chap. xxiii, *de Spiritu & Anima.*

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quitting it. It is not liable to the moſt dangerous conſequences of the common opinion. It is a long time ſince it has been maintained that the ſouls of beaſts are rational [D]. The

(11) Mallebranche, ibid. *in the margin.*

no ſuch ſpiritual ſoul as he admits in them (11). I am not fully perſuaded that St Auguſtin believed that the ſoul of beaſts is an incoporeal ſubſtance, but be that as it will, the ſecond principle which is given us here for an example, is incompatible with the opinion of this great doctor; for that which knows, is more noble than that which does not know: but St Auguſtin allowed ſenſe at leaſt to the ſoul of beaſts; therefore he believed it more noble than the body; therefore he maintained on the one ſide, that the more noble thing cannot have for it's end the leſs noble; and on the other ſide, that the ſoul of beaſts, being more noble than their body, had no other end than their body. This, you will ſay, is of ſmall importance to religion. But you are miſtaken, ſome will anſwer; for all the proofs of original ſin, drawn from ſickneſſes and death, which children are ſubject to, fall to the ground, if you ſuppoſe that beaſts have ſenſation, they are ſubject to pain and death, and yet they never ſinned. And therefore you argue wrong, when you ſay, *little children ſuffer, and die, therefore they are guilty*; for you ſuppoſe a falſe principle, which is contradicted by the condition of beaſts, *viz. That a creature, which never ſinned, can never ſuffer*. This is nevertheleſs a moſt evident principle, which flows neceſſarily from the ideas we have of the juſtice and goodneſs of GOD. It is agreeable to immutable order, that order from which we clearly apprehend that GOD never departs. The ſouls of beaſts confound this order, and overthrow thoſe diſtinct ideas: it muſt therefore be granted, that the *automata* of Des Cartes very much favour the principles by which we judge of the infinite Being, and by which we maintain Orthodoxy. Read what follows.

(12) Viz. the diſpute againſt Des Cartes, concerning the ſouls of beaſts.

'Religion was drawn into the cauſe (12), the Anti-'Carteſians hoping thereby to ruin the machines of 'Des Cartes; but it is impoſſible to expreſs the advan-'tage, which accrued from thence to his diſciples. 'For they believe that they have demonſtrated, That 'by allowing beaſts to have a ſoul capable of know-'ledge, all the natural proofs of the immortality of 'the ſoul are deſtroyed. They have ſhewed, That 'their opinion had not more obſtinate enemies than 'the impious, and the Epicureans; and that a greater 'ſpite cannot be done to thoſe bad Philoſophers, than 'by depriving them of all the falſe reaſons, which 'they borrow from the ſouls of beaſts, to draw this 'concluſion, that there is only more or leſs difference 'between them and us. It is certain, That there are 'none who affect more than thoſe people, to make 'beaſts come near men in perfection. Thus the ſecta-'tors of Des Cartes, have by this means intereſſed 'religion in their cauſe: but they are not contented 'with this reaſon. They went as far as the nature 'of GOD, to find out invincible arguments againſt the 'knowledge of beaſts; and it may be ſaid, they have 'found very good ones. The author of the *Recherche 'de la Verité* [*Search after Truth*] has given us the plan 'of it in ſome places of his works. Father Poiſſon of the 'Oratory has profoundly treated the argument, which is 'grounded upon this principle of St Auguſtin, *That 'GOD being juſt, miſery is a neceſſary proof of ſin*; 'from whence it follows, That beaſts not having ſin-'ned are not ſubject to miſery: but they would be 'ſubjected to it, if they were endowed with ſenſe; 'therefore they have none (13).' You will find after theſe words the extract of a book (14), which ſhews, That if beaſts have a knowing ſoul, *it follows*, 1. *That GOD does not love himſelf*; 2. *That he is not conſtant*; 3. *That he is cruel and unjuſt* (15). He would not love himſelf; for he would have created *ſouls capable of knowledge and love, without obliging them to know and love him*. He would have created them to be in a ſtate of ſin, and by conſequence he would have diſcharged them from the law of order, which is the ſupreme and indiſpenſible law. The ſtate of ſin is to fix upon creatures, as the ultimate end: this is what the ſouls of beaſts do, according to the common opinion. According to the ſame opinion theſe ſouls are annihilated, when beaſts die: where is then the conſtancy of GOD? He creates ſouls, and ſoon annihilates them. He does not deal ſo with matter: he never deſtroys it. He therefore preſerves the leſs perfect ſubſtances, and deſtroys the more perfect. Is this the part of a wiſe agent? The ſouls of beaſts never ſinned, and yet they are ſubject to pain and miſery, and rendred obnoxious to all the irregular deſires of creatures, which have ſinned. How do we treat beaſts? We make them tear one another in pieces for our diverſion; we kill them for our nouriſhment, and ranſack their bowels during their lives, to ſatisfy our curioſity; and all this we do by virtue of the dominion that GOD has given us over them. What a diſorder is it, that an innocent creature ſhould be ſubject to the caprices of a criminal one? There is no Caſuiſt that believes that there is any ſin in baiting of bulls, *&c.* or in making uſe of innumerable deceits and violences, by hunting or fiſhing, to deſtroy animals, or in killing of flies, as Domitian did. Is it not cruelty and injuſtice to ſubject an innocent ſoul to ſo many miſeries? The opinion of Des Cartes frees us from all theſe difficulties. I will give a liſt of ſome pieces, which have been publiſhed in favour of this opinion.

(13) Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, *March* 1684, *pag.* 26, 27.

(14) *Intituled*, La Bête tranſformée en machine. *The author's name is* Darmanſon.

(15) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, *March* 1684, *pag.* 28.

A preface of Mr Schuyl: it is at the beginning of the Latin tranſlation of Des Cartes's treatiſe *de Homine*. A treatiſe of Antony le Grand (16), *De carentia ſenſus & cognitionis in brutis*. A letter of Mr de Cordemoi, *to a learned Jeſuit*, printed in 1668 (17). A treatiſe of the ſouls of beaſts, printed in the year 1676, at Lyons, writ by Dilly, a Prieſt of Ambrun. Philoſophical Dialogues by Mr Rohault. The Notes of Father Poiſſon, upon the method of Des Cartes. The *Brutum Carteſianum* of Arnoldus Geulinex. This is a poſthumous work, which was publiſhed in 1688, by Mr Langenhert, a good Carteſian, but not in what concerns the ſouls of beaſts (18); tho' he has put in a Geometrical form the reaſons which prove that beaſts have no ſenſe. Several diſciples of Des Cartes do the ſame, deſerting him as to his doctrine of *Automata*. Mr Craanen, Profeſſor of Philoſophy, and afterwards of Phyſic at Leyden, has been a great ſtickler for this Philoſopher, even to ſuffer for him; and, what perhaps is more wonderful, he would not forſake his doctrine about the *Glandula Pinealis*: but he laughed at thoſe, who hold that beaſts have no ſenſe. Mr Regis, one of the moſt famous Carteſians in theſe times, went not ſo far: he was contented to ſay, That *whatever inclination he might have to give to beaſts a ſoul diſtinct from the body, he had rather ſuſpend his judgment in that reſpect* (19). The book of Father Pardies, concerning the knowledge of beaſts, may be reckoned among thoſe that have been publiſhed to maintain Des Cartes's opinion; for the reaſons of the Carteſians are propoſed in it, with their utmoſt ſtrength, and very weakly refuted. I believe nevertheleſs that he was not negligent in the ſecond part of his work, and that he did all that was poſſible to maintain the antient opinion: but having alſo done all that he could do to repreſent faithfully, and in their beſt colours, the reaſons of the new; he has made ſome ſuſpect, that he had no real deſign to confute Des Cartes. Here is the judgment of one of his order: *There is nothing more apt to deceive than the expoſitions made by Father Pardies, in his book called*, De la connoiſſance des beſtes, - - - - *(of the knowledge of brutes) wherein giving the Carteſian arguments all the force they can have on that point, he goes almoſt ſo far as to convince his readers, not only that there is no need of a ſoul to walk, drink, eat, complain, but alſo to ſpeak, and to ſpeak as long as a preacher in a ſermon of an hour, or a lawyer in a long plea. This book has made the author, to paſs among the Peripatetics, for a prevaricator, who at the bottom was a Carteſian, notwithſtanding the pains he has taken in the ſecond part of his book, to refute Carteſianiſm, and to defend the antient Philoſophy, as to the ſouls of beaſts* (20).

(16) See concerning this author the book *de Scriptis Adagiis*, of Deckherrus, *p.* 321, 387, *Edit.* 1686. In one of the letters of Mr Arnauld to Father Mallebranche, we find that le Grand is a Franciſcan Friar.

(17) This letter was anonymous; but *Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, Tom. II, p.* 344, ſays that Mr Cordemoi is the author of it.

(18) See the Journal of Liſle, *Nov.* 1688, *pag.* 624.

(19) Pierre Sylvain Regis, Syſtême de Philoſophie, *Tom.* V, *Part.* II, *pag.* 126, *edit. of Lyons* 1691, in 12mo.

(20) Suite du Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes, *pag.* 91, 92, *edit. of Amſterdam* 1696.

[D] *It is a long time ſince it has been maintained, that the ſouls of beaſts are rational.*] All that I had to ſay upon this, might have been put in the remarks of the article PEREIRA; but I had a mind to avoid prolixity in that place. We may reckon Strato and Æneſidemus among thoſe, who have maintained that the ſouls of beaſts are rational; for they taught that ſenſe could not ſubſiſt without underſtanding. '(21) 'Idem eſſe αἰσθησιν, καὶ διανοιαν *, ſenſum & 'cogitationem, opinio fuit tum Stratonis Phyſici, qui 'Theophraſti auditor † fuit; tum Æneſidemi, qui

(21) Voſſius, *de origine & progreſſu Idololatriæ, Lib.* III, *cap.* 9, *pag.* 939.

* See Scaliger, *Exercit.* 307, *num.* 5.

† Laertius, *in vita Theophraſti, lib.* V, *num.* 36.

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The Philoſophers of the ſchools are very much miſtaken, if, by rejecting that, they perſuade

‘ in Pyrrhonia introductionem conſcripſit. De utro-
‘ que teſtis nobis Sextus Empiricus adverſus Mathe-
‡ Cap. de homine, five, pag. 201, Edit. Aurelian. ‘ maticos ‡. - - - *That ſenſation and thinking are the*
‘ *ſame, was the opinion of Strato the Natural Philoſo-*
‘ *pher, who was a diſciple of Theophraſtus; and alſo of*
‘ *Æneſidemus, who wrote an introduction to the Pyrrho-*
‘ *nia. Which Sextus Empiricus teſtifieth of them both*
‘ *in his book againſt the Mathematicians.*’ Voſſius without doubt would have here cited Plutarch, if he had called to mind this paſſage. Καίτοι Στράτωνός γε τῦ Φυσικῦ λόγῳ ἐστὶν, ἀποδεικνύων ὡς οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τοπαράπαν ἄνευ τῦ νοεῖν ὑπάρχει. *Stratonis etiam Phyſici exſtat oratio, qua ſine intelligentia ſentiri omnino nihil poſſe demonſtrat* (22). It is ſaid that Parmenides, Empedocles, Democritus, and Anaxagoras, taught that all beaſts are endowed with underſtanding. ‘ Ab hac opinione qua beſtiæ ſenſus cre-
(22) Plutarch. de ſolertia Animalium, *p.* 961, *A.* ‘ duntur expertes, ad alteram venio: ſecundum quam,
†† Pyrrhoniarum Hypotypoſ. lib. ii, cap. v. ‘ ut Sextus Empiricus †† ait, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ζῷον ἄλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦ, καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικὰ ἐσι πάντα: nullum eſt animal rationis expers; ſed omnia ſunt intelligentiæ, & ſcientiæ capacia. Hanc
‡‡ Pag. 93, Edit. Plantin. ‘ ſententiam Parmenidi, Empedocli, & Democrito,
‡‡ Cont. 24. ‘ tribuit Stobæus in Eclogis Phyſicis ‡‡. Anaxagoras
‘ quoque interdum in hanc opinionem inclinavit;
‘ teſte Ariſtotele lib. i. de anima cap. ii ‡‡: ubi agnoſcit quidem, non uno loco dicere, mentem eſſe
‘ ejus cauſſam, quod rectè, & pulchrè ſe habet: ſed
‘ addit, alibi tradere, τὸν νῦν εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ψυχῇ· ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῖς, καὶ τιμίοις, καὶ ἀτιμοτέροις. *Idem eſſe mentem, & animam: mentem*
‘ *enim omnibus ineſſe animalibus, tam parvis, quam*
(23) Voſſius, ubi ſupra, *pag. m.* 940. ‘ *magnis; tam vilioribus, quam honeſtioribus* (23). - - -
‘ *From this opinion, that beaſts are void of ſenſe, I come*
‘ *to the other; according to which, as Sextus Empiricus*
‘ *affirms*; there is no animal without reaſon, but all
‘ are capable both of underſtanding and ſcience. *This*
‘ *opinion is, by Stobæus in his phyſical eclogues attributed*
‘ *to Parmenides, Empedocles, and Democritus. Anaxa-*
‘ *goras alſo ſome time was inclined to this opinion; wit-*
‘ *neſs Ariſtotle* de Anima *cap.* ii. *where he owns in*
‘ *more places than one, that the mind is the cauſe of*
‘ *what is right and beautiful; but adds, that he elſe-*
‘ *where teacheth, that* the mind and ſoul are the ſame:
‘ for that there is in all animals a mind, whether they
‘ be ſmall or great, deſpicable or more noble.’ I paſs by that opinion which was ſo common amongſt the Antients, *viz.* that living bodies contain a ſoul, which is part of the ſoul of the world. I grant that the natural conſequence of this opinion is, That the ſouls of beaſts are of the ſame nature as the ſouls of men; but this does not prove that beaſts are actually rational: for it might be maintained that the portions of the ſoul of the world, that are united to certain bodies, loſe the faculty of reaſoning. And ſince the ſticklers for the doctrine of the ſoul of the world, never taught that the ſouls of plants were rational; they muſt needs have believed that their doctrine did not engage them to maintain, That beaſts were endowed with reaſon. Let us therefore paſs by this opinion, tho' Virgil alledged it as the fitteſt means to explain all that he had ſaid of the qualities of bees.

His quidam ſignis, atque hæc exempla ſecuti,
Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Æthereos dixêre: Deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac reſoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti eſſe locum; ſed viva volare
(24) Virgil. Georg. lib. iv, ver. 219. **Sideris in numerum, atque alto ſuccedere cœlo** (24).

Induc'd by ſuch examples, ſome have taught
That bees have portions of Etherial thought:
Endu'd with particles of heavenly fires:
For GOD the whole created maſs inſpires;
Thro' heav'n and earth, and ocean's depth he throws
His influence round, and kindles as he goes.
Hence flocks, and herds, and men, and beaſts, and fowls,
With breath are quicken'd and attract their ſouls,
Hence take the forms his preſcience did ordain,
And into him at length reſolve again.
No room is left for death they mount the ſky,
And to their own congenial Planets fly.

DRYDEN.

It is better to ſpeak of Philo, who wrote a book, wherein he maintained that beaſts are rational: Περὶ τῦ λόγον ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, *de eo quod bruta animalia ratione ſint prædita* (25). I have elſewhere (26) ſpoken of the opinion of Galen; but ſee here a more formal proof of it. ‘ An animantia quæ dicun-
(25) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *lib. ii, cap. xviii, pag. m.* 59. ‘ tur bruta, prorſus expertia ſint rationis, nondum ſa-
‘ tis liquet. Fortaſſis enim, tametſi non habeant eam
‘ Rationem, quæ juxta vocem intelligitur, nobiſcum
(26) In the article PEREIRA, citation (38). ‘ communem, quam vocant enuntiativam; certe eam,
‘ quæ ſecundum Animam accipitur, quam Rationem
‘ appellant affectuum capacem, habent nobiſcum com-
‘ munem, licet alia magis, alia minus (27). - - - *Whe-*
(27) Galenus, in Exhortat. ad Art. lib. ſtud. *init. apud* Ant. le Grand de carentia ſenſus, *p.* 10. ‘ *ther the animals, called brutes, are altogether void of*
‘ *reaſon, does not yet ſufficiently appear. For though they*
‘ *have not perhaps in common with us that reaſon which*
‘ *is called diſcurſive; yet ſurely they have in common*
‘ *with us that reaſon which is underſtood to belong to a*
‘ *ſoul, and is capable of paſſions, though ſome in a greater,*
‘ *ſome in a leſſer degree.*’ Tho' Lactantius declares in ſome places, That GOD has not granted beaſts a rational faculty (28); yet he maintains in his treatiſe *de ira Dei*, that excepting religion beaſts imitate men in every thing, and participate of the privileges of the human ſpecies. The difference is only in more or leſs. ‘ Solus *(homo)* ſapientia inſtructus eſt ut reli-
(28) Cæteris animantibus quoniam rationalem iſtam vitam non attribuit. *Lactant. de opificio Dei, cap. ii, p. m.* 574. ‘ gionem ſolus intelligat, & hæc eſt hominis atque
‘ mutorum vel præcipua, vel ſola diſtantia; nam cæ-
‘ tera quæ videntur hominis eſſe propria, etſi non ſint
‘ talia in mutis, tamen ſimilia videri poſſunt. . . . . .
‘ Quid tam proprium homini quam ratio, & providen-
‘ tia futuri? Atqui ſunt animalia, quæ latibulis ſuis
‘ diverſos, & plures exitus pandant; ut ſi quod peri-
‘ culum inciderit, fuga pateat obſeſſis; quod non face-
‘ rent, niſi ineſſet illis intelligentia, & cogitatio. Alia
‘ provident in futurum (29). - - - *Man only is endowed*
(29) Idem, de ira Dei, *cap. vii, pag.* 529. ‘ *with wiſdom ſo as to underſtand religion, and this is the*
‘ *principal if not the only difference betwixt him and*
‘ *dumb animals; for other things that ſeem peculiar to*
‘ *him, though they are not the ſame in them, yet they ap-*
‘ *pear to be alike. . . . . What is there more peculiar*
‘ *to man than reaſon, and foreſight? Yet there are ani-*
‘ *mals which make ſeveral different ways of retiring*
‘ *from their dens; that when in danger they may eſcape;*
‘ *which without underſtanding and forethought they could*
‘ *not do. Others make proviſion for the future.*’ We are not for all this to believe that he maintained that the ſouls of beaſts are ſpiritual and immortal; for at that time the connexion between thought and ſpirituality, was not clearly ſeen. Doth not Arnobius manifeſtly affirm, That human ſouls, of their own nature are mortal, and that they ſhall totally periſh in Hell by the activity of the torments, and could not continue always in Heaven, were it not by the grace of GOD? Does not he aſſert that a ſimple and immortal nature is incapable of pain? He felt ſome; therefore he did not believe that his ſoul was a ſpiritual, immaterial, and immortal Being. ‘ Homo prudentiæ non pravæ,
‘ *ſays he* (30), *ſpeaking of Plato*, & examinis judiciique
(30) Arnobius, adverſus Gentes, *lib. ii, pag. m.* 52. ‘ perpenſi, rem inenodabilem ſuſcipit, ut cum animas
‘ dicat immortales, perpetuas, & corporali ſoliditate
‘ privatas, puniri eas dicat tamen, & doloris afficiat
‘ ſenſu. Quis autem hominum non videt, quod ſit
‘ immortale, quod ſimplex, nullum poſſe dolorem ad-
‘ mittere? quod autem ſentiat dolorem immortalitatem
‘ habere non poſſe: Nec tamen ejus auctoritas plurimum à veritate declinat. . . . . Non eſt abſonè ſuſpi-
‘ catus jaci eas in flumina torrentia flammarum globis,
‘ & cœnoſis voraginibus tetra. Jaciuntur enim, & ad
‘ nihilum redactæ, interitionis perpetuæ fruſtratione
‘ vaneſcunt. Sunt enim mediæ qualitatis, ſicut Chriſto
‘ auctore compertum eſt, & interire quæ poſſint Deum
‘ ſi ignoraverint vitæ, & ab exitio liberari, ſi ad ejus
‘ ſe minas atque indulgentias applicarint. - - - *A man*
‘ *of no deſpicable wiſdom, and a penetrating judgment,*
‘ *undertakes what is not to be explained, when he aſſerts*
‘ *that ſouls are immortal, perpetual, and incorporeal, and*
‘ *yet*

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perſuade themſelves, that they ſhall avoid the ill conſequences of the opinion that gives beaſts

' *yet may be puniſhed and ſuffer pain. Who knows not* ' *that an immortal uncompounded Being is not capable of* ' *pain? And that what is ſubject to pain cannot be im-* ' *mortal? Nor does what he ſays much differ from truth.* ' .... *He has imagined, not unreaſonably, that they* ' *are caſt into torrents of fire, with horrible devouring* ' *gulphs, and there are annihilated by a perpetual de-* ' *ſtruction. For they are of ſuch a nature, as Chriſt has* ' *manifeſted, that they may periſh, if ignorant of GOD,* ' *and be delivered from deſtruction, by a right uſe of his* ' *threats and promiſes.*' He confutes the Platonics, who ſaid, That the ſoul of man has a celeſtial origin, that it is immortal, and incorporeal; he refutes them, I ſay, by this argument amongſt others, That there is but little or no difference between our ſouls and thoſe of beaſts. ' Nihil eſt quod nos fallat, nihil quod no-' bis polliceatur ſpes caſſas, id quod nobis à quibuſ-' dam dicitur viris, immoderata ſui opinione ſublatis, ' animas immortales eſſe, Deo, rerum ac principi gra-' du proximas dignitatis, genitore illo ac patre pro-' latas, divinas, ſapientes, doctas, neque ulla corporis

(31) Ib. *p.* 53. ' attrectatione contiguas (31). - - - *There is no reaſon* ' *we ſhould deceive, or flatter ourſelves with vain hopes,* ' *becauſe of what is told us by ſome men, puffed up with* ' *an immoderate opinion of themſelves; that our ſouls* ' *are immortal, next in dignity to GOD, and the higheſt* ' *order of Beings, proceeding from, and begotten of him,* ' *divine, wiſe, learned, not partaking of corporeal im-* ' *perfection.*' ' Vultis tumore depoſito cogitationibus ' tacitis pervidere animantia nos eſſe, aut conſimilia ' cæteris, aut non plurima differitate diſtantia? Quid ' eſt enim, quod nos ab eorum indicet ſimilitudine diſ-' crepare? vel quæ in nobis eminentia tanta eſt, ut

(32) Ib. *p.* 54. ' animantium numero dedignemur adſcribi (32). - - - ' *Will ye, laying aſide your pride, conſider that we are* ' *animals, either altogether alike, or not much differing?* ' *For what is there to demonſtrate the difference? or* ' *what ſuch excellency is in us, that we ſhould diſdain to* ' *be accounted of their number?*' He examines the pre-eminence of man above brutes, and he pretends to ſhew that it is inconſiderable: he particularly affirms that men do not ſurpaſs brutes in reaſon. ' Sed ' rationales nos ſumus, & intelligentia vincimus ge-' nus omne mutorum. Crederem iſtud veriſſimè dici, ' ſi cum ratione & conſilio cuncti homines viverent, ' ſervarent officiorum tenorem, abſtinerent ab illicitis ' ſeſe, negotia turpia non adirent, neque quiſquam pra-' vitate conſilii, atque ignorantiæ cæcitate contraria ' ſibimet atque inimica depoſceret. Vellem tamen ' ſcire quænam ſit hæc ratio, per quam ſumus potiores ' animalium generibus cunctis: quia nobis domicilia ' fecimus, quibus poſſimus hyemalia frigora, & æſtatis ' flagrantias evitare? Quid? animantia cætera hujus

(33) Ib. *p.* 55. ' rei providentiam non habent (33)? - - - *But we are* ' *rational creatures, and ſurpaſs in underſtanding the* ' *whole kind of mute animals. I would believe this to* ' *be true, if all men lived according to reaſon and conſi-* ' *deration, performed all duties, abſtained from unlaw-* ' *ful and ſhameful things, and by wicked and blind igno-* ' *rance did not purſue what tends to their deſtruction. I* ' *would gladly know what this ſame reaſon is, whereby* ' *we excel all the other kinds of animals: is it in build-* ' *ing houſes to ſhelter us from the ſummer's heat and win-* ' *ter's cold? Why? do not the other animals act in like* ' *manner?*' We may therefore reckon Arnobius among thoſe, who hold that the ſouls of beaſts are rational. It is from him, without doubt, That Lactantius learned to put no other difference between them and man, but religion. There have been Philoſophers who denied this to be a privilege of man; for they ſaid that beaſts have a religion. Xenocrates the Carthaginian did not deny their having the knowledge of GOD, Democritus muſt needs have been of his opinion, if he reaſoned conſequentially: this is at leaſt the pretenſion of Clemens Alexandrinus. Καθόλε γ' ἓν τὴν περὶ τῦ Θείυ ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης ὁ Καρχηδόνι@ ἐκ ἀπελπίζει, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις· Δημόκριτ@ δὲ, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ, ὁμολογήσει διὰ τὴν ἀκολυθίαν τῶν δογμάτων· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πεποίηκεν εἴδωλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσπίπτοντα, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἀπὸ τῆς θείας ὐσίας. Ut ſummatim quidem dicam, Xenocrates Carthaginienſis non ſpem omnium abjicit, quinetiam in rationis expertibus animantibus ſit Dei notitia. Democritus autem, etſi nolit, confitebitur per dogmatum conſequentiam: fecit enim eaſdem imagines in homines incurrentes, & in animantes rationis expertes, ex divina eſſentia (34). - - - (34) Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. v, *p.* 599, C. *To ſpeak in few words, Xenocrates the Carthaginian is not without hope that animals deſtitute of reaſon have alſo knowledge of GOD. But Democritus, though he will not, muſt grant it, in conſequence of his doctrine: for he holds that the ſame images that are in men, and alſo in irrational animals, are produced by the divine eſſence.* Pliny places religion among the moral virtues of elephants. ' Maximum eſt Elephas, *ſays he* (35), proxi-' mumque humanis ſenſibus: quippe intellectus illis (35) Plin. lib. viii, cap. i, init. ' ſermonis patrii, & imperiorum obedientia, officio-' rumque, quæ didicere, memoria: amoris, & gloriæ ' voluptas: imo vero, (quæ etiam in homine rara) ' probitas, prudentia, æquitas, religio quoque ſiderum, ' Soliſque ac Lunæ veneratio. Auctores ſunt, in Mau-' ritaniæ ſaltibus ad quendam amnem, cui nomen eſt ' Amilo, mitеſcente Luna nova, greges eorum deſcen-' dere: ibique ſe purificantes ſolenniter aqua circum-' ſpergi, atque ita ſalutato ſidere in ſilvas reverti, vi-' tulorum fatigatos præ ſe ferentes. Alienæ quoque ' religionis intellectu, creduntur maria tranſituri non ' ante naves conſcendere, quam invitati rectoris jure-' jurando de reditu. Vilique ſunt feſſi ægritudine, ' (quando & illas moles infeſtant morbi) herbas ſupini ' in cœlum jacientes, veluti tellure precibus allegata. ' - - - *The elephants are the greateſt of animals, and* ' *come neareſt to human ſenſe: for they underſtand the* ' *language of their country, obey commands, remember the* ' *offices done them, have the pleaſure of love and glory;* ' *yea alſo (which are rare even in men) probity, pru-* ' *dence, equity, religious regard of the ſtars, the worſhip* ' *of the ſun and moon. It is reported, that in the foreſts of* ' *Mauritania they go down in troops to a certain river* ' *called Amilo, in the decreaſe of the moon, where they are* ' *purified by ſprinkling water in a ſolemn manner, and* ' *after adoration of the luminary, return unto the woods* ' *carrying their tired young ones. And being to croſs the* ' *ſeas, they will not go aboard, as is ſaid, till they have the* ' *maſter's oath to bring them back. And they have been* ' *ſeen, when worn out with ſickneſs, (which theſe bulky* ' *animals are alſo ſubject to) lying on their backs, and* ' *throwing herbs into the air, as if thereby to atone the* ' *heavens.*' Dion relates part of theſe things (36). (36) Dion, lib. xxxvii, *p.* 120. Could one believe that the diſciples of Plato, who looked upon brutes to be probably immortal, with reſpect to the ſoul, as Paganinus Gaudentius obſerves, ſhould take reaſon from them? ' Quod ſi dicas apud ' Platonicos ſolas animas rationales eſſe immortales, ' reſpondebit Alcinous non eſſe id prorſus exploratum. ' Nam poſtquam dixit animas rationales ſecundum ' Platonem eſſe immortales, mox ſubjungit *: *Utrum* * *Cap.* xxv. ' *verò & irrationales, ambiguum eſſe videtur:* & ' quamvis ipſe ſentiat eſſe probabile eas eſſe mortales, (37) Paganinus Gaudentius, de tranſmigratione Pythag. *p.* 78. ' indicat tamen id inter Platonicos non fuiſſe certum ' (37). - - - *But if you ſay that only rational ſouls are* ' *by the Platoniſts thought to be immortal, Alcinous will* ' *anſwer, that neither is that altogether certain. For* (38) Eccleſ. chap. iii. ' *after he hath ſaid, that according to Plato rational* ' *ſouls are immortal, he adds immediately:* but whether ' alſo the irrational are ſo, is doubtful. *And though* (39) *See chap.* ix, x, *of a work in italick,* Traité ' *he thinks it himſelf probable that they are mortal, yet* de Religion contre les Athées, les Deiſtes, & les nouveaux Pyrrhoniens, *printed at Paris* 1677. ' *he ſays that this was not* thought *certain among the* ' *Platoniſts.*' I ſay nothing of Solomon, who ſeems to ſay expreſsly (38), That the ſouls of beaſts and thoſe of men, are of the ſame nature; for we ought not to take his words literally, we ought to give them a better ſenſe (39): but we may be allowed to believe that ſeveral Rabbins did hold that beaſts have a rational ſoul.

Thoughts of ſome Rabbins upon the ſoul of beaſts.

The famous Maimonides believed without doubt, that they reaſon; for he gives them a kind of free-will. Mr Arnauld had reaſon to object againſt him, that from thence it would follow, that they might be rewarded or puniſhed after death. If I relate ſomewhat at length what precedes this reflexion of Mr Arnauld, it is becauſe of certain facts which ſhew us the opinion of ſome Jews about animals. This great Rabbi *explains five opinions touching providence, which are all, as he believes, as antient as the Prophets* (40). The fourth of theſe opinions extended the providence of God to every thing, and did not deny the free-will of men (41). Maimonides objects ſeveral inconveniences againſt

(40) Arnauld's Reflexions upon the Syſtem of Malebranche, [illegible] *p.* 241. He cites cap. xv. of the firſt part of More Nevochim, Dicit, &c. propoſitorum of Maimonides.

(41) Ib. *p.* 245.

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beasts a sensitive soul [*E*]. These gentlemen want neither distinctions, nor exceptions, nor against the followers of this opinion. *They said that it was a work of the wisdom of God, that there were men who, tho' they had never sinned, were born with many defects, and that it was better to be so than not be at all. We do not understand,* says this Jewish Doctor, *what goodness there could be in that, - - - sed nos istam bonitatem non intelligimus* (42). 'When they were asked 'what justice there was in the death of beasts, what 'sin they had committed, and why GOD would, 'since his providence extended to all, have an inno- 'cent rat pulled in pieces by a cat? They answered, 'GOD had ordered it so; but that he would recom- 'pense that rat in another world. It was very ri- 'diculous to think that there should be a heaven for 'beasts. But this Rabbi himself gives some occa- 'sion to this idle fancy, when he ascribed a will to 'irrational animals as well as to men: *Omnia pariter* 'animantia irrationalia moventur voluntate sua; for if 'they have a will it would be hard to give a reason 'why they should not be capable of good or evil, re- 'wards and punishments (43).'

(42) Arnauld, ibid. pag. 246.

(43) Ibid.

The Socinians do not go so far as Maimonides; they do not ascribe to beasts a will properly so called, nor a free-will; they do not allow them to be capable of virtue and vice, or of puishments and rewards, properly speaking. They say, nevertheless, that reason, liberty, and virtue, are found in them imperfectly and analogically; and that in some manner they are worthy of reward or punishment. If you will not believe me, read the following passage: 'Quia homo 'inter animantia solus ratione propriè dicta præditus 'est, in illum etiam solum tum voluntas, tum vir- 'tus & vitium, tum denique præmium & pœna cadit. 'In bruta tamen animalia cadit aliquid singulis istorum 'analogum, in ea præsertim, quæ sunt perfectiora, '& disciplinæ alicujus capaciora. Est enim in illis 'primum aliqua facultas rationi respondens, quam non- 'nulli rationem inferiorem vocant, qua non de rebus 'modo jucundis, ac utllibus quodammodo ratiocinan- 'tur, & de ratione illorum adipiscendorum disputant; 'sed etiam viam sibi à Deo præscriptam, seu re- 'ctam quandam vivendi rationem naturæ suæ con- 'sentaneam, quæ honestati analoga est, agnoscunt. In- 'de sequitur facultas altera, voluntati quodam modo 'respondens, in qua nonnihil est libertatis. Hinc ali- 'quid etiam virtuti & vitio simile, seu rectè & pravè 'factum: quorum illud est, cum bruta naturæ suæ 'ductum sequuntur, hoc cum à naturali via exorbitant. 'Unde tandem etiam aliquid præmio aut pœnæ, & 'huic quidem maxime simile. Unde bestias etiam à 'Deo punitas (44), aut pœnas certas lege illis consti- 'tutas, cernimus: qua de re legatur Socinus in Anti- 'Puccio. Quemadmodum ergo rationem humanam κατ' ἐξοχήν, & propriè hoc nomine appellamus, & 'brutis eam adimimus (dicimus enim irrationalia seu 'ratione carentia) ita & cætera omnia. Rursus quem- 'admodum impropriè & per analogiam rationem bru- 'tis tribuimus, ita & cætera omnia (45). - - - - - 'Of all animals man only is endowed with reason, pro- 'perly so called, so he only hath a will, and is capable of 'virtue and vice, rewards and punishments. Yet some- 'thing bearing a resemblance to each of these, may also 'be found in brutes, especially such as are more perfect, 'and more capable of discipline. For there is in them 'a certain faculty that answers to reason, called by some 'an inferior degree of reason, whereby they not only consider 'in a manner what is pleasant and profitable, and 'search for the means of attaining them; but they 'likewise acknowledge a certain manner of living suita- 'ble to their nature prescribed to them by GOD, which 'has some affinity to virtue. This must suppose another 'faculty, something like the will, in which there is some 'liberty. Hence also there is something in them resem- 'bling virtue and vice, or doing good or evil, when 'they act according to their nature, or otherwise. And 'hence they become capable of rewards and punishment, 'but especially of this last. Hence we see that beasts also 'are punished by GOD, and have certain penalties pre- 'scribed by law; concerning which, consult Socinus in 'his Anti-Puccius. Wherefore as we give the appella- 'tion of reason, by way of eminence and property, to that 'which is in man, and deny it to beasts, (which we 'call irrational, or void of reason) so we do with re- 'spect to all other things.' I know not whether Gulielmus Parisiensis, one of the greatest genius's of his age, could avoid going a little farther than this opinion; for it is said, he taught that the souls of beasts are spiritual; and it is not certain that ever he retracted this opinion (46). See the citation (48) of this page.

(44) See, below, citation (60), what I quote from Franzius. You will find there, where God orders that beasts should be punished.

(45) Joan. Crellius, Ethicæ Christianæ, *lib. ii, cap. i, pag. m.* 65, 66.

To come to the Moderns, I shall observe that Valla (47) and Antony Cittadinus (48) acknowledged reason in beasts. Stephen Pasquier has writ a fine letter upon this opinion. This letter is the first of the tenth book. Montagne declared for this opinion, and has taken such care to defend it, that he seems to have designed that apology for Raimundus Sebunus should partly serve for the brutes. Charron has followed him in this, as well as in several other things. A Physician of Rochelle (49) having writ against Charron, was confuted in his turn by one of the best pens that has writ in French on Philosophical matters; I mean Mr de la Chambre, Physician to Mr Seguier, Chancellor of France. The Physician of Rochelle replied (50); his antagonist did the same, and intituled his book, *Traité de la Connoissance des Animaux, où tout ce qui a été dit pour & contre le raisonnement des bêtes est examiné. - - - - A treatise on the knowledge of brutes, wherein all that has been said for and against the reasoning of beasts is considered.* I observe, by the by, that Isaac Vossius is of opinion, that, in respect of language, the condition of beasts is much better than ours, because they communicate more readily, and probably more happily, their thoughts than we (51). A German censures him for that (52). We shall see the opinion of Sennertus in the remarks [*D*] and [*E*] of his article: I will there name some modern authors, who have believed that the soul of beasts is spiritual.

(46) *In the little dissertations in the beginning of Tom. ii, of his works, in the edition of* 1676, it is inquired whether he ever recanted the opinion, which he was accused to have maintained concerning the spirituality of the soul of brutes, where it is compared with the opinion of Des Cartes, and other Philosophers, who have particularly treated on this question. *Journal des Sçavans, January* 16, 1677, *pag. m.* 28.

(47) Valla, Dial. *cap. ix*, apud Vossium, de orig. & progr. Idol. *lib. iii, cap. xli, pag.* 940.

(48) In lib. i, Post. Analyt. cap. iii, apud eundem ibid.

[*E*] *The ill consequences of the opinion that gives beasts a sensitive soul.*] There is nothing more diverting, than to see with what authority the schoolmen take upon them to set bounds to the knowledge of beasts. They will have it, that they know only particular and material objects, and that they only love what is profitable and agreeable; that they cannot reflect upon their sensations and their desires, nor infer one thing from another. One would think that they have searched more exactly into the faculties and acts of the souls of beasts, than the most expert Anatomists into the entrails of dogs. Their temerity is so great, that tho' they had found out the truth by chance, they would yet have rendered themselves unworthy of praise, and even of excuse. But let us give them quarter; let us grant them all that they suppose: What do they hope for from it? Do they fancy, that by this means they shall obtain from any body that can reason, that it ought to be granted, that the soul of man is not of the same species with that of beasts? This is a chimerical pretension. It is evident to any one that can judge of things, that every being that has sense, knows that it has it: and it would not be more absurd to maintain, that the soul of man knows actually an object without knowing that it knows it; than it is absurd to say, that the soul of a dog sees a bird, without perceiving that she sees it. This shews that all the acts of the sensitive faculty are, of their own nature, and by their own essence, reflexive upon themselves. Father Maignan, who, notwithstanding all his knowledge, has remained in the errors and rubbish of the schools, as to the souls of beasts, owns nevertheless that in order to perceive any thing, one ought to know the perception one has of it. 'Id 'quod vocamus sentire, *says he*, non est sine cogni- 'tione ejus rei quæ dicitur sensibilis: cum autem 'nihil externum sit per se sensibile; sed tantum per 'suam actionem; adeoque actio ejus sit primario sen- 'sibilis: & cum insuper nos non dicamur alicujus 'agentis actionem sentire, si ea dum in nobis fit, 'omnino lateat nos; consequenter id quod vocamus 'sentire, non est sine cognitione actionis, quæ fit in 'nobis sentientibus; imo quia sentire nihil aliud ex 'parte sentientis dicit, præter eam cognitionem; con- 'sequens est ipsum sentire, quatenus se tenet ex parte 'sentientis, consistere in eo quod est agnoscere se 'pati; quod coincidit cum eo quod est agnoscere 'actionem in se receptam, seu passionem suam (53). '- - - - *That which we call sensation*, says he, *is not 'without the knowledge of that thing which is called 'sensible; but as nothing external is sensible but only by it's 'action, which therefore is chiefly sensible, and since 'moreover*

(49) Chanet, in his Reflexions upon Charron.

(50) *His reply is intituled*, De l'instinct & de la connoissance des Animaux, *Rochelle* 1646, *in* 8vo.

(51) Isaacus Vossius, de Poëmatum cantu & viribus rythmi, *pag.* 65.

(52) Joh. Cyprianus, in Historiæ Animalium Continuatione, *pag.* 20.

(53) Emanuel Maignan, Philosophia naturæ, *cap. xxiv, num.* 2, *pag. m.* 527. *See also Casimirus of Toulouse*, Atomi Peripateticæ, *Tom. iv, pag.* 70, *where he sets down in few words, the definition of Father Maignan, and this of Casserius*, Sensus est objecti in organo formaliter suscepti dignotio. - - - *Sense is the knowledge of an object formally received into the organ*; and approves them.

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nor assurance to decide, that the acts of this soul do not exceed certain bounds, which they prescribe to them: but all this idle and unintelligible discourse signifies nothing towards

'*moreover we cannot be said to feel the action of any agent, if, while it is performed in us, it is altogether unknown to us; by consequence what we call sensation, is not without the knowledge of the action done in us when we feel: yea, because sensation, with respect to that which hath it, besides that knowledge, implies nothing more; it follows, that sensation itself, considered as in the sentient being, consists in it's perceiving what it feels, which is the same as to know that an action is received in itself, or it's own passion.*' It must then be said, that the memory of beasts, is an act that makes them remember what is past, and which tells them that they remember it. How then can it be said, that they have not the power of reflecting upon their thoughts, nor of drawing consequences? But once more let us not dispute upon that; let us give these Philosophers leave to build their suppositions very ill; let us only make use of what they teach. They say, that the soul of beasts perceives all the objects of the five external senses; that among those objects it judges that some are suitable to it, and others hurtful; and that, in consequence of this judgment, it desires those that are suitable, and abhors the others; and that in order to enjoy the object it desires, it transports it's organs to the place where that object is, and that in order to fly from the object which it hates, it withdraws it's organs from the place where the object is. I conclude from all this, that if it doth not produce acts so noble as those of our soul, it is not it's fault, or because it is of a nature less perfect than the soul of man; it is only because the organs it animates do not resemble our's. I ask of these gentlemen, if they would allow that one should say, that the soul of a man is of another species at the age of thirty-five years, than at the age of one month; or, that the soul of a mad-man, of an ideot, or of an old man, become childish through age, is not substantially as perfect as the soul of a man of excellent parts. They would, without doubt reject this opinion as a gross error, and with good reason; for it is certain, that the same soul which in children is only sensitive, meditates and reasons solidly in a grown man, and that the same soul which makes it's reason and wit to be admired in a perfect man, would only dote in an old man, talk idly in a natural, and exert sensation in a child. We should be guilty of a gross error, did we believe, that the soul of man is only capable of thoughts which are known to us. There are infinite sensations, passions, and ideas, of which this soul is very capable, tho' it be never affected with them during this life. If it were united to organs different from our's, it would think otherwise than it does at present, and it's modifications might be far more noble than those we now experience. If there were substances, which in organized bodies had a train of sensations, and other thoughts far more sublime than our's, could it be said that they are of a more perfect nature than our soul? No, without doubt; for if our soul was removed into those bodies, it would have the same train of sensations, and other thoughts far more sublime than ours. This may be easily applied to the soul of beasts. It will be granted us that it has a sensation of bodies; that it discerns them; that it desires some, and abhors others. This is enough: it is therefore a substance that thinks; it is therefore capable of thought in general; it can therefore entertain all sorts of thoughts; it can therefore reason; it can therefore know what is honest; the universals; the axioms of Metaphysics; the rules of morality, &c. For as wax can receive the impression of one seal, it manifestly follows, that it may receive the figure of any seal; it must likewise be granted, that since a soul is capable of one thought, it is capable of any thought. It would be absurd to reason thus; *This piece of wax has only received the impression of three or four seals; therefore it cannot receive the impression of a thousand. This piece of pewter has never been a plate; therefore it can never be made one, and it is of another nature than the pewter plate I see there.* They reason no better, who say, *The soul of a dog has never had any thing but sensations, &c. therefore it is not capable of the ideas of morality, or Metaphysical notions.* From whence comes it that a piece of wax bears the impression of a prince, and that another does not? It is because the seal has been applied to the one and not to the other. This piece of pewter that never was a plate, will be one, if you cast it into the mould of a plate. Cast in like manner the soul of this beast into the mould of universal ideas, and of the notions of arts and sciences, I mean, unite it to a well chosen human body; it will become the soul of a man of parts, and be no more that of a beast.

You may see therefore that is impossible for the School-Philosophers to prove, that the souls of men, and those of beasts, are of a different nature, let them say, and repeat it a thousand and a thousand times, *That man's soul does reason, and know universals and virtue, and that of beasts knows nothing of all this.* We answer them, *These differences are only accidental, and are no marks of a specific difference. Aristotle and Cicero, at the age of one year, never had more sublime thoughts than those of a dog; and if they had lived in the state of infancy thirty or forty years, the thoughts of their souls had never been any thing but sensations and little passions for play and eating: it is therefore by accident, that they have surpassed beasts; it is because their organs on which their thoughts depended have acquired such and such modifications, to which the organs of beasts arrive not. The soul of a dog in the organs of Aristotle or Cicero, would not have failed to acquire all the knowledge of those two great men.*

This consequence is very false; *viz.* such a soul does not reason, does not know universals, therefore it is of a different nature from that of a great Philosopher: for if this consequence were good, it would follow that the soul of little children is different from that of men. What then do you dream of, you Peripatetic Philosophers, when you pretend that if the souls of beasts do not reason, they are essentially less perfect than souls that reason? You ought first to have proved that the want of reasoning in beasts, proceeds from a real and intrinsic imperfection of the soul, and not from the organic dispositions on which it depends; but this is what you can never be able to prove: for it is clear, that a subject which is capable of the thoughts which you allow in the soul of beasts, is capable of reasoning, and of any other thought; from whence it results, that if it doth not actually reason, it is because of certain accidental and external obstacles, I mean, because the Creator of all things has fixed every soul to a certain train of thoughts, by making it depend on the motions of certain bodies. This is the reason why sucking-children, naturals, and mad-men do not reason.

One cannot, without horror, think of the consequences of this doctrine, *The soul of men and the soul of beasts do not differ substantially, they are of the same species, the one acquires more knowledge than the other, but these are only accidental advantages, and depending on an arbitrary institution.* This doctrine necessarily and inevitably flows from what the schools teach about the knowledge of beasts. It follows from thence, that if their souls are material and mortal, the souls of men are so likewise; and that if the soul of man is a substance spiritual and immortal, the soul of beasts is so too. Horrible consequences! turn which way you will. For if to avoid the immortality of the soul of beasts, you suppose that the soul of man dies with the body, you overthrow the doctrine of another life, and sap the foundations of religion. If to preserve to our souls the privilege of immortality, we extend it to those of beasts, into what an abyss do we fall? What shall we do with so many immortal souls? Will there be for them also an Heaven and a Hell? Will they go from one body to another? Will they be annihilated as the beasts die? Will God create continually an infinite number of spirits, to plunge them again so soon into nothing? How many insects are there which only live a few days? Let us not imagine that it is sufficient to create souls for the beasts which we do know; those that we do not know are far the greater number. The microscopes discover them to us by thousands in a single drop of liquor. Many more would be discovered if we had more perfect microscopes. And let no man say that insects are only machines; for one might better explain by this hypothesis the actions of dogs, than the actions of pismires and bees. There is, perhaps, more wit and reason in the invisible creatures,

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wards the eſtabliſhing a ſpecific difference between the ſouls of men and thoſe of beaſts [F]; and it is not likely, that they can ever invent a better explication, than that

(54) See the words of Pliny, cited in the article MENAGE, citation (1).

tures, than in the large (54). We are now going to take a view of the vain efforts of the ſchools, to eſtabliſh a ſpecific difference between the ſouls of men and beaſts.

[F] *A ſpecific difference between the ſouls of men and thoſe of beaſts.*] They ſay, that the ſoul of beaſts is a material form, but that the ſoul of man is a ſpirit which God creates immediately. But how do they prove that? I ſuppoſe they only argue upon the principles of natural reaſon, without having recourſe to ſcripture or the doctrines of religion; and I aſk of them one good proof to ſhew that the ſouls of beaſts are corporeal, and that ours is not? They will alledge the beauty and extent of human knowledge; and the ſmallneſs, groſſneſs, and obſcurity of the knowledge of beaſts; and they will conclude, that a corporeal principle is capable of producing the knowledge of beaſts, but not the reflexions, the reaſonings, the univerſal ideas, the ideas of honour and honeſty, which are found in the ſoul of man; and that by conſequence this ſoul ought to be of an order ſuperior to matter, and ought to be a ſpirit. I will not ſay now that they aſſert raſhly, that the ſoul of beaſts does not argue, and that it has no idea of what is honeſt. Let us lay aſide this objection, and only ſay, that it is a thouſand times more difficult to ſee a tree, than to know the act by which we ſee it; ſo that if a material principle is capable of knowing an infinite number of outward things, it will be far more capable of knowing it's own thoughts, and of comparing them together, and multiplying them; therefore the reflexions, and concluſions, and abſtractions of man, require not a principle nobler than matter. A very learned Peripatetic is of our ſide; let us hear him ſpeak; his confeſſion will be more perſuaſive than my objections. 'If you once admit, *ſays he*, that all 'that is moſt wonderful in the actions of beaſts, 'may be done by means of a material ſoul; will you 'not ſoon grant what follows, and ſay, that all that 'paſſes in man may be alſo done by a material ſoul? '... If you once grant that beaſts, without any ſpiri-'tual ſoul, are capable of thinking, of acting for an end, 'of foreſeeing things to come, of remembring what 'is paſt, of acquiring experience by the particular re-'flexion they make upon it; why will you not grant 'that men are capable of exerciſing their functions 'without any ſpiritual ſoul? After all, the operations 'of men are no other than thoſe which you aſcribe 'to beaſts: if there be any difference, it is only as to 'more or leſs; and ſo all that you can ſay will only 'be, that the ſouls of men are more perfect than 'thoſe of beaſts, becauſe men remember better than 'they, think with more reflexion, and foreſee things 'with more certainty; but in fine you cannot ſay, but 'that their ſouls are ſtill material. You will ſay 'perhaps, That in men there are ſome operations 'that cannot ſuit with beaſts, nor proceed from any 'other principle than a ſpiritual ſoul: and thoſe ope-'rations are univerſal knowledge; that ratiocination, 'whereby we infer one thing from another; and the 'ideas we have of infinity, and of things ſpiritual 'which do not fall under the ſenſes: but thoſe who 'deny that there is any knowledge in beaſts, do not 'deny for all that, that thoſe thoughts and reaſon-'ings are in us, ſince we ourſelves are conſcious of 'them: ſo that they have always the ſame right 'which you have to prove the exiſtence of the ra-'tional ſoul. But beſides, they add, that all thoſe 'operations which you look upon to be ſo extraor-'dinary, differ only in degrees from the operations 'which you attribute to beaſts. And certainly, it 'ſeems that to act with a deſign, to improve by ex-'perience, to foreſee things to come, (which you grant 'to beaſts) ought to proceed no leſs from a ſpiritual 'principle than what is found in man. For after all, 'what is an univerſal knowledge, but a knowledge 'which ſuits with many things that are like, as the 'picture of a man would ſuit with all the faces that 'ſhould reſemble it? What is reaſoning, but a 'knowledge produced by another knowledge, as we 'ſee that a motion is produced by another motion? 'Certainly, if it be once granted, That thought, in-'tention, and reflexion, may proceed from a body ani-'mated with a material form; it will be very diffi-'cult to prove, That the reaſonings and ideas of man 'cannot proceed from a body animated likewiſe with 'a material form (55).'

(55) Pardies, of the knowledge of beaſts, *num.* 49, *pag.* 100, *& ſeq.*

I deſire all my readers to take notice of the unlucky condition the ſchool-men are in, as to the doctrine of the ſenſitive ſoul. They alledge againſt Des Cartes the moſt ſurpriſing actions of beaſts; they chuſe them on purpoſe, the better to confound him; but afterwards they find that they are gone too far, and have ſupplied their adverſary with weapons to deſtroy the ſpecific difference which they endeavour to prove between our ſouls and thoſe of beaſts. They could wiſh that one ſhould forget all the examples of cunning, precaution, docility, and knowledge of things to come, which they have ſet forth with ſo much pomp, in order to ſhew that beaſts are not meer machines; they could wiſh that one ſhould mind only the groſs actions of an ox whoſe ſole buſineſs is feeding: but it is too late to require ſuch a thing; thoſe very examples are made uſe of to confound them, and to prove againſt them, That if a material ſoul is capable of all thoſe things, it will be able to do whatever is performed by the ſoul of man. Only a greater degree of refinement will be wanting to the ſouls of beaſts. Muſt we not ſuppoſe, That the ſoul of a dog or of an ape is not of ſo coarſe a nature as that of an ox? In one word, if nothing but a ſpiritual ſoul can produce the actions of a dull witted clown; I will maintain againſt you, That nothing but a ſpiritual ſoul can produce the actions of an ape; and if you ſay that a corporeal principle is able to produce whatever is performed by apes; I will maintain againſt you, that a material principle may be the cauſe of whatever is performed by ſtupid men, and that provided matter be ſubtilized, and diſintangled from all groſs particles, phlegms, *&c.* it may be the cauſe of whatever the moſt underſtanding man can do.

A QUESTION concerning the liberty of the ſouls of beaſts.

Some authors inſinuate, That ſince the ſoul of man is endowed with free-will, and that of beaſts is deprived of it, there muſt needs be a ſpecific difference between them, and one muſt be ſpiritual and the other material. The Jeſuit Theophilus Raynaud, publiſhed in 1630, a little book intituled *Calviniſmus Beſtiarum Reigio* (56). His chief deſign was to prove that the doctrine of the Dominicans reduces men to the condition of beaſts, by depriving them of free-will (57). 'Præcipuè ex eo capite pronunciavit Catholicus, cen-'ſendum eſſe, Calviniſmum eſſe religionem beſtiarum, 'quòd juxta placita Calvinianæ, homo redigatur in or-'dinem beſtiarum, & hominis gradu ac dignitate ex-'cidat. Ad quod ſolidè probandum, duæ propoſitio-'nes vitæ illi ſunt ſtabiliendæ. Una eſt, hominem in 'ratione hominis, conſtitui per libertatem. Altera 'eſt, libertatem everti per Calviniſmum (58). - - - '*That Calviniſm was to be accounted the religion of 'beaſts, hath been affirmed by the Jeſuit, becauſe, ac-'cording to their principles, man was degraded into the 'rank of beaſts, and deprived of the degree and dignity 'of man. In order to the proof of which, two propo-'ſitions were by him to be eſtabliſhed. One is, that to 'man, conſidered as ſuch, liberty of acting is eſſential. 'The other, that by Calviniſm, liberty is deſtroyed.*' He ſuppoſes that the liberty of indifference is the character, whereby men are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts; for as to the liberty, which conſiſts only in being free from conſtraint, or in ſpontaneity, no ſchool-men can ſay that beaſts are deprived of it. I will make it appear that it is moſt falſe, that a ſoul endowed with free-will is of another kind than a ſoul that is not endowed with it. The ſouls of children and mad-men are deſtitute of free-will, and yet they are of the ſame ſpecies with the ſouls that are moſt free. To which may be added, that thoſe who maintain the liberty of indifference, ſay, that it will ceaſe after this life, and yet they acknowledge that a human ſoul is the ſame ſubſtance upon earth as in heaven or in hell. It is therefore manifeſt, That the liberty of indifference is not an eſſential attribute of creatures, but a gift, or an accidental favour beſtowed upon them by the Creator: and conſequently the ſouls that are not gratified with it, are not of a different ſpecies from thoſe that receive it. This argument is therefore very wrong: the

(56) See Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, *Tom. i, pag.* 224.

(57) He diſputes, it is true, againſt Calvin, but it is in order to conclude againſt the Dominicans, (whom he pretends to be like Calvin as to that doctrine,) what he concludes againſt Calvin.

(58) Calviniſmus, Beſtiarum Religio, *Diatriba ii, pag. m.* 25.

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that which they have already given. The author, who has beſt confuted the opinion of Des Cartes concerning the ſouls of beaſts, would have done us a ſingular favour, if he could have cleared the common opinion from the great difficulties that attend it [G].

Mr Leibniz

the ſouls of beaſts are deprived of free-will, but the ſouls of men are not deprived of it; therefore the ſouls of beaſts are material, and the ſouls of men are ſpiritual. I will go farther, and ſay that thoſe, who admit of a ſenſitive ſoul, have no good reaſon to aſſert, That beaſts are not free creatures. Do not they ſay, that they do a thouſand things with great pleaſure, being directed by the judgment they make of the uſefulneſs of objects, whereby they are prompted to unite themſelves to thoſe objects? If liberty conſiſts only in being free from conſtraint, and in a ſpontaneity preceded by the diſcerning of the objects, is it not an abſurd thing to deny the liberty of beaſts? Has not a hungry dog the power of abſtaining from a piece of meat, when he is afraid of being beaten if he does not abſtain from it? Is not this to have the power of acting or not acting? Doubtleſs his abſtinence proceeds from his comparing his hunger with the blows of a ſtick, which he judges to be more intolerable than hunger. If you obſerve all the human actions that are aſcribed to a liberty of indifference, you will find that a man does never ſuſpend them, or never chuſes one of the two contraries, but becauſe having compared the reaſons *pro* and *con*, he ſees more inducements to ſuſpend his action than to act, or has more motives for one action than for another. Let us further hear the Jeſuit, who wrote againſt the Carteſians. 'It 'is no eaſy thing thus to ſeparate reaſoning from 'thought; and I think it may be eaſily proved, that 'when a ſubſtance is capable of thinking, it is alſo 'capable of reaſoning; that it is endowed with will 'and liberty; and, in a word, that it can act like 'men. The ancient Philoſophers, and even the Fa'thers of the Church, have proved that we have a 'free-will by this general argument; that whatever is 'capable of knowledge, can know good and evil, 'that is, what is good or bad for it; and conſequent'ly, that, by conſidering thoſe two objects, it can 'compare them together, can deliberate, and deter'mine to chuſe the one and reject the other, in which 'the uſe of our liberty conſiſts. And this is ſo true, 'that the definition of liberty taken in general, which 'we uſe ſtill to this day, is this, *Facultas agendi cum 'ratione*, the faculty of acting with knowledge, which 'is the ſignification of theſe words, *cum ratione* (59).'

One of the ſtrongeſt arguments alledged for the liberty of man, is taken from the puniſhment of malefactors. All ſocieties are agreed to puniſh them exemplarily, and even to extend, in ſome caſes, the puniſhment to their dead bodies: they are deprived of burial, and expoſed to the public view upon wheels and gibbets. If man did not act freely, if he was determined by a fatal and unavoidable neceſſity to have a certain train of thoughts, robberies and murders ſhould not be puniſhed, and no advantage could be expected from the puniſhment of criminals; for thoſe who ſhould ſee the dead body of a malefactor upon a wheel, would not be leſs ſubject than before to that prevailing power, which makes them act and does not allow them the uſe of their liberty. This argument for a free-will is not ſo ſtrong, as it ſeems to be; for though men are perſuaded that machines have no feeling, they will nevertheleſs give them a hundred blows with a hammer, when they are out of order, if they think that they may be ſet right by flatting a wheel, or another piece of iron. They would therefore cauſe a pick-pocket to be whipped, though they knew that he has no free-will, if experience had taught them that the whipping of people keeps them from committing certain actions. However, if this argument for a free-will has any force, it will manifeſtly ſhew, that beaſts are not deprived of liberty (60). Men puniſh them every day, and mend their faults by that means. Ochinus, in the beginning of his labyrinths, examines all the reaſons, which make us believe that we act freely; and ſays among other things againſt that which is taken from the puniſhments inflicted upon malefactors, that if the judges were ſure that the hanging of a horſe, which had killed a man, and the leaving him a long time upon the gallows in the high-way, would hinder other horſes from doing miſchief, they would uſe that puniſhment, whenever a horſe maims or kills any body by kicking or biting (61). It is likely he did not know that in ſome countries they make uſe of ſuch fights, to keep beaſts in awe. Rorarius was an eye-witneſs of it; he ſaw two wolves hanging upon a gibbet in the duchy of Juliers, and he obſerves, that it made a greater impreſſion upon the other wolves, than the mark of a red hot iron, the loſs of one's ears, &c. does upon thieves. He ſays alſo that it is uſual in Africa to nail lions to a croſs, in order to terrify others, and that the people find ſome benefit by it. 'Solent in Africa crucifigere leo'nes, ſi qui deprehendantur urbes obſidere, quod in 'ſenectâ faciunt: quoniam ad perſequendas feras vires 'non ſuppetunt; cujus pœnæ metu, licet urgeat fa'mes, deſinunt: & nos ab Agrippina Colonia Duram 'verſus equitantes, in illa vaſta ſylva, vidimus duos 'caligatos lupos, non ſecus quam duos latrones furcæ 'ſuſpenſos: quo ſimilis pœnæ formidine à maleficio 'reliqui deterreantur. At inter homines quotidie re'periuntur, quibus ob admiſſa furta tergus virgis cæ'ſum, abſciſſæ auriculæ, ſignatæ genæ, truncata altera 'manus, erutus oculus, nec adhuc à furtis ſe continere 'poſſunt, donec laqueus vitæ finis extiterit (62). - - - '*It is uſual in Africa to crucify lions, when they come 'into towns, as they do when grown old; becauſe they 'are not able to hunt down the beaſts: for fear of which 'puniſhment, tho' pinched with hunger, they keep away: 'and when we were journeying from Cologn to Duren, 'through that great foreſt, we ſaw two wolves truſſed 'like two robbers hanging on a gibbet, that others might 'be deterred by fear of the like puniſhment. But amongſt 'men are daily to be ſeen ſuch as for their crimes have 'been whipped, had their ears cut off, been burnt in the 'cheek, had a hand cut off, an eye pulled out, and yet 'could not abſtain from wickedneſs, till an end was put 'to their life on a gibbet.*'

[G] *If he could have cleared the common opinion*, &c.] The book intituled, *Le Voyage du Monde de Des Cartes* (63), has been very much eſteemed, and not without good reaſon. It contains very great difficulties objected to the Carteſians in an agreeable and lively manner, and very well urged. Thoſe which concern the machinal ſouls of beaſts, are, I think, the beſt that can be propoſed. The author ingenuouſly confeſſes, that the Peripatetics ſhewed at firſt but very little ſkill in attacking that great paradox of Des Cartes, and that the Carteſians took an advantage of it. He makes uſe with great dexterity, of the ill conſequences that may be drawn from that paradox; for he ſhews that the arguments of the Carteſians tend to make us believe, that other men are meer machines. This is perhaps the weakeſt ſide of that Carteſian opinion, and it confirms a very judicious thought that one may have about the nature of human knowledge. It ſeems that GOD, who beſtows it, acts like the common father of all ſects, that is to ſay, that he is not willing that any of them ſhould entirely triumph over the others, and ſink them without recovery. A ſect, tho' defeated, and put to the rout, will always recover, if it ceaſes to ſtand upon the defenſive, in order to act offenſively by way of diverſion and retortion. The combat of ſects is always like that of the Trojans and Greeks the night that Troy was taken (64): they overcame one another by turns, as they happened to change their way of fighting. A Carteſian has no ſooner overturned, ruined, and deſtroyed, the opinion of the ſchoolmen about the ſouls of beaſts, but he finds that he may be beaten with his own weapons, and that his adverſary may ſhew him that he proves too much, and that if he will argue conſequentially, he muſt give over ſome opinions; which he cannot do without making himſelf ridiculous, and admitting manifeſt abſurdities: for is there any man that dares affirm that he is the only perſon that thinks, and that all other men are meer machines? Would not he be looked upon as more extravagant than Bedlamites, or thoſe that are removed from all human ſociety? This conſequence of that Carteſian doctrine is a ſad mortification: it is like the peacock's feet, whoſe uglineſs gives a check to the vanity which the beauty of his feathers had inſpired him with. However, it muſt be confeſſed that the whole advantage of Father Daniel againſt

(59) Pardies, ubi ſupra, *num.* 52, *pag.* 104, 105. *Note, that at pag.* 113, *he alledges for an inſtance a dog, who had learned* to ſing his part with his maſter. *He adds*, Vide Horarium oratione peculiari de ratione brutor. *He ſhould have ſaid*, Rorarius, quod animalia bruta utantur ratione melius homine. - - - *That the brute animals uſe reaſon better than man.* Lib. i, pag. 2.

(60) *Obſerve this queſtion which* Franzius *propoſed to himſelf*, Hiſt. Animal. Sacra, *Part i, cap. ii, pag. m.* 16. Quæri autem poſſet *an non ponenda ſit rationalis anima in brutis* . . . cum *Geneſ. ix, ver.* 5. Deus ipſe vindicare velit ſanguinem hominis in brutis ſi quando effuderunt ſanguinem humanum. - - - *But it might be aſked*, is there not a rational ſoul in beaſts . . . *Since God himſelf will revenge the blood of a man upon beaſts that ſhed the blood of man.* He alſo quotes Exodus xii. 28; and Leviticus xx. 15, 16. where God orders that brutes ſhould be puniſhed.

(61) I have not now by me that book of Ochinus; I quote what I remember he ſays; and perhaps I do not exactly tranſlate his words; but I am ſure that I ſet down his meaning.

(62) Rorarius, ubi ſupra, cap. ii, pag. 109.

(63) Father Daniel, a Jeſuit, is accounted the author of that work.

(64) Nec fali pugnas dant ſingulæ Teucri: Quandam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus, Victoreſque cadunt Danai. *Virgil. Æneid. lib. ii, ver.* 367.

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Mr Leibniz, one of the greateſt wits of Europe, being ſenſible of theſe difficulties, has given us ſome inſights, which deſerve to be improved [*H*]. I ſhall mention part of what againſt Des Cartes's opinion conſiſts in the objections that he raiſed, and not at all in the anſwers that he made to the objections of the Carteſians. He does not deny that their queſtions are very puzzling; but he maintains that, in their turn, they are not leſs perplexed by the queſtions that are put to them, and that *good reprisals* may be made upon them (65). You muſt not expect to find in his book the ſolution of the Phyſical, Moral, and Theological difficulties, that are propoſed to the Peripatetics about the ſouls of beaſts; he is contented to anſwer, that if there are ſome things in their opinion that cannot be comprehended, there are others likewiſe in Des Cartes's hypotheſis. The definition of the ſoul of a beaſt, *a ſubſtance capable of ſenſation*, that is, of ſeeing, hearing, &c. is as clear as the Carteſian definition of a ſpirit, *a thinking and reaſoning ſubſtance* (66). They are Father Daniel's words, which he proves afterwards as well as can be. A little before he had ſaid (67) that the ſoul of a beaſt is neither matter nor a ſpirit, but *a middle being between both*, which is not *capable of reaſoning or thought, but only of perception and ſenſation*. If he ſays nothing that is more ſatisfactory, it is not for want of ability, but the nature of the ſubject does not permit it.

(65) Suite du Voiage du Monde de Des Cartes, *pag.* 75.

(66) Ib. *p.* 84.

(67) Ibid. *pag.* 82, 83.

He muſt give me leave to ſay, that his hypotheſis cannot be maintained, and that no difficulty can be reſolved by it. Theſe two words, *matter*, *ſpirit*, ſeem at firſt ſight to admit of a *medium*; but if the thing be narrowly looked into, it appears that they may be reduced to a contradictory oppoſition. It is but aſking whether a ſubſtance, that is neither a body nor a ſpirit, is extended or not. If it be extended, it will be difficult to diſtinguiſh it from matter; and if it be not extended, I deſire to know why it ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from a ſpirit: for the notion of a ſubſtance, that has no extenſion, ſuits with the notion of a ſpirit, and we cannot apprehend that this notion can be divided into two different kinds, ſince the ſpecific attribute aſſigned to the one, will never appear inconſiſtent with the other. If God can add thought (68) to one unextended Being, he may likewiſe add it to another Being that is unextended, there being nothing but extenſion that ſeems to us to make matter uncapable of thinking; at leaſt we clearly conceive, that an unextended ſubſtance which hath ſenſation, is alſo capable of reaſoning; and conſequently, if the ſoul of a beaſt is an unextended ſubſtance capable of ſenſation, it is alſo capable of reaſoning; it is therefore of the ſame ſpecies with the ſoul of man, and conſequently is not a middle ſubſtance between matter and ſpirit. Here is a queſtion put by Father Daniel. *Will the Carteſians deny the poſſibility of this ſort of Beings, capable only of ſenſation? What is become of the reſpect which their maſter endeavoured to inſpire into them for the almighty power of GOD, who, he ſays, can order it ſo, that a triangle ſhall not have three angles, and that two and two ſhall not make four; and yet cannot produce a Being, that has only ſenſations* (69)? This queſtion might puzzle a man, who ſhould have made a vow never to depart from any of Des Cartes's opinions; but it does not appear that any Carteſian will be ſuch a ſlave to him, and it is certain that Des Cartes would never have ſeriouſly affirmed, that God can make two feet of wax ſuſceptible of three or four figures, and uncapable of all others. Whatever opinion Des Cartes may have had about this, his followers will never think they are wanting in the reſpect they owe to God, if they ſay, that *a Being only capable of ſenſation*, is not more poſſible than a piece (70) of wax only ſuſceptible of a ſquare figure. As for what concerns a *being, that ſhould have only ſenſation*, they will think it very poſſible; as it is poſſible that a certain piece of matter ſhould be always round, if God would for ever hinder the tranſpoſition of its particles. Father Daniel will give me leave to obſerve, that he did not perceive that it is not the ſame thing to ſay, firſt, *a Being only capable of ſenſation*, and then, *a Being that has only ſenſations*. The poſſibility of the firſt is unconceivable; and the poſſibility of the ſecond is manifeſt. But as a piece of wax, in which God ſhould always hinder the tranſpoſition of the particles, would be of the ſame ſpecies with a piece of wax, the change of whoſe extremities would continually produce a new figure; it may likewiſe be ſaid that a ſubſtance, which God ſhould always confine within the bounds of ſenſations, would be of the ſame ſpecies with a ſubſtance that ſhould arrive to reaſoning.

(68) I take this word in the ſenſe of the Carteſians, that is, for a generic modification, which includes ſenſations, reflexions, reaſonings, &c. as ſo many different ſpecies.

(69) Suite du Voiage du Monde, *pag.* 84.

(70) By a piece here, is meant a collection of different particles. This I obſerve to prevent the difficulty of an Atomiſt, who believes, that the figure of an atome is eſſentially immutable.

It remains for me to ſhew the inſufficiency of Father Daniel's hypotheſis. I. We want a ſyſtem, which maintains that the ſouls of beaſts are mortal: but this cannot be proved by ſuppoſing a middle being between a body and a ſpirit: for ſuch a being is not extended: it is therefore indiviſible; nothing but annihilation can deſtroy it: diſeaſes, fire, and ſword, cannot hurt it; and therefore it is in that reſpect of the ſame nature and condition with ſpirits, and human ſouls. II. We want a ſyſtem whereby it may appear that there is a ſpecific difference between the ſouls of men and thoſe of beaſts: but this middle Being does not afford it; for if the ſoul of a beaſt, being neither a body nor a ſpirit, has nevertheleſs ſenſations, the ſoul of man will be able to reaſon, tho' it be neither body nor ſpirit, but a middle being between both. It is a more difficult thing for a being deſtitute of ſenſe to arrive to the perception of a tree, than for a ſenſitive being to acquire the faculty of reaſoning. III. We want a ſyſtem, that gives an account of the ſurpriſing ſkill of bees, dogs, apes, elephants; and you talk of ſuch ſouls in beaſts, as have only ſenſations, without thinking (71) and reaſoning. If you conſider it well, you will be ſenſible that ſuch a ſoul is not ſufficient to explain the phænomena. Father Daniel confeſſes it in another place of his book, where he ſeems to allow the Peripatetics no other advantage but that of poſſeſſion: for having mentioned the difficulties that are to be found in the opinion of the Carteſians concerning the beaſts, he adds (72): *It cannot be denied that the Peripatetics have alſo ſeveral difficulties to reſolve; but tho' they were much more conſiderable than they really are, as long as the Carteſians have nothing to ſay that is more ſatisfactory, or more intelligible, we ought to keep to this, and argue upon this head, as a great miniſter of ſtate did twenty-five years ago, upon the whole body of Philoſophy. He was adviſed not to let his ſon learn the antient Philoſophy, becauſe, they told him, there was nothing in it but trifling and fooleries. I have been told alſo ſaid he, that there are many fooliſh and chimerical things in the new, and therefore, continued he, ſince I am to chuſe the antient or the new fooleries, I think the antient ought to be preferred before the new.* Perhaps Nihuſius argued in the ſame manner (73).

(71) I uſe here the word *thinking* for a kind of perception, and not in the general notion of Des Cartes.

(72) Suite du Voiage du Monde de Des Cartes, *pag.* 105, 106.

(73) See the remark [*H*], of his article.

[*H*] *Mr Leibniz - - - has given us ſome inſights which deſerve to be improved.*] He approves (74) the opinion of ſome Moderns, who think that animals are organized in the ſeed; and beſides he believes (75) that matter alone cannot conſtitute a true unity, and that therefore every animal is united to a form, which is a ſimple, indiviſible, and only one being. Moreover he ſuppoſes (76) that this form never leaves it's ſubject; from whence it reſults, that, properly ſpeaking, there is neither death nor generation in nature. He excepts (77) the ſoul of man from all this; he lays it aſide, &c. This hypotheſis (78) frees us from part of the difficulties. There is no longer any need to anſwer the perplexing objections raiſed againſt the ſchoolmen. The ſoul of beaſts, ſay their adverſaries, is a ſubſtance diſtinct from the body; it muſt therefore be produced by creation, and deſtroyed by annihilation: heat muſt therefore have the power to create ſouls (79), and to annihilate them (80), than which nothing can be more abſurd. The anſwers of the Ariſtotelians to this objection do not deſerve to be mentioned, or to be brought out from the obſcurity of the ſchools where they are taught to young ſcholars: and are proper only to ſhew us, that the objection is by them unanſwerable. They do not come off better, when they are urged to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of a continual production of almoſt an infinite number of ſubſtances, which are totally deſtroyed a few days after, tho' they are far more noble, and more excellent than matter, which never loſes it's exiſtence. Mr Leibniz's hypotheſis removes all thoſe difficulties, for it induces us to belive, 1. That God in the beginning of the world created the forms of all bodies, and

(74) See Mr Leibniz's Memoir, inſerted in the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the 27th of June 1695, pag. 449, Dutch Edit.

(75) Journal des Sçavans, *June* 27, 1695, *pag.* 446.

(76) Ibid. *pag.* 447.

(77) Ibid. *pag.* 448, 450.

(78) Bernier, in his relation of the Pagans of Indoſtan, *pag. m.* 200, ſpeaks of an opinion of the Philoſophers of that country much like this.

(79) They hatch chickens by putting the eggs in an oven heated by degrees. Such a thing is practiſed in Egypt.

(80) Many ſorts of animals may be deſtroyed; if they are put in an oven a little too hot.

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what he says upon this subject, were it only to propose my doubts. But to return to Rorarius,

and consequently all the souls of beasts. 2. That those souls have subsisted ever since, being inseparably united to the first organized bodies in which God placed them. This exempts us from the necessity of recurring to the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, which otherwise we must have done. I shall down part of Mr Leibniz's discourse, that my readers may see whether I have taken his sense right. '(81) 'Here the *transformations* of Swammardam, Malpighius, and Leeuwenhoeck, some of the most excellent observators of our time, came to my assistance, 'and made me more easily believe, that animals, or 'any other organized beings, do not begin to exist 'when we think they do, and that their seeming generation is only an unfolding, and a kind of augmentation. I have also observed that the author of 'the *Recherche de la verité, --- Search after truth*, 'Mr Regis, Mr Hartsoeker, and some other able 'men have not been far from this opinion. But the 'greatest question remains still, *viz.* what becomes of 'those souls, or forms, after the death of the animal, 'or the destruction of the organized substance. This 'is the most perplexing thing; because it does not 'seem reasonable that souls should remain useless in a 'chaos of confused matter. This made me think at 'last that the only reasonable opinion I could embrace, was that of the preservation not only of the 'soul, but also the animal itself, and it's organized 'machine, tho' the destruction of the gross particles 'had reduced it to a smallness, which is no less imperceptible to our senses than it had before it was 'born. And indeed no body can exactly fix the 'true time of death, which may pass a long time for 'a meer suspension of visible actions, and at the bottom is never any thing else in meer animals: as it 'appears from the *resuscitations* of flies drowned, and 'then buried under pulverized chalk, and several such 'like instances, which shew that there would be 'many other *resuscitations*, and traced up higher, if 'men were able to put the machine again in order. '..... It is therefore natural that the animal having 'been always alive, and organized, (as some persons of 'great penetration begin to acknowledge) should always continue so. And since there is no first birth, 'nor generation of the animal altogether new, it 'follows that there will be no final extinction, nor 'total death taken in a strict metaphysical sense; 'and that consequently instead of the transmigration 'of souls, there is only a transformation of the same 'animal, according as it's organs are differently folded, 'and more or less displayed.'

(81) Journal des Sçavans, *June 27, pag.* 449.

I shall observe occasionally that some are of opinion that the primitive subject, to which our soul is united, goes out of our body together with it, when we come to die. Mr Poiret is not far from that opinion, and believes that Moses, upon the day of transfiguration, appeared with the true body that attended his soul at his departure from this life; that is, as he explains it, when that blessed soul left the case or cover, which wrapped up the subtile body to which it was united. He gives the carcase the appellation of case or rust, with respect to the true subject, that is united to the soul. These are his words: 'Cùm Deus fit constans 'in suis operibus, maxime in præcipuis, & quoad 'fundamentaliora, condideritque mentes quasdam, humanas nempe, corporibus annexas; probabile non 'est, id opus vel per aliquod tempus ex toto interrumpi atque destrui: & ex historiis sacris habemus, 'Mosen, cujus cadaver omnino cecidit, cum Elia apparuisse Apostolis Christum in transfiguratione radiantem spectantibus: id quod sine corpore, cui mens 'fuerit juncta, fieri non poterat. Nonnulli ad corpus 'ex aëre assumptum recurrunt: at quidni id ex ipso 'Mosis corpore (& sic de cæteris) esset, portio nempe 'materiæ illius internæ spiritualioris, subtilioris & 'purioris, quæ deposito cadavere, seu tegmine vel 'cortice aut scabie vel rubigine quadam, exhalaret, & 'menti adhuc unita, ejus regimine, secundum Dei 'placitum, dirigeretur (82) ---- *Seeing God is constant in all his works, especially the principal, and 'hath created certain minds, namely that of men, joined 'to bodies; it is not probable that work is altogether 'interrupted or destroyed, tho' but for a time: and we 'learn from sacred writ, that Moses, whose body died, 'with Elias, appeared unto the Apostles, beholding the 'glorious transfiguration of Christ: which could not have 'been without a body to which the mind was joined. 'Some have recourse to an assumed aërial vehicle: but 'why might it not be from the body of Moses itself, (and 'so of others) namely, a portion of that internal, more 'spiritual, subtile, and purer matter, which, the gross 'carcase being put off as a cover, bark, crust, or certain 'rust, exhaled, and being yet united to the mind, was 'thereby directed according to the divine pleasure.*' He has published some objections, that were sent him from Sedan. It was objected to him, among other things (83), that the example of Moses proves nothing; because that great Prophet could not have been seen by the Apostles, unless a great deal of matter had been added to that, which went out of his dead body with his soul. Now if it had been necessary to give him above one half of a new body, one may very well say that the matter, with which he appeared on that day, was all new. Mr Poiret answered (84) that the subtile matter, which goes out of the body with the soul, is indeed too fine to strike upon our grosser senses; but that we may see it, when God assists us in an extraordinary manner. He was told that some schoolmen admit of a quintessence, which ties a human soul to the organs formed out of the four elements, and serves it as a vehicle, when it leaves the body. They say also that this vehicle is the subject of the torments, which the reprobate endure after the resurrection. 'Observo opinionem viri docti non multum discrepare 'à quorundam Scholasticorum placitis, qui præter 'quatuor elementa nescio quam quintam essentiam venire in compositionem humani corporis opinantur, 'quæ sit veluti medium quoddam vinculum, quo incorporeus & immortalis animus cum terreno ac 'mortali corpore copuletur: aliter enim si res esset, 'nulla videretur esse proportio & convenientia inter 'corpus & animam rationalem: & illam quidem quintam essentiam naturæ cœlestis esse volunt, eamque 'ferre animum quando per mortem è corpore migrare 'cogitur, & in ea pœnas apud inferos luere sceleribus 'suis promeritas (85). --- *I observe that the opinion of 'the learned man does not much differ from the principles of some schoolmen, who think that besides the 'four elements, there is a fifth substance (quintessence) in 'the composition of the human body, which is a sort of 'medium whereby the incorporeal and immortal mind is 'united to the earthly and mortal body: for were it 'otherwise, there would appear to be no proportion 'and agreement betwixt the body and rational soul: 'and they will have that fifth substance to be of a celestial nature, and that it accompanies the mind when it 'is obliged to part from the body, and therein suffers the 'punishment deserved for it's crimes.*' Mr Poiret answered (86), that he had nothing to do with the schoolmens notions. See the margin (87).

(83) *Idem*, Responf. ad primas Object. *p.* 696.

(84) *Ibid. pag.* 697.

(85) *Ibid. pag.* 696.

(86) *Ibid. pag.* 697.

(87) *The enemies Plato &, who wrote De Sophia vulgò refutata, printed in* 1600, *&c. that Ockam, Maironi, Antonius Miranculanus, Garbius, and Lucas, would have the soul of man to be made up of two substances, alia immaterial: quæ à Deo creatur, alia material: quæ ex traduce propagatur, &c. --- One immaterial, which is created by God. another material, which is propagated by generation, &c.*

There are some things in Mr Leibniz's hypothesis, that are liable to some difficulties tho' they shew the great extent of his genius. He will have it, for instance, that the soul of a dog acts independently upon outward bodies; *that it stands upon it's own bottom, by a perfect* spontaneity *with respect to itself, and yet with a perfect* conformity *to outward things. ..... That it's internal perceptions arise from it's original constitution, that is to say, representative (capable of expressing beings out of itself, with respect to it's organs) which was bestowed upon it from the time of it's creation, and makes it's individual character* (88). From whence it results, that it would feel hunger and thirst, at such and such an hour, tho' there were not any one body in the universe, and tho' *nothing should exist but God and that soul.* He has explained (89) his thought by the example of two pendulums that should perfectly agree: that is, he supposes, that according to the particular laws, which put the soul upon action, it must feel hunger at such an hour; and that according to the particular laws, which direct the motion of matter, the body which is united to that soul must be modified at that same hour, as it is modified when the soul is hungry. I will forbear preferring this system to that of occasional causes, till the learned author has perfected it. I cannot apprehend the connexion of internal and sponta-

(88) Journal des Sçavans, *Jan.* 31, 1695. *pag.* 457.

(89) *Le tout Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, February* 1695. *pag.* 274, &c.

neous

Rorarius, I do not believe I am miſtaken when I think he was born at Pordenone in Italy [*I*]. I wiſh I had read the plea, which he compoſed for Rats (*b*). It was printed in the country of the Griſons in the year 1548. There is ſomething like it in the works of Preſident Chaſſaneus (*c*). I ſhall here give the remainder (*d*) of the collection, whereof you have ſeen the principal part in the article of Pereira.

(*b*) Oratio pro Muribus adverſus Nicolai Boſtii edictum, Auguſtæ Rheticæ, apud Phil. Ulhard. *Draudius, Biblioth. pag.* 1093.

(*c*) *See* Thuanus, *lib. xvi, pag.* 126.

(*d*) See the remark [*D*].

I am informed from ſeveral hands that many perſons, who love an hiſtorical account of opinions, have approved the collections, which I publiſhed in the remarks of this article. And I have alſo heard that it would be acceptable if I publiſhed ſome others, if any new ones ſhould come into my hands. This makes me take the liberty to add here ſome ſupplements [*K*], though I am not ignorant that many readers will not much care

neous actions, which would have this effect, that the ſoul of a dog would feel pain immediately after having felt joy, tho' it were alone in the univerſe. I underſtand why a dog paſſes immediately from pleaſure to pain, when being very hungry, and eating a piece of bread, he is ſuddenly ſtruck with a cudgel; but I cannot apprehend that his ſoul ſhould be ſo framed, that at the very moment he is beaten, he ſhould feel pain, tho' he were not beaten, and tho' he ſhould continue to eat bread without any trouble or hindrance. Nor do I ſee how the ſpontaneity of that ſoul ſhould be conſiſtent with the ſenſe of pain, and in general with all unpleaſing perceptions. Beſides, the reaſon why this learned man does not like the Cartefian ſyſtem, ſeems to me to be a falſe ſuppoſition; for it cannot be ſaid that the ſyſtem of occaſional cauſes brings in God acting by a miracle (90), *Deum ex machina*, in the mutual dependency of the body and ſoul: for ſince God does only intervene according to general laws, he cannot be ſaid to act in an extraordinary manner. Does the internal and active virtue communicated to the forms of bodies, according to Mr Leibniz, know the train of actions which it is to produce? By no means; for we know by experience that we are ignorant whether we ſhall have ſuch and ſuch perceptions in an hour's time. It were therefore neceſſary that the forms ſhould be directed by ſome external principle in the production of their acts. But this would be *Deus ex machina*, as well as in the ſyſtem of occaſional cauſes (91). In fine, as he ſuppoſes with great reaſon, that all ſouls are ſimple and indiviſible, it cannot be apprehended how they can be compared with a pendulum, that is, how by their original conſtitution they can diverſify their operations, by uſing the ſpontaneous activity, beſtowed upon them by their Creator. It may clearly be conceived that a ſimple being will always act in an uniform manner, if no external cauſe hinders it. If it was compoſed of ſeveral pieces as a machine, it would act different ways, becauſe the peculiar activity of each piece might change every moment the progreſs of others: but how will you find in a ſimple ſubſtance the cauſe of a change of operation?

(90) Ibid.

(91) See the objections made againſt Mr Leibniz, by Mr S. F. (*it is Mr Foucher*) in the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the 12th of September 1695. *pag.* 639. *& ſeq.*

[*I*] *I think he was born at Pordenone in Italy.*] Here is the reaſon I have for it. He ſays that Sacillum is near the place of his birth. 'Proximum eſt patriæ 'meæ Sacillum oppidum (in quo doctiſſimus Franciſcus 'Amaltheus publico ſtipendio humaniores litteras pro'fitetur, cujus ſub ductu pueritiæ meæ rudimentum de'poſui) amœnum flumine. - - - - *Near unto my country* '*is the town of Sacillum, (in which the moſt learned* '*Francis Amaltheus was public profeſſor of the* Belles 'Lettres, *under whom I firſt ſtudied) beautified by an* '*adjoining river.*' This parentheſis is not needleſs here; for we learn from it where our Rorarius began his ſtudies, and that the three brothers, who made the name of Amaltheus ſo famous (92), were not the only perſons of that name, that were learned. It is certain that Sacillum is not far (93) from *Portus Naonis*, or Pordenone, as the Italians call it, or Portenau, as the Germans name it (94). The Epiſtle Dedicatory of Rorarius's book to the biſhop of Arras, is dated from *Portus Naonis*; and there was a Phyſician of the ſame town, whoſe name was NICOLAS RORARIUS. He is the author of a book printed at Venice, in 1566, and 1572, intituled, *Contradictiones, dubia & paradoxa in libros Hippocratis, Celſi, Galeni, Aëtii, Æginetæ, Avicennæ cum eorundem conciliationibus.* We find the following words concerning this writer in Lindenius Renovatus. *Nicolaus Rorarius Utinenſis Medicus, vixit circa A. C.* 1563. *Renatus Moreau de V. S. in Pleurit.* The meaning of which is not that he was a native of Udine, but only that he practiſed Phyſic there. And therefore Konig has committed a fault, when he ſays, *Rorarius* (Nicol.) *de Portunnone, Utinenſis, collegit conciliationes contradictionum in ſcriptis Medicorum anno* 1566. The omiſſion of the word *Medicus* after *Utinenſis* deceives us, for it makes us believe that this Phyſician was born at Udine, and that *de Portunnone* was the firname of his family. Doni dedicated one of the chapters of his *Ramo della Zucca* (95) al S. Gregorio Rorario de Pordonone.

(92) Hieronymus, Joannes Baptiſta, & Cornelius Amalthei. *Their Latin poems have been printed at Amſterdam in* 1689, *with a preface of Mr Grævius.*

(93) *See* Leander Albertus, in Deſcriptione Italiæ, *pag. m.* 750.

(94) *See* Baudrand, *at the word* Portus Naonis.

(95) *It is the* Chiachiera ultima, *fol. m.* 64, *verſo.*

[*K*] *Makes me take the liberty to add here ſome ſupplements.*] I ſhall begin with naming the authors, who believe that beaſts have rational ſouls. I do not think that any body has carried this thing farther than the Philoſopher Celſus for deſigning to confute the Chriſtians, who ſay that all things were made for the uſe of man, he endeavours to ſhew that beaſts are not leſs excellent than man, and that they even ſurpaſs them. He aſcribes (96) to them a form of government, the obſervation of juſtice, and alſo of charity (97). He pretends that ants converſe one with another. *When they meet one another*, ſays he, *they converſe together; hence it is that they never loſe their way. They are therefore endowed with reaſon in all its degrees; they have naturally the notions of ſome univerſal truths; they have the uſe of ſpeech; they have the knowledge of accidental things, and know how to expreſs them* (98). He affirms that there are ſome beaſts '(99) which 'know the ſecrets of Magic (100); ſo that men can'not boaſt of it as of a privilege peculiar to them. 'He ſpeaks of it in this manner. *If a man is proud* '*of his knowledge of the ſecrets of Magic, ſerpents and* '*eagles know more of it than he. For they have ſeveral* '*antidotes againſt poiſons and diſeaſes, and they know the* '*virtue of certain ſtones, for the cure of their young ones;* '*which men value ſo much, that when they find any of* '*them, they think they have found a treaſure.* . . . . . '(101) Afterwards deſigning to ſhew at large, that 'men, under pretence of knowing the Deity, ought 'not to pretend upon that account that they are above 'all mortal beings, ſince there are ſome irrational 'animals, that have a clear and diſtinct idea of 'it; whilſt the moſt ſubtile men, whether they be 'Grecians or Barbarians, have every where ſo many 'diſputes about it; he adds: *if any one pretends to* '*raiſe man above other animals, becauſe he is capable* '*of knowing the Deity, and receiving the idea and* '*impreſſion of it; let him know, that there are ſeveral* '*among them, that may boaſt of the ſame advantage:* '*and not without good grounds. For can any thing be* '*more divine than to foreſee and to foretel things to come?* '*Now other animals, eſpecially birds, are in that re*'*ſpect the teachers of men; and the art of our diviners* '*conſiſts only in underſtanding what thoſe animals teach* '*them. Birds therefore, and other animals qualified* '*for divination, to whom GOD diſcovers things to* '*come, give us the knowledge of them by ſigns and* '*ſymbols: which ſhews that they have naturally a* '*greater and more intimate intercourſe with the Deity* '*than we have; that they exceed us in knowledge,* '*and that they are dearer to GOD than we. The* '*moſt knowing men ſay alſo, that thoſe animals converſe* '*together in a more holy and noble manner than we do,* '*and that as for themſelves, they underſtand their* '*language; which they make to appear from this, that* '*after they have told us that the birds ſay they will go* '*to ſuch a place, and do there ſuch a thing; they ſhew* '*us thoſe birds going thither, and actually doing what* '*they ſaid they would do. As for the elephants, there is* '*no creature that ſhews a more religious reſpect for* '(102) *oaths, or a more inviolable fidelity to GOD:* '*which doubtleſs proceeds from no other cauſe than their* '*knowledge of him.*' I do not here recite what Origen anſwers to all theſe things: it is ſufficient if I give notice that he refutes them in the work he compoſed againſt Celſus.

AUTHORS who believed that the ſoul of beaſts is endowed with reaſon.

(96) To bees and ants.

(97) *See* Origen *againſt* Celſus, *lib. iv, pag. m.* 180.

(98) Ibid. *pag.* 181, 182.

(99) Ibid. *pag.* 182.

(100) He means natural Magic.

(101) Ibid. *pag.* 183, 184.

(102) See, above, citation (35).

Salmaſius

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care for them, and will look upon them as meer excreſcencies. They ſhall not have any occaſion

Salmaſius muſt be reckoned among the Moderns, who believed that brutes are endowed with reaſon. He ſays that the examples, which may be alledged for it, are ſo many that one might fill up a book with them (103). Oſiander diſapproves this opinion. See his notes upon Grotius's book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, in the chapter wherein he rejects the definition of the law of nature, adopted by Juſtinian in the firſt book of the Inſtitute (104). This definition lays down that men and beaſts have the knowledge of the law of nature. Moſt of thoſe, who approve it, go upon this hypotheſis, that beaſts are not deprived of the uſe of reaſon; but moſt of thoſe, who reject that notion of the law of nature, go upon the contrary hypotheſis. Oſiander is one of them (105), and he commends Grotius for not approving Juſtinian's definition, wherein, ſays he, he was guided by Laurentius Valla, Franciſcus Conanus, Dominicus Sotus, and many others. We ſhall ſee below (106) an opinion of Grotius, which Oſiander has condemned, concerning the principle of certain actions of beaſts, that ſeem to proceed from reaſon. John Antony Cappella, a Neapolitan Phyſician, publiſhed in 1641 *Opuſculum paradoxicum quod ratio participetur à brutis* (107), I have not read the book; and therefore I cannot ſay which way the author goes about to prove it. I am better acquainted with Dr Willis's opinion. He pretends that the ſoul of brutes is compoſed of organs, and that it has the ſame figure and extent with the body it informs; only it is not ſo thick, and its parts are ſo fine that they cannot be ſeen, and would eaſily be diſſipated, if the body of the animal did not keep them together. 'Iſta particularum ſubtilium congeries, ſive anima, quæ ſeſe latiùs explicans, & particulas ſuas aliis craſſioribus inſinuans, & intertexens corpus fabricat, juxta figuram & dimenſionem iſtius corporis exactè conformatur, ipſi coextenditur, & tanquam capſulæ, aut vaginæ ad amuſſim adaptatur, totum ac ſingulas partes ejus actuat, vivificat, ac inſpirat; porro invicem, ipſamet anima, ex ſe ſtatim diſſolvi, tenueſque in auras evaneſcere apta, à corpore continenti, in ſubſiſtentia ſua & actu conſervatur. Ità quidem Anima, tenuiſſima licet, corporea, corporis quaſi ſpectrum, ſive larva umbratilis videtur: Porrò hæc ſimul cum corpore ex materia ritè diſpoſita emergens, hypoſtaſin, ſive ſubſiſtentiam ſuam, non minùs quàm corpus, juxta Ideam, ſive Typum ipſimet ex naturæ lege præſtitutum accipit; quamvis autem corpori intimè uniatur, ejuſque velut ſubtegmen exiſtat, attamen texturâ ſubtiliſſimâ, & quaſi filo admodum prætenui conſtans, ſenſibus noſtris percipi nequit, at ſolummodo ab effectis & operationibus ſuis dignoſcitur (108). - - - - - *That collection of ſubtile particles, or the ſoul, which, expanding itſelf, and inſinuating and intermixing its particles with others more groſs, frames the body, is exactly conformed to the figure and dimenſions of that body, is co-extended with it, and exactly fitted to it as a caſe or ſheath, giving activity, life, and ſpirit, to the whole and every part of it; moreover the ſoul it ſelf, being apt in a little time to be diſſolved and to vaniſh into the air, is by the body containing it, kept in its ſubſiſtence and office. And ſo indeed the ſoul, tho' moſt ſubtile, yet ſeems to be corporeal, and, as it were, the apparition of the body, or a ſhadowy ghoſt: moreover the ſoul ariſing from matter duly diſpoſed receives its hypoſtaſis, or ſubſiſtence, no leſs that the body according to the idea or type allotted it by nature; but though it be intimately united to the body, being thereto as it were what the woof is to cloth, yet being of a texture ſo ſubtile, and of a moſt fine thread, it cannot be preceived by our ſenſes, but is only known by its effects and operations.*' He aſcribes to this ſoul a kind of reaſon which he does even give an analyſis of (109). He ſays that there is ſuch a ſoul in man, and alſo a ſpiritual one, and pretends to explain by thoſe two ſouls the conflict which we are conſcious of within our ſelves, and which other Philoſophers explain by the ſuperior and inferior faculties of one ſimple and ſingle ſpiritual ſubſtance, which they call the rational ſoul (110). But, by his leave, this way of explaining the conflict between reaſon and the ſenſitive ſoul is not ſatisfactory; for every body is conſcious to himſelf, that the principle which deſires ſenſual pleaſures, is numerically the ſame with the principle that oppoſes ſuch deſires, and which overcomes it ſometimes, but is moſt times overcome by it. If we had two kinds of ſouls really diſtinct one from another, we ſhould not obſerve this unity of principle. If he ſhould anſwer that one of them produces its ſentiments and paſſions in the other; I then would reply, that it follows from thence, that there are two ſubſtances in each man, which have the ſame deſires. But no man did ever perceive two ſuch diſtinct principles. Beſides, if a material ſoul could communicate a ſenſual deſire to the ſpiritual ſoul of man, the body would do it likewiſe; and conſequently beings are multiplied without neceſſity, by aſcribing to each man a body, and two ſouls, one of which is ſenſitive, and the other rational. But to proceed, Dr Willis obſerves that Sir Kenelme Digby was of the opinion of Pereira and Des Cartes, concerning the ſouls of brutes 'Pereira . . . . . beſtias omni cognitione, ſeu 'perceptione carere affirmavit; quem in nupero hoc 'ſeculo κατ' ἀνδρα ſequuti ſunt Viri Clariſſimi, '*Carteſius, Digbeius*, cum aliis, qui *brutorum animas*, 'quantum fieri poſſit, ab humana diſcriminare præ 'ſe ferentes, eas non modò corporeas, & diviſibiles, 'ſed etiam mere *paſſivas* aſſeruerunt (111). - - - - - *Pereira . . . . . affirmed that beaſts, were without, any ſenſe or perception; who in this latter age hath been followed by the moſt famous men Des Cartes, Digby, and others, that endeavouring as much as poſſible to diſtinguiſh the ſouls of beaſts from that of man, have aſſerted that they are not only corporeal, and diviſible, but alſo merely paſſive.*' Afterwards he ſhews what difference there is between Des Cartes's opinion, and that of Sir Kenelme Digby, and he ſays that the latter does not deprive beaſts of either ſenſe or memory. It is not true therefore that his opinion was the ſame with that of Pereira, and Des Cartes: why then did the doctor ſay it was? 'Digbeius . . . . . 'inſuper adjecit, effluvia quædam tenuiſſima è corpore 'ſenſibili delibata, non modò ſenſoria exteriora 'afficere, verùm & interiores receſſus ſubingredientia, 'ſeſe ſpiritibus immiſcere, eoſque in varias fluctuationes agendo, & *ſenſus & motus locales* diverſimodos producere; porrò ex his atomis extrinſecis ita partes 'nervoſas, ac cerebrum ipſum ſubeuntibus, haud 'tantùm actiones extemporaneas procedere; verùm ex 'iiſdem in corpore ſentiente relictis, ac intra cerebri lo-'culos reconditis, prioreſque configurationes retinenti-'bus, rerum anteactarum ideas in *memoriâ* reſiduas 'conſtitui (112) - - - - *Digby . . . . added, that certain moſt ſubtile effluvia from the bodies perceived by ſenſe, did not only affect the outward organs, but entring more inwardly, mixing with the animal ſpirits, and exciting various motions in them, produce both* ſenſation, *and* local motion; *moreover from theſe outward atoms ſo entring into the nervous parts, and into the brain it ſelf, not only proceed the ſudden actions; but from the ſame remaining in the receſſes of the brain, and retaining their former figures, the ideas of things paſt reſiding in the* memory, *are framed.*' Let us conclude, that Sir Kenelme Digby is none of thoſe who maintain that beaſts are meer machines. Mr Locke has declared himſelf to be againſt thoſe who will not allow reaſon to brutes. The following words will ſhew you wherein he places the difference between men and beaſts. 'This I think I may be poſitive in, 'that the power of abſtracting is not at all in them, 'and that the having of general ideas is that which puts 'a perfect diſtinction betwixt man and brutes; and is 'an excellency, which the faculties of brutes do by 'no means attain to. For it is evident, we obſerve 'no footſteps in them of making uſe of general ſigns, 'for univerſal ideas: from which we have reaſon to 'imagine, that they have not the faculty of abſtracting, 'or making general ideas, ſince they have no uſe of 'words or any other general ſigns (113). And there-'fore I think we may ſuppoſe, that it is in this that 'the ſpecies of brutes are diſcriminated from men: 'and it is that proper difference wherein they are 'wholly ſeparated, and which at laſt widens to ſo vaſt 'a diſtance. For if they have any ideas at all, and 'are not bare machines, (as ſome would have them) 'we cannot deny them to have ſome reaſon. It 'ſeems as evident to me that they do, ſome of them, 'in certain inſtances, reaſon, as that they have ſenſe; 'but

(103) *See* Oſiander, Annot. in Libr. Grotii de Jure Belli & Pacis, *pag.* 213.

(104) Jus naturale eſt quod natura omnia animalia docuit. Nam jus iſtud non humani generis proprium eſt, ſed omnium animalium, quæ in cœlo, quæ in terra, quæ, in mari naſcuntur . . . Videmus enim cætera quoque animalia illius juris peritia cenſeri. *Inſtitut. lib. i, tit. II.*

(105) Oſiander, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 206, *& ſeq.*

(106) Citation (119).

(107) Nicolo Toppi, Biblioth. Napolet. *p.* 124.

(108) Thomas Willis, de Anima Brutorum, *Part i, cap. ii, pag. m.* 14, 15.

(109) Ibid. *cap. vii, pag.* 91, 92.

(110) Ibid. *cap. viii,*

(111) Ibid. *cap. i, pag.* 5, 6.

(112) Ib. *p.* 7.

(113) Locke, An Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, *book ii, chap. xi, §. v, xi.* It is an excellent work, which deſerved to be tranſlated into French, as well as it has been done by Mr Coſte.

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occaſion to ſay ſo of the obſervations I deſign to make upon Mr Leibniz's reflexions

' but it is only on particular ideas, juſt as they re-
' ceive them from their ſenſes, they are the beſt of
' them tied up within thoſe narrow bounds, and have
' not, as I think, the faculty to enlarge them by any
' kind of abſtraction (114).'

(114) Ibid. *pag.* 371.

AUTHORS who have aſcribed the actions of brutes to an external principle.

There is in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (115), an abſtract of a book intituled, *Eſſais nouveaux de Morale*, which was printed at Paris in 1686. The author, who denies, on the one ſide, that beaſts are endowed with the faculty of reaſoning, confeſſes, on the other ſide, that their actions are directed by an *external reaſon*, and that *the reaſon and wiſdom, which governs them, is a reaſon and wiſdom more excellent and ſure than that of men* (116) . . . . *The reaſon*, ſays he (117), *which operates in beaſts, is not in them . . . . . it is, as St Thomas ſays after all the antient Fathers, the ſovereign and eternal reaſon of the ſupreme architect, who preſerves his works, and directs them to the ends for which he created them, with the ſecret ſprings he has put in them, which are variouſly determined according to occurrences, to produce a thouſand ſorts of different motions, according to their ſeveral wants.* Add to this the following words of Mr Bernard: ' The Philo-
' ſophers, who are moſt inclined to believe that beaſts
' are meer machines, muſt ingenuouſly confeſs that
' they perform ſeveral actions, the mechaniſm of
' which it is impoſſible to explain. It would be much
' better to ſay in general, that GOD, who was wil-
' ling that their machines ſhould ſubſiſt for ſome time,
' has, through his infinite wiſdom, diſpoſed their parts
' agreeably to ſuch an intention. I think I have
' read ſomewhere this poſition, *Deus eſt anima bru-*
' *torum:* this expreſſion is ſomewhat harſh; but it
' is ſuſceptible of a reaſonable ſenſe (118).' Grotius ſays that ſome actions of beaſts, wherein they give over their private intereſt in favour of others, proceed from an external intelligence. ' Cæterarum ani-
' mantium quædam utilitatum ſuarum ſtudium, partim
' fœtuum ſuorum partim aliorum ſibi congenerum
' reſpectu, aliquatenus temperant: quod in illis qui-
' dem procedere credimus ex principio aliquo intelli-
' gente extrinſeco, quia circa actus alios, iſtis neuti-
' quam difficiliores, par intelligentia in illis non
' apparet (119) - - - - - *Some of the other animals,*
' *do in ſome meaſure abſtain from what is profitable to*
' *themſelves, in regard partly of their own young, and*
' *partly of thoſe of others of the ſame ſpecies: which we*
' *believe to proceed from ſome outward intelligent principle,*
' *becauſe about other actions not more difficult, the like*
' *underſtanding does not appear.*' Gaſpar Zieglerus, in his note upon this paſſage, complains of Grotius for not explaining more clearly his thoughts about the nature of that external principle: if it be the divine providence, ſays he, Grotius lies open to the ſevere ſtrokes of Dr Juan Huarte (120), who ſhews that a Philoſopher ought not to explain phænomena by the immediate operation of GOD. He quotes two writers, who have aſcribed all the ſkill of brutes to a natural inſtinct, and he approves their opinion (121). Oſiander did very much enlarge in confuting Grotius, and he ſays among other things, that this external principle muſt be either GOD himſelf, or an angel, or the univerſal form of Averroës, and that none of thoſe three ſuppoſitions can be admitted (122). My mentioning Averroës, puts me in mind that he admitted an external principle of human knowledge common to all particular underſtandings, and which influences alſo beaſts and ſtones; but ſince he acknowledged that this influence is fruitleſs with reſpect to beaſts and inſenſible creatures; becauſe it falls upon a matter ill diſpoſed, it cannot be inferred that he aſcribed more perfection to beaſts than the ſchoolmen do. ' Averroës lib. 3. de anima cap. 5. unum
' facit omnium hominum intellectum, re ab animæ
' ſubſtantia ſeparatum, ſed ſingulis conjunctum per
' inſidentes phantaſiæ imagines; etiam equo, & aſino,
' lapidi, & metallo, aſſiſtentem, ſed citra fructum,
' quia materies ſit inepta (123) - - - - - *Averroës in*
' *his third book concerning the ſoul, ſays, that the under-*
' *ſtanding of all men is the ſame, really diſtinguiſhed from*
' *the ſubſtance of the ſoul, but united to every particular*
' *man by the images reſiding in the phantaſy: it is alſo*
' *aſſiſtant to horſes, aſſes, ſtones, and metals, but with-*
' *out effect, becauſe of the incapacity of the ſubjects.*'

(115) For the month of October 1686, *pag.* 1196, & *ſeq.*

(116) Nouveaux Eſſais de Morale, *pag.* 30.

(117) Ibid. *pag.* 32.

(118) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *October* 1700, *pag.* 419, 420.

(119) Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, *Proleg. num.* 7.

(120) *In the 7th chapter of his* Examen de Ingenios para las Sciencias [*Trial of Wits*].

(121) Nos omnem brutorum induſtriam ad inſtinctum referimus naturæ, cum Sperlingio noſtro, *lib. i, Inſtit. Phyſ. cap. vi, qu. iii,* & cum ſecuto Joh. Frid. Hornio, *de ſubject. jur. nat. cap. vi.* Ziegler, in Prolegomena Grotii, *pag.* 5.

(122) Oſiander, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 48, & *ſeq.*

(123) Voſſius, de origine & progreſſu Idol. *lib. iii, cap. xlii, pag. m.* 952.

Mr de Vigneul Marville tells us (124), that there was a certain Philoſopher who in order to explain in Mr Rohault's conferences, how beaſts, being meer machines, *acted nevertheleſs, as if they had a ſoul,* made uſe of the hypotheſis of the Comte de Gabalis, and by way of accommodation, made it ſerve his purpoſe; that is, he ſuppoſed that certain elementary ſpirits make it their buſineſs *to put in motion all the machines of beaſts, according to the rules of mechanics.* He gave ſo ingenious a turn to his diſcourſe, that Mr Pequet told him, that *if his agreeable ſyſtem was not true, it was however* bene trovato (*well contrived*) (125). I make no doubt that ſome people will be pleaſed with it: but if I was to diſpute about it, I could eaſily ſhew that it is inſufficient to explain the phænomena, and that in ſome reſpects it is more intricate than that of Des Cartes. The difficulty, which makes the Carteſians moſt uneaſy, does not conſiſt in ſaying that beaſts do readily move a thouſand different ways, but in ſaying that they expreſs love, hatred, joy, jealouſy, fear, grief, &c. The ſyſtem of thoſe elementary ſpirits is of no uſe to explain this, ſince it is pretended that they put in motion the ſprings of beaſts, only to procure to themſelves an agreeable amuſement. They would not be therefore ſuch fools as to undergo hunger, cold, or pain. It were therefore neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that none of thoſe paſſions is to be found in beaſts, and then all the difficulties return again; or elſe it muſt be ſaid, that thoſe ſpirits are condemned to direct the machines of brutes, in order to expiate their ſins, by ſuffering all the paſſions which the Peripatetics aſcribe to beaſts: which is againſt the ſuppoſition of the Gabaliſt Philoſopher. I omit ſeveral other difficulties as great as theſe which may be raiſed againſt that ſyſtem falſly ſaid to be *bene trovato.*

(124) Mélanges d'Hiſtoire & de Litterature, *Tom.* I, *pag.* 100, & *ſeq.* Rouën 1700.

(125) Ibid. *pag* 106.

You will find in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (126), that Mr Vallade, author of a Philoſophical diſcourſe concerning the creation and ordering of the world, has explained the moſt ſurpriſing actions of brutes by mechanical laws. The ſame *Nouvelles* (127) inform us, that Mr de la Bruyere was cenſured for aſſerting *that beaſts are nothing but matter.* There is in the fine book of Don Francis Lami (128), about the knowledge of ones ſelf, an explanation (129) wherein the author ſhews that *there is no ſolid reaſon to aſcribe either knowledge or immortality to the ſouls of beaſts; whereas it cannot be reaſonably denied that human ſouls have both the one and the other.* That explanation is worth reading, eſpecially, becauſe it contains a ſolution of the moſt perplexing difficulty of the Carteſian ſyſtem; for Don Lami ſhews that any body may be convinced by very ſtrong arguments, that other men are not meer machines: and yet the Anti-Carteſians draw ſuch an inference, from this poſition, viz. that brutes are made up of organs ſo well contrived, that they may do without knowledge whatever they do. If GOD, ſay they, was able to form ſuch a machine, he might alſo make others that would perform all the actions of man, and conſequently we could not be ſure that any other man thinks beſides us. Father Gilbert, Regius profeſſor in the univerſity of Touloufe, is one of thoſe who have publiſhed ſome books againſt the opinion of the Carteſians about the ſouls of beaſts (130). Note, that this opinion has been aſſerted in a courſe of Philoſophy taught (131) at Paris, in the college *of the four Nations*, and afterwards printed in the ſame city in the year 1695 with this title, *Inſtitutio Philoſophica ad faciliorem veterum ac recentiorum Philoſophorum lectionem comparata.* It contains four volumes in 12mo. What concerns the ſenſitive ſoul is to be ſeen in the third volume from page 271, to page 292. I do not queſtion that Dr Bayle, a Phyſician and profeſſor of the Liberal Arts at Touloufe, has embraced Des Cartes's opinion upon this head in his Phyſicks, which he has lately publiſhed in three volumes in quarto (132).

AUTHORS who have maintained that beaſts are mere machines, or confuted that opinion.

(126) For the month of October 1700, *pag.* 419.

(127) April 1701, *p.* 433, & *ſeq.*

(128) A Benedictin of the congregation of St Maur.

(129) *Tom.* V, *pag.* 526, & *ſeq. Paris* 1698.

(130) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *January* 16, 1690, *pag.* 49, *Dutch Edit.*

(131) By Mr Pourchot.

(132) See the abſtract of the firſt in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, February 1701, *pag.* 209, & *ſeq.* Which gives a great character of that work.

I could make a long ſupplement to what I have ſaid (133), concerning Mr Poiret's opinion; but I had rather ſuppreſs it, and only point out a writer (134), who made a very learned collection relating to the doctrine of the Platoniſts, about the ætherial matter, which attends ſouls at their entrance into bodies, and at their going out of them.

(133) Above, remark [*H*].

(134) Renatus Vallinus, ad Librum III Boëtii de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ, *p.* 62, & *ſeq.*

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flexions [*L*], which have been publiſhed in the journal of Mr Baſnage; for thoſe obſervations, are

[*L*] *Of the obſervations which I deſign to make upon Mr Leibniz's reflexions.*] I declare firſt of all, that I am very glad I have propoſed ſome ſmall difficulties againſt the ſyſtem of that great Philoſopher, ſince they have occaſioned ſome anſwers, whereby that ſubject has been made clearer to me, and which have given me a more diſtinct notion of what is moſt to be admired in it. I look now upon that new ſyſtem as an important conqueſt, which enlarges the bounds of Philoſophy. We had only two hypotheſes, that of the ſchools, and that of the Carteſians: the one was a *way of influence* of the body upon the ſoul, and of the ſoul upon the body; the other was a *way of aſſiſtance*, or occaſional cauſality. But here is a new acquiſition, a new hypotheſis, which may be called, as Father Lami ſtiles it, *a way of pre-eſtabliſhed harmony* (135). We are beholden for it to Mr Leibniz, and it is impoſſible to conceive any thing, that gives us a nobler idea of the power and wiſdom of the author of all things. This, together with the advantage of ſetting aſide all notions of a miraculous conduct, would engage me to prefer this new ſyſtem to that of the Carteſians, if I could conceive ſome poſſibility in the way of *pre-eſtabliſhed harmony*. I deſire the reader to take notice, that though I confeſs that this way removes all notions of a miraculous conduct, yet I do not retract what I have ſaid formerly, that the ſyſtem of occaſional cauſes does not bring in God acting miraculouſly (136). I am as much perſuaded as ever I was, that an action cannot be ſaid to be miraculous, unleſs God produces it as an exception to the general laws; and that every thing, of which he is immediately the author, according to thoſe laws, is diſtinct from a miracle properly ſo called. But being willing to cut off from this diſpute as many things as I can poſſibly, I conſent it ſhould be ſaid that the ſureſt way of removing all the notions that include a miracle, is to ſuppoſe that created ſubſtances are actively the immediate cauſes of the effects of nature. I will therefore lay aſide what I might reply to that part of Mr Leibniz's anſwer. I will alſo omit all the objections which are not more contrary to his opinion, than to that of ſome other Philoſophers. I will not therefore propoſe the difficulties that may be raiſed againſt this ſuppoſition, that a creature can receive from God the power of moving itſelf. They are ſtrong, and almoſt unanſwerable (137); but Mr Leibniz's ſyſtem does not lie more open to them than that of the Ariſtotelians: nay, I do not know whether the Carteſians would preſume to ſay, that God cannot communicate to our ſouls a power of acting. If they ſay ſo, how can they own that Adam ſinned? And if they dare not ſay ſo, they weaken the arguments, whereby they endeavour to prove, that matter is not capable of any ſort of activity. Nor do I believe that it is more difficult for Mr Leibniz than for the Carteſians, or other Philoſophers, to free himſelf from the objection of a fatal mechaniſm, which deſtroys human liberty. Wherefore waving this, I ſhall only ſpeak of what is peculiar to the ſyſtem of the *pre-eſtabliſhed harmony*.

I. My firſt obſervation ſhall be, that it raiſes the power and wiſdom of the Divine art above whatever can be conceived. Fancy to your ſelf a ſhip, which, without having any ſenſe, or knowledge, and without being directed by any created or uncreated being, has the power of moving itſelf ſo ſeaſonably as to have always the wind favourable, to avoid currents, and rocks, to caſt anchor where it ought to be done, and to retire into a harbour preciſely when it is neceſſary: ſuppoſe ſuch a ſhip ſails in that manner for ſeveral years ſucceſſively, being always turned and ſituated as it ought to be, according to the ſeveral changes of the air, and the different ſituation of ſeas and lands; you will acknowledge that God, notwithſtanding his infinite power, cannot communicate ſuch a faculty to a ſhip; nay, you will ſay that the nature of a ſhip is not capable of receiving it from God. And yet what Mr Leibniz ſuppoſes about the machine of a human body is more admirable and more ſurprizing than all this. Let us apply his ſyſtem concerning the union of the ſoul with the body to the perſon of Julius Cæſar.

II. We muſt ſay according to this ſyſtem that the body of Julius Cæſar did ſo exerciſe its moving faculty, that from its birth to its death, it went through continual changes, which did moſt exactly anſwer the perpetual changes of a certain ſoul which it did not know, and which made no impreſſion upon it. We muſt ſay that the rule, according to which that faculty of Cæſar's body performed ſuch actions, was ſuch that he would have gone to the ſenate upon ſuch a day, and at ſuch an hour; that he would have ſpoke there ſuch and ſuch words, &c. tho' God had been willing to annihilate his ſoul the next day after it was created. We muſt ſay, that this moving faculty did change and modify itſelf exactly according to the volubility of the thoughts of that ambitious man; and that it was affected preciſely in a certain manner, rather than in another, becauſe the ſoul of Cæſar paſſed from a certain thought to another. Can a blind power modify itſelf ſo exactly by virtue of an impreſſion, communicated thirty or forty years before, and which was never renewed ſince, and which is left to itſelf, without ever knowing what it is to do? Is not this much more incomprehenſible than the navigation I ſpoke of in the foregoing paragraph?

III. The difficulty will be greater ſtill, if it be conſidered that the human machine contains an almoſt infinite number of organs, and that it is continually expoſed to the ſhock of the bodies that ſurround it (138), and which by an innumerable variety of ſhakings, produce in it a thouſand ſorts of modifications. How is it poſſible to conceive that this *pre-eſtabliſhed harmony* ſhould never be diſordered, but go on ſtill during the longeſt life of a man, notwithſtanding the infinite varieties of the reciprocal action of ſo many organs upon one another, which are ſurrounded on all ſides with infinite corpuſcles, ſometimes hot and ſometimes cold, ſometimes dry and ſometimes moiſt, and always acting and pricking the nerves a thouſand different ways. Suppoſe that the multiplicity of organs, and of external agents, be a neceſſary inſtrument of the almoſt infinite variety of changes in a human body; will that variety have the exactneſs here required? Will it never diſturb the correſpondence of thoſe changes with the changes of the ſoul? This ſeems to be altogether impoſſible.

IV. It is in vain to have recourſe to the power of God, in order to maintain that brutes are meer machines; it is in vain to ſay that God was able to make machines ſo artfully contrived that the voice of a man, the reflected light of an object, &c. will ſtrike them exactly where it is neceſſary, that they may move in a certain manner. This ſuppoſition is rejected by every body, except ſome Carteſians; and no Carteſian would admit of it, if it were to be extended to man, that is, if any one ſhould aſſert, that God was able to form ſuch bodies as would machinally do whatever we ſee other men do. By denying this, we do not pretend to limit the power and knowledge of God; we only mean that the nature of things does not permit, that the faculties, imparted to a creature ſhould not be neceſſarily confined within certain bounds. The actions of creatures muſt be neceſſarily proportioned to their eſſential ſtate, and performed according to the character that belongs to each machine; for according to the axiom of the Philoſophers (139), whatever is received, is proportioned to the capacity of the ſubject that receives it. We may therefore reject Mr Leibniz's hypotheſis as being impoſſible, ſince it is liable to greater difficulties than that of the Carteſians which makes beaſts to be meer machines. It puts a perpetual harmony between two beings, which do not act one upon another; but if ſervants were meer machines, and ſhould punctually obey their maſters command, it could not be ſaid, that they do it without a real action of their maſters upon them: for their maſters would ſpeak ſome words, and make ſome ſigns, that would really ſhake and move the organs of the ſervants.

V. Now let us conſider the ſoul of Julius Cæſar, and we ſhall find the thing more impoſſible ſtill. That ſoul was in the world without being expoſed to the influence of any ſpirit. The power it received from God, was the only principle of the actions it produced at every moment: And if thoſe actions were different one from another, it was not becauſe ſome of them were produced by the united influence of ſome ſprings, which did not contribute to the production of others, for

(135) *Dom* Francis Lami, *Traitté II, de la* Connoiſſance de ſoi-même, *p.* 226, *Edit.* 1699.

(136) See the Memoir which Mr Leibniz has cauſed to be inſerted in the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans*, *July* 1698, *p.* 334.

(137) See Mr Sturmius, in the firſt tome of his *Phyſica electiva ſive hypothetica* (whereof an extract is to be found in the Journal of Leipſic 1697, *pag.* 474, & *ſeq.*) and in the Memoir which he hath inſerted in the Journal of Leipſic 1699, *pag.* 208, & *ſeq.* to anſwer a Memoir of Mr Leibniz, inſerted in the ſame Journal 1698, *pag.* 427, & *ſeq.*

(138) Obſerve, that according to Mr Leibniz, what is active in every ſubſtance, ought to be reduced to a true unity. Since therefore the body of every man is compoſed of ſeveral ſubſtances, each of them ought to have a principle of action really diſtinct from the principle of each of the others. He will have the action of every principle to be ſpontaneous. Now this muſt needs vary their effects, *in* reſpect, and confound them. For the impreſſion of the neighbouring bodies muſt needs put ſome conſtraint upon the natural ſpontaneity of every one of them.

(139) Quidquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis recipitur.

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are a natural and neceſſary conſequence of a paſſage in the firſt edition of this article. I hope

for the ſoul of man is ſimple, indiviſible, and immaterial. Mr Leibniz owns it: and if he did not acknowledge it, but if, on the contrary, he ſhould ſuppoſe with moſt Philoſophers, and ſome of the moſt excellent Metaphyſicians of our age (140), that a compound of ſeveral material parts placed and diſpoſed in a certain manner, is capable of thinking; his hypotheſis would appear to me, for that very thing, abſolutely impoſſible, and I could refute it ſeveral other ways, which I need not mention, ſince he acknowledges the immateriality of our ſoul, and builds upon it. Let us return to the ſoul of Julius Cæſar, and call it an immaterial Automaton (141), and compare it with an atom of Epicurus; I mean an atom ſurrounded with a vacuum on all ſides, and which would never meet any other atom. This is a very juſt compariſon; for this atom on the one hand, has a natural power of moving itſelf, and exerts it without any aſſiſtance, and without being retarded or hindred by any thing; and on the other hand, the ſoul of Cæſar is a ſpirit, which has received the faculty of producing thoughts, and exerts it without the influence of any other ſpirit, or of any body. It is neither aſſiſted nor thwarted by any thing whatſoever. If you conſult the common notions, and the ideas of order, you will find that this atom can never ſtop, and that having been in motion in the foregoing moment, it will continue in it at this very moment, and in all the moments that ſhall follow, and that it will always move in the ſame manner. This is the conſequence of an axiom approved by Mr Leibniz: Since *a thing does always remain in the ſame ſtate wherein it happens to be, unleſs it receives ſome alteration from ſome other thing* (142); .... *We conclude*, ſays he (143), *not only that a body which is at reſt, will always be at reſt; but alſo that a body in motion, will always keep that motion or change, that is, the ſame ſwiftneſs, and the ſame direction, if nothing happens that hinders it.* Every one clearly ſees that this atom, whether it moves by an innate power, as Democritus and Epicurus would have it, or by a power received from the Creator, will always move in the ſame line equally, and after an uniform manner, without ever turning, or going back. Epicurus was laughed at, when he invented the motion of declination (144); it was a needleſs ſuppoſition which he wanted to get out of the labyrinth of a fatal neceſſity, and he could give no reaſon for this new part of his ſyſtem. It was inconſiſtent with the cleareſt notions of our minds; for it is evident that an atom, which deſcribes a ſtrait line for the ſpace of two days, cannot turn away at the beginning of the third, unleſs it meets with ſome obſtacle, or has a mind, all of a ſudden, to go out of its road, or contains ſome ſpring which begins to play at that very moment. The firſt of theſe reaſons cannot be admitted in a vacuum. The ſecond is impoſſible, ſince an atom has not the faculty of thinking. And the third is likewiſe impoſſible in a corpuſcle that is a perfect unity. I muſt make ſome uſe of all this.

VI. Cæſar's ſoul is a being to which unity belongs in a ſtrict ſenſe. The faculty of producing thoughts is a property of it's nature (145), which it has received from God, both as to poſſeſſion and exerciſe. If the firſt thought it produces is a ſenſe of pleaſure, there is no reaſon why the ſecond ſhould not be likewiſe a ſenſe of pleaſure; for when the total cauſe of an effect remains the ſame, the effect cannot be altered. Now this ſoul at the ſecond moment of it's exiſtence, does not receive a new faculty of thinking; it only preſerves the faculty it had at the firſt moment, and it is as independent from the concourſe of any other cauſe at the ſecond moment as it was at the firſt; it muſt therefore produce again at the ſecond moment the ſame thought it had produced juſt before. If it be objected that it ought to be in a ſtate of change, and that it would not be in ſuch a ſtate, in the caſe that I have ſuppoſed; I anſwer that it's change will be like the change of the atom: for an atom, which continually moves in the ſame line, acquires a new ſituation at every moment; but it is like the preceding ſituation. A ſoul may therefore continue in its ſtate of change, if it does but produce a new thought like the preceeding. But ſuppoſe it be not confined within ſuch narrow bounds; it muſt be granted at leaſt, that its going from one thought to another implies ſome reaſon of affinity. If I ſuppoſe that in a certain inſtant the ſoul of Cæſar ſees a tree with leaves and bloſſoms, I can conceive (146) that it does immediately deſire to ſee one that has only leaves, and then one that has only bloſſoms, and that it will thus ſucceſſively produce ſeveral images ariſing from one another; but one cannot apprehend the poſſibility of the odd changes of thoughts, that have no affinity with, and are even contrary to, one another, and which are ſo common in mens ſouls. One cannot apprehend how God could place in the ſoul of Julius Cæſar the principle of what I am going to ſay. He was without doubt pricked with a pin more than once, when he was ſucking; and therefore, according to Mr Leibniz's hypotheſis, which I am here conſidering, his ſoul muſt have produced in itſelf, a ſenſe of pain immediately after the pleaſant ſenſations of the ſweetneſs of the milk, which it had enjoyed for the ſpace of two or three minutes. By what ſprings was it determined to interrupt its pleaſures, and to give itſelf all of a ſudden a ſenſe of pain, without receiving any intimation of preparing itſelf to change, and without any new alteration in its ſubſtance? If you run over the life of that Roman emperor, every page will afford you matter for a ſtronger objection than this is.

VII. The thing would be leſs incomprehenſible, if it were ſuppoſed that the ſoul of man is not one ſpirit, but rather a multitude of ſpirits, each of which has its functions, that begin and end preciſely as the changes made in a human body require. By virtue of this ſuppoſition it ſhould be ſaid, that ſomething analogous to a great number of wheels and ſprings, or of matters that ferment, diſpoſed according to the changes of our machine, awakens or lulls aſleep for a certain time, the action of each of thoſe ſpirits; but then the ſoul of man would be no longer a ſingle ſubſtance, but an *Ens per aggregationem*, a collection and heap of ſubſtances juſt like all material beings. We are here in queſt of a ſingle being, which produces in itſelf ſometimes joy, ſometimes pain, &c. and not of many beings, one of which produces hope, another deſpair, &c.

In theſe obſervations I have only cleared and unfolded thoſe, which Mr Leibniz has done me the honour to examine; and now I ſhall make ſome reflexions upon his anſwers.

VIII. He ſays (147), that *the law of the change which happens in the ſubſtance of the animal, tranſports him from pleaſure to pain, at the very moment that a ſolution of continuity is made in his body; becauſe the law of the indiviſible ſubſtance of that animal, is to repreſent what is done in his body, as we experience it, and even to repreſent in ſome manner, and with reſpect to that body, whatever is done in the world.* Theſe words are a very good explication of the grounds of this ſyſtem: they are, as it were, the unfolding and key of it; but at the ſame time they are the very things at which all the objections of thoſe, who take this ſyſtem to be impoſſible, are levelled. The law Mr Leibniz ſpeaks of, ſuppoſes a decree of God, and ſhews wherein this ſyſtem agrees with that of occaſional cauſes. Thoſe two ſyſtems agree in this point, that there are ſome laws, according to which the ſoul of man is *to repreſent what is done in the body of man, as we experience it.* But they diſagree as to the manner of executing thoſe laws: the Carteſians ſay, that God executes them: Mr Leibniz will have it, that the ſoul itſelf does it; which appears to me impoſſible, becauſe the ſoul has not the neceſſary inſtruments for ſuch an execution. Now however infinite the power and knowledge of God be, he cannot perform with a machine deprived of a certain piece, what requires the concourſe of ſuch a piece. He muſt ſupply that defect; but then this effect would be produced by him and not by the machine. I ſhall ſhew that the ſoul has not the inſtruments requiſite for the execution of the Divine law we ſpeak of, and in order to it I ſhall make uſe of a compariſon.

Fancy to your ſelf an animal created by God, and deſigned to ſing continually. He will always ſing, that is moſt certain, but if God deſigns him a certain tablature, he muſt neceſſarily either put it before his eyes, or imprint it upon his memory, or diſpoſe his muſcles in ſuch a manner, that according to the laws of mechaniſm, one certain note will always come after another,

(140) Mr Locke for inſtance.

(141) Mr Leibniz uſes this expreſſion, *ubi ſupra, pag.* 338. The ſoul, *ſays he*, is a moſt exact immaterial *automaton.*

(142) *Memoir inſerted in the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *July* 1698, *pag.* 331.

(143) Mr Leibniz, *ibid.* declares that he acknowledges the truth of this axiom: *nay*, ſays he, *I maintain that it is favourable to me, and indeed it is one of the things I build upon.*

(144) See, above, the article EPICURUS, remark [*U*].

(145) This I ſay, according to Mr Leibniz's ſyſtem.

(146) I ſpeak thus by way of conceſſion; that is to ſay, I will not take an advantage of the reaſons which hinder us from conceiving that a created ſpirit can of himſelf frame any ideas.

(147) Leibniz, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 332.

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hope they will prove an occaſion of clearing up a ſubject, which is not leſs difficult than important.

another, agreeable to the order of the tablature. Without this one cannot apprehend that this animal can ever follow the whole ſet of the notes appointed by GOD. Let us apply this to man's ſoul. Mr Leibniz will have it, that it has received not only the power of producing thoughts continually, but alſo the faculty of following always a certain ſet of thoughts, which anſwers the continual changes that happen in the machine of the body. This ſet of thoughts is like the tablature preſcribed to the ſinging animal abovementioned. Can the ſoul change its perceptions or modifications at every moment, according to ſuch a ſet of thoughts, without knowing the ſeries of the notes, and actually thinking upon them? But experience teaches us, that it knows nothing of it. Were it not at leaſt neceſſary, that, in default of ſuch a knowledge, there ſhould be in the ſoul a ſet of particular inſtruments, each of which would be a neceſſary cauſe of ſuch or ſuch a thought? Muſt they not be ſo placed and diſpoſed as to operate preciſely one after another, according to the correſpondence *pre-eſtabliſhed* betwixt the changes of the body and the thoughts of the ſoul? but it is moſt certain, that an immaterial, ſimple, and indiviſible ſubſtance, cannot be made up of ſuch an innumerable multitude of particular inſtruments placed one before another, according to the order of the tablature in queſtion. It is not therefore poſſible that a human ſoul ſhould execute that law.

(148) Ubi ſupra, *pag.* 337.

Mr Leibniz (148) ſuppoſes that the ſoul does not diſtinctly know its future perceptions, *but that it perceives them confuſedly*, and that *there are in each ſubſtance tracts of whatever hath happened, and ſhall happen to it* (149): *but that an infinite multitude of perceptions hinders us from diſtinguiſhing them. . . . . The preſent ſtate of each* ſubſtance, is a natural conſequence of its preceding ſtate. . . . . (150) *The ſoul, though never ſo ſimple, has always a ſentiment compoſed of ſeveral perceptions at one time; which anſwers our end as well as if it was compoſed of pieces, like a machine. For each foregoing perception has an influence upon thoſe that follow, agreeably to a law of order, which is in perceptions as well as in motions. . . . . (151) The perceptions that are together in one and the ſame ſoul at the ſame time, including an infinite multitude of little undiſtinguiſhable ſentiments that are to be unfolded, we need not wonder at the infinite variety of what is to reſult from it in time. This is only a conſequence of the repreſentative nature of the ſoul, which is to expreſs what happens, and what will happen in its body, and in ſome manner in all other bodies, by the connexion and correſpondence of all the parts of the world.* I have but little to ſay in anſwer to this: I ſhall only obſerve, that this ſuppoſition when ſufficiently cleared, is the right way of ſolving all the difficulties. Mr Leibniz, through the penetration of his great genius, has very well conceived the whole extent and ſtrength of the objection, and what remedy ought to be applied to the main inconveniency. I do not queſtion but that he will ſmooth the rough part of his ſyſtem, and teach us ſome excellent things about the nature of ſpirits. No body can travel more uſefully and more ſafely than he in the intellectual world. I hope that his curious explanations will remove all the impoſſibilities, which I have found hitherto in his ſyſtem, and that he will ſolidly reſolve my difficulties, and even thoſe of Father Lami (152); and theſe hopes made me ſay before, without deſigning to paſs a compliment upon that learned man, that his ſyſtem ought to be looked upon as an important conqueſt (153).

(149) This is what cannot be conceived in an indiviſible, ſimple, and immaterial ſubſtance.

(150) Ibid. *pag.* 339, 340.

(151) Ibid. p. 3, 340.

(152) They are in the 2d diſcourſe of Self-Knowledge, *from pag.* 225, *to pag.* 243, *Paris Edit.* 1699.

(153) Above, remark [L], at the beginning.

He will not be much embaraſſed by this, viz. that whereas according to the ſuppoſition of the Carteſians, there is but one general law for the union of all ſpirits with bodies, he will have it, That GOD gives a particular law to each ſpirit; from whence it ſeems to reſult, that the primitive conſtitution of each ſpirit is ſpecifically different from all others (154). Do not the Thomiſts ſay, That there are as many ſpecies as *individuums* in the angelical nature?

(154) There never were two men, who had the ſame thoughts, I will not ſay for one month together, but even for two minutes. The principle of thought, muſt therefore have a particular rule and nature in every man.

RORENCO (MARCO AURELIO) one of the joint lords of the valley of Lucerne and Grand Prior of St Roc at Turin, was a great perſecutor of the Vaudois in the XVIIth century [A]. He alſo wrote books againſt them [B], *Narratione dell' introduttione delle Hereſie nelle Valli de Piemonte*, printed at Turin in the year 1632, and *Memorie Hiſtoriche dell' introduttione delle Hereſie*, printed at the ſame place in the year 1649,

[A] *Was a great perſecuter of the Vaudois in the XVIIth century.*] Peter Gilles in his Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches of Piedmont; having ſpoken of the famine in the year 1628, adds; *The adverſaries of the Reformed Churches in the Valleys, who were ever waiting for an occaſion to perſecute them, choſe that of the famine, hoping it would ſerve for a net to fiſh and draw unto them the poor famiſhed people, and herein thoſe who above others zealouſly exerted themſelves were the abovementioned Monk Bonaventure, and the Sieur Marcus Aurelius Rorenco, prior of Luſerne, ſon to one of the gentlemen of the valley, who having ſtudied the laws became a Prieſt, and going to Rome, was made Prior of Luſerne, and had the revenues of that Priory given him: but this (as was given out even by thoſe of his own party) was for having promiſed at Rome and elſewhere to uſe the utmoſt of his power and knowledge for promoting the Romiſh religion in the Vallies, and to aboliſh, or at leaſt reſtrain the Reformed, and he was not even yet returned from his Roman journey, when ſome Reformed of the Vallies were credibly informed that the Prior for the foreſaid purpoſe, determined to get new monaſteries built in the valley of Luſerne, in ſome other places, and in others to fix the abode of ſome Monks, and to do other matters of that kind, which not long after he endeavoured with all his power to perform. And firſt he cauſed Count John Baptiſt Rorenco, his father, reſiding at la Tour, to ſell his houſe and the adjoining buildings, in order to make a monaſtery for Monks called Franciſcans, Reformed Minimes. And on the 23d of June of the foreſaid year, 1628, he conducted them thither, together with Friar Bonaventure, with ſeveral other Monks, and Prieſts, and immediately after they ſent thither proviſions of whatever the Monks had occaſion for themſelves, and to bribe the conſciences of poor famiſhed people, and they began to give largely to the few Papiſts that had remained with them at la Tour, even to ſome who had no need, that the neighbouring Reformed might be enticed to preſent themſelves before them, and ſay, What will you give me and I will do as you deſire: but ſeeing none to come, they invited them to deal with them by their Papiſts; wherein appeared more diligent than any other, the lady Catherine, mother to the foreſaid Friar, who went from houſe to houſe, exhorting the poorer and weaker ſort to go and accept the great charity which the neighbouring Fathers had prepared* (1).

(1) Peter Gilles, Hiſt. Eccleſ. des Egliſes Vaudoiſes, *pag.* 473, 474.

Another writer of the Hiſtory of the Churches in the Vallies ſays, that *the Grand-prior Rorenco is their great perſecutor, and a member of the council* de extirpandis hæreticis, - - - *for extirpating Heretics* (2), . . . *was looked upon at Rome as the moſt diligent, the moſt cunning, and moſt effectual inſtrument that could be employed in this age to baraſs theſe poor people of the Vallies, and the perſon moſt ſkillful to contrive deſigns and other methods of their ruin, as having grown old in that ſtudy (for he is now decrepit)* (3).

(2) John Leger, Hiſtory of the Churches of the Vaudois, Part i, *p.* 155: he ſays Rorence is yet alive, and he dates the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his book, May 1, 1669.

(3) Ib. *p.* 173.

[B] *He alſo wrote books againſt them.*] Peter Gilles having ſaid (4) that in the year 1610 came out a book, intituled, *Vittoria triomphale*, compoſed by the Franciſcan Friar Samuel de Caſſini, which calumniated the Vaudois, adds, 'There is to be ſeen almoſt the 'ſame in a book intituled *Breve narratione*, of the 'preſent Prior of Luſerne, printed in the year 1632, 'and expreſsly compoſed to defame the religion and 'the manners of the Reformed of the Vallies, full of 'falſehoods and impudent calumnies thus prefaced, '*You do, you ſay, and there are ſtill ſome perſons alive, who remember that your fathers did ſuch and ſuch things.*

(4) Hiſtory of the Churches of the Vaudois, *p.* 13.

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1649, and dedicated to the duke of Savoy (*a*). He was born in the valley of Lucerne, and was the ſon of Count John Baptiſt Rorenco (*b*), and was ſtill living in the year 1668 (*c*).

(*a*) *See* John Leger, Hiſt. des Egliſes Vaudoiſes, *Part i, pag.* 144, 173, where he ſays, that the Memoirs were printed in the year 1645. (*b*) See the remark [*A*]. (*c*) See the ſame remark.

'*things*. But finding afterwards that violent complaints were made of his ſlanders, and that he was 'in good earneſt challenged to prove what he had 'written, and eſpecially to produce the pretended living witneſſes of ſome former wickedneſſes; and not 'knowing where to have them: he publiſhed another 'book in the year 1634, intituled, *An apologetic letter*, wherein he declares, *That it never was his intention to defame the Proteſtants of the Vallies, and that what he had written in his book, was only an account that ſome authors had given of certain vices, which in former times reigned in diverſe places.* But that 'he might not again be cenſured, he carefully kept 'himſelf from naming the pretended authors, and the 'places, and times.' The churches of the Vallies ordered the Sieur Valerius Gros, Paſtor of the church of Villar to anſwer the firſt book of the Prior (5): this anſwer was never publiſhed; but as to that which was made to the ſecond book it was printed, and there may be found a general idea of it in the Hiſtorian which I cited (6). See the article GILLES (PETER).

(5) Hiſt. des Eglises Voudoiſes, *pag.* 539.

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 540, *& ſeq.*

ROSE (WILLIAM) preacher to Henry III, and biſhop of Senlis, the moſt enraged Leaguer that was in France. See the Notes upon the *Catholicon d'Eſpagne* (*a*); but add to them this circumſtance, that having refuſed to pull off his Epiſcopal habits, when the parliament of Paris condemned him to make an *Amende Honorable*; he made it in his Pontificalibus the fifth of September 1598 (*b*). Mr de Launoi is very much to blame (§ *α*) for having beſtowed ſo many encomiums upon that prelate (*c*), without cenſuring him in the leaſt. It is a ſcandalous thing.

(*a*) *Notes upon the* Catholicon d'Eſpagne, *pag.* 196, *& ſeq. Edit.* 1696. See alſo *pag.* 91.
(*b*) Thuanus, *lib. cxx, pag.* 827. (*c*) Launoius, in Hiſtoria Collegii Navarr. *pag.* 1019, *& ſeq.*

[(§ *α*) He is no leſs to be blamed with reſpect to Dr Francis le Picart, likewiſe one of his heroes, if it is true what is reported of that man, that one day, which was the 25th of November 1553, after having in his ſermon ſufficiently, according to his uſual cuſtom, vented his rage againſt the Lutherans, he proceeded at laſt to ſay, *that the king ought for ſome time to counterfeit the Lutheran with them, to the end that, taking thence the occaſion publickly to hold their aſſemblies, they might all be put to the ſword, and the kingdom once for all cleared of them.* See the Anatomy of the Maſs, *&c.* tranſlated from Italian, by Antony d'Adam, pag. 538, of the edition of John Martin, 1562. As for the reſt, who knows but ſome of thoſe who nineteen years after adviſed king Charles IX to the *Paris Maſſacre*, was preſent at that ſermon? REM. CRIT.]

ROSE (TOUSSAINT) Marquis de Coye, ſecretary to the king's cabinet, preſident in the Chamber of Accounts, and one of the forty members of the French Academy, had been ſecretary to Cardinal Mazarin. He died the ſixth of January 1701 in the eighty-ſixth of year of his age (*a*). His poſterity ſtill remains [*A*]. His place in the academy, which he left vacant by his deceaſe, and wherein he ſucceeded to Mr Conrart in the year 1675, was given to Mr de Saci the ſeventeenth of March 1701. We find in the *Menagiana* that he was deſcended of *a good family of Provence*, that he had been *ſecretary to the cardinal de Rets*, and that he had *in his name* written *letters admirably fine* (*b*).

(*a*) Mercure Galant, *January* 1701, *pag.* 104.

(*b*) Menagiana, *p.* 297, *of the firſt Holland Edition.*

[*A*] *His poſterity ſtill remains.*] LEWIS ROSE, his ſon, Lord of Coye, counſellor in the parliament of Mets, and ſecretary to the king's cabinet, died in the year 1688, and left behind one ſon and one daughter of his marriage with Magdalen de Bailleul (1). The daughter was married on the 28th of April 1699 to Antony Portail advocate-general in the parliament of Paris (2).

(1) The daughter of Mr de Bailleul, preſident à Mortier. She was a ſecond time married to the Marquis de Vatan.

(2) Taken from the *Mercure Galant* of Jan. 1701, *pag.* 105.

ROSEN (*a*) (REINHOLD) a gentleman of Livonia [*A*], ſerved under the Duke of Weimar, and afterward in the armies of France, and acquired the reputation of a good warrior [*B*]. He married in Alſatia, *and there made a conſiderable ſettlement* (*b*). He went to ſalute the king at the ſiege of Dole in year 1668. He was mounted on a horſe thirty-eight years old, which, 'he told the king, had ſaved his life at the 'battle

(*a*) The Latin Hiſtorians call him *Roſa*, and the French *Roſe*.

(*b*) Mercure Galant, *for the month of February* 1703, *pag.* 332.

[*A*] *A gentleman of Livonia.*] He was of a family, *of which there have been knights of the order of Sword-bearers* (1), and it is well known that Mr Roſen the marſhal of France *had records brought from Livonia which proved that the nobility of his houſe was very antient. He had the honour to be related to the royal family of Sweden, and there has been a marſhal of Sweden of his houſe* (2).

[*B*] *He acquired the reputation of a good warrior.*] His courage and conduct ſufficiently appeared by his being choſen by the duke of Weimar to the command of his cavalry (3), and named him by his will one of the directors of the army (4). It would be endleſs to deſcribe all the battles wherein he was, and wherein he gave proofs of his courage. I think it better to refer my readers to the hiſtories of thoſe times. He is there very often mentioned by the bare title of *Colonel Roſe*. Yet I muſt not omit to ſay that he was not always victorious: he was made priſoner at Marienda1 in 1645 (5), where the army under Marſhal de Turenne was defeated. He would have had the ſame fate at the loſs of the battle of Dutlingen (6), had he not fled very ſpeedily (7). Marſhal Turenne was not pleaſed with him in the fight of Mariendal (8); but he was much more diſpleaſed two years after when he believed him to be the chief promoter of the revolt the Swedes were contriving in his army, inſomuch that he put him under guard (9). He afterwards had an order from court to ſet him at liberty (10).

(1) Mercure Galant, *February* 1703, *pag.* 331.

(2) Ibid. *p.* 335.

(3) Cum ſub Bernardi Saxonis auſpiciis magiſtrum equitum egiſſet. *Franckenſteinius, in Indice Hiſtoriæ Benjam. Prioli.*

(4) Puffendorf, Rerum Suecic. *lib. xi, pag.* 374.

(5) Franckenſt. in Indice Hiſt. Prioli.

(6) The 14th of November, 1643.

(7) Appendix Hiſtor. Univerſ. Joh. Cluveri, *pag. m.* 759.

(8) See the Life of Marſhal Turenne, by the pretended du Buiſſon, *lib. iii, pag.* 195, *Hague Edit.* 1688.

(9) Ib. *p.* 221, 222. (10) Franck. in Indice Hiſt. Prioli.

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'battle of Rocroy (c).' He died not long after *and left a pension to his horse, with a meadow, and his liberty* (d) [C]. Having no male issue, *he resolved to promote* one of his kinsmen, *whom he had engaged to quit Livonia, he provided him a wife, and left him all his estate.* This kinsman of his was created a marshal of France in the month of January 1703. *He hath large possessions in Alsatia which are settled upon him in fee* (e). He has a son who is a major-general, and a daughter who is married to the Marquis de Rottembourg (f).

(c) Ibid. p. 333.

(d) Ibid. p. 334.

(e) Ibid. p. 336.

(f) Ibid. pag. 334, 335.

Priolo observes that a brother of our Rosen was killed at the battle of Rhetel in the month of December 1650 (11). The French Mercury (12) mentions one colonel JOHN ROSE, cousin of colonel Reynold Rose. The *Theatre de l'Europe*, at pag. 899 of the fifth volume, mentions one VOLMAR ROSA, who was killed for having given a box on the ear (13).

(11) Priolus, de Rebus Gall. *lib. v, num. xxxvi, pag. m.* 225.

(12) *In Tom. xxiii, pag.* 696, 699, *in the year* 1640.

(13) Franckensteinius, *ibid.*

[C] *He left a pension to his horse, with a meadow, and his liberty.*] One who would lay hold upon all occasions to communicate his collections would here have a large field; for though he spoke not of all the beasts to which testimonies have been given of affection, and gratitude (14), but only of such as concern the horses, he might quote a very great number of examples. I know some such myself, besides what I have observed in the remark [M] of the article CALIGULA, and in the remark [O] of the Emperor ADRIAN; however I shall be short upon this matter, it is an easy matter to consult Philip Camerarius, who hath made very good collections on this subject in the first tome of his historical Meditations in the first chapter of book II. Some quotations relating to this may also be seen in the *Peintures Morales* of Father le Moine. He has not omitted Caligula, and has represented the folly in such affected terms that I cannot forbear reciting them. *An emperor*, says he (15), *caused a palace of marble to be built for a horse: he appointed him the furniture and retinue of a prince, and not contented with this, he named him consul, he gave him a place in the senate, and made him to be registred in the Fasti among the Cato's and Pompeys. Had he survived him, he would undoubtedly have made a god of him by an apotheosis of a new form, and have constrained the twelve deities of the capital to receive him into their number.* In Pliny (16) also may be seen some instances of honours done to horses.

(14) As to the honours done to Camels, see the remark [DD], of the article MAHOMET. You may also see in the *Mercure Galant* of July 1678, some honours done to beasts.

(15) Father le Moine, in his *Peintures Morales*. See Suetonius, *in Caligula, cap. lv.*

(16) Plin. *lib. viii, cap. xlii.* See also *lib. x, cap. xliii*, concerning the funeral of a raven.

All military gentlemen have not had the like sentiments of gratitude for their horses as our Rosen. A certain Neapolitan gentleman abandoned his horse, and was enjoined to maintain him. Father Pardies concerning this quotes Spondanus, and says that *a great prince* (17) *of former times of great renown for his virtue, and for the zeal he had to do justice to every one, thought he gave a judgment worthy his grandeur, when he decreed in favour of an old horse, which, having been forsaken by his master, in his old age, to whom he had done very considerable services in the war, went, I know not by what instinct, or by what accident, and sounded a bell, which had been hung on purpose at the gate of the palace, that all those who thought themselves injured, might ring it in order to make their complaints, and demand justice* (18). Sabba Castiglione, a gentleman of Milan, who died knight of Malta and commander of Faenza in the month of March 1554 (19), hath given a very long account of this in the CXXII chapter of his *Ricordi necessarii dal principio della vita civile, fino a fine di quella*, &c. See Camerarius in the chapter quoted above.

(17) It was Charles duke of Calabria, son to Robert king of Naples. See *Annal. Spond. ad ann.* 1328, *num.* 18, he quotes *Summarc, lib. iii.*

(18) Pardies, Epistle Dedicatory of a treatise concerning the knowledge of beasts.

(19) Ghilini, *Tom. ii, p.* 224.

I believe the judges, by whose award (20) the cat of *Madam de Puis a famous player on the harp* (21), lost a law-suit, would not have in such manner treated the horse of the Neapolitan gentleman. The last will and testament of this lady made a *great noise:* a process was raised *to set it aside: Messieurs Maurice, Vautier, and de Ferriere, famous advocates*, displayed *their eloquence, the first in defending it, the two last in pleading against it. The pension which the deceased* had left *to her cat, and the visits she* had appointed to be made to her *every week*, were *the things which* were most exclaimed *against* (22).

(20) Mercure Galant, *Juin* 1678, *pag.* 136, *Dutch edition.*

(21) Ibid. *p.* 132.

(22) Ibid.

ROSEO, or ROSEUS (MAMBRIN) an Italian author, lived in the XVIth century. He published in 1549 the Institution of a Christian Prince, wherein he neither followed those who describe government as it is commonly managed, nor those who give an idea of it according to the most perfect speculation. He chose a middle way between these extremes [A], which was to shew what the rules of common policy might allow. He continued the History of the world which John Tarcagnota had from Adam brought down to the year 1513: he continued it, I say, to the year 1558, and thence to the year 1571 (a). That work is written in Italian, and was by Don Barthelemi Denys de Fano carried down to the year 1582. Roseo was not alive when the edition which I use was published, which is that of Venice *appresso i Giunti* 1585 *in* 4. At the same time was reprinted the work of Tarcagnota, the second edition of which was in the year 1562 (b). It hath been said elsewhere (c) that Roseus translated into Italian a treatise of the military art which went for a work of William de Bellai. He also wrote an History of the kingdom of Naples. He shews himself extremely passionate in his continuation of Tarcagnota whenever he speaks of the Protestants, and it appears that he took the method of Historians who never examine the testimonies of each party, but only those of the party they favour. As to proper names, he is besides guilty of innumerable mistakes.

(a) That continuation was printed at Venice in the year 1573, in 4to.

(b) That which makes me speak in this manner, is, because the Epistle Dedicatory addressed to Cosmo di Medici duke of Florence, is dated at Naples the 1st of January 1562.

(c) In the Remark [G] of the article BELLAI (WILLIAM DU).

[A] *He chose a middle way between these extremes.*] This observation I have taken from Naudæus. 'Niphus, *says he* (1), & Machiavellus Principes suos effinxére, quales ut plurimùm esse deprehenduntur: 'Erasmus, Osorius, Foxius, Natta, Omphalius Wimphelingus, ut se moraliter gerere deberent: Mambrinus Roseus, Frachetta, & Lælius Marettus Senensis, cujus liber publici juris nondum factus est, ut illis Politicæ communis legibus agere conceditur. 'Bellarminus denique, Ribadeneira, & Scribanius, ut se ad Christianæ Religionis Præcepta componere deberent. - - - *Niphus and Machiavel have represented their princes such as we commonly find them to be: Erasmus, Osorius, Fox, Natta, Omphalius Wimfelingus, such as they ought morally to be: Mambrinus Roseus, Frachetta, and Lælius Marettus of Sienna whose book is not yet published, such as the maxims of common policy will permit. Finally, Bellarmin, Ribadeneira, and Scribanius, such as they ought to be, by conforming to the precepts of Christianity.*' From this may be learnt the various models which different writers have chosen for their instruction of sovereign princes. Observe that ever since the year 1549, the work of Mambrin Roseo hath been extant in French, bearing the title of *Le Paragon de vertu pour l'Institution de tous Princes, Potentats, & Seigneurs Chrestiens, contenant en Sommaire les Histoires Hebraiques, Grequi, Latines, & Modernes faisans à propos. Pris de l'Italien de Membrin de la Rose, à Paris par Estienne Groulleau* 1549 in 8vo (2). A Latin translation of the same work, *pag.* 339.

(1) Naudæus Bibliograph. Polit. *pag. m.* 47.

(2) Du Verdier Vau Privas, Bibl. Franç.

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work was publiſhed at Straſbourg in 1608. Upon which Mr Konig fancied that Mambrin Roſeo had compoſed that book in the year 1608 (3). But there- in he was very much miſtaken, he is very often guilty of ſuch faults.

(3) Konig, Bibioth. *pag.* 701.

ROSES, a town of Catalonia. It was only an abbey, when Charles V built there a town and a fortreſs, thirty-five fathoms from the ſea, in an open country (*a*). This town has the Mediterranean ſea on the ſouth, the plain of Lampurdan and a pond on the weſt, and the Pyrenees on the eaſt and north. It is fortified with five baſtions lined with free-ſtone. It remained faithful to the king of Spain, when all Catalonia revolted to France in the year 1640. Du Pleſſis-Pralin laid ſiege to it in 1645, and took it fifty-ſeven days after the opening of the trenches; for which he was made a marſhal of France. The Spaniards having almoſt recovered all Catalonia during the civil war of France, could not for all that re-take Roſes. They kept it blocked up nine months, and reduced the garriſon to an extreme famine; but they retired upon the approach of the French ſuccours. This happened in 1653. Roſes was reſtored to them by the Pyrenean treaty, in 1659. They loſt it in the year 1693 [*A*], and had it reſtored by the peace of Reſwick in the year 1697. The bay of Roſes is above four leagues in compaſs, and begins at the end of the Pyrenean mountains, at the caſtle of the Trinity, and ends near the little town of Empurias. It has no harbour, being only a ſhallow road which neither ſhips nor gallies can come to for want of water. But between the caſtle of the Trinity and the town, there is a ſmall hollow, where great ſhips may lie for ſome time upon a neceſſity. A league and a half beyond the caſtle, towards Rouſſillon and out of the bay, there is a borough called Capdequiers (*b*), which depends upon the government of Roſes, and has a pretty good harbour (*c*).

(*a*) Baudrand in Rhoda.

(*b*) It was formerly a ſtrong place. See concerning this the end of the remark [*G*] of the article REVEREND-DEBOUGY.

(*c*) Taken from a relation of the ſiege of Roſes publiſhed in 1693.

[*A*] *They loſt it in the year* 1693.] The Marſhal duke of Noailles beſieged it about the latter end of May, and obliged the governor, Don Pedro Robi, to capitulate the 9th of June. The caſtle of the Trinity, at the entrance of the bay of Roſes, and within cannon ſhot of the place, was taken four days after.

(*a*) *Some call him* des Roſiers.

ROSIER (*a*) (HUGH SUREAU DU) in Latin, *Hugo Suræus Roſarius* (*b*), was a famous miniſter of the church of Orleans, under the reign of Charles IX. He was born at Roſoy in Tierache, in the province of Picardy (*c*). He was impriſoned at Orleans, in the year 1566 (§ *α*), being ſuſpected of being the author of a book full of ſeditious maxims [*A*]. But becauſe they could not convict him of it he was ſet at liberty.

(*b*) Thuanus *ſays* Sorellus Roſerius, *lib. xxxiv, pag.* 687, *and* Sorellus Roſarius, *lib. lii, pag.* 1088.

(*c*) La Croix du Maine, *pag.* 173.

[(§ *α*) It might therefore probably have been at Orleans, and for the particular uſe of the Reformed Church there, that Hugh Sureau cauſed to be printed in 1565, for Abel Clemence, the Pſalms of Clement Marot and Beza, in four parts, compoſed by Goudimel, but to a more plain and eaſy Muſic, with a particular diſtinction in every Pſalm of what is to be ſung in the ſervice. There is alſo of his a *Treatiſe concerning the marks of the true Church of GOD*, in 8vo, printed at Heidelberg in 1574 *, and a Latin tranſlation of the Memoirs of M. du Bellai, printed in 8vo, with a fine letter on good paper, by John Marſhal, in the year 1575. I know not whether it is the ſame which the preceding year was publiſhed by Andrew Wechelius without the name of the tranſlator †. As for the reſt, the Memoirs of the ſtate of France, under the reign of Charles IX, tome 1, at fol. 277, ſay, that it was the reſtleſs ſpirit of the miniſter Hugh Sureau, which made him firſt be ſent from Orleans to .... and afterward to the little church he ſerved at the time he was taken up during the maſſacres of the year 1572. In fine, I fancy that his ſirname *du Roſier* might be nothing elſe but a nickname given him from the place of his nativity at Roſoi in Tierache. REM. CRIT.]

* Thuani Biblioth. *Tom. i, pag.* 175.

† Draud. Biblioth. *Tom. i, p.* 1105.

[*A*] *He was ſuſpected to be the author of a book full of ſeditious maxims.*] Beza gives the following account of that libel. 'At that time (1), *ſays he*, there 'came out a book printed privately at Lyons, with- 'out the name of the author or Printer, and inti- 'tuled, *La Defenſe Civile & Militaire des Innocens, & 'de l'Egliſe de Chriſt*, written without doubt by a 'wicked and ſeditious perſon. The ſaid book fal- 'ling into the hands of ſome good men, all means 'were uſed to know from whence it came, but it 'was in vain. Only there was a ſtrong ſuſpicion, 'that Charles de Moulin, a famous Civilian, an ad- 'vocate of the parliament of Paris, who was then at 'Lyons, and had ſided with the Proteſtants from the 'time of king Henry, was the author of it; having 'always before, and after, appeared a very fantaſtical 'man. But however he denied it even with great 'oaths, right or wrong (2).' Lyons was then in the hands of the Proteſtants: Soubiſe who commanded in it, deſired the miniſters to examine that book, and they gave their judgment about it in the following words. 'We, miniſters of the word of GOD, in 'the Reformed Church of Lyons, after having in- 'voked the name of GOD, and ſeen a certain book 'lately printed, and intituled, *La Defenſe Civile & 'Militaire des Hommes & de l'Egliſe de Chriſt*, do 'certify and declare, That it is full of falſe and 'wicked doctrine, being in ſome points the ſame 'with that of the Anabaptiſts, inducing men to ſe- 'dition and rebellion, and to diſobey kings and 'princes againſt the expreſs command and ordinance 'of GOD: and ſo much the more, becauſe the author 'of it makes an ill uſe of many paſſages and ex- 'amples of the Holy Scripture, which he wrongfully 'applies to his purpoſe, againſt their true ſenſe and 'meaning, as we are ready to make appear and de- 'monſtrate by the word of GOD: for which reaſon 'we deſire and requeſt that the ſaid book be wholly 'ſuppreſſed, that men may not be infected with ſuch 'a ſeditious and peſtilential doctrine (3).' Purſuant to this cenſure, Soubiſe ordered, That all thoſe who had this book, ſhould bring it to him within twenty-four hours, and that all thoſe who ſhould ſell it, or hand it about, ſhould be hanged, *without any formal trial* (4); and he had it burnt by the common hangman in the four principal places of the town, the 12th of June 1563 (5). *Thus things went as to this book*, ſays Beza (6): 'And ſeveral years after, du Ro- 'ſier, a miniſter of Orleans, who was not then at 'Lyons but at Orleans, and knew no more what was 'done at Lyons than what paſſed in the Indies, was 'accuſed of being the author of it. And accordingly 'he was arreſted, and ſent priſoner to Paris with 'great noiſe, as if the Proteſtants approved that do- 'ctrine. But GOD would have it that the truth 'ſhould quickly come out, though du Roſier had 'powerful enemies, particularly Birague, who ſome 'years after was undeſervedly made governor of 'Lyons.'

(1) That is in the year 1563.

(2) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. *book xi, pag.* 244.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. *p.* 245.

(5) Id. ib. *p.* 246.

(6) Id. ibid.

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liberty. He and another minister disputed in the same year with two Doctors of Divinity, of the Faculty of Paris [B], in the house of the Duke of Nevers, at the request

'Lyons.' Thuanus mentions in a few words, the proceedings against this book; but he observes that it was falsely ascribed to the Civilian Charles du Moulin (7). Deckherrus has misrepresented the title of that book. 'Eodem, *(superiori seculo) says he* (8), 'non expresso Authoris nomine vulgatus libellus *de* 'potestate principis Lugduni combustus, &c. - - - *At the* 'same time a libel was published concerning the power 'of the prince, *without the author's name, which was* 'burnt at Lyons, &c.' One of those who published some animadversions upon Deckherrus, expressed himself in a doubtful manner upon occasion of those words; which he should not have done: he was uncertain whether that book was different from that which was printed at Paris in the year 1589, with this title, *Traité de la puissance des Rois contre le Roy de Navarre.* Had he known that du Moulin had been dead (9) long before the right of the king of Navarre came to be spoken of, he would have said expresly, that those two books were very different one from another: here is a *non liquet*, which is not much to his honour. *An vero iste tractatus idem sit de quo Cl. Deckherrus, pag.* 338. *loquitur tanquam Lugduni combusto, & falso adscripto Carolo Molinæo J. C. sed quem alii tribuunt* Hugoni Sorello Roserio, *non mihi liquet* (10).

I must take notice of some faults of Davila. He says, that in the year 1566, a minister, born at Orleans, preached a seditious sermon, after he had published a book wherein he maintained, that the French ought to obey the king no longer, and that they might lawfully kill him, since he was an idolatrous prince. 'Nè erano meno ardite le penne de gli Ugo- 'notti di quello, che si fossero l'armi, perche in questo 'medesimo tempo un Ministro, nativo di Orliens, 'andava seditiosamente predicando contro alla podestà 'del Rè, & havea anco stampato un libro, nel quale 'sosteneva, che il popolo Francese non era più in obli- 'go d'obbedire al Rè, per esser egli diventato idola- 'tra, & per questa ragione contendeva ancora, che si 'potesse lecitamente ammazzare; dalla quale empia, 'e diabolica semente è poi successivament derivata in 'altri tempi, & in altre persone, quella pestifera 'dottrina, che con horribile perversione d'ogni legge 'divina, & humana ha insegnato a gli huomini ad in- 'sanguinarsi le mani sotto pretesto di pietà, e di re- 'ligione, nelle viscere de i Rè legitimi, constituiti so- 'pra gli huomini per rappresentanti di Dio (11). - - - '*The Huguenots were no less bold with their pens than their* 'swords; *for at the same time a minister, who was* 'born at Orleans, preached seditiously against the king's 'authority; and had also printed a book in which he main- 'tained, that the people of France were no longer obliged 'to be obedient to the king, because he was turned ido- 'later; and for this reason affirmed, that it was law- 'ful to kill him; from which impious and diabolical 'seed afterwards sprang up in other times, and in other 'persons, that pernicious doctrine, which, with such hor- 'rible perversion of all laws human and divine, in- 'structed men, under the pretence of piety and religion, 'to imbrue their hands in the blood of their lawful 'kings, by God's ordinance appointed over them as his 'deputies.' It is plain he means the minister du Rosier, who was imprisoned that year, under pretence of a seditious libel. But, 1. That minister was not a native of Orleans. 2. He did not preach against the king's power; for if his sermons had been seditious, it had been no difficult thing to convict him of rebellion. Birague, his enemy, who caused him to be imprisoned, as being the author of a libel, would not have been cast for want of proofs: had he had none, as to the book, the sermons would have afforded him some, which had been sufficient to convict him. And therefore since that minister was set at liberty, it is manifest his sermons were not such as Davila represents them to be. 3. I cannot believe that the book, which was burnt at Lyons, taught that the killing of kings was a lawful thing: had it contained such an execrable doctrine, the ministers who censured it, would have thundered more terribly against it than they did. I confess that la Croix du Maine, a Protestant author, says, That *du Rosier wrote some French books*, amongst others that, *wherein he endeavours to shew that it is lawful to kill a king or a queen, who will not embrace the pretended reformed religion, and side with the Protestant party* (12). But I am perswaded he said this without having read the libel, that was burnt by Soubise's order; and if I am not mistaken, he goes only upon the credit of the authors quoted by him. *See*, says he, *the French history of our time of the last edition enlarged by John le Frere de Laval, and also Belleforest, in the second volume of his great Annals of France, fol.* 1689. 1653, &c (13). Varillas, who certainly would not have extenuated the heinousness of that libel, speaks of it as of a book levelled at the monarchical authority. But there is a vast difference between this and teaching, that kings may be lawfully murdered. It is necessary I should set down the whole passage of that Historian. 'Soubise, before 'his departure (14), caused a seditious book, lately 'come out, to be burnt by the hang-man. The Cal- 'vinists ascribed it to the famous Civilian Charles du 'Moulin; which they did probably out of spite against 'him, because he was the only Frenchman, who ad- 'hered to the Lutheran sect, and refused to join with 'with them. For du Moulin's style and character 'did not appear in that book. It was, properly 'speaking, a satire against all Christian monarchies, 'which he pretended to overthrow by several passages 'of the Holy Scripture curtailed or wrested to another 'sense. The Catholic writers say that it was written 'by a Calvinist minister; that it was not their first at- 'tempt of that kind against the authority of kings; 'and that three years before, in 1560, they held a 'synod at Chalons upon the Saone, wherein they de- 'clared, that the equality of conditions was the most 'certain privilege of the Gospel-liberty purchased by 'the blood of JESUS CHRIST. But that synod is not 'to be found in the collection * of the twenty-six 'first synods held in France by the pretended Re- 'formed. There is nothing to be seen about it any 'where, except in the writings of their adversaries; 'besides, it is not likely that their ministers should 'have at first taken upon themselves, without consult- 'ing Calvin, to lay down, as the foundation of their 'religion, a paradox so well confuted in Aristotle's 'Ethics, and so dangerous, that it tended to the de- 'struction not only of Calvinism, which they endea- 'voured to establish, but also of all civil societies, of 'what nature soever they might be (15).' This passage does not contain many things that the Protestants can complain of; on the contrary they may praise the equity of that author, who justifies them very well. But his marginal note has been a snare to some learned men. Their fault, tho' very excusable, is of great moment. I call it an excusable fault; because a French reader will be apt to take that note in the same sense that was put upon it in the *Acta Eruditorum*, unless he uses great attention. Any one that reads that marginal note of Varillas, will presently think that he saw among the manuscripts of Lomenie the acts of the synod, which the Protestants have not inserted in the collection of their twenty-six first synods. The learned authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* understood it so. This sense does a great deal of wrong to the Reformed: for were it true, that there is in the collection of their synods, among the manuscripts of Lomenie, a synod held in 1560, which declared for equality of conditions; one would be apt to believe that they made a decision about it in the year 1560, which afterwards they thought fit to suppress with all the acts of that assembly. It is therefore expedient that every body should know that the word *it* in the marginal note refers to the word *collection*, and not to the word *synod*. Varillas means, that he has seen among the collections of Lomenie, the collection of the twenty-six first synods held by the French Protestants, and that he has not found in it the synod of the year 1560, which determined, as it is pretended, that all conditions were equal. The authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* make him say the quite contrary. *Ex* Manuscriptis Lomenianis *decretum Synodi à Reformatis* Catalauni (16) *habitæ allegat, quo contra regiam potestatem statuerint*, æqualitatem conditionis humanæ inter potissima privilegia libertatis Evangelicæ esse, quam Christus suo sanguine veris Christianis promeruerit (17).

[B] *He and another minister disputed . . . . with two Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris.*] The duke of

(7) Quem nonnulli, sed falso, Carolo Molinæo J. C. alii Hugoni Sorello Roserio tribuebant. *Thuan. lib. xxxiv, pag.* 687. *ad an.* 1563.

(8) Deckher. de scriptis adespotis, *pag.* 338.

(9) He died in the year 1566.

(10) Petrus Bælius, epistola ad Almeloveenium de scriptis adespotis ad calcem tractatus Deckherri, *pag.* 371. *Edit.* 1686.

(11) Davila, delle Guerre Civili di Francia, *lib. iv, pag. m.* 160. *ad ann.* 1566.

(12) La Croix du Maine, Bibliotheque Françoise, *pag.* 173.

(13) He might have quoted Miles Pigueire, History of France, *p.* 457. *edition of* 1582.

(14) That is from Lyons.

* I have seen it among those of Lomenie.

(15) Varillas, Histoire de l'Heresie, *book xxvi, pag.* 10, 11, *ad ann.* 1563, *Dutch Edit.*

(16) It should be *Cabillonì*: for *Catalaunum* is Chalons upon Marne; but according to Varillas the synod in question was held at Chalons upon Saone, a town called in Latin *Cabillonum.*

(17) Acta Eruditor. Lipf. 1691, *pag.* 31.

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requeſt of the Duke of Montpenſier, who was in hopes that this diſpute would bring back the Ducheſs of Bouillon, his daughter, to the Romiſh church; but he was diſappointed in his expectation. Du Roſier redeemed his life, in the time of the maſſacre on St Bartholomew's day, by abjuring his religion; and being immediately made uſe of to exhort the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, &c. to embrace the Romiſh communion, and having had all the ſucceſs that the court of France could wiſh for, he was thought a very fit perſon to be a converter (*d*). He was therefore employed as ſuch in ſeveral places of Paris, and the court was ſo well pleaſed with the progreſs he made, that he was ſent with the Jeſuit Maldonat to Metz, where there was a plentiful harveſt. He harangued, and exclaimed againſt the ſchiſm; but he was not perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid [C]: for ſome miniſters having found an opportunity to ſpeak to him in private, and to make him ſenſible of the heinouſneſs of his fault, he ſeemed to be well diſpoſed to amend it; and accordingly he left Maldonat, and retired to Heidelberg, where he profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant again. He could never recover the eſteem he had been in among the Reformed; and he would have been not only very much deſpiſed, but alſo reduced to great neceſſity, had he not found a place of corrector

(*d*) This may be ſeen at large in Thuanus, *lib. lii, pag.* 1088.

of Montpenſier believed that the ducheſs of Bouillon would renounce Calviniſm, provided ſhe would hear Dr Vigor. Nay, he conſented that the miniſter Spina ſhould be preſent when ſhe heard the doctor ſpeak. In order to pleaſe him, the duke of Bouillon and admiral Coligni agreed upon a conference, which was to be held in his houſe the firſt of July, 1566. Spina, and Barbaſte, miniſter of the queen of Navarre, came thither on the appointed day. They were aſked, whether they intended *to pray according to the cuſtom of the reformed churches, before they ſhould begin* the conference: they anſwered that they were reſolved upon it, and becauſe they perſiſted in their reſolution to begin with a prayer pronounced aloud, the whole project was broke; and they went away, having rejected all the expedients that were propoſed, to prevail upon them not to make any prayer. Dr Ruzé told them, that if they intended to pray, he *would go out of the room and make water during the prayer*. He propoſed to them to make only a mental prayer, or to go and pray in a neighbouring houſe. All theſe propoſals were rejected, and ſo there was no conference (18). People did not fail to ſay that *they had declined the diſpute:* the admiral maintained the contrary before the king and queen, and that they would be ready at all times to meet the doctors, and to defend the confeſſion of the churches by the Scripture. Whereupon the duke of Nevers begged of their majeſties that the conference might be renewed. The conditions were agreed upon: Dr Vigor, and Dr de Sainctes on the one ſide, and the miniſters Spina and Sureau on the other, began the diſpute in his houſe the ninth of July, 1566, and continued it for ſeveral days. Some Hiſtorians affirm that Hugh Sorel (19) was then taken out of priſon: Mezerai (20) and Varillas ſay ſo: theſe are the words of the latter. 'The 'duke of Montpenſier was of opinion, that the beſt 'way to bring back again the ducheſs of Bouillon his 'daughter to the communion of the Catholic church, 'was a public conference of two doctors with two 'miniſters; and it began at Paris in Nevers houſe. 'The doctors were Simon Vigor, afterwards archbiſhop of Narbonne, and Claudius de Sainctes, afterwards biſhop of Evreux. The two miniſters appointed for that diſpute were John de l'Eſpine, 'whom I have already mentioned, and Charles Barbaſte, who had been a Carmelite: but Barbaſte being not in a condition to come to the conference, 'the Calviniſts took from thence occaſion to deſire 'that Hugh Sorel des Roſiers ſhould be put in his 'place. Des Roſiers was a miniſter, who had been 'impriſoned for writing a libel concerning the autho'rity of magiſtrates, wherein he pretended that it 'was a lawful thing, to deſtroy, in any manner, a 'prince of a contrary religion. He deſerved at leaſt 'to be condemned to a perpetual impriſonment for 'ſuch a crime; but he obtained his pardon by the ſol'licitations of thoſe of his party, and by the credit 'of the duke of Montpenſier. It was thought expe'dient that the ducheſs of Bouillon ſhould have no 'occaſion to complain, under pretence that ſhe could 'not have the two miniſters, whom ſhe took to be 'the beſt diſputants *; and the diſputation was ma'naged without any heat, out of reſpect to the illu'ſtrious perſons that were preſent at it. But notwith'ſtanding this moderation, the Catholics and the Cal'viniſts both gave out that they had the advantage. 'Nor did the event clear the truth of the matter; 'for if on the one ſide, *&c* (21).' It ſeems from the printed account of the Miniſters, that du Roſier had been ſet at liberty, before there was talk of making him one of the diſputants. For when they heard that Vigor was ſick, and that Sainctes was gone from Paris, they were afraid that the conferences being interrupted would remain ſo too long; and therefore they deſired to go home, and repreſented that they happened to be at Paris *only accidentally; that Spina was come thither in order to go farther and take a turn into Anjou; and that the other, who was miniſter of the church of Orleans, was but lately come out of priſon, to which he was committed in the preceding June, upon a falſe accuſation of the enemies of the church of GOD, who charged him with being the author of a pernicious and wicked book, written againſt the obedience that is due to kings and princes; and that therefore it was a great inconveniency for him to make a long ſtay in a town to which he was come againſt his will* (22). Claudius de Sainctes got that diſpute printed (23).

(21) Varillas, Hiſtory of Herefy, *book xxvii, pag.* 88.

(22) Actes de la conference, *pag.* 323.

(23) In the year 1568, according to all the Bibliographers that I have conſulted. There is no likelihood that it is the firſt edition: the relation of the miniſters had appeared two years before.

[C] *He harangued and exclaimed againſt the ſchiſm, but he was not perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid.*] Beza, in his hiſtory of the Reformed churches of France, gives an account of it in the following words. The Marſhal de Rets, governor of the country called Meſſin, 'tried another way, and ſent for du Roſier, 'a miniſter who had changed his religion, and who 'was attended by a Spaniſh Jeſuit, whoſe name 'was Maldonat: this Jeſuit was accounted the moſt 'learned and moſt ſubtile man of his order. As for 'du Roſier, he had done at Paris all that he could 'do to pervert others, ſo far as to print his abjura'tion, and other books full of falſities, and which 'ſhewed an ill conſcience; whereas before, he had 'the reputation of a learned man, as he really was, 'and had been choſen to diſpute at Paris with 'Dr Vigor and Dr des Saintes. This man's chang'ing his religion, proved a great ſcandal to many 'people: he endeavoured afterwards to mend the 'buſineſs as well as he could; but ſince that time he 'never had a ſound judgment, nor an upright con'ſcience, and at laſt he died of the plague at Francfort, 'with his wife and all his children. But to return 'to our Hiſtory, thoſe two men being come to 'Metz, and moſt of the Proteſtants being com'pelled to repair to the biſhop's palace upon a Sun'day, du Roſier made a long ſpeech to them about 'the ſucceſſion of biſhops, which he ſaid was the mark 'of the true church (24).' Beza adds (25), that *du Roſier being partly convinced of his fault in his own conſcience, and alſo adviſed by good people to take pity on himſelf, deſired ſome help to get out of the mire; which was granted him, and that poor wretch was conducted to the church of Heidelberg, where he, in ſome manner, acknowledged his faults, and publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe contrary to thoſe he printed at Paris.* Now, let us ſee what a ſlandering miniſter, who changed his religion, ſays of it. 'They (26) were very much afraid that du 'Roſier would too much inſiſt upon that point (27): 'and therefore ſome perſons of Sedan went to him at 'a place called Chemery, and made him believe (for 'he was a timorous, inconſtant, and credulous man) 'that

(24) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. *book xvi, pag.* 475.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) That is the miniſters of Sedan.

(27) That which concerned the vocation of the miniſters.

(18) *Taken from the preface of the* Actes de la Conférence tenue à Paris és mois de Juillet & Août 1566 entre deux Docteurs de Sorbonne & deux Miniſtres. *I make uſe of the Antwerp edition* 1566, *in* 8*vo.*

(19) It ſhould be *Sureau*. Thuanus's *Sorellus*, has deceived the Hiſtorians.

(20) Mezerai, Hiſt. de France, *in folio, Tom. iii, pag.* 145.

* An account of it hath been printed.

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rector in Andrew Wechel's Printing-house at Francfort (e). He died of the plague in that town with his whole family [D]. When he took his journey to Metz he was desired to go to Sedan, to convert the same Duchess of Bouillon, who had occasioned his conference with two Catholic doctors; but he could not prevail upon that lady (f). I shall speak of his books [E].

He is said to have been a man of a wrangling humour, and fond of particular opinions, and to have sowed seeds of discord in the church of Orleans [F], by keeping correspondence with some fanatics; that it was to be feared that the French churches would have been sadly divided, if the peace had been of any continuance, and if the massacre had not prevented a schism.

(e) See the remark [D].

(f) See Thuanus, ubi supra.

'that if he returned to Paris with Maldonat, he would 'certainly, after they had conquered him, be put to 'death, and that the duke of Bouillon had been 'informed of it; which was false. Moreover, they 'told him that Maldonat had given him a hint 'of it, saying that he had still something of a Here- 'tic; and they prevailed so far upon him at Metz, 'that he left that Jesuit without taking his leave of 'him, and retired into Germany. In order to which 'they supplied him with money for his journey, and 'afterwards they made several gatherings to be sent 'to him, which amounted to above 250 livres (28).' I remember, says he, elsewhere (29), 'that it was the 'first crime they charged du Rosier with, when he 'seemed to have a mind to separate from them, and 'to return into the pale of the Christian and Catho- 'lic church. But when they saw that this and some 'other common faults, as his being a mumper, 'a liar, and a man of no resolution, were not suf- 'ficient to run him down; some of them went about 'to cast a blemish upon his wife's chastity, giving 'out that she had prostituted herself to some ca- 'nons of Orleans: a thing not to be credited for the 'reasons, which I had rather leave to the considera- 'tion of those, who have seen and known her, than 'publish them in print.'

(28) Matthieu de Launoy, Declaration & Refutation des fausses suppositions, *fol.* 139.

(29) Defense de Matthieu de Launoy contre les fausses accusations, *fol.* 37.

[D] *He died of the plague.*] We have already seen it in a passage of Beza, and Philip Lonicerus says it likewise. 'Ex improviso fiquidem anno superiori, in 'ipsa Vindemia, peste Rempublicam nostram tunc 'infestante, ex hac vita, non sine magno doctorum 'virorum, quibus ille notus erat, tuoque cum primis 'dolore, ex hac misera vita, unà cum uxore sua, 'in cœlestem illam avocatus est (30). - - - *The year be-* 'fore, he (together with his wife) in vintage-time, 'when the plague raged in our country, was suddenly 'removed, to the grief of learned men, and your's espe- 'cially, from this life, into a better in Heaven.' Thus he speaks to John Fichard, syndic of the city of Francfort, in an Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to a posthumous piece of our Sureau, viz. the Latin translation of a book of John Corras (31). If Lonicerus had dated that epistle, we might know in what year du Rosier died. The year of my edition, which is 1588, is of no use to me. It is certain that this minister did not die the year before: he was already dead when Beza published his history of the Reformed churches of France in 1580. Here follows another passage of Lonicerus, wherein du Rosier is very much praised. 'Quæ sit humanarum rerum fragilitas, Fi- 'charde clarissime, superiore anno præmatura sua mor- 'te, etiam noster ille Hugo Suræus, non sine doctis- 'simorum virorum suspiriis, testatus est. Qui cum 'laudatissimæ Andreæ Wecheli, viri optimi & huma- 'nissimi, Typographiæ strenuam navaret operam, 'talem suæ industriæ, quam exacta, non solum Latinæ '& Græcæ, verùm etiam Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ 'linguæ notitia ornabat, laudem consequutus est, ut 'omnibus bonis & doctis viris esset gratissimus (32). 'The uncertainty of human affairs, illustrious Fichard, 'appeared also last year in the too early death of our 'Hugh Sureau, so much lamented by learned men. Who, 'when he was employed in the Printing-house of Andrew 'Wechel, a most excellent and obliging person, gave such 'proofs of his learning and ability, as acquired him the 'esteem of all good and learned men.'

(30) Phil. Lonicerus, *Epist. Dedicat.*

(31) The Arrêt of the parliament of Toulouse, against the pretended Martin Guerre; which arrêt, Corras, who reported the cause, adorned with a large commentary.

(32) This is the beginning of the Epistle Dedicatory.

I find in the epitome of Gesner's *Bibliotheque* (33), that this Latin translation of Corras's book was printed at Francfort in 1579, *apud Andream Wechelum*. If it be the first edition, it must be said that du Rosier died in the autumn of the year 1578. The author of the notes upon the *Confession de Sanci* (34), places his death in year 1575 (§ β).

(33) *Pag.* m. 425.

(34) *Pag.* 470, 471. *Edit.* 1699.

[(§ β) The Memoirs of the State of France under the reign of Charles IX, tom. 2. fol. 74. *verso*, of the second edition, say at the year 1572. Hugh Sureau, who had escaped from the city of Metz the 19th of December, died *about three years after*, at Frankfort, where he had resumed the employment of a Corrector to a Printing-house. REM. CRIT.]

[E] *I shall speak of his books.*] He published several of them in French, if we may believe la Croix du Maine (35), who mentions but two of them, *viz.* that which concerns the killing of kings, and *a treatise concerning his confession of faith, with an abjuration of his Huguenotism*, &c. printed at Paris in 1573. We have seen above, that he wrote one concerning his return to the Reformed church. He had published some controversial books at Orleans, before the Paris massacre, as it appears from the answers of Gentianus Hervetus mentioned by la Croix du Maine (36). I have elsewhere said (37), that he translated into Latin the memoirs of Mrs Bellai. If Konig had said that *Hugo Suræus* translated into Latin an arrêt of the parliament of Toulouse, he would not be liable to censure; but he made use of this expression, *Edidit arrestum Parlamenti Tholosani in casu admirabili matrimoniali An.* 1588 (38). Which contains two faults. 1. It does not appear from it whether Sureau is the translator or the author, or meerly the publisher of that arrêt. 2. Sureau could not put out such a piece in the year 1588, for he was not then living. There is a vast number of such faults in the Bibliographers.

(35) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Françoise, *pag.* 173.

(36) Response à Hugues Sureau dit des Rosiers, Maistre d'Escole à Orleans. L'Anti-Hugues, ou response à Hugues Sureau des Rosiers, imprimé par Chesneau, Jan 1566. *Id.* 1582. *Here is an Anti not mentioned by Mr Baillet.*

[F] *Who had sowed seeds of discord in the church of Orleans.*] The author of the memoirs intituled, *de Statu Religionis & Reipublicæ in regno Galliæ*, which are ascribed to John de Serres, gives the following account of this minister. 'Vir non ineruditus, '*(Rozarius)* sed fœdissimo lapsu ostendens quid 'sit infirmitas humana, & quàm periculosum etiam 'sit, pacato tempore, dum nullo hoste urgemur, 'indulgere insanientis nostræ rationis commentis, ut 'certam exploratamque veritatem sempiternis prin- 'cipiorum firmamentis cœlo & terra firmiorem, 'in dubium pro arbitratu nostro revocemus: quo 'curiosæ licentiæ morbo Rozarius laborabat, cor- 'rupto quodam more & ambitiosiore de Ecclesiæ suc- 'cessione, disciplina, & de aliis etiam religionis capiti- 'bus superciliosè disputans, seque suis collegis hac in 're excellentiorem importuno quodam studio existi- 'mans. Non obscurarum enim turbarum semina in 'Ecclesia Aureliana inseminarat, dum sese cum novo- 'rum commentorum architectis, phanaticis ingeniis 'familiarius conjungeret: unde, nisi periculosæ tran- 'quillitatis incommoda, novo hoc remedii genere 'Deus præcidisset, magnæ & periculosæ turbæ in Ec- 'clesiis Gallicis erant haud dubiè exundaturæ (39). '- - - - *A man not unlearned*, (du Rosier) *but by his dis-* 'graceful fall shewing the prevalence of human infir- 'mity, and how dangerous it is, even in peaceable times, 'to follow the fictions of our wild imagination, and to 'call in doubt at pleasure the certain and established 'truth, which too curious and unrestrained licence, was 'the disease du Rosier laboured under, after a corrupt 'and ambitious manner supercilliously challenging the 'succession and discipline of the church, and other points of 'religion, and on account of this his unseasonable dili- 'gence, preferring himself to the rest of his colleagues. 'For he sowed the seeds of schisms and divisions in the 'churches of Orange, associating himself with professors 'of innovations, and fanatical persons: from whence 'grat and pernicious confusions had undoubtedly ensued in 'the churches of France, unless by this new kind of remedy, 'God had prevented the consequences of a dangerous tran- 'quillity.' Another writer of that time has these words: 'One du Rosier, a minister, a man of a 'ready wit, but restless and inconstant, being made a 'prisoner about a day's journey from Paris, as he was 'running away, began to waver, and soon after 'changed his religion (40).'

(37) In the article BELLAI (WILLIAM DU) remark [D].

(38) Konig, Biblioth. *pag.* 536.

(39) De Serres, Recueil des choses plus remarquables, &c. an. 1572, fol. m. 4.

ROTAN

ROTAN (JOHN BAPTIST) minister of Rochelle, was very much esteemed for his parts and learning; but he was suspected of having betrayed his party [A], by countenancing Henry IV underhand in his design of turning Papist. It is said that he promised to suffer himself to be worsted in a dispute with du Perron, in the presence of that prince, in the year 1593, but the remorse of his conscience, or his vanity, obliged him to pretend to be sick, that he might avoid entring the lists [B]. It is further said, that he continued to be a prevaricator all the rest of his life, and that he and de Serres designed to go about a deceitful project [C] in a national synod; but they died before that synod was held. Rotan had taught Divinity at Rochelle (a), and published a controversial book against the Jesuit Coton, and another against Arminius. He died in 1621.

(a) Cum Rupellam rediisset (*Andreas Rivetus*) publice profitentem audivit Joannem Baptistam Rotanum Italum, doctiss. & eloquentissimum Doctorem, qui scholam Theologicam aperuerat. *Meursius Athen. Batav. p.* 316.

[A] *He was suspected of having betrayed his party.*] D'Aubigné says (1), that *the minister Rotan, a Piedmontese* (2), *a profound Divine and a subtile Philosopher*, had a mind to be a courtier, and thought that the third party, which was formed some time after the death of Henry III, would open a breach, through which he might come into business. He joined with Morlas, who had the same design, and then both of them concerted with du Perron how they might engage the king to turn Catholic. They were kindly treated by the directors of the Finances, which occasioned the coming of others into their faction. Rotan and Morlas *disputed about several points against du Perron in the king's presence, and designedly yielded to him, who was a man of prodigious learning; so that ever since the siege of Rouen he insinuated himself into the king's favour by his easy and charming eloquence. . . . . Whereupon, each of them giving an opportunity to his friend, they began to propose the change of religion.* Note, that Rotan began to relish a court-life, when he was there to solicit *the payment of some money, which he had lent, or rather caused to be lent by others, at Geneva, for the troops raised by Sanci* (3). This shews that he did not confine himself to the functions of his profession, but meddled with political affairs: and therefore it is less to be wondred at, that as soon as he was acquainted with the court, he resolved to raise himself, by preferring his worldly interests to those of his religion. He was deputed to Mante, with several others, to represent to the king the grievances of the Protestants; but he got himself chosen to dispute against du Perron (4). *He had promised to act the part of a cunning prevaricator, and being ready to do it, it happened that vanity or fear made him so waver, that he chose rather to pretend to be sick; and Beraud, a minister of Montauban, took his place. The dispute was very sharp on both sides about the sufficiency or insufficiency of the Scripture, and the words of St Paul in his Epistle to Timothy; and the conference was broken by the prohibition of the Clergy.*

(1) D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, *Tom. iii, book iii, chap. xxiv, p. m.* 405, *ad ann.* 1593.

(2) Others say he was a Grison. See below the passage quoted out of Cayet, citation (6).

(3) D'Aubigné, ubi supra.

(4) Ib. ibid. *book iv, chap. xi, pag.* 505.

[B] *He pretended to be sick, that he might avoid entring the lists.*] We have just now seen that d'Aubigné says so: to which I shall add a passage of the History of the edict of Nantes, from which it appears that Rotan's conduct was approved in a national synod. 'Rotan, a famous minister, was suspected of having 'consented to those artifices, whether he was really 'prevailed upon in hopes of some favours, or only 'pretended to approve them, in order to get himself 'deputed; because it was an honourable commission. 'So that the conference began, and du Perron appeared 'in it as a man sure of obtaining a compleat victory 'by his adversary's collusion. The dispute ran upon 'the sufficiency of the Scripture, and the explication 'of the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of the 'second Epistle of St Paul to Timothy. But Rotan, 'either out of honour or conscience, not daring to be 'so base as it was said he had promised to be, pre-'tended to be sick, and so got out of the lurch. 'Beraud, a minister of Montauban, took his place; 'but the conference did not last long, when they 'saw that they had nothing more to expect from 'their collusion with Rotan. The clergy found out 'a way to break it, without seeming to decline it; 'and the ministers on their part offered to renew it, 'whenever they should be desired to do it. But 'because notwithstanding those offers, the clergy 'boasted of having worsted the ministers; Beraud and 'Rotan got their procedings approved by the national 'synod, that was held at Montauban the year 'following. Rotan was sheltered under Beraud's 'protection, and this approbation put an end to the 'suspicion that was entertained of him, as if he had 'been a prevaricator (5).' It doth not clearly appear from this account, nor from that of d'Aubigné, whether Rotan pretended to be sick after some conferences, or before any conference; and therefore I shall set down the words of another Historian, that the readers may have a more distinct knowledge of the matter. 'Among those deputies,' says he (6), 'there 'were several ministers, and among others one Rotan 'a Grison by nation, who being still at Rochelle, 'boasted that he would overcome all the Catholic 'doctors in a disputation, and he believed it; and to 'shew that he was in earnest, he had a great many 'books carried from Rochelle to Mante: wherein he 'was very much assisted by the Sieur du Plessis gover-'nor of Saumur . . . . . On the appointed day, 'the said Sieur du Perron, and the minister Rotan, 'after some preambles, wherein they protested that 'they acted only out of zeal for truth, began the 'disputes of the sufficiency of the word of GOD (7). That Historian gives the substance of the objections and answers, like a partial man against the Protestants, and then concludes thus, *Rotan was then a little confounded, and began to praise the said Sieur du Perron, and then the assembly was dismissed for that day. Rotan appeared no more at the conference: Berault a minister of Montauban took his place, who the six following days was carried by the said Sieur du Perron,* per omnes locos Dialecticæ, *about the word* σοφισαι, to make wise. *History, Poetry, Mathematics, Philosophy, Physics, Morals, Metaphysics, Scholia's, and Commentaries, were brought in right or wrong by Berault: but he could never make it out that that Greek word signifies or includes* sufficiency. *And indeed after he had praised the said Sieur du Perron, he intimated that he was not come prepared for disputing. Thus ended this conference, and the ministers of the pretended Reformed religion returned into their respective provinces* (8).

(5) Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, *Tom. i, book iii, pag.* 112, *ad ann.* 1593.

(6) Peter Victor Cayet, Chronologie Novenaire, *Part ii, fol.* 269, *verso.*

(7) Id. ibid. *fol.* 270, *verso.*

(8) Idem, *fol.* 271, *verso.*

[C] *He and de Serres designed to go about a deceitful project.*] I have only read this in d'Aubigné: he shews how the court made use of address to pervert the ministers, and then he says: *the effect of it appeared particularly in the ministers Rotan, Serres, Cabiers, Morlas, and de Vaux. The whole mystery of those practices, and particulary of those of Mante, was laid open by the latter, who confessed his prevarication to several eminent persons with horrid cries* (9). D'Aubigné was one of these persons. *After he had,* says he (10), *deposited his confession in my bosom, with great sighs, he put into my hands three bonds; one of* 2500 *crowns, and the other two something lesser, which I restored to his heirs.* In the *Confession Catholique de Sanci* he brings in Cahier relating all these things and affirming what he (d'Aubigné) durst not affirm (11), concerning the circumstances of de Vaux's death. 'Being in this 'perplexity,' they are Sanci's words (12) 'I per-'ceived M. Cahier walking in the court. I went to 'him and asked him what was become of the mini-'ster de Vaux. Sir, said he, that wretch having 'promised many fine things to the bishop of Evreux, 'and received some money from him in order to 'perform his promises, wanted courage to do it, and 'went from hence into his country, crying and 'bawling out that GOD's cause had been betrayed 'by him and five of his friends, whom he pointed 'at without naming them. He added, that GOD 'would be merciful to him, and that he was going 'home to give up his soul into his hands, as soon 'as he should come to Millaud. However, he 'offered to write letters to the bishop of Evreux, by 'a trusty friend, whereby the bishop would discover 'to him the prevarication of the conference of Mantes, 'and the other preparations of Rohan (13) and de 'Serres, who, you know, did early promise their 'perfidious assistance. The Huguenots were such 'fools as to refuse his offer, saying that Christ's 'kingdom ought not to be established by craft (14). 'I asked Cahier what cover Rohan (15) and Serres 'could now make use of to justify themselves? These 'two

(9) D'Aubigné, *Tom. iii, book iv, chap. i, pag.* 623.

(10) Id. ibid. *pag.* 626.

(11) See it in the original, I do not recite it.

(12) Confession Catholique de Sanci, *in the last chapter of book ii, pag.* 547, *Edit.* 1699.

(13) It should be *Rotan.*

(14) Confession, ibid. *pag.* 548.

(15) Read *Rotan.*

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controverſial book concerning the Euchariſt [D], and another (b) to confute the reaſons, which Cayet had alledged for his converſion. There is ſome reaſon to believe that he had been miniſter of the church of Geneva [E]. He had been admitted Doctor of Divinity at Heidelberg, in the year 1573. Zanchius, who performed the ceremony, ſays that Rotan had left his country fifteen years before for his religion, and that he bore joyfully the loſs of a conſiderable eſtate (c). Maimbourg deſerves to be criticized [F].

(b) Printed at Rochelle in 1596, it contains 215 pages, in 8vo.

(c) Exilium, quod propter Domini Jeſu Chriſti cauſam, annos jam totos quindecim, cum non parva ſuorum hominum coronarum non tenuium jactura conjunctum, æquiſſimo ſemper animo tulit, imo magnæ gloriæ loco habuit. *Zanchius Epiſt. lib. ii. pag. 603.*

' two, anſwered he, need no cover; for they are ' covered with earth. I will tell you how. As ſoon ' as they heard of de Vaux's confeſſion, they encou- ' raged one another by letters, and got themſelves ' elected for the national ſynod of Montpellier, being ' reſolved to venture all, and to try whether they ' could get ſomething by the confederates before they ' ſhould make their retreat. But it fell out un- ' luckily that they died at the opening of the ſy- ' nod.' The author of the notes upon the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci*, obſerves, (16) that this is the national ſynod which was held at Montpellier, in May 1598. Againſt which Reboul wrote in 1600 the ſatire intituled, *Actes du Synode Univerſel de la Sainte Reformation - - - - Acts of the general ſynod of the holy reformation.*

(16) *Notes on the* Confeſſion de Sanci, *pag.* 560.

[D] *He had ..... publiſhed a controverſial, book concerning the Euchariſt.*] It was printed at Rochelle, and intitled *Traité Orthodoxe de l'Euchariſte* (§ *a*). Dr Julius Cæſar Bulenger refuted it in a book printed at Paris, for Frederic Morel, in 1598, in 8vo. He refers the reader to it in the preface of his Catholic Anſwer to du Pleſſis Mornai's book upon the Euchariſt.

[(§ *a*) That treatiſe, to which, by the by, Rotan had not put his name, came out at the lateſt in the year 1596. Since we have in the ſame year printed by Gilles Robinot, an anſwer to it by Cayet, intituled, *Le vray Orthodoxe de la foi Catholique du Sainct Sacrement de l'Autel, Pour reſponſe au Traité prétendu Orthodoxe anonyme.* REM. CRIT.

[E] *There is ſome reaſon to believe that he had been miniſter of the church of Geneva* (§ *b*).] For we find in Melchior Adam that he was one of the three miniſters (17), who went from Geneva to Bern in the year 1588, to aſſiſt at a ſynod, which was convened on account of the diſputes raiſed by Samuel Huberus and Claudius Auberi (18). I have ſpoke in another place (19) of this Samuel Huberus, and now I ſhall ſay, that this Claudius Auberi was profeſſor of Philoſophy at Lauſanne, and that going out of his ſphere, and taking upon him to dogmatize in Theology, he taught, *viva voce*, and in writing, that the righteouſneſs of man before the tribunal of GOD, is an inherent quality. The ſynod condemned that opinion, and obliged Auberi and his adherents to acknowledge that they embraced the doctrine contained in the confeſſion of faith of the churches of Swiſſerland and the churches of France, viz. that we are juſtified before the throne of GOD by faith as by an inſtrument, wherewith we take hold of JESUS CHRIST our righteouſneſs. *Claudius Alberius Triuncurianus cum ſuis, receptæ doctrinæ & in confeſſione tam Gallicana quam Helvetica comprehenſæ, de noſtra ad tribunal Dei juſtificatione per fidem tamquam inſtrumentum, quo Chriſtus, juſtitia noſtra apprehendatur, profeſſus ſit ſe penitus aſſentiri* (20). I ſhall occaſionally obſerve, that he only ſubmitted in words to the deciſions of that ſynod. I have a book, publiſhed in the year 1591, by one Antony Leſcaille, wherein I find that Dr Gryneus ſpoke thus in an aſſembly held at Baſil in the month of December 1590, upon the ſubject of the differences of this Antony with Conſtant and Couët, miniſters of the French church: ' That ' there was one Aubery, who had heretofore writ a ' book, which had been afterwards condemned at ' Bern, who had ſubſcribed to ſome poſitions, which ' afterwards he did not keep to. That going through ' Baſil, and returning to it as he came from Francfort, ' he had taught his errors at Baſil in ſeveral houſes ' and to divers perſons, but none was ſo bold as to ' maintain them, except Leſcaille, to whom the ſaid ' Aubery had left a piece of his own writing. And ' therefore he ſhall give notice of it to the magiſtrates ' of Bern, that the ſaid Aubery may be puniſhed (21).' This Leſcaille was an illiterate layman, who took upon him to dogmatize, and put into the hands of his miniſters a piece concerning good works (22). Beza ſpoke to him thus in the month of Auguſt, 1591: ' Mind what I ſay, you have not written that ' piece: Aubery is the author of it, though he hath ' denied it at Bern againſt his conſcience. Leſcaille ' anſwered, it is a piece of my own compoſing, and ' Mr Aubery never ſaw it ſuch as it is: I do not ' deny that I have learned of him, and of others, ' ſome things that are in it. Beza ſaid, it is an ill ' piece. Leſcaille anſwered, I do not pretend that ' it is all good: if any one ſhews me by the word ' of GOD that there is any thing wrong in it, I will ' believe it. Beza went on and ſaid, Aubery has ' written an ill book, and you praiſe it. Leſcaille ' anſwered, I like very well what I underſtand in ' Mr Aubery's book; but I will neither approve nor ' condemned what I do not underſtand (23)'.

(17) The two others were *Beza* and *la Faye.*

(18) *Melch. Adam.* in *vita Stuckii*, pag. 771, *Vitar. Theol. German.* Obſerve that he places this in the year 1578; but in Beza's Life, *pag.* 229, where he relates the ſame thing, he puts 1588. See concerning this, the text of the article BEZA.

(19) In the remark [E] of the article HUNNIUS.

(20) Melch. Adam. *in* vitis Theolog. Germ. *pag.* 771.

(21) La doctrine ancienne du premier, deuxieme, troiſiéme & dernier Jugement, ... par A. L. PDDGGH. *pag.* 50, 51.

(22) *Ib. p.* 27.

(23) *Ibid. pag.* 92, 93.

[(§ β) The *Citadin* of Geneva pag. 42, makes mention of the name of *John Baptiſt Rotan an Italian*, as being written in letters of gold, amongſt the miniſters that were moſt renowned for their underſtanding in *Divinity*, in the regiſter of the academy of Geneva. REM CRIT.]

[F] *Maimbourg deſerves to be criticized.*] Theſe are his words. ' What have they not ſaid to diſhonour ' the memory of Sponde (Spondanus) lieutenant-general ' at Rochelle, Salette counſellor to the king of Na- ' varre, Morlas counſellor of ſtate, and ſuper-intendant ' of the magazines of France, du Fay, Clairville, ' Rohan, and a hundred others of their moſt famous ' miniſters, who having been very honeſt men, whilſt ' they lived amongſt them, and the moſt conſiderable ' perſons of their conſiſtory, are become all of a ' ſudden by a very ſtrange change profligate wretches, ' and the worſt of men, for having abjured Calviniſm ' (24).' He ſuppoſes in this paſſage, 1. That du Fay was a miniſter. 2. That there was a miniſter called Rohan (25). 3. That thoſe two pretended miniſters made an abjuration of the reformed religion. Which is all falſe. They were looked upon as falſe brethren; but it does not appear that Rotan and du Fay died real and profeſſed Papiſts. See the notes upon the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci*, pag. 357. and 358. of the edition of 1699.

(24) Maimbourg, *preface of the* Hiſtory of the League.

(25) He was deceived by an error of the preſs, which crept into the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sanci.*

ROTTERDAM, is one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Holland. It ſtands upon the Maeſe, very convenient for trade. There is no doubt that it took its name from its ſituation at the mouth of the Rotte (a). It is not known at what time it began to be built, but it is well known that about the year 1270. It was erected into a city; for it was ſurrounded with ramparts, and endowed with privileges (b). Nothing has made it more famous than its being the place, where the Great Eraſmus was born [A]: a glory, to which it has not been inſenſible; for the inhabitants of their city took

(a) It is the name of a River.

(b) Boxhornius, Theatr. Holland. *pag. m.* 281.

[A] *Nothing has made it more famous than its being the place where the Great Eraſmus was born.*] If Homer had been as much eſteemed in his life time, as he was after his death, many cities would have aſpired in vain to the glory of having produced him; for the city, which had really that advantage, would have given undeniable proofs of it, before the length of time could have afforded any other town matter to

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took care to honour the memory of that great man [B], from whom it received so great a lustre

to contend about it. This is the reason why there are no disputes about the place where Erasmus was born: the great reputation he acquired during his life has prevented such disputes. The city of Rotterdam was early sensible of the glory, that accrued to it from being the birth place of Erasmus. Whilst things were fresh in mens memory, they took care to prevent their being deprived of it, and to make the thing unquestionable. There was a necessity for them to think early of it, for such a birth as that of Erasmus might in time have been covered with a thick darkness, since his mother, a woman of a mean extraction, went to Rotterdam with a design to conceal the birth of her child. As for his conception, the city of Tergow lays a just claim to it, and looks upon it as no small advantage. What would it be if that conception was not stained by a double original sin, or rather by an actual sin besides the original? A Burgo-master (1) of this town undertook to prove that Erasmus was born in it, and only bred at Rotterdam. But it is to no purpose for him to maintain such a thing; the contrary appears from the registers of the convent of Stein, and every body believes that Erasmus was born at Rotterdam and not at Tergow. We find these words in a letter of the Burgo-masters and counsellors of Tergow, inserted in Guicciardin's description of the Low-Countries translated from the Italian (2). 'Orientundus etiam hac urbe magnus ille Desiderius Erasmus, Goudæ enim conceptus & utero gestatus, ROTERODAMI (quo cum ad pariendum vicina esset mater se certa de causa contulerat) IN LUCEM EDITUS EST. - - - - - - - *The great Erasmus was originally of this town, for his mother having conceived and gone with child of him at Tergow,* HE WAS BORN AT ROTTERDAM, *to which place his mother had, for certain reasons, gone when she was near the time of her delivery.*' They shew in the library of Tergow a head of Erasmus, which may be looked upon as a public monument of their not believing that he was born there; for the inscription, that is about that head, imports that he was conceived at Tergow and born at Rotterdam. Mr Almeloveen has renewed the dispute of those two towns by a curious incident (3): he pretends that Erasmus is rather a citizen of Tergow than of Rotterdam, because according to the laws, a place where a child happens to be born by chance, is not accounted his country. If a woman being upon a journey is brought to bed in a town, if she does not design to settle there, and makes her abode in another place, her child is not accounted a citizen of that town, and the place where his parents are settled is looked upon as his country. At this rate Erasmus should rather be called *Goudanus* than *Roterodamus*; for his father and mother lived at Tergow: and if his mother did not lie-in at Tergow but at Rotterdam, it was a meer accidental thing. She absconded to save her honour, and went to a neighbouring town only for some days to lie-in privately (4).

I shall observe, by the by, that some French authors, grounded upon an antiquated right, I mean the ancient Geography, and the old division of Gaul mentioned in Julius Cæsar's Commentaries, would ascribe the honour of Erasmus's birth to their nation. Robert Cenalis (5) bishop of Avranches said positively that France is Erasmus's native country, and that it is very much obliged to him, *utpote homini in Gallia nato.* Erasmus favoured this pretension; for he said sometimes that Gaul was his native country (6), and looked upon the learning of Budæus, a French man, as a thing very glorious to his own country. Some Germans were jealous of this concession, and humbly begged of Erasmus not to suffer that the French should engross him to themselves. *Ne patiar ut Gallia sibi me asserat, sed ingenue fatear Bataviam esse Germaniæ partem, videlicet ne tanta gloria fraudetur* (7). His answer, which is full of affection to the sciences, and very modest, is to this effect, that he was born upon the borders of Gaul and Germany, but somewhat nearer the former than the latter. *An Batavus sim non mihi satis constat. Hollandum esse me negare non possum, ea in parte natum ut si Cosmographorum picturis credimus magis vergat ad Galliam quàm ad Germaniam, quamquam extra controversiam est tota eam regionem in confinio Galliæ Germaniæque esse.* Hence it is, that in another letter (8), he neither says that he is a French-man, nor denies it; looking upon it as a problematical thing. *Gallum esse me nec asseverо, nec inficior, sic natus ut Gallus ne an Germanus sim anceps haberi possit.*

[B] . . . . *The inhabitants of that city took care to honour the memory of that great man.*] The city of Rotterdam ordered, 1. That the house wherein Erasmus was born, should be adorned with an inscription, whereby all the inhabitants, and all foreigners, might be informed of such a glorious prerogative. 2. That the college, wherein Latin, Greek, and Rhetoric are taught, should be called Erasmus's college, and consecrated to him by an inscription upon the frontispiece. 3. That a wooden statue should be erected to him in the year 1549. Another statue of stone was put in its place in the year 1557. The Spaniards having overthrown it in 1572, the inhabitans set it up again (9), as soon as they were freed from their tyranny; and at last a brasen one (10), was erected in the 1622, which is admired by good judges. It stands in the great place of the city, near a canal, upon a pedestal, adorned with inscriptions, and surrounded with iron rails. Thus those several statues were made by degrees of a more valuable matter; wherein Erasmus was dealt with as the deities of Ancient Rome: for not only the offerings of private persons were at first none of the most considerable,

Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus: at tu
Si fœtura gregem suppleverit aureus esto (11);

But if the falling lambs increase my fold,
Thy marble statue shall be turn'd to gold;

but also those of whole towns and nations were made in the beginning with mean and common things,

Fictilibus crevere diis hæc aurea templa (12).

To earthen gods they golden temples rais'd.

Travellers commonly speak of the statue of Erasmus, when they publish an account of what they have seen in the United Provinces. Mr Joli, a canon of Paris, having mentioned that statue, and the house wherein Erasmus was born (13), adds, that *the great reputation of that man makes those two things, which are little of themselves, the most considerable of the town; tho' they cannot be said to be little and inconsiderable, since Sebastian Munster tell us in his Cosmography* (14), *that Philip, king of Spain, son to the emperor Charles V, being come to Rotterdam, in the month of Semptember, of the year* 1,545 (15), *that statue was erected upon the account of his arrival, and that some verses made in his honour, were put into the hands of Erasmus, to be presented to him* (16); *which being done, the king, Mary queen of Hungary, and all the princes, who accompanied them, out of love for the* memory of so great a man, went, and visited with respect, the house and the chamber where he was born. Mr Monconis (17) says not so much of it, being contented to observe the posture of the statue, and to set down the inscriptions of the little house; he says, *That Erasmus invented the use of turf* (18), *and sails to serve for all winds, as those of barks and yachts:* which does not seem to me to be more true, than what he had said before, that *the Schelde and the Rhine being united, pass by the city of Rotterdam, and encompassing part of it, run also into the city by two large canals.* But Mr Bullart (19) confirms the passage, which I have quoted out of Mr Joli; for he says, that *Philip II made a solemn entry into the town of Rotterdam, as being the sovereign prince of the Low-Countries, the Senate caused the statue of Erasmus to be placed, as their greatest ornament, over-against the house where he was born, dressed in his Ecclesiastical habit, holding a pen in his right hand, and presenting to the prince with the left a paper, with these words in it.*

(1) He was a Physician called *Reynerus Sneyus*, (See the *Journal des Sçavans* 1690, pag. 540.) He put out several books, and had very good employments. He had been Erasmus's friend. *Vel. Andreas Desselius Bibliotheque Belgica*, pag. 175. says, that he has read in the record of the monastery of Stein, where Erasmus lived several years, what *Sneyus* said.

(2) *Pag. m.* 294, *edid. Arnhem.* 1616.

(3) *In his* Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ, *pag.* 40, *& seq. Edit. Amstel.* 1694.

(4) See the letter of a Civilian called Mr Cofterus, written to Mr Almeloveen, upon this subject, and inserted in the *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ.*

A DISPUTE between Germany and France, about Erasmus.

(5) Histor. Galliæ, *lib. i, fol.* 30, 39, 40.

(6) Et pristinam illam laudem nostræ asseras Galliæ. Nihil enim vetat eumdem ditione Germanum esse, & veterum Cosmographorum descriptione Gallum. *Erasmus, Ep. VII. lib. xi.*

(7) Idem. Epist. XLIII, *lib. xiii.*

(8) Epist. XVIII, *lib. vi.*

(9) Verheiden says in his Elogies, that the Spanish soldiers, who were in garrison at Rotterdam, did not commit these outrages, till after they were exasperated by the invectives which a Friar of their nation preached against Erasmus; and that the magistrates did not erect the same statue again, but had another made.

(10) Quenstedt, de Patr. illustrium. viror. *pag.* 121, *is mistaken, when he says it is of marble.*

(11) Virgil. Eclog. VII, ver. 35.

(12) Propert. *lib. iv,* Eleg. I, *ver.* 5.

(13) Voiage de Munster, *p.* 145.

(14) *Lib. ii, cap. iv.*

(15) It is a fault; it should be 1549.

(16) Fuit, *says Munster,* imago Erasmi ad vivum expressa, adventi (*Philippo*) opposita, quæ exerto brachio gratulatorium carmen Principi offerebat.

(17) *Voyage,* Part ii, pag. 129, 130. All those faults of *Monconis* are found in a book printed in 1692, intituled *Theatro Belgico.* See the place that relates to Rotterdam.

(18) Æneas Silvius *mentions the turf in a book which he published in* 1458. *See* Martinus Schoockius de Turffis, *pag.* 3.

(19) Acad. des Sciences, *vol. ii, pag.* 162.

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a luſtre [C]. Rotterdam is the ſeat of the admiralty of the Maeſe.

Sereniſſimo Hiſpaniarum Principi D. Philippo à Burgundia Deſiderius Eraſmus Rotterodamus.

Rotterodamus ego non inficiabor Eraſmus
Ne videar cives deſeruiſſe meos.
Ipſorum inſtinctu, Princeps clariſſime, ſalvum
Ingreſſum precor ad limina noſtra tuum,
Atque hunc quo poſſum ſtudio, commendo popellum
Maxime præſidiis Cæſare nate tuis.
Te Dominum agnoſcunt omnes, te Principe gaudent,
Nec quiquam toto charius orbe tenent.

To the moſt ſerene prince D. Philip of Burgundy, Deſiderius Eraſmus of Rotterdam.

Eraſmus I, of Rotterdam, am call'd:
My country's welfare ſtill employs my care.
Great ſon of Cæſar, in the people's name
I bid thee welcome to the Belgic land,
Which flies to thee for ſhelter and defence.
Thee all acknowledge as their lawful prince,
And pay a joyful homage to thy pow'r.

Obſerve that Mr Joli might have quoted, upon this occaſion, a more authentic author than Sebaſtian Munſter; for he might have quoted the Spaniſh relation of the journey of Don Philip prince of Spain, written by Juan Chriſtoval Caluete de Eſtrella. You may alſo obſerve, that, in the year 1672, the mob having made an inſurrection in moſt towns of the province of Holland, Rotterdam was, for ſome days, at the diſcretion of the rabble, and during that anarchy, the ſtatue of Eraſmus was removed from it's place, as a thing that favoured of Popery. The mob carried it into a public houſe, and took into conſideration whether it ſhould not be melted down. The magiſtrates of Baſil did no ſooner hear of it, but they ordered ſome Merchants of their town to deſire their correſpondent in Rotterdam, to buy that ſtatue at a certain price. The correſpondent went upon a bargain, and might have had it, had it not been for a ſmall difference in the price. He gave an account of his commiſſion, and received a new order to give the magiſtrates of Rotterdam the full of what they demanded; but in that interval of time, they had changed their mind, and reſolved neither to ſell nor to melt down that ſtatue, but to ſet it up again in the ſame place; which they did ſome time after. The Merchant, who had a commiſſion to buy it for the magiſtrates of Baſil, gave me this account within theſe two days (20).

[C] . . . *From whom it received ſo great a luſtre.*] Moſt of thoſe who write concerning Eraſmus's life, take notice of the glory he has procured to his native country. Du Verdier Vau-Privas (21), and Bullart (22), begin with an encomium upon that youth of Rotterdam. The words of Rhenanus upon this occaſion, are too fine not to be inſerted in this place. 'Natus eſt, 'ſays he, *ſpeaking to the emperor Charles V* (23), ab avi 'tui Friderici III. Aug. primis Imperii annis ad 'quintum Calend. Novembris, Roterodami in Hol- 'landia tua inferioris Germaniæ Provincia, quam olim 'Batavi poſſederunt, nunc magis notam ſtudioſis om- 'nibus ob unius indigenæ Eraſmi incunabula, quàm 'veterum incolarum memoria quamlibet bellico robore 'præſtantium. Hoc alumno Roterodamum oppidum ſe 'ſemper jactabit, & doctis erit commendatum. - - - *He* 'was born about the beginning of the reign of your glo- 'rious anceſtor Frederic III, upon the 26th of October, 'at Rotterdam in Holland, your province of Lower Ger- 'many, which was of old poſſeſſed by the Batavi; but 'is now better known to the learned world, for being 'the birth-place of Eraſmus, who drew there his firſt 'breath, than by the renown for warlike proweſs of it's 'antient inhabitants. Upon which account the city of 'Rotterdam will ever glory, and be eſteemed by the 'learned.' I might quote many authors, who, in order to heighten the glory of Rotterdam, join theſe two things together; the one, that Eraſmus was born in it, and the other, that they have erected a ſtatue to him.

(20) I write this the 28th of July, 1699.

(21) Prolegom. Tom. III, pag. 2389.

(22) Acad. des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 159.

(23) *Epiſt. præfixa* Operibus Eraſmi. *See alſo* Queniſtedt *p.* 111, *of his Dialogus de patriis illuſtrium doctrina & ſcriptis virorum.*

ROVENIUS (PHILIP) a titular archbiſhop of Philippe, and apoſtolical vicar in the United Provinces, was born at Deventer (a). He publiſhed ſeveral books, and one amongſt others, *de Republica Chriſtiana*, printed in the year 1648. I ſhall quote a paſſage out of it, to ſhew the ſtrange jargon of ſome devout women, which he does ſeverely condemn [A].

(a) Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. *pag.* 778.

[A] *The ſtrange jargon of ſome devout women, which he does ſeverely condemn.*] You may ſee in the following paſſage, what he ſays of ſome nuns, who affected ſome particular exerciſes of devotion and ſpirituality (1). 'Non raro etiam ſuperbiam aliquam conjunctam ha- 'bent, ut ambulent in magnis, & mirabilibus ſuper 'ſe, ut vileſcant illis ordinaria pietatis exercitia ap- 'probata ab Eccleſia, vel à Patribus commendata: 'nihil crepent niſi uniones cum Deo, cum uniantur 'proprio (ſi non pejori) ſpiritui: jactent tranſubſtan- 'tiationes myſticas, cordis concentrationes: poten- 'tiarum, imo omnis ſui eſſe, annihilationem, connu- 'bium eſſentiæ creatæ & Divinitatis: ſpirituale Sacra- 'mentum inſeparabilitatis, ſomnium omnium affe- 'ctionum, abſorptionem & liquefactionem in amplexu 'ſponſi, triplicem animæ hierarchiam, orationem in 'quiete paſſiva, ebrietatem ſpiritualem, cordis ſilen- 'tium, meditationes negativas, uniones ſupereſſentia- 'les, puteum & gurgitem annihilationis, amorem Dei- 'ficum, transformantem, unientem, ſtringentem, am- 'plexantem, ſuavitatem cor auferentem, ſugentem 'ſponſi ubera, ruminantem collum, abſorbentem en- 'thuſiaſmum, inſenſibilitatem & oblivionem omnium 'inducentem abyſſalem cum Deo identificationem, 'conſricationem Deificam, incendentem & conſumen- 'tem cor: elevationem ad ſuavitatem cœleſtem, ex 'infernali languore, introverſionem ſuper cœleſtem, 'caliginem & umbram Dei, allocutiones internas, 'elevationes incognitas, extentiones & applicationes 'amoroſas, animæ ſuſpenſiones, deliquium, ſuſpiria, 'mortem ſenſuum & omnium affectuum, ecſtaſim con- 'tinuam, juſtitium ratiocinii, cordis contactum & pa- 'tefactionem, liquefactionem, influxum, inflamma- 'tionem, aſſultus qui ferri nequeant, penetrationes 'ad intima, vulnerationes, conſtrictiones, alligationes 'inſeparabiles, aſpectus penetrantes & oblectantes, 'voces tremulas, murmura columbina, guſtus ſuavi- 'ſimos, odores gratiſſimos, auditus melodiæ cœleſtis, hy- 'permyſticas Dei & animæ perichoreſes, impudentiam, 'ſpiritualem, aſpirationes Myſanthropicas, ignem ſine 'carbone, flammam ſine corpore, holocauſtum meri- 'dianum in viſcerali & medullari penetrabilitate, conta- 'ctum mirabilem & ſuaviſſimum, obſcuræ noctis gaudia '& caliginem. Hæc & ſimilia ſeſquipedalia verba in 'nova pietatis ſchola inter ſponte electos Magiſtros, & 'diſcipulas curioſas, adeo frequenter tenero proferuntur 'palato, ut intimis in viſceribus ſentiantur (2). - - - - *They often alſo take a ſort of pride, in pretending to the 'performance of things great and wonderful, beyond their 'ability, ſo as to deſpiſe the uſual exerciſes of piety ap- 'proved by the church, or recommended by the Fathers: 'they talk of nothing leſs than their union with God, 'which is only with their own ſpirit, if not with a 'worſe. They boaſt of myſtical tranſubſtantiations, concen- 'trations of heart, annihilation of powers, yea, of all 'their being, marriage of the created eſſence with the 'Deity, the ſpiritual ſacrament of inſeparability, the 'dream of all the affections, abſorption, and diſſolution in 'the embrace of the ſpouſe, a triple hierarchy of the 'ſoul, prayer in paſſive quietude, ſpiritual intoxications, 'ſilence of heart, the negative meditations, ſupereſſen- 'tial unions, the pit and gulph of annihilation, deifying 'love, transforming, uniting, preſſing, embracing, a ſweet- 'neſs raviſhing the ſoul, ſucking the breaſts of the ſpouſe, 'a ruminating neck, an abſorbent enthuſiaſm, inſenſibility 'and oblivion of all things inducing an abyſſal identi- 'fication*

(1) Philip. Rovenius, de Republ. Chriſtiana, *lib. I, cap. xliii. pag.* 278.

(2) Dr Stillingfleet hath gathered out of the myſtical authors ſome ſuch phraſes. See his *Treatiſe of the Fanaticiſm of the Romiſh church*, pag. m. 240, 307, & ſeq. See alſo the Eleventh remark in [K] of the article BRACHMANS.

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'fication with God, deific confrication, inflaming and 'conſuming the heart; an elevation to a celeſtial ſweet-'neſs from an infernal languiſhing, ſuperceleſtial introver-'ſion, darkneſs and ſhade of God, inward allocutions, 'unknown elevations, amorous extenſions and applica-'tions, ſuſpenſions of the ſoul, ſwooning, groans, death 'of all the ſenſes and affections, perpetual extaſy, ceſſa-'tion of reaſoning, contact and opening of heart, lique-'faction, influx, inflammation, inſupportable aſſaults, 'thorough penetrations, woundings, up-bindings, inſepa-'rable alligations, penetrating and delighting looks, 'warbling ſounds, dove-like murmurs, ſweeteſt taſtes, 'moſt pleaſant odours, heavenly melodious ſounds, ſupermyſti-'cal walks of God and the ſoul, ſpiritual impudence, 'myſanthropical aſpirations, fire without coal, flame 'without a body, meridian holocauſt in a viſceral, and 'medullar penetrability; admirable and moſt delightful 'contact, joys and darkneſs of obſcure night. Theſe and 'the like enormous words, and this unintelligible jargon, 'is frequently repeated in the new ſchool of piety by their 'own choſen maſters and inquiſitive ſhe-diſciples with 'faint and trembling voice.'

RUA (PETER), a learned Spaniard, who taught Philology at Soria, the place of his birth [*A*], lived in the XVIth century. He publiſhed three very learned and curious letters (*a*) againſt Antony de Guevara, wherein he confuted a vaſt number of falſities publiſhed by that author, and the ridiculous ſhift that he made uſe of. This you may ſee in a paſſage of Andreas Schottus which I quote [*B*]. Moreri has committed a very great blunder [*C*].

(*a*) Intituled, *Cartas del Bachiller Rua.* Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Hiſpan. *Tom. ii, p.* 187.

[*A*] *At Soria, the place of his birth.*] One would think, at firſt ſight, that Andreas Schottus, and Don Nicolas Antonio do not agree. The one ſays, 'Petrus 'Rhua Numantinus primum Abulæ, poſt Numantiæ 'in patria annos plurimos ad extremam uſque ætatem 'bonas litteras docuit (1). - - - - *Peter Rua of Numan-'tia taught the* Belles Lettres *firſt at Abula, and 'after at Numantia, in his country, many years, to an 'extream old age.*' And the other, 'Petrus Rua, So-'rienſis, Abulæ primum, mox in patria urbe juven-'tutem humanioribus imbuit literis ad extremam uſque 'ætatem (2). - - - *Peter Rua, of Soria, firſt at Abula, 'and ſoon after in the town where he was born, inſtru-'cted the youth in human learning to an extream old age.* But at the bottom they ſay the ſame thing. Soria, which was built near the ruins of Numantia, is called Numantia by ſome, and, amongſt others, by Andreas Schottus.

(1) Andr. Schottus, Biblioth. Hiſpan. *p.* 567.

(2) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Scriptor. Hiſpan. *Tom. ii, pag.* 187.

[*B*] *This may be ſeen in a paſſage of Andreas Schottus.*] Here it is. 'In quo egregie verſatum fuiſſe 'teſtantur *epiſt.* 3. Hiſpanicè ſcriptæ eruditionis plenæ, '& Humanitatis ſatis copioſæ: quibus Ant. Guevarræ '(qui tum ſolus doctrinæ, & eloquentiæ arcem tenere 'videbatur) errores, mendaciaque in hiſtoriis antiquo-'rum, veteribuſque monumentis lapidum, & num-'morum explicandis, egregie refellit. Valde ut mirer 'Gallos, Guevarræ epiſtolas converſas *Aureo* titulo de-'coraſſe, manibuſque ita tenere ſolitos, ut pro oracu-'lis circumferant, quæ tot mendaciis, quot verſibus 'ſcatere dicantur. RUA itaque de tot millibus multa 'indicavit, facemque prætulit, ne quis poſthac credulus 'in errorem induceretur. Epiſt. 1. numiſmatum in-'ſcriptiones, & confinxiſſe, & ridicule explicaſſe, in 'Chronologia & magiſtratuum dignitate turpiter hal-'lucinatum. Epiſt. 2. erraſſe in hiſtoria Rom. tem-'porum ratione, locorumque nominibus, ſolenne illud 'ſuum ſervando, audacter ut omnia pronunciet, quaſi 'poſteris imponere volens, aut credens omnes ei te-'mere aſſenſuros audito illo Pythagoreorum αὐτὸς ἔφα, 'cornicum oculos confixit, citans indentidem, & pro-'digioſa nomina propria hiſtoricorum, cudenſque 'arbitratu ſuo, ad hanc diem inaudita. De numiſ-'matis inepta & ridicula leges; ut & de legibus Rom. '& legum auctorib. de lege Julia Poppæa, Cornelia, 'Falcidia, aliiſque: de medicina & empirica. Ter-'tia epiſtola ut mole ſua ita rerum pondere ceteris 'major eſt. Cum enim Guevarra omnem antiquitati 'fidem derogare niteretur, epiſtola quadam, quo ficta 'mendacia tegeret, velaret, vel tueretur; cum à ſacris 'litteris diſceſſeris, omnia incerta fabuliſque plena 'affirmat. Refellit virum diſertè RUA ex Athena-'goræ apologia pro Chriſtianis, & hoc eſſe omnem 'artium tractationem, fidemque ut ſocietatis humanæ, 'ita & ſcientiarum vinculum è medio tollere (3). - - - (3) Andr. Schottus, ubi ſupra.

'*That he was very ſkillful therein appears from three 'letters he wrote in Spaniſh, full of learning: wherein 'he excellently confutes the errors and falſhoods of Anto-'nius Guevara, (who then ſeemed to be the only maſter 'of learning and eloquence) with reſpect to antient hiſto-'ries, and inſcriptions of ſtones and coins. And I cannot 'but think it ſtrange, that the French ſhould have 'adorned the tranſlation of Guevara's epiſtles, with 'a* golden *title, and carry them about as oracles, in 'which there are as many errors as lines. Wherefore RUA 'of ſo many thouſands has mentioned ſeveral, that hence-'forth none may by their credulity be led into error. 'He has ſhewed, that in his firſt epiſtle he hath both 'feigned, and ridiculouſly explained inſcriptions of coins, 'and is ſhamefully miſtaken in the chronology and promo-'tion of magiſtrates. In his ſecond epiſtle he hath erred 'in Roman hiſtory, with reſpect to times, and names of 'places, obſerving his uſual cuſtom, of boldly aſſerting, as 'if deſirous to impoſe on poſterity, or thinking all would 'believe him upon his word, often quoting, and feigning 'at pleaſure, ſtrange names of Hiſtorians unheard of to 'this day. You ſhall find things fooliſh and ridiculous 'concerning coins, as alſo concerning Roman laws, and 'their authors, of the Julian, Poppæan, Cornelian, 'Falcidian, and others. His third epiſtle is greater both 'in bulk and the importance of it's ſubject: For Guevara, 'endeavouring to aboliſh the credit and authority of an-'tiquity, in a certain epiſtle, in order to cover, conceal, 'or maintain, his forged lies, affirms, that, except the 'Scriptures, all is uncertain, and full of fables. RUA 'does fully confute him out of Athenagoras's apology for 'the Chriſtians, ſhewing that this would deſtroy all be-'lief of the foundation of human ſociety and ſcience.*' This is a curious ſupplement to the article Guevara.

[*C*] *Moreri has committed a very great blunder.*] He ſays, Peter Rua wrote a treatiſe *De Lege Julia, Poppæa, Cornelia, Falcidia,* &c. *de Medicina & Empyrica*; and he quotes Father Schottus's book for it. What a horrid blunder is this! Does not that Father clearly ſay, not that Rua wrote a treatiſe upon thoſe ſubjects, but that the deſign of his ſecond letter was to ſhew the falſities of Guevara upon ſeveral other matters, and particularly upon theſe? Beſides, the *Lex Julia*, and the *Lex Poppæa*, are not two laws, but one and the ſame law. Father Schottus ſhews that plainly enough; he puts no comma between *Julia* and *Poppæa*.

RUARUS (MARTIN) a Socinian miniſter, was born at Krempen (*a*) in Germany. He was infected with the Socinian Hereſies by Erneſtus Sonerus, profeſſor at Altdorf, who taught them privately. He grew ſo fond of them, that he choſe rather to loſe his patrimonial eſtate than to renounce that ſect. He was eſteemed both at home and abroad for his judgment, learning, and good life (*b*). He was made rector of the college of Racovia, and then miniſter of the Socinians at Dantzic, both in the town, and in the borough of Straſſin, and he died in that office, in the year 1657 (*c*), being ſeventy years old (*d*). He was already poſſeſſed of it in the year 1635, as it appears from the

(*a*) A town in the country of Holſtein. (*b*) Ob eruditionis, judiciique præſtantiam, morumque integritatem, in magno & apud iſtos & alios eruditos fuit pretio. *Mollerus Iſagoge ad Hiſt. Cherſonefi Cimbricæ,* Part. iii, pag. 106.
(*c*) Id. ibid. (*d*) Sandius *in* Biblioth. Antitrinit. *pag.* 114.

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the travels of James (§ α) Ogier [A]. He wrote some pieces, which have been printed [B]. The famous Calixtus left no stone unturned to convert him, during the conference of Thorn in the year 1646, but he could not prevail with him (e).

(e) Nulli ut popularem hunc suum in viam revocaret, pepercit operæ, sed pertinaciam ejus superare non potuit. *Mollerus, ubi supra, pag.* 107.

[(§ α) It should be *Charles Ogier*, as Mr Bayle here calls him in the marginal citation (1); and the remark [Q] of the article ULEFELD. Here is the whole title of those travels: *Caroli Ogerii Ephemerides, sive Iter Danicum, Suecicum, Polonicum, cum esset in comitatu Illustriss. Claudii Memmii, Comitis Avauxii, ad Septentrionis Reges extraordinarii Legati. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, apud Petrum Le Petit* 1636, *in* 8vo. He hath been called *Ogier the Dane*, because of his voyage to Denmark. His brother, the Prior Ogier, was called Francis. REM CRIT.]

[A] *From the travels of James Ogier.*] That author was at Dantzic in 1635, in the retinue of count d'Avaux, ambassador of his most Christian majesty. He says, that being in a Bookseller's shop, one Ruardus, (he should have said Ruarus) came to him, with whom he discoursed in Latin for two hours, and then in French. 'Aggressus me est quidam N. Ruardus, 'quocum per duas horas collocutus sum Latinè, ac deinde Gallice, qui me ad ædes suas adeundas invitabit. Didici postea ab aliquo, eum esse Arianorum Pastorem: sunt quippe Gedani hujusmodi homines, qui clam congregantur, inscio vel dissimulante Senatu (1). - - - - *I was accosted by one N. Ruardus, with whom I discoursed in Latin about two hours, and then in French, who gave me an invitation to his house. I understood afterwards from a certain person, that he was the minister of the Arians; for at Dantzic there are such persons, who meet privately, either without the knowledge, or by the connivance, of the senate.*'

(1) Carol. Ogerius, in itinere Polonico, *p.* 418, 419.

[B] *He writ some pieces.*] He writ some notes upon the Catechism of the Socinian churches of Poland, which were printed in the edition of that Catechism published in 1665. They are also to be found in the edition of 1680. He made some other notes upon the same work; which have not been published (2). There are two centuries of his letters: the first was printed at Amsterdam for DAVID RUARUS, the author's son, in 1677, with a preface of JOACHIM RUARUS, David's brother. The second was published in 1681, for the same David, who added a preface to it. Those letters are very curious (3). Some took him to be the author of the German translation of the New Testament, made at Racovia, and published in the year 1630 (4); but it is a mistake. 'Quos 'falli mihi constat, tum ex Sandio * illam Johann. 'Crellio & Joach. Stegmanno Seniori vindicante, tum 'ex indicio Filii, quem noster reliquit, cognominis, 'Amstelodami viventis, à quo, adornatam eam credi 'à Christoph. Ostorodo ac συνέργοις aliquot, revisam 'autem esse à tota Societate, & in hac parente suo, 'ac præfationem tandem à Crellio adjectam, A. 1684 'sum edoctus (5). - - - *Whom I know to be mistaken, both from Sandius's ascribing it to John Crellius, and Joach. Stegmannus, senior, as also by the declaration of his son of the same name living at Amsterdam, of whom I understood that it was believed to have been prepared by Christopher Ostorodus, and others assisting him, but revised by all the society, and amongst them his father, and that at last a preface was added by Crellius, in the year* 1684.'

(2) *Taken from* Sandius in Biblioth. Antitrinit. *pag.* 114.

(3) *Erudite & lectu dignissimæ*, Mollerus, Itinerar. ad Hist. Cherson. Cimbricæ, *Part. iii, p.* 107. *See* Morhof, Polyhist. *cap.* xxxv, *pag.* 300.

(4) *See* Matth. Zimmermanni Dissert. inaug. de acceptilatione, *pag.* 27, 31, apud Mollerum, ibid.

(5) Mollerus, ibid.

* In Biblioth. Antitrin. *pag.* 94, 116, 133.

RUBENUS (LEONARD) a native of Essen (a) in Germany, entred into the order of St Benedict at Cologn the eleventh of July 1596 (b). He had for several years resided in Livonia, Lithuania, and Transylvania, for promoting the interests of the Romish religion. He was in Transylvania in the year 1588, and he there published theses concerning idolatry, and dedicated them to prince Sigismund Battori. He proposed them at a public disputation, but no one would undertake to impugn them. He was desired in several places to print a second edition, and that was the cause he took that subject again into consideration, and treated on it more at large (c), from whence proceeded a book of 327 pages which he printed at Cologn in the year 1597. He relates a thing which shews that Livonia was still infected with Heathenish idolatry [A]. Mr Konig knew nothing of this author, save that he undertook to write a book *de falsis Prophetis* in the year 1600 (d).

(a) A small town three miles from the Rhine and from Duisburg.

(b) See the Epistle Dedicatory of his treatise *de Idololatria.*

(c) See his Advertisement to the reader.

(d) You may see in the Catalogue of Oxford, a book of Leonardus Rubenus, *de falsis Prophetis & Lapis reprobis*, printed at Paderborn in 8vo, in the year 1606.

[A] *He relates a thing which shews that Livonia was still infected with heathenish idolatry.*] Having received an order from his superiors to go to Dorpat, which is almost the outmost town of Livonia, in his way he passed through the sacred woods of the Esthonians. He saw there a pine-tree of an extraordinary height and bigness, the branches whereof were full of divers pieces of old cloth, and its roots covered with many bundles of straw and hay. He asked a man of the neighbourhood what was the meaning of it, he answered that the inhabitants adored that tree, and that the women after a safe delivery brought thither these bundles of hay; that they had also a custom to offer at a certain time a tun of beer, and to throw a tun of it into the lake of Mariemburg, when it thundred, and that they thought the thunder was the Son of GOD, and that he was appeased by the effusion of that liquor. He desired they would bring him a good hatchet, for that which he had in his chariot was not sharp; and when they asked him what he designed to do with it, I will shew you, said he, the weakness of what you worship. The Esthonians replied, that they could not do what he desired without the utmost danger, and cried to him to take care of going under the tree, and if he did, both he and his chariot would be taken up into the air. However he made his horses go under it; and taking his hatchet, in a devout manner, he cut the figure of a cross on the pine, and left that figure made by a man, whom they honoured with the appellation of the great temple of GOD, should increase their superstition, he cut a gibbet on the same tree, and, in derision, said, behold your GOD (1).

(1) Taken from Rubenus, *lib.* i, de Idololatria, *cap.* xxiii, *p.* 66.

RUCELLAI (JOHN), a noble Florentine and good Poet, lived in the XVIth century. I have elsewhere said (a) that he composed in the year 1524 at Rome a Poem intituled *le Api*, to which I now add that he was at that time governor of the castle St Angelo, and that PALLA RUCELLAI, his brother, caused that Poem to be printed at Florence in the year 1539 in 8vo, and dedicated it to Giovani Giorgio Trissino, author of the *Italia liberata da Goti*, which was printed at Rome in the year 1547. John Ruccellai composed also a tragedy intituled *Oreste.* Leo Allazzi makes mention of it in page 605 of his *Drammaturgia* (b).

(a) In the remark [E] of the article ORICELLARIUS, at the end.

(b) *Taken from the* Biblioteca Aprosiana, *pag.* 458, 459.

RUFFI

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RUFFI (ANTONY DE) counſellor in the ſeneſchal's court of Marſeilles, where he was born, diſcharged the duties of his office with great integrity, and a ſingular tenderneſs of conſcience. Beſides, he applyed himſelf to Hiſtorical inquiries with a wonderful diligence and patience, as it appears from his Hiſtory of Marſeilles, printed in 1642, and re-printed with large additions in the year 1696, in two volumes, *in folio* (*a*). He was but thirty-five years of age, when it came out the firſt time. An office of counſellor of ſtate was beſtowed upon him in 1654, as *a teſtimony of the eſteem* they had *for his learning and merit*. I ſhall alledge an inſtance of the tenderneſs of his conſcience [*A*], which will give me occaſion to debate a queſtion concerning the ignorance, that excuſeth from ſin, and to examine the anſwers that may be made to the compariſons taken from Judges

(*a*) *See the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *June* 1697.

[*A*] *The tenderneſs of his conſcience.*] This appears 'from the reſtitution he made to a perſon, whoſe 'cauſe he had reported. He was afraid he had not 'beſtowed a ſufficient time upon the examination of 'that cauſe, and that he had contributed to the loſs 'of it by his careleſſneſs; and he was ſo far from 'ſeeking any excuſes or reaſons, which ſelf-love never 'fails to ſuggeſt in ſuch caſes, that he ſeverely con'demned himſelf, and made uſe of a prieſt of the 'Oratory to reſtore the ſum which that perſon had 'loſt. Perhaps it may be ſaid that the niceneſs of 'the Judge proved more favourable to the perſon con'cerned, than a more ſevere and ſtrict examination of 'his right and defences would have been. Moreover 'this great probity was authentically acknowledged 'by the parliament of Provence, in an arrêt given 'in the year 1655, at the ſuit of the king's attorney'general.' This is what we find in the elogy of Mr de Ruffi (1) immediately after theſe words: *Whenever he ſat upon the bench, his mind was taken up with the deſcription of that court of juſtice mentioned by the royal prophet in one of his Pſalms: GOD is preſent in the aſſembly of the gods; being in the middle of them, he judges them*; ſtetit in ſynagoga Deorum, in medio autem Deos dijudicat: *being poſſeſſed with the ſentiments, that ſuch a thought can inſpire, he weighed every thing in the balance of the ſanctuary: the ſentiments inſpired by fleſh and blood, the dangerous ſeductions of friendſhip, and the power of intereſt never made him ſwerve from the path of juſtice; he omitted nothing to be informed of the truth: his firmneſs in protecting innocency, and puniſhing wickedneſs was as great as his penetration; and he never gave his opinion, nor pronounced a ſentence, without ſeriouſly conſidering whether he could maintain it before the tribunal of that impartial majeſty, who is at the laſt day to judge the righteouſneſs of men.*

(1) It is prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Hiſtory of Marſeilles.

OBSERVATIONS concerning ignorance that will excuſe.

It was not a needleſs thing for me to obſerve that theſe words are to be found immediately before thoſe, wherein it is ſaid, that he reſtored a certain ſum to a perſon who had loſt his cauſe. This will give me occaſion to make an important reflexion. The author of the elogy means without doubt, that Mr de Ruffi had examined the cauſe with his uſual exactneſs; but that his too great tenderneſs made him fear that he had been a little careleſs. This author, I ſay, does certainly give us to underſtand that the ſcruples of that Judge were grounded upon the informations he had received ſince the cauſe had been judged. In a word, the thing ought to be underſtood in this manner. The Judge who reported his cauſe uſed therein all his knowledge, all diligence and integrity; but after it had been decided, he found out, I do not know how, that the party who had been caſt, had a better right than he thought. He therefore came to think that if he had more carefully examined all the writings, he would have made a more favourable report, and thereupon he condemned himſelf, and believed himſelf obliged to make a reſtitution. This ſhews that he had a very tender and ſcrupulous conſcience; which could not be ſaid of him, ſhould we ſuppoſe that he was ſenſible of an affected careleſſneſs, and of ſome lazineſs and impatience. For in ſuch a caſe a man, who reports a cauſe, is certainly guilty; his ignorance cannot excuſe him: and though he feels ſome remorſe, it is not a proof of a tender conſcience; for a man may have a hard conſcience and yet be ſenſibly affected with ſuch inward remorſes. But I ſuppoſe by virtue of the expreſſions made uſe of by the elogiſt, that Mr de Ruffi could not blame himſelf for any ſuch thing. He ſincerely intended to make a very fair report; he neglected nothing that he thought neceſſary, and he knew that in many other cauſes the ſame application had been ſufficient. The only thing therefore that he blamed himſelf for, was his believing that he had done all that a good reporter ought to do, having found out at laſt that he might have reported the caſe better than he had done. Since he was uneaſy in his mind upon ſuch an account, he would have been uneaſy, though he had known that it was hardly poſſible, humanly ſpeaking, to do better, and that his ignorance was invincible. What I am going to ſay will ſhew you the reaſon, why I make theſe obſervations upon Mr de Ruffi's conduct.

Some pieces have been printed in Holland within theſe ten years (2) about the rights of an erroneous conſcience. The authors who have maintained that ignorance can be no excuſe, have inſtanced upon ſome holy men, who have been extremely afflicted for what they have done with a good intent, thinking to ſerve GOD, and who believed they ſtood in need of GOD's mercy, &c. Such examples, generally ſpeaking, prove nothing: for a man of a tender conſcience, and full of love for virtue, will grieve even for a fault that is purely material, I mean committed with an invincible ignorance. If a Phyſician ſhould come to know by Revelation, that the remedy he had preſcribed to a ſick perſon, had been the occaſion of his death, tho' according to all the rules of his art, he ought to have preſcribed it; he would heartily grieve for it, if he was a conſcientious and charitable man. He would make amends for it to the beſt of his power, by relieving the family of the deceaſed, reduced to great poverty by his death. And yet he would be very innocent before GOD; for I ſuppoſe that his ignorance was invincible, and ſuch as it ought to be, to excuſe a man according to the moſt rigid Divines (3). The ſame muſt be ſaid of a Judge who has occaſioned the loſs of a cauſe, when no human knowledge was able to diſcover the truth. He would certainly grieve, if he ſhould know that the party condemned was in the right; and would make up the damage if he was a man truly conſcientious and of a ſtrict virtue. The author of the encomium upon Mr de Ruffi, has given us an inſtance of it. Such a grief therefore and ſuch reparations ought not to be alledged, in order to prove, That an unaffected ignorance cannot excuſe a man. The more pious we are, the more we ſhall grieve for the material faults we have committed out of ignorance. The conſcience becomes then more ſevere than God himſelf, whether it be out of humility or precaution. A thouſand inſtances might be alledged to ſhew that an innocent man will grieve, make up a damage, reſtore, &c. If a good man hears that his horſe has lamed ſome body, is he not concerned for it? Does he not pay ſometimes the Surgeon, who takes care of the poor wretch? And if he be a man of a ſcrupulous conſcience, is he not afraid that GOD will call him to an account for his careleſsneſs, and for keeping ſuch a horſe? And yet all judicious Caſuiſts will acknowledge the innocency of that good man, if they know that his horſe has done ſuch a miſchief without any fault of his. If an Orator ſhould be at a ſtand, and by ſuch an involuntary misfortune ſhould prejudice his neighbour, would he not be exceedingly vexed at it? If he ſhould beg of GOD that he would forgive him, and if he went about to make up the damage, could we conclude from it that he has committed a ſin; and can we call that a moral fault, which is only a phyſical imperfection, as independent upon our reaſon and liberty, as the weakneſs of the eyes ſuddenly dazzled by too great a light? I ſuppoſe the Orator has neglected nothing that he thought neceſſary to make him remember his ſpeech. But let us keep to the ignorance of honeſt Judges.

(2) I write this in September, 1697.

(3) We have ſeen above in the remark [*A*] of the article RIMINI, that they acknowledge, properly ſpeaking, no invincible ignorance in religious matters; but they are not ſo rigid in relation to matters of fact, and human diſciplines.

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Judges, whoſe ſentences are unjuſt contrary to their intention [B], or from Phyſicians, whoſe

The firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, made a ſpeech at the opening of that court in 1693, wherein he repreſented, *That though the Judges think they have done their beſt to have a full knowledge of a cauſe, yet ſometimes they commit an injuſtice, when they fancy they pronounce a very juſt ſentence, which has been ſeen in the late Mr de Langlade's caſe; for the Judges, notwithſtanding their great capacity, and the care they took to clear the matter, condemned an innocent man; for which they endeavoured to make amends by their arrêt* (4). From whence it appears, That thoſe Judges, tho' honeſt and careful of their duty, were concerned for their miſtake, and made amends for it. If they had died, before they came to know that they were miſtaken, being conſcious to themſelves of having done their beſt to find out the truth, could they have feared any thing from the divine juſtice? Can it be ſaid that they were obliged to overcome ſuch obſtacles as were invincible with reſpect to them? See the author of the *Commentaire Philoſophique* (5), who has ſo fully proved, that in ſome caſes an innocent man may be condemned, and a guilty one acquitted without any ſin, that the learned miniſter of Utrecht who writ againſt him (6), left this doctrine untouched.

(4) *Mercure Galant*, for the month of November 1693, *pag.* 315.

(5) In the Supplement, *p.* 33, *&* *ſeq.* and *pag.* 62, *&* *ſeq.* to *pag* 81. See alſo, Montagne's Eſſays, *lib. iii, cap. xiii, pag. m.* 518.

(6) See Mr Saurin's book, intituled *Reflexions ſur les droits de la Conſcience*, printed at Utrecht, 1697.

[B] *I ſhall examine the anſwers . . . . . to the compariſons taken from Judges whoſe ſentences are unjuſt contrary to their intention.*] How can it be ſaid, will ſome object to me, that ignorant Judges deſerve to be excuſed, ſince they occaſion ſo many diſorders? Do not you know that they are puniſhed? For if application be made to the ſovereign, or to a ſuperior court, their judgments are reverſed, they are cenſured, and ſometimes alſo degraded. *It is the uſual courſe of human juſtice.* Now if princes puniſh in ſuch a manner thoſe that are ignorant of their laws, how can it be ſaid that GOD will not puniſh thoſe that are ignorant of his word? This compariſon is not therefore advantageous to thoſe who preach up Toleration. To this I muſt anſwer three things.

I. Should a Judge, through a groſs ignorance, take the wrong way in a cauſe, that may be eaſily determined, he would doubtleſs deſerve to be degraded, not as being an ill man, if he had followed the dictates of his conſcience (7) with an intent to be juſt to the parties concerned, but as being unqualified for ſuch an employment; and if thoſe, who degrade him, knew the uprightneſs of his heart, they would declare that he is a good, conſcientious, and juſt man, and in an authentic manner own that he only wanted learning. Juſt as if an ambaſſador ſhould diſmiſs his ſecretary, whoſe hand is not very legible, though he knows his faithfulneſs and capacity. This would be no blot upon his honeſty, no reflexion upon his wit; he is only diſmiſſed becauſe the ambaſſador wants a man, who writes a good hand. Let us compare two Judges one with another, the one is very learned, the other is a man of indifferent parts; and both are equally honeſt. If one of them be for the affirmative, and the other for the negative, according to the dictates of their conſcience, having uſed all the induſtry and application they are capable of in order to know the truth; and if the ſuffrage of the more learned is juſt, and the ſuffrage of the other unjuſt, I maintain that the one does not exceed the other in uprightneſs. I grant that he is a more knowing judge, and better qualified for his employment, becauſe the qualities of a good Judge take in knowledge and integrity; but he is not a man of greater probity, nor more zealous for juſtice.

(7) Suppoſing ſuch a Judge can be ſaid to have a very upright conſcience. See below citation (10).

II. As to that *uſual courſe* we are told of in puniſhing ignorant Judges; I do not know whether there are any inſtances of it. There is nothing more common than to ſee the judgment of an inferior court reverſed by a ſuperior court. But the inferior Judges are neither turned out nor cenſured, unleſs it does plainly appear that they have been guilty of bribery, partiality, or at leaſt of a very great ignorance. And if it be ſuppoſed that they have determined a cauſe according to their knowledge, though it be never ſo ſmall, their ſuperiors are contented to rectify their judgment. I ſhould be glad if any one would alledge an inſtance of a Judge, degraded for want of learning, though at the ſame time he was looked upon as a conſcientious and incorruptible man, very much intent upon ſtudy, and very careful to examine a cauſe. I am perſuaded that the puniſhment of Judges is always grounded upon this ſuppoſition, that they have been bribed, or have acted out of paſſion, or are guilty of a wilful ignorance. But here is a very pregnant inſtance to confirm the opinion laid down in the *Commentaire Philoſophique*. 'Though we pretend to be 'innocent, it does not follow that the Judges are un'juſt, for it is not a thing inconſiſtent with courts of 'judicature, made up of men, who may be deceived, 'and deceive others, that an innocent perſon ſhould be 'condemned, and a guilty one acquitted by a juſt 'Judge. It often falls out, that in civil and crimi'nal cauſes, the Judges are divided in their opinions 'when the caſe is doubtful: and as all of them muſt 'be directed by the law, it may be that all of them 'are juſt, whether they acquit or condemn, notwith'ſtanding that contrariety of opinions, giving their 'judgment according to the dictates of their conſci'ence. * When king Henry II, your predeceſſor, 'was informed, that Peliſſon, preſident in the parlia'ment of Chambery, which at that time did belong 'to France, had been deprived of his office by an 'arrêt of the parliament of Dijon, at the ſuit of Ta'boüet the king's attorney, and that the cauſe being 'afterwards brought to the parliament of Paris, by vir'tue of letters of reviſion, he had been acquitted, and 'the ſaid attorney condemned; he juſtified all the 'Judges, notwithſtanding their contrary opinions, 'ſaying, that ſome had given their judgment accord'ing to conſcience, and others according to the merit 'of the cauſe (8).'

* Reſponſe du Roy Henry II, ſur deux jugemens contraires.

(8) Richeome, Plainte Apologetique au Roi Henri IV pour les Jeſuites, *pag. m.* 182.

III. We muſt not ſwerve from the true ſtate of the queſtion. The author of the *Commentaire Philoſophique*, compares together thoſe who are miſtaken in a lawſuit, and thoſe who are miſtaken in controverſies about religion; but he ſuppoſes that neither of them can be excuſed, unleſs they have heartily and ſincerely uſed their utmoſt endeavours to find out the truth. When he ſays that in ſome caſes the Judges condemn an innocent perſon, and acquit a criminal, without any guilt; he alſo goes upon this ſuppoſition, that they do whatever they can, and whatever the laws preſcribe to them in order to come to the true knowledge of the matter of fact, and that they have been led into an error meerly by the intricacy of the cauſe, acting all along according to the dictates of their conſcience, and the rules of judicial proceeding. If there are any inſtance where ſuch Judges have been degraded by their ſuperiors, though they were thought to be equally learned and honeſt, and if ſuch a degradation ſeems to be lawful to wiſe men, there is ſome reaſon to draw from thence ſome conſequences, in order to prove that GOD will puniſh ignorant men notwithſtanding their ſincerity. But if the thing is quite otherwiſe among men, what will become of thoſe conſequences? I think one may be allowed to draw quite contrary inferences from it, and this in particular; ſince kings do not puniſh thoſe who, notwithſtanding all their application and honeſty, cannot avoid being miſtaken in their judgment about a very intricate cauſe; much more will GOD, who is equity and goodneſs itſelf, bear with thoſe who are not able to unfold the true ſenſe of a paſſage of the ſcripture which is very obſcure.

I muſt further obſerve two things: one is, That a Judge of a very groſs ignorance, can hardly be accounted a good man; for this ſuppoſes that he has neglected to inſtruct himſelf, and that his lazineſs is inexcuſable (9), or that he has given up himſelf to pleaſures. A man who behaves himſelf thus in the exerciſe of ſuch an office, cannot have a right conſcience (10), and if ſuch a man is degraded, it cannot be ſaid that he has been puniſhed for his ſincere and involuntary ignorance. The ſecond thing I have to ſay is, That I advance all theſe obſervations only as doubts and probabilities, which may be examined, without pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe, or to aſſert the doctrine of the *Commentaire Philoſophique*. And to ſhew my readers that I am far from extenuating the faults of a Judge, which proceed only from ignorance, I ſhall ſet down a thundering judgment againſt them. 'The 'firſt preſident de Lamoignon would have thought 'himſelf deficient in the moſt eſſential part of his office,

(9) Obſerve that if he ſtudied hard, and yet found that he did not improve, it would denote ſtupidity. He would then deſerve to be blamed for pretending to be a Judge: he has not examined himſelf, and undertakes a thing that is beyond his reach, and ſo-fits in it one after he has experienced the inſufficiency of his ſtudies.

(10) See, above, citation [B].

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whoſe remedies prove mortal, notwithſtanding their honeſty and learning [C]. Our Ruffi lived eighty-two years. It does not appear from the elogy which I cite (b) in what year he was born, nor in what year he died: ſuch an omiſſion cannot be juſtified [D]. LEWIS ANTONY DE RUFFI, his ſon, had a hand in the additions to the ſecond edition of the Hiſtory of Marſeilles.

(b) See his Elogy prefixed to the Hiſtory of *Marſeilles*, in the edition of 1696. written by his nephew Peter Antony de Paſcal, a Monk in the abbey of Toronet.

'fice, if he had not taken care to have as much 'knowledge as uprightneſs. And therefore he uſed 'to ſay, that there is no great difference between a 'wicked Judge and an ignorant one. The firſt knows 'at leaſt his duty, and is ſenſible of his injuſtice; but 'the other does neither know the good nor the miſ-'chief he does: the one is conſcious of his faults, 'and is more inexcuſable; but the other ſins without 'any remorſe, and is more incorrigible. But they 'are equally guilty, with reſpect to thoſe whom they 'condemn through error or malice. A man does 'not leſs feel his wound, whether he be wounded by 'a madman or a blind one; and it matters little whe-'ther one be undone by a man who deceives him, or 'by a man who is deceived (11).'

(11) Flechier, oraiſon funebre de Mr le premier Preſident de Lamoignon, *p.* 435. *of the volume of his funeral Orations, Dutch Edit.*

[C] . . . . . *or from Phyſicians, whoſe remedies prove mortal, notwithſtanding their honeſty and learning.*] I ſhall not dwell long upon this. Should a Phyſician, will ſome ſay, come to think that Arſenic is a good remedy, and give it to his patients, and ſo ſend them *apace into another world*, he would be juſtly puniſhed in this life, and in that which is to come, though he ſhould plead an involuntary ignorance. This is the image of an Hereſiarch. I anſwer that it is impoſſible, morally ſpeaking, that there ſhould be ſuch a Phyſician; and therefore ſuch an example ought not to be alledged. No man can believe that Arſenic is a good remedy, unleſs we ſuppoſe him like thoſe, who fancy that they are kings, or that they are made of butter, and therefore muſt not come near the fire. Such people are carefully watches, or ſhut up by their relations. No body conſults them in a fit of ſickneſs, or about a law-ſuit to follow their advices. If it be ſuppoſed that a Chymiſt may ſincerely believe, that he knows how to prepare Arſenic ſo as to make a good remedy of it; one may form a very good judgment concerning his ignorance. Either he has experienced the virtue of that remedy, or he has not experienced it. If he has made no ſuch experiment, we muſt ſay, either that he does not believe what he ſays, or that he is mad. If he has made the experiment, and yet perſiſts in the ſame opinion; one may certainly affirm that he is a wicked or a mad-man. An honeſt and ſincere ignorance ſuppoſes that a man has made it his buſineſs to examine a thing with an earneſt deſire of knowing the truth of it, and without being acted by avarice, pride, or any deſign of cheating. Hereſiarchs cannot be reaſonably compared with that imaginary Phyſician, who kills ſo many people, unleſs they have ſeen the eternal damnation of their firſt followers. If ſuch a ſight did not convert them, they muſt needs either be mad, or ſpeak againſt their conſcience; and in both caſes they ought to be delivered to the ſecular power; in the firſt caſe to be ſhut up in a mad-houſe, and in the ſecond, to ſuffer the puniſhment which thoſe deſerve, who blaſpheme againſt GOD whom they know. No body deſires that ſuch people ſhould be tolerated.

As to the puniſhment that a Phyſician ſhould deſerve before GOD, if he ſhould give Arſenic to his patients, the thing may eaſily be thus determined. If he was a mad-man, he would be judged as a mad-man: if he was not mad, he would be judged according as his ignorance has been voluntary or involuntary. Now by a voluntary ignorance we muſt underſtand ſuch an ignorance as proceeds from lazineſs, or from ſome other fault, which may be mended.

[D] *Such an omiſſion cannot be juſtified.*] Paul Jovius, Scœvola Sammarthanus, and ſeveral other elogiſts have often committed the ſame fault. Were they afraid that a date would ſpoil the harmony of a period? Or had they a mind to be ſhort? How vain would ſuch excuſes be! if they went upon ſuch ridiculous reaſons, why did not they put in the margin what they are cenſured for having omitted? I am ſure that upon ſome occaſions they have been ſilent, becauſe they did not know in what year their hero was born or died. The author of Mr Ruffi's encomium cannot be excuſed upon ſuch an ignorance. But will ſome ſay in his vindication, does he not ſay that the Hiſtory of Marſeilles was printed when the author was but thirty-five years of age? Does he not ſay that the author lived eighty-two years? Is it not an eaſy thing to infer from thence, that he was born in the year 1607, and that he died in 1689. I anſwer in the negative, becauſe he does not tell us that the Hiſtory of Marſeilles was printed in 1642, and that date is neither to be ſeen in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, nor in the Preface, nor in the king's Licence, nor in any other part of the Prolegomena; and therefore we want another book to know the year in which that author was born or died. It is therefore a fault; for a reader ſhould not be ſo much as obliged to turn to ſome other pages of the ſame book upon ſuch an occaſion. Much leſs ought an author to impoſe upon us the neceſſity of conſulting another book.

RUFINUS, a favourite of the emperor Theodoſius, 'was a Gaul, born in the 'province of Aquitain (a), of mean extraction, but of a lofty mind, he was a ſupple, 'inſinuating, and polite man, well qualified to divert a prince, and even to ſerve him. 'He came to the court of Conſtantinople, where he got friends and patrons: he made 'himſelf known to Theodoſius, and had the good fortune to pleaſe him. He ſo well 'improved the beginning of his fortune, that he was in ſhort time promoted to con-'ſiderable employments. The emperor made him high ſteward of his palace †; admitted 'him into all his councils, honoured him with his friendſhip and confidence, and at laſt 'raiſed him to the conſulſhip with his own ſon Arcadius. This man maintained his poſt as 'he had acquired it, rather by his addreſs than by his virtue. His ambition increaſed with 'his fortune: he endeavoured to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of thoſe, whom he oppreſſed 'by his calumnies ‡. Whoever had an extraordinary merit, and was in a condition 'to contend with him in his ſtation, could not fail to be his enemy. Nevertheleſs 'being afraid of loſing the prince's affection, unleſs he preſerved [illegible] eſteem, he appeared 'modeſt and diſintereſted. He covered his ill counſels with the pretence of juſtice, or of 'policy, and knew ſo well how to ſet off his good qualities, and conceal the ill ones, 'that the emperor, as knowing and jealous of his authority as he was, was often deceived 'and governed by him, without perceiving it. The principal lords of the court could not 'ſee the elevation of this favourite, without being offended at it (§). . . . . They 'conſpired againſt him, and reſolved to undo him (b)': but their enterpriſe ended only in their own ruin, and confirmed him in his power [A]. He was baptized with great

(a) Born at Elúſa, according to Claudian. It was then the metropolis of the country now called Armagnac in Gaſcony properly ſo called.

† Zozim. lib. iv. Ambr. Ep. 53.

‡ Claudian. lib. i, contra Ruff.

(§) Zoz.

(b) Flechier Hiſtoire de Theodoſe, *book iv, pag* 433, *Paris Edit.* 1680, *in* 12*mo.*

[A] *But their enterpriſe ended only in their own ruin, and confirmed him in his power.*] They, who conſpired againſt him, were (1) *Timaſus and Promotus, who had lately commanded the army, and done important ſervices.*

(1) Flechier, Hiſt. de Theodoſe, *livr. iv, p.* 434, *ad ann.* 391.

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great pomp in the year 394 [B]. The ſpite he conceived to ſee Stilico above him after the death of Theodoſius, put him upon treacherous deſigns, whereby he undid himſelf. *He took advantage of his maſter's weakneſs; he embroiled the empire and emperors, by his ſecret practices with the Huns, the Goths, and the Alans, and endeavoured to make himſelf ſovereign, or at leaſt independent upon his maſters, and his enemies* (c). He was killed in the year 395 (d). See Moreri. His death put an end to Claudian's doubts about providence; they vaniſhed away as ſoon as he heard of the fall of that inſolent and unjuſt favourite. I ſhall make ſome reflexions upon his words [C]; which will give me occaſion

(c) Flechier, ibid. pag. 500.

(d) But according to Mr Flechier, ibid pag. 437. this ſhould be in the year 397.

vices. . . . . Tatian, who had governed all the Eaſt in the abſence of Theodoſius . . . . and Proculus, Tatian's ſon, governor of Conſtantinople, a young, bold, and daring man. Rufinus being informed of all their deſigns, prepoſſeſſed the emperor in his own behalf, and repreſented to him, (2) That the favours he daily received from his majeſty, made him odious to the whole court; that though he was never ſo careful to prevent the murmurs of thoſe, who envied him, new factions and cabals were daily formed againſt him; that he muſt infallibly ſink, unleſs he were ſupported by the ſame hand, that raiſed him; that he was ſenſible of his want of merit, and gloried only in the kindneſs his majeſty had for him, and in expreſſing his acknowledgment for it all the days of his life. *Having thus engaged the emperor to protect him, he made it his buſineſs not only to avoid being ſurpriſed, but alſo to deſtroy his enemies. . . . . Being in the council with Promotus, he had ſeveral conteſts with him.* † *The emperor went out, and then their diſpute began again: both of them maintained their opinions, and inſenſibly grew hot upon it. Rufinus ſpoke ſome offenſive words; whereupon Promotus fell into a paſſion, and gave him a box on the ear. . . . . The emperor, to whom Rufinus immediately complained, was extremely angry at it. He openly declared,* that he was weary of ſuffering ſuch diviſions and intrigues, and the authors of them; that he would teach them to live peaceably, and to conſider thoſe whom he had an affection for; and that if they continued to be jealous of Rufinus, he would raiſe him ſo far above them, that they ſhould be forced to reſpect, and perhaps to obey, him. *That prince, who knew how to ſpeak with authority, and to make himſelf feared, when there was a neceſſity for it, ſpoke thoſe words ſo warmly, that from that time no body durſt murmur. He turned Promotus out of the court, and almoſt at the ſame time he made Rufinus Præfect of the* Prætorium. *The new dignity of this favourite, and the emperor's protection, on which he entirely relied, enabled him to revenge himſelf more eaſily of his enemies. Promotus did not live long after his diſgrace, for having received orders to go and join the army, and to march towards the Baſtarnæ, who were plundering Thrace, he was killed in an ambuſh, by a party of thoſe Barbarians: ſeveral people accuſed Rufinus of that treachery. Proculus's death* ‡ *was not leſs diſmal. That miniſter had him accuſed of ſeveral crimes, bribed the commiſſioners appointed to try him, obliged them under-hand to condemn him to death, and contrived the matter ſo that the pardon, which the emperor ſent him, came after the execution. He croſſed Tatian* ‡ *in ſome domeſtic concerns, and Timaſus would not have been more fortunate than the reſt, had he not endeavoured to gain the affection of that favourite, and made himſelf an accomplice of his crimes.*

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 435, ad ann. 392.

† Zoz. lib. iv.

‡ Zoz. lib. iv.

‡ Ambr. ep. 53.

[B] *He was baptized with great pomp in the year* 394.] Mr Flechier has given us a noble deſcription of it, after a preamble, which is a maſter-piece, and therefore I ſhall ſet down his words ſomewhat at large. 'Rufinus, who governed the empire with an abſolute 'power in the abſence of Theodoſius . . . . had for a 'long time concealed his vanity and ambition under 'the appearance of an a[illegible] modeſty: and whether 'he had a mind that the emperor who loved him, 'ſhould have a good opinion of him, or whether he 'was willing to give leſs umbrage to the courtiers, 'who envied his fortune, he grew every day more 'powerful, without ſeeming to be more proud. He 'was deſirous to get wealth by private means; and 'though he loved pomp and ſtateline ſs, his avarice 'gave a check to his pride. But when he ſaw that 'he could rely upon his maſter's affection, being 'loaded with the wealth he had received from him, 'or had himſelf unjuſtly acquired, he gave a full 'ſcope to his inclinations, and grew inſolent, as ſoon 'as he believed he might be ſo with impunity. He 'procured himſelf a great many creatures, appeared 'abroad with a more magnificent equipage than be'came a private man, and built more ſtately houſes 'than the very palaces of the emperors. He had 'taken a particular care to build near the ſuburb of 'Chalcedon, called the ſuburb of the Oak *, a houſe * Sozom. lib. 'of pleaſure ſo vaſt, that one would have taken it for viii, cap. xvi. 'a town, and ſo full of ornaments and precious goods, 'that one could hardly believe that a private man had 'been able to bear ſuch exceſſive charges. On the 'one ſide was erected a large church in honour of the 'apoſtles St Peter and St Paul; and on the other, at 'a ſmall diſtance, a monaſtery was to be ſeen in per'ſpective upon a riſing ground, which was to ſupply 'the want of clergymen in that church. When 'thoſe buildings were finiſhed, Rufinus reſolved to be 'baptized, and at the ſame time to celebrate the de'dication of that new church with all imaginable 'pomp (3). . . . . Adding a great deal of oſtentation (3) Flechier, 'and vain-glory to a little religion, he ** called to- ibid. pag. 438. 'gether the biſhops of the ſeveral parts of the eaſtern ** Theodoret. 'empire, eſpecially thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of the lib. i, cap. xvii, 'firſt ſees. Nay, he intreated by repeated letters, Socrat. lib. v, 'the moſt famous anchorets of Egypt to leave their cap. v. Pallad. 'ſolitude, in order to aſſiſt at this pompous cere- in Lauſiac. cap. 'mony. The great ſtation he was in, in the empire, iv. 'whereof he had the chief direction under the prince 'Arcadius, engaged a great many biſhops to ſet out 'upon the firſt invitation, and to bring along with 'them the moſt holy men of their provinces. The 'aſſembly was very numerous. There were in it 'three patriarchs, Nectarius of Conſtantinople, Theo'philus of Alexandria, and Flavian of Antioch, Gre'gory biſhop of Nyſſa, Amphilocus of Iconium, Paul 'of Heraclea, Dioſcorus of Helenopolis, and ſeveral 'other famous Prelates arrived there before the reſt. 'The chief perſons of the nobility and clergy, and an 'innumerable multitude of people reſorted thither, 'ſome to honour the feaſt, others to make their court 'to that favourite, and many to ſatisfy their curioſi'ty. This ceremony was performed in the month of 'September. The church was hung with rich tape'ſtry; the altar glittered with gold and precious 'ſtones. The conſecration was made with all the or'der and magnificence poſſible. The ſervice being 'over, they proceeded to Rufinus's baptiſm with the 'ſame pomp. The Patriarch Nectarius adminiſtred it 'to him, and the famous Evagrius of Pontus, who 'had been ſent for from Egypt with the anchoret 'Ammonius, received at the coming out of the font 'that regenerated man, who did not long preſerve †† Pallad. in 'his innocency. Thus ended that ſolemnity, which Lauſiac. 'would have been one of the moſt holy and moſt 'magnificent of the eaſtern church, had it not been 'attended with a prophane luxury, and had not that 'miniſter endeavoured to get again from the people 'by his injuſtice, the immenſe ſums which he ſeemed 'to have ſpent for GOD upon that occaſion (4).'

(4) Flechier, ubi ſupra, pag. 438.

[C] *I ſhall make ſome reflexions upon Claudian's doubts* (5).] He ſays that the beautiful order, which appears in the world, moved him to believe that it is directed by the moſt wiſe laws of an infinite GOD; but that the diſorder, which prevails among men, the proſperity of the wicked, and the miſery of good men, induced him to believe, as Epicurus did, that all things had been made by chance, and that the gods did not concern themſelves with the government of the world. At laſt, ſays he, the puniſhment of Rufinus has removed my doubts; I acquit the gods; I do no more complain that the wicked have got ſo much power; they are only raiſed to fall from a higher place. This will be better repreſented in his own words.

(5) Concerning Divine Providence.

Sæpe

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occaſion to inquire whether all thoſe, who have maintained the Orthodox opinion concerning providence, have well obſerved the rules of diſputation.

Gabriel

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit ſententia mentem,
Curarent Superi terras, an nullus ineſſet
Rector, & incerto fluerent mortalia caſu.
Nam cum diſpoſiti quæſiſſem fœdera mundi,
Præſcriptoſque maris fines, annique meatus,
Et lucis, noctiſque vices: tunc omnia rebar
Conſilio firmata Dei, qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverſo tempore naſci,
Qui variam Phœben alieno juſſerit igne
Compleri, Solemque ſuo: porrexerit undis
Littora; tellurem medio libraverit axe.
Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adſpicerem, lætoſque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios: rurſus labefacta cadebat
Relligio, cauſſæque viam non ſponte ſequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere ſemina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte, regi: quæ Numina ſenſu
Ambiguo vel nulla putat, vel neſcia noſtri.
Abſtulit hunc tandem Rufini pœna tumultum,
Abſolvitque Deos. Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injuſtos creviſſe queror, tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapſu graviore ruant (6).

(6) Claudian. in Rufin. *lib. i, init.*

Oft has my mind with anxious doubts been toſt,
Whether the care of Heav'n extends to earth,
Or mortal things depend on chance alone.
For, when the fair creation I ſurvey'd
In beauteous order rang'd; the ſea confin'd
Within its bounds, and its proud waves reſtrain'd;
The year revolving in its conſtant courſe:
And the viciſſitude of day and night;
I clearly ſaw the hand of Providence,
And own'd the mighty ruler of the world;
That GOD, whoſe all-informing hand directs
The rapid motion of the whirling ſpheres;
Who rules the ſeaſons of the varied year;
Who fills the moon's bright orb with borrow'd light,
And bids the ſun with native luſtre ſhine:
Who on the ocean's brink extends the ſhores,
And on its axis ballances the earth.
But, when the gloomy ſcene of man I view'd,
The bad triumphant, and the good oppreſs'd;
Religion in a moment loſt its hold;
My heart inclin'd to that Philoſophy,
Which tells us, that diſcordant ſeeds of things,
Hurl'd thro' the vaſt abyſs of emptineſs,
Produced, by chance, not art, this fair variety;
Which wou'd perſuade, there are no gods in heav'n,
Or gods regardleſs of the human race.
At length, Rufinus puniſhment has clear'd
My anxious doubtings, and abſolv'd the gods.
No longer I complain, that proſp'rous vice
Is rais'd on high: the wicked are exalted,
Only to fall with greater ruin down.

I have promiſed in the article of Marſhal d'Ancre (7), to mention in this place Balzac's reflexions upon a thought of Malherbe like that of Claudian: I do now perform my promiſe. ‘ (8) It is true they ſpoke ‘ thus, before they had been better inſtructed by the ‘ Chriſtian Religion. The gods were charged with ‘ all the crimes of men. The divine providence was ‘ every day indicted by ſome body, who complained ‘ that the things of this world did not go, as he ‘ could have wiſhed. THAT FORTUNATE ‘ TYRANT BEARS WITNESS AGAINST ‘ GOD. This is an old ſaying alledged by your ‘ Cicero; and there is nothing ſo obvious in the Hea‘ then Poets, as the crimes of their gods, and of ‘ fate, *Crimen Deorum, Fatorum crimen*, &c. Cynthia ‘ is ſick, and if ſhe dies of her ſickneſs, ſays a Poet ‘ who was in love with her, *the death of ſuch a beau‘ tiful woman will be the crime of the god of Phyſic.*

(7) See the article CONCINI, remark [*F*].

(8) Balzac Socrate Chrétien, *pag.* m. 237.

Tam formoſa tuum Mortua crimen erit.

‘ Nay ſince the empire of Conſtantine, and under the ‘ children of Theodoſius, there are ſome inſtances of ‘ thoſe poetical blaſphemies, and of that prophane ‘ liberty. If Rufinus had not been puniſhed for his ‘ crimes, the gods would have been indicted, as Ru‘ finus's abettors and accomplices:

Abſtulit hunc tandem Rufini pœna timorem (9),
Abſolvitque Deos.

(9) *It ſhould be* tumultum. *Mr Menage*, Obſervat. ſur Malherbe, *pag.* 431, *took no notice of this* Quid pro quo *of Balzac, whoſe very words he alledges.*

‘ One of our Poets ſaid ſomething like it, but in a ‘ very excellent manner, and his copy exceeds all his ‘ originals. I take it to be a maſter-piece: it is in ‘ that Ode, which may be ſet above the fineſt and moſt ‘ elaborate Odes of the Ancients. The god of the ‘ Seine ſpeaks to a favourite, who was going over the ‘ Pont-neuf.' I ſhall not tranſcribe the verſes of Malherbe which Balzac quotes; you will find the concluſion of them in the article of CONCINI remark [*F*]. I add the following words of Menage (10) to thoſe of Balzac: *For the reſt, this thought,* Et le ciel accuſé de ſupporter tes crimes, eſt reſolu de ſe juſtifier, *(and Heaven being accuſed of favouring thy crimes, is reſolved to vindicate itſelf) is not originally Claudian's: ſeveral other authors, who lived long before him have ſaid the ſame thing. Cicero in the third book de Natura Deorum:* Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere ſolebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos teſtimonium dicere, quòd in illa fortuna tam diu viveret. *And in another place of the ſame book:* Improborum igitur proſperitates, ſecundæque res redarguunt, ut Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem Deorum ac poteſtatem. *Martial:*

(10) Menage, Obſervations ſur Malherbe, *pag.* 432.

Nullos eſſe Deos, inane cœlum
Affirmat Selius; probatque, quòd ſe
Factum, dum negat hæc, videt beatum.

There are no gods, Rufin aſſerts,
But empty Heavens, and this he proves
From his own happineſs who ſays it.

Seneca ſays in that ſenſe, Deorum crimen, Sylla tam felix; *and an ancient comic Poet,*

Θεῶν δ' ὄνειδος, τὰς κακὰς εὐδαιμονεῖν.

The wicked's happineſs is GOD's reproach.

Barthius (11) has collected a great many ſuch ſayings, and has not omitted thoſe that are to be found in the Scripture (12). One may bring under this head all the paſſages of the antients, wherein fortune is reviled, as a blind, inconſtant, rambling, unjuſt Being, that favours unworthy perſons (13). I ſhall only ſet down one of thoſe paſſages out of Pliny (14): ‘ Invenit inter has utraſque ſententias medium ſibi ipſa ‘ mortalitas numen, quo minus etiam plana de Deo ‘ conjectatio eſſet. Toto quippe mundo, & locis omnibus, omnibuſque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna ‘ ſola invocatur: una nominatur, una accuſatur, una ‘ agitur rea, una cogitatur, ſola laudatur, ſola arguitur, & cum convitiis colitur (15): volubilis, à pleriſque vero & cæca [illegible] exiſtimata, vaga, inconſtans, incerta, varia, indignorumque fautrix. Huic ‘ omnia expenſa, huic omnia feruntur accepta: & in ‘ tota ratione mortalium, ſola utramque paginam facit. Adeoque obnoxiæ ſumus ſortis, ut Sors ipſa ‘ pro Deo ſit, qua Deus probatur incertus. - - - - *Betwixt both theſe opinions concerning a Divinity, mortals have invented a medium, that the exiſtence of GOD might ſtill become more uncertain. For all the world over, and in all places, and times, fortune only is invocated: only talked of, only accuſed, only condemned, only thought on, only praiſed, only blamed, and with reproaches worſhipped: inconſtant, and by moſt part even thought to be blind, wavering, wandering, uncertain,*

(11) Barthius, ad Claudian, in Rufin. *lib. i, init. pag. m.* 1078, *& ſeq.*

(12) Apud Regem Prophetam Pſal. lxxiii, & xciii. Hiobum cap. xxiii. Habacuc cap. i. Malachum cap. iii. *Barthius, ibid. pag.* 1082.

(13) See the article PAYS, remark [*H*].

(14) Plin. *lib. ii, cap. vii, pag. m.* 145.

(15) See concerning this an obſervation againſt Coſtar, citation (51) of the article HERCULES.

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Gabriel Naudæus affirms a thing which is moſt falſe, namely, that Rufinus has been praiſed

'*certain, various, and favouring the unworthy. To*
'*her is attributed whatever is given and received:*
'*and in all the thoughts of mortals ſhe alone is all in*
'*all. And ſo obnoxious we are to the power of chance,*
'*that fortune herſelf is in place of a god, whereby the*
'*exiſtence of GOD is proved uncertain.*' It may be ſaid that in all ages and among all nations, without excepting the age we live in, and Chriſtianity, the proſperity of wicked men has occaſioned many murmurs againſt GOD, and raiſed many doubts about Providence. On the other ſide, that objection has been anſwered at all times and in all countries: ſeeing then it hath been perpetually renewed, notwithſtanding all anſwers to it, we muſt conclude that it has ſomething very ſpecious, and I do not know what proportion to our mind, which eaſily admits it, and cannot throw it off (16). So that what is ſaid of the palm-tree may be applied to it, *curvata reſurgo*. Anſwers may bend me a little, but I am ſoon reſtored. We need not examine its ſolidity; for we ought to be perſuaded that it is a falſe and inſignificant objection; but perhaps it will not be improper to examine whether Claudian made a good anſwer to it.

(16) *It is like nature,* Naturam expellas furca, tamen uſque recurret. *Horatius, Epiſt. X, lib. i, ver. 24.*

SOME conſiderations upon the method of anſwering the difficulties about providence. Laws of diſputation.

Some may tell him; you have not taken the right way; the only anſwer you ſhould have made to your difficulty, was to conſider the vaſt and immenſe idea of the moſt perfect Being, and to draw this conſequence from it: he is the author and governor of all things; and therefore nothing comes to paſs but what is directed in a moſt wiſe, juſt, and admirable manner. This is certainly the true way of removing all doubts: ſilence reaſon; let it acquieſce to authority (17): GOD ſaid ſo, αὐτὸς ἔφα, GOD has done it, GOD has permitted it; it is therefore true, juſt, wiſely done, and wiſely permitted. If you enter into the diſcuſſion of each particular argument, you will never ſee an end of the matter, and after a thouſand diſputes, you will be obliged to have recourſe to authority, and to the immenſe idea of the moſt perfect Being. But ſince we muſt come to that at laſt, let us keep immoveably and ſtedfaſtly to it, laying our finger on our mouth and ſilencing our imperfect knowledge. Being fully perſuaded that the beſt uſe of reaſon as to thoſe things is not to reaſon at all. Let us inforce more ſtrongly the motives of this method. When a man engages in a diſputation, we expect he will ſhew his adverſary that he is in the wrong; but he muſt not pretend that his adverſary will acquieſce in his firſt and ſecond anſwers. The rules of diſputation require that each party may be allowed to reply, as often as he can anſwer an argument by another argument, and till the matter be brought to the firſt principles. If I can ſhew a man that his aſſertion is contrary to the common notions, and that mine is a natural and neceſſary conſequence of thoſe notions; I am not obliged to hear him any longer, but to ſilence him with this axiom, *adverſus negantem principia non eſt diſputandum.* But if I give only a probable ſolution of his objections, and he is able to bring in new difficulties as probable, or near as probable, as my ſolution, I cannot require of him that he ſhould acquieſce in my anſwers: I muſt look out for a new ſolution of his new difficulties; and if I can find none that is evident, or that will not admit of a ſpecious anſwer, I ought to give over the diſpute without pretending to have got the victory; otherwiſe I ſhould imitate the converters in France. About the year 1680, theſe gentlemen offered to enter upon a conference on religion with their erring brethren: they promiſed to hear their doubts, and to clear them, and to inſtruct them in a very cordial manner: but after they had anſwered two or three times, they could no longer bear to be contradicted, they would have their explanations ſubmitted to, otherwiſe they declared that their adverſaries were obſtinate. It had been better to ſay ſo at firſt: it is a ridiculous thing to enter into a diſcuſſion, if we will not ſuffer an adverſary to make a hundred and a hundred replies, if he can do it; and if he is able to alledge againſt the tenth reply, an argument as probable as the objection which he propoſed againſt the main aſſertion. Such is the true ſtate of diſputations. Your adverſary attacks your aſſertion, you anſwer him; but it often falls out that your anſwer lies more open to difficulties than the aſſertion itſelf. You ought therefore to refute his reply: your new anſwer contains I know not what, that raiſes new difficulties more plauſible than the firſt; therefore they muſt be examined, and ſo *in infinitum*, unleſs you bring on your ſide common notions (18), to nonplus your antagoniſt. Such are the laws of the combate; if you have no mind to obſerve them, it is better for you not to enter the liſts, being contented to ſay, this ought to be believed without reaſoning: GOD ſaid ſo; that is enough.

(17) I was ſilent and opened not my mouth becauſe thou didſt it. *Pſal. xxxix, 9.*

(18) By common notions I underſtand in general all the principles, which the two contending parties are agreed upon.

This would be an unjuſt proceeding, if the ſtate of the queſtion was this, *Has God ſpoke?* But it cannot be ſaid to be unjuſt, when we diſpute with men, who acknowledge the exiſtence of a moſt perfect Being, and raiſe doubts in their minds becauſe good men are unhappy, and wicked men live in proſperity. The only anſwer, that ought to be made to thoſe doubting men, is this. You are perſuaded of the exiſtence of a moſt perfect Being; you ought therefore to believe that it governs all things in a moſt perfect manner: for if you do not draw this conſequence from the principle which you admit, you are ignorant of the firſt rules of common ſenſe, and you might as well argue thus; the ſun cannot produce darkneſs, therefore it has produced it. That it may the better appear that we ought to keep to that ſhort anſwer, and to that general principle of the exiſtence of GOD, I will ſhew the inconveniencies, which ariſe from a particular diſcuſſion of each argument. In the firſt place, it is certain that in ſuch a caſe you are obliged to anſwer all the replies of an adverſary, till you can bring an argument againſt him, to which no reaſonable reply can be made: ſuch are the laws of diſputation, as I have already obſerved. In the ſecond place, it is certain that your particular arguments will be anſwered *in infinitum*, and that the anſwers will be at leaſt no leſs plauſible, as it will appear from this ſpecimen. Suppoſe our Poet had acquainted another man with the reaſon, that removed all his doubts: he would have told him, ſince Rufinus has been puniſhed, there is a providence, whereby all things are wiſely and juſtly governed. The proſperity of that wicked man did not prove that providence was aſleep, but, on the contrary, that it was preparing by degrees a ſevere puniſhment for him; he was raiſed that he might be the better cruſhed to pieces by falling from a high place: '*tolluntur in altum, ut*
'*lapſu graviore ruant. - - - they are lifted up on high,*
'*that their fall may be the greater.*' Claudian might have been anſwered, if you have nothing elſe to ſay, the difficulty remains ſtill; though your ſolution be never ſo ancient (19), it is not the better for it; whilſt you reſolve a great difficulty, you lie open to one that is ſtill greater: your particle *UT* ſtrikes one with horror. It cannot be heard without trembling. You aſcribe to the moſt perfect Being, who is conſequently infinitely good, a motive and a final cauſe, which are ſo far from having any goodneſs in them, that they are the moſt malicious and tyrannical character that can be conceived. It is juſt as if one of our emperors deſigning to inflict a capital puniſhment upon ſome of his domeſtics, ſhould make them governors of provinces, and ſuffer them to exerciſe all ſorts of extortions, and to ſuck the ſubſtance of the people; it is, I ſay, as if he permitted thoſe things in order to puniſh them more ſeverely. If you had been ſo bold as to ſay of Theodoſius what you ſay of GOD, that he raiſed Rufinus to the higheſt dignities to cruſh him the better, and to ſhew his ſubjects his ſovereign power of raiſing and depreſſing men, he would have had you hanged, as a ſatirical and inſolent Poet. Claudian would doubtleſs be ſenſible of the heinouſneſs of his *UT* and of his final cauſe, and would deſire that this word ſhould not be taken in a ſtrict and criminal ſenſe. He would ſay that providence had not loaded wicked Rufinus with good things, in order to do him more miſchief, but in hopes that that favourite would make a good uſe of them. He would add, that, according to the laws of nature, the fall of bodies is ſo much the greater, as they fall from a higher place, and that therefore Rufinus's elevation could not but aggravate his puniſhment, when the ill uſe he continually made of [illegible] evenly favours called for it. But Claudian would be anſwered that this does not remove the difficulty; hopes are not to be found in the divine nature; God moſt certainly knows whatever ſhall come to paſs; he knew moſt certainly that Rufinus would make an ill uſe of his favours; and therefore it had been better to

(19) Juvenal, Sat. X, ver. 104, *ſaid before, ſpeaking of Seianus.*
Nam qui nimis optabat honores,
Et nimias poſcebat opes, neceſſa paratur
Excelſæ turris ſublata, unde ruina
Tutior eſſet
Caſus, & ingens
Se præceps in
mane ruiſſet.

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praiſed by three or four celebrated Hiſtorians [*D*].

prevent him (20), than to bear his crimes for many years, in order to inflict upon him a puniſhment, which cannot atone up the miſchief he has done, the oppreſſion of ſo many innocent perſons, the death of ſo many people, and the ruin of ſo many families. It is but a poor ſatisfaction for a province deſolated by a governor, only to have him puniſhed; it continues in the miſerable condition it was in before, and ſometimes the guilty man is the better for it (21). I do not carry farther the replies, which our Poet could make; doubtleſs he could make a great many, but thoſe of his adverſary would be no leſs numerous, and would always be like thoſe we have juſt now ſeen, that is, they would be more proportioned to the notions of our mind, and to the ideas by which we judge of the perfection of a government than thoſe of Claudian. I ſuppoſe that after a long diſputation his adverſary would tell him: I believe as well as you, that whatever has happened in the caſe of Rufinus is juſt, wiſe, and perfect in reſpect to GOD; but I do not believe it by virtue of your arguments, they are apter to raiſe doubts, than to enlighten the mind. You may uſe them however to thoſe whom they may ſatisfy, but do not mention them to thoſe who carry arguments as far as they can go. The idea of the moſt perfect Being ought to be ſufficient to them, and it is ſufficient when they make good uſe of their reaſon. I know ſome men, who have read ſeveral times Boëtius, *de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, and find a great difference between the objections and the anſwers of that author. Boëtius was both a great Philoſopher, and a very good man. Groaning under the weight of his misfortune, and overwhelmed with grief, he ſuppoſes that Philoſophy comes to comfort him. He raiſes ſeveral objections about providence: Philoſophy anſwers them as well as ſhe can, but whereas the difficulties of Boëtius are fitted to the meaneſt capacity, the ſolutions can hardly be underſtood without the greateſt attention, and the quickeſt apprehenſion. Philoſophy miſtruſts herſelf, and requires moſt times that ſhe may be allowed to wind about, and to trace up things higher; and though what ſhe ſays be never ſo ſolid, it happens ſometimes that we do not underſtand it; and if ſhe convinces us, ſhe does it moſt times without enlightening the mind. Such is the opinion of ſome perſons who have read Boëtius. They have acquainted me that a moſt ſubtile Profeſſor of the XVIIth century, has more dextrouſly defended the honour of Philoſophy than he; for after introducing a Heathen who propoſes innumerable doubts about providence, he gives him no other expedient, but the aſſiſtance of the divine grace (22).

Before I make an end of this remark, I muſt take notice of the injuſtice of ſome perſons, who fancy that thoſe who reject the reaſons alledged for a doctrine, reject the doctrine itſelf. There is a very great difference between thoſe two things; and they are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by equitable and underſtanding men, who ſuffer patiently and without any ill ſuſpicion, thoſe, who cannot abide that weak and wrong arguments ſhould be made uſe of to maintain a truth. This however may be liable to ſome abuſes; for, (to give an inſtance of it) the Sceptics under pretence of confuting only the arguments of the Dogmatiſts for the exiſtence of GOD, did actually undermine the doctrine itſelf. At firſt, they declared (23), that they followed the common opinion, without addicting themſelves to any particular ſect; that they acknowledged the exiſtence of the gods, honoured them, and aſcribed a providence to them; but that they could not abide that the Dogmatiſts ſhould be ſo raſh as to reaſon about it: afterwards they propoſed their objections, which, by overthrowing providence, tended to overthrow the exiſtence of GOD. See Sextus Empiricus (24), who inſtead of grounding his doubts, as Claudian did, upon the proſperity of wicked men, grounds them upon adverſity, and the many evils that prevail in the world. He alledges an argument, which has been better expreſſed than confuted by Lactantius. See, above, the article PAULICIANS, remark [*E*], citation 16, and the following words of a Jeſuit who has obſerved that Arnobius confeſſes this argument is unanſwerable. *Poſſet denique cum Sexto Empirico* Lib. 1. (it ſhould be 3.) *Pyrrhonicarum hypothypoſeon cap.* 1. *fieri tale argumentum, quòd ſi Deus ſit, cum ſit bonus infinitè, & perfectiſſimus, nulla in mundo eſſet malitia aut imperfectio: nam contrarium unum infinitum, deſtruit totaliter aliud. Cui argumento reſpondurus Arnobius lib.* 2. *num.* 49. *poſt multam exaggerationem difficultatis, inſolubilem exiſtimare videtur. Alexander autem quem refert & latè rejicit Simplic.* 2. *cœli,* in fine, *concedit Deum non poſſe mala excludere, alioqui ea omnino fuiſſe prohibiturum. Et verò hoc ipſum argumentum multos Philoſophos vexaſſe, teſtatur Lactantius libro de ira Dei cap.* 13. *Sed rectè reſpondet* Scot. &c (25).

[*D*] *Naudæus affirms . . . that Rufinus has been praiſed by three or four celebrated Hiſtorians.*] 'Claudian 'does very much inveigh againſt Rufinus . . . . and 'yet Zozimus, Zonaras, Eutropius, and Paulus Oroſius praiſe him exceedingly (26).' They are Naudé's words; let us examine theſe four authors aſcending, we ſhall ſoon ſee that he is miſtaken. Oroſius (27) ſpeaks ill of Rufinus, and Eutropius ſays nothing neither good nor evil of him: for his Hiſtory ends with the death of Jovian, who lived before the empire of Theodoſius. I find nothing in Zonaras that relates to our Rufinus. The Rufinus mentioned by that Annaliſt (28), was conſul of Rome, when Pyrrhus made war againſt the Romans: as for Zozimus, he is ſo far from praiſing Rufinus exceſſively, that he repreſents him as a wicked man. I could cite ſeveral paſſages of his Hiſtory which prove it clearly, but this will be ſufficient. Ῥηΐνῳ μὲν ἕν, ἰδίᾳ τε πολλοῖς κακῶν ἀποφοήτων γενόμενῳ αἰτίῳ, καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ λυμηράμενῳ ἅπασῃ, δίκην ἐξέτισε τῶν πεπονημένων ἀξίαν. *At Rufinus quidem, qui compluribus intolerabilium malorum auctor privatim exſtiterat, & univerſæ reipublicæ detrimentum adtulerat, dignas admiſſis facinoribus diris pœnas luit* (29). One can hardly conceive how ſuch a man as Gabriel Naudæus, who had a vaſt reading, and a great memory, could commit ſo many miſtakes in ſo few lines.

(20) Cur omnium crudeliſſimus tamdiu Cinna regnavit? At dedit pœnas. Prohiberi melius fuit, impedireque ne tot ſummos viros interficeret, quam aliquando pœnas dare. *Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib.* iii, *cap.* xxxii.

(21) Exul ab octava Marius bibit & fruitur Diis Iratis: at tu victrix provincia ploras. *Juvenal. Stat. I, ver.* 49.

(22) Unde Philoſophus noſter ethnicus tot difficultatibus oppreſſus, niſi afflatu divino animetur ad cognitionem Dei unius ac diſtincti ab univerſo nunquam aſſurget. *Claudius Berigardus in priores Libros Phyſ. Ariſtot. Circulo* xx, *in fine.*

(23) Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. *lib.* iii, *cap.* i.

(24) Sext. Empiric. *ibid.*

(25) Theoph. Raynaudus, Theolog. Naturali, *Diſtinct. V, num.* 166. *p. m.* 532, 533.

(26) Naudé Dialogue de Maſcurat, *pag.* 630.

(27) See chap. xxxvii of book vii.

(28) Zonaras, Ann. *lib.* viii, *pag.* 377, 379. *Paris Edit.* 1686.

(29) Zozimus, *lib.* v, *pag.* 297. *Edit. Oxon.* 1679.

RUGGERI (*a*) (COSMO), a Florentine, introduced himſelf into the court of France as a great Aſtrologer, when Catherine de Medicis favoured that ſort of people. He was a man of parts, and had the reputation of being learned: beſides he was very bold even to impudence, he thruſt himſelf among perſons of quality, and was a great intriguer (*b*). Catherine de Medicis beſtowed upon him the abbey of St Mahé, in the Lower Bretagne. He calculated the nativities of all the lords of the court, and did it in ſuch a manner as he thought moſt proper to get money from them (*c*). At laſt, he was accounted a Diviner and a Magician, and in the year 1574, he found himſelf involved in the affair of la Mole and Coconas [*A*], who, among other crimes, were charged with practiſing ſorcery againſt the life of Charles IX. He is called Coſmo the Italian in that trial (*d*), and he was condemned to the gallies; but the queen-mother ſet him at liberty ſome time after (*e*). He perſuaded la Mole and ſome others, that he could make wax-images, ſome of which would procure the love of women, and others make any one they pleaſed die in a lingring condition (*f*). He began in 1604, to ſet up for

(*a*) Balzac, Socrate Chrétien, *p. m.* 253. *calls him* Coſmus Roger.

(*b*) Garaſſe, Doctrine curieuſe, *p.* 155.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Mercure François, *Tom.* iv, *pag.* 46. ad ann. 1615.

(*e*) See the remark [*A*].

(*f*) Mercure François, *Tom.* iv, *pag.* 47.

[*A*] *He found himſelf involved in the affair of la Mole and Coconas.*] They were two favourites of the Duke of Alençon, brother to Charles IX, who had put their maſter upon wicked deſigns, or had been inſtrumental in the execution of them. I am apt to believe that they were falſly accuſed of ſome crimes; but

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for a writer of Almanacks, and continued to do ſo every year: they were intermixed with ſentences taken from Latin authors (g). He lived a long life, and ſurvived all the Italian courtiers of Catherine de Medicis (b). He died at Paris in the year 1615, and becauſe he had openly and inſolently declared that he died an Atheiſt [B], his body was thrown upon a lay-ſtall. He had been accuſed in the year 1598, of having made uſe of witchcraft againſt the life of Henry IV [C]: he was thereupon examined by Thuanus

(g) Ibid.

(b) Garaſſe, ubi ſupra.

but they deſerved to ſuffer death for the things that were truly laid to their charge. I will quote Mezerai firſt; and then le Laboureur. *They found in la Mole's houſe an image of wax, which one Coſmo Rugier, a Florentine, and a great cheat, had made for him, to enchant a gentlewoman with whom he was in love. The queen-mother was willing that people ſhould believe it had been made againſt the king; which he denied all along: nevertheleſs he was beheaded with Coconas. It is ſaid that two princeſſes, who were in love with them, ſtole away their heads, and embalmed them in order to keep them: one of their accomplices was broke upon the wheel, and Rugier was ſent to the gallies. The queen-mother, who gave much credit to diviners and ſorcerers, had him ſet at liberty ſome time after to make uſe of him* (1). Le Laboureur tells us, that the queen would have had Coſmo hanged, and he does not ſay that it was ſhe who ſet that galley-ſlave at liberty: I call him ſo, though I know he never rowed. 'Tourtai was condemned to be hanged, and 'to be put firſt of all to the rack . . . . . Being 'aſked whether one Coſmo, an Italian, knew any 'thing of the matter, he anſwered, *that there is an 'Italian, a black man, with an ugly face, who plays 'upon the inſtruments, wears ſometimes round, and ſome-'times taffety, breeches, and always black cloaths, and is 'a very luſty man, and very much converſant with la 'Nocle; but he does not know whether he knows any 'thing of that enterprize* (2).' Theſe words are explained by le Laboureur in the following manner (3). 'That 'Italian is Coſmo Rogieri, of whom I have already 'ſpoken (4), and whom the queen herſelf had placed 'with the duke, her ſon, under pretence of teaching 'him the Italian tongue, but in truth to be a ſpy 'upon him; being informed, or afraid, that a party 'was forming to ſet him upon the throne after the 'death of Charles IX, preferably to the king of 'Poland, his brother, whoſe return into France, 'they deſigned to prevent. He confeſſed afterwards to 'ſome body, that after he had given ſome advice to 'the queen, he found out that the faction would be 'ſo ſtrong, by reaſon of the hatred which the Paris-'Maſſacre had occaſioned, and becauſe that prince 'was ſuſpected of cruelty, beſides, that thereby the 'queen and the houſe of Guiſe would have again the 'government in their hands, that he reſolved to 'follow his maſter's fortune, not doubting that this 'faction would ſucceed in their attempt, being ſup-'ported by great men, and by the ſecretaries of ſtate, 'and ſeveral members of the parliament. He was 'ſtill more confirmed in that opinion, when having 'diſcovered to the duke the ſecret converſations he 'had with the queen, the duke truſted him with all 'his deſigns, and made uſe of him to amuſe his 'mother with ſome inconſiderable things that he 'reported to her, whereby he had an occaſion to 'diſcourſe with her, and dive into her thoughts. 'Thus he was deeply engaged in that deſign; but 'the queen having diſcovered the whole matter, 'cauſed him to be impriſoned, as well as the reſt, 'and brought to his tryal; but to little purpoſe, for 'he endured the torture with great reſolution upon 'more than fourſcore heads, and even upon many 'which he himſelf had diſcovered, without confeſſing 'any thing relating either to the conſpiracy or to the 'enchanted medals, for he was accuſed of having 'made a medal of king Charles, to bring him to 'his death, and two more for the Duke of Alençon 'and la Molle his favourite, who had them tied to 'their hats in order to keep up an inviolable friend-'ſhip betwixt them. But they proved very fatal to 'la Molle, who, upon this vain aſſurance, ſet up for 'a mighty man; and he was ſo far from being ſup-'ported by any friends in his misfortune that his 'own maſter, and good friend, gave evidence againſt 'him. He did not think that our flowers de-luce, 'which are ſaid to have been ſent from Heaven, 'have a ſupernatural virtue againſt charms. If it be 'true that Coſmo gave away many charms, he kept 'a good one for himſelf againſt hanging. Catherine 'de Medicis would have had him hanged; but he 'would not: ſhe had only the ſatisfaction to ſee him 'chained, and his journey to Marſeilles was the only 'toil and fatigue that he went through. He got 'ſome friends there, who prevailed with the captain 'of his galley to take him into his houſe; which 'was never ſo much frequented upon his account, 'as it was then by reaſon of that illuſtrious galley-'ſlave. He turned it into a ſchool of Mathematics 'and Judicial Aſtrology, having a keeper, who looked 'rather like a man given him out of honour, than 'in order to obſerve him and prevent his eſcape.' Thuanus ſays, that la Mole had an image of wax pricked in the heart, and that Ruggeri being proſecuted as a Magician, was ſet at liberty by the queen-mother. I ſhall ſet down Thuanus's words and la Mole's anſwers in the remark [E].

(1) Mezerai, Abregé Choronol. *Tom. v, p.* 180, *ad ann.* 1574.

(2) Le Laboureur, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 408.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) *Viz. in page* 401, *where are theſe words:* There are ſcarcely any ſuch criminals who will not endure all kinds of torture, if their life depend on their confeſſion. Which will appear by Coſmo Rogieri, of whom we ſhall ſpeak afterwards; who was known to be one of the principal in the ſecret, and had violated his fidelity to the queen, who had placed him with the duke her ſon for a ſpy.

[B] *He had openly and inſolently declared that he died an Atheiſt.*] Theſe are the words of the *Mercure François. Old age, the Gout and the Stone, having reduced him to a dying condition, his friends adviſed him to think of* GOD, *and ſent for the curate of the pariſh; but he would not ſee him: they brought him ſome Capuchins; but he laughed at them. When he was told that he ſhould duly prepare himſelf to obtain* GOD's *mercy, and be afraid of the laſt judgment, he anſwered: O ye fools! there are no Devils but the enemies that torment us in this world, nor any God beſides kings and princes who can raiſe us and do us good* (5). If you prefer the paraphraſe of a Jeſuit to the plainneſs of this account, read the following words (6). 'The 'Gout and the Gravel . . . . . like two officers of 'death, having ſeized on him, waſted and conſumed 'him; but they left him a ſound and a clear judg-'ment to repent of his ſins if he would have 'taken warning. Four days before he died, the 'curate of St Medard viſited him, being in bed, and 'endeavoured to make him ſenſible of his duty; 'but he would not hear him. Some honeſt Capuchins 'were ſent for to try whether they could work upon 'him: they came to ſee him at the requeſt of ſome 'of his friends, and laid before him the ſeverity of 'GOD's judgments, and the power and malice of 'Satan in this laſt ſtage of a man's life, telling him 'that he ſhould think of his ſalvation. But he 'anſwered them with the tone of a mad and deſ-'perate man, you fools, get out of my chamber; 'I would have you know that there are no other 'Devils but our enemies, who do us miſchief in this 'world, nor any God beſides kings and princes who 'do us good: I have lived in this belief and I will 'die in it. They omitted neither fair words, nor 'threatnings to bring him into the right way; but it 'was to no purpoſe: From that time he went on 'uttering moſt horrid blaſphemies, as Lucilio (Vanini) 'had done upon the wood-pile; till at laſt he 'ended his wretched life as Judas did, *Infelicem 'ſpiritum non emiſit, ſed amiſit.* The noiſe of his 'deſpair was immediately ſpread all over Paris; he 'was curſed by the people, and his body was thrown 'upon a lay-ſtall, as being unworthy of Chriſtian 'burial (7).'

(5) Mercure François, *Tom. iv, pag.* 46.

(6) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, *pag.* 156, 157.

(7) Spitelius in Scrutinio Atheiſmi, *pag.* 130. *It is the wrong place to mention the Atheiſts that were burnt alive.*

[C] *He had been accuſed of having made uſe of witchcraft againſt the life of Henry IV.*] That prince being at Nantes in the year 1598, was told that Coſmo Ruggeri was guilty of that crime. There was a report that this man, being then an eccleſiaſtic, had a private cloſet in the caſtle of Nantes, wherein he ſhut up himſelf every day, under pretence of painting, but in truth to prick with a needle a wax image like the king. He gave ſome hopes that by this means the king would pine away with a lingring diſeaſe. *Coſmus Rugerius tunc ſacris addictus ad regem delatus fuerat, quaſi ipſius vitæ deteſtandis magicæ artibus perniciem molitus eſſet. Nam in arce Namnetenſi ſpecie pingendi cellam peculiarem habuiſſe, in qua ceream imaginem, quæ regis*

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Thuanus, and dismissed without punishment. The account I shall give (*i*) of this attempt will shew us the impudence of that wicked man, and the favour he was in with the ladies. Many reflexions might be made upon his addicting himself to Astrology and Magic, though he believed neither a GOD nor a Devil [*D*]; for it is a general opinion among Christians,

(*i*) In the remark [*D*].

regis speciem referebat, diris epodis excantatam cottidie acu figebat, eaque re fore spem fecerat, ut rex mox mortifero langore sensim absumeretur (8). The king ordered Thuanus, and another Judge to enquire into that affair. Cosmo being juridically interrogated, answered first of all the objection that was made to him, grounded upon his having been put to the torture for such a thing in the year 1574. He maintained that he had been then falsly accused, and that his innocence had been acknowledged by his Judges; that his being suspected of Magic, was only grounded upon his skill in Astrology; because people thought that he could not foretel so many things without the assistance of the Devil, though he had only foretold them by an exact knowledge of nativities (9). He added that the great affection he had conceived for the king long ago was sufficient to clear him from the crime charged upon him. He said that after the Paris-massacre, the court of France took into consideration what they should do with the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, and that Catherine de Medicis asked him whether he had calculated their nativities; and that he answered her he had done it, and knew by that means they would occasion no disturbances in the kingdom. He added that his answer prevented the ill designs that were formed against them; that he had acquainted la Noue with it, and desired him to give them notice of it, that for the time to come they might behave themselves so as to confirm what he had told Catherine meerly out of affection for them; since such things could not be certainly discovered by Astrology (10). He concluded with saying that he hoped his majesty, remembring so good a service, would have more regard to it than to the malicious and false accusations of his informers. Thuanus gave an account of all these things to the king: that prince, after walking a while, acknowledged that la Noue had told him so at that time, and he ordered that Ruggeri should be set at liberty, and that all informations against him should be superseded. The ladies had already obtained the pardon of that wretched man, who quickly appeared at court very familiar with them. *Intermissa ulterior in Cosmum inquisitio & ipse libertati restitutus fuit, & in arctam familiaritatem cum gynæceo venit, cujus favore à Rege, cum hæc diceret, jam gratia in arcano facta fuerat* (11). Thuanus, mentions a thing, which ought not to be omitted. Ruggeri, was so impudent as to say that it was not he, but a Gardener of the same name, who had been accused and punished in la Mole's time, and he imposed upon them in such a manner that he had a pension of Historiographer bestowed upon him. *Homo impudentissimus ac perditissimus postea ausus est palam dicere quæ ad annum LXXIII. de Cosmo Rugerio commemorantur, ad se minime pertinere, sed Thuanum olitoris cujusdam cognominis tunc postulati errore allucinatum esse; eoque væsaniæ venit, ut emendicato stipendio in aula obtinuerit, ut scribendæ historiæ munus sibi demandaretur* (12). Admire that man's impudence. The answers he made to the two commissioners appointed to examine him at Nantes, signed with his own hand, were still extant, wherein he acknowledged that he was the same Cosmo Ruggeri, who had been falsly accused, when la Mole was tried; but he maintained that he had been honourably acquitted by the Judges; by this his impudence plainly appears, for the records of his process testify that he was condemned to the gallies. *Iis* (confessionibus) *eundem se esse minime diffitetur, sed per calumniam accusatum, & postea honorifice, sicuti jam dixi, dimissum; in quo rursus insigniter mentitus est, nam ex archivis Curiæ itidem constat, eum post quæstionem ad triremeis damnatum esse, sed aulicorum in hoc hominum genus prono favore pœnam remissam fuisse, & cum duceretur, vinculis exemptum in aula statim comparuisse* (13). I must further add, that the commissioners having told him at Nantes, that Judicial Astrology being a thing impious and unworthy of a Christian, he was very much to blame for applying himself to it, especially considering that he was a priest; he excused himself as well as he could, and even spoke of that science in a contemptible manner, and swore that he had never calculated any nativity since he was a priest (14).

(8) Thuan. de vita sua, *lib. vi, ad ann.* 1598. *pag.* 1234, *col. i. C.*

(9) Ob id autem plerisque suspectum fuisse, quod astrologiæ peritus certiorem ac sibi cum paucis cognitam natalium horarum confidendarum scientiam calleret, cujus ope ac ductu cum multa multis prædixisset, in eam venisse opinionem, quasi occulta cum malis spiritibus familiaritate hæc didicisset. *Id. ibid.*

(10) Id autem non tam ex arte, quam adfectu erga ipsos bene animato fecisse, quippe cum res ejusmodi esset, ut per astrologicæ artis rationem præstari non posset. *Id. ibid. col. ii, A.*

(11) Id. ibid. B.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Id. ibid. C.

[*D*] *His addicting himself to Astrology and Magic, though he believed neither a GOD nor a Devil.*] Mark well the confession he made, when he was dying. *There are no other Devils*, said he (15), *but the enemies who torment us in this world, nor any God besides kings and princes, who can raise us and do us good.* He added, according to Garasse (16), *I have lived in this belief, and in this belief I will die.* If this addition was made by that Jesuit, I think it may be justified by the laws of paraphrase; for it is almost an indubitable thing, that an old man, who dies an Atheist has been an Atheist a long time. People do not grow irreligious upon their death-bead, nor even in their old-age; on the contrary the greatest part of the wits, libertines, and unbelievers, &c. renounce their impiety in their sicknesses (17), and die making orthodox declarations (18). It is therefore very likely that our Ruggeri had been for a long time such as he died. To what purpose then did he cast nativities, and make wax images, which he distributed as so many causes of love and sickness? Such things can scarcely be reconciled: all those, who mention his death, make the following reflexion upon it. *He had formerly made people believe . . . . . that he knew how to make images, &c. and* YET *that Atheist did not believe that there was any Devil* (19). *The wisest men were then* (20) *of opinion, that he had no knowledge of* Necromancy, *and* INDEED THE ISSUE *of his life made it plainly appear* (21). It is certain that since he did not believe the existence of any spirit distinct from human souls, he must needs have looked upon what is said on Magic as fabulous; and consequently his pretending to make images, which had the power to kill, or to inspire love, proceeded only from a greedy desire of getting money. He knew himself, the vanity of his promises, and that the pricking of images with a needle was ineffectual. It is not so certain that he knew the vanity of Astrology: A man of sense and learning does clearly perceive that a piece of wax in the shape of a man or of a woman which is pricked in the heart, cannot produce in any distant person the desire of marrying a certain man, or any other kind of passion. He evidently knows that a piece of wax, which represents Henry IV, whether it be put near the fire at Nantes, or pricked in several places in the same town, cannot bring an hectic and mortal fever upon that king at Paris. And therefore any man of judgment, sense, or learning, who is persuaded that those wax images have such a power, must needs know that those effects are produced by an invisible spirit, which works immediately and physically upon certain persons, whilst those images are in such circumstances. Ruggeri did not believe that there was any such spirit, and therefore he knew that those images had no such virtue. But it does not so evidently appear, that the celestial bodies are not capable of producing many effects upon earth. It is well known that some persons, who were accounted Atheists, seemed to be persuaded of the influence of the stars, even with respect to the free actions of men, and what we call fortune, or contingent events. And therefore it is not certain that Ruggeri was sensible of the vanity of Judicial Astrology. However I believe it may safely be said, considering the turn of his mind (22), that he gave nativities about as impostors use to do, without giving any credit to them, and to trick people out of their money.

Perhaps it will be objected to me, that it is as difficult to believe that a certain planet, situated in a certain manner in the figure of one's nativity, is the physical cause of the kind reception a prince gives to a man of fifty years of age, who waits upon him at a certain hour, as to believe that a wax image pricked in the heart can produce an act of love in a man a hundred leagues off. To which I answer, that this effect of the planet appears to many people as chimerical as the effect of the image, and I am one of them; but I repeat it again,

(14) Ipse se quibus potuit verbis etiam elevata ea, excusavit, & inter alia adjecit ac religiose affirmavit, se postquam sacris addictus esset, quod diu postea fuit, nunquam natalem cujusquam horas conscisse. *Id. ib. D & E.*

(15) Mercure François, ubi supra, *pag.* 46.

(16) Garasse, ubi supra, *pag.* 157.

(17) See the article BION the Borysthenite, remark [*E*].

(18) That is orthodox with respect to the providence of God, and Heaven, and Hell.

(19) Mercure François, ubi supra, *pag.* 47. *See also the Continuator of Thuanus, lib. viii, pag.* 537.

(20) That is, when la Mole was beheaded.

(21) Garasse, ubi supra, *p.* 155.

(22) We have seen above, citation (10), that he assured that the king of Navarre's and the prince of Condé's nativity promised that they would cause no disturbance, and yet that he did not learn this from Astrology.

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Chriſtians, that if there are Devils, there is a GOD, and that thoſe who do not believe the

it is an eaſier thing to be deceived with reſpect to the power of the planets, than that of thoſe wax figures. Not one learned man can be alledged, who believed that thoſe figures inſpire love, and occaſion death a hundred leagues off by their own power, and without the interpoſition of any ſpirit; but ſome men of learning may be alledged, who believed that without the help of good or bad angels, the planets of man's nativity are the cauſe of his moſt accidental adventures. It is eaſily conceived that a piece of wax pricked at Nantes, heated and modified at one's pleaſure, cannot be the phyſical cauſe of any thing at Rome; but it is known by experience that the virtue of the ſun produces a thouſand things upon earth phyſically and as a true cauſe: which is the reaſon why people are led into an error, thinking that the operations of the planets do likewiſe reach the earth; which being once admitted will carry a man a great way by degrees, and at laſt they are looked upon as the cauſe of every thing.

THAT if judicial Aſtrology diſcovered futurity, it would be a kind of black Magic.

I muſt obſerve, by the by, that this illuſion ſhould be more ſeverely checked than it is; for were it true, for inſtance, that by means of nativities one may know beforehand the happineſs or misfortunes of others, the circumſtances of their marriages and death, &c. were it true, for inſtance, that Gauricus diſcovered, by an Aſtrological operation, that king Henry II would be killed in a duel, Aſtrology ſhould be accounted one of the magical arts, and of thoſe ways of knowing things to come, that are grounded on a covenant with the Devil. The pains Aſtrologers are at in calculating a nativity, and conſulting the rules they have laid down upon the diſtinction of the ſigns, the properties of the houſes, the different aſpects of the planets, &c. I ſay, their pains in that reſpect would be like that of Magicians, who draw circles, make many poſtures in them, utter certain words, &c (23). On both ſides what a man does would be only a ſign by inſtitution, upon making whereof a bad angel would act in a certain manner. Any one, who conſiders the thing impartially, will plainly ſee that magical ceremonies, a circle, a bow, a wand ſucceſſively pointed to the four cardinal points of the horizon, certain words uttered, and others written upon a piece of paper, &c. can no more cure a man dangerouſly ſick, than a figure of the nativity can diſcover whether a man will meet with a happy match, whether he will get the love of ſome princes, whether he will be baniſhed, whether he will be a rich man in land or money, and whether he will die at ſea, or at the ſiege of a town. Which ſhews that an Aſtrologer ſhould be liable to a greater puniſhment, according as he tells more certainly the truth of things to come; for the certainty of his predictions would be a ſign that he carefully performs the ceremonies, upon performing of which the Devils are engaged by their firſt covenant to reveal things to come. This further proves that Judicial Aſtrology cannot be a way of foretelling future events different from a ſieve, a looking-glaſs, ſmoak, and an hundred other abominations (24). From whence I conclude that the indulgence of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular courts to Aſtrologers is very criminal. There are very good Civil and Canonical laws againſt that ſort of men. They have been carefully collected by a profeſſor of Padua, in a book publiſhed at Venice, in the year 1662 (25); but they are not put in execution. Did not John Baptiſt Morinus, Regius profeſſor at Paris, quietly enjoy his penſions and offices till he died, tho' every body knew he calculated nativities, and boaſted publickly that he had a wonderful ſkill in it (26)? Had he ventured to maintain, that relics ſhould not be worſhipped, he would have been degraded the very next day; he would have been ſhamefully expelled; and if any conſiderable perſon durſt have protected him, all the clergy would have been in an uproar, and nothing could have pacified them but the depoſing of ſuch an impious man. What Partiality to errors! he was ſuffered to practiſe all his lifetime, without being puniſhed for it, an art which muſt needs be magical, if things to come may be known by it. Obſerve, I pray, that it is a difficult thing to apprehend how they can be known by the help of the Devil; for tho' the knowledge of angels be ſuppoſed never ſo great, it does not ſeem to include the concatenation of all the objects that muſt be known to foretel certainly that ſuch and ſuch things will come to paſs; and it would be an abſurd thing to ſay that God reveals them to the evil ſpirits, whenever they have a mind to execute the covenant which they have contracted with man. The abbot Furetiere does very clearly propoſe this objection (27); but he forgets the main difficulty: he does not ſay that man's free-will would be a mere chimera, if angels could foretel a man's thoughts ten years hence; if they could, I ſay, foretel them by the knowledge of the connection that is between natural cauſes and their effects.

(23) See in the 12th letter of *Cyrano de Bergerac* a long deſcription of magical ceremonies.

(24) *See an alphabetical catalogue of them in the 35th chapter of a book printed at at Paris, and afterwards in Holland in 1692, intitled,* Remarques ou reflexions critiques, morales, & hiſtoriques, ſur les plus belles & les plus agreables penſées des Anciens & des Moderns. *I believe the author took all this out of Martin Delrio's book.*

(25) *Don* Joſeph Maria Maravigia *Clerk Regular, in his* Pieudomantia veterum & recentiorum expoſita, five de fide divinationibus adhibenda.

(26) See the article of this MORINUS.

(27) *See* Furetiriana, *page* 190, *& ſeq. Edit. of Bruſſels.*

Nothing could be more abſurd than to aſk, Whether it be poſſible that Ruggeri, who denied the exiſtence of GOD, and of good and bad angels, ſhould have believed that his wax images had ſome virtue in them; but it were no abſurd thing to put this queſtion to all Atheiſts. It is commonly believed that all thoſe, who deny the exiſtence of GOD, do likewiſe deny, by a neceſſary conſequence, the exiſtence of all ſpirits, and the immortality of the ſoul. I do not wonder that this ſhould be a common opinion, for I think there is no example of the ſeparation of thoſe two blaſphemies (28), I mean that there never was any Atheiſt, who believed the exiſtence of Devils and the immortality of the ſoul; or that there never was a man perſuaded of the truth of Magic, but believed the exiſtence of GOD. Some Chriſtians, who are orthodox in all other points, cannot believe that bad angels concern themſelves with any thing, and reject, without any exception, what is commonly ſaid of Magic and Sorcery. If they were contented to ſay that the exiſtence and operation of bad angels can only be proved from the Scripture, I ſhould not ſo much wonder at their opinion; for it is certain that reaſon affords great arguments againſt the empire of the Devil, which are grounded on our notions of God's wiſdom and goodneſs: but it is a great piece of temerity, to ſay no worſe, in thoſe who deny that the Devil has any power, to pretend to reconcile their opinion with the Scripture. However it be, the following conſequence is falſe and unjuſt, *You do not believe that there are any devils, and therefore you do not believe that there is a GOD.* As for this other conſequence, *You do not believe that there is a GOD, and therefore you do not believe that there are any good or bad angels,* it ſeems to be very certain; for, as I have already ſaid, no example can be alledged to diſprove it. Here is another conſequence, which ſeems to be certain, *there are Devils, therefore there is a God.* People are ſo fully perſuaded of the neceſſity of ſuch a conſequence, that they peremptorily affirm that thoſe, who deny the exiſtence of Devils, deprive the orthodox of an undeniable proof of GOD's exiſtence. I confeſs that hitherto I have not ſeen any body but ſeemed to me fully perſuaded, that the exiſtence of the Devil, is a neceſſary and irreſragable proof of the exiſtence of GOD; and you will ſee no man, who doubts ever ſo little of this laſt truth, (29), but abſolutely denies that there are angels. However, I confeſs I have not a ſufficient penetration to ſee that ſtrict connection, which every body perceives between theſe two aſſertions, *There are devils; therefore there is a GOD.* Laying aſide the Scripture, to go upon Metaphyſical principles, may one not ſay that GOD has created no other ſpirits but the ſoul of man? If it be aſked why ſo powerful a Being has not produced other beings, it may be anſwered, that he was not pleaſed to do it; he has produced all things with a perfect liberty; more of one kind, and fewer of another: his will, always directed by an infinite wiſdom, was the only rule that he went by. What can one ſay againſt ſuch a reaſon? Go to an Atheiſt, and aſk him, why he denies the exiſtence of Devils; he will give you a pitiful anſwer, and if you preſs him hard, he will be quickly ſilent. Will he ſay that the univerſe being infinite and eternal, the moſt perfect Being, which neceſſarily exiſts, contains nothing that exceeds man in underſtanding and knowledge? What! becauſe man has two eyes, a noſe, a mouth, a brain, nerves and veins, muſt all the knowledge and induſtry of nature fall to his ſhare? Muſt there be no will, no underſtanding, no paſſions, no art of applying bodies one to another any where elſe? If you could make it out that a free agent was pleaſed

WHETHER it can well be concluded from the exiſtence of Devils that there is a God.

(28) See hereafter what reſtriction is put to this in ſpeaking of the Eaſtern nations.

(29) That is, the exiſtence of God.

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the exiſtence of GOD, do not believe that there are Devils. I ſhall ſay ſomething on that opinion. I muſt take notice of Father Garaſſe's miſtakes [*E*].

pleaſed to beſtow knowledge upon no other beings but ſuch as have a brain, you would put me to a ſtand; but you acknowledge no ſuch cauſe. According to your principles every thing exiſts and acts neceſſarily; and therefore you cannot tell me why an impalpable matter ſhould be leſs ingenious than that which we call fleſh and blood, a man, a beaſt, &c. and if you argue right, you ought to believe that ſince the infinite Being thinks in a man, it thinks every where elſe; and that if there are many living bodies upon earth, which love and hate one another, and ſome of which are oppreſſed by others; there are alſo in the air, or elſewhere, ſome compounded beings, that love man, and ſome that hate him, and are more knowing and powerful than man. Thoſe will be good angels, and theſe bad angels. In a word, ſince an Atheiſt cannot deny that there are wicked, envious, and revengeful beings (30), which are pleaſed with the miſfortunes of others, and by the application of bodies produce ſtrange changes in nature according to their paſſions, he will make himſelf ridiculous if he dares to deny that beſides thoſe wicked beings, which are the objects of his eyes, there are many others which he does not ſee, and which are ſtill more malicious and knowing than man. And therefore it may be ſaid, that if the univerſe was not the work of GOD, it would neceſſarily contain bad angels, as it contains wolves and men; but ſince it is the work of GOD, it is not at all neceſſary it ſhould contain ſuch and ſuch things, and conſequently the exiſtence of Devils is not ſo good a proof of the exiſtence of GOD, as it is commonly believed. It is more proper to corroborate Manicheiſm (31) than to maintain the orthodox faith. I propoſe this only as a problem to be examined.

(30) By thoſe Beings I mean mankind.

(31) Mr Becker inſiſts very much in charging Divines with introducing Manicheiſm, by the power which they aſcribe to the Devils. He is in the wrong to accuſe them of this, ſince they build upon Scripture. I here conſider things as a Philoſopher.

A CONSIDERATION upon the religion of the Eaſtern nations.

Thus it were poſſible, tho' ſuch a thing, in all appearance, never happened, that ſome men no leſs atheiſtical in ſome reſpects than Ruggeri was, ſhould nevertheleſs believe that ſome wax images, with the help of ſome ceremonies, might inſpire love, or occaſion, death a hundred leagues off. They would look upon thoſe ceremonies only as a ſign of agreement, whereby a Devil would be determined to produce ſome effects by the application of bodies, whoſe force would be known to him.

I deſire you to take notice that hitherto I have only conſidered the knowledge we have of the opinions of the antient Pagans and modern Europeans; for I confeſs, that what is ſaid of the religion of the Eaſtern nations, does not permit me to uſe the general expreſſion I made uſe of. We are told (32) that the Siameſe acknowledge no Deity, and yet they (33) believe the return and apparition of ſpirits; that they are afraid of the dead, and practiſe ſome ceremonies to pacify them. (34) *Beſides they offer up prayers to the good* genii *almoſt upon all occaſions, and make imprecations againſt the bad ones.* Such men are well qualified to be Magicians, without believing any Deity. The author of the relation I have quoted, adds, *That* (35) *the Indians believe now as the antient Chineſe did, that there are good and bad ſouls every where, on which they have as it were beſtowed the almighty power of God.* The meaning of which is, that they acknowledge no ſupreme Deity, but an infinite number of *genii*, ſome good, and others bad; and therefore they may be both Atheiſts and Magicians. The notions of the learned in that country, are more like thoſe of the Europeans; for if, on the one ſide, they are Atheiſts, they deny on the other the exiſtence of ſpirits, and the immortality of the ſoul. *Several relations of China tell us, that the men of letters, who are the moſt conſiderable men in that country, look upon funeral ceremonies only as civil duties, without mixing any prayers with them; that they have at this day no ſenſe of religion, and do not believe either the exiſtence of GOD, or the immortality of the ſoul; and that tho' they pay an outward worſhip to Confucius in the temples conſecrated to him, they do not beg of him the learning which the lettered men of Tonquin deſire him to beſtow upon them* (36). Their outward worſhip of Confucius is therefore a mere mummery with reſpect to them; they conform to it out of policy. Read the following paſſage, there you ſhall ſee that they deny not only a Supreme Intelligence, but alſo inferior beings endowed with intelligence. *By little and little, the* Litterati, *that is thoſe who have taken ſome degree in literature, and are the only perſons that have a hand in the government, becoming wholly impious, and yet having made no alteration in the ſtile of their predeceſſors, have changed the ſoul of Heaven, and all other ſouls, into I know not what ætherial ſubſtances, deprived of knowledge, and for a ſovereign judge of our actions, have only ſet up a blind fate, which, in their opinion, does whatever a moſt powerful, wiſe and juſt Being might do* (37).

(32) La Loubere, Relation de Siam, *Tom. i, cap. xxii, num.* 6, *pag. m.* 501.

(33) Id. ibid. *cb. xx, num.* 20, *pag.* 481.

(34) Id. ibid.

(35) Id. ib. *chap. xxiii, num.* 8, *pag.* 508.

(36) Id. ibid. *chap. xx, num.* 4, *p.* 467, 470.

[*E*] *I muſt take notice of Father Garaſſe's miſtakes.*] I. He ſays (38) that *about fifteen days before Coſmo Ruggeri died*, in the year 1615, a ſmall book came out at Paris with this title, *Hiſtoire épouvantable de deux Magiciens eſtranglez par le Diable la ſemaine ſainčte* (39). (A dreadful hiſtory of two Magicians ſtrangled by the Devil in the holy week). But we are told in the *Mercure François* (40), that Ruggeri's death occaſioned that ſmall book. There is no doubt that the author of that *Mercure* is more exact and credible than the author of the *Doctrine Curieuſe*; and therefore all the moral reflexions of the latter, grounded upon forerunning reports, fall to the ground. I muſt not forget theſe words of the *Mercure* (41): *The firſt of thoſe two Magicians was Cæſar, that famous cheat, who tricked all the curious of his time of their money, to ſhew them Devils, or to put them in the way of finding treaſures, and then laughed at them. It was reported that he had been ſtrangled by his Devil, and yet he is ſtill alive, being a priſoner in the Baſtile. The ſecond was this abbot of St Mahé.* II. Garaſſe goes on thus (42): *It happened in the year MD LXXIV, that la Mole and Caconas* (43) *being condemned by a decree of parliament, as perſons convicted of witchcraft and enchantment, upon occaſion of Charles IXth's death, Coſmo Ruggeri was involved in their accuſations, as having lent them a helping hand by his* nécromancy. La Mole and Coconas were executed during the life of Charles IX; and therefore it is not true that they were put to death *upon occaſion* of his death. It does not appear that their witchcraft was levelled at that prince's life, and it cannot be ſaid that they were convicted of it. Here follows an abſtract of la Mole's anſwers when he was put to the rack. *Being told that he had ſome waxen images in his houſe with two holes in their head, he has anſwered no. Being aſked about the waxen image, which is ſaid to have been found in his houſe, he ſays, ah! my God, I deſire I may die, if I have made any waxen image for the king. Being aſked about the golden figures in his hat, he ſays he knows nothing of them. Being again faſtened to the buckles and rings, he ſays that he knows no more than what he has ſaid. The little treſtle has been brought in again, and being exhorted to ſpeak the truth, he ſays, Gentlemen, I know nothing elſe upon the damnation of my ſoul; before the living God I know nothing elſe. True eternal God, my God, I do not know whether the waxen image was made for the king or for the queen. Being aſked where the ſaid image is, and if Coſmo had brought it to him, he ſays, that the ſaid image was made for his miſtreſs, his countrywoman, whom he had a mind to marry, and that it will appear it is the figure of a woman, and that the ſaid Coſmo has the ſaid image, and that the ſaid figure has two thruſts in the heart, and that he will ſhew it to be ſo. Being interrogated about the king's ſickneſs, he ſays, put me to death if poor la Molle had ever any ſuch thoughts, and deſires that Coſmo ſhould be ſent for; who will ſay there is nothing elſe in it. Being aſked where the ſaid waxen image is, he ſays Coſmo has it, and that it was made for a woman, and he did not deſire Coſmo to do any thing elſe, and that the ſaid Coſmo pricked it in the heart. Being aſked why he pricked it in the heart, he ſays he does not know. Water has been brought to him, he deſires it ſhould be removed, and ſays he will ſpeak the truth. He has been brought to the fire, and exhorted to ſpeak the truth about that waxen image; he ſays, I deny my God, and may I be damned for ever, if it be for any thing elſe than what I have ſaid* (44). Here follows likewiſe an extract of the confeſſions extorted from Coconas by the torture. *Being aſked about the waxen image, he ſays he knows nothing of it, and that Coſmo, and la Molle are moſt intimate friends. Being aſked whether he knows of any pictures or characters made againſt the king, he ſays no; and that he was diſcourſing about it with a captain of this town, who told him they had broke all the rings of la Molle; and that he aſked the ſaid captain whether they had broke a ring as big as one's finger, and that if there*

(37) Id. ibid. *ch. xxiii, num.* 14, *pag.* 514. Compare what is above citation (55) of the article MALHERBE.

(38) Garaſſe, Doctrine curieuſe, *book ii*, §. *viii, p.* 155.

(39) Id. ibid. *pag.* 154. *See alſo* Thuanus's Continuator, *lib. viii, pag.* 537.

(40) Tom. iv, pag. 47.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Garaſſe, ubi ſupra.

(43) It ſhould be Coconas.

(44) Le Labourer, Addit. to Caſtelnau, *Tom. ii, pag.* 411.

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there was any thing, it would be found there. He further says, he never heard any thing spoken of an attempt upon the king's life. Being asked whether he knew any thing about the waxen figure, he says no, and if any body knows any thing of it, it is Cosmo (45). Thuanus says, that la Molle protested, that this waxen image was only designed to inspire a woman with love. *Tortus Mola & interrogatus de imaguncula cerea, quam magicis præstigiis ab ipso confictam, & acu in corde tactam constabat, quem in rei usum id faceret, & cujus opera ad id uteretur: respondit, ut puellam quandam in Provincia, quam efflictim deperiebat, hac arte ad mutuo se redamandum accenderet, id feciſſe; eaque in re usum opera Cosmi Rugerii Florentini, qui mox comprehensus & tanquam maleficus omnino rasus, Reginæ favore, quæ illius & hujusmodi hominum opera perfamiliariter utebatur, periculo exemptus est* (46). III. Garasse is not exact in the following words. 'This man having been delivered 'from that danger by his mistress's favour, he suffered himself to be seduced with an unhappy fancy 'of being accounted a great Astrologer, and one who 'had a wonderful skill in that art, so that he promised waxen images to all the curious debauchees, 'to inspire love or hatred; and as those two passions are equally foolish, he had a greater practice in 'Paris than if he had promised pardons, and plenary 'indulgences (47).' This author, in order to prove that Cosmo was willing to be accounted a man of great skill in Judicial Astrology, says that he *promised waxen images*. These images have been at all times looked upon as effects or fooleries of Magic, and do not belong to Judicial Astrology: they are not reckoned among Talismans; and the manner how they are used plainly shews that their virtues, whether true or false, do not depend upon the constellations. We are told that they must be pricked with needles; they must be heated with a slow fire, &c. and great alterations will happen by that means in those who are the objects of such practices. This cannot be natural; the influences of the stars cannot produce such effects; it is black Magic; it is the Devil's work. The Pagans ascribed that practice to none but witches.

Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea fingit,
Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus (48).

In molten wax, tho' absent, kills by art,
And with her needle goars the tortur'd heart.

I observe that the *Mercure François* does not say, as Garasse does, that Cosmo promised waxen images, *to inspire love or hatred* (49). He promised waxen images, *some to make women love those that courted them, and others to make such persons die in a lingering condition as one desired, by uttering their names and invoking certain Devils* (50). We are told a pleasant story about Tamerlane's daughters: it is said that their father would have them learn Magic, and that with the help of some images they facilitated the conquest of the provinces he designed to subdue. *Audivi ab aliquibus qui dictum Tamerlanum diu noverunt, quod habuit tres filias quas in arte magica fecit instrui, in qua mirabiliter profecerunt, quæ incantationes, & exorcizationes, & IMAGINES contra provincias quas sibi subjicere voluit facere consueverunt, quæ plerumque effectum sortitæ fuerant* (51). IV. The following words contain a wrong argument: *That wretched man .... went on with that infamous trade, till the year* 1604, *though he was an abbot, assisting the disorderly passions of all the loose courtiers: from that year* 1604 *he began to take another course. For he betook himself to write Almanacks, some under the name of Quelberus, others under the name of Vannerus, or the Weeping Pilgrim of Savoy* (52). Garasse had just joined the making of waxen images and the study of Astrology, as two things one whereof is the proof of the other; and then all of a sudden he tells us, that as soon as Cosmo began to write Almanacks, he left off distributing those images to the loose courtiers: in which there is a contradiction and a wrong argument. Though a man writes Almanacks, he may be still a cheat with respect to those images. The *Mercure François* does not at all agree with Garasse about all the fictitious names prefixed to Rugeri's Almanacks. Compare the words of the Jesuit with these (53): *From the year* 1604 *he wrote Almanacks every year, some under the name of Querberus, others under the name of Vannerus and the Weeping Pilgrim of Savoy, which he adorned with verses or sentences out of the best Latin Poets and Orators.*

(45) Le Laboureur, *ibid. pag.* 412, 413.

(46) Thuan. Histor. *lib. lviii, pag. lxiv. col. i, A.* See d'Aubigné, who has only abridged Thuanus in this place as well as in many others, *Histoire Universelle, Tom. ii, lib. ii. chap. vi, pag. m.* 688.

(47) Garasse, ubi supra. *p.* 156.

(48) Ovid, *speaking of Medea in* Epist. Hypsip. ad Jason. *See* Frommannus de Fascinatione, *lib. iii, Part. v, cap. vi, pag. m.* 718. *He cites also* Horace, Sat. VIII, lib. i. *& Cujas* in Paratit. cod. de Malefic & Mathemat.

(49) *However it is true that those images are sometimes designed to inspire hatred. See* Servius on these words of Virgil, Eclog. VIII, ver. 80. Limus ut hic durescit, & hæc ut cera liquescit Uno eodemque igni.

(50) Mercure François, Tom. iv, pag. 47. *See also the* Continuation of Thuanus, *book xxx, pag.* 537.

(51) Theodoricus à Niem, de Schismate, *lib. ii, pag. m.* 114.

(52) Garasse, ubi supra, *pag.* 156.

(53) Merc. François, *Tom. iv, pag.* 46.

RUSSILIANUS (TIBERIUS) a most subtile and bold Philosopher, lived in the XVIth century. He was born in Calabria, and was one of the most celebrated disciples of Augustinus Niphus. He was so hasty and so passionate, that when he disputed with other students he would sometimes come to Blows, which made Niphus in a jest, which at that time might pass for wit, call him *Turberius* (*a*) instead of *Tiberius* (*b*). He had the ambition to imitate Joannes Picus, and perhaps even to surpass him; for he proposed, to be publickly disputed in several colleges of Italy, four hundred propositions taken from almost all sciences (*c*). The Inquisitors were enraged at it, as they had been on account of the like proceeding of Joannes Picus, and they thought it very strange that Russilianus who was so very young should have the impudence to maintain several doctrines which to them appeared to be impious [*A*]. They

(*a*) That is a turbulent person.

(*b*) August. Niphus de Viro aulico, *cap. lix, pag.* 316.

(*c*) *See* Naudæus in Judicio de Aug. Nipho, *pag.* 40.

[*A*] *The Inquisitors .... thought it very strange .... that he had the impudence to maintain several opinions which to them appeared to be impious.*] He maintained that JESUS CHRIST, with respect to the temperament of the body, and in the course of his life, was subject to the influences of the stars; that time and the Heavens never had any beginning; that the deluge of Noah was not the only one which had happened. He revived many of the doctrines of Joannes Picus which had been condemned. This is asserted by Gabriel Naudæus. 'Tam ardenter Pici Mirandulani vestigiis 'insistisse certum est, ut non secus ac ille, propositiones supra quadringentas, ex omni ferme scientiarum genere selectas, publicis in Italiæ Gymnasiis, 'disputandas proposuerit; sed invitis tamen ac frementibus, quemadmodum etiam Pico contigerat, sacris fidei quæsitoribus, qui patienter ferre non poterant, ab hoc tam præcocis ut sapientiæ, sic ætatis 'Philosopho, Christum quoad sui corporis temperiem, '& vitæ mortisque historiam legibus Astrorum subjici: 'Tempus, & Cœlum, durationis æternæ constitui; 'Inundationem illam universalem, quam nos Christiani semel dumtaxat accidisse contendimus, fannis, & 'dicacibus verbis excipi, quasi certis temporum inclinationibus reverti solitam: Cætera denique Placita 'quæ dudum à Pico in medium proposita, temeritatis, '& hæreticæ labis damnata fuerant, rursum in scenam, 'Academicarum concertationum palæstram, revocari '(1). - - - *It is certain he so zealously followed the example of Picus Mirandula, that, in like manner as he had done, he proposed above four hundred Propositions, taken from all sciences, to be debated in all the public schools of Italy, to the great displeasure and vexation of the holy Fathers of the Inquisition, who could not bear that, by a Philosopher of so early an understanding and age, Christ, as to the temperament of his body, and history of his life and death, should be made subject to the dominion of the stars: that time, and the Heavens, should be said to be of eternal duration; that an universal Deluge, which, we Christians hold to have been but once, should be scoffed at, as a thing which had often happened: and finally that the other doctrines of Picus, long since condemned of temerity and heretical pravity should be again brought on the stage, for subjects of academical disputation.*' Mr Heidegger accuses him of having maintained the opinion of one Henricus Mechlinius, disciple of Albertus Magnus, that the Deluge was caused by the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Cancer towards the end, over against the sign Argo Navis. 'Et Mechlinius quidem 'in

(1) Naudæus, in Judicio de Nipho, *pag.* 40.

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They ſtirred up perſecutions againſt him which did not at all fright him, and he had the courage to publiſh againſt the Monks a very ſharp apology [B]. I have elſewhere (d) quoted an oration wherein he introduces Philoſophy repreſenting her grievances to Pope Leo X.

(d) In the remark [B] of the firſt NIPHUS.

' in Commentariis, quos edidit in magnas Albumaſaris conjunctiones, reſert, ſe inveniſſe ex aſtronomicis ſupputationibus, quod Noëticum Diluvium præceſſerit conjunctio quædam Aſtrorum, generalem Aquarum Illuvionem inducens, nimirum Jovis & Saturni in fine Cancri, è regione Argolicæ Navis per quam etiam Arca Noë ſignificatur. Verùm hanc Sententiam ſuperiori ſeculo à Tiberio Calabro defenſam reſutavit Hieronymus Armellinus Dominicanus, edito peculiari adverſus eum volumine, in quo eam tamquam hæreticam æſtuante ſtomacho damnavit (2). ' - - - *Mechlinius in the Commentaries he publiſhed upon the great conjunctions of Albumaſar, ſays, that he had found by Aſtronomical calculations, that the flood of Noah was preceded by a certain conjunction of the ſtars which brought on an univerſal inundation of waters, namely the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the extremity of Cancer, oppoſite to the conſtellation of the ſhip Argo, whereby alſo was ſignified the ark of Noah. But this opinion maintained in the laſt age by Tiberius of Calabria, was confuted by the Dominican Jerom Armellinus, in a particular treatiſe he publiſhed againſt him, wherein he in great paſſion condemns it as heretical.*'

(2) Heidegger Hiſt. Patriarch. *Exercitat. xviii, pag.* 538, *Tom. i, he ſays the ſame in his Diſſertation* de Signis cœleſtibus, *pag.* 679.

[B] *He had the courage to publiſh a very ſharp apology againſt the Monks.*] We will go on with the words of Gabriel Naudæus. ' Quamobrem ſeveriùs in illum, ' & diligentiùs inquirere cœperunt, ſed eo tamen ' luti dubiæ pugnæ exitu, ut Tyberius edito adverſus ' cucullatos Apologetico, talem enim libello ſuo titulum eſſe voluit, & opiniones ſuas liberiùs quàm anteà feciſſet propugnaſſe, & acriùs ejuſmodi cenſores ' ſuos, quàm rationi conſentaneum eſſet, pupugiſſe ' videretur (3). - - - *Wherefore they began more ſeverely, and more carefully to inform againſt him, when on the other ſide he publiſhed an apology againſt the cowled Friars, for this was the title he gave his book, and more freely defended his own opinions than before he had done, and attacked his cenſurers with more poignancy than was conſiſtent with diſcretion.*'

(3) Naudæus, in Judicio de Nipho, *pag.* 41.

RUTILIA, a Roman lady, ſiſter of that Publius Rutilius, who ſuffered with ſo great conſtancy the injuſtice of his baniſhment, and wife of Marcus Aurelius Cotta, had a ſon who was a man of great merit, whom ſhe loved tenderly, and whoſe death ſhe bore with great courage (a). Seneca has propoſed her for an example [A]. Cicero had a mind to do the ſame; but not being ſufficiently informed of the matter of fact, he had recourſe to Pomponius Atticus, who could not very well ſatisfy him [B]. The book wherein he deſigned to ſpeak of our Rutilia (b), being not extant, we know not whether he had all the information he wanted, and whether he did really ſpeak of her; but it is very likely he did. But what is moſt obſervable in this matter is, that we are told he deſired to be informed of ſome circumſtances he had already mentioned in his works (c). This would ſhew that the greateſt authors forget thoſe very things they have publiſhed.

(a) See remark [A] towards the end.

(b) In his book *de Conſolatione.*

(c) See the remark [B].

[A] *Seneca has propoſed her for an example.*] It is in the book he writ during his exile to comfort his good mother. He exhorts her to imitate our Rutilia among other ladies of reſolution. ' Rutilia, *ſays he* ' (1), Cottam filium ſecuta eſt in exilium, & uſque eo ' fuit indulgentia conſtricta, ut mallet exilium pati, ' quàm deſiderium: nec ante in patriam, quàm ' cum filio rediit. Eumdem jam reducem, & in ' Rep. florentem tam fortiter amiſit, quam ſecuta ' eſt: nec quiſquam lacrimas ejus poſt elatum filium ' notavit. In expulſo virtutem oſtendit, in amiſſo ' prudentiam, nam & nihil illam à pietate deterruit, ' & nihil in triſtitia ſupervacua ſtultaque detinuit. ' Cum his te numerari feminis volo, quarum vitam ' ſemper imitata es, &c. - - - *Rutilia followed her ſon into baniſhment, and ſo great was her fondneſs that ſhe rather choſe to ſuffer exile than the want of him; nor did ſhe return to her country till ſuch time as her ſon came with her. She bore his death after his return and proſperity with the ſame courage that ſhe had ſhewed in following him; neither was ſhe obſerved to ſhed a tear at his burial. Thus ſhe gave proof of her courage in his baniſhment, and of her prudence at his death; for as in the one caſe ſhe could not be deterred from ſhewing her piety, ſo in the other nothing could make her indulge a fooliſh and unprofitable grief. With theſe women I would have you numbered, whoſe life you have always imitated, &c.*' The reader will give me leave to ſet down a paſſage out of Father Senault's treatiſe *de l'Uſage des Paſſions,* - - - *of the uſe of the paſſions,* in that part of it wherein he explains the nature of deſire. ' Baniſhment is doubtleſs one of the ' moſt cruel puniſhments Judges have found for the ' chaſtiſement of guilty perſons: we are thereby ſeparated from whatever we love, and it ſeems to be ' a long death, attended with a little life to make us ' more miſerable: and yet there was a mother, who ' rather choſe to ſuffer the cruelty of that puniſhment ' than the violence of deſire, and was willing to follow her ſon in his baniſhment, that ſhe might not ' be obliged to lament his abſence, and wiſh for his ' return.' But how came Father Senault to know, that becauſe ſhe followed her ſon, ſhe was free from the trouble of wiſhing he might return to Rome? As for the reſt, Rutilia's ſon was called Caius Aurelius Cotta. He was a good Orator (2): he was baniſhed during the quarrels of Marius and Sylla, and returned to Rome when the party of the latter was uppermoſt. He was made Conſul in the year of Rome 678. It is probable he died two years after of a wound that opened again; which deprived him of the glory of the triumph that was decreed for him (3). He is not that Cotta, who is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's books *de Natura Deorum,* as Glandorpius will have it (4).

(1) Seneca de Conſolatione ad Helviam, *cap. xvi, p. m.* 787.

(2) Cicero, de Oratore, *lib. i, cap. viii,* & in Bruto *cap. xxx. See* Corradus in Brutum Ciceronis, *pag.* 310. *& ſeq.*

(3) *Conſult* Sigonius in faſtis Conſul, *ad ann.* 678, 680.

[B] *He had recourſe to Pomponius Atticus, who could not very well ſatisfy him.*] He deſired to know whether Rutilia died before or after her ſon. ' Rutilia ' vivo ne C. Cotta filio ſuo mortua ſit, an mortuo? ' Pertinent ad eum librum quem de luctu minuendo ' ſcripſimus (5). - - - *Whether Rutilia died before or after C. Cotta her ſon? Theſe things have a relation to the book I have writ on the motives for abating our grief.*' In another letter he has theſe words: ' De ' Rutilia, quoniam videris dubitare ſcribes ad me ' cum ſcies, ſed quam primum (6). - - - *Becauſe you ſeem to be in a doubt with reſpect to Rutilia, write to me when you are fully ſatisfied; but let it be as ſoon as poſſible.*' Corradus's note is too curious not to be inſerted here: ' Mortuo mortua eſt . . . . quod mirum ' Ciceronem quæſiſſe quum in libris oratoriis jampridem ſcripſiſſet Cottam ipſum ſibi ſermonem illum retuliſſe: quin Atticus etiam dubitabat, quum ' tamen uterque & Cottam & Rutiliam vidiſſet (7). ' - - - *She died after him . . . . and it is ſtrange that Cicero ſhould have aſked ſuch a queſtion, ſince long before that in his books of Rhetoric he had ſaid, that Cotta himſelf related that diſcourſe to him: but it ſeems that Atticus was likewiſe in a doubt about it, notwithſtanding that he, as well as Cicero, had ſeen both Cotta and Rutilia.*'

(4) Glandorp. Onomaſt. *pag.* 144.

(5) Cicero, Epiſt. XX, *lib. xii,* ad Atticum.

(6) Idem. Epiſt. XXII, ejuſd. libri.

(7) Corradus in Epiſt. XX, *lib. xii,* ad Atticum, *pag.* 328, *edit. Græviana.*

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RUYSBROECK (JOHN DE) in Latin *Ruſbrochius*, was ſo called from the village of Ruyſbroeck in Brabant between Bruſſels and Hall, where he was born. He was firſt curate and then rector of the church of St Gudula at Bruſſels, and afterwards founder and firſt prior of a convent of Canons regular of the order of St Auguſtin at Groendal, in the foreſt of Soignies, two leagues from Bruſſels; and laſtly reformer of the order in all the Low-Countries (*a*). He was a man of no learning, but very devout [*A*] and contemplative, and altogether internal; and went ſo far into the depths of myſtical Divinity that he paſſed for one of the greateſt maſters in that ſcience. He was called a ſecond Dionyſius Areopagita (*b*). He wrote ſeveral books in Dutch, the manuſcripts of which are kept in the monaſtery of Groendal, with the Latin verſion of ſome of them tranſlated by William Jordan, his contemporary, and of the ſame fraternity with the author (*c*). By reaſon of his ignorance it was thought that he was to be accounted one of thoſe who have written by inſpiration (*d*). There is a Latin tranſlation of all his works done by Laurence Surius, and thrice printed at Cologn, viz. in the year 1552, in the year 1609, and in the year 1692. His treatiſe of the ſpiritual marriage had already been printed in Latin at Paris in 1512. John de Schoonhove hath writ an apology for that treatiſe in anſwer to the critical diſſertation of John Gerſon. He is not the only perſon who has anſwered that diſſertation. Denis the Carthuſian likewiſe anſwered it (*e*). It is obſervable that our Ruyſbroeck wrote without any other aſſiſtance ſave that of a profound meditation. He retired into a remote corner of the foreſt, and there expected the inſpirations from above (*f*), and as he received them, he wrote them in his pocket-book. Theſe were the only materials of his works which he digeſted when he was returned to his monaſtery. There are ſome who have them in great eſteem; and even ſome Proteſtants commend them [*B*]. The character of this myſtical Divine, may be learnt from what hath been ſaid elſewhere, and from what will be ſeen below [*C*]. The ſubmiſſion of Ruyſbroeck to the Divine Will extended even to the torments of Hell

(*a*) Val. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. *pag.* 555.

(*b*) Dionyſ. Carthuſianus, Tract. ii, de Donis Spiritus Sancti, *Artic. xiii.*

(*c*) Val. Andreas, ubi ſupra, *pag.* 556, 557.

(*d*) See the remark [*A*].

(*e*) *See* Gothofr. Arnoldus, Hiſtoria Theolog. Myſticæ, *p.* 308.

(*f*) See the remark [*A*].

[*A*] *He was a man of no learning, but very devout.*] This is what we are told by the abbot Trithemius, 'Vir, ut ferunt, devotus, ſed parùm literatus (1). - - - 'A devout man, as they ſay, but of ſmall learning.' Dionyſius the Carthuſian obſerves that Ruyſbroeck though unlearned had notwithſtanding thoughts ſo ſublime, that they raviſhed to admiration, and even almoſt to an extaſy, the moſt excellent Profeſſors of Theology, who owned that they were above their underſtanding. This he aſcribes to the inſpirations of the Holy Spirit: *Nonnè ritè mirabile cenſemus, quod Ruſbrochius, cum idiota eſſet, nihilominus meritò ſanctitatis & ſimplicitatis ſuæ, tam ſupernaturales divinitùs theorias ſortitus eſt, & in ſuo quoque vulgari idiomate tam ſubtiliſſimas veritates conſcripſit, ut excellentiſſimi Sacræ theologiæ profeſſores Spiritum præ admiratione vix habeant, ſeque ſententias ejus non poſſe intelligere ediſſerunt* (2). Many other authors have had recourſe to the ſame cauſe; and have maintained that Ruyſbroeck had all his knowledge immediately from the Holy Spirit, and they obſerve that he himſelf thought ſo. 'Fundamentum & originem horum ejus ſcriptorum, 'Lector, qui illuminatis mentis oculis, ſanoque Spi-'rituali guſtu, ad diſcernendum bonum à malo gau-'det, facile purum & divinum cognoſcet. Quâ cauſâ '& Editores promiſcuè ferè Inſcriptionibus Librorum 'ejus ejuſmodi teſtimonia propoſuerunt. *Hos nempè 'libros divinitate & illuminatione plenos, ac à DEO 'inſpiratos eſſe.* Et in vitæ ejus Hiſtoria narratur. 'Cap. iix. p. 4. quod à Gerardo Magno interroga-'tus, ſic reſponderit: *Certum ac firmum habeto, nul-'lum me unquam verbum ſcriptis meis inſeruiſſe, niſi ex 'inſtinctu Spiritus S. & in ſingulari quadam & dulciſ-'ſima præſentia ſuperſanctiſſimæ Trinitatis.* Et ſequente 'Capite ix. commemoratur; quod plerumque ſolus in 'ſylvæ abdita ſe recipere conſueverit, atque ibi ſum-'mo ſilentio, quæ ex Dei Spiritu hauſiſſet, in ſcripta 'redegerit, hocque pacto omnia ſua opera conſcrip-'ſerit, atque ita minimè ex aliis congeſſerit. Quippe 'nulla literarum cultura ornatus, artem hanc neſci-'vit (3). - - - *Whoſoever, reader, hath the eyes of 'his mind illuminated, and is of a ſound ſpiritual 'taſte, to diſcern good from evil, will plainly per-'ceive, that the foundation and origin of theſe writings, 'is holy and divine. Upon which account it is that the 'publiſhers of all his works in general have given them 'ſuch teſtimonies as this,* viz. *that* theſe books are full 'of divine illumination, and inſpired by GOD. *And 'it is reported in chap. viii. p. 4. that being aſked by 'Gerardus Magnus, he thus anſwered:* Believe it moſt 'certain, that I have never put any word in my writ-'ings, but by the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, and 'in a certain particular and moſt raviſhing preſence of 'the moſt Holy Trinity. *And in the following ninth 'chapter it is ſaid; that he commonly uſed to retire alone 'into the moſt ſolitary places of the foreſt, and there, in 'profound ſilence, put in writing what he received from 'the Divine Spirit, and in this manner he compoſed all 'his works, and ſo did not collect them from others. For 'not being endowed with learning, he was a ſtranger to 'that art.'* What I am going to cite from Valerius Andreas will explain and confirm all this. *Vir divinæ contemplationi addictiſſimus, & ſanctitatis majoris quàm doctrinæ; cùm ea, quæ ſcripſit, divino ſpiritu edoctus videatur. Narrat enim Henricus à Pomerio, ejuſdem inſtituti ac loci Religioſus, Vitæque Scriptor, quod antiquam libros ſuos dictaret, habuerit pro conſuetudine,* ut, dum divinæ illuſtrationis radio immadeſceret, ſolus ſe-cederet in abdita ſilvæ, ibique dictante Spiritu ſancto ea, quæ ſibi occurrebant, in tabula cerea ſcripto commendans, ſecum ſolebat, ad monaſterium rediens, apportare: *ſicque interpolatis vicibus edidiſſe ſuos libros* (4). Can any one after this be ſurprized that many have complained that the writings of Ruyſbroeck are very obſcure (5)? How can they be otherwiſe being compoſed by an unlearned man, and on the ſubject of myſtical Divinity, where almoſt nothing is underſtood, even when the moſt ſubtile and learned pens have treated it.

(1) Trithem. *apud* Geſner. Biblioth. *folio* 452, *verſo.*

(2) Dionyſ. Carthuſianus, Serm. I. de Confeſſ. non Pontif. *apud* Gothofredum Arnoldum, *in* Hiſtoria Theolog. Myſticæ, *pag.* 307, *where he alſo ſays,* & hinc *Dionyſium* illum nuncupavit *alterum, ob excellentem ejus ſapientiam, cujus ſolum Spiritum S. habuit Doctorem.* Tract. II de Donis Spirit. S. Art. 13.

(3) Gothofr. Arnoldus, *ibid. pag.* 310.

(4) Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. *pag.* 555, 556.

(5) Arnol. Hiſt. Theol. Myſticæ, *pag.* 311.

[*B*] *There are ſome who have them in great eſteem, and even ſome Proteſtants themſelves commend them.*] Mr Arnold (6) points out ſeveral paſſages from Catholic authors who have admired Ruyſbroeck. He does not forget the Lutherans who praiſe him, and ſpeaks alſo of the Calviniſts who have judged favourably of him; but he ſhould not have put (7) Franciſcus Swertius in that number who is a ſtanch Popiſh author. In all likelihood the occaſion of his miſtake was his calling to mind that there was a book intituled *Athenæ Batavæ*, the author of which was a Calviniſt, and his not taking notice of the difference between that book and the *Athenæ Belgicæ* of Swertius. It is impoſſible for a man not to fall ſometimes into ſuch a miſtake, how careful ſoever he may be.

(6) Idem. ibid. *pag.* 307, & ſeq.

(7) Ibid. *p.* 309.

[*C*] *The character of this myſtical Divine may be learned from what hath been ſaid elſewhere* (8), *and what will be ſeen below.*] It is aſſerted in the work from whence we took the character of Taulerus, that Ruyſbroeck, *his cotemporary, and in ſome manner his maſter, was almoſt of the ſame character, and ſometimes ſoars higher and is more methodical than he* (9). Two pages after it is ſaid that Henry Harphius comes very near the character of Taulerus, 'and that before 'him, no perſon ever did, nor perhaps after him ever 'will penetrate ſo deep into the inward ſtates of a 'ſoul altogether reſigned to GOD; whereby we may 'ſee that Ruyſbroeck has been no ſmall aſſiſtance to 'him. His character is, to propoſe the gradual re-'ſurrection

(8) In the remark [*E*] in the article TAULER.

(9) Lettre touchant les Auteurs Myſtiques, *prefixed with the* Theologie Germanique, *pag.* 13. *Amſterd. Edition* 1700.

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Hell [*D*]. He died the second day of December 1381, at the age of eighty-eight years. It is said that he wrought maricles, and an attempt was made to canonize him [*E*]. I shall take notice of the mistakes of Moreri, and of the author of the Essays of Literature [*F*]. I do not explain the subject of the dispute in which Gerson engaged

' surrection of the states of spiritual life in a purified ' and experienced soul. He shews how after various ' mortifications, purifications, and experiences of the ' soul, there are raised in it from one degree to ano- ' ther new states of divine life, first active, then pas- ' sive, in the inferior powers of the soul, after that ' in the superior (the memory, the understanding, and ' the will): afterward in its essential ground, and ' finally over its being and the operations of its ' powers, by being possessed by the Holy Trinity, ' which therein manifest their adorable operations. ' This is the most curious, most substantial, and most ' advanced system of the depth of mystical Divinity ' that hath ever yet appeared (10).' Mr Arnold (11) quotes some authors who observe that Henry Harphius hath borrowed of Ruysbroeck almost all the matter of the contemplation in his second and third books. Thus we may form an idea of the spirit of Ruysbroeck by considering the character of Harphius.

(10) Idem. *p.* 15.

(11) Arnold. Hist. Theol. Mystic. *p.* 308.

[*D*] *The resignation of Ruysbroeck to the will of GOD extended even to the torments of Hell.*] That is he found nothing was better than to be willing to suffer whatever GOD should be pleased to send, death, or life, and even the pains of Hell. In this manner he explained himself one day when some body attempted to inspire him with fear of infernal pains. *In Historia illius cap viii. legitur* " Quod Gerhardus cùm quan- " doque insolitam in Rusbrochio erga Deum fiduciam, " non ex temeritate, timorem foras mittente, concep- " tam perspexisset, quandoque divini judicii & inferni " metum ei incutere multis Scripturæ commemorandis " sententiis attentaverit." Sed quanto plus ei quandam ' injicere formidinem connitebatur, tanto vir plus ma- ' jori in Deum amore ferveſcebat; & tandem respon- ' dit: *Magister Gerharde fixum & certum habe, me ex* ' *animo paratum esse ad perferenda omnia, quæ Dominus* ' *mihi accidere volet, sive mors sit, sive vita, sive etiam* ' *ipsi intolerabiles cruciatus inferorum. Neque enim quic-* ' *quam mihi vel jucundius, vel melius, vel salubriùs ju-* ' *dico, nec quicquam aliud vel peto, vel desidero, quam* ' *ut amantissimus Dominus Deus meus promtum me semper* ' *atque paratum inveniat, ad suæ arbitrium voluntatis.* ' Hoc breviter totum viri hujus Principium detegit (12). " - - - *When Gerhard perceiving Ruysbroeck professed* " *faith, love, and trust in GOD, would sometimes try* " *to excite in him the fear of the divine judgment and* " *of Hell, by quoting several passages of scripture to that* " *effect; the man was so far from being moved there-* " *by, that his love to GOD seemed to be more inflamed;* " *and at last he would answer:*" ' Mr Gerhard assure ' your self, that from my heart I am willing to suffer ' whatever the Lord shall be pleased to lay on me, whe- ' ther it be death, or life, or even the intolerable pains ' of Hell. For I judge nothing more pleasant, or ' better, or more to my advantage, nor do I seek, or ' desire any thing else, than that my most beloved ' Lord GOD, may always find me willing and pre- ' pared to comply with the good pleasure of his will. ' *This briefly discovers the principles of this man.*' Mr Arnold, from whom I have taken what I have related, says that Ruysbroeck was not so much as other Mystics, occupied in squaring his actions according to the law from a principle of the servile fear of punishment, but all his endeavour and study was the exercise of a free evangelical virtue, manifesting itself by the filial spirit that operates in every true believer. *Character Mystici hujus Doctoris* (Rusbrochii) *in multis ad Tauleri supra excerptum accedere videtur. Attamen judico, Rus-* *brochii propositionem longè puriorem & vivæ ac fiduciali* fidei in nomen Jesu in nobis *conformiorem esse. Dum* *minus ac omnes ferè alii antiquorum Mysticorum theologo-* *rum, timorem servilem & inde orientem propriam acti-* *vitatem ac legales, anxiasque exercitationes intendat, &* *è contrario ad liberam Evangelii virtutem & efficaciam* *Novi Fœderis tantummodo ducat, eo modo, quo hæc se* *per unctionem filialis Spiritus unicuique vere credenti re-* *velat* (13).

(12) Idem. ibid. *pag.* 313.

(13) Idem. ibid. *pag.* 312.

We may observe, by the by, that there is no doctrine for which the Mystics are so much exclaimed against, as for that of consenting to their own eternal damnation. Mr Jurieu has not forgot it (14): but he is accused of having unfaithfully related the words of Francis de Sales. Consult Mr Arnold (15) who taxes him pretty briskly, for this and other faults, and especially for contradicting himself (16); but he hath not rightly understood that place of the 158th page: *These words of Francis de Sales shew the weakness of the archbishop of Cambray's Theology.* He thus translates them; *hæc verba monstrant nobis amentiam Archiepiscopi Cameracen-* *sis:* he should have rendred them, *hæc verba mon-* *strant nobis locum debilem Theologiæ Archiepiscopi Came-* *racensis.* There is a great difference between the folly of a man, and the weakness of his doctrines.

(14) In his Historical Treatise, concerning Mystical Divinity, printed at Rotterdam in the year 1699.

(15) Arnold, ubi supra, *pag.* 543, *& seq.*

(16) Idem. ibid. *pag.* 557, *& seq.*

[*E*] *It was said that he wrought miracles; and endeavours were used to have had him canonized.*] This is what you will find in these Latin words: ' Plura de ' Vita & Miraculis sancti hujus viri, post *Henr. à Po-* ' *merio, Marcus Mastelinus,* ejusdem loci Religiosus, ' in suo Necrologio Viridis Vallis lib. II. cap. i. & ' seqq. Descripsit & acta Vitæ ejusdem *Thomas de Jesu,* ' Carmelita Excalceatus, Gregorio XV. pro obtinenda ' illius beatificatione præsentata (17). - - - *More of the* ' *life and miracles of this holy man we have from* Mar- ' cus Mastellinus *in his* Necrologium Viridis Vallis, *a* ' *Monk of the same monastery.* Thomas de Jesu, *a Car-* ' *melite, barefooted Friar, wrote also the acts of his life,* ' *which he presented to Pope Gregory XV, in order to ob-* ' *tain his canonization.*'

(17) Valer. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. *pag.* 557.

[*F*] *I shall take notice of the mistakes of Moreri, and of the author of the Essays on Literature.*] I. He should not have said that the village *Ruisbroeck* is *upon the Sambre in Brabant.* It would be difficult to find upon the banks of the Sambre any village belonging to Brabant; but however that would not agree to the country of Ruysbroeck. It is situated upon the river of Senne between Brussels and Hall. Valerius Andreas and Father Labbe who were Mr Moreri's authors in this article observe this in expres terms. How then could he think that a place situated between these two cities stood upon the Sambre? II. When he says that Ruysbroeck, was first priest and curate of the church of St Gudula, he has not sufficiently considered these words of the original which he intended to translate. *Fuit primo Ecclesiæ D. Gudilæ Vicarius & Presbyter* (18). I am of opinion they signify that he was successively curate and rector of the church of St Gudula; for methinks it had been to no purpose to observe that he was Priest while he was curate of a parochial church. However it be, Mr Moreri has preposterously transposed the two titles of Ruysbroeck, he has put that of Priest before that of curate in spite of Valerius Andreas who was his author. III. No such thing is known as the monastery of *Val-vert* in the neighbourhood of Brussels: that of which Ruysbroeck was Prior is called *Groendal.* Valerias Andreas calls it in Latin *Viridis-Vallis,* but Mr Moreri ought not to have translated it into French: he should have given it the common name of that convent. IV. Mr du Pin had no reason to say that Ruysbroeck had been a Prior *of the monastery of the canons regular of Wavre in the* *forest of Soignies* (19); for Wavre is not in that forest, and it is a Priory of Benedictins: and after all Ruysbroeck was Prior of Groendal, not of Wavre. The French name of that forest is *la Foret de Soigne,* or *de Soignies,* and not *de Sognien,* as Moreri calls it. V. Dionysius the Carthusian is not one of those who turned into Latin the works of Ruysbroeck. VI. Ruysbroeck died in the eighty-eight year of his age, and not in the *forty-eight* (20). VII. Instead of quoting Mark Mastelin *in Necro Viridis Vallis,* he ought to have cited *in Necrologio Viridis Vallis.* VIII. He should have quoted book II, article xiii of Dionysius the Carthusian *de Donis Spiritus Sancti,* and not book I, article iii.

(18) Idem, ibid. *pag.* 555.

(19) Du Pin, Biblioth. *Tom. xi, pag. m.* 84.

(20) This mistake is in the Paris edition of 1699; but not in the former editions.

The anonymous author, who began in the month of July 1702 to publish at Paris *Essays of Literature for the knowledge of books,* has given us the article of Ruysbroeck in the essays for November of that year (21). It is almost nothing else but a paraphrase of Moreri; he is fallen into the first six faults which I have just now observed, and to these he has added other very gross

(21) Pag. 132, & seq.

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engaged againſt the book of ſpiritual marriage: Mr du Pin may be conſulted, who acquaints us in few words with what is ſufficient to be known in that affair (g).

(g) Du Pin, Bibl. *Tom. xi, pag.* 84, *Holland Edition.*

groſs ones. I. He ſays that the works of Ruyſbroeck printed at Cologn in the years 1552, and 1609, are in 4to. This is only true of the edition of 1609: the other is in folio. II. He is ignorant of the edition at Cologn 1692. III. He ſays that *it is obſerved that* Gerſon *was ſo prejudiced againſt that author, that he could not bear even to bear his name mentioned.* Mr du Pin on the contrary affirms, that Gerſon *afterwards acknowledged that* Ruyſbroeck *might be excuſed* (22). IV. This anonymous author will have it that there was one John Ruſbach, who hath been confounded with John Ruyſbroeck. He aſcribes to this John Ruſbach the following books, *Tractatus de præcipuis virtutibus. Liber de fide & judicio. De quatuor tentationibus. De ſeptem cuſtodiis. De ſeptem gradibus amoris. De perfectione filiorum Dei. Regnum amantium Deum. De vera contemplatione. Epiſtolæ & cantiones.* He ſays that *Ruſbroch flouriſhed in the year* 1390, *as Trithemius hath obſerved, who hath alſo confounded him with John Ruſbach:* notwithſtanding that he had but juſt before ſaid that *Ruſbrochius died young*, which *was in the year* 1381, *aged forty-eight years, contrary to the opinion of Trithemius, who places his death no earlier than* 1390 (23). He pretends that ſeveral authors have obſerved that a diſtinction was to be made between John Ruſbach, and John Ruyſbroeck. He adds, that he has beſides for his author *Conrad Geſner, whoſe Hiſtorical Library is in great eſteem, and who for certain knew better the authors of his own country than any other Annaliſt.* This is to make many miſtakes in a few words; for in the firſt place Geſner's *Bibliotheque* ſays nothing at all about John Ruſbach, and in the ſecond place Geſner was a Swiſs, and not John Ruyſbroeck's countryman, and our author ſays nothing of the country of his pretended John Ruſbach. Will he have him to be a Swiſs, and that this conſequence may be inferred from what he hath ſaid of Geſner? But in this caſe it muſt likewiſe be concluded that Ruyſbroeck was a Swiſs. In the third place, he confounds with Geſner thoſe who have abridged his *Bibliotheque*, and who have thereto added new articles: theſe are they which ſpeak not only of *Johannes Ruſbachius*, but alſo of *Johannes Ruſberus*, as of two authors different from *Joannes Ruyſbroekius*. They are groſsly miſtaken: they make three authors of one, as Father Labbe has very well conjectured (24). The books which they aſcribe to this John Ruſbachius, and which they ſay were printed at Cologn in 1552, *apud hæredes Quenteli*, are found in the edition of the works of John Ruyſbroeck, publiſhed at Cologn in the year 1552, by the ſame Printers. And as to the book which they attribute to John Ruſberus *de ornatu ſpiritualium nuptiarum, libri III,* it is undoubtedly the work of our Ruyſbroeck (25): even the author of the Eſſays is of this opinion (26).

(22) Du Pin, Bibliotheq. *Tom. xi, pag.* 84.

(23) It is in this year Trithemius ſays that Ruyſbroeck flouriſhed, not that he died in it.

(24) Labbe, de Scriptor. Eccleſ. *Tom. I, p.* 604.

(25) See Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belg. *pag.* 556.

(26) Eſſais de Literat, *Nov.* 1702, *pag.* 156.

The End of the Fourth VOLUME.

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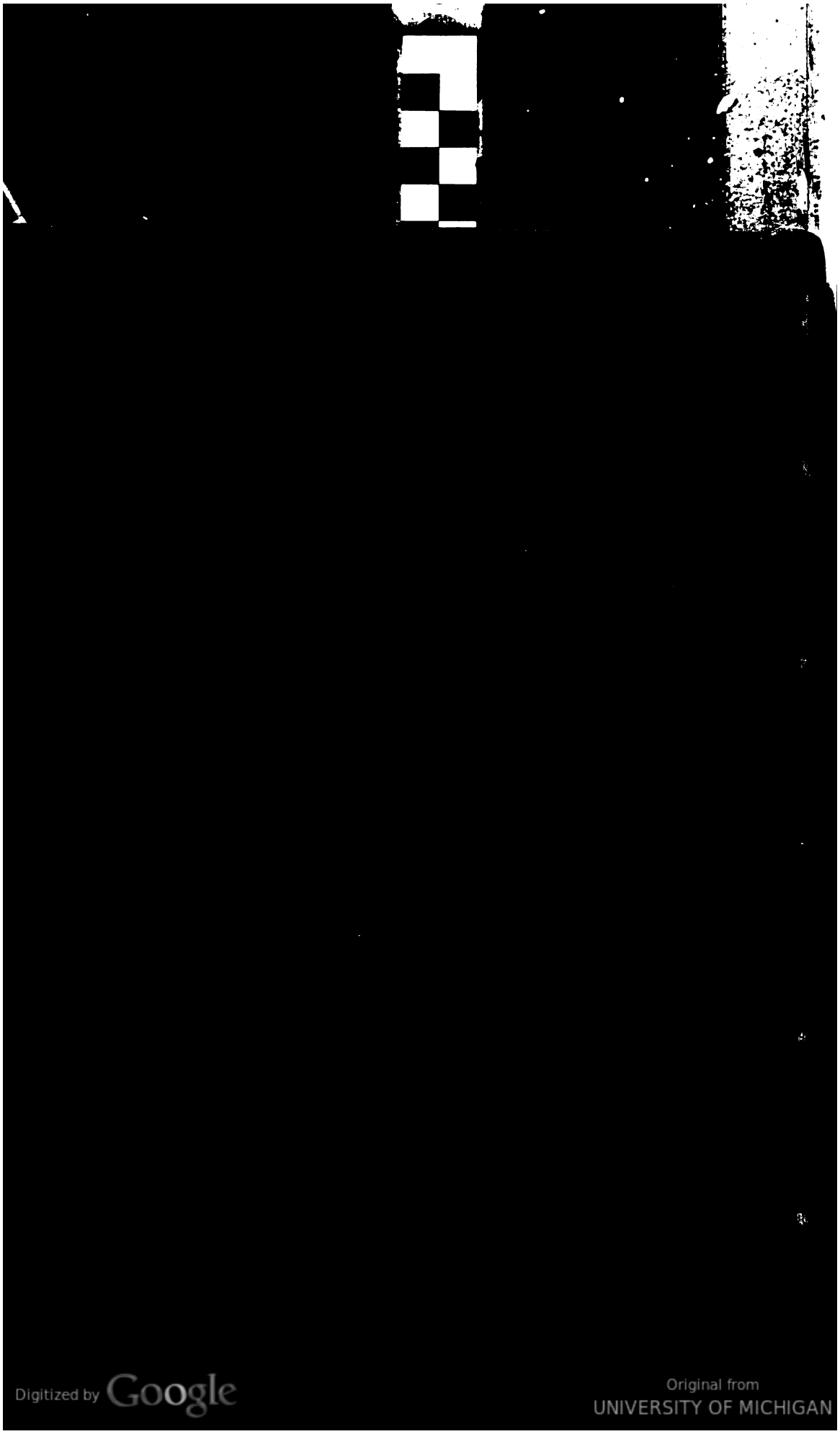
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